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1577

THE
Laſte volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande, with their deſcriptions.

CONTEYNING,

The Chronicles of Englande from William Conquerour untill this preſent tyme.

Faithfully gathered and compiſed
by Raphaell Holinſhed.

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AT LONDON,
¶ Imprinted for Lucas
Hariſon.

God ſaue the Queene.

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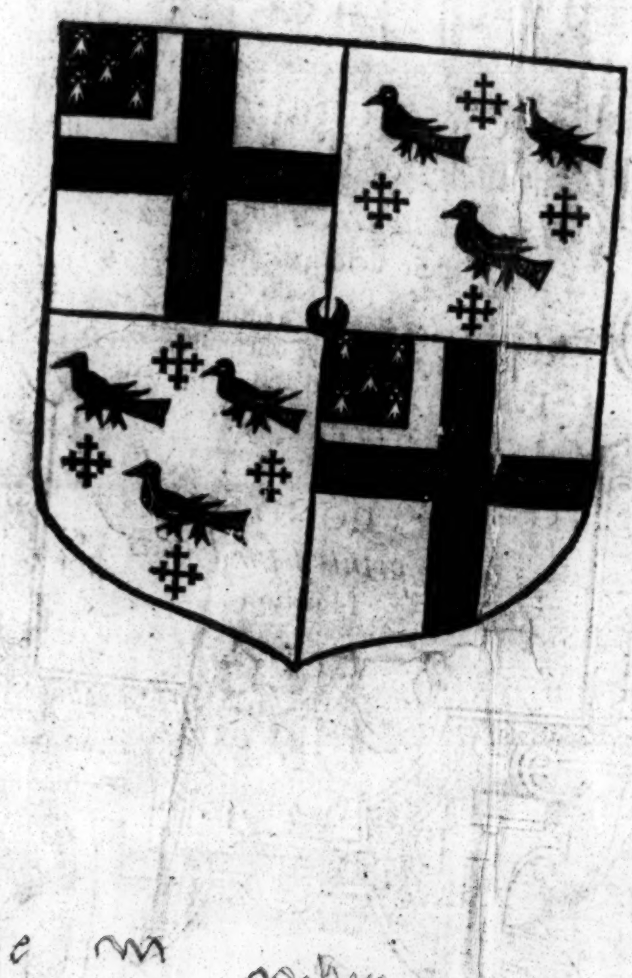

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THE PREFACE
to the Reader.

WHereas (gentle Reader) it was meant that the three Chronicles of Englande, Scotlande, and Ireland, with their deſcriptions ſhold haue come forth al in one volume, and that the deſcriptions and abridgements of the Hiſtories of other countreys ſhould haue bene ſet forth in an other: So it fell out, that the Chronicles of Englande grew ſo large, as they whiche were to beſtow the coſte aboute the Impreſsion, were not onely driuen to ſtay the Impreſsion of the ſame deſcriptions and abridgements of the Hiſtories of other countreys, till God might graunt better abilitie and meane to publiſh the ſame, but alſo to deuide the Chronicles of theſe three regions into two volumes. And bicauſe that the one parte of the Chronicles of England before the Conqueſt, and the entire Chronicles of Scotland, and Irelande, with their deſcriptions, would make but a like volume, vnto the continuance of the Engliſh Chronicles after the conqueſt, it hath bene thought good thus to deuide them as yee may ſee, wherin I haue to aduertiſe thee, Firſt that the table annexed to this booke, doth ſerue to bothe the partes of the Engliſh Chronicles, aſwell before the Conqueſt, as after: and alſo that for the yeares of the Lord, as in the Preface is conteyned, I do begin the ſame at Chriſtmas, and for the yeares of the Kings, I haue as neare as I coulde placed, where the ſame beginne. Although it may be that I haue ſome where fayled, through the contrarietie of Authours, as to the skilfull in Hiſtories it may appeare, of whome I doubt not but to purchas pardon, ſith I haue done therin my vttermoſt good will.

Faultes and ouerſightes eſcaped in the printing of the firſt part *of the Engliſh Hiſtorie before the Conqueſt.*

First in the Catalogue of the Authours, whom I haue in the collection of the ſame hyſtorie chiefly followed, I forgot John Brend, who wrote the expedition intoo Scotlande, 1544. Thomas Churchyard, Ulpian, Fulwell, Thomas Knell, Polibius, Nicholaus Perotus, Hadrianus Berlandus, and ſuch other.

Iehan de Beugue, not Bauge, a Frenchman.

Pa. 1. col. 1. lin. 52. for Noe, read Noah

Pa. 2. col. 1. lin. 9. for Hebr, read Heber

Eadem col. 1. lin. 18. for acceſſerit, read acceſſerint.

Ead. col. 2. lin. 58. for than, read there.

Pag. 3. col. 2. lin. 7. for diſenſſing, read deciſing or diſcuſſing.

Pa. 5. co. 1. li. 10. for tſ him, read to him

Ead. col. 1. lin. 37. for reſtance, read reſiſtance.

Eadem col. 1. lin. 54. for Seroſus, read Beroſus in the mergent.

Eadem col. 1. line. 21. for amphitrita, read amphitrite.

Pag. 11. col. 1. lin. 50. for preaſing, read preſſing.

Pag. 13. col. 1. lin. 21. for cuſe, read caſe.

Pa. 15. col. 1. lin. 33. for Cotneſſe, read Dodoneſſe.

Ead. col. 1. lin. 38. for captiuitie of Babilon, read bondage of Pharao.

Pa. 16. col. 2. li. 46. for. 1874. read. 2374

Pag. 18. col. 1. lin. 8. for Ebracus, read Ebrancus.

Ea. co. 1. l. 15. for Guilles, read Gaules

Eadem col. 1. lin. 41. for Henand, read Henault.

Ead. col. 1. lin. 50. for loyre, read Loire

Ead. col 2. li. 29. for built by P. Oſtor. read built, as by P. Oſtorius.

Pag. 20. co. 1. lin. 48. for inheritor, read inheritance.

Ead. col. 2. lin. 28. for there, read that.

Pa. 24. co. 2. lin. 55. for Northeaſt, read Northweſt.

Pag. 27. col. 1. lin. 4. for thoſe, read they

Pag. 33. col. 1. li. 8. for who, read whom

Pag. 41. col. 2. lin. 5. for theſe two cohorts yet, read the Britains therfore

Pag. 42. col. 1. lin. 1. for aduentured too fight, read aduentured not to fight.

Pag. 47. col. 1. line. 28. for earing, read earings.

Ead. col. 2. lin. 38. for 79. read 793.

Pag. 50. col. 1. lin. 5. for. 79. read. 795.

Pag. 51. col. 1. lin. 1. the three firſt lines are in the foot of the page before.

Pa. 54. col. 1. lin. 5. for reformable, read conformable.

Ead col. 1. lin. 13. for ſhorter they, read ſhorter before they.

Pag. 56. col. 2. lin. 39. for captaine, read captiue.

Pag 75 col. 2. lin. 51. for ſure, read ſithe

p. 79. c. 2. l. 8. for marres, read mariſhes

Pa. 80. co. 2. l. 30. for veſtros, read veſtras

Pag. 104. co. 1. lin. 23. for Rextacheſter read Reptaceſter.

Pa. 106. col 1. lin. 15. for ſo to returne, read and ſo to returne.

Pa. 133. col. 1. li. 45. for Howell king of Britaine, read Howell king of little Britaine.

Pag. 144. col. 1. lin. 27. for Chicheſter, read Ciceſter.

Pa. 145. co. 2. li. 17. for ſlept, read ſtept

Pag. 148. col. 2. line. 40. for or, read for

Pag. 153. co. 2. li. 50. for feaſt, read faſt

Pag. 180. co. 2. li. 47. for which were the ſonnes, read which was the ſonne.

Pa. 183. co. 2. li. 9. for but, read but three

Pa. 184 co. 2. lin. 26. Stanford bridge, adde thereto theſe wordes, after called battaile bridge in yorkeſhire.

Page 202. co. 2. line 52. for 80. read. 801

Eadem, line 53. for Eirine or Hierine not Emperor, but Empreſſe.

Page 227. col. 2. line 60. for but by hir meanes, read by whoſe meanes.

Page 209. col. 2. line. 50. for dEmonde, read Edmond.

Page 218. col. 2. line 40. for ſtate with their, read ſtate but with their.

Pa. 220. col. 1. li. for Gſſex, read Eſſex

Pa. 221. col. 2. li. 10. for eche read euery

Pag. 223. col. 1. line. 50. Math. weſtm. affirmeth that Frithſtan was ordeined to the ſea of wincheſter, Actheline to Shireborn, Eadulf to welles werſtan to Crida, and Herſtan to Cornwal. And further yͤ to Dorcheſter one Kenulfe was ordeyned, and Berthegus to Ciceſter: which ſeuen Biſhops were conſecrated all in one day at Canterburie, by the Archbiſhop Plegmond.

Page 235. col. 2. line 14. for Cumelern, read Culene.

Page 238. col. 1. line 56. for Ethelginu read Ethelgiua.

Ead col. 2. line 35. for recouering hys diſeaſe, read recouering of that hys diſeaſe.

Pa. 241 col. 2. li. 26. for caſe, read cauſe

Pa. 245. col 2. line 54. for reteyne, read receyue.

Pa. 249. col. 2. line 7. for 114. read 1014 and likewiſe in the mergent of both the colums, for. 114. read 1014. and for 115. 1015.

Page 252. col. 2. line 12. for 116. read 1015. and likewiſe in the mergent.

Pag. 260. col. 2. line. 32. for very, read verily.

Page 267. col. 2. line 14. for mailes, read nailes.

Pag. 269. co. 2. lin. 38. for ſore read ſo.

Faults and ouerſights eſcaped *in the printing of this ſecond vo*lume of the Hiſtorie of Englande.

Page 291. col. 2. line laſt, for and rulers, read the rulers.

Page 292. col. 2. line. 37. for willing read vnwilling.

Page 304. col. 2. line laſt, for returne, read remoue.

Pag. 305. col. 1. line 2. for his, read this

Page. 307. col. 1. line 53. for fierceneſſe, read ſucceſſe.

Ead. col. 2. line 24. for choſe, read vſed.

Pag. 317. col. 2. line 29. for his, read this

Page 319 col. 1. line 58. at the firſt at all, put out at the firſt.

Page 321. col. 1. line 37. for reproche, read approche.

Page 326. col. 1. line 2. for his complices, read the Erles complices.

Page 330. col. 1. line 32. for it was, read they were.

Page 355. col. 2. line 30. for Rheynes, read Reimes.

page 363. col. 1. li. 6. for a ſharper head, read a leſſer or ſmaller head.

page 367. col 2. line. 24. for aboute the lord Geffrey, read by the L. Geffrey

page 386. co. 1. ouer againſt the laſt line the yeares are too bee placed thus. Anno reg. 18. 1153. for the yeare of our Lorde.

page 398. col. 2. ouer agaynſte the laſt line, in the mergent, for Anno reg. 6 read Anno reg. 5.

page 399. although it be wrongly nūbred. 389. col. 2. ouer againſt the. 50. line, in the mergent, for 0911. read 1160.

page 400. col. 2. in the mergent ouer againſt the 37. line, for Anno reg. 17. read Anno reg. 7

page 401. although wrongly numbred 403. col. 1. in the mergent ouer againſt the 45. line, for Anno reg. 6. read 8.

page 403. col. 2 line 26. for with the cōcluſion, read according to the concluſion.

The ſame page and columne, line 29. for when, read where.

page 404. col. 2 line 4. for baſtard ſonne, put out baſtard.

page 407. col. 2. in the mergent ouer againſt the 55. line, place Anno reg. 11

page 408. col. 2. in the mergent ouer againſt the 24. line, note Anno reg. 12. and ouer againſt the. 26. line 1166. for the yeare of our Lorde.

page 435. col. 1. line 40 and 41. for Robert Ferrers Earle of Derby read Robert Erle Ferrers.

page 473. col. 2. The firſt worde of the ſeconde Epitaph, for Tumuli, read Tumulum. In the ſeconde verſe of the ſame, for ſufficerat, read ſufficeret.

pa. 485. col. 1. line. 33. for Vizeley, read Vezelay.

page 487. col. 2. line 31. for away of battaile, read array of battaile.

page. 492. col. 1. line 3. as hee vttered, put out as.

page 497. col. 1. line 51. for prepared, read preferred.

The ſame page, col. 2. line 40. for Byſhop, read Biſhops.

page 511. col. 1. line 19. for and, read he.

Faultes eſcaped.

page 511.co.2.line 37.and 38.for partly that, read partly for that.
page 512.co.1.line 10, for with the precinct, read within the precinct.
Ead.col.1.line 54.in ſtead of, for being, read from being.
page 521.col.2.line 52.and 53.for the other rebels, read the other rebell.
page 536.col.1.line 31.for of Fraunce, read in Fraunce.
The ſame page, col.2. line 34. for waſt and veniſon, read vert and veniſon.
page 537.co.2.line laſt ſaue one, for and ſeuen C.read beſide ſeuen C.
page 538.col.1. line 1.for all the while, read all this while.
pa.552.co.1.line 26.for Liſle Donely, read Liſle Dandeli.
page 562.col.1.line 3.in the meane time that theſe, put out that.
page eadem, col. 2. line 33. for Butignan, read Luſignan.
page 572.col. 2. line 30. put out vnto him alſo.
pa.576.co.1.li.28.for matræ, read matri
page 585.col.1.line 6.for Biſhop, read Biſhops.
page 599.col.1. line 46. for Bunchham, read Drincham.
page.605.col.1.line 38.for ſeuen, reade ſeuentene.
page ead.col.2.line 6. for about read about him.
page 606.col.2 li.37.for Knateſburgh, read Knareſburgh.
page.606.col.2.line 1.put out in Staffordſhire.
page 609.col.2. line 44.for Godardule, read Godaruile.
page 616.col.2.line 24.for felicitie, read hoſtilitie.
The ſame page and co.ouer againſt the 23.line, write in the mergent.1218.
page 923 col.1.line. 57. for their liberties read the liberties.
page.627.col.1. line. 12. for Louguile, read Longuile.
pa.629.co.1.l.43.for remoue, read renue
pa.645.co.2.li.46.put out worthie to be
page 646.co.2.lin. 57. for he, read they.
page 650.col.2.line 49.for Meſlhems, read Meſcheins.
page651.co.1.lin. 10 for firſt, read fift.
p.656.c.1.l 39 for the.xiij.read yͤ xxiij
Ea.col.1.li.57.for canons, read chanõs
page 658.col.2.lin.36. from theſe, read from the[illegible]c.
pa.670.wrong folied 700.col.2.line.44. fo[illegible]nd others, read as others.
pag[illegible].col.2.lin.10.for charges, read C[illegible]hes.
pa.72[illegible].li.25.for arras read Artois.
page 7[illegible]3.col.2.line 15.for two.s. of ſiluer, read two.s of ſiluer by the day.
pa.761.col.2.l 52.for theſe, read thence
Page 768.col.1. line 19. for Montheniſey read Montchenſie.
pag.770.col.2.li.58.for to make againſt them, read to make warre againſt thẽ
pag.773.co.1 li.43. for Richard Southwell, read Robert Southwell.
page 781.col.1.line. 50. for the prince, read that prince.
page 786.col.2.in the mergent ouer againſt the.27. line, for Mountfort, read Leyceſter.
Pag.788.col.2.in the mergent ouer againſt the.42. line, for Yorke, reade Canterburie.
Pa.789.co.1.lin.28. and made knight, put it out.
Page 790.col.2.line 31.the ſaid Lord, put out ſayd.
Pa.796.co.1.in yͤ mergent ouer againſt the 24.line, for Briſtow faire, reade Boſton faire.
Pa.808.c.1.l 27.he there, put out there
Ead.col.1.line 36. for ceaſſe, read ſeiſe
Ea.c.2.l 9.for Turnim, read Turmin
Eadem, col.2.line 15. for all, read that
Ead.col 2.line 33.for and other, reade and the other.
Pa.823.c.1. in the mergẽt ouer againſt yͤ.20.l.for K.John, read K.Edward
Page 840.col.1.line 52. for contemptu, read comitatu.
The ſame page and columne, line 58. for mercariis, read mercatis.
Pa.843.c.1.l.5.for Hẽry, read Hũfrey
Page 844.col.1.line 5.for accuſed, read accurſed.
Pa. 845 col.1.line 24.for might come, read might not come.
Pa.847.c.2.li.15. for lord chamberlain of the realme, read Lord Chamberlaine of his houſe.
Pa.858.c.1.l.14.for high chamberlein of Englande, read high chamberleyn of the kings houſe.
P.873.c.1.li.28.for Hẽry read Herup
Page 891.col.1. line 20. for Earle of Marche, read Earle Marſhall.
Page 895.co.2.li.15. for Eleanor, read Elizabeth.
P.897.c.2.l.8.for ſcepter, read charter
Ead col.1.lin.11. for kings, read king
Page 905.col.2.line 2.for Bethon, read Bethuine.
Page 909.col.1.line 5.for Peter, adde thereto, or rather as ſome bookes haue, Nichol Bahuchet
Page 912.co.2. line 50. for the towne, read the tower.
Page 917.for Counteſſe of Richmond read of Mõtfort, for as I take it ſhe was not counteſſe til after that time.
Page 923 col.1. line 1. and ſo the diametre or compaſſe, read thus: and ſo the diametre, that is the ſpace ouerthwart the circle or compaſſe.
The ſame page, col.2.line 58. for Henrie duke of Lancaſter, reade Henrie Earle of Lancaſter, for he was not created duke till the.27.yeare of king Edwarde the thirdes raigne as appeareth.
Page 937. col.2. line firſt, for Earle of Norffolke, read Earles of Norffolk and warwike, for ſo hath one copie of Robert Aueſbury, although as I take it, there was no Earle of Norfolke at that ſeaſon.
Page.962.col.1 line 48.for Richmont read Montfort.
Page 967.col.2.line 13. and 14.for ſteward of England, read ſtewarde of the kings houſe.
P.969.co.1.li.31.to the ſea, put out to.
Page 990. in the mergent, for ſir Simon Minſterworth, read ſir John Minſterworth.
Page 1004.col.1.li 56.for Bond, read Baude.
Pa.1006.co.1.line 10. for benedicat de read benedicat te.
p.1010.c.1.l.33.for abroad read abourd
Pag.1012.col.2.line 27.for partakers read partaker.
Pa.1049.c.2. line 1 for Hartelle, read Hartecelle, for ſo hath Froiſſart.
Pa.1051.col.2.li.11.for ydi, read yuo.
Ea.co.2.li.47.for Deberoux read Deueroux.
Pa.1073.c.2.li.28 for erle, read erles.
Ea.c.2.li.2.for returned, read reformed
Pag.1097.co.2.lin.29.and.30.for earle of Marſhal the duke, read erle marſhall duke.
Page 1098.col.1.lin.30. for Edmonde read Edward.
Pa.1108.col.2.lin.55. Holt caſtell put in the mergent, I take it not to bee Holt caſtell, but rather Beeſton, as by the circumſtances of the ſituation it ſhould appeare.
Page 1110.col.2. line 10. for comming read communing.
Pa.1117.col.1.li.8.for his, read theirs
Page 1124.col.1.line 58.for following in this wiſe, read in this wiſe following.
p.1138.c.2.l.13.for Brone read Brone
Page 1139.col.2.line 24.for ſir Blunt read ſir walter Blunt.
Page 1147. col.2. line 1. for townes, read as of the townes.
Page 1150.col.1.line.17.for he ſhould, read they ſhould.
Page 1153. col.1. line firſt vnder the picture, for his kings, read this kings
Page 1156.col.2.li.32.for Augus, read Angus, and ſo in other places where ye finde the u for the n.
Page 1158.col.1. line. 17. for caſteau Chinou, read chaſteau Chinon.
Page 1174. co.2. li.31. for nor, read or
Page 1180.co.2.line 23.for diuine perſecution, read permiſſion.
Page 1187.col.2.line 13.for Kirkeley, read Kikeley, or Kighley.
Pa.1205.c.2.l.27.for xl.M.read lx.M
Page 1212.co.2 line 26.for which was read which were.
Page 1214.col.1. line 37.and 38. for la Marche, read le Marche.
Page.1218.co.1.line 30. for 38.read 36
Page 1236.col.1.line 48. At the ſame time, put out the period before at, and make it a comma, and the capitall A would be a ſmall a.
Page 1249.col 2.li. 18. for Motaigne read Mortaigne.
Page 1254.col 2.line 1. for this indubitate, read the indubitate.
The ſame page and columne, lin.30.for Neures, read Neuers.
Page 1262.col.2.line 56.ſent the Lord Fauconbridge, read ſent the Lorde Talbot, with the L.Fauconbridge.

Faultes eſcaped.

Page 1265 col. 1 line 24 for Captain, rede Captaines. The ſame page col. 2 line 14 for taking, rede take.

Page 1258 col. 2 line 19 for Frauncis Sureymes, rede Francois de Surienne.

Page 1258 col. 2 line 27 but ſlenderly manned, adde tooke reſolution to attempt the gaining therof in this order.

Page 1268 although wrongly noted 1276 col. 2 line 13 for by them, rede by him.

Page 1275 co. 2 line 37 for deuiſe, rede deuice.

Page 1277 wrongly marked 1269 col. 2 line 14 for aduancers, reade aduancer.

Page 1280 col. 1 line 18 put out and other places.

Page 1290 col. 2 line 24 for Burſilier, reade Burcheir.

Page 1295 col. 1 line 27 of the Duke put out of.

Page 1297 col. 1 line firſt, all things, adde to all things.

Page 1305 col. 1 line 48 for prickes, reade prickers.

Page 1310 col. 2 line 31 for of the army, reade of the ſame.

Page 1317 col. 1 line 43 for King the ſeuenth, rede King Henry the ſeuenth.

Page 1319 colum. 1 line 3 for with hir perſon, rede with the perſon of the eldeſt.

Page 1335 col. 1 line 16 and in ſkirmiſhing put out and.

Page 1340 col. 2 line 20 for Louſtrother, reade Longſtrother.

Page 1344 col. 1 lin. 7 for reademption rede readeption.

Page 1345 col. 1 line 54 for Bathe, reade Booth.

Page 1348 colum. 1 line 30 for Lorde Haward, read Howard, and ſo in other places.

Page 1381 col. 1 in the margente ouer againſte the 14 line, note, this was Thomas Burdet of Arrowe in the Countie of Warwike eſquier, who ſuffered about the. xvij. yeare of K. Edwarde the fourth, and no Citizen of Lōdon, as ſome haue wrōgly enterlined this place.

Page 1426 colum. 2 line 9 for in this time, reade in the time. The ſame page & colum line 28 for did, rede he did.

Page 1429 col. 1 line 38 and ſhortly after hee went, put it out, and the three next lines, for Prince Arthur was not borne till September, in yͤ third yere of his fathers raigne, as after it appeareth.

Page 1435 col. 1 line 22 for lend rede lewde. The ſame page and colum in the Margent, ouer againſte the eight and twentith line, write the yeare of the K. thus. Anno Regni. 5

Page 1436 col. 2 line 24. for helding reade heading.

Page 1437 col. 1 line 2 for with good, reade with his good.

Page 1440 col. 2 line 44 the birthe of King Henry the eyght there noted, ſhould haue bin placed before the Kings going to Bollongne.

Page 1442 wher Anno Regni is placed ouer againſte the 37 line of the firſte colum, it ought to be ouer againſt the ſeauēth line of the ſame page and colum.

Page 1454 col. 1 line 43 for woulde make, reade would not make.

Page 1457 col. 1 lin 12 for went, rede and thereupon to goe. The ſame page col 2 line 51, The yeare of our Lord 1502 is to be referred to their accompte that begin the yeare the 25. of March.

Page 1465 col. 2 line 49 for after with, reade after which.

Page 1472 col. 2 line 18 for Haward reade Howard, and ſo in all other places.

Page 1477 col. 1. line 4. for trapped, reape grapled. The ſame page & ſecond col. ſir Edwarde, adde Howard.

Page 1484 col. 1 line 3 nexte vnder the picture, for thoſe, reade for whē thoſe.

Page 1495 col. 1 line 38 for two and thirtie Crownes, reade 32000 crownes.

Page 1504 col. 2 line 5 for Campeis reade Campeius.

Page 1510 col 2 line 58 for aunſwers reade aunſwerers.

Page 1515 col. 2 lin 36. for the dukes words, rede the Monkes wordes.

Page 1522 col. 2 line 18 and in October, put out and.

Page 1527 col. 2 line 34. and 35. for fiue hundred, reade two or three hundred.

Page 1529 col 1 lin. 17 their hauntes rede their hands.

Page 1540 though wrōg noted 1548 colum. 1 line 1 for Cardinals, reade Cardinall.

Page 1542 col. 1 line 5 beſeeching, reade beſeech. The ſame page col. 2 line 29 is of, rede is one of.

Page 1544 col. 2 line 51 no lenger, put out no.

Page 1567 col. 1 line 41 for Rebells, rede Rebellious.

Page 1590 col. 1 line 15 for Townon reade Towmond. The ſame page and col. line 12 for Claurickforde, reade Clanrickard.

Page 1591 col. 2 line 23 for Juano, reade Ariano.

Page 1594 col. 1 line 16 for Lanteſton, reade Laureſton. The ſame page and col. line 30 for Minees, reade Minets. The ſame Page and colum line 45 for Mary, rede Margaret.

In the regiſter of their names that were made Knights at Leith anno 1544 for Sir John Cleere, reade Sir Thomas Cleere.

Page 1601. col. 2 line 2 for Halidon rigge, reade Panret Hugh, and likewiſe in the Margent.

Page 1648 col. 1 line 34, by the aduice his Uncle, reade by the aduice of his Uncle.

Page 1656 col. 1 line 52. Ye ſhal here note for the further vnderſtādīg of the ſuppreſſion of this Rebellion in Deuonſhire, that there were diuers ſkirmiſhes and encounters betwixte the Kings army, vnder the Lord priuie ſeale, and the ſaid Rebelles, as fyrſte at Honington bridge, before the comming of the Lord Grey of Wilton, and after his comming at a place called Grendones Mille in Woodbury pariſh, and then at Cliſt, where amongſt other, ſir William Frauncis ſeruing verye forwardlye againſte the Rebels, caught ſuche hurtes that he dyed therof ſhortly after. When the Rebels had bene here repulſed, and put to flighte, the Lord priuie ſeale with the armye remoued firſt to Topeſham, where they buried Sir William Francis, and the nexte day, beeing the ſyxth of Auguſt, they came to Exceter, where they encamped without the walles, and immediately thither came the Maiſter of the Horſes, Sir William Herbert with a thouſand Welchmē. They remayned heere at Exeter about a twelue dayes, and hauing ſette things there in ſome order, they marched forthe towardes Sampford Courtney, and at their comming thither, found a great number of the Rebelles there aſſembled, and wilfully bente to trie their quarrell by hazard of battel, ſo that no ſmall number of them were there ſlayne and taken, the reſt fledde, after whome were ſent to purſue them, Sir Peter Carew, Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Gawen Carewe, and others, who ouertaking them at kings Weſton, eaſily ouerthrewe them, and thys was the laſt fyght whiche was had againſt the Rebels of Deuonſhire and Cornewall. The number of them that were ſlayne in this Rebellion in thoſe ſeuerall places afore ſpecifyed, was eſteemed to bee about a three thouſand perſons.

Page 1677 col. 1 line 7 for whyche reade with.

Page 1714 col. 2 line 38 for [illegible] Francis his wife, was the [illegible]ghter, reade that was daug[illegible].

Page 1726 col. 2 put this name in the Margent ouer againſt the. 51. line. Nicholas Laurēce (as ſome write) but for the more perfect knowlege hereof, and of ſome other thynges likewiſe by Gods helpe, I truſt to get ſuche inſtructions, and deliuer the ſame vnto thoſe that ſhall ſet forthe the nexte Summarie or abridge-

Faultes eſcaped.

bridgement of the Engliſh chronicles, as maye herein better ſatiſfie the reader.

Page 1734. col. 2. line 6. for ſir John Rogers, read ſir Edward Rogers.

Page 1749. col. 1. line 23. by procurement, read by my procurement.

Page 1751. put in the mergent ouer againſte the 31 line. Burdet no marchant, but an Eſquier in the countie of Warwike, although ſome that printed ſir Thomas Moores hyſtorie of Edwarde the fifth, haue gloſed it with a wrong parentiſis.

Page 1766. col. 2. line. 16. and 17. for Hargill, read Hartgill.

Page 1775. col. 2. line 31. for grated, read grayſed.

Page 1789. col. 2. lin. 56. for preſſa, read preſſæ, in ſome copies it is amended

Page 1827 col. 1. lin. 16. put out Morton, for he was not in that ſkirmiſh. The horſemen were of Nicholas Tremaynes band, whoſe lieutenant Nicholas Erington was ſhotte through the bodie, and three of hys companie were ſlaine. Moreouer it is not to be forgotten, that captaine Read had the general conduct of the field that morning, who ſhewed ſuch prouf of his approued forwardneſſe, as it well appeared the erle of Warwike vſed good iudgemente in making choiſe of him and others for the execution of that enterprice.

Page 1836. col. 2. line 52. for Longfoille read Loughfoille.

Page 1841. col. 2. for George, Henrie, and Michaell, read Henrie, John, and Michaell.

Page 1842. col. 1. line 5. for xxvij. read xvij.

Page 1843 col. 1. line 10. for Tiuidale men, read Tindall men.

Page 1865. col. 1. li. 7. for. xij. yere, read xlij. yeares.

Page 1867. col. 2. line 46. for Canons read battring peeces.

Page 1873. col. 1. line. 5. for the Marques, reade and the Marques.

Page 1876 col 1. line 5. for Thomas Biſhop, read John Biſhop.

These and diuerſe other ouerſightes and faultes, gentle reader I truſt thou doeſt conſider may eaſily eſcape in ſo large a volume as this, and therefore beſeech thee of pardon, and that it may pleaſe thee to correct the ſame, as in reading it may fortune thee too meete with them, or any other the like.

For the Table, this I haue to aduertiſe the Reader, that as it was gathered by ſundrie perſons, ſo is there ſome diſorder in the placing thereof, which leyſure would not permit to diſpoſe ſo as wee coulde haue wiſhed, by reaſon of the printers haſt.

And where as in the pictures of battails, ther are in ſundrie places gunnes before the inuention of that kind of engine, whereby the reader may eſteeme ſome error, and deſirous peraduenture to know when they came firſt in vſe, he ſhal vnderſtand that we read not of any to bee put in practiſe, till the yeare 1380, in the warres betwixt the Venetians and Genoweys, at Chiozza.

FINIS.

The politique Conqueſte of VVilliam the firſt.

Anno. 1.

1066

THIS William Duke of Normandie, baſe ſonne of Robert the ſixt duke of Normandie, and Nephew vnto Edwarde king of England, ſurnamed the Confeſſour, hauing thus vanquiſhed the Engliſh power, and ſlaine Harolde in the fielde, began his reigne ouer Englande the. xv. day of October beeing Sunday, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde. 5033. (as William Hariſon gathereth) and after the birth of our Sauiour 1066. which was in the tenth yeare of the Emperour Henry the fourth, in the ſixt of Pope Alexander the ſecond, in the ſixt yere of Philip king of Fraunce, and about the tenth yeare of Malcolme the third, ſurnamed Camoir, king of Scotlande.

Sim. Dun.

Immediatly after he had thus wonne the victorie in a pight field (as before ye haue heard) hee firſt returned to Haſtings, and after ſet forwarde towards London, waſted the Countries of Suſſex, Kent, Hamſhire, Southerie, Middleſex, and Herefordſhire, burning the townes, and ſleaing the people, til he came to Beorcham. In the mean time, immediately after the diſcomfiture in Suſſex, the two Earles of Northumberlande and Mercia, Edwyn, and Marchar, who had withdrawne themſelues from the battail togither with their people came to London, and with all ſpeede ſent their ſiſter Queene Aldgitha vnto the Citie of Cheſter, and herewith ſought to perſwade the Londoners, to aduaunce the one of them to the kingdome (as Wil. Mal. wryteth.) But Simon of Durham ſayth, that Alred Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, and the ſayde Earles with other, woulde haue made Edgar Etheling king. But whileſt many of the Noble men and other prepared to make themſelues readie to giue a new battaile to the Normās, (how or whatſoeuer was the cauſe) the ſayde Earles drewe homewardes with theyr powers, to the great diſcomfort of their friends.

Edwyn and Marchar

Queene Aldgitha ſent to Cheſter.

VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

VVil. Malm.
The Biſhops blamed.

Wil. Malm. ſeemeth to put blame in the Biſhoppes for that the Lordes went not forward with their purpoſe in aduauncing Edgar Etheling to the Crowne. For the Biſhops (ſayth he) refuſed to ioine with the Lords in that behalf, and ſo through enuie and ſpite which one part bare to an other, when they coulde not agree vpon an Engliſhe man, they receyued a ſtraunger, inſomuch that vpō king William his comming vnto Beorcham, Alred Archbiſhop of York, Wolſtane Biſhop of Worceſter, and Walter Biſhop of Hereforde, Edgar Etheling, and the foreſayd Earles Edwyn and Marchar, came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, whome he gently receyued, and incontinently made an agreement wyth them, taking theyr othe and hoſtages, (as ſome wryte) and yet neuertheleſſe, hee permytted hys people to ſpoyle and burne the Countrey.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke and other ſubmit themſelues to king William.

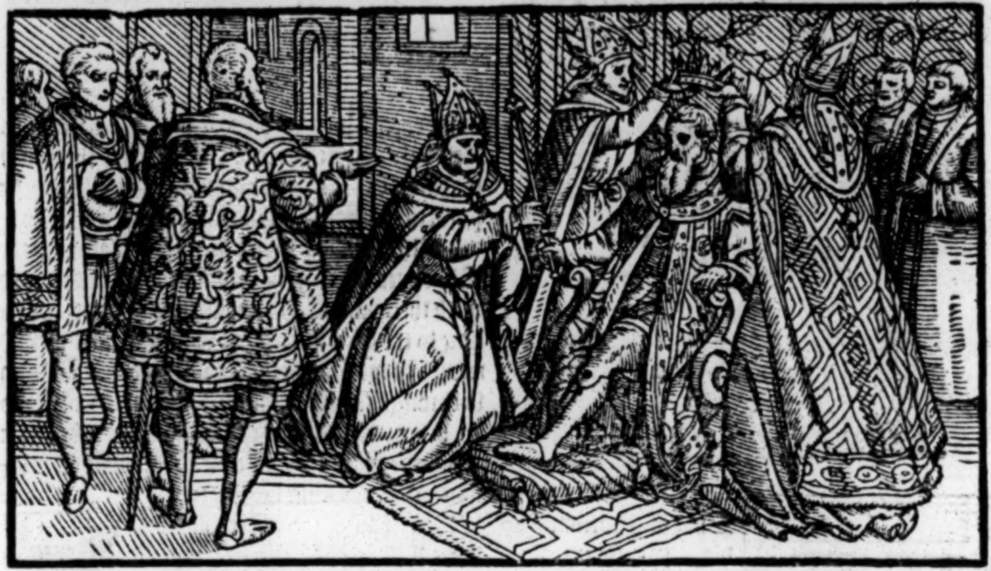
But nowe when the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe was at hande, hee approched to the Citie of London, and comming thither, cauſed his vauntgarde firſt to enter into the ſtreetes, where finding ſome reſiſtance, he eaſily ſubdued the Citizens that thus tooke vpon them to withſtand him, though not without ſome bloudſhed, (as Gemeticen. writeth) But as by other it ſhould appeare, he was receyued into the Citie without any reſiſtance at all. And ſo being in poſſeſſion thereof, he ſpake many friendly wordes to the Citizens, and promiſed that he woulde vſe them in moſt liberall and curteous maner.

Gemeticenſis.

And ſoone after when things were brought in order (as was thought requiſite) he was crowned king vpon Chriſtmas day following, by Alred Archbiſhop of Yorke. For he would not receyue the Crowne at the handes of Stigande Archbiſhop of Canterburie, bycauſe he was hated, and furthermore iudged to bee a verie lewde perſon, and a naughtie liuer.

Williā Cōquerour crowned 1067. according to accoun [illegible] of Chriſt his Natiuitie.

At his Coronation, he cauſed the Biſhops and Barons of the realme to take their othe, that they ſhould be his true and loyall ſubiectes (according to the maner in that caſe accuſtomed.) And being requyred thereto by the Archbiſhop of Yorke, he tooke his perſonall othe before the Aulter of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter, to defende holy Church, and Rulers of the ſame, to gouerne the people in iuſtice as became a King to doe, to ordeyne righteous lawes, and keepe the ſame, ſo that all maner of bribing, rapine, and wrongfull iudgements ſhould for euer hereafter be aboliſhed.



Polidor.
1067

John Stow.

Tho. Sprot.

After this, hee tooke order howe to keepe the realme in good and quiet gouernment, fortifying the neceſſarie places, and furniſhing them wyth gariſons. He alſo appoynted officers and Counſaylers, ſuch as hee thought to bee wiſe and diſcrete men, and appoynted ſhippes to be in the hauens by the coaſt for the defence of the land, as he thought moſt expedient. And eyther nowe after his coronation, or rather before (as by ſome Authours it ſhoulde ſeeme) euen preſentlye vppon obteyning of the Citie of London, hee tooke his iourney towardes the Caſtell of Douer to ſubdue that, and the reſt of Kent alſo: which when the Archebyſhoppe Stygande, and Egelſin the Abbot of Saint Auguſtines (beeing as it were the chiefeſt Lordes and Gouernours of all Kent) did perceyue and conſyder, that the whole Realme was in an euyll ſtate, and that where as in thys Realme of Englande, before the comming in of the foreſayde Duke Wylliam, there was no bondemenne: nowe all, as well Noble men as the common people, were without reſpect made ſubiect vnto the perpetuall bondage of the Normans, taking an occaſion by the perill and daunger that theyr neighbours were in, to prouide for the ſafegarde of themſelues and theyr Countrey. They cauſed to aſſemble at Canterburie, all the people of the Countie of Kent, and declared to them the perilles and daungers imminent, the miſerie that their neighbours were come into, the pride and inſolencie of the Normans, and the hardneſſe and griefe of bondage and ſeruile eſtate: Wherevppon all the people rather chooſing to ende theyr vnfortunate life, than to ſubmytte themſelues to an vnaccuſtomed yoke of ſeruitude and bondage, with a common conſente determined to meete Duke William, and to fight with him for the lawes of theyr Countrey. And the foreſayde Stigande the Archebyſhoppe, and the Abbot Egelſin, chooſing rather to die in battaile, than to ſee theyr Nation in ſo euill an eſtate, being encouraged by the examples of the holy Machabees, became Captaynes of the armie. And at a day appoynted, all the people met at Swaneſcombe, and being hidden in the woods lay priuily in wayte for the comming of the foreſayde Duke William.

And bycauſe it cannot hurt to take greate heede, and to be verie warie in ſuche caſes, they agreed before hande, that when the Duke was come, and the paſſages on euery ſide ſtopped, to the ende he ſhould no way be able to eſcape, euerye one of them, as well horſemen as footemen ſhould beare boughes in their handes.

The next daye after, when the Duke was come into the fieldes and territories neare vnto Swaneſcombe, and ſawe all the Countrey ſette and placed about him, as it had beene a ſtyrring and mouing Woodde, and that with a meane pace they approched and drewe neare vnto him, with great diſcomforte of minde he wondered at that ſight.

And aſſoone as the Captaynes of the Kentiſhmen ſawe that Duke William was encloſed in the middeſt of theyr armie, they cauſed the Trumpettes to bee ſounded, theyr Banners to bee diſplayed, and threwe downe theyr boughes, and wyth theyr Bowes bent, theyr Swordes drawne, and theyr Speares and other kind of weapons ſtretched forth, they ſhewed themſelues readie to fight.

Duke William and they that were wyth him ſtoode (as no maruayle it was) ſore aſtonied, and amazed. And he which thought that he had alreadie all Englande faſt in his fyſt, did nowe diſpayre of his owne life. Therefore on the behalfe of the Kentiſhe men, were ſente vnto Duke William the Archebiſhop Stigande, and Egelſin Abbot of Saint Auguſtins, who told him theyr meſſage in this ſort: My Lorde Duke, beholde the people of Kent commeth forth to meete you, and to receyue you as theyr liege Lorde, requiring at your handes the thinges which perteyne to peace, and that vnder this condition, that all the people of Kent enioy for euer their auncient liberties, and maye for euermore vſe the lawes and cuſtomes of the Countrey: otherwiſe they are readie preſently to bidde battaile to you, and them that bee with you, and are mynded rather to die here altogither, than to departe from the lawes and cuſtomes of theyr Countrey, and to ſubmitte themſelues to bondage, whereof as yet they neuer had experience.

The Duke ſeeing himſelfe to bee driuen to ſuch a ſtayghte and narrowe Pinche, conſulted a while with them that came with him, prudently conſidering, that if he ſhoulde take any repulſe or diſpleaſure at the handes of this people, which be the Key of Englande, all that euer he had done before ſhoulde be vndone againe, and of no effect, and all his hope and ſafetie ſhoulde ſtande in daunger and ieopardie: not ſo willingly as wiſelye hee graunted the people of Kent theyr requeſt. So when the couenant was eſtabliſhed, and pledges giuen on bothe ſydes: The Kentiſhe men beeing ioyfull, conducted the Normans (who alſo were glad) vnto Rocheſter, and yeelded vp to the Duke the Earledome of Kent, and the noble Caſtell of Douer.

The auncient liberties and lawes of Englande remaine in Kent onely.

Thus the auncient liberties of Englande, and the lawes and cuſtomes of the Countrey, which before the comming of Duke William out of Normandie, were equally kepte throughoute all englande, doe (throughe this induſtrie and earneſt trauayle of the Archebyſhoppe Stigande and Egelſin Abbot of Sainte Auguſtines) remaine inuiolably obſerued vntyll thys day within that Countie of Kent.

VVil. Thorne

Thus farre Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne wryteth the ſame. Of the which the former (that is Spotte) liued in the dayes of King Edwarde the firſt, and William Thorne in the dayes of King Richarde the ſeconde.

But nowe before we proceede any further in recitall of the Conquerours doings, we haue here in a Table noted all the noble Captaynes and Gentlemen of name, aſwell Normans as other ſtraungers, which aſſiſted Duke William in the conqueſt of this land. And firſt, as we finde them written in the Chronicles of Normandie by one William Tailleur.

The Catalogue of ſuch Noble men, Lordes and Gentlemen of name, as came into this lande with VVilliam Conquerour.

Odo Biſhoppe of Bayeulx
Robert Earle of Mortaing
Roger Earle of Beaumont, ſurnamed *a la Barbe*
Guillaume Mallet ſeigneur de Montfort.
Henrie ſeigneur de Ferrers.
Guillaume d'Aubellemare ſeig. de Fougieres.
Guillaume de Roumare ſeig. de Lithare
Le ſeigneur de Touque.
Le ſeig. de la Mare.
Neel le Viconte
Guillaume de Vepont.
Le ſeig. de Magneuille.

Le ſeigneur de Groſmenil.
Le ſeigneur de Saint Martin.
Le ſeig. de Puis.
Guillaume Creſpin.
Guillaume de Moyenne
Guillaume Deſmoulins.
Guillaume Deſgarennes.
Huc de Gourney, alias Geneuay.
Le ſeig. de Bray.
Le ſeig. de Gouy.
Le ſeig. de Laigle.
Le ſeigneur de Touarts.
Le ſeigneur de Aurenchin.
Le ſeig. de Vitrey.

Le ſeigneur de Traſſy, alias Tracy.
Le ſeigneur de Picquigny.
Le ſeigneur d'Eſpinay.
Oſmond ſeigneur du Pont.
Le ſeigneur de Eſtouteuile.
Le ſeigneur de Torchy.
Le ſeigneur de Barnaboſt.
Le ſeigneur de Breual.
Le ſeig. de Seeulme.
Le ſeigneur du Houme.
Le ſeigneur de Souchoy.
Le ſeig. de Caſſy.
Le ſeigneur de la Riuere.

Eudes de Beauieu.
Le ſeigneur de Roumilly.
Le ſeig. de Glotz.
Le ſeig. du Sap.
Le ſeigneur de Vanuille.
Le ſeigneur de Branchou.
Le ſeigneur Balleul.
Le ſeigneur de Beauſault.
Le ſeig. de Telleres.
Le ſeig. de Senlys.
Le ſeigneur de Bacqueuille.
Le ſeig. de Preaulx.
Le ſeig. de Iouy.
Le ſeigneur de Longuille.
Le ſeig. d'Aquigny.

Le ſeigneur de Paſſy
Le ſeig.de Tournay
Le ſeig.de Colombieres
Le ſeig. de Bollebec
Le ſeig.de Garenſieres
Le ſeig.de Longueile
Le ſeig.de Houdetot
Le ſeig.de Malletot
Le ſ.de la Haie Malerbe
Le ſei. de Porch Pinche
Le ſeig.de Ivetot
The erle of Tãquervile
The erle d'Eu
The erle d'Arques
The erle of Aniou
The erle of Neuers
Le ſeig.de Rouuile
Le prince de Alemaigne
Le ſeig.de Pauilly
Le ſeig.de S.Cler
Le ſeig.d'Eſpinay
Le ſeig.de Bremetot
Alain Fergant Earle of Britaigne
Le ſeig.de la Ferte
Robert fils Heruays duc de Orleans
Le ſeig.de la Lande
Le ſeig.de Mortimer
Le ſeig.de Clere
Le ſeig.de Magny
Le ſeig.de Fontnay
Roger de Montgomery
Amaury de Touars
Le ſeig.de Hacquevile
Le ſeig.de Neanſhou
Le ſeig.de Perou
Robert de Beaufou
Le ſeig. Deaubon
Le ſeig.de Sotevile
Euſtace de Ambleville
Geoffray Bournom
Le ſeig.de Blainvile
Le ſeig.de Mannevile
Geoffrey de Moyenne
Auffray and Maunger de Carteny
Le ſeig.de Freanvile
Le ſeig.de Moubray
Le ſeig.de Iaſitay
Guillaume Patays ſiegneur de la Lande
Eulde de Mortimer
Hue erle of Gournay
Egremont de Laigle
Richard d'Aurinchin
Le ſeig.de Bearts
Le ſeig.de Soulligny
e Bouteclier d'Aubigny
Le ſeig. de Marcey
Le ſeig.de Lachy
Le ſeig.de Valdere
Eulde de Montfort
Henoyn de Cahieu
Le ſeig.de Vimers
Guillaume de Movion
Raoul Teſſon de Tignolles
Anguerand Earle of Hercourt
Roger Marmion
Raoul de Gayel
Auenel de Viers
Pauvel du Montier Hubert
Robert Bertraule Tort
Le ſeig.de Seulle
Le ſeig.Dorival
Le ſeig.de la Hay
Le ſeig.de S. John
Le ſeig.de.Sauſſy
Le ſeig.de Brye
Richard Dollebec
Le ſeig.du Monfiquet
Le ſeig.de Breſey
Le ſeig. de Semilly
Le ſeig de Tilly
Le ſeig.de Preaux
Le ſeig.de S.Denis
Le ſeig.de Meuley
Le ſeig.de Monceaux
The archers of Bretvile
The archers of Vaudreuile
Le ſeig.de S. Sain.
Le ſeig.de Breanſou
Le ſeig.de Saſſy
Le ſeig. de Naſſy
Le vidame de Chartres
Le ſeig de Jeanvile
Le vidam du Paſſays
Pierre du Bailleul ſeigneur de Feſcamp.
Le ſeneſchal de Torchy
Le ſeig. de Griſſey
Le ſeig.de Baſſey
Le ſeig.de Tourneur
Guillaume de Colombieres.
Le ſeig. de Bonnebault
Le ſeig.de Ennebault
Le ſeig.de Danuillers
Le ſeig.de Bervile
Le ſeig.de Crevecueur
Le ſeig.de Breaute
Le ſeig.de Coutray
The erle of Eureux
Le ſeig.de ſeynt Valery
Thomas erle d'Aumale
The erle de Hieſmes

with other Lordes and men of account in great nembers, whoſe names the Author of the Chronicles of Normandie coulde not come by (as he himſelf confeſſeth.) In conſideration wherof, and bycauſe diuerſe of theſe are ſet forth only by theyr titles of eſtate, and not by their ſurnames, we haue thought it conuenient to make you partaker of the roll which ſometime belonged to Battaile Abbay, conteyning alſo (as the tytle thereof importeth) the names of ſuch Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came in at this time with the Conqueror, wherof diuerſe may be the ſame perſons whiche in the catalogue aboue written are conteyned, bearing the names of the places wherof they were poſſeſſours and owners, as by the ſame Catalogue it may appeare.

The Roll of Battaile Abbey.

A

Aumarle
Ayncourt
Audeley
Angilliam
Argentoune
Arundell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
rchere
[illegible]
[illegible]
Albevile
Andevile
Amouerduile
Arcy and Akeny
Albeny
Aybenare
Amay
Aſpermounde
Amerenges.

B

Bertram
Buttecourt
Brebus and Byſeg
Bardolfe
Baſſet and Bygot
Bohun
Baylyf
Bondevile
Brabaſon
Baſkervile
Bures
Bounplayne
Boys
Botelere
Bourcher
Brabayon
Berners
Braybuf
Brande and Bronce
Burgh
Buſſhy
Banet
Blondell
Breton
Bluet and Bayous
Browne
Beke
Byckarde
Banaſtre
Baloun
Beauchampe
Bray and Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Baſeoun
Broylem
Broyleby
Burnell
Bellet
Baudewyn

Beaumont
Burdon
Bertevilay
Barre
Buſſevile
Blunt
Beaupere
Beuyll
Bardvedor
Brette
Barrett
Bonrett
Baynard
Barnyvale
Bonett
Barry
Bryan
Bodyn
Bertevile
Bertyn
Berenevile
Bellewe
Bevery
Buſhell
Boranvile
Browe
Beleuers
Buffard
Botelere
Bonueyer
Boteuile
Bellyre
Baſtard
Baynard
Braſard
Beelhelme
Brayne
Brent
Braunche
Beleſuz
Blundell
Burdett
Bagott
Beauuiſe
Belemis
Beyſyn
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutz
Barchampe

C

Camoys
Camvile
Chawent
Chauncy
Couderay
Colvile
Chamberlaine
Chamburnoun
Comyn
Columber
Crybett
Creuquere
Corbine
Corbett
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremaus
Clarell
Chopys
Chaunduyt
Chantelow
Chamberay
Creſſy
Curtenay
Coneſtable
Cholmeley
Champney
Chawnos
Comivile
Champaine
Careuile
Carbonelle
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheyne
Curſon
Couille
Chapters
Cheynes
Cateray
Cherecourt
Canmyle
Clerenay
Curly
Cuyly
Clynels
Chaundos
Courtency
Clyfford.

D

Denaville
Dercy
Dyue
Dyſpencere
Daubeny
Daniell
Denyſe and Druell
Denaus
Dauers.
Dodyngſels
Darell
Delaber
Delapole
Delalynde
Delahill
Delaware
Delavache
Dakeny
Dauntre
Deſnye
Dabernoune
Damry
Daucros
Dauonge
Duylby
Delaucre
Delahoyde
Durange
Delee
Delaunde
Delawarde
Delaplanch
Damnot
Danway
Dehenſe
Devile
Dyſard
Doyuille
Durant
Drury
Dabitott
Dunſterville
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

Eſtrange
Eſtutevile
Engayne
Eſtriels
Eſturney

F

Ferrerers
Foluile
Fitzwatere
Fitzmarmaduke
Fleuez
Fylberd
FitzRoger
Faucourt
Ferrers
Fitz Phillip
Filiot
Furniueus
Furniuaus
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Payn
Fitz Auger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Rauff
Fitzbrowne
Fouke
Freuile
Front de Boef
Facunberge
Fort
Fryſell
Fitz Simon
Fitz Fouk
Fyliott
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henrie
Fitz Waren
Fitz Raynold
Flamvile
Formay
Fitz Euſtach
Fitz Laurence
Formyband
Friſound
Fynere and Fitz Robert
Furniuale
Fitz Geffrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fychet
Fitz Rewes
Fitz Fitz
Fitz John
Fleſchampe

G

Gurnay
Greſſy
Graunſon
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gaugy
Goband
Gray
Gaunſon
Golofre
Gobyon
Grenſy
Graunt
Greyle
Greuet
Gurry
Gurley

Le ſeigneur de Paſſy
Le ſeig.de Tournay
Le ſeig.de Colombieres
Le ſeig. de Bollebec
Le ſeig.de Garenſieres
Le ſeig.de Longueile
Le ſeig.de Houdetot
Le ſeig.de Malletot
Le ſ.de la Haie Malerbe
Le ſei. de Porch Pinche
Le ſeig.de Iuetot
The erle of Tãquerbile
The erle d'Eu
The erle d'Arques
The erle of Aniou
The erle of Neuers
Le ſeig.de Rouuile
Le prince de Alemaigne
Le ſeig.de Pauilly
Le ſeig.de S.Cler
Le ſeig.d'Eſpinay
Le ſeig.de Bremetot
Alain Fergant Earle of Britaigne
Le ſeig.de la Ferte
Robert fils Heruays duc de Orleans
Le ſeig.de la Lande
Le ſeig.de Mortimer
Le ſeig.de Clere
Le ſeig.de Magny
Le ſeig.de Fontnay
Roger de Montgomery
Amaury de Touars
Le ſeig.de Hacquevile
Le ſeig.de Neanſhou
Le ſeig.de Perou
Robert de Beaufou
Le ſeig. Deaubon
Le ſeig.de Sotevile
Euſtace de Ambleville
Geoffray Bournom
Le ſeig.de Blainvile
Le ſeig.de Mannevile
Geoffrey de Moyenne
Auffray and Mauger de Carteny
Le ſeig.de Freanvile
Le ſeig.de Moubray
Le ſeig.de Iaſitay
Guillaume Patays ſiegneur de la Lande
Eulde de Mortimer
Hue erle of Gournay
Egremont de Laigle
Richard d'Aurinchin
Le ſeig.de Bearts
Le ſeig.de Soulligny
e Bouteclier d'Aubigny
Le ſeig. de Marcey
Le ſeig.de Lachy
Le ſeig.de Valdere
Eulde de Montfort
Henoyn de Cahieu
Le ſeig.de Vimers
Guillaume de Movion
Raoul Teſſon de Tignolles
Anguerand Earle of Hercourt
Roger Marmion
Raoul de Gayel
Iuenel de Viers
Pauvel du Montier Hubert
Robert Bertrau le Tort
Le ſeig.de Seulle
Le ſeig.Dorival
Le ſeig.de la Hay
Le ſeig.de S. Iohn
Le ſeig.de.Sauſſy
Le ſeig.de Brye
Richard Dollebec
Le ſeig.du Monfiquet
Le ſeig.de Breſey
Le ſeig. de Semilly
Le ſeig de Tilly
Le ſeig.de Preaux
Le ſeig.de S.Denis
Le ſeig.de Meuley
Le ſeig.de Monceaux
The archers of Bretvile
The archers of Vaudreuile
Le ſeig.de S. Sain.
Le ſeig.de Breanſou
Le ſeig.de Saſſy
Le ſeig. de Naſſy
Le vidame de Chartres
Le ſeig de Ieanvile
Le vidam du Paſſays
Pierre du Bailleul ſeigneur de Feſcamp.
Le ſeneſchal de Torchy
Le ſeig. de Griſſey
Le ſeig.de Baſſey
Le ſeig.de Tourneur
Guillaume de Colombieres.
Le ſeig. de Bonnebault
Le ſeig.de Ennebault
Le ſeig.de Danuillers
Le ſeig.de Bervile
Le ſeig.de Crevecueur
Le ſeig.de Breaute
Le ſeig.de Coutray
The erle of Eureux
Le ſeig.de ſeynt Valery
Thomas erle d'Aumale
The erle de Hieſmes

with other Lordes and men of account in great nembers, whoſe names the Author of the Chronicles of Normandie coulde not come by (as he himſelf confeſſeth.) In conſideration wherof, and bycauſe diuerſe of theſe are ſet forth only by theyr titles of eſtate, and not by their ſurnames, we haue thought it conuenient to make you partaker of the roll which ſometime belonged to Battaile Abbay, conteyning alſo (as the tytle thereof importeth) the names of ſuch Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came in at this time with the Conqueror, wherof diuerſe may be the ſame perſons whiche in the catalogue aboue written are conteyned, bearing the names of the places wherof they were poſſeſſours and owners, as by the ſame Catalogue it may appeare.

The Roll of Battaile Abbey.

A

Aumarle
Ayncourt
Audeley
Angilliam
Argentoune
Arundell
Auenant
Abell
Auuerne
Aunwers
Angers
Angenoun
rchere
[illegible]
ruile
Albevile
Andevile
Amouerduile
Arcy and Akeny
Albeny
Aybeuare
Amay
Aſpermounde
Amerenges.

B

Bertram
Buttecourt
Brehus and Byſeg
Bardolfe
Baſſet and Bygot
Bohun
Baylyf
Bondevile
Brabaſon
Baſkervile
Bures
Bounplayne
Boys
Botelere
Bourcher
Brabayon
Berners
Braybuf
Brande and Bronce
Burgh
Buſſhy
Banet
Blondell
Breton
Bluet and Bayous
Browne
Beke
Byckarde
Banaſtre
Baloun
Beauchampe
Bray and Bandy
Bracy
Boundes
Baſcoun
Broylem
Broyleby
Burnell
Bellet
Baudewyn

Beaumont
Burdon
Bertevilay
Barre
Buſſevile
Blunt
Beaupere
Beuyll
Bardvedor
Brette
Barrett
Bonrett
Baynard
Barnyvale
Bonett
Barry
Bryan
Bodyn
Bertevile
Bertyn
Berenevile
Bellewe
Bevery
Buſſhell
Boranvile
Browe
Beleuers
Buffard
Botelere
Bonueyer
Boteuile
Bellyre
Baſtard
Baynard
Braſard
Beelhelme
Brayne
Brent
Braunche
Beleſuz
Blundell
Burdett
Bagott
Beauuiſe
Belemis
Beyſyn
Bernon
Boels
Belefroun
Brutz
Barchampe

C

Camoys
Camvile
Chawent
Chauncy
Conderay
Colvile
Chamberlaine
Chamburnoun
Comyn
Columber
Crybett
Creuquere
Corbine
Corbett
Chaundos
Chaworth
Cleremaus
Clarell
Chopys
Chaunduyt
Chantelow
Chamberay
Creſſy
Curtenay
Coneſtable
Cholmeley
Champney
Chawnos
Comivile
Champaine
Careuile
Carbonelle
Charles
Chereberge
Chawnes
Chaumont
Caperoun
Cheyne
Curſon
Couille
Chapters
Cheynes
Cateray
Cherecourt
Canmyle
Clerenay
Curly
Cuyly
Clynels
Chaundos
Courtency
Clyfford.

D

Denaville
Dercy
Dyue
Dyſpencere
Daubeny
Daniell
Denyſe and Druell
Denaus
Dauers.
Dodyngſels
Darell
Delaber
Delapole
Delalynde
Delahill
Delaware
Delavache
Dakeny
Dauntre
Deſnye
Dabernoune
Damry
Daueros
Dauonge
Duylby
Delauere
Delahoyde
Durange
Delee
Delaunde
Delawarde
Delaplanch
Damnot
Danway
Dehenſe
Devile
Dyſard
Doyuille
Durant
Drury
Dabitott
Dunſterville
Dunchampe
Dambelton

E

Eſtrange
Eſtutevile
Engayne
Eſtricls
Eſturney

F

Ferrerers
Foluile
Fitzwatere
Fitzmarmaduke
Fleuez
Fylberd
FitzRoger
Faucourt
Ferrers
Fitz Phillip
Filiot
Furniueus
Furniuaus
Fitz Otes
Fitz William
Fitz Roand
Fitz Payn
Fitz Auger
Fitz Aleyn
Fitz Rauff
Fitzbrowne
Fouke
Freuile
Front de Boef
Facunberge
Fort
Fryſell
Fitz Simon
Fitz Fouk
Fylioll
Fitz Thomas
Fitz Morice
Fitz Hugh
Fitz Henrie
Fitz Waren
Fitz Raynold
Flamvile
Formay
Fitz Euſtach
Fitz Laurence
Formyband
Friſound
Fynere and Fitz Robert
Furniuale
Fitz Geffrey
Fitz Herbert
Fitz Peres
Fychet
Fitz Rewes
Fitz Fitz
Fitz John
Fleſchampe

G

Gurnay
Greſſy
Graunſon
Gracy
Georges
Gower
Gaugy
Goband
Gray
Gaunſon
Golofre
Gobyon
Grenſy
Graunt
Greyle
Greuet
Gurry
Gurley

Granmori
Gernoun
Grendon
Gurdon
Cynes
Gryuel
Grenevile
Glatevile
Gurney
Giffard
Gouerges
Gamages.

H

Haunteney
Haurſard
Haſtings
Henlay
Haurell
Huſſe
Hercy
Heron
Herne
Harcourt
Henoure
Houell
Hamelyn
Harewell
Hardell
Haket
Hamound
Harcord.

I

Jarden
Jay
Jeniels
Jerconviſe
Janvile
Jaſpervile.

K

Kaunt
Karre
Karrowe
Koyne
Kymaronne
Kyryell
Kancey
Kenelre.

L

Loueny
Lacy
Linneby
Latomer
Loueday
ell
Lemare
Leuetote
Lucy
Luny
Logevile
Longeſpes
Louerace
Longechampe
Laſcales
Lacy
Louan
Le ded
Luſe
Loterell
Loruge
Longevale
Loy
Lorancourt
Loyons
Lymers
Longepay
Laumale
Lane
Louetote

M

Mohant
Mowne
Maundeuile
Marmilon
Morybray
Moruile
Myriell
Manlay
Malebraunch
Malemayne
Mortimere
Mortymaine
Muſe
Marteyne
Mountbother
Mountſoler
Malevile
Malet
Mounteney
Monfychet
Maleherbe
Mare
Muſegros
Muſarde
Moyne
Montrauers
Merke
Murres
Mortivale
Moncheneſy
Mallory
Marny
Mountagu
Mountford
Maule
Monhermon
Muſett
Meneuile
Mantevenat & Manſe
Menpyncoy
Mayne
Maynard
Morell
Maynell
Maleluſe
Memorous
Morreis
Morleyan Maine
Maleuere
Mandut
Mountmarten
Mantelet
Myners
Mauclerke
Maunchenell
Mouet
Meyntenore
Mele tak
Man vile
Mangyſere
Maumaſin
Mountlouel
Mawrewarde
Monhaut
Meller
Mountgomerie
Manlay
Maularde
Maynard
Menere
Martinaſt
Mare
Mainwaringe
Matelay
Malemys
Maleheyre
Moren
Melun
Marceans
Mayell
Morton

N

Noers
Neuile
Newmarch
Norbet
Norice
Newborough
Neyremet
Neyle
Normauile
Neofmarche
Nermitz
Nembrutz

O

Oteuell
Olybek
Olyfant
Oſenel
Oyſell
Olyfard
Orinall
Oryoll

P

Pigot
Pery
Perepount
Perſhale
Power
Paynell
Peche and Pauey
Peurell
Perot
Pycard
Pynkenie
Pomeray
Pounce
Pauely
Payfrere
Plukenet
Phnars
Punchardoun
Pynchard
Placy
Pugoy
Pateſinc
Place
Pampilioun
Percelay
Perere and Pekeny
Poterell
Peukeny
Peccell
Pinell
Putrill
Petivoll
Preaus
Pantolf
Peito
Penecord
Prendyrlegaſt
Percyuale

Q

Quinci
Quintiny

R

Ros
Ridell
Ryuers
Rybell
Rous
Ruſſell
Rabaud
Ronde
Rye
Rokell
Ryſers
Randvile
Roſelin
Raſtoke
Rynvyll
Rougere
Rait
Ryppere
Rigny
Richemounde
Rochford
Raymond

S

Souche
Shevile
Seucheus
Senclere
Sent quintin
Sent Omere
Sent Amond
Sent Legere
Somervile
Syward
Saunſovere
Sanford
Sanckes
Savay
Saulay
Sules
Sorell
Somerey
Sent John
Sent George
Sent Les
Seſſe
Salvyn
Say
Solers
Saulay
Sent Albyn
Sent Martin
Sourdemale
Seguin
Sent Barbe
Sent Vyle
Souremount
Soregliſe
Sandvile
Sauncey
Syrewaſt
Sent Cheueroll
Sent More
Sent Scudemore

T

Toget
Tercy
Tuchet
Tracy
Trouſbut
Traynell
Taket
Truſſell and Triſton
Talbot
Touny
Trayes
Tollemache
Tolous
Tanny
Touke
Tybtote
Turbevyle
Turvile
Tomy and Tauerner
Trenchevile
Trenchelyon
Tankervyle
Tyrell
Tryvet
Tolet
Travers
Tardevyle
Turburvyle
Tynevyle
Torell
Tortechappell
Truſbote
Treuerell
Tenwis
Totelles

V

Vere
Vernoun
Veſcy
Verdoune
Valence
Verdeire
Vavaſour
Wardeboys
Wate
Wyuell
Wake
Watelin
Wely
Werdonell
Vendore
Verlay
Warde
Valenger
Venables
Venoure
Vylan
Verlaund
Valers
Veyrny
Vavurvyle
Watevyl
Venyels
Verrere
Viſchere
Veſſay
Vanay
Vyan
Vernoys
Wafre
Weſpayle
Wareyne
Vrnall
Vnket
Vrnafull
Vaſderoll
Vaberon
Valingford
Venicorde
Valiue
Viville
Vancorde & Valenges.

Sim. Dunel.

King William goeth ouer into Normãdy

Hen. Hunt.

Polichron.

Simon Dun.

Thus when hee hadde ſet all things in order through the moſt part of the Realme, hee deliuered the guiding thereof vnto his brother Odo, the Biſhop of Bayeux, and to his couſin William Fitz Oſborne whome he had made Erle of Herford: and in Lent following, he ſayled into Normandy, leading with him the pledges and other of the chiefeſt Lordes of the Engliſhe nation: among whom, the two Earles Edwin and Morkar, Stigand the Archbiſhop, Edgar, Ethling, Waltheof ſonne to Siwarde ſometime Duke of Northumberland, and the Abbot of Glaſtenbury Igelnothus were yͤ moſt famous. Soone after his departing. Edrike ſurnamed Siluaticus, ſon to Alfricke that was brother to Edricke de Streona, refuſing to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Kyng, rebelled and aroſe againſte ſuche as he had left in his abſence to gouerne the land, wherevpon, thoſe that lay in the Caſtell of Hereford, as Richarde Fitz Scrope and others, did oftentimes inuade his Lands, and waſted the goodes of his farmors and tenantes. But yet ſo often as they attempted to inuade him, they loſt many of theyr owne Souldiers, and men of warre. Moreouer, yͤ ſayde Edricke calling to his ayde the Kyngs of the Welchmen, Blothgent, and Rithwalle, the ſaid Ericke about the feaſt of the aſſumption of oure Lady, waſted the countrey of Hereford, euen to yͤ bridge of the Riuer of Wye, and obteyned out of thoſe quarters a maruellous great ſpoyle. In the winter following alſo, and after King William had ordred his buſineſſe in Normandy, he returned into England, and euen then began to handle the Engliſhmen ſomewhat ſharply, ſuppoſing thereby to keepe them the more eaſily vnder his obedience. He ſpoyled in like maner dyuers of the nobilitie, and others of the welthier ſort, of al their liuings, and gaue yͤ ſame to his Normans.

Edricke Siluaticus.

Richard F
Scrope.

The R
of Wy

King W
returne
Englan

H. H

Moreouer, he reyſed greate payments and ſubſedies through the Realme: the Engliſhe nobilitie alſo he nothing regarded, ſo yͭ they whiche before thought themſelues to bee made for euer by bringing a ſtranger into the Realme, do now ſee thē ſelues troden vnder foote, and to bee deſpiſed and mocked on all ſides, in ſo much, that many of thē were conſtreyned (as it were for a further teſtimonie of ſeruitude and bondage) to ſhaue theyr beards, to round their heare, and to frame themſelues as well in apparrell, as in ſeruice and dyet at their tables, after the Norman manner, ryghte ſtrange, and farre differing from the auntient cuſtomes and olde vſages of theyr countrey: other vtterly refuſing to ſuſteyne ſuche an intollerable yoke of thraldom as was dayly layd vpon thē by yͤ Normans, choſe rather to leaue all, both goods and lands, and after the manner of outlawes got them to the wooddes with their wiues, children, and ſeruauntes, meaning frō thenceforth wholly to liue vpon the ſpoyle of the countreys adioyning, and take whatſoeuer came to hand. Wherevpon it came to paſſe within a while, that no mā might in ſafetie trauayle from his owne houſe or towne to his next neighbors, and euery quiet and honeſt mans houſe became as it were an hold or fortreſſe, and furniſhed for defence with bowes & arrowes, billes, polle axes, ſwordes, clubbes and ſtaues, yͤ dores kept locked, and ſtrongly boulted, namely in the night ſeaſon, for feare to be ſurpriſed as it had bin in time of open war, and amōgſt publike enimies. Prayers were ſayde alſo by the maſter of the houſe, as though they had bin in the middeſt of the Seas in ſome ſtormy tempeſt, and when the windowes or dores ſhould be ſhut in & cloſed, they vſed to ſay *Benedicite*, & other to aunſwer *Dominus*, with moſt zealous and reuerende deuotion, whiche cuſtome then taking place, through feare of preſent daunger, hathe euer ſince remayned in vſe till theſe our preſent dayes. But for all this, K. William ſought to tame and vanquiſh thoſe of the Engliſh nobilitie, which would not be vnder his obeyſance. They againe on the other ſide made themſelues ſtrong, the better to reſiſt him, chooſing for their chiefe Captaines and leaders, the Erles Edwin and Edgar Etheling, which valiantly reſiſted the Normans, and ſlew many of them with great rage and crueltie. And as they thus proceeded in their matters, K. William being a politike Prince, forwarde & paynefull in his buſineſſe, ſuffered thē not altogyther to eſcape cleere away, but did ſore anoy and put thē oft to irrecouerable loſſes, though he ſuffered in yͤ meane time many laborous iourneys, ſlaughters of his people, & damages of his perſon. Herevpon yͤ Engliſh nobilitie euer after, yea in time of peace were hated of yͤ K. & his Normans, & at lēgth wer kept ſo ſhort, yͭ being moued partly with diſdeine, and partly with dread, they gote them out of the Realm, ſome into Scotlād, ſome into Denmark, other into Norway, & amōg theſe, the two Erles Edwin & Marcar, with certayn Biſhops and other of yͤ Cleargie, beſides many alſo of the temporaltie, eſcaped into Scotland. Marleſwin and Goſpatric, with a great nūber of other yͤ Nobles of Northumberland, Edgar Ethling wͭ his mother Agatha, & his ſiſters Chriſtine & Margaret, chāced alſo to be driuē into Scotland by tempeſt, as they were ſayling towardes yͤ coaſtes of Germany, in purpoſe to haue returned into Hungary wher yͤ ſaid Edgar was borne: howbeit being arriued in Scotland, he found ſo friendly entertainmēt there, that finally Malcolme yͤ third then K. of that Realm, tooke his ſiſter Margaret to wife, and Chriſtin became a Nonne, as in yͤ Scottiſh Chronicles more plainly doth appeare. K. William hereby perceiuing dayly how willing yͤ engliſhmē wer to be vnder his obeiſance was in feare of Rebellious cōmotiōs, & therfore to maſter thē yͤ better, he builded. 4. Caſtels, one at Notinghā,

Hunt.

Paris.

glishmen
hdrawe thē
the woodes
outlawes.

Polidor.

An. Reg. 2

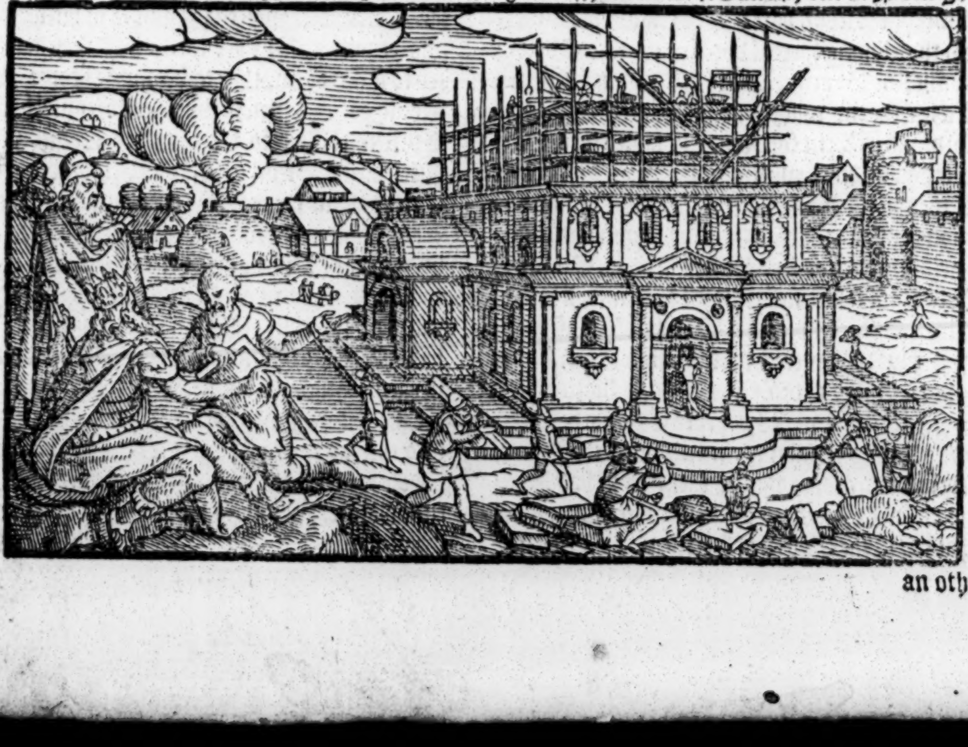
Math. Paris.

Mat. VVeſt.

Diuers of the Engliſh nobilitie withdraw foorth of their coūtrey.

1068

Polidor.



Two at York, wherein hee left fiue hundred men in garriſon.
Simon Dun.

an other at Lincolne, the thirde at Yorke, and the fourth neere vnto Haſtings, where hee landed at his firſt comming into England.

The conquerour taketh from the Engliſhmen theyr armour

Couer few firſt inſtituted

Moreouer, to reduce the Engliſh people from their fierce wildneſſe vnto a more ciuilitie & quiet trade of life, he tooke frō them all their armoure and weapons. And agayne, he ordeyned that the maſter of euery houſhold about eyght of yͤ clocke in the euening, ſhoulde cauſe his fire to be couered with aſhes, and therupon goe to bed: and to the ende that euery man mighte haue knowledge of that houre when hee ſhould ſo goe to reſt, he gaue order, that in all Cities, Townes, and Villages, where any Church was, there ſhoulde bee a Bell rong at the ſayd houre, whiche cuſtome is ſtill vſed euen vnto this daye, and commonly called by the French word *Couerfewe*.

1068

Mat. VVeſt.

Moreouer, this yere on Whitſonday, Maude the Wife of King William was crowned Q. by Aldred Archbyſhop of Yorke. The ſame yere alſo was Henry his ſon borne here in England, for his other two ſonnes Robert and William were borne in Normandy, before hee had conquered this lande.

Edmund the great

About yͤ ſame time alſo, Godwin & Edmund ſurnamed the great, that were ſonnes to K. Harold, came out of Irelande, and landing in Somerſetſhire, foughte with Adnothus that had bin maſter of their fathers horſe, whome they ſlewe, with a greate nūber of others, and ſo hauing gotten this victory, returned into Irelād, frō whēce they came, with a greate booty whiche they tooke before their returne out of yͤ Countreis of Cornewall, and Deuonſhire, and other the places thereabout. In like manner, Exeter did as then Rebell, and likewiſe the countrey of Northumberland, whervpon, the King appoynted one of hys Captaines named Roberte, ſurnamed Cumin, a right noble perſonage (but more valiant than circumſpect) to goe againſte the Northren people with a part of his army, whileſt he himſelfe with the other part wente to ſubdue them of Exceter: where at his comming afore the Citie, the Citizens prepared themſelues to defende their gates and walles: but after that hee began to make hys approch to aſſayle them, part of the Citizens repenting their fooliſh attemptes, opened the gates, and ſuffered him to enter. Thus hauing ſubdued them of Exeter, he greeuouſly puniſhed the chiefe offendours. But the Counteſſe Gita, the ſiſter of Swayne K. of Denmarke, & ſometime wife to Earle Godwin, and mother to the laſt K. Harrolde, with diuers other that were gote into that Citie, founde meanes to flie, and ſo eſcaped ouer into Flaunders. King William hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in ſuch wiſe in Deuonſhire, hee haſted backe towards Yorke, beeing aduertiſed in the way that the Northumbers hauing knowledge by their Spialles, that Roberte generall of the Normans being come to Durham, dyd not ſo diligently cauſe watche and warde to be kepte about the town in the night ſeaſon as was requiſite, they did ſet vpon him about midnighte, and founde fortune ſo greatly fauourable to them in their enterpriſe, that they ſlew the ſame Roberte with all his companie, ſo that of ſeuen hundred which he broughte with him, there was but one that eſcaped to bring tidings to the King.

VVil. Malm.
Simon Dun.

This chaunced the. 28. of Ianuary a wedneſda
Polidor.

Polidor.

He hearde alſo, how Edgar Etheling at the ſame time, being in the countrey, riding abroade with a troupe of Horſemen, and hearing of the diſcomfiture of thoſe Normans, purſued them egrely, and ſlewe greate numbers of them, as they were about to ſaue themſelues by water, with whiche newes beeing in no ſmall furie, he made ſpeede forwarde, and comming at the laſt into Northumberland, he eaſily vanquiſhed the aforeſayd Rebels, and putting the chiefe Authors of

this

1069

this buſineſſe to deathe, hee reſerued ſome of the reſt as Captiues, and of other ſome, hee cauſed the handes to be chopped off in token of their incōſtancie, and Rebellious dealing. After this, he cōmeth to Yorke, and there in like ſorte puniſhed thoſe that had ayded Edgar, whiche done, hee returned to Londō, where he intended to ſoiourne for a ſeaſon.

Of this iourney, Simon Dunel. ſpeaketh not a word, but ioyning the arriuall of the Daniſhe fleete to followe after the ſlaughter of the Normans at Durham, ſheweth at large what enſued vpon their arriuall in thoſe parties, but whether yͤ Northumberlande men reſted in quiet after they hadde ſlayne the Normans at Durham, till the comming of the Danes, or whether immediately therevpon they were inuaded by King William, as it is moſt like they were, true it is, that in the meane time, thoſe Engliſhmen that were fled (as you haue heard) into Denmarke, by continuall ſuite made vnto Sueno then King of that Realme, to procure him to make a iourney into Englande for recouerie of the righte diſcended to him from his aunceſtors, at length they obteyned their purpoſe, in ſo much, that K. Sueno ſent hys ſonnes Harrold and Canutus toward England, who with a nauie of two hūdred ſayle, in the cōpany of Oſborne their Vncle, arriued in yͤ mouth of Humber betweene the two later Lady days, & there landing their people with the Engliſh outlawes which they had brought with them, they ſtraight ways marched towards Yorke, waſting and ſpoyling the countrey with greate crueltye as they paſſed: ſone after alſo came Edgar, and ſuch other engliſh exiles as had before fled into Scotland, and ioined their forces with them. Whē the newes of theſe things were brought to Yorke, the people there wer ſtriken with a maruellous feare, in ſo muche, that Aldred the Archbiſhop through very greefe and anguiſhe of minde departed thys life. The Normans alſo whiche lay there in garriſon, after they vnderſtode by their ſpies that the enimies were come within two dayes iourney of them, began not a little to miſtruſt the faythe of the Citizens, and bycauſe the ſuburbes ſhould not be any ayde vnto them, they ſet fire on the ſame, which by the hugeneſſe of the wind that ſuddainly aroſe herewith, at the ſame time the flame became ſo bigge, and mounted on ſuch height, that it toke into the Citie alſo, and conſumed a great part thereof to aſhes, togither with the minſter of S. Peter, and a famous library belonging to the ſame, the Normans and Citizens in like maner beeing conſtreyned to iſſue forthe euen at the ſame time, and beeing vppon the enimies before they had any knowledge of their approche, were forced to trie the matter by diſordred battayle, and albeit their number was farre inferiour, and nothing equall vnto theirs, yet they valiantly defended themſelues for a time, til beeing oppreſſed with multitude, they were ouercome and ſlayne, ſo that there periſhed in this conflict, to the number of three thouſand of them. Many of the Engliſhmen alſo that came with them to the fielde, were ſaued by the enimies, to the end they mighte gayne ſomewhat by their raunſomes, as William Mallet Sherife of the Shire, with his wife & two of their childrē, and Gilbert de Gaunt, with diuers other. This ſlaughter chanced on a Saterday, beeing the nineteenth day of September. The two brethren hauing thus obteyned thys victory, went on further into yͤ countrey of Northumberland, and brought the ſame wholly vnto their obeyſance, in ſomuch, yͭ al the North partes were at their cōmandemēt. After this, they meant to haue gone towardes London, to haue proued their fortune likewiſe in yͤ South partes, if yͤ extreame & hard winter which chanced yͤ yeare, had not ſtayed them of their purpoſe in like caſe as it did K. Williā frō aſſailing them, who hearing of all the doings of his enimies in the North countrey, would gladly haue ſet vppon them, if eyther the ſeaſon of the yere, or weather had ſerued any thing at all to the furtherance of his iourney. In the mean time, yͤ Danes wintered in Yorkſhire, betwixt the two Riuers of Ouſe & Trent, but ſo

ſone

Swayne and Oſberne hath Math Paris.

Three hundred ſayles ſaith M.W. but Sim. Dun. hath.240.

Yorke brent.

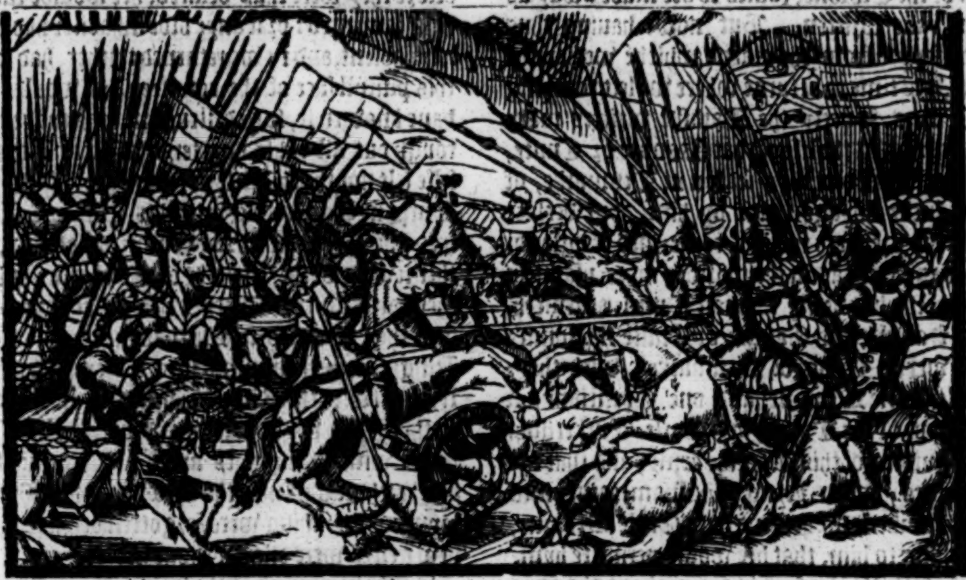
Normans ſlayne.

imon Dun.

A ſharp winter, an enimie to warlike enterpriſes.

The Danes where they wintered.

Hen. Hunt.



ſone as the Snow began to melt, and the Iſe to thaw and weare away, King William ſped him with great haſt towarde his enimies into Yorkſhire, and comming to the Riuer of Trent, where it falleth into Humber, he pitched his tents there, to refreſhe his people, and ſo much the rather, bycauſe he vnderſtode his enimies were at hande. The day following, he bringeth his army into yͤ field to fight with the Daniſh Princes, who likewiſe hadde ſet their people in order of battayle, ſo that it was not long ere both the hoſtes were met and ioyned togither: thus there began a right ſore and terrible battayle, continuing a long ſpace in equall ballance, till at length in one of the wings the Norman Horſemen had put their enimies to flight, which when the reſidue of the Danes perceyued, and beeing put in a ſuddayne feare withall, they likewiſe fledde. Harrold & Canutus with a company of hardie Souldiers that tarried about them, retired backe (though with much adoe and great daunger) vnto their Ships, Edgar alſo by help of good horſes, eſcaped into Scotlande with a fewe in his company. Earle Waltif who had fought moſt manfully in that battayle, and ſlaine many Normans with his owne handes, was reconciled into the Kings fauoure: but the reſidue were for the moſt part takẽ priſoners, and killed. William of Malmeſbury writeth, that King William comming at that time into the North parties, beſieged the Citie of Yorke, & putting to flight a gret Army of his enimies yͭ came to the ſuccours of thẽ within, not without greate loſſe of his owne Souldiers, at length, the Citie was deliuered into his handes, the Citizens and other that kept it, as Scottes, Danes, and Engliſhmen, being conſtreyned thereto through lacke of vittayles. Other write, how the Danes beeing loden with riches and ſpoyles, gote in the countrey, were departed to their Shippes before the comming of King William. Heere is not to bee forgotten, yͭ as John Lelande hath noted, whileſt the Conquerour helde ſiege before Yorke, at the earneſt requeſt of his wife Queene Maude, he aduanced his Nephewe Alane Earle of Britayne with the gift of all thoſe landes that ſometime belonged vnto Earle Edwin, the tenor of which gift heere enſueth, *Ego Gulihelmus cognomine Baſtardus, do et cõcedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britãnnia comiti, & hæredibus tuis in perpetuum, omnes illas villas & terras quæ nuper fuerunt comitis Eadwini in Eboraſhira, cũ feodũ militum & alijs libertatibus & conſuetudinibus, ita liberè & honorificè ſicut idẽ Eadwinus ea tenuit. Dat. in obſidione coram ciuitate Eboraci.* The ſame in Engliſh is thus. I VVilliam ſurnamed Baſtard, King of England, do giue and graunt to thee my Nephew Alane Erle of Britayne, and to thine heires for euer, all the Townes and lands that lately belonged to Earle Eadwine in Yorkſhire, with the Knightes fees, and other liberties and cuſtomes, ſo freely and honorably as the ſaid Eadwine held the ſame. Giuen in our ſeege before the Citie of Yorke.

Polidor.

Math. Paris.

Hen. Hunt.

VVil. Malm.

Sim. Dunel.

Earle Edwines lands giuen vnto Alane Erle of Britaine.

The Earle of Britayne being a mã of a ſtoute ſtomack, and meaning to defend that which was thus giuen to him, built a ſtrong Caſtel, neere to his manor of Gillingham, and named it Richmont. To ſhewe therefore ſomewhat alſo of the firſte originall line of the Earles of Richmont (that bare their title of honor of this Caſtell and Towne of Richmont, as Leland hath ſet downe the ſame) This it is, Eudo Erle of Britayne, the ſonne of Geffrey begate three ſonnes, Alane le Rous, otherwiſe Fregaunte, Alane the blacke, & Stephan: theſe three brethren after their fathers deceſſe, ſucceeded one after another in the Earledome of Britayne, the two elder, Alane the red, & Alane the blacke, died without iſſue. Stephan begate a ſonne named Alane, who left a ſonne whiche was his heire named Conane, which Conan married Margaret the daughter of William Kyng of Scotlande, who bare him a daughter named Conſtantia, which Conſtantia was coupled in marriage with Geffrey, ſonne to Kyng Henry the ſecond, who had by hir Arthur, whom hys Vncle King John, for feare to be depriued by him of the Crowne, cauſed to bee made away as ſome haue written. But nowe hauing thus farre ſtepped from the matter whiche we haue in hand, it is time to returne where we left touching the Danes. Surely the Daniſhe writers make no mention in the life of that Kanute or Cnute, whiche raigned at thys ſeaſon in Denmarke, of anye ſuche voyage made by him, but declare howe hee prepared to haue come into England, but was letted, as in their hiſtory more playnely appeareth: but verily Simon Dunel. affirmeth, that Harrold and Canute or Cnute the ſonnes of Sweyne Kyng of Denmarke, with theyr Vncle Earle Oſborne, and one Chriſtianus a Biſhoppe of the Danes, and Earle Turketillus were guiders of this Daniſhe army, and that afterwardes, when Kyng William came into Northumberland, hee ſent vnto Earle Oſborne, promiſing to him, that hee would permitte hym, to take vp vittayles for his army about the Sea coaſtes, and further, to giue him a portion of money, but ſo that he ſhould departe and returne home, ſo ſoone as the winter was paſſed. But howſoeuer the matter wente with the Danes, certayne it is by the whole conſente of Writers, that King William hauing thus ſubdued his enimies in the Northe, hee tooke ſo greate diſpleaſure with the inhabitauntes of the Countrey of Yorkſhire and Northumberland, that he waſted all the land betwixt Yorke and Durham, ſo that for the ſpace of ſixtie miles, there was left in maner no habitation for the people, by reaſon whereof it lay waſt and deſerte for the ſpace of nine or tenne yeares. The goodly Cities with theyr Towers and Steeples ſet vp on a ſtately height, and reaching as it were into the aire: the beautifull fieldes and paſtures, watered with the courſe of ſweete and pleaſant Riuers, if a ſtraunger ſhoulde then haue behelde, and alſo knowen before they were thus defaced, hee woulde ſurely haue lamented: or if anye olde inhabiter had bene long abſent, and nowe returned thither, had ſeene this pitifull face of the countrey, hee woulde not haue knowen it, ſuch deſtruction was made thorough out all thoſe quarters, whereof Yorke it ſelfe felt not the ſmalleſt portion. The Biſhop of Durham Egelwinus with his Cleargie fledde into holy Iland, with S. Cutberts body and other iewels of the Churche of Durham, where they tarried three monethes and odde dayes, before they returned to Durham agayne. The Kings army comming into the countrey that lyeth betwixt the Riuers Theiſe & Tyne, found nothing but voyde fieldes and bare walles, the people with their goodes and Cattell being fled and withdrawen into the Woddes and Mountaynes, if any thing were forgotten behinde, theſe new geſtes were dilgent inough to finde it out.

Albertus Grantz.

imon Dun.

Math. Paris naketh mention but of weyno and Dsberne whome he illeth breearen.

Vil. Mal.

Simon Dun.

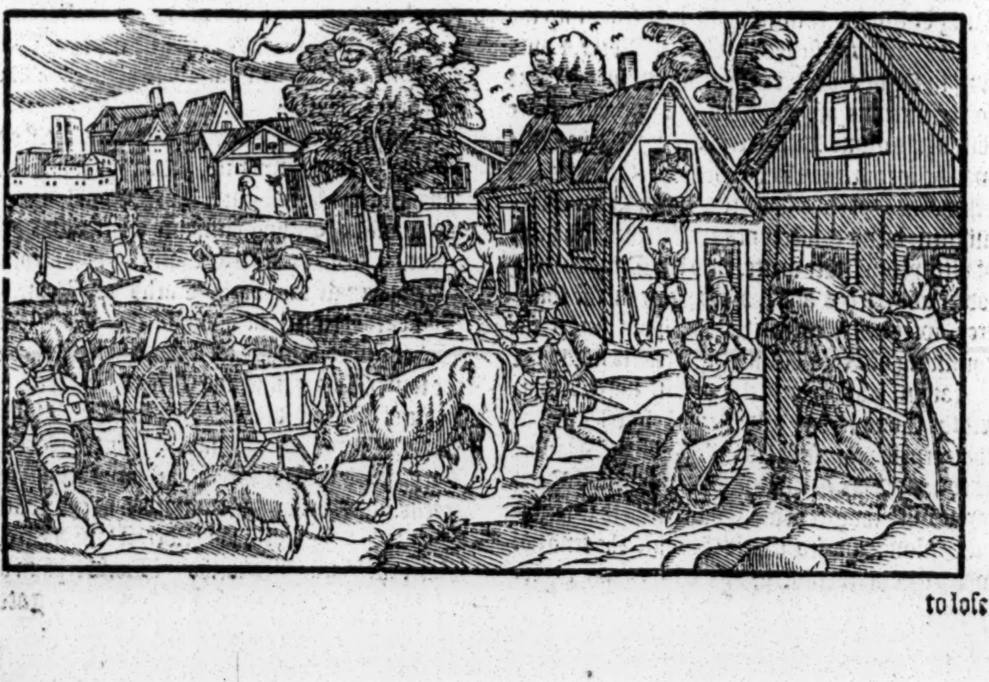
Anno.4.

1070

In the beginning of the ſpring, King William returned to London, and now after all theſe troubles, he began to conceyue greater hatred againſt the Engliſhmen than euer he hadde done before, and therefore ſuppoſing hee ſhoulde neuer with gentleneſſe winne their good willes, he now determined to keepe them vnder with feare & oppreſſion: a great number he baniſhed and ſpoyled of all their goodes, and not only ſuch as he ſuſpected, but alſo thoſe of whome hee was in hope to gaine any great portion of ſubſtance.

Polidor.

Thus were yͤ Engliſhmẽ generally in danger

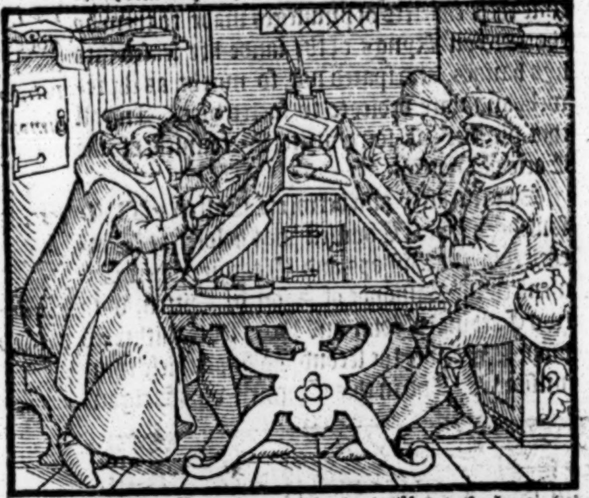


to loſe

Priuileges and freedoms reuoked.

to loſe life lands and goodes, without knowledge, or orderly proceeding vnto iudgement, ſo that no greater miſerie in the earthe coulde be imagined, than that into the whiche our nation was nowe fallen. He toke from the Townes and Cities, from the Biſhoppes Sees and Abbeyes all theyr auncient priuiledges and freedomes, to the ende they ſhould not only be cut ſhort and made weaker, but alſo that they might redeeme the ſame of him, for ſuch ſummes of money, as pleaſed hym to appointe, to obteyne their quietneſſe. And among other things, he ordeyned that in time of warre, they ſhoulde ayde him, in ſuche wiſe, with armoure, horſe and money, and accordyng to that order which he ſhould then preſcribe. Hereof alſo he cauſed a Regiſter to be written and enrolled, the whiche he willed to be layde vp in his treaſurie, and whereas diuerſe of the ſpirituall perſons woulde not obey this ordinance, hee baniſhed them without remorſe.

Math. Paris.



Stigand. Alexander Biſhop of Lincolne.

About the ſame time alſo, the Archbiſhoppe Stigand and Alexander Biſhop of Lincolne fled into Scotlande, and there kept themſelues cloſe for a ſeaſon. But the Kyng ſtill continued in his hard proceeding againſte the Engliſhmen, in ſo much, that now proteſting how he came to the gouernance of the Realme onely by playne conqueſt, hee ſeyſed into his hands the moſt parte of euery mans poſſeſſions, cauſing them to redeeme the ſame at his handes agayne, and yet reteyned a propertie in the moſt part of them, ſo that thoſe that ſhould afterwardes enioy them, ſhoulde acknowledge themſelues to holde them of him, in yeelding an yerely rent to him and his ſucceſſors for euer, with certayne other prouiſions, whereby in caſes of forfeyture the ſame landes ſhoulde returne to him, and hys ſayde ſucceſſors agayne. The like order he appoynted to bee vſed by other poſſeſſors of lands, in letting them forth to their Tenauntes. Hee ordeyned alſo, that yͤ Tearmes ſhould be kept four times in the yere, in ſuche places as he ſhould nominate, and that the Iudges ſhould ſit in their ſeuerall places to iudge and decide cauſes and matters in controuerſie betwixte partie and partie, in manner as is vſed vnto thys day. Hee decreed moreouer, that there ſhoulde bee Sherifes in euery ſhire, and Iuſtices of the peace to keepe the countreys in good quiet, and to ſee offendors puniſhed. Furthermore, hee inſtituted the Court of the Exchecker, and the officers belonging to the ſame, as the Barons, the Clearkes, and ſuch other, alſo yͤ high Court of the Chancerie. And after he had in this wiſe ordeyned his Magiſtrates and Miniſters of the lawes, hee laſtly toke order what ordinãces he would haue obſerued, and thereupon abrogating in manner all the auncient lawes vſed in times paſt, and inſtituted by the former Kyngs for the good order and quietneſſe of the people he made new, nothing ſo equall or eaſie to bee kept, the whiche neuertheleſſe, thoſe that came after, not withoute theyr greate harme, were conſtreyned to obſerue, as though it had bin an high offence againſt God to aboliſhe thoſe euill lawes, which King William (being a Prince, nothing frẽdly to the Engliſh nation,) had firſte ordeyned, and to bring in other more eaſie and tollerable: neyther can I in this place omitte to giue a note of that whiche may ſeeme to ſuch as do indifferently conſider of things a greate abſurditie, videlicet, that thoſe lawes whiche touched all men, and ought to bee knowen of all men, were notwithſtanding written in the Norman tong, which the Engliſhmen vnderſtood not, ſo that euen at the beginning you ſhould haue great numbers, partly by the iniquitie of the lawes, and partly by ignorance, in miſconſtruing the ſame to bee wrongfully condemned, ſome to deathe, and ſome in the forfeyture of their goodes, other were ſo entangled in ſutes and cauſes, that by no meanes they knew how to get out, but continually were toſſed from poſt to piller in ſuche wiſe, that in their mindes they curſed the tyme that euer theſe vnequall lawes were made. The manner for the trial of cauſes in controuerſie, was deuiſed in ſuch ſort as is yet vſed. Twelue aunciẽt men (but moſt commonly vnlearned in the lawes) beeing of the ſame Countie where the ſute lay, were appoynted by yͤ Iudges to goe togither into ſome cloſe chamber, where they ſhould bee ſhut vp, till vpon diligent examination of the matter they ſhoulde agree vpon the condemnation or acquiting of the priſoner, if it were in criminall cauſes, or vppon the deciding in whom the right remayned, if it were vpõ triall of things in controuerſie: and when they were once agreed, theſe .12. men, as it were the .12. Apoſtles (yͭ in the nũber yet ſome reſpect of religion euen wiſe appere) came in before the iudges, declaring what they had agreed vpon, which done, the iudges opened it to yͤ offẽdors or ſutors, and

withall

Polidor. The hard dealing of Kyng William againſt the Engliſhmen.

4 termes places

The Excheker

The Chancerie.

New lawes.

The lawes were written in the Normã tong.

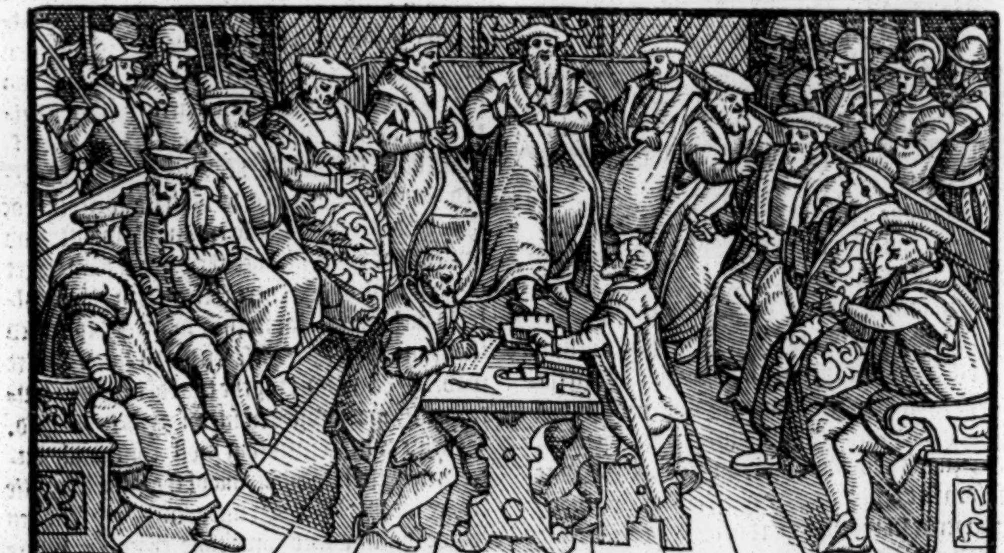
Matters to be tried by a iurie of .12. mẽ.

withall they pronounced them according as the qualitie of ẏ cauſe did inforce and require. Thus at the firſte were the twelue men appoynted, and the ſame order is ſtill obſerued in matters of controuerſie vnto this day: their iudgemente alſo or conſent is called a verdict, that is to ſaye, a true ſaying: but I woulde to God that name myghte rightly and with good cauſe be euer applyed therto, that men mighte haue their cauſes iuſtly adiudged, rather than preiudiced by the verdictes of ſuche freeholders as are accuſtomed to ſerue the Prince and their Countreys at aſſiſes and Seſſions. There may happily be (as Polidor Vergill ſayth) that will mayneteyne how this manner of proceeding in the adminiſtration of iuſtice by the voyces of a Iurie, was in vſe before the Conqueroures dayes, but they are not able ſo to proue it by any auntient recordes of writers, as he thynketh: albeit by ſome of our hiſtories they ſhoulde ſeeme to bee firſte ordeyned by Ethelred or Egelred. But this is moſt true, that the Norman Kings themſelues would confeſſe, that the lawes deuiſed and made by the Conqueroure, were not moſt equall, in ſo muche, that William Rufus, and Henry the ſonnes of the Conquerour, would at all times whẽ they ſought to purchaſe the peoples fauor, promiſe to aboliſh the lawes ordeyned by theyr father, and eſtabliſhe other more equall, and to reſtore thoſe whiche were vſed by Kyng Edwardes dayes. The lyke kynde of purchaſing fauoure, was vſed by King Stephen, and other Kings that followed him. But their meaning was ſo far to the contrary, that their deedes declared theyr diſſimulatiõ, ſo that many of thoſe Norman lawes remayne in force euen vnto theſe dayes. The cauſe as ſome thinke is, for that they make more to the Princes behoofe, than to the commoditie of the people. But now to the matter, King William after hee hadde made theſe ordinances to keepe the people in order, hee ſet his minde to enriche his cofers, and therevppõ he firſt appoynted a tribute to be leuied of the cõmons, then hee cauſed the Abbeyes to be ſearched, and all ſuche money as any of the Engliſhmen hadde layde vp in the ſame, to bee kepte, and likewiſe their charters of priuileges made to them by the Saxon Kyngs of the lande hee ſeaſed into hys handes, and ſpared not ſo muche as the iewels and plate dedicate to ſacred vſes. And all this did hee (as ſome write) by counſell of the Earle of Hertford.

Math. Paris.
Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Malm.
VVi. Thorne.
Abbeys ſearched.
Polidor.
Simon Dun.

Shortly after alſo betwixte Eaſter & Whitſontide, a greate Counſell was holden at Wincheſter by the Biſhops and Cleargie, where Ermenfred the Biſhoppe of Sion or Sitten, with two Cardinals Iohn and Peter ſente thither frõ Pope Alexander the ſecond, did ſit as chiefe commiſſioners. And in this Counſell was Stigandus the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury depriued of his Biſhopricke, for three ſpeciall cauſes.

VVi. Thorne.
Polidor.
Sim. Dunel.



igand Arch-
ſhop of Can-
rbury de-
iued,

The firſt, for that hee had wrongfully holden that Biſhopricke whileſt the Archbiſhop Roberte was liuing.

Secondly, for that hee kepte alſo the See of Wincheſter in his handes, after his inueſtiture vnto Canterbury, whiche hee ought not to haue done.

Thirdly, for that hee had receyued the Palle at the handes of Pope Benedict the tenthe, whome the Cardynalles as one not lawfully elected, had depoſed. But many Writers burden Kyng William (who was preſente at thys Counſell) for the procuring of Stigand his depriuation, to the ende he myghte place a ſtraunger in his roome, for in manner as he hadde rooted out the Engliſhe nobilitie, and giuen away their lands and liuings to his Normans, ſo meant hee to returne the Engliſhe Cleargie from bearing any

Agelmarus Biſhop of Thetford was one that was depoſed.

Simon Dun.

Mat. Paris.

Thomas a Canon of Bayeux made Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Lanfranke conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

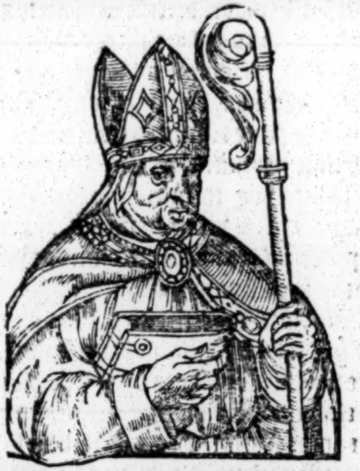
Math. Weſt. hath the eight Kal. of May, but Wil. Mal. and Eadmerus the fourth Kal. of September.

1071

An. Reg. 5.
VVil. Mal.

Eadmerus.

any office of honor within the Realme, whiche his meaning did well appeare at his Counſell in the which diuers other Biſhops with Abbots and Priors were depoſed, and Normans preferred in their places. Stigande after his depriuation, was kept in perpetuall priſon at Wincheſter, till he died, and yet as ſome write, the ſame Stigand was an helper vnder hande for King William to atteyne the Crowne. In the feaſt of Pentecoſt next enſuing, the King beeing at Windſor, gaue the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke vnto one Thomas, a Canon of Bayeux, and to Walkelme one of his Chaplaynes hee gaue the Biſhopricke of Wincheſter. After this, calling one Lanfranke an Italian from Caen where he was Abbot, hee made him Archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was conſecrated there in the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt in the yeare following, whiche was after the birthe of our Sauiour. 1071. The foreſayd Thomas was the fiue and twentith Biſhop that had gouerned in that ſee of Yorke, and Lanfranke the three and thirtith in the Sea of Canterbury: but ere long, betwixte theſe two Archbiſhops, there roſe great contention for the ſuperioritie of theyr Churches, in ſo muche, that the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke appealed to Rome, where they both appeared in proper perſons afore Pope Alexander, in whoſe preſence Lanfrankes cauſe was ſo much fauoured, that not only the foreſayd Thomas, but alſo Remigius the Biſhop of Dorcheſter were for reaſonable cauſes depriued of theyr Croſiers and Rings, and Lanfranke at theyr humble requeſt was a meane to the Pope for thē in the ende, that they mighte bee reſtored to theyr ſtaues agayne, whych was in like manner accordingly obteyned: for when the Pope hearde Lanfranke declare in their fauour how neceſſary their ſeruice myght be to the Kyng in the eſtabliſhmēt of his new gotten kingdom, he ſayd to Lāfranke, well, looke you then to the matter, you are the father of that countrey, and therefore conſider what is expedient to be done therein: their ſtaues which they haue ſurrended vp, there they bee, take them, and diſpoſe them as you ſhall thinke moſt profitable for the aduauncement of the Chriſtian Religion in that countrey. Wherevpon, Lanfranke tooke the ſtaues, and deliuered them to the former poſſeſſours, and ſo were they in the Popes preſence reſtored to their former dignities again.



VVil. Malm.

An. reg. 6.
1072

Math. VVeſt.

The ſubiecti of the Archbiſhopricke of Yorke, to the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury.

The cauſe why Thomas was depriued (if the writers diſſemble not, though to mee it ſeeme vnlikely) was, for that hee had holpen Duke William toward his iourney into England when hee came to conquer it, for the which pleaſure to him then ſhewed, the Duke promiſed hym a Byſhopricke, if euer hee obteyned the victory of the Engliſhe: the other, for that he was a Prieſtes ſonne. Furthermore, when the Pope vnderſtoode the full ground of their contention for the primacie of the two Sees, Canterbury and Yorke, and had heard what could be alledged on both ſydes, he remitted the determination thereof to the Kyng and Byſhops of England, that by the hiſtories and Recordes of the lande, the matter myghte bee tryed, iudged and ordered. And thus for the time, did the Pope ridde hys hands of theſe, and the like matters. Wherefore at their comming home, and after long debating and diſcuſſing of the cauſe (as in William Marleburgh it appeareth more at large) at a Synode holden at Windſor, in the yeare. 1072. ſentence was gyuen on Lanfrankes ſyde, ſo that in all things concerning Religion, and the fayth of holy Churche, the Archbiſhop of Yorke ſhould be euer ſubiect to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and come with all the Biſhops of his prouince to anye ſuche place as the Archbyſhop of Canterbury ſhoulde call anye counſell within the Realme of Englande.

Polidor.

The Archbiſhop of Yor acknowledg primate of Scotlande.

Moreouer, when any elected Biſhop of Canterbury was to be ſacred, the Archbiſhop of Yorke for the time beeing ſhould come to Canterbury, and ſacre hym there, and if the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke was to be ſtalled and ſacred, then ſhoulde he come vnto Canterbury, or elſe where it ſhould pleaſe the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to aſſigne, and there to be ſacred of hym, taking an oth with hys profeſſion of due obedience vnto the higher ſee. And nowe heere is to bee noted, that as the ſayde Thomas of Yorke dyd yeelde obedience to Lanfranke of Canterbury, ſo lykewiſe the electe Biſhop of Glaſcowe in Scotlande named Michaell, was ſoone after conſecrated of the foreſayd Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, and made an oth of obedience vnto the ſayde Archbiſhop, as to the primate of all Scotland, and after him Tothade the Biſhop of Saint Androwes did the like, by commaundemente of Malcolme the third of that name, Kyng of Scotlande, and Margaret hys wife, who thoughte good by this recogniſance of obedience and duetie, ſo to prouide againſte further inconuenience to come, that heereafter, one of the Biſhops of their Realme ſhoulde not take vpon them to conſecrate an other, or do any thing contrary to the ancient decrees of the old fathers, that mighte be preiudiciall to the authoritie of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, at whoſe appoyntmẽt thoſe and the like things were accuſtomed to bee done. But to leaue this, and to ſpeake of other thyngs which chaunced in the meane time that this controuerſie depended betwixt the two Archbiſhops, I finde that Edwin & Marchar Earles of Mertia and Northumberland, being reconciled with the K. of Englande, and hauing of late obteyned pardon for their former miſdemeanor, began now ſo muche to miſlike the ſtate of the worlde agayne, as euer they did before: for perceyuing howe the Engliſhmenne were ſtill oppreſſed and thralled with miſerie on eache hand, they conſpired and began a new Rebellion, but with very ill ſucceſſe, as ſhall heereafter appeare. The Kyng vnderſtanding of theyr dealings, and beeing not only armed thoroughly with temporall force, but alſo endued with the ſpiritual power of his Archbiſhop Lanfranke, who aided him in all that hee might, for the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Rebels, waſted the countreys exceedingly, where hee vnderſtoode that they had gotten any releefe, minding vtterly to vanquiſh them with ſword, fire, and hunger, or by extreame penurie to bring them to ſome order. They on the other part make as ſtout reſiſtance, and now perceyuing that it ſtoode thẽ vpon, either to vanquiſh or to fall into vtter ruine, they reiſe a mighty ſtrong hoſt, and made Edgar Etheling their Captaine, a comely gẽtle mã, & a valiãt, in whom alſo yͤ whole hope of yͤ Engliſh nation repoſed, as appeareth by thys by worde Edgar Ethling Englandes dearling, which was dayly rehearſed of him. And amongſt other noble men that were chiefe doers in the aſſemblyng of this army, Fredericke Abbot of S. Albons was one of the chiefe, a Prelate of greate wealth, and no leſſe puiſſance. The King perceyuing hys eſtate to be nowe brought into no ſmall daunger, is by reaſon thereof in a great perplexitie what to do, in the end, he counſelleth with the Archbiſhop Lanfranke of Canterbury, how he might remedy the matter, who told him that in ſuch a deſperate caſe, the beſt way for hym ſhoulde bee to ſeeke by fayre wordes and friendly offers how to pacifie yͤ Engliſh nobilitie, whiche by all meanes poſſible, would neuer ceaſſe to moleſt him in the recouerie of their libertie. Hereuppon therefore, hee made meanes to come to ſome agreement with them, and ſo well the matter proceeded on his ſide, that the Engliſhmen deceiued through his faire promiſes, were contente to commune of peace, for whiche purpoſe they came alſo vnder the conduit of the Abbot Fredericke vnto Berkamſted, where after much reaſoning and debating of the matter for the concluſion of amity betwixte them, Kyng William in the preſence of the Archbiſhop Lanfranke & other of his Lords, toke a perſonall othe, vpon al yͤ reliques of the Church of S. Albons, & the holy Euangeliſts, the Abbot Frederick miniſtring yͤ ſame vnto him, that he would frõ thenſforth obſerue and keepe the good and aunciente approued lawes of the Realme, whiche the noble Kings of England his aunceſtors had made, and ordeined heretofore, but namely thoſe of S. Edward, which were ſuppoſed to be the moſt equall and indifferent. The peace being thus concluded, and the Engliſhmẽ growen therby to ſome hope of further quietneſſe, they began to forſake theyr allies, & returne eache one, eyther to his own poſſeſſiõs, or attẽdance vpon yͤ K. but he warely cloking his inward purpoſed intẽt, & notwithſtãding yͤ vnitie lately made, determineth particularly to aſſaile his enimies (whoſe power without doubt ſo long as it was vnited, could not poſſibly be ouercome as he thought) & therefore being now by reaſõ of this peace diſſeuered & diſperſed, he thoght it high time to practiſe his ſecrete purpoſes, and therevpon taking them at vnwares, thinking of nothing leſſe than warres and ſuddayne inuaſiõ, he impriſoneth many, killeth diuers, & purſueth yͤ reſidue wͭ fire & ſword, ſpoiling thẽ of their goods, poſſeſſions, lãds & inheritances, & baniſhing them out of yͤ Realm altogither at his pleaſure. In the meane time, thoſe of the Engliſhe nobilitie which could eſcape this his outrageous tirannie, got away, & amõgſt other, Edgar Etheling fled again into Scotland: but Edwin was ſlain of his own ſouldiers, as he rode alſo towards Scotlãd. Eile Marchar & one Hereward, with the Biſhoppe of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Iſle of Ely, in purpoſe there to defend themſelues frõ the iniurie of yͤ Normans, bycauſe they tooke yͤ place by reaſon of yͤ ſituatiõ of yͤ ſame to be of no ſmall ſtrength. but K. Williã, endeuouring to cut thẽ ſhort in yͤ beginning, reiſed a power, & firſt ſtopped all yͤ paſſages on yͤ Eaſt ſide, and on the weſt part he made a cauſey through yͤ Fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them & conſtreyned thoſe his enimies in yͤ end to yeld themſelues by force vnto his mercy. Howbeit Marchar, (or as others haue) Hereward, perceyuing before hand the imminent danger likely to take effect, made ſhift to get out of yͤ Iſle by bote, & ſo by ſpeedy flight eſcaped into Scotland. The Biſhop of Durham being taken, was ſent to the Abbey of Abingdõ, to be kept as a priſoner, where he was ſparingly fed, that within a ſhort ſpace, he died for hunger. In this mean time, and whileſt K. Williã was thus occupyed in ridding out the Engliſh rebelles, Malcolme King of Scotlãd had waſted the countreys of Theiſedale. and Cleueland, & the lands of S. Cutbert, with ſundry other places in the North partes. whereupon Goſpatrick being lately recõciled to yͤ K. & made Earle

Mat. Paris.

[illegible] proceede [illegible] faire meanes

King brea keth yͤ peace

Ran. Higd.
H. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

Polidor.
Hen. Hunt.
Math. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was ſo ſtubborne harted, that after he knew he ſhould remayne in perpetuall priſon, he refuſed his meate, and ſo pined himſelfe to death.

Earle of Northumberland, was ſente agaynſte hym, who waſted and deſtroyed that parte of Cumberlande in like manner, whiche the ſayde Malcolme had by violence brought vnder hys ſubiection. At the ſame time, Malcolme was at Weremouth, beholding the fire whiche hys people had kindled in the Church of Saint Peeter to burne vp the ſame, and there hearing what Goſpatricke had done, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure therewithall, that he commaunded his men that they ſhould ſpare none of the Engliſhe nation alyue, but put them all to the ſworde withoute pitie or compaſſion, ſo oft as they came to hand. The bloudy ſlaughter therefore whiche was made at thys tyme by the Scottes, through that cruell commaundement of Malcolme, was pitifull to conſider, for women, children, old men and yong, wente all one way, howbeit, many of thoſe that were ſtrong and able to ſerue for drudges and ſlaues, were reſerued, and carried into Scotlande as priſoners, where they remayned many yeares after, in ſo muche, that there were fewe houſes in that Realme, but had one or moe Engliſhe ſeruauntes and captiues, whiche they gate at thys vnhappy voyage. Thus we may behold a myſerable face of the Engliſh nation at this preſente, for they do not onely conſume one another, but the Scottes on the one ſide, and Kyng William on the other, doe make greate hauocke, and oppreſſe them altogyther. But to returne agayne to the purpoſe in hand, King William hearyng of all theſe things, was not a little moued at the ſame, but chiefly with Malcolme K. of Scottes, for that his countrey was the onely place wherein all the Rebels of his Realme had theyr refuge. Wherefore, thinking to reuenge the loſſe of hys ſubiectes, and bring that Realme alſo vnto hys ſubiection, hee went thither with an huge army, about the midle of Auguſt, where he firſt inuaded the boundes of Galloway, bycauſe he heard howe the Engliſh Rebels were lately fled thither, but after he had wearied his Souldiers in vayne purſuite of thē (who kept thēſelues in yͤ Mountaines and Marres ground) hee gaue ouer the enterpriſe, & drew towards Lothiā, wher he vnderſtood, that K. 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Polidor.

King W. [illegible] Scotland

Math. Paris.

H. Hunt.

Malcolme of Scotland [illegible] homag to K.

Simon Dun.

An. Reg. 8.
1074

of the Biſhops of their Realme ſhoulde not take vpon them to conſecrate an other, or do any thing contrary to the ancient decrees of the old fathers, that mighte be preiudiciall to the authoritie of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, at whoſe appoyntmēt thoſe and the like things were accuſtomed to bee done. But to leaue this, and to ſpeake of other thyngs which chaunced in the meane time that this controuerſie depended betwixt the two Archbiſhops, I finde that Edwin & Marchar Earles of Mercia and Northumberland, being reconciled with the K. of Englande, and hauing of late obteyned pardon for their former miſdemeanor, began now ſo muche to miſlike the ſtate of the worlde agayne, as euer they did before: for perceyuing howe the Engliſhmenne were ſtill oppreſſed and thralled with miſerie on eache hand, they conſpired and began a new Rebellion, but with very ill ſucceſſe, as ſhall heereafter appeare. The Kyng vnderſtanding of theyr dealings, and beeing not only armed thoroughly with temporall force, but alſo endued with the ſpiritual power of his Archbiſhop Lanfranke, who aided him in all that hee might, for the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Rebels, waſted the countreys exceedingly, where hee vnderſtoode that they had gotten any releefe, minding vtterly to vanquiſh them with ſword, fire, and hunger, or by extreame penurie to bring them to ſome order. They on the other part make as ſtout reſiſtance, and now perceyuing that it ſtoode thē vpon, either to vanquiſh or to fall into vtter ruine, they reiſe a mighty ſtrong hoſt, and made Edgar Etheling their Captaine, a comely gētle mā, & a valiāt, in whom alſo ÿ whole hope of ÿ Engliſh nation repoſed, as appeareth by thys by worde *Edgar Ethling Englandes dearling*, which was dayly rehearſed of him. And amongſt other noble men that were chiefe doers in the aſſemblyng of this army, Fredericke Abbot of S. Albons was one of the chiefe, a Prelate of greate wealth, and no leſſe puiſſance. The King perceyuing hys eſtate to be nowe brought into no ſmall daunger, is by reaſon thereof in a great perplexitie what to do, in the end, he counſelleth with the Archbiſhop Lanfranke of Canterbury, how he might remedy the matter, who told him that in ſuch a deſperate caſe, the beſt way for hym ſhoulde bee to ſeeke by fayre words and friendly offers how to pacifie ÿ Engliſh nobilitie, whiche by all meanes poſſible, would neuer ceaſſe to moleſt him in the recouerie of their libertie. Hereuppon therefore, hee made meanes to come to ſome agreement with them, and ſo well the matter proceeded on his ſide, that the Engliſhmen deceiued through his faire promiſes, were contente to commune of peace, for whiche purpoſe they came alſo vnder the conduit of the Abbot Fredericke vnto Berkamſted, where after much reaſoning and debating of the matter for the concluſion of amity betwixte them, Kyng William in the preſence of the Archbiſhop Lanfranke & other of his Lords, toke a perſonall othe, vpon al ÿ reliques of the Church of S. Albons, & the holy Euangeliſts, the Abbot Frederick miniſtring ÿ ſame vnto him, that he would frō thenſforth obſerue and keepe the good and auncient approued lawes of the Realme, whiche the noble Kings of England his aunceſtors had made, and ordeined heretofore, but namely thoſe of S. Edward, which were ſuppoſed to be the moſt equall and indifferent. The peace being thus concluded, and the Engliſhmē growen therby to ſome hope of further quietneſſe, they began to forſake theyr allies, & returne eache one, eyther to his own poſſeſſiōs, or attēdance vpon ÿ K. but he warely cloking his inward purpoſed intēt, & notwithſtāding ÿ vnitie lately made, determineth particularly to aſſaile his enimies (whoſe power without doubt ſo long as it was vnited, could not poſſibly be ouercome as he thought) & therefore bring now by reaſō of this peace diſſeuered & diſperſed, he thoght it high time to practiſe his ſecrete purpoſes, and thervpon taking them at vnwares, thinking of nothing leſſe than warres and ſuddayne inuaſiō, he impriſoneth many, killeth diuers, & purſueth ÿ reſidue wͭ fire & ſword, ſpoiling thē of their goods, poſſeſſions, lāds & inheritances, & baniſhing them out of ÿ Realm altogither at his pleaſure. In the meane time, thoſe of the Engliſhe nobilitie which could eſcape this his outragious tirannie, got away, & amōgſt other, Edgar Etheling fled again into Scotland: but Edwin was ſlain of his own ſouldiers, as he rode alſo towards Scotlād. Erle Marchar & one Hereward, with the Biſhoppe of Durham named Egelwinus, got into the Iſle of Ely, in purpoſe there to defend themſelues frō the iniurie of ÿ Normans, bycauſe they tooke ÿ place by reaſon of ÿ ſituatiō of ÿ ſame to be of no ſmall ſtrength. but K. Williā, endeuouring to cut thē ſhort in ÿ beginning, reiſed a power, & firſt ſtopped all ÿ paſſages on ÿ Eaſt ſide, and on the weſt part he made a cauſey through ÿ Fennes, of two miles in length, whereby he got vnto them & conſtreyned thoſe his enimies in ÿ end to yeld themſelues by force vnto his mercy. Howbeit Marchar, (or as others haue) Herewarde, perceyuing before hand the imminent danger likely to take effect, made ſhift to get out of ÿ Iſle by bote, & ſo by ſpeedy flight eſcaped into Scotland. The Biſhop of Durham being taken, was ſent to the Abbey of Abingdō, to be kept as a priſoner, where he was ſparingly fed, that within a ſhort ſpace, he died for hunger. In this mean time, and whileſt K. Williā was thus occupyed in ridding out the Engliſh rebelles, Malcolme King of Scotlād had waſted the countreys of Theiſedale, and Cleueland, & the lands of S. Cutbert, with ſundry other places in the North partes, wherevpon Goſpatrick being lately recōciled to ÿ K. & made

Earle

Mat. Paris.

[illegible] by proceede fayre means

king breaketh ÿ peace

Ran. Higd.
H. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

Polidor.
Hen. Hunt.
Math. Paris.

Simon Dun.

Some write that he was ſo ſtubborne harted, that after he knew he ſhould remayne in perpetuall priſon, he refuſed his meate, and ſo pined himſelfe to death.

Earle of Northumberland, was ſente agaynſte hym, who waſted and deſtroyed that parte of Cumberlande in like manner, whiche the ſayde Malcolme had by violence brought vnder hys ſubiection. At the ſame time, Malcolme was at Weremouth, beholding the fire whiche hys people had kindled in the Church of Saint Peter to burne vp the ſame, and there hearing what Goſpatricke had done, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure therewithall, that he commaunded his men that they ſhould ſpare none of the Engliſhe nation alyue, but put them all to the ſworde withoute pitie or compaſſion, ſo oft as they came to hand. The bloudy ſlaughter therefore whiche was made at thys tyme by the Scottes, through that cruell commaundement of Malcolme, was pitifull to conſider, for women, children, old men and yong, wente all one way, howbeit, many of thoſe that were ſtrong and able to ſerue for drudges and ſlaues, were reſerued, and carried into Scotlande as priſoners, where they remayned many yeares after, in ſo muche, that there were fewe houſes in that Realme, but had one or moe Engliſhe ſeruauntes and captiues, whiche they gate at thys vnhappy voyage. Thus we may behold a myſerable face of the Engliſh nation at this preſente, for they do not onely conſume one another, but the Scottes on the one ſide, and Kyng William on the other, doe make greate hauocke, and oppreſſe them altogyther. 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Polidor.

Math. Paris.

H. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

An. Reg. 8.
1074

Malcolme o
Scotland [illegible]
homag to K.

[illegible] king m[illegible]
[illegible]eth Scotland

and the third at Whitby. For you muſt conſider, that by the inuaſion of the Danes, the Churches and Monaſteries throughout Northumberland were ſo vtterly deſtroyed and throwen downe, that vnneth ſhould a man finde a Churche ſtanding in all that countrey, and thoſe fewe that remayned, were couered with broome or thatch: but as for any Abbey or Monaſterie, there was not one left in all the countrey, neyther for the ſpace of two hundred yeares was there any man that tooke care for the repayring or buyldyng vp of any thyng, ſo that the people of that countrey wiſt not what a Monke meant, and if they ſawe any, they wondred at the ſtraungeneſſe of the ſyght.

An. Reg. 9.
1075

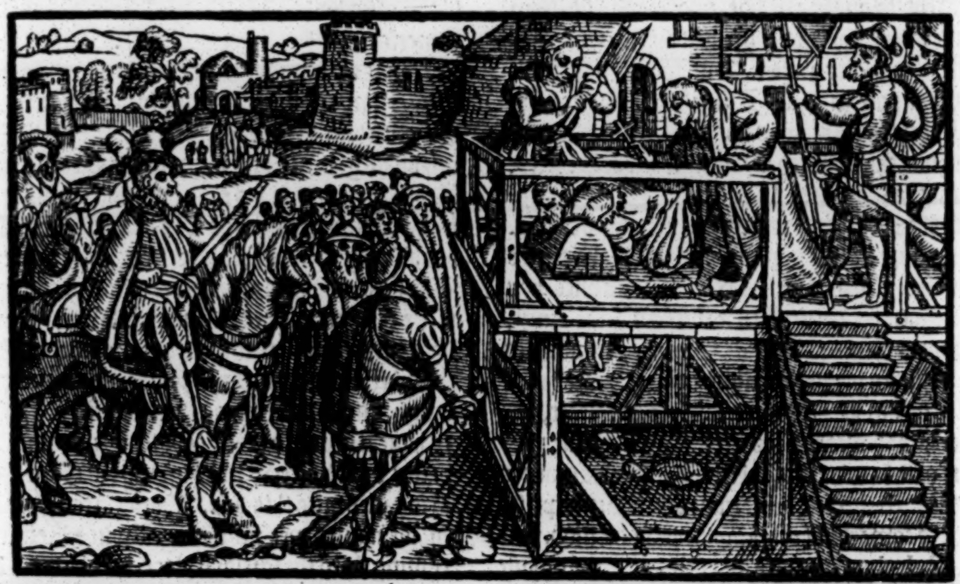
Raufe Earle of Cambridge.
Mat. VVeſt.
Math Paris.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
A Rebellion [illegible] againſt K. William.

Whyleſt the Kyng remayned thus in Normandy, Roger Earle of Hereford contrary to the Kyngs mynde and pleaſure, married hys ſiſter vnto Raulfe Earle of Cambridge, or as other haue Northfolke, and withall began a new conſpiracie againſt hym. Amongſt other alſo of the aſſociates, Erle Walteof the ſonne of Earle Siward was one, who afterwarde miſtruſting the ſucceſſe of this deuiſe, firſte vttered it to the Archbiſhop Lanfranke, and by his aduice ſayled ouer into Normandy, and there diſcloſed the whole matter to Kyng William: but in the mean time, the other two Earles of Herefordе and Cambridge had gone ſo farre already in yͤ matter, that they were vp in armour. Howbeit Wolſtan Biſhop of Worceter, and Egelwine Abbot of Eueſham, with the Sherife of Worceter, and Walter Lacey, ſo reſiſted the Earle of Hereford, that he could not paſſe the Seuerne to ioyne with the Earle of Cambridge. And on the other ſyde, Odo the Biſhop of Bayeux, and Geffrey yͤ Biſhoppe of Conſtances purſued the Erle of Cambridge ſo narrowly with an other army whyche they hadde gathered of Engliſhmen and Normans, yͭ they conſtreyned hym to flee into Britayne, whereby the Rebellion was very well appeaſed. In the meane tyme, the Kyng vnderſtanding by Erle Walthеof how yͤ matter went in Englande, came ouer with all ſpeede out of Normandy, and within a ſhort ſpace, brought yͤ reſidue of the conſpiratours into ſuch a feare, that they ſcattered and fled, without attempting any further exployte or conſpiracie againſt him. Many of them alſo were apprehended and put to death, among whiche, Roger and Walteof were the moſt famous. Though Walteif (as ye haue heard before) diſcloſed the treaſon, yet to the ende he ſhould offend no more heereafter, hee was beheaded at Wincheſter by the Kyngs commaundement, and his body being firſt buried in yͤ ſame place where he ſuffered, was after conueyed vnto Crowland, and there more honorably enterred.

Iohn. Pike.

An. Reg. 10.
1076

H. Hunt.
Earle Walteof beheaded.



This Earle Walteof or Waldeue was ſonne (as yee haue hearde) to the Noble Earle of Northumberlande Siwarde, of whoſe valure in the tyme of Kyng Edward the Confeſſor yee haue heard. His ſon the foreſaide Walteof in ſtrength of body and hardineſſe, did not degenerate from his father, for he was talle of perſonage, in ſinewes and muſcules very ſtrong and mightie. In the ſlaughter of the Normans at Yorke, hee ſhewed proofe of his proweſſe, in ſtriking off the heads of many of them with his own hands, as they came forthe of the gates ſingly one by one: yet afterwardes, when the King had pardoned hym of all former offences, and receyued hym into fauoure, he gaue to hym in marriage his neece Iudith the daughter of Lambert Erle of Lens, ſiſter to Stephan Earle of Albermare, and with hir he had of the Kings gift, all the landes and liberties belonging to the honor of Huntington: and in conſideration thereof, he aſſigned forth to hir in name of hir dower, all hys landes that he held from Trent

Southward. Shee bare of hym two daughters, Maude and Alice. We finde, that he was not only Earle of Northumberlande, but alſo of Northampton, and Huntington. The Conqueroure was noted of no ſmall crueltie, for the puttyng of this noble man to death, ſith he reuolted from hys confederates, to aduertiſe hym of all theyr practiſes, whereby hee was the better able to ſubdue them, as in the end he dyd.

Mat. Paris.

The Counteſſe of Cambridge, (or Northfolke as other haue) wife of Earle Raulf, beeyng withdrawen into the Citie of Norwiche, was beſieged in the ſame with an army ſente thyther by the Kyng, till through famine ſhee yeelded the place, but vpon compoſition, that thoſe that were beſieged within, ſhoulde departe the Realme, as perſons abiured and baniſhed the lande for euer. And thys was the ende of the foreſayde conſpiracie: howbeit, ſuche was the deſtiny of the Kyng, that he was neuer ridde of one vexation, but another enſued, as it were, in the necke of that whych went before: for the Danes being alſo ſolicited by the forenamed conſpirators, and hauing made their prouiſion to ſet forwarde on their iourney, vnder the leading of Cnuto, ſonne to Sueno, and Earle Haco, doe nowe vnlooked for ariue here in Englande with two hundred ſayles. But hearing by good hap that the ciuill tumulte was ended in ſuch wiſe, as you haue heard, and ſeeing no man ready to encourage them in their enterpriſe, they returned firſte into Flaunders, whiche they ſpoyled, and after into their own countrey, without eyther will or purpoſe for euermore to come agayne into Englande. Kyng William alſo vnderſtanding that they were thus departed, paſſed ouer into Britayne, and there beſieged the Caſtell of Dolle, that belonged to Raulf Earle of Cambridge, or Northfolke: but by the comming of the French Kyng Philip, King William, being not prouided of ſufficiente vittayles for hys army, was cōſtreyned to reyſe his ſiege, although with great loſſe both of his men and Horſes.

Polidor.
Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
Mat. Par.

An. Reg. 11.
1077

Mat. Paris.

The ſeuen and twentith day of Marche, there was a generall Earthquake in Englande, and in the Winter following, a froſt that continued from the firſte of Nouember vnto the middle of Aprill. A blaſing Starre appeared on Palme Sunday, being the ſixteenth day of Aprill, about ſixe of yͤ clocke, when yͤ aire was fayre & cleere.

a drawning fr

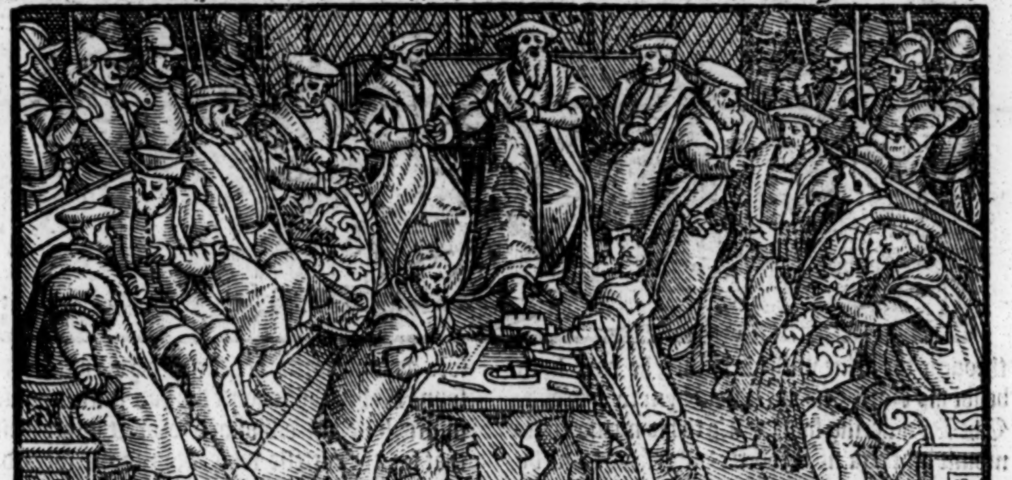
a starr appe

About the ſame ſeaſon, Pope Gregory perceyuing that married Prieſtes choſe rather to runne into the daunger of his curſe, than to forſake their lawfull wiues, thought to bridle them by an other meane, as thus: he gaue commaundemēt by his Bulle publiſhed abroade, that none ſhould heare the Maſſe of a married Prieſt.

An. Reg. 12.
1078

Polidor.
A Synode holden at London.

K. Williā after his comming from the ſiege of Dolle, remayned a certayne time in quiet, during which meane while, Lanfranke the Archbiſhoppe called a Counſell of the Cleargie at London, in the whiche amongſt other things it was ordeyned, that certaine Biſhops Sees ſhould be remoued from ſmall Townes vnto Cities of more fame, wherby it came to paſſe, that Chicheſter, Exceter, Bath, Saliſburie, Lincolne and Cheſter were honored with new ſees and Palaces of Biſhops, where before they kepte their reſidence at Sellewey, Kirton, Welles, Shireborne, Dorcheſter and Liechfielde.



Biſhops Sees remoued.

Woolſtan.

At this Counſell alſo Woolſtan Biſhoppe of Worceter was preſent, whom Lanfrank would haue depriued for his inſufficiencie of learnyng, as he coulourably pretended, but indeede to pleaſure the Kyng, who woulde fayne haue placed a Norman in hys roome: but (as they ſay) a miracle whiche hee preſently wroughte, in cauſing his croſier ſtaffe to ſticke faſt in the Tombe of holy Sainte Edwarde (to whome he proteſted and ſayde hee woulde reſigne it, for that hee obteyned the ſame by hys gifte) hee dyd putte the King and the Archbiſhop into ſuche a feare, that they ſuffered him ſtill to enioy his Biſhoprick without any further vexation. Theſe things with other, touching a reformatiō in the Church and Cleargie, being handled in this Counſell, it was ſoone after diſſolued. In the yeare following, King William led a mighty army into Wales, and ſubdued that countrey to himſelfe, receyuing of the Rulers and Princes there their homages, at the handes of faithfull hoſtages. Aboute the ſame time, Robert the Kyngs eldeſt ſon, a right worthy perſonage, but yet as one of nature ſomewhat vnſtable, beeing pricked forward, and ſupported by the Frēch K. entred into Normādy as a Rebell to his father, and by force tooke dyuerſe places into his hands. This was done I ſaye by the practiſe of Philip the Frenche Kyng, who nowe began to doubt of the greate puiſſaunce of King William, as foreſeing how much it might preiudice him, and the whole Realme of Fraunce in time to come. And therefore to ſtop the courſe of his proſperous ſucceſſe, he deuiſed a meane to ſet the ſonne againſt the father. True it is, that King William had promiſed long afore, to reſigne the gouernemente of Normandy, vnto the ſayd Robert his ſonne. Wherevpon, the yong man, being himſelfe of an ambitious nature, and now pricked forward by the ſiniſter aduice of the French, ſeeketh to obteyne that by violence whiche he thought would be very long ere he ſhoulde atteyne by curteſie. King William heereof aduertiſed, was not a little mooued againſte hys diſobediente ſonne, and curſed both hym, and the tyme that euer he begate him. Finally, reyſing an army, he marched towards him, ſo that they met in the field. Aſſoone as the one came in ſight of ỹ other, they buckle togither at a place called Archenbray, and whileſt the battayle was at the whotteſt, and that the footemen were moſt buſied in the fighte, Roberte appoynted a power of Horſemē to breake in vpon the hindermoſt ward of his aduerſaries, and hee himſelfe following after with all his mighte, chanced among other to cope with his owne father, ſo that thruſting him through the arme with his launce, he bare hym beſide his Horſe, and ouerthrew hym to ỹ groūd. The Kyng, being faln, called to his menne to remount him againe. Roberte vnderſtoode, and by his voyce perceyued how he had borne downe his father, wherfore he ſpedily alighted, and toke him vp, aſking him for that fact forgiueneſſe, and ſetting him vp on his owne Horſe, he broughte him out of the preaſe, and ſuffered him to departe in ſafetie. King William being thus eſcaped out of that preſent daunger, and perceyuing himſelf not able to reſiſt the puiſſance of his aduerſaries, lefte the fielde to his ſonne, hauing loſt many of hys men that were ſlayne in the battell and chaſe, beſides a great number that were hurte and wounded, among whome, his ſecond ſonne William ſurnamed Rufus or the red, was one, and therefore as ſome write) hee curſed righte bitterly hys ſonne Robert, by whome hee had ſuſteyned ſuche iniurie, loſſe, and diſhonor. Howbeit, other write, that for the curteſie whiche his ſonne ſhewed in releeuing hym and helping him out of daunger when he was by him caſt down beſide his Horſe, hee was mooued with ſuch a fatherly affection, that preſently after they were made friends, the father remitting to his ſonne all his former offences, and thereuppon, founde him euer after more tractable and obedient, than before he had done.

An. Reg. 13.
1079

Mat. Paris.
Math. VVeſt.

The French King ſetteth the ſonne againſt the father.

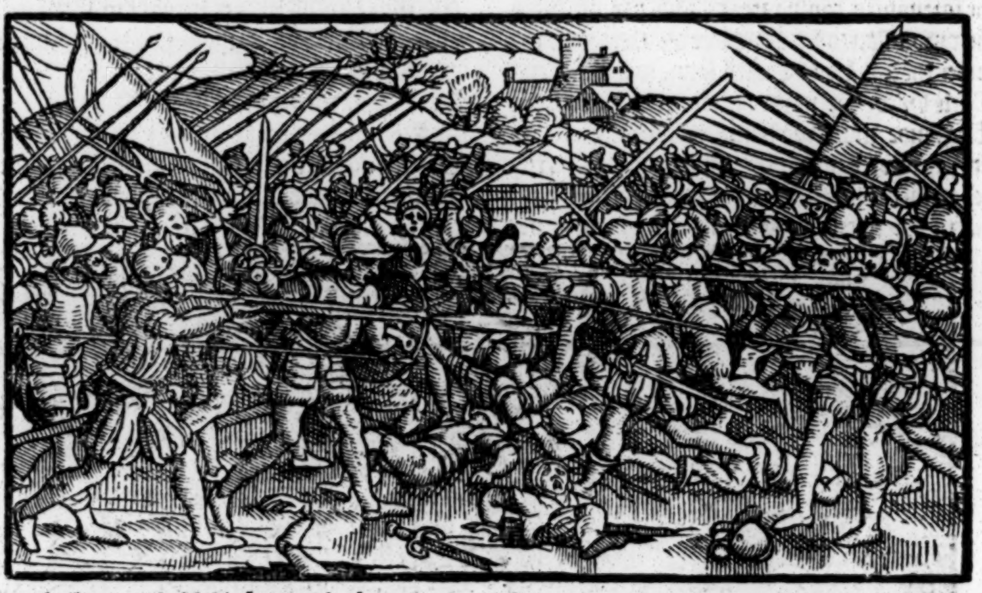
Sim. Dunel.
Mat. Paris.

The ſonne ouerthroweth the father.

Simon Dun.

Mat. Paris.

The father and the ſonne are made friendes.



An. Reg. 14.
1080

After this battell, Kyng William being thus accorded with his ſonne, hee returned with him into Englande, and immediately the King ſente hym agaynſte Malcolme Kyng of Scotlande, who hauing broken the truce in time of the trouble betwixte Kyng William and his ſonne, had

done

im. Dunel.

done much hurt by forrayes made vpõ the Engliſh borders, waſting all Northumberland euen to the Riuer of Tyne. Howbeit, when hee hearde that Roberte the King of Englandes ſonne approched with his army towardes hym, hee withdrewe hym agayne into Scotland. Robert Curthuze then lodged with his army vpon the bankes of the Riuer of Tyne, where hee began the foundation of a Caſtell, whereof the Towne of New Caſtell did after take both beginning and name, for before this ſeaſon it was called Moncaſter.

The foundation of newe Caſtell vpon Tine, which before that ſeaſon was called Moncaſter.

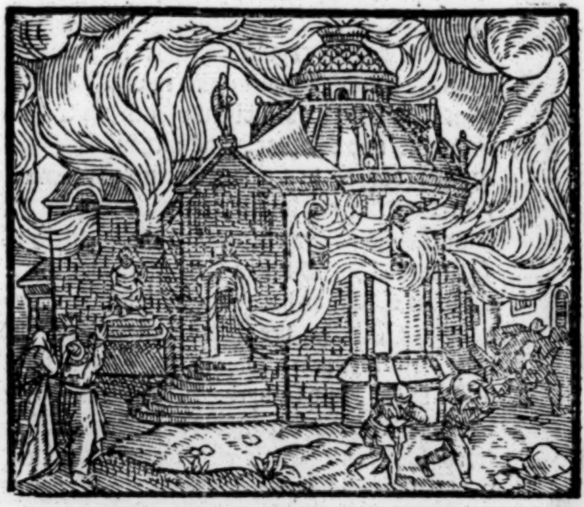
About the ſame time, Odo yͤ Biſhop of Bayeux was ſent into Northumberlande to reuenge the death of Walcher Biſhop of Durham, whom lately before the people of Northumberlande had ſlayne in a tumult by them reyſed. The occaſion of his death grewe by the deathe of one Liulfus, a noble man of thoſe parties, and highly beloued of the people, bycauſe hee was deſcended of noble parentage, and had married the Lady Algitha, that was daughter vnto Earle Alered, and ſiſter to Alfleda, the mother of Earle Walteif.

Simon Dun.

This Liulfus beeing a man of great poſſeſſions through England, nowe that the Normans ruled in all places, was quietly withdrawen vnto Durham, and growen into ſuch familiaritie and credit with the Biſhoppe there, that touching the order of temporall matters, he would do nothing without his aduice. Hereof one Leofwin the Biſhops Chaplayne conceyued ſuche enuie, chiefly for that he was not ſo often called to counſell as before, that finally he procured by his malicious meanes one Gilbert (to whome the Biſhop had committed the rule of the Earledome) to murther the foreſayde Liulfus one night in his manſion houſe or manor place, wherein he remayned not farre from Durham: wherevpon, the Biſhop hauing vnderſtanding of the thyng, and knowing that the matter would be greeuouſly taken of the people, ſente out letters and meſſengers into the countrey, offering to purge himſelf of the ſlaughter of this manne, according to the order of the Canon lawes.

He alſo alledged, that hee hadde baniſhed Gilbert and other (that had committed the murther) out of Northumberlande, which hee dyd not, and therevppon kindled the malice of the people againſt hym: for when it was knowen that he had receyued the murtherres into his houſe, and had them in lyke fauoure as before, they ſtomaked the matter highly, and heerevpon, when by the trauel of thoſe that wente to and fro betwixte the Biſhop and the kinneſfolkes of Liulfe, a daye was appoynted, on the which the Biſhop ſhould come to a farther communication with them at Gateshead.

He repaired thyther according to his promiſe, but refuſing to talke with them abrode, hee kepte himſelfe ſtill within the Church, and ſente forth ſuch of hys counſell as ſhoulde commune with them: but when the people that were there gathered in greate numbers, had ſignified in playne wordes howe that hee ſhould eyther come forthe and ſhewe hymſelfe amongſt them, or elſe that they woulde fyre the place where he ſate: he cauſed fyrſte Gilberte to goe forthe vnto them, whome they ſlewe, togyther with thoſe that came out of the Churche to defende him, and when the peoples furie was not ſo quenched, the Biſhop himſelfe caſting the ſkirtes of his gowne ouer his face, came likewiſe forthe, and was incontinently murthered amongſt them. After this, they ſet fyre on the Churche, bycauſe the Byſhops Chapleyne Leofwine and other, were yet within, and refuſed to come forthe: but in the ende, beeing compelled by the rage of fire to come out, the ſayde Leofwine was alſo ſlayne and cut in peeces as he had well deſerued, beeyng the chiefe procurer of all the miſchiefe.



Thus may wee ſee what followed of the neglecting of iuſtice, in the Byſhoppe: for if he hadde eyther baniſhed Gilbert and other hys complices in the murther, accordingly as hee pretended to doe, or otherwiſe, haue ſeene due puniſhments executed agaynſte them, the peoples rage had neuer proceeded ſo farre as it dyd, for they coulde not perſwade themſelues to thynke, but that the Biſhoppe was giltie and priuie to Liulfes death, ſith he hadde receyued the murtherers into hys houſe the ſame nyghte in whiche the facte was done, and kepte them ſtill about hym, whyche hys bearing with them, coſt hym hys owne lyfe (as before yee haue hearde,) whereby it appeareth, that it is not inough for a gouernoure to bee cleere from the knowledge of euill before the facte, and at the tyme in which it is done by others, if hee ſee not them that do it duly puniſhed for their offences: bycauſe that when iuſtice is ſuppreſſed, and hathe not hir due courſe, thoſe that ſuſteine iniurie, are euer deſirous of reuenge, beeing ready to attempte it by vnlawfull meanes of themſelues in priuate ſorte, when through lacke of ordinarie courſe of lawes they are debarred from it. But nowe to the purpoſe of the hiſtorie.

When Biſhoppe Odo was come into thoſe parties to reuenge the Biſhops death with an army as we haue ſayde, hee ſore afflicted the countrey by ſpoyling it on euery ſide, with great crueltie. Heere yee ſhall vnderſtand, that King William placed, and eftſoones remoued dyuers Rulers ouer the Northumbers, for firſte hee appointed one Copſius to haue the rule of that countrey in place of Markar that before had helde the ſame.

Sim. Dunel.

This Copſie expulſed Oſulfe the ſonne of Earle Edulfe that was brother to Earle Aldred, whiche Oſulfe was ſubſtitute vnto the Earles Edwyne and Morkar, who although hee was dryuen out of hys gouernamente by Copſi, yet recouering his forces againe, hee ſlewe the ſame Copſie as hee entred into the Churche of Newburne, but within a fewe monethes after, the ſame Oſulfe as hee ranne with hys Horſe againſte a Theefe, hee was thruſt through the body with a Speare, whyche the Theefe helde in his hande, and ſo dyed. Then Goſpatrike that was ſonne to Aldgitha the daughter of Vthred ſometyme Earle of Northumberlande, was aſſigned by Kyng William the Conquerour, to haue the gouernemente there. Hys mother Aldgitha was daughter to Vthred ſometyme Earle of Northumberlande begote vpon Elfgiua the daughter of Kyng Egelred.

Some write. that Goſpatricke purchaſed the Earledome of Kyng William, and ſo helde it for a tyme, till the ſame Kyng tooke it from him agayne, and then gaue it vnto Earle Waltrife or Waldeue, and then nexte after hym, the foreſayde Biſhoppe of Durham Walcher hadde the whole adminiſtration committed to hym, but after hys deceſſe (hee beeyng ſlayne as yee haue hearde,) one Albericke ruled that countrey, and laſtly, Roberte Mulbray a ryghte noble perſonage (and for hys wiſedome and valiauncie, highly renowmed with all men,) was created Earle of Northumberlande, and gouerned the people of thoſe parties in ſuche politique and wiſe order, that during hys tyme, it is hard to ſay, whether hys quietneſſe, or the obediẽce of hys people was lykely to be the greater.

The foundation of Vniuerſitie colledge in Oxforde.

An. Reg. 15.
1081

In like manner, after the foreſayde Walcher, one William was created Biſhop of Durham, who was the originall founder of the Vniuerſitie Colledge in Oxford, and by whoſe aſiſtance, the Monkes gaping both for riches, eaſe, and poſſeſſions, founde the meanes to diſplace the ſecular Prieſtes of the Colledge of Durham, that they mighte get into theyr roomes as they did indeede ſoone after, to their greate lucre and aduantage. But to returne againe to the courſe of the hiſtorie. Shortly after the reuenge of the deathe of Walcher the Biſhop of Durham, the forenamed Biſhop Odo the Kyngs brother was ſuſpected of ſome vntroth and ſiniſter dealing, and thereupon was ſent as a baniſhed man into Normãdy, or rather as other write, committed to priſon, where hee remayned not as a Clearke, but as a Baron of the Realme, for he was both Biſhoppe and Earle of Kente. The Kyng hauyng at length obteyned ſome reſt from warres, dothe practiſe by ſundry meanes howe to enriche hys coffers, and therefore hee rayſed a tribute thorough out all the Kyngdome, for the better leuying whereof, hee appoynted all the ſubiectes of hys Realme to be numbred, alſo all the Cities and Townes, Villages, and Hamlets, Abbeys, Monaſteries, & Priories to bee regiſtred. Moreouer, hee cauſed a certificate to be made of euery mannes ſubſtaunce, and what hee myghte diſpende by yeare, and cauſed theyr names to bee written whyche helde Knyghtes fees, and were bounde thereby to ſerue hym in the warres. Likewiſe hee tooke the tale of euery yoke of Oxen, and what number of plough landes, and how many bondmen were within the Realme, whereby the certificate thereof beeyng once made, and broughte vnto him, hee came to full vnderſtandyng what wealthe yet remayned among the Engliſhmenne, and therefore hee rayſed hys tribute ſo muche the more, taking ſixe Shillings for euery hyde of land through out his Realme, whyche amounted to an ineſtimable ſumme when it was all broughte togither into his Exchequer.

An. Reg. 16.
1082

An. Reg. 17.
1083

Plow lande.

Heere note by the way, that an hyde of lande includeth an hundred acres, and an acre conteyneth fortie perches in length, and foure in bredth, the length of a pearch conteyning ſixteene foote and an halfe, ſo that the common acre ſhoulde conteyne. 240. perches, and eyght hydes or. 800. acres is a Knyghts fee, after the beſt approued Writers and playne demonſtration.

Geruaſius Tilberenſis.

The true definition of a hide of lande.

Thoſe are therefore deceyued, that take an hyde of lande to conteine twentie acres, as William Lambert hath well noted in his treatiſe, *de priſcis Anglorum legibus*, where hee expoundeth the meaning of the olde Saxon tearmes perteyning to the lawes but to proceede, and come a little after temporals dealing to ſome of the ſpirituall affayres. It hapned about the ſame time, yͭ K. Williã had finiſhed yͤ rating of his ſubiectes,

that

Regni. 18
1084

VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

Thurſtan Abbot of Glaſtenburie.
William of Feſtampe.

that there roſe a ſtrife betwixt Thurſtan Abbot of Glaſtenburie, a Norman, and the Monkes of that houſe. One cauſe thereof was for that the Abbot woulde haue compelled them to haue left the plaineſong or note for the ſeruice which Pope Gregorie had ſet forth, and to haue vſed an other kinde of time deuiſed by one William of Feſcampe: Beſide this the ſayde Abbot ſpent and waſted the goodes that belonged to the houſe in ryot, lecherie, and by ſuch other inſolent meanes (withdrawing alſo from the Monkes their olde accuſtomed allowance of diet) for the which they firſt fell at altercation in wordes, and afterwarde to plaine fighting.

Hen. Hunt.
VVil. Malm. hath two ſlaine and .xiiii. hurt.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Abbot got armed men aboute him, and falling vpon the Monkes, he ſlue three of them at the high Aultar, and wounded .xviij. And yet the Monkes for their partes played the pretie men, with Formes and Candleſticks defending themſelues as well as they might, ſo that they hurt diuerſe of the Abbottes ſide, and droue them oute of the Quiere.

In the ende the complaint hereof was brought before the king, by whoſe iudgement the matter was ſo ordered, that Thurſtan loſt his roome, & returned againe vnto Cane in Normandie from whence he came, and the Monkes were ſpredde abroade into diuerſe houſes of Religion through the Realme, Glaſtenburie being repleniſhed with more quiet perſons, and ſuche as were ſuppoſed readier to pray than quarel as the other did: yet is it ſayde, that in the time of William Rufus this Thurſton obteyned the rule of that Abbay againe for a portion of money, amounting to the ſumme of fiue hundred pounde.

Sim. Dunel.
Hen. Marle.
Math. Paris.

Hen. Marle.
An. reg. 19.
Simon Dun.

Polidor.
Mat. Par.

There be alſo which write, that the numbring of men and of the places, the valuation of their goodes and ſubſtance, as well in cattell as in readie monie, was not taken till about the .xix. yeare of this kings raigne (although the ſubſedie afore mentioned was gathered aboute two yeares before of euery hide of lande as aboue ye haue heard) and that the certificate hereof being enrolled, was put into the kings treaſure at Wincheſter, in the .xix. yeare of his raigne, and not in the .xvj. But in what yeare ſoeuer it was leuied, and howſoeuer the writers diſagree in their Hiſtories, certain it is, that rayſed it was, to the great griefe and impoueriſhment of the people, who ſore lamented their miſerable eſtate whereinto they were brought and thralled, ſo that they hated the Normans in their hearts with deadly malice. Howbeit the more they ſpake and ſeemed to grudge agaynſt ſuch ſore tolles and tallages, cruell cuſtomes, and other oppreſſions, as were dayly deuiſed to their vndoing, the more they were burthened, after the maner of the bondage which the children of Iſraell ſometime ſuffered in Egypt, for on the other ſide, the Normans with their king perceyuing the hatred whiche the Engliſhe men bare towardes them, were ſore offended in their myndes, and therefore ſought by all maner of wayes how to kepe them vnder. Such as were called Iuſtices, were enimies to all iuſtice, whervpon greeter burdens dayly grewe towardes the Engliſh Nation, inſomuche that after they had bene robbed & ſpoyled of their goodes, vnder pretence of Iuſtice, they were alſo debarred of their cuſtomed ſportes and paſtimes: for where naturally (as they doe vnto this daye) they tooke then great pleaſure in hunting Deere, both redde and fallow, in the Woodes and Forreſts about without reſtraint, king William ſeaſing the moſt part of the ſame Forreſtes into his owne handes, did ſet a puniſhment to bee executed agaynſt all thoſe that ſhould kil any of the ſame Deere, which was to haue their eyes put out. And to bring the greater number of menne in daunger of thoſe his penall lawes, (a peſtilent pollicie of a ſpitefull minde, and ſauouring altogither of his Frenche ſlauerie) hee deuiſed meanes howe to breed, nouriſh and increaſe the multitude of Deere, and alſo to make roowmth for thē in that part of the realm whiche lyeth betwixte Saliſburie and the Sea Southward: he pulled downe townes, villages, and Churches, with all other buyldings for the ſpace of .xxx. myles, to make thereof a Forreſt, which vnto this day is called the newe Forreſt, the people as then ſore bewayling their fortune, and greatly lamenting that they muſt thus leaue houſe and home, with lande and all vnto the vſe of ſauage beaſtes, which crueltie, not onely mortall men liuing here on earth, but alſo the earth it ſelfe might ſeeme to deteſt, as by a wonderfull ſignification it ſeemed to declare, by the ſhaking and roaring of the ſame, which chaunced about the .xiiij. yeare of his raigne, (as wryters haue recorded.)

The Conqueror ſeeketh to keepe the Engliſh men low.

Polidor.

The Forreſtes ſeaſed into the kings handes.

Mat. Par.

New Forreſt.

Mat. Par.
An earthquake.

Polidor.

There be that ſuppoſe how the King made that part of the realme waſt and barraine vpon a pollicie, to the intent that if his chaunce were to be expulſed by ciuill warres, and compelled to leaue the lande, there ſhoulde be no inhabiters in that part of the lande to reſiſt his arriuall vppon his new returne. But whatſoeuer cauſe moued him thereto, it was a wicked and right heynous act, ſo to decay the increaſe of mankinde, & to repleniſhe the Countrey with brute and ſauage beaſtes.

Simon Dun.
1085

A rumor ſpred of the cōming of the Danes.

But to go forth with our purpoſe. About the ſame time, a rumor was ſpred in England that Sueyn king of Denmarke ment to inuade Englande with a puiſſant armie, and the aſſiſtance of the Earle of Flaunders, whoſe daughter hee had maried, whervpon king William being then in Normandie, reteyned a great power of Frenche

Anno. 20.

ſouldiers, both Archers and footemen, which togither with a number of his owne people the Normans he brought ouer into England in the Harueſt ſeaſon, and meaning vtterly to diſburthen himſelfe of the charge of theyr keeping, he cauſed prouiſion to be made for their finding and payment of wages, by the Lordes and Peeres of the realme, and alſo by the Sherifs of the ſhires, and other his officers. Howbeit when he vnderſtoode that the Danes had chaunged their purpoſe, and woulde not keepe on their iourney, he diſcharged part of his forces, and ſent them home againe, keping notwithſtanding the reſidue all the Winter with him here in England, readie of purpoſe for his defence if any rebelliõ or other neceſſitie ſhuld befal, wherin their ſeruice might ſtãd him in ſteed.

1086
Mat. VVeſt.
1084

An othe taken to be true to the king.

The ſame yeare, he helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Glouceſter, and made his ſonne Henrie knight at Weſtminſter in the Whitſonweeke enſuing, ſhortly after calling togither as well the Lordes ſpirituall as temporall, hee cauſed them all to ſweare to be true to him, and to his heyres after him in the poſſeſſion of this kingdome.

Great ſickneſſe reigning.

Murraine of cattaile.

Math. VVeſt.

Simon Dun.

About which ſeaſon, the people euerie where began to be miſerably vexed with ſickneſſe, namely wyth burning feuers, which ſlue and brought many to their ende. A death alſo and murraine came amongſt their cattell, ſo that a wonderfull number died of all ſortes. And at the ſame tyme (whiche is more maruellous) tame foules, as Hennes, Geeſe, and Peacocks, withdrawing thẽſelues from the owners houſes, fled to the woods and became wilde. No leſſe hurt was done in many partes of this realme by fire, and ſpecially in the citie of London, where vpon the. vij. day of Iuly a ſodain flame began, which burnt yͤ church of S. Paule, with a great part of the Citie downe to the very ground.

Ran. Higd.
Sim. Dun.

An. reg. 21.

VVil. Mal
Mat. Par.

VVil Malm.
Ran. Higd.

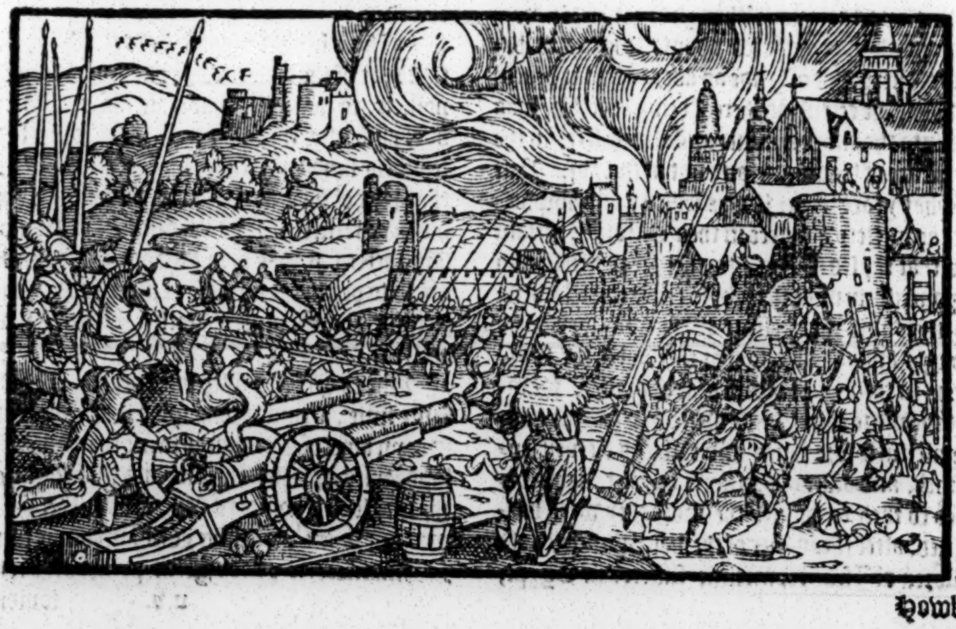
He inuadeth Fraunce.

Gemeticenſis.

The Citie of Maunt burnt by K. William

Mat. VVeſt.

After that king William had taken the othe of obedience of all his Lordes, Edgar Etheling who was reconciled vnto his fauour as you haue heard, obteyning licence of him to bee out of the realme for a certaine ſeaſon, ſayled into Puglia with two hundred ſouldiers: but of his acts there and returne againe into Englande I finde ſmall reherſall, and therfore I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of him, conuerting my ſtile to king William, who hauing now brought the Engliſhmẽ ſo lowe and bare, that little more was to be got out of their hands, went once againe ouer into Normandie with an huge Maſſe of money, and there ſoone after chaunced to fall ſicke, ſo that he was conſtrayned to keepe his bed longer than hee had bene accuſtomed to do, wherat Philip the French king in ieaſting maner ſayde, howe king William his couſin did nowe lie in childbed (alluding partly to his great fat belly, bycauſe he was very corpulent) and withall added, Oh what a number of Candles muſt I prouide to offer vp at his going to Church, certenly I thinke that. 100000. will not ſuffice. &c. which talke ſo moued the king when it came to his eare, that hee made this anſwere: well, I truſt when I ſhal be churched, that our couſin ſhall bee at no ſuche coſt, but I will helpe to finde him a thouſande Candelles my ſelfe, and light them vp to ſome of their paynes, if God doe graunt mee life: and this promiſe hee bound with an othe, which in deed he performed: for in the Moneth of Iuly enſuing, when their corne, fruit, and grapes were moſt floriſhing, and readie to come to prouſe, he entred France with a great army, & ſet on fire many of their Cities and townes in the weſtſide of that Countrey, & laſtly came to the citie of Maunt, which he bunrt with the Church of our Ladie, and therein an Ankreſſe encloſed in the wall thereof, as an holy recluſe, for the force of the fire was ſuche as all wente to wracke.



Math. Paris.

King William departed this life.

Simon Dun.

Mat. VVest.

The .lix. of his age hath *VVil. Mal.*

Howbeit in this heate, king William tooke ſuch a ſickneſſe (which was not diminiſhed by the fall of an horſe as he rode to and fro, bycauſe hee was not able to trauaile on foote aboute his Palace by reaſon of his diſeaſe) that coſt him hys life in the ende, ſo that when he had ordeyned his laſt will, and taken order for the ſtay of things after his deceaſe, hee departed this life on the .ix. day of September, in the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1087. and .lxxiiij. (as Polidor ſaith) of his age, hauing gouerned Normandie aboute lj. yeares, and reigned ouer Englande .xx. yeares, tenne monethes, and .xxviij. dayes (as all the writers doe report.)

He ſet all priſoners at libertie ſayth *VVil. Malm.*

Not long before his death, he releaſed alſo out of priſon his brother Odo the biſhop of Bayeux, Marchar Earle of Northumberland, and Wilnotus the ſonne of king Harolde, or (as ſome ſay) his brother.

Polidor.

Moreouer he repented him (as ſome ſay) when he lay on his death bed, for his cruell dealing with the Engliſh men, conſidering that by them he had atteyned to ſuch honour and dignitie, as to weare the crowne and ſcepter of a kingdome: but whether he did ſo or not, or that ſome Monke deuiſed the excuſe in fauor of the Prince: Surely he was a famous knight, and though his time was troubleſome, yet hee was right fortunate in all his attempts. Againe if a man ſhall conſider howe that in a ſtraunge realme he coulde make ſuche a conqueſt, and ſo perfitely and ſpeedily eſtabliſh the ſame to his heyres, with newe lawes, orders, and conſtitutions (whiche as appeare are moſte like euer to endure) he woulde thinke it a thing altogither voyde of credite. Yet ſo it was, and ſo honourable were his doings, and notable in ſight of the worlde here, that thoſe kings which haue ſucceeded ſithence his death, beginne their account at him, as from one that had by his prudence renued the ſtate of the realme, and inſtituted an other forme of regiment, in atchieuing whereof he did not ſo much pretende a rightfull chalenge by the graunt of his coſin king Edwarde the Confeſſor, as by the law of armes, and plaine conqueſt, than the which as he ſuppoſed, there coulde be no better tytle.

He bare but two Lions or rather Leopards as ſome thinke.

Hereupon alſo thoſe that haue ſithence ſucceeded him, vſe the ſame armes as peculiar to the crowne of Englande, which he vſed in his time, that is to witte, three Lions paſſant golde in a fielde gewles (as Polidor writeth) the three floure Delices were ſince that time annexed thereto by Edward the third, by reaſon of his clayme to the crowne of Fraunce, whereof hereafter yee ſhall heare more.

Polidor.

There be alſo that write, how the inconſtancie of the Engliſh people by their oft rebellions occaſioned the king to be ſo heauie Lorde and maſter vnto them. Where he of his naturall diſpoſition was rather gentle and curteous than ſharpe and cruell, diuerſe mē might be perſwaded ſo to thinke of him in deed, if he had ceaſſed frō his rough gouerning yet in the ende: but ſithence he continued his rigor euen to his laſt days, we may rather beleeue that although happily from his childhoode he ſhewed ſome tokens of clemencie, bountie, and liberalitie, yet by following the warres and practiſing to raigne with ſterneneſſe, he became ſo inured therewith, that thoſe peaceable vertues were quite altered in him, & in maner clearly extinct: in whoſe place cruel rigor, auaricious couetouſneſſe, and vnmercifull ſeueritie, caught roote and were planted. Yet is he renoumed to haue reteyned ſtill a certaine ſtouteneſſe of courage and ſkil in feates of warre, which good happe euer followed. Moreouer he was free from lecherous luſtes, and without ſuſpition of bodily vices, quicke and ſubtile of wit, deſirous of honor, and coulde very well ſuſteyne trauail, watching, colde, and heate, though he were tall of ſtature, and very groſſe of bodie.

In like maner toward the ende of his dayes he began to waxe verie deuout, and ſomewhat to bend toward the aduauncing of the preſent eſtate of the church, inſomuch that he builded three Abbayes in ſeuerall places, endowing them with fayre lands and large poſſeſſions, as two in England, one at the place where hee vanquiſhed King Harolde, fiue miles diſtant from Haſtings, which he named Battaile, of the field there foughten: the other at Celby in Yorkſhire: & yͤ third in Normādie at Caen, where alſo wife Queene his Mawd had buylded a Nunnerie, which Mawde died in in the yeare. 1084. before the king hir huſband. After his death, his bodie was buried at Caen, in S. Stephens church, but before it could be committed to the grounde, the executors were conſtrayned to agree with a certaine man that claymed to be Lord of the ſoyle where the Church ſtoode, and which (as he ſayd) the king in his life time had iniuriouſly taken from him, and gaue him a greate ſumme of money to releaſe his title: whereby you may cōſider the great miſerie of mans eſtate, and how that ſo mightie a Prince as the Conquerour was, coulde not haue ſo much grounde after hys death as to couer his dead corps, without doing iniurie to an other: which may be a noble leſſon for all other men, and namely for Princes, noblemen and gentlemen, who oftentimes to enlarge their owne commodities, doe not regarde what wrong to the inferior ſort they offer.

They gaue him an hundred pounde ſayth *Hen. Marle.*

Furthermore, King William had iſſue by Mawde his wife, the daughter of Baldwin Erle of Flaunders, foure ſonnes, Robert ſurnamed Curthoſe (vnto whom he bequeathed the duchie of Normandie) Richard died yong, William ſurnamed Rufus (to whom he gaue by his teſtament the Realme of Englande) and Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerk, for his cunning and perfit knowledge in learning, vnto whom he bequethed all his treaſure and moueable goods, with the poſſeſſions that belonged to his mother. Beſides theſe four ſonnes he had alſo by his wife fiue daughters, Cecillie, which became a Nunne: Conſtance, maried to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, giuen in mariage to Stephen Earle of Bloys: (of whom that Stephen was borne which raigned after Henrie the firſt) Adeliza, promiſed in mariage to Harold K. of England (as before ye haue heard) but ſhe died before ſhe was maried either to him, or to any other, and ſo likewiſe did the fift, whoſe name I cannot reherſe.

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Math. Paris.
Hen. Hunt.

Among many other lawes alſo made by him, this one is to be remembred, that ſuche as forced any woman, ſhould loſe their genitals.

Iohn Rous.
Hen Marle.

In this William the Conquerors dayes liued Oſmond the ſeconde Biſhop of Saliſburie, who compiled the Church ſeruice, which in times paſt they commonly called after Saliſburie vſe.

Saliſburie vſe.

The vſe of the long Bow (as Iohn Rous teſtifieth) came firſt into Englande with this king William the Conquerour, for the Engliſh men before that time vſed to fight cōmonly with axes and ſuch hand weapons, and therfore in the oration made by the Conqueror before he gaue battail to king Harolde, the better to encourage his men, he tolde them they ſhould encounter with enimies that wanted ſhotte.

Shooting.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1542. Monſeur de Caſtres Biſhop of Baiculx, and Abbot of Saint Eſtienne in Caen, cauſed the Sepulchre of this noble prince William the Conqueror to be opened, within the which his body was found whole, fayre and perfite, of limmes large and big, of ſtature and perſonage longer than the common ſort of men of our age by two foot: within the ſame ſepulchre or tombe, was found a copper plate, fayre gylt, conteyning this Epitaph.

Qui rexit rigidos Northmannos, atq; Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cœnomenſes virtute contudit enſes,
Imperiiq́; ſui legibus applicuit:
Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guilhelmus in vrna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino.
Ter ſeptem gradibus ſe voluerat atq; duobus,
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obijt.

In Engliſh thus. H.F.

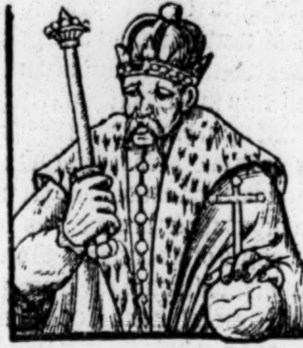
Who ouer Normās rough did rule, & ouer Britōs bolde
Did cōqueſt ſtoutly win, & conqueſt won did ſtrongly holde:
Who by his valure great the fatall vprores calmde in Mayne,
And to obey his power and lawes, the Manceaux did conſtrayne:
This mightie king within this little vault entombed lyes,
So great a Lorde ſomtime, ſo ſmall a rowmth doth now ſuffiſe.
When three times ſeuen and two by iuſt degrees the Sun had tooke
His wonted courſe in Virgos lap, then he the worlde forſooke.

Here to fill vp this page, I haue thought good to ſet downe the Charter which this king Wil. the Conqueror graunted vnto the Citie of London, at the ſpecial ſute of William then Biſhop of the ſame Citie, aſwel for the brieſneſſe thereof (& yet conteyning matter ſufficient in thoſe dayes to warrant his meaning) as alſo for the ſtrangeneſſe of the Engliſh then in vſe.

VVilliem Kyng grets VVilliem Biſceop & Godfred Porterefan, & ealle ya Burghwarn binnen Lōdon frenciſce, & Engliſce frendlice, & Ic kiden eoy, yeet Ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Eadwerds daege kings, and Ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege: And Ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man eoy aenis wrang beode. God eoy heald.

The charter of K. William the firſt.
1067

VVilhelmus rex ſalutat VVilhelmum Epiſcopum, & Geffridū Portegreſiū & omnē Burghware infra London Franſ. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notū facio, quòd ego volo, quòd vos ſitis omni lege illa digni qua fuiſtis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quòd omnis puer ſit patris ſui hæres poſt diem patris ſui. Et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos ſaluet.



Williã Rufus.

1087
An. reg. 1.

William, ſurnamed Rufus, that is to ſay William the red, ſeconde ſonne to William Conqueror, began his reigne ouer Englande the. ix. of September, in the yeare. 1087. whiche was about the. xxxj. yeare of the Emperour Henrie the fourth, and the xxxvij. of Philip the firſt, king of Fraunce, Urbane the ſeconde as then gouerning the Sea of Rome, and Malcolm Cammoir as yet raigning in Scotland. Immediately after his fathers deceaſſe, and before the ſolemnitie of the funeralles were executed, he came ouer into Englande with ſo muche ſpeede as was poſſible, and following the counſaile of Lanfranke the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie (in whome hee repoſed all his truſt) hee ſought to winne the fauor of the Peeres and nobilitie of the realme, by the great and liberall gifts which he in moſt boũteous maner dayly beſtowed amongſt them. For although there were but fewe of the homeborne eſtates that bare any rule in the realme at this ſeaſon, yet thoſe that were remayning and offended by the generall iniuries of his father hee verie gently interteyned, promiſing them not onely to continue their good Lorde and ſoueraigne, but alſo to make more fauourable ordinãces than his father had left behind him, and furthermore to reſtore againe the former lawes and liberties of the realme, which his ſayde father had ſuppreſſed. Thus by fayre wordes and and pollicie he obteyned his purpoſe. Howbeit ſoone after he forgat himſelfe, & impriſoned Marchar, and Wilnotus, whom he had brought ouer with him forth of Normandie, being ſet at libertie by his father. The nobles at the firſt wiſhed rather to haue had his elder brother Duke Robert to haue gouerned ouer them: howbeit by the ayde onely of the ſayd Lanfrank whoſe authoritie was of no ſmall force amongeſt all the Lordes of the lande, this William according to his fathers aſſignation, was proclaimed and crowned at Weſtminſter on the. xxvj. of Septẽber (being ſũday, the. vj. Kalends of October) and the. xſ. indiction, as the beſt writers doe report. After his coronation, to gratifie the people, he wẽt to Wincheſter, where he found great ſubſtance of treaſure which his father had layde vp there to his owne vſe, whereof he was no niggard, but freely ſpent the ſame in large giftes, and all kinde of princely liberalitie. He ſet great numbers of priſoners alſo at libertie, & did many other things to pleaſure the people, wherin the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did not a little preuaile, for he perceyued that there was in the king no ſtayed minde, but an vnſtable nature, not ſetled but diſpoſed to lightneſſe and folly, and therfore he tooke ofttimes the more paines in perſwading him not only vnto liberalitie (which is none of the leaſt ornaments in a Prince) but alſo to vſe a diſcretion and orderly behauiour in all his other doings. Moreouer he ſticked not furthermore to put him in feare of an euil ende, & troubleſome regiment likely to enſue, if he did giue himſelfe to vice and wilfulneſſe, and neglect the charge thus by the prouidence of God commited to his perſon. And after this maner did the ſayd prelate trauaile with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it were harkning to his admonitions, and ſet forth by the way what his brother Robert did whileſt William Rufus hys brother was occupied in ſuche wiſe as you haue heard. It happened that his Robert was abrode in Germany when king William his father died (whether he went to rayſe a power to the entent he might therby obteyne the poſſeſſion of Normandie which hee thriſted to enioy in his fathers lifetime) and there hearing newes of his death, he haſted ſtreight wayes into Normandie, where he was ioyfully receyued, & quietly proclaimed duke of that countrey with great honor and gladneſſe of the people.

Polidor.
Simon Dun.
Mat. Par.

Sim. Dunel.
Marchar and Wilnote.

Lanfranke had fauored him euen of a child
Math. Paris.
Wil. Rufus is crowned.

26. of September.
Polidor.

His bountifull munificence.

1088

After this, conſidering with himſelfe how diſhonorable a thing it was for him, that his yonger brother ſhould poſſeſſe the crowne of Englande, which of right (as he ſayd) belonged vnto him, by reaſon of his age, he determined with all expedition to paſſe the ſeas with an armie, and recouer it out of his hands, which his father had giuen from him, partly (as it is thought) for his wilfulneſſe and diſobedience ſhewed towardes him in his life time, and partly alſo bycauſe he doubted that if he ſhuld leaue it vnto him, he would through his too much gentleneſſe and facilitie, giue occaſion to the Engliſh men to recouer ſtrength, and thereby reuolt from him: & therfore he iudged his yonger brother the ſayd William (being a man of a more rough nature) to bee the meeter of the twaine to haue the gouernment ouer them. Furthermore as duke Robert was thus moued by his owne deſire to bereue his brother of the dominiõ of England, ſo his purpoſe was not a litle incenſed therunto by the Realme of Englande) and Henrie ſurnamed Beauclerk, for his cunning and perfit knowledge in learning, vnto whom he bequethed all his treaſure and moueable goods, with the poſſeſſions that belonged to his mother. Beſides theſe four ſonnes he had alſo by his wife fiue daughters, Cecillie, which became a Nunne: Conſtance, maried to Alane duke of Britaine: Adela, giuen in mariage to Stephen Earle of Bloys: (of whom that Stephen was borne which raigned after Henrie the firſt) Adeliza, promiſed in mariage to Harold K. of England (as before ye haue heard) but ſhe died before ſhe was maried either to him, or to any other, and ſo likewiſe did the fift, whoſe name I cannot reherſe.

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Iohn Rous.
Hen Marle.

In this William the Conquerors dayes liued Oſmond the ſeconde Biſhop of Saliſburie, who compiled the Church ſeruice, which in times paſt they commonly called after Saliſburie vſe.

Salisburie vſe.

The vſe of the long Bow (as Iohn Rous teſtifieth) came firſt into Englande with this king William the Conquerour, for the Engliſh men before that time vſed to fight cōmonly with axes and ſuch hand weapons, and therfore in the oration made by the Conqueror before he gaue battail to king Harolde, the better to encourage his men, he tolde them they ſhould encounter with enimies that wanted ſhotte.

Shooting.

In the yeare of our Lorde. 1542. Monſeur de Caſtres Biſhop of Baieulx, and Abbot of Saint Eſtienne in Caen, cauſed the Sepulchre of this noble prince William the Conqueror to be opened, within the which his body was found whole, fayre and perfite, of limmes large and big, of ſtature and perſonage longer than the common ſort of men of our age by two foot: within the ſame ſepulchre or tombe, was found a copper plate, fayre gylt, conteyning this Epitaph.

Qui rexit rigidos Northmannos, atq; Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,
Et Cœnomenſes virtute contudit enſes,
Imperijq; ſui legibus applicuit:
Rex magnus parua iacet hac Guilhelmus in vrna:
Sufficit & magno parua domus domino,
Ter ſeptem gradibus ſe voluerat atq; duobus,
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obijt.

In Engliſh thus. H.F.

Who ouer Normās rough did rule, & ouer Britōs bolde
Did cōqueſt ſtoutly win, & conqueſt won did ſtrongly holde:
Who by his valure great the fatall vprores calmde in Mayne,
And to obey his power and lawes, the Manceaux did conſtrayne:
This mightie king within this little vault entombed lyes,
So great a Lorde ſomtime, ſo ſmall a rowmth doth now ſuffiſe.
When three times ſeuen and two by iuſt degrees the Sun had tooke
His wonted courſe in Virgos lap, then he the worlde forſooke.

Here to fill vp this page, I haue thought good to ſet downe the Charter which this king Wil. the Conqueror graunted vnto the Citie of London, at the ſpecial ſute of William then Biſhop of the ſame Citie, aſwel for the brieſneſſe thereof (& yet conteyning matter ſufficient in thoſe dayes to warrant his meaning) as alſo for the ſtrangeneſſe of the Engliſh then in vſe.

The charter of K. William the firſt.
1067

VVilliem Kyng grets VVilliem Biſceop & Godfred Porterefan, & ealle ya Burghwarn binnen Lōdon frenciſce, & Engliſce frendlice, & Ic kiden eoy, yeet Ic wille yeet git ben ealra weera lagayweord, ye get weeran on Eadwerds daege kings, and Ic will yeet aelc child by his fader yrfnume, aefter his faders daege: And Ic nelle ge wolian, yeet aenig man eoy aenis wrang beodo. God eoy heald.

VVilhelmus rex ſalutat VVilhelmum Epiſcopum, & Goffridū Portegreſiū & omnē Burghware infra London Franſ. & Angl. amicabiliter. Et vobis notū facio, quòd ego volo, quòd vos ſitis omni lege illa digni qua fuiſtis Edwardi diebus regis. Et volo quòd omnis puer ſit patris ſui hæres poſt diem patris ſui. Et ego nolo pati quod aliquis homo aliquam iniuriam vobis inferat. Deus vos ſaluet.

Williã Rufus.

1087

An. reg. 1.

Polidor.

Simon Dun.

Mat. Par.

Sim. Dunel.

Marchar and Wilnote.

Lanfranke had fauored him euen of a child

Math. Paris.

Wil. Rufus is crowned.

William, ſurnamed Rufus, that is to ſay William the red, ſeconde ſonne to William Conqueror, began his reigne ouer Englande the. ix. of September, in the yeare. 1087. whiche was about the. xxxj. yeare of the Emperour Henrie the fourth, and the xxxviij. of Philip the firſt, king of Fraunce, Urbane the ſeconde as then gouerning the Sea of Rome, and Malcolm Cammoir as yet raigning in Scotland. Immediately after his fathers deceaſſe, and before the ſolemnitie of the funeralles were executed, he came ouer into Englande with ſo muche ſpeede as was poſſible, and following the counſaile of Lanfranke the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie (in whome hee repoſed all his truſt) hee ſought to winne the fauor of the Peeres and nobilitie of the realme, by the great and liberall gifts which he in moſt boũteous maner dayly beſtowed amongſt them. For although there were but fewe of the homeborne eſtates that bare any rule in the realme at this ſeaſon, yet thoſe that were remayning and offended by the generall iniuries of his father hee verie gently interteyned, promiſing them not onely to continue their good Lorde and ſoueraigne, but alſo to make more fauourable ordinãces than his father had left behind him, and furthermore to reſtore againe the former lawes and liberties of the realme, which his ſayde father had ſuppreſſed. Thus by fayre wordes and and pollicie he obteyned his purpoſe. Howbeit ſoone after he forgat himſelfe, & impriſoned Marchar, and Wilnotus, whom he had brought ouer with him forth of Normandie, being ſet at libertie by his father. The nobles at the firſt wiſhed rather to haue had his elder brother Duke Robert to haue gouerned ouer them: howbeit by the ayde onely of the ſayd Lanfrank whoſe authoritie was of no ſmall force amongeſt all the Lordes of the lande, this William according to his fathers aſſignation, was proclaimed and crowned at Weſtminſter on the. xxvj. of Septẽber (being ſunday, the. vj. Kalends of October) and the. xj. indiction, as the beſt writers doe report. After his coronation, to gratifie the people, he wẽt to Wincheſter, where he found great ſubſtance of treaſure which his father had layde vp there to his owne vſe, whereof he was no niggard, but freely ſpent the ſame in large giftes, and all kinde of princely liberalitie. He ſet great numbers of priſoners alſo at libertie, & did many other things to pleaſure the people, wherin the diligence and good aduice of Lanfranke did not a little preuaile, for he perceyued that there was in the king no ſtayed minde, but an vnſtable nature, not ſetled but diſpoſed to lightneſſe and folly, and therfore he tooke ofttimes the more paines in perſwading him not only vnto liberalitie (which is none of the leaſt ornaments in a Prince) but alſo to vſe a diſcretion and orderly behauiour in all his other doings. Moreouer he ſticked not furthermore to put him in feare of an euil ende, & troubleſome regiment likely to enſue, if he did giue himſelfe to vice and wilfulneſſe, and neglect the charge thus by the prouidence of God commited to his perſon. And after this maner did the ſayd prelate trauaile with the king, whom we will leaue at this time as it were harkning to his admonitions, and ſet forth by the way what his brother Robert did whileſt William Rufus hys brother was occupied in ſuche wiſe as you haue heard. It happened that his Robert was abrode in Germany when king William his father died (whether he went to rayſe a power to the entent he might therby obteyne the poſſeſſion of Normandie which hee thriſted to enioy in his fathers lifetime) and there hearing newes of his death, he haſted ſtreight wayes into Normandie, where he was ioyfully receyued, & quietly proclamed duke of that countrey with great honor and gladneſſe of the people.

26. of September.

Polidor.

His bountifull munificence.

1088

After this, conſidering with himſelfe how diſhonorable a thing it was for him, that his yonger brother ſhould poſſeſſe the crowne of Englande, which of right (as he ſayd) belonged vnto him, by reaſon of his age, he determined with all expedition to paſſe the ſeas with an armie, and recouer it out of his hands, which his father had giuen from him, partly (as it is thought) for his wilfulneſſe and diſobedience ſhewed towardes him in his life time, and partly alſo bycauſe he doubted that if he ſhuld leaue it vnto him, he would through his too much gentleneſſe and facilitie, giue occaſion to the Engliſh men to recouer ſtrength, and thereby reuolt from him: & therefore he iudged his yonger brother the ſayd William (being a man of a more rough nature) to bee the meeter of the twaine to haue the gouernment ouer them. Furthermore as duke Robert was thus moued by his owne deſire to bereue his brother of the dominiõ of England, ſo his purpoſe was not a litle incenſed therunto by the prouocation of ſuch the Engliſh nobilitie and Normans, as came dayly ouer vnto him oute of the realme, cōplayning of the preſent ſtate of the world, as thoſe that miſliked with the whole maner of regiment vſed in the beginning of the raign of his brother William. His vncle Odo alſo (the Biſhop of Bayeux) did ſet forward the matter in all that euer he might. This Odo (as ye haue heard) was at the firſt in great eſtimatiō with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length (vpon enuy conceyued for that the Archbiſhop Lanfranke was preferred before him) he conſpired agaynſt him, who hauing vnderſtanding therof committed him forthwith to priſon, where he remayned till the ſaid Prince thē lying on his death bed, releſed & reſtored him vnto his former libertie. When the K. was dead, Wil. Rufus tooke him with him alſo into Englande, ſuppoſing no leſſe but to haue had an eſpecial frēd of him, & a truſtie coūſeller in all his great affairs. But ere long after his comming thither, he fell againe into the ſame offence of ingratitude, into the which he had fallen before in the Conquerors dayes: for perceyuing that Lanfranke was ſo highly eſteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partly ſuſpecting that the ſaide Lanfrank had bin the chief cauſer of his former impriſonment, he began to cōſpire with the reſt againſt his nephew, and therupon wrote ſundry letters ouer vnto duke Robert, alſo coūſelling him to com ouer with an army in all cōuenient ſpeed, to take the gouernment vpon him, which by his practiſe ſhould eaſily (as he ſaid) be cōpaſſed. Duke Robert being thus animated on al ſides, and yet wanting ſufficient money to the furniture of this iourney, he engaged a portiō of his duchie of Normandy, as the countie of Conſtantine to his yongeſt brother Henrie, for a great ſumme of gold, and therewith returned anſwere vnto the foreſayde Biſhop that he ſhould prouide and looke for him vpon the ſouth coaſt of England, at a certain time appointed. Herevpon Odo (hauing receyued theſe letters, and conſidered furthermore that the chiefeſt point of this buſineſſe conſiſted in ſpeed) fortified the caſtell of Rocheſter, & began to make ſore warres againſt the kings friends in Kent. He procured other of the procurators alſo to do the like in other partes of the realme: And firſt on the weſt part of England, where Geoffray Biſhop of Conſtans, with his nephew Robert de Mowbray Earle of Northumberlande ſetting forth from Briſtowe, came toward Bathe. which town they tooke and ſacked it, & likewiſe Berkley, with a great part of Wiltſhire, and brought the ſpoyle & booties there gotten, back vnto Briſtow, where they had a ſtrōg caſtell, ſtrongly fortified for their more ſafetie. In like maner Roger de Bygod, departing frō Norwich, with great forreyes ouerrode & robbed al the countreys about, and conueyed ſuch riches as he had gottē into the ſaid city. And in ſēblable wiſe, Hugh de Grandmeſnil being at Leiceſter did practiſe the like in thoſe parties, ſpoyling & waſting al the countreys about him. The Erle of Shrewſburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welchmen ſet forth from Shrewſbury and with him were William Bi. of Durham the kings houſhold chaplain, Bernerd of Neumerch, Roger Lacie, & Rauſe Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers togyther, enter into the country, and with fire & ſword did much hurt in all places where they came, killing and taking a great number of people. Afterwards comming to Worceſter they aſſault the citie, taking at their firſt approch the ſuburbs, and ſetting the ſame on fire. But the Citizens cloſing the gates of their Citie (though with the ſodaine comming of the enimies they were ſomewhat afrayd) made valiant reſiſtance: and putting their

goods

Odo the Biſhop of Baieux conſpireth agaynſt his nephew Williā Rufus.

The caſtell of Rocheſter.

VVil. Mal.

Sim. Dun.

The Biſhop of Conſtance taketh the town of Bath.

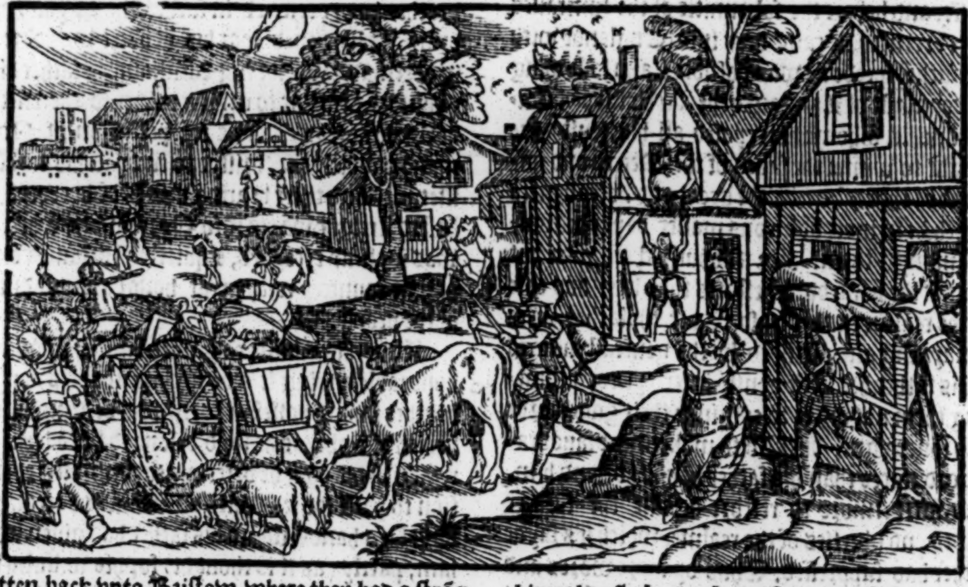
Hugh Grandmeſnill.

H. Hunt.

VVil. Malm.

The Earle of Shrewsburie.

Worceſter aſſaulted.



goodes with their wyues and children into the caſtell, got them to the walles and places of defence to beate backe the aduerſaries.

Biſhop Wulſtan was among them in the towne alſo, whom the Citizens would haue compelled to haue gone likewiſe into the Caſtell there to be more in ſafegard, but he refuſed it. At length it chaunced that the enimies (continuing ſtill the ſiege) began to wexe negligent, and raunged abrode in the countrey, little regarding to kepe ſure watch and warde about their campe, wherevpon the Engliſh men within the citie vſing this occaſion, being alſo moued therto with the comfortable exhortation of Biſhop Wulſtan, ſallied forth of the towne and ſet on their enimies with great fierceneſſe, whom they tooke at ſuch aduauntage, that they ſlue and tooke that day aboue fiue. M. men (as Henrie of Huntington recordeth.) For the Engliſh bearing a continuall malice in theyr heartes agaynſt the Frenchmen and Normans, did now their beſt to be fully reuenged of them, vpon ſo happie an occaſion offred. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, hid thẽſelues in the next townes, making ſuch ſhiftes for their liues as the preſent neceſſitie could miniſter. Whileſt the realme was thus troubled on ech ſide, the Archbiſhop Lãfrank ſendeth, writeth, and admoniſheth all the kings friends to make themſelues readie to defende their Prince. And after he vnderſtoode that they were aſſembled togither for that purpoſe, hee counſayleth the king to marche into the fielde with them ſpeedily, to repreſſe his enimies. The king following his counſaile, firſt appoynted his nauie to ſcoure and kepe the ſeas, and withſtand (if it were poſſible) the arriual of his brother by fayre words. Alſo he reconcileth Roger de Mountgomerie erle of Shrewſburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promiſes to the Engliſh men, that he would out of hande giue and reſtore vnto them ſuche fauourable lawes as they woulde wiſhe or deſire. Moreouer he commaunded all vniuſt impoſtes, tolles and tallages to be layde downe, and granted free hunting in the woodes, chaſes & forreſts, which he knew to be a thing very much deſired, & therfore acceptable vnto thẽ. But all theſe grãts and promiſes he kept not long, although that for the time he greatly cõtented the people, with ſuch a ſhew of good meaning towards them: that don, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the ſedition began, and firſt coming to the caſtell of Tunbridge, he compelled the captaine named Gilbert to yeeld & rẽder the fortreſſe into his hãds. Then went he to Horne caſtel, where he heard ſay that Odo was, (but the report was vntrue, for he was withdrawne into the caſtell of Pẽſey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he haſted forth vnto Pemſey, & beſieged the caſtel there a long ſeaſon, which the Biſhop had ſtrongly fortified. During which time, and about the fiftieth day after the beginning of the ſiege, worde was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, & minded with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the ſuccor of the Biſhoppe and other his friendes, whome hee and his power had not a little afflicted. But here Authors varie: for ſome report that Duke Robert came not ouer himſelfe at the firſt at all, but ſent a part of his armie, with a certaine number of ſhippes, which encountring with the kings fleet, were diſcõfited. Other write that duke Robert hearing of the loſſe of his men, came after himſelfe, and landed with a mightie army as before, which is moſt likely. And certenly (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might eaſily as then haue recouered Englãd from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, cõſidering that Euſtace erle of Bullongne, Odo the ſaid B. of Bayeux, & the Erle of Mortaigne, wͭ other lords of Normãdie were paſſed into Eng. had alredy takẽ Rocheſter,

and

Biſhop Wulſtan.

They ſlue fiue hundred, and chaſed the reſidue as ſayth Sim. Dunel.

The diligence of the Archbiſhop Lanfrank

The great curtiſie ſhewed to the Engliſhmen by Wil. Rufus

Simon Dun.

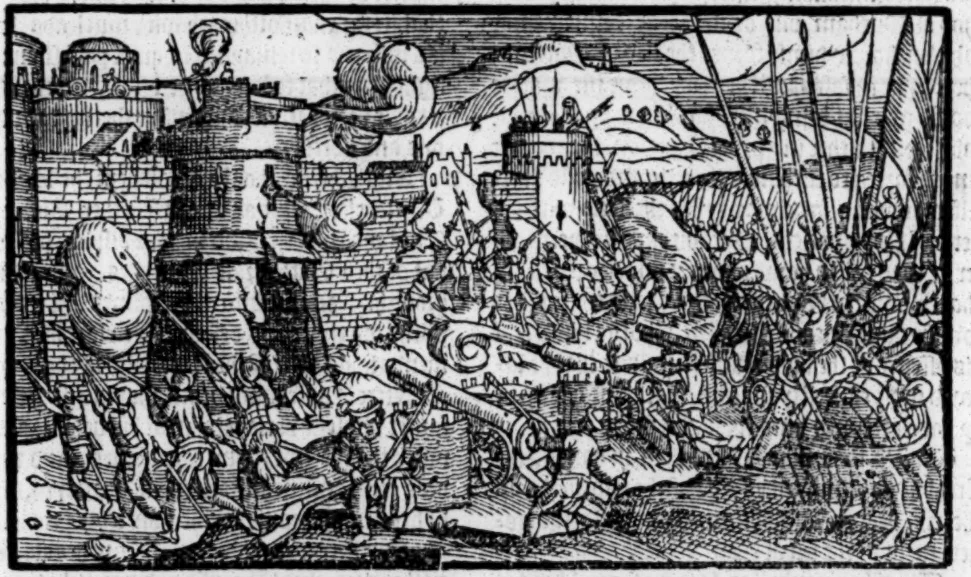
Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun.

Gemeticenſis.

Euſtace Earle of Bullongne.



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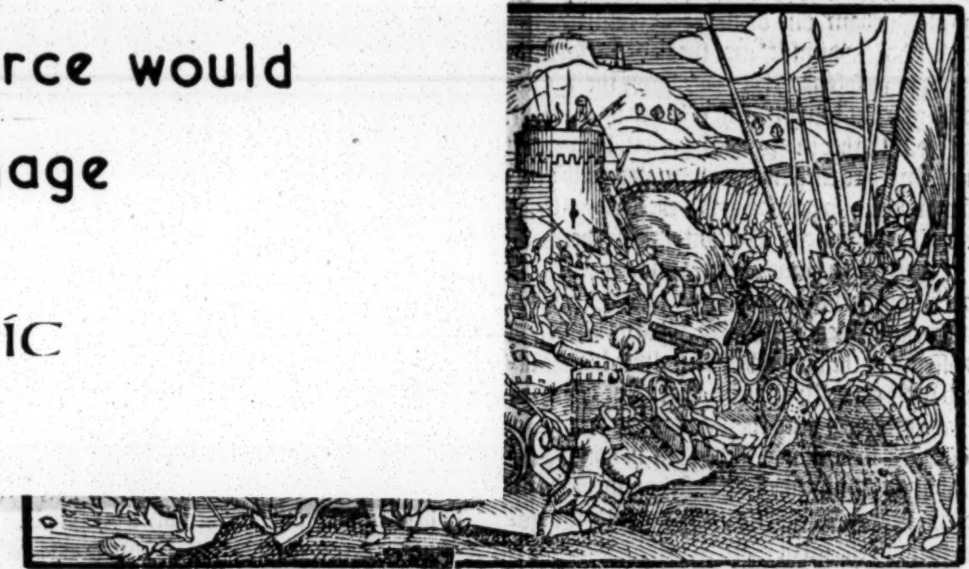
VVil. Malm.



which time, and about the fiftieth day after the beginning of the ſiege, worde was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, ⁊ minded with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the ſuccor of the Biſhoppe and other his friendes, whome hee and his power had not a little afflicted. But here Authors varie: for ſome report that Duke Robert came not ouer himſelfe at the firſt at all, but ſent a part of his armie, with a certaine number of ſhippes, which encountring with the kings fleet, were diſcōfited. Other write that duke Robert hearing of the loſſe of his men, came after himſelfe, and landed with a mightie army as before, which is moſt likely. And certenly (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might eaſily as then haue recouered Englãd from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, cōſidering that Euſtace erle of Bullongne, Odo the ſaid B. of Bayeux, ⁊ the Erle of Mortaigne, wᵗ other lords of Normãdie were paſſed into Eng. had alredy takẽ Rocheſter, and

en. Hunt.

mon Dun.

Gemeticenſis.

Euſtace Earle of Bullongne.

the prouocation of ſuch the Engliſh nobilitie and Normans, as came dayly ouer vnto him oute of the realme, cōplayning of the preſent ſtate of the world, as thoſe that miſliked with the whole maner of regiment vſed in the beginning of the raign of his brother William. His vncle Odo alſo (the Biſhop of Bayeux) did ſet forward the matter in all that euer he might. This Odo (as ye haue heard) was at the firſt in great eſtimatiō with his brother the Conqueror, and bare great rule vnder him, till at length (vpon enuy conceyued for that the Archbiſhop Lanfranke was preferred before him) he conſpired agaynſt him, who hauing vnderſtanding therof committed him forthwith to priſon, where he remayned till the ſaid Prince thē lying on his death bed, releſed & reſtored him vnto his former libertie. When the K. was dead, Wil. Rufus tooke him with him alſo into Englande, ſuppoſing no leſſe but to haue had an eſpecial frēd of him, & a truſtie coūſeller in all his great affairs. But ere long after his comming thither, he fell againe into the ſame offence of ingratitude, into the which he had fallen before in the Conquerors dayes:

Odo the Biſhop of Baieux conſpireth agaynſt his nephew Williā Rufus.

for perceyuing that Lanfranke was ſo highly eſteemed with the king, that he could beare no rule, and partly ſuſpecting that the ſaide Lanfrank had bin the chief cauſer of his former impriſonment, he began to cōſpire with the reſt againſt his nephew, and therevpon wrote ſundry letters ouer vnto duke Robert, alſo coūſelling him to com ouer with'an army in all cōuenient ſpeed, to take the gouernment vpon him, which by his practiſe ſhould eaſily (as he ſaid) be cōpaſſed. Duke Robert being thus animated on al ſides, and yet wanting ſufficient money to the furniture of this iourney, he engaged a portiō of his duchie of Normandy, as the countie of Conſtantine to his yongeſt brother Henrie, for a great ſumme of gold, and therewith returned anſwere vnto the foreſayde Biſhop that he ſhould prouide and looke for him vpon the ſouth coaſt of England, at a certain time appointed. Herevpon Odo (hauing receyued theſe letters, and conſidered furthermore that the chiefeſt point of this buſineſſe conſiſted in ſpeed) fortified the caſtell of Rocheſter, & began to make ſore warres againſt the kings friends in Kent.

The caſtell of Rocheſter.

He procured other of the procurators alſo to do the like in other partes of the realme: And firſt on the weſt part of England, where Geoffray Biſhop of Conſtans, with his nephew Robert de Mowbray Earle of Northumberlande ſetting forth from Briſtowe, came toward Bathe.

VVil. Mal.
Sim. Dun.
The Biſhop of Conſtance taketh the town of Bath.

which town they tooke and ſacked it, & likewiſe Berkley, with a great part of Wiltſhire, and brought the ſpoyle & booties there gotten, back vnto Briſtow, where they had a ſtrōg caſtell, ſtrongly fortified for their more ſafetie. In like maner Roger de Bygod, departing frō Norwich, with great forreyes ouerrode & robbed al the countreys about, and conueyed ſuch riches as he had gottē into the ſaid city.

Hugh Grandmeſaill.
H. Hunt.
VVil. Malm.

And in ſēblable wiſe, Hugh de Grandmeſnil being at Leiceſter did practiſe the like in thoſe parties, ſpoyling & waſting al the countreys about him.

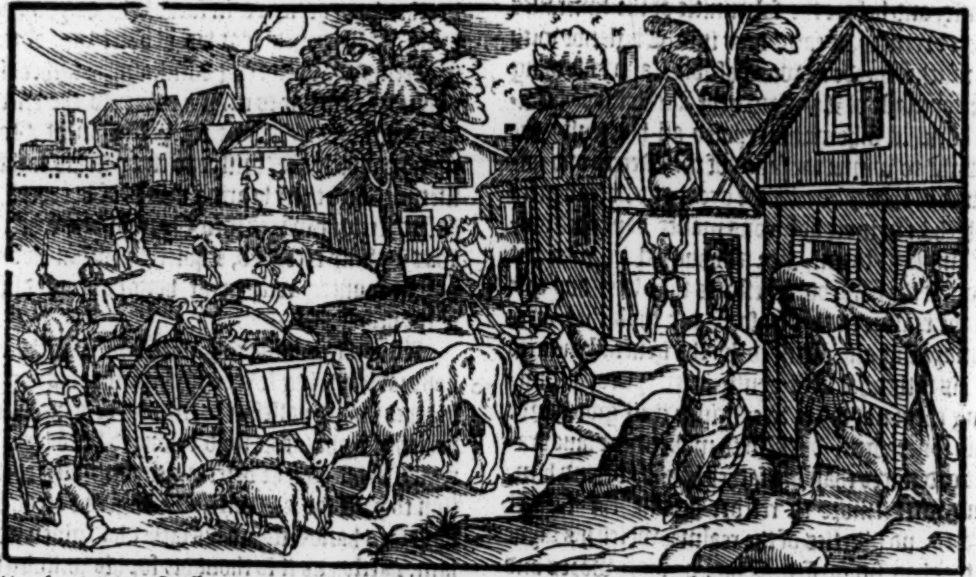
The Earle of Shrewsburie.

The Erle of Shrewſburie called Roger de Mountgomerie, with a power of Welchmen ſet forth from Shrewſbury and with him were William Bi. of Durham the kings houſhold chaplain, Bernerd of Neumerch, Roger Lacie, & Raufe Mortimer, (all Normans or Frenchmen) who ioyning their powers togyther, enter into the country, and with fire & ſword did much hurt in all places where they came, killing and taking a great nomber of people:

Worceſter aſſaulted.

Afterwards comming to Worceſter they aſſault the citie, taking at their firſt approch the ſuburbs, and ſetting the ſame on fire. But the Citizens cloſing the gates of their Citie (though with the ſodaine comming of the enimies they were ſomewhat afrayd) made valiant reſiſtance: and putting their

goods



goodes with their wyues and children into the caſtell, got them to the walles and places of defence to beate backe the aduerſaries.

p Wul-
an.

Biſhop Wulſtan was among them in the towne alſo, whom the Citizens would haue compelled to haue gone likewiſe into the Caſtell there to be more in ſafegard, but he refuſed it. At length it chaunced that the enimies (continuing ſtill the ſiege) began to wexe negligent, and raunged abrode in the countrey, little regarding to kepe ſure watch and warde about their campe, wherevpon the Engliſh men within the citie vſing this occaſion, being alſo moued therto with the comfortable exhortation of Biſhop Wulſtan, ſallied forth of the towne and ſet on their enimies with great fierceneſſe, whom they tooke at ſuch aduauntage, that they ſlue and tooke that day aboue fiue. M. men (as Henrie of Huntington recordeth.) For the Engliſh bearing a continuall malice in theyr heartes agaynſt the Frenchmen and Normans, did now their beſt to be fully reuenged of them, vpon ſo happie an occaſion offered. Thoſe that eſcaped by flight, hid thẽſelues in the next townes, making ſuch ſhiftes for their liues as the preſent neceſſitie could miniſter. Whileſt the realme was thus troubled on ech ſide, the Archbiſhop Lãfrank ſendeth, writeth, and admoniſheth all the kings friends to make themſelues readie to defende their Prince. And after he vnderſtoode that they were aſſembled togither for that purpoſe, hee counſayleth the king to marche into the fielde with them ſpeedily, to repreſſe his enimies. The king following his counſaile, firſt appoynted his nauie to ſcoure and kepe the ſeas, and withſtand (if it were poſſible) the arriual of his brother by fayre wordes. Alſo he reconcileth Roger de Mountgomerie erle of Shrewſburie vnto him, and therewith maketh large promiſes to the Engliſhmen, that he would out of hande giue and reſtore vnto them ſuche fauourable lawes as they woulde wiſhe or deſire. Moreouer he commaunded all vniuſt impoſtes, tolles and tallages to be layde downe, and granted free hunting in the woodes, chaſes & forreſts, which he knew to be a thing very much deſired, & therfore acceptable vnto thẽ. But all theſe grãuts and promiſes he kept not long, although that for the time he greatly cõtented the people, with ſuch a ſhew of good meaning towards them: that don, he goeth with a mightie armie into Kent, where the ſedition began, and firſt cõming to the caſtell of Tunbridge, he compelled the captaine named Gilbert to yeeld & rẽder the fortreſſe into his hãds. Then went he to Horne caſtel, where he heard ſay that Odo was, (but the report was vntrue, for he was withdrawne into the caſtell of Pẽſey) which when he had ouerthrowne, he haſted forth vnto Pemſey, & beſieged the caſtel there a long ſeaſon, which the Biſhop had ſtrongly fortified. During which time, and about the fiftieth day after the beginning of the ſiege, worde was brought to the king, that his brother duke Robert was landed at Southampton, & minded with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the ſuccor of the Biſhoppe and other his friendes, whome hee and his power had not a little afflicted. But here Authors varie: for ſome report that Duke Robert came not ouer himſelfe at the firſt at all, but ſent a part of his armie, with a certaine number of ſhippes, which encountring with the kings fleet, were diſcõfited. Other write that duke Robert hearing of the loſſe of his men, came after himſelfe, and landed with a mightie army as before, which is moſt likely. And certenly (as Gemeticen. affirmeth) he might eaſily as then haue recouered Englãd from his brother, if he had not lingred the time, cõſidering that Euſtace erle of Bullongne, Odo the ſaid B. of Bayeux, & the Erle of Mortaigne, wᵗ other lords of Normãdie were paſſed into Eng. had alredy takẽ Rocheſter,

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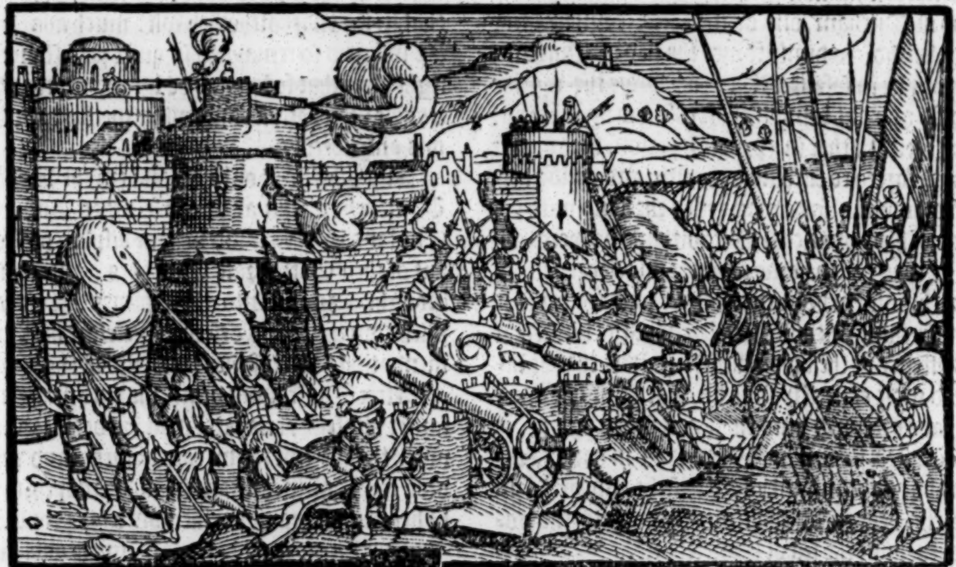
p Lanfrank

The great curtiſie ſhewed to the Enliſhmen by Wil. Rufus

Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.



en. Hunt.
imon Dun.

Gemeticenſis.

Euſtace Earle of Bullongne.

and diuerſe other caſtels in the prouince of Canterburie, & kept the ſame a certain time ſtil looking that he ſhould haue come ouer to their ayd, which he deferred to do, till they were cōſtrayned by ſiege and lack of neceſſarie ſuccors to return into Normādie, leauing thoſe places which they had won, vnto the king, & that to their great diſhonor. But howſoeuer it was, the king ſtill continued yͤ ſiege before Pemſey caſtell, till Odo through want of victuals was glad to ſubmit himſelfe, and promiſed to cauſe the caſtell of Rocheſter alſo to be deliuered, but at his comming thither, they within the Citie ſuffred him to enter, and ſtreight wayes layd him faſt in priſon. Some iudge that it was done vnder a color by his owne conſent.

Simon Dun.

There were in Rocheſter a ſort of valiant gentlemen, the flower in maner of all Normandie, with Euſtace Erle of Bullongne, & many gētlemen of Flanders, which were in mind to defende the place agaynſt the king: but the king hearing what was done, came with his army & beſieged yͤ citie of Rocheſter on eche ſide ſo ſtraightly yͭ they within were glad to deliuer it into his handes.

Rocheſter beſieged by the king.

The Biſhop Odo thus loſt all his liuings and dignities in England, and ſo returned into Normandie, where vnder duke Robert he had the chief gouernment of the country committed vnto him.

An. Reg. 2

Polidor.

1089

After this he ouercame diuers of his aduerſaries, ſome by the ſworde, and ſome by flatterie: but this notwithſtanding, there yet remained the Biſhop of Durham, one of the chiefe conſpirators, who withdrew himſelfe into the city of Durham, there to lie in ſafetie, till he ſawe howe the worlde would go: but being therein beſieged by the king, who came thither in (proper) perſon, hee was at length forced to ſurrender the citie, and yeeld himſelf: wherupō alſo he was exiled the land with diuerſe of his complices. But within two yeres after he was called home again, and reſtored to his church, wherin he liued not long, but died for ſorrow, bycauſe he could not clerely purge himſelf of his offence in the ſayd rebellion, albeit that he labored moſt earneſtly ſo to do, that he might therby haue atteyned vnto the kings fauor againe.

The Biſhop of Durhā exiled.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hande, the Archbiſhop Lanfranke falleth ſicke and dieth, in the.xix. yeare after his firſt entring into the gouernment of the ſea of Canterburie.

Lanfrāk Archbiſhop of Cāterburie departeth this life.

This Lanfranke (as ſhoulde ſeeme) was a wiſe politike Prelate, and alſo learned: ſo long as he liued he qualified the furious and cruell nature of king William Rufus, inſtructing him to forbeare ſuch wild & outrageous parts, as his youthful courage ſeemed to be inclined vnto: and moreouer he perſwaded with the Engliſh men to obey the ſame king as their lawfull Prince, whereby they ſhoulde occaſion him to bee their good Lorde and king, not vſing them with any rigour as his father had done. So that Lanfrank could not wel haue bene ſpared in the time of the rebellion, without the great danger of ſubuerting the ſtate of the cōmon wealth. He buylded two Hoſpitals without the Citie of Canterburie, for the relief of poore people, and ſtraungers, the one of S. John, the other at Harbaldown. He aduanced the church of Rocheſter from foure ſecular Clerkes, to the nūber of fiftie Monkes: hee alſo repayred Chriſtes Church in Canterburie, and the Abbay of S. Albons, of the which hee made Abbot one Paule that was his nephewe, whiche Paule gouerned that houſe by his vncles aſſiſtance greatly to the aduancement thereof, aſwell in temporall preferments, as alſo ſpirituall, as it was then iudged. Likewiſe the ſayde Lanfranke was right profitable in gouernment of his Churche and Sea of Canterburie, recouering ſundrie portiōs of lands and rents alienated from the ſame before his days, inſomuch that he reſtored to that ſea.xxv. manor places. For amongſt other, where Odo the Biſhop of Bayeux that was alſo Erle of Kent, bearing great rule in Englande vnder his nephewe King William the Conquerour, had vſurped diuerſe poſſeſſions whiche belonged to the Sea of Canterburie, and alſo had ſeazed the franchiſes into his handes apperteyning to ths ſame Lanfranke, by ſute and earneſt trauaile hee recouered the ſame againe, and being impleaded about that matter by the ſayd Odo, he ſo defended his cauſe, that in the ende (although with much ado) he had his wil, and ſo remayned in quiet poſſeſſion of his right after that ſo long as he lyued, wythout any trouble or vexation concerning the ſayde poſſeſſions and liberties.

Mat. VV

Paule Ab

of S.Albon

Edmerus

Alſo where not only Walkhem the Biſhop of Wincheſter, but alſo diuerſe other Biſhops in England were in mind to haue diſplaced Monks out of their Cathedrall Churches, and to haue brought Canons into their roomes, Lanfranke withſtood them, and deſerued therefore high commendations both of them and alſo of the Pope.

Lanfranke prayſed for holding with the Monkes.

After Lanfrankes death, the king beganne to forget himſelfe verie farre in al his dealings, inſomuch that he kept many concubines, and wexed very cruel and inconſtant in all his wayes, ſo that he became an heauie burthen vnto his people.

The king gi uen to ſenſu luſt and cou touſneſſe.

Furthermore, he became ſo much addicted to gather good, that hee conſidered not what apperteyned to the Maieſtie of a king, ſo that nothing that ſeemed to make for his gaine, and ſatiſfying of his appetite, was eſteemed of him vnlawfull, meaſuring his dutie by gaine, and not by that which ſhould moſt of all become him. He kept alſo the Sea of Canterburie foure yeares in his handes, to ſee who would giue moſt for it, and in the meane time tooke the profits, making the moſt thereof that could be deuiſed by any meanes.

The

Mat. Paris.

VVil. Mal.
Mat. Par.

The like he vſed when other benefices and Abbayes were vacant of a gouernour, and furthermore that little which the Prince ſpared, his officers and fermers, no leſſe couetous than he, tooke to their aduauntage: ſo that what by the king, & what by his dealers, the church of England was now ſore greeued, and bereeued of hir wealth. Diuerſe of hir prelates in like maner, were not a little offended, to ſee their mother ſo ſpoyled of hir treaſure and liuelihood, inſomuch that they practiſed a redreſſe: and to begin withall complayned of the king to Pope Vrban: but he was ſo buſied with other troubles of his owne nere home, that hee could haue no time to ſeeke meanes howe to redreſſe ſuche enormities ſo farre off, whereby the lands & goods belonging to the Church here in Englãd were ſtill waſtfully ſpent & conſumed by the king and other, to whome he gaue or let them forth to ferme at his owne will, & to his moſt cõmoditie. But albeit that the prince was of ſuch a diſpoſition & inclination by nature, yet there is one thing written of him which ought not to be forgotten, to admoniſh vs that there is no man of ſo euill an affection, but that ſomtime he dealeth vprightly, though it be by hap or other great difficultie. It chaunced that there was an Abbay voyde of an Abbot, in the which were two Monkes very couetous perſons aboue the reſt, and ſuche as by ſcraping and gathering togither, were become very rich (and ſurely ſuch, as ſayth Polidor) in thoſe dayes came to preferment.) Theſe two appointed to go togither to the Court, eche hoping at theyr cõming thither to finde ſome meanes yͤ he might be made Abbot of yͤ houſe: Being thus agreed, to the court they come, and there offer very largely to the king to obteyn their ſute: who perceyuing their greedie deſires, and caſting his eies about the chamber, eſpied by chaunce an other Monke (that came to beare them cõpanie, being a more ſober man, & ſimple after his outward apparãce) whom he called vnto him, & aſked what he would giue him to be made Abbot of the foreſaid Abbay. The Monk after a litle pauſe made anſwere, that he would giue nothing at al for any ſuch purpoſe, ſince he entred into that profeſſion of mere zeale to deſpiſe riches and al worldly pompe, to the end he might the more quietly ſerue god in holyneſſe and puritie of conuerſation: Sayeſt thou ſo, quoth the king, thẽ art thou euen he that art worthy to gouerne this houſe: and ſtreight way he beſtowed yͤ houſe vpon him, iuſtly repulſing the other two, and not without their open infamie and reproche.

Mat. Paris.
An. reg. 3
1090

But to returne to our hiſtorie. After the expulſion of the Biſhop of Durham, & other of his adherents, the K. paſſed ouer into Normandie, purpoſing to depriue his brother of that Dukedome, & being arriued there, he beſieged & tooke S. Valerie, Albemarle, & diuerſe other townes and caſtels, in which he placed of his beſt ſoldiers, & men of war, the better to mainteyn the war againſt his aforeſaid brother. Hereupon alſo the ſaide Robert ſent vnto the French king for ayde, who came downe at his requeſt with a noble army, & beſieged one of thoſe caſtels which K. Wil. had lately woon, howbeit by ſuch meanes as K. Wil. found, in ſending to the French K. an huge ſum of mony, he rayſed his ſiege ſhortly and returned home againe. At length a peace was concluded betwixt K. Wil. and the duke his brother, although very diſhonorable to the ſaid Robert: for it was accorded that K. Wil. ſhould retaine and ſtill enioy the countie of Ewe, with Feſcampe, the Abbathy of mount S. Michell, Chereburg, and all thoſe other places which he had woon & gotten out of his handes in this his late voyage. On the other ſide it was agreed, that K. Wil. ſhould ayd the Duke to recouer al other peeces beyond the ſeas which belõged to their father. Alſo that ſuch Normans as had loſt any of their landes & liuings in England for taking part with the duke in the late rebelliõ ſhuld be reſtored to the ſame. And furthermore, that whether ſoeuer of both ſhoulde die firſt, the other then remayning aliue ſhuld be his heyre, and ſucceed in his dominions. This peace was cõcluded at Cane, & that by procurement of the French K. at what time K. Wil. was very ſtrong in yͤ field neare vnto Ewe. And after the cõcluſion thereof, they vnited their powers, & beſieged their yongeſt brother Henrie, in the caſtel of Mount S. Michel, which (being ſituate in the confines of Normãdy and Brytain) he had ſtrongly fortified of late for feare of afterclaps. But when they had lien before it by the ſpace of all the lent ſeaſon, and had made many bickerings with his men, more to theyr loſſe than gaine, they rayſed their ſiege and voluntarily departed. Not long after this king William depriued Edgar Edeling of his honor which duke Robert had aſſigned vnto him, baniſhing him out of Normandie for euer.

Sim. Dun.
Warres betwixt the king & his brother Robert.

An. Reg. 4.
1091

Gemeticenſis.
A peace concluded.
Simon Dun.
Math. VVeſt.
Mat. Par.

Gemeticenſis.

Sim. Dunel.

Shortly after alſo the aforeſayde Henry wan a ſtrõg town called Damfront, & furniſhing it at point deuiſe, he kept the ſame in his poſſeſſion as long as he liued, mauger both his brethren. Thus the war waxed hote among thoſe three, howbeit ſodenly (I know not vpon what occaſion it came to paſſe) that this Henry was reconciled with K. Wil. and his brother Robert, ſo that all debates being quieted on euerie ſide they were made friẽds togither. King William alſo returned into Englande, hauing his brother Robert in his companie, all men reioycing at their reconciliation and amitie, which happened the yeare. 1091. and fourth of the reigne of the king.

Toward the ende whereof and vpon the fifth day of October a marueylous ſore tempeſt fell in ſundrie partes of Englande, but eſpecially in the towne of Winchcombe, where by force of thunder & lightning, a part of the ſteeple of the Church was throwne downe, and the Crucifix with the Image of our Ladie alſo ſtanding vnder the rood loft, was likewiſe ouerthrowne, broken and ſhattered in peeces, and withall there followed a foule noyſome and moſt horrible ſtinke in the Church. Alſo on the. xvij. day of the ſame moneth was much harme done in the Citie of London, with an outragious winde, whoſe violence ouerturned or rent in peeces aboue the number of fiue hūdred houſes, and the roofe of S. Mary Bow Church in Cheape was alſo ouerthrowne, wherewith two men were ſlaine.

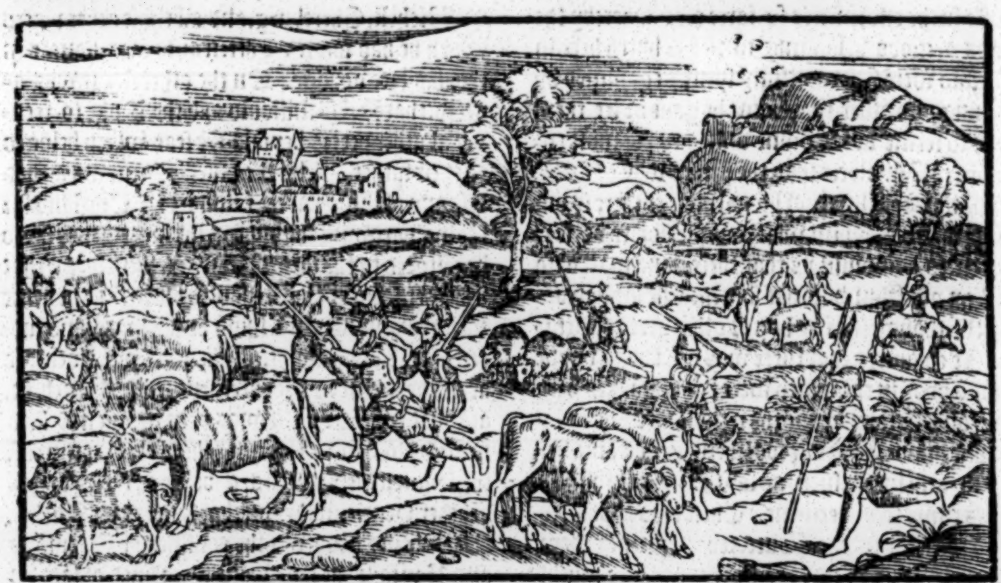
A mightie winde.

Anno reg. 5
1092

Moreouer at Saliſburie was much hurt done with a like winde and thunder, for the top of the ſteeple was ouerthrowne, and many other buyldings ſore ſhaken and caſte downe, whereof let this which we haue ſayde ſuffice for this preſent: and nowe to ſpeake ſomewhat of the doings of Scotlande as occaſion moueth.

Whileſt (in ſuch wiſe as yee haue heard) the variance was depending betwene king William and his brother Duke Robert, the Scottiſh king Malcolme made ſore warres vppon the inhabitants of Northumberlande, fetching great booties and prayes out of that Countrey, which he inuaded euen to Cheſter in the ſtreete.

The Scottes inuade England.



King William therefore ſoone after his returne, called his power togither, and ſpedde hym Northwards. But king Malcolme hearing of his reproche and great ſtrength, ſent to him for peace, which was graunted in the ende.

Wil. Malm.
Sim. Dun.

But here ſuch writers as we haue ſeene doe not wholy agree, for ſome beſide their confuſion of time, and account of the yeare, affyrme that king William prepared a great army both by ſea and lande agaynſt Malcolme, and that his nauy being abrode on the Seas, was by tempeſt loſt, and the moſt part of the ſhippes drowned. Alſo that the armie by lande entring into Scotlande, ſuffred many loſſes through want of vitailes, and ſo recoyled. Finally that Duke Robert lying on the borders with an army in his brothers name (whereby it ſhould appeare that the king himſelfe was not there) by the help and furtherance of Edgar Edelling which then ſerued king Malcolme in his warres, made a peace betwixt his brother and the ſayd Malcolme, by the articles whereof certaine places in Northumberlande were reſtored vnto Malcolme, which he had helde in William Conquerours dayes. Some write in like maner that King Malcolme did homage vnto king William, and alſo Duke Robert reconciled the ſayde Edgar Edelling vnto the fauour of the king. But howſoeuer the truth of the ſtorie doth appeare in this behalfe, certaine it is that the king returned out of Northumberlande into the weſt partes of the Realme, ſtill reteyning with hym Duke Robert, who looked dayly when he ſhoulde perfourme ſuch couenants as were concluded betwixt them in their late reconciliation. But when he ſaw that the king ment nothing leſſe than to ſtand to thoſe articles, & how he did only protract & delay the time for ſome other ſecrete purpoſe, he returned into Normandie in great diſpleaſure, & tooke with him the ſayd Edgar Edelling, of whō he always made a very great account. Soone after K. Wil. returned into the North parts again, and as it chaunced he ſtayed a few dayes aboute Carleil, where being delited with the ſituation of the town, (which had bin deſtroyed by the Danes two hundred yeares before) hee ſet workemen in hande to repayre the ſame (meaning to vſe it in ſteade of a Bulwarke agaynſte the Scottes on thoſe Weſt Borders) and after hee had fenced it in with walles, and buylded a caſtell in the moſte conuenient place thereof, hee cauſed

The repairing and new peopling of Carleil.

alſo Churches and houſes to bee made meete for ſuch a multitude of people as he had determined to bring vnto the ſame.

This being done, he placed therein a Colonie of Southren men, with theyr wyues and children, and gaue large priuiledges vnto the towne, which they enioy vnto theſe our times.

Mat. VVeſt.

Here haue I thought good to aduertiſe you of an error in Mat. Weſt. crept in eyther by wrong placing of the matter by ſome exemplifier, either elſe by the Authours miſtaking his accounte of yeares, as .1072. for .1092. referring the repayring of Carleil vnto William Conqueror, at what time he made a iourney agaynſt the Scots in the ſayde yeare. 1072. And yet not thus contented, but to bewray the error more manifeſtly, he affirmeth that the king exchaunged the Earledome of Cheſter, with Raufe or Randulfe de Micinis, alias Meſchines, for yͤ Erledome of Carleil, which the ſaid de Meſchines helde before, and had begon there to build and fortifie that towne. Where as it is certain yͭ Ranulfe de Meſchines came to enioy the Erledom of Cheſter by way of inheritãce, as after ſhall appeare. And for the better prouſe thereof, ye ſhall vnderſtand, that we finde by auncient recordes, how that one Hugh Lou or Lupus enioyed the Erledome of Cheſter all the dayes of the Conqueror, and long after, which Hugh was ſonne to Richarde Earle of Auranges, and of the Counteſſe Emma, the daughter of a noble man in Normandine named Herlowin, who maried Arlet, the daughter of a burgeſſe in Falois, & mother to William Cõqueroure, ſo yͭ the ſayde Hugh, being ſiſter ſonne to yͤ Conquerour, receyued by gyft at his handes the Earledome of Cheſter, to holde of him as freely by right of the ſworde, as he helde the Realme of Englande in right of his Crowne. For theſe be the wordes: *Tenendum ſibi & Heredibus ita libere ad gladiũ ſicut ipſe (Rex) totã tenebat Angliam ad coronam.*

Foure barons.
Nigel or Neal.
Piers Malbank
Euſtace
Waren Vernõ.

Earle Hugh then eſtabliſhed in poſſeſſion of this Earledome with moſt large priuiledges and freedomes for the better gouernment thereof, he ordeyned vnder him foure Barons, to witte, his couſin Nigell, or Neal, Barõ of Haltõ, ſir Pierce Malbanke, baron of Nauntwich, ſir Euſtace baron of Mawpaſſe, and ſir Warren Vernon, baron of Shipbroke. Nigell helde his baronie of Halton by ſeruice to leade the Vauntgarde of the Earles armie when he ſhoulde make any iourney into Wales, ſo as he ſhoulde bee the formoſte in marching into the enimies Countrey, and laſt in comming backe. Hee was alſo Coneſtable and Marſhall of Cheſter. From this Nigell or Neal, the Lacyes that were Earles of Lincolne had theyr originall. Earle Hugh gouerned the Earledome of Cheſter the terme of .xl. yeares, and then departed this life in the yeare 1107. He had iſſue by his wife Armetrida, Richard that was the ſeconde Erle of Cheſter after the conqueſt, Robert, Abbot of Saint Edmondsburie, and Otuell tutor to the children of king Henrie the firſt.

The Lacies.

Iohn Bohun.

Moreouer the ſayde Earle Hugh had a ſiſter named Margaret, that was maried vnto John Bohun, who had iſſue by hir Randulf Bohun, otherwiſe called Meſchines, which Randulfe by that meanes came to enioy the Erledome of Cheſter in right of his mother (after that Earle Richarde was drowned in the Sea) and not by exchaunge for the Earledome of Carleil, as by this which we haue alreadie recited, it may be ſufficiently proued.

An. Reg. 6.

1093

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Math. Paris.
The king being ſicke promiſeth amẽdment of life.
Polidor.
Edmerus

To returne therefore where we left. After that king William Rufus had giuen order for the buylding, fortifying, and peopling of Carleil, hee returned Southwardes, and came to Glouceſter, where he fell into a grieuous and dangerous ſickneſſe, ſo that hee was in diſpayre to eſcape wyth life, in time whereof he tooke ſore repentance for his former miſdeedes, and promiſed if hee eſcaped that daunger of ſickneſſe, to amende his life, and become a newe man. But after he was reſtored to health, yͤ promiſe was quickly forgottẽ, for his doings were not ſo badde and wicked before, but that compared with thoſe which followed after his recouerie, they might well be taken for verie good and ſufferable.

Anſelme elected archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Moreouer, whereas he reteyned in his handes the Biſhoprike of Canterburie the ſpace of foure yeares, hee nowe beſtowed it on Anſelme, who was before Abbot of Bechellouyn in Normãdie, and likewiſe vnto certaine Abbayes which he had held long time in his poſſeſſion, he appoynted Abbottes: By meane whereof all men, but eſpecially the ſpiritualtie, beganne to conceyue a very good opinion of him. The yeare in the whiche Anſelme was thus elected, was from the byrth of our Sauiour. 1093. on the ſixth of Marche, beeing the firſt Sunday in Lent (as Edmerus recordeth.)

Edmerus

Mat. Paris.
Polidor.
Robert Bluet L. Chauncelor elected biſhop of Lincolne.
Hen. Hunt.

Furthermore, the Sea of Lincolne being void by the death of Biſhop Remigius, he gaue it vnto his Counſellour Robert Bluet, but afterward repenting himſelfe of ſuche liberalitie, in that hee had not kept it longer in his handes towardes the enryching of his Coffers, hee deuiſed a ſhifte howe to wype the Byſhoppes noſe of ſome of his Golde, whiche he perfourmed after thys maner. He cauſed the Biſhoppe to bee ſued, quarelling with him, that he wrongfully vſurped vpon certain poſſeſſiõs, togither with the Citie of Lincolne which apperteyned to the ſea of Yorke: And though this was but a forged cauillation, and a greate vntruth, yet coulde not the Biſhoppe bee delyuered out of that trouble tyll hee had payed to the king fiue thouſand poundes to be at reſt and quiet. And as hee thus dealt with the ſpiritualtie, ſo he cauſed diuerſe of the Nobilitie to be put to grieuous fines, for tranſgreſſing of his lawes, though the fault were neuer ſo little. He alſo cauſed the Archebiſhoppe Anſelme to paye to hym a greate ſumme of money, vnder colour of a contribution whiche was due in Lanfrankes dayes, though it was certainly knowne that Lanfranke had payed it.

Thus waxed King William from tyme to tyme more ſharpe and grieuous to his ſubiectes, ſo that whoſoeuer came within the daunger of the lawes was ſure to be condemned, and accoũted well gotten good, and ſuch as woulde play the promoters & giue informations agaynſt any mã for tranſgreſſing lawes, were highly rewarded.

In this ſixt yere, there chaunced ſuch exceeding greate raine, and ſuch high floudes, the Riuers ouerflowing the low groundes that lay neare vnto them, as the like had not beene ſeene of manye yeares before that tyme, and afterwardes enſued a ſodaine froſt, which froſe the great ſtreames in ſuche wiſe, that at the diſſoluing thereof, manye bridges both of wood and ſtone, & likewiſe Milles were borne downe and ouerthrowne.

Polidor.

Furthermore, perceyuing that diuerſe occaſioned by his cruel and couetous gouernment, did dayly ſteale out of the Realme to liue in forraine Countreyes, he ſet forth a proclamation, that no man ſhoulde depart the Realme withoute his lycence and ſafeconduct. And hereof it is thought that the cuſtome roſe of forbidding paſſage out of the realme, which oftentymes is vſed as a lawe when occaſion ſerueth.

A proclamation that non ſhoulde depa the realme.

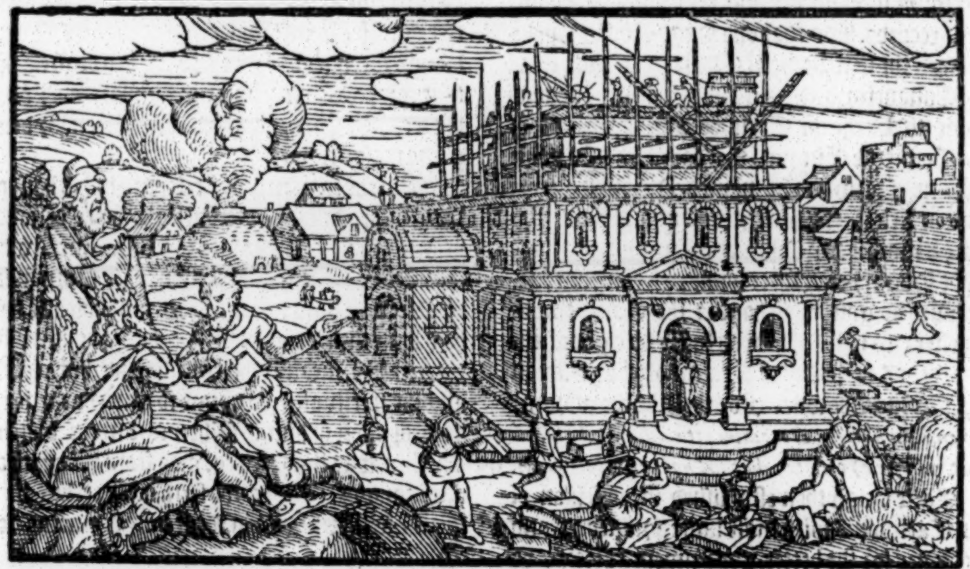
Soone after alſo he went agaynſt the Welchmen, whom hee vanquiſhed in battaile neare to Brecknocke, and ſlue theyr king named Riſe, or Rees, who hauing done muche hurt within the Engliſh borders, was their encamped.

Ran. Higd.

Rees king of Wales ſlaine.

This Riſe, or Rees, was the laſt king that reigned ouer the Welchmen, as the Authours affirme: for afterwardes, though they oftentymes rebelled, yet the kings of Englande were reputed to be the ſupreme gouerners of yͤ part of the Iſlãd.

VVi. Thorne.



Moreouer, to haue the countrey the better in quiet, he cutteth downe much of their woods, and buylded many Caſtels and piles in places conuenient, by meanes whereof they were ſomewhat tamed, and broughte in tyme to obedience, though not at the firſt, nor in the dayes of ſundrie of his ſucceſſors. After hee had thus finiſhed his iourney into Wales, Malcolme king of Scotlande came vnto Glouceſter to ſee the king, and to cõmon with him of ſundrie matters touching the peace betwixt both the realmes, as he returned homewardes: but bycauſe King William diſdeyned to enterteyne him in ſuche pompous maner as he looked for, and forſomuch as he did not at the verie firſt admitte him to his preſence, the ſayde Malcolme returned into Scotlande in greate diſpleaſure, and immediately rayſing a power, entred into Englande, deſtroying the Countrey vnto Alnewike Caſtell, where he was compaſſed ſo about with an ambuſhment, layde by Robert the Earle of Northumberlande, that he was ſlaine togither with his eldeſt ſonne Edward. And his whole armie alſo with that miſhappe being vtterlye diſcomfited, fled out of the field, with the loſſe of many that were either ſlaine or taken by the way.

Malcolm king of Scots commeth to Glouceſter.

VVil. Malm.

Polidor.

K. Malcolme inuadeth Englande.

He is ſlaine.

Thus king Malcolme came to his ende, by the iuſt prouiſion of God, in that prouince which he had waſted and ſpoyled at fiue ſeuerall tymes, as firſt in the dayes of king Edwarde, when Erle Toſtie was gone to Rome: the ſeconde tyme in the dayes of William Conquerour, when hee ſpoyled alſo Cleuelande: thirdely in the ſame Conque-

Simon Dun.

Ran. Higd.

Conquerours dayes, whileſt Biſhoppe Walker gouerned the Sea of Durham, at what tyme all the Countrey was ſpoyled and forrayed, euen vnto the Ryuer of Tine: fourthly, aboute the fourth or fifth yeare of the reigne of this William Rufus, at which tyme hee entered the lande as farre as Cheſter in the ſtreete, whyleſt King William was in Normandie: the fifth tyme was nowe wherein hee loſt hys lyfe on Saint Brices day, by the handes of a right valiant Knight named Morkell, after which his bodie was buryed at Tynmouth (as in the Scottiſhe hyſtories more plainly appeareth,) where alſo ye may fynde, howe the ſonnes of King Malcolme were ayded by king William Rufus to obteyne the crowne of Scotland, as their right, where otherwiſe by the force and practiſe of theyr vncle Donald they had beene kept from it.

An. Reg. 7
1094

Ran. Higd.
VVil. Mal.
Sim. Dunel.
Death and murraine of cattaile.

This yeare England and Normandie were ſore vexed with mortalitie both of menne and beaſtes, inſomuche that tyllage of the grounde was layde aſide for that yeare in many places, by reaſon whereof there followed greate dearth and famine.

Straunge wonders.
Math. Paris.
Polidor

Many griſely and vncouth ſightes were ſeene in Englande, as hoſtes of men fighting in the ſkie, with fierie beames flaſhing out, ſtarres falling from heauen, and ſuch other wonders.

Simon Dun.

At which time alſo newe occaſions of breach of amitie grewe betwixt the King and hys brother Robert, who accuſed him of periurie, for not obſeruing the articles of the laſt peace concluded betwixt them: wherefore he purpoſed to ſayle ouer into Normandie, and ſo came vnto Haſtings, aboute the fyrſt of Februarie, where hee ſoiourned for a tyme, and cauſed the Abbay Churche of Battayle to bee dedicate in honour of Saint Martyn, and alſo depryued Herbert the Biſhop of Thetforde of his Biſhops ſtaffe, bycauſe hee meant to haue gone ſecretely vnto Rome, and there to haue purchaſed abſolution of Pope Vrbane for his Byſhoprike, which hee had bought of the king for himſelfe, and likewiſe for the Abbacie of Wincheſter, which hee had alſo bought for his father, paying for thẽ both. M. ib.

K. William paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

Warres betwixt the king and his brother.

After this, about Midlent he paſſed ouer into Normandie with an armie, in purpoſe to trie the matter with his brother in plaine battaile, that thereby hee myght rather growe to ſome aſſured poynt of loſſe or gayne, than to ſtande euer vpon ſuche an vncertaintie, whether to haue peace or warre, that hee muſt bee conſtrayned to bee at all tymes in a readineſſe to defende himſelfe, but after he was come into Normandie, and had forrayed part of the Countrey once or twice, hee fell to a communication with his brother Duke Robert, and in the ende condiſcended to put the matter in compromiſe vnto the arbitrement of certaine graue perſonages, who iudging agaynſt the king, hee refuſed to ſtande to their iudgement, where vpon both parts prepared for warre again: inſomuch that the king perceyuing how his brother was ayded by the French king, and that his power was to weake to withſtand them both, he ſent his commiſſion into Englãd for the leuying of .xx. M. men, cõmaunding them alſo to be ſent ouer vnto him into Normandie by a day, which was diligently performed. But euen as they were come togither about Haſtings, readie to enter a ſhipborde, immediatly commeth the kings lieutenant with a countermaunde, and ſignifieth to them, that the king minding to fauour and ſpare them for that iourney, woulde that euery of them ſhould giue him .x. ſhillings, as Mat. Paris hath, (or .xx. ſhillings as others haue) towardes the charges of the war, & therupõ depart home with a ſufficiẽt ſafecõduct, which the moſt part were better content to do, than to commit themſelues to the fortune of the ſea, and bloudie ſucceſſe of the warres of Normandie. In deed king William chaunging his minde, was nowe determined to ende the matter with money, and not with the ſworde, as it afterward appeared; for by bribing of king Philip in whom duke Robert had repoſed his whole truſt, he cõcluded peace with him vpon ſuch articles & conditions as he himſelfe required.

Mat. VVeſt.

Twentie ſhillings hath *VVi. Thorne.*
Mat. Par.
Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

A peace concluded betwix the king and his brother Robert.

Hen. Hunt.
Simon Dun.
The Welchmen inuade Englande.

Thus hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normãdie, he returneth into England, where he happened to meete with newe and more daungerous warres: For the Welchmen hearing of the variance betwixt the brethren, after their accuſtomed maner begin to inuade the Engliſh Marches, taking booties of cattell, and deſtroying the Countreys, to kill and take many of the kings ſubiectes, both Engliſh men and Normans.

The Caſtel Montgomer wonne by th Welchmen.

An. reg.
1095

Robert Ear of Northum berland refu leth to com to the king

After this, (waxing prowde of their good ſucceſſe) they beſieged the Caſtell of Mountgomerie, and though the gariſon there made ſtoute reſiſtãce for a time, yet in the ende the enimie finding ſhift to ouerthrow the walles, entred perforce, and ſlue them all that they found within it. And although king William was offended herewith, when hee heard of it, yet could he not remedie the matter, as then, being troubled with a conſpiracie nowe begon agaynſt him by Robert the Earle of Northumberland, who vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſt him, bycauſe he was not rewarded nor thanked at his hands for his good ſeruice ſhewed in the killing of Malcolme K. of Scotland, refuſed to come vnto him being ſent for by letters, and herewith beganne to practiſe with certaine other noble men of that countrey, how to depoſe King Wil. but ere he could bring any peece of his purpoſe to paſſe, the K. hauing aduertiſment of his attempts, firſt appointed his brother the L. Henrie to go thither with an armie, and forthwith he

Mat. Par

followeth himſelfe, and comming to Newcaſtel, where the moſt part of his complices were aſſembled, he ſurpriſed them ere they could haue time to prouide for their ſafetie. That done, he went to Tinmouth, and in the Caſtell there tooke the erles brother, & after came to the caſtell of Banbourgh into the which the ſaide Earle with his wife and children were withdrawne for their better ſafegarde and defence. Here it is written by ſome authors, that when the king perceyued it woulde bee hard for him to winne this Caſtell of Banbourgh, (by reaſon of the great ſtrength thereof,) without famine, he buylded vp an other Caſtel or Baſtilion faſt by it, calling the ſame Maluoiſin, in the which he placed a greate power of men, by whoſe meanes at length the Earle was ſo conſtrayned, that when he ſought to haue eſcaped by night, hee was eſpyed, and therewith purſued ſo neare by the kings Souldiours, that he was forced to take Sanctuarie within the Churche of Saint Oſwyn the Martyr at Tynmouth, out of the which he was quickly taken, and brought as priſoner to the kings preſence: notwithſtanding thoſe that remayned within the Caſtell vppon truſt of the ſtrength of that place, woulde not yeelde by any meanes, but ſtoode ſtill at their defence: wherevpon the king cauſed the Earle theyr maiſter to be brought forth afore the gates, and threatned that he ſhoulde haue his eies put out of his head if they within did not ſtreight wayes deliuer the holde into his handes. And herevpon it came to paſſe that the Caſtell was giuen vp, and thoſe that kept it were diuerſly puniſhed, ſome by baniſhment, ſome by loſing their eares, and diuers by the loſſe of their handes, in example to others. The Erle himſelf alſo was cōueyed to Windſor Caſtell, and there committed to priſon. Some write that the meaning of the Erle and his complices (amongſt whom was William Earle of Ewe, which renouncing his allegiaunce to Robert Duke of Normandie was become the kings man) was to haue diſplaced the king from his roiall throne, and to haue ſet vp his ſonne William de Albemarle whom he had begotten of his cōcubin. But whatſoeuer their purpoſe was after that the king had quieted his countrey in the North partes, he bent all his force agaynſt the Welchmen, the which in the yeare before had deſtroyed and ouerthrowne the caſtell of Moungomerie, & ſlaine the Normans that lay there in gariſon to defende it, with which doing he was very muche offended, and therefore entering nowe into Wales, hee beganne to ſpoyle and waſte the countrey, for he ſawe that the Welchmen would not ioyne in battayle with him in the plaine field, but kept themſelues ſtill aloofe within the woods & Mariſhes, and aloft vpon Mountaynes: albeit oftentimes whē they ſaw aduantage, they would come forth, and taking the Engliſhmen & Normans at vnawares, kill many, & woūd mo of thē, he ſtill purſued them by hilles and dales, though more to the loſſe of his owne people than hurt of the Welchmen, who eaſily eſchued the daunger of battaile, and ſtill at the ſtraites and comberſom paſſages, diſtreſſed many of theyr enimies: wherby the king at length perceyuing that hee coulde not preuaile agaynſt them, ceaſſed further to follow on with his purpoſed voyage, and therewith returned home, not wͭout ſome note of diſhonor.

Hen. Hunt.

Maluoiſin a fortreſſe built agaynſt Bamburgh.

olidor.

Banbourgh yeelded to the king.

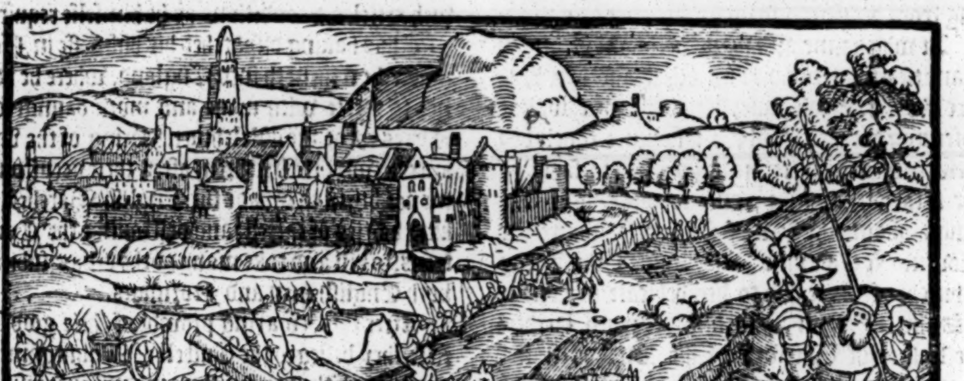
Sim. Dun.

The Earle of Ewe.

Mat. Par.

King William inuadeth Wales.

The king returneth out of Wales with diſhonor.

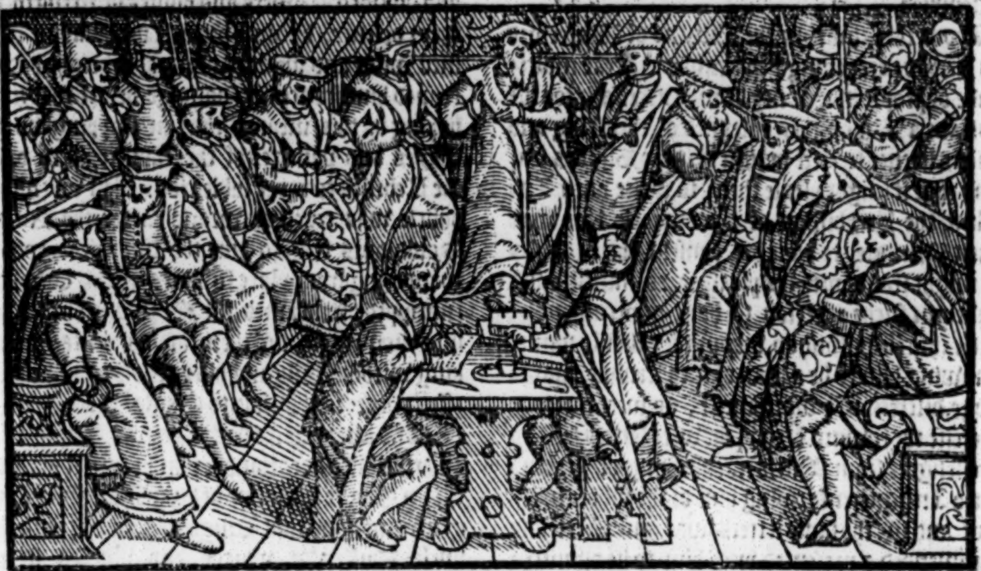


About the ſame time alſo, Murcherdach king of Irelande, with the Clergie and people of the Citie of Dublyn, elected one Samuell a Monke of S. Albons, and an Iriſh man borne, to the gouernment of the Church & Biſhops Sea of Dublyn, and (according to the auncient cuſtome) preſented him by ſufficient letters of teſtimonie vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Anſelme, to be ſacred of him, the which according to their requeſt

Edmerus

Murcherdach king of Irelād

did conſecrate him, and receyued of him a promiſe of his canonicall ſubiection, after the olde vſuall maner, hauing foure Biſhops, Suffragants to the ſea of Canterburie, miniſtring to him at that conſecration.



The counſel of Clermount.

In like maner, Pope Vrban calling a counſell at Clermount in Auvergne, exhorted the chriſtian Princes ſo earneſtly to make a iourney into the holy lande, for the recouerie thereof out of the Saraſins handes, that the great and generall paſſage was concluded to be taken in hande, wherein ſo many noble men of Chriſtendome went vnder the leading of Godfray of Bullion and other, as in the Chronicles of Fraunce, Germanie, and of the holy lande doth more plainly appeare.

The iourney into the holy lande.
Godfray de Bullion.

There went alſo among other dyuerſe noble men forth of this Realme of Englande, ſpecially that worthily bare the ſurname of Beauchampe.

An. reg. 9
1096
Hen. Hunt.
VVil. Thorne
Simon Dun.

Robert Duke of Normandie minding alſo to goe in the ſame iourney, and wanting money to furniſh and ſet forth himſelfe, engaged his duchie of Normandie vnto his brother king William, for the ſumme of tenne thouſande poundes. And here was another occaſion offered vnto king William, to rayſe a newe payment amongeſt his ſubiectes, whiche was ſo grieuous, as well to the ſpiritualtie, as to the temporaltie, that diuerſe Biſhoppes and Abbottes, whiche had alreadie made away ſome of their Chalices and Churche Iewelles to pay the King, made nowe plaine anſwere that they were not able to helpe him wyth any more: vnto whom on the other ſyde (as the report went) the King ſhoulde ſay agayne, haue you not (I beſeeche you) Coffins of Golde and Siluer full of deade mens bones? meaning the ſhrines wherein the reliques of Saintes were incloſed, which (as his wordes ſeemed to import) he woulde haue had them to conuert into mony, therewyth to helpe him in that neede, worthily iudging it no ſacriledge, though many did otherwiſe eſteeme it, conſidering (as he pretended) that it was gathered for ſo godly an vſe, as to maintayne the warres agaynſt the Infidels and enemies of Chriſt.

A ſubſedie.

Edmerus

The Archbiſhop Anſelme tooke the worth of two hundred Markes of ſiluer of the Iewels that belonged to the Church of Canterburie (the more part of the couent of Monkes winking therat) towardes the furniſhing of ſuch payment as he was conſtrayned to make to the king towardes hys ayde at that time: but bycauſe he would not leaue thys for an example to bee followed of his ſucceſſours, he graunted to the Churche of Canterburie the profites and reuenues of his Manour of Petteham, to bee receyued to the vſe of the ſame Churche for the tearme of ſeuen yeares, the ſame reuenues amounting to the ſumme of thirtie pounde yearely in thoſe dayes.

Polidor.

Thus King William ſeeking rather to ſpoile the Realme of Englande, than to preſerue the royall ſtate thereof, after hee had gotten togyther a greate maſſe of money, ſayled ouer into Normandie, and there delyuering vnto the Duke the tenne thouſande poundes aforeſayde, was put in poſſeſſion of the Duchie, to enioy the ſame, and the profites ryſing thereof, tyll the ſayde tenne thouſande poundes were repayde to him agayne, or (as ſome wryte) it was couenanted that in recompence thereof, the King ſhoulde enioy the profites of that Duchie for tearme onelye of three yeares, and then to reſtore it againe without any further intereſt or recompence.

The Duchie of Normandie engaged to king William

Edmerus

Polidor.

This done, hee returned agayne into England, and Duke Robert ſetteth forwarde on hys iorney in cōpanie of other noble men towards the holy lād. In which iorney his noble prowes at all turnes when any ſeruice ſhoulde be ſhewed was moſt manifeſtly perceyued, to his high fame and renowme among the princes and nobilitie there aſſembled.

An. reg. 10.
1097

Edmerus

Waterford in Ireland made a Biſhoprike.

About the ſame time the Citizens of Waterford in Irelād perceyuing yͭ by reaſō of yͤ great multitude of people in that city, it was neceſſarie for thē to haue a Biſhop, they obteyned of their king and rulers licence to erect in their Citie a Biſhops ſea, and that it might pleaſe them to write vnto Anſelme the Archbiſhop of Canterburie that was their Primate, to haue his conſent therin, ſo as it might ſtand with his pleaſure, to inſtitute and ordeigne ſuche a perſon to haue gouernment of their church as Biſhop, whom they ſhould name, knowing him to be a man of ſuch lerning, knowledge, diſcretion, & worthineſſe, as were meete to exerciſe the rowme. Herevpon were letters ſent by meſſengers from Muchertachus king of Ireland vnto Anſelme, enforming him of the whole matter: and in the ſame letters was one Malchus commended & preſented vnto him to be admitted and ſacred if he thought it good. Theſe letters were ſubſcribed with the handes, not onely of the ſayde King Murchertachus, but alſo of his brother Duke Dermeth, of Biſhoppe Dufnalde, of Idiman Biſhoppe of Methe, of Samuell Byſhoppe of Dubline, of Ferdomnachus Biſhop of Laginia or Leyniſter, and of many others bothe of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie.

The Archbiſh. of Canterburie primate of Irelande.

Muchertake K. of Irelande.

Anſelme therefore conſidering their requeſt to be iuſt and neceſſarie, graunted to fulfill theyr deſires, and ſo vpon examination had of the man, and taking of him his promiſe of obedience, according to the maner, hee conſecrated the ſame Malchus, and ſo ordeyned him to rule the church of Waterforde as Biſhop. This was done at Canterburie the. xxviij. day of October, Raufe Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Gundulfe Biſhop of Rocheſter helping Anſelme in the conſecration as Miniſters vnto him in that behalfe.

Malchus conſecrated biſh. of Waterford.

The ſayde Malchus was a Monke, and ſomtime vnder Walkhelme biſhop of Wincheſt.

But to the purpoſe. King William after his returne into Englande, remembring what domage he had ſuſteyned two yeares before at the handes of the Welchmen, determined eftſoones to inuade their countrey, and therefore doubling his power, commeth into the Marches, pitcheth his field, and conſulteth with his captaines what order he were beſt to vſe in that his enterpriſe, for the taming of his aduerſaries.

The king eftſoones inuadeth the Welchmen.

Polidor.

The Welche men hearing of the kings approche, and that his armie was farre greater than the laſt whiche hee brought into theyr Countrey, fell to theyr wonted policie, and gotte them into the Woodes there to lie in awayte truſting more to the aduauntage of places, than to their owne force and puiſſaunce.

The Welch men withdraw into the woods.

Hen. Hunt.

When the king therefore vnderſtoode theyr practice, he placed armed men in dyuerſe places, and buylded Towers and houſes of ſtrength for theyr defence, bycauſe he durſt not aſſay to enter into wilde and waſte groundes, where he had receyued hinderance and domage before that time, hoping by this meanes thus in ſtopping vp the wayes and paſſages of the countrey, to bring the Rebelles to more ſubiection. But when thys policie was tryed to wearie rather the Kinges Souldiours than to hurt the ennimies, whiche wandering from place to place in the Woodes entrapped oftentymes the Normans and Engliſhe men in taking them at aduauntage, the king without bringing his purpoſe to anye good effect, departed home into Englande.

Simon Dun.

R. Houed.

And after this, he ſent Edgar Etheling with an armie into Scotlande, that he might place his Coſin Edgar the ſonne of king Malcolme in the gouernment of that Kingdome, and expulſe his vncle Duffnalde whiche had vſurped in the ſame.

An. reg. 11
1098

Whileſt King William in the meane tyme being inflamed with yre that he coulde not haue his will, determined with continuall warres to tame the rebellious ſtomackes of the Welchmen: And firſt to ſet vpon them of Angleſey, which being an Ile enuironed with the Sea, was euer a refuge for them, when they were ſharply purſued.

Math. Paris.

This enterprice was chiefly committed vnto Hugh Earle of Shrewſburie and Arondell, and to Hugh Erle of Cheſter, who at their firſt comming wanne the Ile, and vſed the victorie wyth great crueltie, putting out the eyes of ſome, cutting off the noſes, the armes, or handes of other, and ſome alſo they gelded.

Giral. Camb.

Moreouer (as Authours doe write) the ſayde Erle of Shrewſburie made a kenell of the church of Saint Fridancus, laying his houndes within in it for the night time, but in the morning hee founde them all raging woode. But how true ſo euer this tale is I knowe not, but ſhortly after they had committed (in maner as before is ſayd) all kinde of crueltie in that Ile, it chaunced that a nauie of rouers came thither from the Iles of Orkney, whoſe chiefe Admirall was one Magnus, who encountering with the ſayde Earle of Shrewſburie, ſhotte him into the ey with an arrow, which part of his bodie remayned only bare and not armed, ſo that the ſaid Erle fell ſtreyght wayes dead out of hys ſhippe into the ſea, which when Magnus behelde, he ſayde ſcornfully in the Daniſhe tongue, *leit loupe*, that is, let him leape nowe: yet the Engliſhe menne had the victorie at that tyme (as ſome wryte) and chaſed away theyr ennimyes wyth greate ſlaughter and diſhonour.

Hugh Earle of Shrewsburie ſlaine.

Soone

Fab. ex Guidone de Columna.
Polidor.

An. Reg. 12. 1099

Soone after alſo, yͤ Erle of Cheſter going ouer into Wales, with long and continuall warres, brought vnder and tamed the wilde and rebellious Welchmen, who for a good while after durſt not ſhew their faces. The K. being thus at quietneſſe without warre in all places, began nowe to ſet his minde on building, and firſte cauſed newe walles to be made about the Tower of London, and alſo layde the foundation of Weſtminſter Hall; which though it be a right large and roomethy place, yet after it was finiſhed, and that at his returne out of Normandy, he came to viewe it, and held his Court therein with great pomp and honor, he repented that he had cauſed it to be made no larger, ſaying, it was too little by the half, and therefore determined to haue made a newe, and that this other ſhould haue ſerued but for a dining chamber. A diligent ſearcher (ſaith Math. Paris) mighte yet finde out the foundation of the hall, whiche he had purpoſed to build, ſtretching from the Thames ſide vnto the common ſtreete. But though thoſe his buildings were great ornamẽts to the Realme, yet bycauſe that he gathered money of his ſubiectes in moſt greeuous wiſe towards the charges of the ſame, he was euill ſpoken of in thoſe his beneficiall doings, the fame being ſpred, that he ſhould take them in hand, but onely vnder a colour to ſpoyle his ſubiectes in gathering a far greater ſumme than the expenſes of them did amount vnto. But ſuch is the reward of euill men, that their well doings are either moſt commonly defaced with ſome notorious faulte, or elſe miſtaken by ſome wrong and enuious interpretation. About the ſame time that King William began theſe buildings, hee wente ouer into Normandy to vnderſtande in what ſtate, that countrey ſtoode. Aboute the ſame time, or rather two yeare before, to witte. 1097. neere to Abington, at a towne called Finchamſteede in Barkſhire, a well or fountayne flowed with bloud, in manner as before it vſed to flowe with water, and this continued for the ſpace of three dayes, or as Will. Malm. hath, fifteene dayes togither. After the K. had diſpatched his buſineſſe in Normandy, and was returned into Englande, it chaunced as hee was making prouiſion to ride foorth on hunting, a meſſenger came ſuddaynely to hym, bringyng worde, that the City of Mans was beſieged, and like to be ſurpriſed. The King was as then at dinner, meaning firſt to make an end thereof, and after to take aduice in that matter: but beeing reproued by the meſſenger, that he ſhould in ſuche daunger of his ſubiectes that were beſieged make any delay, rather than to goe and ſuccour them, with all ſpeede, he taketh yͤ mans raſh language in ſo good parte, that hee called ſtraighte way for Maſons to breake downe the wall, to the ende he mighte paſſe through the nexte way, and not bee driuen to ſteppe ſo farre out of his path, as to goe foorth by the dores and ſo withoute any long aduiſement taken in the cauſe, he rode ſtraight way to the Sea, ſending to his Lordes a commaundemente to followe, who when they came before his preſence, counſelled hym to ſtay till his people were aſſembled: but hee woulde not giue eare to their aduice in that poynte, but ſayd, ſuche as loue mee I knowe well will folowe me, and ſo went a Shipboorde, ſetting aparte all doubtes of perils, and yet was yͤ weather very darke, rough and clowdy, in ſo muche, that the maſter of the Shippe was afraide, and counſelled hym to tarry till the winde might ſettle in ſome quiet quarter: but he commaunded hym to hoyſe vp ſayles, and to make all the ſpeed that he could for his life, encouraging hym with theſe wordes, that he neuer heard as yet of anye King that was drowned. Thus paſſing the Seas, he landed in Normãdy, where he gathered his power, and made towards Mans. When thoſe which helde the ſiege before that Citie, hearde of his approche, they brake vp their campe, and departed thence: howbeit, the Captaine named Helias, that pretended by title and right to be Earle of Mans, was taken by a trayne, and brought to the Kings preſence, who ieſted at him as though he had bin but a foole and a Cowarde, whereuppon, the ſaid Helias kindled in wrath, boldly ſayde vnto him: whereas thou haſt taken me priſoner, it was by meere chaunce, and not by thy manhoode: but if I were at libertie againe, I woulde ſo vſe the matter with thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not thinke I were a man ſo lightly to be laughed at: no ſhould (ſayth yͤ king,) well then I giue thee thy libertie, and goe thy wayes, doe euen the worſt that lieth in thy power againſt me, for I care not a button for thee. Helias being thus ſet at libertie, did nothing after to make any accompt of againſt the Kyng, but rather kepte himſelfe quiet. Yet ſome write, that he was not taken at al, but eſcaped by flight. But to proceede, King William being returned

Fabian.
Ran. Higd.
Mat. Par.

Polidor.

The reward of euill men.

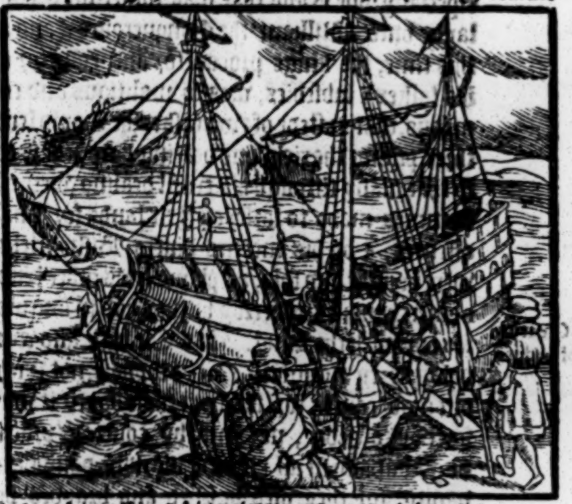
The King goeth ouer into Normãdy

Finchamſteed
Ran. Higd.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. VVeſt.
VVil. Mal.

Hen. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

VVil. Malm.

The ſaying of K. William Rufus.



Mans deliuered from an aſſeege.

Helias.

Hen. Hunt.
Polider.

into Englande, and puffed vp with pride of hys victories, and now ſeeing himſelfe alſo fully deliuered from all troubles of warre, began after hys olde manner to ſpoyle and waſt the countrey by vnreaſonable exactions, tributes and paymentes.

Variance betwixt the King, and the Archbiſhop Anſelme.

There fel alſo a great cõtrouerſie betwene Anſelme and the K. who pretended a reproche of his cruell ſurcharging of his commons with ſubſedies, lones, and vnreaſonable fines; but the chiefe cauſe was, for that hee mighte not call hys Synodes, nor correct the Biſhops, but as the King would. The King alſo chalenged the inueſture of Prelates, and indeede ſore taxed both the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, ſpending the money vpon the reparations and buildings of the Tower, and Weſtminſter Hall, as is before remembred. And beſides this, his ſeruauntes ſpoyled the Engliſhmen of their goodes by vnreaſonable meanes: but eſpecially one Raulf that was ſometime Chaplayne vnto William the Conquerour, and at this time, the kings procurator and collector of his taſkes & ſubſedies, was ſo malitious and couetous, that in ſtede of two taſkes, he would leuie three, pilling the rich, and bearing downe ỹ pore, ſo that many through his cruell dealing were oftentimes made to forfeyte their lands for ſmall offences, & by his meanes diuers Biſhoprickes were bought and ſold, as playnely as other kinds of merchandiſes, whereby he was had in ſingular fauour with the King. The Cleargie alſo were holden very ſtraightly, & as I ſuppoſe, not without good cauſe: for ſurely in thoſe dayes it was farre out of order, not onely by couetous practiſings, but alſo in all kinds of worldly pompe and vanitie, for they vſed buſhed and brayded perukes, long ſide garmentes and very gorgeous, gilte girdels, and gilt ſpurres, with many other vnſeemely enormities. To be ſhorte, the contention roſe ſo farre betwixte the K. and Anſelme, who woulde alſo haue corrected ſuch vices in the Cleargie (as ſome write) that in the ende the Archbiſhop was quite caſt out of fauoure. There are which alledge the very firſt and originall occaſion of their falling out to be, for that the Archbiſhop denyed to pay a thouſand markes of ſiluer at his requeſt: in conſideration of the Kings great beneuolence ſhewed in preferring him to his See, whereas the Archbiſhop iudged the offence of Simonie, to reſt as well in giuing, after his promotion receyued, as if he had bribed him aforehand, & therfore refuſed to make any ſuche paymente: but yet (as Eadmerus writeth) hee offered him fyue hundred poundes of ſiluer, whiche woulde not bee accepted, for the King was enformed by ſome of his Counſell, that the Archbiſhop in conſideration of his bounteous liberalitie extended towards hym, oughte rather to giue him two thouſande poundes, than fiue hundred, adding, that if hee would but chaunge his countenaunce, and gyue him no friendly lookes for a while, he ſhould perceiue that Anſelme would adde to the firſt offer, other fiue hundred pounds. But Anſelme was ſo farre from being brought to the kings lure with ſuche fetches, that openly to the Kings face hee told him, that better it ſhoulde be for his maieſtie to receyue of him a ſmall ſumme granted of him with a free and franke heart, ſo as he mighte help him eftſoones with more, than to take from him a great deale at once, without his good will, after ſuche ſorte, as though he were his bondman. For your grace (ſaith hee) may haue me, and all that mine is, to ſerue youre turne with friendly beneuolence: but in the way of ſeruitude and bõdage, you ſhal neither haue me nor mine. With whych words, ỹ King was in a maruellous chaufe, and therewith ſayde in his anger: well then, get thee home, take that whiche is thine to thy ſelfe, that whiche I haue of mine owne I truſt will ſuffiſe me. The Archbiſhop beeing on his knees, roſe therewith and departed, reioycing in his mynde that the King had refuſed his offer, whereby hee was deliuered out of ſuſpition to haue bribed the King, and gyuen hym that money in way of reward for his prefermente to the myter, as of malitious men woulde happily haue bin conſtrued. Whereupon beeing after laboured to double the ſumme, he vtterly refuſed ſo to do, & determining rather to forſake the Realme than to commit any ſuche offence, made ſuite to the King to haue licence to goe vnto Rome to fetch his Pall of the Pope. The King hearing the Pope to be named, waxed maruellous angry: for they of Rome began already to aſke giftes and paymentes, more impudently than they were hitherto accuſtomed. And as it chanced, there was a ſciſme euen then in the Church, by reaſon that the Emperour Henry had placed a Pope of his owne ſetting vp, (one named Wibteth, Archbiſhoppe of Rauenna) agaynſte Pope Vrbane: for the Emperour mainteyned that it belonged to his office only to chooſe and appoynt what Pope ſoeuer it pleaſed hym.

The Cleargie out of order.

Math. Paris.

A thouſand markes demaunded of Anſelme.

Edmerus.

Mat. Paris.

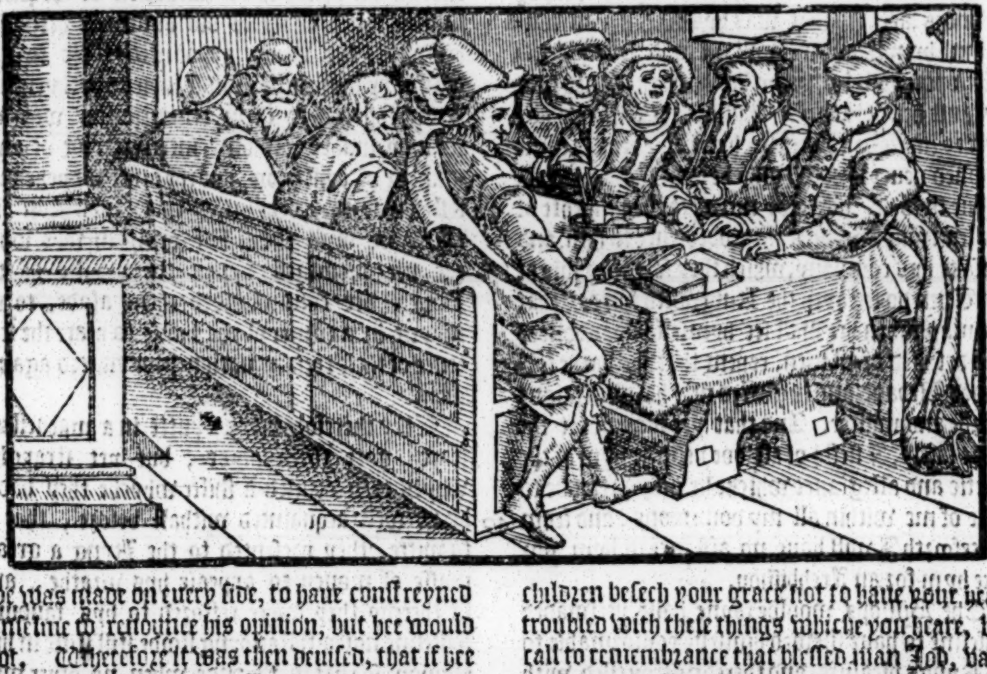
The King could not abide to heare the Pope named.

King Williã therefore taking occaſion thereof, conceyued diſpleaſure againſt Vrbane, which withſtode the emperours pretence, and alledged by the like that no Archbiſhop or Biſhop within hys Realme, ſhould haue reſpect to the Churche of Rome, nor to anye Pope, with whome they had nothing to doe, eyther by way of ſubiection, or otherwiſe, namely ſith the Popes lately appeared to goe oute of the ſteppes whiche Peter trode, ſeeking after bribes, lucre and worldly honor alſo, that they coulde not reteyne the power to loſe and bynde, which they ſometyme hadde ſince they ſhewed themſelues nothing at all to followe his moſt vertuous lyfe and holy conuerſation. Hee added furthermore, that for himſelfe ſithence the conuerſion of the Realme to the Chriſtian faith, he hadde as great authoritie, franchiſes and liberties within the ſame, as the Emperour had in his Empire. And what hathe the Pope then to doe (quoth he) in the Empire or in my Kingdome touching temporal liberties, to whome onely it belongeth to bee carefull for the ſoule of man, and where hereſies ſpring vp, if the Prelates of the prouince or Countrey be not able to reforme the ſame, then might the Pope ſeke redreſſe thereof, eyther by hymſelfe or by hys Legates. And againe, by reaſon of the ſciſme, and for ẏ diſpleaſure that he bare towards Pope Urbane, he aſked of Anſelme of which Pope he wold require his Palle, ſith hee was ſo haſty to goe to Rome for it: to whiche demaund Anſelme aunſwered, that of Pope Urbane he woulde require it. The which when the Kyng heard, he ſayde, I haue not as yet receyued him for Pope, and that it was againſte the cuſtome vſed eyther in hys time, or in his fathers time, that any man within the Realme of England, ſhould name or obey any man for Pope, without the Kings licence and conſent, ſaying moreouer, that if the ſayd Anſelme would ſeke to take that prerogatiue and dignitie from him, it ſhould be all one, as if he ſhould goe about to take away from him his Crowne and all other regall dignitie. Whereunto Anſelme aunſwered, that at Rocheſter before hee was ſacred Biſhop he had declared his minde therein, that being Abbot of Bechellouin in Normandy, he had receyued Urbane for Pope, and therefore whatſoeuer chaunced, he might not goe frō hys obedience and ſubiection promiſed to hym.

admerus.
he Kings emaund to nſelme.

A counſell at Rockingham in Rutland ſhire.

The King beeing yet further kindled heerewith, protested in playne wordes, that Anſelme could not both keepe his fayth and allegiance towards him, and alſo his obedience to the See of Rome, againſt his will and pleaſure. But to cōclude, this matter wente ſo farre in controuerſie betwixt the King and the Biſhop, that a Counſell was called at Rockyngham in Rutlandſhire, and there in the Church within the Caſtell, the matter was earneſtly debated, and muche adoe was made on euery ſide, to haue conſtreyned Anſelme to renounce his opinion, but hee would not. Wherefore it was then deuiſed, that if hee woulde not agree to the Kings pleaſure, they would by and by ſee if they mighte in anye wiſe depriue him: but ſtill Anſelme helde hard, and coulde not bee feared by all theſe threats, and in like manner to iudge of an Archbiſhops cauſe, the other Biſhops concluded that they had no authoritie.



Moreouer, while the matter was in conſultation among the Biſhops, another of the Kyngs Counſel a Knight came before Anſelme in place where hee ſate almoſt alone to looke for an aunſwere by them from the Kyng, whiche Knyghte kneeling downe before the Archbiſhop, ſpake theſe wordes vnto him: Reuerend father, your humble children beſech your grace not to haue your heart troubled with theſe things whiche you heare, but call to remembrance that bleſſed man Iob, vanquiſhing the Deuill on the Dounghill, and reuenging Adam whome he had ouercome in Paradice. Which wordes the Archbiſhop cōſideryng with a friendly countenance, perceyued that the mindes of the people remayned on his ſyde, wherof both he and ſuch as were about him, were right ioyfull and greatly comforted, hauing a cōfidence according to the Scripture, that the voyce of the people was the voyce of God. When the King vnderſtood all theſe things, he was maruellouſly diſquieted in his mind, and therfore perceiuing that the Biſhops and other of hys counſell had promiſed more than they coulde performe, blamed them for it: vnto whome the Biſhoppe of

Durham that was the chiefe doer in thys matter, ſhaped thys aunſwere: hee ſpake ſo fayntly (quoth hee) and ſo coldly at the fyrſt, that he ſeemed not to haue any ſtore of wit or wiſedome at all.

Finally, the matter was deferred vntill the next morning, and then the ſayd Biſhop of Durham alledging that they coulde not well ouercome hym by argumentes, ſo long as he grounded hys opinion in ſuche wiſe vpon the ſcripture, and the authoritie of Saint Peter, The beſt way therefore (ſayde hee) ſhall bee, to compell hym by force, eyther to agree to the Kyngs mynde, or elſe to depriue hym of hys Ring and ſtaffe, and after baniſh hym the Realme: but the Lordes of the Counſell allowed not the Biſhops wordes heerein: wel ſayth the King, and what other way will you thynke good, if thys lyke you not: ſo long as I may lyue, I will not ſurely ſuffer any to be my peere within my Realme: and if you knewe hys cauſe to be ſo good, why dyd you ſuffer mee to begynne thys action agaynſte hym: goe youre wayes therefore, and take aduice togyther, for by Goddes face (for that was hys othe) if you condemne hym not at my will, I will reuenge my ſelfe vpon you, but when hee was enformed that bycauſe hee was an Archbiſhop, they had no power to iudge or condemne hym, though his cauſe proued neuer ſo euill, whiche they could not perceyue ſo to be. He tolde them yet they might at the leaſt wiſe renounce their obedience to him, and forſake hys company, which they ſaid they might do. Then do it (ſayth the King) with ſpeede, that hee may when hee ſhall ſee hymſelfe abandoned, and deſpiſed of all men, repent that hee hathe followed Vrbane, and neglected mee his ſoueraigne Lorde and maſter. And that yee may doe it the more ſafely, I firſte of all doe depriue hym of the ſuretie and allegiance whiche he may pretende to haue of me within all my dominions, and from henceforth I will haue no affiance in hym, nor take hym for an Archbiſhop.

The King renounceth the Archbiſhop for his ſubiecte.

The Biſhops woulde fayne haue perſwaded Anſelme to haue ſhewed himſelfe conformable to the Kyngs pleaſure, and therefore trauelled with hym earneſtly in that behalfe, but all woulde not ſerue: hee anſwered indeede very curteouſly, but hys benefice he would not renounce, as touching the name and office, though in exterior thyngs he were neuer ſo muche diſquieted. The King perceyuing hym to ſtande ſtiffe in hys opinion, ſayd vnto hys Lordes, his wordes are euer contrary to my mynde, and I will not take hym for my friende, whoſoeuer doth fauour hym.

I ſhall therefore require you that bee peeres of my Realme, to renounce all the fayth and friendſhippe whyche you beare hym, that hee maye ſee what hee hath gayned by that allegiance, whyche to the offending of my pleaſure hee obſerueth to the Apoſtolike See. The Lords aunſwered hereunto: As for vs, we were neuer hys menne, and therefore cannot we abiure any fealtie whiche we neuer acknowledged. He is oure Archbiſhop, and hath the gouernaunce of matters perteynyng to the Chriſtian religion within this lande, and for that cauſe, we which are Chriſtians, may not refuſe hys authoritie whyleſt we remayne heere on earthe, namely, ſyth there is no blemiſhe of haynous crime that toucheth hym, whyche may conſtreyne vs otherwiſe to doe. The Kyng refrayned to declare hys wrath, leaſt he ſhould prouoke them further to diſpleaſure by ſpeakyng againſt theyr reaſon. The Biſhops were greatly abaſſhed heerewith, and were broughte to a ſhrewde pinche. When immediately after, the Kyng required to know of euery of them a part, whether they vtterly renounced all manner of ſubiection and obedience vnto Anſelme withoute any condition intermitted, or elſe that only whiche hee did pretende by authoritie of the Pope. When the Byſhoppes did aunſwere heereunto diuerſly, the Kyng appoynted thoſe to ſitte downe by hym as faythfull ſubiects, whyche acknowledged that theyr renunciation was abſolutely made, withoute intermittyng of anye manner of condition: but the other whyche proteſted that they renounced theyr ſubiection and obedience vnto hym, but onely in that whyche hee preſumed vppon the behalfe of the Pope, hee commaunded them aſyde, to remayne in a corner of the houſe to heare the ſentence of their condemnation pronounced againſt them.

The Biſhops driuen to their ſhiftes how to ſhape an anſwere.

They therefore beeyng putte in a maruellous feare, gote them aſyde, but yet ſtrayghte wayes they deuiſed a ſhifte whyche they hadde beene well acquainted withall before, that is to witte, they preſented to the Kyng a greate maſſe of money to appeaſe hys wrathe, and ſo thereby they were reſtored to hys fauoure. Anſelme notwithſtandyng ſtoode ſtill ſtiffe in hys opinion, ſo that in the ende when no other way coulde be hadde, the ſentence touching this controuerſie betwixt hym and the King, was reſpited till the Octaues of Pentecoſt nexte enſuing. All whyche thyngs were notifyed well ynough to the Pope, who lyke a wary Prelate vſed the matter with ſuche moderation, that by ſecrete aduertiſementes gyuen, hee tooke away from hys brethren all rigorous wayes of proceedings, ſaying, *Dum furor in curſu eſt, currenti cede furori*, but the Kynges enmitie towardes Anſelme was openly declared, and that chiefly for the denyall of the money

which

The meane to pacifie the King.

The ſtiffenes of Anſelme is withſtanding the Kings pleaſure.

Math. Paris.

which he demaunded, & at length gote it, though not with any free beneuolent will of the Archbiſhop, in ſomuch that he was reputed of the Kyng giltie of treaſon. But within a fewe dayes after, Walter the Biſhop of Alba bringing to him hys Palle, with wiſdome reconciled the Pope to the Kings fauour: albeit Anſelme yet could not purchaſe throughly the Kings good will, though hee wiſely diſſembled for the time: and when the Byſhop of Alba ſhould returne vnto Rome, he made ſute to haue licence to goe with him, but for aunſwere the Kyng offered hym, that if hee woulde leaue off his purpoſe, and ſweare vpõ the Euangeliſts neyther to goe to Rome, nor to appeale in any cauſe to the Popes Court, he mighte lyue in quietneſſe and reſt out of all daunger: but if hee would not be ſo contented, he might depart at his perill, without hope to returne hither agayne, for ſurely (ſaith he) if he goe I will ſeaſe the Archbiſhopricke into myne owne handes, and receyue him no more for Archbiſhop. Anſelme heerewith departing from the Court, came to Canterbury, declaring openly what had bin ſayde vnto hym, and immediately ſought to flee out of the Realm in the night, prouiding for hymſelfe a Shippe at Douer. But hys purpoſe being reuealed to the King, one William Warlewaſt that was the Kings ſeruaunte, was ſente after hym, and finding hym ready to departe, tooke from hym all that he had, and after permitted hym to keepe on his iourney, who repayring to Rome, made vnto Pope Vrbane a greeuous information agaynſte the Kyng, declaring into what miſerable ſtate he had bronght the Realme, and how that for want of aſſiſtance in his Suffraganes it lay not in him to reforme the matter. Indeede we finde not that any of the Biſhops held with Anſelme in the cõtrouerſie betwixt hym and the Kyng, except Ranulph Biſhop of Chicheſter, who both blamed ẏ King, and alſo rebuked all ſuch Biſhops as had refuſed to ſtand with Anſelme, and fauoured the King in cauſes concerning the foreſaid variance. Moreouer, the ſame Biſhop of Chicheſter withſtoode the King and his officers in taking of fines of Prieſtes for the crime of fornication, by reaſon of which preſumption, the King became ſore offended with hym, and obteyned ſuch fauour, that he founde meanes to ſuſpend many Churches of his dioceſſe, but yet in the ende, the Biſhoppe demeaned himſelfe in ſuche wiſe, that he hadde hys owne will, and hys Churche dores were opened agayne, that before were ſtopped with thornes. And farther, the King was contented, that the ſayde Biſhop ſhould haue the fines of Prieſtes in crimes of fornication within his dioceſſe, and enioy many other priuileges in right of his church. But how beneficiall ſo euer he was vnto the Sea of Chicheſter, troth it is (as Polidor writeth) that he let forthe dyuers Abbeyes, a[illegible] the reuenewes of the Biſhopricks of Wincheſter and Saliſburie, and alſo of the Archbiſhopricke of Canterbury vnto certayne perſons that fermed the ſame at his handes for greate ſummes of money, in ſo muche, that beſide the ſayd Biſhopricks of Canterbury, Wincheſter, and Saliſburie, whiche at the tyme of his death he held in his hands, he alſo receyued the profites of .11. Abbeyes which he had let to ferme, or otherwiſe vſed to his moſt aduantage.

The Biſhop of Alba reconcileth the Pope to the Kings fauour.

Edmerus.

Fabian.

Math. Paris.

Anſelme comming to Rome compleyneth of the King.

Ranulf Biſhop of Chicheſter.

Fines of Prieſts that had wiues as by ſome writers it ſeemed.

Polidor.

Roberte Loſaunge, of ſome called Herbert, ẏ ſometime hadde bin Abbot of Ramſey, and then Biſhop of Thetford by gift of a thouſande poũds to the King (as before yee haue hearde) repented him alſo for ẏ he was inueſted by the K. And after he had bewayled his offence, he wẽt to Rome in like manner, and dyd for the ſame all ſuche penance as the Pope enioyned hym. Whiche beeing done, hee returned into Englande, remouing ere long his See from Thetforde to Norwiche where he founded a faire Monaſterie of his owne charges, and not of ẏ Churches goodes (as ſome ſay) but therein is a doubt, conſidering hee was firſt an Abbot, and after a Biſhop.

Robert Loſaunge.

Ran. Higd.

VVil. Malm.

About this time alſo, by the meanes of Stephan harding a Monke of Shireborne, an Engliſhman, the order of Ciſteaux or white Monkes had his beginning within the countrey of Burgongne, as witneſſeth Ranulph the Monke of Cheſter: but other writers, (as Iacobus Philippus ſay) that this Stephan was the ſeconde Abbot of that place, and that it was founded by one Roberte Abbot of Molmenſe in the yere of grace 1098. This order was after broughte into England by one called Walter Eſpeke, who founded the firſte Abbey of that Religion within thys Realme at Riuall about the yeare of grace. 1131.

Stephan Harding a Monke

Ran. Higd.

Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.

But to returne againe to the Kyng, hee ſtill continued in his wilfull couetouſneſſe, pullyng from the riche, and thoſe that hadde any thing, to waſt and ſpend it out in all exceſſe, vayne riot, and giftes beſtowed on ſuch as had leaſt deſerued the ſame. And yet hee was warned by many ſtraunge wonders (as the common people did interpretate) to reſtrayne from ſuch euill doyngs: for the Thames did riſe with ſuch high ſprings and tides, that many townes were drowned, and muche other hurt done in places about London, and elſewhere. Dyuers other things happened alſo the ſame time, whiche I paſſe ouer. But the King hearing heereof, did nothing regard them, that were ſo bolde as to tell hym that they were euidente tokens, ſignifying ſome vengeaunce to follow vpon the ſame. He himſelf alſo on a night as hee ſlepte and dreamed, hee thoughte that the veynes of hys armes were broken, and that the bloud iſſued out in great abundance. Lykewiſe,

he was

An. Reg. 13.
1100

The Kings lauiſh prodigalitie.

Strange wonders.

VVil. Mal.

A dreame.

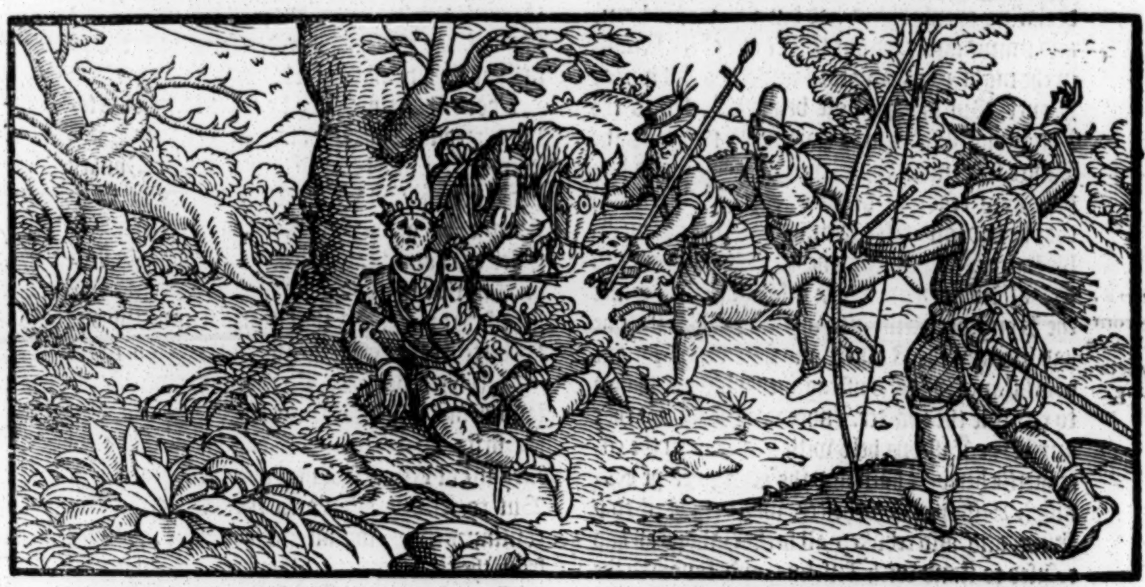
Math. VVeſt.

VVil. Malm.

Sir Walter Tirell.

The Kyng ſlayne.

he was told by Robert Fitz Hamõ, that a Mõke ſhould dreame in his ſleepe, how he ſaw the king gnawe with his teeth the image of Chriſt crucified, and that as hee was about to teare with hys teeth the legges of the ſame Image, Chriſt with his feete ſhould ſpurne him downe to the ground, and as hee lay ſo on the earthe, there came out of his mouth a flame of fyre, and ſuch abundance of ſmoke, that the ayre was darkned therewith. But the Kyng made a ieſt of theſe and the lyke tales. He is a right Monke (ſayth he) and to haue a peece of money, he dreameth ſuch things, gyue him therefore an hundred Shillings, and bid him dreame of better fortune to our perſon. Yet was the King ſomewhat moued herewith, and doubtfull, whether he ſhoulde goe into the new Forreſt to hunt on Lammas day as he had already purpoſed, or no, bycauſe hys friendes counſelled hym not to trie the trouth of dreames to his own loſſe and hinderaunce, whereuppon hee forbare to goe forth before dynner, but after hee had dyned and made himſelfe merrie with receyuing more drinke than commonly he vſed to doe, abroade he got hym into the Forreſt with a ſmall company aboute hym: and amongſt other was one Sir Walter Tirrell a Frenche Knighte, whome hee had reteyned in ſeruice with large ſtipend. Thys Sir Walter chaunced to remayne with yͤ King, when all the reſt of the company was diſperſed here and there, as the manner in hunting is, and now as the ſunne began to draw lowe, the King perceyuing an Hart to come alongſt by hym, hee ſhot at the ſame, and with hys arrow ſtroke him, but not greatly hurting hym, hee fledde away. The Kyng alſo to marke whiche way the Hart tooke, and the manner of hys hurte, caſt vp his hand to ſhadow the ſunne from daſeling on hys eyes, and as he ſtoode in that ſorte, forth came another Hart, at the which as Sir Walter Tirrell let driue an arrow, the ſame by glaunceing ſtroke the King into the breſt, ſo that hee neuer ſpake worde, but breaking off ſo much of the arrow as appeared out of his body, hee fell downe, and gyuing only one grone, immediately dyed, without more noyſe or mouing. Sir Walter running to him, and perceyuing no voyce nor ſenſe to remayne in hym, ſtraight wayes gote to his Horſe, and riding away, eſcaped and ſaued himſelfe: for few there were that purſued him, euery man beeing amaſed at the chaunce, and ſome departyng one way, and ſome another, to ſee to their owne aduauntage and commoditie, as the tyme then ſerued. The dead body of the King was ſtraighte conueyed to Winchester, and there buryed yͤ morow after, which was the ſecond day of Auguſt, the yere of our Lord .1100.



VVil. Malm.

To this ende came K. William, after he had reigned almoſt .12. yeres, and liued .43. and ſomewhat more. And though this Prince bee euill reported of by writers for the couetous taſking of his ſubiectes, and namely for reteyning of eccleſiaſtical linings in his hands, yet was he endowed with many noble and princely qualities: he hadde good knowledge in the feates of warre, and could well endure trauaile and bodily labour. In all his affayres he was circumſpect inough, ſtedfaſt and ſtable of promiſe, and in his warres no more diligent than fortunate. He gaue to the Monkes called *monachi de charitate* in Southwarke, yͤ greate new Church of S. Sauiour of Bermõdſay, and alſo Bremõds eye it ſelfe. He alſo foũded a goodly Hoſpitall in the Citie of Yorke, called S. Leonards, for the ſuſtentation and finding of the pore as well brethren as ſyſters. Towardes Souldiers and men of warre he was very liberall, and to enrich them, he paſſed not to take from Fermors and huſbandmen what ſoeuer could be gotte: hee was indeede of a prodigall nature, and therefore when in the beginning of his raigne, doubtyng ſome troubles, he hadde aſſembled togither many men of war for his defence, there was nothyng yͭ they could aſke which he would deny to them, in ſo much, that his fathers treaſures were ſone cõſumed, by reaſon whereof he was put to his ſhifts to prouide more: for though ſubſtance wanted to ſhew his liberalitie, yet there wanted not in hym a mind ſtill to be bountifull, for the continual vſe of giuing rewards, was in manner turned in him to a nature, ſo that to furniſh himſelfe of money & other things, and to beſtow of ſome, he was driuen to take from other: for in ſuch ſort he was liberall, that therewith he was prodigall, and ſo of a ſtout courage as proude withall, and in ſuche wiſe ſeuere, as hee ſeemed alſo cruell and hard to be entreated.

e liberall rt of Kyng illiam.

In what maner he vſed to make hys beſt of benefices and ſpirituall liuings, it partly before appeareth. In deede ſuch was his conditiõ, that who ſoeuer woulde giue, might haue, & that oftentimes withoute reſpect, whether their ſute was reaſonable and allowable or not, in ſomuch, that it is tolde of him, that beeing in Roan one tyme, there came to hym dyuers Iewes whyche inhabited in that Citie, complayning to him, that diuers of their nation had renounced their Iewiſh Religion, and were become Chriſtians, wherefore they beſought him, that for a certaine ſumme of money whiche they offered to gyue, it myghte pleaſe him to conſtreyne them to abiure Chriſtianitie, and turne to the Iewiſh law againe: hee was contented to ſatiſfie their deſires, and ſo receiuing the money, called them afore him, & what with threats and putting thẽ otherwiſe in feare, he conſtreyned dyuers of them to forſake Chriſt, and returne to their old errors. Ther was alſo about the ſame time a yong man a Iew, the which by a viſion appearing vnto him (as is ſaide,) was conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, and beeing baptiſed, was named Stephan, bycauſe S. Stephan was the man that had appeared to him in the viſion, as by the ſame he was enformed. The father of hym being ſore troubled in that his ſonne was thus become a Chriſtian, and hearing what the King had done in ſuch like matters, preſented to him. 60. markes of ſiluer, vpõ condition he ſhould compell his ſonne to returne to his Iewiſh Religion. Herevpon was the yong man broughte before the K. vnto whome the K. ſaid, Sirra, your father here complayneth that without his licence ye are become a Chriſtian: if this be true, I commaund thee to returne againe to the Religion of your natiõ, without any more adoe: vnto whom the yong man anſwered, your grace as I ſuppoſe doth but ieſt: wherewith the K. being moued ſaid, what thou dunghill knaue ſhuld I ieſt with thee, get thee hence quickly, and fulfill my commaundement, or by S. Lukes face I ſhall cauſe thyne eyes to be plucked out of thine head: the yong mã nothing abaſſhed therewith, with conſtant voyce anſwered, truly I will not do it, but know for certaine, that if you were a good Chriſtian man, you would neuer haue vttered any ſuch wordes, for it is the part of a Chriſtian to reduce them again to Chriſt, which be departed from hym, and not to ſeparate them from him which are ioyned to him by faith.

An anſwere of a good Iewe.

The K. herewith cõfounded, cõmanded the Iew out of his ſight: but his father perceyuing that the king coulde not perſwade his ſonne to forſake the Chriſtian faith, hee required to haue his money againe, but the K. ſaid, he had done ſo much as hee promiſed to doe, that was, to perſwade him ſo far as he might. At length when he would haue had the K. to haue dealt further in the matter, yͤ K. to ſtop his mouth, returned back to him the one halfe of his money, and reteyned yͤ other halfe.

A prety deuiſion.

King Williã ſuſpected of infidelitie.

Moreouer, to encreaſe the ſuſpition which men had of his infidelitie, it is written, that he cauſed a diſputatiõ to be kept betwixt yͤ Iewes and the Chriſtians, promiſing that if the Iewes ouercame yͤ Chriſtians in argument, he woulde turne to their ſide: but yͤ Iewes being ouercome, and receyuing the foyle, would not confeſſe theyr errors, but alleadged, that by factions and not by reaſon, they were put to the worſe.

Edmerus

But what opinion ſoeuer he had of the Iewes fayth, it appeareth by writers that he doubted in many poyntes of the Religion then in credite, for hee ſticked not to proteſt openly that hee beleeued there was no Saint could profit any man in the Lords ſight, and therefore neyther woulde he nor any other yͭ was wiſe (as he affirmed) make interceſſion, either to Peter, or to any other for helpe.

Praying to Saincts.

His ſtature.

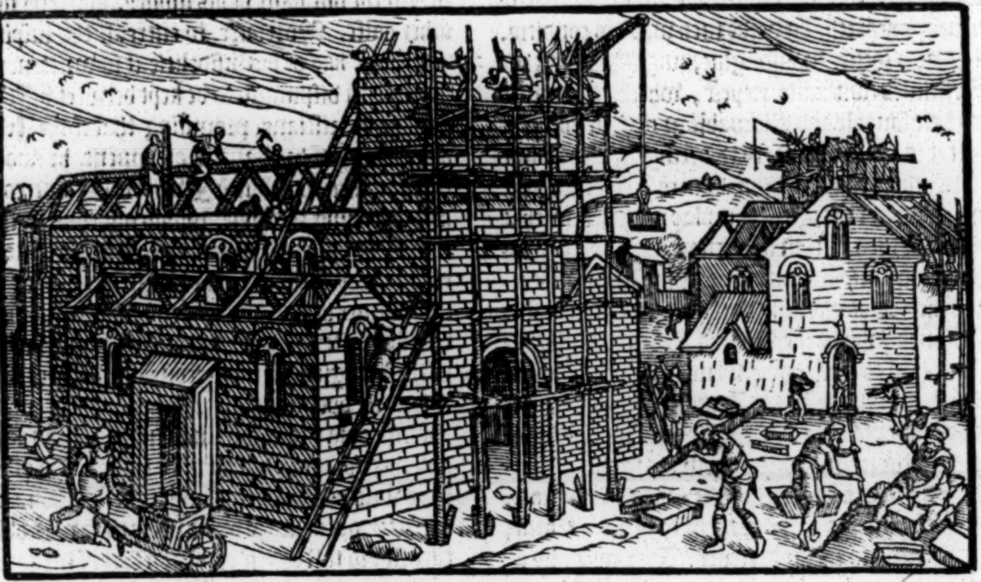
Whereof he tooke his ſurname Rufus.

He was of ſtature not ſo tall as the common ſort of men, redde of heare, whereof hee toke his ſurname Rufus, ſomewhat groſſe in the wombe, and not ready of tong, ſpecially in his anger, for then vnneth could he vtter a ready word, hee dyed withoute iſſue, vſing Concubines all the dayes of hys lyfe. I find that in apparel he loued to be gay and gorgeous, and coulde not abide to haue any thing that hee ware eſteemed at ſmall valure, in ſo muche that one morning when he ſhould pull on a new paire of hoſe, hee aſked the groome of his chamber that brought them to him what they coſt, three Shillings ſaith he, why thou horeſon ſayd the Kyng, doth a payre of hoſe of three Shillings price become a Kyng to weare, goe thy wayes and fetch me a payre that ſhall coſt a marke of ſiluer. The grome went, and brought him an other paire, for yͤ which he paid ſcarcely ſo much as yͤ other coſt, but when the K. aſked what they ſtood him in, he told him they coſt a marke, & thẽ was he well ſatiſfied & ſaid, yea mary, theſe are more fitter for a K. to weare, and ſo drew them vpon his legges.

VVil. Malm.

In this king days Iohn biſhop of Welles ioyned the ned the monaſterie of Bathe vnto his ſea, & repairing the ſame monaſterie, began to inhabite there in the yere. 1094. alſo the Churche of Couentry was in like ſort ioyned vnto the ſea of Cheſter by Robert biſhop of that dioceſſe. Wulſtan biſh. of Worceſter died aboute the ſame tyme, and Anſelme hauing purchaſed bulles of Pope Paſcall, wherein was cōteined an admonition vnto King William to deſiſt from his grieuous oppreſſing the churche, & to amende his former doings, was now on his returne towards England, when by yͤ way he heard of the kings death. Hugh earle of Cheſter in this kings dayes builded the Abbey of Cheſter, and procured Anſelme that was after archbiſhop of Canterbury to come ouer forth of Normādie, that he might direct the ſame abbey, and place ſuch religious perſons as were neceſſarie for the purpoſe of that foūdation. Long it was ere Anſelme wold come ouer, bicauſe he doubted to be ſuſpected of an ambicious deſire to ſeke to be made Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, for it was talked yͭ if he went ouer into England, he ſhould ſurely be elected before he returned into Normādie: but at length ſo it chaunced, that the forſayd Hugh erle of Cheſter fel ſick, and diſpairing of life ſent with all ſpeede vnto Anſelme, requiring him moſt inſtantly to come ouer vnto him, lying in yͤ extremitie of ſickneſſe, that if hee haſted not the ſooner, it would be too late, wherof he would after repent him. Then Anſelme for that he might not fayle hys friend in ſuch neceſſitie, came ouer, and gaue order to the Abbey, according to that that ſeemed beſt to him for eſtabliſhmente of Religion there.

Couentrie Church ioined to the See of Cheſter.



¶ Henry the firſt.

Henry the firſt.
1100
An. Reg. 1.

HEnry yongeſt ſonne to William the firſt, brother to Rufus lately departed, the firſte of that name that ruled heere in Englande, and for hys knowledge in good literature ſurnamed Beauclerke, was admitted K. by the whole aſſent of the Lords and commons, & began his raigne ouer England the firſte of Auguſt, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde. 1067. after the birth of our Sauiour. 1100. and. 44. of the Emperoure Henry the fourth, Paſcall the ſecond as then gouerning yͤ Sea of Rome, whiche was about the. 51. yeare of Phillip the firſte of that name K. of France, & beginning of yͤ raigne of Edgar K. of Scotlande, and was ſacred and Crowned at Weſtminſter, the fifth daye of Auguſt, by Thomas Archbiſhop of Yorke, & Maurice Biſhop of London, bycauſe at that time Anſelme Archbiſhop of Cāterbury was exiled. This Prince hadde aforehand framed the people to hys purpoſe, in bringing them to thynke well of him, and to conceyue a maruellous euil opinion of his brother Duke Robert, perſwading them moreouer, that yͤ ſaid Duke was likely to proue a ſharp and rigorous gouernour, if he once atteyned to yͤ Crowne and dominion of the Iland. Moreouer,

VVil: Thorn
Geruaſius
Dorobernēſi

Mat. Paris.

he cauſed it to be bruted abrode, and reported for a certain trouth, that the ſame Robert was alreadie created king of Jeruſalem: And therfore cōſidering that the kingdom of Paleſtine (as the report went) was of greater reuenues, than that of England, there was no cauſe why they ſhuld ſtay for him, who would not willingly leaue the greater for the leſſe. By which meanes the nobilitie and commons were the ſooner perſuaded to decline from the election of the ſayd Robert, and to receiue his brother Henry for their lauful king, who on the other ſide ceaſed not to promiſe mountaines till his enterpriſe tooke effecte, and then at leyſure payed ſome of them with molle hylles, as by the ſequele of the ſtorie ſhal more at large appeare.

This Henry therfore comming thus to the Crowne, conſidered furthermore with him ſelfe, that hereafter when his eldeſt brother Roberte ſhould returne, and vnderſtand how the matter was brought about, he would thinke himſelfe to haue had much wrong, and bin very euill dealte withall, ſith that by right of birth, and alſo by agreement made with his brother Williā Rufus, he ought of right to be preferred, & therupon wold not fayle, but make earneſt clayme againſt him.

The king ſeeketh to vvyn the peoples fauour.

Wherfore ere he ſhuld come home out of the holy land (where he yet remained) the King ſtudied by all meanes poſſible how to gratifye all the ſtates of his realme, and to plant in their harts ſome good opinion of him: & firſt of all to begin with, he reformed ſuche things as his brother had lefte very preiudiciall to the eſtate of the Church, making the ſame free which before was ſore oppreſſed: & furthermore ſomwhat to releue the cōmon wealth, he promiſed to reſtore the lawes of good K. Edw. & to aboliſh or amende thoſe whiche by his father and brother were alreadye ordeined to the hurt and preiudice of the olde auncient liberties of the realme of England.

Simon Dun.
Hen. Hunt.
Mat. Paris.

Anſelme called home.
VVil. Mal.
VVil. Giffard biſh. of VVincheſter.
H. Hunt.

He reuoked Anſelme the Archebiſhop of Canterbury out of exile who fled (as ye haue heard) to auoyd the wrathe of K. William. Moreouer, he placed in the ſea of Wincheſter, one William Gyffarde, a graue and diſcrete perſon, and alſo ordeined Monkes of honeſt reputation to be Abbots in certain abbeys which had bin long voyd, & in the hands of William his brother: in like maner hee pardoned certain payments whiche his brother & predeceſſour had cauſed to bee raiſed by waye of taxes & cuſtomes, and beſides this on the. viij. day of September, he cōmitted to priſon within the Tower of London Rafe the biſhop of Durhā, by whoſe naughtye counſel his ſaid brother being ſeduced, had in his life time done many oppreſſions to his people.

Rafe biſh. of Durham committed to the tovver.

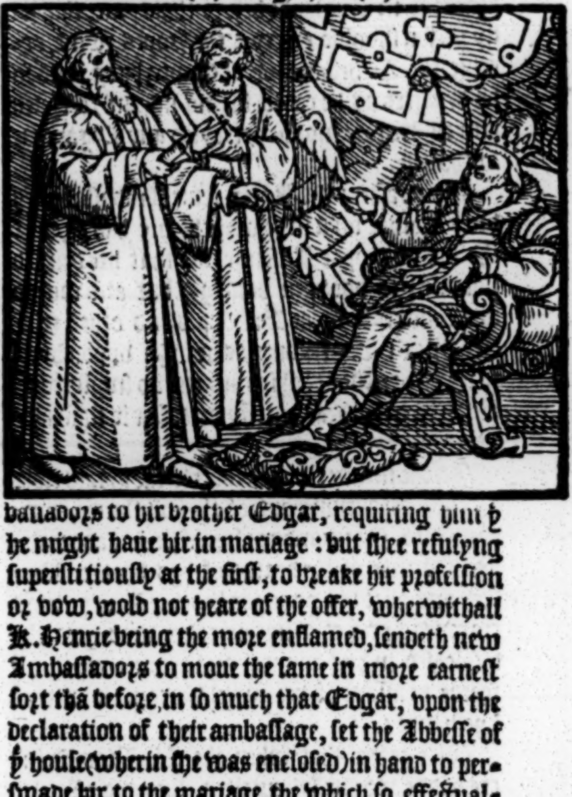
Simon Dun.
The firſte ordeyning of the yard meaſure.

He ordeyned alſo that one length of meaſuring ſhould be vſed through this realme, which was a yard, apointing it to be cut after the length of his owne arme, many other things he amēded alſo greatly to the contentation and commoditie of his ſubiects, who gaue God thankes that he had in ſuche wyſe deliuered them oute of the handes of cruell extorcioners.

VVil. Malms

VVil. Mal.
Polidore.

After that he had thus brought the cōmon welth in ſo good eſtate, he conſulteth his nobilitie, where he mighte beſte get him a wyfe, and thereby leaue the vnlawfull vſe of keeping of concubines: whiche demaunde was not myſliked of them at all: & ere long they conſidered how Edgar king of Scotlād had a ſiſter named Maude, a beautiful lady, and of vertuous conditions, who was profeſſed a Nonne, in a religious houſe, to the end ſhe might auoyde the ſtorms of the world, and lead hir life in more ſecuritie after hir fathers deceaſſe. This woman notwithſtanding hir vow, was thought to be a mete bedfellow for the king, therfore he ſent ambaſſadors to hir brother Edgar, requiring him yͭ he might haue hir in mariage: but ſhee refuſyng ſuperſtitiouſly at the firſt, to breake hir profeſſion or vow, wold not heare of the offer, wherwithall K. Henrie being the more enflamed, ſendeth new Ambaſſadors to moue the ſame in more earneſt ſort thā before, in ſo much that Edgar, vpon the declaration of their ambaſſage, ſet the Abbeſſe of yͤ houſe (wherin ſhe was encloſed) in hand to perſwade hir to the mariage, the which ſo effectually declared vnto hir in ſundry wiſe, how neceſſary, profitable, and honorable the ſame ſhould bee both to hir countrey and kinred, did ſo preuaile at the laſt, that the yong Lady graunted willingly to the mariage.



Hervpon ſhe was conueyed into Englande, & maried to the king, who cauſed the Archbiſhop Anſelme to crown hir Queene on Saynt Martines day, whiche fell as that yeare came about, vppon the Sundaye, being the eleuenth of Nouember.

It ſhoulde ſeeme by Eadmerus, that ſhee was neuer Nonne, but only veyled by hir mother, and placed amongſt Nonnes agaynſt hir

Eadmerus

mynde (as ſhe proteſted to the whole worlde) at ſuche tyme as the Archebiſhoppe Anſelme reſiſted to conſent to ſolemniſe the mariage betwixt them, tyll that doubte were cleared, and the occaſion remoued, wherupon euill diſpoſed men would haue grounded theyr iudgementes, and reported the worſte.

But whether ſhe were profeſſed or veyled, onely, loth ſhe was to conſente at the fyrſt (as partly ye haue hearde) but after that ſhe was coupled with the kyng in marriage, ſhee proued a right obedient wyfe.

The Archebiſhop of Vienne the Popes Legate.

About thys ſeaſon the Archbiſhop of Vienne came ouer into Englande wyth the Popes authoritie, (as he pretended) to bee Legate ouer all Britayne, whyche was ſtraunge newes vnto England, and greatly merueyled at (as ſayth Eadmer) of all menne. For it hadde not beene hearde of in Englande before that tyme, that any perſon ſhoulde exercyſe the Popes roome, excepte the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury. And ſo he departed as he came, for no manne receyued him as Legate, nor he exercyſed any Legantine authoritie.

He is not receiued for legate.

Soone after, the Kyng ſente Ambaſſadours vnto Rome, for a ſuite whyche hee had againſt the Archebiſhoppe Anſelme, for that hee denyed not onely to doe hym homage, but alſo would not conſecrate ſuche Biſhoppes and other Eccleſiaſticall Gouernours as he tooke vppon hym to inueſte: About which matter no ſmall trouble was moued, as partely hereafter it ſhall appeare.

1011.

In the meane tyme, Roberte the kyngs elder brother, retourning out of the holy lande, commeth into Normandye: for after he hadde aduertiſemente of the deathe of hys brother Rufus, and that his younger brother Henrye was crowned kyng of Englande, hee was greately diſpleaſed in hys mynde, and meante wyth all ſpeede to aſſaye if hee myght recouer it oute of hys handes.

Ran. Higd.

Duke Roberte choſen king of Hieruſalem.

Wee reade, that when the Chriſtian Princes hadde wonne Hieruſalem, they did aſſemble togyther in the Temple to chooſe a Kyng to haue the gouernemente of that Citie and countrey, and that Duke Roberte was choſen before all the reſidue to be King there, by reaſon of a certain kynde of miracle wrought by the quenchyng of a taper, and ſodaine kindelyng thereof agayne, as he helde the ſame in his hande, ſtandyng in the Churche afore the Altar amongeſt other on Eaſter euen, as a vayne tale hath therof bin tolde. So as thereby it ſhould be thought he was appoynted among all the reſidue to be Kyng, and ſo was he nominated. But hee hauyng hys mynde more enclyned to Englande, refuſed to take the charge vpon hym, wherevpon after that daye he neuer greately proſpered in any buſineſſe whyche he tooke in hande.

Polid.v.

But other Authours of good credite whiche haue written the hiſtorie of that voyage made into the holye Lande, make no mention of any ſuche matter, but declare, that Godfrey of Bolongne was by the generall conſente of all the Princes and Capitaynes there elected kyng, as in the deſcription of the voiage into the holy land more playnly appeareth. But nowe to retourne from whence I haue digreſſed.

An.reg.2.

When the fame was blowne into England that duke Robert was returned into Normandie, and that the people had receiued him for theire Duke with great triumph and ioye: there were diuers whiche deliting in newe alterations, and being wearie of the quiet gouernement of king Henry, wrote letters ouer oute of Englande to the Duke, ſignifying to hym, that if he woulde make haſte, and come to recouer the realme oute of his brothers handes (who vſurped therein by wrongfull title) they would be ready to aide him with all their powers. And herewithall the duke beeing readye of his owne accorde to thys enterpriſe, was not a little enflamed, and nowe made more earneſt to make haſte about this buſineſſe. And where hee woulde not ſeeme at the firſt muche to eſteeme of the offer made to him by thoſe Engliſhmen, whiche had thus written ouer vnto him (blaming generally all the engliſh nobilitie,) for that whyleſt he was abroade in the ſeruice of the Chriſtian common wealth agaynſte the Infidels, they woulde ſuffer hym to be in ſuche wyſe defrauded of his fathers inheritance, by his brother, through their vntrouth and negligence) yet although he mente to delay ẏ matter, & thought it rather better to diſſemble with them for a tyme, than to committe the ſucceſſe of his affaires and his perſon vnto theyr inconſtancie. Shortely after beeing ſette on fire, and ſtill encouraged by the perſwaſion of Raufe biſhop of Durham (who by a meruaylous wyly ſhifte, about the firſt of February had broken out of priſon, with all ſpeed poſſible he gathered his armie, purpoſing out of hande to paſſe ouer with the ſame into England, and to hazard his right by dente of ſworde, whiche was thus by playne iniurie moſte wickedly deteyned from hym.

Duke Roberte is ſolicited to come into England to claime the crovvne.

VVil.Mal.

Simon Dun.

In the kal. of February.

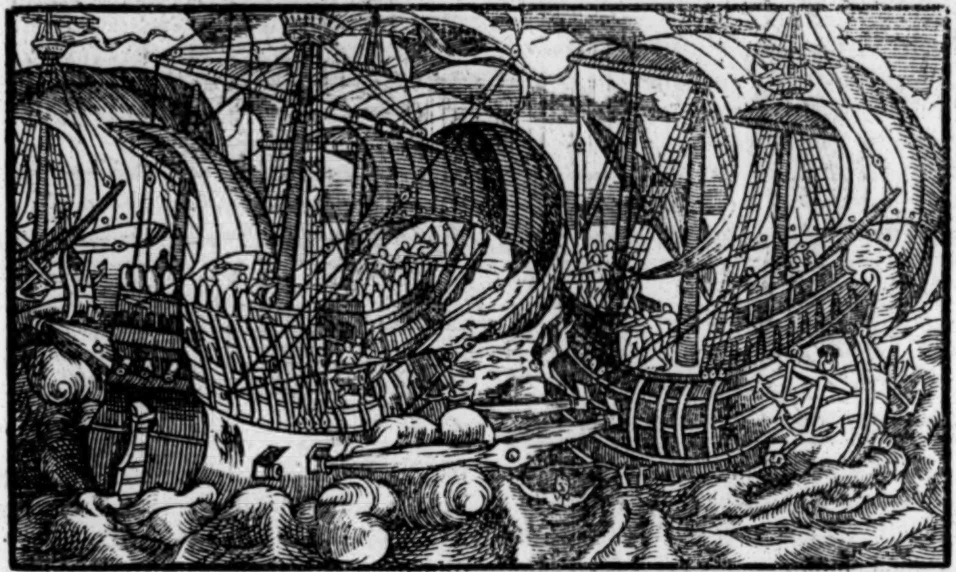
R.Houe.

H.Hunt.

Polidore

King Henry in the mean time vnderſtanding his meaning, likewyſe aſſembled his power, and furniſhed forth a great number of ſhips, appointyng them to lye in a readineſſe to ſtop hys brothers comming to land if it myght be. He himſelf alſo lodged wyth hys mayne armie neere vnto the towne of Haſtings, to be readie to giue him battayle if he landed thereaboutes.

Duke Robert alſo meanyng to ſet forward, ſente certaine of his ſhippes afore to chooſe ſome conuenient place where hee myght lande wyth his armie, which ſhippes by chaunce fell into the daunger of the kings nauie, but yet abſteyning from battayle, they recouered the wynde, and returned backe to the Duke agayne, ſignifying from pointe to pointe howe they had ſped in this voyage. The Duke as he was of a bold courage, and of ſo gentle a nature that he beleeued he ſhuld win their good willes, with whom he ſhuld haue any thing to doe, paſſed forwarde, and comming neere to the kings nauie, vſed ſuche gentle perſwaſions, that a great parte of the Souldiours which were a boord in the kings ſhips, ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, by whoſe conduct he arriued in Portſmouth hauen, and there landed with his hoſt about the beginning of the month of Auguſt: and after he had reſted a fewe dayes to refreſhe his men, he toke the waye towards Wincheſter, a great number of people flocking vnto him by the way.



Duke Roberte arriued at Portesmouth.

Si. Dunelm.
VVil. Mal.
H. Hunt.
Polidor.

The king hauing knowledge both of the arriuall of his enimies, and of the reuoltyng of his ſubiectes, reyſed his Campe, and came to lodge neere vnto his enimies, the better to perceyue what he attempted and ment to doe: They were alſo in manner readye to haue ioyned battayle, when dyuers noble men that ought good will to both the brethren, and abhorred in their myndes ſo vnnaturall diſcorde beganne to entreate for a peace, which in the ende they concluded on theſe cõditions: that Henry (who was borne after his father had conquered the Realme of England,) ſhould therefore nowe enioye the ſame, yelding and paying yerely vnto duke Robert the ſumme of .iij. M. marks, & whether of thẽ ſoeuer did depart this life firſt, ſhuld make the other his heire. Moreouer that thoſe Engliſhmen or Normans which had taken parte, either with the king or the duke, ſhould be pardoned of al offences that could be layd vnto them for the ſame by eyther of the princes. There were alſo .xij. noble men on eyther parte that receyued corporall othes for performance of this agreement, which being concluded in this maner Duke Robert which in his doings ſhewed himſelf more credulous than ſuſpicious, remayned with his brother here in Englande till the feaſt of S. Michaell, & then ſhewing himſelfe wel contented with the agreemẽt, returned into Normandie. In this ſeconde yeare of this kings reigne, the Queene was deliuered of hir daughter named after hir, Maude or Mathilde, that was after Empreſſe, of whome by Gods grace ye ſhall heare more afterwardes in this hiſtorie. The king being now rid of forrein trouble was ſhortly after diſquieted with the ſedicious attempts of Robert de Beleſme earle of Shrewſbury, ſonne to Hugh before named, who fortified the Caſtel of Bridgenorth, and an other caſtel in Wales, at a place called Carrecoue, and alſo furniſhed the towne of Shrewſburye, with the caſtels of Arundell and Tickhill, which belonged to him in moſte ſubſtantiall maner.

VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.
H. Hunt.

Hen. Hunt.
VVi. Thorne.
Mat. VVeſt.
Geruaſius Dorober.

1102.

Simon Dun.
Robert de Beleſmo Earle of Shrevvſbury.

Moreouer he ſought to win the fauour of the Welchmen, with whoſe ayde he purpoſed to defende hymſelfe againſt the king in ſuche vnlawfull enterpriſes as he ment to take in hand. But the king hauing an inklyng wherabout he went, ſtreightwayes proclaimed him a traitor, whereupon he got togither ſuch number of Welchmen and Normans as he coulde conueniently come by, and with them and his brother Arnolde, he entred into Staffordſhire, whiche countrey they forrayed and waſted excedingly, bringing from thence a great bootie of beaſtes and cattell, with ſome priſoners alſo, which they ledde forthwyth into Wales, where they kepte themſelues as in place of greateſt ſafetie.

Stafford vvaſted.

Arundell caſt beſieged.

The king in the meane tyme with all conuenient ſpeede reyſed a power, and fyrſte beſieged the Caſtell of Arundell, and planting diuers baſtillions before it, he departed from thence, and ſending the Biſhop of Lincolne with part of his armie to beſiege Tickhill, he himſelfe goeth to Bridge north, the whiche he enuironeth aboute with a mightie armie, gathered out of al the partes of his Realme, ſo that what wyth giftes, large promyſes, and fearefull threatnings, he at the laſt allureth to his ſide the fickle Welchmen, and in ſuche wyſe winneth them, that they abandoned the Erle, and nowe toke part againſt him. Whereuppon the king within. xxx. dayes wanne al the townes and caſtels (which he held) out of his handes, and baniſhed him the realme, and likewyſe ſhortely after, he confined his brother Arnold for his traiterous demeanour vſed agaynſt him, wherby their attemptes were brought vnto an ende.

Bridgenorth beſieged.

An.reg.3.

The Erle of Shrevvesburye baniſhed the realme.

A Synode of Biſhops.

Eadmerus

After this, in the feaſte of Sainƈte Michaell, Anſelme archbiſhop of Canterbury held a councell at Weſtminſter, at the whiche were preſent the Archbiſhop of Yorke, with the biſhoppes of London, Wincheſter, Lincolne, Worceſter, Cheſter, Bathe, Norwiche, Rocheſter, and two other Biſhops lately before electe by the King, that is to wit, Saliſbury and Herefor de: the biſhop of Exceſter was abſente by reaſon of ſickeneſſe. At this Councel or Synode, diuers Abbots and Priours both Frenchmen and Engliſhmen were depriued of their promotions and benefices by Anſelme, bicauſe they had come to them otherwiſe than he pretended to ſtand with the decrees of the church, as the abbottes of Perſore, Ramſey, Taueſtock, Peterborrow, Middleton, Burie and Stoke, with the Prior of Ely, and others. The chiefeſt cauſe for which they were depriued, was for that they had receyued their inueſtures at the kings handes.

Abbottes and Priours depriued.

M.Paris.

The cauſe vvhy they vver depriued.

H.Hunt.

Si.Dunelm.

Diuers conſtitutions were alſo made by authoritie of this councell, but namely thys one, That Prieſts ſhould no more be ſuffered to haue wiues, who were neuer abſolutely forbiddẽ matrimonie in this lande before this tyme. Whiche decree (as ſayeth Henry of Huntington) ſeemed to ſome very pure, but to ſome againe very dangerous, leaſte whileſt diuers of thoſe that coueted to profeſſe ſuche a cleanneſſe and puritie of lyfe, as paſſed their powers to obſerue, myghte haply fall into moſte horrible vncleanneſſe, to the hygh diſhonour of the chriſtian name, and offence of the almightie.

Eadmerus.

Mariage of Prieſts forbidden

H.Hunt.

Moreouer, it was decreed in the ſame Councell, That no ſpirituall perſon ſhoulde haue the adminiſtration of any temporall office or function, nor ſitte in iudgement of lyfe and deathe: That Prieſtes ſhoulde not haunte Alehouſes, and further, that they ſhoulde weare apparell of one manner of colour, and ſhoes after a comelye faſhion: for a little before that tyme, Prieſtes vſed to goe verie vnſeemely: That no Archedeaconries ſhoulde bee lette to ferme: That euerie Archedeacon ſhoulde at the leaſte receyue the orders of Deacon: That none ſhould be admitted to the orders of Subdeacon, withoute profeſſion of chaſtitie: That no Prieſtes ſonnes ſhoulde ſucceede their fathers in their benefices: That Monkes and Prieſtes which hadde forſaken theyr orders (for the loue of theyr wiues) ſhoulde be excommunicate, if they would not retourne to theyr profeſſion agayn: That Prieſtes ſhoulde weare brode crownes: That no tythes ſhoulde be gyuen but to the Church, That no benefices ſhoulde be bought or ſolde, That no newe Chappells ſhoulde bee buylded withoute conſente of the Biſhoppe, That no Churche ſhould be conſecrated except prouiſion were

Decrees inſtituted in thys Councell.

Againſt prieſts that vvere ale houſe haunters.

Archedeaconries.

Subdeacons.

Prieſts ſonnes.

Preſts to vvear

Tythes.

Benefices.

Nevv chapel.

onſecration
f Churches.
bbottes.

Monkes.

Fermes.
Perſonages.

Contracts.

VVearing of
haires.

Buryall.

Fond vvorſhipping of dead men.

The curſſe to be red euery Sunday.

were firſte had to the mayntenance thereof, and to the miniſter. That Abbots ſhoulde not make any knightes or men of warre, and ſhoulde ſleep and eate within precinct of their owne houſes, except ſome neceſſitie moued them to yͤ contrary: That no Monks ſhould enioyne penaunce to any mā without licence of their Abbot, and yͤ Abbots might not graunt licence but for thoſe of whoſe ſoules they had cure. That no Monk ſhould be godfather, nor Nonne godmother to any mans childe: That Monkes ſhoulde not hold and occupie any fermes in their hands: That no monkes ſhoulde receyue any perſonages, but at the handes of the Biſhop, nor ſhoulde ſpoyle thoſe which they did receiue in ſuch wiſe of the profits and reuenewes, that Curates which ſhould ſerue the cures might thereby want neceſſarie prouiſion for them ſelues and the ſame Churches: That contracts made betwene man and womā without witneſſes concerning mariage ſhoulde bee voyde, if either of them denyed it: That ſuche as did weare their heare long ſhould be neuertheleſſe ſo rounded, that parte of theyr eares mighte appeare: That kynſefolke myghte not contracte matrimonie within the ſeuenth degree of conſanguinitie: That the bodies of the dead ſhould not be buryed but wythin theyr paryſhes, leaſte the Prieſt might loſe his duetie: That no man ſhould vpon ſome newe raſhe deuotion giue reuerence and honour vnto any dead bodies fountaynes of water, or other thyngs withoute the Biſhoppes authoritie, whych hath bin wel knowen to haue chaunced heretofore: That there ſhoulde be no more buying and ſelling of menne vſed in Englande, whiche was hytherto accuſtomed as if they had bene kyne or Oxen. Alſo all ſuche as committed the fylthie ſynne of Sodomitrie ſhoulde bee accurſſed by the Decree of thys Councell, tyll by penaunce and confeſſion he ſhould obteyne abſolution: And if he were a prieſt or any maner of religious perſon, he ſhuld loſe his benefice, and bee diſinabled to obteyne any other: and if he were a laye man, he ſhould loſe the prerogatiue of his eſtate, and that no religious man might bee abſolued of this cryme but at the Biſhops hands: it was alſo ordeyned, that euery Sundaye thys curſſe ſhould be red in euerye Churche. The Kyng alſo cauſed ſome ordinaunces to bee deuyſed at this counſell, neceſſarye to moue and procure menne to the leadyng of a good and vpryght trade of lyfe.

About the third yere of K. Henries reigne the fundation of S. Bartholomew by Smythfield was begon by Rayer one of the Kings Muſitians (as ſome write) who alſo became the fyrſt Priour thereof. In thoſe dayes Smithfielde was a place where they layde all the ordure and filthe that was hadde forth of the Citie. And alſo it was the appoynted place of execution where Felons and other tranſgreſſoures of the lawes did ſuffer.

In thys third yeare of kyng Henries reigne the Queene was delyuered of a ſonne called Willyam.

Polidor.

The king beſtovveth biſhoprikes.

Math. Paris.

Simon Dun.

After that the Earle of Shrewesburye was banyſhed (as before ye haue hearde) the ſtate of the Realme ſeemed to be reduced into very good quiet. So that king Henrie aduaunced with ſo good ſucceeſſe in his affaires, was nowe in no feare of daunger any manner of waye: howbeit herein he ſomewhat diſpleaſed the Clergie: for leaning vnto his princely authoritie, hee tooke vppon him both to nominate Biſhoppes, and to inueſte them into the poſſeſſion of their ſeas: and amongeſt other whiche hee inueſted, there was one Remeclid, whom he ordeyned Byſhop of Hereforde. But the ſame Remeclid or Remeline, did afterwards reſtore that biſhoprike to the king again, for that hee was perſuaded greatly to haue offended in receiuyng the ſame at a temporall mannes handes.

Truely not onely kyng Henry heere in Englande, but alſo other Princes and hygh potentates of the temporaltie about the ſame ſeaſon, chalenged thys ryght of inueſting Biſhops and other ſpirituall miniſters, as a thyng due vnto them and their predeceſſours, without all preſcription of tyme, as they alledged, whiche cauſed no ſmall debate betwixte them and the clergie, as in that whiche is written thereof, at large by other, maye more eaſily appeare.

Anſelme refuſeth to conſecrate the biſhops inueſted by the king.

But Anſelme the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury more earneſt in this caſe than many other, woulde not admitte nor conſecrate ſuch biſhops as were nominate and inueſted by the Kyng, making no accompte of their inueſtiture: and further hee tooke vppon hym to adviſe the Kyng not to violate the ſacred lawes, rites, and ceremonies of the chriſtian Religion, ſo lately decreed concerning thoſe matters.

But ſo farre was the King from gyuing any eare to his admonitions, that he ſtoode the more ſtyffely in hys chalenge. And where Thomas the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke was lately before departed out of this tranſitorie lyfe,

hys

Gerard inue- Archbishop of Yorke.

VV. Giffarde bishop of VVincheſter.

M. Paris.

VV. Thorne.

Polidor.

Polidore

1103.

An. reg. 4.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome. Anſelme goth alſo to Rome.

he gaue that benefice ſo beeing voyde vnto one Gerard, a man of great witte, but (as ſome writers reporte) more deſirous of honour than was requiſite for a man of his calling, and willed him in deſpite of Anſelme to conſecrate thoſe biſhops which he had of late inueſted. This Gerard therfore obeying his cōmandement, did conſecrate them all, William Giffard, the biſhop of Wincheſter onely excepted who refuſed to be conſecrated at his handes, wherupon he was depriued and baniſhed the realme. Alſo the Archbiſhoppe Anſelme was quite out of fauor, for that he ceaſed not to ſpeake agaynſt the king, in reprouing his doings in this behalfe, till time the king was contēted to referre the matter to Pope Paſcall, & to ſtande vnto his decree and order therein: alſo that ſuch as he had placed in any biſhoprik, ſhuld haue licence to goe to Rome to pleade their cauſes, whether he promiſed ſhortly to ſend his ambaſſadours, and ſo hee did: Appointing for the purpoſe, Herbert biſhop of Norwiche, and Robert biſhop of Lichefield, being both of his priuie counſell, and William Warlewaſt, of whome mention is made before, who went on their way and came to Rome, accordyng to their Commiſſion.

After them alſo followed Anſelme the archebiſhop of Canterbury, Girarde the archebiſhop of Yorke, and William the electe of Wincheſter, whome the Pope receyued with a curteous kynde of entertaynemente. But Anſelme was highly honored before all the reſidue, whoſe diligence and zeale in defence of the ordinaunces of the ſea of Rome, he well inough vnderſtoode. The Ambaſſadours in lyke maner declaring the effect of their meſſage opened vnto the Pope the grounde of the controuerſie begonne betwene the king and Anſelme, and with good argumentes wēt about to proue the kings cauſe to be lawful. Vpon the other ſide Anſelme and his partakers with contrary reaſons ſeeke to confute the ſame: Wherupon the Pope declared that ſith by the lawes of the Church it was decreed, that the poſſeſſion of any ſpirituall benefice obteyned otherwyſe than by the deliuerie of a ſpirituall perſon, coulde not be good or allowable, from thenceforth, neyther the kyng, nor any other for hym, ſhoulde challenge any ſuche right to appertayne vnto them.

Eadmerus.

The ſaying of VVil. VVarlevvaſt to the Pope.

The Popes anſvvere to him.

Polidor.

The kings Ambaſſadours hearing this, were ſomewhat troubled in their myndes: wherupon William Warlewaſt burſte out and ſaid with great vehemencie euen to the Popes face: What ſoeuer is or may be ſpoken in this manner too or fro, I woulde all that be preſent ſhould wel vnderſtande, that the King my mayſter will not loſe the inueſtures of Churches for the loſſe of his whole realme. Unto which wordes Paſcall himſelfe replying, ſayd vnto hym agayne: If as thou ſayeſt, the king thy maiſter will not forgoe the inueſture of churches for yͤ loſſe of his realme Know thou for certain, and marke my wordes well, I ſpeake it before God, that for the raunſome of his head, Pope Paſcall will not at any tyme permitte that he ſhall enioy them in quiet. At length by the aduiſement of his Counſell, the Pope graunted vnto the King certaine priuiledges and cuſtomes which his predeceſſours hadde vſed and enioyed: But as for the inueſtures of Biſhops he woulde not haue him in any wyſe to medle with: yet did hee confirme thoſe Biſhops whiche the king had already created, leaſt the refuſall ſhoulde bee occaſion to ſowe anye further diſcorde.

Thus this buſineſſe being after this manner ordered, the ambaſſadours were licenced to departe, and receyuing at the Popes handes great rewardes, and the Archbiſhop of Yorke Girarde his palle, they ſhortely after returne into Englande, declaring vnto the king the Popes decree and ſentence.

VVil. Mal.

The Pope vvriteth curteouſly to the king.

The King beeing ſtill otherwyſe perſuaded, and looking for other newes, was nothing pleaſed with this matter, and long it was ere he woulde giue ouer his clayme, and yelde vnto the Popes iudgement, till that in proceſſe of tyme, ouercome with the earneſte ſute of Anſelme, he graunted to obey the Popes order herein, though (as it ſhoulde appeare) righte ſore againſt his mynde. But in this meane time the king had ſeyſed into his handes, the poſſeſſions of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and baniſhed Anſelme, ſo that he ſtayed at Lyons in France, for the ſpace of one yere and foure monethes, during whiche terme there went many letters and meſſages to and fro, & ſpecially the Pope wrote to kyng Henry very courteous letters, exhorting him to call Anſelme home againe, and to releaſe his clayme to the inueſtures of biſhops. Whereunto he coulde haue no right, ſith it appertained not to the office of any temporal magiſtrate: adding furthermore, if the kyng woulde giue ouer that vngodly and vſurped cuſtome, that he wold ſhewe ſuche friendly fauour in all thinges as by the ſufferance of God in any wyſe he mighte be able to performe, and further would receyue not onely him, but alſo his young ſonne William, (whiche lately it had pleaſed God to ſende him by his vertuous wyfe Quene Maude) into hys protection, ſo that who ſo euer hurte eyther of them ſhould be thought to hurt the holy churche of Rome.

In one of the Epiſtles alſo whiche the ſayde Pope writeth vnto Anſelme, (after that the king was contented to renounce the inueſtures aforeſaid) he willeth Anſelme, according to yͤ promiſe

whiche

whyche hee had made to aſſoyle as well from ſinne as from penaunce due for the ſame, bothe the King and alſo hys wyfe Queene Maude, with all ſuche perſons of honour, as in his behalf had trauayled with the kyng to enduce hym to be agreeable to his purpoſe.

1104.

The Earle of Mellent.

An. regn. 5.

Moreouer, the Earle of Mellent, and Rycharde de Riuers, the whiche had counſelled the kyng to ſticke in it at the firſte, and not to gyue ouer his title to ſuche inueſtures, ſith his aunceſters had vſed thē ſo long a time before his days, by reaſon whereof, in renouncing his ryghte to the ſame, he ſhoulde doe a thing greately preiudiciall to his royall eſtate and Princely Maieſtie) were nowe earneſte trauaylers to agree the kyng and the Pope, and ſo in the ende the kyng was perſwaded by Anſelme and them to giue ouer his holde, whyche hee performed, reſignyng the inueſtures with ſtaffe and ring, notwithſtanding that hee ſtill reſerued the right of Electiōs, and ſuche other royalties as otherwyſe appertained to hys Maieſtie, ſo that ſuche Biſhoppes as had done homage to the kyng, were not diſabled thereby, but quietly permitted to receyue theyr iuriſdictions.

The king perſuaded to renounce his title to the inueſture of prelats

Eadmerus.

Duke Robert commeth into Englande to viſite his brother.

About this tyme alſo Roberte Duke of Normandie came into Englande to ſee his brother: and through the ſugred wordes and ſweete entertaynmēt ſhewed to him by the king, he releaſed the yerely tribute of .3000. marks, whiche he ſhuld haue had out of the realme by the agrement (as before ye haue hearde) but chiefly in deede at the requeſt of the Queene, being inſtructed by hir huſbande howe ſhe ſhoulde vſe the matter wyth him, that was knowne to be free & liberall, without any greate conſideration what he preſentlye graunted.

After he hadde bene here a certaine tyme, and ſported him with his brother and ſiſter, hee returned into Normandie, and ſhortely after, beganne to repente him of his follye in being ſo liberall, as to releaſſe the forſayde tribute: And hereupon alſo he menaced the king, and openly in his reproch ſayd, that he was craftily circumuented by him, and in the ende flatly beguyled.

W. Malm.

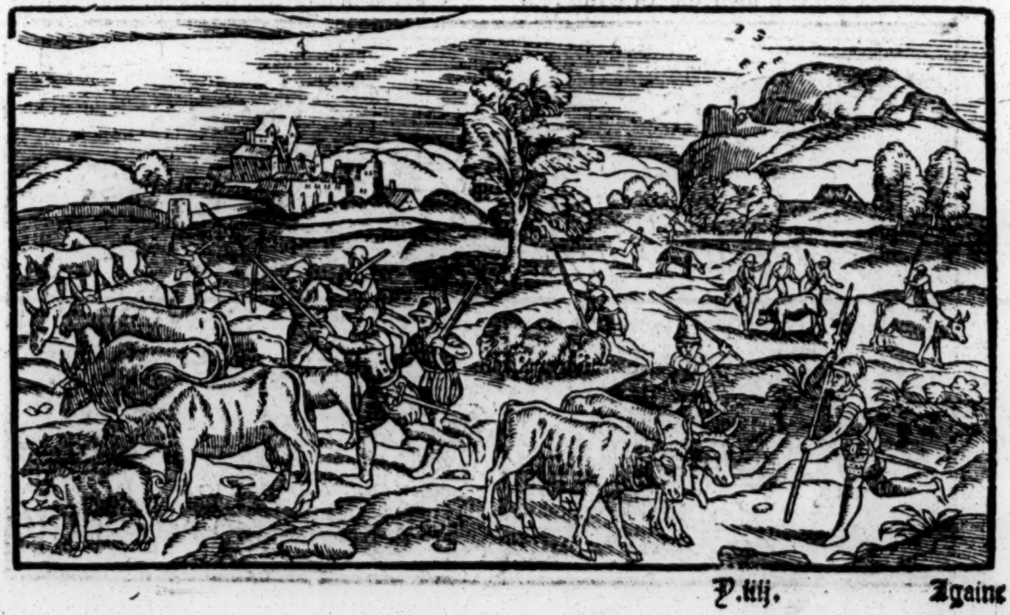
Factions perſons practiſe to ſet the tvvo brethren at variance.

The erle of Mortaigne.

There were diuers in Normandie, that deſired nothing more earneſtly than to ſette the two brethren at ſquare, namely Roberte de Beleſme erle of Shrewſbury, and William erle of Mortaigne: theſe two wer baniſhed the realm of Englande: the one that is to ſay, the erle of Shrewſbury by the kings comaundement for his rebellious attempts (as before ye haue hearde) and the other, that is to wit, the earle of Mortaigne, left the land of his owne wilful and ſtubborn minde, exiling himſelf, only for the hatred which he bare vnto the king: for being not contented with the Earledome of Mortaigne in Normandie, and the erledome of Cornwall in England, he made ſuite alſo for the Earledome of Kent, whiche his vncle Odo ſometyme helde: and bicauſe he was not only denyed of that his ſuite, but alſo by order of lawe had certaine parcels of lande taken from him, which he wrongfully deteyned, he got him into Normandie, and there made war both againſt thoſe places which the king held, and alſo againſt other, which belonged to Richard erle of Cheſter, who was then vnder gouernement of the king by reaſon of his minoritie. The threatnyng wordes of Duke Roberte, commyng at the laſt to King Henries eares (by ſuch as coulde ſette them forth in worſer ſorte than peraduenture they were ſpoken) cauſed hym forthwith to conceyue righte high diſpleaſure againſte the Duke, in ſo muche that he ſent ouer a power into Normandie, whiche fynding no greate reſiſtance, did muche hurte in the countrey, by fetchyng and carying ſpoyles and prayes.

Richard earle of Cheſter.

A povver of men ſent into Normandie.



Agayne, the Normans rather fauoured than ſought to hinder the enterpriſe of king Henry, bicauſe they ſawe howe duke Robert with his fooliſhe prodigalitie and vndiſcreete liberalitie, had made away al that belonged to his eſtate, ſo that of the whole duchie of Normandie, hee had not any citie or towne of name left in his owne poſſeſſion, Roan only excepted, which he alſo would haue departed with, if the Citezens would haue conſented to any ſuche alienation.

Gemeticenſis.

1105.

The K. paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

Anno reg. 6.

Si. Dunelm.

Gemeticenſis.

Polidor.

King Henry therfore hering of the good ſucceſſe of his men, paſſed ouer hymſelf ſoone after with a mightie armie, & tooke with ſmall trauaile Eureux, or as other haue Baieux and Cane, which cities when he had furniſhed with ſufficient gariſons of men, he repaſſed the ſea again into Englande, bycauſe the wynter began to approche, and the wether waxed troubleſom for ſuch as lay in the fielde. Herevpon duke Robert conſidering with himſelf how vnable he was (by reaſon that his people fayled him at nede to reſiſt king Henrie, ſith the Brytaines alſo and they of Aniow tooke parte with the ſayd king, he thoughte good to lay armour aſide, and to paſſe ouer into Englande, to entreate with him by way of brotherly frendſhip, in full hope by that meanes to auoid this preſent daunger, which he did. But at his arriuall here, he learned howe the king his brother as then was at Northampton: wherfore he haſted thyther, and comming to him, he made earneſt ſute for peace, beſeeching the king in reſpecte of brotherly loue to graunt the ſame, or if it were that he regarded not the good will of his naturall brother, he required him to conſider at the leaſte wiſe what appertayned to his accuſtomed gentleneſſe, and to thinke with himſelf that war betwixte brethren coulde not be maintayned without reproch, nor the victorie gotten be honorable that was obtained againſt his owne fleſhe: and therefore hee required hym not to refuſe peace, frendſhippe, and offred beneuolence, ſyth he was nowe ready to render all that euer he hadde into his handes.

1106.

An. reg. 7.

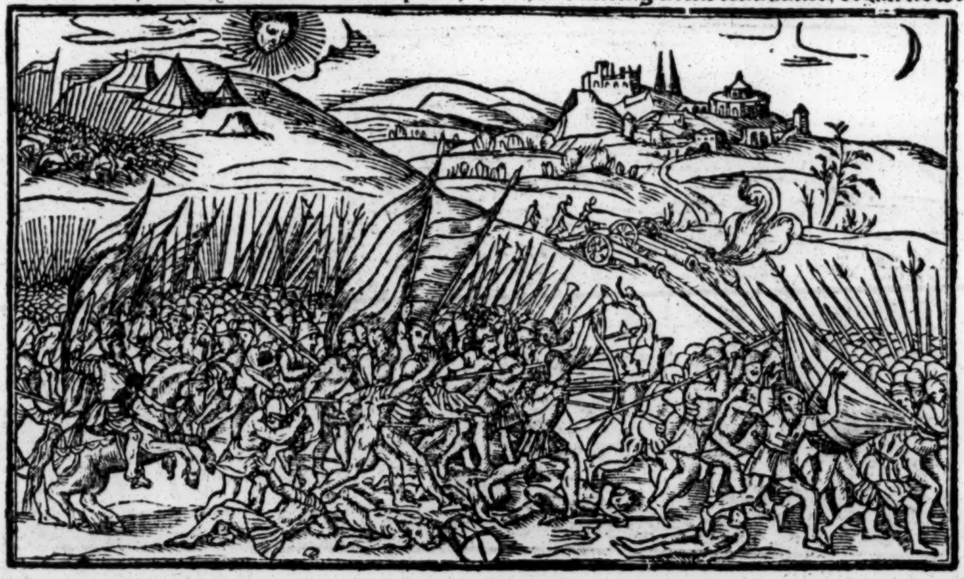
The brethren depart in diſpleaſure.

The King nothyng moued herewith, but as one that diſdayned to make a directe aunſwere, murmured certaine thinges with him ſelfe, and turned away from the Duke, as hee that eyther by experience knewe his brothers lighte and vnſtable mynde, or els as one that determined to be reuenged of him euẽ to the very vttermoſt. Duke Robert alſo abhorring and vtterly deteſting this his brothers pride, ſtreightways returned home, purpoſyng with hymſelfe to trye the hazarde of warre, ſith he ſawe no hope to be had in brotherly loue and amitie. And thervpon prouideth for warres with all his power, ſeekyng ayde from all places where he might gette any, though the kyng his brother gaue him ſmall leyſure thereto, folowing him incontinently with a new ſupply of ſouldiours, and deſyring nothing more than to get him within his daunger.

K. Henry paſſeth into Normandie to purſue his brother.

Soone after, bothe the brethren approchyng neere together, eche of them pitched downe his Campe wythin the ſyghte of other, preparyng them ſelues to giue battayle wyth luſtye and manlyke ſtomackes. The Kyng ſurmounting the Duke his brother in number, firſt bringeth forth his men in order of batayle, & ſtreight wayes the Duke lykewyſe both being readie to trye the matter by dint of ſworde. Herevpon alſo the one prouokyng the other, the trumpettes blow vp, and the fight is begun. The kings ſouldiours truſting too muche in their owne force, by reaſon of their greate multitude, breake theyr array, and aſſayle theyr enimies on eche ſide very diſorderly: But the Normans being wyſely ordered and inſtructed by their Duke, kept them ſelues cloſe togither: ſo that the kinges battaile whiche had without order ſtepte forth to aſſayle them, finding ſterne reſiſtaunce, began nowe to

They ioyne in battayle.



giue backe, for not onely Duke Robert but alſo William Erle of Mortaigne preaſſed forward amongſt their men, and foughte valiantly with their owne hands, wherupon the king when he perceyued howe his men began to ſhrinke, cried vpon them to ſtay, and withall commaunded al his horſemen to breake vppon the flankes of his enimies battayle, which they did with ſuch violence, that they diſordered the ſame, and cauſed the enimies to ſcatter. Herewith alſo the kings footemen togither with the horſemen inuaded the Normans a freſhe, which neuertheleſſe reſiſted a whyle, till being compaſſed about in manner on euery ſide, they began to flee, as oftentymes it chaũceth, when a few driuen in ſunder by a multitude, are aſſayled on all ſydes. The king then hauing vanquiſhed his aduerſaries, foloweth the chaſe, & maketh great ſlaughter of them, though not without ſome loſſe of his owne men: for the Normans deſpairyng of ſafetie, tourned oftentymes agayne vppon thoſe that followed them.

The Normans vanquiſhed.

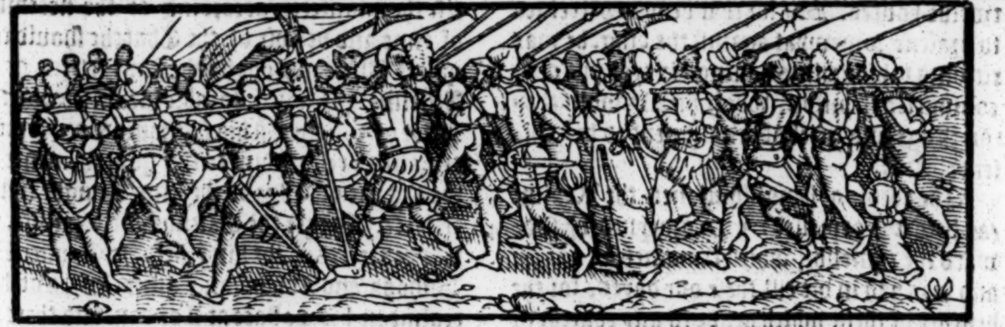
The earle of Mortaigne.

Duke Roberte and the Earle of Mortaigne fighting moſt earneſtly in the mid preaſe of their enimies, were taken, or (as other ſay) betrayed, and deliuered into their enimies hands. Alſo beſide Duke Robert and the foreſaid Erle of Mortaigne, William Criſpyne, William Ferreys, Roberte Eſtoutville the elder, with .iiij. C. men of armes were taken, and to the number of .x. M. footmen. But of the number that were ſlayne in this battayle, there is none that declareth any certaintie: but yet it is reported by diuers writers, that no one battayle in thoſe dayes was ſorer fought nor with greater bloudſhed within the limittes of Normandie or elſe where.

Eadmerus.
VV.Criſpyne.
VV.Ferreys.
Robert de Eſtoutville.
The number ſlayne.

Thus haue you the common opinion of the apprehenſion of the Duke, howbeit the ſayd relation therof agreeth not in all points with that whiche Gemeticenſis writeth, who ſpeaking of this matter, declareth in briefe ſorte, howe that king Henry being offended with his brother duke Robert, that he ſhould alienate and make away the Duchie of Normandie his inheritance with ſuche riotous demeanour as hee vſed, ſo that he left himſelfe nothing but the citie of Roan, which he had not paſſed to haue giuen away alſo, if the Citezens wolde thereto haue granted their conſent. The king (I ſay) taking diſpleaſure herewith, wente ouer into Normandie, and aſſembling no ſmal army togither, firſt beſieged Bayeux, and finally after he hadde halfe deſtroyed it, tooke it by force. After this he tooke Caen alſo: and then beſieged a Caſtell called Tenerchbray appertayning to the Earle of Mortaigne, duryng whiche ſiege his brother Roberte, and the ſayd Erle of Morteign came with a great multitude of people in hope to be reuẽged of the king, and to chaſe him out of the countrey: and hereupon aſſailed him right fiercely. But the puniſhment of God fell ſo vppon them, that they were both taken, and many of their friends with them, as Robert de Eſtoutvile and Williã de Criſpyn with other, whiche were broughte before Kyng Henry as Priſoners. And thus did almyghtie God graunte vnto the Kyng a notable victorie without bloudſhed, for he loſt not a man, and of his aduerſaries, there dyed in the fielde not paſte three ſcore perſons.

Gemeticenſis



This ſeemeth alſo to agree with that whiche Wil. Malmſbury writeth of this matter: for he ſayth, that K. Henry with ſmall adoe broughte into his handes duke Robert, who with a greate power of men came againſt him as then lodging nere to the ſayd caſtell of Tenerchbray: the erle of Mortaigne was alſo taken, but the Earle of Shrewſbury eſcaped by flight, notwithſtanding ſhortly after he was lykewyſe taken, as he went about to practiſe ſome priuie conſpiracie againſt the Kyng.

VVil. Mal.

Roberte de Beleſme.

This battayle was fought as the ſame Wil. Malmſbury affirmeth, vpon a Saterday, being the daye of Saint Michaell *in Gloria*, and that as may be thought by the prouident iudgemente of God, to the ende that Normandie ſhould be ſubdued vnto Englãd on that day, in the whiche fortie yeares paſſed, King William the conquerour firſt ſet foote on land at Haſtings, when he came out of Normandie to ſubdue Englande. Neyther doth Symon Dunelmenſis in maner vary in any thyng from Gemeticenſis touchyng the concluſion of this buſyneſſe, and takyng of duke Roberte.

The .27. of September chro. de Nor.

Si. Dunelm.

These warres beeing thus finiſhed, and the countrey ſet in quiet which through the mere folie of Duke Robert was wonderfully impouerished. The king receiued the keys of all the townes and Caſtels which belonged eyther to the Duke, or to the Earle of Mortaigne, and furniſhed the ſame with garniſons to be kepte to his behoofe.

Mat. VVeſt.
1107.
Anſelme returneth home.

After that he had thus pacified the countrey of Normandie, he came to Bec or Bechellouyn, where the archbiſhop Anſelme then remained, whome by mediation of frendes, he receyued into fauour agayne, and ſending him ouer into Englande, immediately after followed himſelfe.

Duke Robert priſoner in the the caſtell of Cardiffe.

In like manner Duke Roberte being thus ſpoyled of his dominions, landes and libertie, was ſhortely committed to priſon within the Caſtel of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained about the ſpace of .xxvi. yeres, & then died. He gouerned the Duchie of Normandie .xix. yeres, & was a perfect good mā of war, worthy to be compared with the beſt captains that then liued, if he had bin ſomewhat more ware and circumſpect in his affaires, and therewyth cōſtant and ſtedfaſt in his opinion. His worthye actes valiantly and happily atchieued againſt the Infidels, ar notified to the world by many and ſundry writers, to his high cōmendation and eternal praiſe. It is ſayd alſo, that he was after his taking, once ſette at libertie by kyng Henry, and bounde to forſweare the realme of England and Normandie alſo, being apointed to auoide within the ſpace of .xl. days, and twelue houres. But for that he was perceiued to practiſe ſomewhat againſt the king, he was eftſones takē again, & hauing his eyes put out, committed to priſon, where finally worn through age and grief of mind, he ended his miſerable lyfe.

Gemeticenſis

Polidor.

The forme of banniſhing men the Realme (as before is expreſſed) was ordeyned by Edward the confeſſor, which remained as a lawe and was had in vſe till theſe our dayes, for the benefite of them which fledde to any churche or other priuileged place, thereby to eſcape the puniſhment of death due for their offences: by a latter cuſtome it was deuiſed, that they ſhuld alſo beare a Croſſe in their hande, as a ſigne that they were pardoned of life, for reſpecte of the holy place within the whiche they ſought for ſuccour.

Mat. VVeſt.

But as for Duke Robert (as it ſhould appeare by that whiche other write) hee had no ſuch fauour ſhewed, but only libertie to walke abroade into the kings forreſtes, parkes, and chaſes, nere to the place where he was appointed to remayne, and one day as he was in ſuch wyſe walkyng abroade, hee gotte a horſe, and with all ſpeede rode his waye in hope to haue eſcaped: but his keepers aduiſed thereof, folowed hym with hewe and crye, tyll at lengthe they ouertooke him in a medow grounde, wher he had layde his horſe vp to the belly in a quaue myre, and ſo being brought agayn, his kepers kepte hym in ſtraighte priſon, aduertiſing the king of his demeanour. Whereupon he commanded ẏ the ſight of his eies ſhuld be put out, but ſo as the balles of them ſhoulde remayne vnbroken, to auoyde the noyſome deformitie that would otherwiſe enſue if the glaſſes ſhuld take hurt.

Iohan. Pike.

In his return forth of the holy land he maried one Sibell, the Earle of Conuerſans ſiſter in Puglia, hir father hight Roger or Geffrey (as ſome bookes haue) and was nephue to Robert Guyſhard, duke of Puglia, and by hir had iſſue one ſonne named William, that was after Earle of Flaunders, wherof (God willing) more ſhall be ſayd hereafter.

Here muſt I leaue duke Robert, and ſpeake ſomewhat of Anſelme.

Eadmerus.

Shortely after that hee was returned into England, ther came letters to him from Pope Paſcall, by the whiche Anſelme was authoriſed to diſpoſe and order things as ſhulde ſeeme to him moſt expedient, and namely where the more and better parte of the Engliſhe clergie conſiſted of Prieſtes ſonnes, he committed to his diſcretion the order to diſpence with them, namely ſuche as were of commēdable lyfe and learning, that they might be admitted to exerciſe the miniſterie, according as the neceſſitie of time and behoofe of the Churche ſhould require. Alſo the Pope by the ſame letters gaue Anſelme authoritie to abſolue Richarde the Prior of Elie, vpon his ſatiſfaction pretermitted, and to reſtore him to the gouernemente of the Priorie of Elye, if the king thought it neceſſarie. Aboute the Calendes of Auguſte, in this yeare .1107. the king helde a Councell of Biſhops and Abbots, and other Lords of his realme in his pallace at London, and there in the abſence of Anſelm, the matter was argued and had in talk for the ſpace of three days togither touching the inueſtures of Churches, & in the ende, bicauſe the Pope had graunted to the king the homages of the biſhoppes and other prelates, which his predeceſſor Vrban had forbidden, together with the inueſtitures. The king was contented to conſent to the Popes will in forbearing the ſame inueſtitures.

Richard Prior of Elye.

And ſo after that Anſelme was come, the king in preſence of him and of a great multitude of his people, graunted and ordeyned, that from thenceforth no biſhop nor abbot ſhuld be inueſted within the realm of England, by the hand either of the King or any laye man, where it was againe graunted by Anſelme, that no perſon elected into yͤ prelacie, ſhuld be depriued of his conſecration for doing his homage to the king. Theſe things being thus ordred, the churches which through England had bin long vacant, were prouided of gouernors, which were placed without any inueſtiture of ſtaff or ring. And amongſt other, Anſelme conſecrated fiue biſhops at Canterbury in one daye, that is to wit, William to the ſea of Wincheſter, Roger that was the kings Chauncellor to Saliſbury, William Warlewaſt to Exceter, Remalyne the Queenes chauncellor to Hereford, and one Urban, to Glamorgan in Wales.

Polidore.
Ran. Higd.

About this ſeaſon it chaunced, that where a greate parte of Flaunders was drowned by breaking in of the ſea, & ouerflowing the coũtrey, a great number of Flemings came into England, requiring of the king to haue ſome voyde place aſſigned them, wherin they might inhabite. At the firſte they were appointed to the countrey lying on the eaſt part of the Riuer of Tweede: but within foure yeres after, they were remoued into a corner by the ſea ſyde in Wales, called Pembrokeſhire, to the ende they might be a defence to the Engliſhe, there againſt the vnquiet Welchemen.

Flemings comming ouer into England, haue places appointed them to inhabite.

VVil. Mal.

It ſhoulde appeare by ſome writers, that this cõpanie of Flemings conſiſted not of ſuch only as came ouer aboute that tyme by reaſon their countrey was ouerflowen with the ſea, (as ye haue heard) but of other alſo that came ouer long before, that is to ſay, in the dayes of William the conqueror, through the frendſhip of the Queene their countreywoman, ſithence whiche tyme the number of them ſo increaſed, that the realme of England was ſore peſtred with them: and that therevpon king Henrye deuiſed to place them in Pembrokeſhire, bothe to auoid them ſo out of the other parts of Englande, and alſo by their healpe to tame the bold & preſumptuous fierceneſſe of the Welchmen: which thing in thoſe parties they broughte very well to paſſe: for after they wer ſettled there, they valiantly reſiſted their enimies, and made verie ſharpe warres vpon them ſomtimes with gaine, and ſometimes with loſſe.

1108.
A Councell.
Si. Dunelm.
Eadmerus.
An. regn. 9.
Prieſtes are ſequeſtred from their vviues.

In the yeare. 1108. Anſelme held an other counſell, in the whiche in preſence of the king and by the aſſent of the Earles and barons of the realme, it was ordeyned, that Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons ſhould liue chaſtly, and kepe no women in theyr houſes, except ſuche as were neere of kinne to them, and that ſuche Prieſtes, Deacons, and Subdeacons, as contrarye to the inhibition of the Councell holden at London, had eyther kepte theyr wyues, or maryed other (of whome as Eadmerus ſayth there was no ſmall number) they ſhould put them quite from them, if they wold continue ſtill in the miniſterie, and that neither the ſame wiues ſhoulde come to theyr houſes, nor they to the houſes wher their wiues dwelled: but if they had any thing to ſay to them, they ſhoulde take two or three witneſſes, and talke with them abroade in the ſtreete: and if any of them chanced to be accuſed of breaking this ordinaunce, he ſhoulde be driuen to purge himſelfe with ſixe ſufficiente witneſſes of hys owne order, if he were a Prieſte: And if hee were a Deacon wyth foure: and if he were a Subdeacon, with two witneſſes.

Moreouer, thoſe Prieſtes that woulde forgoe the ſeruing of the aulter, and holye order, to remayne with theyr wiues, ſhould be depriued of their benefices, and not bee ſuffered to come within the quire.

But ſuche as contemptuouſly kept ſtil their wiues, and preſumed to ſaye Maſſe, if being called to ſatiſfaction, they ſhoulde neglecte it, then ſhould they be excommunicated. Within compaſſe of whiche ſentence all Archedeacons and prebendarie Canons were alſo compriſed, both touching the forgoing of their women, and the auoiding of their companie, and alſo the puniſhemente by the Cenſures of the church, if they tranſgreſſed the ordinance. Alſo euerye Archedeacon was appointed to bee ſworne, that they ſhoulde not take any money for fauouring any perſon in tranſgreſſion of theſe ſtatutes: and that they ſhould not ſuffer any Prieſts, whom they knew to haue wiues, either to ſay Maſſe, or to haue any vicars.

Archdeacons and Canons.

Archdeacons to be ſvvorne.

The like othe ſhoulde a Deane receyue, and that ſuche Archedeacons or Deanes as ſhoulde refuſe this othe ſhoulde bee depriued of their roomthes. The Prieſts which forſaking theyr wiues, woulde be contente to ſerue God and the Altar, ſhuld be ſuſpended from that office, by the ſpace of fortie dayes, and be allowed to haue vicars in the meane tyme to miniſter for them: and after vpon the performance of their enioyned penance by the Biſhop, they mighte returne to the miniſterie.

Penaunce.

Polidore.
Philip king of Fraunce dead.
Levvys le Gros king of Fraunce.

In this meane time King Henry being aduertiſed of the death of Philip king of France, and not knowing what his ſon Lewes, ſurnamed Craſſus, might haply attempte in his newe preferrement to the Crown, ſayled ouer into Normandie, to ſee the countrey there in good order, and the townes, caſtelles, and fortreſſes furniſhed accordingly as the doubtful time required. And after hee had finiſhed his buſineſſe on that ſyde, he returned into Englande, where he met with Imbaſſadours ſent to him from the Emperour Henrie.

The

Ambaſſadours from the emperour.

The effect of whoſe meſſage was, to require his daughter Maude in marriage vnto the ſayde Emperoure, which requeſt (though ſhee was not paſte as then fyue yeares of age, hee willingly graunted vnto, and ſhewing to the Ambaſſadors greate ſygnes of loue, hee cauſed the eſpouſels by way of procuration to be ſolemnized with greate feaſtes and triumphes, which being ended, he ſuffered the Ambaſſadors to departe, honored with great giftes and princely rewardes.

Maude the kings daughter fiaunced vnto the emperour.

Eadmerus.

The death of Girarde archb. of Yorke.

Thomas the kings Chaplain ſucceded in that ſee.

About thys tyme alſo, the Archbiſhop of Yorke Eirard departed thys lyfe, and one Thomas the Kyngs Chaplayne ſucceeded in hys place, the which for lacke of money to furniſh hys iourney, and for other cauſes as in hys letters of excuſe, whyche hee wrote to Anſelme it dothe appeare, coulde not come to Canterbury for to bee ſacred of the ſame Anſelme in ſo ſhorte a tyme as was conueniente. But Anſelme at length admoniſhed hym by letters, that without delay, he ſhould diſpatch and come to be conſecrated. And whereas Anſelme vnderſtoode that the ſame Thomas was purpoſed to ſend vnto Rome for hys Palle, he doubted, leaſt if the Pope ſhould confirme him in hys See by ſendyng to hym hys Palle, hee woulde haply refuſe to make vnto hym profeſſion of hys due obedience.

The doubt of Anſelme.

Anſelme vvriteth to the Pope.

Therefore to preuente that matter, Anſelme wrote to Pope Paſcall, requiring hym in no wiſe to ſende vnto the nominate Archbiſhoppe of Yorke his palle, tyll he hadde accordyng to the auncient cuſtomes, made profeſſion to hym of ſubiection, leaſt ſome contentious trouble might thereof aryſe, to the no ſmall diſquieting of the Engliſh churche. He alſo aduertiſed Pope Paſcall, that bycauſe hee permitted the Emperour to inueſte Biſhoppes, and didde not therefore excommunicate hym, Kyng Henrye threatened, that withoute doubte hee woulde reſume the inueſtitures agayne into hys handes, thinkyng to holde them in quiet ſo well as he dyd, and therfore he beſought hym to conſider what his wyſedome hadde to doe therein with ſpeede, leaſt that buylding whyche hee had well ſette vppe, ſhoulde vtterly decaye, and come agayne to irrecouerable ruine. For Kyng Henry maketh diligente enquirie (ſayeth he) what order you take with the Emperor.

The Popes anſvvere to Anſelme.

The Pope receyuyng and peruſing theſe Letters, wrote agayne vnto Anſilme, a very friendly aunſwere touchyng hys cauſe concernyng the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke. And as for the ſuffering of the Emperour to haue the inueſtitures, he ſignifyed to hym that he neyther did nor would ſuffer hym to haue them: But that hauyng borne wyth hym for a tyme, hee nowe mente very ſhortly to cauſe hym to feele the weyght of the ſpirituall ſworde of Saynt Peter, whiche alreadye he had drawen forth of of the ſcaberd, therwithall to ſtrike if he did not the ſooner forſake his horrible errour and naughtie opinion.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke refuſeth to come vnto Canterbury to be conſecrated

There was another cauſe alſo that moued Anſelme to doubte of the Archbiſhop of Yorke his meaning, as after it appeared. For beeyng ſummoned to come and to receyue his conſecration at Canterburie (as already ye haue hearde) thorough counſell of the Canons of Yorke he refuſed ſo to doe: bycauſe they enformed hym that if he ſo didde, it ſhoulde be greately preiudiciall to the liberties of that ſee, whoſe Archebiſhop was of lyke authoritie in all things vnto the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſo yͭ he was bound onely to fetche his conſecration and benediction at Canterburie, but in no wyſe to acknowledge any ſubiection vnto that ſea. For ye muſt vnderſtand yͭ there was great ſtomaking betwixte the clergie of the two prouinces of Canterburie and York about yͤ Metropolitan prerogatiue: & euer as occaſiõ ſerued, & as thei thought yͤ fauor of the prince or oportunitie of tyme mighte aduaunce their quarels, they of Yorke ſticked not to vtter their griefs, in that (as they tooke it) ſome iniurie was offred thẽ therin. The Archbiſhop of York being thus inſtructed by the canons of his church ſignified vnto the Archbiſhop Anſelme the cauſe why he came not at his calling by Letters. The copie of a parcel wherof enſueth in in this maner. *Cauſam qua differtur ſacratio mea, quam nemo ſtudioſius quam ego vellet accellerare qui protulerunt nõ deſiſtũt corroborare, quam ob rem quã periculoſum & quam turpè ſit contra cõſenſum eccleſiæ cui præfici debeo regimen ipſius inuadere veſtra diſcretio nouerit. Sed & quam formidabile & quam ſit euitandum ſub ſpecie benedictionis maledictionem induere.* The engliſhe wherof is this:

1019.

The cauſe why my conſecration is deferred, whiche no man liuing woulde wiſhe to bee done with more ſpeede, than I my ſelfe: Thoſe that haue ſette it forth, ceaſſe not to confirme, wherfore howe daungerous and howe diſhoneſte it ſhoulde bee for mee to inuade the gouernance of that churche which I ought to rule withoute conſente of the ſame, your diſcretion ryght well vnderſtandeth, yea and alſo howe dreadfull a thyng it is, and howe muche to bee auoyded to receyue a curſſe, vnder coloure of a bleſſyng.

But Anſelme hauing alreadie written twice vnto the elect Archebiſhoppe of Yorke aboute thys matter, and nowe receyuyng this aunſwere, coulde not bee quiet in his mynde to ſuffer it thus to reſte, and thereuppon takyng aduice with certaine Biſhops whiche he called vnto him, determined to ſende two biſhoppes vnto the ſaid elect of Yorke: & ſo the biſhop of London

The Biſhop of London deane to the biſhop of Canterbury
The biſhop of Rocheſter his chaplayne.

as Deane to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Rocheſter as his chaplayn of houſhold, were ſent to commune with him, who met them at his manour of Southwell, where they declared to him the effecte of their meſſage: but he deferred his anſwer til a meſſanger which he had ſent to the king (as thē being in Normādie) was returned, and ſo without any full anſwere, the biſhops came backe againe.

Anſelme ſendeth to the K.

But ſhortly after, there commeth to Canterbury a meſſenger on the behalfe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke with letters encloſed vnder the Kings ſeale, by the tenour wherof, the king commaunded Anſelme that the conſecration of the ſayde Archbiſhop of Yorke might ſtaye till the feaſt of Eaſter, and if he might retourne into Englande [illegible] that day, he promiſed (by the aduice had therin of the Biſhoppes and barons of his realme,) that he woulde ſet a direction in all matters betwixt them, whereof any controuerſie had bene moued heretofore: or if hee coulde not returne ſo ſoone, he would yet take ſuch order, that brotherly loue and concorde might remain betwixt thē. When he that brought theſe letters required an anſwer, Anſelme anſwered, that he wold ſignifie his mynde to the king, and not to his maiſter. immediatly therfore was the Deane of Chicheſter ſent from Anſelme, with a Monke of Bechellovyn ouer to the king, to enforme him of all ẏ matter, ⁊ to beſeeche his maieſtie, ſo by his authoritie to vſe prouiſion, that no diſcorde ſhould riſe to the diuiding of the preſent ſtate of the churche of Englande. Furthermore, wheras he had commaunded him to graunt vnto Thomas the Archbiſhop of Yorke, a tyme of reſpite, he ſhulde take for a certaine anſwere that he would rather ſuffer himſelfe to be cut in peeces, than to graunt ſo muche as one houres ſpace vnto the electe of Yorke, whome he knewe alreadie to haue ſet him ſelfe vniuſtly againſt the auncient conſtitutions of holy fathers ⁊ againſt the Lord himſelfe. The meſſengers ẏ were ſent to declare theſe things to the kyng returned, bringing word that the king had heard their meſſage with fauourable mynde, and promiſed by the power of God, to declare to the world that he coueted an vnitie, and not any diuiſion in the churche of Englande.

Anſelme ſicke.

All this meane whyle Anſelme was deteyned with long and greeuous ſickneſſe, and yet not forgetfull of the rebellious doings of the electe of Yorke, he wrote Letters vnto hym, by the tenoure whereof, he ſuſpended hym from exerciſing all paſtorall function, till he had reformed hys errour, and ſubmitted hymſelfe to receyue his bleſſing, and acknowledged hys ſubiection vnto the Churche of Canterbury, as hys predeceſſoures Thomas and Girarde, after the cuſtome and accordingly as theyr aunceſtors had doone before him. And thus he charged him vpon payne of curſing, except he woulde renounce his Archebiſhoppes dignitie: for in ſo doing he did graunte him licence to vſe the office and miniſterie of a Prieſt, (whyche before tyme he had taken vpon hym) or elſe not.

In the ſame letters he did alſo forbid all the Byſhoppes within the precincte of the Iſle of Brittayne, that in no wyſe they ſhoulde conſecrate hym, vpon payne of curſſyng: And if hee ſhoulde chaunce to bee conſecrated by any ſtraunger, that in no wyſe they ſhoulde vnder the lyke payne receyue hym for Archebiſhoppe, or communicate with him in any condition.

Letters from Anſelme.

Euerye Biſhoppe alſo within the whole Ile of Brytayne hadde a copie of theſe Letters directed to them from Anſelme vnder his ſeale, commaunding them to behaue themſelues therin according to the contentes and as they were bounde by the ſubiection whyche they ought to the Churche of Canterbury.

1109.

An.reg.10.

Auguſta Pretoriana.

The letters were dated alyke in Marche, but vpon the .xxj. of Aprill enſuing, Anſelme ended his lyfe in the ſixteenth yeare after his firſt preferremente to that ſea, beeing threeſcore and ſixtene yeares of age. He was an Italian, borne in Piemont, neere to the Alpes, in a Citie called Aoſta, he was brought vp alſo by Lanfrank and before he was made Archebiſhoppe, he was Abbotte of the Monaſterie of Bechellovyn in Normandie.

Mat. VVeſt.

The firſt erection of the biſhoprik of Ely.

Eadmerus.

Richard priour of Elye.

Polidore

Aboute the ſame tyme was the Biſhoppes ſea of Elye erected by the King, who appoynted one Haruy to bee the firſte Biſhoppe there, that before had bin Biſhop of Bangor. In lyke maner Cambrigeſhire was annexed to that ſea, and bicauſe the ſame had of former tyme belonged to the ſea of Lincolne, the kyng gaue vnto the Biſhoppe of Lincolne as it were in recompence, the towne of Spalding whiche was his owne. The Priour of Ely, named Richarde, deſirous to honour himſelfe and his houſe wyth the title of a Biſhoppes dignitie, procured the erection of that Biſhoprike, firſt mouyng the king therin, and after perſwading with the Biſhoppe of Lincolne to graunt his good will: but yet ere the matter was brought to ende, thys Pryoure dyed, and ſo the ſaid Haruy enioyed the roomthe, wherein the Prouerbe tooke place, That one ſowed, an other reapeth (as Polydore allegeth it.) But to proceede.

Eadmerus.

A legate from Rome.

Shortly after the deceaſſe of Anſelme, there came a Legate from Rome, that brought wyth him the palle for the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, but nowe that Anſelme was departed thys lyfe, the ſayde Legate wyſt not what to make of the matter, bycauſe hee was appoynted to deliuer the palle firſte vnto Anſelme, and to doe further concerning the beſtowing therof, as ſhould ſeeme good vnto hym. In the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte enſuing, the king beeing retourned oute of Normandie held his court at London, and after the ſolemnitie of that feaſt, hee called an aſſemble of the Biſhops, to vnderſtande what oughte to be done in the matter, for the conſecration of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

The Erle of Mellent.

Heere were the Letters ſhewed, whiche the Archbiſhoppe Anſelme hadde a little before his death directed vnto euery of the biſhops as before ye haue heard, the which when the Erle of Mellent had read, and vnderſtode the effect of them, he asked what hee was that durſte receyue any ſuche letters without the kings aſſente and commaundement?

Samſon bishop of VVorceter.

At lengthe the Biſhops aduiſing themſelues what they hadde to doe, required Samſon the Byſhoppe of Worceſter to declare his opinion, the whiche boldely vttered his mynde thus: Althoughe thys manne whiche is elected Archebiſhoppe, is my ſonne, whome in tymes paſte I begotte of my wyfe, and therefore oughte to ſeeke his aduancement as nature and worldly reſpectes myghte moue mee, yet am I more bounde vnto the Churche of Caunterbury, my mother, yͤ which hath preferred me to this honor which I doe beare, and by the miniſtery of a Biſhoplyke office hathe made mee partaker of that grace, whiche it hathe deſerued to enioye of the Lorde. Wherfore I would it ſhould be notifyed vnto you all, that I meane to obey in euery condition, the commandement conteined in the letters of our father Anſelme concerning the matter which you now haue nowe in hande. For I will neuer giue myne aſſente, that he whyche is the electe of York ſhall be conſecrated, til he haue profeſſed his due and canonicall obedience touchyng hys ſubiection to the Churche of Canterburie. For I my ſelfe was preſent when my brother Thomas Archebiſhoppe of Yorke being conſtreyned bothe with auncient cuſtomes and inuinicible reaſons did profeſſe the like ſubiection vnto the Archebiſhoppe Lanfranke, and to all his ſucceſſours, the Archbiſhoppes of Canterburie.

The proteſtation of the biſhops to the king.

These things beeing thus vttered by the Biſhoppe of Worceſter, all the Biſhoppes returned together, and cōming before the kyngs preſence, boldly confeſſed that they hadde receyued Anſelmes letters, and woulde not do any thing contrary to the tenour of the ſame. Hereat the Earle of Mellent ſhooke the head, as though he ment to accuſe them of contempte towardes the kyng. But the Kyng himſelf vttered his mynd, and ſayd, That whatſoeuer other men thought of the matter, he ſurely was of the lyke mynde with the Biſhops, and woulde be loth to runne in daunger of Anſelmes curſſe.

Wherevpon it was determined, that the elect of Yorke ſhoulde eyther acknowledge his ſubiection to the Churche of Canterbury, or elſe forgoe his dignitie of Archbiſhop: and ſo in the end he came to London, where vpon the .xxviij. day of Maye, hee was conſecrated by Richarde the Biſhop of London, as Deane to the ſea of Canterburye, and there hauyng the profeſſion whiche he oughte to make his ſubiection to the ſea of Canterbury deliuered to him vnder ſeale, he brake vp the ſame, and read the wrytyng in forme as followeth:

The tenour of the profeſsion vvhiche the Archb. of York made vnto the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Ego Thomas Eboracenſis eccleſiæ conſecrandus Metropolitanus profiteor ſubiectionem & canonicam obedientiam ſanctæ Dorobernenſi eccleſiæ & eiuſdem Eccleſiæ primati canonice electo & conſecrato & ſucceſſoribus ſuis canonice inthronizatis ſalua fidelitate Domini mei Henrici regis Anglorum & ſalua obedientia ex parte mea tenēda, quā Thomas anteceſſor meus ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ ex parte ſua profeſſus eſt. The Engliſh wherof is thus.

I Thomas to be conſecrated Metropolitane Archbyſhop of Yorke profeſſe my ſubiection and canonicall obedience vnto the holy Church of Canterburye, and to the primate of the ſame churche canonically elected and conſecrated, and to hys ſucceſſoures Canonically inthronizate, ſauyng the faythe which I owe vnto my ſoueraine lord K. Henry inthronizated, ſauing the obedience to be holden of my parte, which Thomas my anteceſſour profeſſed on his behalfe vnto the holy churche of Rome.

When this writing was thus redde, the Biſhoppe of London toke it, and deliuered it vnto the Prior of Canterbury, appoynting him to keepe the ſame as a witneſſe, and recorde of the thing in tyme to come.

1110.

Thus was Thomas the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke conſecrated the .xxvij. in number that had gouerned that See, and when he was thus conſecrate, the Popes Legate went vnto York, and there delyuered to the ſame Archebiſhoppe, the Palle, and ſo hauyng inueſted hym therewith, he departed and retourned towardes Rome as he was appointed. At the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe next enſuing, the king helde his courte at London with greate ſolemnitie. The Archbiſhop of Yorke prepared to haue ſette the crowne on the kings head, and to haue ſong the Maſſe afore hym, bycauſe the Archebiſhoppes ſea of Canterburye was voyde: But the Biſhop of London woulde not ſuffer it, claymyng as hyghe Deane to the ſea of Canterburye to execute that office, and ſo did, leading the kyng to the Churche after the maner: but when they ſhould come to ſitte downe at diner, there roſe eftſoones a ſtryfe betwixte the ſayde two Biſhops aboute

Strife betvvixt Bishops.

their places, bycauſe the Biſhoppe of London, for that hee hadde bene ordeyned long before the Archebiſhoppe, and therfore not onely as Deane to the Sea of Canterburye, but alſo by reaſon of prioritie, pretended to haue the vpper ſeate. But the King perceyuing theyr matter, woulde not heare them, but commaunded them out of his houſe, and to gette them to dynner at their Innes.

An.reg.11.

Aboute the ſame tyme the cauſe of the maryage of Prieſtes and their keeping of Women came againe into queſtion, ſo that by the kings commaundement, they were more ſtraightly forbidden the companye of women than before in Anſelmes tyme. For after hys deceaſſe dyuers of them (as it were promiſing to themſelues a newe libertie to doe that whiche in his lyfe time they were conſtrayned ſore againſt their willes to forbeare,) deceiued themſelues by their haſtie dealing: For the King being enfourmed therof, by the force of the Eccleſiaſtical lawes compelled them to ſtande to and to obeye the decree of the Counſell holden at London by Anſelme, (as before ye haue hearde) at the leaſte wyſe in the ſight of men: But if ſo it be (ſayeth Eadmerus) that the Prieſts attempt to do worſe, as it were to the condemnation and reproofe of Anſelmes doings, lette the charge lighte on theyr heades, ſithe euery manne ſhall beare his owne burthen: for I knowe (ſayth he) that if fornicatours and adulterers God ſhall iudge, the abuſers of their owne couſyns, (I will not ſay their owne ſiſters & daughters) ſhal not ſurely eſcape his iudgement.

Aboute the ſame tyme many wonders were ſeene and hearde of. The riuer of Trent neare to Notingham, for the ſpace of a myle ceaſſed to runne the wonted courſe duryng the tyme of foure and twentie houres, ſo that the chanelle beyng dryed vp, menne might paſſe ouer too and fro on foote drye ſhodde.

Alſo a ſowe brought foorth a Pigge wyth a a face lyke to a man. And a chicken was hatched with foure feete.

VVi.Thorne.
Mat. VVeſt.

Moreouer a Comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared after a ſtraunge ſorte: for ryſing in the eaſt, when it once came alofte in the firmamente, it kepte not the courſe forwarde, but ſeemed to goe backewarde, as if it hadde bin retrograde.

Iohn Stow.
Robert the kings baſe ſon created earle of Glouceſter.

Aboute this ſeaſon the kyng maryed his baſe ſonne Robert vnto the Ladie Maude, daughter and heire vnto Robert Fitz Ham, and withall hee made his ſayde ſonne Earle of Glouceſter, who afterwardes buylded the caſtels of Briſtow and Cardiffe, and the Priorie of S. James in Briſtowe, where his bodie was buryed.

1111.
An.reg.12.

Polidore.
The citie of Conſtances taken.
The king paſſeth into Normandie.

In the yeare followyng, the Earle of Aniou named Foulke, enuying the proſperous eſtate of kyng Henrye, and lamentyng the caſe of Duke Robert, wanne the Citie of Conſtances by corrupting certain of yͤ kings ſubiects, inhabiters of the ſame Citie: Whereof King Henrye being aduertiſed, paſſed ouer into Normandie, recouered the ſayd Citie, puniſhed the offendours, and reuenging hymſelf of the Earle, returned into Englande.

1112.
An.reg.13.

The Archebiſhops ſea of Canterbury in the kinges hand

After this, reſted there an other warre to be finiſhed, whyche brake off the kinges ſtudye from heapyng vppe of money in his coffers, whervnto he was moſte inordinately giuen, and wherby hee pinched many ſo ſore, that they ceaſſed not to ſpeake the worſte of his doings: and namely he was euyll ſpoken of, bycauſe hee kepte ſtill the Archebiſhoppes ſea of Canterburye in his handes, and woulde not beſtowe it of any man, for that he found a ſweeteneſſe in receiuing all the profites and reuenues, whiche belonged thervnto, during the tyme that it remayned vacant, whiche was the ſpace of foure yeares, or thereaboutes.

1113
An.reg.14.

The kings excuſe.

In like manner when he was admoniſhed to place ſome meete man in the roome, he woulde ſay, that he was willing to beſtow it, but he tooke the longer tyme, for that he ment to find ſome ſuch one to preferre therto as ſhuld not be too far behind Lanfrank & Anſelm in doctrine, vertue & wiſdome. And ſith there was none ſuche yet to be found, he ſuffred that ſea to be voide till ſuch coulde be prouided. This excuſe he pretended as though he were more carefull for the placing of a worthie man, than of the gaine that folowed during the time of the vacation. Howbeit ere long after, he tranſlated one Richarde biſhop of London to that Archebiſhoprike, who lyuyng but a little while therin, he gaue the ſame to one Raulfe, as then Biſhop of Rocheſter, and made him Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being the .25. in order that ruled yͤ ſea: he was elected at Windſor the .26. of April, and on the .16. day of May he was inſtalled at Canterbury, great preparation being made for the feaſte, whiche was holden at the ſame. Soone after likewyſe hee ſente for his Palle to Rome, whiche was brought from Paſcall, by one Anſelme, nephewe to the late Archbiſhop Anſelme.

1115
An.reg.15.
Eadmerus

The Popes authoritie not regarded in Englande.

About whiche tyme alſo, the Pope found himſelfe greued, for that his authoritie was no more eſteemed in Englande, for that no perſons were permitted to appeale to Rome for any maner of cauſes in controuerſie, and for that without ſeeking to obtayne his licence and conſent, they didde keepe their Synodes and their Councelles touchyng the order of Eccleſiaſticall buſyneſſe, neyther woulde they obeye ſuche Legates as he did ſende, nor come to the Conuocations which they helde, In ſomuche that one Cono the Popes Legate in Fraunce hadde excommunicated all the Prieſtes of Normandye, bycauſe they would not come to a counſell or Synode which they had called. Wherupon the king being ſomewhat troubled herewith, by aduice of his counſell, ſente vnto Rome the Biſhop of Exceſter, (though he were then blynde) to talke wyth the Pope concerning that matter.

The biſhop of Exceſter ſente to Rome.

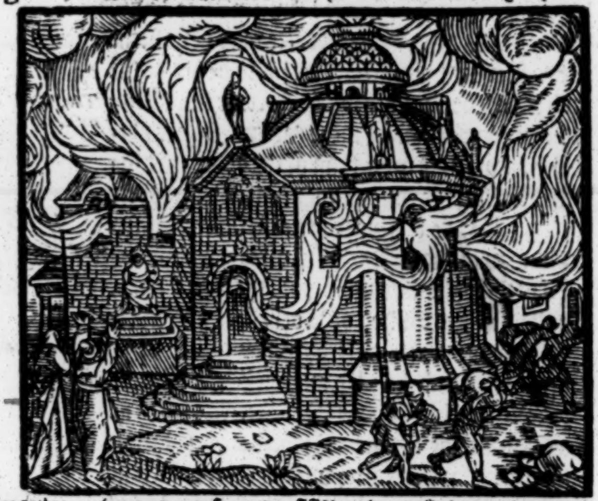
Not long after this alſo, dyed Thomas the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke: After whome ſucceded Thurſtaine, a man of a loftie ſtomacke, but yet of notable learning, who euen at the verye firſte began to contende with Rauſe the Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury aboute the title and righte of the primacie: and though the Kyng aduiſed him to ſtande to the order whiche the late Archbiſhops of Yorke had obſerued, he wold not ſtay the matter, ſith he perceyued that the Archbiſhop Raulſe beyng diſeaſed with ſickneſſe, coulde not attende to preuente hys doyngs. Thurſtayne therfore conſecrated certayne Biſhops of Scotlande, and firſt of all Gilles Aldane the elect Biſhop of Sainct Nynian, who promiſed and toke his othe (as the manner is) to obeye hym in all thyngs as his primate.

Thurſtayne archb. of York.

Gilles Aldane biſhop of ſaint Ninian.

Floriacenſis
VVigorniẽſis

The Citie of Worceſter aboute thys ſeaſon was by chaunce of fyre almoſte wholly brente vp and conſumed. Whyche miſhappe bycauſe that Citie adioyneth neere vnto Wales, was thoughte to bee a ſignification of the troubles to followe, rayſed by the Welchemen: for they conceyuing an hope of good ſpeede, by the good ſucceſſe happened to them in the warres whyche they hadde with William Rufus, began nowe to inuade and waſte the Engliſhe marches.



VVorceſter brent.

Polidor.

The VVelchemen inuade the engliſhe marches.

K. Henry entreth into VVales vvith an armie.

Wherevpon kyng Henry deſirous to tame their hautie ſtomackes, (bicauſe it was a griefe to him ſtill to be vexed with ſuche tumultes and reyſes as they dayly procured) aſſembled a myghty armye, and goeth into Wales: And bycauſe hee knewe that the Welchemen truſted more to the aduauntage of the Woddes and Mountayns, than to theyr own ſtrength, he beſet all the places of theyr refuge wyth armed men, and ſente into the woodes certayne bandes of menne to beate downe the ſame, and to hunte out theyr enimyes.

The Souldiours in like maner for their parts needed no exhortation: for remembryng the loſſes ſuſteyned afore tyme, at the Welchemennes handes, they ſhewed well by theyr freſhe purſuite, howe muche they deſyred to bee reuenged of them, ſo that the Welchemen were ſlayne on eche hande, and that in greate numbers, tyll the Kyng perceyuyng the huge ſlaughter, and that the Welchemenne hauyng throwne awaye theyr armour and weapons, ſoughte to ſaue themſelues by flyghte, commaunded the Souldiours to ceaſſe from kylling, and to take the reſidue that were left pryſoners, if they wold yelde themſelues, which they didde, and beſought the kyng of his mercie and grace, to pardon and forgiue them.

The king thus hauing vanquiſhed and ouercome the Welchemen, placed garniſons in ſundrie Townes and Caſtells, where he thoughte moſte neceſſarie, and then returned to London wyth greate triumph: Whyther came ſhortely after, Ambaſſadours from the Emperoure, requyring the Kynges daughter fianced (as before ye haue hearde) vnto hym, and (beeyng nowe able to companye with hir huſbande) theſe Ambaſſadours came from hym, deſyring that ſhee myght be deliuered vnto them.

Garniſons placed in VVale by king Henr

Floriacenſis
VVigorniẽſis

Kyng Henry hauing hearde theyr ſuite, and willing with ſpeede to performe the ſame, reyſed a great taxe among his ſubiectes, rated by euerye hyde of land which they held, and takyng of eche one .iij.s. towardes the payment of the money, which was couenanted to bee giuen wyth hir at the tyme of the contracte, which when the King had leuyed with muche more towardes the charges to be employed in ſending hir forth, he appointed certaine of his greateſt peeres to haue the conduct of hir vnto hir huſbande, who wyth

all

A ſubſidie rayſed by the king to beſtovve vvith his daughter.

H. Hunt.
Polidore

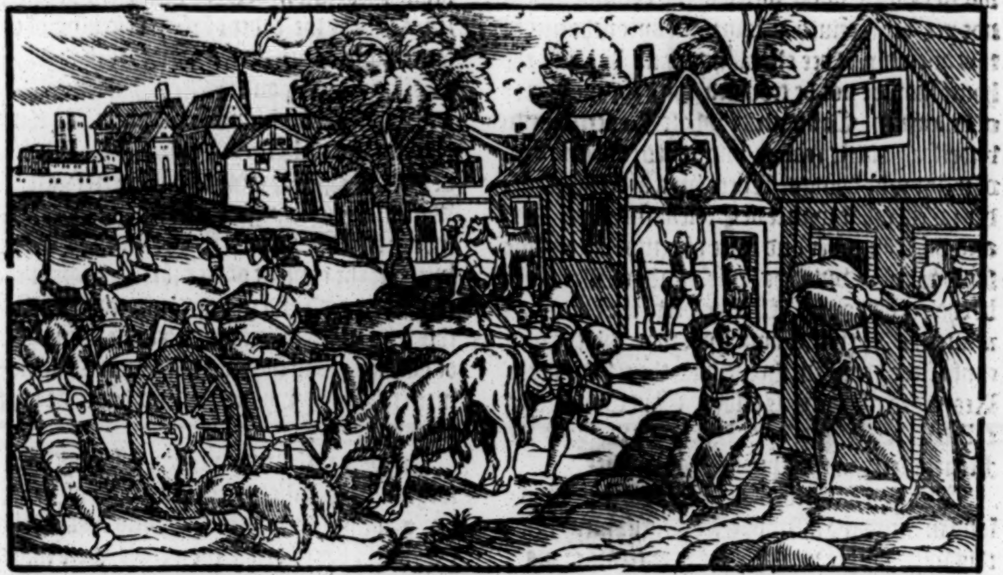
e King go-
ouer into
rmandy.

Wonders.
Wil. Thorne

Simon Dun.
Ran. Higd.
Math. VVeſt.

1115
An. reg. 16.

1116
An. Reg. 17.



all conuenient ſpeede conueyed hir into Germany, and in very honorable manner there deliuered hir vnto the foreſayd Emperoure. After thys, the King wente into Normandy, and there created his ſonne William Duke of that countrey, cauſing the people to ſweare him fealtie, and promiſe faythfull obedience vnto him, whereof roſe a cuſtome, that the Kyngs of Englande from thenſforth ſo long as Normandy remayned in theyr handes made euer their eldeſt ſonnes Dukes of that countrey. When he had done this with other his buſines in Normãdy, he returned into Englande. After whych and about the fifteene day of October, the Sea ſo decreaſed and ſhranke from the old accuſtomed water markes and coaſtes of the land here in this Realme, that a man myghte haue paſſed on foote ouer the ſands and waſhes, for the ſpace of a whole daye togither, ſo that it was taken for a great wonder. It was alſo noted, that the mayne Riuers which by the tides of the ſea vſed to ebbe and flow twice in .24. houres, became ſo ſhallow, yͭ in many places men might goe ouer them without daunger, and namely the Riuer of Thames was ſo lowe for the ſpace of a day and a nighte, that horſes, men, and children paſſed ouer it betwixte London bridge and the Tower, and alſo vnder the Bridge the water not reaching aboue their knees. Moreouer, in the moneth of Decẽber, yͤ aire appeared redde, as though it had brenned. In like manner, the Winter was very extreme colde with Froſts, by reaſon whereof at yͤ thawing and breaking of the iſe, the moſt parte of all the bridges in England were broken and borne downe. Soone after, Griffine ap Ryce tooke a great pray and bootie out of the countreys ſubiect to the King within the limits of Wales, and brenned the Kings Caſtels, bycauſe he wold not reſtore diuers ſuch lands and poſſeſſions vnto him as apperteined to his father Rees or Rice. Howbeit, the King notwithſtanding this buſineſſe, beeing otherwiſe not troubled with anye other warres or weighty affaires, deferred his voiage into thoſe quarters, and firſt called a Counſell of his Lordes both ſpirituall and temporall at Saliſburie on the ninteenth day of March, in the which, many things were ordeyned for the welth and quiet ſtate of the land: and firſte hee ſware the Nobilitie of the Realme, that they ſhould be true to him and his ſonne William after his deceaſſe. Secondly, he appeaſed ſundry matters then growing in controuerſie betwixte the nobles and great peeres, cauſing the ſame to be broughte to an ende, and the parties made friendes, except the difference betwixt the Archbiſhops of Yorke and Canterbury, whiche had depended long in ſtrife, and could not as yet be ended: for the ambitious Thruſtayne woulde not ſtande to anye decree or order therein, except he might haue had his whole will, ſo that the K. taking diſpleaſure with him, for ſuche his obſtinate demeanor, commaunded him eyther to be conformable to the decree made in Lanfrankes time, or elſe to renounce his myter, which to do, rather than to acknowledge any ſubiection to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, hee ſeemed to be very willing at the firſte, but afterwards he repented him of that which he had ſayd in that behalfe, ſo that when the Counſell was ended, and the K. went ouer into Normandy, hee followed, truſting by ſome meanes to perſwade the King that hee mighte haue his furtherance to be conſecrated, without recogniſing any obediẽce to the See of Caunterbury: but the King would not heare on that ſide, and ſo the matter reſted lõg in ſute as after ſhall appeare. Hereof may it appeare as ſaith Polidore, how the Biſhops in thoſe dayes began to be blinded with couetouſneſſe and ambition, not conſidering how it apperteyned to their duties in deſpiſing ſuche worldly pompe, as

riffin ap
ice doth
uch hurt on
e merches.

olidor.

Thruſtayne refuſeth to obey the kings pleaſure.
Edmerus

the people regardeth, only to ſtudie for the health of mans ſoule.

The firſt vſe of Parliaméts in England.

Here is to be noted, that before this tyme, the Kings of Englande vſed but ſeldome to call togither the eſtates of the Realm after any certaine manner or generall kind of proceſſe, to haue theyr conſents in matters to be decreed, but as ỹ Lords of the priuie counſel in our time do ſitte only whẽ neceſſitie requireth, ſo did they whenſoeuer it pleſed the K. to haue any conference with them, ſo that from this Henry it may be thought the firſte vſe of the Parliament to haue proceeded, whyche ſith that time hath remayned in force, and is frequented vnto our times, in ſo much, that whatſoeuer is to be decreed apperteyning to the ſtate of ỹ common wealth and conſeruatiõ thereof, is now referred to that Counſell: and furthermore, if any thing be appointed by the King or any other perſon to be vſed for the welth of the Realme, it ſhal not yet bee receiued as lawe, till by authoritie of this aſſembly it bee eſtabliſhed: and bycauſe the houſe ſhoulde not be troubled with the multitude of vnlearned Comoners, whoſe propertie is to vnderſtand little reaſon, and yet to conceiue well of their owne doings. There was a certayne order taken, what maner of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and what number and ſorte of temporall menne ſhuld be called vnto the ſame, and how they ſhuld be choſen, by voyces of free holders, that being as atturneys for their Countreys, that whiche they confeſſed or denyed, ſhould bind the reſidue of the Realme to receiue it as a law. This Counſell is called a Parliament by a French word, for ſo the Frenchmen call their publique aſſemblies.

The manner of the Parliamẽt in Englãd

The manner of their conſulting here in England in their ſayd aſſemblies of Parliament is on this wiſe, Wheras they haue to entreate of matters touching the commoditie both of the Prince and of the people, that euery man may haue free libertie to vtter what he thinketh, they are apointed to ſit in ſeuerall chambers, the King, the Biſhops, and Lords of the Realme ſit in one chamber to conferre togither by themſelues, and the comoners called Knightes for the Shires, Citizens of Cities, and burgeſſes of good townes in an other. Theſe chooſe ſome wiſe and eloquente learned man to be their prolocutor or ſpeaker, as they tearme him, who propoundeth thoſe thyngs vnto them that are to be talked of, and aſketh euery man his opinion concerning the concluſion thereof. In like ſort, when any thing is agreed vppon, and decreed by them in this place (whiche they call the lower houſe in reſpect of their eſtate) he declareth it againe to the Lordes that ſitte in the other chamber called the higher houſe, demanding likewiſe their iudgements touching ỹ ſame, for nothing is ratified there, except it be agreede vpon by the conſent of the more part of both thoſe houſes, and when they haue ſayd theyr myndes thereof, and yeelded their confirmation thereunto, the finall ratification of all is referred to the Prince, ſo that if he thinke good that it ſhall paſſe for a law, he confirmeth alſo by the mouth of the Lord Chauncellor of the Realme, who is prolocutor to the Lordes alwayes by the cuſtome of that houſe. The ſame order is vſed alſo by ỹ Biſhops and ſpiritualtie in their conuocation houſes, for the Biſhops ſit in one place by themſelues as in the higher houſe, and the Deanes, Archdeacons and other procurators of the ſpiritualtie in an other, as in the lower houſe, whoſe prolocutor declareth to the Biſhops what is agreed by them. And then the Archbiſhop by the conſent of ỹ more part of them that are aſſembled in both thoſe cõuocation houſes, ratifieth, and pronounceth their decrees for lawes, remitting (notwithſtanding) the finall ratification of them to the temporall houſes, & this is the order of the lawgeuing of England, and by ſuch decrees eſtabliſhed by authoritie of the Prince, and the Lords ſpirituall & temporall, and Commons of this Realme thus aſſembled in Parliament, conſiſteth the whole force of our Engliſhe lawes, whiche decrees are called Statutes, meaning by that name that the ſame ſhould ſtand firme and ſtable, and not be broken without the conſent of an other Parliament, and that vpon good and greate conſideration. About this ſeaſon, one Owin which ſome name Prince of Wales, was ſlayne as Simon Dunelmen. writeth, but by whome, or in what ſorte hee ſheweth not.

Simon Du

In this eighteenth yeare of Kyng Henryes raigne, on all hallowen day, or firſte of Nouember, great lightning, thunder, and ſuche an hayle ſtorme chaunced, that the people were maruelouſly amaſed therewith.

Alſo the thirteenth of December, there happened a greate Earthquake, and the Moone was turned into a bloudy colour. But theſe ſtraunge incidents fell about the middeſt of the nyght.

About the ſame time, Queene Maude, wife to Kyng Henry departed thys lyfe. But now to returne to other doings. It chaunced vpon occaſion of a ſmall matter, that right ſore and daungerous warres followed out of hande, betwixte King Henry, and Lewes ſurnamed the groſſe King of Fraunce: the beginning of which warre chaunced vppon this occaſion, Theobalde Earle of Champaigne diſcended of the Erles of Bloys, was ioyned in friendſhippe with Kyng Henry, by reaſon of affinitie that was betwixt them, (for Stephan the Earle of Bloys married the Lady Adila the ſyſter of Kyng Henry.) Nowe it happened, that the foreſaid Theobalde had by chance offended the aforeſaide Lewes, who in reuenge thereof, made ſharp warres vpon him, but Earle

Polidor.

Theobald Erle of Champaigne.

Theobald, truſting vpon ayde to be ſent from his friends, in the meane time valiantly reſiſted hym, and at length by reaſon of a power of men whych came to him from king Henry, he ſore vexed and ſo annoyed the Frenche King, that hee conſulted with Baldwin Earle of Flaunders, and Fouke Earle of Aniou, by what meanes hee mighte beſt depriue King Henry alſo of his Duchie of Normandy, and reſtore the ſame vnto William the ſonne of Duke Robert, vnto whome of right hee ſayd it did belong. Now King Henry hauing intelligence of his whole purpoſe, endeuoured on yͤ other ſide to reſiſt his attemptes, and after he had leuied a ſore tribute of his ſubiectes, hee paſſed ouer into Normandy with a great power of men, and maſſe of money, and there ioyning with Earle Theobalde, they began to prepare for the warre, purpoſing to follow the ſame euen to the very vttermoſt. King Lewis in the meane time ſuppoſing that all hope of victory reſted in ſpeedy diſpatch of preſente affayres, determined likewiſe to haue inuaded Normandie vpon the ſudayne, but after he perceyued that his enimies were al ready, and very well prouided to reſiſt him, he ſtayed & drew backe a little while, but in the end he became ſo deſirous to bee doing with K. Henry, that approching neere vnto the confines of Normandy, he made many ſkirmiſhes with the Engliſhmen, although no notable exployte chaunced betwixte them in that yeare to make any great accompt of.

ulk E Aniou

ing Henry aſſeth ouer to Norman y to aſſiſt t arle of Chã aigne.

he French .inuadeth Normandy.

Here will I leaue the Kings of England and France ſkirmiſhing and troubling one another, & ſhew ſomething more of the contention that was betweene the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury and Yorke, to the ende, that their ambitious deſire of worldly honor, may in ſome reſpect appeare. For about this very time, Anſelme that was Nephew to the Archbiſhoppe Anſelme, came againe from Rome with free authoritie to execute the office of the Popes Legate in Englande, whiche ſeemed a thing right ſtrange to the Engliſh Cleargie: and therefore the Biſhop of Canterbury to preuente other inconueniences likely alſo to folowe, tooke vppon him to goe vnto Rome further to vnderſtand the Popes pleaſure cõcerning this matter, and to require him in no wiſe to abridge or deminiſh the authoritie and prerogatiue of his See of Canterbury, whych hitherto vſed to determine all cauſes riſing in his prouince. Hee came to Rome, but finding not the Pope there, hee ſente meſſengers with letters vnto him, as then lying ſicke at Beneuẽto, and obteined a fauourable anſwere, with the which returning towardes England, he came to the K. to Roan (wher he had left him at his ſetting forwarde) certifying him howe he had ſpedde in this voiage: the foreſaid Anſelme was alſo ſtayed by the K. at Roan, and could not be ſuffered to paſſe ouer into England of all that time, til it might be vnderſtood by the returne of yͤ Archbiſhop what the Popes pleaſure ſhoulde bee further in that matter: ſhortly after whoſe repaire to the King, worde was brought alſo that Pope Paſchall was departed this life, and that Gelaſius the ſecond was elected in his place, the whyche Gelaſius to auoyde the daungers that mighte enſue to him by reaſon of the ſciſme and controuerſie betwixt the See of Rome, and the Emperour Henry the fifth, came into Fraunce, where hee lyued not long, but dyed in the Abbey of Clugny, & then Calixtus the ſeconde was called to the Papacie. Thus by the chaunce & chaunge of Popes, the Legateſhip of Anſelme coulde take no place, although his Bulles permitted him withoute limitation of time certayne, not onely to call and celebrate Synodes for reformation of miſorders in the Church, but alſo for the receyuing of ſaint Peters almes to be leuied in England, (in which poynte, Pope Paſchall in his life time thoughte them in Englande very ſlacke) as by the ſame Bulles more largely doth appeare. The Archbyſhop of Caunterbury had already ſtayed foure or fiue yeares in the parties beyond the Seas, about the matter in controuerſie betwixt hym & Thruſtaine the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, who was lykewiſe gone ouer to ſolicite his cauſe: but where as at the firſt he could not find the King in any wiſe agreeable to his minde, yet when the Counſell ſhould be holden at Rheynes by Pope Calixt, hee ſued at the leaſt wiſe for licence to goe thyther, but coulde neyther haue any graunt ſo to do, till he had promiſed vpon his allegiaunce (whych hee oughte to the King) not to attempte anye thyng there that might be preiudiciall to the Churche of Canterbury in any manner of wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, at his comming thyther, he ſo wrought with bribes & large giftes, yͭ the Popes Court (a thing eaſily done in Rome) fauoured his cauſe, yea, ſuch was his ſucceſſe, that the Pope conſecrated hym with his own hands, although K. Henry had gyuen aduertiſemẽt to his holineſſe, of yͤ cõtrouerſie depẽding betwixt Thruſtain and Raulf yͤ Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, requiring him in no wiſe either to conſecrate Thruſtain himſelfe, or grant licence to any other perſon to conſecrate hym, for if he did, ſurely for his part he would baniſh hym out of all the partes of his dominion, whyche ſhould not be long vndone. But nowe to returne to the purpoſe. In this meane time, the warres were buſily purſued ſtill betwixt the two Kings of England and France, and a battel was foughten betweene them with great ſlaughter on both ſides, for the ſpace of nine houres, the fore wardes on both parties were beaten downe and ouerthrowen, and King Henry receyued ſundrye ſtripes on his head by the handes of one William Criſpine Countie de Eureux, ſo as

1117

An. Reg. 18.

Anſelme the Popes Legate.

The Biſhop of Canterbury goth to Rome

Pope Gelaſius ſucceedeth Pope Paſcall.

1118

An. Reg. 19.

Calixtus the ſecond of that name Pope.

1119

An. reg. 20

The two kings of England and Fraunce ioyne in battell.

King Henry hurt in the battell.

The Earle of Eureux taken priſoner.

though his helmet were very ſtrong and ſure, the bloud yet burſt out of his mouth: wherewith hee was nothing afrayde, but like a fierce Lion layde more earneſtly about him, and ſtroke downe dyuers of his aduerſaries, namely the ſayde Criſpine, which was there taken priſoner at the kings feete, ſo that his people encouraged with the high valiancie and noble prowesse of their Kyng and Chieftayne, at length opened and ouercame the mayne battell of their enimies, and then ſettyn vpon the rereward, they ouerthrew the whole army of Fraunce, whych neuer reculed, but fought it out euen to the very vttermoſt.

Andely. Nicaſium.

There dyed and were taken priſoners in thys fight many thouſands of men. The French king alſo leauing the field, got him vnto a place called Andily, and the King of Englande recouering a Towne by the way called Nicaſium, whyche the French Kyng had lately wonne, returned vnto Rouen, where hee was with great triumph receyued, and highly commended for hys noble victory thus atchieued.

Mat. Paris.
Ia. Meir.

The Erle of Flaunders (as some wright) was ſo wounded in this battell, that hee dyed thereof, but other affirme, that comming into Normandy in the yeare laſt paſt to make warre agaynſte Kyng Henry in fauour of K. Lewis, he wanne the Towne of Andeley, and an other whiche they name *Aqua Nicaſij*, but as he was come before the Towne of Augen in the moneth of September, and aſſayled the ſame, hee receyued a mortall wounde in his head, and therevpon returnyng home in the ninth moneth after, when hee coulde not be cured of his hurt, hee departed this life at Roſlare the ſeuenteenth day of Iune.

The Earle of Flaunders wounded. He departed this life. Fouke Earle of Aniou became the King of Englandes man.

Shortly after, Fouke Earle of Aniou that before had ayded the Frenche Kyng againſt Kyng Henry, became now Kyng Henries friend by alliance, marying his daughter vnto William King Henries eldeſt ſonne: but the Frēch King as their hiſtories make mention, minding ſtill to be reuenged of Earle Theobald, inuaded his countrey agayne with a puiſſant army, and had deſtroyed the Citie of Chartres which belonged vnto the ſame Earle, had not the Citizens humbled themſelues to his mercy: and ſo likewiſe did the Erle as may be thought. For in the warres which immediatly followed betwixte Lewis and the Emperoure Henry, the Earle ayded the French King againſt the ſame Emperoure to the vttermoſt of his power. Soone after this, the Kyng came to an enterview with Pope Calixtus at Giſors, where many matters were talked of betwixt them: amongſt other, the Kyng required of the Pope a graunt of all ſuche liberties as his father enioyed within the limittes of Englande and Normandy, and chiefly, that no Legate ſhoulde haue any thyng to doe within Englande, except hee required to haue one ſente to hym for ſome vrgente cauſe.

The King and the Pope come to an enterview at Giſors.

The Pope is ſutor for Thruſtayne.

All whyche matters beeing determined as the ſtate of the tyme preſente required, the Pope beſoughte the Kyng to bee good vnto the Archbyſhop Thruſtayne, and to reſtore hym to his See, but the Kyng confeſſed that he had vowed neuer ſo to doe whyleſt hee lyued, whereunto the Pope aunſwered, that hee was Pope, and by his Apoſtolike power hee woulde diſcharge hym of that vowe, if he woulde ſatiſfie hys requeſt. The kyng to ſhifte the matter off, promiſed the Pope that hee woulde take aduice of his Counſell, and ſignifye to hym further as the cauſe required, and departyng from thence, dyd afterwards vpon farther deliberation ſend to hym this meſſage in effect as followeth: Where as hee ſayth hee is Pope, and will (as he ſayd) aſſoyle me of yͤ vowe which

The Pope offereth to diſcharge the K. of his vowe.

Edmerus
The kings anſwere ſent to the Pope.

non Dun.

lmerus.

1120

m. Dunel.

Cn. Reg. 21.

he Kings of ngland and raunce are corded.

Vil. Mal.

dmerus.

lexander K. f Scottes.

dmer Anſelmes Diſciple.

whiche I haue made, if contrary thereto I will reſtore Thruſtane to the See of Yorke. I thinke it not to ſtand with the honor of a King, to conſent in any wiſe vnto ſuch an abſolution: for who ſhall beleeue an others promiſe heereafter, if by mine example he ſee the ſame ſo eaſily by an abſolution to bee made voyde? but ſith hee hathe ſo great a deſire to haue Thruſtaine reſtored, I ſhal be contented at his requeſt, to receyue him to hys ſee, with this condition, that he ſhal acknowledge his Church to be ſubiect vnto the See of Caunterbury as his predeceſſoures haue done before him, although in fine this offer would not ſerue the turne. But now to returne againe to the two Princes. Not long after the departure of yͤ Pope from Giſors, Fouke Erle of Aniou foūd meanes to make an agreement betwixt King Henry, and King Lewis, ſo that William ſonne to Kyng Henry, did homage vnto King Lewes for the Duchie of Normandy. And further it was accorded betweene them, that all thoſe that hadde borne armor eyther on the one ſide or the other, ſhould be pardoned, whoſe ſubiectes ſoeuer they were. In like maner, Raulfe the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury returned into Englande, after hee had remayned long in Normandy, bycauſe of yͤ controuerſie betwixt him & Thruſtaine yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke as is aforeſaid. And ſhortly after his returne to Caunterbury, there came meſſengers with letters from Alexander K. of Scotlād vnto him, ſignifying, that where the See of the Biſhopricke of S. Androwes was voyde, the ſame K. did inſtantly require him to ſende ouer Edmer a Monke of Caunterbury (of whome he had heard great commendation for his ſufficiency of vertue and learning) to be placed Biſhoppe in that See. This Edmer is the ſame whyche wrote the hiſtory entituled *Hiſtoria nouorum in Anglia*, out of the whiche as may appeare, wee haue gathered yͤ moſt part of that which we haue here written of Anſelme and Raulf Archbiſhops of Canterbury, in whoſe dayes he liued, and was Anſelmes Diſciple. The Archbiſhop Raulf was contented to ſatiſfie the requeſt of King Alexander in that behalfe, and ſo obteyning the conſente of K. Henry withall, hee ſente the ſayd Eadmer into Scotlande with letters of commendation vnto the ſaid K. Alexander, the whiche receyued him right ioyfully, and ſo the third day after hys comming thither, beeing the feaſt of the Apoſtles Peter & Paule, hee was elected Archbiſhop of S. Androwes by the Cleargie and people of yͤ land, to the greate reioycing of Alexander, and the reſt of the nobilitie. The next day after alſo, the king talked with him ſecretly of his conſecration, and vttered to him how he had no mind to haue hym conſecrated at the hands of Thruſtayne Archbiſhop of Yorke, in which caſe when he was enformed by the ſaid Edmer, that no ſuch thing neded to trouble his mind, ſince the Archbiſhop of Canterbury being primate of al Britaine, might cōſecrate him as reaſon was, hee coulde not away with that anſwere, bycauſe he woulde not heare that the Church of Canterbury ſhould be preferred before the Church of S. Androwes: wherevpō he departed from Eadmer in diſpleaſure, and calling one William ſometime Monke of S. Edmondſbury vnto him, a man alſo that hadde gouerned or rather ſpoyled the Churche of S. Androw in the vacation, he cōmaunded him to take vpon him the charge thereof againe, meaning vtterly to remoue Edmer as not worthy of yͤ rome, howbeeit, within a moneth after, to ſatiſfie the minds of his nobles, he called for the foreſaid Edmer, & with much adoe got him to receiue yͤ ſtaffe of yͤ Biſhopricke, taking it from an aulter whereon it lay (as if he ſhuld receiue that dignitie at the hands of the Lord) whereby he was inueſted, and went ſtraight to S. Androwes Church where he was receyued by the M. and the ſchollers, and all the people, for their true & lawful Biſhop. In this meane while, Thruſtain, not ſlacking his ſute in the Popes Court, obteyned ſuche fauour, and the K. of England alſo was ſo laboured vnto, yͭ hee wrote thrice letters vnto yͤ K. of Scotland, & alſo once vnto yͤ Archb. of Canterbury, that neyther the K. ſhuld permit Edmer to be cōſecrated, nor the Archb. of Caunt. in any wiſe conſecrate hym if he were thereunto required. Heerevpon it came to paſſe, yͭ finally Edmer, after he had remayned in Scotland twelue monethes, or thereaboutes, & perceiued that things went not as he would haue wiſhed, for yͭ he could not get yͤ Kings conſent yͭ he ſhould be cōſecrate of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury as it was firſt meant both by the Archbiſhop and Edmer, he departed out of Scotland, & returned againe to Canterbury, there to take further aduice in al things as cauſe ſhuld moue him. In like maner, K. Henry hauing quieted his buſines in Fraunce, returned into England, where he was receiued and welcomed home with greate ioy and triumph: but ſuche publike reioycing laſted not long with him, but was chaunged into a general mourning by aduertiſement giuen of yͤ death of yͤ kings ſonnes, Williā Duke of Normādy, and Richard his brother, yͤ which togither with their ſiſter yͤ Lady Mary yͭ was Coūteſſe of Perch, Richard Erle of Cheſter, with his brother Otwell yͭ was gouernour to Duke Williā, and the ſaid Erle of Cheſter his wife the Kyngs neece, the Archdeacon of Herforde, with Geffrey Riddle, Robert Manduit, and William Bigot, and diuers other, to the number of an C. and. xl. perſons, beſide fiftie mariners toke Ship at Harflewe, thynking to folow the King, and ſayling forth with a South winde, their Ship through

Edmer receyueth his ſtaffe frō an aulter.

King Henry returneth into Englande.

Ran. Higd.

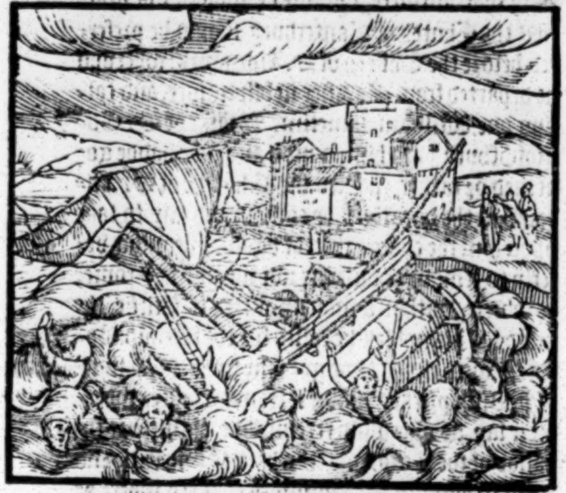
VVil. Mal.

Polidor.

Math. Paris.

The Kings ſonnes and his daughter with other nobles are drowned by Shipwracke.

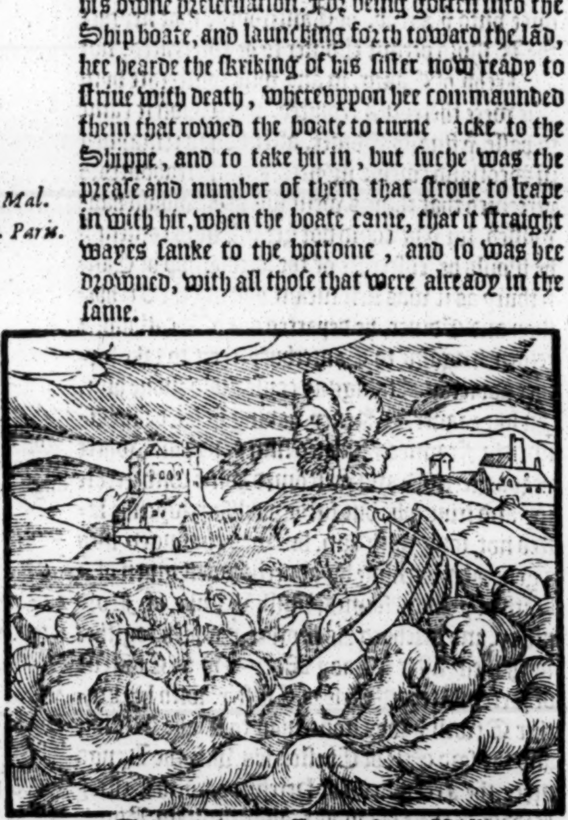
negligence of the Martiners which hadde dronke more than was conuenient, were throwen vpon a Rocke, and vtterly periſhed on the coſt of England, vpon the .25. of Nouember, ſo that of all the



company, there eſcaped none but one Butcher, who catching hold of the maſt, was driuen with the ſame to the ſhore which was at hande, and ſo ſaued from that daungerous Shipwracke. Duke William might alſo haue eſcaped very wel, if pitie had not more moued him than the regarde of his owne preſeruation. For being gotten into the Ship boate, and launching forth toward the lãd, hee hearde the ſkriking of his ſiſter now ready to ſtriue with death, whereuppon hee commaunded them that rowed the boate to turne backe to the Shippe, and to take hir in, but ſuche was the preaſe and number of them that ſtroue to leape in with hir, when the boate came, that it ſtraight wayes ſanke to the bottome, and ſo was hee drowned, with all thoſe that were already in the ſame.

Wil. Mal.

Wil. Mal.
Math. Paris.



This end had the Kings ſonne William.

K. Henry being thus depriued of iſſue to ſucceed him, did not a little lamẽt that infortunate chãce: but yet to reſtore that loſſe ſhortly after, to witte, the tenth of April next enſuing, he married his ſecond wife named Adelicia, a Lady of excellent beautie, and noble cõditions, daughter to yͤ Duke of Louayne, and diſcended of the noble Dukes of Loraine, howbeit he coulde neuer haue any iſſue by hir. The Archbiſhop Truſtin after the maner that men obteyne ſuites in the Court of Rome, got ſuch fauour at the hãds of Pope Calixt, that finally, the ſaid Pope directed his letters as wel to King Henry, as to Raulfe Archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the tenor whereof hee accurſed them both, and enterdited as wel the prouince of Yorke as Canterbury, from the vſe of all maner of Sacraments and other diuine ſeruice, the Baptiſme of Infantes, and penance of them that dyed, only excepted, if the Archbiſhop Thruſtayn were not ſuffered within one moneth nexte after the receipt of thoſe letters to enioy his See, without compelling him to make any promiſe of ſubiectiõ at all. The Kyng to be out of trouble, permitted Thruſtayn to returne into the Realme, and ſo to repaire vnto Yorke, but ſo as he ſhould not exerciſe any iuriſdiction out of his owne dioceſſe, as Metropolitane, till he had confeſſed his obſtinate error, and acknowledged hys obedience to the Church of Canterbury.

1121
An. Reg. 22.

E nerus.
H Hunt.

T K ng
maeth a-
gaie.
Eamer

The P ope
wrteth to K.
He , in fa-
uo of the
A biſhop
T ruſtain, a
curſeth him
ith the Arch
iſhop of
Canterbury.

Whileſt theſe thyngs were thus a doyng, King Henry was aduertiſed that the Welchmẽ breaking the peace, dyd muche hurt on the marches, and ſpecially, in Cheſſhire, within the whiche they had burnt two Caſtels. He therefore meaning to bee reuenged on them, and that euen to the vttermoſt, aſſembled an army out of all the parties of his Realme, and entred with the ſame into Wales, but the Welchmen hearing that the Kyng was come with ſuche puiſſance to inuade them, they waxed afrayde, and incontinently ſent to hym Imbaſſadours to beſeech hym of pardon, and to graunt them peace. The Kyng moued with their humble petitions, tooke hoſtages of them, and pardoned theyr miſdoings for that tyme, conſidering that in following the warre againſt ſuche manner of people, there was

The Welchmen make ſturres.

Simon Dun.

The King reyſeth an army, to goe againſt the Welchmen.

The Welchmen ſew for peace.

ore doubt loſſe than pe of yne, by the arres againſt e Welchmē

more feare of loſſe than hope of gayne. But yet to prouide for the quiet of his ſubiects whiche inhabited neere to the merches, that they ſhould not bee ouerrunne and harried dayly by them, as oftentymes before they hadde bin, he appoynted Warine Earle of Shrowesbury to haue the charge of the Merches, that peace mighte bee the better kept and maynteyned in the Countrey.

imon Dun.

Chanel t from orkſey to incolne.

Soone after alſo, Kyng Henry cauſed a channell to bee caſt alongſt the countrey in Lincolneſhire, from Torkſey vnto the Citie of Lincolne, that veſſels mighte haue paſſage out of the Riuer of Trente vnto the ſame Citie.

orham Caſtell built.

. Hunt.

Moreouer, Raufe Byſhoppe of Durham beganne to builde the Caſtell of Norham, vpon the banke of the Riuer Tweede.

At thys tyme likewiſe Fouke Earle of Aniou being nowe come out of the holy lande (whither he wente, after the peace was made betwixte Kyng Henry and the Frenche King) beganne to pike a quarell againſte Kyng Henry, for withholdyng the ioynture of his daughter, which (as before yee haue hearde) was married vnto William the Kyngs ſonne that was drowned.

Hee alſo gaue hir ſyſter in marriage vnto William the ſonne of Duke Roberte, aſſigning vnto hym the Earledome of Mayne to enioy, as in right of his wife.

Polidor.

In the meane tyme, Kyng Henry viſited the North partes of hys Realme, to vnderſtande the ſtate of the Countrey, and to prouide for yͤ ſuretie and good gouernemēt thereof, as was thought requiſite.

1122

12. Kal. of Nouember.

An. reg. 23.

In the yeare nexte enſuing, the twentith of October, Raulfe the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury departed thys lyfe, after hee hadde ruled that See the ſpace of eyght yeares, and then was one William made Archbiſhoppe there, in number the. 28. from Auguſtine.

Moreouer, Henry the ſonne of the Earle Bloys that before was Abbot of Glaſtenbury, was now made Biſhop of Wincheſter, who for his ſingular bountie, gentleneſſe and modeſtie, was gretly beloued amōg the Engliſhmen. But to returne againe to the doyngs of the Kyng, it chanced about this tyme, that the parties beyond the Sea being now voide of a gouernour (as they ſuppoſe) by meanes of the deathe of the Kings ſonne, began to ſtir commotions, and ſoone after it came alſo to paſſe, that Robert Earle of Mellent rebelled againſt the Kyng, who being ſpedily aduertiſed thereof, ſayled forthwith into thoſe quarters, and beſieged the Caſtell of Ponteaudemer apperteyning to the ſayd Earle and toke it. About the ſame tyme alſo, the King fortifyed the Caſtell of Roan, cauſing a mighty thicke wall, with turrets about the ſame Caſtell to be buylded for defence thereof.

1123

An. Reg. 24.

Robert Earle of Mellent rebelleth.

H. Hunt.

The Caſtell of Roan fortified

Mat. Paris.

Likewiſe, he repared and made ſtrong the Caſtell of Caen, with the Caſtels of Arches, Gyſors, Faleiſe, Argentone, Damfront, Vernon, Ambres, with other, in whiche meane ſeaſon, the Erle of Mellent deſirous to be reuenged of King Henry, procured aide where he could get any, and ſo with Hugh Earle of Mountfert, he entred into Normandy, waſting and deſtroying yͤ Countrey with fire and ſworde, thinking ere long to bring the ſame to his obedience: but the Kyngs Chamberlayne and Lieutenaunte in thoſe parties named William de Tankeruile, being thereof aduertiſed, layd an ambuſh for them, and training them within the daunger thereof, ſet vppon them, and after long fyght, toke them both priſoners with diuers other, and preſented them both vnto the King, whereby the warres ceaſſed in that countrey for a time.

1124

Anno reg. 25

Polidor.

Hen. Hunt.

Mat. Par.

The King hauing in this manner purchaſed his quietneſſe by the ſword, obteyned ſome reſt, he gaue hymſelfe ſomewhat to the reformation of his houſe, & amōg other things which he redreſſed he cauſed al his Knights and men of warre to cut their heares ſhort, after the manner of the Frenchmen, where as before they ware the ſame long after the vſage of women. After this alſo, in yͤ yeare enſuing, being of Chriſt. 1125. a Cardinall named Iohannes Cremenſis, was ſente into Englande from Pope Honorius the ſecond, to ſee reformation in certayne poyntes touching the Churche: but his chiefe errand was to correct Prieſtes, that ſtill kept their wiues with them. At his firſt comming ouer, he ſoiourned in Colledges of Cathedrall Churches, and in Abbeys, applying hymſelfe to lucre and wanton pleaſures, and ſo reaping where he had not ſowed, at length, about the feaſt of the natiuitie of our Lady, he called a conuocation of the Cleargie at London, where makyng an Oration, he enueighed ſore agaynſte thoſe of the ſpiritualty that were ſpotted with any note of incontinent liuing. Many thought themſelues touched with his wordes, who hauing ſmelled ſomewhat of his ſecret trickes, that where he was a moſt licentious liuer, and an vnchaſt perſon of himſelfe, yet he was ſo blinded, that hee could not perceyue the beame in his owne eyes, whileſt hee eſpied a mote in an other mans, they thought it was not to bee ſuffered, that hee ſhoulde in ſuche wiſe call other men to accomptes for theyr honeſt demeanor of life, which could not render any good reconing of his own. Whereupon they watched him ſo narrowly, that in the euening after he had blowen his horne ſo loude againſt other men in declaring that it was a ſhamefull vice to ryſe from the ſyde of a ſtrumpet, and preſume to ſacre the body of Chriſte, hee was taken hymſelfe in bedde with a ſtrumpet, to hys open ſhame and rebuke: but hee beeyng reproued thereof,

Math. West.

1125

An. reg. 26.

Iohannes Cremenſis a legate, ſent into Englande.

But this ſhuld not ſeeme to be any iuſt excuſe, for Mat. Paris ſayth that the ſame day he conſecrated the Lords body, and therefore he muſt nedes be a Prieſt.

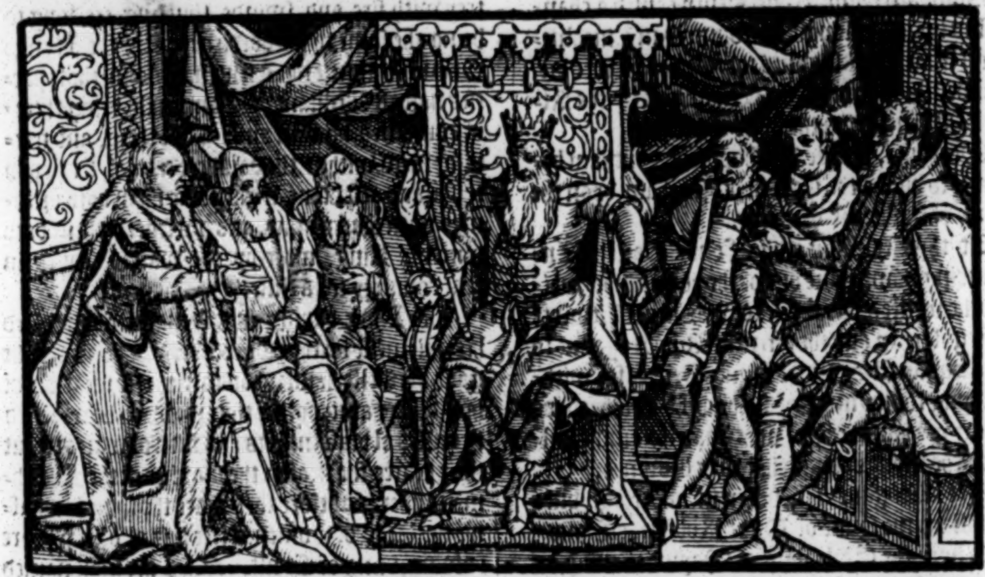
1126

An. Reg. 27.

alledged this excuſe (as ſome write) that hee was no Prieſt, but a reformer of Prieſtes. But to cōclude, he beeing thus defamed, got hym backe to Rome againe from whence he came, without any performance of that, about which he was ſent hither. But to returne to K. Henry, who whileſt he remayned in Normandy, (which was for a lōg time after the apprehenſion of the two foreſayde Earles) he vnderſtood, that his ſonne in law Henry the Emperour was departed this life at Vtregt the. 23. of May laſt paſt. Whereuppon hee ſente for his daughter the Empreſſe to come ouer vnto him into Normandy, and hauing taken order for his buſineſſe on that ſide the Sea, hee taking hir with him, returned into England before the feaſt of Saint Michael; where calling a Parliamēt, he cauſed hir by authoritie of yͤ ſame to be eſtabliſhed as his lawfull heire and ſucceſſor, with an article of intayle vpon hir iſſue, if it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend hir any at all. At this Parliament was Dauid K. of Scotland, that ſucceeded after Alexander the fierce. There was preſente alſo Stephan Earle of Morton, and Bulleine, and ſon of Stephan Erle of Bloys, nephew to K. Henry by his ſiſter Adela. These two Princes toke chiefly their othe amōgſt other, to obey the foreſaid Empreſſe as touching hir righte and lawfull clayme to the Crowne of England: but although Stephā was now yͤ firſt that was ready to ſweare, he became ſhortly after to be the firſt againe that brake that othe for his owne preferment: but ſo it commeth oftē to paſſe, that thoſe which receiue the greateſt benefites, do oftentimes ſooneſt forget to be thākful. This Stephan lately before by his Uncle K. Henries meanes, had purchaſed to get in marriage the only daughter and heire of Euſtace Erle of Bolongne, & ſo after the deceaſe of his father in law, became Earle there: and further, had goodly poſſeſſions in England giuen him by the Kyng, and yet (as after ſhall appeare) he kept not his oth nor couenauntes made with King Henry. Some write alſo, that there roſe no ſmall ſtrife betwixte this Earle Stephan, and Robert Erle of Gloceſter, in contending which of them ſhoulde receyue this othe. Firſt the one alledging, that hee was a Kings ſonne, and the other a kings nephew. But to lette theſe things paſſe, ſhortly after this Parliamente ended, K. Henry held his Chriſtmas at Windſor, where the Archbiſhop of Yorke Thurſtayne in preiudice of the right of William Archbiſhop of Canterbury, would haue ſet yͤ Crowne vpon the kings head, at his going to the Church: but he was put backe with no ſmall reproch, and his Chaplayne whome he appoynted to beare his croſſe before him at his entrance into the Kyngs Chappell, contemptuouſly and with violence thruſt out of the dores with Croſſe and all by the friends of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and ere long, this vnſeemely contention betwixt Thurſtayne, and the ſayde Archbiſhop of Canterbury grew ſo hote, that not only both of them, but alſo the Biſhop of Lincolne went vnto Rome about the deciding of that enuious quarrell. Aboute the ſame time alſo, Charles Earle of Flaunders that ſucceeded Erle Baldwin, was murthered trayterouſly by his owne people: and then bycauſe hee left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed as his heire, the Frenche K. Lewis made William the ſonne of Duke Robert Courtehuſe Erle of Flaunders, as next couſin in bloud to the ſame Charles. Troth it is, that by his fathers ſide, this William was deſcended from Earle Baldwine ſurnamed *Pius*, whoſe daughter Maude beeing married vnto William Conquerour, bare by him the foreſaid Robert Curthuſe, father to this William, nowe aduaunced to the gouernement of Flaunders. but he wanted not aduerſaries that were competitors of that Erledome, which ſought to preferre them

ſelues

Polidor.



An oth taken y the Lords ouching the ucceſſion to he Crowne.

ephan Earle Bolongne firſt that ffered to eceiue the the.

vil. Malm.

1127

Mat. Paris.

Strife betwixt the Prelates for preheminence.

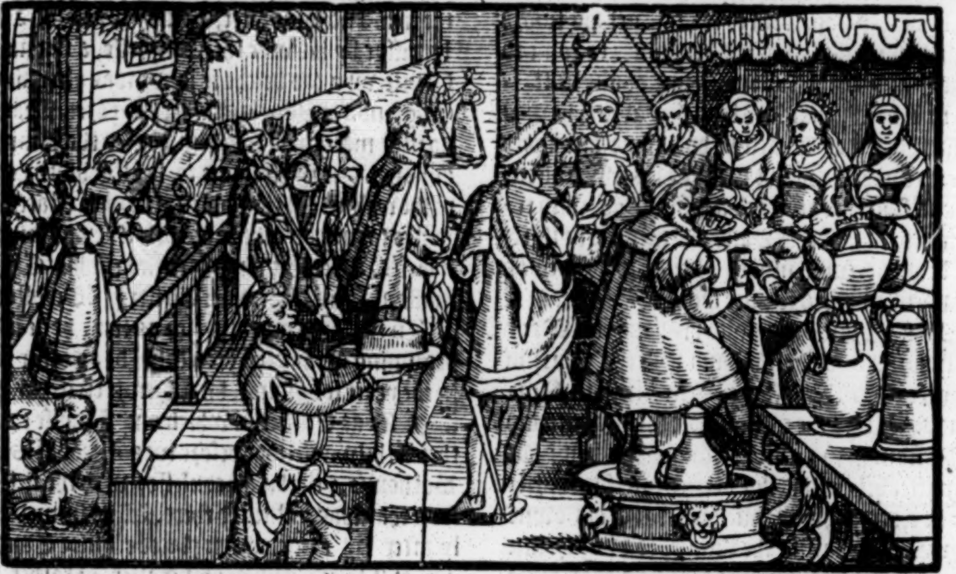
Polidor.

William ſon to Robert Curtehuſe made Earle of Flaunders.

ſelues, and to diſplace hym. King Henry alſo miſlikyng with the preferment of the ſaid Williã, although he was his nephew, for yͤ he ſuppoſed he would ſeeke to reuenge olde diſpleaſures, if he might compaſſe to haue the French kyngs aſſiſtãce, thought good with the aduice of his Counſell to prouide agaynſt the worſt, and thereupon he tooke order for the maintenance of the warre abroade, and the ſupplie of ſouldiers, and other things neceſſarie to be conſidered of for the ſuretie of the ſtate of his Realme at home.

The Empreſſe Mawde maried to the Earle of Aniou.
Ger. Do.

After this bycauſe he was in diſpayre to haue iſſue by his ſeconde wife about Witſuntide, hee ſent ouer his daughter Mawde the Empreſſe into Normandy, that ſhe might bee maryed vnto Geoffray Plantagenet Earle of Aniou, and in Auguſt after he followed himſelf, and ſo the matter went forwarde, inſomuche that the mariage was celebrate betwixt the ſayde Earle and Empreſſe, vpon the firſt Sunday in Aprill, which fell vpon the thirde of the moneth, and in the .27. of his raigne.



An. reg. 28.
Mat. Par.
1128

And in the yeare enſuyng, king Henry meaning to cauſe the French king to withdrawe his helping hande from his nephewe William Earle of Flaunders, paſſed forth of Normandy with an armie, and inuading Fraunce remayned for the ſpace of .viij. dayes, at Hiparde, in as good quiet as if he had beene within his owne dominions, and finally obteyned of the French king, that which he ſought for, that was his refuſall to ayde his nephew the ſayde Earle of Flanders. Who at length contending with other that claymed the Erledome, chaunced this yeare to be wounded as he purſued his enimies vnto the walles of a town called Alhuſt, and ſoone after died of the hurt the xvj. of Auguſt.

An. Reg. 29
Ia. Meir.

William Earle of Flaunders deceaſeth of a wound.

The fortunate good hap of K. Henry.

William de Hypres.

It was thought that the high felicitie of king Henrie was the chiefe occaſion of this Earles death, which Erle ment (if he might haue brought his purpoſe to paſſe, & being once quietly ſet in the dominion of Flaunders, to haue attempted ſome great enterpriſe againſt king Henrie for the recouerie of Normandie, and deliuerie of his father out of priſon. And this was knowne well ynough to king Henry, who mainteyned thoſe that made him warre at home, both with menne and money, namely William of Hypres, who tooke vpon him as Regent in the name of Stephen Erle of Bollongne, whome king Henrie procured to make clayme to Flaunders alſo, in the tytle of his Grandmother Queene Mawde, wife to William Cõqueror. But to proceed with our Hiſtorie.

1129
Anno reg. 30

1130
Anno reg. 31
Mat. Par.
Polidore

When kyng Henry had ſped his buſineſſe in Normandy, where he had remayned a certayne ſpace both about the concluſion and ſolemniſing of the mariage made betwixt his daughter Maud the Empreſſe, and the Earle of Aniou, and alſo to ſee the end of the warres in Flaunders, he now returned into England, where he called a great Councel or Parliament at London, in Auguſt: wherin amongſt other things it was decreed, that Prieſtes which lyued vnchaſtly ſhould be puniſhed, and that by the kyngs permiſſion, who herby tooke occaſiõ to ſerue his owne turne, for he regarded not the reformation which the Biſhops truſted (by his plaine dealing) would haue folowed, but put thoſe prieſtes to their fynes that were accuſed, and ſuffered them to keepe their wyues ſtyl in houſe with them, which offended the Biſhops greatly, that would haue had them ſequeſtred a ſunder. After this Parliament ended, the king kept his Chriſtmas at Worcetour, & after that his Eaſter at Woodſtocke. where a certaine Noble man named Geffrey Clinton was accuſed to hym of treaſon. In this .xxxj. yeare of king Henries raigne, great death and murreyn of cattel beganne in this land, continuing a long tyme ere it

VVil. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.
Polidor.

ceaſed, ſo vniuerſally in all places, that no towne nor village eſcaped free. Kyng Henry paſſing ouer into Normãdy, was troubled with certaine ſtraunge dreames or viſions in his ſleepe: for as he thought, he ſaw a multitude of ploughmẽ with ſuch tooles as belong to their trade & occupation. After whom came a ſort of ſouldiers with warlike weapõs: and laſt of all he thought that he ſaw Biſhops commyng towardes hym with their Croſier ſtaues ready to fall vpon hym, as they ſhould meane to deſtroy hym. And when he awaked, he would leape forth of his bed, get his ſword in his hand, and call to his ſeruauntes to come to helpe hym. Whereupon aſkyng aduiſe of learned men how to put ſuch fantaſies away, he was admoniſhed that whileſt he had tyme and ſpace here on earth, he ought to purge his paſſed offences and ſinnes committed againſt God, with repentance, almes deedes, and abſtinence: he therefore being herewith moued, began to practiſe an amendement of his former lyfe.

Polidor.

1131
An. Reg. 32.
King Henrie
ad Pope In-
nocent meet
t Chartres.

VVil. Malm.

he ſonnes of
obert Erle of
lelent praiſed
r their lear-
ng.

About the ſame tyme alſo his daughter Maud beyng forſaken of hir huſband Geffrey Earle of Aniou, came to hir father as then being in Normandy. What the cauſe was why her huſband put hir from hym, is not certainly knowen: but the matter belike was not very great, ſith ſhortly after he receiued hir agayne, and that of his owne accorde. Alſo during the time that king Henrie remayned in Normandie, it chaunced that Pope Innocent the ſecond came into Fraunce to auoid the daunger of his enimies: and holding a Councell at Clermont, he accurſed one Peter Fitz Leo which had vſurped as Pope, and named himſelfe Anacletus. After breaking vp of the ſame Councell at Clermont, he came to Orleance, and then to Charters, meeting king Henrie by the way, who offred to the Pope all that lay in his power, to mainteyne his cauſe againſt his enimies, for the which the Pope gaue the king great thankes: and ſeming as though he had bin more carefull for the defence of the cõmon cauſe of the chriſtian publike wealth than for his owne, he exhorted K. Henrie to make a iourney into the holy lande againſt the Sarazens and enimies of the Chriſtian religion. In this enterview betwixt the Pope and the king, the Romains were moued to maruell greatlye at the wiſedome and ſharpneſſe of wit which they perceyued in the Normans. For king Henrie to ſhew what learning remayned amongſt the people of the weſt partes of Europe, cauſed the ſonnes of Robert Erle of Melent, to argue and diſpute in the pointes and ſubtill ſophiſmes of Logike, with the Cardinals and other learned chaplayns of the Pope there preſent, the which were not abaſhed to cõfeſſe that there was more learning amongeſt them here in the weſt partes, than euer they heard or knew of in their owne countrey of Italy. King Henrie after thys returned into Englande, and vpon the ſea was in daunger to haue bin drowned by tempeſt: ſo that iudging the ſame to bee as a warning for him to amend his life, he made many vowes, and after his landing, went to S. Edmondſburie in Suffolk to do his deuotions vnto the ſepulchre of that king. At his cõming from thence alſo, being well diſpoſed towardes the reliefe of his people, he leſſened the the tributes and impoſitions, and did iuſtice aſwell in reſpect and fauor of the poore as of the rich. And ſone after, Geffray Earle of Aniou had iſſue by his wife the Empreſſe, a ſon named Henrie, who (as before is ſayd) was after king of England: for his grandfather king Henry hauing no iſſue male to ſucceed him, cauſed the Empreſſe and this Henry hir ſonne to be eſtabliſhed heyres of the realme. All the nobles and other eſtates eftſones taking an othe to be their true and faithfull ſubiects. After this king Henrie kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Dunſtable, & his Eaſter at Woodſtocke.

King Henrie returneth into England.

1132
An. reg. 33.

1133
An. reg. 34.

Mat. Par.
Hen. Hunt.
Prior of Saint Olwold as VVil. Thorne hath, and likewiſe Mat. Paris.
Mat. VVeſt.

In the ſame yere alſo (or as ſome haue in the beginning of the yere precedent) or as other haue in the yeare following, king Henrie erected a Biſhops ſea at Carleil, in which one Arnulfe or rather Athelwolfe, that before was Abbot of Saint Bothoulfs, & the kings confeſſor, was the firſt biſhop that was inſtituted there. Who immediately after his conſecration placed regular Canons in that Church. And not long after, or rather before (as by Wil. Mal. it ſhould ſeeme) king Henry paſſed ouer into Normandie, from whence nowe this being the laſt time of his going thither, he neuer returned aliue. And as it fel forth he tooke ſhip to ſaile on this laſt iorney thither, the ſame day in which he had afore time receiued the crowne. On which day falling vpon the wedneſday, a wonderfull Eclipſe of the Sunne and Moone appeared beyond the common courſe, inſomuch ẏ Wil. Mal. whiche then liued, writeth that he ſawe the ſtarres plainly about the ſunne, at the verie time of that Eclipſe.

A great eclipſ

An earthquake

On the Fryday after there chaunced ſuch an earthquake here in this realme alſo, that manye houſes & buyldings were ouerthrowne therewith.

This Earthquake was ſo ſenſible, or rather ſo viſible, that the wall of the houſe in the which hee then ſat was lift vp with a double remoue, and at the third it ſatled it ſelfe againe.

The Eclipſe chaunced on the ſeconde of Auguſt, the king taking ſhip the ſame day to goe ouer into Normandie, and the earthquake was vpon the Friday next after. Moreouer the verie ſame time alſo fire braſt out of certain riftes of the earth, in ſo huge flames, that neither by water nor otherwiſe it could be quẽched. In the .xxxiiij. yere of his raigne, his brother Robert Courtehuſe departed this life in the Caſtell of Cardiffe

It

at.Paris.
at.VVeſt.
An.reg.35

The deceaſſe of Robert Courtehuſe.

It is ſayde that on a feſtiuall day king Henrie put on a Robe of Scarlet, the cape whereof being ſtrayte, hee rente it in ſtryuing to put it ouer hys heade: and perceyuing it would not ſerue him, he layde it aſide and ſayde: Let my brother Robert haue this garment, who hath a ſharper head than I haue. The which when it was brought to Duke Robert, the rent place being not ſewed vp, he perceyued it, and aſked whether any man had worne it before. The meſſenger tolde the whole matter, how it happened. Herewith Duke Robert tooke ſuch a griefe for the ſcornefull mocke of his brother, that he waxed wearie of his life, and ſayde: nowe I perceyue I haue liued too long, that my brother ſhall clothe me like his almes man with his caſt rent garments. And thus curſing the time of his natiuity, refuſed from thenceforth to eate or drink, & ſo pined away, & was buryed at Glouceſter. King Henrie remayning ſtill in Normandy, rode rounde about a great part of the countrey, ſhewing greate loue and curteſie vnto the people, ſtudying by al meanes poſſible to winne their fauours, by vſing them curteouſly, & ſhewing himſelfe glad and merie amongeſt them, though nothing reioyced hym more than that his daughter Mawde the Empreſſe at the ſame time was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne named Geoffray, ſo that he ſawe himſelfe prouided of an aſſured ſucceſſour.

Polidor
1135
An. Reg. 36

Math.VVeſt.
Simon Dun.

But whileſt he thus paſſeth the time in mirth and ſolace, he beganne ſoone after to be ſomewhat diſeaſed, and neuer coulde perceyue any euident cauſe thereof: therefore to driue his griefe away, hee goeth abrode to hunte, and wexing ſomewhat amended in his health therby as he thought, at his comming home, he would needes eate of a Lamprey, though his phiſition counſelled him to the contrary: but he delyting moſt in that meat, though it bee in qualitie verie noyſome to health, woulde not be perſwaded from it, ſo that his ſtomacke being hurt therewith, he fell immediately into an Ague and ſo died ſhortly after, the firſt day of December, being as then aboute. lxvij. yeres of age, and after he had raigned. xxxv. yeres foure moneths lacking foure dayes.

King Henrie departeth this life.

His bodie was conueyed into Englande and buryed at Reading within the Abbay Churche which he had founded, & endowed in his life time with great and large poſſeſſions.

Math.VVeſt.
Ran.Higd.
Sim.Dunel.

It is written, that his bodie to auoyde the ſtench which had infected many men, was cloſed in a Bulles ſkinne, and howe he that clenſed the heade dyed of the ſauour whiche iſſued out of the brayne.

The iſſue of king Henrie the firſt.

He had by his firſt wife a ſonne named William, that was drowned (as ye haue) heard in the ſea: alſo a daughter named Mawde, whom with hir ſonnes he appoynted to inherite his Crowne, and other dominions.

He had alſo iſſue by one of his concubines, a ſonne named Richarde, and a daughter named Mary, which were alſo drowned with their brother William. By an other concubine he had a ſonne named Robert, that was created Duke of Glouceſter. He was ſtrong of bodie, fleſhie and of an indifferent ſtature, blacke of heare, and in maner balde before, with greate and large eyes, of face comely, well countenaunced, and pleaſant to the beholders, namely when hee was diſpoſed to myrth. He excelled in three vertues, wiſedome, eloquence, and valiancie, which notwithſtanding were ſomewhat blemiſhed with the like number of vices that raigned in him; as couetouſneſſe, crueltie, and fleſhly luſt of bodie. His couetouſneſſe appeared in that hee ſore oppreſſed his ſubiects with tributes and impoſitions. His crueltie was ſhewed chiefely, in that he kept his brother Robert Courtehuſe in perpetual priſon and likewiſe in the hard vſing of his coſin Robert Earle of Mortaigne, whome he not onely deteyned in priſō, but alſo cauſed his eies to be put out: which act was kept ſecrete till the kings death reuealed it. And his lecherous luſt was manifeſt by keeping of ſundrie women. But in his other affayres he was circumſpect, and in defending his own very earneſt and diligent, ſuch warres as might be auoyded with honourable peace he euer ſought to appeaſe. But when ſuch iniuries were offred as he thought not meete to ſuffer, he was an impacient reuenger of the ſame, ouercomming al perils with the force of vertue and manly courage, ſhewing himſelfe eyther a moſt louing friend, or elſe an extreeme enimie: for his aduerſaries hee would ſubdue to the vttermoſt, and his friends he vſed to aduaunce aboue meaſure. And herein he declared the propertie of a ſtoute Prince: which is *Parcere ſubiectis, & debellare ſuperbos*, that is, to bring vnder the proude enimies, and to fauour thoſe that ſubmit themſelues and ſeeke for mercy. With the conſtant rigour of iuſtice he ruled the commons quietly, and entertayned the Nobles honorably. Theeues, counterfeyters of money, and other tranſgreſſours he cauſed to bee ſought out with greate diligence, and when they were found, to be puniſhed with great ſeuerity. Neither did he neglect reformations of certaine naughtie abuſes. And as one Authour hath written, he ordayned that theeues ſhould ſuffer death by hanging. Whē he heard that ſuch peeces of mony as were cracked would not be receyued amongſt the people, although the ſame were good and fine ſiluer, he cauſed all the coyne in the Realme to bee eyther broken or ſlit: he was ſober of diet, vſing to eate rather to quench hunger than to pamper him ſelfe vp with many dayntie ſortes of banketting diſhes, and neuer dranke but when thirſt moued him.

His ſtature

His vertues.

His vices.

His wiſdome.

His manly courage.

His zeale to iuſtice.

Sim. Dunel.

Theeues appoynted to be hanged.

His policie.

His prayſe for his Princely gouernment.

Reading Abbay buylded.

him, he woulde ſleepe ſoundly and ſnore oftentymes till he wakened therewith. He purſued hys warres rather by policie than by the ſworde, and ouercame his enimies ſo neare as he coulde without bloudſhed, and if that might not be, yet with ſo ſmall ſlaughter as was poſſible. To conclude, hee was not inferiour to any of the kings that reigned in thoſe dayes, in wiſedome and policie, and ſo behaued himſelfe, that hee was honoured of the Nobles, and beloued of the commons. He buylded diuerſe Abbayes both in Englande and in Normādie, but Reading was the chiefeſt. He alſo buylded the Manour of Woodſtocke, with the Parke there, in whiche beſide the greate ſtore of Deare, hee appoynted diuerſe ſtraunge beaſtes to be kept and nouriſhed, whiche were brought and ſent vnto him from Countreyes farre diſtaunt from our partyes, as Lions, Leopardes, Lynxes, and Porkepines. His eſtimation was ſuche amongeſt forrayne Princes, that fewe woulde willingly offende him.

Morchad king of Irelande.

Morchad king of Irelande and his ſucceſſours had him in ſuche reuerence, that they durſt doe nothing but that which he commaunded, nor write any thing but that whiche might ſtande with his pleaſure, although at the firſt the ſame Morchad attempted ſomthing againſt the Engliſh men more than ſtoode with reaſon, but afterwarde vpon reſtraint of the entercourſe of Marchandice, hee was glad to ſhewe himſelfe more friendly.

The Earle of Orkney.

Roger Biſhop of Saliſburie.

Moreouer the Earle of Orkney, although he was the king of Norwayes ſubiecte, yet hee did what hee coulde to procure king Henries friendſhip, ſending vnto him oftentymes preſents of ſuche ſtraunge beaſtes and other things, in the which he knewe himſelfe to haue great delyte and pleaſure. He had in ſingular fauour aboue all other of his Councell, Roger the Biſhop of Saliſburie, a politike Prelate, and one that knewe howe to order matters of great importance, vnto whome hee committed the gouernment of the Realme moſt commonly whileſt he remayned in Normandie.

In this Henrie ended the line of the Normans as touching the heyres male, and then came in the Frenchmen by the tytle of the heyres generall, after that the Normans had raigned about. lxix. yeares (for ſo many are accounted from the comming of William Conquerour, vnto the beginning of the raigne of king Stephen, who ſucceeded next after this foreſayde Henrie.)

The abuſe of wearing long heares.

1127

Mat. VVeſ.

As well in this kings dayes, as in the time of his brother William Rufus, mē forgetting their owne ſexe and ſtate, tranſformed themſelues into the habite and fourme of women, by ſuffring their heares to growe at length, the which they curled and trimmed verie curiouſly, after the maner of Damoſels and yong Gentlewomen: and ſuche account they made of their long buſhing perukes, that thoſe which woulde be taken for Courtiers, ſtroue with women who ſhoulde haue the longeſt treſſes, and ſuch as wanted, ſought to amende it with arte and by knitting wreathes aboute their heades of thoſe their long and ſide lockes for a brauerie. Yet we read that king Henrie gaue cōmaundement to all his people to cut their heares, about the. 28. yere of his reigne. Preachers in deed inueyed agaynſt ſuch vnſeemely maners in men, as a thing more agreeable for women, than for their eſtate.

Wil. Mal. reciteth a tale of a knight in thoſe dayes that tooke no ſmall liking of himſelfe for his fayre & long heares, but chauncing to haue a right terrible dreame as he ſlept one night (it ſeeming to him that one was about to ſtrangle him with his owne heares which he wrapped about his throte and necke) the impreſſion thereof ſanke ſo deepely into his minde, that when hee awakened oute of that dreame, he ſtreight wayes cauſed ſo much of his heare to bee cutte, as might ſeeme ſuperfluous. A great number of other in the realme followed his cōmendable example, but their remorſe of conſcience herein that thus cauſed them to cut their heares, continued not long, for they fell to the like abuſe againe, ſo as within a. xij. monethes ſpace they exceeded therein as farre paſt all termes of ſeemely order as before.

1135
An. Reg. 1

STephen Erle of Bulloigne, ẏ ſon of Stephẽ Erle of Bloys, by his wife Adela, daughter to William Conquerour, came ouer wᵗ al ſpeed after the death of his vncle, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of the realm of England, partly vpon confidence which he had in the puiſſance and ſtrẽgth of his brother Theobald Erle of Bloys, and partly by the ayde of his other brother Henrie Biſhop of Winchester, and Abbot of Glaſtenburie, although ẏ he with other of the nobles had ſworne afore to bee true vnto the Empreſſe and hir iſſue as lawfull heyres of king Henrie lately deceaſſed, (as you before haue heard.) The ſame day in the which he arriued in Englande, there chaunced a mightie great tempeſt of thunder, with lightning marueloꝰs and horrible to heare and behold. And bycauſe this happened in the winter time, it ſeemed agaynſt nature, & therefore it was the more noted as a forſhewing of ſome trouble and calamitie to come.

A tempeſt.
Math. VVeſt.

This Stephen beganne his raigne ouer this realme of England the ſecond day of December, in the yeare of our Lord. 1135. in the. xi. yeare of the Emperor Lothair, the firſt of Pope Innocentius the ſecond, and about the. xxviij. of Lewes the. vij. ſurnamed Craſſus king of Fraunce, Dauid the firſt of that name, then raigning in Scotland, and being alreadie entred into the. xij. of his regiment. He was crowned alſo at Weſtminſter vpon S. Stephens day, by William the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the moſte part of the Nobles of the Realme being preſent, and ſwearing their obedience vnto him, as to their true and lawfull ſoueraigne. Howbeit there were diuerſe of the wiſer ſort of all eſtates, whiche regarding their former othe, could haue beene contented that the Empreſſe ſhould haue gouerned till hir ſonne had come to lawfull age, notwithſtanding they helde their peace as yet, and conſented vnto Stephen. But to ſay the truth, the breach of theyr othes was worthily puniſhed afterward, inſomuch that aſwell the Biſhops as the other nobles either died an euill death, or were afflicted with diuerſe kindes of calamities and miſchaunces, and that euen here in this life, of whiche ſome of them as their time ſerueth maye bee remembred hereafter.

Math. Pariſ.
VVil. Mal.
Simon Dun.

Periurie puniſhed.

Yet there were of them, (and namely the Biſhop of Saliſburie, which proteſted that they were free from their othe of allegiaunce made to the ſayde Empreſſe, bycauſe that without the conſent of the Lordes of the land, ſhe was maried out of the realme, whereas they tooke their oth to receyue hir for Queen, vpon that cõdition, that without their aſſent ſhe ſhould not marry with any perſon out of the realme. Moreouer (as ſome writers think) the Biſhops tooke it, that they ſhould do god good ſeruice in prouiding for the welth of the realme, & the aduancement of the Church by their periurie. For whereas the late deceaſſed king vſed himſelfe not altogither for their purpoſe, they thought that if they might ſet vp and create a king chiefly by their eſpeciall meanes & authoritie, he woulde follow their counſell better, and reforme ſuch things as they iudged to be amiſſe. But a greate cauſe that moued many of the lords vnto the violating thus of their othe, was (as ſome Authors rehearſe) for that Hugh Bigot, ſomtime ſtewarde to king Henry the firſt, immediately after ẏ deceaſe of K. Henry came into Englãd, and aſwell before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as diuerſe other Lords of the land, tooke an othe of his owne accorde (although moſt men thinke that hee was hired ſo to doe bycauſe of great promotion) declaring vpon the ſame that he was preſent a little before King Henries death, when the ſame king adopted and choſe his nephew Stephen to be his heyre & ſucceſſour, bycauſe that his daughter the Empreſſe had grieuouſly diſpleaſed him. But vnto this mans othe the Archbiſhop and the other Lordes were too ſwift in giuing of credite. And the ſayde Hugh eſcaped not afterward worthie puniſhment for that his periury: for ſhortly after he came (by ẏ iuſt iudgement of God) to a miſerable ende.

VVil. Mal.
The Biſhop of Saliſburies proteſtation.

The Biſhops think to pleaſe God in breaking their oth

Mat. Par.

Hugh Bigot.

But to our purpoſe. King Stephen (by what title ſoeuer he came by the ſame) immediatly after his coronation, went firſt to Reading to the burial of the bodie of his vncle Hẽrie, the ſame being now brought ouer forth of Normãdy: & after the buriall he repayred vnto Oxford, & and there calling a Councell of his Lords and other eſtates of his realme. Amongeſt other things hee promiſed before ẏ whole aſſembly (to win the hearts of the people) that he would lay down and quite aboliſh that tribute which oftentimes was accuſtomed to be gathered after the rate of their acres or hides of lande, commonly called Danegylt, whiche was two ſhillings of euery hide of lãd. Alſo ẏ he wold ſo prouide ẏ no Biſhops ſeas nor other benefices ſhould remaine void, but immediately after vpon theyr

Sim. Dunel.
1136

Polidore
Simon Dun
Mat. Par.

The fayre p miſes of ki Stephen.

theyr firſt being vacant ſhould be again beſtowed vpon ſome conuenient perſon meete to ſupplie the rowme. Further he promiſed not to ſeaze vpon any mans wooddes, as forfeyt, though any pryuate man had hunted and killed his Deere in the ſame wooddes, as the maner of his predeceſſour was: for a kinde of forfeyture was deuiſed by K. Henrie, that thoſe ſhoulde loſe their right of inheritance in their woods, that chaunced to kill any of the kings Deere within the ſame.

Polidore
Ran. Higd.
Licence to build caſtels.

Moreouer he graunted licence to all men, to buylde eyther Caſtell, Tower or other holde for defence of themſelues vpon their owne groundes. And this he did chiefly in hope that ỹ ſame might be a ſauegard for him in time to come, if the Empreſſe ſhould inuade the lande, as he doubted ſhee ſhortly would. Moreouer he aduanced many yõg luſtie Gentlemen to great liuings. For ſuch as were of any noble family, and thereto through a certaine ſtouteneſſe of ſtomack ſought prefermẽt, eaſily obteyned of him the poſſeſſion of Caſtels, & great Lordſhips, and diuerſe of them he honored with titles of dignitie, creating ſome of thẽ Erles and ſome of them Lords. And ſuch was their importunate ſute alſo in demaunding, that when he had little more to beſtow amongſt them, hauing alreadie giuen ſundrie portions that belonged to the crowne, they ceaſſed not to be in hande wyth him for more, and beeing denied with reaſonable excuſes on his behalfe, they thought themſelues not well delt withal, & ſo turned from him, & fortifying their Caſtels and holdes, made opẽ warre againſt him (as hereafter ſhall appeare.)

VVil. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

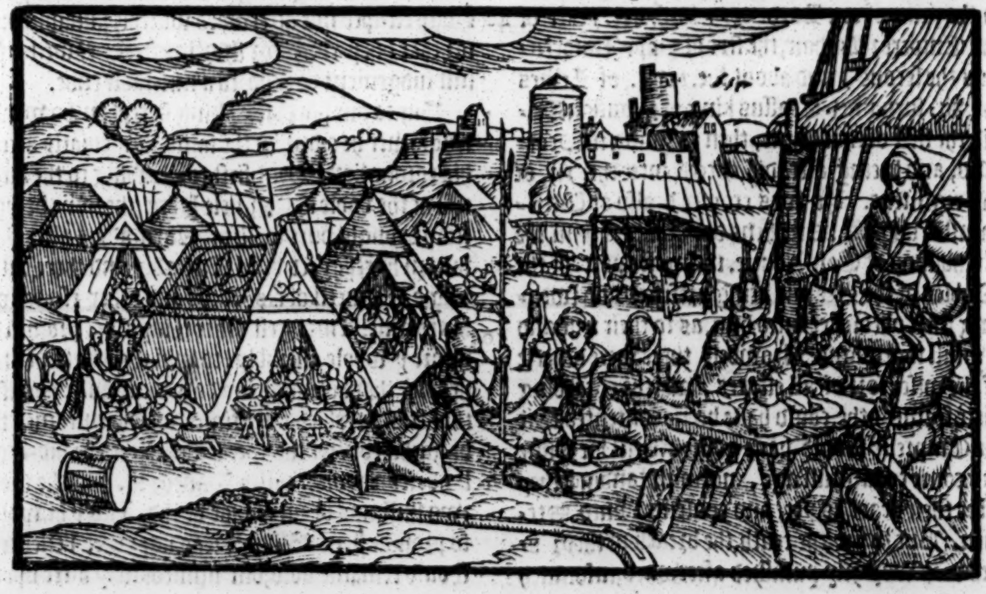
The reſort of ſtraungers to ſerue king Stephen.

There came ouer vnto him alſo a great number of Flemings and Britons to ſerue vnder him as Souldiers, the whiche he reteyned, to bee the ſtronger and better able to defend himſelf from the malice of the Empreſſe, by whom he looked to bee moleſted he wiſt not how ſoone. And therefore he ſhewed himſelf very liberal, curteous, and gentle towardes al maner of perſons at the firſt, & (to ſay truth) more liberal, familiar, & free harted thã ſtood with the maieſtie of a king: which was afterward a cauſe that he grew into cõtempt: but to ſuch incõuenience are princes driuen that attain to their eſtates more through fauor and ſupport of others than by any good right or title whiche they maye pretende of themſelues. And thus the gouernmẽt of this prince at the beginning was nothing bitter or heauie to his ſubiects, but full of gentle lenitie, courteſie, and ſoft mildneſſe. But yet whileſt theſe things were a doing, certaine of the Engliſh nobilitie abhorring both the king and the preſent ſtate of his gouernaunce, went priuily out of the realme into Scotland vnto K. Dauid, declaring vnto him what a deteſtable act was cõmitted by the Lords of England, in that contrarie to theyr othe made vnto the Empreſſe Mawd, and hir iſſue, they had now crowned Stephen. Wherefore they beſought the ſaid king to take in hand to reuenge ſuch a high iniury practiſed againſt hir, and to reſtore the kingdome vnto the ſaid Empreſſe, which if he did, it ſhould be a thing moſt acceptable both to God & mã. King Dauid hauing heard and weyed well the effect of their requeſt, forthwith he was ſo moued with their words, that in al poſſible haſt he aſſembled an armie, and entring into Englande, he firſt tooke the Citie and Caſtell of Carleil. And afterward cõming into Northumberland, tooke Newcaſtel, and many other places vpon the borders there. Whereof K. Stephen being aduertiſed, ſtreight ways aſſembled a power, and forthwith haſted into Cumberland, meaning to recouer that again by force of armes, which the enimie had ſtolne from him by craft & ſubtilty. At his approch nere vnto Carleil, he pight down his field in the euening, thinking there to ſtay till the morning, ỹ he might vnderſtand of what power

Polidor.

The king of Scots inuadeth the Engliſh marches.
Simon Dun.
Mat. Par.
Polidor.

King Stephen encamped nere to his enimie the king of Scottes.



the enimie was, whom he knew to be at hand.

King Dauid alſo was of a fierce courage, and readie ynough to haue giuen him battell, but yet when he beheld the Engliſh ſtandarts in the field, & had diligently viewed their order and behauior, he was at the laſt cõtented to giue eare to ſuch as entreated for a peace on both ſides, and ſo cõming vnto K. Stephen, he made a friendly peace with him, wherin he ſurrẽdred vp Newcaſtel, with cõdition that he ſhould retaine Cumberlande by the free graunt of K. Stephen, who hoped thereby to find king Dauid the more faithfull vnto him in time of neede: but yet he was deceyued, as afterwards it manifeſtly appeared. For when K. Stephen required of him an othe of allegiance, he anſwered that hee was once ſworne alreadie vnto Mawde the Empreſſe. But yet to gratifie him withall, he cõmaunded his ſon Henrie to receyue that othe, for the which the K. gaue vnto him the Erledome of Huntington, to hold of him for euer.

n accorde ade betwixt e two kings, ephen and auid.

ec. Boetius.

The Scottiſh Chronicles ſet out the matter in other order, but yet all agree that Henry ſware fealtie to K. Stephen, as in the ſayde Hiſtorie of Scotland you may ſee more at large.

imon Dun.
ath. Paris.
im. Dunel.

ing Stephen ke.

King Stephen after he had concluded a peace with K. Dauid returned to London, and there kept his Eaſter with greate ioy and triumphes. And whileſt he was yet in the middeſt of all hys paſtime, about the Rogation weeke, he chaunced to fall ſick of a litargie, by reaſon wherof, a rumor was ſpred ouer all the realme that he was deade. And though this was but a vaine tale, and of no importance at the firſt, yet was it after the occaſion of much euill. For vpon the report of that rumour greate ſedition was rayſed by the kings enimies amongeſt the people, and that more was, the myndes of his friendes were alienated from him, and many of the Normans (which beeing enured with periuries and treaſons) thought they might boldly attempt all miſchiefes that came to hande, and herevpon they tooke vpon them to defende ſome one place, and ſome another.

alſe rumors hat hurt they tentimes do.

Hugh Bigot Earle of Norffolke a valiaunt chieftaine entred into Norwich, Baldwin Reduers tooke Exeter, and Robert Quiſquere got certaine Caſtels alſo into his handes.

ugh Bigot.
aldwin Red- ers.
obert Quiſ- uire.

King Stephen hearing what his enimies had done, though hee was ſomewhat mooued wyth this alteration of things, yet as one nothing afrayde of the matter, he ſayde merily to thoſe that ſtoode about him: we are aliue yet God be thanked, and that ſhall bee knowne to our enimyes ere ought long. Neither doubted hee any thing, but ſome ſecrete practiſe of treaſon, and therefore vſing all diligence, he made the more haſte to goe agaynſt hys enimies, whoſe attemptes, though ſtreight wayes hee for the more part repreſſed, yet coulde hee not recouer the places that they had gotten without much adoe, as Exeter, and other: which when he had obteyned, he contented himſelfe for a time (whiche many manne would not haue done) and followed not the victorie any further in purſuing of his aduerſaries. Wherevpon they became more bolde afterwards than before. And ſoone after they practiſed diuerſe things agaynſt him, whereof (God willing) ſome in places conuenient ſhall appeare: Howbeit they permitted him to remain in quiet for a time. But whileſt he ſtudied to take order in things aboute home (perceyuing howe no ſmall number of his ſubiectes did dayly ſhewe themſelues to beare him no heartie good will) hee beganne by little and little to take away thoſe liberties from the people, which in the beginning of his raign he had granted vnto them, and to denie thoſe promiſes which hee had made, according to the ſaying, That which I haue giuen, I would I had not giuen, & that which remayneth I will keepe ſtill.

Polidor

This ſodaine alteration and new kind of rough dealing, purchaſed him in the ende great enuie amongſt all men. And in Normandie about the ſame time great commotions were rayſed about the Lorde Geffrey Earle of Aniou, huſbande to Mawde the Empreſſe, ſetting the whole Countrey in trouble: but ere any newes thereof came into England, K. Stephen goeth againſt Baldwin Reduers, who being lately (though not without great and long ſiege expulſed out of Exeter) got him into the Ile of Wight, and there began to deuiſe a newe conſpiracie. Howbeit the king comming ſodainely into the Ile, tooke it at the fyrſt aſſault, and exiled Baldwyn oute of the realme.

Geffray Earle of Aniou.

Simon Dun.
VVil. Paruus
Polidor.

Hauing thus with good ſucceſſe finiſhed thys enterpriſe, and being now aduertiſed of the buſineſſe in Normãdie, he ſayled thither with a great army: and being come within two dayes iourney of his enimie the Erle of Aniou, he ſent forth hys whole power of horſmẽ, deuided into three partes, which were not gone paſt a dayes iourney forward, but that they encountred with the Earle, finding him with no great force about him, and therupõ giuing the charge vpõ him, they put him to flight, & ſlue many of his people. This enterpriſe in this maner valiantly atchieued, euen according to the minde of K. Stephen, he ioyned in friendſhip with Lewes the ſeuenth K. of France. And hauing lately created his ſon Euſtace Duke of Normandie, hee preſently appoynted him to doe his homage vnto the ſayde Lewes for the ſame. Alſo whereas his elder brother Theobalde Earle of Bloys at that time being in Normandie, found himſelfe grieued, that Stephen beeing the yonger brother had vſurped in the landes that belonged to theyr Vncle King Henrie, rather than himſelfe, to ſtoppe his iuſt complaynt,

An. Reg. 2
1137

King Stephen paſſeth into Normandie.

The Earle of Aniou put to flight.

Lewes king of France.

Euſtace ſon to King Stephen.

Mat. Par.

Theobald erle of Bloys.

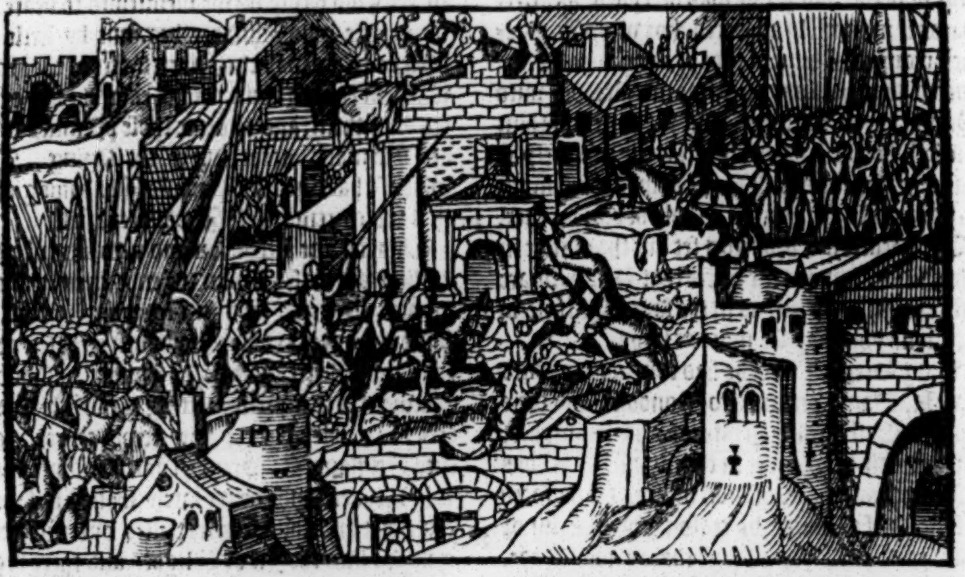
King Stephen agreeth with the Earle of Aniou.

he agreed with him, couenanting to paye him yearely two thouſande Markes of ſuche currant money as was then in vſe. Furthermore, whereas Geoffrey Earle of Aniou demaunded in right of his wife the Empreſſe the whole kingdome of England, to be at an ende with him, king Stephen was contented to ſatiſfie him with a yearely penſion of fiue thouſand Markes, which compoſition he willingly receyued.

Polidor

Thus when he had prouided for the ſurety of Normandie, he returned againe into Englande, and was no ſooner there arriued, but that aduertiſement was giuen him of a new begonne warre with the Scottes, whoſe king vnder a colour of obſeruing the othe made to the Empreſſe, dayly made reyſes and inuaſions into Englande, to the great diſturbance of K. Stephen and annoyance of his people. King Stephen being herewith ſomwhat moued, went forthwith toward the north partes, and determined firſt to beſiege Bedforde by the way, which apperteyned to the Erledom of Huntington, by gift made vnto Henry the ſonne of K. Dauid, and thereupon at that preſent, kept with a gariſon of Scottiſh men, which place the king beſieged by the ſpace of. xxx. dayes togither, in maner, giuing thereto euery day an aſſault or alarme, inſomuch that cõming thither on Chriſtmaſſe day, he ſpared not on the morow to aſſaile them, and ſo at length wanne the towne frõ them by pure force and ſtrength. King Dauid hearing thoſe newes, and beeing alreadie in armor in the fielde, entred into Northumberland, and licenſed his men of warre to ſpoyle and rob the Countrey thereabout at their pleaſure. Herevpon followed ſuch crueltie, that their rage ſtretched vnto olde and yong, vnto prieſt and clerke, yea womẽ with childe eſcaped not their handes, they hanged, headed, and ſlue all that came in theyr way: houſes were burnt, cattell driuen awaye, and all put to fire and ſworde that serued to àny vſe for reliefe, either of man or beaſt.

The Scottes inuade the Engliſh borders.



Simon Dun.

An. Reg. 3 1138

King Dauid inuadeth Northumberland.

Math. VVeſt.

Polidor.

Mat. Par.

Simon Dun.

In the meane time king Stephen hearing of this pitifull ſpoyle, haſted forwarde with greate iourneyes to come to the reſkue of the Countrey. The Scots put in feare of his ſpedie comming to encounter them, withdrew home into Scotland: but he followed them, and entring into their coũtrey he burned and deſtroyed the South partes of that realme in moſt pitifull maner.

King Stephen maketh haſt to reſcue the north partes.

The Scottes retire.

King Stephen burnt the ſouth partes of Scotland.

Whileſt king Stephen is thus about to beate backe the foreyne enimies, and to reuenge himſelf on them, he is aſſayled by other at home, and not without the iuſt vengeance of almightie god, who ment to puniſh him for his periurie committed in taking vpon him the Crowne, contrary to hys othe made vnto the Empreſſe and hir children. For Robert Erle of Glouceſter, baſe brother vnto the Empreſſe, and of hir priuie Councell, ſought by all meanes howe to bring king Stephen into hatred, both of the Nobles and Commons, that by theyr helpe hee mighte bee expulſed the realme, and the gouernment reſtored to the Empreſſe and hir ſonne.

Robert Earle of Glouceſt

Such earneſt trauaile was made by this erle of Glouceſter, that many of his friends which fauored his cauſe, now that king Stephen was occupied in the North parties, ioyned with him in conſpiracie agaynſt their ſoueraigne. And firſt the ſayde Earle himſelfe tooke Bryſtowe. And after this diuerſe other townes and Caſtelles there in that countrey were taken by him and others, with full purpoſe to keepe the ſame to the behoofe of the Empreſſe and hir ſonne. Amongſt other William Talbot tooke vpon him to defend Herefordе in Wales: William Louell helde the Caſtell of Cary: Paganell or Paynell kept the Caſtell of Ludlow: William de Moun, the caſtel of Dunſtor: Robert de Nichol, the Caſtell of Warram:

Briſtow taken

Sim. Dun.

Talbot.

Mat. Paris.

Louvell.

Paynell.

Euſtace

FitzIohn. FitzAlayn.

S.Dunel. M. Paris. The caſtle of Douer deliuered to the queene. Polid.

Thurſtayne archbiſh. of Yorke made Lieutenāt of the North partes.

Euſtace Fitz Iohn, the caſtle of Waltō, & Williā Fitz Alain, the caſtle of Shrewſbury. Whē word hereof came to K. Ste. he was marueylouſly vexed: for being determined to haue purſued the Scots euen to the vttermoſt limits of their coūtrey, he was now driuen to change his mind, and thought it good at the firſt to ſtop the proceedings of his enimies at home, leaſt in geuyng them ſpace to increaſe their force, they might in proceſſe of tyme grow ſo ſtrōg, that it wold be an hard matter to reſiſt them at the laſt. Hereupō therfore he returned Southward, & cōming vpō his enimies, recouered out of their hāds, diuers of thoſe places which they held, as Hereford, & the caſtle of Shrewſbury: & about the ſame tyme one Walkelyne yeelded the caſtle of Douer vnto the Queene, who had beſieged him within the ſame. But K. Stephē knowing how the Scots wer not like long to continue in quiet, he returned Northwards agayn. And cōming vnto Thurſtain the archb. of Yorke, he cōmitted the keeping of the countrey vnto his charge, cōmandyng hym to be in a readynes to defend the borders vpon any ſodaine inuaſion. Which thing the couragious archb. willingly vndertooke. By this meanes kyng Stephen being eaſed of a great part of his care, fell in hande to beſiege the reſidue of thoſe places which the rebels kept: but they fearing to abide the daunger of an aſſault, fled away, ſome into one part, and ſome into an other. Whom the kyngs power of horſmen ſtyl purſuyng and ouertakyng them by the waye, ſlew, and tooke no ſmal number of them priſoners in the chaſe. Thus was the victory in maner wholy atchieued, and all thoſe places recouered, which the enimies had fortified.

The Scottes eftſoones inuade Northumberland

Archbishop Thurſtayne raiſeth a povver to fight vvith the Scots.

S. Dunel. Captaynes of the army.

Raufe B. of Durhā ſupplieth the roume of the Archbishop.

In like maner whē king Dauid heard that the kyng was thus vexed with ciuill warre at home, he entred England againe in moſt forcible wiſe: and ſendyng his horſmen abroade into the countrey, cōmaunded them to waſte & ſpoyle the ſame after their accuſtomed maner. But in the meane tyme he purpoſed with him ſelfe to beſiege Yorke: which citie if he might haue wonne, he determined to haue made it the frōtier hold againſt kyng Stephē, and the reſt that tooke part with hym. Hereupon callyng in his horſmen from ſtraying further abroade, he marched thitherwards, and comming neare to the citie, pitched downe his Tentes. In this meane while the archbiſh. Thurſtaine, to whō the charge of defendyng the countrey chiefly in the kings abſence apperteyned, called together the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Shyre and parties adioynyng, whom with ſo pithy and effectual words he exhorted to reſiſt the attēpts of the Scots, whoſe cruel doings cold kepe no meaſure,) that incōtinently all the power of yͤ Northparts was rayſed, (& vnder the leadyng of Williā earle of Albemarle, Walter Eſpeke, William Peuerell of Nottingham, and two of the Lacyes, Walter, and Gylbert) offred to the vttermoſt peryll of lyfe and lymme to trye the matter with the Scottes in a pight fielde, and eyther to driue them out of the countrey, or els to looſe their lyues in the quarell of their prince. It chaunced at this time, that the archb. Thurſtaine was diſeaſed with ſickneſſe, and could not come therfore into the fielde himſelf, but yet he ſent Raufe Biſhop of Durham to ſupply his roume, who though he ſawe and perceyued that euery man was ready enough to encoūter with their enimies, yet he thought good to vſe ſome exhortatiō vnto thē, the better to encourage them, in maner as here enſueth.

M. Paris. S. Dun.

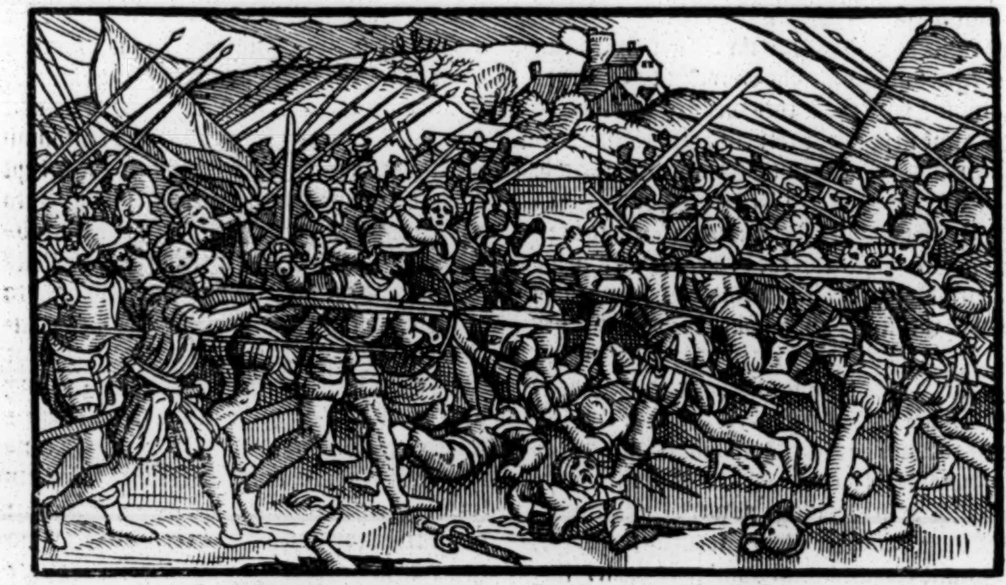
Moſt noble Engliſh men, and ye right valiant Normans, of whoſe courage the Frenchman is afrayde, by whoſe power Englande is kept vnder, by you alſo Apulia doth floriſh, and vnto you Ieruſalē & Antioch haue yelded their ſubiectiō. We haue at this preſent the rebellious nation of Scotland (which of right ought to be ſubiect to the crowne of England) come into the fielde againſt vs, thinking for euermore to rid them ſelues of their ſubiection, & to bring both vs and our countrey into their bondgge & thraldome. And now albeit I ſee in you courage ſufficient, to beate them backe from any further attempt, yet leaſt when you ſhal come to the tryall, by any maner of chance, you ſhold looſe any peece thereof. I lamentyng the ſtate of my countrey (whoſe diſpleaſures I wiſhe you ſhoulde redreſſe) do meane to vſe a fewe wordes vnto you, not for that I woulde exhort you to doe any man wrong, but rather to beate them backe, whiche offer to doe wrong vnto you.

Therefore conſider that you ſhall here fight with that enimie, whom you haue oftentymes ouercome, whom oftentymes defamed with the ſpots of periurie, you haue worthily puniſhed: whom (to be briefe) ragyng after the manner of cruell robbers, wickedly ſpoylyng Churches, taking away our goodes, you lately dyd conſtrayne to hide hym ſelfe in deſert places & out of ſight. Againſt this enimy (I ſay) therfore worthy of puniſhment for his ſo manyfold crimes, ſhew your ſelfe valiant, & with manlike ſtomackes driue him out of our confines: for as farre as I can perceiue, the victorie is yours, God ſurely wyl aid you, who can not lōger abide the ſinnes of this people. Wherfore he that loſeth his life in this ſo iuſt a quarel accordyng to the ſaying of our Sauiour, he ſhall finde it.

Let not their raſhe preſumptuous boldneſſe make you afrayd, ſith ſo many tokens of your approued valiancy can not cauſe them to ſtand in doubt of you. You are clad in armour, and ſo appoynted with Helmet, Cuyraſe, Greues, & Target, that the enemy knoweth not where to ſtrike to hurt you. Then ſith you ſhall haue to do with naked men, and ſuch as vſe not to weare any armour at all, but ſuche as is more meete for brablers and ale houſe quarrellers, than men of warre frequented to the fielde: What ſhoulde you ſtande in doubt of? Their huge number is not able to ſtand againſt your ſkilfull order and practiſed knowledge in all warlike feates and martiall diſcipline. A rude multitude is but a let, rather than a furtherãce to atchieue the victory. A fewe in number of your worthy Elders, haue oftentimes vanquiſhed great multitudes of enemies.

As the Byſhop was thus ſpeakyng to the Engliſh army, and before he grew to any ende of his exhortation, the Scottes approche with their batailes, and firſt certaine of their bandes of horſmen were ſent afore, to take the higher ground: which when the Engliſh men perceyued, they ſtayed not tyl the enemies ſhould begyn the bataile, but ſtrayt wayes cauſed their Trumpets to blowe, and ſo gaue the onſet.

The English men ſet vpõ the Scots.



The Scottes were as ready to encounter with thẽ, ſo that the bataile began right hotly, and euen at the firſt out flew the arrowes, and after that beganne the footmen to ioyne, who fought moſt fiercely on both ſides. Herewith a wyng of them of Lodyan which were in the Scottiſh vauntgard, dyd breake in vppon the vauntgard of the Engliſh men: but yet they cloſing together againe, kept out the enimies, and caſting about with a wing, compaſſed the Scottiſh horſmen round about, and paunching their horſes, they ſlewe a great nũber, and conſtrayned the reſidue to retyre. Whiche thyng when their felowes in the other wyng ſawe, their harts began to faint, and by and by fel to flat runnyng away. The rumor of this flight being notified to the mayne battel of the Scottiſh men, wher king Dauid him ſelf was fightyng with his enimies, diſcomfited them alſo, in ſuch wiſe, that they in like ſorte beganne to ſhrinke backe: firſt by partes, & after by heapes together. The king dyd what he coulde to ſtay them: but the Engliſh men preſſed ſo vpõ them, that there was no recouery. Wherefore he hym ſelfe was glad in the ende, to beare his men company, in ſeeking to ſaue hym ſelfe by flight, & make ſuch ſhyft as he could amõgeſt yͤ reſidue. His ſonne Henry the earle of Hũtingtõ more regarding his honour, than the dãger of life, neither moued with the flight of his father, nor ouerthrowe of the other, came in amongeſt his men, beyng readye to turne their backes, and with bold countenance ſpake theſe or the like words vnto them as the ſhortneſſe of the tyme would ſerue: Whither goe you good felowes? Here ſhal you find armour and force, neither whileſt life remayneth in your captain (whõ ye ought to folow) ſhal ye depart without the victorie. Therfore choſe whether ye had rather try the matter with the enemies by battaile, or to be put to a ſhamefull death at home after your returne thither? The Scots moued wͭ theſe vehemẽt words of their valiãt captain, turned vpõ their enemies again, & begã a cruel ſlaughter: but being no great nũber, and beſet with the Engliſh footmẽ before, and with the horſmẽ behind, they wer ſhortly brought to diſtreſſe, & for the more part either takẽ, or ſlaine.

The Scots of Lodian diſorder the English men

S. Dunel.

M. Paris.

The Scottes put to flight.

Henry earle of Huntington his valiancie.

At length earle Henry perceyuyng how the matter went, and that there was no hope left

of

Polid.
H. Hunt.
The nūber.

of recouery, he alſo fled with thoſe that coulde eſcape, bitterly curſing the frowardneſſe of fortune, and miſhap of that dayes chaunce. The number of them that were kylled at this battayle, was aboue tenne thouſande. In which nūber ther wer not many of the Engliſh men: but yet among other, Walter Lacy the brother of Gylbert Lacy, one of their chiefe captaines, is remēbred to be one. This battel was fought in the moneth of Aug. in the. iiij. of K. Ste. who hearing of this victorye, greatly reioyced, and gaue infinite cōmendations to his ſubiectes (the Engliſhmen & the Normans) but namely he prayſed the archb. Thurſtaine & the B. of Durhā for their faithful & diligēt ſeruice ſhewed in this behalfe. On yͤ other ſide he hym ſelf vſing the like good ſucceſſe amongſt the rebels at home, ouercame thē, and chaſed thē out of the land. For in this meane tyme he had taken the caſtles of Hereford, Glouc. Webbeley, Briſtow, Dudley, and Shrewiſbury. Likewiſe Rob. earle of Gloceſter not being able to reſiſt the king thus preuailyng agaynſt his aduerſaries on ech hand, fled into Frāce vnto his ſiſter the Empreſſe. After this in the Aduent ſeaſon, the Popes Legate, one Alberike biſhop of Hoſtia, helde a Synode at London, within the church of S. Paul, where by the kings cōſent, Theobalde Abbot of Bechellouin was ſacred Archb. of Canter. being the. xxxviij. Archbiſh. which had ruled that See, after Auguſtine the Monke. The king hauyng now atchieued his buſineſſe, taken the caſtle of Leides, & brought the ſtate of the realme into a meetly good ſtay, he thought it expediēt after the late ouerthrow giuen to the Scots, to purſue the victory, and vtterly to ſubdue them with al expedition. He brought his army therfore into Scotland, and firſt waſted and ſpoyled the coūtrey, and afterward prepared to fight wͭ ſuch Scots as came forth to defend their goods and houſes, King Dauid perceiuyng hym ſelfe to be too weake, made ſuite vnto the king for peace, which with much difficulty he obteyned at length, by deliuering his ſonne Hēry vnto K. Ste. in pledge for the ſure performance of the couenants that wer concluded betwixt thē. And hereupon K. Ste. hauing thus ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, returned into England: and after directyng his iorney towardes Wales, he came to Ludlow: which towne being kept by his aduerſaries, he wan ere long out of their hands.

S. Dun.
M. Paris.
VV. Paru.
Polid.
Ra. Higd.
Caſtles recouered by K. Stephen.
N. Triuet.
S. Dunel.
M. Paris.

Theobald Archb. of Canterbury.
Anno regni. 5.
1140.
Polid.
M. Paris.
K. Stephen inuadeth Scotland.
A peace cōcluded betvveene the tvvo kings of England & Scotland.
Ludlovv vvonne.

After this he went to Oxford, and whileſt he remayned ther, a great bruite was ſpred abrode that the Empreſſe was cōmyng with hir brother the Earle of Gloceſter: which cauſed him to put yͤ leſſe truſt in his people frō thēceforth: in ſo much that he beganne to repent hym ſelf (although too late) for that he had graunted licence to ſo many of his ſubiectes to builde caſtles within their own grounds. For he had thē al in ſuſpition: and amongſt other, he conceyued a miſtruſt agaynſt Roger Byſhop of Saliſbury (who had done very muche for hym) and alſo agaynſt Alexander B. of Lincolne that was nephew to the ſaid B. of Saliſb. or as ſome thought, more neare to him in kinred than his nephewe, that is to meane, his ſonne.

Roger biſh. of Saliſbury
Alexander B. of Lincolne.
VV. Mal.

For the ſayde Roger had buylded diuers Caſtles, as at Shierborne, at the Vies, and at Malmeſbury.

Caſtles built by the B. of Saliſbury.

And likewiſe the ſaid Alexander folowyng his Vncles example, beſtowed his money that way forth very freely, hauing buylded one caſtle at Newarke, and an other at Slefford. The K. therfore hauing cōmitted both theſe biſhops to priſon, & furthermore ſent Nigel or Neelle the B. of Ely into exile (which Nygell was nephew alſo to yͤ foreſaid B. of Saliſbury) he threatned thē to keepe thē without either meate or drinke, if they would not cauſe theſe caſtles to be deliuered into his hāds: & ſo he ob-

S. Dun.
Nevvarke caſtle built by the B. of Lincolne.
The B. of Ely baniſhed.

teined thē, & moreouer foūd in the B. of Saliſburyes cofers. xl. M. marks, which he toke to his own vſe, as forfeyt vpon his miſdemeanor.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury dyeth of thought.
VV. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

Which B. hauyng receyued this ingratitude of the the king, & taking thought for the loſſe of his houſes & money, pyned away, & dyed within a while after. The quarrel which was firſt piked to theſe Biſhops, roſe for a fray whiche chanced betwixt the biſhops men & the ſeruāts of Alaine duke of Britain, about the taking vp of Innes at their cōming to Oxford. In which affray one of the dukes mē was kylled, his nephew almoſt ſlayne, & the reſidue of his folkes ſore beaten & chaſed. And herevpō were the biſhops firſt cōmitted to ward, & afterward hādled at yͤ kings plaſure, as partly ye haue heard.

Fortunes inconſtancie.
VV. Paris.

And this, good reader, is one example worthy to be marked of fickle fortunes incōſtācy. This Roger B. of Saliſbury, was in the dayes of Will. Rufus a poore prieſt ſeruyng a cure in a village nere to the city of Cane in Normandy. And as it chanced, the L. Henry the kings brother came thither on a time, & called for a prieſt to ſay maſſe before him. Wherupō this Roger cōmyng to the altar, was by & by ready, and ſo quickly at it, & therwithal had ſo ſpedily made an end therof, that the mē of war which as thē wer attendāt on the ſaid L. Henry, affirmed yͭ this prieſt only aboue all other, was a Chaplen meet to ſay Maſſe before mē of war, bicauſe he could make ſuch quick diſpatch withal. Wherevpō yͤ kyngs brother cōmaūded hym to folow him, which he dyd, wͭ as much diligēce as euer Peter folowed Chriſt. And ſo for his diligent ſeruice, and redy diſpatch of matters, after that Henry had atteined the crowne, he was by him aduāced to great promotiōs: as firſt to be Chācelor of Englād, & after B. of Saliſbury, growing ſtyl into ſuch eſtimation, that he myght do wͭ the king more thā any other of yͤ coūſel.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury made Lorde Chancelour.

But to returne againe to K. Ste. who after he had thus impriſoned the aforeſaid biſhops, māned thoſe caſtles which he toke frō them with his own ſoldiers, in like maner as he had done all the other which he had taken frō the rebels, that he might yͤ better withſtand the Empreſſe and hir ſonne, whoſe comming he euer feared. He began alſo to ſhew him ſelf cruel towardes al mē, & namely agaynſt thoſe that had chiefely furthered his Title to the obteynyng of the Crown: which thing, as many toke it, came to paſſe by the prouiſion of almighty God, that thoſe ſhold ſuffer for their periuries, which cōtrary to law and right had cōſented to crown hym king.

K. Stephens doubt vvhō to truſt.

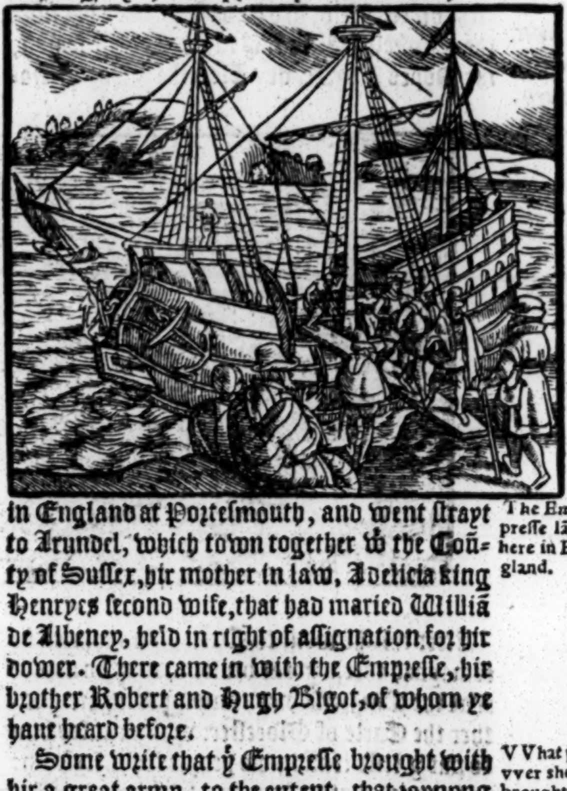
In deede he wiſt not wel whom he might truſt, for he ſtood in doubt of al men, bicauſe he was aduertiſed by credible report, that the Empreſſe ſought for ayd on all ſides, meanyng very ſhortly to come into England. For this cauſe alſo he thought good to procure the frendſhip of Lewes Kyng of France, which he brought to paſſe by concludyng a mariage betwene his ſonne Euſtace and the Lady Conſtance ſiſter to the ſayd Lewes.

He contracteth affinity vvith the French king.

But within a few yerees after this Euſtace dyed, & then was Cōſtāce maryed vnto Raymōd earle of Tholouſe.

VV. Mal.
Polid.
M. Paris.
Alberike de Veer pleadeth the kings cauſe.

In the meane tyme, that is to wyt, on yͤ firſt day of Sept. there was a Coūcel holdē at Winch. in the which Earle Alberike de Veer pleaded with great eloquence the kyngs cauſe in excuſe of his fault, for impriſonyng the byſhops, which was ſore laid to his charge by his own brother the B. of Winch. beyng alſo the Popes Legate: who together with the Archb. of Cant. & other biſhops had called this Coūcel for that purpoſe. But they got nothyng of the kyng, but fayre words, and promiſes of amendemēt in that which had bin don otherwiſe thā equitie required, which promiſes were nothing kept, and ſo the Coūcel brake vp. In the moneth of July the Empreſſe Maude landed here in England at Porteſmouth, and went ſtrayt to Arundel, which town together wͭ the Coūty of Suſſex, hir mother in law, Adelicia king Henryes ſecond wife, that had maried Williā de Albency, held in right of aſſignation for hir dower. There came in with the Empreſſe, hir brother Robert and Hugh Bigot, of whom ye haue heard before.



The Empreſſe lāded here in England.

VVhat povver ſhee brought vvith hir.
VV. Mal.
Polid.

Some write that yͤ Empreſſe brought with hir a great army, to the entent, that ioynyng with Ranulph earle of Cheſter (who toke part with Rob. earle of Gloc. bicauſe yͤ ſame Rob. had maryed his daughter) ſhe might fight with K. Ste. and try with hym the bataile. Other declare that ſhe came into Englād now at the firſt, but wͭ a ſmal power (as vij. ſcore horſmen or men of armes as we may cal thē) in hope of gods aſſurance (who ſeldome faileth thoſe that fight in a rightful cauſe) & againe vpon truſt of

ayde

aid of frẽds, which for the benefits receiued at hir fathers hands, wold be redy to go againſt K. Ste. Wherupon hir brother earle Robert leauing his ſiſter in the caſtle of Arundel, rode with al ſpeed vnto Gloc. through his enemies cõtrey, not taking with hym paſt. xij. men of armes, and as many archers on horſbacke, that vpõ his cõming thither, he might leuy an army with ſo much ſpeed as was poſſible.

Earle Rob. commeth to Gloceſter.

At his cõmyng to Gloc. though the citie was kept by a garriſon of ſoldiers placed there by K. Ste. yet the townſmen, after they heard that their earle was once come, & approched to the gates, they droue out the garriſon, and receyued hym into the towne, where he remayned a tyme, partly to aſſemble an army, & partly to practiſe with other townes and caſtles therabouts, to reuolt vnto his ſiſter.

M. Paris.

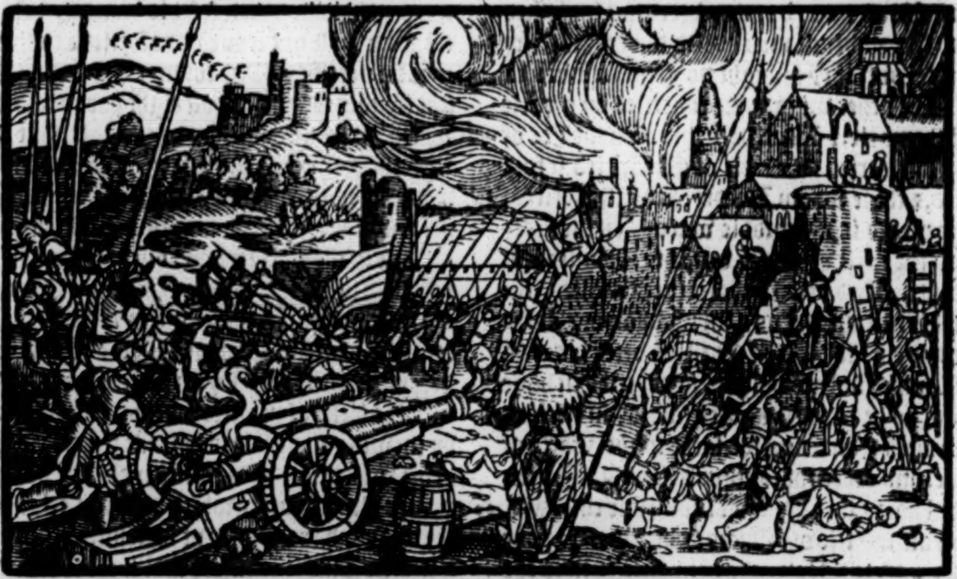
Brian the earle of Gloceſters ſonne Myles earle of Hereford.

Amõgſt al other, yͤ earles ſonne Brian, and Myles of Gloc. were right ioyfull of the newes of the Empreſſe arriual, & gladly prepared them ſelues to fight in defence of hir cauſe.

Polid.

The Empreſſe beſieged in Arũdel caſtle.

In the meane tyme kyng Ste. hauyng knowledge of the lãding of the Empreſſe, & other his enemies, came ſtrayt to Arũdel, where he beſieged hir in the caſtle, and ſpent his labor certeyn dayes in vaine about yͤ winnyng of it, but at that preſent he did not preuayle, for ther were certaine with hym, which in fauor of the empreſſe bare him in hãd, that it was not poſſible to wyn yͤ fortreſſe, & therfore aduiſed him to raiſe his ſiege, & ſuffer the Empreſſe to be at liberty to go ſomwher els, wher he might with more eaſe & leſſe damage, get hir into his hãds.



The K. rayſeth his ſiege

The K. not perceiuyng the drift of thoſe ſecret practiſers, folowed their cõuſel. Wherupon the Empreſſe being now at liberty, went frõ place to place to try & ſolicit hir frends: & as a ryuer increaſeth in the paſſage, ſo the farther yͤ Lady went, the more hir power increaſed.

The Empreſſe goeth to Briſovv.

About the midſt of the next night after the ſiege was raiſed, ſhe departed out of the caſtle, & with great iorneys ſped hir towards Briſtow, which was already reuolted to hir ſide. Theſe things being thus bruyted abroad, the Peeres of the realme reſorted to hir, as they that well remẽbred how in tyme paſt by othe of allegrance they were ſurely bound to hir & hir iſſue.

K. Stephen beſiegeth VValingford.

The kyng in the mean time beſieged the caſtle of Wallingford, but after he vnderſtood that the Empreſſe was gotten to Briſtow, repentyng hym ſelf for his light credit giuẽ to euyl counſel, he left off the beſieging of Wallingford, & draweth towards Briſtow, that he might, if it were poſſible, encloſe his aduerſaryes within that walled city: But the Empreſſe beyng aduertiſed of his determination (by ſuch of hir frends as wer reſident about hym) firſt went to Glouceſter, and after to Lincolne, where ſhe prouideth for vittayles, and al other things neceſſary for hir army and defence: purpoſing to remayne in that citie, tyll the matter wer either tryed by chaũce of warre betwixt hir & K. Ste. or that by the peoples helpe reuoltyng to hir ſide, he might be driuen out of the realme, and ſhe reſtored to the entire gouernment.

Anno. regni. 6.

1141.

The K. folowed hir alſo very earneſtly, and cõmyng vnto Lincolne, he beſieged it, aſſaying on euery ſide which way he might beſt find meanes to wyn it, and enter into the ſame.

S. Dun.

R. Houe.

K. Stephen vvynneth Lincolne.

At length the Empreſſe founds ſhift to eſcape from thence, and within a litle while the kyng got poſſeſſion of the city.

R. Higd.

S. Dunel.

Polid.

N. Triuet.

But ſhortly after, Rob earle of Gloc. and Ranulph earle of Cheſter, Hugh Bigot, and Robert of Morley aſſẽbling their power, aſwel of Welchmẽ as other to come to the ſuccor of thoſe that wer thus beſieged, came to Lincoin, & pitching down their tẽts nere to yͤ enemies, they reſted the firſt night wͭout making any great attẽpt. In the morning being the .ij. day of February, The ordring of the kings army ready to geue bataile.

S. Dunel.

M. Paris.

The Earles of Norfolk, Hampton, Mellent, & VVarenne.

The Earle of Albemarle. VVilliam de Ypres. The ordering of the batailes on the kings aduerſaries part.

The oration of the Earle of Cheſter.

Ra. Higd.

The Earle of Gloceſters anſvver to the Earle of Cheſters oration.

ſo ſoone as it was day they ſet their mē in order of battel, & brought thē forth in ſight of the K. & his hoſt: who on the other ſide meaning not to refuſe the fight, ordered his men redy to encoūter them, deuidyng thē into three ſeuerall battels. The chiefeſt part of his armed men, he appoynted to remaine a foot, amongſt whō he placed himſelf, with certaine noble mē, as earle Baldwin, & others. The reſidue being horſmē, he diſpoſed into two ſeuerall wings, in one of the which wer theſe men of honor, Alaine duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigot earle of Norfolke, Simō earle of Hāpton, & ij. other earles, Mellent & Warenne: but they were not furniſhed with ſuch nūber of men as had bin requiſite: for as it fel out, they brought no great retinues wt thē. The other wing was gouerned by ye earle of Albemarle, & Will. de Ypres. On the ſide of the aduerſaries, the earle of Cheſter led ye forward, & thoſe whom K. Ste. had diſinherited, were placed in the middle ward. In the rereward the earle of Gloc. with his cōpanies had the rule. And beſides thoſe three batailes, the Welſhmen wer ſet as a wyng vpon one of the ſides. Here the earle of Cheſt. to vtter his good wyll which he had to fight, appoynted in fayre armor as he was, ſpake theſe words in effect as followeth, directing the ſame to the Earle of Gloc. and other the captaines, ſaying: I geue you al harty thanks, moſt inuincible chieftain, and you my felow ſoldiers, which declare your harty good wils towards me borne, euen to the ieoparding of your lyues at this my requeſt & inſtance. Sith thē I am the occaſiō of your peril, it is coūenient that I firſt do enter ye ſame, & geue the firſt onſet vpō the battel of that moſt diſloyal K. which grauūting a truſe, hath brokē the peace, & ſwering to be a ſubiect, is now proued a moſt wicked vſurper. I therfore truſtyng both vpō reuenge of the vniuſt dealings of this kyng, and alſo vpō myne own force & courage, ſhal ſtraytwayes breake in ſunder the array of his army, and make way through the middeſt of the enemies with ſword in hād. Your parts ſhalbe thē to folow me, that ſhall leade you the way: for euē now my mynd giueth me, that I ſhal paſſe through their batailes, tread his captaines vnder foot, & run the king thorow wt this my ſharpe & kyne ſword. Whē he had thus ended, the earle of Gloc. anſwered in this wiſe. It is not againſt reaſon that you ſhold require the honor of the firſt onſet, both for the nobility of your houſe, & alſo for reſpect of the prowes wherin you do excel: but yet if ye ſtande vpon nobility, for my part, being the ſonne of a king & the nephew of a king, ought not I to be preferred: if vpō valiācy here are many moſt worthy men, afore whō there is not any one alyue that may chalenge any prerogatiue at all. But another reaſon moueth me moſt chiefly to be ye formoſt: the K. which cōtrary to his oth made to my ſiſter, hath cruelly vſurped the kingdō, and ſetting all in trouble, hath bin the cauſe of many thouſands of mens deathes, and hath diſtributed lāds and liuyngs to ſuch as haue no right to the ſame, which he hath violently takē frō the rightful owners, and ſo them diſinherited. This K. (I ſay) is firſt to be aſſailed with the aſſiſtance of the righteous Iudge whiche prepareth puniſhment for wicked doers: for the almighty God which iudgeth his people in equitie, wil looke down frō his heauenly habitacle, and wyll not leaue vs cōfortleſſe in this ſo great a neceſſity. One thyng there is, moſt valiāt captaines, and al you right hardy ſoldiers, which I would haue you to conſider, that thorow the Fennes, which with muche ado you haue paſſed, there is no way to eſcape by flight: here muſt we eyther vanquiſh the enemies, or els dye in the place: for no hope of ſafegarde remayneth in fleeing away. This only reſteth (I ſay) that you make way for you to enter the citie with your weapō points. If I be not much deceyued in that my mynd geueth me to coniecture, the lacke of meane to eſcape otherwiſe thā by ſhewing your ſelues valiant men, by Gods helpe wyll bring vs the victorye. For he muſt needes play the man, which hath not other ſuccor to auoyd the daūger of deſtruction. The citizens of Lincolne which ſhal fight ſo neare to their houſes as you ſhall ſee, wyl not ſtay long to get them thyther for their refuge. And herewith conſider and wey (I beſeech you) againſt whom you ſhal match in this batayle: There is Alane duke of Britaine, which cōmeth armed agaynſt you, yea rather agaynſt God, a wicked perſon, and ſpotted with al kinds of filthyneſſe. In malice he hath no peere, as he that neuer wanted deſire to do miſchiefe: and not to be incomparable in crueltie, he would iudge it a great reproch. There commeth alſo the Earle of Mellent, a man full of all guyle and deceit, in whoſe hart iniquitie is engraffed, and nothyng in his mouth but vnthākfulneſſe, ſlouthfull in deedes, and preſumptuous in words, not haſtye to fight, but ſwift to run away. Then commeth earle Hugh, to whom it hath not bin ſufficiēt to breake his oth to my ſiſter the Empreſſe, except he ſhoulde the ſecond tyme cōmyt periurie in auouchyng vpon a newe oth, that King Henry graunted the kingdome to Stephen, and diſenabled his daughter.

The neceſsitie to fight valiantly.

Alane Duke of Britaine.

The earle of Mellent.

Earle Hugh.

The earle of Albemarle.

Earle of Albemarles vvyfe.

After him marcheth the earle of Albemarle, a man in euyl, of a ſingular conſtancie, ready to attempt a miſchiefe, and loth to giue it ouer. Whoſe wife through irkſomneſſe of his filthy

behauior

behauiour is runne from him: and he that kepeth hir, commeth with hym alſo againſt vs, a man that is an open adulterer, one well eſteemed of Bacchus, but nothing acquainted with Mars.

Simon earle of Hampton.

Then ſetteth forth Symon earle of Hamptõ, whoſe deede conſiſteth in wordes, & whoſe giftes reſt in promiſes, for when he hath ſaid he hath done, & when he hath promiſed, ye get no more.

Like maſter, like ſeruant.

Finally there cõmeth together a knot of peeres and Noble men, like to their king and maiſter, accuſtomed to roberies, enriched with rapines, embrewed with manſlaughters, and defamed with periurie: you therfore moſt valiant captaines and hardy ſouldiers, whom king Henry hath aduaũced, and this man hath brought vnder foote, whom he made welthy, and this man hath impoueriſhed, vpon truſt of your worthy valiancie, yea rather vpon truſt of Gods iuſtice ſeeke your reuenge thus offred by God of theſe wicked wretches, and with manly ſtomackes vow to go forward, & forſweare ſtepping backe. The earle had vnneth made an ende when all the army liftyng vp their hands to God, abiured al intention to flee, and ſo made themſelues ready to ſet forward. King Stephen hauing no pleaſant voyce of hym ſelf, appointed earle Baldwin to geue an exhortation to his army, whereupon getting him ſelfe to an high place where he might be ſeene & heard of thẽ, he thus began.

Earle Baldvvin his oration in the behalfe of K. Stephen.

Three things to be foreſeene by thẽ that ſhall geue bataile

Al ſuch as ſhal geue bataile ought to foreſee thre things: firſt, that their cauſe be righteous: ſecondly, the number of their men equal at the leaſt: and thirdly the goodneſſe and ſufficiencie of them: the righteouſnes of their cauſe, leſt men run in danger of ſoule, ẏ nũber of men, leſt they ſhould be oppreſſed with multitude of enemies, the goodneſſe of the ſoldiers, leſt truſting in ẏ multiude, they ſhold preſume vpõ the aid of feeble perſons & ſuch as are but of ſmal valure. In al theſe poyntes we ſee our ſelues ſufficiently furniſhed. The iuſtice of our cauſe is this: that obſeruing the thing that we haue vowed to our king before god, we ſtãd to the ſame againſt thoſe ẏ haue falſed their faiths euen to the peril of death. Our number is not much leſſe in horſemen, & in footmen we exceed them. As for the goodneſſe or ſufficiencie of our men, who is able to expreſſe the noble prowes of ſo many earles, of ſo many lords & ſoldiers, trayned vp euer in wars? the paſſing valiancy of our king may ſtand in place of innumerable ſoldiers. Sith then he being the lords annoynted, is here amõgſt you, vnto whõ ye haue vowed allegeance, performe your vow, for ẏ more earneſtly and faithfully ye ſerue your prince in this bataile which you are redy to fight againſt periured perſons, the more ſhal your reward be at the hands of God and him: be you therfore of good cõfort, and haue in remẽbrance againſt whom you do darraine the bataile.

Earle Rob.

The force of earle Robert is wel knowen, his maner is to threaten much, and to worke litle, a Lion in wordes, eloquent of ſpeach, and baſe through ſlackneſſe of deedes.

The earle of Cheſter.

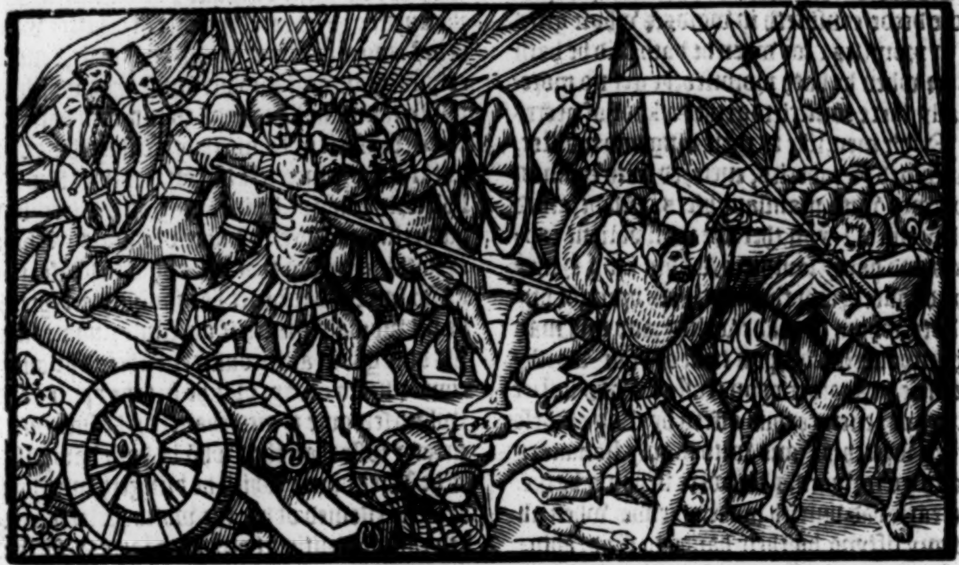
The earle of Cheſter what is he? a man of vnreaſonable boldneſſe, bent to cõſpiracie, inconſtãt to performe that, which he raſhly taketh in hand, redy to run into bataile, vncircumſpect of danger, practiſing things of great importance, ſeeking after things impoſſible, bringing with him few good ſoldiers, but gathering a diſperſed nũber of raſcals. There is nothing in him that we ought to be afrayde of, for looke whatſoeuer he manfully attẽpteth, he ſtil womãly giueth it ouer, infortunate in al his doings, in al encounters either is he ouercome & fleeth away, or if he get the vpper hand (which ſeldome tymes chanceth) he ſuſteyneth greater loſſe than they whõ he doth vanquiſh. The Welſhmen which he bringeth with hym are litle eſtemed of vs, the which preferre a naked raſhnes without any vſe of armor, ſo that as men without any knowledge of martiall policie, they fal as bruite beaſts vpõ the hũters Iauelyn. The other, aſwel the nobles as ẏ cõmon ſoldiers are but runagates & vagabonds: of the which I would wiſh the nũber greater than it is: for the more they be, the worſe in effect their ſeruice ſhall proue in tyme of neede. You therfore moſt worthy chieftaines, you mẽ of honor, it ſtãdeth you vpon to haue in regard your vertue and dignities. This day aduance your renoume on high, and folow the foreſteps of your famous anceſtors, leaue to your ſonnes an euerlaſting cõmendation:

Continuall good ſucces a prouocatiõ of boldneſſe

the cõtinual ſucceſſe of victories onght to be vnto you a prouocation to do manfully: the continuance of euil ſpeed may be to yonder ſide an occaſion to run away: for euen alredy, I dare ſay, they repent them of their cõming hither, and could be contented to be gon, if ẏ qualitie of the place wold ſuffer thẽ to depart. Then ſith it is not poſſible for them eyther to fight or to flee, what other thing can they do, but as appoynted by Gods ordinance, offer them ſelues and al that which they haue about them, preſently vnto vs. Ye ſe then their horſes, their armor, and their bodyes ready here at your pleaſure: plucke vp your harts therfore, & put forth your handes to take that with great chearefulneſſe of mynd, which the Lord hath thus offred and freely preſented vnto you. But ere he had al made an end of his wordes, the batailes were ready to ioyne, & ſo with great noyſe of trũpets & other inſtruments they met, and the fight began with right ſore and cruel ſlaughter: hard it was in the beginnyng to geſſe who ſhould haue the better.

M. Paris. *H. Hunt.*

The wing of the diſinherited men ouerthrew & bare downe their aduerſaries, which were led by the duke of Britaine. And the forenamed earles. On the contrary part, the arle of Albemarle, & William de Ypres put the Welchmẽ to flight, but by the Earle of Cheſter and his retinue, the ſame Earle & William of Ypres were fierſely of newe aſſailed, and put out of order. And thus



VV. Paris. *H. Hunt.*

anon the kings ſide was put to the worſe, namely his horſemen, which being placed in the forefront, and there ouermatched, fell to galoping away: which thing when the king beheld, he was not yet any thing therewith abaſhed, but like an hardy captaine (as he was no leſſe in deede) comforted his footemen which he had about hym, and with them ruſhed foreward vpõ his enemies, bare them downe, and ouerthrew ſo many as ſtoode before hym, ſo that with the poynt of his weapon he made him ſelfe waye.

Polid.

His footmen which were but a few in number in reſpect to the multitude of his enemies counteruaile in all pointes the prowes and manlike doings of their king and captaine, that few battailes had bin better fought, nor with greater ſlaughter of people on both ſides, if the kings foreward (which in maner at the firſt ſhranke backe and was diſordered, not without ſome ſuſpition of treaſon) had ſtaied the brunt of the enemies a while, as it had bene requiſite.

S. Dunel. *H. Hunt.*

At length the king encountryng with the earle of Cheſter, being ouerſet with multitude, was taken priſoner by one William de Kahames. Earle Baldwin that had made the oration in the kings behalfe, was alſo taken after he had fought valiantly and receiued many ſore woundes. Likewiſe Richard Fitzvrze who had ſhewed that day good proofe of his manhood, hauing geuen & receiued many a ſore ſtripe. To conclude, all thoſe that abode with the kyng, and namely al the footemen were taken priſoners, thoſe excepted which wer ſlaine in the place.

M. Paris. *VV. Paris.* *Polid.*

This battaile was fought in the ſixt yeare of K. Stephens raigne, & vpõ Cãdlemas day, being ſonday, as Niger ſaith. The king being thus apprehẽded and brought to the Empreſſe lying at Glouceſter, was commaunded by hir to be conueied in ſafetie vnto Briſtow, where he was kept as priſoner from that time of his taking, vnto the feaſt of al Saintes next enſuing.

The king led to Briſtovv.

VV. Paris.

Not long after this fielde fought, as ye haue heard, Geffrey Earle of Aniou huſbande to the Empreſſe, receiuing aduertiſemẽt of this victorie gotten in England, forthwith inuaded Normandye, inducyng all the Nobles of the countrey to incline vnto him: for by publiſhing the captiuitie of king Stephẽ, it was not hard for him to come by the poſſeſſion of the ſame.

The king of Scottes taketh Northumberland into his poſſeſsion.

Polid,

The Empreſſe folovveth the victorie.

Alſo Dauid king of Scotland entred into Northumberland, and by commaundement of the Empreſſe, tooke the coũtrey into his hands, whileſt ſhee like a woman of great wiſedome, as ſhee was no leſſe in deede, iudging that it ſtood her vpon to vſe the victorie that thus was chaunced vnto hir, ſlept not hir buſineſſe, but went forward, and ſetting from Glouceſter, ſhee came to Wincheſter, where ſhee was honorably receiued of the Biſhop Henry, though he was king Stephens brother, and inwardly lamented the miſfortune of the king. Then came ſhee backe agayne to Wylton, and ſo to Oxford, from thence to Reading, and then to S. Albones, into al the which cities & townes ſhee was receiued with much triumph and honour.

Shee commeth to Lõdon.

Thus hauing paſſed through all the South parties of the Realme on that ſide, ſhee finally came to London, where the citizens welcomed hir alſo in moſt ioyfull & harty maner, The queene ſueth to the empreſſe for the deliuery of her huſband.

ner. Being come to London, and whileſt ſhee conſulteth with thoſe of hir counſaile there for the quieting of the whole ſtate of the Realme, Queene Maude wife to king Stephen (for ſo ſhee was alſo called) maketh humble ſute vnto hir to haue hir huſband ſet at libertie, promiſing that he ſhould reſigne his whole claime & title into hir handes, and cõtent him ſelfe with a priuate life. But hir ſute was ſo farre of frõ being graunted, that ſhe was reiected with reprochfull wordes. Wherupon ſhee conceiued a moſt high diſpleaſure, and vnderſtode nowe well ynough, that peace was to be purchaſed onely by force of armes, and not in any other maner. Therefore with all diligence ſhee ſent to hir ſonne Euſtace as then being in Kent, willyng hym to prepare an army, which he did moſt ſpeedily.

It chaunced at the ſame tyme alſo that the citizens of London made great labour to the ſaid Empreſſe that they might haue the lawes of king Edward the Cõfeſſor reſtored againe, & the ſtrait lawes of hir father king Henry aboliſhed. But for ſomuch as they could get no grãt of their petition, and perceiued the Empreſſe to be diſpleaſed with thẽ about that importunat requeſt, wherin only ſhe ouerſhot her ſelf, they deuiſed how & by what meanes they might take hir priſoner, knowing that all the Kentiſhmen would helpe to ſtrengthen thẽ in their enterpriſe: But ſhe being therof warned, fled by night out of the citie, & wẽt to Oxford, determining to be reuenged vpon hir aduerſaries when tyme ſhould ſerue hir turne: & herewith began ſhe to waxe more diſpleaſant both to thoſe nobles whom ſhe had in priſon, & alſo to other, but namely to K. Stephen, whõ ſhe cõmaunded to be lodẽ with yrons, & kept with very ſlender diet. After that ſhe was thus fled out of London, which chanced about the feaſt of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, the Tower of London was beſieged, which Geffrey de Mãdeuille held, & valiantly defended. The ſame Geffrey iſſuing forth one tyme, came to Fulham, where he toke the Biſhop of Londõ as thẽ lodging there in his own manor place, being one of the contrary faction. Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter perceiuing the wrath of the Empreſſe more & more to encreaſe daily againſt hir people, thinking it wiſedome to ſerue the time, manned all the Caſtles which he had builded within his dioces as at Waltham, at Farnham, and in other places, and withdrew him ſelfe into the caſtle of Wincheſter, there to remaine, tyl he might ſee to what end the fury of the womã would incline. This being knowen, the Empreſſe calleth vnto hir Dauid K. of Scotland that was hir vncle, who immediatly came vnto hir, and then ioyning their armies together, they go to Wincheſter and beſiege the caſtle. In the meane time the queene and hir ſonne Euſtace then, with the helpe of their frends, as the Kentiſhmẽ, the Londoners and other, had aſſembled a great army, and appoynted the gouernment and generall conduct therof vnto one Williã of Ypres a Flemyng, who for his valiantie was by K. Stephen created Earle of Kent. He was ſonne to Philip of Flaunders, but begot of a Concubine, which Philip was ſonne to Earle Robert of Flaunders, ſurnamed Friſius. This William was baniſhed out of his countrey by Theodoricke of Elſaſſ earle of Flaunders, bicauſe he attempted to bereue hym of his Earledome. The Queenes army thus committed to his leading came nere vnto Wincheſter, and kept the Empreſſe and hir people in maner beſieged: and at length perceiuyng the aduauntage after the cõmyng of a great ſupply of Londoners to their ayde, they ſet vpon hir army as the ſame was departing, with ſuche violence, that ſtraightwayes hir power was put to flight and diſcomfited. The Empreſſe was glad to faine hir ſelfe dead, and ſo to be conueyed in a Coache as a dead corps vnto Glouceſter. Her brother Robert with many other of the Nobles that ſtayed behynd tyl ſhee and other might get out of daunger, were taken priſoners. And bicauſe the king was kept at Briſtowe vnder the cuſtodye of the ſaid Robert, the Queene cauſed hym to be ſtraitly vſed, that he might proue the wordes of the Goſpell true: With what meaſure ye meate vnto other, with the ſame by other ſhall it be meaſured vnto you againe. He had deſerued very euyll of the king heretofore, and therefore it was nowe remembred.

The Londoners conſpire to take the empreſſe

Shee fled in the night tyme out of the citie.

N. Triuet.

Geffrey de Maundeuille.

The Biſhop of London taken.

Polid.

Caſtles fortified by the Biſhop of VVincheſter.

VVilliam de Ypres.

Ia. Meir.

VV. Mal. in nouella hiſtoria.

N. Triuet.

S. Dun.

Polid.

The Empreſſe army put to flight.

VV. Mal.

Rob. Earle of Glouceſter taken priſoner.

M. Par.

He was taken in maner abouesaid, on the feaſt day of the exaltation of the Croſſe.

Dauid king of Scotland was not at the bataile hym ſelfe, but hearing of the diſcomfiture, he got hym out of the countrey, and by helpe of truſty guides returned into Scotland, whileſt Alberike de Veer was ſlaine at London in a ſeditious tumult raiſed by the citizens. The kingdome being thus deuided into two ſeuerall factions, was by all ſimilitudes like to come to vtter ruine: for the people kindled in hatred one againſt another, ſought nothing els but reuenge on both ſides, and ſtyll the lande was ſpoyled and waſted by the men of warre which lodged within the Caſtles and Fortreſſes, and would often iſſue out to harry and ſpoyle the countryes about. But now that the two chiefeſt heades were priſoners, there was good hope conceyued, that God had ſo wrought it, wherby might growe ſome ouer-

VV. Paru.

N. Triuet.

Dauid K. of Scottes retired home.

S. Dun.

R. Ho.

Alberike de Veer ſlaine.

VV. Mal.

Polid.

ture of talke to quiet ſuch troubles by frendly peace and agreement. Hereupon thoſe Lordes that wiſhed wel to the common wealth, began to entreate betwixt them, and articles were proponed for a concorde to be had, and an exchaunge of priſoners on both ſides. But the Empreſſe and hir brother would not hearken to any agreemẽt, except that the realme might wholy remayne to the ſayd Empreſſe. Wherby the enemies rather encreaſed, thã any thing decreaſed by this treaty, ſo that at length the kyng and the earle weried with long yrkſomneſſe of yrons & hard impriſonment, and puttyng all their hope in the chaunce of warre (about the feaſt of al Saints) made exchange by deliueryng of the one for the other, without makyng mentiõ of any peace at al: and ſo kindled with new diſpleaſures, they renewed the warre agayne.

Geruaſius Dorobern.

The king & the Earle of Glocester deliuered by exchange.

Anno regni. 7.

1142.

Ger. Do.

A parliamẽt called.

Kyng Stephen beyng deliuered in ſuch wiſe as yon haue heard, cõmyng to Lõdon, and there beyng accompanied with his brother Henry Byſhop of Wincheſter (as then the Popes Legate) Theobald Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and others, he called a Parliament, in the which the kyng declared in what caſe the preſent ſtate of thyngs ſtoode, how the enemie was brought to that poynt, that if it woulde pleaſe the Nobles of the Realme to maynteyne hym with men and money, he truſted now to worke ſo, as they ſhould not neede to feare their cõmyng vnder the yoke of a womans gouernment: which at the firſt they ſeemed much to miſlike, & nowe ſithence, to their great griefe, they had proued to be intollerable. The ſumme of his tale tended to this end, that thoſe whiche were able of them ſelues to ayde hym with their owne perſons, ſhould prepare them out of hand ſo to do, and the reſidue that were not meet, as biſhops, and ſuch like maner of men, ſhould be contributers to aid him with hyred ſoldiers, armour, and money. This was gladly agreed vpon, with the general conſent of al the aſſembly: and bicauſe the biſhops ſhewed them ſelues very liberall towards the aduancing of the kings purpoſe, there was a ſtatute made at the ſame parlament, that who ſo euer did lay any violent handes on a ſacred perſon, or els take vpon hym to apprehend any of them, for what fault ſoeuer, without the Biſhops licence, he ſhould be accurſed, and not be aſſoyled of any maner of perſon, except of the Pope, as by a Canon it was already decreed, but not obeyed among the Engliſhe men tyll that day. The cauſe of makyng this ſtatute was chiefly, for that prieſts during the tyme of the cinill warres, were dayly eyther ſlayne or taken and put to their ranſomes & greeuous fines.

A ſtatute eſtabliſhed in fauour of prieſtes.

The B. of Wincheſter at this Councel alſo began an other brall among the Clergie, for being brother to K. Stephen, hauyng the Popes authoritie as his Legate in England, by reaſon of exerciſing his authoritie, fel at variance with the B. of Canterbury, who tooke hym ſelfe for his ſuperior, bycauſe he was his Primate. And this matter grewe ſo farre in queſtion, that they wẽt both to Rome to haue the controuerſie decided, and ſo bringing their quarrelles thyther, contented well the eares of them that had the hearyng of the ſame: for the more weighty the cauſe ſeemed, the better it lyked them. But enough of this.

M. Paris.

Earle Rob. paſſeth ouer into Normandy.

As the kyng begã (after his liberty obteined) to prouide for the warres, ſo Earle Robert after he was diſcharged, ſayled ouer into Normandy, taking with hym the ſonnes of diuers Noble men which fauored the Empreſſe, the which he deliuered vnto hir huſband the earle of Aniou to be kept as pledges, and earneſtly beſought him to paſſe ouer into England with an armye, to the aid of the Empreſſe. But bicauſe he was newly entred into the Cõqueſt of Normandy, and had already won the moſt part thereof, he thought good to make firſt an ende of his wars there, hauing alſo ſomwhat to do againſt certaine rebelles of his owne Countie of Aniou, which did not a litle moleſt him. But he recouered whileſt the earle of Gloc. was ther with him, Allney, & Mortaigne, with Tenerghbray & diuers other places pertreinyng chiefly to the earle of Morteigne. Alſo they of Conſtances about the ſame tyme ſubmitted thẽ ſelues vnto hym. Thus the earle of Aniou being occupied in thoſe parties, could not wel come into England.

Normandy vvon by the Earle of Aniou.

VV. Mal.

Earle of Glocester returneth.

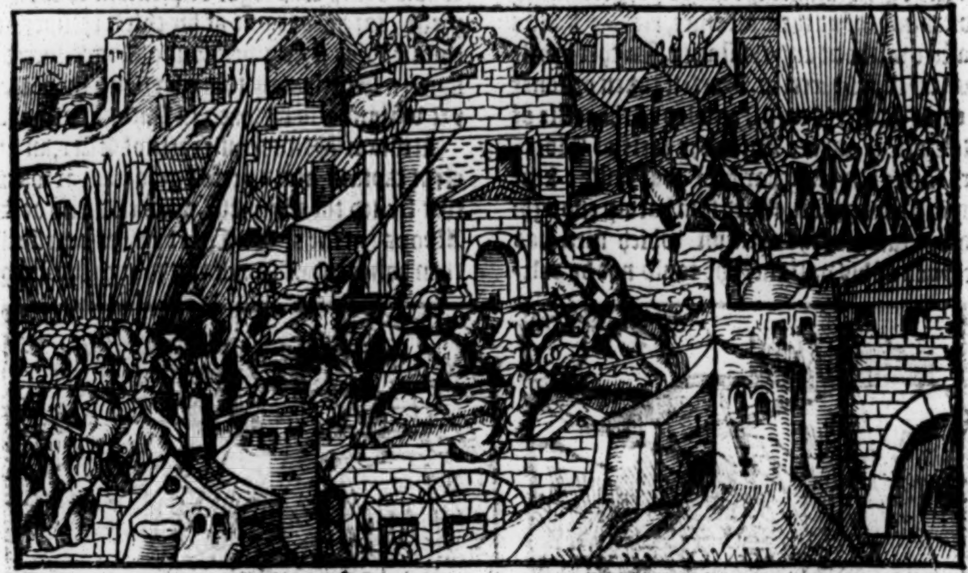
Wherupon the Earle of Glouc. came backe againe him ſelfe, and bringing with him ſomwhat leſſe than. iiij. C. men of armes (enbarked in lij. ſhips) he landed with the ſame at Warrhã, & beſieged the caſtle there, which his enemies had won out of his handes whileſt he was abſent in Normãdy. In the end thei that wer within it (vnder yͤ gouernmẽt of Herebert de Lucy) fel to agreement by cõpoſition, that if they were not ſuccored by a certaine time, they ſhould deliuer the caſtle vnto the earle. Kyng Ste. hym ſelfe the ſame tyme held a ſiege before Oxford, within the which he had encloſed the Empreſſe, as hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed: So that they within the Caſtle of Warrhã had no ſuccor ſent vnto thẽ, and therfore accordyng to the articles of their cõpoſition, they yeelded vp the Hold, after earle Rob. had lyen iij. weekes before it. This Caſtle being thus won, Earle Robert ſubdued alſo ſuche as kept the Ile of Portlãd, and had fenced it after the maner of a Fortreſſe: afterwardes he came to Circeſter, and there aſſembled al thoſe that fauoured the

Ger. Dor.

VV. Mal.

The Ile of Portland. Circester.

part



part of the Empreſſe, meanyng with al conuenient ſpeed to go vnto Oxford, & there to geue bataile to kyng Stephen, if he would abide it. Who after his deliuerance from captiuity, had aſſembled a great hoſt of men and comming to Oxford, wher the Empreſſe as then lay, ſodenly beſſeged her before ſhe looked for him: and to the end alſo that he might compel the townſmē to yeeld, or els keepe them from entring which would attempt to come to their ſuccors, he goeth abroade into the countrey with part of his army, waſting al before him with fire & ſword. This ſiege continued almoſt .ij. monethes, that is to wyt, in maner frō his deliuery in the beginning of Nouēber, vnto Chriſtmas, that thorow lacke of vitails they within the town began to raiſe mutinies. The Empreſſe therfore doubting the ſequele, and ſeeing alſo hir prouiſion to decay, deuiſed a ſhift howe to eſcape that preſent danger, which by force ſhe was vnlikely to performe. It was a very hard wynter that yeare, & beſide the great froſt wherwith the Thames and other ryuers therabouts were froſen ouer, ſo that man and horſe might eaſily paſſe the ſame aloft vpon the yſe, the fields wer alſo couered with a thicke & deepe ſnow. Hervpō taking occaſion, ſhe clad hir ſelf and al hir company in white apparell, that a farre of they might not be diſcerned frō the ſnow, and ſo by negligēce of the watchmē that kept their watch but ſlenderly, by reaſon of the exceeding colde weather, ſhe and hir partakers apparelled ſo in white, ſecretely in the night ſeaſon iſſued forth of the towne, and paſſing the Thames, came to Walingford, where ſhe was receyued into the Caſtle by thoſe that had the ſame in keping to hir vſe: of whō Brian ſonne to the Earle of Gloc. was the chiefe. After hir departure from Oxford, the townſmen yeelded vnto the king, who hauing taken order for the keeping of thē in obediēce, he marched toward Walingford, myndyng to beſiege the caſtle there: but beyng encountred by the way by his enemies, he was driuen backe, and ſo conſtrained to turne another way. Earle Robert hearing now that his ſiſter was eſcaped and gotten to Walingford, he haſted thither with al ſpeed to viſit hir: And as ſome write, he brought with him hir ſonne the Lord Henry, that was come with him frō the parties of beyōd the ſeas, to ſee his mother: ſo that the Empreſſe nowe beholdyng both hir ſonne and brother, receyued them with al ioy & honor that ſhe could or might preſently make them. Hir ſonne remainyng ſtyll vnder the gouernment of earle Robert, was then appoynted by him to abide within the citie of Briſtowe, and there for the ſpace of .iiij. yeres, he continued, being cōmitted to the bringyng vp of one Mathew, as his ſcholemaiſter, to inſtruct him both in knowledge of letters, and ciuilitie of behauiour.

The Empreſſe beſieged in Oxford.

N. Triuet.
S. Dun.
VV. Paru.
R. Higd.
M. Par.

The Empreſſe eſcapeth out of Oxford.

Polid.
VV. Mal.
S. Dunel.
M. Paris.

Brian ſonne to the Earle of Gloceſter

Polid.
S. Dun.
N. Triuet.

Anno regni. 8.
1143.

The Empreſſe ſonne the Lorde Henry.

King Stephen after the ſpoyling of ſundry Churches, the robbing and burnyng of many townes and villages by the hands of his hyred men of warre, that were for the more part Flemyngs, at length with his brother the Biſhop of Winchester he came with a ſtrong army of men vnto Wilton, where he tooke in hande to fortifie the Nunry in ſteed of a Caſtle to reſiſt the incurſions and enterpriſes of them of Saliſbury, whiche in the behalfe of the Empreſſe had done many diſpleaſures vnto his frendes: but earle Robert vnderſtādīg of his doings, got a power together with al ſpeede, & the firſt day of July about ſunne ſetting came to Wilton, and ſodenly ſet fire on the towne.

The kyng commeth to VVylton.

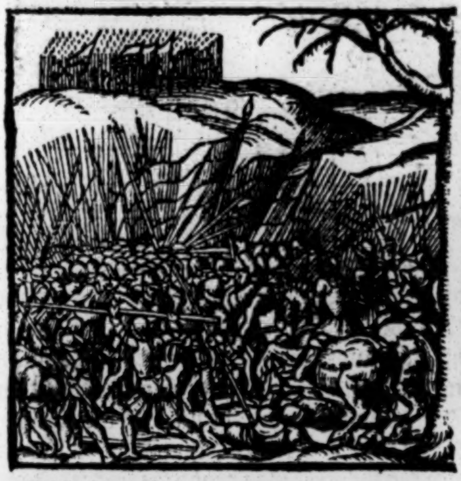
The king being lodged within the Nunry, and fearing no ſuch matter, after he hearde of the ſoden aſſembly of his enemies, was put in ſuch feare, that he tooke hym ſelfe diſhonourably to flight, leauyng his men, his plate, and other riches altogether behind him.

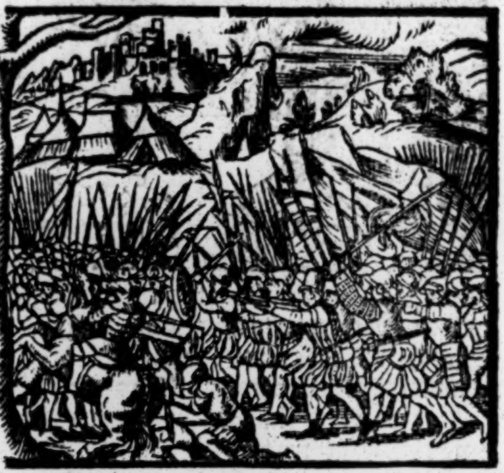
VV. Paru.
S. Dun.
N. Triuet.
M. Paris.

The earles ſoldiers egerly aſſaile the kings people, killing and taking thē at their pleaſure, rifled yͤ kyngs treaſure without any reſiſtance. In this broile was Williā Marcel or Martell taken priſoner by earle Roberts men, and led to the caſtle of Walingford, where Brian the earle of Gloceſters ſonne hauyng charge of that caſtle, kept him in ſtrayt priſon, & vſed him hardly enough: and by reaſon of the opinion which men had cōceyued of his valiancy, he could not be deliuered, tyll he had payd for his ranſome. iij. C. markes, and deliuered into the Earles handes the caſtle of Shirborne.

Miles earle of Hereford deceaſeth.

Within a few dayes after, Milo earle of Hereford departed this life, whoſe death was right diſpleaſant to the empreſſe, for he was one of hir chiefe frendes and counſellors. His eldeſt ſonne Roger ſucceded hym, a Gentleman though young in yeares, yet valiant and forward in feates of armes.





Ger. Dor.
The earle of Eſſex taken.

William Maundeuille earle of Eſſex, an ancient captain, and a perfect good man of warre, that ſerued the Empreſſe, was takē alſo at S. Albons (in the kings Court rather neceſſarily than honorably) but not without great ſlaughter of the kings ſouldiers that were at the taking of hym: in ſo much that among other the Earle of Arundel, a right valiaunt man of his handes, was ouerthrowen both horſe and man in the myddeſt of the water there, called Haliwell, by a knight called Walkeline de Oreay, ſo that the ſame Earle of Arundell was ſore bruiſed in his body, and almoſt drowned.

The earle of Arundel.

N. Triuet.
VV. Paru.

The king was preſent hym ſelf at the taking of the ſaid Maundeuille, whom he ſpoyled of all his goods, and conſtrayned him by way of redemption of his libertie, to deliuer into the kings handes the Tower of London, the Caſtle of Walden, and Pleſhey. Wherupon the ſame earle being releaſed of impriſonment, through pouertie was driuen to ſeeke ſome recouery of his loſſes by ſundry ſpoiles and roberies.

Anno regni. 9.
1144.
H. Hunt.

Firſt of all therefore he ſpoyled the Abbey of S. Albons, and after the Abbey of Ramſey, which he fortified, and defended as a fortreſſe, caſting the Monkes out of the dores, and in euery place where ſoruer he came, he robbed the countrey afore hym, tyll at length in the midſt of his reuenge and malicious doings, he was ſhot thorow with an arow amongſt his men by a ſimple felow on foot, and ſo ended his life with cōfuſion, receyuyng worthy puniſhment for his vngodly behauior. He was a man of high valiācy, but therwith very obſtinate againſt god, of great induſtry in worldly buſineſſe, but paſſing negligent towards his maker, as writers report of hym.

S. Dunel.
I. Pike.
M. VVeſt.
N. Triuet.

Likewiſe Rob. Marmion who had attempted the ſemblable robbery & ſpoyle in the Abbey Church of Couentry, was ſlayne before the ſame Abbey by a like miſchance, for going forth to encoūter with the earle of Cheſter (that was his mortal enimy, and being approched as then towardes the city) he fell with his horſe into a ditch, which he cauſed to be couertly made for the deſtruction of his enemies: and before he could be relieued, a ſoldier of the earles part leapt to him, & there ſtroke his head frō his ſhoulders in ſight of both the armyes.

VV. Mal.
VV. Paru.

Ernulfus the ſonne of earle Geffrey Mandeuile that kept the Church of Ramſey as a fortreſſe, after his fathers death was takē at lēgth and baniſhed. About the ſame tyme aduertiſement was giuen alſo that the citie of Lincoln which the earle of Cheſter had in keeping, was but ſlenderly manned. Wherupon the king cōceyuyng ſome hope to wynne the ſame, haſted forward: and cōmyng thither in the night, laid ſiege to the citie, and began to caſt a trench to ſtop them within from making ſalies forth.

Lincoln beſieged

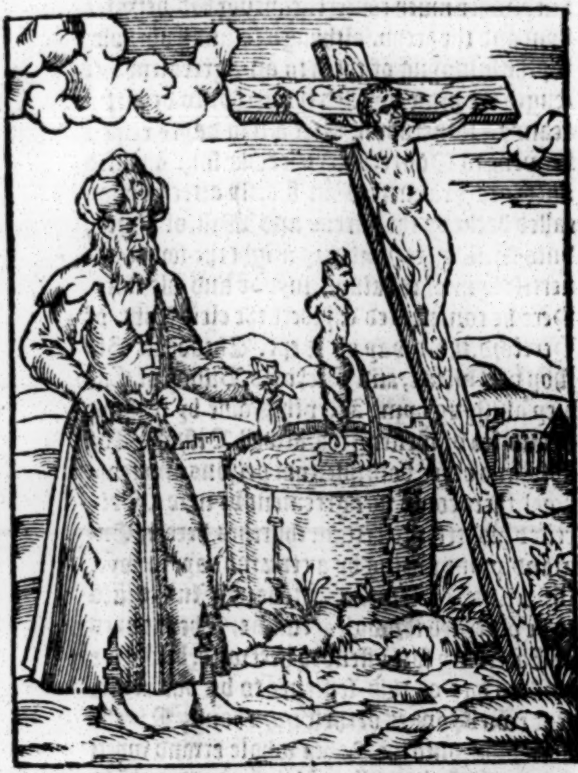
The earle at the firſt being ſomwhat amaſed with the ſodaine approch of the enemie, yet in beholdyng frõ the walles the maner of them without, he perceyued the rankes to be verye thinne: and therby geſſyng their ſmall number, he ſodenly iſſued forth at the gates to encoũter with them. The king abode not the geuyng of the charge, bicauſe he was but weake in deede: and ſo incõtinently fled, neither could the earle wel folow the chaſe, vpõ the like cauſe, but ſetting vpõ thoſe that were about to make the Trench, he ſlew. lxxx. of the workmẽ, and then retyred into the caſtle.

The ſiege rayſed.

N. Triuet.

A child crucified by the Iewes.

This yere alſo was an heynous acte commytted by the Iewes at Norwich, where they put a chylde to death in crucifying hym vpon a Croſſe, to the reproche of the Chriſtian religion.



M. Paris.
S. Dun.
Anno regni. 10.
1145.

A caſtle built at Faringdõ.

H. Hunt.

In the yere folowing, that is to wit, in the. x. yere of K. Stephẽs raigne, Robert earle of Gloc. and other captaines, tooke in hand to build a caſtle at Farindon. But K. Ste. aſſembling an army of Lõdoners and other, came thither, and beſieged thẽ within. And whileſt earle Rob. and other of the Empreſſes captaynes remaynyng not farre of, taryed for a greater power to come to the aid, the kyng with ſharpe aſſaults, and not without loſſe of his men, wanne the fortreſſe: wherby then the kings ſide began to waxe the ſtrõger, and to be the more highly aduaunced.

The Kyng vvinneth it by force.

Anno. regni. 11.
1146.

Ra. Higd.
M. Paris.
N. Triuet.
S. Dun.

After this he came with a mighty army vnto Walingford, and there buylded a ſtrong caſtle ouer aneynſt the other caſtle which his aduerſaries held againſt him. Thither came alſo the earle of Cheſter with a gret retinue of knights and gentlemen, vnto the king, and ſo at length they wer ther accorded and made frends in apparance, but nothing ſo in deede on the kings behalfe. For ſhortly after the earle was craftily taken at a parliament holden at Northamptõ, by the practiſe of Stephẽ, and could not be deliuered, tyll he had ſurrendred into the kyngs handes the citie and caſtle of Lincolne, wᵗ other fortreſſes perteinyng to the crown.

R. Higd.

The vvelchmen vvaſt Cheshyre.

That time did the Welchmẽ deſtroy the prouince of Cheſter, but at the laſt they were diſtreſſed.

Ger. Dor.

This yere alſo the L. Geffrey earle of Aniou ſent. iij. Noble men into England, accõpanyed with certaine men of warre, vnto earle Rob. requeſting hym to ſende ouer his ſonne Henry into France, that he might ſee hym, and if neede required, he promiſed to ſend hym backe againe with al cõuenient ſpeed. Earle Rob. was cõtẽted to ſatiſfie his requeſt: and ſo with a good power of men of warre brought the L. Henry vnto Warhã, wher he tooke leaue of him neuer after to ſee hym in this world: for after yͤ child was trãſported ouer, earle Rob. returned ſpedily backe to the parties frõ whence he came, & there falling into an ague, he departed this life about the beginnyng of Nouember, and was buried at Briſtow.

The earle of Gloceſter departeth this life.

The L. Henry cõmyng to his father, was of him ioyfully receiued, and ſo remained in thoſe parties for the ſpace of two yeres and foure monethes.

Anno regni. 12.
1147.

In the meane ſeaſon the vniuſt proceedings of K. Ste. againſt the earle of Cheſter, purchaſed him new hatred of his old aduerſaries, and like ſuſpitiõ of ſuch as were his frends, for it ſounded not a litle to his diſhonor. Euery mã therfore was in doubt of his dealing, and iudged that it ſtood thẽ vpõ to take heed to themſelues.

S. Dunel.

K. Stephen entreth into Lincolne vvith his crovvne on his head.

But he as one that though he had atchieued ſome high exployt, in triumphãt wiſe ſhortly after entred into Lincolne in his royall robes, and with his crowne on his head, wheras it had not bin heard of, yͭ any king had done the like, of many yeers before. It is reported by ſome writers, that he did this, to take out of mens myndes a fooliſh ſuperſtitious cõceit, which beleued that no K. with his crown vpõ his head, might enter that citie, without ſome miſchaunce to light vpon him: and ſo by this meanes he ſeemed to mocke their ſuperſtitious imagination. About the ſame tyme many of the Nobles of the realme perceiuyng the great want of the kings royall authority to repreſſe violent wrongs cõmitted by euyl doers, builded vpon their own groũds ſundry ſtrong caſtles & fortreſſes, either to defend thẽ ſelues, or out of the ſame to make relſes vpon their enemies nere adioynyng. After the departyng of the king frõ Lincolne, came yͤ earle of Cheſt. thither wᵗ an army, to aſſay if he might recouer that city. But his Lieutenãt that

S. Dunel. that had the leadyng of his men, was ſlayne at the entring of the Northgate, and ſo the Earle was beaten backe and repulſed with the loſſe of many of his men: and the citizens hauing ſo got the vpper hand, reioyced not a litle for the victory. But here to ſtay a litle with the temporall affayres, it ſhal not be amiſſe to rehearſe the effect of a contention which fell alſo about this tyme betwene that king and the Archb. of Canterbury. For ſo it happened, as Geruaſius *Ger. Dor.* Dorobernenſis writeth, that Pope Eugenius came this yere into Fraunce, about the middeſt of Lent, and afterwarde helde a Councell at Rheimes: To the which Councell Theobald Archb. of Cāterb. with others of the Engliſh Biſhops were called. The Archbiſhop therupō aſking licence of the kyng, and not obteynyng it, founde meanes to ſteale awaye in a ſmall Boate, not without daunger of his perſon.

The caſe of this Theobald therefore ſtoode now very hard: for Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter the kings brother, through enuie had ſo wrought, that if the Archbiſhop tranſported ouer without licence, he ſhould be confined of the king. Againe, he was ſure, if he came not to the Cōucel, that he ſhold be alſo ſuſpēded by the Pope. Hereupon the Archbiſhop meaning rather to offende the kyng than the Pope, got ouer; as it were ſwimmyng, rather than ſaylyng. The veſſel in which he paſſed ouer being ſo bad, for al the Ports were kept by the kings ſeruauntes, ſo that he was glad to take ſuche a boat as came next to hand. In conſideration wherof he was highly cōmended by the pope. In this Councell the Prebendaries of Yorke together with Henry Mordack then Abbot of Fountneys, preſented them ſelues, exhibityng their cōplaint againſt Williā Archb. of Yorke, for that, as they alledged, he was neither canonically choſen; nor lawfully conſecrated, but thruſt in by the kings authority. At lēgth therfore was the Archb. William conuict and depoſed, Alberte Biſhop of Hoſtia pronouncing the ſentence in this wiſe: We do decree by the apoſtolike authoritie, that William Archb. of Yorke is to be depoſed from his Sée; bycauſe that Stephē kyng of England, before any canonicall electiō, named hym: then for that pope Eugenius had thus depoſed the Archb. William, although not with the conſent of the more part of the Cardinalles, the Chapiter of the church of Yorke, by his cōmaundement commyng together, part of them choſe Hylary biſhop of Chicheſter, & the other part choſe Henry Murdacke Abbot of Fountenēy. The foreſaid Pope Eugenius, when both the elections wer ſhewed vnto hym at Auxerre, he cōfirmed the electiō of Henry Murdacke, & diſanulled ẏ other, although with no ſmal commendations of the perſon elected, & ſo cōſecrated the foreſaid Henry with his owne hands. The late nominate Archbiſh. William being thus depoſed, returned into England, & remayned at Wincheſter with K. Henry tyll the death of Pope Eugenius, folowing the counſell of the ſame Biſhop in all things. After the Councell at Rheimes was ended, the archb. Theobald returned into Englād, & cōming to Cant. was receiued wͭ great honor of the Conuēt & citizēs there. But the king remainyng as thē at London, whē he heard of it, was ſore moued in diſpleaſure, & came with great ſpeed vnto Cāterbury, wher much conference being had betwixt hym and the archb. although to ſmall purpoſe, for the bringyng of them to an agreement, at length the king cōpelled the archb. to depart ẏ realme. Wherupon, after a few dayes reſpect he went to Douer, where he tooke ſhip, & paſſed ouer into Fraunce. But ſhortly after he was called backe by the queene and Will. of Ypres, vnto S. Omers, that they might the ſooner aduertiſe hym of the kings mynde and pleaſure. Here he conſecrated Gylbert the elect Biſh. of Hereford, the. v. day of Sept. Theodoric Biſhop of Amiens, and Nicholas Biſhop of Cābrey aſſiſtyng hym. After this, whē by ſending to and fro of meſſengers, aſwell Biſhops, Abbots, and other, both ſpiritual perſons and temporal, there could no agreement be made, he directed his letter to certain churches here in England, pronouncing by a certaine day, to wyt, the. xij. day of Sept. a ſentence of Interdictiō to be obſerued through ẏ realme. The monkes of Cāterbury ſore offended herewith, before the prefixed day of this ſentence to be put in vre, ſent two Monkes of their own houſe, Nigelle & Abſolon, vnto the Pope: whoſe errand when the Pope had vnderſtoode, he cōmaunded thē to returne home, & to obey their archbiſhops ſentence in all things. In the meane tyme the archbiſhops men and tenāts were ſore oppreſſed, and his rentes and reuenues ſeaſed and taken to the kings vſe, and that before the dayes of payment. Which maner of proceedyng ſore grieued the archbiſhop: in ſo much that he departing from S. Omers, came to Grauelyng, and there taking the ſea, came ouer to a town called Goſeford, that belōged vnto Hugh Bigot Earle of Norfolke: which Earle receiued hym with great honour, and ſent him al neceſſarye prouiſion, ſo long as he remayned in his countrey. At the terme appoynted he interdicted al the kings dominions, and would not reuoke the ſentence, tyll Robert biſhop of London, Hylarie B. of Chicheſter, & Williā B. of Norwich, with many other Noble mē, came to hym vnto Framelingham in Northfolke, a caſtle apperteynyng vnto the ſaid earle, where at length an attonement was concluded betwixt him & the king: and thē was he brought home vnto Cāterbury with great ioy and honor. The Monkes of Canterbury,for diſobeying the Interdiction,he accuſed, truſtyng that the Pope would not heare thoſe two Monkes which they had ſent, as he dyd not in deede.

And as before it appeareth, he excōmunicated alſo all thoſe that had receiued the Sacramentes amongſt them, during the tyme of the Interdiction. Thoſe Monkes therefore being at their wits end,diſpatched with all ſpeede other two Monkes to the Pope, to obteyne an abſolution,before the archb. ſhould vnderſtand it: but they wer ſent backe againe with checks, and cōmaunded to obey their archbiſhop in all things, as the other were, which had bin there with hym before. The Monkes of Canterbury that were ſent to Rome, returnyng, came from thence to Bollongne, where they founde thoſe that wer firſt ſent thither: and ſo they all foure together came to Cant. The Pope alſo had ſent a priuie commaundement to the archbiſhop,that he ſhould duely puniſh aſwell them as the other. The archbiſhop therfore takyng counſell with his frendes, depoſed the Prior, whoſe name was Silueſter, frō his roume of Priorſhip, and ſuſpended the Secretary of the houſe,named Will.frō entring the queere. It was decreed alſo, that the reſidue ſhould ceaſe ſo long a tyme frō ſaying ſeruice, as they had ſayd it before vnlawfully againſt the archbiſhops commaundement. For it was thought reaſon,that whileſt other ſang and wer mery, they ſhould keepe ſilence, which wilfully tooke vpon thē to ſing, whileſt other held their peace and were ſtyll. They began therefore to ceaſe from ſaying diuine ſeruice, and from ringyng of their belles in the ſecond weeke of Lent: and ſo kept ſilence from the .xij. day of March,vnto the firſt day of Auguſt. The Queene wife to K. Stephen, in this meane while lay much at S. Auguſtines in Canterb. bicauſe of haſtenyng forward the buildyng of Feuerſham Abbey, which ſhe with hir huſbande K. Stephen had begon frō the very foūdation. And bicauſe the Monkes of S. Auguſtine might not celebrate diuine ſeruice, ſhe called thither cōmonly the Monkes of Chriſtes churche, to ſay ſeruice before hir. And thus muche for that purpoſe. Now to returne againe vnto other doings.

Geruaſius

Anno regni. 13.

1148.

The L.Henry returneth into Englād.

Anno regni.14.

1149.

The L.Henry Fitz Empreſſe after al theſe buſineſſes returned into England, in the moneth of May, with a gret cōpany of mē of war both horſmen and footmen: by reaſon whereof many reuolted from K. Stephen to take part with hym: whereas before they ſate ſtyll,and wold not attēpt any exployt againſt hym. But now encouraged with the preſence of the Lord Henry, they declared thē ſelues frends to hym, & enemies to the king. Immediately after his arriual,he tooke with hym the earles of Cheſter and Hereford, Ranulf and Roger, and diuers other Noble men and knightes of great fame, beſide thoſe which he had brought wͭ him forth of Normādy,and went vnto Carlile,wher he found his coſin Dauid K. of Scotlād, of whō he was moſt ioyfully receiued:and vpō Whitſonday with great ſolemnity,he being not paſt xvj. yeres of age, was by the ſame kyng made knight, with diuers other young Gentlemen that were muchwhat of the ſame age. Some write, that the K. of Scots receyued an oth of hym, before he gaue to him yͤ honor of knighthood,that if he chanced to attaine vnto the poſſeſſion of the realme of England,he ſhould reſtore to the Scottes, the towne of Newcaſtle, with the coūtrey of Northūberland,frō the ryuer of Tweed,to the ryuer of Tyne: but whether it were ſo, or not, I am not able to make warrantiſe. Howbeit K. Ste. hearing that the king of Scots,and his aduerſary the L. Henry with the chiefeſt Lordes of the Weſt partes of England,lay thus in Carleil, he rayſed an army,and came to the citie of Yorke,where he remayned for the moſt part of the moneth of Auguſt, fearing leaſt his enemies ſhould attempt the winnyng of that citie. But after that the one part had remayned for a tyme in Carleil, & the other in Yorke, they departed from both thoſe places, without any further exployt for that ſeaſon, ſauyng that Euſtachius K. Stephens ſonne hauyng alſo lately receyued the order of knighthood, dyd much hurt in the coūtreys that belonged to thoſe Noble men that were with the Lord Henry.

He is made knight.

R. Houe.

K. Stephen vvith an army commeth to Yorke.

M. Paris.

Great rayne

The great raine that fel in the ſomer ſeaſon this yeare, dyd much hurt vnto the growth of corne on the ground, ſo that a great dearth folowed. And in the Wynter after, about the tenth day of December, it beganne to freſe extremely, and ſo continued tyll the .xix. of February. Whereby the Ryuer of Thames was ſo froſen, that men might paſſe both on foote and horſbacke ouer the ſame.

A ſore froſt.

Anno regni. 15.

1150.

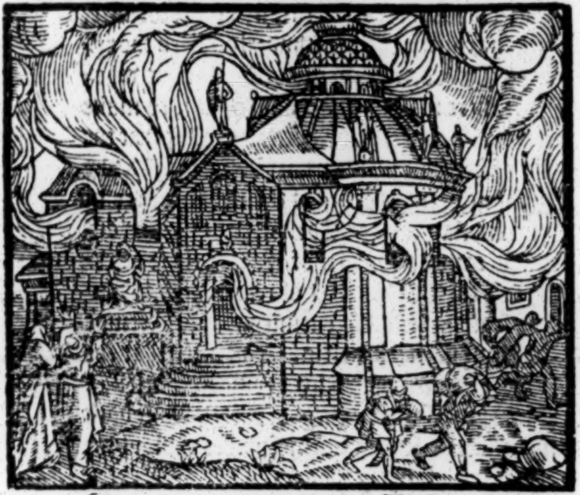
In the meane while Henry Duke of Normandy, after he was returned from the Kyng of Scottes,paſſed ouer againe into Normandye, about the beginnyng of Auguſt, leauyng England full of all thoſe calamities,which ciuill warre is accuſtomed to bring with it, as burnyng of houſes,kylling,robbing,and ſpoylyng of people, ſo that the land was in daunger of vtter deſtructiō,by reaſon of that preſent diſcord betwixt the parties.

This yeare the. xxiij of February, Galfridus Monumetenſis, otherwiſe called Galfridus Arthurius, that turned the Britiſh hiſtorie into Latine, was conſecrated biſhop of S. Aſſaph, by Theobald archb. of Canterbury, at Lambeth, William Biſhop of Norwich, and Walter Biſhop of Rocheſter aſſiſting hym.

Ger. Dor. The earle of Aniou father to Hẽry Fitzempreſſe departeth this life

VVorceter aſſaulted.

Moreouer, this yeare, as ſome writers haue recorded, Geffrey Earle of Aniou, huſbande to the Empreſſe Mauld, departed this life, on the vij. day of Sept. leauyng his ſonne Henry his only heyre & ſucceſſor in the eſtates of the Duchy of Normandy & Countie of Aniou. The body of yͤ ſaid earle was buried at Mans, with great funerall pompe: his. iij. ſonnes Henry, Geffrey, & Williã being preſent. King Ste. alſo aſſaulting the fayre citie of Worceter wͭ a great power of men of warre toke it, & conſumed it wͭ fire, but the caſtle he could not wyn. This citie belonged to earle Waleran de Mellent, at that ſeaſon: for K. Ste. to his own hinderance had giuẽ it to hym. After that the men of war had diuided the ſpoyle amõgſt thẽ, they came back, & paſſing through the lands of their enimies, they got great booties & ſpoyles, which they alſo toke away with thẽ, finding none to reſiſt thẽ in their iorney. In the yere folowing Theobald archb. of Cant. and Legate to the See apoſtolike, held a general Coũcel at London in the Lent ſeaſon, where K. Ste. himſelfe with his ſonne Euſtachius, & other the peeres of the realme wer preſent. This Coũcel was full of appeales, cõtrary to that had bin vſed in this land, tyl the tyme that Hẽry B. of Wincheſt. to his own harme (whileſt he was likewiſe the Popes Legate) had by cruel intruſion brought thẽ in, & now at this Councel he was hym ſelfe thriſe appealed to the hearing of yͤ Popes own Cõſiſtory. After this K. Ste. in the ſame yere eftſoones brake into the citie of Worceter, and wher he could not the laſt time wyn the caſtle, he now endeuored wͭ al his whole force to take it. But whẽ thoſe within made valiãt reſiſtãce, he raiſed two caſtles againſt it, and leauing in the ſame certaine of his Nobles, to continue the ſiege, he him ſelfe returned home. Thus as ye ſee, the kings propertie was to attẽpt many things valiãtly, howbeit he proceded in thẽ oftentymes very ſlowly: but now by the policie of the earle of Leiceſter, thoſe ij. caſtles which the kyng had rayſed to beſiege the other caſtle, wer ſhortly after deſtroyed: and ſo the beſieged were deliuered from daunger.



Anno regni. 16. 1151.

Geruaſius Dorobern.

A Synode at London.

The earle of Leiceſter brother to the earle of Melent.

This Earle of Leiceſter was brother to the Earle of Melent. And thus the kings purpoſed intention and painfull trauayle on that behalfe, came to none effect.

Anno regni. 17. 1152.

The duke of Normandy Fitzempreſſe marieth the Ducheſſe of Aquitaine.

In the meane while Henry duke of Normandy married Elianor Duches of Guyen or Aquitaine, lately diuorſed frõ the French K. & ſo in right of hir he became duke of Aquitain, &

Earle

e French g maketh re agaynſt Duke of rmandie.

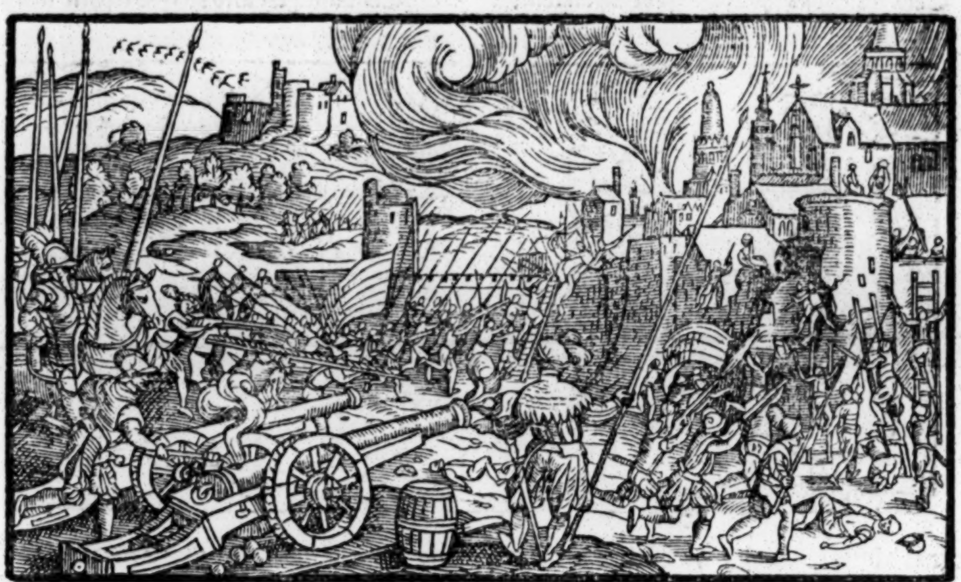
The Caſtell of Newmarch deliuered to the French king.

Veulqueſine, or Veuxin.

The Caſtell of Vernon.

Simon Dun.

Earle of Poictou, for ſhe was the onely daughter of William Duke of Guian, & Erle Poictou, and by hir father created his ſole and lawfull heyre. The French king was nothing content with this mariage, inſomuch that he made ſore warre vpon Duke Henrie, ioyning himſelfe in league wyth king Stephen, and his ſonne Euſtace, and alſo with the Lorde Geffrey, brother to Duke Henry, ſo that the ſayde Henrie was conſtrayned to deferre his iourney into Englande, and to turne his forces to defende his Countreyes and ſubiects on that ſide of the ſea. For whereas he was readie at the mouth of the ryuer of Barbe to tranſport ouer into Englande, ſomewhat after the feaſt of the Natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, the French king, with Euſtace K. Stephens ſonne, Robert Earle of Perche, Henry Earle of Champaigne, and Geffrey brother to Duke Henrie, hauing aſſembled a mightie armie, came and beſieged the Caſtell of Newmerch, and ſent forth the Lorde Geffrey with a ſtrong power to winne the Caſtel of Angers. Duke Henrie aduertiſed hereof, departing from the place where he ſoiourned, haſted forth to ſuccour his people that were beſieged, but the Caſtell of Newmarch was deliuered to the Frenche King through treaſon of thoſe that had it in keeping before the Duke could come to their reſcue. Whereupon the ſayd Duke hauing knowledge by the way that hee ſhoulde come to late thither, hee encamped firſt vpon the ſyde of the Riuer of Andelle, and waſted a great part of the Countrey of Veuxin, or Veulqueſine, ſurnamed *le Normant*, whiche lyeth betwixt the riuers of Epte, and Andelle. This countrey belonged ſomtime to Normandy, but Geffrey Erle of Aniou the Dukes father had reſigned it to the French king, to the ende he ſhould not ayde king Stephen. The Duke burned alſo the Caſtels of Baſcheruille, Chitrey, and Stirpincy. Alſo a Caſtell that belonged to Hugh de Gourney called Fert, with diuerſe other. And aboute the ende of Auguſt he left his townes in Normandie ſufficiently furniſhed with garriſons of ſoldiers, & went into Aniou, where he beſieged the caſtel de Monte Sotelli, till hee had taken it, and all thoſe that were within it, amongſt whome was the Lorde thereof named William. The French king on the other ſide entring into Normandy, burnt part of the borough of Rieule, and either then or ſhortly after that Duke Henrie was gone ouer into England, he toke the towne & caſtell of Vernon.



The Pope is agaynſt it.

The Biſhops are threatned.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in France, King Stephen woulde haue cauſed the Archbiſhop of Cãterbury & diuerſe other biſhops, whõ for that purpoſe he had aſſembled, to crown, annoynt, and confirme his ſonne Euſtace king ouer the realme of England, but the Archbiſhops & the reſt of the Biſhops refuſed ſo to do, bicauſe the Pope by his letters ſent to the Archbiſhop, had cõmaunded him to the contrarie, that is, that hee ſhould in no wiſe crown the kings ſonne, bycauſe his father king Stephen had got poſſeſſion of the land agaynſt his othe receyued in behalfe of the Empreſſe. The father and ſonne being not a litle offended herewith, committed moſt of the biſhops to warde, ſeeking by threates and menacings to bring them to their purpoſe. The Biſhops alſo were in no ſmall perplexitie: for according to the truth, the king ſeemed neuer to fauor Churchmẽ greatly, bycauſe of their ſtrength, as before tyme by his rigor vſed againſt the biſhops of Saliſburie and Lincolne it had well appeared, and yet would not theſe men yeeld to his pleaſure: whereupon although they were ſet at libertie, they were neuertheleſſe depriued of their temporall poſſeſſions, which notwithſtanding afterwards vpõ the kings own motion were reſtored again vnto thẽ. Howbeit the Archb. of Canterbury perſiſting ſtill

Ger. Do.

in his opinion was forſaken of diuerſe of the Biſhops whiche through feare durſt not ſtande againſt their princes pleaſure. But the Archbiſhop when he perceiued how the matter went, and that all the blame was lyke to light and reſt on hys ſhoulders, he got himſelfe by a maruellous way ouer the Thames, and with ſpeede ryding to Douer, there paſſed the ſea, ſo to auoyde both the father and ſonnes reuengeful diſpleaſure. Wherevpon the king ſeaſed into his hands all the landes & poſſeſſions that belonged to the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop of Caunterbury flieth out of the realme.

Mat. Paris. Ger. Do.

This yeare Queene Mawde, wife to King Stephen, departed this lyfe at Hangey Caſtell, that belonged to Earle Alberike de Veer, aboute the thirde day of May, and ſhe was buried in the Abbay of Feuerſam, which ſhe with hir huſbande king Stephen had lately founded. Alſo through great and immoderate raine that fel in the Sommer, the growing of corne was ſore hindred, and after followed a great death of people.

The battell of Monadmore.

This yeare was the Battaile of Monadmore fought in Ireland, where the flower and chiefeſt perſonages of Moũſter and Leyniſter were ſlain. Moreouer one John, a Monke of Saguim, was made the ſeconde Biſhop of the Ile of Manne. The firſt Biſhop that was there inſtituted hight Wimonde a Monke of Sauinie, who for ſome maner of his importunate miſdemeaner had hys eyes put out and was expulſed.

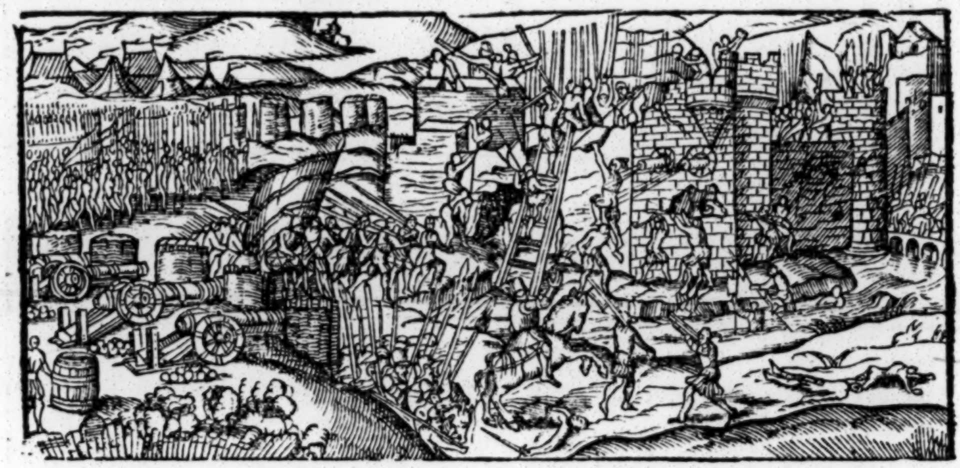
Mat. Par. The ſecond and alſo the firſt Biſhops of Man.

Hen Marl

John Papirio a Cardinall, beeing ſent from the Pope as Legate into Ireland, ordeyned there foure Archebiſhoppes, one at Dublyn, an other at Ardmach, the thirde at Caſſelles, and the fourth at Connach.

The Biſhop of Dublyn made Archbiſhop.

The ſea of Dublin he chaunged into an Archbiſhops ſea, one Gregorie at that time ſitting in the ſame: to whome hee gaue the firſt and chiefe Pall, and appoynted the Churche of the bleſſed Trinitie to be the Metropolitane Church. As this Cardinal paſſed through England he receyued an othe of fidelitie vnto king Stephen.



The Caſtel of Newburie wonne.

The ſame yere alſo king Stephen wanne by ſiege and force of aſſault the Caſtell of Newbery not far diſtant from Wincheſter. And this done he went to Walingforde, and beſieging the Caſtell, he buylded at the entring of the bridge a fortreſſe to ſtoppe them within from iſſuing forth, and likewiſe from receyuing anye reliefe or ſuccours by their friendes abrode. The defendants perceyuing themſelues ſo hardly layde vnto, ſent to the duke of Normandie, in whoſe name they kept that Caſtell, that he woulde eyther ſuccour them, or elſe giue them licence to yeeld the Caſtell to the king.

Duke Henry Fitz Empreſſe returneth into England.

Ger. Do.

Herevpon Duke Henry hauing atchieued his buſineſſe on the further ſide the ſea, beganne to be kindled with a feruent deſire once againe to attempt his fortune here in England for recouery of that kingdom, and ſo with three thouſand footmen, and ſeuen ſcore horſmen, with al ſpeed poſſible he tranſported ouer into England. where hee landed about the .xij. day in Chriſtmaſſe. He was no ſooner arriued, but that a greate number of ſuch as tooke part with his mother came flocking in vnto him. Wherevpon being now furniſhed with a great and puiſſaunt armie, hee marched forth vnto Malmeſburie, where in the Caſtell was a great garriſon of ſouldiers placed by king Stephen.

He beſiegeth the Caſtell of Malmsbury.

Mat. Paris. Polidor.

Duke Henrie planted his ſiege aboute thys Caſtell the thirtenth day of Ianuarie, and enforced himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power to winne it.

King Steph conſtrayneth him to rayſ his ſiege.

But King Stephen hearing of his enimyes arriuall, with all haſt poſſible gotte his armie on foote, and comming ſodainly towardes the place, where his enimyes were, hee cauſed Duke Henrie to rayſe hys ſiege, and following after, offred him battaile.

But Duke Henrye knowing that hys enimyes were farre more in number than he was at that preſent, and alſo conceyuing with himſelfe that by prolonging time his owne power woulde encreaſe, abſteined from fighting & kept him within the cloſure of his camp. Thus haue ſome written. Other authors there be whiche write, that Henrie kept himſelf in deed within his campe, and refuſed to giue battaile, but yet remoued not his ſiege till the king departed from thence, after hee ſaw he could not haue his purpoſe, and then did duke Henrie winne the Caſtell of Malmeſburie, or rather the Maſter tower or chiefe dungeon of that Caſtell. For as Simon of Durham wryteth, he had wonne by aſſault the other partes and lymmes of the Caſtel before king Stephen came to remoue him. This tower that thus helde out, was in the keeping of one captaine Jordan, who eſcaping forth came to the king, enforming him in what ſtate he had left his men within the tower: wherevppon the King aſſembling all the puiſſaunce hee coulde make, ſet forwarde, and comming to Circiter, lodged there one night, and in the morning purpoſing to rayſe the ſiege, or to fight with hys enimyes (if they woulde abide battaile) marched forth towardes Malmeſburie. But vpon his approche to the Dukes campe the day following hys comming thyther, there roſe ſuche an hideous tempeſt of wynde and rayne, beating full in the faces of King Stephens people, that God ſeemed to fight for the Duke, who for number of people was thought to weake to deale with the ſtrong and puiſſaunt army of the king: but where the ſtorme was on his backe, King Stephens menne had it ſo extremelye in theyr faces, that they were not able to holde their weapons in theyr handes, ſo that hee perceyued hee myght not paſſe the Ryuer that ranne betwixt the armyes: wherevppon conſtrayned in that ſort through the violent rage of that colde and wette weather, he returned to London full euill apayed, in that hee coulde not ſatiſfie hys purpoſe at that preſent.

yil.Par.

m.Dunel.

r. Do.

fore ſtorme.

The Tower that Duke Henrie had ſtreightly beſieged, immediatly herewith was to hym rendred, and then making prouiſion for vitayles and other things, to the reliefe of them that kepte the Caſtell of Walingforde, hee haſted thither, and fynding no reſiſtaunce by the way, eaſily accompliſhed his enterpriſe. There were dyuerſe Caſtels thereaboutes in the Countrey furniſhed with garniſōs of the kings ſoldiers, but they kept themſelues cloſe, & durſt not come abrode to ſtop his paſſage. Shortly after he beſieged the Caſtell of Cranemers, and caſt a trenche aboute it, ſo as his people within the caſtell of Walingford might haue liberty to come forth at their pleaſure: but as for thoſe within the caſtell of Cranemers, they were ſo hardly holden in, that there was no way for them to iſſue abrode. The king aduertiſed hereof, got all his puiſſance togither, and came right terribly forward toward D. Henries camp. But he ſhewing no token of feare, cauſed forthwith the trenche wherewith hee had encloſed his campe to be caſt downe, & leauing the ſiege, came into the fields with his army put in order of battel, meaning to trie the matter by dint of ſworde, although he had not the like number of mē to thē which the K. had in his army. The kings army perceyuing the enimies ſo to come in the face of them, was ſtriken with a ſoden feare: neuertheleſſe he himſelfe being of a good courage, commaunded his people to march forward agaynſt their aduerſaries. But herewith certaine noble men, that loued not the aduancement of either part, vnder a colour of good meaning ſought to treat an agreement betwixt them, ſo that an abſtinence of war was graunted, and by compoſition the Caſtell which the king had built, & the duke beſieged, was razed to the ground. The K. & the duke alſo came to an enterview & cōmunication togither, a riuer running betwixt them. Whereas ſome write they fell to agreement, K. Stephen vndertaking to raze the Caſtel of Cranemers himſelfe, and ſo laying armor aſide for that time they departed aſunder. But Euſtace king Stephens ſonne was ſore offended herewith, and reprouing his father for concluding ſuch an agreement, in a great rage departed from the court, & taking his way toward Cambridgeſhire, whiche countrey he ment to ouerrunne, he came to the Abbey of Burie, & vpon Saint Laurence day, cauſed all the corne in the Countrey about, and namely that which belonged to the ſayd Abbay, to be ſpoyled and brought into a Caſtell which he had in keeping not far frō thence. But as he ſat down to meat the ſame day vpō receiuing the firſt morſel he fell mad (as writers haue reported) & miſerably ended his life. The ſame week of a like diſeaſe Simon Erle of Northāpton departed this world, & ſo two of the chiefeſt aduerſaries which Duke Henrie had, were rid out of the way. Euſtace was buried at Feuerſam in Kent, & erle Simon at Northāpton. About the ſame time alſo that noble & valiāt erle of Cheſter called Ranulf departed this life, a mā of ſuch ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke, yͭ vneth might death make him to yeeld, or ſhewe any token of feare. He was poiſoned (as was thought) by William Peuerell.

e caſtell of
alingford.

e Caſtell of
nemers.

Mat. Par.

Ger. Do.

Euſtace king
Stephens ſon.

Euſtace king
Stephens ſon,
and Simon Earle of
Northamton,
depart this life
both in one
weeke.

The Earle of
Cheſter deceaſſeth.

After him ſucceeded his ſon Hugh, a man likewiſe of paſſing ſtrēgth and vertue. And although Erle Ranulf fauored the part of duke Henrie, yet in theſe late yeares hee did but little for him, and therfore it was thought that the death of this erle was not ſo great a loſſe to the duke, as the deathes of Euſtace, erle Simon, & other the kings friends deceaſing about the ſame time ſeemed to further him, ſo yͭ his part became dayly ſtronger, and the kings to decay. About yͤ ſame time alſo yͤ caſtels of Reding & Beertwel were deliuered to D. Hē.

and the Lady Gundreda counteſſe of Warwike did driue out of the Caſtel there the ſouldiers that helde it for K. Stephen, & deliuered the towne to duke Henrie. Moreouer the duches Elynor, wife to Hẽry Fitz Empreſſe, was brought to bed this yeare of hir firſt borne ſon, whõ they named William, after the maner of the auncient dukes of Aquitain. And thus things came to paſſe in ſundry places with ſo good ſucceſſe as duke Henry could wiſh, wherevpon meaning to follow the ſteps of proſperous fortune, he marched forth vnto Stãford, the towne he toke at his firſt cõming therevnto, & then laid ſiege to the caſtel. They that had it in keeping ſent meſſengers vnto K. Stephẽ, requiring him to come to their reſcue, but he yͤ ſame time had laid ſiege to yͤ caſtell of Gipſwich, which Hugh Bigot kept agaynſt him, and bycauſe hee woulde not depart from that ſiege till he had the caſtel deliuered into his hands (which came at the laſt to paſſe) in the meane time the caſtel of Stãford was yeelded vnto Duke Henry, who immediately therupõ departed from Stamford Eaſtward, meaning to come to yͤ ſuccors of his friẽds beſieged at Gipſwich or Ipſwich (as it is cõmonly called) not vnderſtanding as yet that they had ſurrendred the hold: but getting knowledge by the way what was happened, he turned backe & marched ſtreight to Notingham. The towne he eaſily got, for they within the Caſtell had ſet it on fire, therefore he beſieged the Caſtel ſtanding vpon yͤ point of a ſteep craggie rock. It was furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon of men, and al things neceſſarie for defence, ſo that it could not eaſily be wonne. Wherfore Duke Henrie after he had aſſayed all the wayes how to take it, and ſaw that he could not preuail, minded not to loſe any more time about it: but rayſing from thence he goeth abrode to take other places into his poſſeſſion, & finally came to his mother, whẽ lying at Walingford. K. Stephen in this mean time being ſtrong in the field, ſought for time & place to haue Henrie at ſome aduantage, whoſe yong yeares as yet not hauing taſted any miſfortune, hee thought would raſhly attempt ſome vnaduiſed enterpriſe. But whereas the realme of Englande had beene now many yeares miſerably turmoyled with ciuil warre, honeſt matrones and mens wiues violated, maydes and virgines rauiſhed, and Churches ſpoyled, townes and vyllages robbed, whole flockes and heards of ſheepe and beaſtes deſtroied, wherein the ſubſtance of the realme chiefly conſiſteth, and hereto men without number ſlaine and made away, it pleaſed the goodneſſe of almightie God at length to deliuer the lande of ſuche miſeries, which were notified to all Countreys about, that ſore lamented the ſame.

Mat. Par.
Rob. Mont.

Stamford w
Simon D
Ger. Do.

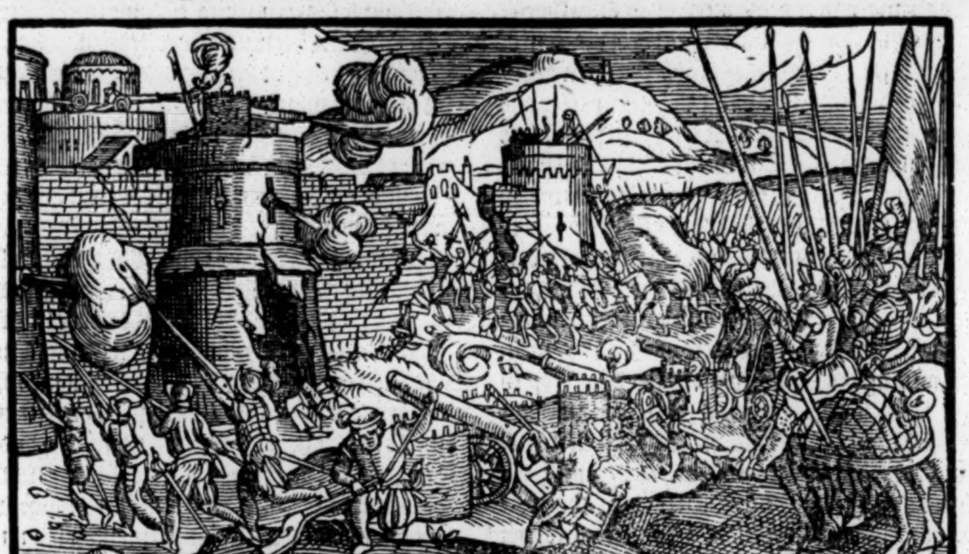
Gipſwich o
Ipſwich be
ged.

Nic. Triuet:

Notingham.

Duke Henrie reyſeth his ſiege from Notingham.
Polidor

The miſerie of this land in time of the ciuill warre.



And whereas king Stephen was the cauſe of all the troubles, in hauing vſurped an other mannes rightfull inheritaunce, it pleaſed God to moue his hart now at lẽgth to couet peace which he had euer before abhorred. The cauſe that moued him chiefly to chaunge his former purpoſe, was for that his ſonne Euſtace by ſpeedie death was taken out of this worlde (as before yee haue heard) which loſſe ſeemed great not onely to the father, but alſo to al thoſe Lords and other which had euer taken his parte, bycauſe he was a yong man ſo well lyked of all men, that he was iudged to be borne to all honour. But his wife Cõſtance aboue meaſure tooke his death moſte ſorowfully, and the more indeede for that ſhee had brought forth no iſſue by him, wherevpon ſhe was ſhortly after ſente honourably home to hir father King Lewes with hir dower, & other rich and princely gyftes.

The Ladie
Conſtance
to Euſtace,
home.

King Stephen therefore ſeeing him depriued of his onely ſonne, vnto whome hee mynded to leaue the kingdome which he ſo earneſtly ſought

to

eſtabliſh to him by warlyke trauaile, and that againe the French kings ayde woulde not bee ſo readie as heretofore it had beene (wherevpon he much ſtayed) nowe that the bondes of affinitie were aboliſhed: he began then at length, although not immediatly vpo his ſonnes deceaſſe, to withdraw his minde from fantaſying the warre, and enclyned it altogither to peace, which inclination being perceyued, thoſe Nobles that were glad to ſee the ſtate of their Countrey quieted, did theyr beſt to further it, namely the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Theobald, trauailed erneſtly to bring the princes to ſome agreement, now talking with the king, now ſending to the duke, ⁊ vſing al meanes poſſible to make thẽ both at one. The Biſhop of Wincheſter alſo that had cauſed all the trouble, vpon conſideration of the great calamities wherwith the land was moſt miſerably afflicted, began to wiſh an end thereof. Wherevpon the lordes ſpirituall ⁊ temporall were called togither at Wincheſter about the latter end of Nouẽber, that they might alſo with their conſentes confirme that which the king and duke ſhould conclude vpon.

ing Stephen gan to en- ine his mind peace.

at. Par.

er. Do.

Thus was there a publike aſſemble made in the citie of Wincheſter, whither alſo duke Henrie came, and being ioyfully receyued of the king in the Biſhops Palace, they were made friendes; the king admitting the duke for his ſonne, ⁊ the duke the king for his father. And ſo the agreemẽt which through the carefull ſuite of the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie had beene with ſuch diligence to good effect laboured, was now confirmed.

n aſſembly f Lordes at Vincheſter.

peace con- luded betwixt e king and e duke.

The chiefe articles whereof were theſe:

That king Stephen during his naturall life, ſhould remaine king of England, ⁊ that Hẽrie the Empreſſes ſonne ſhoulde enioy the dukedome of Normandie, and further be proclaimed heyre apparant to ſucceede in the kingdome and gouernment of Englande, after the deceaſſe of Stephen. Moreouer, ſuch noble men ⁊ other which had taken either the one partie or the other during the time of the ciuill warres, ſhould be in no daunger for the ſame, but enioy theyr lands, poſſeſſions ⁊ liuings, according to their auncient rightes and titles. There was alſo conſideration had of a ſonne whiche King Stephen had, named William, who though hee were very yong, was yet appoynted to ſweare fealtie vnto duke Henrie as lawfull heyre to the crowne. The ſame William had the Citie of Norwich, ⁊ diuerſe other landes aſſigned him for the maintenance of his eſtate, ⁊ that by the conſent and agreement of duke Hẽrie his adopted brother. Moreouer it was concluded, that the king ſhould reſume ⁊ take into his hands againe all thoſe portions and parcels of inheritance belonging to the crowne, as he had giuen away, or were otherwiſe vſurped by any maner of perſon, and that all thoſe poſſeſſions which by any intruſion had beene violently taken frõ the right owners ſith the dayes of king Henrie, ſhoulde bee again reſtored to them that were rightly poſſeſſed in the ſame by the dayes of the aforeſayd king.

ome writers aue recorded, hat duke Hẽ- ie ſhould pre- ently by this greement en- oy halfe the ealm of Eng- ande.

Moreouer it was agreed, that all thoſe Caſtels which contrarie to all reaſon and good order had beene made and builded by any maner of perſon in the dayes of King Stephen, ſhoulde be ouerthrowne and caſt downe, whiche in number were founde to bee. xj. hundred and fiftene. The king alſo vndertooke to refourme all ſuch miſorders as the warre had brought in, as to reſtore fermers to their holdings, to repayre the decayed buyldings, to ſtore the paſtures and leaſſues with cattell, the hilles with ſheepe, to ſee that the Cleargie might enioy theyr due quietneſſe, and not to be oppreſſed with any vndue exactions, to place Sherifes where they had beene accuſtomed, to beare rule with inſtructions giuen to them, to deale vprightly in cauſes, ſo as offenders might not eſcape through brybes or any other reſpect of friendſhip, but that euery man might receyue according to right and equitie, that which was his due. That Souldiers ſhoulde conuert theyr ſwords (as Eſay ſayth) into Culters and plough ſhares, theyr Speares into Mattockes, and ſo returne from the campe to the plough, and ſuche as were wont to keepe watche in the night ſeaſon might now ſleepe and take theyr reſt without any daunger. That the huſbande man might bee relieued of all vexation, and that Marchant men and occupiers might enioy theyr trade of occupying to theyr aduauncement, one kind and maner of ſiluer coyne to runne through the lande, ſo as the war that had continued now for the ſpace of. xvij. yeares, might in this ſort bee brought to ende and fully pacified.

Mat. Par.

Caſtels to be raſed in number. 1115.

Theſe things being thus concluded at Wincheſter, the king tooke the duke with him to London, doing to him all the honour he coulde deuiſe. The news wherof being ſpred abrode, euery good man that was the childe of peace reioyced thereat. And thus through the great mercie of our God, peace was reſtored vnto the decayed ſtate of this realme of England. Theſe things being thus accompliſhed with great ioy and tokens of loue, K. Stephen and his new adopted ſonne duke Henry tooke leaue either of other, appoynting ſhortly after to meete againe at Oxford, there to perfect euerie article of their agreement, which was thus accorded a little before Chriſtmas.

And for the more perfect vnderſtanding of the ſame agreemẽt, I haue thought good to ſet down the verie tenor of the charter thereof made by king Stephen, as I haue copied it and tranſlated it into Engliſhe oute of an autentike booke able teyning the olde Lawes of the Saxon unde Daniſhe Kinges, in the ende whoute ment, the ſame Charter is exemplifyed, whiche booke is remayning with the right worſhipfull William Fleetewoodde Eſquire, nowe Recorder of London.

The Charter of King Stephen, of the pacification of the troubles betwixt him and Henrie Duke of Normandie:

STephen king of Englande, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, Iuſticers, Sherifes, Barons, and all his faythfull ſubiectes of England ſendeth greeting. Know ye that I K. Stephen, haue ordeyned Henry Duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my ſucceſſour, and heyre of the kingdome of England, and ſo haue I giuen and graunted to him & his heyres the kingdome of England. For the which honor, gift and cōfirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to mee, and with a corporall othe hath aſſured mee, that he ſhall bee faythfull and loyall to mee, and ſhall to his power preſerue my life and honour: and I on the other ſyde ſhall mainteyne and preſerue him as my ſonne and heyre in all things to my power, and ſo farre as by any wayes or meanes I may. And William my ſon hath done his lawfull homage, and aſſured his fidelitie vnto the ſayd Duke of Normandie, and the Duke hath graunted to him to holde of him all thoſe tenements and holdings which I helde before I atteyned to the poſſeſſion of the Realme of Englande, whereſoeuer the ſame be in England, Normandie, or elſe where, and whatſoeuer he receyued with the daughter of Earle Warrenne, eyther in Englande or Normandie, and likewyſe whatſoeuer apperteyneth to thoſe honours: and the Duke ſhall putte my ſonne William and hys menne that are of that honour in full poſſeſſion and ſeaſine of all the landes, Boroughes and rentes, whiche the Duke thereof nowe hath in his Demaine, and namely of thoſe that belong to the honour of the Earle Warrenne, and namely of the Caſtelles of Bellencumber, and Mortimer, ſo that Reginalde de Warrenne ſhall haue the keeping of the ſame Caſtelles of Bellencumbre, and of Mortimer, if hee wyll: and thereuppon ſhall gyue Pledges to the Duke, and if he wyll not haue the keeping of thoſe Caſtelles, then other liege men of the ſayde Earle Warrenne whome it ſhall pleaſe the Duke to appoynte, ſhall by ſure Pledges and good ſuretye keepe the ſayde Caſtelles.

William ſon to king Stephen.

Earle of Warrenne.

The Caſtels Bellen Cumber, and Mortimer.

And moreouer the Duke ſhall delyuer vnto according to my will and pleaſure the other telles whiche are belonging vnto the Earle- e of Mortaigne by ſafe cuſtodie and pledges, ſo ſoone as he conueniently may, ſo as all the pledges are to bee reſtored vnto my ſonne free, ſo ſoone as the Duke ſhall haue the Realme of Englande in poſſeſſion. The augmentation alſo whiche I haue gyuen vnto my ſonne William, he hath likewiſe graunted the ſame to hym, to witte, the Caſtell and Towne of Norwiche, wyth ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, ſo as the rentes of Norwiche bee accounted as parcell of the ſame ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, and all the Countie of Norffolke, the profites and rentes excepted whiche belong to Churches, Biſhoppes, Abbottes, Earles, and namely alſo excepted, the thirde pennie whereof Hugh Bygot is Earle, ſauing alſo and reſeruing the Kings royall iuriſdiction for adminiſtration of iuſtice. Alſo the more to ſtrengthen my fauour and loue to hymwardes, the Duke hath gyuen and graunted vnto my ſayde ſonne whatſoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuenſey. And moreouer the Caſtell and Towne of Peuenſey, and the ſeruice of Faremouth beſyde the Caſtell and Towne of Douer, and whatſoeuer apperteyneth to the honour of Douer.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot,

Richer de Egle.

The Duke hath alſo confyrmed the Churche of Feuerſham wyth the appurtenaunces and all other things gyuen or reſtored by mee vnto other Churches, hee ſhall confyrme by the counſayle and aduice of holye Churche and of mee. The Earles and Barons that belong to the Duke whiche were neuer my leeges, for the honoure whiche I haue done to theyr Maiſter, they haue nowe done homage and ſworne feaultie to mee, the couenauntes alwayes ſaued betwixte mee and the ſayde Duke. The other whiche hadde before done homage to mee, haue ſworne feaultie to mee as to theyr ſoueraigne Lorde. And if the Duke ſhoulde breake and goe from the premyſſes, then are they altogyther to ceaſſe from doyng hym anye ſeruice tyll hee refourme hys myſdoings. And my Sonne alſo is to conſtrayne hym thereto, according to the aduice of holye Churche, if the Duke ſhall chaunce to goe from the couenauntes afore mentioned. My Earles and Barons alſo haue done theyr liege homage vnto the Duke, ſauyng theyr faythe to mee ſo long as I liue, and ſhall holde the Kingdome, wyth lyke condition, that if I doe breake and goe from the premytted couenauntes, that then they maye ceaſſe from doing to me any ſeruice, till the tyme I haue refourmed that which I haue done amyſſe.

The Church of Feuerſham

The Citizens alſo of Cityes, and thoſe perſones that dwell in Caſtelles, whiche I haue in my Demayne, by my commaundemente haue done Homage, and made aſſuraunce to the Duke, ſauyng the fidelitye

whiche

alingforde
aſtell.

e Tower of
ndon.
ota de Win-
charde de
cie.

ota de Ox-
rde.

he Biſhop of
Vincheſter.

whiche they owe to me during my lyfe, and ſo long as I ſhall holde the Kingdome. They whiche keepe the Caſtell of Wallingforde haue done theyr Homage to mee, and haue gyuen to mee Pledges for the obſeruing of theyr fidelitie. And I haue made vnto the Duke ſuche aſſurance by the counſaile and aduice of holy Church, of the Caſtelles and ſtrengthes whiche I holde, that when I ſhall departe this lyfe, the Duke thereby may not runne into any loſſe or impechement, whereby to bee debarred from the Kingdome. The Tower of London, and the Fortreſſe of Windſor, by the counſaile and aduice of holy Churche are deliuered vnto the Lorde Rycharde de Lucie, ſafely to be kept, which Richarde hath taken an othe, and hath delyuered his ſonne in pledge to remayne in the handes and cuſtodie of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, that after my deceaſſe he ſhall deliuer the ſame Caſtels vnto the Duke. Likewyſe by the counſell and aduice of holy Churche, Roger de Buſſey keepeth the Caſtell of Oxforde, and Iordaine de Buſſey the Caſtell of Lyncolne, whiche Roger and Iordaine haue ſworne, and thereof haue delyuered pledges into the handes of the Archebiſhop, that if I ſhall chaunce to depart this lyfe, they ſhall render the ſame Caſtelles vnto the Duke wythout impeachement. The Biſhoppe of Wyncheſter hath alſo giuen his fayth in the handes of the Archebiſhop of Canterburie, that if I chance to depart this lyfe, he ſhall render vppe vnto the Duke the Caſtelles of Wyncheſter, and the Fortreſſe of Hampton. And if any of them vnto whō the cuſtodie of theſe Fortreſſes ſhall bee committed, fortune to die, or otherwiſe to depart from his charge, an other ſhall be appoynted to the keeping of the ſame Fortreſſe, before he ſhall depart forth therof by the counſaile and aduice of holy church. And if any of thoſe perſones that haue any Caſtelles or Fortreſſes belonging to me in theyr cuſtodie ſhall bee founde diſobedient, and rebell, I and the Duke ſhall conſtraine him to ſatiſfie our wyll and pleaſure, not leauing hym in reſt till he be ſo conſtrayned. The Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Realme of England, and the Abbots alſo, haue by my commaundement ſworne fealtie vnto the Duke, and the Biſhops and Abbots that hereafter ſhall be made and aduaunced here within the Realme of Englande ſhall likewiſe ſwere fealtie to him. The Archbiſhops alſo and Biſhops on either part, haue vndertaken that if either of vs ſhall goe from the foreſayde couenauntes, they ſhall ſo long chaſtice the partie offending with the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, tyll he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obſerue the ſayd couenants. The mother alſo of the Duke, and his wife, and his brethren and ſubiectes whom he may procure, ſhall likewiſe aſſure the premiſſes. In matters belonging to the ſtate of the Realme, I ſhall worke by the Dukes aduice. And throughe all the Realme of Englande, as well in that part whiche belongeth to the Duke, as in that whiche belongeth to mee, I ſhall ſee that regall Iuſtice bee executed. Theſe beeing witneſſes, Theobalde Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, Henry of Wyncheſter, Robert of Exceſter, Robert of Bathe, Gocceline of Saliſburie, Robert of Lyncolne, Hylarie of Ciceſter, William of Norwiche, Richarde of London, Nigell of Elie, Gylbert of Hereforde, Iohn of Worceſter, Walter of Cheſter, Walter of Rocheſter, Geffray of Saint Aſaph, Biſhoppes: Robert Priour of Bermondſey, Othon Knight of the Temple, William Earle of Ciceſter, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, William Earle of Glouceſter, Reynalde of Cornewall, Baldwyn de Toning, Roger de Hereforde, Hugh Bygot, Patrike de Saliſburie, William de Albemarle Earle Albericke, Roger Clare, Rycharde Earle of Pembroke, Richarde de Lucie, William Marſell, Rycharde de Humer, Reginalde de Warrenne, Mahaſer Biſet, Iohn de Port, Richarde de Cameuille, Henrie de Eſſex. Yeuen at Weſtminſter.

Thus farre the Charter: and now therefore to proceede with the hyſtorie.

An. Reg. 19

This concorde and peaceable agreement ſurely was moſt acceptable to all the Commons of Englande, who during the time of the warre betwixt the two factions, had bene oppreſſed with many and moſt grieuous calamities.

1154
Ger. Do:

Immediately after Chriſtmaſſe, to wit in the Octaues of the Epiphany, the king & duke Henry met again at Oxforde, where all the Earles and Barons of the land being aſſembled, ſware fealty vnto Duke Henrie, theyr allegeance euer ſaued due vnto King Stephen, as to their ſoueraigne Lord and ſupreme gouernor, ſo long as he liued. The forme of the peace was nowe ingroſſed alſo and regyſtred for a perpetuall witneſſe of the thing, in this yeare.1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, as about the feaſt of Saint Hillarie in Ianuarie commonly called the twentie day. Thus was Henrie the ſonne of the Empreſſe made the adopted ſonne of King Stephen, and thereuppon the ſayde Henrie ſaluted him as King, and named him father.

After the concluſion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceaſſed, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſtate of the realme of England did marueilouſly for a time flouriſh, concord being mainteyned on eche hande.

There bee that affyrme, there was an cauſe that bound king Stephen to be agre this attonement moſt chiefly, an the ſame Charter is exemplifyed, whiche booke is remayning with the right worſhipfull William Fleetewoode Eſquire, nowe Recorder of London.

The Charter of King Stephen, of the pacification of the troubles betwixt him and Henrie Duke of Normandie.

STephen king of Englande, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, Iuſticers, Sherifes, Barons, and all his faythfull ſubiectes of England ſendeth greeting. Know ye that I K. Stephen, haue ordeyned Henry Duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my ſucceſſour, and heyre of the kingdome of England, and ſo haue I giuen and graunted to him & his heyres the kingdome of England. For the which honor, gift and cōfirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to mee, and with a corporall othe hath aſſured mee, that he ſhall bee faythfull and loyall to mee, and ſhall to his power preſerue my life and honour: and I on the other ſyde ſhall mainteyne and preſerue him as my ſonne and heyre in all things to my power, and ſo farre as by any wayes or meanes I may. And William my ſon hath done his lawfull homage, and aſſured his fidelitie vnto the ſayd Duke of Normandie, and the Duke hath graunted to him to holde of him all thoſe tenements and holdings which I helde before I atteyned to the poſſeſſion of the Realme of Englande, whereſoeuer the ſame be in England, Normandie, or elſe where, and whatſoeuer he receyued with the daughter of Earle Warrenne, eyther in Englande or Normandie, and likewyſe whatſoeuer apperteyneth to thoſe honours: and the Duke ſhall putte my ſonne William and hys menne that are of that honour in full poſſeſſion and ſeaſine of all the landes, Boroughes and rentes, whiche the Duke thereof nowe hath in his Demaine, and namely of thoſe that belong to the honour of the Earle Warrenne, and namely of the Caſtelles of Bellencumber, and Mortimer, ſo that Reginalde de Warrenne ſhall haue the keeping of the ſame Caſtelles of Bellencumbre, and of Mortimer, if hee wyll: and thereuppon ſhall gyue Pledges to the Duke, and if he wyll not haue the keeping of thoſe Caſtelles, then other liege men of the ſayde Earle Warrenne whome it ſhall pleaſe the Duke to appoynte, ſhall by ſure Pledges and good ſuretye keepe the ſayde Caſtelles.

William ſon to king Stephen.

Earle of Warrenne.

The Caſtels Bellen Cumber, and Mortimer.

And moreouer the Duke ſhall delyuer vnto [illegible]m according to my will and pleaſure the other [illegible]ſtelles whiche are belonging vnto the Earle[illegible] of Mortaigne by ſafe cuſtodie and pledges, ſo ſoone as he conueniently may, ſo as all the pledges are to bee reſtored vnto my ſonne free, ſo ſoone as the Duke ſhall haue the Realme of Englande in poſſeſſion. The augmentation alſo whiche I haue gyuen vnto my ſonne William, he hath likewiſe graunted the ſame to hym, to witte, the Caſtell and Towne of Norwiche, wyth ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, ſo as the rentes of Norwiche bee accounted as parcell of the ſame ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, and all the Countie of Norffolke, the profites and rentes excepted whiche belong to Churches, Biſhoppes, Abbottes, Earles, and namely alſo excepted, the thirde pennie whereof Hugh Bygot is Earle, ſauing alſo and re[illegible]uing the Kings royall iuriſdiction for adminiſtration of iuſtice. Alſo the more to ſtrengthen my fauour and loue to hymwardes, the Duke hath gyuen and graunted vnto my ſayde ſonne whatſoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuenſey. And moreouer the Caſtell and Towne of Peuenſey, and the ſeruice of Faremouth beſyde the Caſtell and Towne of Douer, and whatſoeuer apperteyneth to the honour of Douer.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigot.

Richer de Egle.

The Duke hath alſo confyrmed the Churche of Feuerſham wyth the appurtenaunces and all

The Church of Feuerſham.

raunce to the Duke, ſauyng the [illegible] whiche

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whiche they owe to me during my lyfe, and ſo long as I ſhall holde the Kingdome. They whiche keepe the Caſtell of Wallingforde haue done theyr Homage to mee, and haue gyuen to mee Pledges for the obſeruing of theyr fidelitie. And I haue made vnto the Duke ſuche aſſurance by the coūſaile and aduice of holy Church, of the Caſtelles and ſtrengthes whiche I holde, that when I ſhall departe this lyfe, the Duke thereby may not runne into any loſſe or impechment, whereby to bee debarred from the Kingdome.

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The Tower of London, and the Fortreſſe of Windſor, by the counſaile and aduice of holy Churche are deliuered vnto the Lorde Rycharde de Lucie, ſafely to be kept, which Richarde hath taken an othe, and hath delyuered his ſonne in pledge to remayne in the handes and cuſtodie of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, that after my deceaſſe he ſhall deliuer the ſame Caſtels vnto the Duke. Likewyſe by the counſell and aduice of holy Churche, Roger de Buſſey keepeth the Caſtell of Oxforde, and Iordaine de Buſſey the Caſtell of Lyncolne, whiche Roger and Iordaine haue ſworne, and thereof haue delyuered pledges into the handes of the Archebiſhop, that if I ſhall chaunce to depart this lyfe, they ſhall render the ſame Caſtelles vnto the Duke wyth-

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ſure the premiſſes. In matters belonging to the ſtate of the Realme, I ſhall worke by the Dukes aduice. And throughe all the Realme of Englande, as well in that part whiche belongeth to the Duke, as in that whiche belongeth to mee, I ſhall ſee that regall Iuſtice bee executed. Theſe beeing witneſſes, Theobalde Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, Henry of Wyncheſter, Robert of Exceſter, Robert of Bathe, Goceline of Saliſburie, Robert of Lyncolne, Hylarie of Ciceſter, William of Norwiche, Richarde of London, Nigell of Elie, Gylbert of Herefor de, Iohn of Worceſter, Walter of Cheſter, Walter of Rocheſter, Geffray of Saint Aſaph, Biſhoppes: Robert Priour of Bermondſey, Othon Knight of the Temple, William Earle of Ciceſter, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, William Earle of Glouceſter, Reynalde of Cornewall, Baldwyn de Toning, Roger de Herefor de, Hugh Bygot, Patrike de Saliſburie, William de Albemarle Earle Albericke, Roger Clare, Rycharde Earle of Pembroke, Richarde de Lucie, William Martell, Rycharde de Humer, Reginalde de Warrenne, Mahaſer Biſet, Iohn de Port, Richarde de Cameuille, Henrie de Eſſex. Yeuen at Weſtminſter.

Thus farre the Charter: and now therefore to procede with the hyſtorie.

An. Reg. 19

This concorde and peaceable agreement ſurely was moſt acceptable to all the Commons of Englande, who during the time of the warre betwixt the two factions, had bene oppreſſed with many and moſt grieuous calamities.

1154

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Immediately after Chriſtmaſſe, to wit in the Octaues of the Epiphany, the king & duke Henry met again at Oxforde, where all the Earles and Barons of the land being aſſembled, ſware fealty vnto Duke Henrie, theyr allegeance euer ſaued due vnto King Stephen, as to their ſoueraigne Lord and ſupreme gouernor, ſo long as he liued. The forme of the peace was nowe ingroſſed alſo and regyſtred for a perpetuall witneſſe of the thing, in this yeare. 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, as about the feaſt of Saint Hillarie in Ianuarie commonly called the twentie day. Thus was Henrie the ſonne of the Empreſſe made the adopted ſonne of King Stephen, and thereupon the ſayde Henrie ſaluted him as King, and named him father.

After the concluſion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceaſſed, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſtate of the realme of England did maruelouſly for a time flouriſh, concord being mainteyned on eche hande.

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The Charter of King Stephen, of the pacification of the troubles betwixt him and Henrie Duke of Normandie:

STephen king of Englande, to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, Iuſticers, Sherifes, Barons, and all his faythfull ſubiectes of England ſendeth greeting. Know ye that I K. Stephen, haue ordeyned Henry Duke of Normandie after me by right of inheritance to be my ſucceſſour, and heyre of the kingdome of England, and ſo haue I giuen and graunted to him & his heyres the kingdome of England. For the which honor, gift and cōfirmation to him by me made, he hath done homage to mee, and with a corporall othe hath aſſured mee, that he ſhall bee faythfull and loyall to mee, and ſhall to his power preſerue my life and honour: and I on the other ſyde ſhall mainteyne and preſerue him as my ſonne and heyre in all things to my power, and ſo farre as by any wayes or meanes I may. And William my ſon hath done his lawfull homage, and aſſured his fidelitie vnto the ſayd Duke of Normandie, and the Duke hath graunted to him to holde of him all thoſe tenements and holdings which I helde before I atteyned to the poſſeſſion of the Realme of Englande, whereſoeuer the ſame be in England, Normandie, or elſe where, and whatſoeuer he receyued with the daughter of Earle Warrenne, eyther in Englande or Normandie, and likewyſe whatſoeuer apperteyneth to thoſe honours: and the Duke ſhall putte my ſonne William and hys menne that are of that honour in full poſſeſſion and ſeaſine of all the landes, Boroughes and rentes, whiche the Duke thereof nowe hath in his Demaine, and namely of thoſe that belong to the honour of the Earle Warrenne, and namely of the Caſtelles of Bellencumber, and Mortimer, ſo that Reginalde de Warrenne ſhall haue the keeping of the ſame Caſtelles of Bellencumbre, and of Mortimer, if hee wyll: and therevppon ſhall gyue Pledges to the Duke, and if he wyll not haue the keeping of thoſe Caſtelles, then other liege men of the ſayde Earle Warrenne whome it ſhall pleaſe the Duke to appoynte, ſhall by ſure Pledges and good ſuretye keepe the ſayde Caſtelles.

William ſon to king Stephen.

Earle of Warrenne.

The Caſtels Bellen Cumber, and Mortimer.

And moreouer the Duke ſhall delyuer vnto m according to my will and pleaſure the other ſtelles whiche are belonging vnto the Earle- e of Mortaigne by ſafe cuſtodie and pledges, ſo ſoone as he conueniently may, ſo as all the pledges are to bee reſtored vnto my ſonne free, ſo ſoone as the Duke ſhall haue the Realme of Englande in poſſeſſion. The augmentation alſo whiche I haue gyuen vnto my ſonne William, he hath likewiſe graunted the ſame to hym, to witte, the Caſtell and Towne of Norwiche, wyth ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, ſo as the rentes of Norwiche bee accounted as parcell of the ſame ſeuen hundred pounde in landes, and all the Countie of Norffolke, the profites and rentes excepted whiche belong to Churches, Biſhoppes, Abbottes, Earles, and namely alſo excepted, the thirde pennie whereof Hugh Bygot is Earle, ſauing alſo and reſeruing the Kings royall iuriſdiction for adminiſtration of iuſtice. Alſo the more to ſtrengthen my fauour and loue to hymwardes, the Duke hath gyuen and graunted vnto my ſayde ſonne whatſoeuer Richer de Aquila hath of the honour of Peuenſey. And moreouer the Caſtell and Towne of Peuenſey, and the ſeruice of Farremouth beſyde the Caſtell and Towne of Douer, and whatſoeuer apperteyneth to the honour of Douer.

Norwich.

Hugh Bigo,

Richer de Egle.

The Church of Feuerſham

The Duke hath alſo confyrmed the Churche of Feuerſham wyth the appurtenaunces and all other things gyuen or reſtored by mee vnto other Churches, hee ſhall confyrme by the counſayle and aduice of holye Churche and of mee. The Earles and Barons that belong to the Duke whiche were neuer my leeges, for the honoure whiche I haue done to theyr Maiſter, they haue nowe done homage and ſworne feaultie to mee, the couenauntes alwayes ſaued betwixte mee and the ſayde Duke. The other whiche hadde before done homage to mee, haue ſworne feaultie to mee as to theyr ſoueraigne Lorde. And if the Duke ſhoulde breake and goe from the premyſſes, then are they altogyther to ceaſſe from doyng hym anye ſeruice tyll hee refourme hys myſdoings. And my Sonne alſo is to conſtrayne hym thereto, according to the aduice of holye Churche, if the Duke ſhall chaunce to goe from the couenauntes afore mentioned. My Earles and Barons alſo haue done theyr liege homage vnto the Duke, ſauyng theyr faythe to mee ſo long as I liue, and ſhall holde the Kingdome, wyth lyke condition, that if I doe breake and goe from the premytted couenauntes, that then they maye ceaſſe from doing to me any ſeruice, till the tyme I haue refourmed that which I haue done amyſſe.

The Citizens alſo of Cityes, and thoſe perſones that dwell in Caſtelles, whiche I haue in my Demayne, by my commaundemente haue done Homage, and made aſſuraunce to the Duke, ſauyng the fidelitye whiche which they owe to me during my lyfe, and ſo long as I ſhall holde the Kingdome.

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They whiche keepe the Caſtell of Wallingforde haue done theyr Homage to mee, and haue gyuen to mee Pledges for the obſeruing of theyr fidelitie. And I haue made vnto the Duke ſuche aſſurance by the cõſaile and aduice of holy Church, of the Caſtelles and ſtrengthes whiche I holde, that when I ſhall departe this lyfe, the Duke thereby may not runne into any loſſe or impechment, whereby to bee debarred from the Kingdome.

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The Tower of London, and the Fortreſſe of Windſor, by the counſaile and aduice of holy Churche are deliuered vnto the Lorde Rycharde de Lucie, ſafely to be kept, which Richarde hath taken an othe, and hath delyuered his ſonne in pledge to remayne in the handes and cuſtodie of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, that after my deceaſſe he ſhall deliuer the ſame Caſtels vnto the Duke.

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Likewyſe by the counſell and aduice of holy Churche, Roger de Buſſey keepeth the Caſtell of Oxforde, and Iordaine de Buſſey the Caſtell of Lyncolne, whiche Roger and Iordaine haue ſworne, and therof haue delyuered pledges into the handes of the Archebiſhop, that if I ſhall chaunce to depart this lyfe, they ſhall render the ſame Caſtelles vnto the Duke wythout impeachement.

he Biſhop of
Vincheſter.

The Biſhoppe of Wyncheſter hath alſo giuen his fayth in the handes of the Archebiſhop of Canterburie, that if I chance to depart this lyfe, he ſhall render vppe vnto the Duke the Caſtelles of Wyncheſter, and the Fortreſſe of Hampton. And if any of them vnto whõ the cuſtodie of theſe Fortreſſes ſhall bee committed, fortune to die, or otherwiſe to depart from his charge, an other ſhall be appoynted to the keeping of the ſame Fortreſſe, before he ſhall depart forth therof by the counſaile and aduice of holy church. And if any of thoſe perſones that haue any Caſtelles or Fortreſſes belonging to me in theyr cuſtodie ſhall bee founde diſobedient, and rebell, I and the Duke ſhall conſtraine him to ſatiſfie our wyll and pleaſure, not leauing hym in reſt till he be ſo conſtrayned. The Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the Realme of England, and the Abbots alſo, haue by my commaundement ſworne fealtie vnto the Duke, and the Biſhops and Abbots that hereafter ſhall be made and aduaunced here within the Realme of Englande ſhall likewiſe ſweare fealtie to him. The Archbiſhops alſo and Biſhops on either part, haue vndertaken that if either of vs ſhall goe from the foreſayde couenauntes, they ſhall ſo long chaſtice the partie offending with the eccleſiaſticall cenſures, tyll he reforme his fault, and returne to fulfill and obſerue the ſayd couenants. The mother alſo of the Duke, and his wife, and his brethren and ſubiectes whom he may procure, ſhall likewiſe aſſure the premiſſes. In matters belonging to the ſtate of the Realme, I ſhall worke by the Dukes aduice. And throughe all the Realme of Englande, as well in that part whiche belongeth to the Duke, as in that whiche belongeth to mee, I ſhall ſee that regall Iuſtice bee executed. Theſe beeing witneſſes, Theobalde Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, Henry of Wyncheſter, Robert of Exceſter, Robert of Bathe, Gocceline of Saliſburie, Robert of Lyncolne, Hylarie of Ciceſter, William of Norwiche, Richarde of London, Nigell of Elie, Gylbert of Herforde, Iohn of Worceſter, Walter of Cheſter, Walter of Rocheſter, Geffray of Saint Aſaph, Biſhoppes: Robert Priour of Bermondſey, Othon Knight of the Temple, William Earle of Ciceſter, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, William Earle of Glouceſter, Reynalde of Cornewall, Baldwyn de Toning, Roger de Herforde, Hugh Bygot, Patrike de Saliſburie, William de Albemarle Earle Albericke, Roger Clare, Rycharde Earle of Pembroke, Richarde de Lucie, William Martell, Rycharde de Humer, Reginalde de Warrtine, Mahaſer Biſet, Iohn de Port, Richarde de Cameuille, Henrie de Eſſex. Yeuen at Weſtminſter.

Thus farre the Charter: and now therefore to proceede with the hyſtorie.

An. Reg. 19

This concorde and peaceable agreement ſurely was moſt acceptable to all the Commons of Englande, who during the time of the warre betwixt the two factions, had bene oppreſſed with many and moſt grieuous calamities.

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Immediately after Chriſtmaſſe, to wit in the Octaues of the Epiphany, the king & duke Henry met again at Oxforde, where all the Earles and Barons of the land being aſſembled, ſware fealty vnto Duke Henrie, theyr allegeance euer ſaued due vnto King Stephen, as to their ſoueraigne Lord and ſupreme gouernor, ſo long as he liued. The forme of the peace was nowe ingroſſed alſo and regyſtred for a perpetuall witneſſe of the thing, in this yeare. 1154. after their account that begin the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, as about the feaſt of Saint Hillarie in Ianuarie commonly called the twentie day. Thus was Henrie the ſonne of the Empreſſe made the adopted ſonne of King Stephen, and thereuppon the ſayde Henrie ſaluted him as King, and named him father.

After the concluſion of this peace, by the power of almightie God, all debate ceaſſed, in ſuch wiſe, that the ſtate of the realme of England did marueilouſly for a time flouriſh, concord being mainteyned on eche hande.

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The wordes of the Empreſſe to K. Stephen.

The Empreſſe confeſſeth hirſelfe to bee naught of hir bodie.

Slaunders deuiſed by ma[illegible] heades.

The Empreſſe (as they ſay) was rather King Stephens peramour than enimie, and therefore when ſhe ſawe that the matter was come to that poynt, that they were readie to trie it by battaile, with their armies readie raunged on a plaine in the weſt parties, called Egelaw heath, ſhe came ſecretly vnto king Stephen, and ſpake vnto him on this wiſe. What a miſchiefe and vnnaturall thing go ye about? is it meet that the father ſhuld deſtroy the ſonne? is it lawfull for the ſonne to kill the father? For the loue of God man refraine thy diſpleaſure, and caſt thy weapons out of thy hande, ſith that as thou thy ſelfe knoweſt full well) Henry is thine owne ſon, and ſo further to put him in remembrance, declared that he had to do with hir a little before ſhe was maried vnto Earle Geffrey. The king by ſuch tokens as the Empreſſe put him in remembrance of, tooke hir wordes to bee true, and therefore all his malice was quenched ſtreight wayes. And calling forth the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, vttered to hym the whole matter, and tooke therewith ſuche direction, in ſending to his aduerſaries for auoyding battaile at that preſent, that immediately the armyes on both ſides wrapped vp theyr enſignes, & euery man was cōmaunded to keepe the peace, that a communication might be had aboute the concluſion of ſome finall concorde, which afterwardes enſued in maner as before is mencioned. But whether this or ſome other cauſe moued the King to this peace, it is to bee thought that God was the worker of it. And ſure a man may thinke it good reaſon, that the report of ſuch ſecret companie keping betwixt the King and the Empreſſe, was but a tale made among the common people vpon no grounde of truth, but vpon ſome ſlaunderous deuice of a malicious heade. And admit that King Stephen had to do with hir, yet [illegible]ke that both of them woulde doe the beſt to [illegible] ſecrete, that no ſuche reproche might bee [illegible] to Henrie, who was taken to be [illegible] his mother whoſe honour therby ſhould not a little be ſtayned.

Oxford.

Ger. Do.

The king and duke meete at Dunſtable.

Articles not performed.

But now to the purpoſe. Shortly after that the King and duke Henrie had bene togither at Oxford, where they made all things perfite touching the peace and concorde betwixt them concluded, they met againe at Dunſtable, where ſome clowd of diſpleaſure ſeemed to darken the bright Sunſhine of the late begonne loue and amitie betwixt thoſe two mightie Princes the king and the duke: For where it was accorded among other articles that all the Caſtels whiche had beene buylt ſince the dayes of the late king Henrie for euill intents and purpoſes, ſhould be razed & throwne downe: contrarie therevnto, (notwithſtanding that many of them were ouerthrowne and deſtroyed to the accompliſhment of that article) diuerſe were through the kings permiſſion ſuffred to ſtande: and where the duke complayned to the king thereof, he coulde not gette at that time any redreſſe, which ſomewhat troubled him: but yet bycauſe hee woulde not giue occaſion of any newe trouble, nor offende the King, to whome (as to hys reputed father) hee woulde ſeeme to yeelde all honour and due reuerence, he paſſed it ouer.

The king and duke come to Canterburie.

Within a while after, the King and hee came to Canterburye, where of the Couent of Chriſtes Church they were with Proceſſion ſolemnly receyued.

After this, in the Lent ſeaſon they went to Douer, where they talked wyth Theodoricke Earle of Flaunders, and with the Counteſſe his wife, that was Aunte to Duke Henrie.

The enuie of the Flemings.

At theyr comming towards Canterburie (as it was bruyted) the Duke ſhoulde haue bene murthered through treaſon of the Flemings yͭ enuied both the dukes perſon, & alſo yͤ peace which he had concluded with the King: but ſee the hap, as thys feate ſhuld haue bin wrought on Betham down, William Earle of Northfolke King Stephen hys ſonne, that was one of the chiefe conſpirators, fell beſyde his Horſe, and brake his legge, ſo that euery man by that ſuddayne chaunce was in a maſe, and came wondering about him. Duke Henry herewith getting knowledge of the treaſon contriued againſt him, or at the leaſt ſuſpecting ſomewhat, got him backe agayne to Caunterbury, and ſo auoyded the preſent daunger if any were at hand. After this, takyng his way to Rocheſter, and ſo to Londō, he got him a Shipbord there, and ſayled by long Seas into Normandy, where he arriued in ſafetie.

ke Henry
ſſeth ouer
to Normãdy

Vil. Parnus.
hilip de Co-
uille.
he Caſtell
Drax.

The puiſſance
of Duke Hēry.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt the
French Kyng,
and Duke
Henry.
Mat. VVeſt.

After his departure, King Stephen ſpent the Sommer ſeaſon of this yeare, in going about the moſt part of the Realme, ſhewing all the curteſie he coulde deuiſe to the people in all places where he came, except where he founde any Rebellious perſons, as in Yorkſhire, where Philip de Coleuille in truſt of his Caſtell which he had ſtrongly fortified at a certayne place called Drax, ſhewed himſelfe diſobedient to the King, who aſſembling a power in the countrey, beſieged that Caſtell, and ſhortly wanne it, without anye greate adoe. After that Duke Henry was departed (as ye haue heard) and gone ouer into Normandy, now that he hadde concluded a peace with King Stephen, his puiſſāce was thought to be ſuch, that he was able to mayntayne warres with the mightieſt Prince that then raigned: for in right of hys wife he had got poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Aquitayne, and ẏ Erledome of Poyctou, and further by his mother, hee enioyed the Duchie of Normandy, and looked to ſucceede in the Kingdome of Englande: and in righte of his father he was Earle of Aniou, Thouraigne and Maine. Thys Duke then reuoked into his hands againe certayne percels of his demeane lands which his father hadde giuen away, and paſſing from thence into Aquitayne, myghtely ſubdued certayne Lordes and Barons there, that had Rebelled againſt hym. Alſo about the ſame time, a peace was concluded betwixt the French King, and this Duke Henry. The Kyng reſtoring vnto the Duke the Townes of Newmarche and Vernon which he had before taken from him, and the Duke giuing vnto the King. 20000. markes of ſiluer, for the harmes done by hym, within the Realme of France. But now to returne vnto K. Stephen. Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that within a while after that he had made his progreſſe aforeſayde almoſt about the whole Realme, he returned vnto London, where he called a Parliament as well to cōſult of matters touching the ſtate of the common wealth, as to prouide the Sea of Yorke of a ſufficient Archbiſhoppe: wherevpon one Roger that was before Archdeacon of Canterbury, was choſen to that dignitie, and conſecrated the tenth day of October, by the Archbiſhop Theobald, as Legate to the Pope, and not as Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and then was Thomas Becket made Archdeacon of Canterbury by the ſayde Theobald. The new Archbiſhop Roger firſt went vnto his See at Yorke, where after hee had receyued his inthronization, and ſet order in his buſineſſe
there, he toke his iourney towards Ro
his pall in his owne perſon. Alſo
after the ende of the Parliam
there to meete eftſoones wi
ters, who came thither
tayne buſineſſe. The C
ned backe, but that th
ſo greeuouſly tormen
and with an old di
appeare he hadde b
Emrodes, that fina

Vil. Parnus.
oger Arch-
acon of Cã-
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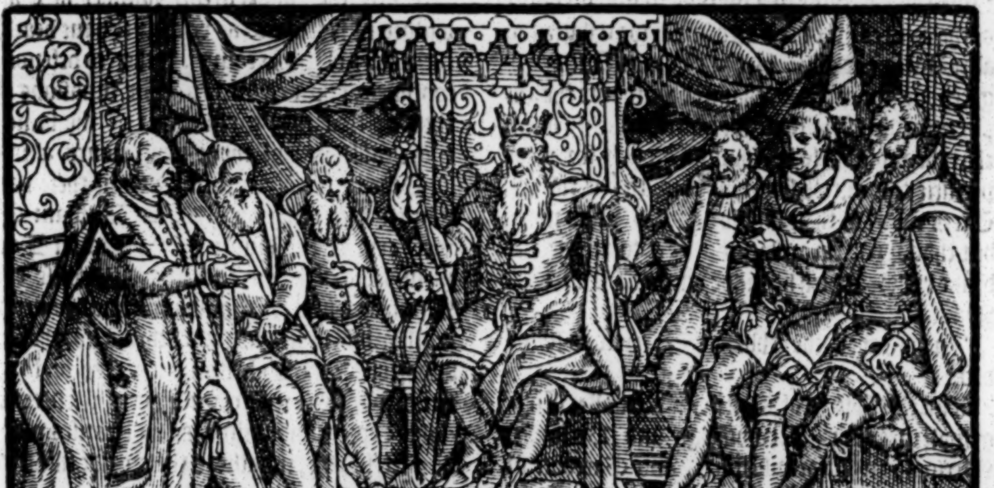
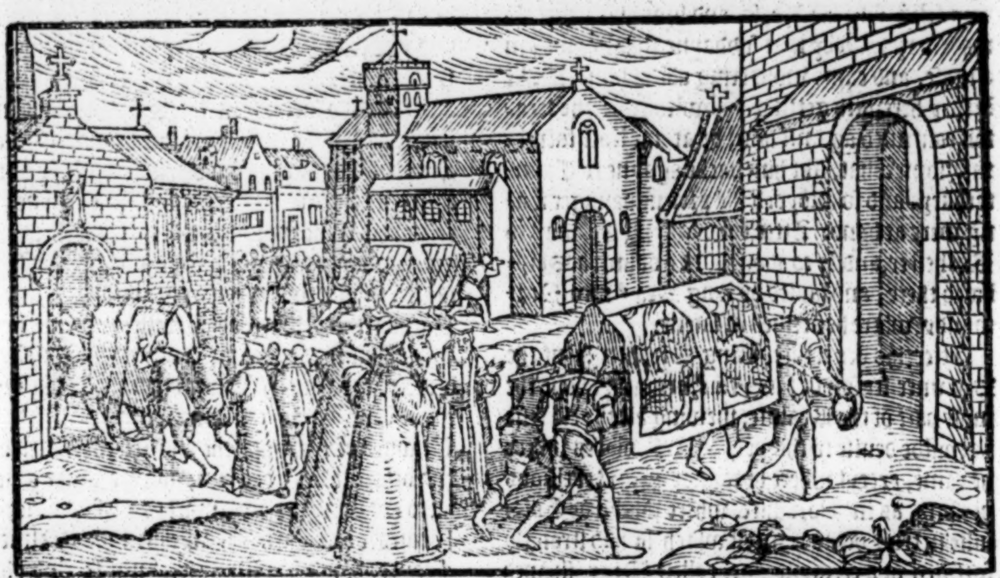
homas Bec-
t Archdeacō
Canterbury



Mat. Par.
Nic. Triuet.

parted thys lyfe the fiue and twentith daye of October, in the nyne and fortith yeare of his age, and after he hadde raigned eyghtene yeares tenne monethes and odde dayes, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauiour.1154.

His body was enterred in the Abbey of Feuerſham in Kent, whiche he had buylded, where his wife alſo, and his ſonne Euſtace were buryed before.



His ſtature.

He was of a comely ſtature, of a very good cõplection, and of great ſtrength of body, his qualities of mind were excellent, expert in warre, gentle, curteous, and very liberall: for though he continued all his tyme in a manner in mayntenance of the warres, yet hee leuied but fewe tributes, or almoſt none at all. Hee put dyuers Biſhops to greeuous fynes, and that not withoute the appoyntmente of the moſt iuſt and Almighty God, that they mighte ſo bee puniſhed duely for theyr periurie committed in helping him to yͤ Crowne. Vices wherewith he ſhould be noted I find none, but that vppon an ambitious deſire to reigne, hee brake his oth which he made vnto the Empreſſe Maude.

Abbeyes foũded. Coggheſhall he founded himſelfe, and Fontneys in Lancaſhire, and Feuerſhã in Kente.

In his dayes, the Abbey of Tiltey was founded.

Alſo the Abbeys of Fontneys, Rienalle, Coggeſhall in Eſſex, Newbourgh and Berlande; Meriuale in Warwikeſhire, and Garedon in Leiceſterſhire, and Kirkſteed in Yorkſhire, with dyuers other in other parties of the Realme, in ſo muche, that there were more Abbeys founded in hys dayes, than had bin within the ſpace of an hundred yeares before, as William Paruus writeth.

VVil. Paru

There were alſo a greate number of Caſtels builded in his dayes (as before yee haue heard) by the nobles of the Realme, eyther to defende the confynes of their countreys from inuaſions of other, or that they myghte out of the ſame the more eaſily inuade theyr neyghbours abroade.

Dyuers learned menne lyued in theſe dayes, namely Hiſtoriographers, as William Malmeſbury, Henry Huntington, Simon Dunelmenſis, Galfridus Arturius, otherwiſe called Monumetenſis, Caradoc Lancarnauenſis, William Rheuellẽſis, and other. Alſo, the Archbiſhop of Yorke Thurſtaine is not to be forgotten, beſyde other whyche in dyuers ſciences were righte experte and ſkilfull, as by treatiſes whyche they ſet forthe, it hathe to the worlde ſufficiently appeared.

Henry

he ſe-

onde.

An.reg. 1.

1154

ic. Treuet.

ath. Paris.

Henry the ſecond of that name, a Frenche manne borne, the ſeconde ſonne of Geffrey Plantagenet Earle of Aniou, begotten of Maude the Empreſſe, daughter to Henry the firſte, beganne hys raigne ouer Englande the fiue and twentith of October, in the yeare after the creation of the worlde. 5121. and in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauioure. 1154. about the beginning of the thirde yeare of the Emperour Fredericke the firſte, the ſecond of Pope Anaſtaſius the fourth, the ſeuententh yeare of Lewis the ſeuenth Kyng of Fraunce, and ſeconde of Malcolme then King of Scotlande. Immediately after he was aduertiſed of the deathe of Kyng Stephen, hee came ouer into England, landing at Oſtreham about the ſeuenth day of December. After he had got togither his company whiche by tempeſt had bin ſcattred in his paſſage, he came firſt to Wincheſter, where the nobles of the Realme beeyng come vnto him, he receyued of them their homages and fealties. This done he ſet forth towards London, where he was Crowned K. by Theobald Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury the twentith day of December.

ic.Treuet.

he Archbi-
op Rouen.

lidor.

ounſellors
olen.

There were preſente at hys Coronation, the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen with three of his ſuffragans, and the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, with many other Biſhops of Englande. There was alſo the Earle of Flaunders Theodorus, with a great number of other Earles, Lordes and Barons. He was at that time about the age of three and twẽtie yeres, and to winne the peoples loue, he ſpake many comfortable wordes vnto them to put thẽ in hope (as the manner is) that they ſhoulde finde him a louing and courteous Prince. Hee vſed the Lordes alſo very gently. And firſt of all, after hys atteynyng to the Crowne, he choſe to hym Cõcellors of the graueſt perſonages, and beſt learned in the Lawes of the Realme, with whoſe prudent aduice, he peruſed thoſe lawes, and amended them where he thought neceſſary, commaunding chiefly, that the lawes eſtabliſhed by hys graundfather Henry the firſt ſhoulde be obſerued: and in many thyngs he ſtayed vpõ the aduice of Theobald Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, at whoſe ſute hee admitted Thomas Becket to be his Chauncellour, whyche Becket, the ſayde Archbiſhop had made Archdeacon of Caunterbury the yeare before. Moreouer, by the ſentence and dome of hys Councellours, to the intente that peace and quiet order might take place, and be the better mayneteyned, he commaunded by way of publiſhyng a proclamation, that all Straungers (which to get ſomewhat by the warres, hadde flocked into the Realme, duryng the time of the ciuill diſcord betwene hym and Kyng Stephen) ſhoulde departe home without further delay: wherefore hee appoynted them a day, before the whyche they ſhuld auoyde vppon the perrill that might enſue thereof. Hereuppon it was a wonder to vnderſtande howe ſuddaynely theſe Aliens were quite vaniſhed away, as though they hadde bin Phantaſmes. Their abiding here was nothing profitable for the ſubiects of the Realme, as they that were ſtill accuſtomed to attempt euery ſhrewde turne in others necke, and thinke it lawfull for them ſo to doe. Amongſt them, there was a great number of Flemings, whome the Kyng hated more than the reſidue: and by vertue of this Edict, William of Ypres whome Kyng Stephen (as yee haue heard) had made Earle of Kent, was conſtreyned with other to departe the Realme, King Henry ſeaſing all his poſſeſſions into his owne handes. Diuers Caſtells were alſo throwen downe, and made plaine with the ground by the Kings commaundement, which priuate men by King Stephens permiſſion had builded, or elſe for that they ſtoode not in ſuche places as was thought meete and expedient, yet ſome he cauſed to be fortifyed: and furthermore, tooke into hys handes agayne ſuch lands and poſſeſſions as apperteyned to the Crowne, and were alienated vnto anye manner of perſon, of what degree ſo euer he was. Thys wounded the myndes of many with an inwarde grudge, as well ynough perceyuing that yͤ Kyng woulde looke ſo neere to his owne commoditie, yͭ nothing ſhould be left for them that mighte anye way be recouered and gotten to hys vſe. Queene Eleanore was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne named Henry, the laſt of February, within the Citie of London.

Ran. Higd.

Thomas Becket Lorde Chauncellor.

1155

Nic. Treuet.

Polidor.

VVil. Paruus.

Strangers appoynted to departe the Realme.

Aliens auoyde the lande.

William de Ipres.

Caſtels ouerthrowen.

Polidor.

Mat. Paris.

VVil. Paruus.

Mat. Paris.

Alſo about the ſame time, William Peuerell of Notingham a noble man and of great poſſeſſions, was diſhinherited by the King for ſorcerie and witchcrafte whiche he had practiſed to bryng to death Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter, as it was now reuealed openly, and brought to light. In accompliſhing of whiche haynous crime and deteſtable practiſe, many other were of councell, and founde giltie with him, which went not away withoute

Nic. Treuet.

Mat. Paris.

Math. VVeſt.

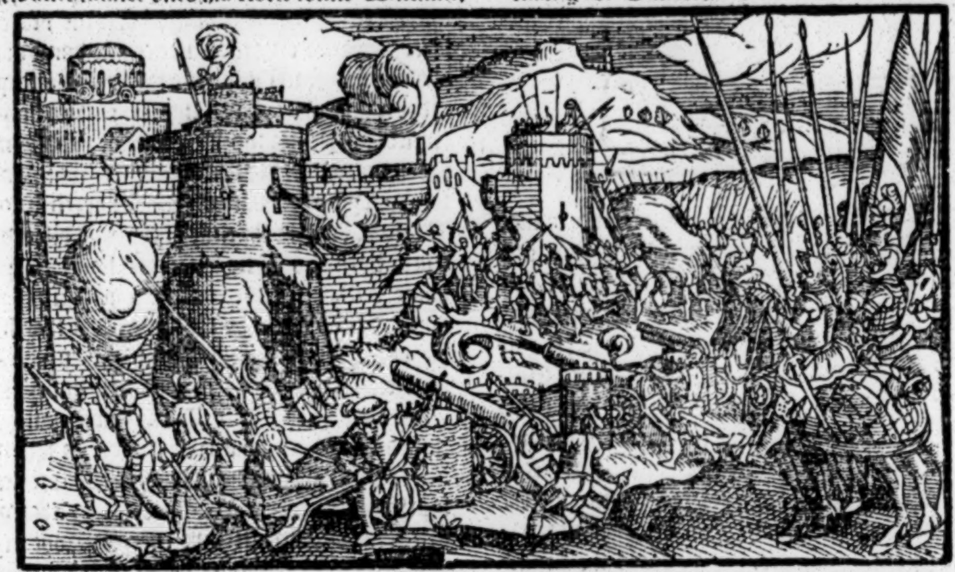
William Peuerell diſherited.

puniſhment,

Nic. Treuet.

puniſhment for that their wicked enterpriſe. The tenth day of Aprill, King Henry aſſembled the peeres and greate Lords of his Realme togyther at Wallingford, and there cauſed them to ſweare their allegiaunce vnto his eldeſt ſonne William, prouiding, that if he chanced to die, that then they ſhould do the like vnto his brother Henry. Alſo, whereas Hugh de Mortimer had fenſed his Caſtels againſt K. Henry, he beſieged the ſame, and taking the Caſtell of Cleberie, hee deſtroyed it.

Mat. Pari.
Nic. Treue
Hugh de Mortimer.
The Caſtell of Cleberie



Whereupon, the foreſaid Hugh ſhortly after was accorded with the K. and ſurrendred to hym the two Caſtels of Wigmore & Bridgenorth, which hitherto he had holden. Moreouer, whereas there was variãce kindled betwixt the King, and Roger Fitz Miles of Glouceſter, that was Earle of Hereford, for the landes of Glouceſter, that variance was alſo quenched: for after the ſame Roger was dead, his brother Walter ſucceding him in the Earledome of Hereforde, was conſtreyned to departe with the Citie of Glouceſter, whyche the K. held, and reteyned in his owne handes. In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, K. Henry wente vnto Yorke, and in that countrey receyued into his hands diuers Caſtels whiche had bin long in poſſeſſion of priuate men, namely the Caſtell of Scarbarrough, whiche William Earle of Albemarle held, and now was conſtreyned to reſigne it vp, full ſore againſt his will. This yeare alſo William the Kings eldeſt ſonne departed thys life, and was buryed at Reading. The Realme of Englande alſo was brought on all ſydes into very good quiet, but ere long, worde came to K. Henry, that his brother Geffrey had begunne a Rebellion in the parties on the other ſide of the Sea: for their father Geffrey when he dyed, lefte three ſonnes behinde him, Henry, Geffrey, and William, ordeyning by his teſtamente, when Henry ſhould haue gotten poſſeſſion of England and Normandy, that then the Countrey of Aniou ſhould remaine vnto Geffrey, and in yͤ meane time, hee to haue theſe three Townes. Chinon, Lodun and Myrabell to mainteyne his eſtate, and that when the time came that the whole heritage ſhould fall vnto hym, hee might by poſſeſſion of theſe three, haue a readier meane to come by all the reſt. Furthermore, fearing leaſt his eldeſt ſonne Henry who as then was abſent would not conſent to the performance of this his wil, he cauſed certaine Biſhops and other of the Nobles to ſweare, that they ſhould not ſuffer his body to be cõmitted to buriall, till his ſonnes had ſworne to fulfill his laſt will and teſtamente in all other things, but eſpecially in this behalfe, wherein hee iudged not amiſſe: for though Henry was loth to take his oth, yet bycauſe his fathers body ſhoulde not remayne vnburied, hee was contented to ſweare. But after he had obteyned the kingdome of England, his couetous deſire to haue, encreaſing ſtill with abundance already obteined, found meanes to procure of Pope Adrian the fourth (an Engliſhman borne,) a diſpenſation for that othe: wherevpon (hauing got licence to depart from the office both of right, law and equitie) neglecting his fathers ordinance, he paſſed ouer into Normãdy, & making war againſt his brother the ſaid Geffrey, eaſily expulſed him out of thoſe places, whiche were aſſigned him by the ordinance of hys fathers Teſtament, and ſo tooke the Earledome of Aniou into his own poſſeſſion. Howbeit, he gaue vnto his ſaid brother a pencion of a thouſand ℔. Engliſh, & two thouſand ℔. of the money of Aniou, with yͤ Towne of Lodun, and certaine other lands to liue vpon, who yet thinking himſelfe euil vſed at the Kings handes rebelled and dyed. Shortly after whẽ K. Henry had ſped his buſines in Normandy, & made an end of yͤ troubles there betwixt him & his brother Geffrey, returned into Englãd, bicauſe he receiued aduertiſemẽt yͤ Malcolme K. of Scotlãd began to make war againſt

his

Roger Fitz Miles.

An. reg. 2.
The King goeth into the North.

The Caſtell of Scarbrough.
VVil. Paruus.
Nic. Treuet.
The death of the Kings ſon William.

Geffrey the Kings brother rebelleth.

VVil. Paru

Pope Adria an Engliſhm borne.
A diſpenſatio for an oth.
Nic. Treue

1156

King Hen goeth aga the Scotes.

wanne
rleil and
wcaſtell
others.

e Erledome
Huntingtō.

illiam Erle
Mortaigne.
ath. Paris.
c.Treuet.

n. Reg.3.
1157

heoderike
rle of Flan-
s.

his ſubiectes that borderd next vnto him, wherevpō he haſted Northwards: and firſte comming into Cūberland, tooke yͤ Citie of Carleile, & ſeyſed all the Countrey into his hands, and after goyng into Northumberland, he wanne the Towne of Newcaſtel, with the Caſtel of Bamburg, and ſo tooke all that countrey into his poſſeſſion, whiche his mother the Empreſſe had ſometimes graunted vnto King Dauid, the graundfather of thys Malcolme (as before ye haue hearde,) but yet bycauſe he would not ſeme to offer too much wrōg, and bee eſteemed vnthankfull of benefytes before time receiued, he ſuffered King Malcolme to enioy the Earledome of Huntington, whych Kyng Stephen had giuen vnto hys father Earle Henry, ſonne to K. Dauid, as before is partly touched. Alſo William the Erle of Mortaigne, and Warreyne ſonne of King Stephen, was compelled to ſurrender to King Henry, the Caſtell of Penſey, with the Citie of Norwiche, and other ſach Townes and Caſtels as he held, which apperteyned to the demaine of the Crowne: and the King in recompence reſtored to him thoſe landes which his father Kyng Stephen held in the days of Kyng Henry the firſt. In like manner, Theoderike Earle of Flaunders goyng with his wife vnto Ieruſalem, committed hys ſonne Philippe with all hys landes, to the cuſtodie of the Kyng of England.

bellion of
elchmen.

Alſo Hugh Bigot reſigned his Caſtels into the Kings handes. But whileſt Kyng Henry was aboute (as before yee haue hearde) to recouer and bring home againe the portions of hys kingdome, made away, and diſmembred by hys predeceſſors, he was enformed that the Welchmen made Rebellion againſte him, to repreſſe whoſe attemptes, hee haſted foorthe with all diligence. At his firſt approch to their countrey, hys Souldiers being ſet vppon in the ſtraytes, were right fiercely put backe by the enimies, in ſo much that a rumor was reyſed how Kyng Henry was ſlayne, whiche puffed vppe the Welchmen with no ſmall hope, and put the Engliſhmē in no leſſe feare. In deede, diuers of the Engliſhe nobilitie were ſlayne, and amongſt other Euſtace Fitz Iohn, and Robert de Curcy, men of great honor and reputation, and namely the ſayde Euſtace. Thoſe that eſcaped in returning backe, not knowing how the King was got through yͤ ſtraites without daunger, declared to theyr fellowes that followed and were approching to the ſtraightes, that (ſo farre as they knew) the Kyng and all the reſidue were loſt. Theſe newes ſo diſcomforted the companies, that Henry of Eſſex whiche bare the Kings ſtanderd by right of inheritāce, threw downe the ſame ſtāderd, and fledde, which diſhonorable doing, was afterward layd to his charge by one Roberte de Mountfort, with whome by order taken of the King, hee fought a combate in triall of the quarrell, and was ouercome: but yet the K. qualifying the rigor of the Iudgement by mercy, pardoned him of life, and appoynted hym to be ſhorne a Monke, and put into the Abbey of Reading, taking his landes and poſſeſſions into his handes as forfeyted: but this Combate was not tried till about the ninth yeare of thys Kyng Henries raigne. The king hearing that his army was thus diſcomforted, came to his men, & ſhewing himſelfe to them with open viſage, greatly reioyced the whole multitude, and then proceding foorth againſt the enimies, his people were afterwardes more ware in looking to themſelues, and ſo at length when the King prepared to inuade the Welchmen both by water & land, they ſought to him for peace, and wholly ſubmitted thēſelues vnto his grace and mercy.

The King inuadeth them.

Euſtace Fitz Iohn, and Robert de Curcy.

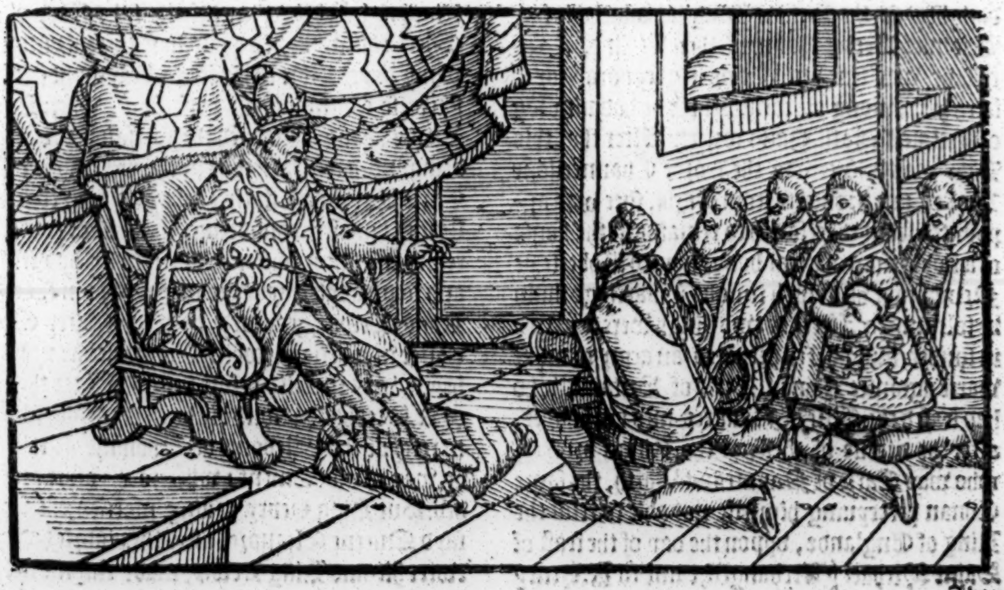
Henry of Eſſex.

Math. VVeſt.
VVi. Paruus.

A combate betwixt Henry de Eſſex, and Robert de Montford.

Mat. VVeſt.

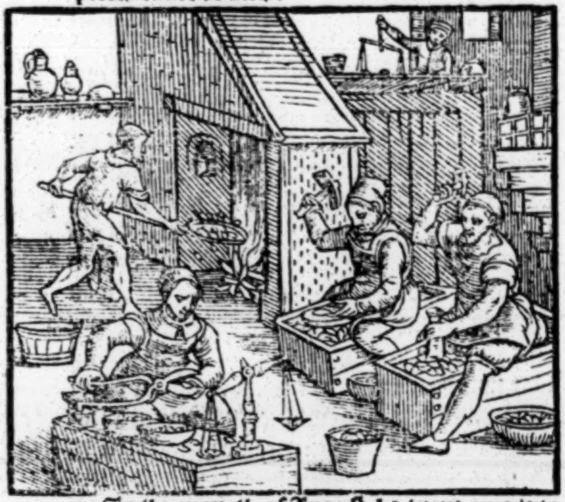
The Welchmen ſubmit themſelues.



About

The Caſtell of Rutland and Baſingwerke built.
Math. Paris.
An. Reg. 4.
Thomas Becket Lorde Chauncellour.
1158
Math. Paris.
The King layeth hys Crowne on the Aulter.
Coine altred.

About the ſame time, King Henry builded the Caſtell of Rutland, and alſo the Caſtell of Baſingwerke, and one houſe alſo of Templers. In the moneth of September, this yeare, the Kyngs thirde ſonne was borne at Oxforde, and named Richard. Alſo the ſame yeare was Thomas Becket preferred to be the Kings Chauncellour. The K. holding his Chriſtmas at Worceter in great royaltie, ſate in the Church at ſeruice, with his Crowne on his head as the Kings vſed in thoſe dayes on ſolemne feaſtes, but as ſoone as Maſſe was ended, hee tooke his Crowne beſydes his head, and ſet it downe vpō the Aulter in ſigne of humbleneſſe, ſo that hee neuer after paſſed for the wearing of a Crowne. The ſame yeare alſo the King altered his Coyne, abrogating certaine peeces called Baſels.



Additions to Iohn Pike.
The Lord Chauncellour Becket ſent into Fraunce.
Mat. VVeſt.

In the moneth of Auguſt he went ouer into Normandy, and came to an enterview with the Frenche King neere to the Riuer of Eata, where they entreated of a friendſhip, and of a marriage, which was after agreed vpon betwixt Henry, the ſonne of King Henry, and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Frenche King, at whiche tyme, Thomas Becket that was then the kings Chācellour, was ſent vnto Paris in great aray for to fetch hir: among other furnitures he had nine lōg charrets, as Math. Paris writeth. After that this Lady was deliuered to the Lorde Chauncellour Becket, and broughte from Paris, ſhee was appoynted from thēceforth to remaine in the houſe of a noble man of great honor named Roberte de Newburge, vntil ſuch time as ẏ marriage ſhuld be ſolemnized. After the two kings were departed in ſunder, King Hēry prepared an army to make warre againſte Conan Duke of Britaine, who had ſeaſed the Citie of Nauntes into his handes, after the deceſſe of Geffrey the Kings brother, who was Earle of Nauntes: at length, the ſame Conan perceyuing himſelfe not able to reſiſt the King of Englande, vppon the day of the feaſt of Saint Michael ẏ Archangell, came to K. Henry and ſurrendred into his hands the Citie of Naūtes, with all the whole Countrey thereunto belonging. Soone after whiche reſignation, & vpon the four and twentith daye of Auguſt, Geffrey the Kings fourth ſonne was borne of hys wife Queene Eleanor. Alſo in December following, Theobalde Earle of Bloys was accorded with K. Henry, to deliuer vnto him two of hys Caſtels. Likewiſe Petroke Earle of Perch, ſurrendred vp two Caſtels vnto K. Henry, which he had vſurped of the demeanes of Normandy in the dayes of King Stephan. And the King gaue to him againe one of thoſe Caſtels, receyuing of him homage for the ſame. Moreouer, K. Henry and Raymond Earle of Barzelone met togither at Blayme, where they concluded a league by way of allegiance, ſo that Richarde the ſonne of K. Henry ſhould take to wife the daughter of the ſaid Raymond in time conueniente, and that the King of England ſhould giue vnto the ſaid Richard the Duchie of Aquitaine, and the Countie of Poictow. This Erle Raymond had married the daughter and heire of the King of Arragone. In the meane time, a ſecret grudge that had long depended betweene King Henry and K. Lewis of Fraunce did ſtill continue, and though there was a friendſhip agreed betwene them (as ye haue heard) to haue extinguiſhed the ſame, yet was it but a fained friendſhip: for vpon euery new occaſion, they were ready to breake againe, as it came to paſſe ſhortly after by this meanes, William Duke of Aquitaine, Grandfather to Quene Eleanor, married the daughter and heire of the Earle of Tholouze, and going into the warres of the holy land, he engaged that Erledome vnto Raymond the Earle of S. Giles, and dyed before hee could returne. His ſonne William, father to Q. Eleanor, eyther wanting wherewith, or takyng no heede to the matter, ſuffered his Earledome to remayne ſtill vnredeemed, ſo that the Earle of S. Giles, continuing in poſſeſſion thereof vnto hys dying daye, left it to his ſonne Raymonde, who likewiſe continuing in poſſeſſion, when Kyng Lewis (hauing married the foreſaide Eleanor) demaunded reſtitution as in the right of his wife, Earle Raymond flatly at the firſt denyed to reſtore it, but after conſidering his lacke of power to reſiſt the Kings puiſſance, he fell to ſue by petitiō, and ſo preuayled by fayre wordes, that in the ende Kyng Lewis graunted hym hys ſiſter Conſtance in marriage (which Conſtance as ye haue heard, was married before vnto Euſtace the ſon of K. Stephan) & with hir he granted alſo liberty to reteyne the Erledome of Tholouze as it were by way of endowment: whereto the other accorded. But King Henry hauing married the foreſayd Queene Eleanore, after the diuorſe had betwixt hir and King Lewis, made clayme to the

ſayd

Geffrey the Kings fourth ſonne borne.
Petroke Ea of Perch.
Raymonde Earle of Barzelone.
Richard the Kings ſonne offered to E Raymonds daughter.
A ſayned friendſhip.
William Du of Aquitayne.
Earle of Sai Giles otherwiſe Tholo
An. reg. 6.

reg. 5.
Paris.
h. VVeſt.
1159

ſayde County of Tholouze in the righte of hys wife. Herevpon Earle Raymond truſting nowe to the ayde of his brother in lawe King Lewis, denyed to reſtore it, ſo that King Henry determined to recouer it by force, and entring by and by into Gaſcoigne with an Army, hee drewe towards the Countrey of Tholouze, and began to inuade the ſame with greate force and courage.

Parus.

There ioyned with King Henry in his warre which he attempted againſte the Earle of Saint Giles, diuers great Lords of thoſe parties, as the Erle of Barzelone, and the Lord Wiliam Trencheuille a mā of great power in thoſe parties, hauing vnder hys rule many Cities, Caſtels and Townes, (notwithſtanding that he had of late loſt many of them by violence of the foreſayde Earle of Tholouze, but now by the aide of King Henry, he recouered them all againe.)

William Trencheuill.

Treuet.

Alſo Malcolme King of Scotland came vnto King Henry whileſt he was forth in this iourney, to aſſociate him in this buſineſſe. The Earle hearing of King Henries comming with an army, was put in great feare, and thereof wrote his letters vnto his brother in law King Lewis, requiring hym with all ſpeede poſſible to come vnto his ayde. K. Lewis vpon receipt of the letters, and vnderſtanding the preſent daunger of the Earle, made ſuch haſt in continuing his iourney both daye and night, that he came to Tholouze, before K. Hēry could ariue there: wherevpon when King Henry vnderſtood it, and perceyued how he was preuented, he chaunged his purpoſe of beſieging the Citie, and fell to ſpoyling of the Countrey there aboutes, at which time, he recouered certayne places which lately before had reuolted from his gouernement, as the Citie of Cahors and other places, whiche Citie of Cahors, hee furniſhed with men, munition, and vittayles, appoyntyng hys Chauncellour Thomas Becket to the keepyng thereof: and therewith fortifyed other places alſo which he had gotten, placing Captaynes & men of warre to attend vpon the defence of the ſame.

The Citie of Cahors.
Nic. Triuet.

The Lorde Chauncellour Becket.

Whileſt the King was thus forth of his iourney in the parties of Aquitaine, William Earle of Bollongne and Mortaingn, the ſonne of Kyng Stephen, and Haymon Earle of Glouceſter departed this life, whiche two Earles went thither with him.

Rob. Houed.
William Erle of Bolleigne.

Finally, when hee had ſet things in a ſtay in thoſe parties, he returned towards Normandy, and comming to the Citie of Towers, he gaue the order of Knighthoode vnto Malcolme King of Scotlād, and ſo in the moneth of October, he came backe into Normandy, & there augmenting his army with new ſupplyes, entred into the Countie of Beauvoiſin, and in the ſame brenned many villages, and deſtroyed the ſtrong Caſtell of Gerbery, except one turret whyche his Souldiers could not take by reaſon of the fire and

The Countie of Beauvoiſin.

ſmoke which ſtayed and kept thē from it. Moreouer, Simon Earle of Auranches, deliuered vnto K. Henry ſuch fortreſſes as he held in France, as Rochfort, Montfort, and ſuch other, which was no ſmall annoyance to the French K. bycauſe the garniſons placed in thoſe fortreſſes, impeached ỹ paſſage betwixt Paris and Orleāce. But ſhortly after, a truce was taken to dure from the moneth of December, vnto the feaſt of the holy Trinitie in the yeare next following. And then in the moneth of May was a peace concluded with the former articles and conditions, and for a further confirmation thereof, the marriage was ſolemnized betwixte Henry the Kyngs ſonne beeyng of the age of ſeuen yeares, and the Lady Margaret daughter to the Frenche Kyng, beeyng not paſt three yeares olde, as Writers doe reporte.

A truce taken.
Anno reg. 6.

0911

A peace concluded.
A marriage concluded.

Mat. Paris.

The marriage was celebrate at Newborough on the ſeconde daye of Nouember, by the authoritie of two Legates of the Apoſtolike See,

Legates.

Henry Biſhop of Piſa, and William Biſhoppe of Pauia Prieſts Cardinals.

VVil. Paruus

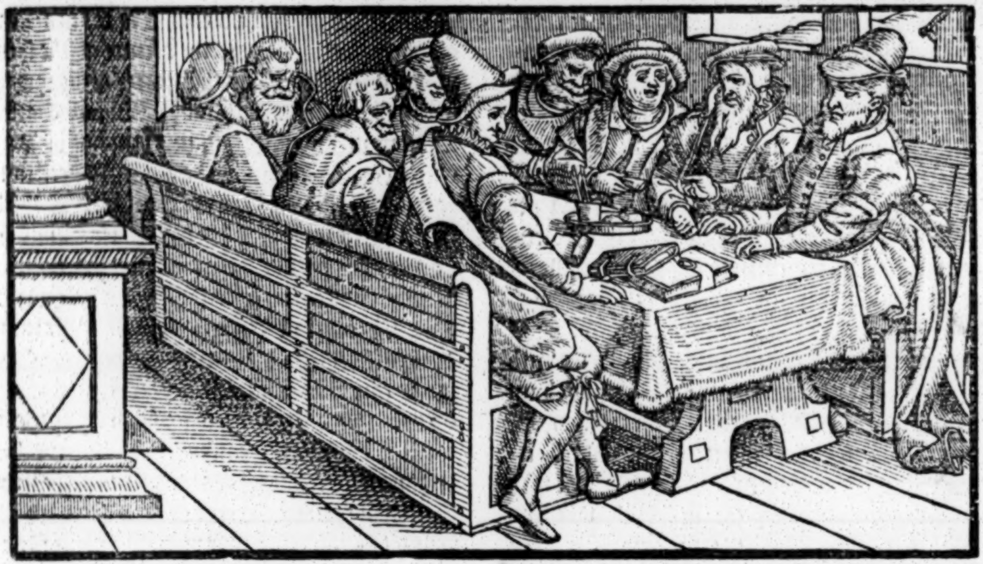
Certayne of the Valdoyes came into Englād being Dutchmen.

A Counſell at Oxforde.

The profeſsions of the Waldoys.

Their examination and proteſtation.

About the ſame time, came certayne Teutchmen ouer into this Realme, about the number of thirtie or moe, the which helde opinions in Religion contrary to the faythe of the Romayne Church. They were of the number of thoſe whiche are called Valdoys, for as one author affirmeth, they which firſt ſpred the opinions abroade whiche theſe men helde, came out of Gaſcoigne, and did ſo muche in ſetting forthe their doctrine, that theyr number mightely encreaſed through the large Regions of Spayne, Fraunce, Italy, and Germany. Rude ſimple men they were for the moſt part, as is written of them, and not ready to conceyue reaſon. Howbeit, thoſe whyche at this time came ouer into England, were indifferently well learned, and the name of the chiefe of them was Gerard. A Counſell alſo was aſſembled at Oxeford, where in the ſame Counſell they were examined vppon certayne poyntes of theyr profeſſion, and the foreſayde Gerard tooke there vpon hym to aunſwere for them all, proteſtyng that they were Chriſtians, and had in all reuerence the doctrine of the Apoſtles. Morcouer, being examined what they thought of the ſubſtāce of the Godhead and merites of Chriſt, they aunſwered rightly vpon that poynt, but being further examined in order vpon other the Articles of the Chriſtian faith then receyued, they ſwarued from the Churche touching the remedies whereby the infirmitie of man ſhoulde bee relieued, that is to witte, in the vſe of the diuine Sacramentes, derogating ſuch grace from the ſame, as the Churche by hir authoritie had attributed vnto them.



The Valdoys condemned.

They are forbidden meate and drinke. They are ſteruē to death.

To conclude, they would in no wiſe renounce theyr opinions, ſo that they were condemned, brenned in the forehead with an hote iron, and in the colde ſeaſon of winter ſtripped naked from the girdle ſteede vp, and ſo whipped out of yͤ Town, with proclamation made, that no man ſhoulde be ſo hardie as to receyue them into anye houſe, relieue them with meate, drinke, or by any other kynd of wayes or meanes: and ſo they were ſtaruen to deathe through colde and hunger: and yet in ſuche their affliction, they ſeemed to reioyce, in that they ſuffered for Gods cauſe as they accompted of it.

Nic. Triu

The firſt fal ling out be twixt the ki and Thoma Becket.

Anno reg.

Mat. Par.

Math. VVe

1161

Rob. Houe

The ſame yeare Mathew, ſonne to the Earle of Flaunders, married the Lady Mary the Abbeſſe of Ramſey, daughter to King Stephen, and with hir had the Countie of Bolongne: and about this marriage chaunced the firſte falling out betwixte the King, and his Chauncellor Thomas Becket (as ſome haue written,) but chiefly, the ſaide Mathew was much offended with the ſayd Chancellor, bycauſe he was ſo ſore agaynſt the ſayd contract. Kyng Henry ſhortly after the marriage conſummate betwixt his ſonne and the French Kings daughter, got into hys handes the Caſtell of Giſors, with two other Caſtels, ſituate vppon the Riuer of Eata in the confynes of Normandy and Fraunce. For it was accorded betwixt the two Kings, that when the marriage ſhould be conſummate, King Henry ſhould haue thoſe three Caſtels, bycauſe they apperteyned to Normandy, and in the meane time, the ſame Caſtels were delyuered into the handes of Roberte de Poyron, Toſtes de Saint Omer, and Roberte Haſtings, three Knightes templers, the whiche vpon the conſummation hadde of the marriages as before is ſayd, and according to the truſt committed to them, ſurrendred the poſſeſſion of the ſaide Caſtels into the handes of Kyng Henry. But yͤ French King was not a little moued, for that King Henry had ſeyſed vpon them withoute his licence, in ſo muche, that hee reyſed a power of menne, and ſente them into Normandy,

Gaguinus.
The Frenche and Normans fight.

mandie, where they fought one cruell conflict aboue the reſt with the Normans, till the nyghte parted them in ſunder, by meane whereof the Frenchemen withdrew to Chaumount, and the Romains vnto Gyſours. The next daye as the Frenchmen came forth again purpoſing to haue wonne Giſors, they were beaten back by yͤ Normans which came forth of yͤ towne to ſkirmiſh with them.

N. Triuet.

Thus was the warre begon agayne betwixt thieſe two Princes: and by the ſetting on of Theobalde Erle of Bloys, the matter grewe to that point, that the engliſh and French powers comming forthwith into the fielde, and marching one againſt an other they were almoſt approched ſo neare together, that battayle was preſently looked for, firſt in Veulgeſſyne, and after in the territorie of Dune, but yet in the end a means was made and concluded betwixt them, & ſo their armies brake vp.

Thre knightes Templers.
Rog. Houed.

The .iij. Templers alſo ranne in diſpleaſure of the French king for the deliuerie of the caſtels before they knew his mynde, ſo that he baniſhed them the realm of France for euermore: but K. Henry receiued them, and gaue them honorable entertaynement.

M. Paris.

Some write that there were but two Caſtels Giſors, and Neall, whiche wer thus put into their hãds, & by them deliuered as before is mentioned: But to proceed.

The death of Theobald Archebishop of Canterbury.

About this time Theobald Archbiſh. of Canterbury departed this lyfe after he had gouerned that ſea the ſpace of .22. yeares, which Theobald at his going to Rome, and receipt of the Pall of Pope Innocent the ſecond, was alſo created Legate of the ſea Apoſtolike, which office he exerciſed ſo diligently, and ſo much to the auaile of the church there, that the dignitie of Legateſhip remayned euer after to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury by a ſpecial decree, ſo that they were entitled *Legati nati*, that is to ſay, born Legates (as myne author doth report.)

The povver Legantine annexed to Cant.
VV. Paruus.

This Theobald fauored greatly Thomas Becket, that afterward ſucceeded him.

The authoritie of Becket.
An. reg. 6.

Which Becket was alſo borne in London: moreouer his father hight Gilbert, but his mother was a Syrian borne, and by religion a Sarazin: howbeit (without all reſpect of his parents) this Becket grew ſo highly in fauour with the king, and might doe ſo much in England, that he ſeemed to reigne as if he had bin aſſociat with him alſo in the kingdom, and being lord Chancellor, the king ſent ouer into England Richard Lucy in his company with ſundry letters in his fauour, thereby to procure his election to that ſea, whiche was broughte to paſſe according to the kings deſire at Weſtminſter: afterward alſo he was ordeined at Canterbury on the Saterday in the Whitſon weeke by Henry Biſhop of Wincheſter (although there be that write how Walter biſhop of Rocheſter did conſecrate him) whiche conſecration was in the .xliiij. yeare of his age, and in the fifth yeare after his firſt aduancement to the office of Lord Chãcellor, ſo that he was the .38. Archbiſh. which gouerned in that ſea.

He is conſecrat Archbishop.
VVil. Paruus.
1162
Quadrilogium ex vita eiuſdẽ Thomæ.

The ſame yeare but towarde the end, Henry the kings ſon receyued homage of the barons, firſt in Normandie, and after in England. In the yeare enſuing. the King his father cõmitted him to the Archebiſhop Becket, that he might ſee him brought vp and trained in maners and courtly behauior, as apertained to his eſtate.

The Archbis. a better courtyer than a preacher.

Wherupon the Archbiſh. in game called hym his ſon.

The Queene brought to b
of a daughter

This yeere at Rohan Queene Elianor was brought to bed of a daughter that was named Elianor.

An entervev
An. reg. 9
1163.
N. Triuet.

In like maner the two kings, of Englãd and France, at Cocy vpon Loyre receiued Pope Alexander the third, with al honor and reuerence, in ſomuch that they attended on his ſtirope a foote like pages or footmen, the one vpon his right ſide, & the other on his left.

Homage of
K. of Scotte

In January alſo enſuing, the king returned into Englande, & the ſame yere the K. of Scottes did homage vnto Henrye the yonger, and deliuered to the Kyng his father his younger brother Dauid, with dyuers other the ſonnes of his lordes and barons in pledge for aſſurance of the peace to be kepte betwene them for euermore, with ſome ſuch caſtels, with the concluſion of the leage (as he required.)

A Counſel
Tours.

In the mean tyme the Archbiſhop Thomas went to the counſell holden by Pope Alexander at Towres in the Octaues of Pentecoſt, when he reſigned into the Popes handes (as the fame went) his Biſhoprick, by reaſon he was troubled in conſcience in that he had receiued it by the kings prefermẽt: but this was ſhortely doone, and the Pope allowing his purpoſe, cõmitted the ſame paſtorlike dignitie to him again by his eccleſiaſtical power, wherby the Archbiſh. was eaſed very wel of his grief, & ſhortly after his returne alſo from this counſell, he ſeemed deſirous to bring home ſuch rights as he pretended to belong vnto the church of Canterbury, wherby he ran into the diſpleaſure of many, namely of the mightieſt: moreouer he required of the king the keeping of Rocheſter Caſtell and the tower of London.

The Archb
practiſeth t
ſon ſecretly

Alſo he alledged that Saltwood and Hith belonged perticularly to the ſeigniorie of hys ſea: he called alſo Roger Earle of Clare vnto Weſtminſter, to doe his homage vnto him for the Caſtell of Tunbridge: but the Earle denyed it through ſetting on of the king, alledging all the fee thereof to appertayne rather to the king than to the Archbiſhop

Homage fo
the caſteil o
Tunbridge

Thus the Archbiſh. was troubled, and therwithall the kings fauour more and more apered dayly to fal from hym, as afore. For ye muſt vnderſtãd that this was not the firſt nor ſecond tyme, that the king had ſhewed tokens of his diſpleaſure againſt him, but the eight tyme.

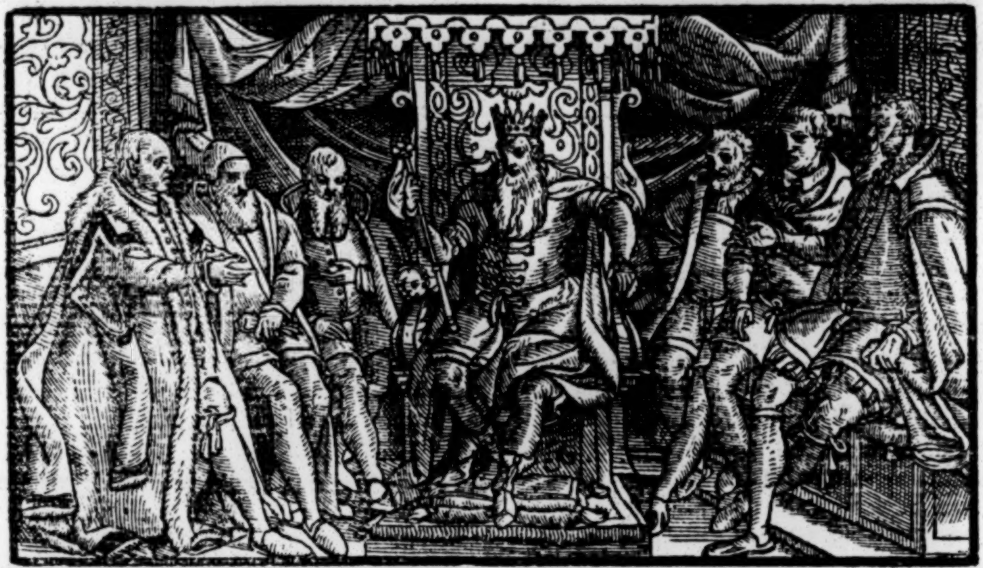
Mat. Par
Mat. VV

After this, vpon the fyrſte day of July, Ryſe Prince of Southwales with diuers other lordes and nobles of Wales didde homage both to the

[illegible] 10.
onge of the velchmen.
1164.
N. Triuet.

king and to his ſonne Henry at Woodſtocke: & Hamlyn yͤ kings baſtard brother maried yͤ Coũteſſe of Warrein, the widow of William Earle of Mortaigne that was baſtarde ſonne to king Stephen. This counteſſe was the ſole daughter and heire of William the third earle of Warrein, which went with Lewes king of Fraunce into the holy land & there dyed. Sone after yͤ Welchemen rebelled with their Prince Ryce and his vncle Owen, and did diuers diſpleaſures on yͤ Marches: and by the death of Waltar Gyfford earle of Buckingham, which deceaſed this yeare without heyre, that Earledome came to the Kinges handes. The. xx. daye of Septẽber were. iij. circles ſeene to compaſſe the ſunne, and ſo continued the ſpace of. iij. houres together: which whẽ they vaniſhed away, it appered yͭ two Sunnes ſprang forth again after a maruellous manner. Whiche ſtrange ſight the cõmon people imagined to be a ſigne or token of the controuerſie that was then in hand betwixt the king and the Archbiſhop.

Mat. Paris.



Moreouer, the king called a Parliamente at Weſtminſter, to treate therin of matters concerning the ſtate of the cõmon wealth, in the which here aroſe great diſcord betwixt the king and the Archbiſh. Becket, about certain points touching the liberties of the Church. For the K. hauing an earneſt zeale vnto iuſtice, & cõmanding the Judges to puniſh offẽders without reſpeit, vnderſtod by them, that many things by them of the ſpiritualtie (againſt whõ their authoritie mighte not be extended) wer cõmitted contrary to cõmon order: as theft, rapine, murther, & manſlaughter, in ſomuch that in his preſence it was opened & notified that ſith the beginning of his reigne there had bin aboue an hundred mãſlaughters cõmitted within yͤ precinct of his realme of England by prieſts, & mẽ within orders. Wherupõ he being moued in his minde, ſet forth lawes ageinſt the ſpiritualtie, wherin he ſhewed in deed yͤ zeale of Juſtice. For as the cauſe proceded frõ the Biſhops of yͤ age, ſo did the fault appertain vnto thẽ which contrary to their owne Canons permitted the Prieſts to liue ouer licentiouſly without due correction, only ſtudying to mayntein yͤ liberties and immunities of the church, and not to reform tht vices of the miniſters. One Philip de Broc, a Canon of Bedford, being arreigned of a murder before the kings iuſtice, vttered diſdaynful words againſt yͤ ſame Juſtice: whiche whẽ he could not deny before the Archb. he was depriued of his prebend, & baniſhed yͤ land for. ij. yeres ſpace. Theſe things troubled the king, who therfore hauing alredy decreed ſuch orders as ſhuld bridle yͤ ſpiritualtie from their wicked doings, thought that if he might get them confirmed in parliament by conſent of the biſhops and clergie thẽſelues, that then the ſame ſhuld take place & be receiued for lawes: and therefore he earneſtly required at this parliamẽt that it might be enacted, that all ſuche of the Spiritualtie as ſhulde be taken and conuicted for any haynous offẽce, ſhuld looſe the priuilege of yͤ Churche, & be deliuered vnto yͤ ciuill magiſtrate who ſhuld ſee them put to executiõ for their offẽces in like maner as he might any of yͤ kings ſubiectes being lay men: for otherwiſe the king alledged, yͭ they woulde boldly preſume to doe muche more miſchief, if after ſpirituall puniſhment, no ſecular correction ſhuld be extended towards thẽ, ſince ſure it was, that thoſe woulde paſſe but little of diſgradyng and loſſe of theyr order, whiche in contempte of their calling, woulde not abſteyne from committing ſuche miſcheuous deedes and haynous enormities.

iſcord ſtill ndeleth betvixt the king d the Archb.

urders committed by prieſts.

Vil. Paruus

at. Paris.

The king meaneth to dle the ſpiritualtie from preſumpteuous dealyng.

Th prelates againſt the king

Gerua. Doru

Unto theſe reaſons thus propoſed by the Kyng, to haue hys purpoſe to take effecte, the Archbiſhoppe and his Suffraganes the reſt of the Biſhoppes anſwered very pithely, to proue that it was more againſte the liberties of the Church, than that they might with reaſon wel allow of. Wherevppon the Kyng beyng moued greeuouſly towardes them, aſked of them whether they would obſerue his royall lawes and cuſtomes which the Archbyſhops and Byſhops in time of his grandfather dyd hold and obſerue or not: who thereunto made aunſwer, that they would obſerue them, their order in all things ſaued. But the King being highly offẽded with ſuch exceptions, vrged the matter ſo, that he woulde haue them to take their oth abſolutely, and withoute all exceptions, but they woulde none of that.

Their order ſaued.

The Kyng offended vvith the Biſhops.

At length hee departed from London very much diſpleaſed with the Biſhoppes, when he had firſte taken from the Archbiſhop Thomas all his offices and dignities which he occupyed ſince his firſt being created Chancellour.

R. Houe.

R. Houe.

1164.

Howbeit, after this, many of the Biſhoppes ſeeyng wherunto thys geare would turne, began to ſhrinke from the Archbiſhop, and enclined to the Kings ſyde. But the Archbyſhoppe ſtiffely ſtoode in hys opinion, and woulde not bende at all, till at length not only his Suffraganes the Biſhops, but alſo the Byſhoppe of Liſeux that was come ouer to do ſome good in the matter, and likewiſe the Abbot of Elemoſina ſente from the Pope, perſwaded him to agree to the Kyngs will, in ſo much, that finally ouercome with the earneſt ſute of his friẽds, hee came firſte to Wodſtocke, and there promiſed the King to obſerue his lawes faithfully without all deceipt or colluſion.

Ger. Dor.

A Counſell at Clarendõ.

Geruaſius Dorobern.

M. Paris.

The Archb. Becket receiueth an oth.

He repenteth him in that he had receiued an oth.

Mat. Paris.

The Archb. Becket vvould haue fled out of the Realme.

The Archb. cited to appeare at Northampton.

R. Houed.

Shortly after, in the feaſt of Saint Hilarie, a Counſell was holden at Clarendon, to the which the Archbiſhoppe, and in manner all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of the lande, made their repaire, where the aforeſayde Archbiſhop would willingly haue ſterted from hys promiſe, if firſt yͤ Biſhops, and after the Erles of Leiceſter & Cornewall, Roberte and Reignald (which Reignald was Vncle to the K.) had not come vnto him, & laſtly two knightes Templers, to perſwade him to yeld to yͤ kings will. But chiefly the two Knightes, the one named Richarde de Haſtings, and the other Hoſtens de Boloigne were very earneſt, and at length preuayled with him in reſpect of the daunger which by refuſing to ſatiſfie the kings requeſt, he ſhould bring not onely to himſelfe, but alſo to all other the Biſhops there preſent. Theſe Knightes ſeemed to lament his caſe, as if already they had ſeene naked ſwordes ſhaken about his eares. And indeede, certaine of the Kings ſeruaunts that attended vppon hys perſon after the manner of a gard, wente too and fro, ruſhing vp and downe the chambers, ſhaking their brighte battayle axes ready appoynted, and lookyng as if they woulde forthwith runne vppon the Byſhoppes, wherevppon the Archbiſhop touched with compaſſion, & ſeeming to ſtriue againſte his determinat purpoſe, conſented to obey the Kyngs pleaſure, and ſo promiſed in yͤ worde of a Prieſte, ſwearing furthermore, that hee woulde obſerue the Kings lawes and cuſtomes, withoute expreſſing thoſe wordes mine order ſaued, whyche hee had vſed before. The like oth did all the Byſhops take. But the Archbiſhop refuſed at that time to ſeale to the writing that conteyned the Articles of the oth which he ſhould haue obſerued, requiring as it were a time to conſider of thẽ, ſith in ſo waighty a matter, nothing ought to be done without good and deliberate aduice, and therefore he tooke with him a copie thereof, and likewiſe did the Archbiſhop of Yorke an other, and the thirde remained with the Kyng. Shortly after, the Archbiſhoppe conſidering further of this oth whiche he had taken, repented himſelfe greeuouſly therof, in ſo much, that he abſteyned from ſaying of Maſſe, till he had by confeſſion and frutes of penaunce (as ſaith Math. Paris) obteyned abſolution of yͤ Pope. For ſending forth with all ſpeede meſſengers vnto the Pope with a certificate of the whole matter as it lay, he required to be aſſoiled of yͤ bond which he hadde vnaduiſedly entred into, which was ſoone graunted, and the Pope directed his eſpecial letters vnto him, conteynyng the ſame abſolution in very ample and large manner, as Math Paris doth report it. And thus there began a newe ſturre. The Archbyſhop in the meane time perceyuing that the liberties of the Church were now extinguiſhed, and beeyng loth to attempte anye further matter againſte his former dealings, as yet woulde not withoute the Kyngs knowledge, haue departed the Realme: and therevppon cõming to Romney, hee tooke ſhipping to haue paſſed ouer into Fraunce, ſo to haue gone to yͤ Popes Court, but by a contrary wind he was brought backe into England againe, & therby fell further into yͤ Kings diſpleaſure than before, in ſo much, that whereas there was an action commenced againſt him of late for a manor which the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury had of long time holden: nowe the matter was ſo vſed, that the Archbiſhop loſt the manor, and was moreouer condemned to pay the arrerages, and ſo the troubles encreaſed. Finally the Archbiſh. was cited to appere before the king at Northampton, where the king vſed him ſomewhat ſtrangely, as placing his horſes at his Inne, and moreouer, layde diſobedience to his charge, for that hee didde not appeare at a certayne place befoꝛe him in perſon, vpon Summons giuen to him for the ſame purpoſe: and although the Archbiſhop alledged that he had ſent thither a ſufficient perſon to make anſweare for him, yet coulde he not be ſo excuſed, but that he was found gyltie, and his goodes confiſcate to the kings pleaſure.

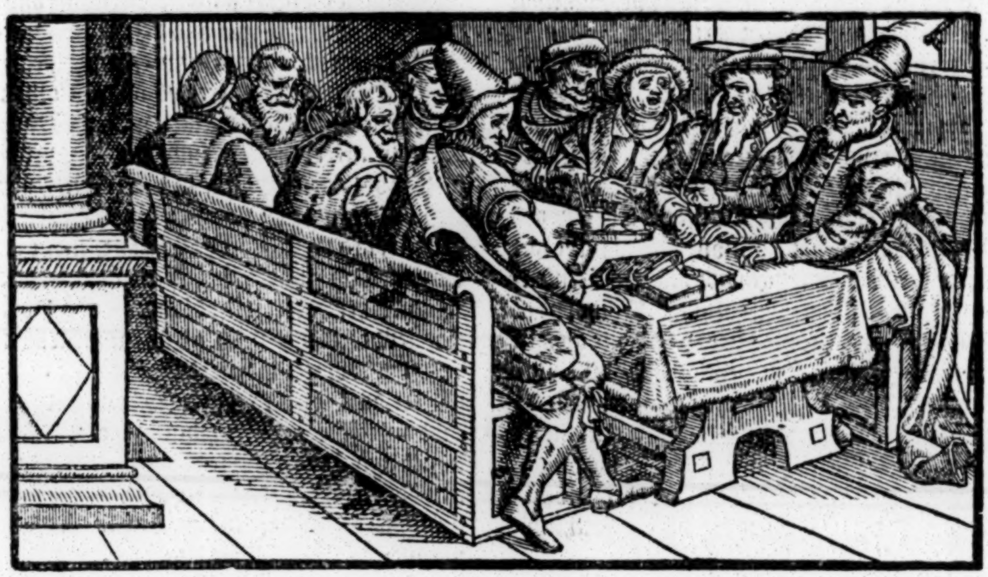
Sentence giuen againſt the archb.

When he hearde that ſentence was in ſuche wiſe there pronoũced againſt him, What maner of iudgement, ſaith he, is this? I holdyng my peace, yet the age that ſhal herafter folow, wil not keepe it in ſilence: for ſithens the world began, it hath not bin heard, that any Archbiſhop of Canterbury hath bin adiudged in any Court of the kings of England for any maner of cauſe, both for the dignitie and authoritie of his office, & for bicauſe he is ſpiritually the father of the king, & of all other his people. This is therfore a new forme & order of iudgement, that the Archbiſhop ſhould be adiudged by his Suffragan, or the father by his ſonnes. The next day the king required of him the repaimẽt of fiue. C. markes which he had lent to hym, when he was Chancellor, and though he affirmed that he receiued the ſame by way of gyft, and not by way of lone, yet bicauſe he cõfeſſed the receit, he was condemned in that debt, for ſo much as he could not proue the title of the gift. Vpon the morowe after, when the Archbiſhop with his felow biſhops were ſet in Councell by commaundement of the king (the doores being locked, that they ſhould not iſſue forth) there was propoſed againſt the Archbiſhop, that wheras he held certaine Biſhops Sees as then vacant, with Abbeys, and other reuenues of his ſoueraigne Lord the king in his hands, & had made none account to him for the ſame of long time, the king required to be aunſwered now at his hands, & that with al ſpeede, for he would haue no delay. The ſumme amounted to thirtie thouſand markes. The archb. when he had heard the variable ſentences of the Biſhops in this caſe, anſwered after this maner: I would (ſaid he) ſpeak with two earles which are with the king, and named thẽ. They being called, and the doore being ſet opẽ, he ſaid vnto them: We haue not here at this preſent to ſhew wherby the thing may be more manifeſt: therfore we aſke reſpite for anſwere tyl to morow. The Councell therfore being broken vp, the multitude of people which came with ẏ archb. thither, being afraid of the kings diſpleaſure, went frõ him. He therfore cauſed his ſeruaunts to fetch vnto his lodging a gret nũber of poore & impotent people, ſaying that by the ſeruice of ſuch maner of men of warre, a more ſpeedye victory might be got, than by thẽ which in time of temptation ſhamefully drue backe: his houſe therfore was anone filled, & the tables ſet with ſuch as his ſeruauntes had brought forth of the lanes and ſtreates abrode.

The archb. condemned in fiue hundred Markes.

An aſſembly of biſhops.

The archb. called to an account.



Vpon the Tueſday the Biſhops all amaſed and full of care, came vnto hym, and bicauſe of the diſpleaſure whiche the King had conceiued againſt him, they counſell hym to ſubmypt hym ſelfe to the kings wyll, or els in fine, they tolde hym plainely, that he woulde be adiudged for a periured perſon, bicauſe he had ſworne vnto the King, as to his earthly Soueraigne, as touching all earthly honour in life, lymme, and member, and namely to obſerue al his royal lawes & cuſtomes, which he of late had eſtabliſhed. Hereunto he anſwered: My brethrẽ, ye ſee how ẏ world roreth againſt me, the enimie riſeth vp, but I more lamẽt that the ſonnes of my mother fight againſt me. If I

The biſhops perſvvad: the archb. to ſubmit hym ſelfe to the kings pleaſure.

The archb. anſvvere to his brethren.

ſhould

He appealeth to the churche of Rome.

He goeth to the courte

He is reputed a Traytour.

ſhoulde holde my peace, yet woulde the worldes to come declare, how ye leaue me alone in ẏ battaile, and haue iudged againſt me now theſe two dayes paſt, I being your father, though neuer ſo much a ſinner: but I commaunde you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon peryll of your order, that you be not preſent in any place of iudgemēt where my perſon maye fortune to bee adiudged. And in teſtimonie heereof, I appeale to our mother the Churche of Rome. Furthermore, if it chance that Temporall men lay their handes vpon me, I charge you likewiſe by vertue of your obedience, that yee exerciſe the cenſures of the Churche for your father the Archbiſhop as it becommeth you. This one thing knowe yee well, that the worlde roreth, the fleſh trembleth and is weake, but I by Gods grace wil not ſhrinke, nor leaue the flocke committed vnto me.

After this, he entred into the Churche, and celebrated Maſſe of Saint Stephen, otherwiſe thā he was accuſtomed to doe with his Pall, whyche being ended, he put on his ſacrificing veſtures with a Coape vppon them all, going ſo to the Court.

Furthermore, bycauſe he was afrayd, he tooke alſo the Sacrament ſecretely with him, & taking moreouer the Croſſe in his owne handes, he bare it himſelfe in his right hand, and the reyne of hys brydell in his left, and ſo comming to the court, he alyghted, and entred the place, ſtill bearyng the Croſſe hymſelfe, till he came to the kings chamber doore, the other Biſhoppes followyng him with greate feare and trembling. Being come thither, the Biſhoppe of Hereforde woulde gladly haue taken the Croſſe to haue borne it before him, but he wold not ſuffer him, but ſayd: It is moſt reaſon that I ſhould beare it my ſelf, vnder the defence wherof I may remaine in ſafetie: and beholding this enſigne, I neede not to doubte vnder what Prince I ſerue. At length when the king exhibited againſt him greate complaintes vnto them al generally, they cryed that he was a Traytor, ſithe he had receyued ſo many benefites at the Kings handes, and now refuſed to do vnto him all earthly honor as he had ſworne to do. To be ſhort, when the Biſhops came to ſit vpon the matter in councell, they appealed to the ſea of Rome againſt the Archebiſhop, accuſing him of periurie: and in the worde of trueth bound themſelues by promiſe, to do what in them might lye, to depoſe him, if the King would pardon them of that iudgemente whiche nowe hanged ouer the Archbiſhops heade: and comming to the Archbiſhop they ſaid: Somtime thou waſt our Archbiſhop, and wee were bound to obey thee: but ſith thou haſte ſworne fealtie to the Kyng, that is to ſay, life, member and earthly honour, and to obſerue his lawes and cuſtomes, and nowe goeſt aboute to deſtroye the ſame, wee ſaye that thou arte guiltie of periurie, and wee will not from henceforth obey a periured Archebiſhoppe, and therfore we cite thee by appellation to appere before the Popes preſence, there to anſwere to theſe thynges, and ſo they appoynted him a daye, in whiche they meant to proſecute their appeale. I heare you wel (ſaid the Archebiſhop.) In lyke maner did the Princes and peeres of the Realme iudge him to bee a periured perſon and a traytoure.

The biſhops diſallowe their Archbiſhop.

The Earle of Leyceſter being accompanyed with Reginalde Earle of Cornewall, came vnto him, and ſayde alſo: The Kyng commaundeth thee to come and render an accompt of that whiche is obiected againſt thee, or elſe heare thy iudgement. Iudgement (ſayd the Archebyſhop) and therewyth ryſing vp ſayde, Nay ſonne erle, fyrſt heare thou: It is not vnto thee vnknowne, howe faythfull I haue bene to the Kyng, and in conſideration thereof, he promoted me to the Archebiſhops ſea, (as God can bee my iudge) agaynſt my will: For I knewe myne owne infirmitie, and I was contented to take it vppon mee rather for his pleaſure, than for Gods cauſe, and therefore dothe God bothe withdrawe hym ſelfe and the king from me. In the time of mine election he made me free, and diſcharged mee of all Courtely bondage: and therefore touching thoſe things from the whiche I am deliuered, I am not bounde to anſwere, neyther wyll I: So muche as the ſoule is more worth than the bodye, ſo muche the more arte thou bounde to obey God and mee, rather than any earthly creature. Neyther wil lawe nor reaſon permitte, that the ſonnes ſhould iudge or condemne the father: wherevpon I refuſe to ſtande to the iudgement eyther of the kyng, or of any other, appealing to the preſence of the Pope, by whome vnder God I ought to be iudged, putting all that I haue vnder Gods protection and hys: and vnder defence of his authoritie I departe oute of thys place, and ſo wente incontinent to take his horſſe.

As he wente his waye, the kings ſeruauntes and others of the Courte, didde ſpeake manye reprochefull wordes agaynſte hym, callyng hym traytour and falſe forſworne caytife.

Geruaſ. Dor.
The ſtoute corage of the Archbiſhop.

At whyche wordes, tournyng hymſelf, and lokyng backe with a ſterne countenaunce, he made thys aunſwere: That if it were not for his order of Prieſthoode, and that it were lawfull for hym, he woulde ſurely cleere hymſelfe of periurie & treaſon, in defending his cauſe againſt them with weapon in hande.

At his commyng to the vtter gate, he founde the ſame faſt locked, whereof they beganne all to be amazed: but one of his ſeruaunts eſpying where a bunche of keyes were tyed to a clubbes ende that didde hang on a pinne. he tooke them downe, and tryed whiche was the right key, and findyng it at the laſt, he opened the gate, and ſo the Archebiſhop wente forth, whyleſt the Porters ſtoode as men amazed, and ſpake not one word againſt it.

Thus as hee got forthe, a greate number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, ſaying: Bleſſed is God, whiche hath deliuered hys ſeruant from the face of his enimie. Thus with a greate route or companie, and with the Clergie, he was honourably conueyed vnto the Abbey of Saint Andrew: and looking behynd and before him, as hee paſſed thitherwarde, he ſayde vnto thoſe that went with him: Howe glorious a proceſſion doth bring me frō the face of the enimie: Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we maye make merie togither in the Lorde. Who were by and by called in, ſo that all the hall, parloures, and chambers were ſette with tables for them to ſit downe at, where they were ſerued with victuals at the full.

Rog. Houedē
The Archebiſhop Becket fled avvay in the night.

The ſame night alſo before the cocks crowing he iſſued forth by a little poſterne gate, and takyng with him only two Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, the one named Roberte Caune, and the other, S. Cayman, with one of his owne ſeruantes called Roger de Broc, he fled away diſguiſed in a white veſture, and a Monkes coule, and chaunging his name, cauſed hymſelfe to be called Dereman: He iourneyed ſtill all the night and by daye laye cloſe in one freendes houſe or other, til finally, he got to Sandwiche, and there getting a ſhippe ſayled ouer into Flaunders, and ſo went into Fraunce, where at the citie of Sens he founde Pope Alexander, to whome he opened all the manner and occaſion of his commyng awaye.

Gilbert Follioth bishop of London vvas ſente to the French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the Archebiſhoppe was fled the realme, ſendeth with al ſpeed Gilbert Folliot biſhop of London, and Williā Earle of Arundell in ambaſſade to the kyng of Fraunce to ſignifye vnto him the whole matter and circumſtance of the falling out betwixt him and the Archebiſhoppe, requiring him not to receyue the Archebiſhop into his realme: but this requeſt was little regarded of the Frenche King as appeared: for the Archbiſhoppes cauſe was fauoured of manye, and the blame imputed to king Henry, ſo that the Archbiſhop found greate frendſhippe bothe in the Frenche king and in the Pope, as after ſhall appeare.

Additions to *Io. Pike.*
Mat. Paris.
Gerua. Doro.

King Henry therfore hearyng that he was thus accuſed by the ſame Archebiſhop vnto the Pope, appoynted Roger Archebiſhop of Yorke, the foreſayd Gilbert Biſhoppe of London, Hilarius Biſhop of Chichiſter, Roger Byſhop Worceſter, Bartholomewe biſhop of Exceſter, with other Biſhoppes, Deanes, Archedeacons, and other learned men of good accompte, to the number of. xv. to paſſe in Ambaſſade vnto the Pope, that they myght excuſe his doyngs, and burdeyn the Archebiſhoppe with the note of rebellion, wherof he had good proofe.

Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke vvith others, are ſent to the Pope.

Theſe perſonages being admitted to declare theyr meſſage in the conſiſtorie before the Pope, they open the whole circumſtance of the matter, from the beginning to the ende, declaring howe that betwixt Thomas the Archebiſhop of Canterburie and the king, there was a controuerſie moued, and by bothe their conſentes, a day appoynted for the hearing and determining therof, as Iuſtice ſhould require. At the whiche day by the kings commaundement all the chiefeſt lordes of the realme both ſpirituall and temporall were called together, to the ende that the more generall the Aſſemblie ſhould be, the more manifeſte might the diſcouerying of the fraude and malice of the Archbiſhop appeare.

Vpon the daye appoynted, there came (ſaye they) before the Catholike Prince his preſence, the nobles of his Realme: and amongeſt other, the Archebiſhop the diſquieter bothe of the kingdome and Churche, who as one not well aſſured of the qualitie of his owne deſeruings, bleſſed himſelfe with the ſigne of the Croſſe at his comming into the houſe, as thoughe he ſhoulde haue come before ſome tyraunt or ſchiſmaticall perſon: and for al this, was not the kings maieſtie any thing offended therwith, but cōmitted yͤ iudgement of his cauſe to the faythfull order of the Biſhops, ſo to delyuer himſelf of all ſuſpition of wrong dealing. And thus it reſted in the Biſhops handes to make an ende of the controuerſie, and to ſet al things ſtreight betwixt them. But the Archebiſhoppe woulde none of that, alledging howe it ſhoulde bee a derogation to the ſea Apoſtolike and dignitie thereof, for hym to ſtand before the king in iudgement, or any other temporall Magiſtrate. And albeit (ſaye they) ſome derogation might haue chanced to the dignitie of the Churche by that iudgemente, yet it had bin his parte to haue diſſembled the matter for the tyme, to the ende that peace mighte haue bene reſtored to the Church. He further obiected (aſcribyng to hymſelfe the name of Father, the whiche ſeemed to ſmell ſomewhat of arrogancye) that the chyldren ought not to come togyther to iudge the fathers cauſes, where it had bin farre more neceſſarie rather that the humbleneſſe of the ſons ſhould mitigate and temper the pride and ambition of the father.

To conclude, after this the kings Ambaſſadors made earneſt ſuite that two Legates mighte bee ſente from the Pope to haue the hearyng and diſcuſſing of all the matter betwixt the king and the Archebiſhop without any other appealyng. But the kings tale coulde not bee hearde in that Courte, the Archebiſhoppe hauyng already perſwaded the Pope to the contrarie. For comyng to the Pope, hee vttered his complaynte as foloweth:

The kings tale coulde not be hearde.

The Archebiſhop Becket.

Mat. Paris.

Moſte holye father, I doe here come for ſuccor to your audience, lamenting that the ſtate of the Church, & the liberties therof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealyng of Kinges and Princes. Wherfore whẽ I thought to reſiſt the diſeaſe aprochiug, I was ſodenly called before yͤ king to rẽder accõpts as a lay mã about certaine wards (the which while I was the kings Chancellour, I had notwithſtanding accompted for) and alſo, when I was made biſhop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the Archebiſhops ſea, I was releaſed & diſcharged of al accompts and bondes by the kings eldeſt ſonne, and by the chief Iuſtice of the Realme: ſo that nowe where I looked to haue found ayde, I was deſtitute therof to my great hinderance and vexation. Conſider furthermore I pray you, howe my lordes and brethren the Biſhoppes are readye at the pleaſure of the noble men of the Courte to giue ſentence againſt me, ſo that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almoſte oppreſſed: and therfore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, whiche doth not forſake youre children in their extreme neceſſitie, afore the whiche I heere ſtand readye to declare and teſtifye that I am not to be iudged there, nor yet at all by them. For what other thyng ſhoulde that bee but to plucke awaye the rightes of the Churche? what elſe then to ſubmit ſpirituall things to temporall? This enſample therefore once ſprong vp, myght giue an occaſion too manie enormities to followe. The biſhoppes doe ſay, Thoſe things that are Ceſars, ought to be reſtored to Ceſar: but admitte that in manye thinges the King is to be obeyed, Is he yet therefore to bee obeyed in thinges wherein he is no King? For thoſe belong not to Ceſar, but to a tyrant. In the whyche if for my cauſe they woulde not, yet oughte the Biſhops for their owne cauſes to haue reſiſted him: For what ſhould bee the cauſe of ſuche hatred that to deſtroye mee, they ſhoulde deſtroy them ſelues? Therfore whyleſt for temporall thyngs they neglecte ſpirituall, they fayle in bothe. Weygh therfore, moſte holye father, my fleeing awaye, and my perſecution, and howe for your ſake I haue bene prouoked with iniuryes, vſe therefore your rigour, conſtrayne them to amendement, thorough whoſe motion thys hathe chaunced, lette them not be borne out by the king who is rather the obſtinate miniſter of this practiſe, than the fynder out of it.

The Pope hauyng hearde his wordes, tooke deliberation in the matter, wyth aduice of hys Cardinalles, and therupon anſwered the Archbiſhop in effecte as foloweth:

The Popes anſvvere to the Archbiſhop.

That the lower power maye not iudge the greater, and chiefly hym whome hee is bounde to obeye, as the lawes bothe of God and manne doe witneſſe, and the ordinaunces of the Auncient Fathers do manifeſtly declare: And hereupon wee (to whome it appertayneth to reforme diſorders) doe clearely reuerſe and make voyde the Iudgement pronounced agaynſt you by the Barons and Biſhoppes, wherby as well againſt the order of Lawe, as agaynſte the cuſtomes of the Churche, your goodes were adiudged forfayte, where as the ſame goodes were not yours, but the churches of Canterburye, ouer whyche you haue the only cure and charge. But if thoſe that haue violently entred vppon the poſſeſſions and goodes of youre Churche, and haue thereby wronged eyther you or yours, will not vpon admonition gyuen to them, make reſtitution with ſufficiente amendes, then maye you if you ſhall thincke conueniente, exerciſe eccleſiaſticall Iuſtice vpon them, and wee ſhall allowe of that whiche you ſhall reaſonably doe in that behalfe: But as touching the King himſelfe, we wil not giue you any ſpeciall commaundement, neither yet do we take from you any right belonging to your biſhoplike office, whiche you receyued at your conſecration. But the king only wee will ſpare, and preſerue out of the daunger of all your excõmunications and cenſures. The archbiſhop reſigned his Palle vnto the Pope, but the Pope gaue it vnto him againe, and appoynted him to remaine at Pountney an Abbey of Monkes Ciſteaux, in the dioceſſe of Auxerre, tyll the matter were brought to ſome good ende betwixt the king and him: This was done in the yeare of our Lorde. 11164.

The Archebiſhop reſigneth his Palle.

The king hauing knowledge by his ambaſſadors what aunſwere the Pope had made, became grieuouſly offended in his minde, and therupon confiſcated all the goods that belonged to the Archebiſhop and his complices, and ſeyſed their reuenues into his handes, appoyntyng one Randall de Broc, to haue the cuſtodie of al that belonged to the ſea, whiche Broc was nothyng friendly to the Archbiſhop, as an enimie knowne to hym of olde, but the Monkes he fauoured and would not ſuffer that they ſhuld ſuſteyne wrong or diſpleaſure at any hande.

Gerua. Dor

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Mat. VVeſt.

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where a bunche of keyes were tyed to a clubbes ende that didde hang on a pinne, he tooke them downe, and tryed whiche was the right key, and findyng it at the laſt, he opened the gate, and ſo the Archebiſhop wente forth, whyleſt the Porters ſtoode as men amazed, and ſpake not one word againſt it.

Thus as hee got forthe, a greate number of poore, weake and impotent people met him, ſaying: Bleſſed is God, whiche hath deliuered hys ſeruant from the face of his enimie. Thus with a greate route or companie, and with the Clergie, he was honourably conueyed vnto the Abbey of Saint Andrew: and looking behynd and before him, as hee paſſed thitherwarde, he ſayde vnto thoſe that went with him: Howe glorious a proceſſion doth bring me frō the face of the enimie: Suffer all the poore people to come into the place, that we maye make merie togither in the Lorde. Who were by and by called in, ſo that all the hall, parloures, and chambers were ſette with tables for them to ſit downe at, where they were ſerued with victuals at the full.

Rog. Houedẽ

The Archebiſhop Becket fled avvay in the night.

The ſame night alſo before the cocks crowing he iſſued forth by a little poſterne gate, and takyng with him only two Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, the one named Roberte Caune, and the other, S. Cayman, with one of his owne ſeruantes called Roger de Broc, he fled away diſguiſed in a white veſture, and a Monkes coule, and chaunging his name, cauſed hymſelfe to be called Dereman: He iourneyed ſtill all the night and by daye laye cloſe in one freendes houſe or other, til finally, he got to Sandwiche, and there getting a ſhippe ſayled ouer into Flaunders, and ſo went into Fraunce, where at the citie of Sens he founde Pope Alexander, to whome he opened all the manner and occaſion of his commyng awaye.

Gilbert Follioth biſhop of London vvas ſente to the French king.

The king vpon knowledge that the Archebiſhoppe was fled the realme, ſendeth with al ſpeed Gilbert Folliot biſhop of London, and Williã Earle of Arundell in ambaſſade to the kyng of Fraunce to ſignifye vnto him the whole matter and circumſtance of the falling out betwixt him and the Archebiſhoppe, requiring him not to receyue the Archebiſhop into his realme: but this requeſt was little regarded of the Frenche King as appeared: for the Archbiſhoppes cauſe was fauoured of manye, and the blame imputed to king Henry, ſo that the Archbiſhop founde greate frendſhippe bothe in the Frenche king and in the Pope, as after ſhall appeare.

dditions to *Io. Pike.*

Mat. Paris.

Gerua. Doro.

Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke vvith others, are ſent to the Pope.

King Henry therfore hearyng that he was thus accuſed by the ſame Archebiſhop vnto the Pope, appoynted Roger Archebiſhop of Yorke, the foreſayd Gilbert Biſhoppe of London, Hilarius Biſhop of Chichiſter, Roger Byſhop Worceſter, Bartholomewe biſhop of Exceſter, with other Biſhoppes, Deanes, Archedeacons, and other learned men of good accompte, to the number of. xv. to paſſe in Ambaſſade vnto the Pope, that they myght excuſe his doyngs, and burdeyn the Archebiſhoppe with the note of rebellion, wherof he had good proofe.

Theſe perſonages being admitted to declare theyr meſſage in the conſiſtorie before the Pope, they open the whole circumſtance of the matter, from the beginning to the ende, declaring howe that betwixt Thomas the Archebiſhop of Canterburie and the king, there was a controuerſie moued, and by bothe their conſentes, a day appoynted for the hearing and determining therof, as Iuſtice ſhould require. At the whiche day by the kings commaundement all the chiefeſt lordes of the realme both ſpirituall and temporall were called together, to the ende that the more generall the Aſſemblie ſhould be, the more manifeſte might the diſcouerying of the fraude and malice of the Archbiſhop appeare.

Vpon the daye appoynted, there came (ſaye they) before the Catholike Prince his preſence, the nobles of his Realme: and amongeſt other, the Archebiſhop the diſquieter bothe of the kingdome and Churche, who as one not well aſſured of the qualitie of his owne deſeruings, bleſſed himſelfe with the ſigne of the Croſſe at his comming into the houſe, as thoughe he ſhoulde haue come before ſome tyraunt or ſchiſmaticall perſon: and for al this, was not the kings maieſtie any thing offended therwith, but cōmitted ẏ iudgement of his cauſe to the faythfull order of the Biſhops, ſo to delyuer himſelf of all ſuſpition of wrong dealing. And thus it reſted in the Biſhops handes to make an ende of the controuerſie, and to ſet al things ſtreight betwixt them. But the Archebiſhoppe woulde none of that, alledging howe it ſhoulde bee a derogation to the ſea Apoſtolike and dignitie thereof, for hym to ſtand before the king in iudgement, or any other temporall Magiſtrate. And albeit (ſaye they) ſome derogation might haue chanced to the dignitie of the Churche by that iudgemente, yet it had bin his parte to haue diſſembled the matter for the tyme, to the ende that peace mighte haue bene reſtored to the Church. He further obiected (aſcribyng to hymſelfe the name of Father, the whiche ſeemed to ſmell ſomewhat of arrogancye) that the chyldren ought not to come togyther to iudge the fathers cauſes, where it had bin farre more neceſſarie rather that the humbleneſſe of the ſons ſhould mitigate and temper the pride and ambition of the father.

To conclude, after this the kings Ambaſſadors made earneſt ſuite that two Legates mighte bee ſente from the Pope to haue the hearyng and diſcuſſing of all the matter betwixt the king and the Archebiſhop without any other appealyng.

he kings tale oulde not be earde.

But the kings tale coulde not bee hearde in that Courte, the Archebiſhoppe hauyng already perſwaded the Pope to the contrarie. For cōmyng to the Pope, hee vttered his complaynte as foloweth:

he Archebiſhop Becket. *at. Paris.*

Moſte holye father, I doe here come for ſuccor to your audience, lamenting that the ſtate of the Church, & the liberties therof are brought to ruine by the couetous dealyng of Kinges and Princes. Wherfore whē I thought to reſiſt the diſeaſe aprochyng, I was ſodenly called before yͤ king to rēder accōpts as a lay mā about certaine wards (the which while I was the kings Chancellour, I had notwithſtanding accompted for) and alſo, when I was made biſhop, and entred into the dignitie of ruling the Archebiſhops ſea, I was releaſed & diſcharged of al accompts and bondes by the kings eldeſt ſonne, and by the chief Iuſtice of the Realme: ſo that nowe where I looked to haue found ayde, I was deſtitute therof to my great hinderance and vexation. Conſider furthermore I pray you, howe my lordes and brethren the Biſhoppes are readye at the pleaſure of the noble men of the Courte to giue ſentence againſt me, ſo that all men being about to run vpon me, I was almoſte oppreſſed: and therfore am now come as it were to take breath in the audience of your clemencie, whiche doth not forſake youre children in their extreeme neceſſitie, afore the whiche I heere ſtand readye to declare and teſtifye that I am not to be iudged there, nor yet at all by them. For what other thyng ſhoulde that bee but to plucke awaye the rightes of the Churche? what elſe then to ſubmit ſpirituall things to temporall? This enſample therefore once ſprong vp, myght giue an occaſion too manie enormities to followe. The biſhoppes doe ſay, Thoſe things that are Ceſars, ought to be reſtored to Ceſar: but admitte that in manye thinges the King is to be obeyed, Is he yet therefore to bee obeyed in thinges wherein he is no King? For thoſe belong not to Ceſar, but to a tyrant. In the whyche if for my cauſe they woulde not, yet oughte the Biſhops for their owne cauſes to haue reſiſted him: For what ſhould bee the cauſe of ſuche hatred that to deſtroye mee, they ſhoulde deſtroy them ſelues? Therfore whyleſt for temporall thyngs they neglecte ſpirituall, they fayle in bothe. Weygh therfore, moſte holye father, my fleeing awaye, and my perſecution, and howe for your ſake I haue bene prouoked with iniuryes, vſe therefore your rigour, conſtrayne them to amendement, thorough whoſe motion thys hathe chaunced, lette them not be borne out by the king, who is rather the obſtinate miniſter of this practiſe, than the fynder out of it.

The Pope hauyng hearde his wordes, tooke deliberation in the matter, wyth aduice of hys Cardinalles, and therupon anſwered the Archbiſhop in effecte as foloweth:

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Gerua. Dorb

1165
Mat. VVest.
Math. Paris.

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Mat. Paris.

men as they ſtood on the grounde were ouerthrowen therewith, and buildings ſo ſhaken, that the belles in ſteeples knolled: The like had alſo chanced in the aduent ſeaſon then laſte before paſſed.

The VVelchemen make vvar on the English marches.

VV. Paruus.

Polidore

The king inuadeth VVales.

Rog. Houede.

The ſeuere puniſhement vſed by king Henry againſte the VVelchmen.

Geruaſ. Dor.

Radulphus Cogeſhal.

Cardigan Caſtel vvonne by the VVelchemen.

Huberte de Saint Clere conſtable of Colcheſter.

VVilliam de Langualee.

The Welchemen this yeare ſpoyled a greate parte of thoſe Countreyes that were borderers vpon them: Wherewith the king being ſore moued, with all ſpeede leuyed an armie as well of Engliſhmen as ſtraungers, and (without regard of the difficulties and daungers) goeth againſte the rebelles, and fynding them withdrawne into their ſtarting holes (I meane the woddes and ſtrayt paſſages,) he compaſſed the ſame about in verie forcible maner. The Welchemen perceyuing themſelues nowe to bee brought into ſuche danger, as that they coulde not well deuiſe howe to eſcape the ſame, cõſulted what was beſt to be done. After conſultation, caſting away their weapons, they came forth to the king, aſking mercie, which they ſomwhat hardly obteyned. Few of them alſo were executed in compariſon of the numbers that offended: But yet the capitaynes and chiefe authors of this rebellion were ſo puniſhed, that it was thoughte they woulde neuer haue preſumed ſo raſhely to offende him in lyke ſorte agayne. For (as ſome writers affirme) hee did iuſtice on the ſonnes of Riz or Rees, and alſo of the ſons and daughters of other noble men that were his complices very rigorouſly: cauſing the eyes of the yong ſtriplings to be raced out of their heades, and theyr noſes to be cut off or ſlit: and the eares of the yong Gentlewomen to bee ſtouffed. But yet I fynde in other authors, that in this iourney king Henrie did not greatly preuayle againſt his enimies, but rather loſt many of his men of warre, both horſemen and footmen: for by his ſeuere proceeding againſt them, he rather made them more eger to ſeeke reuenge, than quieted them in any thyng. They tooke the Caſtell of Cardigan, and in the aſſieging of Briges, the King was in no ſmall daunger of hys lyfe: For one of the enimies ſhooting directly at him, had perced him through the bodie, if Hubert de Saint Clere coneſtable of Colcheſter, perceyuing the arrowe comming, had not thruſt hymſelfe betwixt the King and the ſame arrowe, and ſo preſeruing his mayſter, receyued the ſtrype hymſelfe, whereof he dyed preſently after, beſeeching ẏ king to be good lorde to one only daughter which he had, whõ the king beſtowed in mariage vpõ William de Languälee, togither with hir fathers inheritance, whiche William begate of hir a ſonne that bare bothe his name and ſurname.

VVil. Paruus

But to conclude with this iourney which K. Henry made at this time againſte the Welchemen, although by reaſon of the cumberſom difficulties of the places, he coulde not enter within the countrey ſo farre as he wiſhed, yet he ſo hampered them vp, and cõſtrained them to kepe within the woods and mountains, that they durſt not come abrode, & at lẽgth wer glad to ſue for peace.

VVilliam king of Scots doth his homage to king Henry.

William king of Scots that ſucceeded Malcolme (who departed this lyfe in the yeare laſte paſt) after he had receyued the crowne of Scotlande, came aboute this preſente tyme into England, and fynding king Henry at London, did his homage to him as his predeceſſour Malcolm had done before him. He made ſuite alſo to haue Northumberlande reſtored to hym, whiche the king of Englandes mother the Empreſſe had in tymes paſt giuen vnto King Dauid.

But king Henry layde dyuers reaſons to excuſe him ſelfe why hee myghte not deliuer that countrey to him at that preſente, namely without conſent of a parliament: and ſo king Williã perceyuing how ẏ matter went, gaue ouer his ſute for that preſent, meaning when occaſion ſerued, to attẽpt to get it by force, ſith that by prayer he ſawe well inough he ſhould not obteyne it.

N. Triuet.

Mat. Paris

Gerua. Dor.

An edicte againſt the Archbiſhop Becket.

Moreouer, the Scottiſhe king being required by kyng Henrye to go ouer with him into Normandie, he graunted ſo to doe. And now king Henrye hauyng ſette all thyngs in order within his Realme of Englande in the Lent followyng, he paſſed ouer into Normandie. But before he tooke his iourney, he ſette forth a decree that no manne ſhould bring any letters or commaundemente from Pope Alexander, or from Thomas Archebiſhop of Canterburie into England, conteyning an Interdiction of the realm: vpon perill to bee apprehended and puniſhed as a traytour to the king, and enimie to the realme:

Appeales forbidden.

Alſo that no religious perſon or Prieſt ſhuld bee permittted to paſſe the ſeas, or to come into the Realme of Englande, excepte he had Letters of ſafeconducte from the Iuſtices for paſſage ouer, and of the King for his returne from thence. Alſo it was generally forbidden, that no manne ſhoulde appeale to the ſayd Pope or Archebiſhoppe, nor by their appoyntemente to holde any pleas: And if any perſon were found doing contrary herevnto, he ſhould be taken and committed to priſon. Furthermore, if anye maner of perſon eyther Spiritual or Temporal, were obedient to the ſentence of the Interdiction, the ſame perſone ſhoulde bee banyſhed the Realme withoute delaye, and all hys lignage wyth hym, and ſo as they ſhould not conueye wyth them anye of theyr goodes, the whyche together wyth theyr poſſeſſions ſhould be ſeaſed into the kings handes.

Alſo all ſpirituall perſons that had any benefices within Englande were appoynted to haue warnyng giuen to returne into England within foure monethes after the ſame ſummons pronounced, and that if they fayled heerof, then ſhoulde the Kyng ſeyſe vpon their goodes and poſſeſſions.

Alſo the Biſhoppes of London and Norwiche, were ſummoned to appeare before the Kyngs Juſtices to aunſwere in that they had interdited the landes of Earle Hugh, and excommunicated the ſayd Earle.

Alſo that the pens of Saint Peter ſhould be gathered and kept.

The kings of Englande and Fraunce entervievve.
Chro. Sigeb.

In the Octaues of Eaſter king Henry came to an enterview with the Frenche King at Gyſours, where they hadde conference together of ſundrye matters.

Mat. Paris.
K. Iohn borne.

Thys yeare the Queene was delyuered of a ſonne named, John that was after king of this ralme.

Geru. Doro.

A cõtribution.

Moreouer, kyng Henry callyng a counſel of his Biſhops and Barons there in Normandie, a collection was ordeyned by their aduiſe to be made through all his countreys and dominions of two pence of the pounde of euery mans landes and goodes, iewells and apparell onely excepted: to be payde this yeare. 1166. and for the ſpace of foure yeares nexte enſuyng, one penye of euerye pounde to be payde yearely, and thoſe that hadde not the worth in goodes or landes the value of twentie ſhillings, and were yet houſeholders, or had any office, they ſhoulde pay a penye to this contribution, whiche was onely graunted for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſte partes, and thoſe that warred agaynſte the miſcreantes there. The payemente therof was appoynted to be made in the feaſte daye of Saynte Remigius, or within fifteene dayes after: and all ſuche as departed this lyfe within the tearme that this collection was curraunt, theyr debtes beyng payde, were appoynted by the ſame ordinaunce to gyue the tenthe parte of all the reſidue of theyr goodes vnto this ſo neceſſarie a contribution.

King Henry remaynyng nowe in Normandie, and vnderſtanding that dyuers Lordes and Barons of Mayne, and of the marches of Britayne, woulde not in his abſence ſhewe themſelues obedient vnto his wyfe Queene Eleanor, but were aboute to practiſe a rebellion. He reyſed an armie, and wente agaynſte them, eaſily ſubduyng thoſe, whom he founde obſtinate: and beſieging the Caſtell of Foulgiers, tooke and vtterly deſtroyed it.

he caſtell of
oulgiers.
Mat. Paris.

izeley.
he Archebi-
op Becket
curſed thoſe
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ſtomes of
eir elders.

Soone after the Archebiſhop of Canterbury came from Pountney to Uizeley, and there on the Aſcention day when the Churche was moſte full of people, he got him into the Pulpet, and with booke, bell, and candell, ſolemnely accurſed all the obſeruers, defendours, and maynteyners, with the promoters of ſuche cuſtomes as within the realme of Englande they terme the Cuſtome of theyr elders: And amongeſt other were namely accurſed Richarde de Lucy, Richarde the Archdeacon of Poyctiers, Jocelyn de Baillebille, Alane de Neuille, and manye other. But they beeing abſente, neyther called nor conuict: (as they alleaged) notwithſtanding they were thus excommunicate,) ſente theyr meſſengers vnto the Archebiſhoppe, and appealed from hym, and ſo feared not to enter into theyr churches.

R. H.

He hadde before this written alſo vnto hys Suffraganes certayne Letters, and in the ſame denounced ſome of theſe perſones by expreſſe name accurſed, and alſo other, not onely for maynteynyng the matter agaynſt hym, touching the auncient cuſtome of the Realme: but alſo for the ſchiſme reyſed in Almayne by Reginald Archebiſhoppe of Coleyn, for the which he accurſed one John of Oxforde.

Moreouer, he accurſed Raynulfe de Brocke, Hugh Saynt Clere, and Thomas Fitz Bernarde, for violently ſeyſing vpon and deteyning the goods and poſſeſſions belonging to his Archbiſhoprike, without his conſente or agreemente therunto had,

The kyng on the other parte baniſhed out of Englande, and all the parties of his other dominions, all thoſe perſons that were knowen to be of kinne vnto the Archebiſhoppe, both yong and olde.

And furthermore he ſent aduertiſement to the Abbot of Pountney, and to his Monkes, with whom the Archebiſhoppe by the Popes appointmente remayned, that if they kepte hym ſtyll in theyr houſe, he woulde not fayle to banyſhe out of Englande alll the Monkes of their order. And ſo the Archebiſhop of his owne accorde after he had remayned there vneth two yeares, departed from thence, and came to the kyng of Fraunce, who courteouſly receyued hym, and ſent him to the Abbey of Saint Columbes nere to the Citie of Sens, where he remayned a certayne ſeaſon, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Math. Paris.
Legates from the Pope.

Shortely after this, came vnto Montmiriall two Legates from the Pope, William of Pauia, and John of Naples, bothe Cardinalles, whome the Archbiſhoppe ſuſpected rather to fauour the kings cauſe than hys: yet he was contented that they ſhoulde haue the iudgemente thereof committed vnto them: ſo that firſt according to the rules of the Church there might reſtitution bee made bothe to hym and to hys, of ſuche goodes as had bin taken from them. For being diſpoyled as he was, he woulde not ſtande to any iudgement, nor could not be compelled therevnto by anye reaſon (as he ſayde) ſo that the two Legates when they ſawe that they could not bring any thing to paſſe, departed againe without any thing concluded.

Comes Sagienſis.

N. Triuet.
Alerium

About this time Williã Taluan erle of Sagium by the cõſent of his ſons and nephues, deliuered into the handes of king Henry the caſtels of Alerium, and Roche Laberie, with al the appurtenances to the ſame caſtels belonging.

Conan Duke of Britayne deceaſeth.
Mat. Paris.

About this ſeaſon alſo Conane the Duke of Britayne departed this lyfe, leauing behynd him no iſſue, but one only daughter begot of his wife the Ducheſſe Conſtance, the daughter of the K. of Scotlande, which ſucceeded him in the aſtate. Wherupon K. Henry made earneſt ſute to procure a mariage betwixte hir and his ſonne Geffrey, whiche at length he brought to paſſe, to the high comforte and contentation of his mynde, in that his ſonne had by ſuch good fortune atteyned to the dukedome of Britayne.

A mariage concluded betvvixt Geffrey the kings ſonne & the Ducheſſe of Britayne.
VV. Paruu.

There were in that ſeaſon in Britayn certain noble mẽ of ſuch ſtrength & power, that they diſdained to acknowledge thẽſelues ſubiecte to any ſuperior power, & through ambitious deſire of rule & preeminẽce, they warred cõtinually one againſt an other, to the greate deſtruction and vtter vndoing of their miſerable countrey, ſo that the fieldes ſometyme fruitfull and batefull by nature, were become as a wylde deſert. Herevpon, thoſe that were the weaker partie, perceiuing themſelues too muche ouerpreſſed by their aduerſaries, ſubmit themſelues vnto king Henry, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour.

King Henrie reioycing to haue ſo good an occaſion and oportunitie to reduce them to reaſon, with all ſpeede ayded them that required healpe, and ſubdued thoſe that reſiſted his power, notwithſtanding their greate puiſſaunce, and the ſtrength of the places whiche they kept.

An. reg. 13.

1167.
N. Triuet.
King Hẽry inuadeth the erle of Auuergnes landes.

And in the meane while the kings ſonne Henrye came ouer to his Father, and founde him at Poytiers, from whence ſhortly after Eaſter, he remoued, and with an army entred into the landes of the Earle of Auergne, the which he waſted and ſpoyled, bycauſe the ſayd Earle had renounced his allegiance to King Henrye, & made his reſorte to the French king, ſeekyng to ſowe diſcorde betwixte the foreſayd two kyngs: which diſcord was kindled the more by a chalenge pretended about the ſendyng of the money ouer into the holye lande, whiche was gathered within the countie of Tours: for the Frenche Kyng claymed to ſende it, by reaſon that the Churche there appertained to his dominion: and the king of Englande would haue ſente it bicauſe that it was gathered within the countrey that belonged to his gouernemente.

Geruaſ. Dor.
The Earle of Bolongne prepareth. 600. ſhips to inuade Englande.

Thys yeare a greate preparation of ſhippes was made by the Earle of Bolongne, to haue inuaded Englande, but by the warlyke prouiſyon of Richarde Lucye, Lorde gouernoure of the realme, the ſea coaſtes were ſo prouided of ſufficiente defence, that the Earles attemptes came to nothyng.

The cauſe why he made thys bragge, was for that the kyng withhelde from hym certaine reuenues which he claimed to haue here in England, & therfore he ment to recouer them by force.

The deceaſſe of the empreſſe Maude.
Mat. VVeſt.

The Empreſſe Maude mother to the Kyng of Englande, a woman in ſtouteneſſe of ſtomacke and warrelyke attemptes more famous than commonly any of that ſexe, deceaſſed this yeare the tenth of September.

Alſo Roberte biſhoppe of Lincolne departed thys lyfe, after whoſe deceaſſe the Sea of Lincolne was vacant by the ſpace of ſeuentene yeares, the king in al that meane tyme receiuing the profites.

An. reg. 14.

An ambaſſade from the Emperour.

The Elect of Coleyn came ambaſſador from the Emperoure vnto the Kyng of Englande, requyring to haue one of his daughters giuen in mariage vnto the Emperoures ſonne, and an other of them vnto Henrye Duke of Saxonie: which requeſt the king did willingly grant, and therupon was the Queene ſent for to come ouer into Normandie, and to bring with hir the lord Richard hir ſonne and hir daughter the Ladye Maude: the whyche Ladye was maryed vnto the Duke of Saxonie, in the beginning of the yeare nexte enſuyng. She had iſſue by him. iij. ſonnes, Henry, Otho, and William, of whiche the middlemoſt came to be Emperor.

1168.

Mat. VVeſt.

Debate betvvixt the pope & the emperour.

King Henry offereth to ayde the emperoure.

The variance ſtil depending betwixt the king & the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: there was alſo about the ſame time a great debate betwixte the Emperour Frederike the firſt & Pope Alexander the third: wherupon king Hẽry wrote to the emperor, & ſignified vnto him, that he wold ayd him if nede ſhould require againſte the Pope, whiche maynteyned ſuch a runagate traitor as the archbiſhop Becket was. Moreouer at the ſame time the king cauſed all his ſubiectes within the realme of Englande, from the chylde of .xij. yeares olde vnto the aged perſon, to forſweare all obedience that might be pretended, as due to the ſame Pope Alexander. The king for the ſpace of two yeares togither remaining ſtill in Normandie, and in other places beyonde the ſeas, ſubdued diuers rebelles, as the earle of Angouleſme, Aymerike de Lucygny, and his ſonnes Robert and Hugh.

n entervevve etvvixt the ings of Enlād and king f Fraunce.

The kings met gayne to cōen of peace.

Alſo he came to an enterview with the king of France betwixt Pacy and Maunte, where they communed of ſuche iniuries as were thought to be attempted on eyther part: For the Poictovins had made their reſorte to the Frenche king, and were confederate with him againſt their ſupreme Lorde King Henry, and had deliuered pledges for aſſurance therof, which pledges the Frenche king woulde not reſtore.

truce.

atrike Earle f Saliſburye ayne.

But yet there was a truce concluded betwixt them to endure tyl the feaſt of Saint John Baptiſt. About the feaſt of Eaſter alſo Patrike Erle of Saliſburye was ſlayne by treaſon of yͤ Poyctovyns and was buryed at Saint Hillary. After him his ſon Williã ſucceded in yͤ earledom. The Britons practyſed dayly Rebellions: but King Henry entring their countrey, wan diuers ſtrõg townes and caſtels, and brought them at length vnder his ſubiection. Moreouer in this ſommer ſeaſon yͤ two kings met again at Fert Bernarde to talke of peace, but they departed without concluding any agreemente at all. For there were manie of the Poyctovyns and Brytons, whiche tooke parte with the kyng of Fraunce, and hauing deliuered vnto him hoſtages, had a promiſe made to them, that the French kyng ſhould not conclude an agreement with the king of Englande without theyr conſent. Herevpon therfore they made warres eyther vpon other, till finally about the feaſt of the Epiphanie a peace was accorded betwixt them: And then Henry the king of Englands ſonne made his homage vnto the Frenche king for the countie of Aniou, and the Frenche king graunted to hym the office of the Seneſchalcie of France, which anciently belonged vnto the Erles of Aniou. Alſo Geoffrey duke of Britayne did homage to his elder brother the aforeſayde Henry, by commaundement of his father, for the duchie of Britain. And afterwards the ſame Geffrey went into Britain, & at Rheynes receiued the homage and fealtie of yͤ Lordes and barons of that countrey.

An. reg. 15.
1169

eruaſ. Doro.
Triuet.

effrey duke Britayn.

eruey de uon.

K. Henrye in that meane while ſubdued certain rebells in Gaſcoine, & retourning into Normandie, buylt a goodly towne and fortreſſe nere to Hay de Malafrey, cleped Beauver.

Aboute the ſame tyme one Haruey de Yuon that had marryed the daughter of one William Goieth (who dyed in his iourney which he toke into the holy land) deliuered certaine caſtels into the handes of king Henry, bicauſe he was in deſpaire to keepe them againſt Theobald Earle of Chartres, the which through the Frenche kyngs ayd, ſought to diſpoſſeſſe him of the ſame caſtels: And ſo herevpon the warre was renued betwixte the king of England and the ſaid Erle of Chartres. Neuertheleſſe king Henry making no great accompt of thoſe warres, wente into Britayne with his ſonne Geoffrey, where going about the countrey to viſite the Cities and townes, he reformed many miſorders, laying as it wer a maner of a new fundation of things there, fortifying the Caſtels, Cities and townes, and communing in courteous manner with the Lordes and peeres of the countrey, ſought to win their good willes: and ſo in ſuche exerciſes, he ſpent a great parte of the tyme. He kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Nauntes, whether all the greate lordes and barons of Britayne reſorted to him, and when the ſolemnitie of that feaſt was paſte, he entred into the lands of an Erle called Eudo, and waſted the ſame, tyll the ſayd Earle ſubmitted him ſelfe. At length after that the king had taken order for the good gouernment of Normandie, and his other Countries on that ſide the ſea, he returned into England in the firſt weeke of the month of March, but not without great daunger, by reaſon of a tempeſt that took him on the ſeas, beginning about mydnight, and not ceaſſing till .ix. of the clocke in the morning, about which houre he came a lande at Portſmouth, not with many of his ſhips, the reſte being toſſed and driuen to ſeeke ſuccour in ſundrye creekes and hauens of the lande, and one of them which was the chiefeſt and neweſt, was loſte in the middle of the floudes, togyther with .iiij. C. perſons of menne and women: amongeſt the which were Henry de Aguell with .ij. of his ſonnes Gilbert Sullemuy and Rafe Beumount the kings Phyſition and houſhold ſeruaunt.

An. reg. 16.
1170.

Polidor.

Dauid vvas made knighte by king Henry as Houeden hath.

After this the king held his Eaſter at Wynſor, whyther came to him William the Scottiſhe king, wyth his brother Dauid to welcom him home, and to congratulate his happie ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe on the further ſyde the ſeas. They were honourably entertained, and at their departure princely rewarded.

The King beeyng returned thus into Englande, puniſhed the Sheriffes of the lande right grieuouſly for their extortion, brybery, and rapine.

A prudent conſideratiō in the king.

Mans nature ambitious.

After this, ſtudying howe to aſſure the eſtate of the Realme vnto his ſonnes, vpon good conſideration, remembring that no liuing creature was more ſubiecte to the vncertayntie of death than Adams heires, and that there is ingrafted ſuche a feruent deſyre in the ambitious nature of man to gouerne, that ſo ofte as they once come in hope of a kingdome, they are without regard eyther of right or wrong, God or deuyll, tyll they be in poſſeſſion of theyr deſyred pray: Hee thought it not the worſt poynt of wyſedome to foreſee that whyche myghte happen: for if hee ſhoulde chaunce to departe thys lyfe, and leaue his ſonnes young, and not able to mayntayne warres through lacke of knowledge, it myght fortune them thorough the ambition of ſome to be defrauded and diſappoynted of theyr lawfull inheritaunce. Therefore to preuente the chaunces of fortune, he determined whyleſt hee was alyue to crowne his eldeſt ſonne Henry, being nowe of the age of .xvij. yeares, and ſo to inueſte hym in the kingdome by his owne acte in his lyfe tyme: which deed turned hym to much trouble, as after ſhall appeare.

Rog. Houede.

Henrye the ſon crovvned the [illegible] of Iuly hath Math. Paris.

Thus being vpon this poynt reſolued, he calleth togyther a parliament of the nobles bothe ſpirituall and temporall at London, and there [on Saint Bartholomewes daye] proclaymed his ſayd ſonne Henry felowe with hym in the kyngdome, whome after this on [the Sundaye followyng] beyng the fourtenth daye of Iune 1170. Roger the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke dyd crowne accordyng to the manner, commaunded ſo to doe by the kyng. Thys office appertayned vnto the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, but bycauſe he was baniſhed the Realme, the Kyng appoynted the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke to doe it, which he ought not to haue done without licence of the Archebyſhop of Canterbury within the precinctes of his prouince, (as was alledged by the Archebyſhop Becket) who complayned thereof vnto Pope Alexander, and ſo incenſed the Pope, that hee beyng hyghly moued, by his letters forbad, not only the Archbiſhop of Yorke, but alſo Gilberte Biſhoppe of London, and Iocelyn Biſhop of Saliſburye, (which were preſente at the Coronation) the vſe of the Sacramentes, whiche made king Henry farre more diſpleaſed wyth the Archebiſhoppe Thomas than he was before.

VVil. Paruus

The Archebiſhop of Yorke is forbidde the vſe of the Sacramentes.

Mat. Paris.

Polidore

The king become ſeruitour to his ſonne.

Honors change manners.

Yong men ſet vp in dignitie eaſily forget themſelues.

Vpon the day of the Coronation, king Henry the father ſerued hys ſonne at the Table as ſewer, bringing vp the Bores head with trumpettes afore it, accordyng to the maner. For the whiche the yong man conceyuing a pride in his hearte, beheld the ſtanders by with a more ſtately countenaunce than he had bin wonte. Wherevpon the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke whiche ſat by hym, turnyng vnto hym, ſayde, Be glad my good ſonne, there is not an other Prince in the worlde that hath ſuche a ſewer at his table. To this the newe king anſwered, as it were diſdainfully thus: Why, doeſt thou maruell at that? My father in doing it, thinketh it not more thã becommeth him, that he being borne of princely bloud onely on the mothers ſyde, ſerueth mee that am borne, hauyng both a Kyng to my father, and a Queene to my mother.

Thus the yong man of an euill and peruerſe nature, was puffed vp in pryde by his fathers vnſeemely doings. But the Kyng hys father hearyng his talke, was right ſorrowfull in his mynde, and ſayde to the Archebiſhoppe ſoftlye in his eare: It repenteth me, it repenteth mee my Lorde, that I haue thus aduaunced the boy. For he gueſſed hereby what a one he woulde proue afterwarde, that ſhewed himſelfe ſo diſobediente and frowarde already. But although he was diſpleaſed with hym ſelf in that he had done euyll, yet nowe when that whyche was done, coulde not bee vndone, he cauſed all the nobles and lordes of the realme, togither with the king of Scots and his brother Dauid, to do homage vnto his ſayde ſonne thus made fellow with hym in the kingdome: but he would not releaſe them of theyr othe of allegiance wherin they ſtoode bounde to obeye him the father, ſo long as he lyued.

Yet there bee that write, that hee renounced his eſtate firſte afore all the Lordes of the land, and after cauſed his ſonne to be crowned: but in ſuche vncertayne poyntes ſet forth by parciall wryters, that is to be receyued as a truth, which is confirmed by the order and ſequele of thyngs after done and put in practiſe. For trouthe it is, that kyng Henry the father ſo long as his ſonne lyued, did ſhewe himſelfe ſometyme as felowe with his ſon in gouernmẽt, & ſomtime as abſolute kyng: And after his ſons deceaſe, he continued in the entier gouernement, ſo long as he lyued. But to proceede.

The Frenche king offended

The Frenche kyng hearyng that hys ſonne in lawe was thus crowned, and not his daughter, the wyfe of Henry the ſonne, he was highly offended therewith, and threatened to make warre againſt kyng Henrye the father, excepte hys daughter Margarete myghte receyue the Crowne alſo, as Queene immediatly.

An enterview of the kings.

Rog. Houede.

The cauſe why ſhee was crowned, was by reaſon of hir young yeares, and had not as yet companyed with hir huſbande. But king Henrye the Father, vnderſtandyng the Frenche kyngs threates, ſayled ouer into Normandye, where whyleſt they prepare for warre on bothe ſydes, by the earneſte diligence of Theobalde Earle of Bloys, bothe the Kyngs come to an enterviewe at Vendoſme, where at length they were accorded, vppon promyſe made by kyng Henrye, that he woulde cauſe his ſonne to bee crowned agayne, and wyth hym his wyfe the ſayde Margarete the Frenche kings daughter.

The Frenche kyng contented therewyth, departed homewardes, and kyng Henry retournyng came to Vernon, where hee fell into ſo great a ſickeneſſe, that anone it was bruted thoroughout e made his eſtament.

. Houe.

In deede he him ſelfe was in ſuche diſpayre of lyfe, that he made his Teſtament: wherein he aſſigned his ſonne Richard the Duchie of Aquitayne, and all thoſe landes which came by Queene Elianor the mother of the ſame Richard. And to his ſonne Geffrey he bequeathed Britaigne (with the daughter of Earle Conan) the which he had purchaſed to his vſe of the French kyng. And to his ſonne Kyng Henry he gaue the Duchie of Normandy, and all thoſe landes which came by his father Geffrey Earle of Anion. And to his youngeſt ſonne Iohn he bequeathed the Earledome of Mortaign. And further he appoynted where he woulde haue his body to be buryed.

olid.

ing Henry he ſonne his iſorder.

In this meane tyme Henry the ſonne remaynyng at home in Englande, fell from all good order of meaſure keeping, and gaue hym ſelfe to all exceſſiue riot, ſpending and waſting his reuenewes inordinately. Of whiche dealing his father being aduertiſed, returned into Englande, where he taryed not long, but paſſed ouer againe into Normandy, hauyng his ſaid ſonne in his companye, meaning thereby to remoue hym from the company of thoſe that were very like to corrupt his nature, and frame the ſame to all lewdneſſe.

Anno re- ni. 16.

1170.

In this meane while Thomas the Archbiſhop of Canterbury remayned in exile almoſt ſixe yeares, and could not be reſtored, tyll partly through the minatorie threates of the Pope, and partly through the earneſt ſuite made by Lewes the French Kyng, Theobald Earle of Bloys, and other, King Henry beganne ſomwhat to ſhew hym ſelfe conformable towardes an agreement.

Ex Quadrilogio.

The king & the archb. Becket met together in preſence of the French kyng.

Wherupon at diuers tymes the two kings met, and the Archbiſhop Thomas came with the French King, and at one tyme he humbled hym ſelfe ſo to the King of Englande, that kneeling downe at his feete, ſaide: My ſoueraigne liege Lorde, I commit the whole cauſe of the controuerſie betwixt your Grace and me, vnto your maieſties order, Gods honour onely reſerued.

The King offended with that ambiguous exception, ſaid to the King of Fraunce: What ſo euer diſpleaſeth this man, is taken, as he interpreteth it, contrary to Gods honour, and ſo by that ſhyft wyll he challenge to hym ſelfe all that belongeth vnto me. But bicauſe ye ſhall not thinke that I goe about to reſiſt Gods honour, or hym, in any reaſonable order, looke what the greateſt and moſt holy of all his aunceſtours haue done vnto the meaneſt of myne aunceſtours, let hym doo the ſame vnto me, and I am contented therwith.

All the company preſent cryed, that the king humbled hym ſelfe enough. My Lord Archbiſhop, ſaid the French King, wyll ye be greater than Saintes? and better than Saint Peter? Wherof ſtande you in doubt? Beholde, your peace is at hand.

The preſent ſtate of the church in Beckets dayes.

The Archbiſhop made anſwere in commendation of the preſent ſtate of holy Churche, as thus: My holy predeceſſours in their tyme, although they cut not all things away that extolled it ſelfe againſt God, yet dyd they cut of diuers of them: but if they had plucked vp all by the harde rootes, which might offende, who ſhould nowe haue raiſed the fire of temptation agaynſt vs? Wee are in muche better caſe, thankes be to God, ſo that as we haue laboured in their lot and number, ſo are we partakers of their labour and rewarde. What if any of them had bin faint, or exceeded in any poynt, are we bounde to folowe the example of their faintneſſe or exceſſe? We blame Peter for his denying of Chriſte, but we prayſe hym in reprouyng of Neroes violence, with daunger of his lyfe. The Churche hath riſen and increaſed out of many daungerous oppreſſions, our fathers haue ſuffered many things, bicauſe they woulde not forſake the name of Chriſte, and ought I to ſuppreſſe his honour, to be reconciled vnto any mans fauour? God forbyd, ſaid he, God forbyd.

The archb. Becket blamed of arrogancie.

When the Noble men preſent hearde this anſweare of a ſubiect againſt his Soueraigne, they all held againſt him, imputing the fault to the Biſhops arrogancie, that the peace was not made betweene the king and hym, in ſo muche that there was an Earle which openly ſaid, ſyth that hee reſiſteth the wyll of both the Realmes, he is not worthy to be ſuccoured by either of them from henceforth: and therefore being caſt out of Englande, let not France receyue hym.

Archb. Becket vvilful in his ovvne opinion.

The Councell then being broken vp, the Kings departed without biddyng the Archbiſhop farewell, and ſuch as were mediatours for peace, in departing from this meting, ſpake many reprochefull wordes to hym, alledgyng that he had benne euer ſtoute and wiſe in his owne conceit, and a folower of his owne will and opinion: adding that it was a great hinderaunce to the Churche, that he was ordeyned Archbiſhop, and that by hym the Churche was alreadye in part deſtroyed, and woulde ſhortly be altogether brought to ruine.

But the Archbyſhop ſettyng a watche before his mouth, kept ſilence as though he had not heard, and folowed the Frenche king with his people. Many ſaide by the way as they iourneyed, Beholde the Archbiſhop yonder, whiche in talke the laſt night, woulde not for the pleaſure of the King denie God, nor keepe his honor in ſilence.

The French King receyueth the Archbishop Becket agayne into fauoure.

After this, when the Archbiſhop was come to Sens, and aduiſed with himſelfe whether it ſhoulde bee beſt for him to goe, at length hee ſaide, God is able in the laſt poynte of miſerie and diſtreſſe, to help thoſe that be his: and herewith came a meſſenger from the French King to bring him to the Court, for the French King as one that had bin better inſtructed in the matter, repented himſelfe that he had iudged euil of his aunſweres at the laſt meeting, and hereupon receyued him againe into his fauour, and reſted not to trauell ſo muche in his cauſe, that at length another meeting was aſſigned at a certayne place neere the confines of Normandy, whther King Henry came, and there foūd Kyng Lewes, the Archbiſhop of Rouen, and diuers other Biſhops togither, with the foreſaide Archbiſhop, who after they had reaſoned of the matter throughly as they ſaw cauſe, K. Henry receiued the Archbiſhop into his fauour againe, and promiſed to redreſſe all that hadde bin done amiſſe, and pardon all thoſe that had followed him out of the Realme, whereuppon the King and the Archbiſhop being recōciled, the Archbiſhoppe the ſame day came before the Kings preſence, and talked with him. And amongſt other things, the Archbiſhop required of the King, that it might be lawfull vnto him without the offending of his maieſtie, to puniſh, according to the cenſures of the Churche, the iniurie done vnto him by the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and other Biſhops in the Coronation of his ſonne, which the King graunted, and ſhewed himſelfe in all things to the Archbyſhop at that time ſo curteous, that as it is ſaid, he held his ſtirrop when he mounted on Horſbacke. But whereas twice within a few dayes after, the King and the ſaid Archbiſhop met at Maſſe, the King refuſed the kiſſe of peace with him, which was marked as a ſigne of a fained reconciliation, though indeede he afterwardes entertained him very curteouſly, and at his departure ouer into England, tooke leaue of hym in frindly manner, and directed letters vnder his ſeale, to his ſonne the newe King in forme as followeth. Knowe yee that Thomas the Archbiſhop of Cāterbury hath made his peace with mee at my will and pleaſure, and therefore I commaunde you, that both hee and hys may remayne in peace, and that he and al thoſe which for his cauſe departed out of yͤ Realm, may haue to them reſtored all their goodes in reſt and quiet, and in ſuche eſtate as they were poſſeſſed of them at any time within three monethes before their departure from thence. And further, cauſe to come before vs of the beſt, and moſt auncient Knightes, of the honor of Saltwood, that vppon their othes, they maye finde what fee the Archbiſhop ought to haue within that honor, and that which ſhall appeare to apperteyne vnto him, as in fee let him enioy the ſame. And thus fare ye well.

The Arch. is reconciled to the king.

The King vvould not kiſſe the paxe vvith the Archb.

M. Paris.

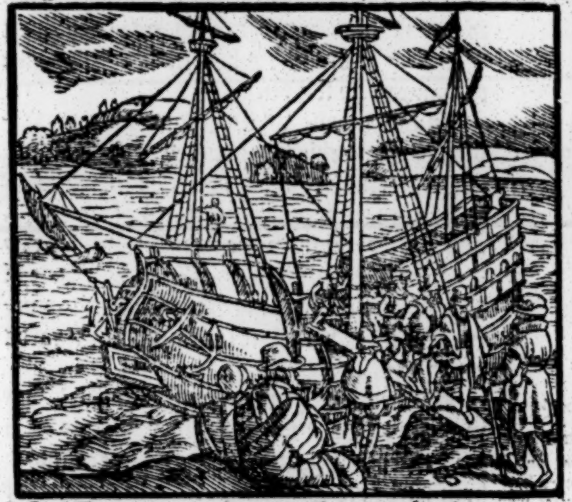
The hono of Saltvvo

The Archbiſhop before he tooke his iourney into England, went to viſit the French King, and to giue him thankes for his greate paynes and trauell ſuſteyned in his cauſe, who aduiſed him in no wiſe as yet to committe hymſelfe to preſente daunger amongſt his new reconciled enimies, but rather to ſtay til their malice wer ſomewhat aſwaged: for he perceyued by Kyng Henries wordes and countenaunce ſuch a deepe rooted diſpleaſure in his hart, that hee agreed to receyue him into fauoure rather by compulſion and againſt his will than otherwiſe.

The French Kings aduic to the Arch. bish. Beck

But when the Archbiſhop would nedes depart and goe ouer into Englande, the Frenche K. ſuffered him ſo to doe, doing him al the honor he could at his leaue taking. Thē yͤ Archbiſhoppe departing out of Fraunce, came into England, and landed at Sandwiche about the

M. Paris. The Archb Becket returneth into Englande.



firſt of December, in the ſeuenth yeare after his firſt departure out of the Realme. Shortly after his arriuall, Roger yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke Gilbert Biſhop of London, and Joſcelline the Biſhop of Saliſbury, with diuers other, came vnto him, as to the Popes Legate, and required that it might pleaſe him to reſtore them to the miniſtration of their offices againe. Theyr requeſt he graunted, but yet vpon condition yͭ they ſhuld vndertake to ſtand to his iudgemēt and order in al things, which to do, they by the Counſell of the Archbyſhop of Yorke vtterly refuſed. Heere authors agree not, as Polidor truely ſaith, for ſome write, howe the Archbiſhop Thomas immediately vpon his returne into England, denounced the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke with the Biſhops of Saliſburie & Lōdō accurſed, wheras before they were depriued of the vſe and adminiſtration of the Sacramentes: and ſome agayne wryte, that nowe at his comming ouer into Englande from his exile, he depriued them onely of the miniſtration of the Sacramentes together wyth the Biſhoppes of Exceſter, Cheſter, Rocheſter, Saint Aſaph, and Landaffe, whiche had bin preſente at the Coronation of king Henry the ſonne, to the derogatiõ of the dignitie of their primate the Archbiſhop of Canterbury (as before ye haue herd.) It ſhuld ſeme yet by Geru. Dorobernenſis, that the Archbiſhop of York, & the Biſhop of Durham were ſuſpended, and the Biſhops of London, Saliſbury, & diuers other were excommunicate. But how ſoeuer he vſed them, the Archbiſhop of York, the two Biſhops of London, & Saliſbury being offended with his doings, ſailed ouer into Normãdie, and there complayned vnto kyng Henry of iniuries done to them by the Archebiſhoppe Thomas, grieuouſly accuſing him, that hee went about to take away the libertie of prieſthood, to deſtroy, corrupte, and fynally to aboliſhe bothe the lawes of God and man, together with the auncient decrees and ſtatutes of their elders: inſomuch that he tooke vpon him to exclude Biſhoppes at his pleaſure from the companie of Chriſtian men, and ſo being excluded, to baniſhe them for euer. Alſo to derogate things merely preiudiciall to the kinges royall prerogatiue. And finally to take away from all men the equitie of Lawes and Ciuill orders.

he archbiſh. Yorke and her go ouer the king to mplayne of e Archebiſh. cket.

erua.Doro.

The Kyng giuyng eare to theyr tale, was ſo diſpleaſed in his mynde towardes the Archebiſhop Thomas, that in open audience of his Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemenne, he ſayd theſe or the lyke wordes: In what myſerable ſtate am I, that can not bee in reſte within myne owne Realme, by reaſon of one onely Prieſte? neyther is there any of my folkes that will helpe to deliuer me out of ſuche troubles.

he occaſion the kinges oordes that ſt biſhoppe cket his life.

There were that ſtoode aboute the King whyche gueſſed by theſe wordes, that hys mynde was to ſignifye he woulde haue ſome man to diſpatche the Archebiſhop out of the waye.

The Kinges diſpleaſure towardes the Archbiſhop was knowne well ynough, which cauſed men to haue no reuerence to him at all, ſo that as there goeth a tale: it chaunced on a tyme, that hee came to Strowde in Kente, where the inhabitauntes meanyng to do ſomwhat to his infamye, beyng thus oute of the Kings fauour, and deſpiſed of the worlde, cut off his horſſes tayle.

There were of the Kinges ſeruauntes that thought after an other maner of ſort to reuenge the diſpleaſure done to the kyngs maieſtie, as Sir Hugh Moreville, ſir William Tracy, ſir Richard Britaigne, and Sir Reignold Fitz Vrſe, knightes, the whiche taking aduyce togither, and agreeing in one mynde and will, tooke ſhipping, and ſayled ouer into England, landyng at a place called Dogges hauen, nere vnto Douer.

The knightes the knightes that ſlevve the Archbi.Becket.

The firſte nighte they lodged in the Caſtel of Saltwood, which Randulffe de Brocke hadde in keepyng, the nexte morning beeing the nyne and twentie of December, & fifte day of Chriſtmas which as that yeare came aboute fel vpon a tuiſday. They (hauing got togyther certain ſouldiors in the countrey thereabouts) came to Canterbury, and firſt entring into the court of the abbey of S. Auguſtine, they talked wyth Clarenbalde, the electe Abbotte of that place. And after conference hadde with hym, they proceeded about their buſineſſe in maner as followeth.

Reynolde Fitz Vrſe.

That is betvvene 4.and 5.of the euening

The fyrſte knyght Sir Reynold Fitz Vrſe came to hym aboute the eleuenth houre of the daye, as the Archebiſhop ſatte in his chamber and ſitting downe afore his feete vppon the grounde without any manner of greeting or ſalutation, At lengthe beganne wyth hym thus:

Wee beeing ſente of oure Soueraigne Lorde the king from the parties of beyond the ſea, doe here preſent vnto you his graces commaundementes, to witte, that you ſhoulde go to his ſonne the King, to doe vnto hym that whiche appertayneth vnto you to doe vnto your ſoueraigne Lorde, and to do your fealtie vnto hym in takyng an othe, and further to amende that wherin you haue offended againſt his Maieſtie. Wherevnto the archbiſhop aunſwered: For what cauſe ought I to confirme my fealtie vnto him by othe? or wherin am I giltie in offending the Kinges Maieſtie? Sir Reignold ſayde: For your Barony fealtie is demaunded of you wyth an othe, and an other othe is required of thoſe Clerkes, whiche you haue broughte wyth you, if they meane to continue within the lande. The Archebiſhop aunſwered: For my Baronie I am redye to doe to the Kyng whatſoeuer Lawe or Reaſon ſhall allowe of. But lette him for certaine holde, that he ſhall not get any othe eyther of me or of my Clerkes. We knowe that (ſayd the knight, that you woulde not doe anye of theſe thinges whiche were propoſed vnto you. Moreouer the King commaundeth you, that you ſhall abſoyle thoſe Biſhoppes that are excommunicated by you without his licence. Whereunto he ſayde: The biſhops are excõ-

An othe required of him for his Baronie.

nicated not by mee, but by the Pope, who hath therto authoritie from the Lorde. If in deede he hathe reuenged the iniurie doone to my Churche, I confeſſe that I am not diſpleaſed therewith. Then ſayde the knyght: Syth that ſuch thinges in deſpyte of the King do pleaſe you, it is to be thought that you would take from him his crowne, and bee called and taken for Kyng your ſelf, but you ſhall miſſe of your purpoſe ſurely therin. The Archbiſh. then againe anſwered: I do not aſpire to the name of a king, rather would I knitte three crownes vnto his crowne if it laye in my power.

The knightes cōmaunde the Monkes to ſee the Archbis. kept ſafe.

At length after ſuch wordes, the Knights turning them to the Monkes, ſayd: Vpon the behalf of our ſoueraigne Lord the King, we commaund you, that in any wyſe ye kepe this man ſafe, and preſente him to the king when it ſhall pleaſe his grace to ſend for him. The Archbiſhop ſaid: Doe ye thinke that I will run away? I came not to run away, but looke for the outrage and malice of wicked men. Truly (ſayd they) you ſhall not run away, and herewith they going forth with noyſe and threatnings, maiſter Iohn of Saliſbury his Chancellor ſayde vnto him:

John de Saliſbury the Archbishop Beckets chancellor.

My Lorde, this is a wonderfull matter that you wil take no mans counſell: had it not bin meete to haue giuen them a more meeke and gentle anſwere? but the Archbiſhop ſaid: Surely I haue alreadie taken all the counſel that I will take, I know what I ought to do.

The archebiſhops reſolution.

Then ſayd Saliſburie, I pray God it may be good, the knightes therfore departing oute of the place, and going aboute to putte on their armour, certaine perſons came to the Archebiſhop, and ſayd: My Lord, they arme themſelues.

The knightes put on their armour.

Then ſayd he: What forceth it? let them arme themſelues. Nowe when they were once armed, and with many other about thē, entred into the Archbiſhops palace. Thoſe that were about the Archbiſhop cryed vppon him to flee, but he ſat ſtill and woulde not once remoue, til the Monkes brought him euen by force and againſte his will into the Churche.

The Monkes vvith force bring the Arch biſhop into the Church.

The comming of the armed men beeing knowne, ſome of the Monkes contynued in ſinging of euenſong, & ſome ſought places where to hide themſelues, other came to the Archebiſhop, who was lothe to haue entred into the Churche, and when he was within he woulde not yet ſuffer them to make faſt the dores, ſo that there was a great ſturre among them, but chiefly when they perceyued that the armed men went about to ſeke for the Archbiſh. by meane wherof their euenſong was left vnfiniſhed.

The knightes enter the churche.

As thoughe Archebiſhops cābe no traitours.

At length yͤ knights wᵗ their ſeruaunts hauing ſought the palace, came ruſhing into the Churche by the Cloyſter dore with theyr ſwordes drawen, ſome of them aſkyng for the Traytor, and ſome of them for the Archbyſhoppe who came and mette them, ſaying here am I, no traytor but the Archebiſhop. The formoſt of the knightes ſayde vnto him: flee, thou art but deade. To whome the Archebiſhop ſaide I will not flee: The knight ſtepte to hym taking him by the ſleue and with his ſworde caſte his cappe beſides hys heade, and ſayde, come hither for thou art a priſoner, I will not (ſayde the Archbiſhop) doe wyth me here what thou wylte, and plucked his ſleeue with a myghty ſtrength out of the knights hand.

The courag the Archbi

Wherwith the knight ſtepped back .ij. or three paces: Then the Archebiſhope turning to one of the knightes ſayde vnto him, what meaneth this Reygnolde? I haue done vnto thee many hygh pleaſures, and cōmeſt thou now vnto me into the Church armed, vnto whom the knight anſwered and ſayde, Thou ſhalte knowe anone what is ment. Thou arte but deade: It is not poſſyble for thee longer to liue. Vnto whome the Archbyſhop ſayde: And I am redy to dye for my God and for the defence of his Iuſtice and the lybertye of the Church, gladdely do I imbrace death, ſo that the Church may purchaſe peace and lyberty in the ſhedding of my bloud: And herewith takyng on other of the knightes by the Habergeon, hee floung him from him with ſuche violence, that hee hadde almoſte throwne hym downe to the grounde. This was ſyr Wylliam Thracye, as he himſelf did after confeſſe. After this the archbyſhoppe inclyned hys heade after the manner of one that ſhoulde pray, pronouncing theſe his laſte wordes: Vnto God and to Saint Marye and to the Saintes that are Patrons of thys Churche, and to Sainte Deniſe, I commende my ſelfe and the Churches cauſe. There wyth Sir Reignalde Fytz Vrſe ſtrykyng a full blowe at hys heade, chaunced to light vpon the arme of a clerke named Edwarde of Cambridge, who caſte vp his arme to ſaue the Archebyſhoppe: but when hee was not able to beare the weight of the blowe, hee plucked his arme backe, and ſo the ſtroke ſtayed vppon the Archbyſhoppes heade, in ſuche wyſe that the bloud ran down by hs face: and then they ſtroke at hym one after an other, and thoughe hee fell to the grounde at the ſeconde blowe, they lefte hym not tyll they hadde cutte and tourned out his braynes, and ſtrowed them aboute vppon the Churche pauement, whiche done, they went to the ryfling of hys houſe, ſpoyled all his goodes and toke them to their owne vſes, ſuppoſing it lawefull for them ſo to doe beeyng the kinges ſeruauntes. But yet doubtyng howe the matter woulde bee taken, after they hadde wrought theyr feate, they gotte them into the Byſhoprike of Dureſme, there to remayne tyll they myght heare howe the Kyng woulde take thys theyr vnlawfull enterpryſe: Althoughe (as they tooke it and alledged) they hadde luſtily defended hys cauſe, and reuēged his quarell as faithful ſeruāts

Edvvarde de Cambridge.

The Archbi is ſlayne.

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s come to
euil ende.

ath. Paris.

i. Paruus.

ought to do, but it chaunced otherwiſe than they looked it ſhould haue done: for King Henry conned them ſo little thanke for their preſumptuous acte, ſounding to yͤ euill exãple of other in breache of his lawes, that they diſpairing vtterly of pardon, fledde one into one place, and another into another, ſo that within four yeres they al dyed an euill death (as it hath bin reported). Some write, that they wente to Rome by the Kinges commaundement, and there preſented them ſelues before the Pope to receiue ſuche pennaunce for their wicked acte as he ſhould enioyne them. Herevpon the Pope appointed them to goe vnto Jeruſalem, there to doe their penaunce, where they remained certaine yeares, applying themſelues right diligently to performe the ſatiſfaction of their offēce, according to the maner preſcribed to them by the Pope, and ſo at length they departed this life.

n. reg. 17.

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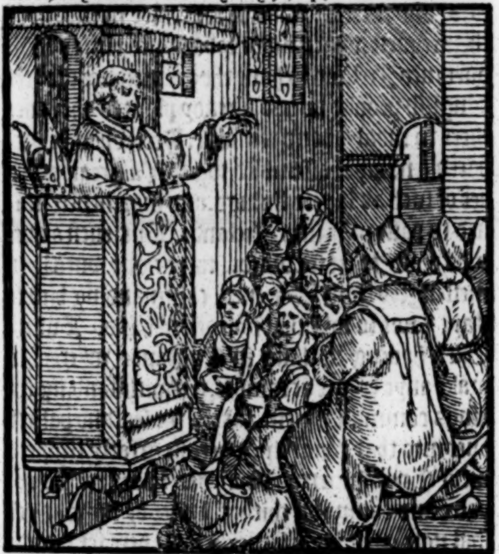

And this was the ende of Thomas Becket Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whiche was after hee firſt entred into that ſea eight yeres and ſixe monethes, in the yeare after the birthe of our Lorde 1171. On Chriſtmas day before his deathe, which fel that yeare on the fryday, he preached a ſermon to the people, and when he had made an end thereof, he accurſed Nigell de Sackeuille, the violente incumbent of the Church of Berges, and Robert de Brocke, yͤ which had vpō a deſpite curtayled yͤ horſe of the ſayde Archbiſhoppe: and as the ſame day whileſt he was at the aulter according to his cuſtome altogether in teares and lamentation, ſo at dinner he ſhewed him ſelfe very pleaſaunt and merry, in ſo muche, that when thoſe that were at the table ſemed ſomewhat doubtful to eate of the fleſh that was ſette before them, bycauſe it was Fryday, why doe ye abhorre, why do ye abhorre (ſaithe he) to eate fleſhe, this daye fleſhe hathe a greate priueledge, for this ſame day the worde was made fleſhe, and came into light, & appeared vnto vs. Theſe his wordes greatly contented all the company. But to let this matter paſſe. Kyng Henry doubtleſſe was right penſiue for his death, bycauſe hee wiſt well ynough that it woulde be iudged, that he himſelfe was priuie to the thyng: and euen ſo came it to paſſe, for immediately vpon notice giuen into France of the Archbiſhops death, K. Lewis, and the Earle of Bloys Theobald, as they that loued hym moſt deerely, were moſt ſorowful for it, & iudging ſtraight way that K. Henry was the procurer, they wrote their letters vnto Pope Alexander, giuing him to vnderſtand both of yͤ ſlaughter, & how K. Henry hadde cauſed it to bee put in execution, requiring moſt inſtantly, that ſuche an iniurie done to the Chriſtian Religion, might ſpeedily be puniſhed. The Pope was muche offended, and determined to haue the matter throughly conſidered and ordered, ſo as mighte ſtand with his dignitie and accordingly as the haynous ſtate of the caſe required. K. Henry whileſt theſe things were a doing, lay certaine dayes at Argentō, ſo much diſpleaſed in his mind, that he would ſuffer no man once to ſpeake to him about any maner of buſineſſe. At length, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to Rome, partly to purge himſelfe of the Archbiſhops death, partly to excuſe his faulte, for that in his furie he hadde vttered wordes againſt yͤ Archbiſhop whiche had giuen occaſion to naughty men to contriue hys death, partly to require the Pope to ſend his Legates into England, to make enquiſitie both for yͤ deathe of the Archbiſhop, & alſo of the ſtate of the Cleargie. The Kings Ambaſſadours found the Pope at Tiuoli, & there were herd to declare their meſſage: but little credite was giuen to theyr wordes, in ſo muche, that the Pope playnely tolde them, that he vnderſtode the matter to be muche otherwiſe than they had declared. Yet accordyng to the kings requeſt, he ſent two of his Cardinals into Englād, whiche vpō due examinatiō, might vnderſtand yͤ truth of yͤ matter throughly as apperteined. There be that write, that the K. ſente Ambaſſadors twice vnto yͤ Pope, for the firſte yͤ went, could not come to his preſence, nor be ſuffered to declare their meſſage: thoſe that were ſent the ſecond time, were receiued of ſome of yͤ Cardinals, but yet onely with wordes withoute any other way of friendly entertainement. At length, whē yͤ feaſt of Eaſter drew neere, on yͤ which eyther abſolution or excommunication was to bee denounced againſt euery man, there were certain of the Cardinals whiche gaue intelligence to the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours, that the Pope by aduice of the Colledge, ment on the thurſday before Eaſter day to declare the ſentence of interdictiō againſt the K. of Englande, and againſt all hys dominions, and to confirme that whiche had bin already pronounced againſt Richarde the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the other Biſhops his com-

King Henry
ſory for the
Archbiſhop
Beckets death.

Polidor.

King Henry
ſendeth Am-
baſſadors to
the Pope.

Math. Paris.

plices. The Ambaſſadors beeing broughte to a ſtrait iſſue herwith by help of ſome of ye Cardinals found meanes to haue it put into the Popes head, how the Engliſh Ambaſſadors had commiſſiõ to vndertake that the K. of England ſhould obey in al things what order ſoeuer it pleaſed the Pope & his court to award him. Herevpon they toke their othe, that it ſhould ſo be, and ſo by yt meanes they auoided the interdiction. The meſſengers of the Archbiſhop of Yorke and the other Biſhops vſed the like ſhifte, but yet ye ſame day the Pope did excommunicate the knights that had murthred the Archbiſhop Thomas, and all thoſe that had procured, ayded, ſuccoured, or abetted them therein.

Ger. Do.

The Ambaſſadors were glad to vſe a ſhift by briberie.

Some write, that thoſe Ambaſſadors which ye K. ſent to ye Court of Rome, could not be ſuffered to come to ye Popes preſence, till according to ye faſhiõ they had giuẽ .500. markes in reward, and ſo at length were admitted to his preſence. Howſoeuer ye matter paſſed, ye K. ſtoode in great feare leaſt his land ſhuld be interdited, in ſo much, that he cõmanded ye wardens of ye portes both on this ſide ye ſea & beyond, to take good heed, leaſt any cõmyng with letters of interdictiõ ſhould paſſe into England, but if any ſuch came, yt the bringer ſhould be areſted & committed to priſon. Alſo he cõmanded, yt no clearke wer ſuffered to come ouer into Englãd, except he firſt toke an oth that he came about no buſineſſe yt might turne to ye preiudice of ye K. or his realme. This commandement he ſet forth, at what time he tranſported ouer into Englande himſelfe, where he lãded this yere at Porteſmouth ye third day of Auguſt. About which time it came into ye kings mind, to make a Conqueſt of Irelãd vpõ this occaſion.

Sundry rulers in Ireland.

It chanced, whereas diuers rulers (or as we may cal them) pety kings, gouerned ye ſame ſeaſon in that Iland (whiche was deuided into ſeueral eſtates or kingdomes) that continuall ſtrife & diſſentiõ remained amongſt them, ſo yt oftentimes they made ſore war after the manner of their countrey one againſt an other. Herevppon it fortuned, that one of thoſe kings or rulers about ye 14. yere of this kings raigne, was ſore afflicted and oppreſſed by his neighbours, whervpõ taking aduice what he might beſt doe for remedie in ye caſe, at length he ſent his ſon into England to reteyne ſouldiers & men of war, & to bring them ouer vnto his aid in hope of gaine, & ſuch commoditie as he aſſured them of.

Math. Paris.

VVi. Paruus.

See more hereof in Irelande.

Now it came to paſſe, that by ye aſſiſtance of ſuch Engliſhmen as then came ouer, the foreſaid Iriſh K. began to recouer his loſſes, & in the end waxed ſo ſtrong, that he ſubdued all his enimies. Whẽ he had thus obteined the victory, he did not only not ſend backe his aiders, but ſo liberally reteined them ſtil with him, that they had no haſt to returne home, but ſetled themſelues in that countrey, where they liued a pleaſant and very licẽtious life. For this cauſe alſo the ſtouteſt Lords and Rulers of the Iriſh nation began ſore to ſtomacke ye matter againſt him yt had thus brought the Engliſhe nation into their Countrey, in ſo much, that the Engliſhmen perceiuing their malice, and therewithall hauing ſome feare of themſelues, bycauſe of their ſmall number, they ſent ouer into England for ſuch as wanted liuings and were willing to ſeeke for it in other countreys, of which ſort, great nũbers went ouer thither within a ſhort ſpace, whereof the multitude of the Engliſhe greatly encreaſed: but for as muche as they had no ruler to gouerne them, they procured Richard Strãgbow erle of Struguille, *alias* Chepſtow in Wales to come ouer thither, & to receyue the ſoueraigne gouernement, with ſuch honorable prouiſion for maintenance of his eſtate, as ſhould ſeme requiſite.

Earle Strang-bowe.

Nic. Triuet.

N. Triuet.

VVil. Paru

Some write, yt this Erle Richarde (being alſo Erle Marſhal of England) for a Rebellion moued againſt K. Henry, had before thys time forfeited al his lãds, but other affirme yt through riot and more ſumptuous port thã his ability might beare, he had made away & conſumed ye moſt parte of his liuings, and was runne ſo farre in debt, that he knew not how to ſatiſfie his creditors, and therefore was he the redier to encline to their requeſt, which made labor vnto him to come ouer into Ireland to haue the gouernance of ſuche Engliſh people, as had already planted thẽſelues there to inhabite and remaine. Heerevpon he prepared a nauie & aſſembled togither a great number of ſuch as lacked liuings, and ſhortly determined to paſſe ouer into Irelande.

Strangbow contem

But euen as hee was ready to ſet forwarde, there came vnto hym meſſengers from K Henry, commanding him to ſtay, & not to take that iourney in hand. But the Earle hauing nothing in Englande whereof to make anye greate accompte, notwithſtanding the kings commandement, taketh the ſea, and paſſeth ouer into that countrey, where he greatly reioyced ſuche Engliſhmen as dayly had looked for his repaire and comming thither. Heere by the way yee ſhal note, that whatſoeuer I haue here ſet downe touching theſe Iriſhe matters, I tooke the ſame forthe of ſuche authors as yee may find heere alledged, before I got ſight of Giraldus Cambrenſis his booke entituled Vaticinalis hiſtoria, wherin is cõteined ye trueſt report of al theſe doings, as partly may appeare by that which in ye hiſtorie of Ireland is exẽplified out of Campiõ, & ſomewhat enlarged by mine owne collections out of the ſaid Giraldus his booke. But for ſo much as time wil not ſerue me to tranſpoſe that which I haue here inſerted into the Iriſh hiſtory (as I wiſhed) for ye more large ſetting forth thereof, as place and occaſion might haue required, I haue here deliuered the hiſtorie vnto you as I firſt gathered it out of thoſe authors which firſt came to my handes, referring the conſideration thereof to the Readers diſcretion, vpon conference of the ſame, with that which is contained in the ſaid hiſtorie of Ireland. To procede therfore with Earle Strangbowe: ſhortly after, adding thoſe which he brought ouer with him, with the other that were there before his comming, he thought to worke ſome feate, whereby he might make his name famous, and cauſe the Iriſhmen to haue him in feare. And herevpon he firſt aſſailed the Citie of Dublin, and by force wan it. He likewiſe wan Waterford, and diuers other Townes neere vnto the Sea ſyde. Alſo to haue ſome friendſhip amongſt thoſe barbarous people, he married the daughter of the confederate King, and ſo grewe into very greate eſtimation in that countrey and Region. Howbeit, with theſe and the lyke doings of the Erle, King Henry tooke ſuch diſpleaſure (but chiefly for diſobeying his commaundemente) that hee confyned him the realme, ſeaſed his lands as forfeyted, and by proclamation reſtreyned all his ſubiectes from paſſing into Ireland with any kind of marchandiſe, prouiſion of vittailes, or other commodities what ſoeuer. By reaſon whereof, Erle Strangbowe partly by conſtreynte, and partly in hope to returne into fauoure with King Henry, and for other reſpectes as maye be coniectured, aduertiſed him of the whole ſtate of the countrey of Irelande, promiſing him, that if it woulde pleaſe his grace to come ouer thither, he woulde ſo worke that hee ſhould be admitted ſoueraigne Lord of al yͤ land. Heerevpon King Henry pardoned him of al former treſpaſſes, and reſtored vnto him al his landes and inheritances within England and Normandy. And further, confyrmed to him ſuche liuings abrode in Ireland out of the walled Townes, as he helde already in right of his wife. And furthermore ordeyned, that he ſhould be high Steward of Irelād vnder him. Kyng Henry then returning out of Normandy into England about the ſixth day of Auguſt as is aforeſaid, cauſed a nauie of .400. Ships to be made ready, and to aſſemble at Milford hauen in Penbrokeſhire, with all ſuch prouiſion and furniture as was thought neceſſary for ſuch a iourney. Heerewith alſo he leuied a great army both of horſemen and footemen, and came forward with the ſame vnto Penbroke, and ſo when all his prouiſion and Ships were ready, he entreth the Sea at Milford hauen aforeſayd the ſixteenth day of October, and landed in Irelande, at a place called Crowch, not paſt a ſeuen myles from Waterford the day next following, about nine of the clocke: and on the morrow after being S. Lukes the Euangeliſts day, hee with all his army marched forth to Waterforde, where hee found William Fitz Adelme his Sewer, and Robert Fitz Bernard, with other whom he had ſent thither before him for ſuch purpoſes as he thought moſt conuenient. He remayned at Waterforde fifteene dayes, during which tyme, there came in vnto him the K. of Corke, the K. of Limerike, the K. of Oſſorie, the K. of Meth, Reginald de Waterford, and many other great Princes of Irelād.

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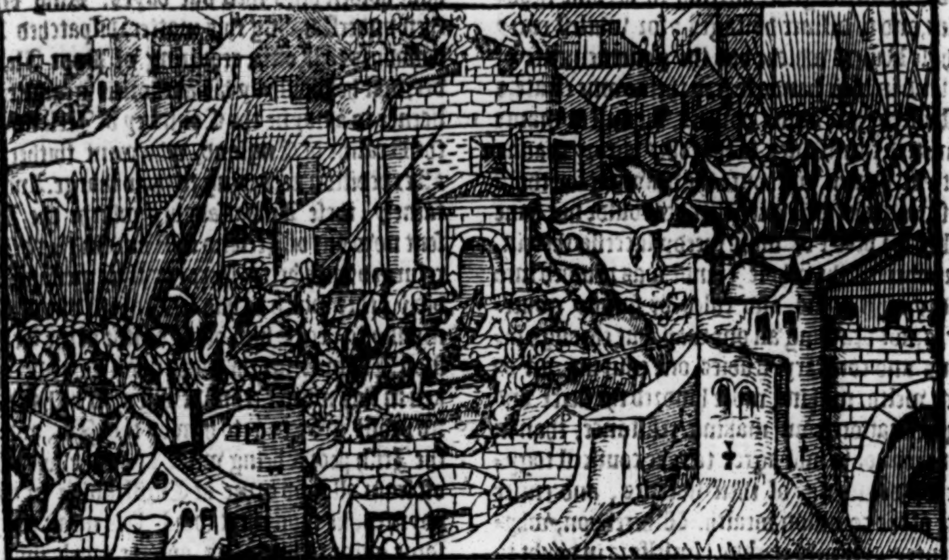

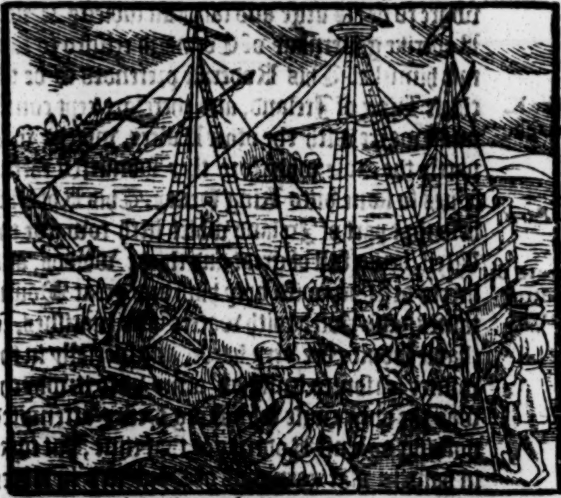

The ſurrender made by Earle Strangbow.

At his firſt arriuall, the forſayd Earle Richarde ſurrendred into his hands all thoſe Townes and places whiche he had ſubdued in that Countrey. Herewithal, the whole land began to tremble, ſo that the Rulers of Townes and Countreys ſent vnto him meſſengers, offering to become tributaries, and to deliuer hoſtages: for whileſt euery of thoſe Rulers whiche had the gouernemente of Ireland in their hands feared their owne eſtate, & miſtruſted their owne powers, they all in maner ſubmitted themſelues, ſo that this victory chaunced to K. Henry, withoute the drawing forthe of his ſword, & in ſuch wiſe, that hee coulde not haue wiſhed for better or more ſpeedy ſucceſſe therein.

Sundry Rulers in a land what weakenes it cauſeth.

For whereas the whole Ilande was deuided into ſundry dominions, and ruled by ſundry gouernours, not drawing all one way, but through factions and contrary ſtudies one enuying an others welth, nothing more hindred the fierce and vnquiet nation from making reſiſtance, than in that they could not agree to take councell togyther for defending of their liberties, and entier ſtate of the common wealth. Wherevpon, whyleſt euery of them a part by himſelfe is in doubt to attempt the hazard of warre againſt ſo mighty a King, they are all ouercome, as were the Britons likewiſe in the time of Ceſar and of the Saxons. King Henry therefore gladly receiued their humble ſubmiſſion, and they doing homage vnto him, ſware to be his liege and faithfull ſubiects. Onely Roderike gouernour of Connagh refuſed to ſubmit himſelfe.

Roderike K. of Connagh.

This Roderike pretended to be the chiefe King of Ireland, and therefore kept continuall warre with the other Rulers, whiche was partly the cauſe wherefore they ſubmitted themſelues ſo ſoone vnto King Henry.

Math. Paris.
Polidor.
The nature of the Countrey of Connagh.

This Roderike held that part of Ireland which lieth towarde the Weſt, being full of great and thicke woods, and hereto defended with very high and great Mountaines, alſo cloſed with waters and mariſhes, ſo that it ſhoulde bee very harde, and ſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, to bring an army vnto it: whyche was the only cauſe why King Henry attempted nothing againſt Roderike at that time, but tooke in hand to plāt garniſons of Souldiers in places conuenient, to keepe the lande in quiet, whiche hee had wonne already, and to giue order for the gouernment of the whole eſtate of the Countrey to his behoofe and commoditie. Hervpon, going to Dublin which is the chiefeſt Citie of all Ireland, he aſſembled all the Rulers and Leaders as well ſpirituall as temporall togither there in Counſel, conſulting with them for the aſſurance of the dominion of the land to him and his heires for euermore.

The allegatiō of the Iriſhmē

The Iriſh men alledge for themſelues, that his deuiſe therein coulde not be broughte to paſſe without the Popes authoritie were therein firſte obteyned: for they affirmed, that immediately vpon receyuing the Chriſtian faith, they did ſubmit themſelues, and all that they hadde, vnto the Sea of Rome, ſo that they could not acknowlege any for their ſoueraigne Lord, but only the Pope, which opinion ſome of them (although vaynely) haue holden vnto theſe our dayes. King Henry then vnderſtanding this matter, diſpatched Imbaſſadors to Rome, requiring of Pope Alexander, that he would by his authoritie graunte hym licence to adioyne the Countrey of Ireland vnto the Realme of England, who went thither with all expedition according to their charge. And certainely, theſe Ambaſſadours whiche the Kyng ſent now out of Ireland to Rome in this behalfe, returned with better ſpeede in their meſſage, than did yͤ other which he had ſent to him out of Normandy to excuſe him of the deathe of the Archbyſhop Thomas: for the Pope vpon good aduice taken in this matter (conſidering that he had nowe no profit growing to him by that Ile, and that the Iriſh people being wilde and rude, were farre off from all good order of Chriſtianitie in diuers poyntes, he thought it would be a mean to bring ſome gaine to his cofers, and the people more eaſily from their naughty cuſtomes, if they were once made ſubiect vnto ſome Chriſtian Prince, that was of puiſſance able to tame them, and cōſtreine them by force to be more meeke and tractable.) In conſideration whereof, he was content to graunt vnto the K. all that herein he required.

A Counſell Caſſhill.

Wherevpon, K. Henry conſidering in what reſpect the Pope was ſo ready to accompliſhe hys requeſt, called a Counſell of the Biſhops to aſſemble at Caſſille, where many things were decreed and ordeined for the reforming of diuers cuſtomes vſed before amongſt the Iriſhmen, and meerely repugnant to the lawes of the Chriſtian Religion.

Rob. Hou.
The Arch con of Li

Ther were alſo appointed as ſolicitors in theſe matters, and to ſit as aſſiſtants with the Iriſh Biſhops, one of the kings Chaplaynes named Nicholas, and one Raulf the Archdeacon of Landaf. Amongſt other things there concluded it was ordeined, yͤ children ſhuld be brought to yͤ Churche, there to receiue Baptiſme in faire water, with three dippings into the ſame, in name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt, & that by the Prieſts hands, except in caſe where daunger of death was feared, whiche then mighte bee done by any other perſon, and in any other place. Alſo it was ordeined, that tythes ſhould be payde to Churches, and that ſuche lay men as woulde keepe wiues, ſhould keepe them according to the lawes of holy Churche, and not otherwiſe. The Peter pence alſo yͤ Adrian reſerued in his Bulles, ſent to the K. touching the ſame matter in the beginning of his raigne, with diuers other thyngs were in like maner appointed to be payde, ſo that nothing was omitted that mighte pleaſure the Pope,

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The Popes Legates.

Ger. Do.

Reg. Houd.

Pope, or recouer his gracious fauour already loſt in the matters of Thomas Becket, wherof you haue heard alredy. Thus you heare what ſucceſſe our Ambaſſadours had in this voyage. Now wil I tel you ere I proceede any further, what ſtrāge things did happen in England whileſt the King was thus occupied in Irelād, and within the cōpaſſe of that yere, and firſt of al, in the night before Chriſtmas day laſt paſſed, there chaunced ſuch a tempeſt of lightning and thūder, that the like had not bin heard of. And this tempeſt was not only generally throughout all England, but alſo in other forraine parties neere adioyning, namely in Irelande, where it continued all that nighte, and Chriſtmas day following, to ſo great terror of yͤ people, that they looked for preſent deathe. The ſame night at Andeuer in Hamſhire, a Prieſt being in his prayers afore the Aulter, was ſtriken with the Tempeſt, ſo that he died ere it was nine of the clocke in the morning. Alſo, a Temporall man that was there the ſame time, was brenned with the lightning, and whereas his brother beeing preſent, ranne to him to haue ſuccoured hym, hee likewiſe was caught with the fire, and in lyke maner conſumed. In Irelande alſo, euill diet in eating of freſh fleſh and drinking water contrary to the cuſtome of the Engliſhmen, broughte the flixe and other diſeaſes in the Kyngs army, ſo that many dyed thereof. Wherfore, about the beginning of Lent, the Kyng remoued from Dublin, and went vnto the Citie of Wexford, where he remayned till towardes Eaſter, and then prepared to returne into England: but before he toke the Sea hee gaue, and by his charter confirmed vnto Hugh Lacy, all the landes of Meeth, with yͤ appurtenances, to hold of him and his heires in fee by Knightes ſeruice, as to finde him an hundred Knightes or men of armes as wee maye tearme them for euermore. Hee gaue alſo vnto the ſame Hugh, the keeping of the Citie of Dublin, and made him chiefe Iuſtice of Ireland. Unto Roberte Fitz Bernarde hee committed the Cities of Waterford, and Weſſeford, that he ſhould keepe the ſame to his vſe, and build in them Caſtels, for a more ſure defenſe againſt the enimies. And thus when the King had planted garriſons of Souldiers in thoſe and in other places alſo where was thought needefull. And further had giuen order for the politike gouernemente of the whole countrey, ſo farre as he had conquered, he firſte ſent ouer his houſhold ſeruants whiche tooke the water on Eaſter day, and landed at Millefourd, but hee himſelfe and other of the nobles ſtayed there all that day, by reaſon of the high ſolemnitie of that feaſt: howbeit the day next after they tooke yͤ Sea togither, and lāded neere to S. Dauids in South Wales, from whence withoute delay hee haſted forthe to Douer, and hauing his ſonne the yong K. with him, hee ſailed ouer into Normandy in the Croſſe weeke to meete the Popes Legates, the which he vnderſtod to be already come thither. At his meeting with them there, hee ſhewed them a right good countenance, and gaue them alſo very honorable entertainemēt, omitting nothing that mighte do them pleaſure. Heere when the matter came to be diſcuſſed touching the death of yͤ Archbiſhop Thomas, bycauſe it could not be certainely tried out in whome the fault reſted, much reaſoning too and fro paſſed about obiections and excuſes layde as in doubtfull cauſes it often happeneth, ſo that welneere the ſpace of foure monethes was ſpente in debating of that matter, in which meane time, the King to auoyde all contention and ſtrife betwixte him and King Lewis, ſent his ſonne Henry togither with his wife, ouer into England, there eftſoones to receyue the Crowne, and with them came Rotrod the Archbiſhop of Rouen, Giles Biſhop of Eureux, Roger Biſhop of Worceter, and dyuers other.

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e King re-
neth into
glande.

Rog. Houd.

Hereupon the yong king being arriued in Englande called an aſſemblie of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal at Wincheſter, where both he and his ſayde wife Margaret daughter to the French king was crowned with all ſolemnitie, by the handes of the ſaid Rotrode Archbiſhop of Roan vpon the .xxj. of Auguſt.

In the meane tyme (ſayeth one writer) his father king Henry might haue foreſeen & founde meanes to haue auoyded the diſcord which euen nowe began to ſpring vp betwixt him and hys children, cauſing a ſore and ciuile warre, if hee had not bin a man that vtterly did deteſte all ſuperſtitious admonitions: for being told I wote not by whom, that if he did not repent, and take more regarde to miniſter Iuſtice, which is a vertue (that conteyneth in it ſelfe all other vertues) it would come to paſſe, that within ſhorte tyme he ſhoulde fall into great and manyfold calamities. In his returne alſo out of Irelande (ſayth an other) vpon the Sunday nexte after the feaſt of Eaſter, commonly called Lowſunday, as he ſhould take his horſe at Cardiffe in Wales, there appeared vnto him a man of pale and wanne colour, bareſooted, and in a white kirtell, the which boldly in the Dutche language ſpake vnto him, and admoniſhed him of amendmente of lyfe, and to haue regard that the Sabboth day commonly called the Sundaye, myghte bee more duely kept and obſerued, ſo that no markettes nor bodily workes be holden, vſed, or done vppon that day within the boundes of hys domynions, excepte that whyche apperteyneth to dreſſing of meates. And if thou doe (ſayeth hee) after thys commandemente, I aſſure thee that all things whiche thou doeſt enterpriſe of good intente and purpoſe, ſhall ſort to good effect, & very lucky end.

But the K. was not greatly pleaſed with theſe wordes, and in Frenche ſaide to the Knight that helde his bridle. Aſke of this Chorle whether hee hathe dreamed all this that hee telleth or not, and the Knight expounded it in Engliſh, whereunto the man aunſwered, whether I haue dreamed it in my ſleepe or not, take thou heede to my words, and marke what day this is, for if thou do not amende thy life and doe as I haue aduertiſed thee, before a twelue moneth come to an ende, thou ſhalt heare ſuch tidings as will make thee ſorowfull all the dayes of thy life after. The man when this was ſaide, vaniſhed away ſuddenly, and the King tooke his wordes but in ſporte: howbeit hee wondered that hee was ſo ſuddenly gone, as hee did likewiſe at his ſuddayne appearing. Many other warnings the King had (ſaith mine author,) but he ſet little thereby. The ſeconde warnyng hee receyued of an Iriſhman, that tolde hym tokens that were moſt priuie. The thirde tyme a Knighte of Lindſey called Philip of Cheſterby, paſſing the Sea, came to the Kyng into Normandy, and there declared vnto him ſeuen Articles which he ſhould amend, and if he ſo did, then he tolde him that he ſhould raigne ſeuen yeares in great honor, and winne the holy Croſſe, and ſubdue Gods enimies. If he did not amend and redreſſe thoſe poyntes, then ſhould he come to death with diſhonor in the fourth yeare.

The firſt article or point was, that he ſhoulde ſeeke to maynteyne holy Church.

The ſeconde, that hee ſhoulde cauſe rightfull lawes to be executed.

The thirde, that he ſhoulde condemne no man without lawfull proces.

The fourth, that he ſhoulde reſtore the landes, goodes and heritages to thoſe rightfull owners from whome he had taken them by any wrongfull dome, or other vnlawfull meanes.

The fifth, that he ſhould cauſe euery manne to haue right, without bribing and giuing of meede.

The ſixth, that he ſhould pay his debtes as wel due to any of his ſubiects, for any ſtuffe taken vp of them to his vſe, as to his ſeruantes and Souldiers, which bycauſe they coulde not haue theyr wages truely payde to them, fell to robbing and ſpoyling of true labouring men.

The ſeuenth & laſt Article was, that he ſhould cauſe the Iewes to be auoyded out of the lande, by whome the people were ſore empoueriſhed with ſuche vnmercifull vſurie as they exerciſed.

The K. notwithſtanding theſe and other like warnings, tooke no regard to the amendmente of his ſinfull life, whereupon as is thought, the troubles which enſued light vppon him by Gods iuſt appoyntment. But nowe to returne to his ſonne the yong King, by whome the troubles were moued, who after that he had receyued the Crowne togither with his ſayde wife, they both paſſed the ſeas incontinently backe againe into Normandy, where on the ſeuen and twentith of September, at a generall aſſemble holden within the Citie of Auranches in the Church of the Apoſtle S. Andrew, King Henry the father before the Cardinals the Popes Legates, and a greate number of Biſhops and other people, made his purgation in receyuing an oth vppon the holy relikes of the Saints, and vpon the ſacred Euangeliſtes, that he neyther willed, nor commaunded the Archbyſhop Thomas to be murthred, and that when hee heard of it he was ſorie for it. But bycauſe hee could not catch them that ſlew the Archbiſhoppe, and for that he feared in his conſcience, leaſt they had executed that vnlawfull acte vpõ a preſumptuous boldneſſe, for that they had perceiued hym to bee offended with the Archbiſhop, hee ſware to make ſatiſfaction for giuing ſuch occaſion in this maner: Firſt, that he woulde not depart frõ Pope Alexander, nor from his Catholike ſucceſſours, ſo long as they ſhoulde repute him for a Catholike King. Agayne, that hee would neyther impeache Appeales, nor ſuffer them to bee impeached, but that they might freely be made within yͤ Realme vnto the Pope, in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, ſo yet that if the King haue the parties ſuſpected, they ſhall finde hym ſureties that they ſhall not procure harme or hinderance whatſoeuer to him or to his Realme. He alſo ſware, that within three yeares after the natiuitie of our Lorde next enſuing, he ſhoulde take vpon him the Croſſe, and in perſon paſſe into the holy lande, excepte Pope Alexander or his ſucceſſors tooke other order with him. But if vpon any vrgente neceſſitie he chaunced to goe into Spaine to war againſte the Sarazens there, then ſo long ſpace of time as he ſpẽt in that iourney, hee mighte deferre his going into the Eaſt partes. In the meane time, he bound hymſelfe by his oth to employ ſo muche money as the Templers ſhoulde thinke ſufficiente for the finding of two hundred Knightes or men of armes, for one yeares tearme, in defenſe of the holy lande. Furthermore, hee pardoned his wrath conceyued againſte thoſe which were in exile for the Archbyſhop Thomas his cauſe, ſo that they mighte returne againe into the Realme. He further ſware, to reſtore all the lands and poſſeſſions which had bin taken away from the See of Canterbury, as they were belonging thereto in the yere before the departure of yͤ Archbiſhop Thomas out of England. He ſware alſo, to take away and aboliſh all thoſe cuſtomes which in his time had bin brought in againſt the Church, as preiudiciall thereto. All theſe Articles faithfully, and withoute male ingine to performe and fulfil in euery degree, he receiued a ſolemne oth, and cauſed his ſon the yong K. being there preſent, to receiue the ſame for per-

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formance of all thoſe Articles, ſuch as touched his owne perſon only excepted: and to the intente the ſame ſhoulde remayne in the Popes conſiſtorie as matter of record, he put his ſeale vnto the writing wherein the ſame Articles were ingroſſed, togyther with the ſeales of the abouementioned Cardinals. Shortly after, K. Henry the father, ſuffered the yong K. his ſon to goe into Fraunce, togither with his wife, to viſit his father King Lewis, accordingly as their duties required, whyche iourney verily bred the cauſe of the diſſentiō that followed betwixt him and his father. King Lewis moſt louingly receiued them as reaſon was, and cauſed diuers kindes of triumphant playes & paſtimes to be ſhewed to the honor and delectation of his ſon in law and daughter. But yet whileſt this yong Prince ſoiourned in France, King Lewis not hartily fauouring the K. of England, and therewithall perceiuing the raſh and hedſtrōg diſpoſition of the yong K. did firſt of all inuegle him to conſider of his eſtate, and to remember ỹ he was now a K. equal vnto his father, and therfore he aduiſed him ſo ſhortly as he could, to get ỹ entire gouernemente out of hys fathers handes: wherevnto hee furthermore promiſed him all the aide that lay in hym to performe. The yong K. being ready ynough not only to worke vnquietneſſe, but alſo to folow his father in lawes counſel, (as he that was apt of nature to aſpire, to the ſole gouernement, and loth to haue anye partener in authoritie, and namely ſuch one as mighte controll him,) was the more encouraged thereto, by a number of prodigall curry fauours, who by flatterie ſet him aloft, declaring vnto him that hee was borne to rule, and not to obey, and therefore it became not his highneſſe to reigne, by the appointmēt of other, but rather to haue ỹ gouernement freely in his owne handes. Whereupon, the youthfull courage of the yong King being tickled herewith, began to waxe of a contrary minde to his father: howbeeit, beeing called home out of France, he returned vnto him with all ſpeede, hys father (indeede ſuſpecting ỹ which chanced, which was, leaſt hys ſonnes yong yeares not able yet to diſcerne good and wholeſome councell from euil, might eaſily bee infected there with ſome ſiniſter practiſe,) thought it not good to ſuffer hym to be long abſente from him, and therefore ſente for him: who taking leaue of his father in law Kyng Lewis in courteous maner, returned and came to his father K. Henry into Normandy, who when ỹ feaſt of Chriſtmas drew nere, repaired towards Aniou, where in the Towne of Chinon, he ſolēnized that feaſt, hauing left his ſon the yong K. and his wife al that while in Normādy: but ſending for him after the feaſt was ended, they went both into Auvergne, where being at Mount Ferrat, there came vnto them Hubert Erle of Morienne, bringing with him his eldeſt daughter Alice, whom K. Henry ỹ father bought of him, for the ſumme of fiue M. markes, that he mighte beſtow hir in marriage vpon his yongeſt ſon John, with the heritage of the countie of Morienne if hir father died without other iſſue, or at the leaſt wiſe ỹ ſaid Hubert chanced to haue any ſon lawfully begottē, ỹ then ſhuld he leaue vnto them and to their heires the Countie of Ruſſellon, ỹ Countie of Belle, as he thē held the ſame, Pierre Caſtel with the appurtenances, ỹ Valley of Nouallepſe, alſo Chambry with the appurtenaunces, Aix, Aſpermont, Rochet, Mont Magor, & Chambres, & Burg, al which lying on this ſide ỹ Mountaines with their appurtenances, ỹ ſaid Hubert granted to them immediatly for euer. And beyōd ỹ Mountaines he couenanted to giue vnto them Turine with ỹ appurtenances, the Colledge of Ganozeth with ỹ appurtenāces, & al ỹ fees which the Erles of Canaues helde of him, togither with ỹ fealties & ſeruices. And alſo, the fees fealties, and ſeruices which belong to him in ỹ Countie of Amunde, & in the valley called Vale Doſta. And in like maner, the Towne of Caſtellone, and al theſe aforenamed places the foreſaide Erle (I ſay) gaue and granted to ỹ ſayd John, ſon to the K. of Englād for euermore, with his daughter, ſo freely, wholly & quietly (in men & Cities, Caſtels, fortreſſes, or other places of defence, in medowes, leaſſewes, milnes, woddes plaines, waters, valleys & Moūtaines in cuſtomes & all other things) as euer hee or his father hadde held or enioyed the ſame. And furthermore, the ſaide Erle would, that immediately (whē it pleaſed the K. of England) his people ſhuld do homage & fealtie to ỹ K. of Englāds ſon, ſauing ỹ fealtie due to him ſo lōg as he liued.

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Reg. Hou.
An. Reg. 19.
1173

Hubert Earle
f Morienne.

A marriage contracted.

Comitatus bellenſis.

Moreouer, the ſaid Earle Hubert granted to the ſaid John and his wife all the right that he had in the Countie of Granople, and what ſoeuer might be got & euicted in the ſame Countie. It was alſo couenanted, that if ỹ elder daughter died, then ſhould the ſaid John marry the yonger daughter with al & the like portions & parties of inheritance as he ſhould haue enioyed with the firſt: and that theſe couenantes, graunts & agreements ſhuld be performed on ỹ part & behalf of the ſaid Erle Hubert, both he, the ſaid Erle, & the Erle of Geneua, & in manner al the great Lords & Barōs of thoſe countreys receiued an oth, and vndertoke to come and offer thēſelues as hoſtages to remaine with ỹ K. of Englande, in caſe the ſaide Earle Hubert failed in performance of any of the aforeſaide Articles, til he framed himſelf to ſatisfie ỹ kings pleſure in ſuch behalfe. And furthermore, Peter, the reuerend Archbiſhop of Tarenſaſia, & Ardune the B. of Geneua, & alſo William the B. of Morienne, with ỹ Abbot of S. Mighell promiſed vppon their oth to be ready at the appointmēt of ỹ K. of England, to put vnder the cenſures of the Church the ſayde Earle and hys landes, refuſing to

The Countie
of Granopl

The Earles of Mandeuille and Arundell.

The Earle of Saint Giles.

Nic. Triuet.

Tribute for Tholouſe.

Geruſ. Dor.

performe the foreſayde couenauntes, and ſo to keepe him and the ſame lands bound, till he hadde ſatiſfied the K. of Englande therein. William Earle of Mandeuill, and William Earle of Arundell ſware on the parte of K. Henry, that hee ſhould performe the Articles, couenaunts and agreements on his part, as firſt to make payment immediatly vnto yͤ ſaid Hubert of one thouſande marks, & aſſoone as he ſhould receyue his daughter, he ſhuld pay to him an other thouſand marks at the leaſt, and the reſidue then remaining behind of the ſaid ſumme of fiue M. marks, ſhuld be paid when yͤ marriage was cōſummate. It was prouided alſo, yͭ the ſaid Earle Hubert might marry his yonger daughter where he woulde, without any great deminiſhing of the Earledome after yͭ the firſt marriage were conſummate with yͤ K. of Englands ſon, yͤ Lord John: and that if either yͤ ſaid Lord John, or his affianced wife chāced to die before yͤ conſummation of the marriage, then ſhould the money whiche the Erle had receyued, be repayed to the K. againe, or diſpoſed, ſo as the K. ſhuld appoint. Shortly after yͭ the parties wer agreed vpon theſe couenaunts & agreemēts afore recited, the Marques of Montferrate & one Geffrey de Plozac with his ſon Miles & other noble mē came to the K. as Ambaſſadors from yͤ Erle of Moriēne, & receiued an oth, that they ſhuld ſee & procure yͤ ſaid Erle to performe the couenaunts & agreemēts concluded betwixt the K. and hym. And thus after yͭ theſe things were ordred, as ſeemed good to both parties for the eſtabliſhment of yͤ foreſaid marriage, the K. the father, and the K. the ſonne remoued to Limoges, whether came to them yͤ Erle of S. Giles, and was there accorded to K. Henry, & his ſon Richard Duke of Guyen, concerning yͤ controuerſie yͭ had bin moued for yͤ Countie of Tholouze, doing his homage as well vnto yͤ father, as to the ſon for the ſame Countie, & further couenanted to ſerue them with an hundred Knightes or men of armes as we may call thē, for the tearme of 40. dayes at all times, vpon lawful ſummonāce: & if yͤ King or his ſon Duke Richard would haue his ſeruice longer time after yͤ 40. dayes were expired, they ſhould pay wages both to him and to his men in reaſonable maner. Moreouer, the ſaid Erle condiſcended and agreed to giue yerely for Tholouſe an hundred markes, or elſe ten Horſes with ten marks a peece. Moreouer, whileſt the K. ſoiourned at Lymoges, there came thither to him the Erle of Moriēne & required to vnderſtād what parcels of lande he woulde aſſigne forth vnto his ſon John: wherevpō yͤ K. reſolued to aſſigne vnto him yͤ Chappell of Chinon, Lodun and Mirabel, wherewith he offended his eldeſt ſon yͤ yong K. as after it may appeare. Who alſo was glad to haue ſuch occaſion thereby to broch hys conceiued purpoſe of Rebellion which he of late had imagined, and now began to put it in practiſe vpon occaſion, as after ſhall appeare.

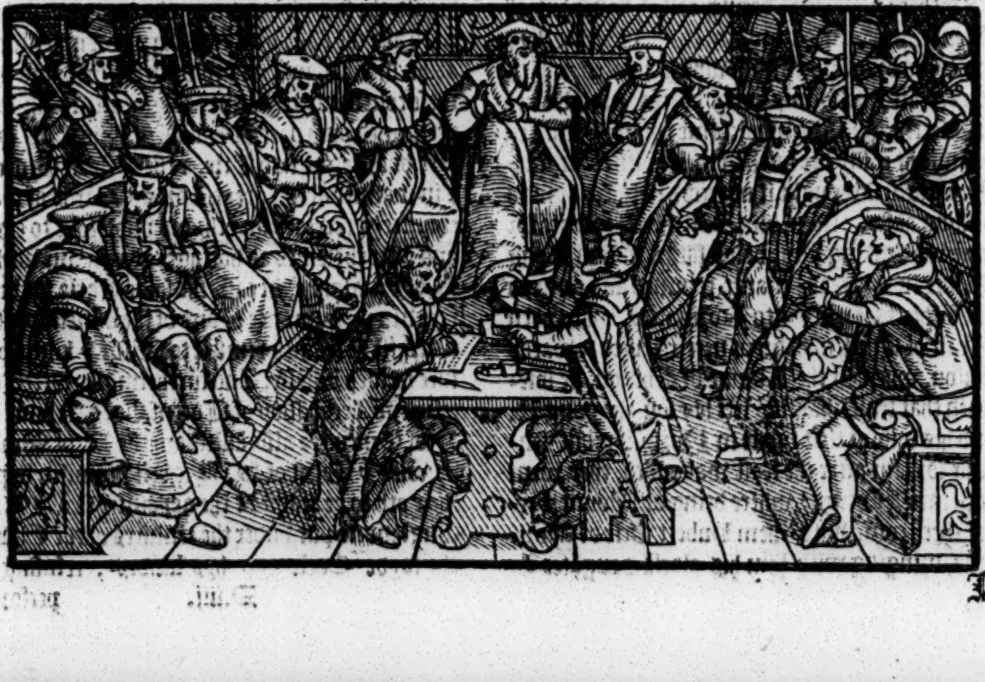
Mat. VVeſt.

Nic. Triuet.

Mat. Par.

A Counſell holden at Weſtminſter.

The ſame yeare the Monkes of Canterburie by the kings aſſent, choſe for their Archbiſhop one Richard that before was yͤ prior of Douer, he was the. 39. in number that had ruled the Church of Canterbury, being a man of an euill life, as he well ſhewed, in that hee waſted the goodes of the Church inordinatly. Roger the Abbot of Bechellouin was firſt choſen, but hee refuſed that dignitie, more as ſome take it, bicauſe of ſlouthfulnes, than of wiſedome, ſo hard a thing it is to pleaſe yͤ people whiche meaſure all things to be honeſt or diſhoneſt, as they abound or deminiſh in profit & gaine. The ſaid Richard, after yͭ hee was elected, did homage vnto K. Henry, & ſware fealtie vnto him, hys order always ſaued, withoute makyng mētion of yͤ cuſtomes of yͤ Kingdom. This was done at Weſtminſter in the Chappell of S. Katherin, the kyngs iuſtice giuing his aſſent therevnto, where a Counſel was holden yͤ ſame time.



In the which Councell the Popes letters were read before the Biſhoppes and Barons of the Realme, conteyning amongeſt other things this that followeth:

e Popes ters for a w holyday.

We do admoniſh you all, and by the authoritie which we reteyne, wee ſtraightly charge you, that you celebrate the daye of the ſuffring of the bleſſed man Thomas the glorious Martyr, ſomtime Archbiſhop of Canterburie, euery yeare in moſt ſolemne wiſe, and that with deuout prayers ye endeuour your ſelues to purchaſe forgiueneſſe of ſinnes, that he which for Chriſtes ſake ſuffred baniſhment in this life, and martyrdome in death by conſtancie of vertue, through continuall ſupplication of faythfull people, may make interceſſion for vs vnto God.

Collect de- ed in honor he Archbi- p Becket.

The tenor of theſe letters were vneth read, when euery man with loude voice beganne to recite this Pſalme or Hymne, *Te Deum laudamus.* And bycauſe his ſuffraganes had not exhibited to hym theyr father, due reuerence eyther in time of his baniſhment, or at his returne from the ſame, but rather had perſecuted him, that they might confeſſe their errour and wickedneſſe to all men openly, they made this Collect: Be fauourable good Lorde to our ſupplication and prayer, that we which acknowledge our ſelues guiltie of iniquitie, may be deliuered by the interceſſion of Thomas thy bleſſed Martyr and Biſhop.

This prayer was vſed by the Couent of Saint Albones in the day of his Martyrdome.

The ſame yeare alſo, the ſiſter of the ſame Archbiſhop was made Abbeſſe of Berking.

r. De:

e Archbi- ps conſecra- n diſturbed the yong g.

But now touching the new elected Archbiſhop Richard, we finde that comming to Canterbury the Saterday after his election, in hope to be there conſecrated, he was diſappoynted by letters that came from King Henrye the ſonne, in forme as followeth.

Henry by the grace of God king of England, duke of Normandie, and erle of Aniou, ſon of K. Henrie, To our deare and faythfull friend Odo, Prior of the Church of Canterburie, and to al the conuent there ſendeth greeting. By the aſſured report of ſome we vnderſtãd, that in your church and in other Churches alſo, my father goeth about to inſtitute certaine perſons not verie meete for ſuch calling: and bycauſe without our conſent it ought not ſo to be done, who by reaſon of our kingly annoynting haue taken vpon vs the kingdome and charge of the whole realme: herevpõ we haue in the preſence of many perſons appealed to the ſea of Rome, and haue ſignified our appeale in that behalfe, made vnto our reuerende fathers & friends Albert, and Theodorike, Cardinals & legates of the Apoſtolike ſea by our writing and meſſenger, who like wiſe and diſcreete perſonages haue aſſented therevnto. We haue likewiſe ſignified the ſame our appeale vnto our faythfull friendes the Biſhops of London, Exeter, and Worceſter, and as we haue appealed, ſo likewiſe we doe appeale vnder your teſtimonie.

Here the Biſhops were driuen to their ſhiftes, ſome of them deſiring to goe forwarde with the conſecration, and ſome ſuppoſing it better to yeelde vnto the appeale.

The elect Archbiſhop herevpon ſent firſt meſſengers vnto Rome with letters, not written only by himſelfe, but alſo by all the Biſhops and cõuent of Canterburie.

After this he followed himſelfe in perſon, and comming to the Popes court, found there diuerſe aduerſaries to his cauſe. For ſome there were that tooke part with the king the father, & ſome with the king the ſonne, and ſo his buſineſſe could haue no ſpeedie diſpatch. And in the meane time the rancor which king Henrie the ſonne had conceyued agaynſt his father was ſo ripened, ỹ it coulde not but burſt out, and ſhew it ſelfe to the breach of all dutifull obedience which nature requireth of a ſonne towards the father.

Ye haue heard howe king Henrie promiſed to the Earle of Morienne when the mariage was concluded betwixt his ſonne Iohn and the ſayde Erles daughter, to giue vnto the ſayd Iohn certain townes in Normandie, for the better mainteyning of his eſtate and his wyues.

This gift of the fathers cauſed his eldeſt ſonne the yong king Henrie, the ſooner to poure out his poyſon which he had ſucked before at his being with his father in law king Lewes. For conceyuing an offence, that his father ſhould giue away any portion of his inheritance, he would not condiſcend to any ſuch giftes, but alledged ỹ ſithence he was king of England, and that al belonged to him, his father coulde not nowe haue any tytle to giue away that whiche did in no wiſe apperteyne vnto him.

VVil. Par.

There was another cauſe that troubled hys minde alſo, and moued him to grudge at his father, which was for that the proportion of his allowance for maintenance of his houſholde and port was verie ſlender, and yet more ſlenderly payed. Alſo his father remoued from him certaine of his ſeruants, as Aſtoulf de S. Hillarie, & other whome hee ſuſpected to giue him euill counſell. Wherefore thoſe that were procurers of him to attempt the ſeaſing of the gouernment into hys handes, vpon this occaſion ſlept not, but put into his head ſuche matter, that at length hee openly demaunded to haue the whole rule committed to him: which when he ſaw woulde not be obteyned of his father by quiet meanes, he fled ſecretly away vnto his father in law king Lewes, requyring him of ayde to recouer his right, which king Henrie the elder vniuſtly deteyned from him.

Aſtoulf de S. Hillarie a cõ- ſeller, or rather corrupter of Henrie the ſo

Polidor.

King Henrie the ſonne fled to the French king.

The Frenche King recomforted him, and badde him bee of good cheare, for he ment to doe for him al that in hym lay. Herewith he proclaymed hym Duke of Normandie, and receyued of him homage for the ſame.

His father King Henrie, vnderſtanding that his ſonne was thus fledde to the Frenche King, ſent Ambaſſadours forthwyth to the ſame king, requyring him to gyue his Sonne ſome good wholſome counſayle, that hee myght repente, and not followe ſuche wilfulneſſe of mynde in ſwaruing from hys fathers friendſhippe, but rather with ſpeede to returne home agayne, and to promiſe in hys name, that if any thing were otherwyſe than well, hee woulde bee contented to ſuffer the ſame to bee reformed by hys order and correction. But ſo farre was king Lewes from meaning to ſette a quietneſſe betwixt the father and the ſonne, that hee woulde not heare the Ambaſſadors declare their meſſage, bycauſe they named the father King to the derogation of the ſonnes ryght, to whome hee ſayde hee offered manifeſt wrong in vſurping the gouernment whiche hee had alreadie gyuen ouer and reſigned. Inſomuche that when the Ambaſſadours had declared ſome part of theyr meſſage, hee aſked them what hee was that wylled ſuche things of hym, and when they anſwered that the King of Englande hadde ſent them with that Meſſage. That is a falſe lye (ſayeth he) for beholde here is the king of Englande, who hathe gyuen you no Commiſſion to declare anye meſſage from hym vnto mee at all.

VVil. Par.

King Henrie the father perceyuing hereby that warres woulde followe, prepared the beſt hee coulde for his owne defence: but hee was in great doubt on euery ſide, not knowing whome he might truſt. And to encreaſe this miſchiefe, his wife Queene Elenore ſtudied to mainteyne the ſtrife betwixt hir ſonnes. The yong King then getting an armye togyther entered into Guian.

King Henrie the father knoweth not whom he may truſt.
Polidor.

King Henrie was not haſtie to go agaynſte hym, but ſought rather wyth gentleneſſe and all courteous meanes to reconcile him. Inſomuch that where as diuerſe graue perſonages that were of the yong Kinges Counſayle, doubting to runne into the diſpleaſure of hys Father, reuolted from the Sonne to the Father, and brought with them the ſonnes Seale which hee vſed in ſealing of Letters, the Father receyued them not, but ſent them backe againe to his ſonne, commaunding them to continue faythfull in ſeruing him as he ſhoulde appoynt them, and herewith hee ſent Ambaſſadours vnto hys ſonne to entreate with him of peace and concorde.

Richard Barre Chauncellor to the yong K. alſo his Chaplain ſir Walter Allwarde with others.
Ro. Houed.

But whileſt the father goeth about to aſſwage the ſonnes diſpleaſure, the mother Queene Elenore doth what ſhee coulde to pricke him forwarde in his diſobedient attemptes. For ſhe being enraged agaynſt hir huſband bycauſe he kept ſundrie Concubines, and therefore delyted the leſſe in hir companie, ſhe cared not what miſchief ſhe procured againſt him: and hereupon ſhe made hir complaynt ſo grieuouſly vnto hir ſonnes Richard and Geffray, that they ioyned with theyr brother agaynſt theyr father, and came to hym into Guien, to ayde him to the vttermoſt of their powers. The yong king reioyſing that hee had his brethren thus on hys ſide readie to take hys part, became more ſtoute than before, and for aunſwere vnto the Meſſengers that came to him from his father, hee declared that if his father woulde delyuer vp the whole gouernment into his handes, hee woulde bee contented to breake vp his armie. And thoſe Souldiers that woulde wyllingly take his part in this quarell, he cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould faythfully ſerue him agaynſt his aduerſaries: And thoſe that had leauer ſerue on the other ſyde, hee lycenſed them freely to departe, and to go to hys father.

King Henrie the Father receyuing ſuche a rebellious aunſwere from his Sonne, muche lamented the matter, and ſo muche the more, for that he ſaw there was no remedie, but to haue the controuerſie decided by the ſword. Therfore leaſt he ſhoulde be taken vnprouided, hee kept his armie in a readineſſe about him, hauing reteyned certain bands of Brabanders called the Rowtes.

Twentie tho ſand Brabanders were reteyned by ki Henrie the fa ther as hath
R. Houed.

Thoſe Lordes that tooke part with hys ſonne, being aduertiſed by eſpyals of the doings of the father, and hearing that hee was readie (as is ſayde) if he were conſtrayned to defende himſelfe by battaile, and yet willing to receyue his ſonnes into hys fauour agayne, if they would be ſo refourmed, they tooke greate thought howe to cauſe his ſonnes to perſiſt in theyr enterpriſe, till the father were compelled by force to reſigne the gouernment vnto them. But namelye the Frenche king coueted to mainteyne the diſcorde, till it might be ended by force of armes: and therfore ſente vnto King Henrie the ſonne, willing him to come to Paris, where hee cauſed a Councell to bee called, and there made a league betwixt the ſayde Henry and hymſelfe, with William King of Scotlande, Hugh Earle of Cheſter, William Patrike the elder, with the three ſonnes of Robert Earle of Mellent, whoſe Caſtels K. Henry the elder had in poſſeſſion, Roger Moumbray, Hugh Bigot, & diuerſe other cōplices of the cōſpiracy that toke part with Henry the ſon. Here after they had cōſulted of ẏ maner how to maintein the warre, bicauſe they would aſſure

VVil. Par.
Nic. Triuet
Polidor.

Nic. Triu
Polidor.

the yong king that they ment not to forſake him, Firſt king Lewes, and after all the reſidue tooke an othe to ayde him with men and money, tyll his father ſhould either be driuen out of his kingdome, or brought to agree with him at his will & pleaſure. And on the other part, he ſware neuer to conclude any peace with his father without their conſent & good wil. He alſo promiſed vpõ his othe to giue, & by his charter vnder his ſeale he confirmed vnto Philip Earle of Flaunders for his homage a thouſande pounds of yearely reuenues in England, and the countie of Kent, with the caſtels of Douer and Rocheſter, and to Mathewe Earle of Bolloigne for his homage, he likewyſe promiſed and confirmed the Soke of Kirketon in Lyndſey, and the Earledome of Morton, with the honour of Hey. Alſo to Theobalde Earle of Bloys, for his homage hee gaue and graunted fiue hundred Markes of yerely reuenue in Aniou with the Caſtell of Amboys, and all that which he claymed as hys right within the Countrie of Touraine, and releaſed to him all the right which he and his father claimed and demaunded to haue in Chateau Reignald.

he French
g taketh an
to ayde K.
nry the ſon.
Houed.
r. *Do.*

ilip Erle of
nders.
thew Erle
ollongne.

ateau Reig
de.

To the king of Scottes he gaue and graunted all Northumberlande, vnto the Ryuer of Tyne, for to haue his aſſiſtance. And vnto hys brother Dauid to haue his ſeruice, hee graunted the Counties of Huntington, and Cambridge. To Hugh Bygot for his ſeruice he gaue the Caſtell of Norwich.

le Dauid.

gh Bigot.

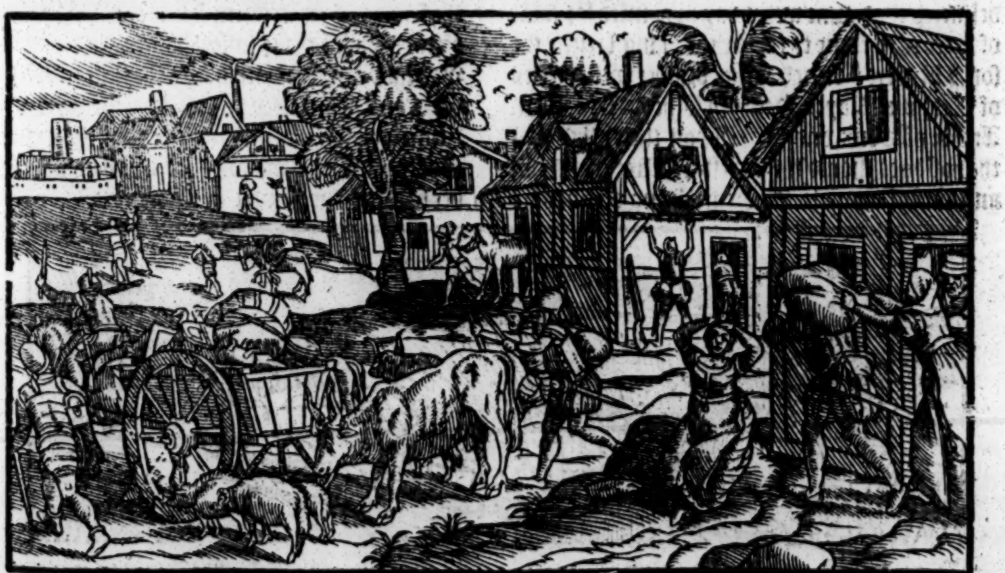
All theſe giftes and grauntes with dyuerſe other vnto other perſons, promiſed, made and graunted, hee confirmed with his newe ſeale whiche the king of Fraunce had cauſed hym to make.

These things being thus ordered at Paris, euery man reſorted to his charge, that hee might prouide for the warre with all ſpeede conuenient. King Henrie the father aduertiſed of this newe league of the conſpiratours agaynſte hym, was in greate perplexitie of mynde for that hee ſawe hymſelfe in daunger, not onely of outwarde enimies, but alſo of his owne ſubiectes at home. Yet bycauſe the Winter ſeaſon was alreadie at hande, taking away all conuenient occaſions of attempting any great exployte by warre for that time, he was in hope to compaſſe ſome agreemẽt with his ſonnes ere the ſpring of the yeare ſhould returne, and therefore he made not ſo great prouiſion for his defence, as had beene neceſſarie in ſo daungerous a caſe. But the Frenchmen who were bent to ſet forwarde this warre with all diligence, were readie in the field immediatly vpon the comming of the ſpring with king Henrie the ſonne, and euen at one inſtant they made theyr inuaſions vpon the landes of king Henrie the father in three ſeuerall parties, that is to witte, in Normandie, Guian, and Brytaine, whiche agaynſt the will of his ſonne Geffrey Duke thereof, king Henrie the father did holde and retaine in his own handes.

Polidore

The confederates inuade the dominions of king Henrie the father.

The Frenche men thus inuading the foreſayde Countreys, did muche hurte wyth robbing and ſpoyling, and alſo tooke dyuerſe caſtels and townes.



e king of
ts inuadeth
mberland.

Moreouer, aboute the ſame time, William king of Scotland entred with a great power, firſt into Cumberland and beſieged Carleil, but hearing that an armie was prepared agaynſt hym in the South parties of the Realme, and readie to ſette forwarde, he rayſed his ſiege and entred into Northumberlande (which Prouince king Henrie the ſonne had gyuen him in the laſt aſſembly holden at Paris) endeuouring himſelfe to bring it into his poſſeſſion. But the more earneſtly hee went aboute to enforce the people to his will, the more ſtyffely did they wythſtande his purpoſe, hating him ſo much, that in no condition they were willing to come vnder his rule, whereby the Scottes were put backe and repulſed, and that to their great loſſe.

VVil. Par.

The kings power alſo comming into the cou̅trey followed them, and paſſing ouer the water of Tweede, which deuided then (as it doth at this day) the two Realmes in ſunder, made the lyke ſpoyle in the lande of the enimies, as they had made in the Countreys of Northumberland, and Cumberlande.

Verneuil beſieged.

Rog. Houed.

Hugh Beauchampe.

But in Normandie whileſt others in other places, make theyr hande in fetching prayes and booties out of the enimies countrey, king Lewes beſieged Verneuil, whiche towne being ſtrong of it ſelfe, Hugh Beauchampe and others that had charge therof valiantly defended, ſo yͤ the French king was a moneth before it, ere he coulde winne any part thereof.

This towne of Verneuil was in thoſe dayes deuided into three portions beſide the caſtel euery of them a part from other with mighty walles & deep ditches ful of water. One of theſe parts was called the great borough wͭout the walles wherof the French king had pight his field & planted hys engines. About a moneth after whoſe comming thither, vitails began to fail thē within, ſo that at length they required a truce for three days only, & if no ſuccor came within thoſe three dayes, they promiſed to yeeld yͤ parte of the towne called the great borough, & the day peremptorie was yͤ vigil of S. Laurence. Hereupon were hoſtages by the burgeſſes deliuered vnto the French king, & if they deliuered the towne at the day appointed for wa̅t of ſuccors to come to relieue thē, king Henrie the ſon, & Robert yͤ french kings brother with yͤ erles of Troys & Blayes, Henry, & Theobald, & Wil. Archb. of Sens, vndertooke vpon their othes that the hoſtages ſhould thē be reſtored free & without any hurt or domage. K. Henry being certified frō them within of the compoſition thus made, was driuē to a very hard ſhift: for he doubted nothing leſſe then that any ſuch thing ſhould haue chaunced. Yet conſidering with himſelf, that the ſauing of the towne ſtood in his ſpeedy cōming to the reſcue, without any ſtay he haſted thither, & came to the place the day before the thirde and laſt day of the truce. King Lewes perceyuing him to bee come, doubting leaſt he ſhuld loſe the pray which he looked for, ſent vnto the king, & required that he might common with him on the next daye touching ſome meanes of agreement to be had betwixt him and his ſonnes.

The French king requi to talke.

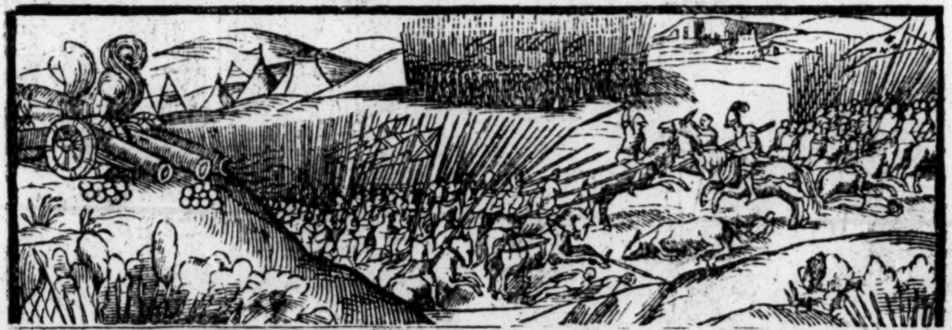
This did he of a plicie to feede him in hope of ſome ende to be made in the troubles betwixt him and his ſonnes, till hee had got poſſeſſion of the Towne. And euen as he forecaſt in that matter, ſo it came to paſſe, for whileſt a great peece of the next day was ſpent in feyned talke about an agreement, king Lewes appoynted a great part of his hoſt to cloſe the towne aboute, and to declare vnto them within that king Henrie was put to flight, which talke they within Verneuil beleeuing, yeelded the towne and themſelues to the French men. Soone after, king Lewes miſtruſting leaſt he ſhoulde not be able to keepe it, ſet it on fire, and ſo burnt it contrarie to the compoſition betwixt him and them agreed and concluded vpon. He kept alſo the ſouldiers that had yeelded it into his handes togither with the hoſtages as priſoners and doubting to cope with his enimie went awaye in the night with as ſtill noyſe as was poſſible. King Henrie at length perceyuing the fraude, ſent certaine bandes of his horſmen after to purſue the enimie: but for that king Lewes was alreadie gotten into the inner partes of his owne Countrey, thoſe whiche were ſente turned vpon thoſe that were left in the hyndermoſt warde, of whome they ſlue a great number bothe of Horſemen and footemen.

Rog. Houed

The ninth of Auguſt being Thurſd.

Rog. Houed

King Lewes fleeth away in the night.



King Henrie following hys men came to Verneuil, and ſtaying there that nyght, tooke order for the repayring and newe fortifying of the towne.

Danuille.

On the morrow after he went to the Caſtell of Danuille and wanne it, taking diuers knights and yeomen within it. This Caſtell belonged to one Gilbert de Tileres. And thus it came to paſſe touching the attempt of the French king for the winning of Verneuil, as in ſome Authors we finde reported.

Gilbert de Tilleres.

VVil. Par.

Other write otherwiſe of the matter, as thus, the French king being ſummoned by king Henrie the father, eyther to departe from the ſiege of Verneuyle, or to looke for battaile: and hearing alſo that in performaunce of the meſſage king Henrie approched with his power, he ſent a Biſhop and an Abbot vnto him to vnderſtande if he ment to giue battaile in deede. The Meſſengers met King Henrie as hee was aduaunced before his hoſte vpon ſome occaſion, with a ſmall companie about him, vnto whom they declared that theyr maſter the French king requyred to bee aſſured whether he ſhould haue battail or no. King Henrie armed as he was, with fierce countenance and dreadfull voyce made this ſhort anſwere. Get you hence and tell your king that I am here at hande. The Meſſengers returning to theyr maiſter, declare what they had ſeene and hearde. Wherevpon without longer ſtay hee rayſed hys field, and with his braue & mighty army departed home to his great diſhonor, not winning yͤ towne at all, as by the ſame Authors it ſhould appeare.

Henry
hort an-
e vnto the
ch Kings
engers.

About the ſame time the Erle of Flanders, one of the confederates beſieged the towne of Albemarle, and the Earle thereof within it, the which Earle was thought to betray the towne, bycauſe it was ſo eaſily wonne, and both he himſelfe, and thoſe which king Henrie the father had ſent thither to defende the towne were taken priſoners. Diuerſe other places which belonged to the ſame Earle were alſo immediately deliuered into the enimies handes which encreaſed the ſuſpition.

emarle
by the erle
landers.

Rog. Houed.
Ia. Meir.
Ger. Do:

After this the towne of Newcaſtell otherwiſe called Drincourt in thoſe frontiers was beſieged, and finally wonne by ſurrender, by the ſayd Erle of Flaunders, who reioyced nothing at the gaine of that towne, for hys brother Mathew the Erle of Bollongne which ſhoulde haue beene his heire was ſhot into the knee with an arrowe as he approched to the walles, and died of the hurt within a fewe dayes after. The Erle of Flanders was ſo penſiſe for his brothers death, that he brake vp his iourney and returned, blaming the euill happe and folly in that he had attempted warre againſt his couſin germain king Henrie which neuer had harmed him, but rather had done him many great and ſingular pleaſures from time to time.

The Earle of Bollongne wounded.

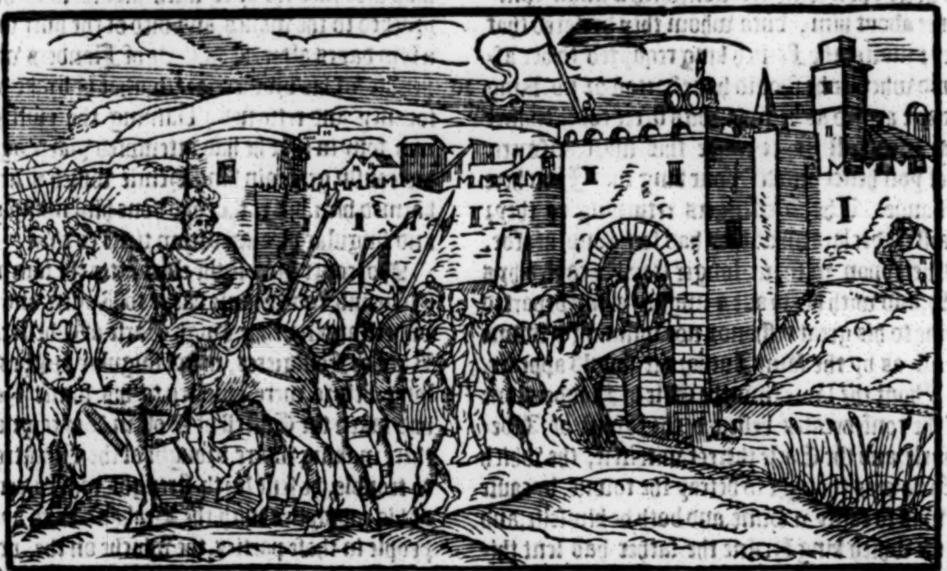
Moreouer Henrie the elder after the iourney of Verneuile ended, came backe to Rouen, and there vnderſtanding that Hugh Earle of Cheſter, and Rauf de Foulgieres, mē of ſingular prowes, that long before were reuolted to his ſonne Henrie, had taken the Caſtell of Dole in Brytaigne, and there making warre, brought al the Countrey into trouble, he ſent forth ſtreyght wayes certaine of his captaynes with the Brabanders to ayd his people in thoſe parties, the whiche on the. xx. day of Auguſt being Munday, encountring with the enimies diſcomfited them in battayle, tooke ſeuentene Knightes, beſide diuerſe other bothe Horſemen and footemen, ſlue aboue fiftene hundred of the enimies, being Brytaynes, and purſuing the reſidue, they entred the towne it ſelfe, which they wanne, and droue their aduerſaries into the Caſtell where they beſieged them, and with all ſpeede aduertiſed the king of that enterpriſe, who immediately with all poſſible haſte came thither, applying his whole diligence to winne the place, that he might haue them at his commaundement which were within the ſame. To be ſhort, it was not long ere he had his deſire, for they being ſuche a multitude that they were not able long to continue within ſo ſtrayte a roumth for want of vittayl, fell to a compoſition, yeelding the Caſtell vnto the king, theyr bodies with lyues & members ſaued, on the. xxv. day of Auguſt. There were taken within this caſtel 80. knights beſides yeomen, and other common ſouldiers. In like maner, and with the ſemblable good fortune, about yͤ ſame time, his captains in England ouercame his enimies: for where as Robert

Rog. Houed.

Erle

The Earle Leyceſter to flight.

Erle of Leyceſter that tooke part with king Henrie the ſonne, had aſſembled at the towne of Leyceſter a great hoſt of men, in purpoſe to ſet vpon Reginalde Earle of Cornewall, and Richarde Lucie Captaynes on the ſyde of king Henrie the father: they vnderſtanding his meaning, marched ſtreight towards Leyceſter, and by the way met with their enimie Earle Robert, whom they ſo fiercely aſſaile that they put him to flight, and after approching the towne, had it ſurrendred vnto them, permitting the Inhabitantes to depart with bagge and baggage, and then burned the towne: but the Caſtell which in thoſe dayes was of great ſtrength by ſituation of the place, they could not win. Yet there be that write, how by vndermining, the walles of the town were reuerſed & throwne downe, ſo that the towne was entred by force, although they within withdrew into the caſtell & other ſtrong houſes whiche they defended for a time, til at length they ſurrendred al but one parcell of the Caſtel by compoſition paying by way of a fine the ſumme of three.C. pound to the vſe of king Henrie the father. The ſiege began the. vij. day of July & finally on the. xxviij. day of July the army departed frō thence, a truce being graunted to thoſe that ſtill defended a certaine tower of the caſtel into the which they were withdrawne.



Mat. Paris.
Leyceſter won by force.

The king of Scots inuadeth Northumberlande.

He retyreth.

The Engliſhe ſpoyle Louthian.

A truce.

William alſo the Scottiſh king with an armye of Scottes and Gallowaymen inuaded Northumberland, and paſſing by the confines of the Biſhopricke of Durhā did much hurt by ſlaughter, burning and ſpoyling the countrey: but hearing of a power rayſed by the Engliſhe Lords in thoſe parties to reſiſt him, he withdrew into his country. But the Engliſh army following him, waſted the countrey of Louthian, till at length by mediation of certaine religious men, a truce was graunted to the Scots to endure tyll the feaſt of S. Hillarie. For the which truce happly ſome rewardes went betwixt, & ſo the Engliſh Lords with ſpoyles and gain returned homewardes againe. A fewe dayes after theſe luckie chaunces thus happening to king Henrie, king Lewes perceyuing fortune to be on that ſide, determined to aſſay whether he coulde obteyne hys purpoſe by ſome meanes of treatie, or at the leaſt put King Henrye in hope of a peace for a time, knowing that he woulde rather ſuffer all incommodities whatſoeuer, than once to trie the matter by battaile with his ſonnes, and therefore offered to come to a communication with him betwixt Gyſors & Trye, ſhewing bread in the one hande (as they ſay) and hyding a ſtone in the other. King Henry was eaſily intreated to heare of anye talke for peace, and therefore comming to the place on a Tueſday the. xv. daye of September, made ſo large offers, that he had almoſte conuerted the yong mens myndes vnto concord: firſt he offred to his ſonne Henrie the yong king, the moitie or one halfe of all the reuenues belonging to the demaines of the crown within England & foure conuenient caſtels within the ſame. Or if his ſon had leuer remain in Normandy, he offred the halfe of all yͤ reuenues of that duchie, wͭ all the rents & reuenues that were his fathers pertayning to the Earledome of Aniou, with certain Caſtels in Normandie, one Caſtel in Aniou, one in Mayne, and one in Towraine.

Rog. Hou
A treatie fo
peace.

Rog. Hou.
The offer o
Henry the f
ther to his
ſonnes.

To his ſonne Rychard, he offred halfe the reuenues of Guyen, and foure conuenient Caſtels in the ſame.

And to his ſonne Geffrey, hee offred all thoſe landes, that belonged by right of inheritance vnto the daughter of Conan Earle of Brytayne, if he might by the Popes licence marry hir.

And further King Henrie the father put himſelfe to the order of the Archbiſhop of Tharent, and other the Popes legates, not refuſing to giue vnto his ſonnes what more rentes and reuenues they ſhould ſay to be reaſonable, reſeruing only to him the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and the regall power.

These ſeemed to be large offers, but yet they might not be accepted. For certain ſonnes of Beliall, ſet vpon nothing but miſchiefe, troublers of common peace and quietneſſe, wrought ſo with them, that no conditions of peace were the ſame neuer ſo reaſonable could cōtent thē, ſo that without effect this communication brake vp, but not without contumelious words paſſed betwixt the parties, inſomuch that the Earle of Leyceſter (who being put from all his ayde in Englande, was come ouer to the Frenche king to purchaſe ayde at his handes) coulde not refraine, but after many opprobrious wordes vttered agaynſt king Henrie the father, he layde hand on his ſworde to haue ſtriken him, but the ſtanders by woulde not ſuffer him, and ſo they departed.

Earle of
ſter ot-
o ſtrike
ing.

On the morrow after, the Frenche men and Engliſhe men ſkirmiſhed togither, and made a fray betwixt Curſels and Gyſors, in the which fight Enguerane Chaſtillone de Tryt was taken priſoner by Earle William de Mandeuille, who preſented him to the King of Englande.

King Lewes though he iudged it his part to preſerue his ſonne in lawe from daunger, yet he ment nothing leſſe than to ioyne battayle wyth the Engliſhmen at that preſent. But within a fewe dayes after, he ſent Robert Earle of Leyceſter into England with an armie of Flemings and other, there to ioyne with Hugh Bigotte, that both of them might as well by force as faire promyſes and gentle perſwaſions, bring the whole Realme vnto the obedience of king Henrie the ſonne.

ons to
Pike.

Houed.

The Earle of Leyceſter therefore landing at Walton the .xxj. of September, paſſed through the Countrey vnto Framingham, where he was receyued of hugh Bigot Earle of Norffolke, and after that an other fleete of Flemings were arriued in their ayde, they went vnto Gipſwich, where after they had remayned a few dayes and augmented theyr forces by certaine bandes of men of warre that belonged vnto Earle Bigot, they got to the Caſtell of Haghenet (that belonged vnto Ranulph Broc) which they tooke, ſpoyled and burned, and then returned to Framingham.

After this, hearing that the Counteſſe of Leyceſter was arriued at Orreforde with an other power of Flemings, they went to meete hir: and ſo the Earle of Leyceſter hauing nowe a ſtrong armie aboute him, tooke leaue of Earle Bygot, and ment to paſſe through the Countrey into Leyceſterſhyre, there to ſuccour his friendes, and to worke ſome feate auayleable to the behoofe and furtherance of their quarell.

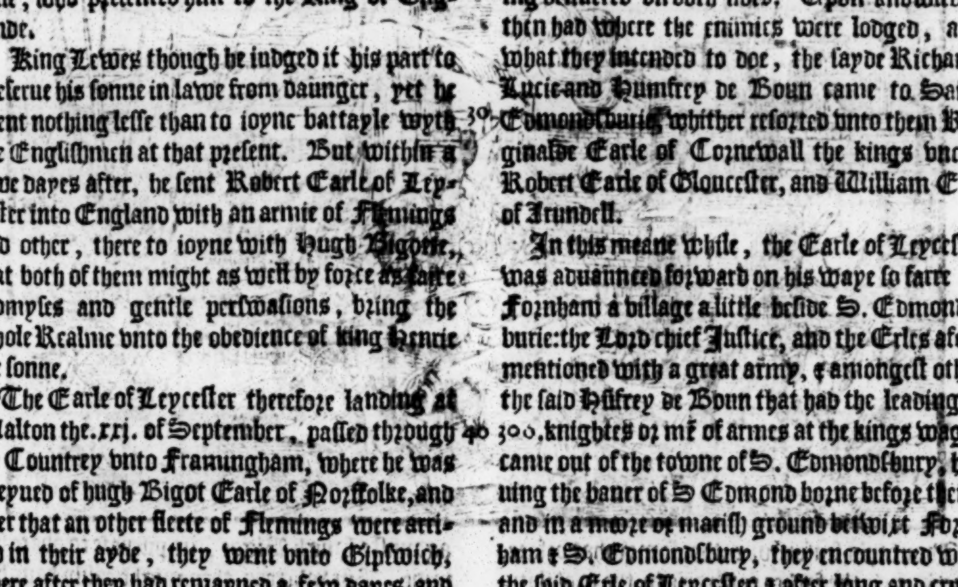
Rog. Houed.

In the meane time the arriuall of the Earle of Leyceſter beeing knowne, the people of the Countrey were aſſembled togyther. Alſo Rycharde Lucie Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, and Humfrey de Boun highe Coneſtable of Englande with the Kings power of Horſemen which lately before had beene in Scotlande, and made rodes there (as before is mentioned) came with al ſpeede to ſaue the Countrey from ſpoyle, hauing firſt taken a truce (as before is ſayde) with the king of Scottes, tyll the feaſt of Saint Hillarie next enſuing (or rather Eaſter) hoſtages being deliuered on both ſides. Vpon knowledge then had where the enimies were lodged, and what they intended to doe, the ſayde Richarde Lucie and Humfrey de Boun came to Saint Edmondſburie, whither reſorted vnto them Reginalde Earle of Cornewall the kings vncle, Robert Earle of Glouceſter, and William Erle of Arundell.

Rog. Houed.

In this meane while, the Earle of Leyceſter was aduaunced forward on his waye ſo farre as Fornham a village a little beſide S. Edmondſburie: the Lord chief Iuſtice, and the Erles afore mentioned with a great army, & amongeſt other the ſaid Hūfrey de Boun that had the leading of 300. knightes or mē of armes at the kings wages came out of the towne of S. Edmondſbury, hauing the baner of S Edmond borne before them, and in a moore or mariſh ground betwixt Fornham & S. Edmondſbury, they encountred with the ſaid Erle of Leyceſter, & after long and cruell fight diſcomfited his people, & tooke him priſoner, togither with his wife the Counteſſe Petronille,

The Earle of Leyceſter taken priſoner.



after

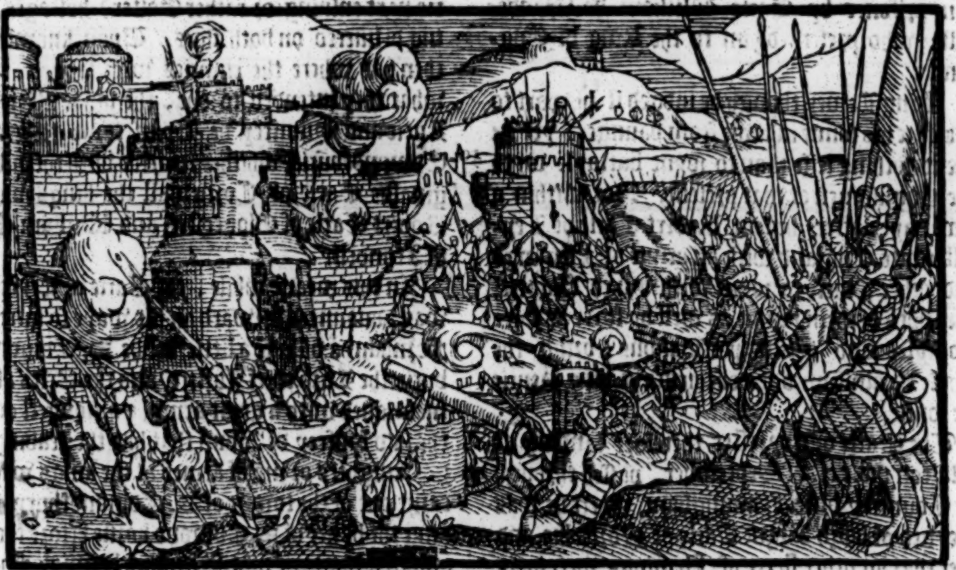
Rog. Houed.
Polidor.
VVil. Par.
Mat. Pa

after he had done all that belonged to a valiant Captain. Some write that there ſhould be killed that day of his people to the number of ten thouſand [and almoſt as many taken] verily [all the footemen of the Flemings being in number foure or fiue thouſand were either taken or ſlain.] The reſidue that eſcaped fled towards Leyceſter, that they might both defende the towne and themſelues from the daunger of their enimies. But here is to be noted, that it ſeemeth by the report of that which ſome write, how the Erle of Leyceſter had not ſo great an army there at that battaile, as by others account of the number ſlaine and taken it ſhould appeare he had. For at his departure from his companion in armes Hugh Bygot, he tooke vpon him to paſſe through the countrey (as ſome write) partly vpon truſt that he had of the force & number of his ſouldiers being about foure or fiue thouſand ſtoute & valiant footemen, beſides .lxxx. choſen and wel appointed horſmen, and partly in hope that many of thoſe which were in his aduerſaries campe, would rather turne to him thā fight againſt him: he had a great confidence in the Flemings, the which in deede preſumed muche vpon their owne ſtrength, ſo that they made account of ſome great conqueſt in ſuch wiſe, that when they came into any large plain where they might reſt, they would take eche others by the hand, and leading a daunce, ſing in their countrey language, Hoppe hoppe VVilkine, hoppe VVilkine, England is myn and tyn. But as ye haue heard, they were cut ſhort by the martial power of the Engliſh captaines, and al their iolitie layd in the duſt. The foreſayde battaile was fought on the .xvij. day of October.

King Henrie receyuing aduertiſement of the victorie which his captaines had gotten thus in England, was marueylous ioyfull thereof, commaunding that the priſoners ſhould be brought ouer vnto him into Normandie: and this done he went into Aniou, & there fortified the townes and caſtels of the country with ſure garriſons of men, to reſiſt all ſodaine inuaſions, ſecret practiſes, and other attempts of the enimies.

R. Houed
The town
Vandoſm
wonne.

Alſo on the feaſt of S. Andrew the Apoſtle, he tooke by force the towne of Vandoſme, the which Buchard de Lauerdyn held agaynſt him, hauing firſt expulſed his father the Erle of Vandoſme.



About this ſeaſon or rather ſomewhat before, king Henrie the father contrarie to the prohibition of the king his ſonne, and after the appeale made vnto the Pope, gaue not onely vnto Rychard, prior of Douer, the Archbiſhoprike of Cāterburie, but alſo to Reginald Fitz Jocelyne the Biſhoprike of Bath, to Richarde de Yvrceſter Archdeacon of Poiters, he gaue the Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, to Robert Foliot the Biſhoprike of Hereford, to Geffrey Ridel Archdeacon of Cāterburie he gaue the Biſhoprike of Ely, and to John de Oxenford the Biſhoprike of Chicheſter.

Mat. Paris:

But now to our purpoſe. The nobles of the realme of England after the battaile of S. Edmondſburie with an infinite nūber of men went agaynſte Hugh Bigot, in purpoſe to abate hys pride. But whereas they might eaſily haue had him at their pleaſure, by meanes of ſuch ſummes of mony as he gaue in brybes, a peace was grāted to him til Whitſontide, in which mean while hauing got togither .xiiij. thouſand Flemings, he paſſed through Eſſex, and ſo getting ouer into Kent, came to Douer, where he tooke ſhippe and tranſported ouer into France.

An. Re
1174

King Henry the father helde his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Cain in Normandie. And aboute the ſame time was a truce taken betwixt hym and king Lewes to endure tyll Eaſter, or as others write for the tearme of ſixe monethes. For ye haue to vnderſtande, ỷ the fame of the victorie got by the Captaynes of king Henry the father, agaynſt the Earle of Leyceſter, being not onely ſpred through Englande, but alſo blowne ouer into Fraunce, put thoſe that tooke part agaynſt him in great feare, and ſpecially king Lewes miſtruſting the matter began to waxe wearie that he had attempted ſo farre, and ſuſteined ſo great trauaile and expences in an other mans cauſe.

.Dor

Whileſt this truce endured, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie being readie to returne home in deſpayre of his buſineſſe, vpō a feigned rumor ſpred that there was a peace cōcluded betwixt the two kings, the father and ſonne, hee was called backe and conſecrated by the Pope the Sunday after Eaſter: and then furniſhed with the dignities of Primate and Legate of England, and other priuiledges according, he tooke his way homewards towards Englande, after he had layd forth great ſummes of Money to diſappoint the purpoſes of his aduerſaries.

This yeare in June, the Lorde Geffrey the elect of Lincolne the kings ſonne beſieged the Caſtell which Roger de Mowbray had repayred at Kinarde Ferie, within the Ile of Oxholme, and compelling the ſoldiers within to yeelde, he beate downe & razed the ſame caſtel vnto yͤ very groūd. Robert Mowbray Coneſtable of that caſtell, as he paſſed through the country towards Leyceſter there to procure ſome ayde, was taken by the mē of Clay, & kept as a priſoner. Moreouer the ſaid elect of Lincolne tooke the caſtel of Maleſert that belonged to the ſaid Roger Mowbray, which being now taken, was deliuered vnto the keeping of the Archb. of Yorke. The ſayd elect alſo fortified a caſtel at Topclif, & tooke it to the keeping of Wil. Stuteuille. In this meane while the king tooke the ſtrengthes and fortreſſes which his ſonne Richard had fortified at Xanctes, & tooke in the ſame fortes & Church which was alſo fortified againſt him.lx.knightes or men of armes, and foure.C. Archbaleſters, that is, ſuch as bare Croſſebowes.

othe of
Earle of
nders.

Philip Erle of Flanders in the preſence of the French king and other the peeres of Fraunce, laying his hand vpon the holy Relikes, ſware that within.xv.dayes next enſuing the feaſt of Saint John then inſtant to enter Englande with an armie, and to doe his beſt to ſubdue the ſame to king Henry the ſon. Vpon truſt wherof the yong king the more preſuming came downe to Whitſande, the.xiiij. day of July, that he might from thence ſend ouer into England Raufe de la Hay with certaine bandes of ſouldiers. Before this the Earle of Flanders had ſent ouer three.C. & .xviij. knightes or men of armes as we may call them. But after their arriuall at Orwel, which chaunced the.xiiij.of June, by reaſon that their aſſociates were diſperſed, & for the more part ſubdued, they tooke with them Earle Hugh Bigot, and marching to Norwich, aſſaulted the Citie and wan it, gayning there great riches; and ſpecially in readie money, & led away a great ſort of priſoners whō they raunſomed at their pleaſure. This chaunced the.xviij.of June.

An. Reg.
1174

iens to
Pike.

Mat. Par.
Ger. Do.

I doe remember that William Paruus writeth, that the Citie of Norwiche was taken by the Flemings that came ouer with the Earle of Leyceſter in the yeare laſt paſt, by the conduct of the ſayde Earle before hee was taken, and that after he had taken that Citie, being accompanied with Earle Bigot, he ledde thoſe Flemings alſo vnto Dunwiche, purpoſing to winne and ſacke that towne alſo: but the Inhabitantes beeing better prouided agaynſt the comming of theyr enimies than they of Norwiche were, ſhewed ſuche countenance of defence, that they preſerued their towne from that daunger, ſo that the two Earles with their Flemings were conſtrayned to depart without atchieuing their purpoſe. But whether that this attempte agaynſt Dunwiche was made by the Earle of Leyceſter (before hys taking) in companie of Earle Bigot, I haue not to auouch. But verily for the wynning of Norwiche, I ſuppoſe that William Paruus miſtaketh the tyme, except wee ſhall ſay that it was twice taken, as firſt by the Earle of Leyceſter in the yeare. 1173. For it is certaine by conſent of moſt wryters, and eſpecially thoſe that haue recorded particulerly the incidentes that chaunced here in this lande during theſe troubles betwixt the king and his ſonnes, that it was taken nowe this yeare. 1174. by Earle Bigot, (as before we haue ſhewed.)

But now to proceede. The Lordes that had the rule of the land for king Henry the father, perceyuing Erle Bigots proceedings, ſent knowledge therof with all expedition to the king, as yet remayning in the parties of beyonde the ſea.

Additions to
Iohn Pike.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, although the myndes of many of the conſpirators agaynſt king Henrie the father were inclined to peace, yet Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot (by reaſon of this new ſupply of men got out of Flaunders) ceaſſed not to attempt new exploytes: and chiefly they ſolicited the matter in ſuch wiſe with William king of Scotlande, that whileſt they in other quarters of the Realme played theyr partes, hee entred into the confines of Cumberlande, and fyrſt beſieged the Citie of Carleil, but perceyuing hee coulde not winne it in any ſhorte tyme, hee left one part of hys armie to keepe ſiege before it, and with the reſidue marched into the Countrey alongeſt by the Ryuer of Eden, taking by force the Caſtels of Bourgh and Appleby, with diuers other.

The king of
Scots inuadeth
England.

Caſtels wonne
by the Scots.

This done, he paſſed ouer the Ryuer, and came through Northumberlande (waſting the

Countrey as hee went) vnto Alnewike, whiche place he attempted to winne, though his labour therein proued but in vaine.

This enterpriſe whiche hee made into Northumberlande, hee tooke in hande chiefely at the ſuyte and requeſt of Roger Mounbray, from whom Geffrey (that was after Biſhop of Lyncolne) king Henrie the elders Baſtard ſonne had taken two of hys Caſtels, ſo that hee kept the thirde with muche a doe. Hee had gyuen hys eldeſt ſonne in hoſtage vnto the ſayde King of Scottes for aſſuraunce of ſuche couenaunts to be kepte on hys behalfe as were paſſed betwixt them.

Polidor.

Duncane a Scottiſh ca

taine waſt

Kendall.

In the meane tyme one Duncane or Rothlande, with an other part of the Scottiſhe armye entered into Kendall, and waſted that Countrey in moſte cruell wiſe, neyther ſparing age nor ſexe, inſomuche that he brake into the Churches, ſlue thoſe that were fledde into the ſame for ſafegarde of theyr lyues as well Prieſtes as other.

Wil. Paruus.

Rog. Houed.

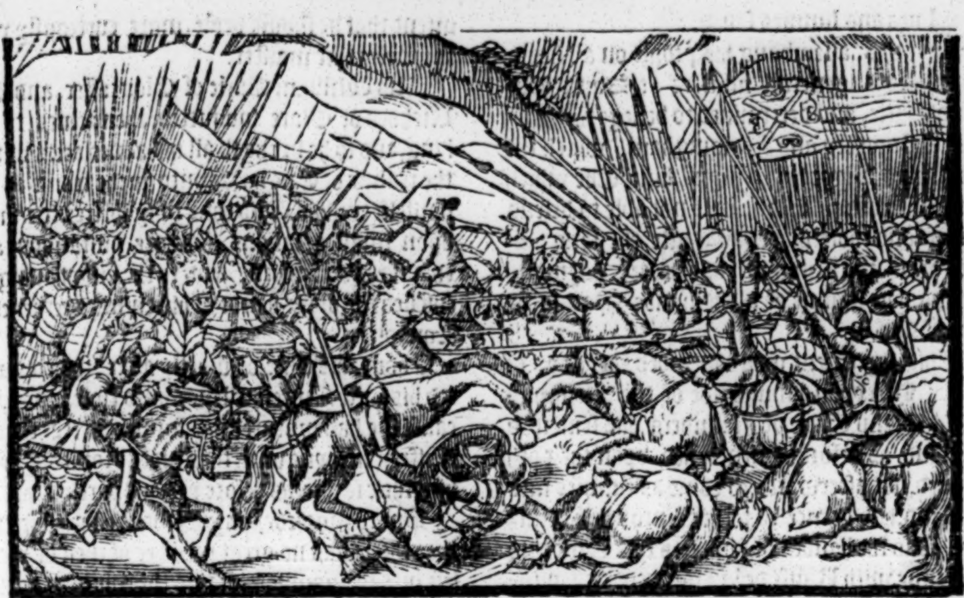
The Engliſh power of Horſemen which paſſed not the number of foure hundred) was aſſembled at Newcaſtell, vnder the leading of Robert de Stouteuille, Raufe Glanuille, William Veſie, Bernarde Balliolle, [and Odonette de Umfreyuille.]

These Captaynes hauing knowledge that Duncane was in one ſide of the Countrey, and king William in another, they determined to iſſue forth and trie theyr chaunce agaynſte the enimies, ſithe it ſhoulde be a great rebuke to them to ſuffer the Country to be waſted after that ſort without reuengement. Hereupō ryding forth one morning, there roſe by chaunce ſuch a thick fogge and myſt that they coulde not diſcerne any way forth about them, ſo that doubting to fall within the lappes of theyr enimyes at vnwares, they ſtayed a while to take aduiſe what ſhould be beſt for them to do. Here whē they were almoſt fully reſolued to haue turned backe again, by the comfortable wordes and bolde exhortation of Bernarde Balliolle, they chaunged theyr purpoſe, and rode forwarde, tyll at length the Northren winde beganne to waken, and drone awaye the myſt, ſo that the Countrey was diſcouered vnto them, and perceyuing where Alnewike ſtoode, not knowing as yet whether the Scottes had wonne it or not, they ſtayed theyr pace, and ryding ſoftly, at length learning by the Inhabitaunts of the Countrey, that the Scottiſhe King diſpayring to wynne Alnewike, had rayſed hys ſiege from thence the ſame daye, they turned ſtreyght thyther, and lodging there all nyght, in the morning gotte to theyr Horſes verye earely, ryding forth towardes the enimyes that were ſpredde abroade in the Countrey to forrey the ſame. They had anon eſpied where the King was, and incontinently compaſſe hym aboute on euery ſyde, who perceyuing the Engliſhe Horſemen to bee readie thus to aſſayle him, wyth all diligence calleth backe his menne from the ſpoyle, but the more parte of them beeing ſtrayed farre of throughe the ſweeteneſſe they founde in getting of prayes, coulde not heare the ſounde of the Trumpette, yet notwithſtanding wyth thoſe his horſemen whiche hee coulde get togyther, hee encountred the Engliſhe men which came vppon him verie haſtily.

Bernarde de Balliolle.

The battaile was begonne right fiercely at the firſt, and well foughten for a time, but the Scottiſh horſemen being toyled before in forraying the Countrey, could not long continue agaynſt the fierce aſſault of the Engliſh men, but were either beaten downe, or elſe conſtrayned to ſaue themſelues by flight.

The



Th king of
taken.

The king with a fewe other, which at the firſt had begonne the battaile was taken. Alſo many of the Scottes which being farre off, and yet hearing of the fray, came running towarde the place, and were taken ere they could vnderſtande howe the matter had paſſed. This taking of the king of Scots chanced on a Saterday, being the ſeuenth of July.

Do.

l. Par.

The Engliſh captains hauing thus taken the Scottiſhe king in the midſt of his army conteyning the number of. 80000. men, returned to Newcaſtell, greatly reioycing of their good ſucceſſe, aduertiſing king Henrie the father hereof with all ſpeede, who as then was come ouer from Normandie, & was the ſame day that the Scottiſh king was taken at Canterburie, in making his prayers there before the ſepulture of the Archbiſhop Becket (as after it ſhall appeare.)

. Par.
. VVeſt.
l. Par.
. Do.

dor.

In this meane while and ſomewhat before this time, the Erle of Leyceſters men which lay at Leyceſter vnder the conduct of Robert Ferreys Erle of Darbie, (as ſome write) or rather of Anketille Malorie Coneſtable or gouernour (if we ſhall ſo call him) as Roger Houedẽ hath, came to Northampton, where they fought with them of that towne, and getting the victorie they tooke two hundred priſoners, and ſlue or wounded nere hande as many more; and ſo with this good ſucceſſe in ẏ enterpriſe they returned againe to Leyceſter, from whence they firſt ſet forth. The kings horſmen herevpon came ſtreightwayes to Northampton, & following the enimies, could not ouertake them. Robert Ferreis Erle of Darbie being nowe come vnto Leyceſter in ayde of them that lay there, ſtayed not there paſt ten dayes: but finding meanes to encreaſe his number of horſmen, ſodenly made to Notinghã, the which Reginald de Lucy had in keeping, & cõming thither earely in the morning tooke it, droue out the kings ſouldiers that lay there in garriſon, burned the towne, ſlue ẏ inhabitãts, & deuided their goods amongſt his ſouldiers: which thing put the countrey about in ſuch feare, that many of ẏ inhabitãts ſubmitted thẽſelues vnto him. K. Henrie the ſon being hereof aduertiſed by letters oftentimes ſent vnto him by this Robert Ferreys, and other hys friends here in Englande, eftſoones conceyued ſome good hope to obteyne his purpoſe: and therefore determined to prepare for the war. And herevpon purchaſed ayd of king Lewes, who (bycauſe the truce whiche hee had taken wyth king Henrie the father was now expired) thought it was reaſon to further his ſonne in lawes enterpriſe ſo far as in him lay. He made his prouiſion at Graueling: and there encamping with his people, ſtayed till his ſhips were readie to tranſport him and his armie ouer, which conſiſted of certaine Horſemen, and of a number of Brabanders. King Henrie the father beeing aduertiſed both of his ſonnes purpoſe, and of the doings in Englande, with all poſſible ſpeede determined alſo to paſſe ouer into Englande; and therefore gotte his ſouldiers a Shippebourde, among the whiche were certaine bands of his Brabanders: and ſo ſoone as the winde blewe to his minde, hee cauſed the ſayles to be hoyſted vp, and the nauie to ſet forward. Being landed he firſt repayred vnto Canterbury, there to make his prayers, doubting leaſt the bloud of the Archbiſhop Thomas Becket being ſpilt through his occaſiõ, did yet require vengeance againſt him for that fact. From Canterburie he came to London, and tooke order for the placing of captains wt their bãds in certen towns about ẏ coaſt to defend the landing places, where he thought his ſon was like to arriue. Then went he vnto Hũtingtõ, & ſubdued the caſtell there the xix. of July: for the knights & other ſoldiers ẏ wer within it yeelded themſelues to the kings mercy

Th s chanced
al tle alter
W itſuntide.

b.Ferreis.

dor.

. Houed.

tingham
en.

VVil. Par.

Polidor.

VVil. Paruus.

Huntington
caſtell wonne

theyr liues and limmes ſaued.

R. Houed.

After this, aſſembling his people on all ſides, hee made his generall muſters at Saint Edmunds burie, and determined to beſiege the Caſtels of Bunghey and Framingham, which the Erle Hugh Bigot held agaynſt him. The which Earle miſtruſting that he was not able to defend himſelfe and thoſe places agaynſte the king, agreed with the King to haue peace, paying to the king the ſumme of a thouſande Markes by compoſition.

Mat. Par.
Erle Bigot is accorded with the king.

This agreement was concluded the. xxv. of July. Hereupon a multitude of the Flemings whiche Philip Earle of Flaunders had ſent into England (as before is mencioned) vpon their oth receyued, not afterwards to come as enimies into England, had licence to returne into their countrey. Alſo the bandes of ſouldiers that came into the realme with Rauſe de la Hay departed without impeachment by the kings ſufferance.

The Flemings ſent home.

Rog. Hou.

The king hauing thus accõpliſhed that which ſtoode with his pleaſure in thoſe parties, remoued from thence and drewe towardes Northamton. To which towne after his comming thither, the king of Scots was brought with his feet bounde vnder the horſes belly. Alſo thither came the Biſhop of Durham, and deliuered to the king the caſtels of Durhã, Norham, & Allerton. There came alſo thither vnto the K. Roger Mowbray, & ſurrendred to him the Caſtell of Treſke, and Robert Erle Ferrers deliuered vp into his hands the Caſtels of Tutburie and Duffield, and Anketill Mallorie, and William de Diue Conſtables to the Erle of Leyceſter, yeelded to the king the Caſtels of Leyceſter, Groby, and Mountſorell, to the intent that he ſhould deale more curteouſly with the Erle their maiſter.

The king of Scots preſented to the king of Englande.

Alſo William Earle of Glouceſter, and Erle Richard of Clare ſubmitted themſelues to the king, and ſo he brougth all his aduerſaries within the realme of Englande vnto ſuche frame as hee himſelfe wiſhed. And thus may ye ſee oftentimes vpon ſmall occaſions, greate mutations and chaunges do happen. And ſo the king hauing atchieued the vpper hande of his enimies returned to London.

The Earl Glouceſte The Earle chard of C

About this time or ſhortly after, he committed his wife Queen Elenor vnto cloſe priſon, bycauſe ſhe had procured his ſonnes Richarde and Geffrey to ioyne with their elder brother agaynſt him their father (as before ye haue partly heard.)

Queen El is commi to cloſe pri

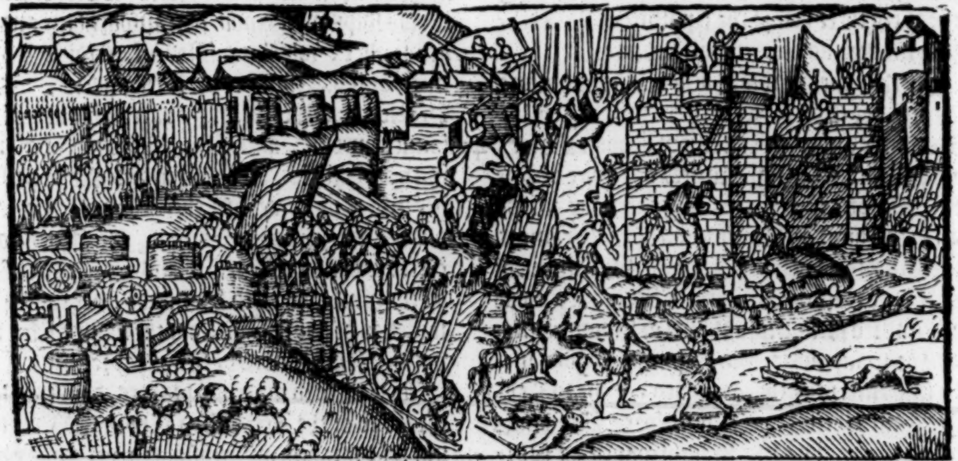
But to proceede, king Lewes being aduertiſed that there was no great number of men of warre left in Normandie to defend the countrey, rayſeth a power, and comming to Rouen, beſieged it right ſtraitly.

Polidor.

Shortly after alſo king Henrie the ſonne and Philip Erle of Flanders came thither, meaning to obteyne firſt the poſſeſſion of Normandie, and after to go into England. The Citizens of Rouen perceiuing in what daunger they ſtood, without fainting heartes, prepare all things neceſſary for defence, and do euery thing in order, purpoſing not to giue ouer their Citie for any threates or menaces of their enimies.

Rouen beſieged by the French king
VVil. Pa.

Whileſt they within were buſie in deuiſing how to repulſe the aſſault, and to defende themſelues, the aduerſaries aboute midnight came forth of their campe, and approching the walles with their Ladders, rayſe them vp and begin to ſcale the Citie: But the Citizens being aduized therof, boldly got them to the loupes and towers, ouerthrow the Ladders of the enimies that were comming vp, and with arrowes, ſtones and dartes beate them backe, to their great loſſe and hynderance. Howbeit though the enimies coulde not preuaile thus to get the citie by thys aſſault, yet they continue the ſiege, and ſuffer not them within to bee in quiet, but daye and night they aſſayle them by one meanes or other.



Rog. Hou.
King Hen returneth i Normandi

King Henrie the father being aduertiſed hereof, after hee had ſet order in his buſineſſe touching the ſuretie and ſafe defence of the Engliſh eſtate, hee returneth into Normandie, and landeth at Harflecte on a Thurſday beeing the viij. day of Auguſt, bringing with him backe againe hys Brabanders, and a thouſande Welchmen.

In this meane while, king Lewes continueth ſtill his ſiege before Rouen, conſtrayning them within by all meanes hee coulde deuiſe to yeelde vp theyr Citie. At length came the feaſt of Saint Laurence, on which day the French king commaunded that no man ſhoulde attempt any enterpriſe againſt the Citizens, graunting them truce for that day, in worſhip of that Saint.

This truce was ſo acceptable a thing to them within, that they forgetting themſelues, without all reſpect to the daunger wherin the Citie ſtood, threwe off theyr armour, and gaue themſelues to ſleepe and reſt. Some alſo fell to banketting and other paſtimes for their recreation, in ſo diſſolute maner, that the Frenchmen perceyuing their errours, required licence of the French king to giue aſſault to the Citie, declaring in what ſtate the matter preſently ſtoode. The king not meaning to violate the reuerence of that day, and hys promiſed fayth, with any ſuch vnlawful attempt, commaunded his men of warre that made the requeſt, in no wiſe to ſtirre. But the ſoldiers notwithſtanding vpon couetouſneſſe of the ſpoyle, rayſe the Ladders to that part of the wall whiche they iudged to be moſt without warders, ſo that ſome of them mounting vp, got vpon the walles, and were about to helpe vp their fellowes, when by chaunce it happened ſo well for the Citie, that two prieſts being gone vp into the Steple of the chiefe Churche, to looke about them for their pleaſures, fortuned to ſee where the French men were about to enter the Citie, and ſtreight wayes gaue knowledge to the Citizens beneath. Hereupon the alarme roſe, and with all ſpeede the people ranne to the place, and with ſuch violence came vppon theyr enimies which were entred vpõ the walles, that ſtreyght wayes they had ſlaine them, and chaſed the reſidue oute of the Ditches, ſo that they returned with many a bleeding wound vnto theyr campe, repenting them of theyr vnhappye begunne enterpriſe, that ſo turned to theyr coſt.

The French men aſſault the Citie without commaundement of their king.

Two Prieſtes.

The French men are repulſed.

The ſame day alſo a little before night, king Henrie the father came vnto Rouen, and was receyued into the Citie with great ioy and gladneſſe: for he came thither by chaunce euen about the time that the Citie had thus like to haue bene taken at vnwares.

Polidor.

There be that write, howe the French King immediately vpon the arriuall of king Henrie, leuyed his fielde and departed, greatly to his diſhonour, burning vp his engines of warre, and not ſtaying till his men might haue leyſure to charge theyr wagons with theyr armor and other ſtuffe which they were glad to leaue behinde for a pray to the Engliſh men iſſuing forth vpon them.

Mat. Par.

But other declare, that the French king being nothing abaſhed of king Henries comming, continued the ſiege, in hope to winne the Citie. The next day early in the morning (or as other ſay in the night ſeaſon) the king did ſende forth a certaine number of the Welchmen to paſſe ouer the Ryuer of Sayne, whiche they did, and by force made themſelues way through the French camp, getting without loſſe or daunger vnto a greate wood, and ſlue that day of their aduerſaries aboue an hundred men.

Rog. Houed.

The Welchmens good ſeruice.

After this, lying abrode in the cuntry, they ſkirmiſhed dayly with the Frenche horſemen, and oft times cut off ſuch prouiſion of vitails as came to vitaile the campe.

Nic. Triuet.

The king himſelfe on the other ſide remaining within the Citie, cauſed his people to iſſue out at the gates, and to keepe the enimies occupied with ſkirmiſhes afore the Citie.

And moreouer where there was a great trench caſt betwixt the French campe and the walles of the Citie, he cauſed the ſame to be filled vp with fagottes, ſtones, and earth, and the French men ſawe this doing well ynough, but none of them iſſued forth of theyr tentes to hinder the Engliſh men of their purpoſe.

Rog. Houed.

King Lewes therefore being thus vexed with his enimies on eche ſyde, and perceyuing the Citie woulde not be wonne wythin any ſhorte tyme, beganne to waxe wearie, and to repente himſelfe (as afore) for taking in hande ſo chargeable and great a warre for another mans quarell.

And hereuppon cauſed William Biſhoppe of Sens, And Theobalde Earle of Bloys, to goe vnto King Henrie, and to promiſe vppon abſtenence of warre to be had for a tyme, to finde meanes to agree hym and his ſonnes.

The French king maketh an ouerture for peace.

King Henrie being moſt deſyrous hereof, taking a truce, appoynted to come vnto Gyſors, [in the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie] and there to meete King Lewes, that they myght talke of the matter to bring it to ſome good paſſe.

Nic. Triuet.

A truce.

The French King ſo ſoone as hee vnderſtoode that truce was taken, rayſed his ſiege and returned home, and within a fewe dayes after (according to the appoyntment) came to Gyſors, and there communed with King Henrie: but bycauſe he could not make any agreement betwixt him and his ſonnes at that time, he appoynted an other time to meete about it.

The French king leaueth his ſiege.

King Henrie the father whileſt the truce continued with the French king, and with his ſonne Henrie, went into Poictow, where his ſonne Richard (whileſt his father had beene occupied in other places) had gotte the moſt part of the countrey into hys poſſeſſion: but nowe hearing of his fathers comming, and howe that truce was taken with the french king, and with his brother, he conſidered with himſelfe that without their aſſiſtance he was not able to withſtand his fathers power.

Richarde the kings ſonne prepareth to reſiſt his father.

At length yet chooſing rather to trie the matter with force of armes, than recreantly to yeelde, he repayreth for defence, furniſhing diuerſe townes and caſtels with gariſons of mẽ: and aſſembling togither al the other power that he was able to make, commeth into the field, and pitched downe his tentes not farre of from his father. In the meane while, which way ſoeuer his father paſſed, the townes and Caſtelles ſubmit themſelues vnto him, ſo that Richarde beganne to diſpayre in the matter, inſomuch that he durſt not approch neare vnto his father, but kept aloofe, doubting to be entrapped. At length when he had conſidered his owne ſtate, and weyed howe vnthankefully the French king and his brother had dealt with him, in hauing no conſideration of him at the tyme when they tooke truce, he determined to alter his purpoſe, and hauing ſome good hope in his fathers clemencie, thought beſt to trie it, which he found to be the beſt way that he could haue taken. For ſo oftentymes it chaũceth, ỹ latter thoughts are better aduiſed than the firſt. Herevpon thys Richard laying armour aſide, commeth of hys owne accorde vnto his father, vpon the .xxj. of September, and aſketh pardon. His father moſte courteouſly receyuing him, made ſo much of him as though he had not offended at all. Which example of curteſie did much to the alluring of hys other ſonnes to come to a reconciliation. For the bringing whereof to ſpeedie effect, he ſent this Richarde vnto king Lewes, and to his other ſonne Henrie, to commen with them of peace, at which time Erle Richard did ſo effectually his meſſage, that he brought them both in good forwardneſſe to agree to his fathers purpoſe, ſo that there was a day appoynted for them to meete with hys father, betwixt Towres in Touraigne, and Amboiſe.

He beginneth to diſpayre of god ſucceſſe.

Polider.

The ſonne ſubmitteth himſelfe to the father.

Ger. Dor.

The father and ſonnes are accorded.

The conditions of the agreement.

Rog: Houed.

King Henrie reioyſing hereat, kept his day, (being the morrow after the feaſt of Saint Michaell) and there met him both king Lewes, and his two ſonnes Henrie and Geffrey, where finally the father and the ſonnes were accorded. Hee promiſing to receyue them into fauor vpon theſe conditions. Firſt the priſoners to be releaſed freely without raunſome on both ſides, and their offences to be likewiſe pardoned, which had taken eyther the one part or the other. Excepted out of this article, all thoſe which before the concluding of this peace had alreadie compounded for theyr raunſomes, as the king of Scots, the Earles of Leiceſter and Cheſter, and Rauſe Fulgiers, with their pledges. Alſo it was agreed, that all thoſe Caſtels which had bene buylded in time of thys warre, ſhould be razed & throwne downe, and all ſuch cities, townes, Caſtels, countreys & places, which had bene woon by either part during theſe warres, ſhoulde bee reſtored vnto thoſe perſones that helde the ſame, and were in poſſeſſion of them .xv. dayes before the departure of the ſonnes from king Henrie the father.

Againe king Henrie the father ſhould aſſigne to his ſonnes more larger reuenues for maintenance of theyr eſtates, with a caution included, that they ſhoulde not ſpende the ſame riotouſlye in any prodigall ſort or maner.

Rog. Hou

Richard.

Geffrey.

Firſt to the king his ſonne, he gaue two Caſtels in Normandie, with an encreaſe of yearely reuenues, to the ſumme of .xv. thouſande pounde Aniouyn. And to his ſonne Richard he gaue alſo two houſes in Poictou, with the one halfe of al the reuenues of the Countie of Poictou to be receyued in money. Vnto his ſonne Geffrey hee graunted alſo in money, the moitie of that which he ſhould haue by the mariage of Erle Conanes daughter, and after that he had maried hir by licenſe purchaſed of the Pope, he ſhoulde enioy all the whole liuings and reuenues that diſcended to hir, as in hir fathers wryting thereof more at large was conteyned.

John.

On the other part king Henrie the ſonne, couenanted and graunted to and with the King his father, that hee ſhoulde perfourme and confyrme all thoſe gyftes of almes whiche his father ſhoulde graunt oute of his landes, and alſo all thoſe gyftes of landes which hee eyther had made and aſſured, or hereafter ſhoulde make and aſſure, vnto any of his men for any of their ſeruices. And likewiſe thoſe gyftes whiche hee had made vnto his ſonne John the brother of King Henrie the ſonne, that is to witte, a thouſande poundes in landes by yeare in Englande of his demaine and exchcates with the appurtenaunces, and the Caſtell and Countie of Notingham, with the Caſtell of Marlebrough, and the appurtenances. Alſo a thouſand poundes Aniouyn of yearely reuenues in Normandie, and two Caſtelles there. And in Aniou a thouſande poundes Aniouyn, of ſuche landes as belonged to the Earle of Aniou, with one Caſtell in Aniou and one in Touraine and another in Maine.

Thus were the father and ſonnes agreed and made friendes, the ſonnes couenanting neuer to withdrawe theyr ſeruices and bounden ducties from theyr father, but to obey him in all things from that day forwarde.

A mariage concluded.

Herewith alſo the peace was renued betwixt King Henrie and King Lewes, and for the further confyrmation, a newe alliaunce was accorded betwixt them, whiche was that the Ladie Adela the daughter of king Lewes ſhoulde be giuen in maryage vnto Earle Richarde the ſonne of King Henrie, and bycauſe ſhe was not yet of age able to mary, ſhee was conueyed into Englande to be vnder the guyding of King Henrie, till ſhe came to lawfull yeares.

Wil. Par.

Rog. Houed.

Wil. Par.

[illegible] that he [illegible] homage also.

Thus the peace being concluded, king Henrie forgetting all paſſed iniuryes, brought home his ſonnes in maner aforeſayde. And they being well pleaſed with the agreement, attended theyr father into Normandie, where Richarde and Geffrey did homage to theyr father receyuing theyr othes of allegiance according to the maner in that caſe requyred. But king Henrie the ſonne did no homage, for his father (in reſpect that he was a king) woulde not ſuffer him, and therefore tooke onely ſureties of him for performance of the couenants on his part, as was thought expedient.

Wil. king of Scots deliuered out of priſon with other.

At length king Henrie goeth to Falcyſe, and there delyuereth out of captiuitie William king of Scotlande, Robert Earle of Leyceſter, Hugh Earle of Cheſter, with diuerſe other noble men whiche were kepte there as priſoners, putting them to theyr raunſomes, and receyuing of them pledges with an othe of allegiance.

Mat. Par.

Priſoners releaſed.

King Henrie the father releaſed for hys part the number of nine hundred. lxix. knightes or menne of armes (if yee lyſt ſo to tearme them) which had beene taken ſith the begynning of theſe paſſed warres.

And king Henrie the ſonne ſet at lybertie aboue an hundred, and that without raunſome paying, according to the Articles of the peace (as before ye haue heard.) But yet ſome (as before we haue ſpecified) were excepted out of the benefit of that article, as William king of Scotlande, who being not able to pay his raunſome in preſent money, deliuered vp in gage foure of the ſtrongeſt Caſtelles within his realme into king Henries handes, Barwike, Edenbourgh, Roxbourgh, and Sterling, with condition, that if he brake the peace, and payed not the money behinde due for his raunſome, king Henrie and his ſucceſſours ſhoulde enioy for euer the ſame Caſtelles. He alſo couenaunted, not to receyue any Engliſh Rebels into his realme.

Caſtels deliuered by the K. of Scottes.

Nic. Triuet:

Mat. Par.

Other write that the king of Scottes did not onely become the king of Englands liegeman at this time, and couenanted to doe homage vnto him for the Realme of Scotlande, and all other his landes, but alſo deliuered the Caſtels of Barwike, and Roxbourgh to be poſſeſſed of the ſame king of Englande and hys heyres for euer without any couenant mentioned of morgage.

Rog. Hou.

1175

Things beeing ſetled thus in good order, King Henry leauing his ſonne Henrie at Rouen, goeth to Argenton, and there helde hys Chriſtenmaſſe, and afterwardes, that is to wit, in the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, both the kings, as well the father as the ſonne, were at Mauns, and vpon their returne from thence into Normandie, they came to a communication with the Frenche King at Gyſors, and then being come backe into Normandie at Bure, the ſonne to put the father out of all doubt and myſtruſt of any euill meaning in him, ſware fealtie to him agaynſt all perſons, and ſo became hys liegeman in the preſence of Rothrod Archebiſhop of Rouen, Henrie Biſhop of Bayeux, William Earle of Mandeuille, Richarde de Humez his Conſtable, and many other.

The kings of Englande and France meete at Giſors.

Philip Earle of Flanders.

After this they kept theyr Eaſter at Chierbourgh, and from thence they came to Cain, where they mette wyth Philippe Earle of Flanders, who had lately before taken vpon hym the Croſſe, to goe into the holy lande: and there King Henry the father requyred him to releaſſe all ſuche couenauntes as King Henry the ſonne had made vnto him in tyme of his laſt warres, whiche hee freely did, and delyuered vppe the wryting whiche hee hadde of the ſame King concerning thoſe couenauntes, and ſo then they confyrmed vnto him the yearely rent whiche hee was wont to receyue out of Englande before the ſayde warres.

Polidor.

Enuious perſons readie to forge matters of ſuſpition.

The two ki the father a the ſonne returne into England.

Finally after that king Henrie had viſited the moſt parte of the Countrey, he commeth to Harflewe, and cauſeth his Nauie to bee decked and rigged, that hee might ſayle ouer into Englande. Whileſt he taryed here tyll his ſhips were readie, hee ſendeth letters to his ſonne King Henrie, willing him to repayre vnto him, meaning that he ſhoulde accompanie him into Englande. At the firſt the ſonne was loth to obey hys fathers pleaſure herein, bicauſe ſome enuious perſons aboute him, had put in his heade a doubt, leaſt his father had not altogither forgot his former grudge, and that he ment at his comming into Englande to commite him to priſon. But yet the father handled him ſo gently with courteous letters and meſſages, that ſhortly after hee came to his father of his owne accorde vnto Harflewe, from whence ſhortlye after they ſayled both togyther ouer into Englande, landing at Portſmouth on a Fryday the. ix. of May, they tooke the way frō thence ſtreight vnto London, al the wayes beeing full of people that came to ſee them, & to ſhewe thēſelues glad & ioyfull of theyr concord and happy arriual. At their comming to the citie they were receyued with great reioycing of the people, beſieching God long to preſerue thē both in health and honour.

William de Breauſe.

The ſame yeare William de Breauſe hauing got a great number of Welchmen into the Caſtell of Begenini, vnder a colourable pretext of a communication, proponed this ordinance to be

The Welchmē not well dealt with.

receyued of them vnder a corporall othe, that no trauayler by the waye amongeſt them ſhoulde beare any bow, or other vnlawful weapon, which othe when they refuſed to take, bycauſe they woulde not ſtande to that ordinance, he condemned them all to death. And this deceypt he vſed towardes them in reuenge of the death of his vncle Henrie of Hereford, whom vpon Eaſter euen before, they had through treaſon murthered, & were now acquited with the like againe.

Nic.Triu

Reginald of Corow departed

The ſame yeare died Reignald Erle of Cornwall, baſtard ſonne to king Henry the firſt without heyres male, by reaſon whereof the K. toke into his handes all the inheritance of landes and liuings which he helde within Englande, Normandie & Wales, except certaine portions which the daughters of the ſame Erle had by aſſignmēt allotted to them. Alſo Richard Earle of Glouceſter deceaſſed this yere, & his ſon Philip ſucceded him.

Mat. W

A Sinode den at Lon

The ſame yeare was a Sinode of the clergie kept at Weſtminſter, wherein many things were decreed for the conſeruation of Religion, and among other things it was prouided, that thoſe Abbayes and Churches which were voyde of gouernours, and could haue none placed in them by the time of the late ciuill warres, ſhoulde now be committed vnto men worthie to enioye the ſame, for the reformation of enormities being growne and diuerſely repleniſhed in time of the vacations.

. Par. king of tes doth age to the G of Eng-

The Realme being nowe brought into good order and delyuered from the troubles of warre, as well at home as abrode, the king being at good leyſure determined to ride about a great part of the realme, and comming to Yorke, ſent for the king of Scots to come and do his homage, which was done, for the king of Scots according to couenants before concluded, came vnto Yorke in the Moneth of Auguſt, where doing his homage about the .xx. day of the ſame Moneth in S. Peters Church, graunted further by his letters patents, that he and his ſucceſſours kings of Scotlande, ſhoulde doe homage and fealtie to kings of Englande ſo often as they ſhoulde be neceſſarily requyred thereunto. And in ſigne and token of that ſubiection, the king of Scots offred his Hat, and his Saddle vpon the Aulter of S. Peter in Yorke, which Hatte and Saddle for a remembraunce hereof was kept there many yeres after that day.

The tenor the Charter.

The Charter alſo conteyning the Articles of the peace and agreement concluded betwixt the two kings was read there in S. Peters church at the ſame time, the tenor whereof enſueth.

Ro. Houed.

VVilhelmus rex Scotiæ deuenit homo ligius domini regis Angliæ contra omnes hominis de Scotia & de alijs terris ſuis, & fidelitatem ei fecit vt ligio domino ſuo ſicut alij homines ſui ipſi facere ſolent. Similiter fecit homagium Hērico filio regis ſalua fide domini regis patris ſui. Omnes vero Epiſcopi, Abbates & Clerus terræ Scotiæ & ſucceſſores ſui facient dominõ regi ſicut ligio domino fidelitatem de quibus habere voluerit ſicut alij Epiſcopi ſui ipſi facere ſolent, & Henrico filio ſuo & Dauid et hæredibus eorum. Cōcuſsit autem rex Scotiæ, et frater eius, & Barones, & alij homines ſui domino regi quod eccleſia Scotiæ talem ſubiectionem amodo faciet eccleſiæ Angliæ, qualem facere debet, & ſolebat tempore regum Angliæ prædeceſſorum ſuorum. Similiter Richardus Epiſcopus Sancti Andreæ, & Richardus Epiſcopus Dunkelden. et Gaufridus Abbas de Dūfermlyn, & Herbertus Prior de Coldingham conceſſerunt, vt Eccleſia Anglicana illud habeat ius in Eccleſia Scotiæ, quod de iure debet habere: & quod ipſi non erunt contra ius Anglicanæ Eccleſiæ. Et de hac conceſsione ſicut quando ligiam fidelitatem domino regi & domino Henrico filio ſuo fecerint, ita eos in-

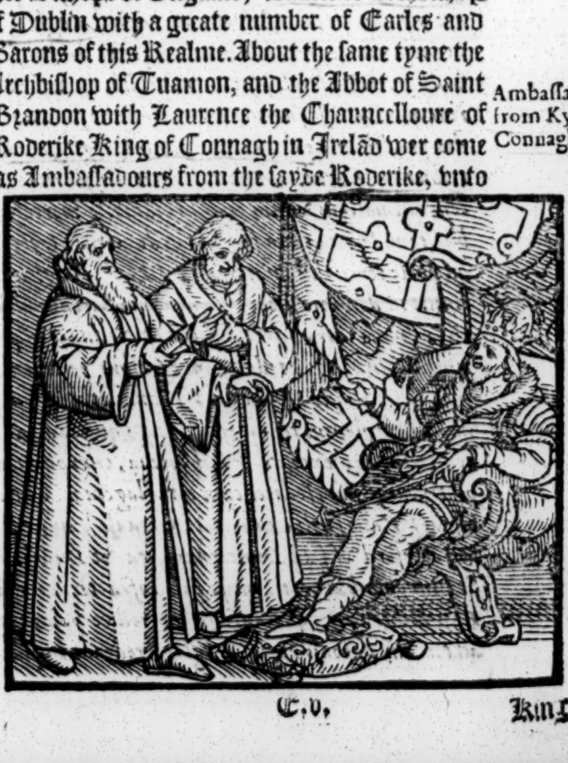
de aſſecurauerint. Hoc idem facient alij epiſcopi & clerus Scotiæ, per conuentionem inter dominum regẽ Scotiæ & Dauid fratrẽ ſuum & barones ſuos factam, Comites & barones & alij homines de terra regis Scotia (de quibus dominus rex habere voluerint) facient ei homagium contra omnem hominem, & fidelitatem vt ligio domino ſuo ſicut alij homines ſui facere ei ſolent, & Henrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis ſalua fide domini regis patris ſui. Similiter hæredes regis Scotiæ & baronum & hominum ſuorum homagium & ligantiam facient hæredibus domini regis contra omnem hominem. Preterea rex Scotiæ & homines ſui nullum amodo fugitiuum de terra domini regis pro felonia receptabunt, vel in alia terra ſua niſi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis & ſtare iudicio curiæ. Sed rex Scotiæ & homines ſui quam citius poterunt eum capient, & domino regi reddent, vel iuſticiarijs ſuis aut balliuis ſuis in Anglia. Si autem de terra regis Scotiæ aliquis fugitiuus fuerit pro felonia in Anglia, niſi voluerit venire ad rectum in curia domini regis Scotiæ, & ſtare iudicio curiæ non receptabitur in terra regis, ſed liberabitur hominibus regis Scotiæ, per balliuos domini regis vbi inuentus fuerit, præterea homines domini regis habebũt terras ſuas quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege, & hominibus ſuis, & de rege Scotiæ & de hominibus ſuis. Et homines regis Scotiæ habebunt terras ſuas, quas habebant, & habere debent de domino rege & hominibus ſuis: pro iſta vero conuentione & ſine firmiter obſeruando domino regi & Hẽrico filio ſuo & hæredibus ſuis à rege Scotiæ & hæredibus ſuis, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Caſtellum de Rockeſburgh, & Caſtellum Puellarũ, & Caſtellum de Strineling, in manu domini Regis, & ad cuſtodienda Caſtella aſsignabit rex Scotiæ de redditu ſuo miſerabiliter ad voluntatem Domini regis. Preterea pro predicta conuentione & ſine exequendo, liberauit rex Scotiæ domino regi Dauid fratrem ſuum in obſidem & comitem Duncanum, & comitem VValdenum ſimiliter alios comites & barones cum alijs viris potentibus quorum numerus xvij. Et quando caſtella reddita fuerint, illis rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater ſuus liberabuntur. Comites quidem & barones prænominati vnuſquiq; poſtquã liberauerit obſidem ſuum ſcilicet filiũ legittimum, qui habuerit, & alij nepotes ſuos vel propinquiores ſibi hæredes, & caſtellis vt dictum eſt redditis liberabuntur. Preterea rex Scotiæ & barones ſui prænominati aſſecurauerint, quod ipſi bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio, & ſine occaſione facient vt epiſcopi & barones et ceteri homines terræ ſuæ, qui non affuerunt quãdo rex Scotiæ cum domino rege finiuit, eandem ligantiam & fidelitatem domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo quam ipſi fecerunt & vt barones, & homines qui affuerunt obſides liberabunt domino regi de quibus habere voluerit. Preterea epiſcopi comites & barones conuentionauerunt domino regi & Henrico filio ſuo: quod ſi rex Scotiæ aliquo caſu à fidelitate domini regis & filij, & à conuentione predicta recederet, ipſi cum domino rege tenebunt ſicut cum ligio domino ſuo contra regem Scotiæ & contra omnes homines ei inimicantes. Et epiſcopi ſub interdicto ponent terram regis Scotiæ donec ipſe ad fidelitatẽ dominum regis redeat. Prædictam itaque conuentionem firmiter obſeruandam bona fide, & ſine malo ingenio domino regi & Hẽrico filio ſuo & heredibus ſuis à VVilhelmo rege Scotiæ & Dauid fratre ſuo & baronibus ſuis prædictis & heredibus eorum aſſecurauit ipſe rex Scotiæ & Dauid frater eius & omnes barones ſui prenominati ſicut ligij homines Domini regis contra omnem hominem & Hẽrici filij ſui (ſalua fidelitate patris ſui) hijs teſtibus, Richardo epiſcopo Abrincenſi, & Iohanne Saliſburiæ decano & Roberto abbate Malmeſburie & Radulpho abbate Mundeſburg, nec non alijs ablatibus comitibus & baronibus & duobus filijs ſuis ſcilicet Richardo & Galfrido.

Theſe things therefore beeyng recited in the Church of Saint Peters in Yorke in the preſence of the ſayde Kings and of David the King of Scottes his brother, and before an innumerable number of other people, the Biſhops, Erles, Barons and Knightes of Scotland ſware to the K. of England and to Henry his ſonne, and to their heires fealtie againſt all men, as to their liege and ſoueraigne Lordes.

King Henry hauyng ended hys buſineſſe at Yorke with the King of Scottes and other, whiche likewiſe did homage to him there, he returned to London. In the Octaues of S. Michaell, king Henry the father called a Parliament at Windſor, in the whiche were preſente King Henry the ſonne, Richard Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other Biſhops of England, Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublin with a greate number of Earles and Barons of this Realme. About the ſame tyme the Archbiſhop of Tuamon, and the Abbot of Saint Brandon with Laurence the Chauncelloure of Roderike King of Connagh in Irelãd wer come as Ambaſſadours from the ſayde Roderike, vnto

A parliament at Windſor.

Ambaſſadors from Kyng Connagh.



King Henry, who willingly heard them, as hee that was more deſirous to grow to ſome accord with thoſe ſauage people by ſome friendly order, than to warre with them that hadde nothing to loſe: ſo that he might in purſuing of them ſeeme to fiſhe with an hooke of golde. Therefore in this Parliament the matter was debated, and in the ende a peace was concluded at requeſt of the ſaid Ambaſſadors, the King appointing Roderike to pay vnto him in token of ſubiection, a tribute of Oxe hides. The chartet of the agreemente was written and ſubſcribed in this forme. *Hæc eſt finis & Concordia quæ facta fuit apud VVindrſhore in Octauis ſancti Michaelis Anno gratiæ.* 1175. *inter dominum regem Angliæ Henricum ſecundum, & Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per Catholicũ Tuamenſem Archiepiſcopum & Abbatem C. ſancti Brandani, & magiſtrum L. Cancellarium Regis Conaciæ. Scilicet quòd rex Angliæ concedit prædicto Roderico ligio homini ſuo regnũ Conaciæ, quãdiu ei fideliter ſeruiet, vt ſit Rex ſub eo, paratus ad ſeruicium ſuum ſicut homo ſuus, & vt teneat terram ſuam ita bene & in pace, ſicut tenuit, antequam dominus rex Angliæ intraret Hiberniam, reddendo ei tributum & totam aliam terram, & habitatores terræ habeat ſub ſe, & iuſticiet vt tributum Regi Angliæ integrè perſoluant, & per manum eius ſua iura ſibi conſeruent. Et illi qui modo tenẽt, teneant in pace quandiu manſerint in fidelitate regis Angliæ, & fideliter & integrè perſoluerint tributum & alia iura ſua quæ ei debent per manum regis Conaciæ, ſaluo in omnibus iure & honore domini regis Angliæ & ſuo. Et ſi qui ex eis regi Angliæ & ei rebelles fuerint, & tributum & alia iura regis Angliæ per manum eius ſoluere noluerint, & à fidelitate regis Angliæ receſſerint, ipſe eos iuſticiet & amoueat. Et ſi eos per ſe iuſticiare non poterit, Conſtabularius regis Angliæ, & familia ſua de terra illa iuuabunt eum ad hoc faciendum, cùm ab ipſo fuerint requiſiti, & ipſi viderint quòd neceſſe fuerit. Et propter hunc finem, reddet prædictus Rex Conaciæ domino regi Angliæ tributum ſingulis Annis, ſcilicet de ſingulis decem animalibus vnum corium placabile mercatoribus, tam de tota terra ſua quàm de aliena. Excepto quòd de terris illis quas dominus Rex Angliæ retinuit in dominio ſuo, & in dominio Baronum ſuorũ, nihil, ſe intromittet, ſcilicet Duvelina cum pertinentijs ſuis, & Midia cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſicut vnquã Marchat VVamailethlachlin, eã melius & plenius tenuit, aut aliqui qui eam de eo tenuerint. Et excepta VVeſefordia, cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, ſcilicet cum tota lagenia. Et excepta VVaterfordia cum tota terra illa, quæ eſt à VVaterford vſq; ad Duncarnam, ita vt Duncarnã ſit cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis infra terram illã. Et ſi Hibernenſes qui aufugerint redire voluerint ad terram Baronũ regis Angliæ, redeant in pace, reddendo tributum prædictum quod alij reddunt, vel faciendo antiqua ſeruicia quæ facere ſolebant pro terris ſuis. Et hoc ſit in Arbitrio dominorum ſuorum. Et ſi aliqui eorum redire noluerint, domini eorum & rex Conaciæ accipiat obſides ab omnibus quos ei commiſit dominus rex Angliæ ad voluntatem domini regis & ſuam. Et ipſe dabit obſides ad voluntatem domini regis Angliæ illos vel alios, & ipſi ſeruient domino de canibus & auibus ſuis ſingulis annis de preſentis ſuis. Et nullum omninò de quacunque terra regis ſit, retinebunt contra voluntatem domini regis & mandatum. Hijs teſtibus, Richardo Epiſcopo VVintoniæ, Gaufrido epiſcopo Elienſi, Laurentio Duvilinenſi archiepiſcopo, Gaufrido, Nicholao, & Rogero Capellanis regis, Guilhelmo Comite de Eſſex, & alijs multis.*

A tribute of Oxe hides.
The tenor of the charter of the agreement

Moreouer, at this Parliament, the King gaue vnto an Iriſhman that was named Auguſtine, the Biſhopricke of Waterford, whiche ſee was then voyd, and ſent him into Ireland with Laurence the Archbiſhop of Dublin, to be conſecrated of Donate the Archbiſhop of Caſſels. The ſame yeare, both Englande, and the countreyes adioyning, were ſore vexed with a greate mortalitie of people, and immediately after followed a ſore dearth and famine.

A great de

King Henry helde his Chriſtmas at Windſor, and about the feaſt of the conuerſiõ of Saint Paule, he came to Northampton, and now after that the mortalitie was well ceaſſed, hee called a Parliamente there, at the whiche was preſente a Deacon Cardinall entitled of S. Angelo, beyng ſent into England as a Legate from the Pope to take order in the controuerſies betwixte the two Archbiſhops of Canterbury and Yorke.

An. Reg.
1176

A Parliam
at Northa
ton.

This Cardinall whoſe name was Hugh Petro Lione, aſſembling in the ſame place a conuocation or Synod of the Biſhops and Clergie, as well of England as Scotland: in which conuocation after the ceaſſing of certeine ſtrifes and decrees made as well concerning the ſtate of cõmon wealth, as for the honeſt behauiour of mans life, the Cardinall conſented that (accordingly as by the Kings lawes it was already ordeined) all maner of perſons within the ſacred orders of yͤ Clergie, which ſhould hunt within yͤ Kings groundes and kill any of his Deare, ſhuld be conuented and puniſheable before a temporall Iudge, which libertie graunted to the King, did ſo infringe the immunitie which the Cleargie pretended to haue within this Realme, that afterwardes in many poyntes, Prieſtes were called before temporall Iudges and puniſhed for their offences as well as the Laitie, though they haue grudged indeede and mainteined that they had wrong therein, as they that would be exempt and iudged by none except by thoſe of their owne order.

Mat. Pari.

An acte a
gainſt Prie
that were h
ters.

Polidor.

Moreouer in this Counſell, the matter came in

dience
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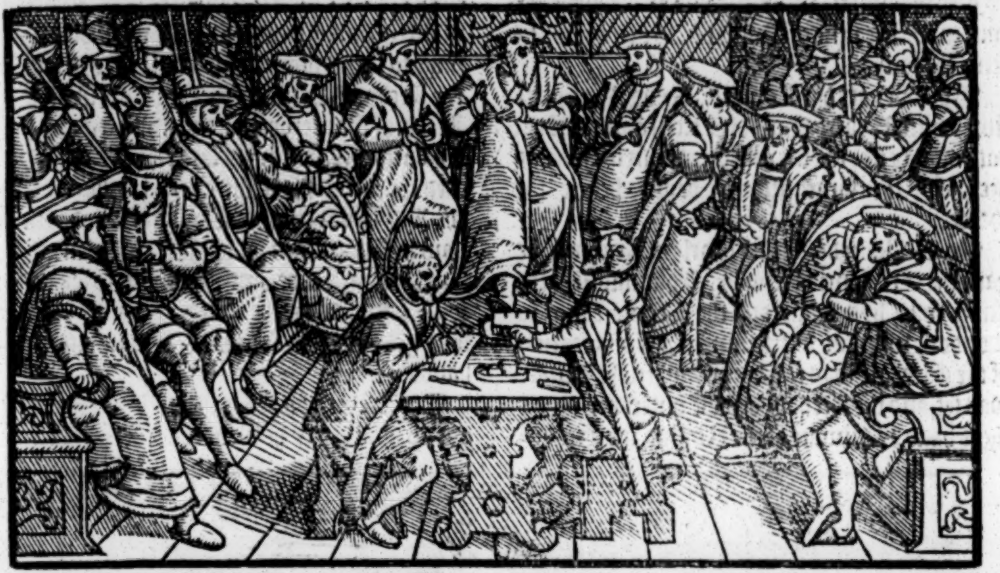
queſtion touching the obedience which the Biſhoppes of Scotlande dyd owe by right vnto the Archebiſhop of Yorke, whom from the beginning the Popes of Rome had conſtitute and ordeyned



to be Primate of all Scotlande, and of the Iſles belongyng to that Realme, as well of the Orkeneys as all the other: the which conſtitution was obſerued by the Biſhoppes of thoſe parties many yeares togither, though after they renounced their obedience. Wherupon the Archebiſhops of Yorke for the tyme being continually cõplayned, ſo that theſe Popes, Paſcall the ſeconde, Calixte the ſeconde, Honorius, Innocentius, Eugenius the thirde, and Hadrian the fourth hadde the hearing of the matter, and with often ſending theyr letters went about to reduce them vnto the prouince of Yorke. But the Scots ſtill withſtanding this ordinaunce, at length the matter thus in controuerſie was referred to Pope Alexander, who ſent the foreſayd Cardinall Hugh as well to make an ende of that contention, as of diuers other: but yet he left it vndecided. William King of Scotland came in perſon vnto this parliamẽt at Northamton, by commaundemente of Kyng Henry, and brought with him Richarde Biſhoppe of S. Andrew, and Joſſeline Biſhop of Glaſcow, with other Biſhops and Abbots of Scotland, the which being commaunded by King Henry to ſhew ſuch ſubiection to the Church of England as they wer bound to do by the faith which they ought to him and by the oth of fealtie whiche they had made to him, they made this aunſwer, that they had neuer ſhewed any ſubiection to the Church of Englãd, nor ought to ſhew any: againſt which deniall, the Archbiſhop of Yorke replyed, and ſhewed forthe ſufficiente priuileges graunted by the forenamed Popes, to proue the ſubiection of the Scottiſhe Biſhoppes, and namely Glaſcow and Whiterne vnto the ſee of Yorke. But bycauſe the Archbyſhop of Canterbury meant to bring the Scottiſh Biſhops vnder ſubiection of his See, he wrought ſo for that tyme with the King, that hee ſuffered them to depart home, without doing any ſubiection to the Churche of Englande. The letters which the foreſayd Popes did ſend touching this matter, were remayning ſafe and ſound amongſt other writings in the Colledge at Yorke, when Polidore Virgill wrote the hiſtories of England, the copies whereof in an old antient booke, he confeſſeth to haue ſeene and redde. But to ſpeake further of things ordered and done at this Parliamẽt holden at Northampton, the King by common conſente of his nobles and other eſtates, deuided his realme into ſixe partes, appointing three iuſtices *Itinerantes* in euery of them, as here followeth, Hugh de Creſſy, Walter Fitz Robert, and Robert Mantel, wer deputed vnto Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Bedfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Eſſex and Hertfordſhire: Hugh de Gunduille, William Fitz Raufe, and William Baſſet were appoynted to Lincolnſhire, Notinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, Warwikeſhire, Northamptonſhire and Leceſterſhire: Roberte Fitz Bernarde, Richarde Giffard, Roger Fitz Remfrey, were aſſigned to Kent, Surrey, Hampſhire, Suſſex, Berkſhire and Oxfordſhire: William Fitz Stephan, Berthran de Verdun, Thurſtan Fitz Simõ were ordeyned to Herefordſhire, Glocceſterſhire, Worceterſhire, and Salopſhire: Raufe Fitz Stephan, William Ruffe, and Gilberte Pipard were putte in charge with Wilſhire, Dorſetſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Deuonſhire and Cornewall: Roberte de Wals, Ranulf de Glanuile, and Roberte Pikenet were appoynted to Yorkſhire, Richmondſhire, Lancaſhire, Copeland, Weſtmerland, Northumberlãd and Cumberland. The Kyng cauſed theſe Juſtices to ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, that they

Houed.
King
cottes
meth to
Parliamẽt

Rog. Houed.
Deuiſion of circuites for Iuſtices itinerantes.

The oth of the Iuſtices.

they ſhould keepe his aſſiſes which he firſt had ordeyned at Clarendon, and after had renewed here at Northampton, and alſo cauſe all his ſubiectes within the Realme of England, to keepe and obſerue the ſame.

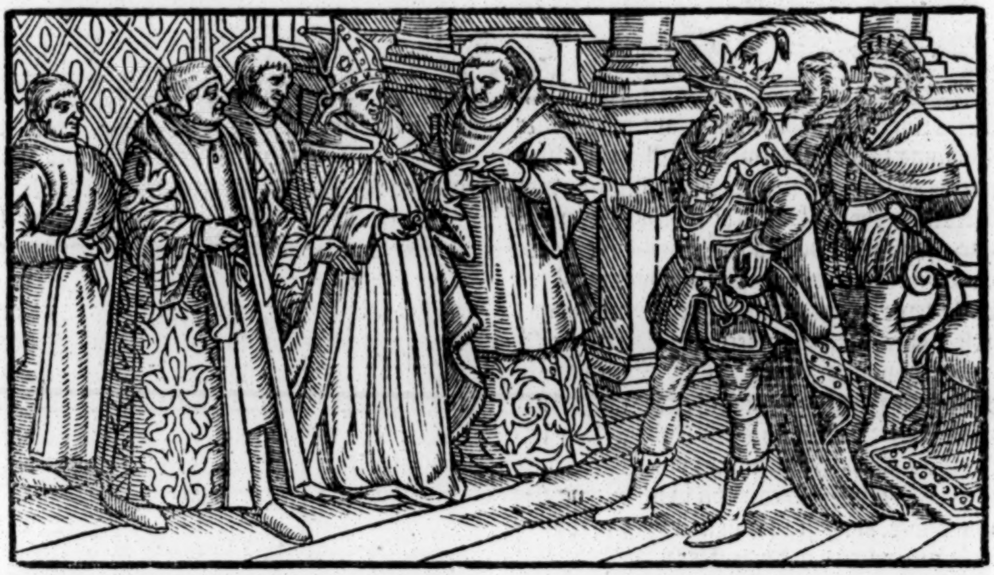
Geruaſ. Doro.

Moreouer at this Counſell, Kyng Henry reſtored vnto Robert Earle of Leceſter all his lãds, both on this ſide the ſea, and beyond, in manner as hee helde the ſame fiftene dayes before the warre.

To William de Albeny Earle of Arundell, he gaue the Erledome of Suſſex. About midlent, the King with hys ſonne and the Legate came to London, where at Weſtminſter a Conuocation of the Cleargie was called, but when the Legate was ſet, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury on his right hand as primate of the Realme, the Archbyſhop of Yorke comming in, & diſdeining to ſitte on the left hand where he might ſeeme to giue preheminence vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (vnmanerly ynough indede) ſwaſht him down, meaning to thruſt himſelfe in betwixt the Legate, and the Archb. of Canterbury: & where belike the ſayd Archb. of Canterbury was loth to remoue, hee ſet his buttockes iuſt in his lappe, but he vnneth touched the Archbiſhops ſkirt with his bumme, whẽ the Biſhops and other Chapleines and their ſeruantes ſtept, to him pulled him away, and threwe him to the grounde, and beginning to ley on hym with bats & fiſtes, the Archb. of Canterbury perlding good for euill, ſought to ſaue him from theyr hands.

The preſu tuous de ner of the Archbiſho of Yorke.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke with his rent Rochet got vp, and away he went to the K. with a greate



complaint againſte the Archb. of Canterbury, but when vpon examination of the matter the trueth was knowen, hee was well laught at for hys labour, & that was al the remedie he gote. As he departed ſo bebuffeted forth of the conuocation houſe towards the Kyng, they cried out vppon him, goe Traytor that diddeſt betray that holy man Thomas, goe get thee hence, thy handes yet ſtinke of bloud. The aſſemble was by this meanes diſperſed, and the Legate fled and gote him forth of the way.

Appeales made.

After this, followed appealings, the Archbyſhop of Yorke appealed to Rome, and the Legate alſo for his owne ſafegard appealed the Archbyſhoppe of Canterbury vnto Rome, whiche Archbiſhop ſubmitting himſelfe and his cauſe vnder the Popes protectiõ, made a like ſolemne appeale from the Legate to the Pope. The Legate perceiuing that the matter wente otherwiſe than hee wiſhed, and ſawe little remedie to be had at that preſent, gaue ouer his Legateſhip as it had bin of his owne accorde, though greatly agaynſte hys will, and prepared himſelfe to depart. Yet neuertheleſſe, through mediation of friendes that trauelled betwixt them, they gaue ouer their appeales on either ſyde, and diſſimuled the diſpleaſures whiche they had conceyued eyther againſt other, but yet the conuocation was diſſolued for that time, and the two Archbiſhoppes preſented theyr compleyntes to the King, who kepte his Eaſter thys yeare at Wincheſter, and about the ſame time or ſhortly after, licenced his ſonne Henry to ſayle ouer into Normandy, meaning ſhortly after to goe vnto Compoſtella in Spaine, to viſite the body of Saint James the Apoſtle, but beeing otherwiſe aduiſed by his fathers letters, hee kepte not on his purpoſe but ſtayed at home.

The Conuo cation diſſ ued.

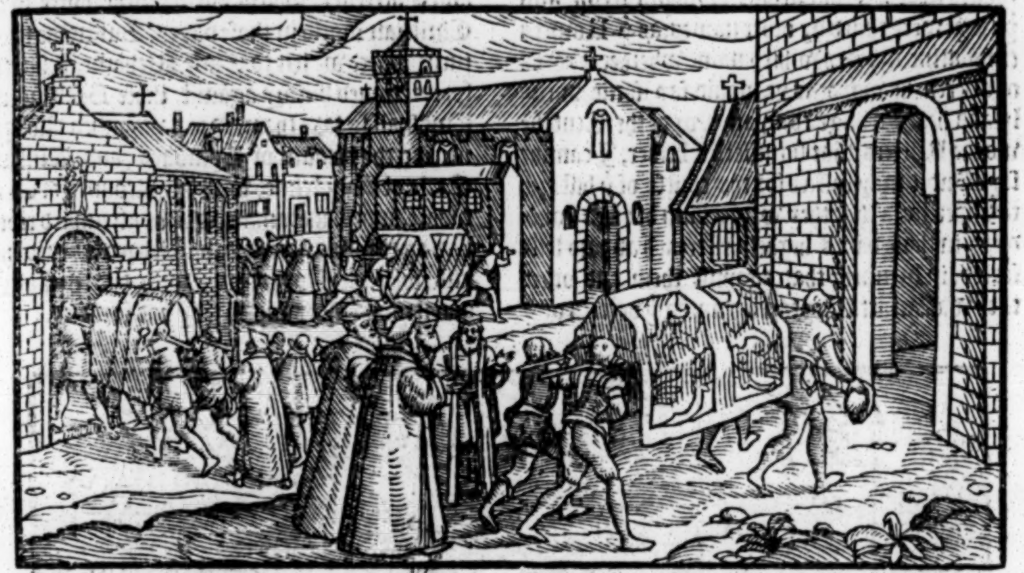
The ſame yeare, the Lady Johan the Kyngs daughter, was giuen in marriage vnto William King of Sicill. Alſo the ſame yere died the Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Irelande, Roberte Earle of Striguill otherwiſe Chepſtow, then was William Fitzaldelme ordeined Lorde chiefe Juſtice in hys place, who ſeaſed into the Kynges

N. Triue.

Hou. Triuet.

A tribute grã- ted by the Iriſhe

handes all thoſe fortreſſes which the ſayd Earle of Striguill helde within the Realme of Irelande. The Iriſhmen agreed alſo to yeelde to the Kyng a tribute of twelue pence yearely for euery houſe, or elſe for euery yoke of Oxen whiche they had of their owne. William Earle of Arundell dyed alſo this yeare at Wauerley, and was buried at Wymondham.



Rog. Houed.

walles towne ſtell ceſter

This yeare when it mighte haue bin thoughte that all things hadde bin forgotten touching the rebellious attemptes made againſt King Henry the father by his ſonnes, and other (as before yee haue heard) he cauſed the walles both of the town and Caſtell of Leiceſter to bee raced and broken downe, and alſo all ſuch other Caſtels and places of ſtrength whiche had bin kept againſte him during the time of that Rebellion, were likewiſe ouerthrowen and made playne with the grounde, as the Caſtels of Huntington, Walton, Growby, Hey, Stuteſbirry or Sterdeſbirry, Malaſert, the newe Caſtell of Allerton, the Caſtels of Freminghan and Bungey, with diuers other bothe in England and Normandy. But the Caſtels of Paſcy and Mountſorell he retained in hys owne hands as his of right, beeing ſo found by a iurie of free holders empanelled there in the countrey. And further, he ſeazed into his hands all the other Caſtels of Byſhoppes, Earles and Barons, bothe in Englande and Normandy, appoynting keepers in them at hys pleaſure.

or the ſ daugh- arried he king ſtile.

ert Fitz us.

Alſo this yeare, he married his daughter Eleanor vnto Alfonſe K. of Caſtile. Moreouer, Gilbert the ſon of Fergus Lord of Galloway whiche hadde ſlayne his brother Vthred, couſin to King Henry, came this yeare into Englande, vnder conduit of William King of Scotlande, and became King Henry the fathers man, ſwearing to him fealtie againſt all men: and for to haue his loue and fauour, he gaue to hym a thouſand markes of ſiluer, and deliuered into hys hands his ſonne Duncane as a pledge.

hard Earle ictow.

It is to be remembred alſo, that in this yeare, Richard Earle of Poyctow ſonne to King Henry, foughte with certaine Brabanders his enimies betwixte Saint Megrine and Buteuille, where he ouercame thẽ.

Here I haue thought good, to aduertiſe ẏ Reader, that theſe men of warre, whiche I haue generally in this parte of this booke named Brabanders, we finde them writtẽ in olde copies diuerſly, as *Brebazones*, *Brebanceni*, and *Brebationes*, the whiche for ſo muche as I haue found them by the learned tranſlated Brabanders, and that the French word ſomewhat yeeldeth thereto, I haue likewiſe ſo named them, wherein whether I haue erred or not, I muſt ſubmitte mine opinion to the learned and ſkilful ſearchers of ſuch poynts of antiquities. For to confeſſe in playne truth myne ignorance, or rather vnreſolued doubt herein, I can not ſatiſfie my ſelfe with any thing that I haue red, wherby to aſſure my coniecture what to make of them, although verily it may be, and the likelyhood is great, that the Brabanders in thoſe dayes for their trayned ſkill and vſuall practiſe in warlike feates, wanne themſelues a name, wherby not only thoſe that were naturally borne in Brabant, but ſuch other alſo which ſerued amongſt them, or elſe vſed the ſame warlike furniture, order, trade and diſcipline, which was in vſe among them, paſſed in that age vnder the name of Brabanders: eyther elſe muſt I thinke, that by reaſon of ſome odde manner habite or other ſpeciall cauſe, ſome certayne kind of ſouldiers purchaſed to themſelues the priuiledge of that name ſo to be called *Brabanceni* or *Brebationes* whether ye will, as hath chanced to the Lanſquenetz and Reiſters in our time, and likewiſe to the companiõs Arminacs and Eſcorchers in the dayes of our forefathers, and as in al ages likewiſe it hath fortuned amongſt men of war, which if it ſo chanced to theſe *Brabanceni*, I know not then what countrymen to make them: for as I remember, Marchades that was a chiefe leader of ſuch ſouldiers as were knowen by yͤ name (as after ye ſhall heare) is reported by ſome authours to be a Prouancois. It ſhould ſeeme alſo yͭ they were called by other names, as yͤ Rowtes (in Latine *Ruptary*) which name whether it came of a Frenche word (as ye would ſay) ſome vnruly and headeſtronge company, or of the Teutche worde Rutters, that ſignifieth a Rider, I cannot ſay. But it may ſuffice for the courſe of yͤ hiſtorie to vnderſtand that they were a kind of hired ſouldiers, in thoſe dayes highely eſteemed and no leſſe feared, in ſo muche that agaynſt them and other ther was an article cōtayned amōg yͤ decrees of yͤ Laterane councell holdē at Rome in yͤ yere. 1179. wherby al thoſe wer to be denoūced accurſed whiche did hire, maintain and otherwiſe nouriſh thoſe Brebationes, Aragonois, Nauarrois, Baſques, and Coterelles, whiche did ſo muche hurte in the Chriſtian world in thoſe dayes. But nowe to returne where we left to Earle Richarde, beſide the forementioned victory againſt thoſe Brabanders, if we ſhall ſo take them. Hee vanquiſhed alſo Hamerike, the vicount of Lymoges, and William Earle of Angoleſme, with the vicounts of Ventadore, and Cambanays, whiche attempted rebellion againſt him, but Earle Richard ſubdued thē, and tooke them priſoners, with dyuers Caſtels and ſtrong holdes which they had fortified.

VVi. Pa *lib. 3. cap*

The departure of the Legate forth of the Realme.

About the feaſt of Peter and Paule the Legate departed forthe of the realme, of whom we finde that as he graunted to the King ſome liberties againſt the priuiledges whiche yͤ Clergie pretended to haue a right vnto: ſo he obteined of the king certain graunts in fauour of them and their order, as thus.

Liberties obteyned for Churchmen.

Firſte, that for no offence, crime or tranſgreſſion any ſpirituall perſon ſhuld be brought before a Temporall Iudge perſonally, excepte for hunting, or for ſome lay fee for yͤ which ſome temporall ſeruice was due to bee yeelded, eyther to the King, or ſome other that was chiefe Lorde thereof.

Secondly, that no Archbiſhoppes See, nor Biſhoppes See, nor any Abbathie ſhould be kept in the Kings handes more than one yeare, excepte vpon ſome euidente cauſe or neceſſitie conſtreyning.

Thirdly it was graunted, that ſuche as ſlewe any ſpirituall perſon, and were of ſuche offence conuict, eyther by euidence or confeſſion before the Iuſtice of the Realme in preſence of the Biſhop, they ſhould be puniſhed as the Temporall lawe in ſuche caſes required.

Fourthly, yͭ ſpirituall men ſhould not be compelled to fight in liſtes for the triall of any matter or cauſe whatſoeuer. It ſhuld appeare by Nicholas Triuet, yͭ the Archbiſhop of Canterbury procured the biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, and Norwiche three Prelates highely at that preſent in yͤ Kings fauour, to further theſe grauntes, namely that ſuche as ſlew any prieſte or ſpirituall perſon might haue the lawe for it: wher before, there was no puniſhemēt for a ſeaſon vſed againſt ſuch offēdors but onely excommunication. But nowe to leaue prieſtes, we will paſſe to other matters. In this meane time, King Henry yͤ ſonne remaining in Normandie, beganne to deuiſe newe practiſes howe to remoue his father from the gouernement and to take it to him ſelfe: but one of his ſeruants named Adam de Chirchedune beyng of his ſecret Counſell, aduertiſed King Henry the father thereof, for the whiche his maſter King Henry the ſon put him to greate ſhame and rebuke, cauſing hym to be ſtripped naked, and whipped round about the ſtreetes of the Citie of Poicters, where hee then was vpon his returne from his brother Erle Richard, with whome hee hadde bin to ayde hym againſt his enimies. But the father perceyuing the naughty mind of his ſonne, not to ceaſſe from hys wilfull maliciouſneſſe, thoughte to diſſemble all things ſith he ſaw no hope of amendment in him: but yet to be prouided againſt his wicked attēpts, hee furniſhed all his fortreſſes both in Englande and in Normandy with ſtrong garniſons of men, and all neceſſary munition: about whyche time, the ſea roſe on ſuche height, that many men were drowned thereby.

Nic. Triuet.

The yong K beginneth new practiſ againſt his father.

Rog. Hou

Alſo a great Snowe fell this yeare, whiche by
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reaſon of the hard froſt that chaunced therewith, continued long withoute waſting away, ſo that fiſhes both in the ſea and freſh water dyed through ſharpneſſe and vehemencie of that Froſt, neyther could huſbandmen till the ground.

Ther chaunced alſo a ſore Eclipſe of the ſonne the ſixth Ides of January. The Monaſtery of Weſtwood or Leſnos was begun to bee founded by Richard de Lucy Lord chiefe Juſtice. The ſame yeare at Wodſtocke, the King made hys ſonne the Lord Geffrey Knight.

Houe.
77

Alſo in the yeare. 1177. King Henry helde hys Chriſtmas at Northampton, with hys two ſons Geffrey and John, his other two ſonnes the yong King Henry, and Richarde Earle of Peitowe, were in the parties of beyond the ſea, as the Kyng in Normandy, and the Earle in Gaſcoigne, where hee beſieged the Citie of Aques whiche the vicount of Aques and the Earle of Bigorre hadde fortified againſt him, but he wan it within tenne dayes after his comming before it.

The Citie of Aques or Aigues

And within the like terme hee wanne the Citie of Bayon alſo, whiche Ernald Bertram had fortified againſt hym, and comming to the vttermoſt fronters of that Countrey adioyning to Spayne, hee tooke a Caſtell called Saint Piero which he deſtroyed, and conſtreyned the Baſques and Naruerroys to receyue an othe, that from thenceforth they ſhould ſuffer paſſengers quietly to come and goe through their countrey, and that they ſhoulde liue in quiet and keepe peace one with an other, and ſo he reformed the ſtate of that Countrey, and cauſed them to renounce many euill cuſtomes whiche they before that time hadde vnlawfully vſed.

Reg. 23.
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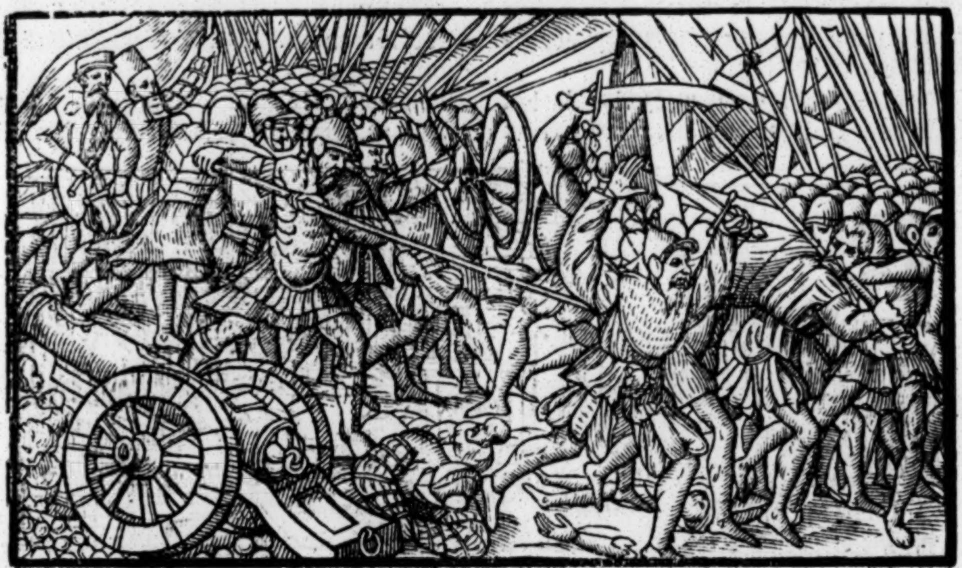
Moreouer, Kyng Henry to anoyde further ſlaunder, placed for Byſhoppe in that ſee of Lincolne a Baſtard ſonne, which he had named Geffrey, after hee had kept that Biſhopricke in hys hands ſo long till he had almoſt cleerely deſtroyed it. And his ſonne that was nowe made Biſhoppe to help the matter for his parte, made hauocke in waſting and ſpending forthe in riotous manner the goodes of that Churche, and in the end forſooke hys myter, and left the See agayne in the Kyngs hands to make his beſt of it. Furthermore, the King in times paſt made a vowe to builde a new Monaſterie in ſatiſfactiõ of his offences committed againſt Thomas the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and nowe therefore hee required of the Biſhoppes and other ſpirituall fathers, to haue ſome place by them aſſigned, where he might begin that foundation. But whileſt they ſhoulde haue taken aduice heerein, hee ſecretely practiſed with the Cardinals, and with diuers other Biſhops, that hee mighte remoue the ſecular Canons out of the Colledge at Waltham, and place therein regular Canons, ſo to ſaue money in his cofers, plantyng in another mans vineyard. But yet bycauſe it ſhould not be thought he did this of ſuche a coueteous meaning, hee promiſed to giue great poſſeſſions to that houſe, whiche hee after but ſlenderly performed, though vppon licence obteyned at the Biſhoppes handes, he diſplaced the Canons, and broughte in to their roumthes the Chanons as it were by way of exchange.

Prieſts diſplaced, and Chanons regular put in theyr roomthes.

Rog. Houed.
Nunnes of Ameſburie.

Alſo the ſame yeare hee thruſt the Nunnes of Ameſbury out of their houſe, bycauſe of their incontinente liuing in abuſing theyr bodyes greatly to theyr reproche, and beſtowed them in other Monaſteries to bee kepte within more ſtraightly. And theyr houſe was committed vnto the Abbeſſe and couent of Founteuererd, the whyche ſent ouer certayne of their number to furniſhe the houſe of Ameſbury, wherein they were placed by the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, in the preſence of the King and a greate number of others.

Philip



Philip Earle of Flaunders.

Philippe Earle of Flaunders by ſendyng ouer Ambaſſadors to Kyng Henry promiſed, that hee woulde not beſtowe his two neeces daughters to his brother Mathew Erle of Bullongne, without conſente of the ſame King: but ſhortly after hee forgot his promiſe, and married the elder of them to the Duke of Zaringes, and the yonger to Henry Duke of Louayn.

John de Curcy.

The Ci Dun tak

Roderik of Vlneſ vanquiſ

John de Curcy Lord chiefe Juſtice of Ireland diſcomfiting a power of Iriſhmen, wanne the Citie of Dun in Vlneſtre, where the bodies of S. Patricke and S. Colme confeſſors, and S. Brigit the virgin are buried, for the taking of whiche Citie, Roderike King of Vlneſtre being ſore offended, reyſed a mighty hoſt, and comming into the fielde, foughte with the Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and in the ende receyued the ouerthrowe at his handes, although the Lorde chiefe Juſtice at that encounter loſt no ſmall number of his men. Amongſt priſoners that were taken, the Biſhop of Dun was one, whome yet the Lorde chiefe Juſtice releaſed, and ſet at libertie in reſpect of a requeſt and ſute made to him by a Cardinall the Popes Legate, that was there in Irelande at that time.

Viuiano a Cardinall.

This Cardinals name was Viuiano, entitled the Cardinall of S. Stephen in Mont Celio. He was ſent from the Pope the laſt yeare, & comming into England though without licence, was pardoned vppon knowledging his faulte for his entring without the Kings leaue firſte obteyned, and ſo permitted to goe into Scotland, whyther, and into other the Northweſt regions, hee was ſente as Legate, authoriſed from the Pope. After he had ended his buſineſſe in Scotland, hee paſſed ouer into Man, and there helde his Chriſtmas with Euthred K. of Man, and after the feaſt of the Epiphany, hee ſailed from thence into Ireland, and chaunced the ſame time that the Engliſhmen inuaded that countrey, to bee in the Citie of Dune, where hee was receiued of the King and Biſhops of that land with great reuerence.

VVil. Paruu.

The inuaſion then of the Engliſhmen being ſignified to them of the countrey aforehande, they aſked councell of the Legate what he thought beſt to be done in that matter, who ſtraighte wayes tolde them, that they ought to fighte in defenſe of theyr countrey, and at their ſetting forward, he gaue thẽ his benediction in way of their good ſpeede. But they comming (as yee haue hearde) to encounter with the Engliſhmen, were put to flight, and beaten backe into the Citie, the which was heerewith alſo wonne by the Engliſhmen, ſo that the Romane Legate was glad to get him into yͤ Church for his more ſafegard, and like a wiſe fellow had prouided afore hand for ſuch happes if they chanced, hauing there with him the King of Englãds letters directed to the Captaynes in Irelande in the Legates fauour, ſo that by the aſſiſtaunce and authoritie of the ſame, he went to Dublin, & there in name of the Pope and of the King of Englãd held a councell, but when hee began to practiſe after the manner of Legates in thoſe dayes ſomewhat largely for his owne aduãtage, in yͤ Churches of that ſimple rude countrey, the Engliſhe Captaines commaunded him eyther to departe, or elſe to goe forth to yͤ warres with them: whervpan he returned into Scotland againe, with his bagges well ſtuffed with Iriſh golde, for the whiche it ſeemed he greatly thirſted. But as to the doings of John de Curcy, and of thoſe Engliſhmen that were with him, they did not only defend ſuch places as they had wonne out of the Iriſhmens handes againſte thoſe Kyngs and their powers, but alſo enlarged daily more and more their fronters, and wanne the Towne of Armach (wherein is the Metropolitane ſee of all that land) with the whole prouince thereto belonging.

The Leg holdeth Counſell Dublin.

About the ſame time, came Ambaſſadors vnto King Henry, from Alfonſe King of Caſtile, and

Mat. Pa
Polidor.

Garſias King of Nauarre, to aduertiſe him, that in a cõtrouerſie riſen betwixt the ſaid two Kings touching the poſſeſſion of certaine groundes neere vnto the confines of their Realmes, they had choſen him for Iudge by compromiſe, promiſing vpon their othes to ſtande vnto and abide his order and decree therein. Therefore they required hym to end the matter by his authoritie, ſith they had wholly put it to his iudgement. Furthermore, eyther King hadde ſente a moſt able and valiaunt Knighte furniſhed with horſe and armoure ready in their Princes cauſe to fight the combate, if K. Henry ſhould happily committe the triall of their quarrell vnto the iudgement of battayle.

Houed.

King Henry gladly accepted their requeſt, ſo ẏ therevppon calling his counſellours togither, hee aduiſed with them of the thing, and hearing euery mans opinion, at length hee gaue iudgemente ſo with the one, that the other was contented to bee agreeable therevnto.

ior.

Within a while after, Philip Earle of Flaunders came ouer into England to doe his deuotiõs at the Tombe of Thomas Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, of whome the moſt part of men then had conceyued an opinion of ſuch holyneſſe, that they reputed him for a Saint. The King mette hym there, and very friendly enterteyned him, and bycauſe he was appoynted ſhortly after to goe ouer into the holy land to warre againſt Goddes enimies, the King gaue him fiue hundred markes in reward, and licenced William Mandeuile Earle of Eſſex to go in that iourney with other Lords, Knightes and men of warre of ſundry nations that were of his dominions.

The King then returning vnto London, tooke order for the eſtabliſhing of things touching the ſuretie of the Realme, and his owne eſtate. And firſt he appoynted the cuſtodie of ſuch Caſtels, as were of moſt importance by their ſituation, vnto the keeping of certaine worthy Captaynes.

Rog. Houed.

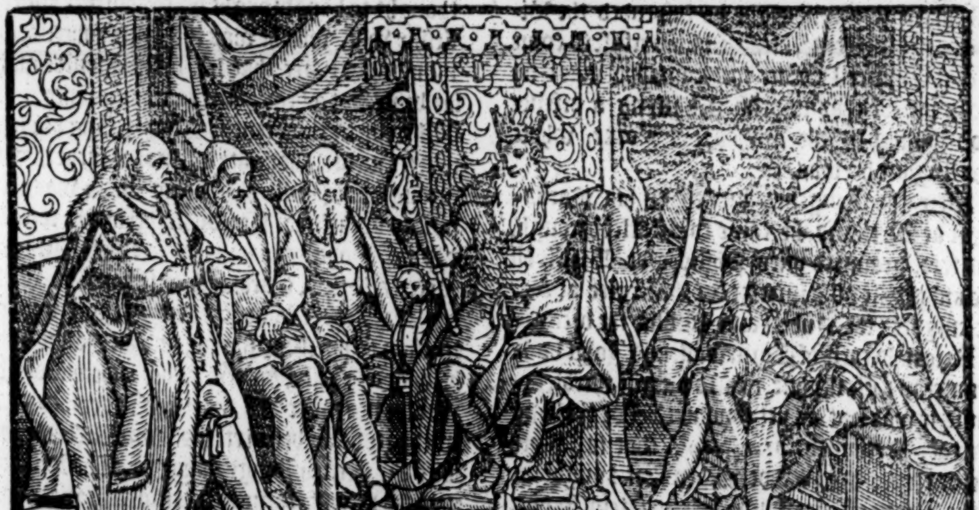
To Sir William de Stuteuille hee aſſigned the cuſtodie of Rockeſburgh Caſtell, to Sir Roger de Stuteuille, the Caſtell of Edinburgh, to Sir William Neuille, the Caſtell of Norham, to Sir Geffrey Neuill the Caſtell of Berwike, and to the Archbiſhop of Yorke, hee deliuered the Caſtell of Scarbarrough, and Sir Roger Conyers hee made Captayne of the tower of Durham, which he had taken from the Biſhop, bycauſe hee had ſhewed himſelf an vnſtedfaſt man in the time of the ciuill warre, and therefore to haue the kings fauoure againe, hee gaue to hym two thouſande markes, with condition that his caſtels myghte ſtand, and that his ſonne Henry de Putcey alias Pudſey, might enioy one of the Kynges manor places called Wighton.

Durham Tower.

Henry de Pudſey.

After this, the King wente to Oxenforde, and there helde a Parliament, at the which hee created his ſonne John Kyng of Ireland, hauing a grant and confirmation thereto from Pope Alexander.

A Parliament at Oxforde.



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About the ſame time it rayned bloud in the Ile of Wighte, by the ſpace of two dayes togither, ſo that linen clothes that hong on the hedges, were couloured therewith: which vnketh wonder cauſed the people as the manner is, to ſuſpect ſome euill of the ſayd Johns gouernement.

Moreouer, to this Parliament holden at Oxenforde, all the chiefe rulers and gouernoures of Southwales and Northwales repaired, and became the King of Englands liege men, ſwearing fealtie to him againſt all men. Heerevpon he gaue vnto Rice ap Griffin Prince of Southwales the lande of Merionith, and to Dauid ap Owan hee gaue the lands of Elleſmare.

Rog. Houed.

Alſo at the ſame time, hee gaue and confirmed vnto Hugh Lacie (as before is ſaide) the lande of Meth in Ireland, with the appurtenances for the ſeruice of an hundred knightes or men of armes to holde of him and of his ſonne John by a charter, whyche he made therof: and alſo he deuided there the landes and poſſeſſions of Irelande with the ſeruices to his ſubiectes, as well of England as Irelande, appoynting ſome to holde by ſeruice to fynde fortie knights, or menne of armes, and ſome thirtie, and ſo forth. Vnto two Iriſh Lordes hee graunted the kyngdome of Corgh, for the ſeruice of fortie knights, and to other three Lordes hee gaue the kingdome of Limeryke, for the ſeruice of the lyke number of knightes to bee holden of him and his ſonne John, reſeruyng to him ſelfe and to his heires the Citie of Lymerike with one Cantred. To William Fitz Aldelme hys Sewer, he gaue the Citie of Weſſeford with the appurtenaunces and ſeruices: and to Roberte de Poer his Marſhall, he gaue the Citie of Waterforde, and to Hugh Lacy, hee committed the ſafe keping of the Citie of Dyuelyne. And theſe perſons to whome ſuche giftes and aſſignations were made, receyued othes of fealtie to beare theyr allegiance vnto hym and to his ſonne for thoſe landes and poſſeſſions in Irelande, in manner and forme as was requiſite.

William Fitz Aldelme.

Robert de Poer.

Hugh Lacy.

The Cardinall Viuian hauyng diſpatched hys buſineſſe in Irelande, came backe into Englande, and by the Kyngs ſafeconducte retourned agayne into Scotlande, where in a Councell holden at Edenburgh, he ſuſpended the Biſhoppe of Whiterne, bicauſe he did refuſe to come to that Councell: But the Biſhoppe made no accompte of that ſuſpenſion, hauyng a defence good ynough by the Biſhoppe of Yorke, whoſe Suffragane he was.

Philip de Breuſe.

After the King had broken vp his Parliament at Oxenford, he came to Marleborough, and there graunted vnto Philippe de Breuſe all the kingdome of Limerike for the ſeruice of fortie knights: for Hubert and Williã the brethren of Reignald earle of Cornewall, and John de la Pumeray their nephue, refuſed the gift therof, bycauſe it was not as yet conquered For the kyng thereof, ſurnamed *Monoculus*, that is, wyth the one eye, who hadde holden that kyngdome of the Kyng of Englande, beyng lately ſlayne, one of hys kynſemenne gotte poſſeſſion of that kingdome, and helde it without the acknowledging any ſubiection to Kyng Henry, nor would obeye his officers, bycauſe of the ſcathes and domages whyche they dyd practiſe agaynſt the Iriſhe people, withoute occaſion (as they alleadged,) by reaſon whereof the Kyng of Corke alſo rebelled agaynſte the Kyng of Englande and hys people, and ſo that Realme was full of trouble.

Math. Paris.
Polidor.

The ſame ſeaſon, Queene Margaret the wife of King Henry the ſonne was deliuered of a man childe, which liued not paſt three dayes. In that time there was alſo through all England a great multitude of Iewes, and bycauſe they hadde no place appoynted them where to bury thoſe that died, but only at London, they were conſtreyned to bring al their dead corpſes thither from all parties of the Realme. To eaſe them therefore of that inconuenience, they obteyned of K. Henry a grant, to haue a place aſſigned them in euery quarter where they dwelled, to bury their dead bodies.

The ſame yeare was the body of S. Amphibolus the Martir, that was inſtructer to Saint Albone founde, not farre from the Towne of Saint Albones, and there in the Monaſterie of that Towne buried with great and ſolemne Ceremonies.

In the meane tyme, King Henry tranſported ouer into Normandy, hearing that the old grudge betwixt him and King Lewes began to be renewed vppon this occaſion, whereas King Henry had receyued the French Kings daughter Alice, promiſed in marriage vnto his ſonne Richard, to remayne in England with him, till ſhee were able to company with hir huſband, King Henry being of a diſſolute life, and giuen much to the pleaſure of the body, at the leaſt wiſe (as the French King ſuſpected,) beganne to fanteſie the yong Ladye, and by ſuche wanton talke and company keeping as hee vſed with hir, hee was thought to haue brought hir to conſente vnto hys fleſhly will, whiche was the cauſe wherefore hee woulde not ſuffer that his ſonne ſhoulde marrie hir, being not of ripe yeares fitte therevnto.

Reg. Ho

Wherevpon the Frenche King geſſing howe the matter wente, thoughte iuſtly that ſuche reproche wroughte againſte him in his bloud, was in no wiſe to be ſuffered. Herevpon therfore he compleined to yͤ Pope, who for redreſſe thereof, ſente one Peter a Prieſt, Cardinall, entitled of S. Griſogone as Legate from him into Fraunce, with cõmiſſion to put Normandy, and all the lands that belonged to King Henry, vnder interdiction, if he woulde not ſuffer the marriage to bee ſolemniſed withoute delay betwixte his ſonne Richarde, and Ales the French Kings daughter. The King aduertiſed hereof, came to a communication with the French King at Yury vpon the .21. of Septẽber, and there offered to cauſe the marriage to bee ſolemniſed out of hãd, if the French King would giue in marriage with his daughter the Citie of Burges, with all the appurtenances as it was accorded, and alſo vnto his ſonne King Henry the countrey of Veulgeſyne, that is to ſay, all the lande betwixt Giſors and Puſſy, as hee had likewiſe couenaunted, but bycauſe the French King refuſed ſo to do, King Henry would not ſuffer his ſonne Richarde to marry his daughter Alice: but yet at this enteruewe of the two Princes by the

The Kin
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helpe of the Cardinal, and other noble men of both ſides, they agreed to be friendes, and that if they could not take order betwixt them, to the end all matters touching the controuerſies depending betwixt them for the lãdes in Auuergne and Berry, and for the fee of Chateau Raoul, then ſhould the matter be putte to twelue perſons, ſixe on the one ſide, and ſixe on the other, authoriſing them to compound and finiſh that controuerſie and all other whiche mighte riſe betwixt them. For the French King theſe were named the Biſhoppes of Claremont, Neuers, and Troys, and three Barons, Earle Theobald Earle Roberte, and Peter de Courtney, the Kings brethren. For the Kyng of England were named the Biſhops of Mauns, Peregort, and Nauntes, with three Barons alſo, Maurice de Croum, William Maigot, and Peter de Mount rabell. At the ſame time alſo, both theſe kings promiſed and vndertooke to ioyne their powers togither, and to goe into the holy land to ayde Guido King of Jeruſalem, whome the Sarazen Saladine King of Egipte did ſore oppreſſe with continuall and moſt cruell warre.

. Houe.
we.

This done, the Frenche King returned home, and King Henry came to Vernueil, where hee made this ordinance, that no man ſhoulde trouble the vaſſall or tennant, as we may cal them, for his Lords debt.

g.Bu

purchaſe
e Erle-
of march.

After this, King Henry went into Berry, and tooke Chateau Roux or Raoul, and marchyng towards Caſtre, the Lorde of that towne came & met him on the way, ſurrendring into his handes the daughter of Rauſe de Dolis lately before deceaſſed, whome the King gaue vnto Baldwine de Riuers, with the honor of Chateau Roux or Radul. Then wẽt he vnto Graundemont, where Indebert Erle of March came vnto him, and ſold to him the whole countrey of March for the ſumme of fifteene thouſande ℔. Aniouyn, twentie mules, and twentie palfreys. The Charters of this grant and ſale made and giuen vnder the ſeale of yͤ ſayd Earle of March, bare date in the moneth of September Anno Chriſti. 1177. And then did the king receyue the fealtie and homages of all the Barõs and Knightes of the countrey of March, after hee had ſatiſfied, contented, and payde the money vnto the Earle according to the couenauntes.

.reg. 24.

The Ki
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1178

The King this yeare helde his Chriſtmas at Angiers, and meaning ſhortly after to returne into Englande, he ſent to the Frenche King for letters of protection, which were graunted, and ſente to him in forme as followeth,

enour of
ench
letters
ection.

Ludouicus rex Francorum omnibus ad quos preſentes literæ peruenerint Salutem. Nouerit vniuerſitas veſtra quòd nos recipimus in protectione & cuſtodia noſtra totam terram Henrici Regis Angliæ chariſsimi fratris noſtri, in ciſmarinis partibus ſitam, ſi contigerit eum in Angliam transfretare vel peregrè proficiſci. Ita planè, vt quando balliui ſui de terra tranſmarina nos requiſierint, bona fide & ſine malo ingenio eis conſilium & auxilium præſtabimus ad eiuſdem terræ defenſionem & protectionem. Actum apud Nicenas. The Engliſhe whereof is thus. Lewis King of Fraunce, to all thoſe to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come: Knowe all you that we haue receyued into our protection and cuſtody all the landes of Henry K. of Englande our deere brother, ſet and being in theſe parties of this ſide the ſea, if it chance him to paſſe ouer into England, or to goe any way forth from home, ſo that when his Bailifes of his lands on this hither ſide the Sea ſhall require vs, wee ſhall help them and councell them faithfully and withoute male engine for defence and protection of the ſame lãds. Giuen at Nicens. Shortly after, King Henry returned into Englande from Normandy, and at Woodſtocke made his ſonne Geffrey Knighte. This yeare Pope Alexander ſente into all partes Legates to ſummon the Biſhops and Prelates to a generall Counſell to be holden at Rome in the beginning of the Lent in the yeare next following. There came therefore two Legates into England, the one named Albert de Suma, who had in commiſſion to ſummon them of Englãde and Normandy: and the other was cleped Pietro di Santa Agatha, appoynted to ſummon them of Scotland, Ireland, and the Iles about yͤ ſame: wherevpon obteyning licence to paſſe through the King of Englands dominions, he was conſtreyned to ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſts, that hee ſhoulde not attempt any thing in his Legateſhip that might be hurtfull to the King or his Realm, and that he ſhould come and viſit the King again as hee returned homewards.

A general coũſel ſummoned at Rome.

Geru. Dor.

This yeare on the ſunday before the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, being the eightenth of June, after the ſetting of the Sunne, there appeared a maruellous ſighte in the aire vnto certaine perſons that beheld the ſame. For whereas the newe Moone ſhone forth very faire with his horns towardes the eaſt, ſtraighte wayes the vpper horne was deuided into two, out of the middes of whiche deuiſion, a brenning brand ſprang vp, caſting from it a farre off coales and ſparkes, as it had bin of fire. The body of the Moone in the meane time that was beneath, ſeemed to wraſt and writh in reſemblance like to an adder or ſnake that had bin beaten, and anone after it came to the olde ſtate agayne. This chanced aboue a doſen times, and at length from horne to horne it became halfe blacke.

A ſtrange ſighte about the Moone.

In September following, the Moone beyng about ſeuen and twentith dayes olde, at ſixe of the clocke, the Sunne was eclipſed, not vniuerſally, but particularly, for yͤ body thereof appeared as it wer horned, ſhoting yͤ hornes towards yͤ Weſt as

A ſtrãge eclipſ of the Sunne.

the moone doth, being twentie dayes olde. The reſidue of the compaſſe of it, was couered with a blacke roundell, whiche comming downe by little and little, threw about the horned brightneſſe that remained, til both the hornes came to hang down on eyther ſide to the earthwards, and as the blacke roundell went by little and little forwardes, the hornes at length were turned towards the Weſt, and ſo the blacknes paſſing away, the ſunne receiued hir brightneſſe againe. In the meane time, the aire being ful of cloudes of diuers coulours, as red, yellow, greene, and pale, holp yͤ peoples ſight with more eaſe to diſcerne the maner of it. The K. thys yeare held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, at whiche time, newes came abroade of a great wonder that hadde chaunced at a place called Oxenhale, within yͤ Lordſhip of Derlington, in which place a part of the earth lifted it ſelfe vp on height in aparance like to a mighty Tower, and ſo it remained from nine of the clocke in the morning, till the euen tyde, and then it fell downe with an horrible noiſe, ſo that all ſuche as were neighbours thereabout, were put in great feare. That peece of earth with the fall, was ſwallowed vp, leauing a greate deepe pitte in the place, as was to bee ſeene many yeares after.

An. Reg. 25.
Rog. Houe.
1179

A ſtrange wonder.

Laurence Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Catholicus the Archbiſhoppe Tuamon. with fiue or ſixe other Iriſh Biſhops and diuers both Byſhoppes and Abbots of Scotlande, paſſed through England towardes the generall counſell, and withall tooke their oth, that they ſhoulde not procure anye domage to the Kyng or Realme of Englande. There went but only foure Biſhops out of England, to witte, Hugh Putſey or Pudſey Byſhop of Durham, Iohn Biſhop of Norwich, Reignald Biſhop of Bath, and Robert Biſhop of Hereford, beſide Abbots: for the Engliſh Biſhoppes firmely ſtoode in it, that there ought but four Biſhops only to goe foorth of England to any generall councell called by the Pope. This yeare after Richard de Lucy Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England gaue ouer his office, and became a Chanon in the Abbey of Weſtwood or Leſnos, which he had founded, & built vppon his owne ground, endowing it with great reuenewes, and in Iuly after he dyed there. After whoſe deceſſe, King Henry the father called a Parliamente at Windſore, at the whiche was preſent King Henry the ſonne, and a greate number of Lords, Earles and Barons. At this Parliament, order was taken for pertition of yͤ Realm, ſo that it was deuided into foure partes, certayne ſage perſonages being alotted vnto euery part to gouerne the ſame, but not by the name of Iuſtices, albeit that Ranulfe de Glanuille was made ruler of Yorkſhire, and authoriſed Iuſtice there, as he that beſt vnderſtood in thoſe dayes the auncient lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme.

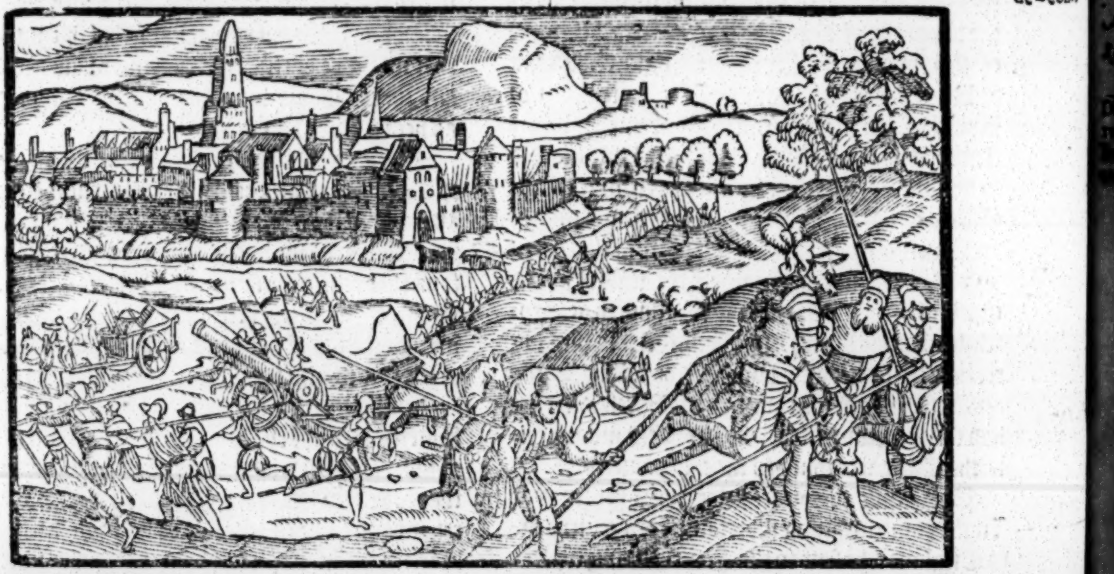
Richard de Lucy Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Englande deceaſſeth.

A Parliame at Windſore.

Ranulfe de Glacuille.

The ſame yeare, Geffrey Earle of Britayne by his fathers commaundement leuied an army, and paſſing ouer into Britaine, waſted the lands of Guidomer de Leons, and conſtreyned hym to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him.

Geffrey Earl of Britayne ſonne to Ki Henry. Guidomer de Leons.



The Moone eclipſed. The French K. commeth a madding to viſit the Archbiſhop Beckets tombe.

The eighteene day of Auguſt, the Moone was eclipſed, which was ſeene of King Henry and hys company as he rode all that night towards Douer there to meete the Frenche King that was cōming towards England to viſit the tombe of the Archbiſhop Thomas Becket, as hee hadde before time vowed. He landed at Douer the .22. daye of Auguſt.

There came ouer with him Henry Duke of Louayne, Philip Earle of Flaunders, Baldwine Earle of Guines, Erle William de Mandeuille, and dyuers other Earles, Lordes, Barons and Knightes.

King Henry was ready to receyue him at the water ſide, and the morrowe after, broughte hym with greate honor vnto Canterbury, where they were with due reuerence and vnſpeakeable ioy receiued of the Archbiſhop Richard, and diuers other Biſhops there aſſembled togither with the conuẽt of Chriſtes Churche, and an infinite multitude of nobles and Gentlemen. The French K. offered vpon the tombe of the ſaid Archbiſhop Thomas, a riche cuppe of golde, and gaue to the Monkes there an hundred tunnes of wine to bee receyued yearely of his gift for euer at Poyſſy in Fraunce. And further he graunted to the ſame Monks, that whatſoeuer was bought within his dominions of Fraunce to their vſe, ſhould be free from tolle, tallage, and paying any maner of exciſe for the ſame. And theſe grauntes hee confirmed with his charter thereof, made and deliuered to them by yͤ hãds of Hugh de Putſey, ſonne to the Biſhop of Dureſme that was his Chauncellor.

e Frenche
d is Muys.

King Lewis hauing performed his vowe, and receyued many rich giftes of King Henry, returned home into Fraunce, and ſhortly after cauſed his ſonne to be Crowned King, and reſigned the gouernemente to him, as by ſome Writers it appeareth.

dor.

Aboute the ſame time, Cadwallan Prince of Wales being brought before the King to make aunſwere to diuers accuſations exhibited againſt him, as hee returned towarde his countrey vnder the kings ſaufe conduit, was layde for by his enimies, and ſlayne to the Kings greate ſlaunder, though he were not giltie in the matter.

. Par.
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ce of
es.

After this, K. Henry the father held his Chriſtmas at Nottingham, and William K. of Scotland with him. The ſame yere fell diſcord betwixt the yong King of Fraunce, and his mother and vncles, hir brethren, Erle Theobalde and Earle Stephen, the which thinking themſelues not well vſed, procured King Henry the ſonne to ioyne with them in friendſhippe, and to goe ouer into Englande to purchaſe his fathers aſſiſtaunce in their behalfe againſt their nephew. He being come ouer to his father, enformed him of the whole matter, and did ſo much by his earneſt ſuite therein, yͭ before the feaſt of Eaſter, his father wente ouer with him into Normandy, and immediately vpon their arriual in thoſe parties, the olde Frenche Queene, mother to the yong K. Phillip, with hir brethren the ſayd Earles, and many other noble men of Fraunce, came vnto him, and concluding a league with him, deliuered hoſtages into hys handes, and receyued an oth to followe his councell and aduice in all things. Herevpon King Hẽry aſſembled a greate army, in purpoſe after Eaſter to inuade the Frenche Kings dominions: but before any greate exployte was made, he came to an enteruew with the new King of Fraunce, betwixte Giſors and Treodſunt, where partly by gentle words, and partly by threatnings whyche King Henry vſed for perſwaſion, the French king releaſed all his indignation conceiued againſt his mother and vncles, and receiued them agayne into his fauour, couenaunting to allow his mother for euery day towards hir expences ſeuen pounde of Paris money, during his father King Lewes hys life tyme, and after his deathe, ſhee ſhoulde enioy all hir dower, excepte the Caſtels whyche King Phillip might reteine ſtill in his hands. Alſo at this aſſemble, King Henry the father in the preſence of the French King, receiued homage of Philip Earle of Flanders, and graunted to hym for the ſame a thouſand markes of ſiluer to be receyued yearely out of the Checker at London, ſo that in conſideration thereof, hee ſhould finde fiue hundred Knightes, or men of armes, to ſerue the King of Englande for the ſpace of fortie dayes, when ſo euer he ſhoulde haue warning gyuen vnto him.

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Houed.

The Earle of Flaunders dothe homage to the Kyng of Englande.

Moreouer, the two Kings at this aſſembly concluded a league togither, and whereas certaine landes were in controuerſie betwixte them, as the fee of Chateau, Raoul and other ſmall fees, if they coulde not agree among themſelues, concerning the ſame, eyther of them was contented to committe the order thereof, and of all other controuerſies betwixte them vnto ſixe Biſhoppes, to be choſen indifferently betwixte them, the one to chooſe three, and the other other three.

In this yeare, or as the Annales of Aquitaine haue, in the yeare laſt paſſed, Richarde Earle of Poictowe ſubdued the ſtrong fortreſſe of Taylbourg, whiche was iudged before yͤ time impregnable: but Earle Richarde conſtreyned them that kepte it, ſo ſore with ſtraighte ſiege, that firſt in a deſparate moode they ſallied forthe, and aſſayled his people righte valiantly, but yet neuertheleſſe, they were beaten backe, and driuen to retire into their fortreſſe, whiche finally they ſurrendred into the handes of Earle Richarde, who cauſed the walles thereof to bee raſed. And the like fortune chaunced to diuers other Caſtels and fortreſſes that ſtoode in Rebellion againſte hym within a moneth ſpace.

Math. Paris.
Tailburg wonne.

Tailbourg belonged vnto one Geffrey de Rancin, whoſe proude and loftie ſtomacke practiſing Rebellion agaynſte Duke Richarde, cauſed him to take this enterpriſe in hande, and when hee hadde atchieued the ſame to his owne contentation, hee paſſed ouer into Englande, and was receyued with great triumph.

Mat. Par.

About the ſame tyme, the forme of the Kings Coyne was altered and chaunged, bycauſe that many naughty and wicked perſons had deuiſed wayes to counterfeyt the ſame, ſo that the alteration thereof was very neceſſary, but greeuous yet and chargeable to the poore inhabitants of the Realme.

VVi. Paruus.
The forme of the Kings Coine chãged.

An.reg.27.
Ro. Houed.
1181

King Henry the father, whileſt he was at Mauns after Chriſtmas made this ordinaunce, that euery man beeing worth in goodes to the valewe of an hundred poundes Aniouyn, ſhould kepe one Horſe able for ſeruice in the warres, and armoure complete for a Knighte or man of armes as wee may rather call them. Alſo that thoſe that hadde goodes worth in value from fortie poundes to fiue and twentie poundes of the ſame money, ſhoulde at the leaſt haue in his houſe for his furniture an Habergeon, a cappe of ſteele, a Speare, and a ſword or bowe and arrowes. And furthermore hee ordeyned, that no man mighte ſell or lay to gage hys armour and weapon, but ſhould be boũd to leaue it to his next heire.

When the Frenche Kyng and the Earle of Flaunders were aduertiſed that King Henry had made this ordinance amongſt his ſubiectes, they gaue commaundemente that their people ſhoulde be armed after the lyke manner.

This yeare after Candlemas, Laurence Archbiſhoppe of Dublin came ouer to the King into Normandy, and broughte with him the ſonne of Roderike King of Conagh, to remaine with him as a pledge, for performance of couenauntes paſſed betwixte them, as the payment of tribute and ſuch like. The ſayd Archbiſhop dyed ther in Normandy, whereuppon the King ſente Geffrey de Hay one of his Chaplaynes and Chapleyne alſo to the Popes Legate Alexius, into Irelande, to ſeaſe that Archbiſhops See into his handes.

He alſo ſente John Lacie Coneſtable of Cheſter, and Richarde de Peake, to haue the Citie of Dublin in keeping, whiche Hugh Lacy hadde in charge before, and nowe was diſcharged, bycauſe the Kyng tooke diſpleaſure with him, for that hee had married without his licence a daughter of the King of Conagh, according to the maner of that countrey.

Math. Paris.

This yeare alſo, Geffrey the Kings baſtarde ſonne, that was the elect of Lincolne, and hadde receyued the profites of that Biſhopricke yͤ ſpace of ſeuen yeares, and had his election confirmed by the Pope in the feaſt of the Epiphany at Marlebridge, in preſence of the King and the Byſhops of the Realme, renounced that benefice of his own free will. After that the Pope hadde ſente a ſtrayte commaundement vnto Richard Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, eyther to cauſe the ſame Geffrey by the cenſures of the Church, to renounce his miter, or elſe to take vppon him the order of Prieſthood, wherefore vppon good aduice taken in the matter with his father and other of his eſpeciall friendes, iudging himſelfe inſufficiente for the one, hee was contented to depart with the other. And thereuppon wrote letters vnto the ſayde Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, in forme as foloweth. *Venerabili patri Richardo dei gratia Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo apoſtolicæ ſedis legato, Gaufridus domini Regis Angliæ filius & cancellarius ſalutem & reuerentiam debitam ac deuotam. Placuit maieſtati Apoſtolicæ, veſtræ iniungere ſanctitati, vt me certo tempore vocaretis ad ſuſcipiendum ordinem ſacerdotis, & pontificalis officij dignitatem. Ego verò conſiderant quã plures epiſcopos maturiores ac prouectiores, prudentia & ætate, vix tantæ adminiſtrationi ſufficere, nec ſine periculo animarum ſuarum ſui officiũ pontificatus ad perfectum explere, veritus ſum onus importabile ſenioribus, mihi imponere iuniori: faciens hæc nõ ex leuitate animi, ſed ob reuerentiam ſacramenti. Habito itaq; tractatu ſuper eo cũ domino rege patre meo, dominis fratribus meiſq; rege & Pictauenſi & Britannorum comitibus: epiſcopis etiã Henrico Baiocẽſi, Frogerio Sagienſi, Reginaldo Batonienſi, Sefrido Ciceſtrẽſi qui præſentes aderãt, aliter de vita & ſtatu meo diſpoſui, volens patris mei obſequijs militare ad tempus, & ab epiſcopalibus abſtinere: omne itaq; ius electionis inde & Lincolnenſem epiſcopatũ ſpontaneè, liberè, quietè, & integrè, in manu veſtra pater ſancte reſigno, tam electionẽ quã epiſcopatus abſolutionem poſtulans à vobis, tanquam à metropolitano meo, & ad hoc ab apoſtolica ſede ſpecialiter delegato. Bene vale.* The K. for his maintenance now after he had reſigned his Biſhopricke, gaue to hym fiue C. Markes of yerely rent in England, and as much in Normandy, & made him moreouer lord Chancellor. This yere alſo after Eſter, the kings of Englãd & Fraunce came to an enteruew togither, at a place in yͤ confines of their cõutreys called by ſome writers *Vadum Sancti Remigij*, on a munday being the. 27. of April, in which aſſemble of thoſe two Princes yͤ Knightes tẽplers & hoſpitallers preſented to them letters directed frõ Pope Alexãder vnto al Chriſtiã princes, aduertiſing thẽ of the danger wherin the holy land ſtood at yͤ preſent, if ſpeedy remedie were not yͤ ſoner prouided. He therfore exhorted thẽ to addreſſe their helpyng hand towards the reliefe thereof, granting vnto al ſuch as woulde enterpriſe to goe thither in perſon, (to remain there vpõ defence of yͤ cõutrey againſt yͤ Infidels) great pardon as to thoſe that did continue there the ſpace of two yeres wer pardoned of penance for al their ſinnes; except theft, extortion, roberie, & vſurie, in which caſes reſtitution was to be made, if yͤ partie were able to doe it, if not, then he ſhould be aſſoiled as wel for thoſe things as for other: & thoſe that remained one yere in thoſe parties were pardoned of halfe their whole penaunce due for all their ſinnes. And to thoſe that wente to viſite the holy ſepulchre, he granted alſo great pardon, as remiſſion of their ſins, whether they came thither or peraduenture died by the way. Hee alſo granted al ſuch indulgence vnto thoſe that wẽt to war againſt yͤ enimies of our Religion in yͤ holy lande, as his predeceſſors the Popes Urbanus and Eugenius hadde graunted in time paſt: and hee

Rog. Houed.

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receiued likewiſe their wiues, childrē, their goodes & poſſeſſiōs vnder the protection of Saint Peter and the Church of Rome. The two Kings hauing heard the Popes letters red, and taken good aduice thereof, they promiſed by Goddes fauoure ſhortly to prouide conueniente ayde for releefe of the holy land, and of the Chriſtians as yet remaining in the ſame. And this was the end of theyr communication for that time, and ſo they depart, the French King into Fraunce, and the Kyng of England into Normandy.

In the meane time, by the King of Englands appoyntment, William King of Scotland went ouer into Normandy, and by the aduice and good admonition of King Henry, hee graunted licence vnto two Biſhops of his Realme of Scotlande, that is to wit, Aberdene and Saint Androwes, to returne into Scotlande, whome hee had lately before baniſhed, & driuen out of his Realme. Moreouer, as K. Henry lay at Harfleete ready to tranſport ouer into England, there fel diſcord betwixt the King of Fraunce, and the Earle of Flanders, ſo that the King of England at deſire of yͤ French King, returned backe, and came vnto Giſors, where the Frenche King met him, and ſo dyd the Earle of Flaunders, betwixte whome vpon talke had in the matter depending in controuerſie, hee made a concorde, and then comming downe to Chircburg, hee and the King of Scottes in hys company, tranſported ouer into Englande, landing at Porteſmouth the ſixe and twētith of July, being ſunday.

An ordinance for armour.

The King being now returned into England, ordeyned a ſtatute for armour and weapon to bee had amongſt his ſubiectes heere in this Realme, which was thus. Euery mā that held a Knightes fee ſhould be bound to haue a payre of curaſſes, an helmet, with ſhield and Speare, and euery knight or man of armes ſhoulde haue as many curaſſes, helmets, ſhieldes, and ſpeares as he helde knightes fees in demaine. Euery man of the layty hauyng goodes or reuenues to yͤ value of ſixteene markes, he ſhould haue one paire of curaſſes, an helmet, a Speare, and a Shield. And euery free man of the layty hauing goodes in valew worth ten markes, ſhall haue an habergeon, a ſteele cappe, and a Speare, and all burgeſſes, and the whole communaltie of free men ſhall haue a Wambais, a cappe of ſteele, and a Speare.

And further it was ordeyned, that euery man thus bound to haue armour, ſhoulde be ſworne to haue the ſame before the feaſt of S. Hillarie, and to be true vnto King Henry Fitz Emprice, in defence of whome and of his Realme they ſhoulde keepe with them ſuche armoure and weapon, according to his precepte and commaundemente thereof hadde and made. And no man after he bee furniſhed with ſuche armour, ſhoulde ſell, pledge, lende, or otherwiſe alien the ſame, neyther maye his Lorde by anye meanes take the ſame from him, neyther by way of forfeyture, neyther by diſtreſſe nor pledge, nor by any other meanes: and whē any man dyeth, hauing ſuch armour, he ſhal leaue it to his heire, and if his heire be not of lawfull age to weare it into the fielde, then he that hathe the cuſtodie of his body ſhall haue the armour, and fynde an able man to weare it for him, till he come to age.

If any burgeſſe of any good towne haue more armoure than hee oughte to haue by this ſtatute, he ſhall ſell it or gyue it to ſome man that maye weare it in the Kings ſeruice.

Iewes might haue no armoure.

No Jewe might haue armour by this ſtatute: but thoſe that had any, were appoynted to ſell the ſame to ſuche as were inhabitantes within the Realme, for no man might ſell or tranſporte any armoure ouer the Sea, withoute the Kings licence.

Alſo for the better execution of this ordinance, it was ordeyned, that inqueſts ſhould be taken by ſufficiente Jurors, what they were that were able to haue armoure by theyr abilitie in landes and goodes. Alſo the King woulde, that none ſhoulde be ſworne to haue armour, excepte hee were a free man of birth and bloud.

Mat. Par.

The ſame yere, the King being at Waltham, aſſigned an ayde to the maintenance of the Chriſtian Souldiers in the holy land, that is to witte, 42. thouſande markes of ſiluer, and fiue hundred markes of golde. Hugh Boſun otherwiſe called Keuelocke the ſonne of Ranulfe the ſeconde of yͤ name Earle of Cheſter, deceaſſed this yeare, and was buried at Leeke. Hee left behind him iſſue by his wife the Counteſſe Beautrice daughter of Richard Lacie Lord Juſtice of Englād, a ſonne named Ranulfe that ſucceeded hym, beeyng the ſixth Earle of Cheſter, and thirde of that name after the Conqueſt. Beſide this Ranulfe, he had alſo four daghters by his ſaid wife, to wit, Maud, married to Dauid Erle of Angus, Huntington &

The deceſſe of Hugh Earle of Cheſter.

Ran. Higd.

Galloway Mabell coupled with Williã Daubigny Erle of Arundell, Agnes married to William Ferrers Erle of Derbie, and Hauiſe ioyned with Robert Quincy Earle of Lincolne.

The Archb. of Yoik deceaſſeth.

The. 21. of Nouember, dyed Roger Archbiſhop of Yorke, who (when he perceyued hymſelfe in daunger of death by force of that his laſt ſickneſſe) deliuered greate ſummes of money vnto certayne Biſhoppes and other graue perſonages to be diſtributed amongſt poore people: but after his deathe, the Kyng called for the money, and ſeaſed it to hys vſe, alledging a ſentence gyuen by the ſame Archbiſhop in his lyfe time, that no eccleſiaſticall perſon myghte giue any thyng by will, except hee deuiſed the ſame whileſt he was in perfect healthe: yet the Biſhoppe of Durham woulde not departe with foure hundred markes which he had receyued to diſtribute amongſt the poore, alledging that he dealt the ſame away before the Archbiſhops death, and therefore hee that would haue it againe, muſt goe gather it vppe of them, to whome he had diſtributed it, whiche hee himſelfe woulde in no wiſe do. But the K. tooke no ſmall diſpleaſure with this vndiſcrete aunſwere, in ſo muche, that hee ſeaſed the Caſtell of Durham into his handes, and ſought meanes to diſquiete the ſaid Biſhoppe by dyuers manner of wayes.

1182

The K. paſſeth ouer into Normandy.

The K. his ſon eftſoones reconciled.

The King helde his Chriſtmas this yeare at Wincheſter, and afterwardes ſayled ouer into Normandy, bycauſe he heard that the Kyng hys ſonne was gone to his brother in lawe K. Philip, and began to practiſe eftſoones newe trouble which was true indede: but yet at length he came backe, and was reconciled to his father, and tooke an oth, that from thenceforthe hee woulde neuer ſwarue from hym, nor demaunde more for hys mayntenance but an hundred poundes Aniouin by the day, and tenne li. a day of the ſame money for his wife. Hys father graunted this, and alſo couenanted, that within the tearme of one yeare hee woulde giue him the ſeruices of an hundred Knightes.

After this, King Henry the father as a mediator betwixt the King of Fraunce, and the Erle of Flaunders touching ſuche controuerſies as hanged betwixt them, did ſo much in the matter, that he ſet them at one for that time.

Ro. Houed.

The Duke of Saxonie.

About the ſame ſeaſon, King Henry the father ſente William de Mandeuille Earle of Albemarle, and other Ambaſſadors vnto the Emperour Frederike, to intreate for his ſonne in lawe yͤ Duke of Saxony, that he might be againe reſtored into his fauour, which could not be obteined: for hee was already condemned to exile, but yet thus much to pleaſure the King of England the Emperour granted, that ſo many as went with him out of their countrey, might returne agayne at their pleaſure, and that his wife the Duches Maude the King of Englands daughter, ſhould enioy hir dowry, and be at libertie, whether ſhee would remayne vpon it, or followe hir huſbande into exile, therefore when the day came that hee muſt departe out of his countrey, he ſet forwarde with his wife and children, and a great number of the Nobles of his Countrey, and finally came into Normandy, where he was right ioyfully receyued of his father in law King Henry. Shortly after his comming thither, he gaue licence to yͤ noble menne that were come thither with him, to returne home, and then hee himſelfe wente into Spayne to viſite the body of Saint James the Apoſtle.

The Du of Saxony deliuered ſonne.

Hys wife beeyng greate with childe, remayned with hir father in Normandy, and at Argenton ſhe was deliuered of a ſonne.

Ranulfe Po ſlayne.

This yere the Welchmen ſlew Ranulph Poer Sherife of Glowceſterſhire.

An. reg.

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King Henry helde hys Chriſtmas at Caen, with his three ſonnes, Henry the King, Richard Earle of Poictow, and Geffrey Earle of Brytayne.

There was alſo Henry Duke of Saxony, with his wife and their children, beſydes the Archbyſhoppes of Caunterbury and Dublin, with other Byſhoppes Earles and Barons in great number.

VVil. Par

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War betw the brethr

Heere woulde Kyng Henry the father, that hys ſonne the Kyng ſhoulde receyue homage of his brethren Richarde Earle of Poictowe, and Geffrey Earle of Britayne. The Earle of Brytayne did not ſtay at the matter, but the Earle of Poictow refuſed, alledging, that it was not conuenient ſo long as their father liued, to acknowledge any ſuperioritie in their brother: for as the fathers inheritance was due to the eldeſt ſonne, ſo he claymed the landes whiche hee helde due to him in righte of his mother. This denyall ſo much offended his brother the King, that afterwards when Richard would haue done homage he would not receyue it, whereupon Richard departed from the Court in greate diſpleaſure, and comming into Poictow, hee beganne to fortifie his Caſtels and Townes, that hee might be in a redineſſe to ſtand vppon his ſafegard if his father or brethren ſhould come to purſue him. King Henry the ſonne followed him, ſette on by the Earles and Barons of Poictow, whiche for the ſharp and cruell gouernement of Earle Richard, hated hym. And on the other ſide, for the amiable courteſie, ſeemely perſonage, and other noble qualities which they ſaw in the yong King, moued thẽ to take part with him againſt Richard, and ſhortly after commeth their brother Geffrey with a greate army in ayde of his brother the K. in ſomuch, that Erle Richard not knowing how to ſhift off the preſent daunger, ſent to his father for ayde, who right ſorie in his mynde to ſee ſuch vnnaturall dealing amongſt his ſonnes gathered an armie, and came forwarde. He had a litle before trauailed to ſet them at one, inſomuch that where Earle Richarde helde a Caſtell named Clarevalx, which after the fathers deceaſſe ought to remaine vnto King Henrye the ſonne, vpon hys complaynte thereof made, the father did ſo much with the Earle, that he ſurrendred it into his fathers handes. And immediately after all the three ſonnes came to Angers, and there ſware to bee obedient vnto theyr fathers wyll, and to ſerue him agaynſt all men: whereupon he appoynted them a daye to meete at Mirabell, where the Barons of Guyen ſhoulde alſo bee, vnto whome King Henry the ſonne had ſworne to ayde them agaynſt Earle Richarde. Herewith was Earle Geffray ſent vnto them to perſwade them to peace and quietneſſe, and to come vnto Mirabell according to king Henrie the fathers appoyntment: but in ſteede of perſwading them to peace (contrarie to his othe ſo oftentymes receyued) hee procured them to purſue the warre both agaynſt his father and hys brother Earle Richarde.

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fully.

King Henrie the ſonne remaynyng with his father, ſhewed outwardely that hee wiſhed for peace, but his meaning was all contrarie, and ſo obteyned lycence of his father to goe vnto Lymoges, that hee might labour to reduce both his brother Geffrey, and the Barons of Guien vnto quietneſſe.

But ſuch diſſembling was put in practiſe by king Henrie, that when the father followed wyth an armie, and came vnto Lymoges, in ſteade of receyuing him with honour, as it had bene theyr dueties to haue done, they ſhotte at him, and pierced through his vppermoſt armour, ſo that both hee and hys Sonne Rycharde were conſtrayned to depart. Yet afterwardes hee entered that Citie, and comming forth of it agayne to talke wyth his Sonnes, thoſe within Lymoges eftſoones rebelled, ſo that certaine of them wythin ſhotte, the Horſe whereon King Henrie the father rode into the heade, and if it had ſo chaunced that the Horſe in caſting vppe hys heade had not receyued the blowe, the arrowe had lyght in the Kings breaſt, to the great daunger and perill of his perſon, neyther dyd hys ſonnes the King and his brother Geffrey goe about to ſee ſuche an heynous attempt puniſhed, but rather ſeemed to lyke well of it, and to mainteyne thoſe moſte malicious enimyes of theyr ſoueraigne Lorde and father, for they ioyned wyth them agaynſte him, althoughe King Henrie the ſonne made countenaunce to bee wylling to reconcile his brother, and the Barons of Guien to his father by way of ſome agreement: but his double dealing was too manifeſt, although in deede hee abuſed his fathers pacience for a while, who was of nothing more deſyrous than to wynne his ſonnes by ſome courteous meanes, and therefore dyuerſe tymes offered to pardon all offences committed by hys enimies, at the ſuyte of his Sonne the King, who in deede offered hymſelfe nowe and then as an intreatour, but that was onely to wynne tyme, that hys brother wyth ſuche Brabanders and other Souldiers as hee had with hym in ayde, beſyde the forces of the Barons of Guien might worke the more miſchiefe agaynſte theyr father, and theyr brother Earle Richarde, in waſting and deſtroying their Countreys that ſtoode ſtedfaſt on their ſyde.

The diſloyall diſſembling of the yong king.

In the meane time Richarde the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and dyuerſe other Byſhoppes and Abbottes both of Englande and Normandie aſſembled togyther at Caen, and in the Abbey Churche of Saint Stephen pronounced the ſentence of Excommunication agaynſte all thoſe that did hynder and impeache theyr purpoſe, which (was to haue peace and concorde concluded betwixte the King and hys Sonnes) the ſame Sonnes onely not of the ſayd ſentence excepted.

Dyuerſe ſhyftes were made by King Henrie the Sonne, and his brother Earle Geffray alſo to get money for the payment of theyr Souldioures, as ſpoyling of Shrynes, and ſuche lyke.

But at length when things framed not to theyr purpoſe, and that the harme whiche they coulde doe agaynſte theyr Father was muche leſſe than they wiſhed, if power had beene aunſwerable to their willes, King Henrie the ſonne through indignation and diſpleaſure (as ſome write) fell into a grieuous ſickneſſe in a Vyllage called Mertell, not farre from Lymoges, where his father lay at ſiege.

King Henrie the ſonne falleth ſicke.

At the fyrſt he was taken with an extreeme Feuer, and after followed a ſore Flixe. Then perceyuing himſelfe in daunger of death, and that the Phiſitions had giuen hym ouer, hee ſent to his Father confeſſing hys treſpaſſe commytted agaynſte hym, and requyred hym of hys fatherly loue to come and to ſee hym once before hee dyed. But for that the father thought not good to committe hymſelfe into the handes of ſuche vngracious perſones as were aboute hys ſonne, hee ſente vnto hym hys Ring, in token of his bleſſing, and as it were a pledge to ſignifie that he had forgiuen him his vnnaturall doings agaynſt him.

He ſendeth to his father.

The ſonne receyuing it with great humilitie, kiſſed it, and ſo ended his lyfe in the preſence of the Archbiſhoppe of Burdeaux and others on the daye of Saint Barnabie the Apoſtle.

His repentance before his death.

He dyed (as ſome wryte) very penitently, and where as in his life time he had vowed to make a iourney into the holye lande agaynſt Gods enimies, and taken vpon him the Croſſe for that intent, he deliuered it vnto his familiar friend William Marſhall to go thither with it in his ſteade.

Moreouer when he perceyued preſent death at hande, he firſt confeſſed his ſinnes ſecretely, and after openly afore ſundrie Biſhops and men of religion, and receyued abſolution in moſt humble wiſe.

A ſtraunge kinde of ſuperſtitious deuotion, if this report of our author be true

He is drawne out of his bed a thing vnlike to be true.

After this, hee cauſed his fine clothes to bee taken from him, and therewith an heare cloth to be put vpon him, and after tying a corde aboute his necke, he ſayde vnto the Biſhoppes and other that ſtoode by him, I deliuer my ſelfe an vnworthie and grieuous ſinner vnto you the miniſters of God by this corde, beſeeching our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, whiche pardoned the theefe confeſſing hys faultes on the Croſſe, that throughe your prayers and for his great mercyes ſake it may pleaſe him to bee mercifull vnto my ſoule, wherevnto they all anſwered Amen. Then ſayde he vnto them, drawe me out of this bedde with this Corde, and lay me in that bedde ſtrewed with Aſhes (which he had of purpoſe prepared) and as he commaunded ſo they did: and they layde at his feete and at his heade two greate ſquare ſtones. And thus hee beeyng prepared to death, he willed that his bodie after his deceaſſe ſhoulde be conueyed into Normandie, and buryed at Rouen.

His death.

And ſo after he had receyued the Sacrament of the bodie and bloud of our Lorde, hee departed this life as afore is ſayde, about the. xxviij. yeare of his age,

Thus dyed this yong King in hys flouriſhing youth, to whome through hys owne iuſt deſertes, long lyfe was iuſtly denyed, ſithe hee delyghted to begynne his gouernement wyth vnlawfull attemptes, as an other Abſolon agaynſte hys owne naturall Father, ſeeking by wrongfull violence to pull the Scepter out of his hande.

Hee is not put in the number of Kings, bycauſe he remayned for the more parte vnder the gouernaunce of his father, and was taken oute of this lyfe before hys father, ſo that hee rather bare the name of king, as appoynted to raigne, than that he maye bee ſayde to haue raigned in deede.

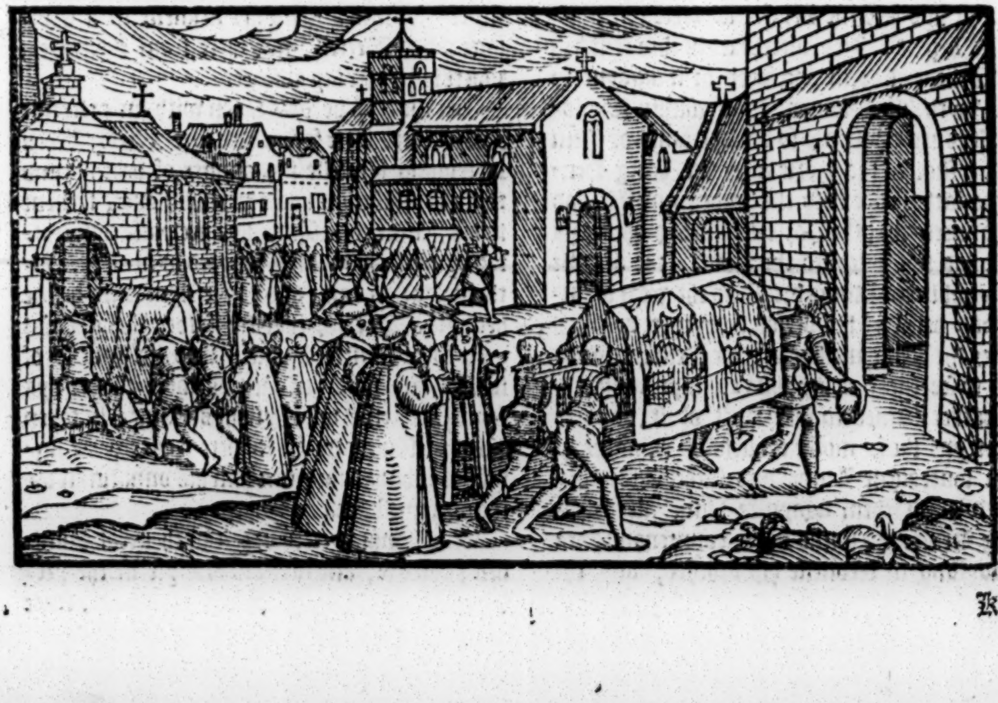
Nic.Triue.

His body after his death was conueyed towards Rouen, there to be buried accordingly as hee had wylled: but when thoſe that had charge to conuey it thyther were come vnto the Citie of Mauns, the Biſhoppe there and the Cleargie would not ſuffer them to go any further wyth it, but committed it to buryall in honourable wyſe within the Church of Saint Iulian.

When the Citizens of Rouen were hereof aduertiſed, they were ſore offended with that doing, & ſtreyght wayes ſent vnto them of Mauns, requyring to haue the corps deliuered, threatning otherwiſe with manye earneſt othes to fetche it from them by force.

The bodie of the yong king laſtly buried at Rouen.

King Henrie therefore to ſette order in thys matter, commaunded that the corps of his ſonne the King ſhoulde bee deliuered vnto them of Rouen to be buryed in theyr Citie, as he himſelfe had willed before his death. And ſo it was taken vp and conueyed to Rouen, where it was eftſoones there buryed in the Churche of oure Ladie.



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King Henrie (after his ſonne the king was thus deade) enforced hys power more earneſtly than before to winne the Citie and Caſtell of Lymoges whiche hee hadde beſieged, and at length had them bothe rendred ouer into hys handes, with all other Caſtelles and places of ſtrength kept by his enimies in thoſe partyes, of the which ſome he furniſhed with garniſons, and ſome hee cauſed to bee razed flatte wyth the grounde.

uesine.

There roſe aboute the ſame tyme occaſion of ſtrife and variaunce, betwixt king Henry and the Frenche King, aboute the enioying of the Countrey lying about Gyſors, cleped Veulqueſine, on thys ſyde the Ryuer of Hept, whiche was gyuen vnto King Henrie the Sonne, in conſideration of the maryage had betwixt hym and Queene Margaret the Frenche Kinges ſiſter. For the Frenche King nowe after the death of hys brother in lawe King Henrie the ſonne, requyred to haue the ſame reſtored vnto the Crowne of France: but king Henrie was not willing to depart with it.

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At length they mette betwixt Trie and Gyſors to talke of the matter, where they agreed that Queene Margaret the widow of the late deceaſſed king Henrie the ſonne, ſhoulde receyue yearely during hir lyfe. 1750. poundes of Aniouyn money at Paris, of king Henry the father, and his heires, in conſideration whereof, ſhee ſhoulde releaſe and quiteclayme all hir right to thoſe lands that were demaunded, as Veulqueſine and others.

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Rouen.

Shortly after, Geffrey Earle of Brytayne came to his father, and ſubmitting himſelfe, was reconciled to him, and alſo to his brother Richard Earle of Poictou.

Reg. 30

Alſo I finde that king Henrie at an enteruiew had betwixt him and the French king at their accuſtomed place of meeting betwixt Trie and Giſors on Saint Nicholas day, did his homage to the ſame French king for the lands which he held of him on that ſide the ſea, which to doe till then he had refuſed.

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The ſame yeare king Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at the Citie of Mauns. Alſo when the king had agreed the Frenche king and the Earle of Flaunders, for the controuerſie that chaunced betwixt them about the landes of Vermendoys, he paſſed through the Earle of Flanders Countrey, and comming to Wyſande, tooke ſhippe and ſayled ouer into Englande, landing at Douer the tenth day of June, with his daughter the Duches of Saxonie, the which was afterwardes deliuered of a ſonne at Wincheſter, and hir huſbande the Duke of Saxonie came alſo this yeare into Englande, and was ioyfully receyued and honourably interteyned of the king his father in lawe.

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The Archb. of Colen.

And wheras the Archbi. of Colen came ouer into England this yere to viſite the tumbe of Thomas late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the king trauayled to make an agreement betwixt him and the duke of Saxonie touching certaine variance depending betwixt them, wherein the king did ſo much, that ỹ Archbiſhop forgaue all iniuries paſt, and ſo they were made friends. Alſo by the counſell of the ſame Archb. the king ſent Hugh Nouāt Archdeacon of Lyſeux and others, Ambaſſadors frō him vnto Pope Lucius, that by his helpe there might be made ſome way to obteyn a pardon for the ſayd duke, & licence for him to returne into his countrey. Thoſe that were ſent demeaned themſelues ſo diſcretly in doing their meſſage, that the Emperor cōming where the Pope then was, that is to ſay at Verona in Italy, at the earneſt ſute of the ſaid Pope was cōtented to releaſe all his euill will which he bare towardes the duke, pardoned him for all things paſt, and licenced him now at length to returne home into his country, his condemnation of exile being clearely reuoked.

Hugh Nouan

The Duke of Saxonie pardoned and reuoked out of exile.

There died this yeare ſundry honorable perſonages, as Simon Erle of Huntington, that was ſon to Simō Erle of Northampton, after whoſe deceaſe the king gaue his erledome vnto his brother David, or as Radulfus de Diceto ſayth, bycauſe the ſaid Simon died without iſſue, the king gaue the Erledom of Huntingt. vnto Wil. king of Scots, ſon to Erle Henry, that was ſon to K. Dauid. Alſo the Erle of Warwik died this yere, & Thomas Fitz Bernard L. chiefe iuſtice of the Foreſts, which roumth Alain de Neuill had enioyed before him. But now after the death of this Tho. Fitz Bernard, the k. diuided his foreſts into ſundrie quarters, & to euerie quarter he appointed foure iuſtices, two of ỹ ſpiritualtie, & two knights of the temporaltie, beſide two generall wardens that were of his owne ſeruants, to be as ſurueyers aboue all other Foreſters of vert & veniſon, whoſe office was to ſee that no miſorder nor ſpoyle were committed within any groundes of Warren cōtrary

Death of noble men.

The gouernment of the foreſts deuided.

trarie to the aſſiſes of Foreſts. There dyed this yeare alſo diuerſe Prelates, as foure Biſhoppes, to witte, Gerald ſurnamed la Pucelle Biſhop of Cheſter, Walranne Biſhop of Rocheſter, Ioceline Biſhop of Saliſburie, and Bartholmew biſhop of Exeter. There died alſo diuerſe Abbots, & vpon the .xvj. of Febuarie died Richard Archbiſh. of Canterburie in the .xj. yeare after his firſt entring into the gouernment of that ſea. His bodie was buried at Canterburie. He was noted to be a man of euill life, and waſted the goodes of that Churche inordinately. It was reported that before his death there appeared vnto him a viſion, which ſayde, thou haſt waſted the goodes of the Church, & I ſhall roote thee out of the earth. Hereof he tooke ſuche a feare, that he died within .viij. dayes after. Then ſucceeded after him Baldwin that before was Biſhop of Worceſter. He was the .xl. Archb. that had ruled the Church of Canterburie. The king and Biſhops procured his election not without much ado. For the Monkes pretending a right therto, were ſore againſt it. It is reported of him, that after he was made a white Monke, he neuer eate fleſh to his liues ende. On a time an olde leane woman met him, and aſked of him if it were ſooth that he neuer eate any maner of fleſh. It is ſooth (ſayd he.) It is falſe quoth ſhe, for I had but one cow to finde me with, and thy ſeruants haue taken hir from me. Wherevnto he anſwered, that if it ſo were, ſhe ſhoulde haue as good a Cow reſtored to hir by Gods grace as hir owne was.

The ſame time alſo, Margaret the wife of the late deceaſſed king Henrie the ſonne, returned into France to hir brother king Philip, and was after ioyned in mariage with Bela king of Hungary.

But after long digreſſion to returne again to our purpoſe. The king being aduertiſed of the deſtruction and ſpoyle which the Welchmen dayly did practiſe againſt his ſubiects, both in their perſons and ſubſtance: he aſſembled a mightie armie and came with the ſame vnto Worceſter, meaning to inuade the enimies countreys. But Rees ap Griffin fearing his puiſſance thus bent againſt him and other the leaders of the Welchmen, hee came by ſafeconduct vnto Worceſter, and there ſubmitting himſelfe, ſware fealtie to the king, and became his liegeman, promiſing to bring his ſon and nephewes vnto him as pledges. But when according to his promiſe he would haue brought them, they refuſed to goe with him, and ſo the matter reſted for a time.

Heraclius Patriarke of Ieruſalem.

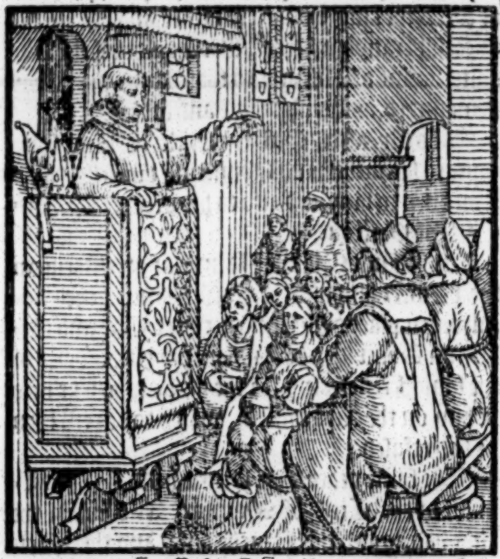
After this, king Henry helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Winſore, and the ſame yere Heraclius the Patriarke of Ieruſalem, and Roger maſter of the houſe of S. Iohns of Ieruſalē, came into England, to make ſute vnto king Henrie for ayde agaynſt the Saraſins that dayly wanne from the Chriſtians, townes and holdes in the holy land, taking and killing the people moſt miſerably, as in the deſcription of the holye lande maye more plainly appeare, where the doings of Saladine the Saraſine are touched. The Patriarke made earneſt requeſt vnto the king, proffering him the Keyes of the Citie of Ieruſalem, and of the holy Sepulchre, (with the letters of Lucius the thirde as then Pope of Rome) charging him to take vpon him the iourney, and to haue mind of the othe which before time he had made.

A Counce Clerkenw

The king deferred his anſwere for a time, and calling a Councel of his Lords togither at Clerkenwell, on the fiftenth day of Aprill, aſked theyr aduice in this matter: who declared to him, that as they tooke it, he might not well depart ſo farre out of his Realme and other dominions, leauing the ſame as a praye to his enimies. And where as it was thought by ſome, that hee myght appoynt one of his ſonnes to take vppon him that iourney, yet bycauſe they were not as then within the realme. It was iudged that in their abſence there was no reaſon whye it ſhoulde bee ſo decreed.

Baldwin A biſhop of C terburie e horteth me to go to w gainſt the Saraſins.

In the meane tyme yet vpon licence granted by the kyng, that ſo manye myghte goe as woulde, Baldwyn the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie preached, and exhorted men to take vpon them the Croſſe ſo effectually, that a greate number receyuing it, fully purpoſed to goe on in that iourney.



Fiftie thou markes la Gerua. D

At length the King gaue anſwere to the Patriarke, excuſing himſelfe in that hee myght not goe, for he declared that hee myght not leaue hys lande wythoute keeping, beeing in daunger to remayne as a praye to the robberie and ſpoyle of the Frenche menne: but hee offered to giue large ſummes of gold and ſiluer to ſuch as would take vppon them that voyage. With thys anſwere the Cardinall was nothing pleaſed, and

therefore

igd.

therefore, ſayde we ſeeke a man and not money: well neare euery Chriſtian Region ſendeth vnto vs money, but no Countrey ſendeth vnto vs a Prince. And therefore wee require a Prince that needeth money, and not money that needeth a Prince. But the King ſtyll alledged matter for his excuſe, ſo that the Patriarke departed from him comfortleſſe, and greatly diſcontented in his minde: whereof the King hauing knowledge, and intending ſomewhat to recomfort him with ſweete and pleaſaunt wordes, followed him to the Sea ſyde. But the more the King thought to ſatiſfie the Patriarke with wordes, the more wroth and diſcontented hee ſhewed hymſelfe to be. Inſomuche that at the laſte hee ſayde vnto him, Hytherto haſt thou raigned gloriouſly, but hereafter ſhalt thou bee forſaken of hym, whom thou at this time forſakeſt. Conſider of him, and remember what hee hath gyuen to thee, and what thou haſt yeelded to him againe, howe firſt thou waſt falſe to the King of Fraunce, and after ſlue the Archbiſhop Becket, and now laſtlye thou forſakeſt the protection of Chriſtes fayth.

The wordes of the Patriarke to the king.

The King was ſtyrred with theſe wordes, and ſayde vnto the Patriarke, Though all the menne of the lande were one bodie, and ſpake with one mouth, they durſte not vtter ſuche wordes agaynſte mee. No wonder (ſayde the Patriarke) for they loue thine and not thee. That is to meane, they loue thy Temporall goodes, and ſtande in feare of thee for loſſe of Promotion, but thy ſoule they loue not. And when hee hadde ſo ſayde, hee offered his heade to the King, ſaying, Doe by mee euen as thou diddeſt by the Archbyſhoppe Becket, for all is one to mee, eyther to bee ſlaine here in Europe of a wicked Chriſtian, or in the holy lande by a Saraſine, for thou art worſe than a Saraſine, and thy people followeth pray and ſpoyle, and not a manne. The King kepte hys pacience, and ſayde I maye not goe oute of my lande, for if I ſhoulde, mine owne Sonnes woulde riſe and rebell agaynſte mee. No maruaile (ſayde the Patriarke) for of the Diuell they came, and to the Diuell they ſhall. And thus hee departed from the King in greate diſpleaſure.

iudgement in an father.

Thus haue ſome written: But by others it appeareth that the Patryarke remayned here tyll the king went ouer into Normandie himſelf, in companie of whom the Patriarke went alſo (as after ſhall appeare.)

Houed.
the
ſonne
king of
nde.
Do.

This yeare the laſt. of March, king Henrie made his Sonne John knight, and ſhortly after ſent him ouer into Irelande, of which Countrey he had made him king.

At his comming into Irelande, he was honourably receyued of the Archebiſhoppe of Diueline, and other noble menne that had beene ſent thither before him.

The King allowed him great aboundance, of treaſure, but he keeping it in his Coffers (as one nowe come into a ſtraunge place, and not knowing what he ſhoulde want woulde not depart with it ſo freely amongeſt his Souldiers and menne of warre as they looked for: by reaſon whereof their ſeruice was ſuche, that in dyuerſe conflictes hee loſt many of his menne, and at length was dryuen through want of conuenable ayde, to returne againe into Englande, hauing appoynted his Captaynes and Souldiours to remayne in places moſte expedient for the defence of that Countrey. But hereof yee maye reade more in the Hyſtorie of Irelande.

An earthquake.

Vppon the Monday in the Weeke before Eaſter, there chaunced a ſore Earthquake thorowe all the parties of this lande, ſuche one as the like had not beene hearde of in Englande ſith the beginning of the worlde. Stones were remoued out of their places that laye couched faſt in the Earth, ſtone houſes were ouerthrowne, and the great Church of Lincolne was rent from the top downwardes.

The king and the Patriarke paſſe ouer into Fraunce.

The day next after this terrible wonder, the King and the Patriarke with the Biſhoppe of Durham, and a great ſort of other Noble men of this Realme, paſſed the Seas from Douer to Whyſſande, and ſo rode forth towardes Normandie, where immediatly vpon his comming thither he rayſed a power, and ſent worde to hys ſonne Richarde Earle of Poictou (whiche hadde fortified the townes and Caſtelles of Poictou agaynſt him, and taken his brother Geffrey priſoner) that except hee deliuered vp into his mothers handes the whole Countrey of Poictou, he woulde ſurely come to chaſtice him with an Iron rodde, and bring him vnder obedience ſmally to his eaſe.

The kings meſſage to his ſonne Earle Richarde.

Earle Richard obayeth his father.

Vpon this meſſage Earle Richarde beeing ſomewhat better aduiſed, obeyed his fathers commaundements in all poyntes, rendring vp into his mothers handes the Earledome of Poictou, and comming to his father as an obedient ſonne, ſhewed himſelf readie to ſerue him at commaundement with a glad and willing minde.

Rog. Houed.
Particuler and not generall, hath
Ger. Do.

Soone after this, and aboute the ſeuenth houre of the day, the Sunne ſuffered a generall Eclipſe, ſo that no part of it appeared, and therewith followed greate thunder with lightning and a ſore tempeſt, with the violence whereof there were both men and beaſtes deſtroyed, and many houſes burned.

Shortly after this, the Kings of Englande and Fraunce mette and communed togyther for the ayding of them in the holye lande, and they promyſed in deede to ſende thyther bothe menne and money: but the Patriarke made ſmall accounte thereof, for hee was muche deceyued of that which hee hoped to haue brought to paſſe, whiche was, eyther to haue gotte the King of Englande, or one of hys Sonnes, or ſome other manne of greate authoritie forth wyth hym into the holye lande: but bycauſe that would not be, he departed from the Courte verye ſorrowfull and ſore diſpleaſed, ſo that it maye bee thought, that then and not before hys departure oute of Englande, he ſpake his minde ſo plainlye vnto the King (as before yee haue hearde.)

Moreouer aboute this tyme, King Henrie obteyned of Pope Urbane the third, that he might *An. Reg. 32.* crowne whiche of his Sonnes it ſhoulde pleaſe him King of Irelande, in token of which graunt and confirmation, the ſayde Pope ſent vnto hym a Crowne of Peacocks feathers, after a feat maner wouen in with golde.

Thys yeare the King helde hys Chriſtmaſſe 1186 at Danfrount, and ſhortly after came to a communication wyth the French king, at the which hee tooke a ſolemne othe that hee woulde delyuer the Ladye Alice the Frenche Kinges Siſter (whome hee hadde as yet in his cuſtodie) vnto hys ſonne Richarde Earle of Poictou in maryage. For the which maryage to be had and ſolemniſed, the French King graunted to deliuer vnto the ſayde Richarde the towne of Gyſors, wyth all that which his father king Lewes promiſed vnto king Henrie the ſonne (lately deceaſſed) in maryage with Queene Margaret the wife of the ſame Henrie, receyuing an othe thereto, neuer to make any clayme or chalenge to the ſame towne and landes.

King H returned Englande. *Ger. Do.*

King Henrie after hee hadde thus concluded and finiſhed hys affayres wyth the Frenche King, returned backe into Englande in Maye, and then was Hugh Priour of Witham inſtituted Byſhoppe of Lyncolne after that the Sea there hadde beene voyde and wythout any lawfull gouernour almoſte the ſpace of ſeuentene yeares. This Hugh was reputed a verye godly and vertuous man.

Hugh Pr Withā Biſhop colne.

Before him Walter Conſtaunce was nominated to that Sea, but bycauſe he was made Archebyſhoppe of Rouen before hee was inueſted in the Church of Lyncolne, hee is not accounted in number of the Biſhoppes of Lyncolne.

Moreouer King Henrie ſhortlye after his returne at thys tyme into Englande, aſſembled a greate army, and went wyth the ſame vnto Carleil, in purpoſe to haue entred Galloway, and there to haue chaſtiſed Rouland Lorde of that Countrey, that was ſonne to Uthred the ſonne of Fergus, for the iniuries done to his coſin Germains, and namely to Duncane the ſon of Gylbert that was ſonne to the ſame Fergus in ſpoyling him and the reſidue (after the deceaſſe of the ſayde Gylbert) of theyr partes of inheritaunce, vſurping the whole to himſelfe. But as the King was now readie to inuade his countrey, Roulande came to him, and vſed ſuche meanes vnder pretence of ſatiſfaction, that hee made his peace with the King, who thervpon brought backe his armye, and did no more at that tyme.

About the ſame tyme came newes to the King, that Hugh Lacie was ſlaine in Irelande by an Iriſhe Gentleman, that was his confederate, (or rather by a labourer, as in the Iriſhe Hyſtorie ye may read) whereof the King was nothing ſorie, bycauſe that the ſame Hugh was growne to ſo high degree of puiſſaunce in that

Hugh Lac ſlaine.

Countrey, that he refuſed to obey the kings commaundement when he ſent for him.

It is to bee noted, that when King Henrie had conquered the moſte parte of Irelande, and ſet the Countrey in ſome order, after his comming from thence, ſuch Captains as he left there behind him were not ydle, but ſtill did what they could to enlarge the confines which were committed to theyr gouernaunce: but amongeſt them all this Hugh Lacie was the chiefeſt, inſomuch that after the death of Richarde Earle of Striguile, the king made him gouernour of the Countrey in place of the ſayde Earle, by reaſon whereof he ſo enlarged his poſſeſſions, that within a while he became dreadfull, not onely to the enimies, but alſo to his aſſociates, as to ſuche Engliſh Captaines as were abyding in Ireland vpon garde of the Engliſh Frontiers. For if any of them diſobeyed his cõmaundement, he would not ſticke to chaſtice them at his pleaſure, ſo that by ſuch meanes he ſeemed rather to conquere the Countrey to his owne vſe, than to the Kinges. He had alſo ioyned himſelfe in maryage with a daughter of the King of Vnleſter, not making King Henrie priuie to the ſame. Wherevpon the King hauing ſundrie informations preſented to him of ſuche his preſumptuous demeanor, commaunded him by his letters to returne home, and repayre to his preſence, whiche to doe (as before I haue ſayde) hee refuſed, by reaſon whereof hee confirmed the ſuſpition whiche was conceyued of him, to ryſe vpon no vaine coniectures, and therefore the euyll that came to hym was nothing lamented of King Henrie, who with good cauſe was highly offended towardes him for the contempt and conſiderations aforeſayde.

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g Henrie
ſorie for
death of
ie.

This yeare Geffrey the Kings ſonne that was Earle of Brytayne dyed at Paris, and was buryed in the ſame Citie, leauing behinde him, beſides two daughters one onely ſonne as yet in his mothers wombe, of whome ſhee was delyuered in the nyght of the feaſt of Eaſter next enſuyng hir huſbandes death. Hee was named Arthure, and ſucceded his father in the Erledome of Brytaine.

e death of
frey the
gs ſonne.

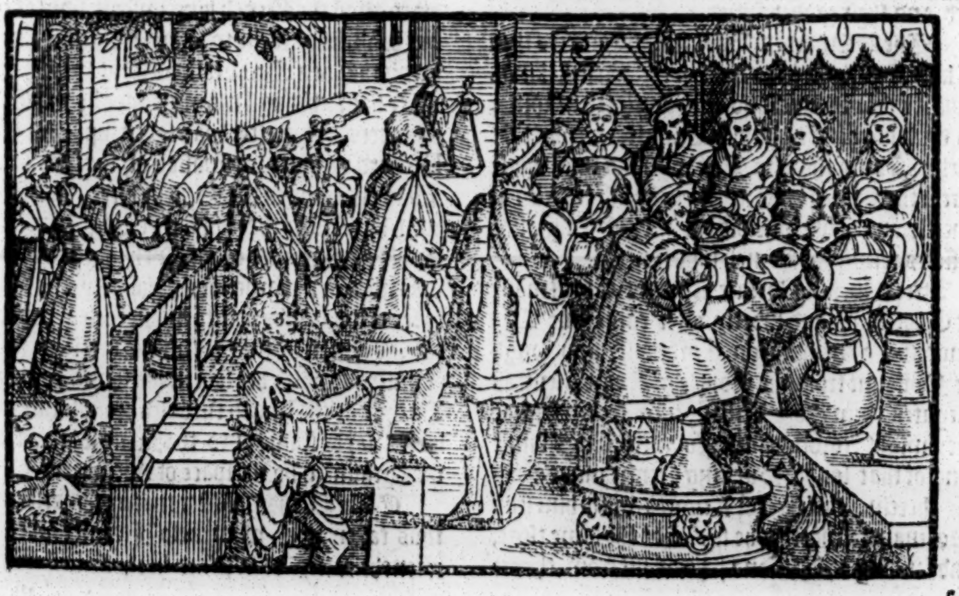
Hys fathers death was occaſioned as men iudge, by a fall whiche hee caught at a iourney, for hee was ſore bruyſed therewith, and neuer had his health, but finally fell into a flixe and ſo dyed.

About this ſeaſon Pope Vrbane wrote vnto Baldwyn the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, graunting him licence to buylde a Churche in honour of Saint Stephen, and Thomas Becket nowe reputed a Martyr, at Akynton, and that the fourth part of the offrings which came to the boxe of Thomas the Martyr ſhoulde be aſſigned to the vſe of the Monkes, and an other fourth part to the buyldings of that Church, and an other fourth part to be giuen to the poore, and the other fourth part remayning, he might reſerue to himſelfe to beſtowe at his pleaſure.

But within a while after, at the ſute and contemplation of the Priour and Couent of Canterburie (who lyked nothing of the former partition) the Pope ſent letters of prohibition to the ſayde Archebiſhoppe, that hee ſhoulde ceaſſe from buylding of the fore mentioned Churche, bycauſe the buylding thereof ſhould be preiudiciall to the Church of Canterburie.

About the ſame time alſo King Henrie gaue his Couſin the Ladie Ermengarde that was daughter to Richarde Vicount Baumount in Mariage, vnto William King of Scotlande, cauſing the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie to ioyne them togyther in the bonde of Matrimonie wythin the Chappell at Woodſtocke, where hee kept great cheare in honour of that maryage

The Ladie Ermingarde the vicount Beaumonts daughter, maried to William king of Scottes.



for the ſpace of foure dayes togither. And further he gaue at the ſame time vnto the king of Scots the Caſtell of Edenbourgh: and the King of Scottes ſtreyght wayes gaue it vnto his wife the forſayde Ermengarde, as a portion of hir dower, augmented wyth an hundred poundes of landes by the yeare, and fortye Knightes fees.

Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

The Frenche King requyred to haue the cuſtodie of the infant Arthure, heyre to Geffrey Earle of Brytaine: but king Henrie would in no wiſe graunt thereto. Hee ſent therefore Walter Archbiſhoppe of Rouen, William de Maundeuille Earle of Albemarle, and Ranulfe de Glandeuille Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Englande to the Frenche Courte to talke wyth King Philip aboute that matter; ſo that king Philip hauing hearde them, was contented to ſtaye from attempting force tyll the feaſt of Saint Hillarie: But in the meane tyme it chaunced, that one Sir Rycharde de Walles a knight of the realme of Fraunce, went about to fortifie a Caſtell in a Vyllage that belonged to him called Walles, ſituate betwixte Trye and Giſors. Whereupon Henrie Vere (Coneſtable of Gyſors vnder William Earle of Aubemarle) was nothing content therewyth, and therefore gotte a companie togyther, and went forth to deſturbe the worke. Upon this occaſion the ſeruaunts of the ſayde Sir Rycharde de Wals come forth, and encountred wyth him in the fielde, inſomuche that Raufe the ſonne of Sir Rycharde de Wals was ſlayne, and the reſidue that were with hym fledde, manye of them beeing ſore beaten and wounded.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the French king.

Sir William de Wals.

When the French King was enformed hereof, he cauſed all the King of Englande his ſubiectes that coulde bee founde within his Countreys and dominion of Fraunce to be apprehended, and their goodes ſeazed.

The king of Englands ſubiects areſted in Fraunce.

The Stewardes, Baylifes, and officers then of king Henrie, did the like by the French kings ſubiects that chaunced to be at that preſent within the king of Englandes Countreys, on that further ſyde of the Sea. But within a ſmal while after, the French king ſet the Engliſh ſubiects at libertie, and ſo likewiſe did the king of Englands officers releaſe the French ſubiects.

The French ſubiects areſted in Normandie.

An. reg. 33. 1187

After this, king Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Gildeforde, and ſhortly after came one Octauianus a Subdeacon Cardinall, and Hugh de Nouaunt from the Courte of Rome, ſent as Legates from Pope Urbane into Irelande, that they might crowne Earle John the kings ſonne king of that lande. But king Henrie made a delay therein, taking the Legates with him into Normandie, whether he sayled at the ſame time, and landing at Wiſſand, hee went from thence into Normandie, and ſhortly after came to a cōmunication with the French king, at a place called *Vadum Sancti Remigij*, where after much talk they coulde not agree, by reaſon the French king demaunded things vnreaſonable, and ſo they departed without any thing concluded [ſauing a truce, till after Whitſuntide.]

Octauianus a Cardinall.

King Henrie paſſeth ouer into Normandie.

Ger. Di

About the ſame time, the Citie of Jeruſalem was taken by Saladine the chiefe Prince of the Saraſins. Whereuppon much conference was had among the chriſtian princes for the ſuccoring of thoſe Chriſtians which as yet held & defended other peeces in ẏ holy lande, ſo that by publiſhing of the Popes Bulles, many toke on thē the croſſe: and amongſt other Richard the ſon of K. Henry (withoute any licence obteyned of his father) receyued the ſame, vowing to go thither out of hād, and to fight againſt Gods enimies to the vttermoſt of his power. In the meane time the grudge ſtill encreaſing betwixt king Henrie and Philip the French king, partly for one cauſe, and partly for an other (but ſpecially one chiefe occaſion was for that Earle Richarde deferred the doing of hys homage vnto king Philip for the Duchie of Poictou, which by his fathers appoyntment he nowe enioyed and helde.) The French king to preuent his enimies, immediately vpō the expiring of the truce rayſed a power, and entring into the dominions belonging to king Henrie, hee waſted the Countrey till he came vnto Chateau Raoul. About which Caſtell alſo he forthwith planted his ſiege. Hereof when king Henrie was aduertiſed, he rayſed his power alſo, and togyther with hys ſonne Earle Richarde came with all ſpeede to ſuccour his people, and to ſaue his Caſtell from the handes of his enimies. When he approched neare vnto the place, he pight downe his tents ouer agaynſt the one ſide of the French campe, and Erle Richard on the other; ſo that they were readie to aſſail the French king on both ſides at once, but before they came to ioyne in battaile, by the mediation of a Cardinall (as ſome wryte) or as other haue, through meanes made by the Erle of Flanders, the matter was taken vp. For Earle Richard through perſwaſion of the ſayd Erle of Flanders came to the Frenche king, and agreed with him before that his father king Henrie was for his part reſolued of any ſuch matter, ſo that he was now in a maruellous perplexity, and almoſt to ſeeke what was beſt to do, in ſuch a doubtfull caſe, as a man fearing his owne ſuretie, by reaſon of miſtruſt which hee had in his ſonne Richarde. But yet at the length through humble ſute made by his ſayde ſonne vnto the Frenche king a truce was graunted by the ſpace of two yeares.

Hieruſale taken.

Out of the nales of F written by colle Gilla

Ger. Dir.

A truce gr ted.

Earle Richarde after that the matter was thus taken vp, went into Fraunce with the Frenche King, of whome hee was ſo honoured whileſt he was there, that they kept one Table at dinner and ſupper in the day tyme, and (as was ſayde) one bedde ſerued them both to ſleepe on in the night.

In the meane time king Henrie hearing of al this, he fell into great ſuſpition wherto this great familiaritie betwixte the Frenche king and hys ſonne woulde tende, and doubting the likelyeſt, he ſent for him to returne vnto him. But Earle Richarde perceyuing his father to miſtruſt hys loyaltie, gaue fayre wordes, and promiſed to returne with all conuenient ſpeede. Howbeit hee ment an other matter, and ſo departing from the French Court, came to Chinon, where he gotte into his handes a greate portion of his fathers treaſure that was kept there, agaynſt the will of him that had the cuſtodie of it, and taking it thus awaye with him, hee beganne to fortifie hys Caſtelles and Townes wythin hys Countrey of Poictou, and clearely refuſed to come backe to his father for a tyme, although at length forſaking the counſayle of naughtie menne, hee turned home vnto hym, and humbly ſubmitted hymſelfe, in ſuche wyſe as to hys duetie apperteyned. And for the more aſſuraunce thereof, he renueth his feaultie, in receyuing an othe vppon the holy Euangelyſtes. Whiche done, King Henrye wente into Brytayne wyth an armie, and wanne the Caſtell of Mountreleys by ſiege, whiche one Heruey de Lions, and

Richard
h his fa-
ayre
es.

He ſeaſeth vpon his fathers treaſure.

one Guyenemer hys brother hadde gotten into theyr handes, after the deceaſſe of Geffrey Earle of Brytayne.

This yeare the twentie of October, the Citie of Chicheſter was almoſte wholy conſumed to aſhes by miſchaunce of fyre. The heade Church with the Biſhoppes Palayce, and the houſes of the Canons were burnt euen downe to the grounde.

An.reg.34.
1188

After this king Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, from whence he went to Harfleete, and there taking the ſea paſſed ouer into England.

Henry
rn thi..to
lande.

The French king hearing by and by of hys departure, aſſembled a great armye, and threatned to deſtroy the Countrey of Normandie, and other landes on that ſide the ſea, except that king Henrie woulde deliuer ouer into his handes the town of Giſors, with the appurtenances, or cauſe his ſon Richard Erle of Poictou to take to wife his ſiſter Alyce, according to his promiſe.

When King Henrie was hereof aduertiſed, hee turned with all ſpeede into Normandie, that he might prouide for timely reſiſtaunce, if the Frenche king came forwarde to inuade hys dominions.

Henry
th againe
Nor-
die.

About the ſelfe ſame tyme alſo came knowledge out of the holy land, that Saladine after the wynning of Jeruſalem, purſued his victorie with ſuch ſucceſſe, that hee had taken from the Chriſtians the more parte of all other townes and ſtrengthes within the lande.

Polidor.

Heauie newes from the Eaſt partes.

Theſe newes were nothing pleaſant to the Chriſtian princes, and namely the two kings Henrie and Philip ſeemed ſorowful for the ſame, and therefore came to an enteruiew togyther on the.xxj. day of Januarie betwixt Trie and Giſors, where the Archbiſhoppe of Tyre was preſent, through whoſe earneſt exhortation the two Kings were made friendes, and the ſame daye receyued the Croſſe at hys handes in purpoſe to make a iourney togyther agaynſt thoſe Saraſyns, that hadde done ſuche iniuryes to the Chriſtian name. And for a difference that one Nation myght bee knowne from an other, the Frenche King and his people tooke vpon them to weare redde Croſſes, the King of Englande and hys ſubiectes whyte Croſſes: but the Earle of Flaunders and hys meyne ware

An enteruiew betwixt the two kings.

The two kings receyue the Croſſe.

The French ware redde croſſes.
The Engliſh white.
The Flemings greene.

greene.

And herewith they departed in ſunder, eche one repayring to theyr Countreys to prouide theyr armies, and make them in a readineſſe to ſet forwarde by a day towardes this neceſſarie iourney. King Henrie comming to Chinon, by aduice of his Counſaille, ordeyned that euery one of his ſubiectes ſhoulde yeelde a tenth part of his reuenues and moueable goodes for that yeare towardes the ayde of them in the holy lande (corne of that yeares growth except, and alſo all armor, horſes, bookes, apparell, ornaments of Chappels, and precious ſtones, which ſhoulde not come in the rate of goods now taxed, nor be charged with this payment.)

An ayde granted to them in the holy lande.
Wil. Paruus.

Moreouer those knightes and men of warre that were appoynted to goe in thys iourney payed nothing, but had that money alſo towardes theyr furniture, which were gathered of theyr tenants and fermours, howbeit Burgeſſes and other that tooke vpon them the Croſſe without lycence of theyr Lordes, payed this tenth; ſo that none of them went free.

Good orders and diſcipline inſtituted.

There were alſo good orders deuiſed, both for the aduauncement of Gods glorie, and the reliefe of the common wealth, as that no manne ſhoulde ſweare in any outrageous maner, that no man ſhould play at Cardes, Dice or Tables, and that no maner of perſon after Eaſter ſhoulde weare anye coſtly furres or cloth of Scarlette, nor that menne ſhoulde vſe to haue theyr Tables ſerued wyth more than two Diſhes of meate at one meale, nor ſhoulde haue theyr apparell cutte, iagged, or laced: and further, that none of them ſhoulde take anye women forth wyth them in this iourney, except ſuche a landreſſe, of the which there myght not growe any ſuſpition of wanton life.

It was alſo ordeyned, that the money of ſuche as dyed in this iourney, ſhoulde goe towardes the fynding and mayntenaunce of theyr ſeruaunts and of poore people, and towardes the ayde of the Chriſtians in the holy land.

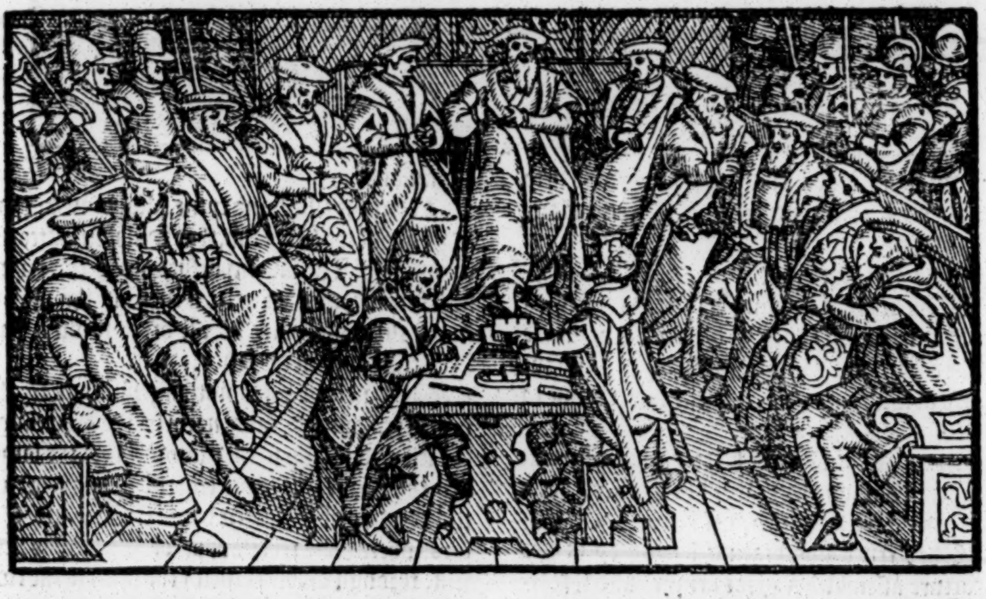
Moreouer, the Pope graunted that all thoſe that went forth in this iourney, repenting and confeſſing theyr ſinnes, ſhould be aſſoyled and pardoned of the ſame.

The king turneth England

A counſail holden at Gaiting

Ger. Di.

The King hauing thus taken order for hys buſineſſe in the partyes on the further ſyde the Sea, came nowe ouer into Englande agayne, landing at Wynchelſey on a Saterday the thirtith day of Ianuarie, and calling a Councell togyther at Gaitington, whiche is eyght or nine myles from Northampton, hee there declared what orders hee had taken for his iourney into the holye lande. Whereupon the Byſhoppes of Norwiche and Lyncolne, and a great number of other people tooke vpõ them the croſſe at the preaching of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter.



A tenth leuied

This done, king Henrie tooke order alſo for the leuying of the tenth, as well here in England as he had don in the parties ſubiect to him on the further ſide the ſea. Hee alſo ſent Hugh Biſhop of Durham, and other both ſpirituall and temporall perſons, vnto William king of Scottes, to gather the tenth likewiſe within his Countrey, but hee mette them betwixt Warke and Brythham, and woulde not ſuffer them to enter into Scotlande, but hee offered to giue vnto the king of England in recompence of the tenths, and for to haue againe his Caſtels, the ſumme of 5000. Markes of ſiluer, which could not be accepted. The French king likewiſe gathered yͤ tethes in his Countrey towardes this intended iourney. But by the working of ſome wicked ſpirite

The king Scottes.

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ointed.

(as we may lawfully thinke) whiche enuied the aduauncement of the chriſtian common wealth, that good meaning of the two kings was broken and diſappoynted. For the peace lately concluded betwixt them continued not long vnuiolated. The French writers impute the fault therof vnto Engliſh men, and the Engliſh writers lay it to the French men. The French wryters ſay, that Earle Richard the ſonne of king Henrie in breach of the league, made warre vpon Raymond Erle of Tholouze. The Engliſh wryters reprone the French king as a wicked man, in that he ſhoulde of purpoſe breake the peace and moue war againſt king Henry, to withdraw him from going to make war againſt the Saraſins, to the which enterpriſe he was wholy bent and enclyned. Such is the maner of many writers, the which more affectionate to the loue of their countrey than to the truth, doe not obſerue the lawe of Hiſtories in their writings, but rather inuey one againſt another in brawling & reprouing maner.

ond erle
louze.

Rog. Houed.
The nobles of Poictou rebell againſt Earle Richarde.

In deed as Roger Houeden and other do witneſſe, the foreſayd Erle Reymond, & alſo Aymer Erle of Angoleſme, Geffrey de Racon, & Geffrey de Luſignan with the moſt part of all the nobles of Poictou, made watre agaynſt Earle Richard, and hee helde tacke agaynſt them all, and in the ende ouercame them.

cille.

Amongſt other of Erle Reymondes part whō he toke, was one Peter Seille, by whoſe counſel Earle Reymonde had taken diuerſe Merchants of Poictou, that were ſubiectes to Earle Richard, and done many other diſpleaſures to him, and to his Countrey, wherefore Earle Richarde kepte this Peter in verie ſtrayte priſon, and would not put him to his raunſome: wherefore Earle Reymond toke two of the king of Englands knights, ſir Robert Poer, and ſir Richarde Fraſer, as they were returning from Compoſtella, where they had beene to viſite the bodie of Saint James, but they were quickely ſet at libertie by the Frenche kings commaundement, for the reuerence of Se James whoſe Pilgrymes they were.

ichar l
h the
olouze

After this, Earle Richard entred with a great army into the landes of Erle Reymonde, waſted the ſame, and toke by ſiege a Caſtell of his ſituate neare vnto Tholouze, cleped Moyſac: whereof the French king hearing, he ſent out of hande to the king of Englande, requiring to know: if the domages done by his ſonne Earle Richarde vnto him and his people in Tholouſyne, were done by his commaundement, for the whiche hee demaunded reſtitution. Hereunto the king of Englande anſwered, that his ſonne Earle Richarde did nothing in that behalfe, eyther by hys knowledge, or commaundement: but that as hee had ſignified to hym by the Archbiſhoppe of Dublyn whatſoeuer he did therein, was done by the counſell of the French king himſelfe.

Annales de France.

Rog. Houed.
The Archb. of Cant. with the Biſhops of Lincolne and Cheſter, hath *Ger. Do.*

Ger. Dor.

Howſoeuer this matter went, certaine it is, that king Philip taking weapon in hande, vpon a ſodaine entred into Berry, and toke from king Henrie Chaſtean Raoull, Brezancois, Argenton, Mountricharde, Mountreſor, Vandoſme, Leporoſe, Blanc en Berry, Culan and Molignon, wherefore King Henrie (who was at this tyme in Englande aboute to prepare an army to go therewith into the holy lande) when he heard thereof, with all ſpeede poſſible, hee ſente Baldwyn Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Hugh Byſhoppe of Durham ouer into Fraunce to appeaſe the Frenche kings diſpleaſure with courteous wordes and reaſonable perſwaſions if it myght bee, but when that coulde not be brought to paſſe, he ſayled ouer into Normandie hymſelfe, with an army of Engliſh men and Welchmen, landing with the ſame at Herflue the tenth day of July, after he had beene ſore toſſed by a cruell tempeſt that roſe as he was on the Sea, to the great daunger of his perſon, and all that were with him.

Now after his comming to land, he repayred vnto Alencon, encreaſing his power by gathering vp Souldiers and menne of warre out of Normandye and other hys Countreyes on that ſyde the Sea.

Chateau Roux it is called in the French annales: but the Chronicles of Aniou name it Chaſteau Raoul, and rightly as I thinke.

In the meane tyme hys ſonne Rycharde Earle of Poictou entreth into Berry wyth a mightie armye, and the Frenche King delyuering Chateon Raoull vnto the keeping of Sir William de Berres returneth into Fraunce, ſo that Earle Rycharde ſpoyled and waſted the landes of thoſe Earles and Barons which toke the French part exceedingly.

The French K.kept him as yet within France and durſt not come forth now after the arriual of king Henry, but many enterpriſes were atchieued by the Captaines on both ſides.

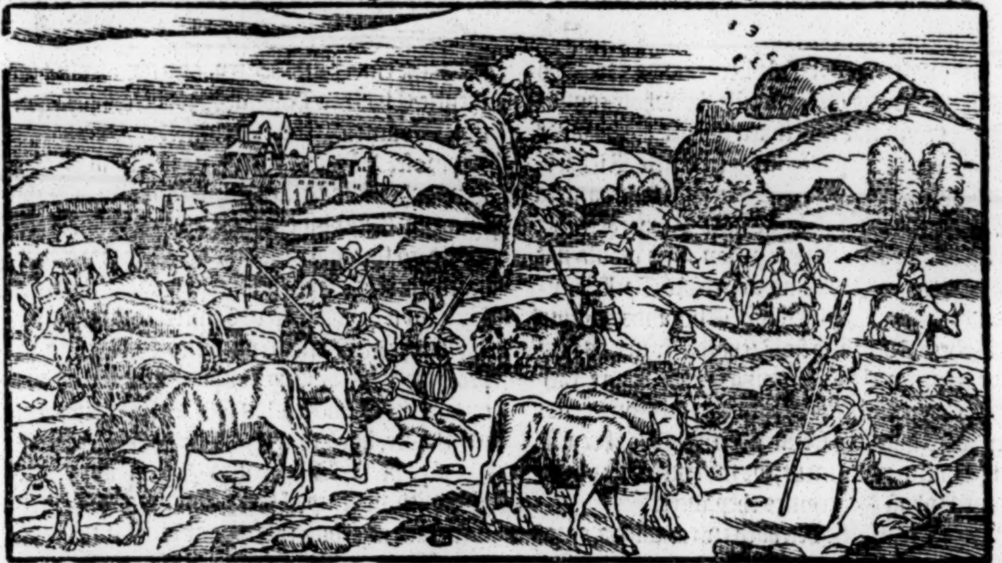
Philip Biſhop of Beauuoys inuading the Fronters of Normandie, burned Blangeuille, belonging to the Earle of Augi, and the Caſtell Albemarle (that belonged to William de Mandeuille, whereof he bare the tytle of Erle) and waſted the countrey rounde about.

The French king alſo came to the towne of Trow, and burned it, and tooke .xl. men of armes there, but the Caſtell he could not winne. On the other part, Richarde Earle of Poictou tooke a ſtrong place called *les Roches*, beyonde Trow towards Vandoſme, with .xxv. men of armes, and lx. yeomen.

Sergeants.

About which time king Henrie ſent eftſoones Ambaſſadours vnto the French king, as Walter the Archbiſhop of Rouen, John Biſhop of Eureux, and William Marſhall, to require reſtitution for the domages done to him and to his people. And furthermore if the French king refuſed to make reſtitution, then had they in commaundement to declare defiaunce agaynſt him. Whereunto the French king anſwered, that he woulde not giue ouer to make warre tyll hee had Berry, and the country of Veuxin or Veulgeſyne wholy in his poſſeſſion. Wherfore king Henrie with a mightie armie on the Tueſday after the feaſt of the Decollation of Saint John, entred into the Realme of Fraunce, and burned many townes and villages, approching the ſame day neare vnto the towne of Maunt, where the Frenche king was thought to be. And as it chaunced William de Berres, and Drogo de Merlo, encoũtred with Richarde Erle of Poictou, & William de Mandeuille Earle of Albemarle, ſo that William de Barres was taken by Erle Richard, but by negligence of them that ſhould haue takẽ heed to him he eſcaped away vpon his Pages horſe. The morrow after alſo, Erle Richard departed from his father towards Berry, and vpon the Thurſday the Welchmen burned many villages, with the Caſtel of Danuille that belonged to Simon Daneth, & tooke many rich prayes and booties.

The Wel
men.



Alſo William Mandeuille Earle of Albemarle, burned a place called Saint Clare, that was belonging vnto the Demaine of the French king: but ſee, when the Engliſh were fully bent to proſecute the warres (with all extremitie) now in hand, there came meſſengers vnto king Henry frõ the French king, requiring him that he would graunt a peace to be had betwixt them, with promiſe that if he would condiſcend thereunto, that he ſhould receyue by way of reſtitution al that the French king had now taken from him in Berry. And hereupon they came to a communication betwixt Trie and Giſors, and when they coulde not agree, the French king cauſed a great Elme ſtāding betwixt thoſe two places to be cut down, at which the kings of England and France were accuſtomed to meete when they treated of matters in controuerſie betwixt them, ſwearing that from thenceforth there ſhoulde neuer be any more meetings holden at that place. Afterwarde when the Erle of Flanders, & the Earle of Bloys wͭ diuerſe other Erles and Barons of the Realme of France, layd their armor aſide, proteſting openly that they woulde not put on the ſame againe to make war againſt any chriſtian, till they ſhoulde returne from their iorney which they had vowed into the holy land, yͤ French king deſtitute of mẽ to ſerue him, made ſute once again to K.Hẽ. that they might meet & talk of peace, which was hardly graunted, and ſo they met on the morrow after Saint Faythes day, or ſeuenth of October, at Chatellon, where they entreated of a fourme of peace, ſo that the Frenche king ſhoulde haue reſtored all that he hadde taken within the Countreys

The two kings come to a treatie.

An Elme cut downe.

A comm
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Castelli

treys belonging to King Henrie, and likewiſe Richarde Earle of Poictou, ſhoulde deliuer vp vnto the Earle of Saint Giles, otherwiſe called Earle of Tholouze, all that hee hadde taken from him ſithe the breach of the laſte truce. But when King Henrie woulde not deliuer the Caſtell of Paſcie in pledge to the Frenche king, they departed in ſunder (as before) without anye thing concluded.

her trea- twixt wo kings.

The king of France after this tooke the Caſtell of Paluell. Vpon the .xviij. day of Auguſt the two kings came againe togither about a new treatie of peace betwixt Bonſemblance and Sukenny, where the French king offred king Henrie, to reſtore to him all that he had taken by hys laſt warres, if hys ſyſter Alyce might be ioyned in maryage with Richarde Earle of Poictou, nowe eldeſt ſonne in lyfe to king Henrie, and that all king Henries ſubiectes might do homage and ſweare feaultie to the ſame Richarde. But king Henrie hauing in memorie the iniuries done to him by his ſonne Henry, after ſuch his aduauncement to kingly degree, he woulde not graunt the French kings requeſt herein. Whervpon a further miſchiefe happened, for his ſonne Earle Richarde (taking diſpleaſure that his father ſhoulde denie him that honour, whiche made altogyther for his more aſſuraunce to ſucceede him as king) fell from his ſayde father manifeſtly, and became the Frenche kings man, doing homage to hym alſo without conſent of king Henrie, for all thoſe landes that belonged to his ſayd father on that further ſide the ſea. The French king for his homage and fealtie, gaue vnto him Chateau Raoull, and Yſoldun, with al the honor thereto belonging.

Richard lteth frõ ather to the ch king.

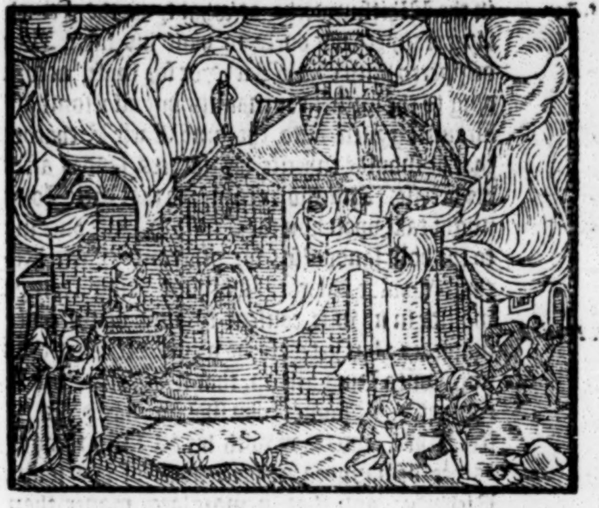
dor.

There be that write, that the chiefeſt cauſe that moued king Henrie to refuſe to ioyne his ſon erle Richard & the ladie Alice, daughter to the French king in mariage togither, was, bycauſe he was linked in the comberſome chayne of hote burning loue with the ſame Ladie, and therfore he ſought all the ſhiftes of excuſes and delayes that might be imagined, ſo that it appeared he had no minde to depart with hir. The truth was (as writers affyrme) he had alredie perſwaded hir to ſatiſfie his luſt, inſomuch that hee liked hir ſo well, that hee ment to be deuorſed from his wife Queene Elenor, & to marry this yong ladie, which if he might bring to paſſe, and haue children by hir, he purpoſed to diſinherite thoſe which he had by Elenor, & to make the other which he ſhould haue by Adela his legitimate and lawfull heyres. Yet before they departed from this communication, a truce was taken to endure till the feaſt of S. Hillarie. And Henry Biſhop of Alba a Cardinal that was ſent from the Pope to ende this controuerſie betwixt theſe two mightie Princes, accurſed Rychard Erle of Poictou, for that by his meanes the troubles roſe and were continued betwixt them.

Houed.

Beuerley burnt.

The towne of Beuerlay, with the Church of Saint Iohn the Archbiſhop, was in maner wholy conſumed with fire, on the .xx. of September.



William de Sempringham deceaſſeth.

Gilbert de Ogerſtan.

Alſo the ſame yeare dyed William of Sempringham, the Author and firſt founder of the religious order of Sempringham. Moreouer Gilbert de Ogerſtan a knight Templer put in truſt by king Henry with others to gather the tenthes towardes the reliefe of the holy land, was proued to vſe falſehood in the receipt, and ſo was deliuered vnto the maſter of the Temple at London, to bee puniſhed according to the ſtatutes of his order. Alſo this yeare in the vigill of S. Laurence, there was ſeene at Dunſtable by diuerſe perſons a figure of the Croſſe very long & large in the ayre, with the ſhape of a crucifixe theron, and ſtreames of bloud to their ſight ſeemed to runne out of the woundes of the feete, handes and ſides. And this ſtraunge appearance continued in ſight from noone till almoſt night.

A ſtraunge apperance in the ayre.

An. Reg. 35.
1189

King Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Saumur in Aniou, but many of his Earles and Barons were gone from him, and tooke part with the French king, and with his ſonne Richard Erle of Poictou. Then after the day was once come, in which the truce expired, the Britains (which had a charter of coucnants of the French king & Erle Richard, that if they concluded any peace with king Henrie, the Brytaynes ſhould be partakers in the ſame) enter into the confines of thoſe countreys which ſtill continued their due obedience towards King Henrie, ſpoyling and waſting the ſame on eche ſyde with barbarous crueltie. At which time alſo there was a Legate came from the Pope named Iohn de Anagnia, who aſſayed both by courteous meanes and alſo by threates and menacinges to reduce the partyes vnto peace and concorde: Inſomuche that by hys procurement they mette this yeare after Eaſter neare vnto Fiert Bernarde, twiſe wythin

A Legate.

a fewe dayes togither, to trie if by talke they might ſorte to ſome reaſonable conditions of agreement.

Mat. Par.

The laſt tyme of thoſe theyr meetings, was in the Whitſunweeke, at what tyme the French king requyred not onely to haue his ſiſter Alice delyuered vnto Earle Richarde for wyfe, according to the former couenaunts, but alſo ſome aſſuraunce gyuen vnto the ſame Earle Richarde, that he ſhoulde enherite his fathers landes after his deceſſe. And alſo he requyred that Erle John might take vpon him the Croſſe to paſſe ouer into the holy lande alſo, for otherwiſe Earle Richard woulde not goe. Howbeit King Henrye woulde in no wiſe conſent to anye of theſe demaundes: but yet as ſome write, hee offred thus much vnto King Philip, that if he coulde bee ſo contented, his ſonne John ſhoulde marry his ſiſter Alyce, and enioy with hir all ſuche thinges as hee demaunded in preferment of hys ſonne Richarde, and that in more large maner than hee had requeſted the ſame. But King Philip would none of that.

Rog. Hoved.

Thus howſoeuer it was, whileſt the one demaunded that which the other thought no reaſon to graunt, they departed withoute concluding any agreement, ſo that King Philip hauing gotte by thys meanes a good occaſion to further his enterpryſes, with all hys whole puiſſaunce entred into Mayne, where hee deſtroyed a greate part of that Countrey, and approched to the Citie of Mauns, where Kyng Henrie as then laye, in purpoſe to beſiege it. But King Henrye beeyng warned of his comming ſet the Suburbes on fyre, bycauſe hys enimyes ſhould haue no ſuccour in them. Howe be it the flame of the fyre was by force of the winde dryuen ſo directly into the Citie, that what with heate and aſſault of the enimie, the King beeing withoute any ſtore of Souldiers to defende it longer, was conſtrayned to forſake it.

King Philip harrieth the Countrey of Mayne.

Heerewyth hee was ſo amoued, that in departing from the Citie, he ſayde theſe wordes of his Sonne Rycharde to himſelfe: Sith thou haſt taken from mee thys daye the thing that I moſt loued in this Worlde, I ſhall acquite thee, for after this daye, I ſhall depriue thee of that thing which in me ſhoulde moſt pleaſe thee, that is to meane, mine heart.

The word king Hen his diſple towards E Richarde,

Being thus dryuen to leaue the defaced Citie of Mauns, he repayred vnto Chinon, and the Citizens of Mauns beeing lefte deſtitute of ayde, yeelded themſelues to the Frenche King, who taking a greate pryde in his doings for that victorie paſſed ouer Loyre, and wanne the Citie of Towrs, wherein hee placed a garniſon, and ſo hauing ſpedde hys buſineſſe wyth good ſucceſſe, bringeth home hys armie laden wyth prayes and booties.

Maunsyel to the Fre king.

VVil. Par

Polidor.

King Henrie beeing thus put to the worſe, and not perceyuing anye readie meane howe to recouer his loſſes, beganne to deſpayre in hymſelfe, and therefore of neceſſitie thought it beſt to ſeeke for peace, but hys ſuyte was in vaine: for the enimie hauing now the aduantage, would not graunt to agree vpon any reaſonable conditions. At the laſt Philip the Earle of Flaunders, and William Archbiſhoppe of Reymes, with Hugh Duke of Burgoyne, came to king Henrie to moue wayes of agreement, and to conclude the ſame betwixte hym on the one partie, and the French King and Earle Richarde on the other parte. Earle Richarde had the Brytaynes and them of Poictou confederate wyth him, vnder ſuch conditions, as hee myght not agree with his father, without that they mighte bee compryſed in the agreemente. At length they agreed vpon conditions, not altogither aduauntageable to the King of Englande, yet in the ende, Chateau Raoul was reſtored to king Henrye wyth all that had beene taken from him ſithe the tyme that the Frenche king and hee tooke vppon them the Croſſe: On the other part King Henrye did homage to the Frenche King whiche in the beginning of thys warre he hadde ſurrendred and renounced. He was bounde alſo to paye to the Frenche King twentie thouſande Markes for the ayde whiche Earle Rycharde had receyued of him. Moreouer to reſigne and acquite vnto the Frenche King, all that whiche eyther he or hys predeceſſours helde or poſſeſſed within Auergne.

Earle of anders ſee- to agree arties.

Paris.

The

A peace co cluded.

Thirty tho ſand to the king and to the Baro of France,

Ger. Do.

Other Articles there were which king Henry agreed vnto ſore agaynſt hys will, as the delyuery of the Ladie Alice or Adela, and ſuche other, which (as not muche materiall) wee paſſe ouer.

ed.

ors ſaith Do.

This peace was concluded not farre from Towrs, in a place appoynted conuenient for both the Kings to meete in, aboute the feaſt of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule. And as writers recorde, there chaunced great thunder and lightning at the very tyme when the two kings came to enterview and talke togither, ſo that the leit bolt light betwixt them two. And yet notwythſtanding ſuche thunder and lightning, the ayre was cleare and nothing troubled.

ge thun- d light-

The two Kings departed in ſunder through feare thereof for that day, and on the next day the like chaunce happened, greatly to the terrour of them both. Which moued King Henrie the ſoner to condiſcende to the agreement.

Moreouer this is not to bee forgotten, that when all matters were quieted and accorded amongſt them, King Henrie requyred to haue all theyr names delyuered vnto him in wryting, which had promiſed to take part (& were ioined as confederates) with the French king and Erle Richard. This was graunted, and when the rolle was preſented vnto him, he founde his ſon John the firſt perſon that was named in that regiſter, wherewith he was ſo troubled, and diſquieted in his mynde, that comming to Chinon hee felte ſuch griefe hereof, that hee curſed euen the verye day in whiche he was borne, and as was ſayde, gaue to hys ſonnes Gods curſſe and hys, the whiche hee woulde neuer releaſe, although he was admoniſhed to do it both of ſundry Biſhops and other religious and godly men. Thus hath Houeden.

Howbeit it is not like that Earle Richarde at this tyme had procured hys brother John to bee confederate with hym in hys rebellious dealings, but rather bycauſe Earle Rycharde had ſome ſuſpition, leaſte his father woulde make John hys heyre and ſucceſſour in the kingdome, it might bee a pollicie wrought by the Frenche king and Earle Richarde, to alienate his fathers minde from the ſayd John.

Theſe euils were eſteemed to fall vnto king Henrie by the iuſt iudgement of God, for that being admoniſhed dyuerſe wayes, as well by diuine Reuelation, as by the wholeſome aduiſe of graue menne, as Hugh Biſhoppe of Lincolne and others, hee woulde not refourme hys lycentious appetyte of heaping vppe ſinne vpon ſinne, but ſtyll wallowed therein to his owne deſtruction. Wherevpon beeing brought to ſuche an extremitie as ye haue heard, hee was taken with a grieuous ſickeneſſe, which bringing him to vtter deſperation of recouering of health, he finally departed this lyfe (though more through verie anguiſhe and griefe of hys late loſſe and troubles ſuſteyned, than by the force of hys bodily diſeaſe, (as wryters haue affyrmed.) But howſoeuer it was, he ended nowe his life the ſixth of July in the .lxj. yeare of his age, and after he had raigned xxxiiij. yeares, nine Monethes, and two dayes, whiche was in the yeare after the byrth of oure Sauiour. 1189. and of the creation of the Worlde. 5155.

King Henrie departeth this life.

And here may be thought, that the raigne of the Normans and French men ouer the realme of England tooke ende a hundred .xxij. yeares after the comming in of the Conquerour, for thoſe that raigned after this Henrie the ſeconde, wee may rightly eſteeme them to bee Engliſhe men, bycauſe they were borne in Englande, and vſed the Engliſh tongue, cuſtomes, and maners, according to the nature and qualitie of the Countrey. His bodie was buryed at Founteuerarde, whiche is an Abbey ſituate not farre from the Towne of the Eagle wythin the Duchie of Alancon.

Immediately vpon his death, thoſe that were about him applyed theyr market ſo buſily in catching and filching awaye things that lay readie for them, that the kings corps lay naked a long time, tyll a childe couered the nether partes of his bodie with a ſhort Cloke, and then it ſeemed that his ſurname was fulfilled that hee had from hys childhood, which was ſhortmantell, being ſo called, bycauſe hee was the firſt that brought ſhorte clokes out of Aniou into England.

His ſurname whereof it came.

As his ſonne Richarde mette the corpſe going towardes the buryall, ſodainly there iſſued bloud oute of the deade bodyes Noſthrilles, whiche was taken for a ſignifycation that it abhorred the preſence of ſo wicked a Sonne, whiche in hys lyfe tyme hadde ſo perſecuted the father.

His death was ſignified by a meruaylous ſtraunge wonder, for a fewe dayes before hee dyed, all the fiſhes in a certayne Meere or Poole in Normandie, leapt forth on lande in the nighte ſeaſon, and fought togyther with ſuche a noyſe, that a great multitude of men came running thither to beholde the wonder, and coulde not finde one fiſhe aliue in the Meere.

A ſtraunge maner of fight betwixt fiſhes.

He had iſſue by hys wyfe Queene Elenor, (as may appeare by that whiche alreadie is rehearſed) foure ſonnes, Henrye, Rycharde, Geffrey, and John, beſides two other that died yong, (as ſome Authours haue recorded :) Alſo three daughters, Mawde, maryed vnto Henrie the Duke of Saxonie, Elenor the wyfe of Alfonſe the eight of that name, king of Caſtel, and Joane gyuen in maryage vnto William king of Sicille. He had alſo two baſtarde ſonnes

The iſſue of Henrie the ſeconde.

His ſonnes.

His daughters.

His baſe ſonns

The conſtitution of his bodie.

His ſtature.

His qualities and conditions of minde.

by a concubine, the one named William, and the other Geffray. Hee was of bodie fleſhie and ſtrong, and coulde abide very paciently the diſpleaſures both of colde and heate, he had a large heade, a broade breaſt, a broken voyce, and was furthermore verye ſpare of diet, chiefely bycauſe he would not be too fatte: and therefore when he was at quiet without anye trouble of warres, he woulde exerciſe himſelfe in hunting or trauayling abroade. He was of a good ſtature and verie well fourmed, of a comely countenaunce, partly redde heared wyth gray eyes, of wit quick, and of a perfite good memorie, ſo that he woulde long remember thoſe things whiche he had either read, hearde, or ſeene. Hee was ſtoute of ſtomacke, and more conſtant in tyme of aduerſitie than in tyme of proſperitie, except at the tyme of hys death, when beeing deſtitute in maner of all his friendes, hee ſhewed himſelfe almoſte in diſpayre. Hee was liberall towardes all men, oftentymes gyuing rewardes to his ſouldiers ouer and beſides theyr wages.

Radulphus de Diceto.

Moreouer, of nature hee was pitifull towardes the poore, as it well appeared by diuerſe his charitable deedes: as for example. When in the yeare .1176. there was a greate dearth and ſcarcitie of bread in the partyes of Aniou and Mayne, hee fedde euery day with ſufficient ſuſtenaunce tenne thouſande perſons, from the beginning of Aprill, till the time that newe corne was inned, and what prouiſion ſoeuer was layde vp in Garners, Cellers, and ſtore houſes, for the kings neceſſarie vſes, he cauſed the ſame to be imployed towardes the reliefe of religious houſes, and poore people. Hee tooke of his ſubiectes but ſeldome tymes any great trybutes. He was very expert in feates of warre, and righte fortunate therein. He prayſed his Captaynes and men of warre when they were deade, and lamented their loſſes more than hee ſhewed to loue them when they were aliue. And this did he of pollicie, that they might vnderſtande that they ſhoulde be honoured after death, and therefore feare it the leſſe. He was ſomewhat learned, and alſo knowne to be wiſe.

Radulphus de Diceto.

His care to haue iuſtice duly miniſtred in hys Realme was exceeding greate, in ſo muche that finding how the Sherifes were rather inclyned to ſeeke theyr owne gayne, than to deale vprightly with his ſubiectes, hee appoynted other officers to haue a regarde to their doings, as if they had beene comptrollers, that they knowing howe there were ſuch appoynted to haue an ouerſight in theyr dealings, they might bee the more circumſpect in theyr duties.

He ordeyned alſo puniſhment for hunters in Forreſts and groundes of warren, eyther by fining them, or by impriſonment.

And moreouer hee ordeyned that murtherers ſhoulde ſuffer death by hanging: and ſo for other tranſgreſſors hee appoynted other kindes of puniſhments, as ſome to be condemned to exile, and other to loſſe of lymmes, &c. according to the qualitie of the offence committed. And to haue the lawes duely executed, and iuſtice vprightly miniſtred on all handes, he was ſo carefull that hee tried all orders of menne, in placing them in roumthes of Iuſtices. And laſtly truſting to finde among the Cleargie ſuche as woulde not be corrupted with bribes, nor for reſpect of feare or friendſhip decline from right iudgement, he choſe forth the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, & Norwich, to be principall Iuſtices of the Realme, ſo as they might ende and determine al matters except in certain caſes reſerued to the hearing of the Prince himſelfe.

His inco ncie,

Roſmo concubi

His vices were theſe, as they are remembred. In time of aduerſe fortune no man could ſhewe himſelfe more curteous, gentle, meeke, and promiſing more largely than he woulde. But when fortune once began to ſmile, no man was more ſharpe, harde to deale with, nor more readie to breake his promiſe and fayth. He was alſo noted partly with couetouſneſſe. For although he was liberall towardes ſouldiers & ſtraungers, yet was he ſtraite ynough towardes his owne people, and namely towardes his ſonnes, which cauſed them to eſtraunge themſelues and their good willes from him. He was not ſo zealous toward the execution of right and equitie as to the furtherance of his owne priuate commoditie. He was out of meaſure giuen to fleſhly luſt, and ſatiſfying of his inordinate concupiſcence. For not cōtented with the vſe of his wife, he kept many concubines, but namely he delited moſt in the companie of a pleaſant Damoſell, whome he cleped the Roſe of the world, the cōmon people named, hir Roſamond, for hir paſſing beautie, properneſſe of perſon, and pleaſant wit, with other amyable qualities, being verily a rare and peereleſſe peece in thoſe dayes. He made for hir an houſe at Woodſtocke in Oxfordſhire, like to a Laberinth, that is to meane, wrought like to a knot in a Gardē called a Maze, with ſuche turnings and windings in and out, that no creature might finde hir nor come to hir, except he were inſtructed by the king, or ſuche as were ſecrete with him in that matter. But the common report of the people is, that the Queene finally found hir ont by a ſilke threede whiche the king had drawne forth of hir Chamber with his foote, and dealt with hir in ſuch ſharpe and cruell wiſe, that ſhe lyued not long after. She was buried in the Nunrie of Godſtow beſide Oxforde, with theſe verſes vpon hir tumbe.

Hic iacet in tumulo, Roſa mundi nō Roſamūda,
Non redolet ſed olet, qua redolere ſolet.

Higd.

Long time after the death of this Damoſel, in the ſayde Abbey was ſhewed a cofer, that ſometimes was hirs, of the length of two foote, in the which appeared Gyauntes fighting, ſtertlyng of Beaſts, ſwimming of fiſhes, and flying of foules, ſo liuely, that a man mighte wonder at the fine deuice.

Moreouer, King Henry was noted not to bee ſo fauourable to the liberties and freedomes of the Church as he might haue bin, for beſides the perſecuting of the foreſaid Thomas Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, hee woulde not ſuffer the Legates ſent from the Pope, to enter within the bounds of his dominion, till they had ſworne that they ſhuld doe nothing preiudiciall to the cuſtomes of hys Kingdome, neyther by preſcribing orders, nor any other manner of acte or meanes. Hee was thought to be negligent in ayding the Chriſtian common wealth in the holy land. For though hee hadde appoynted twice or thrice to goe thither in perſon, yet being letted by light occaſions, he ſtayed at home, and ſente ſmall reliefe thither, though he was earneſtly called vpon for the ſame. Hys eſtimation was ſuch amongſt forraine Princes, that Phillip King of Fraunce beeing newly entred into the gouernemente of that Realme after his fathers deceſſe, committed himſelfe and hys Kingdome to the diſpoſition and order of Kyng Henry, as if he had bin regent of his Realme, and gouernour of his perſon.

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dyng the
ſtians a-
t the
ens.

There lyued in the dayes of this King Henry the ſeconde, diuers honorable perſonages & Captaynes of great fame for their approued valiantie and experience in warlike enterpriſes, as Roberte Earle of Leiceſter, Hugh Biger Earle of Northfolke, Reginald Earle of Cornewale, Robert Ferers Earle of Derby, Richard Lacy, Roger Mowbray, Rauſe de Fulgiers, Humfrey Bohun Conneſtable of England, Ranulf Glandeuille, William Veſcy, and Bernard de Balliol. Alſo there flouriſhed in his time heere in thys land, men of ſingular learning in artes and ſciences, as Nicholas Breakeſpeare, Serlo ſurnamed Grammaticus, William Rheualenſis, Adam de Eueſham, Thomas of Munmouth, Adelbertus Leuita, Geruaſius Ciceſtrenſis, Odo Cātianus, Galred Rhieuellenſis, Johannes Sariſburienſis, Clemens Lanthonienſis, Walter Daniel, Robert Knought alias Camtus, Roberte Folioth, William Ramſey, Senatus Brauonus, Robert the Scribe, Odo Miremuth, Hugh of Readyng, Richard of Douer, Williā of Peterburgh, Cicercienſis, Bartholmew Iſcanus, and Gilberte de Sempringham with other.

His ſeco
ecētis.

Roſamo
concubi

And heere to make an ende with this high and mighty Prince Henry the ſecōd, I haue thought good to make you partaker of an Epitaph, which wee fynde in Mathew Paris and others written of hym as followeth.

An Epitaph of King Henry the ſeconde.

REx Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna ſubegi,
Multiplicíq; modo duxq; comeſq; fui,
Cui ſatis ad votum, non eſſent omnia terra
Climata, terra modò ſufficit octo pedum:
Qui legis hac penſa, diſcrimina mortis & indè,
Humana ſpecula conditionis habe:
Quod potes inſtanter operare bonum, quia mundus
Tranſit, & incautos mors inopina rapit.

An'other.

TVmuli regis ſuperſcriptio breuis exornat,
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non ſufficerat orbis,
Res breuis eſt ampla, cui fuit ampla breuis.

The firſt is thus Engliſhed.

L. H.

OF late King Henry was my name,
which conquerde many a lande,
And diuers Dukedomes did poſſeſſe,
and Earledomes held in hande.
And yet while all the earth could ſcarce,
my greedy mind ſuffice,
Eight foote within the ground now ſerues,
wherein my carcas lyes.
Now thou that readeſt this, note well
my force with force of death,
And let that ſerue to ſhew the ſtate,
of all that yeeldeth breath.
Do good then here, foreſlowe no time,
caſt off all worldly cares,
For brittle world full ſoone doth fayle,
and death doth ſtrike vnwares.

The other thus.

L. H.

SMall Epitaph now ſerues, to decke
this tombe of ſtately King,
And he who whilome thought whole earth
could ſcarce his minde content,
In little roome hath roome at large,
that ſerues now life is ſpente.

An. reg. 1.

1189

Richarde the firſte of that name, and ſeconde ſonne of Henry the ſecond, beganne hys raigne ouer England the ſixth day of July, in the yeare of our Lord. 1189. in the ſeuen and thirtith yeare of the Emperour Frederick the firſt, in the eleuenth yere of the raigne of the ſecond Phillip K. of Fraunce, and Kyng William ſurnamed the Lion, as yet liuing in the gouernement of Scotland.

VVil. Par.

This Richard immediately after the ſolemnities of his fathers funerals were ended, made haſt to Rouen, where hee was ioyfully receyued, and proclaymed Duke of Normandy, receyuing the inueſture according to the cuſtome, on the twentith day of July. Then ſtudying to ſet all thyngs in good order on that ſide yͤ Sea, he maketh ſearch where his fathers treaſures were preſerued, and therevppon attached Stephen de Turnham, the whiche was Seneſhall or gouernour (as we may cal him) of Anion, and committing him to priſon, cõpelled him to make deliuery of all ſuch ſummes of money as he had hidde and layde vp in certaine Caſtels by the commandement of the late Kyng his father. Whileſt he was thus occupied, his brother John commeth to him, whome hee ioyfully welcommeth, & beſides al other things whiche his father had bequeathed vnto him by his teſtamente in Englãd, amounting to yͤ value of four M. li. of yerely rent, with yͤ Erledome of Morteigne, he procured a mariage for him (being now a Widower) for his further aduauncement with the Lady

Mat. Pa

Stephen Turnhan commit to priſon

Mat. Pari

Polidor.

Iſabell, daughter to Robert Erle of Glowceſter, which Erle, had appoynted yͤ ſaid John to be hys heire as before is mentioned, although Baldwine the Archbiſhop of Canterbury forbad yͤ mariage, bycauſe they were couſins in the thirde degree of conſanguinitie. To Robert Erle of Leiceſter alſo, he reſtored al his lands which had bin taken frõ him, and ſuch perſons as his father had diſinherited, he reſtored lykewiſe to their former rightes & poſſeſſions, howbeit thoſe that had forſaken hys father and taken part with him againſt his ſayde father, he ſeemed now ſo much to miſlike, that hee remoued them vtterly from his preſence, and contrariwiſe preferred ſuch as had continued faythful vnto his father in time of the troubles.

Iſabel daughter to the Erle of Glowceſter, married to Iohn the kings brother. She is named by other Authors Hauiſia.

Mat. Paris.

Rog. Houed.

At lẽgth, King Richard remembring himſelfe of his mother Queene Eleanor, which had beene ſeparated from the bed of hir huſband for the ſpace of ſixteene yeres, and was as yet deteyned in priſon in Englande, wrote his letters vnto the Rulers of the Realme, commaunding them to ſet hir agayne at libertie, and withall appoynted hir by his letters patẽts, to take vpon hir the whole gouernement of the Kingdome in his abſence. The Queene being thus deliuered, and hauing nowe the chiefe authoritie and rule in hir hands, ſhe rode in progreſſe about the Realme, to ſee yͤ eſtate therof, and as ſhee paſſed frõ place to place, ſhe ſhewed gladſome countenance to the people whereſoeuer ſhe became, doing alſo what ſhe could to pleaſure thẽ, that ſhe might therby win their good willes to hir, and to hir ſonne: but ſpecially remembring by hir

Mat. Pari.

The Kings mother let at libertie

by hir late experience and taſt thereof what an irkſome and moſt greeuous thing impriſonmente was, ſhe cauſed the iayles to be opened, and forthwith ſet no ſmall number of priſoners at libertie by the way as ſhe paſſed through the coũtreys, according to the verſe of Virgill:

Non ignara mali miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.

Which may be thus engliſhed.

By proofe earſt had of others ill,
Their woe, to eaſe I learne the skill.

In the meane time, King Richard concluding a league with Phillippe King of Fraunce, receyueth all thoſe places againe which were taken frõ his father by the ſame Phillip, togither with his wife Adela, whom vpon ſuſpition that ſhe had bin diſhoneſted in hir perſon before, without any ſufficient proofe therof had, he forſaketh, & ſendeth hir home with hir dower and otherwiſe with greate and princely giftes, moſt bountifully enriched (hauing already concluded a marriage with the Lady Berengaria, daughter to Garſias Kyng of Nauarre, who was ſente into Sicill vnto hir ſyſter Ioane, that hee mighte marry hir there as hee paſſed that way toward the holy lande.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed thus in theſe parties, the Chriſtians in the holy land dayly ſent hither for ayde, wherupon the two Kings of Frãce and Englande tooke counſell togither, and determined with all conueniente ſpeede to ioyne theyr powers, and with Shippes prepared for that purpoſe to ſayle into Siria. And hauing thus concluded, they goe about to prepare themſelues of neceſſary prouiſion for ſo long a iourney. King Richard hauing thus ordred his affayres in Normandy and Fraunce, commeth ouer into England, landing at Porteſmouth the thirteenth of Auguſt. With hym alſo came his brother Iohn, vnto whome hee aſſigned the Caſtels of Marlebridge, Lutegareſhal, Peake, Bolleſour, the honor of Walingford, Tikehill and Eye, with the Erledomes of Mortaigne, Dorſet, Somerſet, Nottingham, Derby, Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, with the Earledome of Lancaſter, entitling hym Earle of the ſame, whereby hee was ſo exalted in ſtate and degree, that hee ſeemed in manner of a Tetrarke, hauing as it were a fourth part of the Realme in gouernaunce: but yet the Kyng helde ſome of the Caſtels (in thoſe Counties and honors thus giuen to his brother) in his own hands.

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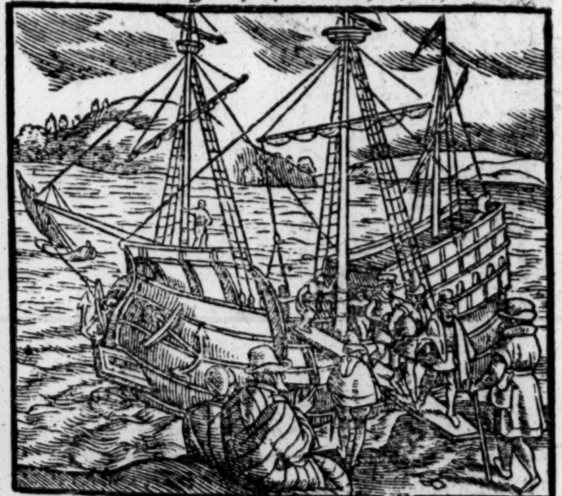
Paris.



Moreouer, vnto William Marſhall he gaue in marriage the daughter of Richard Erle of Chepſtow, togither with the Earledome which hir father poſſeſſed, and to Gilbert Fitz Roger the ſon of Rainfrey, he gaue the daughter of William de Lancaſter.

After he was landed as before ye haue heard, he haſted to Wincheſter, where his mother Queene Eleanor, with the moſt part of the Engliſh nobilite, hadde layne a good ſpace to attende his comming, and there on the euen of the aſſumption of our Lady the King was by them receyued with great ioy and triumph.

Heere is to bee noted, that whileſt the Queene and Lordes lay in Wincheſter wayting for the Kings arriuall, Geffrey Riddle the Biſhop of Ely departed this life. Hee is named by Geruaſius Dorobernenſis the proude Biſhop of Ely: but hee might rather haue named him the rich Biſhoppe, for he left in his cofers no ſmall quantitie of treaſure, of the which three thouſand and two hũdred marks, came to the Kings part towards the charges of his coronation. It is no maruell although Geruaſius ſpake ſomewhat in his diſprayſe: for as he himſelfe confeſſeth, he was no friend but an enemie to Monkes. But to let this paſſe, ſoone after the Kings comming into Englande, hee was enformed that the Welchmẽ had broken into the Engliſh marches, and deſtroyed certain townes, to repreſſe whoſe preſumptuous attẽptes he made towards them, but was yet ſtayed for that tyme, and reuoked by his mother. At Saliſburie he foũd his fathers treaſure, highly reioycing for that the ſumme was farre greater than he thought it wold haue proued, beſides the precious ſtones, apparrell, and iewels. It was reported he hadde here the ſumme of nine hundred thouſand poundes in ready Coyne. With this good happe, King Richard not a little aduaunced, came to London on yͤ firſt of September, where he had appoynted prouiſion to be made for his Coronation, and ſo calling a Counſell of the Nobles of the Realme, he receyued the Crowne with all due and accuſtomed ſolemnitie, by the handes of Baldwin the Archbyſhop of Canterbury, the thirde daye of September. After this manner, firſt the Archbiſhoppes of Caunterbury, Roan, Trier, and Dublin, whych were preſent, with all the other Biſhops, Abbots and Cleargie, apparelled in rich Coapes, and hauing the Croſſe, holy water and Cenſures carried

afore

His fathers treaſure.

Rog. Houedẽ.
Gau. Vinſaf.
Nic. Triuet.

The ſeconde of September hath Geruaſi.

The order of his Coronatiõ

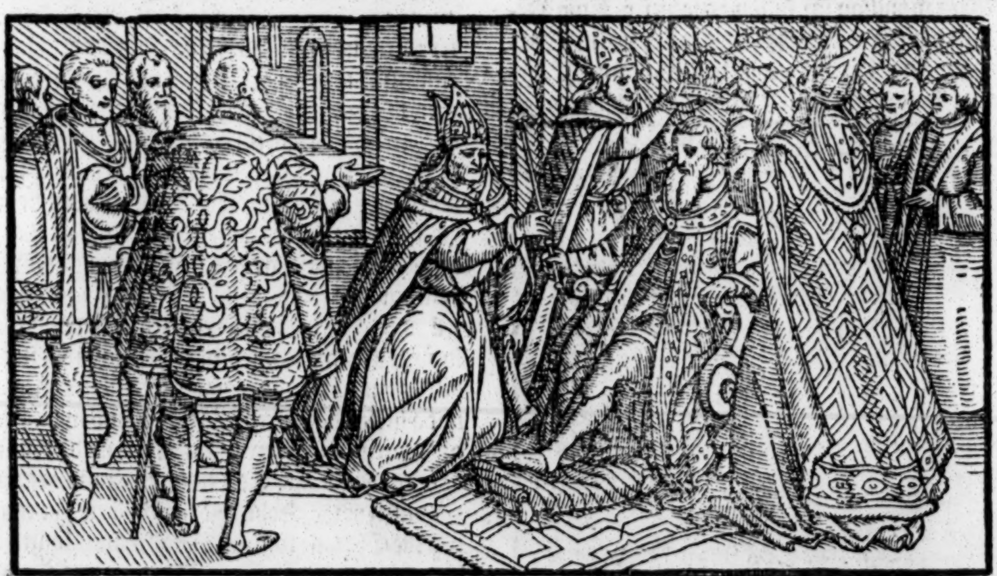
Mat. Par.

Rog. Houe.

Rog. Houedē.

His oth.

afore them, came to fetch him vnto the dore of his priuie chamber, and there receyuing him, they led him vnto yͤ Church at Weſtminſter, till he came before the high aulter with a ſolemne proceſſion. In the middle of the Biſhops and Cleargie went four Barons, bearing Candleſtickes with tapers, after whome came Geffrey de Lucy bearing the cappe of maintenance, and John Mareſhall next to him, bearing a paire of ſpurres of golde, greate and maſſiue, then followed William Marſhall Earle of Striguill, alias Pembroke, who bare the regall Scepter, in the toppe whereof was ſette a croſſe of golde: and William de Patrice Earle of Saliſbury going next him, bare yͤ warder or rod, hauing on the top therof a doue. Then came three other Earles, Dauid brother to yͤ K. of Scottes, Earle of Huntington, John the Kings brother Earle of Mortaing, and Roberte Earle of Leiceſter, each of them bearing a ſword vpright in hys hand with the ſcabberdes richly trimmed, and adorned with golde. The Erle of Mortaing went in the middeſt betwixt the other two. After them followed ſixe Earles & Barons, bearing a Checker table, vpō the which was ſet the Kings Scochens of armes, and then folowed William Mādeuill Earle of Albemarle, bearing a Crowne of golde a greate height before the K. who followed the ſame, hauing Hugh Biſhop of Durham on the right hand, and Reginald Biſhop of Bath on the left, ouer whom a Canapie was borne, and in this order he came into the Churche at Weſtminſter, where before the high Aulter in the preſence of the Cleargie, and the people, laying hys hande vpon the holy Euangeliſtes and the relikes of certaine Sainctes, he tooke a ſolemne oth, that hee ſhoulde obſerue all the dayes of his life, peace, honoure, and reuerence to almighty God, to hys Churche, and to the miniſters of the ſame. Alſo yͤ he ſhould exerciſe vpright iuſtice to the people cōmitted to his charge, and that he ſhould abrogate and diſanull all euil lawes & wrongful cuſtomes, if any were to be found within the precinct of thys Realme, and maintayne thoſe that were good and laudable. This done, he put off all his garmentes from the middle vpwards, his ſhirt excepted, whiche was open on the ſhoulders, that he myght bee annoynted. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury annoynted him then in three places, that is to wit, on the head, on the ſhoulders, & on the right arme, with prayers in ſuch caſe accuſtomed. After thys, he couered his head with a linnen cloth hallowed, and ſet his cappe aloft thereon, and then when he had put on his royall garmentes and vppermoſt robe, the Archbiſhop tooke to him the ſword wherwith hee ſhoulde beate downe the enimies of the Church: which done, two Earles put his ſhowes vppon his feete, and hauing his mantell putte on him, the Archbiſhop forbad him on the behalfe of Almighty God, not to preſume to take vpon hym this dignitie, except hee faithfully meante to performe thoſe things whiche he had there ſworne to performe. Wherunto the K. made aunſwere, that by Gods grace he woulde performe them. Then the King tooke the Crowne beſide the Aulter, and deliuered it to the Archbiſhop, the which he ſet vpon the Kings head, deliuering to him the Scepter to hold in his right hande, and the rod Royall in his left hand, and thus being Crowned, he was brought backe by the Biſhops and Barons, with the Croſſe and Candleſtickes, and three ſwordes paſſing forth before him vnto his ſeate. Whē the Biſhop that ſang the Maſſe came to the offertory, yͤ two Biſhops that brought him to the Churche, led him to the Aulter, and brought him backe againe. Finally when Maſſe was done, and all things ended in order as was requiſite, hee was brought with ſolemne Proceſſion into his chamber, where he put off his heauie rich apparell, and



put on a Crowne and other garments more lighter and eaſie, and ſo went to dinner, whereat wanted no ſtore of meates and drinkes, whiche were ſerued forth in moſt princely and bountifull wiſe.

Parum.

Iewes …t to pre- …him with …gifte.

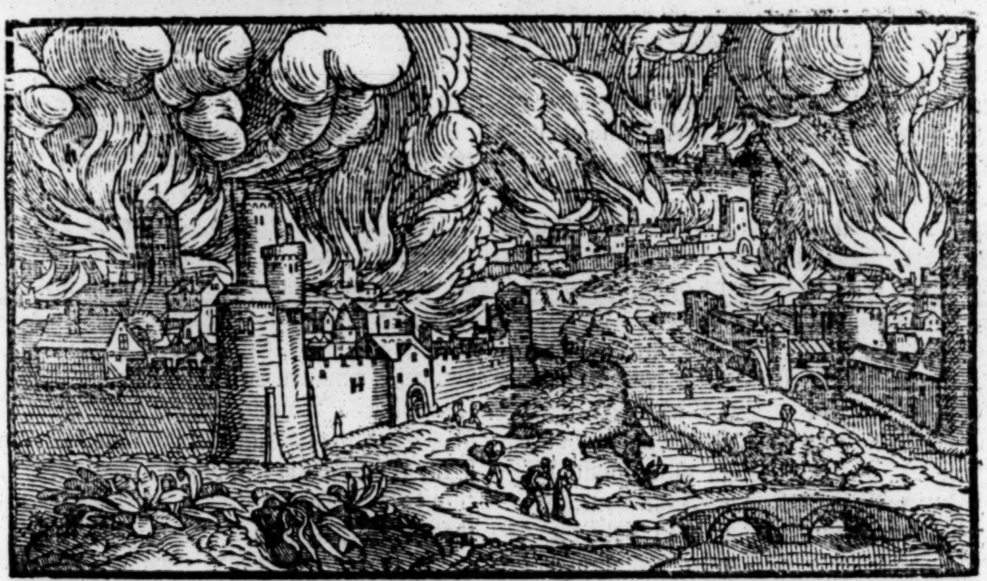
…h. Paris.

Upon this day of King Richards Coronatiõ, the Iewes ẏ dwelt in Londõ and in other parties of the Realm, being there aſſembled, had but ſory hap, as it chanced, for they meaning to honor the ſame Coronation with their preſence, and to preſent to the K. ſome honorable gift, whereby they might declare themſelues glad for his aduauncement, and procure his friendſhip toward them, for the confirming of their priuiledges and liberties, according to the grauntes and charters made to them by the former Kings, King Richard of a zelous minde to Chriſtes Religion, abhorring their nation (and doubtũg ſome ſorcerie by them to be practiſed) commaunded that they ſhould not come within the Church when he ſhould receyue the Crowne, nor within the Palace whileſt hee was at dinner. But at dinner time, among other that preſſed in at the Palace gate, diuers of the Iewes were about to thruſt in, till one of them was ſtriken by a Chriſtiã, who alledging ẏ kings commaundement, kept them backe from cõming within the Palace, which ſome of the vnruly people perceyuing, and ſuppoſing it had bin done by ẏ kings commaundement, tooke lightly occaſion hereof, and falling vpon the Iewes with ſtaues, battes and ſtones, beate them and chaſed them home to their houſes and lodgings. Herewith roſe a rumor through the Citie, that the K. had commaunded the Iewes to be deſtroyed, and thereuppon came running togither, to aſſault them in their houſes, whiche when they coulde not eaſily breake vp nor enter by reaſon ẏ ſame were ſtrõgly builded, they ſet fire on thẽ, ſo that diuers houſes were conſumed, not only of the Iewes, but alſo of their neighbours, ſo hidcous was the rage of the fire.

A Iew ſtriken.

The people fall vpon the Iewes and beate them.

Their houſes are ſet on fire.



The K. being aduertiſed of this riotous attẽpt of the outragious people, ſent ſome of his Counſellours, as Rauſe de Glaunduile Lord Iuſtice, and other officers to appeaſe the tumulte: but their authoritie was nothing regarded, nor their perſwaſions any thing heeded, but their threatnings rather brought themſelues in daunger of lyfe among the rude ſorte of thoſe that were about to ſpoyle, robbe, and ſacke the houſes and ſhoppes of the Iewes, to the better accompliſhment of which their vnlawfull acte, the light that the fire of thoſe houſes that brẽned, gaue after it was once night, did miniſter no ſmall help and occaſion of furtherance. The Iewes that were in thoſe houſes that were ſet on fire, were either ſmoldred and brenned to deathe within, or elſe at their comming forthe moſt cruelly receiued vpon the poyntes of ſpeares, billes, ſwordes & gleaues of their aduerſaries that watched for them very diligẽtly. This wood rage of the furious and diſordred people, continued frõ the middeſt of the one day, till two of the clocke on the other, the commons all that while neuer ceaſſing their fury againſt ẏ nation, but ſtil killing thẽ as they met with any of them, in moſt horrible, raſh & vnreaſonable maner. At length, rather weried with their cruell doings, than ſatiſfied with ſpoyle, or moued with reſpect of reaſon or reuerẽce of their Prince, they withdrewe themſelues from their riotous enterpriſe after they had executed many vnlawfull & horrible enormities: ſo great a riot wel deſerued ſore & greeuous puniſhment, but yet it paſſed ouer without correction, in reſpect of the great number of the trãſgreſſors, and for that the moſt part of mẽ for the hatred generally cõceiued againſt obſtinate frowardnes of ẏ Iewes, liked ẏ doings hereof well ynough, interpriting it to be a good token, ẏ the ioyfull day of ẏ kings aduancemẽt to ẏ Crown ſhuld be doleful to the Iewes in

…s brent …eath.

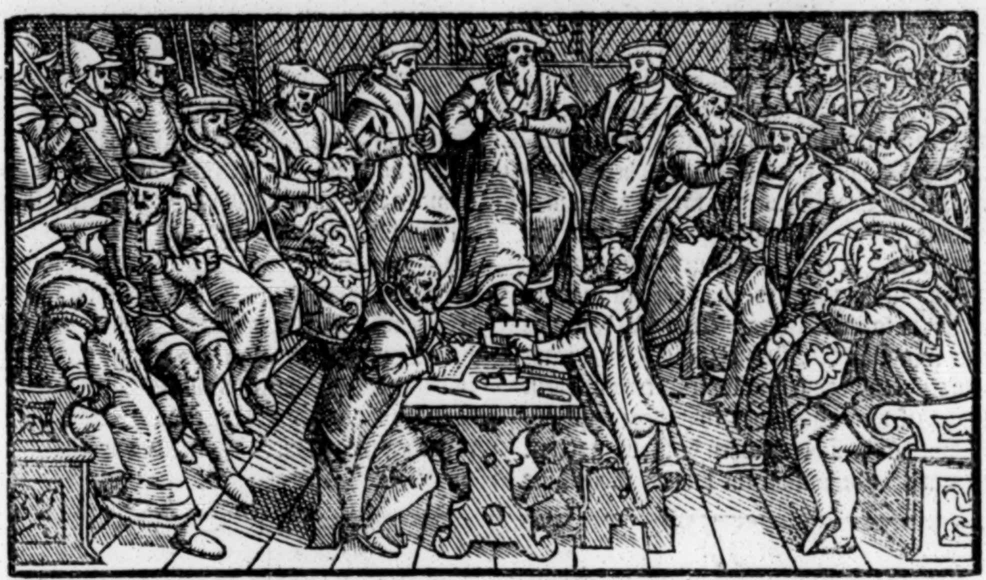
bringing them

than to ſuch ſlaughter and deſtruction.

Finally, after that the tumult was ceaſſed, the King commaunded that no man ſhould hurte or harme any of the Iewes, and ſo they were reſtored to peace after they had ſuſteyned infinite domage.

A Counſ Pipewell.

Shortly after, to witte, the fifteenth daye of September, a Counſell was holden at Pipewell,



where the Biſhoppes and Abbots beeing aſſembled, there were in preſence of the king and of the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye elected certayne Biſhops and Abbots to ſuche places as then were vacant: and amongeſt other, William de Longchampe the kings Chancellor was elected to the ſea of Elye, Geffrey the kings baſtarde brother vnto the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke, who was the xxxij. in number that hadde gouerned the ſame, Geffreye de Lucy to Wincheſter, one Huberte Walter to Saliſburye, and Richard Archdeacon of Elye, and the kings Treaſorer to the ſea of London. The Abbeys that were prouided of Abbots were theſe, Glaſtenbury, Shirborne, Perſore and Feuerſham. In lyke maner, Iohn the elect of Whiterne, was conſecrated Biſhop of that ſea by the handes of the Archbiſhop of Dublyn. Alſo in this Councell the kyng ordeyned Hughe Biſhop of Durham, and William Mandeville Earle of Albemarle, Lord chiefe Iuſtices of England, hauing depoſed Ranulf de Glanuille from that roomth.

Vi. Paruus.

he Biſhop of Whiterne onſecrated.

og. Houed.

Moreouer, the king being thus eſtabliſhed in the eſtate of the kingdome, did not forget his iorney which he had promiſed into the holy land, but with all diligence made his prouiſion, and namely he ſought to gather money to furniſh his charges, and ſo thereupon leuied a taxe, engaged, ſold, and let to ferme his lãds, his tolles, his cuſtomes, and other his reuenewes, with certayne counties and offices, ſo that he made an exceeding ſumme of money.

ath. Paris.

He alſo found, that Ranulfe de Glanuile Lord chiefe Iuſtice, and other of the head magiſtrates had not borne themſelues vprightly in the adminiſtration of their offices, ſo that hee both depoſed the ſayd Lord chiefe Iuſtice as is aforeſayd, and almoſt all the Sheriffes and their deputies within the Realm of England, putting them to greeuous fynes for their offences and tranſgreſſions, and ſo by that meanes hee gotte no ſmall deale of money. Heere note by the way, how William Paruus affirmeth, that where this Ranulfe Glãuille being a man of high wiſedome and ſtept into age, ſawe that many things were done by the new King, not ſo aduiſedly, nor with ſuche foreſight, as they ought to be, ſought of his owne accord to be diſcharged of his office, that he myghte the better prepare himſelfe to goe in that iourney to the holy land, as by taking vpon him the croſſe he had vowed in the dayes of King Henry, and ſo he ſolemnly renounced his office, which other nothing ſo worthie of, it did afterwards enioy.

VVil. Pa

Moreouer, the King vnderſtãding that Hugh Putſey or Pudſey Biſhop of Durham, beeyng a very aged man, had muche money, he ſold to hym the manor of Seggeſfielde or Sadberg, with the wapentake belonging to the ſame, and alſo found meanes, to perſwade him to buy his owne Prouince, which he did, giuing to the King an ineſtimable ſumme of money, and was thereupon created an Erle by the King for the ſame: whereupon he was entitled both Biſhoppe and Earle of Durham, whereat the Kyng woulde ieſt afterwards and ſay, what a cunning craftes man am I, that haue made a newe Earle of an olde Byſhoppe.

The Biſhop of Durham. Sadberge. The Biſhop Durham ma an Earle.

Moreouer, the ſame Biſhop gaue to the kyng a thouſande markes to be made chiefe Juſtice of England, and that he mighte tarry at home, and not goe into the holy land, and bycauſe he would not be reproued of any perſon, he obteyned of the Apoſtolike See (whiche fayleth no man that is ſurcharged with white or red mettall, and would be eaſed) a licence for a ſumme of money to be diſpenſed with for that iourney. The King thus beeyng earneſtly about to make chieuaunce of thoſe things, for the which he might get any money at all, the Citizens of London preſented vnto him a greate ſumme towardes the furniſhyng forth of his enterpriſe. Wherevpon the Kyng to acquite their courteſie, graunted them large priuileges, and ordeyned that the Citie ſhoulde bee ruled by two head officers, which they ſhould chooſe amongſt themſelues remoueable from yeare to yeare by the name of Baylifes. The names of the two firſte Baylifes choſen by force of that ordynance, were Henry Cornehill, and Richard Fitz Reyner.

The Citezens of London preſent money to the king.

Polidor.

Liberties granted to London

Two Bayliffs.

The Citie before thoſe dayes euer ſith the comming in of William Cōquerour, and a good while before his time, was gouerned by certayne officers or rulers named Port Greues (whiche worde is deriued of two Saxon wordes, as Porte & Greue, Port is as much to meane as a towne, and Greue a gardeyne or a ruler, as who ſhoulde ſay a keeper or a ruler of a Towne.) Theſe rulers with the lawes and cuſtomes then vſed within this Citie in olde time, were regiſtred in a booke called (as ſome haue ſayd) domeſday, but through negligence after theſe lawes and cuſtomes were chaunged and altred, the booke was loſt, ſo that the remembraunce of ſuche rulers as were before the dayes of this Richarde the firſte, are not to bee had.

Porte greues.

Theſe Baylifes euer entred at Michaelmas, and ſo continued forth their yeare.

Thus began the citie nowe firſt to receyue the forme and ſtate of a common wealthe, and to bee deuided into felowſhippes whych they cal craftes. Such alſo are admitted to the felowſhips of theſe companies, as haue truely ſerued as apprentices a certaine number of yeares, as ſeauen at the leaſt, vnder which time of ſeruice expired, there is none made free, nor ſuffred to enioy the liberties of that Citie, ſauing ſuch as are borne free, that is to ſay, of freemen within the Citie, of whome at thys time, it is not muche materiall to make any further report.

Apprentices.

Freemen.

The Citie thus conſiſting of the ſayd craftes, chooſeth out of the ſame a Senate or company of graue councellors, whome they name Aldermen, the E. changed into A. according to the olde Saxon pronunciation. It is alſo deuided into .26. tribes or wardes, of the whiche euery one hath his ſeueral Alderman, or ouerſeer, who haue both authoritie ſufficiente, and large priuileges to mainteyne the good gouernement of their portions withall.

Out of the number of theſe, there is another officer yearely choſen and appoynted, called the Maior, who ruleth all the reſt.

The Maior.

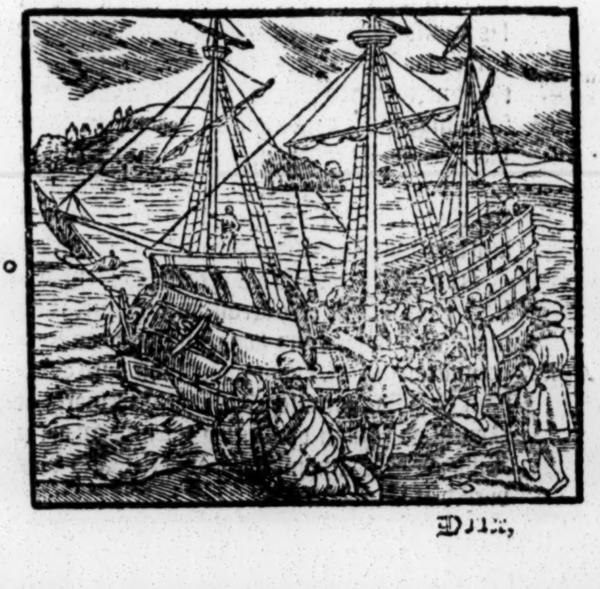
But now to returne vnto the further doings of K. Richard before his departure out of England towards his iourney into the lande of Paleſtine, commonly called holy lād, it is ſaid, he made ſuch ſales of things apperteyning to hym, as well in right of the Crowne. as otherwiſe, that it ſeemed to diuers, how he made his reconing neuer to returne againe, in ſo much, that ſome of his Councellors told him playnely, that hee did not well in ſetting things away ſo freely, to the diſhonoryng of his maieſtie, and preiudice of his ſucceſſor, vnto whome hee aunſwered, that in time of neede it was no euill policie for a man to helpe himſelfe with his owne, and further ioyned hereto theſe wordes, that if Londō at that time of neede would be bought, he would ſurely ſel it if he might meete with a cōuenient Marchant that were able to gyue him money inough for it. Another way he hadde alſo to gather riches, and that was this. He hadde a licence of Pope innocente the thirde to diſpence with ſuche as pleaſed him within his Realme, for their vowes made to goe into the holy lande, although they hadde taken on them the Croſſe for that purpoſe, namely ſuch as he ſhould appoint to remayne behynd him for the defence of his countrey: and of theſe alſo hee tooke aboundantly, and dyuers other hee compelled to fyne, namely, to the ende that hee mighte get theyr money likewiſe, that hereby, hee obteyned no ſmall ſumme towarde the furniture of his iourney.

King Richard ſetteth things on ſale.

Ran. Higd.

VVil. Par.

Thys yeare alſo in the moneth of Nouember, as Mathewe Paris hathe, Johannes de Anagnia a Cardinall and Legate from the Pope arriued heere in Englande, comming a land at



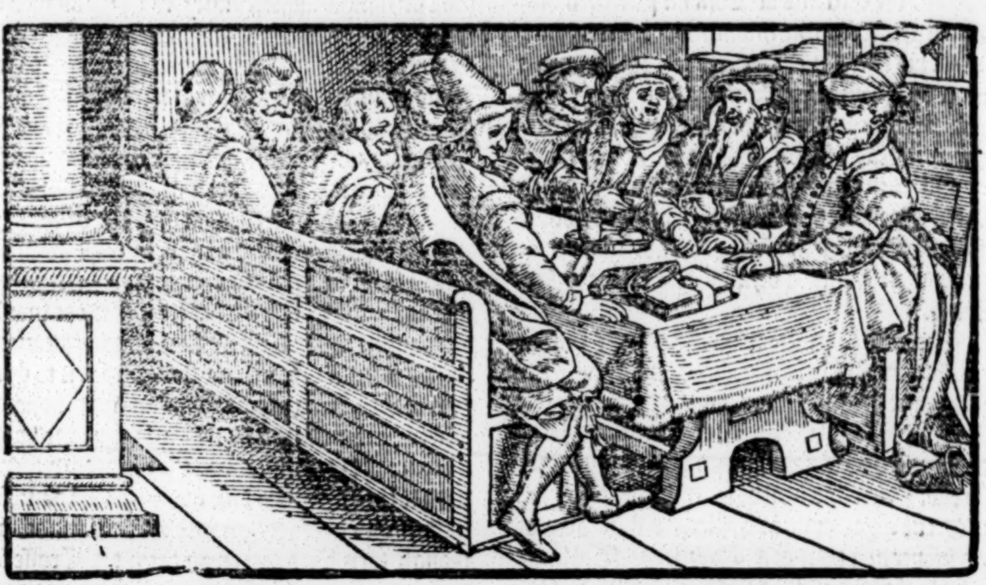
Douer, and bycauſe the King was as then in the North parts, the ſame Cardinall was prohibited on the behalfe of the Kings mother Queene Eleanor, to paſſe any further without the Kyngs commaundement. And ſo he ſtayed there thirtene dayes at the charges of the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, till the King came into thoſe parties, by whoſe wiſedome, a direction was taken for the quieting of the controuerſie betwixt the Archbyſhoppe, and the Monkes of Caunterbury for the Chappell Church of Hakinton now called Saint Stephens.

Reg.

Willi
of Sco

A Cou
called a
Caunt

In the ſame moneth of Nouember, by ẏ kings appoyntmente, the electe of Yorke Geffrey that was the Kings brother, with other Barons and Lordes of Yorkſhire, receyued William Kyng of Scotlande at the water of Tweede, and from thence with all due reuerence and honor, they broughte hym vnto Caunterbury, where the King had called a Counſell of the Lordes of hys Realme both ſpirituall and temporall, in the whiche, euery of them tooke an othe to be true to the Kyng, and to continue in due obedience vnder him and his lawes, whiche othe alſo the Kyng of Scottes receyued, being there preſente, and lykewiſe King Richardes brethren Earle John and Geffrey the Archbyſhop of Yorke.



Polidor.

An othe.

Mat. Par.

Math. Paris.

Polidor.

The Kyng of Scottes therefore hauyng receyued this othe, and thynkyng the tyme to ſerue hys purpoſe for redeemyng of thoſe Caſtels whiche were deliuered to King Henry as guages for his raunſome, payde now vnto Kyng Rycharde tenne thouſand markes, and hadde reſtitution of the ſame, that is to witte, of Berwike, Roxburgh, Sterling, and Edenburgh. But William Paruus ſayeth, that Edenburgh was reſtored to him in the dayes of King Henry, by reaſon of his wife whiche he tooke of the parties of beyonde the Sea: and heerewith agreeth the Scottiſhe Chronicle.

Reſtitution made to the K. of Scottes.

Wil. Par.

Reg. Houed.

Kyng Richarde alſo aſſigned to Queene Eleanor hys mother, the accuſtomed dower, with many Lordſhippes and honors beſide, as an augmentation thereof. About which tyme dyed William de Maundeuille Earle of Albemarle at Rouen, and Hugh de Putſey the nephew of the Biſhoppe of Durham, dyed at Aclet, and was buryed at Durham.

Nic.Tri

Alſo Formalis Archbiſhoppe of Trier dyed at Northampton, and was there buried in the Church of S. Androwes. In the meane tyme, Kyng Richard ſtill deſirous to furniſhe himſelfe of money, deuiſed yet another ſhift, and feigned that hee hadde loſt his ſeale, wherefore hee commaunded a new to be made, which being done, he commaunded it to bee proclaymed and publiſhed in euery countrey, that thoſe to whome hee hadde graunted any thing by his deede or charter, meaning to enioy the ſame in ſuretie, ſhuld not thinke it muche to come and haue it confirmed by his new ſeale, leaſt afterwarde the other beeing loſt, their lawfull titles might be called into queſtion. Whereuppon many that could not come to hym whileſt he was in England, were glad to followe him and to ſayle ouer into Normandy, and there to fyne at his pleaſure for the newe ſeale, to the ende that their writings mighte bee confirmed thereby, and made ſo much the more ſure to them and their ſucceſſors. For the ſame buſineſſe alſo, Remigius the Prior of S. Albons, and many other went ouer to their great coſtes, charges, and trauel, after he was tranſported ouer into France.

Mat.Pa

I fynde moreouer, about the ſame tyme that the kings brother Erle John exhibited a ſore cōplainte before the Romaine Legate and other

Biſhops, for that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury after the appeale made vnto the Apoſtolike ſea, had put his landes vnder interdiction for hys mariage made wyth the Earle of Glouceſters daughter: whiche when the Legate hearde, hee forthwith confirmed the appeale, and releaſſed the Earles landes of the aforeſayde interdiction. The ſame tyme alſo, the tenth part of al the mouable goodes thorough the realme of Englande was leuyed to the ayde of the warres in the holy land. And this collection, paſſing vnder the name of an Almes, was extended vpon the goodes as well of the ſpirituall men as temporall.

ghe biſhop Durham goneth the th partes.

ath.Paris.

Williã Longmpe biſhop Elye.

After all thys, Kyng Richarde deſyrous to ſette order in the gouernemente of his Realme, appoynted Hugh biſhoppe of Durham to haue the rule of the Northe parties as chiefe Iuſtice from Humber northwardes towarde Scotland, delyuering vnto him alſo the keepyng of Wyncheſter Caſtell: the reſidue of the kingdom (with the cuſtodie of the Towre) he aſſigned to the gouernaunce of William Longchampe Biſhop of Elye, whome he had made chiefe Iuſtice of that parte, and Chauncellour of the realme, a man of greet diligence and knowledge in the adminiſtration of thinges, but verie factious and deſyrous of rule, honoure and riches farre aboue all meaſure. And with theſe.ij. biſhops he ioyned in commiſſion Hughe Bardulfe, William Marſhall Earle of Chepſtow, or rather Pembroke, Geffrey Fitz Peter, and William Brewer, men of great honour, wyſedome, and diſcretion.

g. Houed.

ng Richarde ſſeth ouer in Normandie.

On the fifth daye of December, he departed from Canterbury, and went to Douer, there to take the water, and ſo on the eleuenth day of Decẽber, he paſſed ouer vnto Caleys, wher he found Philippe Earle of Flaunders readie to receyue hym, who attended vppon him tyll he came into Normandie, where the kyng helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Burun, & immediately he came to an enterviewe with the French king at Eue S. Remye, where they concluded a peace together, to bee kepte betwixte them and their countreys on eche parte, the whiche was put in wrytyng, and confirmed with their othes and ſeales in the feaſt of Saincte Hillarye.

1190.

adum ſancti emigii.

league betvixt the kins of England d Fraunce.

g. Houede.

And furthermore, aboute the Purification of our Ladye, Eleanor the Queene mother, and the Lady Alice ſiſter to the French kyng, Baldwyne the Archebiſhop of Canterbury, Iohn biſhoppe of Norwiche, Hugh Biſhop of Durham, Geffrey Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter, Reginalde Biſhoppe of Bathe, William Biſhoppe of Elye, Huberte Biſhoppe of Saliſburye, and Hugh Biſhoppe of Cheſter, with Geffreye the electe of Yorke, and Iohn Earle of Mortaigne the kynges two bretherne, by commaundement of the Kyng paſſed ouer into Normandye, to commen with him before his ſetting forwarde.

Some write, that nowe at this preſente, the Kyng ſhoulde ordeyne or rather confirme the Biſhoppe of Elye his Chauncellour to be Lorde chiefe Iuſtice ouer all Englande, and the biſhop of Durham to bee Lorde Iuſtice from Trente Northwardes. But when ſoeuer they were thus aduaunced to ſuche dignities, true it is, that immediatly therupon ſtryfe and diſcorde did aryſe betwixt them, contending which of them ſhuld beare moſt rule & authoritie, in ſo muche ỷ what ſoeuer ſeemed good to the one, the other miſlyked therof, as in caſes where parteners in authoritie are equall, it often hapneth: But thoſe controuerſies are nowe decided, and all matters betweene them, lykely hereafter to moue contention, appeaſed by the king.

Contētion betvvixte tvvo ambitious Byſhops.

Moreouer, at the ſame time he cauſed his two brethren, Earle Iohn, and the Electe Archbiſhop of Yorke Geffrey to take an othe not to returne into England during the terme of.iij. yeres next enſuing, without his conſent & licence firſt had.

This he didde, foreſeeing what myghte happen, prouiding as it were agaynſte ſuche practiſes as his brethren might haply attempt againſt him. But yet his mother Queene Eleanor procured him to reuoke that decree immediatly, leaſt it myght ſeeme to the world, that hir ſons ſhould ſtande in feare one of an other. And ſo the Erle of Mortaigne was licenced to returne into England at his pleaſure, ſwearing an othe at his departure to obey the kings pleaſure, and truly to ſerue hym, according to the duetie of a good and loyal ſubiect. The Biſhop of Ely lord Chauncellor and chiefe Iuſtice of Englande was alſo ſent back hyther into this realme, to ſet forward thynges behouefull for the kings iourney. And in like maner the king ſent to Rome to obteyn that the ſaid biſhop of Ely mighte be conſtituted the Popes Legate through bothe the Prouinces of Canterbury and Yorke, and likewyſe thorough Wales and Ireland. Which was ſoone granted by the bulles of Pope Clement the third, bearing date the.v. of Iune. For the which office the Biſhops gaue him.1500.markes, to the greate offence of the king, as he ſhewed afterward to Cardinal Octauiã, ỷ came to viſit him when he arriued in the riuer of Tyber, being vpon his iorney towards Meſſina, as after may appeere. But in ỷ mean time, calling togither ỷ lords & peeres of thoſe his dominions on ỷ ſide the ſea, to wit, Normãdie, Britain, Aniou, Poytou, & Guyen, he cõſulteth with them what number of ſoldiors and howe many ſhippes it ſhould bee conuenient for hym to take with hym and furniſhe into Aſia: and herewith he dothe commaunde them alſo to obey Robert Earle of Leyceſter, whome he appointed to remayn amongſt them as his Lieutenaunt

Earle Iohn licenced to returne into Englande.

The biſhop of Elye returneth.

Polidor.

tenant or vicegerent of thoſe parties during his abſence.

But here to leaue king Richard in conſultation for matters apertayning to his iourney, and ſhewe briefly what happened (by the way) to the Iewes, whiche as then dwelt here in Englande, after that king Richarde was paſſed ouer into Normandie.

VVil. Paruus

Ye haue hearde alreadie howe after the ryotte committed againſte them at London, when the king was crowned, the king toke order that they ſhould remayn in peace vnder his protection, and commaunded that no perſon ſhoulde in any wiſe moleſt them. But nowe after that he was gone ouer, and that the Souldiours (whiche prepared themſelues to follow him) beganne to aſſemble in routes, the heades of the common people began to ware wylde, and fayne would they haue had ſome occaſion of reyſing a newe tumulte agaynſt the Iewes, whome (for theyr vnmercyfull vſurye practiſed to the vndoyng of many an honeſt man) they moſte deadly hated, wyſhing moſt earneſtly their expulſion out of Englande.

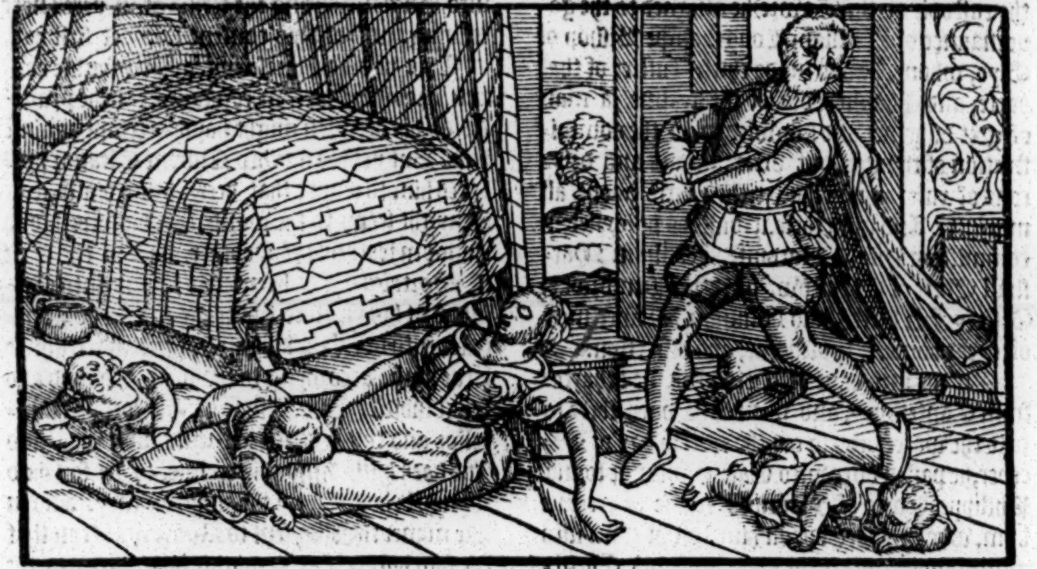
The hatred borne to the Ievves.

Hereupon by reaſon of a riot committed lately againſt them, at the towne of Linne in Norfolke, where many of them were ſlayne, other people in other partyes of the Realme, takyng occaſion hereof, as if they hadde bin called vp by the ſounde of a bell or Trumpette, aroſe agaynſt them in thoſe Townes, where they had any habitations, and robbed and bet them after a diſordered and moſt riottous manner.

Io. Taxtor.

As at Stanforde (on the fayre day in Lente) at Lyncolne, and at Yorke, in whiche Citie after a number of them had bene beſieged certaine dayes within a towre of the kings (whither they fledde for ſuccour) one of their lerned gouernors cauſed foure hundred of their companie to conſente to haue their throates cut one at an others hands, he himſelf cutting his wiues throate firſt, whoſe name was Anna, thē his childrens, one after an other, and laſt of all, ſlewe hymſelfe, onely rather than hee woulde fall into the handes of the Chriſtians, that hadde thus long beſieged them. The reſt perceyuing what the great Rabbi had done, they ſet fire vpon all their goods and ſubſtance which they had gotten into the Tower with them, and ſo conſuming the ſame, woulde haue brente alſo the reſidue of their fellowes which would not agree to the Rabbies counſell, in the cruell morthering of themſelues, if they had not taken a ſtrong turret hard by within yͤ tower, and defended themſelues both from the fyre, and crueltie of their brethren, who had made awaye themſelues in ſuche manner as I haue ſayd: and that to the number of foure hundred, or (as ſome write) fyue hundred at the leaſte.

Fiue hundred hath Houeden and Taxtor.



On the morowe, thoſe that were ſaued, called out to the people, and not onely ſhewed how and after what ſorte their fellowes were diſpatched, but alſo offred to bee baptyſed, and forſake theyr Iudaiſme, if they myght haue theyr liues ſaued from the imminent and preſent daunger wherein they ſawe themſelues to be wrapped, thorough the furie of the people. To be ſhort, thys thyng was graunted, and they came forthe, howbeit they were no ſooner entred into the preaſe, but they were all ſlayne, and not one man of them preſerued.

After this alſo, the people ranne to the Cathedrall Churche, and broke into thoſe places, where theyr bondes and oblygations laye, by the whyche they hadde dyuers of the Kynges ſubiectes bounde vnto them in moſte vnconſcionable ſorte, and for ſuche deteſtable vſurye, (as if the Authours that wryte therof were not of credite) would hardly be beleeued. All whyche Euydences or bondes they ſolemnely burned in the myddeſt of the Churche. After whyche, eche went his way, the Souldiours to the king, and the commons to their houſes, and ſo was the Citie quieted.

This hapned at Yorke on Palmſunday euen, being the .xvij. of Marche: and vpon the .xv. of that moneth, thoſe that inhabited in the towne of Saint Edmunds Burye in Suffolke, were ſette vppon, and manie of them ſlayne. The reſidue that eſcaped, thorough the procuremente of the Abbotte then, named Sampſon, were expulſed, ſo that they neuer had anye dwellings there ſince that tyme.

Thus were the Iewes vnmercyfully dealte with in all places in maner through this realme, the firſt beginning wherof chaunced at London (as before ye haue heard) and the next at Linne, of whiche I thinke it good to note ſome parte of the maner thereof, although briefly, and ſo to returne to my purpoſe agayne.

The occaſion therfore of the tumult at Linne chaunced by this meanes: It fortuned that one of the Iewes there, was become a Chriſtian, wherwith thoſe of his nation were ſo moued, that they determined to kill hym where ſoeuer they might find him. And herevpon they ſette vppon him one day as he came by, through the ſtreates: he to eſcape their handes fled to the nexte churche: but his countreymen were ſo deſirous to execute theyr malicious purpoſe, that they followed him ſtill, and enforced themſelues to breake into the Churche vpon him. Heerewith the noyſe beeing rayſed by the Chriſtians that ſoughte to ſaue the conuerted Iewe, a number of mariners beeing foreyners, that were arriued there wyth their veſſells out of ſundrye partes, and dyuerſe alſo of the Townſmen came to the reſkue, and ſetting vpon the Iewes, cauſed them to flee into their houſes.

e ſlaughter
de of the
ves at Lyn.

The Townſmen were not verie earneſt in purſuing of them, bicauſe of the kings proclamation and ordinaunce before tyme made in fauour of the Iewes: but the maryners followed them to theyr houſes, ſlewe diuers of them, robbed and ſacked their goods, and finally ſet their dwellings on fyre, and ſo brente them vp altogither.

Theſe Marriners beeing enryched wyth the ſpoyle of the Iewes goodes, and fearyng to bee called to accompte for their vnlawfull acte by the Kinges officers, gotte them forthwith to ſhipborde, and hoyſting vp ſayles, departed with their ſhippes to the ſea, and ſo eſcaped the danger of that whiche might haue bene otherwyſe layde to their charge.

The Townſmen being called to an accompt excuſed them ſelues by the Mariners, burdening them with all the faulte. But thoughe they of Lynne were thus excuſed, yet they of Yorke eſcaped not ſo eaſyly. For the Kyng beyng aduertiſed of ſuche outrage, done contrarie to the order of his Lawes and expreſſe commaundement, wrote ouer to the Biſhoppe of Elye hys Chauncellour, commaunding him to take cruel puniſhement of the offenders.

The Biſhop with an armye wente to Yorke, but the chiefe authors of the ryot hearyng of his comming, fledde into Scotlande: yet the Biſhop at his comming to the Citie, cauſed earneſt inquirie to bee made of the whole matter.

The citezens excuſed themſelues, and offred to proue, that they were not of counſell with them that had cōmitted the ryot, neither had they ayded nor cōforted thē therin in any maner of wiſe. And in deede the moſt part of thē that were the offenders, were of the countrey & townes neere to the citie, with ſuch as wer croſſed into the holy land, & now gone ouer to the king, ſo that verie few or none of the ſubſtantiall men of the Citie were founde to haue ioyned with them. Howbeit this woulde not excuſe the Citizens, but that they were put to their fine by the ſtoute Biſhop, euery of them paying his portion according to his power and abilitie in ſubſtance, the common ſorte of the poore people being pardoned, and not called into iudgement, ſith the ringleaders were fled and gone out of the way.

The Citizens of Yorke put to their fyne for the ſlaughter of the Ievves.

But now to return vnto the king, who in this meane time was very buſie to prouide all things neceſſarie to ſet forward on his iourney, his ſhippes whiche laye in the mouthe of the ryuer of Sayne, beyng readie to put off, he tooke order in many poyntes concerning the ſtate of the commonwealth on that ſide, and chiefely hee called to mynde, that it ſhould be a thyng neceſſarie for him, to name who ſhuld ſuccede him in the kingdome of Englande, if his chaunce ſhoulde not bee to returne agayne from ſo long and daungerous a iourney. He therfore named (as ſome ſuppoſe) his nephewe Arthure, the ſonne of his brother Geffreye Duke of Britayne, to bee his ſucceſſour in the Kingdome, a young manne of a lykely proofe and Princely towardneſſe, but not ordeyned by GOD to ſuccede ouer this kingdome.

Mat. VVeſt.

Aboute the ſame tyme the Biſhoppe of Elye, Lorde Chauncellour and chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, tooke vp to the kinges vſe, of euerye citie in England two Palfreys and two Sumpter horſſes, and of euery Abbey one Palfrey, and one Sumpter horſe, and euery Manour within the Realme, founde alſo one Palfreye and one Sumpter horſe.

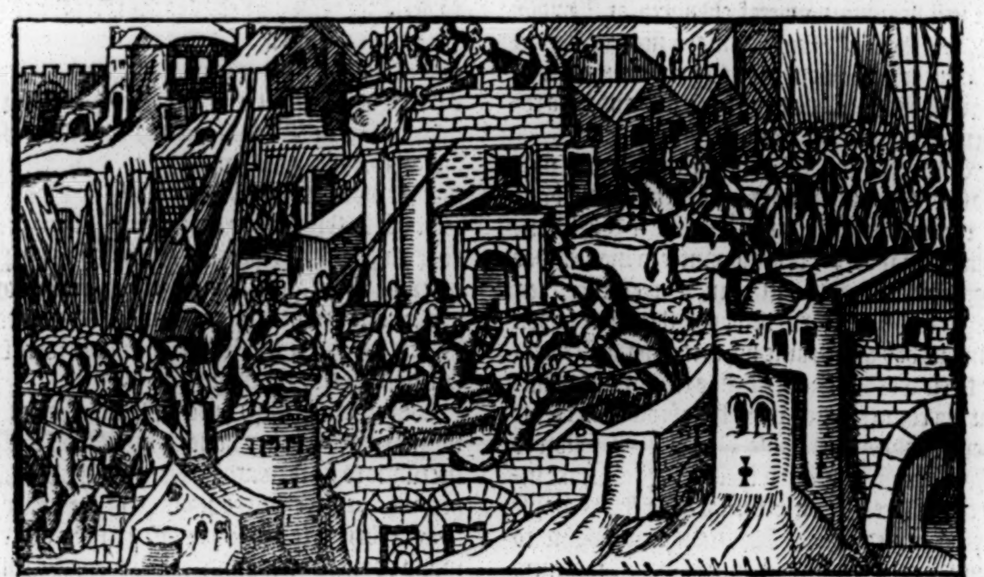
Moreouer, the ſayde Biſhoppe of Elye deliuered the gouernement of Yorkeſhire to his brother Oſberte de Longchampe: And all thoſe Knyghtes of the ſayd ſhire, the whyche woulde would not come to make aunſwere to the lawe vpon ſommons giuen them, hee cõmaunded to be apprehẽded and by & by laid in priſon. Alſo when the Biſhoppe of Durham was returned from the Kyng and come ouer into England to goe vnto his charge, at his meting with the lord Chancelor at Elie) notwithſtanding that he ſhewed him his letters patentes of the graunt made to him to be Juſtice from Trent Northwarde) the ſayde Lorde Chancellor taking his iourney to Southwell with hym, there deteyned him as priſoner, till he had made ſurrender to him of the Caſtell of Wyndſore, and further had delyuered to him his ſonnes, Henrye de Putſey, and Gilbert de la Ley, as pledges that he ſhould keepe the peace agaynſt the king and all his ſubiectes, vntill the ſaid Prince ſhould retourne from the holy lande. And ſo he was deliuered for that tyme, though ſhortly after, and whyleſt hee remayned at Houeden, there came to hym Oſberte de Longchampe the Lord Chancellors brother, & William de Stuteville, the whiche cauſed the ſayd Biſhop to fynde ſufficient ſuretie that he ſhould not thence departe without the kings licence, or the Lorde Chancellours, ſo long as the king ſhould be abſent.

The Biſhop of Durham reſtrayned of libertie.

Herevpon the Biſhop of Durham ſent knowledge to the kyng howe and in what ſorte he had bin handled by the Chauncellour.

In the meane tyme the king was gone into Gaſcoigne, where he beſieged a Caſtell that belonged to one William de Chiſi, and toke both the Caſtell and the owner, whome he cauſed to be hanged for the ſpoyles and robberies whiche hee had committed vpon Pilgrimes that paſſed by thoſe parties towarde Compoſtella, to viſite the bodie of Saint James.

VVilliam de Chiſi.



The kinges nauie is ſet foorth

After this, the king came backe vnto Chinon in Aniou, and there toke order for the ſettyng forth of his nauie by ſea, ouer which he appointed chiefe gouernours Gerarde Archbiſhop of Aux, Bernard biſhop of Baieux, Robert de Sablius, Richarde de Camville, and William de Forz de Ulrun, commaundyng all thoſe that ſhoulde paſſe forth with his ſayde nauie to be obediente vnto theſe perſones as his deputies and lieutenauntes.

Baion.
Sabeolus, or Sabuille.

Herewith they were appointed to prouide victuals to ſerue all thoſe that ſhoulde goe by ſea for the ſpace of threeſcore dayes, the king alſo made the ſame tyme certaine ordinaunces to be obſerued among the ſeafaring men whiche tended to this effect:

Polidor.

Sleers of men.

Firſt, that if any man chaunced to ſlea an other on ſhipbourde, he ſhould be bounde to the dead bodie, and ſo throwne into the ſea: ſecondly if he killed hym a lande, he ſhoulde yet be bounde to him as afore, and ſo buryed quicke together.

Bravvlers.

Punishment
bloud draw

Reuilers.

Thefts and p
kerie.

Thirdly, if any man ſhoulde be conuicted by lawfull witneſſe, that he drewe any weapon to ſtrike any other, or chaunced by ſtrikyng at any man to draw bloud of him that was ſmitten, he ſhoulde loſe his hand. Fourthly if he gaue but a blowe with his fiſte without bloudſhedding, he ſhould be ſowſed .iij. ſeuerall times ouer head and eares, in the water. Fiftly, if any man reuiled an other, he ſhoulde for euery tyme ſo miſuſing him ſelfe, forfait an vnce of ſiluer. Sixtely, that if any man were taken with theft or pikerie, and thereof conuicted, hee ſhoulde haue his head polled, and hotte pitche powred vppon his pate, and vpon that, the feathers of ſome pillowe or Cuiſhion ſhaken alofte, that he myghte therby be knowne for a theef, and at the next arriuall of the ſhippes to any lande, be put forth of the company to ſeke his aduenture, without all hope of returne vnto his felowes.

And theſe were the Statutes whyche this famous Prince did enacte at the fyrſte for hys

nauie

vil.Parum.

Nauie, which ſithens thattime haue bene very much enlarged. About the ſame tyme John Biſhop of Whiterne in Scotlande, Suffragane to the Church of Yorke ordeyned Geffreye Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, Prieſt, and at the ſame ſeaſon the election of ẏ ſame Geffrey was cõfirmed by Pope Clement, the whiche emong other thinges that he wrote to the Chapiter of Yorke on his behalfe: In the ende he addeth theſe wordes: We doe therefore admoniſhe you all, and by the Apoſtolicall Bulles commaunde you, that you exhibite bothe reuerence and honoure vnto him as vnto your Prelate, that thereby you may appeare commendable bothe before God and man. Yeuen at Latheram the Nones of Marche the third yeare of our gouernement.

lidor.

ng Richard
e forvvard
his iourney.

g.Houed.

Whyleſt theſe thynges were in doing, there came into Fraunce Legates from the ſayde Clemente to moue the two kyngs to make all the ſpede poſſible towardes their iourney, bycauſe of the greate daunger where in things ſtoode in Paleſtine, requiring preſent helpe. Herevpon K. Richarde (his men and prouiſion being ready) commaunded that his ſhippes ſhuld ſet forwarde, and to caoſte aboute by the ſtreytes of Gilbraltere to come vnto Marſeilles, where hee appoynted to meete them, and ſo with a choſen company of men, he alſo ſette forth thitherwardes by lande, and commyng to Tours, receyueth the ſcrippe and ſtaffe, as a Pilgrime ſhoulde, at the handes of the Archbiſhop there.

After this, both the Kings of Englande and Fraunce met at Vizeley in the Octaues of the Natiuitie of Saynt John Baptiſt, and when they had remayned there two dayes they paſſed forth to the Citie of Lyon.

nno.2.

vlers.

Where the two Kyngs departed in ſunder, and eache one kept his iourney, the one towarde Genes, where his nauie was appoynted to come to him, and the other to Marſeilles, there to mete with his fleete, accordyng to his appoyntement.

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l drawn

ie Engliſhe
ete ſtayd by
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s and.xii.
er veſſelles
h Houeden.

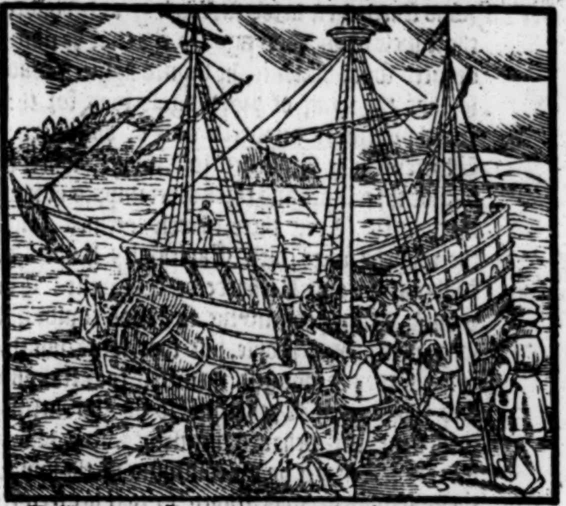
fts and
e.

But the Engliſhe ſhippes being let and ſtayd by the waye by contrary wyndes and rigorous tempeſtes, whiche toſſed them to and fro vppon the coaſtes of Spayne, coulde not come in any conuenient tyme vnto Marſeiles, ſo that king Richarde thinkyng long to tarrie for them, and perceyuing they could not keepe their appoynted tyme, he hired ſhips from al places therabouttes, & embarquyng himſelfe and his men in the ſame, vpon S. Laurẽce euen, ſailed forth towards Sicile, wher he was apointed to mete wͭ K. Philip.

pon the.7.
ye of Auguſt
h Houeden.

g.Houede

Heere is to be noted, that king Richard made not all that iourney from Marſeilles to Meſſina by Sea, but ſundry times comming a lande, hyred Horſes, and rode forth alongſt the coaſt, appoynting with his Shippes and Galleyes where to meete him, and ſometimes hee reſted certayne dayes togither in one place or other, as at Port-Delphin, at Naples, and at Salerne, from whẽce there departed from him Baldwine Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, Huberte Biſhop of Saliſburie, and the Lorde Ranulfe de Glanuille, the whyche taking vpon them to goe before, with proſperous wind and wether in ſhort ſpace, landed at Acon, which was thẽ beſieged, as you ſhal hear herafter.



At Rome the King came not, but being within the ſtreame of the Riuer of Tiber, there came to him a Cardinall named Octauianus, Biſhop of Hoſtia, to whome hee ſpake many reprochfull wordes of the couetouſneſſe vſed in the Courte of Rome, bycauſe they had receyued ſeuen hundred markes for the conſecration of the Biſhoppe of Mauns, and. 1500. markes for the confirming of the Biſhop of Elie the Popes legate: And againe no ſmall ſum of money they had receiued of the Archb. of Burdeaux, when vpon an accuſation brought againſt him by ẏ clergie of his prouince he ſhould haue bin depoſed. In the meane time whyles King Richarde thus paſſeth forwarde towardes Meſſina, the nauie that was appointed to coaſt about Spayne and to meete him at Marſeiles, was toſſed (as before is ſayde) with wynde and tempeſtes, and a parte therof, that is to witte, tenne ſhippes driuen here and there on the coaſtes of Spayne, of whiche number nyne arriued at Liſbone, and the tenth beyng a ſhippe of London, arriued at the Citie of Sylua, whiche was then the vttermoſte Citie of Spayne, that was inhabited with Chriſtians.

King Richard
blameth the
court of Rom
for couetouſ-
neſſe.

The Sarazenes at that tyme made warres agaynſte the Kyng of Portyngale, ſo that the Portyngales ſtoode in neede of ayde, in ſo much that they of Sylua didde not onely entreate the Engliſhemenne to ſtay wyth them for a tyme, but alſo gotte graunte of them to breake theyr ſhyppe, wyth the tymber, wherwyth they might the better fortifye theyr towne, promyſyng that theyr King ſhoulde recompence them with an other as good as theyrs, and alſo further ſatiſfye them for their ſeruice, duryng the tyme of their aboade there in defence of that Citie.

The king of Portingale.

Lykewiſe of thoſe that arriued at Liſbone there went to the number of fyue hundred vnto Saint Frances, where the Kyng of Portyngale then was, lookyng to bee aſſaulted by his enimyes: but by the counterfaite death of the great kyng of the Sarazens named Boiac Almiramumoli, (who feared theſe newe ſuccoures, and doubted the ſequele of hys doynges, to the ende he might departe wyth honoure, he fayned hymſelf dead) ſo that the kyng of Portyngale was for that tyme preſentely delyuered oute of daunger.

Almiramumoli king of the Saracenes.

Whereupon he retourned to Liſbone, where he founde three ſcore and three other ſhippes of king Richardes Nauie there newely arriued, ouer the whyche were chiefe Capitaynes Robert de Sabuville, and Richarde de Camville: The whych at theyr commyng to lande coulde not ſo gouerne theyr people, but that ſome naughtye fellowes amongeſt them fell to breakyng and robbyng of Orchardes: ſome alſo entring into the Citie, behaued themſelues very diſorderedly: But yet by the comming of the kyng, theyr lewdneſſe was ſtayed, ſo that hee ſeemed not to ſeeke reuenge of the Pilgrimes, but rather with courteous meanes to brydle their vnlawfull attemptes: whereunto the diligence of the Engliſhe Capitaynes not a little preuayled for a whyle, but yet for all that coulde bee doone on bothe ſydes, within three dayes after, a newe tumulte was reyſed betwixte the Engliſhe Pilgrimes and the Townesmen, and diuers hurte and kylled on eyther parte, wherupon the king cauſed the gates of the Citie to be ſhut, and al thoſe that were come from the ſhips into the citie to eate and drinke (beyng in number aboute ſeauen hundred) were apprehended and committed to warde: and before they could bee releaſſed ſir Roberte Sabville and ſir Rycharde Cambille were gladde to agree wyth the kyng, ſo as all former offences beeyng remitted, and thynges taken by eyther parte reſtored, the Engliſhmenne promyſed to obſerue the peace aneynſt the Kyng of Portyngale and hys people, and hee lykewyſe couenaunted for hym and hys ſubiectes, that they ſhoulde keepe the peace aneynſt all Pilgrimes that went forthe in thys voyage, and vſe them lyke hys frendes, and thus the quarell ceaſſed.

Robert de Sabuville. VVilliam de Camville.

A mutenie betvvixt the Englishmen and the tovvnſmen of Lisbone.

Englishmenne committed to priſon.

Soone after, the Engliſhe Nauye departed from Lyſbone, and came vnto the mouthe of the Ryuer of Taye betweene Caperico and Belem, where the ſame daye on Saint James euen the Lorde Willyam de Forzdulerun arryued alſo wyth three and thyrtie other ſhippes, and ſo then they were in all aboute an hundred and ſixe ſayles very well furniſhed and manned, and ſo frõ thence taking their courſe towards Marſeiles finally they arriued there in the octaues of the Aſſumption of our Lady, and ſtaying there an eight dayes (till they had repared ſuche thinges aboute their ſhippes as were needefull) they ſette forwarde againe, and came to Meſſina in Sicile in the feaſte of the Exaltation of the Croſſe. On the Sunday folowing alſo, came the Frenche king thither, hauing loſt no ſmall parte of hys nauye by tempeſts of weather. King Richarde as then remayned at Salerne, and hearyng that his nauy was gone towardes Meſſina, he departed thence on the thirtene daye of September, and haſted forthe towardes Meſſina, paſſing by Melphi and Cocenza, and ſo at length comming to Faro de Meſſina, hee paſſed the ſame, and on the .xxiij. day of September arriued at Meſſina with greate noyſe of trumpettes and other inſtrumentes, to the wonder of the Frenche king and other that behelde his great puiſſance and royall behauiour now at his commyng. The ſame tyme he went vnto the French kings lodging, to commen with him of their buſines: and immediatly the French king tooke the ſea, in purpoſe to haue paſſed forward on his iorney, but by contrary winde he was ſtayed and kept backe within the hauen, whereupon bothe the Kings determined to Winter there, and in the meane time to prouide them ſelues of all things neceſſarie for their iorney, againſt the beginning of the next ſpring.

The Englishe ſhippes meete agayne togither.

They arriu Meſsina.

Kyng Rich arriueth Meſsina.

The .xxx. of September he receiued his ſiſter the Quene of Sicil, the widow of William late king of that yle, whom he placed in a ſtrong fortreſſe, which he tooke the ſame day, and left therin a conuenient garniſon of menne at armes and demylaunces for the ſafegarde of the place and of his ſaid ſiſter.

But nowe for the better vnderſtandyng of the cauſe of ſuche quarellyng as fell out betwixt the Engliſhmen and yͤ Siciliãs, ye ſhal vnderſtand that a little before the arriuall of the Kings of Englande and Fraunce in thoſe parties, Kyng William of Sicile was departed this life, leauing no iſſue behinde him: Whereupon the lordes of the Ile elected one Tancrede to their king, a baſtard ſonne of Roger ſometyme king of that lande, and Graundfather to this laſte deceaſſed king William.

This Tancrede though he receiued king Richard very courteouſely: Yet he greately truſted him not, bicauſe he demaunded the dower of his ſiſter Quene Joane, wife to the late king William to be reſtored, wheras he had not ready money to diſcharge it.

And furthermore to departe with the Citie of Mount Sainct Angelo, with all the countye therevnto belongyng, whiche was in deede

aſſigned

chaire of
olde.

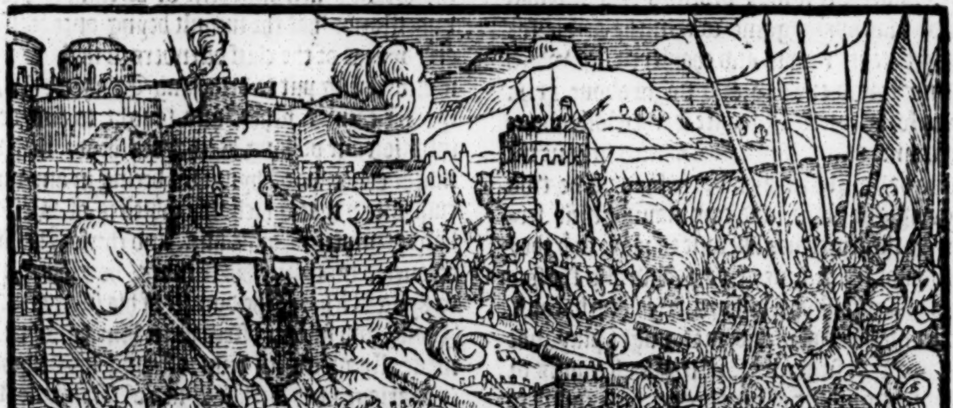
ing Richards
emaundes for
r the dovver
Meſsina by
his ſiſter
vife to king
Villiam.

aſſigned to hir for hir dower, he thoughte in no wyſe profytable: but king Rychard did not only require that Citie & countie wyth a chaire of gold, accordyng to the cuſtome of that kingdom in ryght of his ſiſter, as due to hir by way of hir dower, but alſo he required to his owne vſe a table of golde conteyning .xij. foot in length, & one foot, and an half in breadth, and ij. treſtelles of golde to beare vp the ſame table with .xxiiij. ſiluer cuppes and as many diſhes of ſiluer, with a tente of ſilke of ſuche largeneſſe that two hundred knightes might ſyt at meate within it: alſo fortie thouſande meaſures of wheate, wyth as many of barly, and as many of wine, beſide one hundred armed Galleys with all furnyture and victuales ſufficiente to ſerue the Galey men in the ſame for the terme of .ij. yeres. Theſe things he demaunded as due to him being heyre to his father king Henrye, accordingly as was deuiſed by kyng William in his laſt wil and teſtament, which demaundes ſeemed intollerable to the ſaid Tancred: ſo that if he could haue ſhifted the matter he was lothe to haue harde thereof.

Moreouer, bycauſe Pope Clemente in right of the Churche pretended a title to the Realme of Sicille, nowe that King William was dead without heires, hee doubted of ſome practiſe that myghte bee made agaynſte him betwixte King Richard and the Pope. Whereuppon he thought to prouide againſt all attemptes that mighte bee made, fortifying hys Townes and Caſtels with ſtrong garniſons, and tooke counſell with the Citizens of Meſſina, by what meanes hee mighte ſooneſt diſpatche hys Countrey of that preſent daunger, and procure King Richarde to get him forward on his iourney.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand, there was miniſtred to the Engliſh men occaſion of diſpleaſure: for as it oftentimes chanceth (where an army is) certaine of the vnruly Souldiers within Meſſina vſed themſelues ſomewhat riotouſly, whereupon the Citizens offended therewith, gote them to armoure, and chaced all the Souldiers out of the Citie. King Richarde who lay in Campe without the Walles, neere to the Citie, was ſo highly diſpleaſed herewith, that he cauſed his men to arme them ſelues, and to prepare ladders and other neceſſary things to aſſault the citie: but by the mediation of the Frenche Kyng, and curteous excuſe of Kyng Tancred (alledging the faulte to reſt only in a ſorte of rude Citizens, whome he promyſed to puniſhe) the matter was taken vp, and ſtayed for a tyme, tyll at lengthe it was perceyued, that the Sicilians went about to feede forth king Richarde with fayre wordes, tyll he ſhould be ready to ſet forwardes on his iourney, and ſo ſhould the matter paſſe without worthy puniſhmente.

Wherupon king Richarde not myndinge to be ſo mocked at their handes, approched one daye to the walles and gates with his armie in good away of battayle to giue the aſſaulte, whiche



K. Richard aſ-
ulteth and en
reth the citie
orce.

was giuen ſo earneſtly, and ſo well maynteyned that finally the Citie was entred by force, and manye of the Citizens ſlayne, but the ſlaughter had beene muche greater, if kyng Richarde had not commaunded hys menne to ſpare the ſworde, moued with the lamentable noyſe of the poore people, crying to hym for mercye and grace.

The Engliſhmen hauyng got poſſeſſion of the Citie pighte vp the banners wyth the Armes of the King of Englande rounde aboute the walles, wherewith the Frenche kyng was ſore diſpleaſed, and required that the ſame myghte be taken downe, and hys ſette vppe:

But the king of England woulde not ſo agree. Neuertheleſſe to pacifie the French kings moode, he deliuered the citie of Meſſina vnto the cuſtodie of the Knightes Templers and Hoſpitalers, tyll he might be ſatiſfied of ſuche things as hee demaunded of king Tancrede.

The two kinges of England and France receyue a ſolemn othe.

After this on the .viij. day of October, the two kings of Englãd & France, before a great number of Earles, and Barons, and other, bothe of the Clergie and temporaltie tooke their ſolemne othes, that the one ſhould defend the other, and alſo eyther others armye in this iourney, bothe comming and going, without fraude or deceipt: and the lyke othe was receyued by the Erles and Barons on both partes.

Ordinaunces deuiſed.

After this the two kings by aduiſe and cõſent of both their armies, deuiſed theſe ordinaunces, that all Pilgryms which chaunced to dye in this iourneye myghte diſpoſe at their pleaſure of all their armure, horſes, and apparell, and of half of thoſe things whiche they had with them, ſo that they ſent nothing home into their countreys, and the other half ſhuld be at the diſcretion of Walter Archbiſh. of Rouen, Manſer biſhop of Langres, of the maiſter of the Temple, & of the maiſter of the Hoſpitall of Hugh duke of Burgoigne, of Rafe de Coucy, of Drogo de Marlow, of Rob. Sabuill, Andrew de Chauenny, and of Gilbert Waſcoyle, which ſhuld imploy the ſame towardes the ſupport of the warres in the holy Lande againſt the Infidels as they thought moſte expedient. Moreouer it was ordeined that no man ſhoulde play at any game within the armie for money, except knights and chapleyns, the which ſhuld not loſe in one day and nyght aboue .xx.ſ. they to forfait an .C.ſ. ſo ofte as they loſt aboue that ſumme: the perſons aforenamed to haue the ſame to be diſtributed as afore is ſayd. The two kyngs might playe, and commaunde their ſeruants in their preſence likewiſe to play, ſo yͭ they exceded not the ſumme of .xx.ſ. And alſo the ſeruants of Archbiſhops, biſhops, erles and barons, by their maiſters cõmandemẽt might play, not exceeding that ſumme: But if any ſeruants or Maryners, or other of lyke degree, were found to play without licence, the ſeruauntes ſhoulde bee whipped naked .iij. days round about the campe, excepte they raunſomed forth themſelues at the pleſure of the perſons aboue named: and the Maryners ſhould be dowſed ouer heade and eares in the ſea for .iij. mornings togither, after the vſe of ſeamen, except they redeemed that puniſhmẽt at the diſcretion lykewiſe of the ſayd perſons: and thoſe of other the lyke meane degrees being neyther knyghtes nor chapleyns ſhould be puniſhed as ſeruauntes.

Play forbidden

orrovving.

Alſo if any Pilgrime borrowed any thyng of an other whyleſt he was on his iourney, hee ſhould be bound to pay it: but if he borrowed it before his ſetting forth, he was not bound to anſwere it till his returne home.

Souldiours mariners departing from their maiſters.

If any mariner or ſeruaunt reteyned in wages with any man in this iourney, departed from his maſter without licẽce, no other perſon might receiue him, and if he did, he ſhoulde be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the forenamed perſones.

Victualers.

Moreouer it was ordeyned, that no vittayler or other ſhold buy any bread to ſel again, nor any meale within the cõpaſſe of the campe, except the ſame were brought by a ſtranger, neyther might they buy any paſte or other thing to ſell agayne within the campe, or within a league of it.

If any man any bought corn to make bread of, was appoynted howe muche hee ſhoulde gayne in one meaſure beſyde the branne. Other occupiers that vſed buying & ſellyng of wares ſhould gayne one peny in .x.d. neither ſhould any man refuſe any of the kynges coyne, excepte it were broken within the circle. No man ſhoulde buye any fleſhe to ſell it agayne, except a lyue beaſte, whiche he ſhould kill within the campe.

Moreouer, no man ſhoulde make bread to ſell, but after the rate of penye loaues. Wherein the peny Engliſh was apointed to go for foure pens Aniouyne. All theſe ordinances with other were decreede and ordayned to be obſerued and kepte by the councell, conſente, and agreemente of the kinges of England, Fraunce, and Sicile.

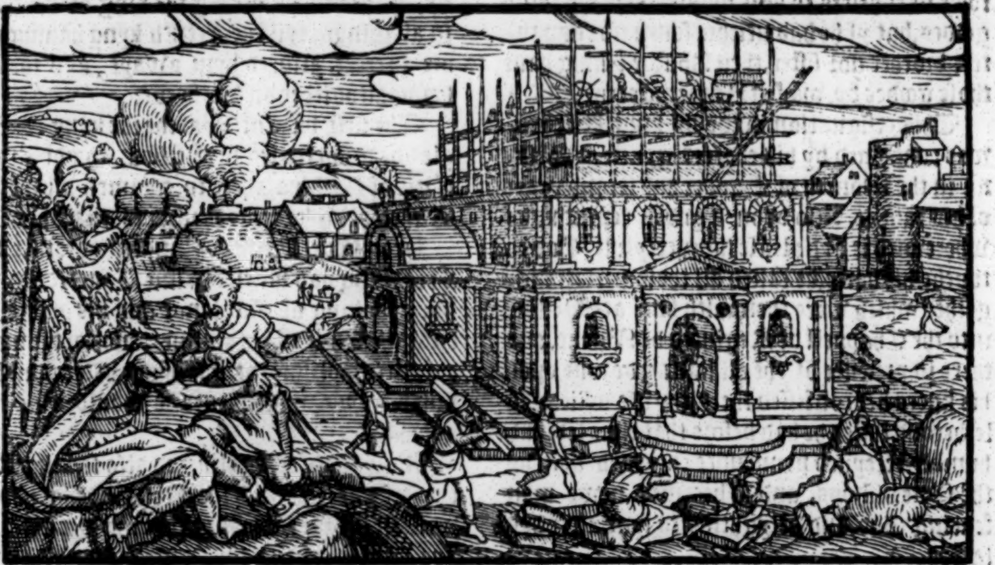
Polidor.

But to returne now to the diſſention betwixt the Engliſhmen and them of Meſſina: Ye ſhall vnderſtande that the tumult beyng once ceaſſed, and dyuers of the chief offenders in the late commotion being put to deth, king Tankrede ſhortly after came thyther, and ſought to auoyde al ſuſpition out of king Richardes heade, that hee might conceyue of hym: for beeing in any wyſe culpable in that whiche his ſubiectes of Meſſina had attempted againſt him, and therfore hauing recouered money of his friendes, he reſtored vnto kyng Richarde the dowrie of his ſiſter Quene Ioane, aud further offred vnto him to ioyne in newe allyance with hym, offering his daughter in mariage vnto Arthur Duke of Britayne, the kings nephewe, with a greate ſumme of money for hir dowrie, if it ſo ſhouid pleaſe hym.

King Richarde accepted the offer, and ſo ioyned in peace and affinitie with the king of Sicil, receyuyng of hym twentie thouſande ounces of golde for the ſame maryage to bee had, and an honorable dowrie aſſigned forth of the landes that belonged to the ſayde Arthure for the ſayde Lady to enioye duryng hir lyfe, in caſe ſhe ſuruiued hir huſbande. And if it ſo chaunced, that by the death of either of them the mariage could not take place, then ſhoulde King Richarde reſtore the ſame twentie thouſand ounces of golde agayn.

agayne. But beſyde theſe twentie thouſand vnces of Golde thus giuen by kyng Tancrede for the mariage of his daughter, he gaue other twentie thouſande ounces to King Richarde for an acquitaunce and quite claym of all manner of dueties, rightes, and demaundes, whiche eyther he or his ſyſter myghte pretende, eyther by reaſon of any bequeſt, dower, or by any other maner of waye.

Here is to bee noted, that before thys concluſion of peace was hadde, kyng Richarde prouided for his own defence, in caſe that king Tancrede and his people would haue attempted force agaynſt him, in ſomuch that he fortified certaine places, and buylte a ſtrong caſtill alofte vpon the toppe of an hill faſt by Meſſina, whiche caſtell he called Mategriffon.



Alſo where as the Admirall of Sicile called Margaret, and one Jordane del Poyn, men of great authoritie vnder king Tancrede, fledde out of Meſſina with all their families & riches, which they had eyther in golde or ſiluer, king Richard ſeyſed vppon theyr houſes, theyr Galeys, and poſſeſſions, ſo that he made hymſelfe as ſtrong as he coulde, to reſiſt all attemptes that myght bee made agaynſt hym by his enimies. But now to proceede.

The variance beeing thus appeaſed betwixte them, greate diſcorde chaunced to aryſe betwixt King Richarde and kyng Philippe, who was muche offended wyth king Richard, for that he had thus vſed violēce againſt them of Meſſina, & compelled king Tancrede to agree with him for money, to the greate offence and breache of the lawes of Herberrough, ſith the Sicilians verye liberally ayded and furniſhed the Chriſtians armie with victuals and neceſſarie prouiſions.

e lavves
Herbour-
gh.

The Frenchemen alſo had muche enuie therat, that ſhortly after vpon a ſmall occaſion they picked a quarell agaynſt the Engliſhemen, and from wordes fell to ſtrokes on bothe ſydes, ſo that there had bin much hurt and ſlaughter committed, if the two kings had not donne their beſt to appeaſe the fray begonne.

glishmen &
nchmen
ght.

But this buſineſſe though it was quickly as then taken vp and ſtayed, yet bredde it ſuche diſpleaſure betwixt the Princes and their people, that it turned to the greate hurte and hinderance of their good proceedings in their whole enterpriſe, ſo that the occaſion of a full and perfecte victorie eaſily ſlipped out of their handes, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

corde in an
ye, the hin-
er of al pro
ble enter-
es.

An other alſo of the chiefeſt cauſes of grudge betwixt the two kings was, for that king Rycharde in familiar talke, confeſſed vnto Kyng Philip, that he woulde marrie the king of Nauarres daughter, and cleerely forſake his ſiſter Adela: Whiche grieued king Philippe not a little, though he diſſembled the matter for a tyme, and rather alledged other cauſes of diſpleaſure, wherwith to defame king Richard to the worlde, as one that ſought his own commoditie in ſpoyling thoſe whome he ought rather to haue defended. But to procede.

Whyleſt the Engliſhe and Frenche armyes thus ſoiorned for the Winter time in Sicile, notwithſtanding the troubles aforeſayd, to the hinderaunce of king Richardes purpoſes, for the making of his prouiſions readie for his iourney, he yet cauſed engins to be framed, his ſhippes to be newly calked, rigged and repared of ſuch hurtes as they had receyued both in their long voyage which they had made, & alſo by certaine wormes the which duryng the tyme of theyr lying there, had in diuers places gnawen and eaten thẽ thorough to the great daunger of their loſſe, & vtter decay. Moreouer at yͤ ſame time he pardoned al wreckes by ſea throughe all hys dominions, re-

VVreckes par-
d.ned.

leaſing for euer al his right to the ſame, in ſuch wiſe that euery perſō makyng wrecke by ſea, & comming aliue to lande, ſhoulde haue all his goodes free and cleare to him ſelf. Furthermore he decreed, that if he chaunced to periſhe in the ſhippe, then his ſonnes and daughters, brethren or ſiſters, that coulde proue themſelues to be next heires to him, ſhoulde haue the ſame goodes, but yf he had neither ſonne nor daughter, brother nor ſiſter, then ſhoulde yͤ king haue thoſe goodes by way of his prerogatiue.

This reſignation made by king Richard, was confirmed by his charter gyuen at Meſſina in the Moneth of October and ſecond yeare of his raigne. Alſo vpon a godly repentaunce wherewith it dyd pleaſe the mercyfull God to touche his harte, he called all thoſe prelates together which were then with him at Meſſina into the Chappell of Reginald de Moyac, and there in preſence of thē all falling downe vpon his knees hee confeſſed the filthy life whiche in lecherous luſtes he had before that time led, and humbly receyued pennaunce enioyned hym by the ſame biſhops, and ſo became a newe man fearing God, and delyghting to lyue after hys lawes.

King Richards confeſsion.

Furthermore hearing of the greate fame of Abbot Ioachim, he ſent for him ouer into Calabria, who came to Meſſina, and being aſked ſundry queſtions by kyng Richard, hee made wonderfull aunſwers thereto: as in Houeden and other writers it maye appeare, whiche for breefneſſe I paſſe ouer.

Abbot Ioachim.

Aboute the ſame tyme he gaue vnto his nephue Otho, the ſon of his ſiſter Maude, ſometime Ducheſſe of Saxonie, the Countie of Yorke. But although ſome were contented to receyue hym as theyr lorde, and to do homage to him, yet other refuſed him, alledging yͭ they woulde not renounce theyr fealties due to the kyng, till they might ſee him agayn, and talke with him face to face. Whereupon the kyng chaungyng his purpoſe, gaue vnto the ſayde Otho the Countie of Poyctou in ſtead of the ſayd Countie of Yorke, as after ſhall appere.

The two kings of Englande and Fraunce helde their Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Meſſina, and ſtill the king of Englande vſed great liberalitie in beſtowing his treaſure freely amongeſt knightes and other men of warre, ſo that it was thought he ſpent more in a moneth thā any of his predeceſſours euer ſpent in a whole yeare.

1191

The large expenſes of king Richard.

In the month of February he ſent his Gallies to Naples there to receiue his mother & his wife that ſhould be, to wit the Lady Berengaria daughter to the king of Nauar, and Philip Erle of Flaunders that came with thē. But his mother Queene Elynore and the ladye Berengaria, went to Brindize in Puglia, where they wer honorably receiued of Margaret king Tancrede his admirall. Moreouer the Erle of Flaunders comming to Naples, and finding there the Galleyes of king Richarde, went a boorde the ſame, and ſo came to Meſſina, at the firſt following the king of England in all things, tyll the French kyng hauing enuie thereat, allured hym awaye, and then he hoong altogither on his ſleeue.

The earle of Flanders

The firſt daye of Marche the kyng of Englande departed from Meſſina, to goe to the Citie of Cathina, there to commen with king Tancrede, who came thyther to meete hym.

Here king Richarde vnderſtoode, that the Frēch king had ſolicited king Tancrede to ſet vpon the king of Englande and his armye, to chaſe them out of his realme: and for the more eaſy accompliſhment therof, he had promyſed him his ayde, whenſoeuer he would giue the aduenture.

K.Richard t keth vvith k Tancrede.

King Tancrede deliuered alſo to king Richard ſuche letters as the Frenche king hadde written to him cōcerning this matter. Wherupon at his returne to Meſſina, king Richard ſhewed by his frowning countenaunce that he was nothyng pleaſed with the Frenche king, but ſought occaſiōs to get him out of his companie.

The Frenche king perceyuing it, required to vnderſtande the cauſe of this his ſodain mutation Wherupon king Richard nothing fearing his power, declared the trouthe playnely vnto hym by the mouth of the Erle of Flanders: and when the other denyed the practiſe, he for profe of the thing, ſhewed him the ſame Letters whiche king Tancrede had deliuered vnto hym. The Frenche kyng was not a little abaſhed hereat, and wiſt not well what to ſay, nor what excuſe to make, the matter was ſo playne. But yet at length he ſayde: Well nowe I perceyue the king of England ſeeketh to haue ſome quarel why he may refuſe to marry with my ſiſter. For theſe are but forged matters, and no truth reſteth in them.

When the King of Englande vnderſtode this maner of anſwere, he replied in this wiſe, That as for the Frenche kings ſiſter, he might not marry, for as muche as he was able to produce good witnes to proue that his father had lyen with hir and got a child of hir. And as for his priuie proceedings and practiſe with Tancrede, he neded no further teſtimonie than his owne hande and his ſeale, the partie himſelfe being preſent who receiued them, the meſſenger alſo being not far off that carried them betweene bothe the parties. When the Frenche kyng was thoroughly enfourmed of the firſte point, through councell of the Earle of Flanders and others, hee pacifyed hym ſelfe, and was contented to releaſe the king of England of his faith giuen by othe for the contract made with his ſiſter Alice: in conſideration of whiche releaſe the Kyng of Englande couenanted to gyue yearely to the Frenche Kyng two thouſande Markes of ſterlyng coyne for the terme of fyue yeares togyther: And at his returne home, it was agreed, that he ſhuld alſo delyuer vnto the French Kyng hys ſyſter the ſayde Ladye Alyce, wyth the Towne of Gyſours, and all other thynges whiche the Frenche Kyng hadde graunted to hym with his ſayde ſiſter. On the other part, the French kyng graunted, that the Duchye of Brytaine ſhoulde appertayne to the domynion of the Duchie of Normandye, ſo as the Duke of Brytaine ſhould be accompted the liege man of the Duke of Normandye, and that the duke of Normandie ſhould anſwer the French king for bothe the Duchies, as well of Brytayne as Normandie.

Theſe agreementes were ratified and confirmed with ſolemne othes receiued, and charters giuen vnder their hands and ſeales, vpon the .xxx. day of Marche.

e Frenche
g ſetteth
rth from
ſsina to-
ardes the
y lande.

And herewith the Frenche king nowe that the ſeaſonable tyme of the yeare was come, ſet forwarde towarde the Holye lande, leauyng King Richarde behynde him in Sicile: And the two & twentie day after his ſetting forthe from Meſſina, he arriued at the ſiege of Acres or Acon.

The ſame day alſo that the Frenche King departed from Meſſina, Queene Eleanor the mother of king Richard, arriued there, bringing with hir the lady Berengaria, the daughter of Sanctius the kyng of Nauarre, and the fourth day after Quene Elinore toke leaue of her ſonne King Richarde, and departed homewarde towardes Englande, taking hir iourney by Rome, for the buſineſſe of Geffrey the elect of Yorke, as to intreate the Pope that he would confirme and conſecrate him Archbiſhoppe, or to autoriſe ſome other to doe it in his name.

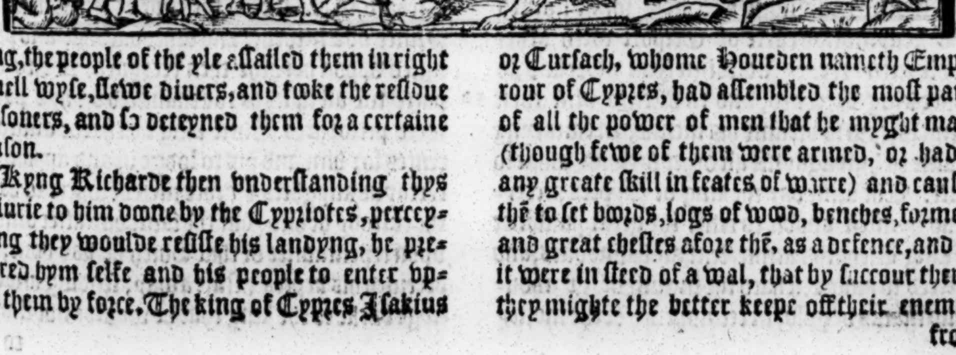
Quene Elynor returneth by Rome.

The Ladie Berengaria remayned behind with the Kings ſiſter Joane Quene of Sicil.

After this in the moneth of Aprill, on the Wedneſday in the Paſſion weeke K. Richard after hee had finiſhed and made an ende of all concluſions with kyng Tancrede, he did alſo ſet forward with his ſiſter Joane, who tooke with hir the ladie Berengaria, daughter to yͤ king of Nauarre, fianced to him long before, as aboue is partly mencioned. His nauie conſiſted in .13. mightie greate ſhips with tryple ſayles, an hundred Carikes or rather Hulkes, and .l. Galeys. He was no ſooner abroade in the mayne ſea, but a great tempeſt roſe, wherewith his whole nauy was ſore toſſed and turmoyled vp and downe the ſeas, and at lengthe driuen on the coaſt of Cypres, where ſeekyng to take harbour, and ~~to come~~ a land, the Cypriots would not ſuffer him, but ſhewed coũtenaunce to driue him backe, and to reſiſt hys landing. Alſo where as .vj. of his ſhippes were ſo driuen by force of tempeſte from the reſidue, that three of them periſhed, and three beeyng caſte vppon the ſhoare of Cypres before the Kynges arriuall there, the Souldiours and other people in the ſame, were compelled to come a land for ſauing of their liues, where otherwiſe they ſtood in danger of drowning, the people of the yle aſſailed them in right cruell wyſe, ſlewe diuers, and tooke the reſidue priſoners, and ſo deteyned them for a certaine ſeaſon.

M. Paris.

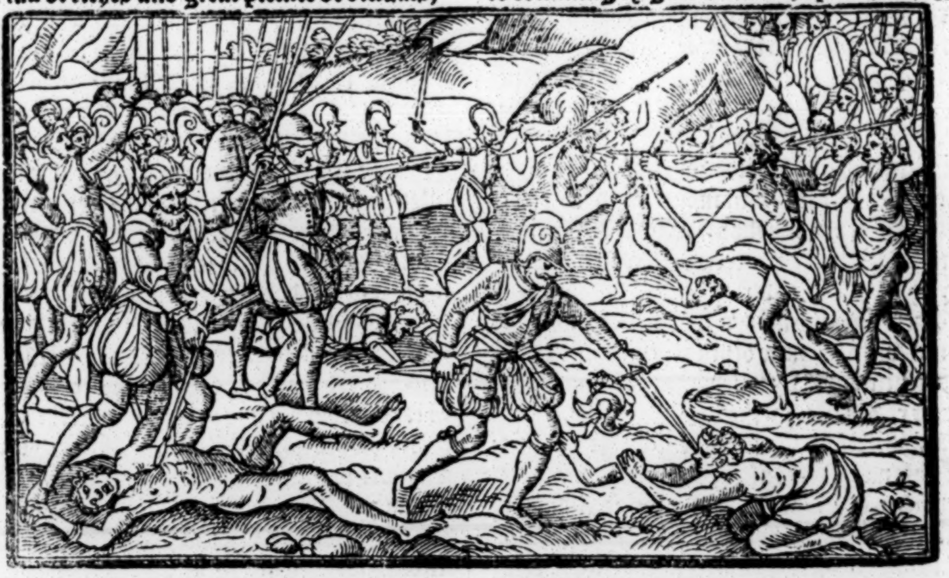
150. Ships and and. 53. galeys hath Roger Houeden.



Kyng Richarde then vnderſtanding thys iniurie to him doone by the Cypriotes, perceyuing they woulde reſiſte his landyng, he prepared hym ſelfe and his people to enter vpon them by force. The king of Cypres Iſakius or Curſach, whome Houeden nameth Emperour of Cypres, had aſſembled the moſt parte of all the power of men that he myght make (though fewe of them were armed, or hadde any greate ſkill in feates of warre) and cauſed thē to ſet boords, logs of wood, benches, formes, and great cheſtes afore thē, as a defence, and as it were in ſteed of a wal, that by ſuccour therof they mighte the better keepe off their enemie, from landing, but king Richarde ſo encouraged his menne by his preſence, and ſuche comfortable wordes as he vttered vnto them, that rowing to the ſhoare with their Galeyes and ſmall boates, hauyng the Archers afore them, they eaſily got a lande, droue theyr enimyes backe, and chaſed them ſo farre (as they being but footemen,) wetherbeaten, weary, and weat conueniently myghte, for the ſhorteneſſe of the tyme. King Richarde hauing thus got foote a land, approched the towne of Limeſzun which he wyth hys ſouldyers entred, and fyndyng it emptie of people (the which were fledde away) but full of riches and great plentie of victuals, as corne wine, oyle, and fleſhe, he ſeyzed thereupon.

The Engliſhemen take lande & chaſe their enimies.

Limeſzun.



The ſame daye alſo the Kings ſiſters and yͤ Ladye Berengaria with the reſidewe of the Kings nauie entred the hauen of Limezun. In the meane time the king of Cipres (hauing eſcaped from the bataile) got together his men whiche were fled and diſperſed ſundry wayes, and encamped within. vj. myles of kyng Rychard, threatning that the next daye he woulde eftſoones gyue battaile: which when king Rychard vnderſtoode, hee cauſed hys people to bee armed the next morning long before daye and ſo comming by guides vnto the place, where yͤ the Ciprlotes with their king were lodged, ſodenly thei aſſailed them ere they had any warning of hys marching towardes thẽ, by reaſon whereof they were ſlaine like beaſtes in greate number. Their king yet and a few other eſcaped and fled away naked, hauing not time to put vpon thẽ their apparell, hys treaſure, horſe armour and ſtanderd were taken, which ſtanderd king Richard ſtraightwayes determined to ſende vnto Sainte Edmunndes ſhrine, and ſo did. And hauing thus vanquiſhed his aduerſaries, he came backe to Limeſzun: and the thyrde day after, Guy king of Jeruſalem & his brother Geffrey de Lucignan with the Prince of Antioche Raymond and hys ſonne named alſo Raymonde earle of Tripoli with other noble men arriued at Limeſzun aforeſaid, to viſite king Richard, and to offer to him their ſeruices, and ſo became his menne, in ſwearyng fealtie to hym agaynſt all other perſons what ſo euer. The ſame day the king of Cypres perceyuing hymſelf vnable to reſiſt the great puiſſance of king Richards armie, ſent ambaſſadours, and offered to king Richard the ſumme of. xx. thouſand marks of gold, in recompence of the money whiche his men that were drowned had aboute them, and alſo to reſtore thoſe to libertie whiche he had taken priſoners, and to make deliuerie to their hãdes of all their goodes. Furthermore, he offered to go with hym into the holy lande in perſon, & to ſerue him with an hundred knightes iiij. C. lyghte horſemen, and. v. C. well armed footmen, and alſo to deliuer to king Richard his daughter and heyre in hoſtage, and to acknowledge him his ſoueraigne lorde, by ſwearing to him fealtie for his kingdome, as for that which he ſhoulde confeſſe to holde of him.

King Richarde with a camiſado vanquiſheth the Cipriots, & chaſeth them out of their campe.

Ia. Textor.

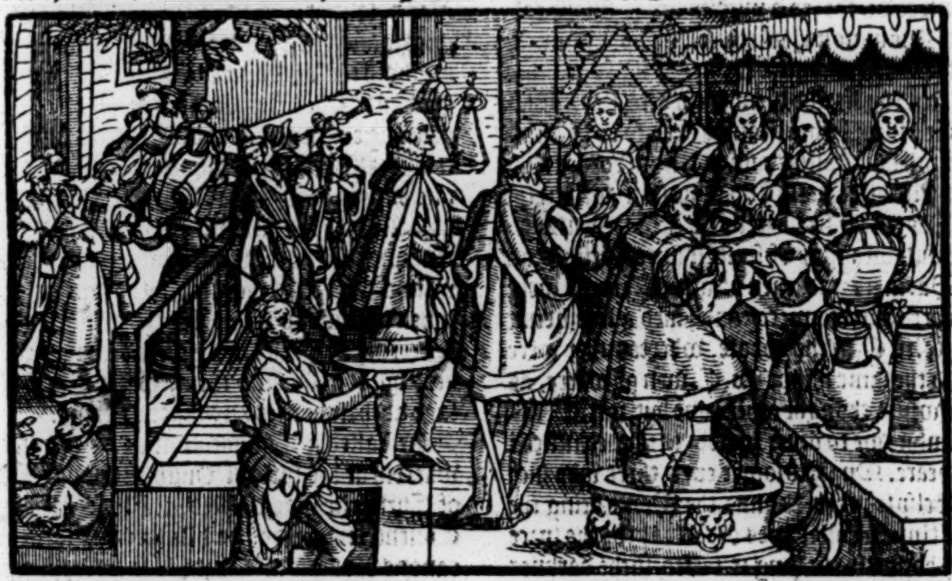
The K. of Jeruſalem and other noble men do fealtie vnto king Richard

The offers of the king of Cypres.

The king of Cypres ſubmitteth himſelfe.

King Richard accepted theſe offers, and ſo the king of Cypres came in & ſware fealtie to kyng Richard, in preſence of the king of Jeruſalem, the Prince of Antioche, and other barons, and promiſed vppon his othe then receyued, not to departe till all thinges couenaunted on hys parte were performed. Then king Richarde aſſigned tentes for him and his to lodge in and appointed certayne knyghtes & other men of warre to haue the cuſtody of him, but the ſame day after dinner vpon repentaunce of that which he had done, he deceiued his kepers & ſtale away, ſending knowledge backe to the king that he woulde not ſtande to the couenauntes, which wer concluded vpon betwixt them. King Richarde ſeemed to like the matter well inoughe, and forthwith deliuered a parte of his army vnto the king of Jeruſalem and to the Prince of Antioche, appointing them to purſue the king of Cipres by lãde whyleſt hee with one parte of his Gallies and Roberte de Turneham with the other mighte ſearche aboute the coaſte by ſea to prohibite his paſſage by water. In euery place where they came, ſuche ſhippes and Gallies as they found they ſeazed into their handes, and no reſiſtance was made againſte them by reaſon the people fled to the woods and mountains, leauing the cities, townes and caſtelles voyd in all ſtedes where the King or the ſaide ſir Roberte de Thorneham with theyr veſſelles began to appeare. When they had taken their pleſure thus alongſt the coaſtes, they retourned againe vnto Limeſzun.

The king of Jeruſalem and the other that went forthe by lande, when they coulde not ſpeede of their purpoſe, they returned alſo, and in the meane time a great number of Cypriots came in, and ſubmitting them ſelues to king Richard, were receiued as his ſubiectes. On the xij. day of May the Lady Berengaria daughter to the kyng of Nauarre was maried according to a precontract vnto king Richarde at Limeſzun aforeſaide in the Ile of Cipres, one of the kings Chapleins executing the order of the mariage. The ſame day alſo ſhe was crowned by the Biſhoppe of Eureux, the Archebiſhoppes of Apamea and Aux, with the Biſhope of Baion miniſtring vnto him.



oberte de
urnham.

he king of
ngland mari-
h the Ladye
erengaria.
he is crovv-
ed Queene.

g of
ubmit-
ſelfe.

After the ſolempnitie of this mariage and coronation ended, king Richarde ſet forward with his army into the countrey of Cipres and firſt wanne by ſurrender the citie of Nichoſia, and after the ſtrong caſtell of Cherin, within the whiche was the daughter of the king of Cipres, whiche Ladie humbly yelded hir ſelfe vnto king Richard, who hauing pitie of hir caſe, ſent hir to his wyfe the newe Queene, willyng that ſhe might be honorably vſed. From thence paſſing forward, theſe caſtels were deliuered into his hands, Baffes and Buffeuent, Den, Anuur, Candace, and afterwards all the other caſtels and cities, townes and places of ſtrengthe within that Iſle one after an other. Finally hearing that the king of Cipres was encloſed in an Abbey called Cap S. Andrew, he marched thitherwards: but when the king of Cypres hearde of his approche, he came forth and ſubmitted himſelfe wholly into his hands: The king fyrſte appointed him to the keping of his chamberlain Rafe Fitz Gefrey, and after ſent him vnto the Citie of Tripoli, there to be kept in cloſe priſon. Who when he heard he ſhould be committed to cloſe priſon, and remayn in fetters, ſayde, that if he lay in yrons, he ſhould ſhortly ende his lyfe. Whereunto king Richarde when he hearde of it, aunſwered: he ſpeaketh it very wel, and therfore bycauſe he is a noble man, and our minde is not to haue hym dead, but only to be kept ſafe from ſtarting any more away, and doing newe hurt, let him be chained in giues and fetters made of ſiluer, and ſo he was. But to proceede. After the king had ſet the countrey of Cipres in a good ſtay, he deliuered the keping therof vnto Richard de Camuill and Robert de Turnham. And this done, vpon the Wedneſday in the Whitſon weke he toke the ſea again, and paſſed ouer to the Citie of Acres, which as then was beſieged by the Chriſtian army, as yee maye reade in the deſcription of the holy lande, onelye giuing you to vnderſtande, that ſuche was the valiancie of king Richarde ſhewed in manfull conſtreining of the citie, that his praiſe was gretly bruted both amongſt

Caſtels deliue-
red to the king
of Englande.

The K. of Cy-
pres agayn ſub
mitteth himſel
to the king of
Englande.
Rafe Fitz Ge
frey.

He arriued th
on the Sater-
day in VVh
ſonvveke, be
ing the ſater-
day alſo ne
before the fe
of S. Bernab
Galfridus
Vinſauf.

amongſt the chriſtians, and alſo the Sarazins. But the ſecrete enimitie betwixte him and the Frenche King eftſones renued by occaſion of ſuch diſcord as chaunced betwixt Guido king of Jeruſalem, and Conrade the Marques of Tire, ſo that parties were taken, and where as both the Piſanes and Genevoys did offer their ſeruice vnto king Richard, yet bicauſe the Genevoys were confederat with the French king, who toke parte with the Marques, hee refuſed them and receiued the Piſanes, ioining himſelf with king Guido to ſupporte hym agaynſt his enemies. Here is alſo to be remembred that before king Richarde arriued at the ſiege, he encountred on the ſea a mighty great ſhippe called a Drommond, which one Saphaldine the brother of Saladine a Prince of the Saraſines had ſent to refreſhe them with vittelles. This ſhippe king Richard cauſed fiercely to be aſſailed with his Gallies, and at length bowged hir with all the victuals and prouiſion within the ſame, as wilde fire, barells of firie ſerpents, armor and weapons of ſundrie ſortes, beſides all the Mariners and men of warre, except ſuche as were taken to mercy and ſaued aliue, being aboute .ij. C. in the whole, whereas ther were aboord the ſame ſhippe .xv. C. men of warre, as ſome wryte, though other haue but .viij. C.

Piſanes and Genevoys.

Mat. Paris.
N. Triuet.
Saphaldine, the brother of Saladine.

Mat. Paris.
Ni. Triuet.

But nowe to other incidents that chaunced this yeare. On Midſomer euen there was ſuch an Eclipſe of the Sunne, the Moone being the ſame time .xxviij. dayes olde that for the ſpace of .iij. houres (for ſo long it laſted) ſuche darknes came ouer the face of the Earthe, that euen in the daye time (for this Eclipſe beganne aboute ix. of the clocke in the morning) the ſtarres appeared playnly in the element.

An Eclipſe of the Sunne.

The ſeuenth houre of the day ſayth Mathevv Paris.

In the ſame moneth of June, Richarde de Camville, whom the king had left (as ye haue heard) gouernour in Cypres, chaunced to fall ſicke, and comming without licence to the ſiege of Acres, there dyed. After whoſe death the Cipriots and thoſe called Griffons and Erminians, reuolted from the Engliſhe obedience, and choſe to them a kyng, one that was a Monke of the familie of Iſachius their former kyng: but Roberte de Turnham, who after the deceaſe of Richarde de Camville remained ſole gouernoure of the Ile, gathered a power of men togyther, and giuyng battayle to the newe king (whome Houeden nameth alſo emperour) vanquiſheth him wyth his complices, taketh him priſoner and hangeth him on a paire of galowes. The ſame month alſo died Rafe Fitz-Geffrey, who had the other king Iſac in in cuſtodie, and then king Richarde deliuered him to the knightes of the Hoſpitall, who ſent him to the caſtell of Margant, there ſafely to be kepte as priſoner to the vſe of the king of Englande. But now at length to returne vnto the affaires of England to make ſome mention of the doings there. Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that after king Richarde was ſet forwarde on his iorney, the Lorde Chauncellour William Longchampe, Biſhop of Ely, appoynted (as ye haue heard) gouernour of the Realme, began to exerciſe his authoritie to the vttermoſt, taking vppon him the ſtate of a Prince, rather than of a ſubiect. He had of late (as before ye haue heard) procured ſuche fauour at the hands of Pope Clement, that hee was inſtituted by him Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea here in England, ſo that pretending a rule bothe ouer the clergie and temporaltie, and by reaſon that he had both the authoritie of Pope and King in his handes, he vſed the ſame to his moſte aduauntage, as well in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall as temporall, wherby he wrought manie oppreſſions both againſt them of the clergie and temporaltie. He meintained ſuch a port and countenaunce in his doings, that hee woulde ryde with a thouſande horſſes, by meane whereof when he came to lye at Abbeys and other places (bringyng with hym ſuch a trayne) he was very burdenous vnto them, ſpecially when hee laye at their houſes any ſpace of tyme.

Richarde de Camvilie deceaſſeth.

Polidor.

The Lorde Chancellor called the Popes legate in Englande.

The ſtatelye port of the Lord Chauncellour.

Ran. Higd.

He called a Conuocation at Weſtminſter, wherein at the ſuite of Hugh Nouaunt biſhop of Cheſter, it was decreed, that the Monkes of Couentrie ſhoulde bee diſplaced, and ſecular canons brought into that houſe to ſupply their roomths. Which was done by the authoritie of the ſayd Lord Chancellor being brybed by the foreſayd Biſhoppe of Cheſter (as ſome writers haue recorded) for diſpleaſure whiche hee bare to the Monkes, by reaſon of a fray which they had made vpon the ſayd Biſhop in theyr Churche at Couentrie, and drawne bloud of him before the Altare there, as he alledged.

A conuocatio

Monkes of Couentrie diſplaced.

Polidore.
Ran. Higd.
VVil. Par.

The occaſion.
Ran. Higd.

But ſome haue written, that the Biſhop of Cheſter procured a licence of the Pope, to alter the ſtate of that Churche in ſorte aboue mentioned, whiche is moſte lykely, ſurmiſyng agaynſt the Monkes, that they were manyfeſte and moſte ſtubborne diſturbers of that peace and quietneſſe whiche oughte to remayne amongſt Churchmen: and yet he him ſelf ſowed the ſtrife and diſſention amongeſt them, and namelye betweene the Prior and his Couent. Moreouer the ſayde Lorde Chancellor depriued ſuche rulers of theyr adminiſtrations and gouernementes, as the King had appointed to beare any highe authoritye within the Realme, pretending not onelye the kings commaundement, but alſo alledging a reaſon whiche moued him ſo to doe, as thus, that he might thereby

VVil. Par

Ran. Higd.
Polidore.

take

he Lorde aucellors aſon.

take awaye all occaſions of grudges from the people, which otherwiſe might think, and wold not ſticke to ſaye, that they were oppreſſed by the rule of many kinges in ſteede of one king. Hee dydde depriue alſo Hughe the Biſhoppe of Durham of al his honour and dignitie, and putte the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter to greate trouble.

e Biſhop of urham. e biſhop of Vincheſter.

Moreouer doubting leaſt the Nobles of the realme wold riſe againſt him, and put him out of his place, he ſoughte to keepe them lowe, and ſpoyled them of theyr money and ſubſtaunce. Likewiſe pretending a colour of doubte leaſte Earle John the kings broher ſhoulde attempt any thing againſt this brother the kinge nowe in his abſence, hee ſoughte alſo to keepe hym vnder.

e Lorde ancellours anyng to pe Earle u lowe.

To be brief, he played in all points the right parts of a tirant, till at length the king receiuing aduertiſemēt frō his mother Quene Elenor of his demeanor, and that there was great likelihood of ſome commotion to enſue, if ſpeedy remedy were not in time prouided, he bring as then in Sicile, ſent Walter the Archebiſhop of Rouen into Englande with Commiſſion to ioyne in adminiſtration of the kingdome with his Chancellor the ſayde Biſhop of Elie. But the Archebiſhop coming into England was ſo ſlenderly entertayned of the Chauncellor, and in effect ſo litle regarded, that notwithſtanding his commiſſion and inſtructions brought from the king, he could not be permitted to beare any rule the chauncellor deteining the ſame wholly in hys handes, ordering all thyngs at his pleaſure, wythout makyng the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen, or any other of counſel with him, excepte ſuche as it pleaſed hym to admitte for the ſeruing of his owne turne.

Valter the chbiſhop of uen ſent in- England.

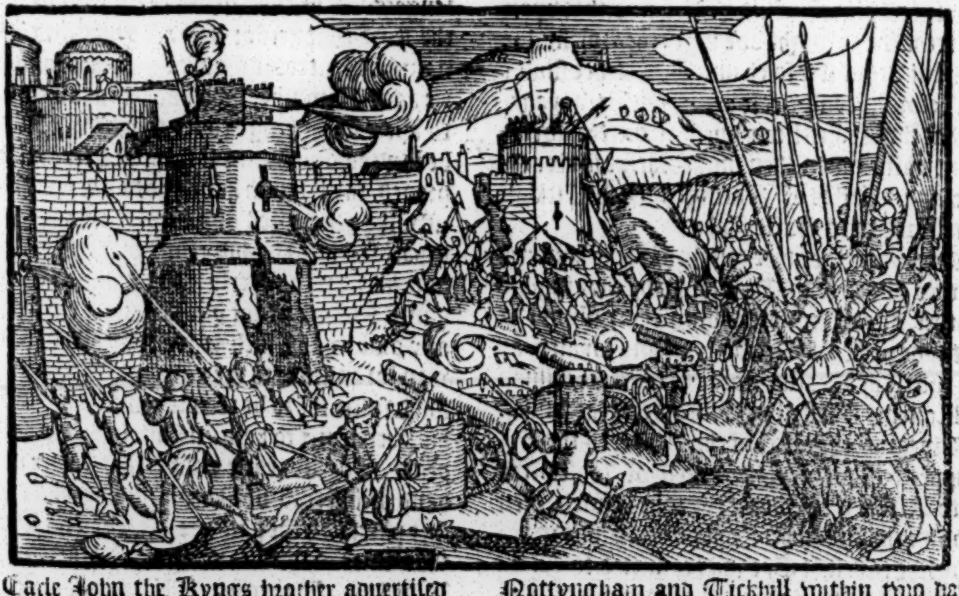
is little re- ded of the de Chaun- lour.

He certeinely beleeued (as many other did) that king Richarde woulde neuer returne with life into England agayne, which cauſed hym to attempt ſo many vnlawfull enterpriſes and therefore he got into his handes all the Caſtels and fortreſſes belongyng to the Crowne, and furniſhed them with garniſons of ſouldiers, as he thought neceſſarye, depriuyng ſuche Captaines of their roomthes as he ſuſpected not to fauour his proceedings.

One Gerarde de Cambille had bought of the king the keeping of the Caſtell of Lincolne, vnto whome alſo the Sherifwike of the Shire was commytted for a tyme, but the Lorde Chauncellor, perceiuing that he bare more good will vnto Earle John the kyngs brother than vnto him, (which John he moſt ſuſpected,) tooke from hym the Sherifwike, and demaunded alſo to haue the caſtell of Lincolne delyuered into his handes, whiche Gerard refuſed to deliuer, and perceiuing that the Chancellor wold practiſe to haue it by force, he fledde vnto Earle John, requiring him of ayde and ſuccour.

The Chancellor on the other parte perceyuing what hatred diuers of the nobles bare vnto hym, he thought good to prouyde for his owne ſuertye the beſte that hee coulde, and therefore he ſent for a power of men from the partyes of beyonde the ſea, but bicauſe he thought it to long to ſtaye till they came, he commeth to Lincolne, with ſuche power as he coulde make, and beſieged the Caſtell.

The Lord Ch cellour beſiegeth the caſtel of Lincolne.



le Iohn nneth the els of No- gham and ckhail.

Earle John the Kyngs brother aduertiſed hereof, reyſed ſuche numbers of men as he might make of hys frendes, ſeruauntes and tenauntes, and wyth ſmalle a doe wanne the Caſtelles of Nottyngham and Tickhill within two dayes ſpace.

This done, hee ſendeth to the Lorde Chauncellour, commaundyng hym eyther to breake vp his ſiege, or elſe to prepare for battaile. The Chancellour conſidering wyth hym ſelfe that there was ſmall truſte to bee put in diuers of thoſe Lordes that were with him, bearing good will to Earle John, and but hollowe hartes towardes hym, reyſed his ſiege and departed wyth dyſhonour. Not long after, one of hys hornes was broken off by the deathe of Pope Clement, wherby his power Legantine ceſſed: and herewith being ſomwhat abaſhed, he commeth to a cõmunication wyth Earle John, and vpon certayne conditions, maketh peace wyth him. Shortly after the ſouldyers which he had ſent for, doe arryue in Englande, and then hee began to goe from the agreemente made wyth Earle John, affyrmyng that he woulde eyther dryue the ſame Earle out of Englande, or elſe ſhulde Earle John doe the like to hym: For it was not of largeneſſe ſufficient to holde them bothe. Yet ſhortelye after peace was eſteſones concluded betwixte them, with condition, that if it chaunced kyng Rycharde to departe this life before his retourne into Englande, not leauing any iſſue of hys bodie begotten, that then the Chancellour renouncyng the ordinaunce made by king Richarde, who had inſtituted his Nephew Arthur Duke of Britayne to be his heyre and ſucceſſour) ſhoulde conſent to admit Earle John for king of Englande contrarye to the ſayde ordynaunce. But in the meane time it was agreed that Earle John ſhulde deliuer vp the caſtels of Notingham and Tickhyll, Notyngham to the handes of Wyllyam Marſhall, and Tickhil to the handes of Wyllyam Wendenall, they to keepe the ſame vnto the vſe and behoofe of king Richarde, that vpon his retourne he might doe wyth them as ſhulde pleaſe him: but if it ſo chaunced, that hee ſhulde dye before he coulde retourne from his voyage, or that the Chancellour wente from the agreement nowe taken, then immediatlye ſhulde the foreſayd caſtelles of Notingham and Tickhill be reſtored vnto Earle John.

The Channcellour rayſeth his ſiege vvith diſhonour.

The Lorde Chauncellour and earle Iohn are agreed.

The Chauncellour breaketh the agreement.

The lord Chãcellor and erle Iohn make an other agrement

Moreouer, the other caſtels of ſuche honours as wer aſſigned to Earle John by the king his brother, were commytted vnto the cuſtodye of certayne perſons of great truſt and loyalty, as the caſtell of Wallingforde to the Archebiſhop of Rouen, the caſtell of Briſtowe to the biſhop of Lincolne, the caſtel of the Peake, to the Biſhoppe of Couentry, the caſtell of Boleſoures vnto Richard del Peake (or if he refuſed, then ſhoulde the biſhop of Couentrey haue it in keping) the caſtell of Eye was comitted to Walter Fitz Roberte, the caſtell of Herford to Roger Bigot, and to Richard Reuel the caſtels of Execter and Launſton. These perſons to whõ theſe caſtels were thus cõmitted to be kept, receiued alſo an othe, yͭ they ſhuld faithfully kepe them to the kings behoofe, & if he chanced to die, before he ſhulde retourne, then the ſame ſhould be deliuered vnto Earle Johns handes.

Alſo there were .iij. caſtelles that pertayned to the crowne delyuered, lykewyſe in truſte as the caſtell of Winſor vnto the Earle of Arundell, the caſtell of Wincheſter vnto Gilbert de Lacye, and the caſtell of Northampton vnto Simon de Pateſhulle.

Caſtels deliuered in truſt in the keeping of certain perſons

It was alſo agreed, that Biſhoppes, Abbots, Earles, and Barons, Waluaſores, and Freehoulders ſhoulde not bee diſſeyſed of theyr landes, goodes or catailes otherwiſe than by order of the Juſtices or officers of the king, ſo that they ſhulde be iudged in the kings courtes according to the lawfull cuſtomes and ordynaunces of the Realme: and lykewyſe Earle John ſhoulde cauſe the ſame orders to be obſerued throughe all his landes: and if any man attempted to doe otherwiſe vpon ſupporte or mainteinaunce of the Earle John, hee ſhoulde ſtande to be refourmed by the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen if he chaunced then to be in Englande, and by the kings Juſtices, and by thoſe that hadde ſworne to obſerue this peace: and alſo Earle John him ſelfe at theyr requeſt ſhoulde ſee ſuche reformation to bee hadde. All thoſe Caſtels that had bene buylte or begunne to bee buylded ſith the Kinges paſſage ouer towards his iourney, ſhould be raſed, and no new made or fortifyed tyll hys retourne, excepte in Manours perteyning to the Kyngs demayne, if neede required, or by hys ſpeciall commaundemente, eyther by Letters, or ſufficiente meſſengers. The Sheriffwike of Lincolne which the Lord Chancellor had aſſigned vnto William de Stuteuille ſhould be reſtored vnto Gerarde de Camuille, who had day apointed hym to apere in the kings court, to hear what might be layd againſt him: & if ſuche matter coulde be proued, for yͤ which he ought to loſe yͤ ſayd ſheriffwike & the caſtell of Lincolne, then he ſhould depart frõ them by iudgemẽt of yͤ court, or elſe not. Neither ſhuld erle John maintain him againſt yͤ iudgemẽt of yͤ court, nor ſhuld receyue any outlaws, or ſuch as were notoriouſly knowen for enimies to the king, and ſo named, nor ſhuld ſuffer thẽ to be recepted within precinct of his liberties: & to hold, maintein & obſerue this peace. The ſaid earle & Chãcellor ſware in the hand of yͤ Archb. of Rouen wͭ .7. barons on either part. On the part of earle John theſe were the names of them that receued yͤ othe: Stephã Ridell his Chancellor, William de la Mare, Rob. de la Mare, Philip de Turecheſter, Williã de Kahennes, Gilbert Baſſet, & Williã de Montacute. On the Chãcellors part, yͤ erles of Arundell,

Arundell and Saliſbury, Earle Roger Bigot, and the Earle of Clare, with Walter Fitz Robert, Williã de Breuſe, and Roger Fitz Ramfray. Theſe things were concluded in this ſorte, the authoritie and commaundement of the king yet in all things ſaued and reſerued: but ſo that if before his returne hee ſhoulde ſignifie his pleaſure to the contrary of the ordinances aboue mẽtioned, then ſhould the Caſtels of Nottingham and Tickhill be reſtored vnto Earle Iohn, notwithſtanding whatſoeuer the King ſhould commaund touching the ſame.

n. Reg. 3.
th. VVeſt.

Thus was the peace concluded eftſoones betwixt Earle Iohn and the Chauncellour.

idor.
frey the
bishop
orke.
Houed.

In this meane while, the elect Archbyſhop of Yorke Geffrey, after long ſute and many delaies contriued, ſpecially by the Chauncellor, obteyned his Pall, being conſecrated by the Archbyſhop of Tours, by vertue of Bulles obteined from Pope Celeſtine.

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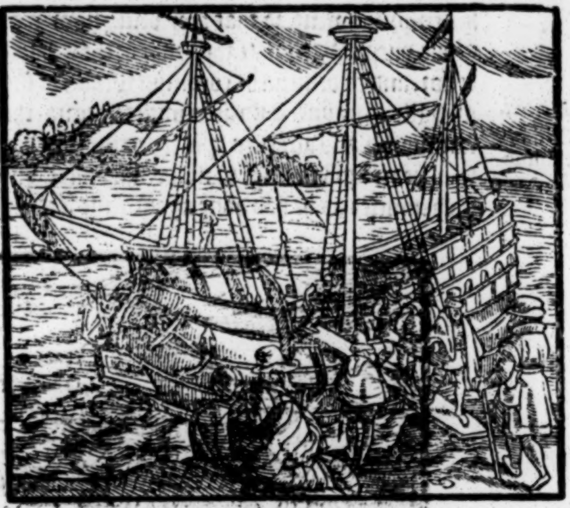
Taxtor.

The Chauncellor aduertiſed heereof, and vnderſtanding that hee meant to come ſhortly into England to be inſtalled, he was in a great chafe, bycauſe that during the time of the vacation, hee had vſed the reuenewes of that See at his pleaſure, and therefore now to forgoe them, hee was nothing contented. Heerevpon hee wrote his letters vnto Mathew de Clere, Sherife of Kente in this forme: *Præcipimus tibi quod ſi Eboracen. Electus ad aliquem portum in balliua tua applicuerit, aut aliquis nunciorum eius, eum retineri facias, donec mandatum noſtrum inde receperis. Et ſimiliter præcipimus, quod omnes literas Papæ aut magni alicuius viri, quæ illic venerint, facias retineri.* The Engliſh whereof is this. Wee commaunde you, that if the elect of Yorke ſhall arriue at any Port or Hauen within your Bailywicke, or any meſſenger of his, that you cauſe them to be arreſted, and kepte, till you haue commaundement from me therein. And I commaunde you likewiſe, to ſtay, attach, and keepe all letters that come from the Pope, or any other great mã. Such care had the Chancellour in this matter. Likewiſe, wheras Baldwine the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, hauing taken his iourney into the holy lande, and arriuing there before the Kyng, chaunced to depart his life at Tyrus, the laſt yeare, vppon the feaſt day of Saint Edmonde. The Chancellour founde meanes to keepe that See alſo vacante, that he might receyue the profites thereof, during the vacation, and finde meane to bee prepared to it in the ende. But as touching the See of Yorke, although he had (as before is ſayd) made his hande of the reuenewes belonging to the ſame from tyme to tyme at hys pleaſure, yet nowe after that he hearde howe Geffrey hadde receyued the palle, hee made hauocke waſting and ſpoyling all that woulde yeelde hym any money, without reſpect of right or wrong. Moreouer, he cauſed the hauens to bee watched with commaundemente giuen to the Townes on the ſea coaſt, that they ſhoulde not ſuffer the Archbiſhop Geffrey to take lande. At length yet he arriued at Douer, where he was by the foreſayd Mathew de Clere firſt ſtayed, and after taken out of the Abbey by the Chauncelloures commaundemente, and committed to pryſon within the Caſtell, where was capitayne a noble man that had maried the Chancellors ſiſter.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke arriueth and is committed to warde.



The newes of whoſe enpriſonement was anon bruted thorough the realme, wherwith the nobles fretted, and the commons curſſed: finally all men deteſted ſuch tyrannie in the Chauncellour. But namely the Kings brother Earle Iohn ſtormed at the matter, and with all ſpede aſſembled an armie out of thoſe places where he bare rule, encreaſing the number with a power of Welchemen. There came to him the biſhop of Wincheſter, with many Earles and barons, alſo the biſhop of Bathe and Cheſter, whyche lately before hadde bene chiefe fauourers of the Chauncellour in all his doings: but nowe that the worlde was channged, they ſhewed themſelues the moſt earneſt enimies hee had, as well in wordes as actes.

In an aſſemblie of all the Biſhoppes of England, al thoſe were excommunicate in ſolemne wiſe, with Candles light, and other ſuche Ceremonies which hadde eyther giuen commaundement, or were preſent as partakers, to pull out of the Church the Archbiſhop of Yorke, or his people by violence, and had impriſoned them in maner (as before yee haue heard) but this was after the Archbiſhop was ſet at libertie, as ſhould appeare by Mathew Paris, for the Chauncelloure repenting himſelfe, (though now too late) of hys cruell dealing againſt the Archbyſhop of Yorke, wherewith hee hadde kindled ſuche a brande a-

Rog. Houed.

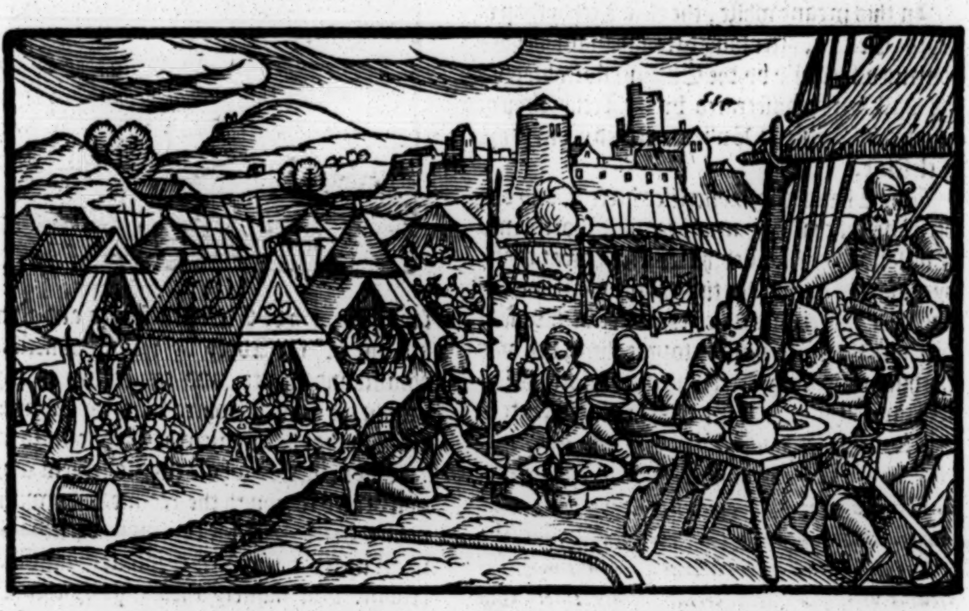
The Chancellour ſummoned to appeare

The Chancellor retireth to London.

A declarati made agai the Lorde Chancello

The tenor this letter hereafter appeare.

gainſte him) commaunded the ſaid Archbyſhop, (namely at the inſtante ſute of the Biſhoppe of London,) or rather at the commaundemente of Earle John (as Houeden hath) to be ſet at libertie. But the diſpleaſure once kindled in the harts of the Nobles, coulde not ſo eaſily bee quenched with his deliuerie, as it was ſpeedily ſet on fire by his empriſonment, ſo that they being now in armour, purpoſed to abate the pride of the Chauncellor, and to deliuer the common wealth of ſuch an vglie Tiraunt. And heerewith to begin, they ſummoned and aſſigned hym a peremptory daye to appeare at Reading, to make aunſwere vnto ſuch iniuries as he had done againſt the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and the Byſhop of Durham, ſithence the departure of his ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng. At whiche daye, there came to Readyng Earle John, and the Archbyſhoppe of Rouen, with many other Byſhops, Earles and barons, abiding there all that day, to ſee if the Chauncellour woulde appeare or no: but hee came not: wherevppon they prepared to marche forthe towards London. And therwithall ſet forward in like maner. He on the other ſide beyng a man of a greate courage, had gathered an army of ſuche ſtraungers and other his friendes as hee coulde make, and therewith went forth, and encamped neere vnto Windſor, there to abide his aduerſaries, and to giue them battayle, if they came forward and would abide it. But when they approched, and that hee perceyued howe dyuers of his friendes ſhranke from him and went to hys enimies, he durſt not attempt the hazard of a field, but fledde backe to London, and there withdrew into the Tower, with all hys hoſt, bycauſe hee durſt not committe himſelfe to the doubtfull felowſhip of the Citizens. Through his great pride and ſtately port which he mainteyned, as partly yee haue heard, hee had procured to himſelfe, no ſmall hatred amongſt all degrees of menne, and namely ſuche as by the Kyngs appoyntmente oughte to haue bin parteners with him in gouernement of the Realm, ſore repined at his preſumptuous proceedings, for that he diſdeyned, as it ſeemed, to vſe their aduice, or to ioyne thē with him in the adminiſtration of things, ſo that nowe in time of his trouble, he wiſt not in whome hee might put truſt.



After hee was thus retired into the Tower of London, Earle John the Archbiſhoppe of of Rouen, and the other Biſhops, Earles, & Barons aſſociate togither againſte hym, followe him at the heeles, enter the Citie, and beſiege the Tower on each ſide. And on the morrowe after, being the fourth day after the Octaues of Sainte Michaell, they come togither into Poules church yarde, where they publikely declare the iniurious wrongs done and practiſed by the Chauncellour, namely againſt the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of Durham. Thoſe alſo that had bin appointed as aſſociates with him, accuſed hym in that he had taken vpon him to rule and gouerne all things after his owne ſelfe will, not vouching ſaue to haue their aduice or councell in ſuche ſorte as had bin conuenient. The Archbiſhop of Rouen, and William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke ſhewed there afore all the people the Kyngs letters which he hadde ſent from Meſſina, appoynting that they ſhoulde bee aſſociate with hym in gouernement of the Kingdome, and that without the councell and aduice of them and others aſſigned thereto, hee ſhoulde not meddle with the rule of the land, and that if hee ſhoulde doe anye thing to the hinderaunce of the common wealthe, or ſeeke to meddle with the affayres of the Realme, withoute theyr good aduice, that then he ſhould be depoſed.

Heerevppon it ſeemed good to Earle John, and to all the Biſhoppes, Earles and Barons of the Realme, and to the Citizens of London there aſſembled, that the ſayd Chancellour ſhould bee depoſed, and ſo they proceeded, and depoſed him indeede, appoynting the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen in his place, who woulde not take vppon him to do anye thing touching the rule of the land, without conſent of his aſſociates aſſigned to him, and the Barons of the Eſchecker.

Citizens
ndon.

The ſame day, Earle John, and the Archbiſhop of Rouen and other of the Kings Juſtices, graunted to the Citizens of London the priuiledge of their communaltie, and the ſayde Earle and Archbiſhop, and in manner all the Byſhops, Earles and Barons of the Realme, ſware to mainteyne the ſayd priuiledge firme and ſtable, ſo long as ſhould pleaſe their ſoueraigne Lorde. And the Citizens of Londō ſware to be true, and to do their faithfull ſeruice vnto Kyng Richarde and his heires, and if hee chanced to die withoute iſſue, then to receyue Earle John the brother of Kyng Richarde for their King and ſoueraigne Lord, and therevpon ſware fealty to him againſt all men, ſauing that whiche they owed vnto hys brother Kyng Richard. The Chancellor perceyuing the multitude to be ſuche whiche hee hadde with him in the Tower, as the place was not able to hold them any long tyme, after he had remayned within it one night, he came forth vnto Earle John, and to the other that were thus entred the Citie, and now ready to beſiege hym, of whome hee getteth licence for them that were encloſed within the Tower, to departe withoute domage; and therewith delyuered vp the Tower vnto the handes of the Archbiſhoppe of Rouen, with the Caſtell of Windſor and certayne other Caſtels, which he held within the Realme, but not all: notwithſtanding hee couenaunted to make deliuerie of the reſidue which yet remained in the hands of them whome hee had appoynted to the keeping of the ſame. And for aſſurance of that couenaunt to be performed before he departed the Realme, hee deliuered his brethren and one that was hys Chamberlayne, to remayne with the Lords as hoſtages. And this done, hee haſted to Caunterbury, where he promiſed to receyue the Croſſe of a Pilgrime to goe into the holy lande, and to render vp the Croſſe of hys Legateſhip, whiche he had vſurped a yeare and a halfe after the death of Pope Clemente, to yͤ preiudice of the Churche of Rome, and to the detrimente and greate hinderaunce of the Engliſhe Church, for ther was not any one Church within the Realme whyche hadde not bin put to fyne and Raunſome by that Croſſe, nor any eccleſiaſticall perſon went free, but the print of yͤ Croſſe appeared in him and his purſe. From Caunterbury, he getteth hym to Douer vnto his brother in law, and fynally ſeekyng meanes to paſſe ouer into Fraunce, and doubting to be diſcouered, he appareled himſelfe in womans rayment, got a webbe of cloth on his arme, as though he hadde bene ſome huſwifely woman of the countrey, but by the vntowardly folding & vncunning handling of his cloth, (or rather by a lewde fiſherman that tooke him for an harlotte) hee was ſuſpected and ſearched ſo narrowly, that by hys priuy members he was proued to be a man, and at length, knowen, attached, and committed to priſon, after hee hadde bene reprochfully handled by them that founde hym, and by the Wiues of the Towne, in ſuche vnſeemely apparell. Earle John woulde haue hadde hym puniſhed, and putte to ſome open reproofe for hys paſſed tyrannicall doyngs, but the Byſhoppes, and other of the Barons, for reuerence of hys order, procured hys delyueraunce, with licence to paſſe ouer into Normandy, where hee was borne.

Chaun-
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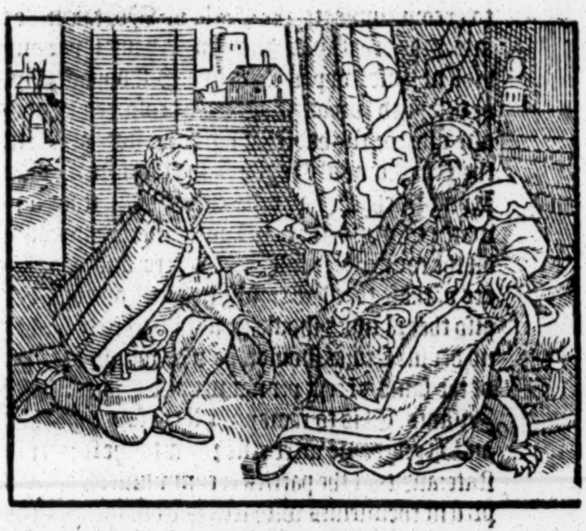
The Biſhop of Elie late Lord Chancellor diſguiſeth himſelfe in womans apparell.

He is bewraid

Earle not the Biſhops friend

Thus was the Biſhoppe of Elie depoſed from hys office of being Chauncellour, and not withoute warrant, for in very deede, King Richarde hauing receyued aduertiſementes from the Lordes and Peeres of the Realme, of the Chauncellors preſumptuous and hautie demeanor, with wrongs offered to dyuers perſons, wrote to them agayne in this wiſe.

Mat. Par.



RIcharde Kyng of Englande ſendeth greetyng to William Marſhall, to Gilberte Fitz Peter, and Henry Berdulfe, and to William Brewer Peeres. If it ſo chaunce that oure Chauncelloure hathe not faythfully handled the affayres and buſineſſe of oure Realme (committed vnto hym) by the aduice and councell of you, and other to whom wee haue

The Biſhop of Elie compleyneth of hys wronges receyued.

The Popes letters vnto the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of Englande.

Note how the Pope defendeth hys Chapleynes

haue alſo aſſigned the charge of gouernemente of the ſame Realme: wee commaund you, that according to youre diſpoſition in all things to bee done concerning the gouernemente thereof, you order and diſpoſe as well for eſchetes, as all other things. &c. By force of this commiſſion, the Lordes were the bolder to proceede againſte hym as ye haue heard, After his comming into the parties of beyonde the Seas, he ceaſſed not with letters and meſſengers to preſent his complainte to the Pope of Rome and to King Richarde, of the iniuries receyued at the handes of Earle John and his complices. And heerevpō Pope Celeſtine wrote indeede to all the Archbiſhops and Byſhops that were within the Realme of England, in behalfe of the ſayd Biſhop of Elie, declaryng, that for as much as the King of Englande was gone into the holy lande to warre againſt the enimies of oure faythe, leauyng hys Kyngdome vnder the protection of the Apoſtolyke See, hee coulde not but haue ſpeciall regard to ſee that the ſtate, rightes and honor thereof, were preſerued from all daunger of decay: whereuppon, vnderſtanding that there had bene certayne attemptes made by John Earle of Mortaigne, and others, both againſte the King, and the Biſhop of Elie, that was not onely Legate of the Apoſtolyke See but alſo gouernoure of the land appoynted by the King, whyche attempte ſounded greatly to the reproche of the Churche of Rome, and danger of domage to enſue to Kyng Richard, if remedie were not the ſooner founde: wherefore he commaunded them by vertue of their obedience, to excommunicate the Earle of Mortaigne, or any other that was knowen to haue layde any violent handes vppon the ſayde Biſhoppe of Ely, or deteyned him as Captiue, or enforced hym to any othe, or elſe had chaunged the ſtate of rule in the Kingdome of England to other forme, than Kyng Richarde had ordeyned at his ſetting forwarde towardes the holy land: and that not only all the councellors, auctors, ayders and complices of thoſe that had committed ſuch outrage, but alſo theyr landes ſhould ſtande interdited, ſo that no deuine ſeruice ſhoulde be vſed within precinct of the ſame, except penaunce and Chriſtning of Infants. This to remayne till the ſayde Byſhop and Kyngdome were reſtored into the former eſtate: and that the parties excommunicated, ſhuld preſent themſelues with letters from the Biſhops vnto the Apoſtolike See to be aſſoyled. &c. Heerevppon alſo the Biſhop of Ely himſelfe wrote vnto the Byſhop of Lincolne and other, touchyng this matter: but the Biſhoppes did neyther anye thing in accompliſhment of the effect of ẏ Popes letters, nor at his owne contemplatiō. And therfore perceyuing ſmall help to come that way, hee ſoughte to obteyne the fauor and friendſhippe of Earle John, and of his mother Quene Eleanor. In the meane time, the Lordes, Barons and Prelates of the Realme, after they had depriued hym of all authoritie, and baniſhed him forthe of the lande, they ordeyned the Archbiſhop of Rouen in fauour of the Kings commiſſion, to haue ẏ chiefe rule and adminiſtration of things touchyng all the affayres of the common wealth, but yet ſo as Earle John had the doings in many poyntes, ſo that he might ſeeme in manner as aſſociate with him, whereof ſprang muche inconuenience. For this John beeing a man (as hee is noted by ſome writers) of an ambitious nature, was ſuſpected to aſpire vnto the Kyngdome. In ſo much, that hee had ioyned with the French King after the ſame King was returned forth of the holy land againſt his brother Kyng Richard, if his mother Quene Eleanor hadde not perſwaded him to the contrary.

The Ar ſhop of R chiefe go neur of lande.

Whileſt theſe things were a doyng, on the twelfth day of July, the Citie of Acres was ſurrendred into the Chriſtian mens handes, for the Soldan Saladine (beeyng approched neere to the ſiege of the Chriſtians with a puiſſaunte Army, in hope to haue reyſed theyr ſiege) when hee perceyued it lay not in hys power to worke any feate to the ſuccoure of hys people within the Citie, and that they were ſo conſtreyned that they muſt needes yeelde, hee holpe to make theyr compoſition, and promiſed to performe certayne couenauntes on their behalfe.

Rog. Ho *VVil Pa.* Fifteene Functions other ag with Ho as Gera Mercat ting Alb cus a Mo

Heerevppon, the Saraſynes within Acres couenaunted not onely to delyuer the Citie vnto the Chriſtians with fyue hundred Priſoners of Chriſtians whyche they hadde within the ſame, but alſo to procure that the holye Croſſe ſhoulde bee to them deliuered, with a thouſande other Chriſtian Priſoners, ſuche as the Chriſtian Princes ſhoulde appoynte out of thoſe numbers whyche Saladyne hadde in hys cuſtodye, and further, to gyue them two hundred thouſande Beſans.

And tyll theſe couenauntes were performed, it was agreede, that the Saraſynes whyche were at that preſente lefte within the Citie, ſhoulde remayne as pledges, vnder condition, that if the ſame couenauntes were not performed within fortie dayes, then ſhoulde they ſtande at the mercy of the Chriſtian Princes as touchyng lyfe and lymme.

Theſe thynges thus concluded, and the Citie yeelded vp into the Chriſtian mens handes, the Frenche Kyng vppon enuy and malice conceyued agaynſte Kyng Richarde (although hee pretended ſickneſſe for excuſe) departed homewardes, ſetting from Acres the laſt daye of July. Nowe then, after the departure of Kyng Phillippe, when the daye approched, in the

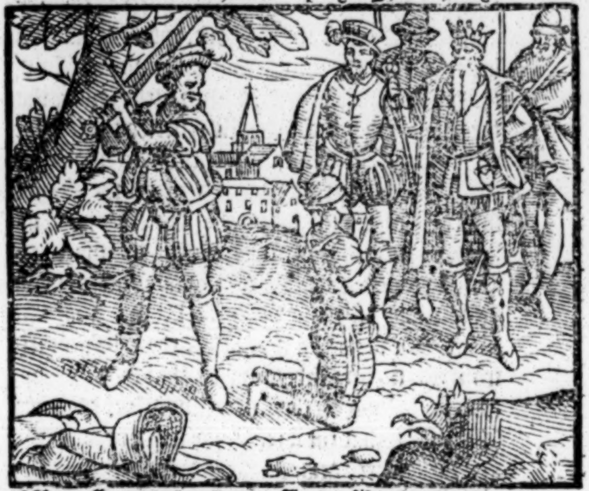
which

The Cit of Acre

The Fren K. return home.

whiche the Saraſines ſhoulde performe the couenauntes, or elſe ſtande to the iudgement of lyfe and death at the pleaſure of the Chriſtian Princes. It was perceiued that the couenantes would not bee fulfilled according to the agreement. For Saladyne, as it well appeared, mente not to performe that which for the ſafegarde of his men hee had vndertaken, and did but dally with the Chriſtians to prolong the time, wherupõ ſentẽce was giuen forthe that for defaulte in ſuche behalfe, the Saraſynes remaynyng as pledges ſhuld loſe their heades. Saladyne hauing knowledge thereof, ſent worde to King Richard and to the whole Chriſtian army, that if his people that were in the chriſtion mens hands loſt their heades, he would not faile but cauſe the heades of all thoſe Chriſtians which he had in captiuitie to be cut off likewiſe: but notwithſtãding this anſwere on the fourtene day of Auguſt King Richarde iſſued forth of the citie paſſing the vttermoſt ditches and encamped himſelfe neere yͤ army of Saladyne, who yͤ ſame day ſent vnto King Richarde riche preſentes requyring of hym a longer day for performaunce of the couenauntes, but that would not be granted: wherefore vpon the ſayd denyall, Saladyne cauſed al thoſe Chriſtian priſoners which he had in his handes to be beheaded vpõ yͤ eightenth day of Auguſt, on whyche day Kyng Rycharde adnaunced forth towardes the lodgings of the Saraſins, and ſkirmiſhed wyth them very hottely, ſo that manye were wounded and ſlayne on both parts: amogſt other one of King Richards companions at al exerciſes named Peter Mignot loſt his life there. Furthermore, although K. Richard heard that Saladyne had put to death the chriſtian priſoners in ſuche wiſe as you haue harde, yet woulde not hee preuente his terme appointed for the execution of the Saraſyns that were in hys cuſtody, but abiding vnto the twentie day of Auguſt, he then cauſed thoſe Saraſyns whiche fel to his lot, at the time of the ſurrender of Acres being in number about. 2600. to be brought forth of the citie, and neere to the walles in the ſight of Saladine and all his hoſt, they had their heads chopped off.

Saladine cauſeth the Chriſtian priſoners to be beheaded.



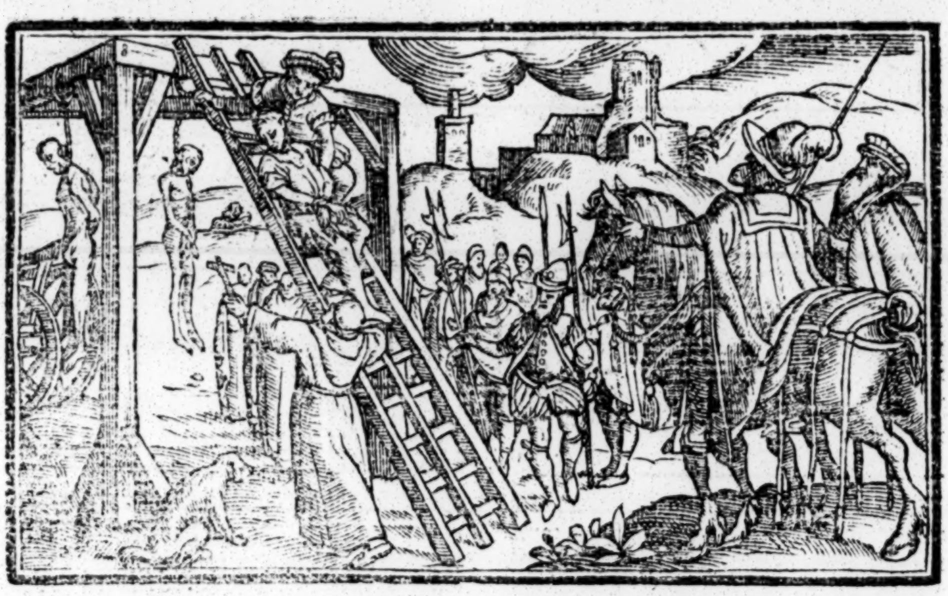
The Duke of Burgoigne cauſed execution to be done within the citie of thoſe whiche fell to the French Kings ſhare, the number of the which roſe to two thouſande and foure hundred, or thereaboutes; for the whole number was reckned to bee about fyue thouſande that thus loſte theyr lyues through the inconſtancie of their Prince. Yet diuers of the principall had their liues ſaued. The Sarazens themſelues alſo ſpake muche euill of Saladine for this matter, bycauſe that refuſing to performe the articles of couenauntes, he hadde occaſioned the enimie to ſlea thoſe that hadde ſo valiantly ſerued in defence of the Citie, to the vttermoſt ieopardie of their liues. But now to leaue foraine matters, and to returne home into England: We finde that the ſecond of December, the Monkes of Caunterbury choſe to their Archbyſhop Reginald Biſhop of Bath, the which within fifteene dayes after his election, departed thys life, and lyeth buried at Bath. Alſo this yere, or as Gerua. Doro. hath in the yere following, the Biſhop of Durham ſought meanes to withdraw his ſubiection frõ yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, for whyche

Rog. Houed.

Gerua. Doro.

Strife betwixt the Archbyſhop of Yorke and the Byſhop of Durham.

attempt, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke vpon truſt of the Popes graunte, did not excommunicate the ſayd Biſhop, notwithſtanding that hee appealled to the Popes conſiſtory three ſeuerall tymes, putting his owne matter and his Churches to be examined and tryed by the Pope, wherevpon hee obeyed not the excommunication: and ſignifying the cauſe vnto Rome, obteyned ſuche fauor, that the Pope and his Cardinals reuerſed the ſentēce, and iudged the excommunication to be of none effect. And further they decreed, that if the Archbiſhop of Yorke had broken the Aulters and Chalices, as information was giuen, in whiche the Biſhoppe of Durham had celebrated after his appeale made to the Courte of Rome, that then ſhoulde the ſayd Byſhop of Durham be acquited from owing any ſubiection to the ſayde Archbyſhop for ſo long as they two ſhould liue togither. True it is, that the Archbiſhop had not only broken the Aulters and Chalices which the Byſhop had vſed in deede for the celebration of Maſſe, but alſo helde his owne brother John Earle of Mortaigne, for excommunicate, bycauſe hee had eate and dronke in company of the ſayd Byſhop, and would not communicate with him, till hee came to receyue abſolution, and to make ſatiſfaction for his fault. In the end, the Biſhops of Lincolne and Rocheſter, with the Abbot of Peterburgh, were appointed by the Pope to haue the hearyng of this matter, as Iudges, authoriſed by hys Bulles, who ſate therevpon at Northampton, vppon Saint Kalixt hys daye, where after they had heard both parties argue what they could in eyther of their caſes, they gaue a longer day, that is to witte, till the feaſt of the natiuitie of Sainct John Baptiſt nexte after, to ſee if by anye good meanes there mighte ſome agreement haue bene hadde betwixt them, or, if that coulde not bee, that then the Popes letters to ſtande in force as before, and the helps of eyther parte ſaued, as though no delay hadde bin vſed. And to thys, both parties were agreable, ſpecially at the motion of the Byſhoppe of Lincolne.



Roger la
Conneſtab
of Cheſte

This yeare alſo, Roger de Lacy Conneſtable of Cheſter, toke Alan de Lee, and Peter de Bouencort, and vppon deſpite hanged them, for that beeyng put in truſt amongſt other with the keeping of the Caſtels of Nottingham and Tickhill, which he had receyued into his cuſtody of the Biſhop of Elie Lord Chauncellor, they had conſented to the treaſon of Roberte de Crokeſton, & Eudo de Duuille, which deliuered the ſame Caſtels vnto John Earle of Mortaigne. The ſame Earle of Mortaigne was highly offended for the death of thoſe two perſons, and therefore waſted the landes of the ſaid Roger which lay within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction.

But now touching the departure of the Frēch king from Acres, diuers occaſions are remembred by Writers of the emulation and ſecret ſpite which he ſhould beare towardes King Richarde, and beſide other already touched, one was, for enterteyning and relieuing ẏ Erle of Champaigne in ſuche bountifull wiſe in his neceſſitie, that hee was ready to forſake the Frenche Kings ſeruice, and cleaue to Kyng Richard: but howſoeuer it came to paſſe, partly through enuy as hathe bene thought, conceyued at the great deedes of Kyng Richarde, whoſe greate power and valiancie hee could not well abide, and partly for other reſpects hym mouing, hee toke the Sea with three galleys of the Geneweſ, and returned firſt into Italy, and ſo home into Fraunce, hauing promiſed firſt vnto Kyng Richarde at hys departure out of the holy lande, and after to Pope Celeſtine at Rome, that hee woulde not attempte uill dea- / n / h of / ile of / each K.

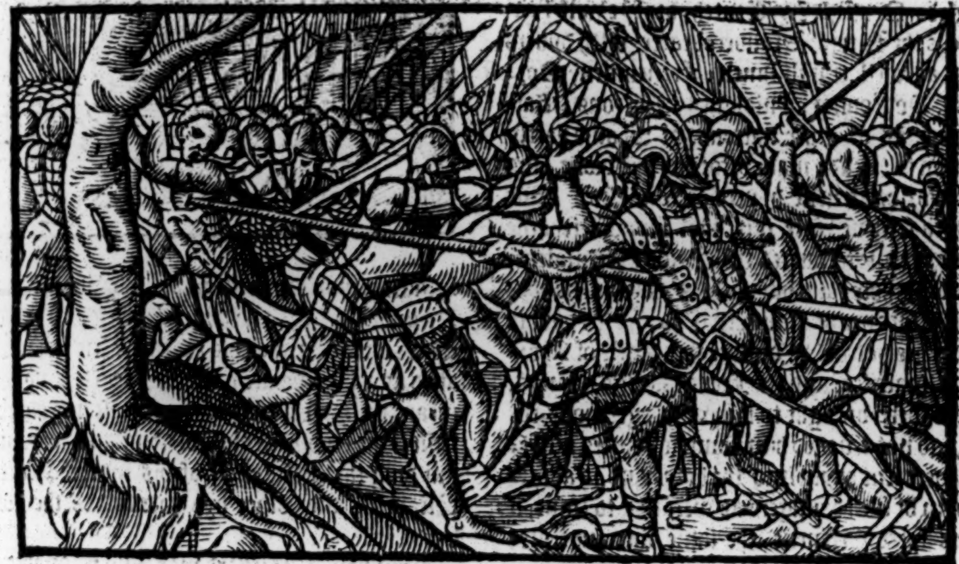
any hurtfull enterpriſe againſte the Engliſhe dominions, till King Richarde ſhoulde be returned forth of the holy land: but this promiſe was not kept, for after that he was returned into Fraunce, hee firſte ſoughte to procure the foreſayde Earle John King Richards brother, to rebell agaynſte him, promiſing him not onely ayde to reduce all his brothers dominions into his handes, but alſo to giue him his ſiſter Adela in marriage, whome King Richard vpon ſuſpition of vnchaſt lyuing, had forſaken (as before yee haue heard) but when Earle John was diſſwaded by his mother, from accepting this offer (which otherwiſe as it is ſaid he would willingly haue receyued,) King Phillip ſtill reteyned a malitious rancor in his hart, and in reuenge of olde diſpleaſures, woulde haue attempted yͤ war againſt yͤ ſubiectes of K. Richard, if his Lords woulde haue ioyned with hym: but they conſidering what ſlaunder woulde redound hereof, both to him and them for the iniurie done to the Chriſtian common wealthe, in making warre againſte hym that was occupyed in defence of the faith againſte the common enimies of Chriſtendome, would not giue theyr cõſente hereto, and ſo the matter reſted, till Kyng Richarde was taken priſoner in Almaigne, and then what followed, it ſhall after appeare.

xvii. Par.

Enuious diſcord among the Chriſtiãs.

In this meane while, the Chriſtian army atchieued ſome worthy enterpriſes in the holye lande, thoughe not many, by reaſon of ſuche enuious diſcord as reigned amongſt the chiefe gouernours. It chaunced yet on the euen of the Natiuitie of our Ladye nexte after the departure of king Phillip, as king Richard marched forth towards Japha antiently called Joppe, the Soldan Saladine taking the aduantage of the place, ſet vpon the rerewarde of the Chriſtians: but hys Saraſynes (after they had fought right fiercelye from noone till ſunne ſetting) were ſo beaten backe at lengthe, and repulſed with ſuche loſſe, that in fortie yeares before, they hadde not ſuſteyned at one tyme greater domage.

King Richard diſcomfiteth the Saraſynes neere to Porte Iaph.



Amongſt other of the Chriſtians ſlayne at that encounter, was one James Dauenes, a mã of high prowes and valiancie.

oued.

Moreouer, Kyng Richarde wanne dyuers Townes and Caſtels out of the enimies hands, as Aſcalon, Darus, and dyuers other, and ſome hee fortifyed, as Aſcalon aforeſayde, and Porte Japh, otherwiſe called Joppa. There were ſundry encounters alſo betwixte the Saraſynes and Chriſtians, wherein Kyng Richarde and hys people bare themſelues ſo manfully, that the victory for the moſt parte continually reſted on their ſide.

91

At one time alſo, hearing of a great conuoy of vittayles, munitions and other things whiche came from Babylone towardes Jeruſalem to furniſh Saladine and hys army (whych conuoys they call Carauannes) Kyng Richarde with a cõpetente power of menne mette them on the way, and diſtreſſed thoſe that were attendaunte vppon the ſafegarde of that carriage, beeing in number aboute two thouſande Horſemen, beſyde a greate multitude of footemenne, and therewith tooke the carriages with foure thouſande and ſyxe hundred Cammels and Dromedaries, beſyde an innumerable ſort of Mules, Aſſes, and other beaſtes of burthen.

But to ſpeake of all the worthy exployctes atchieued by King Richarde and his valiant Captaynes there in the holy lande againſte the Infidels, it woulde require a long treatiſe, and therefore heere we paſſe them ouer.

This is to bee noted, that amongſt other of whome wee finde honorable mention made by writers for their high valiancie ſhewed in thoſe exploytes, theſe are named as chiefe, Robert Erle of Leyceſter, Hubert Byſhop of Saliſburie, with the Earles of Saint Paule and Dreux, beſide diuers other, as Hugh de Gourney, William de Borrez, Walcline de Ferrers, Roger de Tony, James de Auenes, the Byſhop of Beauuoys, William de Barres, William de Tarland, Drogo de Merlo, Robert de Nealle, Henry Fitz Nicholas, Roberte de Newburg, Raufe de Sainte Mary, Arnald du Boys, Henry de Mailoc, William and Saul de Bruil, Andrew de Chauigny, Henry de Gray, Peter de Pratellis, Stephen de Turnham, Baldwin Carron, Clarenbalde de Mont Chablon, Manſer de Lyſle, Richarde Deorques, and Theoderike Phillip, Ferrike de Vienne, Gilberte Malemayne, Alexander d' Arſy, Stephen de Longchamp, Seguin de Barret, Roger de Glanuille, Raymond Fitz Prince, Bartholmew de Mortimer, Gerard Furniual, Raufe de Malleon, Roger de Sacy, William de Poole, Hugh de Neuill, Hēry Teutch, or if ye will Teutonicus the Kings Standerdbearer, with dyuers other, as well Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Normans, Poictouins, Aniouines, Britons, Gaſcoignes, as of other nations, of whome partly mention is already made before in this booke, and partly for breefeneſſe dyuers are omitted. But now to returne, ſure it is, that Kyng Richarde meant to haue recouered the Citie of Jeruſalem, and all the holy land out of the Sarazens hands, by the aſſiſtance of almightie God. If the doubte whiche hee had of his brother the Earle of Mortaings practiſes, and the French Kings doyngs, which were brought to him with a greeuous report, had not reuoked him home: for diuers meſſengers were ſent dayly into the holy land to aduertiſe hym of ſuch daungers as were like to enſue, if by his ſpeedy returne the ſame were not preuented.

The names of ſuch noble men as were famous for their valiant doings in this voyage.

de Pole alias de Stragno.

Galf. Vinſaf.

And firſt after Eſter, there came to him yͤ Prior of Herefordc with letters from the Biſhop of Ely, conteyning a ſore information againſt hys brother Earle John, for hauing expulſed thoſe whome he had appoynted rulers ouer the Realme of England, and altred the ſtate of things there contrary to the ordinances by hym deuiſed afore his ſetting forwarde vpon his iourney (as before yee haue partly heard.) Vpon receipt of which letters, he meant immediately at the firſt to haue returned, and to haue left behinde him a conuenient power of men, to witte, three hundred Knightes or men of armes, and two thouſand choſen footemen, to abide vpon the defence of the holy lande, with other Chriſtians at his coſtes and charges. But yet at length he was perſwaded to tarry ſpecially til things were ſet in ſome better ſtay, which then were out of order by yͤ death of the Marques of Montferrato, Lord of Tire, whome two traiterous Sarazens of yͤ kinde which they name Aſſaſſini had murthered. After whoſe death, Hēry Earle of Champaigne that was nephew to kyng Richarde, married his wife, and was made K. of Jeruſalem, Guido reſigning to him his title, vnto whome as it were in recompence, King Richard gaue the Iſle of Cipres, although ſome write, yͭ yͤ Knightes templers had bought it of him before. Thus K. Richard remaining ſtil in the holy lād, ſhortly after Whitſontide, there came an other meſſenger to him, one John de Alenzon a Clerke, bringing worſe newes out of Englande than the Prior of Hereford had broughte before, whiche in effect conteyned, that his brother Erle John was alied as a confederate with the French King, and meant through his ſetting on, to ſeiſe into his poſſeſſion the whole Realme of England, notwithſtanding the perſwaſion of his mother Queene Eleanor, and other hys friendes to the contrary.

The Ma of Mou rato mu by the A ſini.

.reg.

Earle Joh purpoſed leaſe vpo the King in his bro thers ab

Herevpon K. Richard was fully perſwaded to returne home, but yet through the admonition of certaine perſons, and namely of one William de Poicters, a Chaplaine of his, hee eftſoones altered his purpoſe, and ſo remayned there, till at length through enuy and malice ſtill encreaſing amongſt the Chriſtians, he perceyued how no good purpoſe could goe forward, ſince that which ſeemed good to ſome, was miſliked of other: and ſpecially oure writers put great blame in the Frenchmenne, the which eyther vpon diſdeyne, or other diſpleaſure, would not be perſwaded to followe theyr aduice, which were knowen beſt to vnderſtand the ſtate of thinges in thoſe parties. And herevppon, when the armye was aduaunced vnto Betenoble, a place not paſt foure leagues diſtaunte from Jeruſalem, bycauſe theyr mynde myghte not bee fulfilled for the beſieging of Jeruſalem, which

Rich th P

William Poictiers Richard Chaplayn

Niger Pari

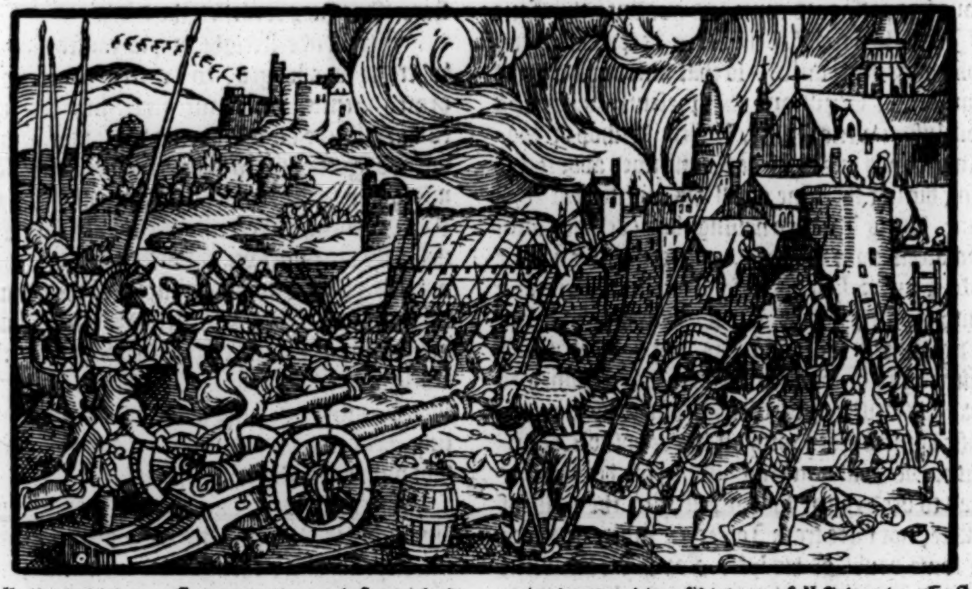
whiche they had intended to take in hand (where as the reſidue woulde rather that they ſhoulde haue gone to beſiege Babilon in Egypt, and that vppon ſundry greate reſpectes) the Frenche men rayſed theyr fielde, and returned agayne to Acres in great deſpite, putting the reſt of the armie alſo ſo much as in them lay in daunger of vtter ruine and diſtreſſe.

.reg.4.

King Richarde then and the other Chriſtian Captaines perceyuing how yͤ matter enclyned, and giuing ouer all hope of any more good ſucceſſe, followed them. And after they were thus returned to Acres, K. Richard ſtil doubting leaſt his long abſence from home might putte him in daunger of more loſſe here, than hee ſawe hope of preſent gaine to be had there, in ſuch diuerſitie of humours and priuie malice which raigned amōg them, he determined fully to depart homewards, with no leſſe purpoſe to returne thither again after he had ſetled things at home in ſuch ſure ſtay as was expedient for the ſuretie of his own eſtate and quietneſſe of his people.

Vvil. Par.

Herevpon being readie to enter into his ſhips at Acres, (or as ſome haue, being on his iourney homewardes in Cypres,) he was aduertiſed that the Souldan Saladine had taken the towne of Iapha, ſlaine a great number of the Chriſtians within it, and beſieged the reſidue within the Caſtell, the which (conſtreyned through feare) had compounded to yeelde, if within three dayes there came no ſuccour.



King Richarde being hereof aduertiſed, and turning griefe into valiauncie, with all ſpeede ſayled backe vnto Iapha, and landing there with his people, cauſed his enimies to forſake the towne: but anon aſſembling themſelues againe togyther, thy turned once more to beſiege it, wherevpon hee iſſued forth into the fieldes, and fought with them ſundrie dayes togither, tyll finally they were content to forſake theyr enterpriſe, and to depart thence for altogyther.

Richard
th Port

Niger.
Paris.

In theſe conflictes the valiant courage of king Richarde, and the worthie manhoode of his ſouldiers right well appeared: for hee brought not with him at that tyme vnto Iapha aboue .lxxx. men of armes, and foure hundred other ſouldiers with Croſſebowes, and yet with that ſmal handfull of men, with ſome ayd of them that he found there in the Caſtell, he did not onely byd battaile to the enimies, which were numbred to .lxij. M. but alſo put them to the worſe, and cauſed them to flee backe, to theyr great ſhame and confuſion.

Cephas.
King Richard fell ſicke.

Thus Iapha beeing deliuered out of the enimies hands, king Richarde fell ſicke at a Caſtell called Cephas, and ſo remayned there certaine dayes, till he had recouered his health. In which meane time, the Soldan Saladine ſeeming to lament his caſe, ſent vnto him certain of his Counſellers to common with him of peace, declaring that although he well vnderſtoode that king Richarde ment ſhortly to returne into his countrey, and that after his departure out of the Eaſt parties, he coulde with ſmall ado recouer all that the Chriſtians yet helde within the holye lande, hee woulde neuertheleſſe in reſpect of king Richardes high prowes, and noble valiancie, graunt a peace for a certaine time, ſo that not only Aſcalone, but alſo al other ſuch townes and places as the Chriſtians had fortified or wonne ſith the conqueſt of Acres ſhoulde be razed, as touching their walles, bulwarkes, gates, and other fortifications. King Richard (though hee perceyued that this offer of peace tended vnto this poynt chiefly, that Saladine woulde thereby adnihilate whatſoeuer the Chriſtian armie had done in the holy lande ſithe his and the French kings arriuall, ſo that by the ſayd peace he ſhould gaine more than by the edge of his ſword,) did ſomwhat ſtay at this offer and

A peace concluded betwixt the Chriſtians and Saraſins.

Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie.

King Richard taketh his iorney homewardes.

King Richard ſlaundered for the death of the Marques of Monferrate.

VVil. Paruus.

Erle of Goize.

Saltzburg.

King Richard commeth to Vienna.

demaund as a thing greatly diſhonourable to the Chriſtians, to loſe by treatie of peace ſo muche or rather more than they gotte by force of warres, (a meere token of faynt and feeble courage) yet conſidering, that in ſuch neceſſitie both of his departure from thence, and alſo of lacke of other ſuccors to reſiſt the puiſſance of the enimies, after his cōming away, he iudged it beſt to take the offer at the enimies handes in auoyding of ſome greater euill. Herevpon therefore was a peace concluded to endure for three yeares, three monethes, three weekes, three dayes, & three houres, to beginne at Eaſter next enſuing. And among other articles, it was couenaunted, that the Chriſtians ſhoulde haue free paſſage to come and goe vnto the Citie of Ieruſalem to viſite the holye Sepulchre there, which was graunted, ſo that amongeſt a great number of Chriſtians that preſently vpon thys concluſion went thither, Hubert Biſhop of Saliſburie was one, who had continued aboute the king during the time of all his iourney till thys time. King Richard hauing thus cōcluded with Saladine, tooke the Sea, and comming againe into Cypres, ſent his wife Queene Berengaria with his ſiſter Ioane, late Queene of Sicell into Englande by the long Seas, but he himſelfe not minding to lie long on the Seas, determined to take his courſe into Grecia, and ſo by lande to paſſe homewardes with all ſpeede poſſible. Howbeit ere hee coulde attaine his purpoſe, his chaunce was to bee dryuen by tempeſt into the coaſt of Iſtria, not farre from Aquileia, where he ſtoode in ſome doubt of his lyfe. For if hee had beene knowne and taken, they woulde ſurely haue kylled him, bycauſe of the ſlaunder that went of him, as guiltie of the death of Conrade the Marques of Monferato, who in deede was ſlaine by two of the Aſſaſſini in the Citie of Tirus, whileſt King Richarde was in the holye lande (as before yee haue hearde.) He therefore hauing here made Shipwracke, and doubting to fall into the handes of anye perſon in thoſe parties that bare good will vnto the Marques, (agaynſt whome he had indeede ſhewed himſelfe not friendly in a quarrell betwixt the ſayd Marques and Guido the king of Ieruſalem) made the beſt ſhift he coulde to gette away, yet knowledge being hadde of him, and ſearch made after him by one Meynard of Gorezeyn, hee loſt an eight of hys ſeruauntes, and ſo came to a towne within the Biſhoprike of Saltzburg called Fryſake, where he was eftſoones in daunger to haue beene taken againe by one Frederike de Saint Soome, who notwithſtanding tooke ſixe of hys menne, but yet hee himſelfe wyth three other of hys companie made ſhift to get awaye. And finally comming to Vien in Oſtriche, and there cauſing his ſeruauntes to prouide meate for him more ſumptuous and fine than was thought requiſite for ſo meane a perſon as hee counterfeyted then to beare the countenaunce of, it was ſtreight wayes ſuſpected that he was ſome other maner of man than hee ſhewed himſelfe to bee, and in fine, thoſe that marked more diligently the maner of him, perceyued what he was, and gaue knowledge to the Duke of Auſtrich named Leopolde, being then in the Citie of Vienna, what they had ſeene. His Page that had the Teutch tongue, goyng aboute the towne to chaunge Golde, and buie vittayles, bewrayed him, hauing by chaunce the kings gloues vnder hys girdle: whervpon comming to bee examined, for feare of tortures confeſſed the truth.

lida.

Rauſe Ni

The Duke ſtreight wayes cauſed the houſe where he was lodged, to bee ſette aboute wyth armed menne, and ſente other into the houſe to apprehende him. He being ware that he was diſcried, gotte him to his weapon: but they aduiſing him to bee contented, and alledging the Dukes commaundement, hee boldely anſwered, that ſithe hee muſte bee taken, he beeing a king, woulde yeelde himſelfe to none of the companie but to the Duke himſelfe, and therefore if it woulde pleaſe him to come, hee woulde yeelde himſelfe into his handes. The Duke hearing of this, ſpeedily came vnto hym, whome hee meeting, deliuered vp his ſworde, and committed him vnto his cuſtodie.

King Ri ſubmitt himſelfe the Duke Auſtriche

The Duke reioyſing of ſuch a pray, brought him vnto his Palace, and with gentle wordes enterteyned him, thoughe hee ment no greate good towardes him, as well ynoughe appeared in that hee committed hym to the keeping of certayne Gentlemen, which wythout muche curteſie looked ſtreightly ynough to him for ſtarting awaye, inſomuche that they kept hym in colde Irons as ſome Authours doe wryte. Hee was taken after the maner aforeſayde in December vpon Saint Thomas euen the yeare of our Lorde. 1192. and in the fourth yeare of hys raigne.

Nic.Tri

Polichro

The cauſe the diſple betwixt th Duke of A ſtrich & ki Richard.

The Duke of Auſtriche ought the King no good wil, bycauſe he had caſt downe his enſignes pight vp in a Turret at Acres, which hee had wonne at the verye time when that Citie was delyuered by the Saraſins: for whileſt they were in treatie on one ſide, the Duke on the other, not knowing any thing thereof, gaue the aſſault vnto that part of the towne which was appoynted vnto him to beſiege. And ſo beeing entred the towne, and perceyuing that by treatie it was to be delyuered, he retired into the Turret which he had firſt wonne and entred, and there ſet vp his Standart and enſignes, which king Richarde as the Teutch wryters affyrme, comming thyther, threwe downe and trode vnder hys feete.

But

Do.

Houed.

Richard
ed of the
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ques of
nferate.

But Geruaſius Dorobornenſis declareth this matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus. After that the ſayde Citie of Acres was rendred into the Chriſtian mens handes (ſayth he) dyuerſe Lords tooke their lodgings as they thought good, and hanged forth theyr enſignes. And as it chaunced, the Duke of Auſtriche placing himſelfe in one of the fayreſt Palayces of all the Citie, put forth hys Enſigne, whereof King Richarde beeing ware, came thither wyth a companie of hardie Souldiers aboute hym, and threwe downe the Dukes Enſigne, ſo diſplacing him oute of that ſo pleaſaunt and beautifull a lodging. For this cauſe and alſo ſurmiſing that king Richarde ſhoulde be guiltie of the death of the Marques, Conrade the Duke of Auſtriche ſhewed ſuche diſcourteſie towardes him. But concerning the murther of the Marques, the chiefe gouernour of thoſe Saraſins called Aſſaſſini cleared King Rycharde by a Letter wrytten and directed vnto the Duke of Auſtriche in maner as followeth.

Lvpoldo Duci Auſtriæ, Vetus de Monte ſalutē. Cùm plurimi Reges & Principes vltra mare Richardū Regem Angliæ & dominū de morte Marchiſi inculpent, iuro per dominū qui regnat in æternum, & per legem quam tenemus, quod in eius mortem nullam culpam habuit. Eſt ſiquidem cauſa mortis ipſius Marchiſi talis, vnus ex fratribus noſtris in vnam nauem de Satalei, ad partes noſtras veniebat, & tempeſtas illum fortè ad Tyrum appulit, & Marchiſus fecit illum capere & occidere, & magnam pecuniam eius rapuit. Nos verò Marchiſo nuncios noſtros miſimus, mandantes vt pecuniam fratris noſtri nobis redderet, & de morte fratris noſtri nobiſcum ſe concordaret, & noluit. Nec non & nuncios noſtros ſpreuit, & mortem fratris noſtri ſuper Reginaldum dominū de Sidonis poſuit, & nos tantum fecimus per amicos noſtros, quòd in veritate ſcimus, quòd ille fecit illum occidere & pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium nuncium noſtrum nomine Edriſum miſimus ad eum, quem in Mare mergere voluit, ſed amici noſtri illum à Tiro feſtinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos peruenit, & iſta nobis nunciauit. Nos quoq; ex illa hora Marchiſum deſiderauimus occidere. Tuncq; duos fratres miſimus ad Tirum qui eum aperte & fere coram omni populo Tiri occiderunt. Hæc ergo fuit cauſa mortis Marchiſi, & benè dicimus vobis in veritate, quòd dominus Richardus rex Angliæ in hac Marchiſi morte nullā culpam habuit. Et qui propter hoc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerunt iniuſtè fececerunt & ſine cauſa. Sciatis pro certo, quòd nullum hominē huius mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia occidimus, niſi prius nobis malū fecerit. Et ſciatis quòd has literas fecimus in domo noſtra ad Caſtellū noſtrum Meſſiat in dimidio Septembri anno ab Alexandro. 1505.

The ſame in Engliſh is thus.

Vetus de Monte to Lupolde Duke of Auſtriche ſendeth greeting: Where many kings and princes beyonde the Seas blame Richarde king of Englande of the Marques his death, I ſweare by the Lorde that reigneth euerlaſtingly, and by the lawe whiche we holde, that hee was not in faulte for hys death. For the verye cauſe of the Marques hys death was ſuche as followeth. One of our brethren in a Shippe of Satalie came towardes oure partyes, and chaunced by tempeſt to be driuen vnto Tyre, and the Marques cauſed him to be taken and ſlaine, and tooke a greate portion of money that hee hadde in the Shippe wyth hym. Whereuppon we ſent oure Meſſengers vnto the Marques, commaunding hym to reſtore vnto vs the money of our brother, and to compounde wyth vs for oure ſayde brothers death, and he woulde not. Moreouer, he alſo contemned our Meſſengers, and layde the faulte of oure brothers death vppon Reginalde Lorde of Sidon, and wee did ſo muche through our friendes, that wee gotte full vnderſtanding that the Marques himſelfe cauſed him to bee ſlayne, and tooke his money. And therefore we ſent vnto hym againe an other Meſſenger named Edriſus, whome he woulde haue drowned in the Sea, but oure friendes made ſuche ſhifte, that they procured hym to departe wyth ſpeede from Tyre, who returned to vs, and ſignifyed theſe thinges to vs for certayne. And from that houre euer after wee hadde a deſyre to ſlea the Marques: and ſo then wee ſent two of our brethren vnto Tyre, who openly, and in a manner in preſence of all the people of Tyre ſlue hym. This therefore was the verye cauſe of the death of the Marques: and wee ſaye to you in good ſooth, that the Lorde Richarde King of Englande, in thys death of the Marques was nothing culpable: and they that haue done anye diſpleaſure vnto the King of Englande for thys cauſe, they haue done it wrongfully, and wythout any iuſt occaſion. Know ye for certaine, that wee doe not vſe to kill anye man of this worlde for any brybe, or for money, excepte hee haue done to vs ſome harme afore tyme. And knowe ye that wee haue made theſe letters in our houſe at our Caſtell of Meſſiat, in the middeſt of September, in the yeare from Alexander the greate 1505.

Thus wee ſee howe King Richarde was cleared of that cryme concerning the Marques his death by the tenour of this letter. And verily it is moſte lyke that King Richarde woulde haue beene loth to haue communicated his purpoſe vnto ſuche a wicked kynde of Paganes as the Aſſaſſini were, if hee hadde pretended any ſuche matter, but rather would haue ſought his reuenge by ſome other meanes. Now therefore to our purpoſe. The newes of the taking of king Richard was anon bruted and blowne ouer al Germany, whervpon the Emperour Henry the .vj. the ſonne of Fredericke the firſt, ſent in al haſt vnto the Duke, perſwading him to deliuer the king into his handes, being able to ſuſteine and abide the malice of all them that would be offended with the taking and deteining of him priſoner, as the Pope and other. The Emperour well vnderſtoode the wealthe and riches of Englande, and therfore hoped to make ſome good purchaſe by raunſoming the king, if he might get him out of the Dukes handes. The Duke perceiuing alſo the Emperoures meanyng, durſt not well denye his requeſt, and therfore he deliuered the king vnto them that were ſent from the Emperour, who couenaunted to giue vnto the ſaide Duke the ſumme of .6000. pounde of Colen weight for the hauing of the ſaid king. The Emperour thus receiuing the king at the handes of the Duke of Auſtriche, commaunded that he ſhoulde be committed to cloſe priſon, and woulde not ſo muche doe as once ſpeake wyth hym. Thys he dyd to cauſe the king vpon an indignation and wearines of that maner of life to make ſpede in offering ſome large maſſe of money for his libertie and deliueraunce. Here is to be remembred by the way, that aboute the ſame time or ſomewhat before, in the yeare of our Lord .1192. the Pope ſent two Legates (that is to witte, Octauian Biſhop of Hoſtia, and one Jordane de Foſſa noua) into Normandie, to agree the Biſhop of Ely, and the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen: but commyng vnto Giſors, they were ſtaied from entring any further into the countrey, wherevpon they dyd interdite the whole Duchie of Normandie, together with William Fitz Radulfe Lorde Steward of that countrey, bycauſe hee was the man that had ſo ſtaied them. Immediatly herevpon, Quene Elenor, and the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen ſent vnto thoſe Legates Hugh Biſhop of Durham, requiring them to releaſe that ſentence of interdiction ſo pronoũced agaynſt the ſteward and country of Normandie in the kings abſence, but they would not, except they might be receiued into Normãdie: howbeit, the Pope being ſent vnto, releaſed it, and cauſed the Legates to releaſe it alſo, & yet they entred not into Normandie at all. Alſo this yeare whileſt the Seneſhall of Gaſcoigne laye ſicke, the Earle of Pieregort, and the Vicount of Marche, and almoſt all the Lordes and Barons of Gaſcoignes, began to waſt and deſtroye the landes of King Richard, and although the Seneſhall many tymes by meſſengers required a peace, or at the leaſt ſome truce, yet coulde he not haue any graunte thereof: wherefore vppon hys recouery of healthe he inuaded the landes of the ſayde Earle, tooke the Caſtels and fortreſſes, and ſome of them he fortefied, and kept to the Kyngs vſe, and ſome of them hee raſed downe to the ground. Hee alſo inuaded the Vicountes countrey, and ſubdued it to the Kyngs gouernemente.

1193

The king is deliuered to the Emperor.
Mat. Par.

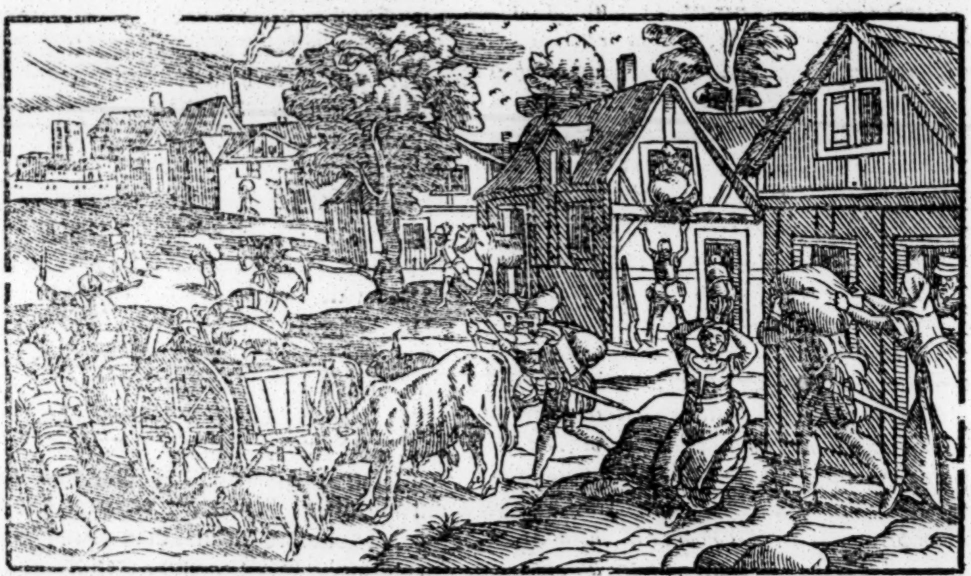
Rog. Houed

Two Legat
from the po

Normandie interdited.

The Earle
Pieregort
others wa
king of Eng
lands lan

The Seneſchal of Gaſcoygne reuengeth that iniurie.



Shortly after came the brother of the Kyng of Nauarre, with eight hundred Knyghtes or men of armes to the Seneſhals ayde, and ſo they two togither entring into the lands of the Earle of Tholouſe, tooke dyuers Caſtels and fortreſſes within the ſame, of the whiche ſome they fortified, and ſome they raſed, and rode euen to the gates of Tholouſe, and lodged in manner vnder the walles of the Citie.

The king
Nauerres
brother.

A little before Chriſtmas alſo, diuers of thoſe that had bin in the holy lande with King Rychard, came home into England, not knowyng but that King Richarde had bin at home before them, and beeing aſked where they thought hee was become, they coulde ſaye no more but that they had ſeene the ſhippe wherein he firſt went aborde, arriued at Brendize in Puglia.

Abbots of …y & Ro… Bridge.

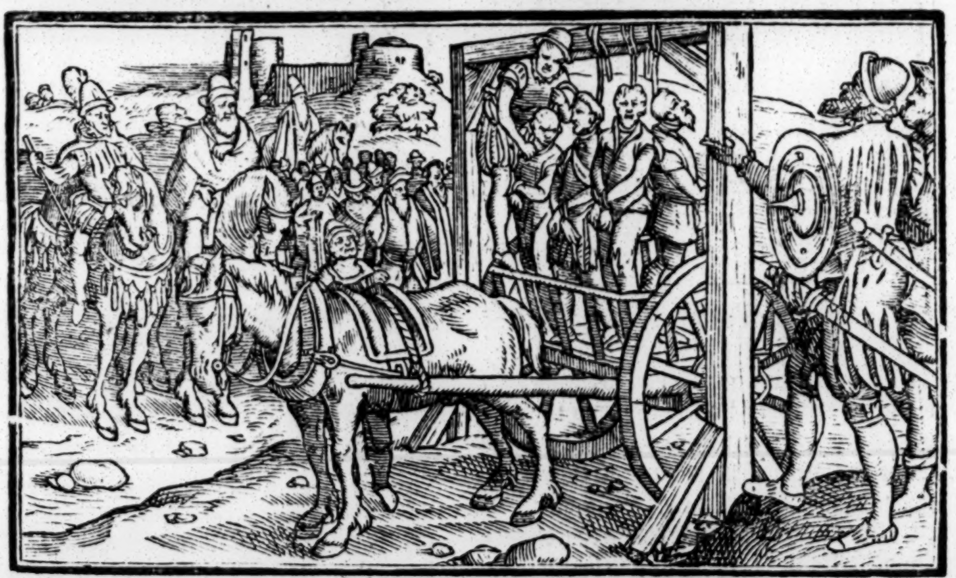
At length when the newes came how he was taken and ſtayed as priſoner, the Archbiſhop of Rouen and other the rulers of the realm of Englande, ſent with all ſpeede the Abbot of Boreley, and the Abbot of Roberts bridge into Almaine to ſpeake with him, and to vnderſtand his ſtate, and what his pleaſure was in all things. They comming into Germanie, paſſed through the Countrey into Baierlande, where at a place called Orefer, they founde the King as then on hys iourney towardes the Emperour, to whome (as ye haue hearde) the Duke of Auſtriche did ſende him.

The ſayd Abbots attended him to the Emperours Court. and remayned there with him till the Emperor and he were accorded, in maner as after ſhall be ſhewed: and then after Eaſter they returned with the newes into Englande. Upon report whereof order is taken for many things, but chiefely for the ſtate: in which dealings, and foraſmuch as thoſe which had the rule of the land ſtoode in great doubt of things (for the inconſtant nature of Earle Iohn was of them much ſuſpected,) firſt they cauſed a newe othe of allegiance to be made to king Richarde, and receyued of the people. They fortifyed alſo ſuch townes and Caſtelles as were of importaunce, both wyth repayring the walles and other defences aboute the ſame, and furniſhing them with men, munition and vitayles.

Thus was the lande brought into ſome order, in which meane while the Frenche King being aduertiſed that King Richarde was deteyned as priſoner, reioyced not a little thereof, and wyth all ſpeede by ſecrete Meſſages dyd ſende for hys brother Earle Iohn, who was readie to come at his call. And being come, hee exhorteth him not to ſuffer ſo conuenient an occaſion to paſſe, but to take the gouernment of the Realme of Englande nowe into his handes promiſing hym all ſuche ayde as hee coulde of hym reaſonably requyre: wyth other like talke ſtill tending to the prouocation of the Earle to forſake hys allegeaunce vnto hys brother. And to ſaye the truth, Earle Iohn was eaſily perſwaded ſo to doe, and therefore vpon his immediate returne into Englande, he aſſembled an armie, and wyth the ſame (and ſuche ſtraungers as hee brought ouer wyth him) begynneth to proue mayſteryes, fyrſt wynning the Caſtelles of Wyndſore, Wallingforde, Notingham, and dyuerſe other, and fortifying the ſame to his own vſe and defence.

The French king counſelleth king Iohn to vſurpe againſt his brother.

In the meane tyme, the Barons of the land not iudging ſuche vnlawfull doyngs to bee anye longer ſuffered, fyrſt beſieged the Caſtell of Wyndſore, and after preparing to leuie a greater force, did put them within in ſuche feare, that they yeelded vp the ſame, ſeeking to eſcape by flight, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, the which yet being apprehended were put to worthie execution.



But this was not done without continuance of tyme, and without great trouble and charges to the Realme: for where as there was a practiſe betwixt the French King and Earle Iohn, that a great power of ſtraungers, and namely Flemings ſhoulde haue come into the Realme, (for whoſe tranſporting a great number of Shippes were brought togyther at Witſande) yet the high prouidence and goodneſſe of God diſappoynted theyr purpoſe. For their meſſengers being taken whiche were ſent hither into Englande, the treaſon was reuealed, & by the Queene mothers appoyntmente, (who chiefly then ruled the lande) a great company of Knightes, men of armes, and commons of the countrey, watched the Sea coaſtes, ouer againſt Flaunders, to keepe the enimies from landing. They began thus to watch in the Paſſion weeke, and ſo continued till a certaine time after Eaſter. Howbeit, Earle Iohn came ſecretly ouer, in hope to haue not only the aſſiſtance of the Welchmen and of many other his friendes in Englande, but alſo of the Scottes, howbeit, the Kyng of Scottes woulde not meddle. Hee therefore with ſuche Welchmen and other as he had brought ouer, and ſuch Engliſhmen as he could get to take his part, beganne ſuch attemptes (as before yee haue hearde) to the diſquieting of the whole Realme, and great diſpleaſure of the Kyng.

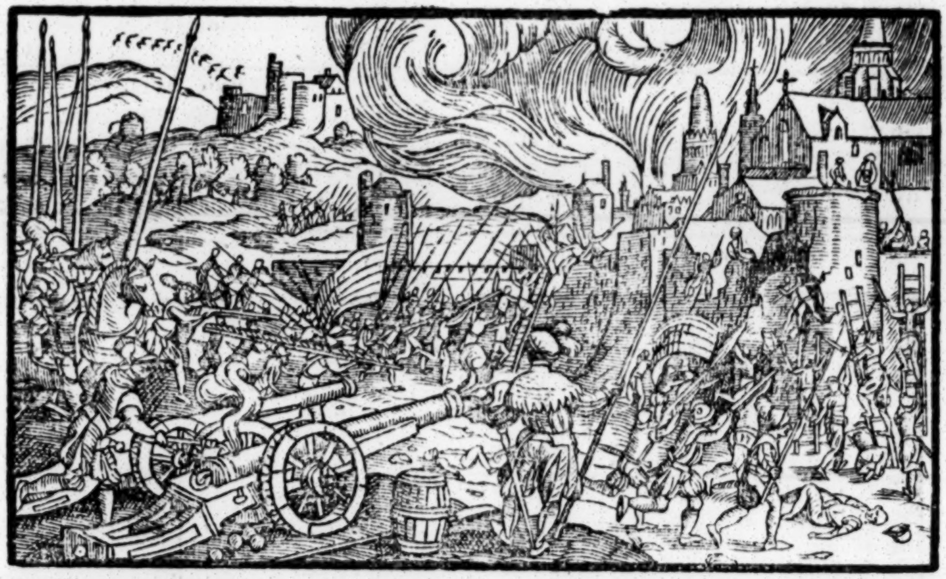
The Archb. of Yorke.
Hugh Bardolf.
William de Stuteuille.

Moreouer, beſyde that power of the Barons which layde ſiege to Windſor Caſtel, there were noble men alſo in other parties of the Realme, that were ready to reſiſt hym. And amongſt other, Geffrey yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, with Hugh Bardolfe one of the Kings Iuſtices, and William de Stuteuille, aſſembled an army, and comming to Doncaſter, fortified the Towne: but when the Archbiſhop would haue gone forwarde to beſiege the Caſtell of Tickhill whiche Earle Iohn had in poſſeſſion, the other two his aſſociates would not conſent to goe with him, bycauſe they were ſeruauntes, and reteyned with Earle Iohn. Herewith the Archbiſhop beeyng ſore offended, departed from them, calling them Traitors to their Kyng, and enimies to the Realme.

About the ſame tyme alſo, dyd the Frenche King enter into Normandy with an army, and comming to the Towne of Giſors, he beſieged it, the which one Gilbert de Vaſcoll or Guaſcoil that was Captayne thereof, to hys hygh reproch, yeelded vnto hym, with an other Caſtell alſo called Neſle, whiche hee hadde lykewiſe in keeping.

VVil.Par

After thys, the Frenche King entring into the Countrie of Veuxin, or Veulqueſſin, wanne dyuers Townes and fortreſſes in the ſame, and paſſing forwarde, tooke Val de Rueil, and Neufburg, and fynally comming before the Citie of Rouen hee layde ſiege thereto: but the Earle of Leyceſter beeyng gote into the Citie before the French Kyngs comming thither, ſo encouraged the Citizens, that they ſtoutly ſtanding to theyr defence, cauſed the Frenche Kyng to hys greate diſhonor, to rayſe his field, hauing loſt there more then hee wanne. Yet to ſaue other Townes and Caſtels from taking, and the countrey from deſtruction, the Rulers of the ſame procured a truce for a greate ſumme of money, which they couenaunted to gyue, deliuering vp foure notable Caſtels by way of engagemente, till the ſumme agreed vpon, ſhould be to him cōtented and payd.



Rouen beſieged.

The Earle of Leyceſter.

Polidor.

In the meane time, Earle Iohn as head of all the conſpiratours, perceyuing hymſelfe not able to atchieue hys purpoſe as then, nor to reſiſt the Lords and Barons of the Realme, beeing vp in armoure againſte hym, and nowe growen to greater ſtomacke, bycauſe they vnderſtood by the Biſhop of Saliſbury lately arriued, of the Kings welfare, and hope of deliueraunce. And furthermore, conſidering that he was diſappoynted both of ſuch Scottes and Flemmings as he had well hoped ſhoulde haue come to his ayde, hee tooke a truce with the Lordes of the Kyngs ſide, by the earneſt trauayle of the Biſhop of Saliſbury, till the feaſt of all Sainctes, ſo as the Caſtels of Windſor, Walingford, and the Peake, ſhoulde remaine in the handes of his mother Quene Eleanor, but yͤ Caſtels of Nottinghā and Tickhill, remai-

Micha
hath
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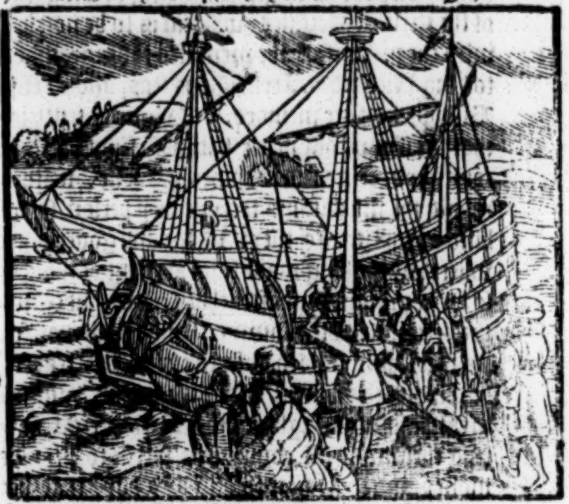
remayned ſtill in his owne poſſeſſion, the whiche with ſuch other Caſtels as hee helde within the lande, he furniſhed with garniſons of his owne men and friendes, and then went againe ouer into Fraunce to the French king, to purchaſe ſome new ayde at his hands, according to his promiſe.

.Parum.

Emperor
eth king
ard with
es done
Sicilians

Here will we leaue Earle Iohn conferring with the French king, and returne againe to the king of Englande. Upon Palme Sunday after that he was deliuered into the handes of the Emperour, he was brought forth afore the Princes & lordes of the Empyre, in whoſe preſence the Emperour charged him with diuerſe vnlawfull doings: but namely hee picked a quarell with him for the wrongs and hurtes done to the Sicilians in time of his ſoiourning in theyr Ile, as he went towardes the holy lande. For albeit the ſayde Emperor had nothing as then to doe in the countrey, yet forſomuch as he had lately recouered the Ile of Sicille out of king Tankreds handes, and was now entituled king thereof by the Pope, in right of his wife Conſtance, the daughter of Roger king of Sicill, and ſo by reaſon thereof ſeemed to be grieuouſly offended with him for his doings about the recouering of the money from Tancred, which neuertheleſſe was iuſtly due vnto his ſiſter for hir dower, as in the proceſſe afore I haue alredy declared: King Richard notwithſtanding theſe and other friuolous obiections layde to hys charge, made his anſweares alwayes ſo pithily & directly to all that could be layd agaynſt him, and excuſed himſelfe in euery point ſo throughly, that the Emperor much marueyled at his high wiſedom and prudence, and not only greatly cōmended him for the ſame, but from thenceforth vſed him more curteouſly, and ſuffred that his friends might haue acceſſe to him more freely thā before they could be permitted to do. The Pope alſo being aduertiſed of the taking of K. Richard, was much offended, that any Chriſtiā Prince hauing taken vpon him the defence of the Chriſtian faith againſt the Infidels, ſhoulde be ſo vſed in his returne from ſo godly an enterpriſe: & therfore ſent both vnto the Duke of Auſtrich, & vnto the Emperor, requiring them to ſet him at libertie. But the Emperor declared plainly that he woulde bee anſwered for ſuch ſummes of mony as king Richard had taken out of Sicill before he would releaſe him vnto libertie. Whereupon when king Richard perceyued that no excuſes woulde ſerue though neuer ſo iuſt, but that he muſt needes pay to his couetous hoſt ſome great ſumme of money for his hard interteynment, he ſent the Biſhop of Saliſburie into England, to take order with the Barons of the realme to prouide for the paymēt of his raunſom, which Biſhop (as ye haue heard) after the peace cōcluded with Saladine, went vnto Ieruſalē to viſit the holy Sepulchre, and now comming into Sicil, as he returned homewards, had knowledge there how king Richard was taken priſoner in Auſtriche, and remayned in the Emperors handes: whervpon he turned that way forth, and comming to him, was nowe ſent into Englande with Commiſſion (as I haue ſayd) to leuie money for the kings raunſome. He landed here the .xx. day of Aprill, by whoſe comming the lande was the ſooner brought in: quiet for the agreement which Earle Iohn tooke (as before yee haue heard) was chiefly procured by his meanes. For till his cōmming the Caſtell of Windſore was not wonne, the ſiege being but ſlackly followed by the Archbiſhop of Rouen, who had dyuerſe of his friendes within it, and therefore was not verie earneſt agaynſt them.



.Paruus.
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gland

Ger. Dor.

Rog. Houed.

The Biſhop of Ely commeth to the king.

After that the Biſhop of Saliſburie was departed towardes Englande, the Biſhop of Elie came to the king, and trauayled ſo earneſtly betwixt the Emperour and him, that finally the Emperour (partly throughly his ſute, and partly that he had beene very much called vpon by the Pope and other for his deliuerie) tooke order with him for the redeeming of his libertie, and appoynted what ſumme he ſhould pay for his raunſome, which (as ſome write) was two hūdred thouſand Markes: other ſay that it was but. 140. thouſande Markes of the poyſe of Colcigne weight. Wil. Paruus who liued in thoſe dayes affirmeth it was one hundred thouſand pounds, but Roger Houeden hath an hundred thouſande Markes of Colen poiſe, to be payd preſently at the kings firſt comming into Englande, and fiftie. M. markes afterwards, that is to ſay, thirtie thouſande to the Emperor, and twentie thouſand to the Duke of Auſtriche, as it were in recompence of the iniurie done to hym in the holy lande, where king Richarde ouerthrew his enſignes: and for the ſame to deliuer ſufficient ſureties.

The Emperor agreeth with king Richard for his rāſome.

Nic. Triuet.

Mat. Par.

Rog. Houed.

Moreouer we finde in Roger Houeden that the Emperour amongeſt other the Articles of thys agreement thus concluded betwixte hym

and

Landes aſsigned to king Richard.

and king Richard gaue and graunted, and by his letters patents confyrmed vnto him theſe landes hereafter mētioned, that is to ſay: Prouance with the Citie of Vienne, and Viennois, the Citie of Marſeils, Narbō, Arles, & Lion vpō the Rhone, with the countrey vp to the Alpes, & all thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to the Empyre in Burgoine, with the homages of the king of Aragon, & of the Erle of S. Giles (wherein is to be noted, yͭ with the precinct of the premiſſes thus graunted to king Richard. v. Archbiſhops ſeas, and. xxxiij. Biſhops ſeas are included.) Howbeit the truth is, that the Emperour neuer had poſſeſſion of theſe countreys, cities, and townes himſelfe, neither would the inhabitants receyue any perſon ſo by him appoynted to theyr Lorde and gouernour, wherefore the king made ſmal account of that his ſo large graunt. But after that he once vnderſtood the certaintie of the ſumme that he ſhuld pay for his raunſome (which buſineſſe he moſt attended) he diſpatched one with letters by and by, and in great haſt into Englande to his treaſorers, requiring them with all conuenient ſpeede to prouide money, and to ſende it to him by a day, that hee might be ſet at libertie with ſpeede.

Polidor.

Rog. Houed.

Order taken for leuying money to pay the kings raunſome.

These letters being come to the Queene mother, and other that had charge in gouernaunce of the realme, tooke order that al maner of perſons as well ſpirituall as temporall, ſhould giue yͤ fourth part of their whole reuenues to thē for that yeare accrewing, and as much more of their moueable goodes, and that of euery knights fee there ſhould be leuied the ſumme. of xx. s. Alſo that religious houſes of the order of the Ciſteaux & Sempringham ſhoulde giue all their woolles for that yeare towards the kings raunſome, and thoſe that had cōmiſſion to leuie this mony, vſed much ſtraightneſſe in exacting it, not onely leuying it to the vttermoſt value and extent of mens landes, goodes, and poſſeſſions, but after their owne willes and pleaſures: ſo that vnder colour of the kings cōmiſſion, and letters to them [illegible], there ſeemed not a tribute or ſubſedie to be rayſed, but by ſome publike proclamation, all the goodes and ſubſtance of the people to be appoynted as a pray to the kings officers, whereby it came to paſſe, that not onely priuate mens goodes, but alſo the Chalices, Iewels, and veſſels belonging to the church were turned into money, & a farre greater ſumme made than was at the firſt commaunded, a great part of the ouerplus being conuerted to the vſe of thoſe, through whoſe handes the receipt paſſed. There was no priuiledge nor freedome allowed to exempt any perſon or place for beeing contributorie towardes the payment of thys money. The order of Ciſteaux that were neuer charged with any payment before, were now aſſeſſed more deeplye than the reſt.

The hard dealing of officers in the collection.

Church iewels.

The Bi Norwich

The Biſhop of Norwich lamenting the iniurious dealings of the petty officers, and pitying the people of the Church, collected halfe the value of all the Chalices within his Dioceſſe himſelfe, and to make vp the other halfe of the whole ſūme, he ſpared not to giue a great portion of his owne treaſure.

The Ab Saint Al

The Abbot of Saint Albones acquit all thoſe Churches within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction, by the gyft of an hundred Markes. But the Biſhop of Cheſter had very yll lucke with his collections, for hauing gathered a great ſumme of money to the kings vſe, he was ſpoyled thereof in one night, as he lodged neare vnto Canterburie, being on his iourney towards the king: & bycauſe Mathew de Cleere that lay in the Caſtel of Douer was knowne to ayde thoſe that robbed the ſayd Biſhop, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie pronounced him accurſed.

The Bi Cheſter.

Mathew Clere.

Rog. Ho

The Bi of Elie.

About this tyme, and on the morrow after the Natiuitie of Saint Iohn Baptiſt, the Byſhop of Ely Lord Chancellour arryued in England, not ſhewing himſelfe in any ſtatelyke port (for hee tooke vppon him neyther the dignitie of Chancellor nor Legate, nor yet of Iuſtice) but onely as a ſimple Biſhoppe and Meſſenger ſent from the king.

The Queene mother, the Archbiſhop of Rouen, and ſuche other as had gouernment of the lande, hearing of his comming, mette hym at Saint Albones, where hee ſhewed to them the Emperours letters, conteyning the agreement made betwixt him and king Richarde, and withall appoynted certaine Lordes and Barons to goe with him at his returne backe to the king, as Gilbert Biſhop of Rocheſter, Sifrid Biſhop of Chicheſter, Bennet Abbot of Peterborow, Rychard Earle of Clare, Roger Bigotte Earle of Norffolke, Geffrey de Saye, and dyuerſe other.

It was alſo ordeyned at this ſame tyme that the money gathered towarde the payment of the kings raunſome ſhoulde remaine in cuſtodie of Hubert Biſhop of Saliſburie, Richarde Biſhop of London, William Earle of Arundell, Hamelyne Earle of Warrenne, and of the Maior of London, vnder the ſeales of the Queene mother, and of the Archbiſhop of Rouen: but ſee the happe of things, whileſt eche one was thus occupied about the aforeſayde money it chaunced, that king Richarde was at poynt to haue beene deliuered into the handes of his deadly aduerſarie the Frenche king after this maner.

Ann

xvii.

The Emperour vpon diſpleaſure conceyued againſt the Biſhop of Liege, which lately had atteyned to that benefice cōtrarie to the Emperors pleaſure, who wiſhed the ſame rather to an other perſon, hyred certayne naughtie fellowes to goe

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into Fraunce, where the Biſhop remayned for feare of the Emperors malice, and there to finde meanes trayterouſly to ſlea him, which they accordingly did, by reaſon wherof the Duke of Louaigne that was brother to the Biſhop, and other of his kinſmen, vpon knowledge had therof, ment to haue made the Emperour warre, in reuenge of that murther. Inſomuche that the Emperour to haue the Frenche Kings ayde agaynſte them, was mynded to haue delyuered king Rycharde vnto him: howbeit after that the matter was taken vp, and a concorde made betwixt the Emperour and his nobles, he chaunged his purpoſe alſo touching the deliuering ouer of King Richarde, who perceyuing that tyll his raunſome were payde (which woulde amounte to the ſumme of an hundred fiftie thouſand Markes) he ſhould not get libertie: and putting greate confidence in the dexteritie and diligence of Hubert biſhop of Saliſburie (whome hee ſent as yee haue heard into England to deal for the leuying of the ſame) he thought good to aduaunce the ſame Biſhop to the Metropolitane Sea of Canterburie, which had bene vacant euer ſith the deceaſe of the Archbiſhop Balowin, that died (as ye haue heard) in the holy land. Herevpon wryting to the Byſhops of the realme, and to the Monkes of Canterburie, he required them to proceede to the election of an Archbiſhop for that Sea, and withall commended vnto them the foreſayde Hubert, as a man moſt ſufficient and meet for that roumth. He wrote likewiſe to the Queene to further that matter, and eaſily hereby obteyned his deſire. For ſhortly after, the ſame Hubert was elected by the Biſhops and Monkes, which aſſembled togither for that purpoſe. He was the .xlj. Archbiſhop that gouerned that Sea: for although Reginald Biſhop of Bath was elected before him, yet bycauſe he dyed ere he was inſtalled, he is not put in the number.

l.Parum.

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The king being now put in good hope of hys ſpeedie deliuerance, ſent into Englande, willing his mother Queene Elenor, the Archbiſhop of Rouen and others, to come ouer vnto him into Almain, and in the meane tyme he ordeyned Hubert the Archbiſhop of Canterburie to remaine at home as Lorde chiefe Juſtice.

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rie, Lord
e iuſtice.

After this, the Emperour with the aduice of the Princes of the Empyre, hee aſſigned a daye to King Rycharde in whiche hee ſhoulde be delyuered oute of captiuitie, which was the Mondaye nexte after the twentieth day of Chriſtmaſſe. Wherevpon King Richarde wrote vnto Hubert Archbyſhop of Canterburie in forme as followeth.

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RIchardus dei gratia rex Anlgiæ, & dux Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & comes Andiganiæ, venirabili patri noſtro in Chriſto, & amico chariſſimo Huberto eadem gratia Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo ſalutem & ſincere dilectionis plenitudinem. Quoniam certiores ſumus, quòd liberationem noſtram plurimùm deſideratis, & quòd liberatio noſtra admodum vos lætificat, ſcripto volumus quòd lætitiæ noſtræ participes ſitis. Inde eſt quòd dilectioni veſtræ dignum duximus ſignificare, dominũ Imperatorem certum diẽ liberationis noſtræ nobis præfixiſſe, in die lunæ proxima poſt viciſſimã diẽ Natiuitatis domini, & die dominica proxima ſequenti coronabimur de regno prouinciæ, quod nobis dedit. Vnde mittimus in Angliã literas domini Imperatoris ſuper hijs patẽtes, vobis. & cæteris amicis noſtris beneuolis. Vos autẽ interim pro omni poſſe veſtro quos ſcitis nos diligere, cõſolare velitis, & quos ſcitis promotionem noſtram deſiderare. Teſte meipſo apud Spiram .xxij. die Decembris.

The Emperor alſo ſignified by his letters to the Lordes of England his reſolute determination in this matter, as followeth.

The tenor of the Emperors letters.

HEnricus dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus, dilectis ſuis Archiep. Epiſcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, militibus, et vniuerſis alijs fidelibus Richardi illuſtris regis Anglorũ gratiam ſuam & omne bonũ. Vniuerſitati veſtræ duximus intimandũ, quòd dilecto amico noſtro Richardo illuſtri regi Anglorũ domino veſtro certũ diẽ liberationis ſuæ ſtatuimus à ſecunda feria poſt diẽ natiuitatis domini in tres ſeptimanas apud Spiram ſiue apud Berenatiã, & inde in ſeptẽ dies poſuimus ei diẽ coronationis ſuæ de regno Prouinciæ, quod ei promiſimus: & hoc certũ habeatis, & indubitatũ, noſtri ſiquidẽ propoſiti eſt, et voluntatis, præfatum dominũ veſtrũ ſpecialẽ promouere ſicut amicũ noſtrum, & magnifieentius honorare. Datum apud Theallusam vigilia beati Thomæ Apoſtoli.

Before this K. Richard had ſent the Biſhop of Ely into France vnto his brother Erle John, the which did ſo much with, him that he returned into Normandie, and there ſware feaultie vnto his brother king Richard, and ſo was contented to forſake the French king. But where as king Richard commaunded that all ſuch Caſtels and honors as he had giuen to him afore time ſhoulde now be reſtored to him againe, as well thoſe in England, as the other on the further ſide the ſea: ſuch as had the ſame Caſtels in keeping woulde not obey the kings commaundement herein, refuſing to make reſtitution of thoſe places, according to the tenor & purport of the kings writ, vnto yͤ ſaid Earle of Mortaigne, by reaſon of which refuſall, he returned again to the French king, and ſtuck to him: wherevpõ the French king gaue vnto him yͤ caſtels of Drincourt, & Arques, the which ought to haue bin deliuered vnto yͤ Archb. of Reimes as in pledge, who had trauelled as a meane betwixt yͤ French K. to whõ he was vncle, & the K. of England to whõ he was couſin, procuring

The kings commaundement not obeyed.

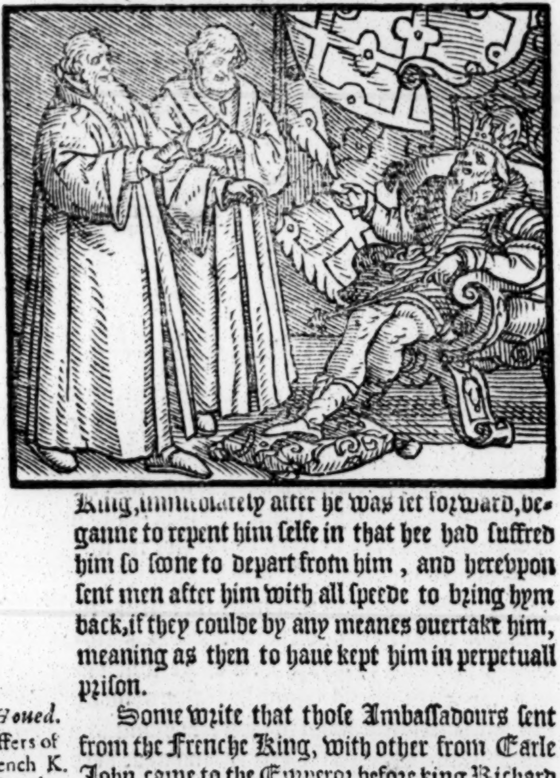
a meting for agreement to be had betwixt them at a certain place betwixt Vaucolour and Tulle in the borders of Lorraine. But notwithſtanding all that he coulde doe, matters were ſo farre out of frame, and ſuche miſtruſt was entred into the myndes of the partyes, that no concluſion helde. So that all the hope which king Richard had, was by payment of hys raunſome to redeme his libertie, and then to ſhift wyth things as hee myght.

1194

And ſo finally when the money was once redie, or rather a ſufficient portion thereof, the ſame was conueyed ouer into Germany, and payment made to the Emperour of the more parte of the Kings raunſome, and ſufficient pledges left with him for the reſt, as the Archebiſhoppe of Rouen, the Biſhoppe of Bath, [Barlowyn Wac] and other which were of late come oute of Englande to ſee and ſalute the king.

Rog. Houed.
King Richard releaſed out of captiuitie.

Hereupon king Richard after he had bene priſoner one yeare, ſixe weekes, and three dayes, was ſet at libertie on Candlemaſſe day (as moſte wryters agree) and then with long and haſtie iorneys, not keeping the high wayes, he haſted forth towards England. It is reported that if hee had lingred by the way, he had beene eftſoones apprehended. For the Emperor being incenſed againſt him by Ambaſſadors that came from the French King, immediately after he was ſet forward, beganne to repent him ſelfe in that hee had ſuffred him ſo ſoone to depart from him, and hereupon ſent men after him with all ſpeede to bring hym back, if they coulde by any meanes ouertake him, meaning as then to haue kept him in perpetuall priſon.



Rog. Houed.
The offers of the French K. and Erle Iohn to haue the K. of Englande kept ſtill in priſon.

Some write that thoſe Ambaſſadours ſent from the Frenche King, with other from Earle John, came to the Emperor before king Richard was deliuered, offring in the French kings name fiftie thouſand markes of ſiluer, and in the name of Earle John thirtie thouſande, vpon condition that king Richard might remain ſtil in captiuitie vntill the feaſt of S. Michaell next enſuing, or elſe if it might ſo pleaſe him, he ſhoulde receyue a thouſand pound of ſiluer for euery month whileſt king Richard ſhould bee deteyned in hys priſon, or otherwiſe fiftie thouſand markes of ſiluer more thā the firſt offer, at one entier payment, if he woulde delyuer him into their handes, or at the leaſtwiſe to keepe him priſoner by the tearme of one whole yeare. The Emperor hearing of ſuch large offers, and yet hoping for more, contrarie to his promiſe and letters patents therefore graunted, prorogued the day in which king Rychard ſhould haue bene ſet at libertie, till Candlemaſſe after, at which day hee was brought from Haguenaw vnto Spiers, where the Emperour had called a Councell to intreate further of the matter touching his redemption. Here the Emperor ſhewed the letters which he had receiued from the French king and Earle John vnto king Richarde, who vpon ſight and peruſing of the ſame, was marueilouſly amaſed, and began to diſpaire of all ſpeedy deliuerance. In deed the Emperour ſought delayes vpon a couetous deſire of the money offred by the French king and Erle John, but yet ſuch princes and great Lordes as had vndertaken for the Emperour, that the couenants and articles on his part agreed vpō in the accord paſſed betwixt him and king Richarde, ſhould bee in eche behalfe performed, that is to wit, the Archbiſhops of Mens, Colen, & Saltzburg, the Biſhops of Wormes, Spiers, & Liege, the dukes of Suaben, Auſtrich, & Louain, yͤ Palſgraue of yͤ Rhine, and others, came to the Emperor, and reprouing him for his couetous mind, in that he deferred the reſtoring of king Richard to his libertie, contrary to the compoſition, did ſo much preuaile, that the Emperor receyuing pledges for the payment of the money yet behind (as before ye haue heard) releaſed king Richard out of captiuitie on the ſecōd (or as Roger Hou. hath the fourth) day of Februarie, being a diſmole day and an infortunate, (as they note them in kalenders.) And where the king would haue left Robert de Nouāt the Biſhop of Couentries brother for a pledge amongſt the other, he refuſed to be one of the number, alledging that he was ſeruant to Earle John. King Richard grieuouſly offended herewith, commaunded that he ſhould be apprehēded, and committed to priſon, and ſo he was. This Robert was one of thoſe that came with the letters frō the French king and Erle John to the Emperor, about the ſtaying of king Richards deliuerance.

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Furthermore, king Richarde the ſame day in which he was reſtored to libertie, ſummoned by his letters Hugh Nouant Biſhop of Couentrie, to appeare in his court to anſwere ſuch things as were to be obiected againſt him, both afore ſpiritual iudges, in that he was a Biſhop, & alſo before temporall in that he had holden and exerciſed a temporall office.

Alſo the ſame daye the Emperour and the Princes of the Empyre, ſent letters vnder theyr handes and ſeales to the French king, and to John Erle of Mortaigne, cõmaunding them immediately vpon ſight of the ſame letters, to reſtore vnto king Richard al thoſe Caſtels, cities, townes, landes, and other things, whiche they had taken from him during the time of his remayning in captiuitie, and if they refuſed thus to doe, then they gaue them to vnderſtande by the ſame letters, that they would ayde King Richarde to recouer that by force, which had beene wrongfully taken from him. Moreouer king Richard gaue and by his deed confirmed vnto ſundry Princes of the Empyre for their homage and fealties, certaine yearely pencions, as to the Archbiſhop of Mens and Colen, to the Biſhop of Liege, to the Dukes of Auſtrich and Louaigne, to the Marques of Mountferrate, to the Duke of Meglenburg, to the Duke of Suaben the Emperors brother, to the Erle of Bins, to the Erle of Holland, and to the ſonne of the Erle of Henault, of all the which, and other mo, he receyued homage, or rather had their promiſe by oth to ayde him againſt the French king, which French King now that he ſawe no hope to bryng the Emperour to the bent of his Bowe for the deteyning of king Richarde ſtyll in captiuitie, rayſed a power forthwith, and entring into Normandie (the truce notwithſtanding) tooke the towne of Eureux, with diuerſe other Fortreſſes thereabouts, and after he had done miſchiefe ynough, as it were awearyed with euill doing, he graunted eftſoones to ſtand to the truce and ſo returned home.

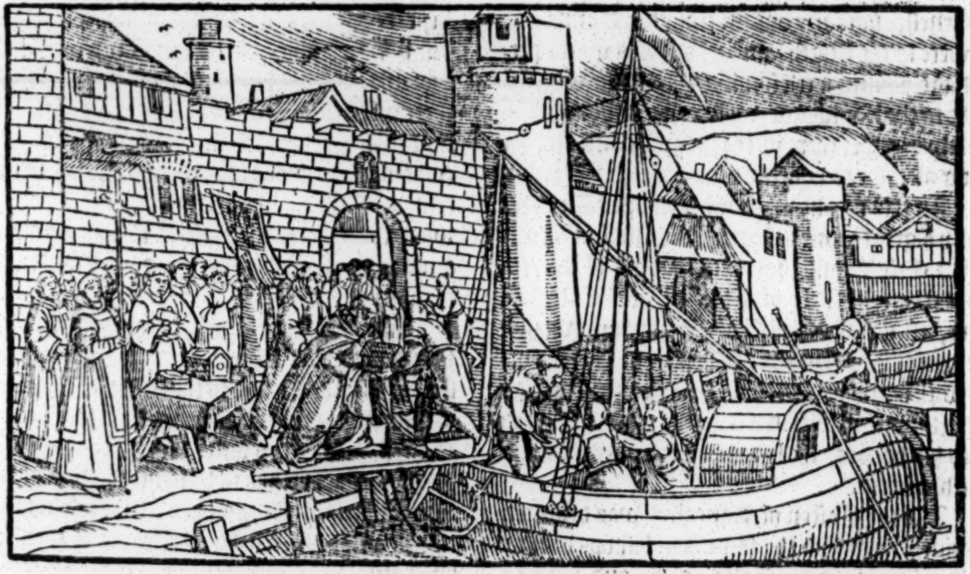
Guil.Paruus.

The French king inuadeth Normandie.

Finally after that king Richarde had diſpatched his buſineſſe with the Emperour, and the Princes of Almaigne, he ſet forwarde on hys iourney towardes Englande, and hauing the Emperors paſſeport, came to Colen, where of the Archbiſhop he was ioyfully receyued, the which Archbiſhop attended vppon him till hee came to Andwarpe, where king Richarde tooke the water in a Galley that belonged to Alan de Trenchmere, but in the night he went into a Shippe of Rie, bring a verie fayre veſſell, and ſo laye abourde in hir all the nyght, and in the morning returned to the Galley, and ſo ſayled aboute the coaſt, tyll hee came to the hauen of Swyn in Flaunders, and there ſtaying fiue dayes, on the ſixth daye hee ſette forth againe aad at length in good ſafetie landed at Sandwiche the .xij. of March, and the morrow after came to Canterburie, where hee was receyued with Proceſſion, as Ger. Dorobor. hath.

Rog. Houed.

He landed the xx. of March being ſunday as Ro. Houed. and Radult de Diceto doe write.



From thence hee went to Rocheſter, and on the Wedneſday being the .xvj. of Marche, hee came vnto London, where he was receyued with great ioy and gladneſſe of the people, gyuing heartie thankes to almightie God for his ſafe returne and deliuerance.

It is recorded by wryters, that when ſuche Lordes of Almaine as came ouer with him ſawe the great ryches which the Londoners ſhewed in that triumphant receyuing of their ſoueraigne Lorde and king, they marueiled greatly thereat, inſomuch that one of them ſayde vnto him, ſurely oh king, your people are wiſe and ſubtile, which doe nothing doubt to ſhewe the beautifull ſhine of theyr ryches nowe that they haue receyued you home, where as before they ſeemed to bewayle theyr neede and pouertie, whyleſt you remayned in captiuitie. For verily if the Emperour had vnderſtoode that the riches of the realme had bin ſuch, neither wold he haue bin perſwaded that Englande coulde haue bene made bare of wealth, neyther yet ſhould you ſo lightly haue eſcaped his handes without the payment of a more huge and intollerable raunſome.

The ſame yeare that king Richarde was taken(as before is mentioned by the Duke of Auſtrich, one night in the Moneth of Januarie about the firſt watch of the ſame night, the northweſt ſide of the Element appeared of ſuch a ruddie colour as though it had burned, without any clowdes or other darkeneſſe to couer it, ſo that the ſtarres ſhined through that redneſſe, and might be very well diſcerned. Diuerſe bright ſtrakes appeared to flaſh vpwards now and then, deuiding the redneſſe, through the which the ſtarres ſeemed to be of a bright ſanguine colour.

In Februarie nexte enſuing, one night after midnight the like wonder was ſeene, and ſhortly after newes came that the king was takẽ in Almaine.

And likewiſe the ſeconde day of Nouember a little before the breake of the day, the like thing appeared againe with leſſe feare and wonder to the people(than before) being now better accuſtomed to the like ſight againe. And now the ſame day & ſelfe houre that the king arriued at Sandwiche, being the ſecond houre of that day, whileſt the Sunne ſhone verie bright and cleare, there appeared a moſte brightſome and vnaccuſtomed clearneſſe, not farre diſtant from the Sunne, as it were to the length and breadth of a mans perſonage, hauing a red ſhining brightneſſe withall, lyke to the Rainbowe, which vnketh ſight when many behelde, there were that prognoſticated the king alreadie to be arriued.

Rog. Houed. Diuerſe ſieges helde at one time.

In this meane while the Biſhop of Durham with a great armie beſieged the Caſtell of Tickhill, & Erle Dauid brother to the king of Scots, with Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter, and Erle Ferrers, beſieged the Caſtell of Notingham, whileſt at the ſame preſent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury with a great power beſieged Marlebourgh caſtell, the which within a few dayes was rendred into his handes, the lyues and lymmes of them within ſaued.

Saint Michaels Mount.

Alſo the Caſtell of Lancaſter was deliuered to him, the which the ſame Archbiſhops brother had in keeping vnder Earle John, and likewiſe the Abbay of Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwal, the which Abbey Henry de la Pomerey chaſing out the Monkes, had fortified agaynſt the king, and hearing newes of the Kings returne home, died (as it was thought) for pure grief and feare. Theſe three places were ſurrendered to the Archbiſhop before the kings returne, but Tickhill and Notingham helde out.

King Richard being returned into England, and vnderſtanding both howe the French King made warre agaynſte him in Normandie, and that the ſtate of Englande was not a little diſquieted, by the practiſe of hys brother Erle John and his complices, ſpecially by reaſon that dyuerſe Caſtelles were defended by ſuch as he had placed in them, he thought good with all ſpeede to cutte of ſuch occaſions as myght breede a further miſchiefe. And therevpon he firſt went to Notingham, and within three dayes after his comming thither (which was on the day of the Annunciation of our Ladie) hee conſtrayned them that kept the Caſtell there in his brothers name, to yeeld themſelues ſimply vnto his mercie, after they had abydden dyuerſe aſſaultes, by the which euen the firſt day the vtter gates were burnt, and certaine defences deſtroyed, which they had made before the ſame.

The king eth to No ham and neth the

Rog. Ho

The chiefe of them that were within this caſtell to defende it were theſe, William de Wendeuall Coneſtable there, Roger de Mountbegun, Raufe Murdac, Philip de Worceter, and Ranulfe de Worceter brethren.

The morrow after the ſurrender made, the king went to Clipſtone, and rode into the foreſt of Shirewood, where he had neuer beene before, the view whereof pleaſed him greatly.

The fore Shirewood

The Caſtell of Tickhill was likewiſe at the ſame tyme yeelded vnto the Biſhop of Durham, who receyued it to the kings vſe, and them that kept it as priſoners, without any compoſition, but ſtanding ſimply to the kings mercie. For although thoſe that had theſe Caſtelles in keeping, were ſufficiently prouided of all neceſſarie things for defence, yet the ſodaine comming of the king (whome they thought verily woulde neuer haue returned) put thẽ in ſuch feare, that they wiſt not what to make of the matter, and ſo (as menne amazed) they yeelded wythout anye further exception.

The Caſtel Tickhill y ded.

Rog. Hou

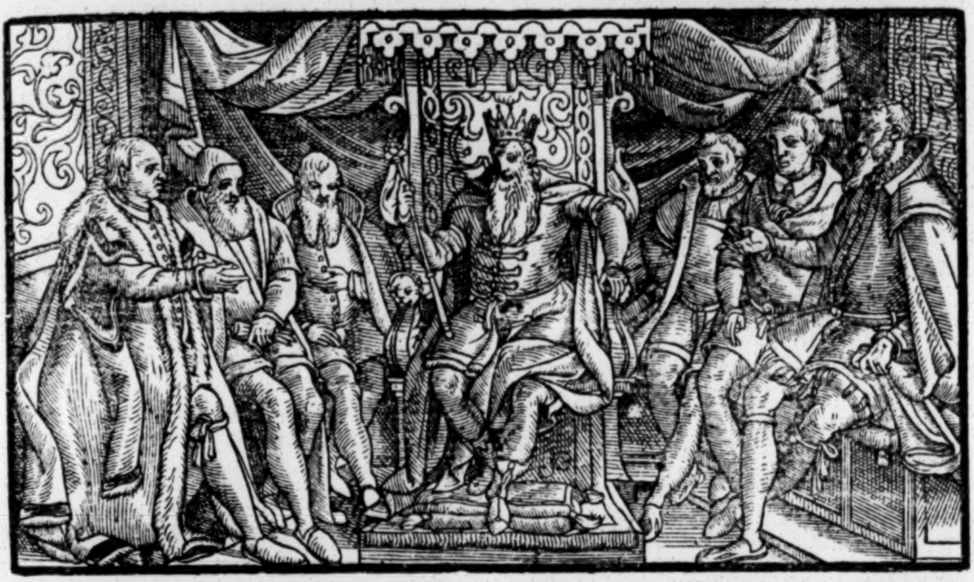
The Biſhop of Durham bringing thoſe priſoners with him which had yeelded vp this Caſtell of Tickhill, came to the king the. xxvij. day of March, the verye day before that Notingham Caſtell was gyuen ouer.

Moreouer this is to be remembred, that during the ſiege of Notingham, there roſe contention betwixt the two Archbiſhoppes of Canterburie and Yorke, about the cariage of their Croſſes: for Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterburie comming thyther, hadde his Croſſe borne afore him, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke (hauing no Croſſe there at all) was verye ſore offended that any other ſhoulde goe with Croſſe borne before him in his Dioces, and therefore complayned hereof to the King: But the Archebyſhop of Canterburie mainteined that he had not done any thing but that which was lawfull for hym to doe, and therevpon made his appeale to Rome, that the

Strife betw the Archbiſhops for c ing of the Croſſes.

Pope might haue the hearing and iudgement of that controuerſie betwixt them.

In the meane time, after the king had got the Caſtelles of Notingham and Tickhill into hys handes (as ye haue heard) he called a Parliament at Notingham, where the Queene mother ſat on



the right hãd of him, and the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Yorke on the left, with other Byſhops, Earles and Barons according to theyr places.

ers diſ-
ged.

On the fyrſt day of theyr ſeſſion was Gerarde de Camville diſcharged of the office whiche he had borne of Sherif of Lyncolne, and diſpoſſeſſed both of the Caſtell and countie. And ſo likewiſe was Hugh Bardolfe of the Caſtell and Countie of Yorke, and of the Caſtell of Scarbourgh, and of the cuſtodie and keeping of the Countrey of Weſtmerlande, the which offices being nowe in the kings handes, he ſet them on ſale to hym that woulde gyue moſt. Hereof it came to paſſe, that where the Lorde Chancellor offred to giue fiftene hundred Markes before hande, for the Counties of Yorke, Lyncolne and Northampton, and an hundred Markes of encreaſe of rent for euery of the ſame counties, Geffrey Archbiſhop of Yorke offred to the king three thouſand Markes aforehand, onely for the countie of Yorke, and an hundred Markes yearly of increaſe, and ſo had the ſame committed to hys regiment.

tenabr-
ſet on

Archbi-
ot York:

Moreouer in this Parliament, the king demaunded iudgement agaynſt his brother John, and the Biſhop of Couentrey and Cheſter, Hugh Nouaunt, for ſuch trayterous and moſt diſloyall attemptes as they had made agaynſt him and his Countreyes, and iudgement was giuen that both the ſayde Earle and Byſhoppe ſhould haue ſummons giuen them peremptorily to appeare, and if within fortie dayes after, they came not to anſwere ſuch playntes as might be layde againſt them, then ſhoulde Earle John forfeyt all that he had within the realme, and the Biſhop ſhould ſtande to the iudgement of the Biſhoppes, in that hee was a Biſhoppe, and to the temporall Lordes in that hee hadde beene the Kinges Sherife.

Biſhop of
ter.

A ſubſidie.

In this Parliament alſo, in the Kalendes of Aprill, the king procured a ſubſedie to be graunted vnto him, that is to witte, two ſhillings of euery plough lande through England, which maner of ſubſidie by an olde name is called Teemen toll, or Theyme tolle. He alſo commaunded that euery man ſhoulde make for him the thirde parte of knightes ſeruice, accordingly as euerye fee might beare, to furniſh him forth into Normandie. He demaunded of the Monkes Ciſteaux, all their woolles for the ſame yere. But bycauſe that ſeemed an ouer greeuous burthẽ vnto them, they fined with him as after ſhall appeare.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke accuſed.

The fourth day of this Parliament, by the kings permiſſion manye grieuous complayntes were exhibited agaynſt the Archbiſhop of Yorke, for extortion and other vndue vexations, whiche he had practiſed: but he paſſed ſo little thereof, that he made no anſwere vnto their billes.

Gerarde de Camuile charged with felonie & treaſon.

Moreouer through the procurement of the Lorde Chancellor, Gerarde de Camville was arreigned of recepting theeues, & robbers, which had robbed certaine marchantes of theyr goodes, that were goyng to the fayre of Stamfort: alſo they appealed him of treaſon for refuſing to ſtand to his trial by order of the kings lawes at cõmaũdement of the kings iuſtices, bearing himſelf to be Earle Johns man, and ayding the ſame Erle agaynſt the king. But all theſe accuſations hee flatly denyed, and ſo his aduerſaries put in pledges to follow their ſute, and he put in the like to defend himſelfe by one of his free holders.

The king of Scottes commeth to ſee the king of Englande.

The ſame day King Richarde receyued the king of Scottes at Clipeſton, comming nowe to viſite him, and to reioyce with him for his ſafe returne home after ſo long a iourney, and ſo many paſſed perilles.

After they had paſſed the tyme a certaine ſpace in ioy and myrth, the fourth of Aprill at theyr being togither at Malton, the king of Scottes requyred of king Rychard to haue reſtored to him the Counties of Northumberlande, Cumberlande and Weſtmerlande, with the Countie of Lancaſter alſo, the which in right of his aunceſtors belonged to him, (as he alledged.)

A Parliament.

His right belike was ſmall

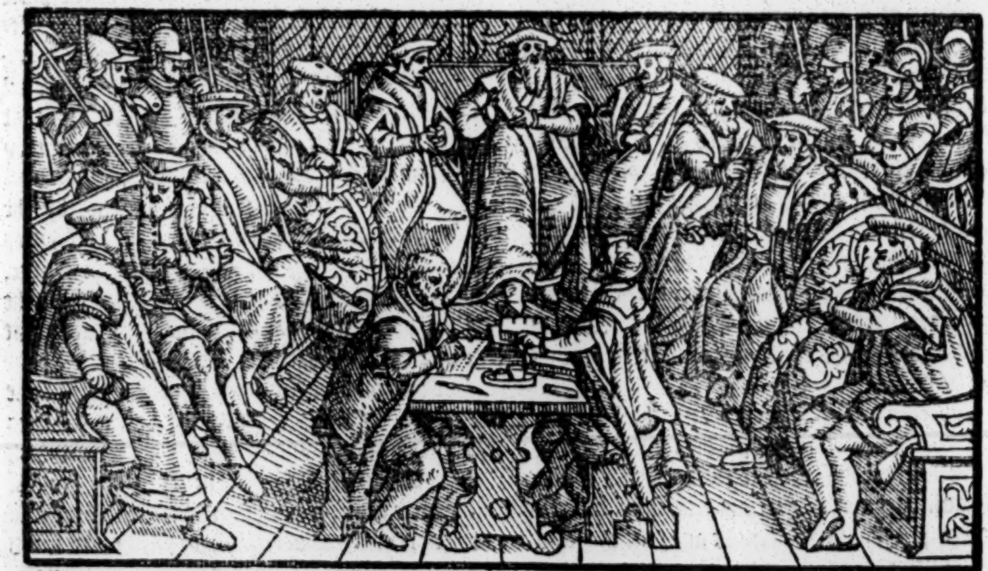
A grant made to the king of Scots what allowance he ſhould haue when he commeth into England.

King Richard aſſembling a Parliament of the Nobles of his realm at Northampton about xvj. dayes after that the Scottiſh king had made this requeſt, gaue him anſwer that by no meanes he might as then ſatiſfie his petition, for if hee ſhould ſo do, his aduerſaries in France would report that he did it for feare, and not for any loue or hartie friendſhip. But yet king Richard in the preſence there of his mother Queen Elenor, & the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of his realme togither at that preſent aſſembled, graunted and by his deed confirmed, vnto the ſayd king of Scots, and to his heyres for euer, that whenſoeuer he or any of them ſhould come by ſummons of the K. of England vnto his Court, the Biſhop of Durham, and the Sherif of Northumberland ſhould receyue him at the water of Tweede, and ſafeconduct him vnto the water of Theſe, and there ſhould the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Sherife of Yorke be ready to receyue him of thẽ, and from thence to giue their attendaunce vpon him vnto the borders of the next ſhire, and thus ſhoulde he be attended from ſhire to ſhire by Prelates and Sherifes, till he came to the kings Court, alſo from the time that the king of Scotland ſhoulde enter this realm of England, he ſhould haue dayly out of the kings purſſe for his liuerey an hundred ſhillings, and after he came to the Court, he ſhould haue of allowance dayly for his liuerey, ſo long as he there remained. xxx. ſhillings, and. xij. manchet Waſtels. xij. manchet Symnels, foure gallons of the beſt wine, &. viij. gallons of houſhold wine, two pound of pepper, foure pounde of cumin, two ſtone of wax, or elſe foure Links, and xl. great and long colpones of ſuch candels as are ſerued before the king, and. xxiiij. colpones of other candels that ſerue for the houſhold. And when he ſhoulde returne into his Countrey againe, then ſhoulde he be conuayed with the Biſhoppes and Sherifes from Countie to Countie, tyll he come to the water of Tweede, hauing an hundred ſhillings a daye of lyueray. &c. as is before appoynted.

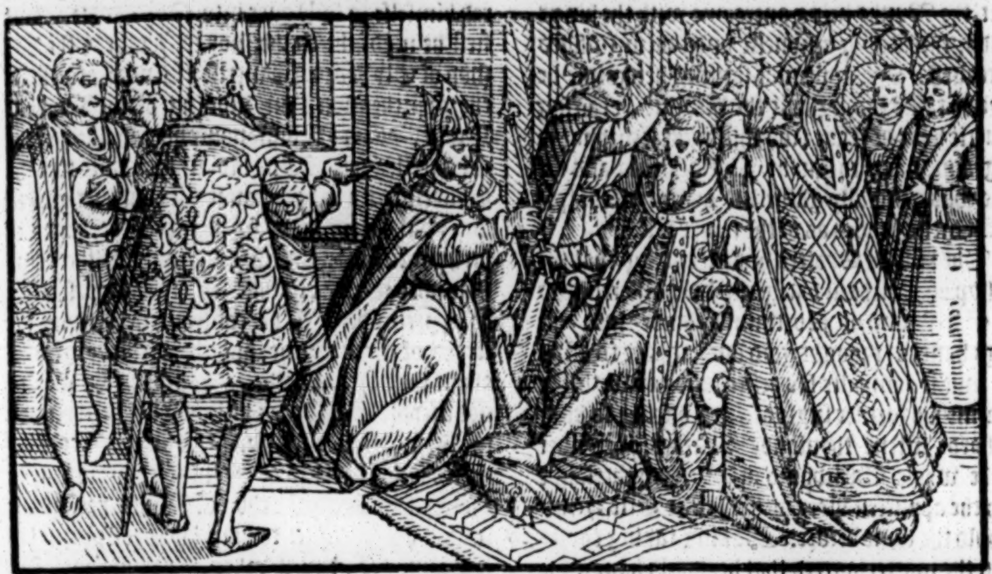
The charter of this graunt was deliuered vnto William King of Scottes in the Towne of Northampton in Eaſter weeke, by the handes of William Biſhop of Ely Lorde Chancellor, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1194. and in the fifth yeare of king Richard his raigne.

A Coun
holden a
Winche

After this, on the. xv. day of Aprill king Richard hauing the ſayd king of Scots in his companie, came to Wyncheſter, where he called a Councell, and there in open aſſembly he highly commended all thoſe of the Nobilitie, that in hys abſence hadde ſhewed themſelues faythfull, and reſyſted hys brother, and ſuche other hys complyces, which hadde as dyſloyall perſones rebelled agaynſt him. Here hee alſo proclaymed hys ſayde brother, and all thoſe that tooke hys parte, traytours to the Crowne, and tooke order for the puniſhment of them, that (being of theyr faction,) coulde by any meanes bee apprehended.



Alſo (as it were to put away the reprouſe of hys Captiuitie and impriſonement,) hee cauſed



king
ed of

cauſed himſelfe to bee eftſones crowned by the Archbiſhoppe Hubert, and ſo ſhewed himſelfe as a newe crowned King (in hope of good ſucceſſe & better lucke to follow,) in the preſence of the ſayd king of Scots, who bare one of the three ſwordes before him, going in the middle betwixt two Earles, that is to witte Hamelyn Erle of Warren going on his right hande, and Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter on his left. The Canapie vnder the which he went was born vp alſo by foure Erles, Norffolke, Liſlewight, Saliſburie, and Ferrers. The Biſhop of Ely Lorde Chancellor went on the right hand of the king & the Biſhop of Londō on the left. At dinner alſo the Citizens of London serued him in the butterie by reaſon of two. C. markes which they had giuen the king, that they might ſo doe notwithſtanding the claymе and chalenge made by the Citizens of Wincheſter, the which ſerued him in the Kitchyn. The Archbiſhop of Yorke was commaunded that hee ſhould not be preſent at the coronation, leaſt ſome tumult myght riſe about the hauing of hys Croſſe borne afore him, to the diſpleaſure of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, who ſtoode in it, that no Prelate within his Prouince ought to haue anye Croſſe borne before him, himſelfe excepted.

Houed.

K. of Scots
th one
ſwordes
the K.
gland.

Citizens
don.

Thus was the King eftſoones Crowned the ſeconde time at Wincheſter. the. xvij. of Aprill.

liament

After this, he called a Parliament, by vertue whereof he reuoked backe and reſumed into hys handes all patentes, annuities, fees, and other grauntes (before his voyage into the holy lande) by him made, or otherwiſe graunted or alienated, and bycauſe it ſhuld not ſeeme that he vſed a mere extort violence herein, he treated with euerie one of them in moſt curteous wiſe, bearing them in hand, that he knew wel they ment not to let forth theyr money to him vpon vſurie, but woulde be contented with ſuch reaſonable gain and profits, as had bene rayſed to their vſe in tyme of his abſence of thoſe things which they helde of him by aſſignation in way of lone, ſo that now the ſame might be reſtored to him againe, ſith he ment not to ſell them, but to let them forth as it were to ferme for the time, as all meanie might well vnderſtande, conſidering that he coulde not mainteyne the porte of a king without receipt of thoſe profits which he had ſo let forth. With theſe gētle wordes therefore mixed with ſome dreadful allegations, he brought them al into ſuch perplexitie, that not one of them durſt withſtand his requeſt, nor alledge that he had wrong done to him, except Hugh the Biſhop of Lincolne, who ſticked not to ſay, that the king in this demaunde did thē and the reſt open iniurie. The Biſhop of Durhā loſt his Erledome, and was conſtreined to cōtent himſelfe with his olde Biſhoprike, and to leaue the dignitie of an Earle, or at the leaſtwiſe the poſſeſſions which hee had bought of the king before his ſetting forwarde into the holy lande.

The bold courage of the Biſhop of Lincolne.

The Biſhop of Durham loſt his Erledome.

Thus the king recouered againe thoſe things for the which hee had receyued great ſummes of money, without making any recompence, where the moſt part of the occupiers had not receyued ſcarcely a thirde part of the principall which they had layde forth. For no ſufficiencie of graunt, patent, or other wryting to any of thē before made, did any thing auaile them. Moreouer, where he had borrowed a great ſumme of money of the Marchāts of the Staple, he wrought a feat with the Monkes of the Ciſteaux order to diſcharge that debt. He told theſe Monkes that being conſtrayned with vrgent neceſſitie, hee had borowed that money of the Marchantes beyonde the ſea, vpon confidence of their good beneuolence, and therfore he required them to extend their liberality

K. Richardes practiſes.

The Monkes Ciſteaux.

ſo farre towarde him, as to delyuer ſo much wool in value, as ſhoulde diſcharge that debt. To bee ſhort, the Monks being ouercome with the kings words, threatning kindneſſe vpon them, fulfilled his requeſt. Moreouer not ſatiſfied herewith, he leuyed a taſke throughout the Realme, exacting of euerie hyde of lande two ſhillings, according to the graunt made to him at Notingham: and the ſame was generally gathered, as well of the ſpirituall mens landes as of the temporall.

Rog. Houed. The king of Scots maketh ſuite for Northumberland.

The king of Scottes vnderſtanding that the Biſhop of Durham had giuen ouer and reſigned the Earledome of Northumberlande into the kings handes, thought good once againe to aſſay if he might compaſſe his deſire, and herewith hee beganne his former ſuyte afreſh, offring to king Richarde fiftene thouſande Markes of Siluer for the whole Earledome of Northumberlande with the appurtenances as his father Erle Henry did hold the ſame before. The king taking counſell in the matter, agreed that he ſhould haue it for that mony, excepting the Caſtels: but the king of Scottes woulde haue Caſtels and all, or elſe hee would not bargaine.

Mainpriſe.

Finally, after he had ſundry times moued this ſuyte for the hauing of thoſe landes vnto whiche he pretended a title, and could get nothing of K. Rich. but fayre words, putting him as it were in hope to obtein ẏ he requyred vpō his next returne out of Fraunce, vpon the. xxij. day of Aprill being Fryday, he tooke leaue of the king, and returned towardes his Countrey, not verye ioyfull in that hee coulde not obteyne his ſuyte. King Ritharde in this meane while cauſed all thoſe priſoners that were taken in the Caſtels of Notingham, Tickill, Marlebourgh, Lancaſter, & S. Michaels mount, which were of any welth to be put in priſon, that they might fine for their raunſōs. The reſidue he ſuffred to depart vpō ſureties that were boūd for thē in an C. marks a peece to be forth cōming when they ſhould be called. And now at lēgth the king after he had gathered ſome greate portion of money, and ordeyned diuerſe things for the behoofe of the common welth, therby to ſatiſfie the harts of the people, he prepared himſelfe to ſaile ouer into Normandie. But firſt he made the Archbiſhop of Yorke, & the Biſhop of Ely Lord Chancellor friendes, aſwell for the apprehenſion & impriſoning of the Archb. at Douer, as for the diſhonourable expulſion of the Chancellor out of Englād, in ſuch wiſe that the Chācellor ſhuld vpō reaſonable ſummōs giue to him by the Archbiſhop ſweare with the hands of an hundred prieſts with him, that he neither commaunded nor willed that the Archbiſhop ſhoulde be apprehended. The controuerſie betwixt the Archb. of Canterburie, and the Archb. of Yorke, about the bearing of their Croſſes, the K. woulde not meddle with, for as he ſayd, that perteyned to the Pope. Yet the Archb. of Canterburie cōplayned to king Richard of the iniurie done to him at that preſent, by the Archb. of Yorke, preſuming within his prouince to haue his Croſſe borne before him. At length when the kings prouiſion was once readie for his voyage into Normandy, he came to Douer, and hearing that the Frenche king had beſieged the towne of Vernueil, and that the ſame was in daunger to bee taken, hee tooke the Sea togyther with his mother Queene Elenor on the ninth day of May, and tranſporting ouer into Normandie, arriued at Harflete with an hundred great Shippes fraught with men, horſes and armour.

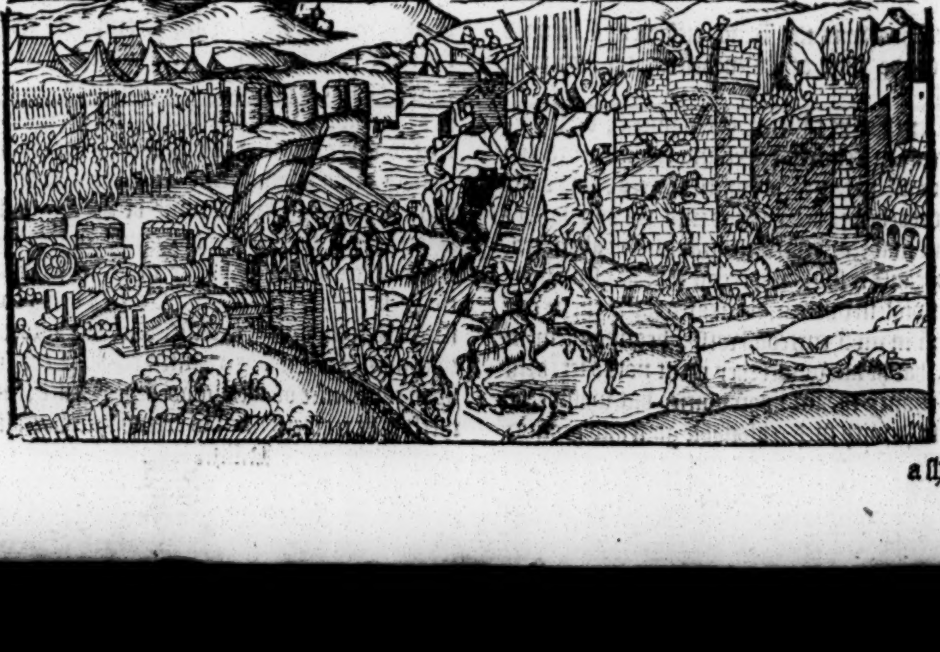
Rog. Hou

The king tranſported ouer into Fraunce.

The French king hearing of king Richardes arriuall, and that he was comming with a great power to the ſuccour of them within Vernueill, and was alreadie encamped neare to the towne of the Eagle, he plucked vp hys Tentes in the night before Whitſunday, and leauing the ſiege, departed from thence, and tooke a certaine ſmall Fortreſſe by the way as he marched, wherein he left a fewe Souldiers to keepe it to his vſe.

The French king rayſeth his ſiege f Vernueil.

King Richarde herewith entring into the French dominions, ſent three bandes of ſouldiers towards Vale de Ruell, & went himſelf vnto Loches, and beſieging that Caſtell wanne it within



a ſhort

Trinet:

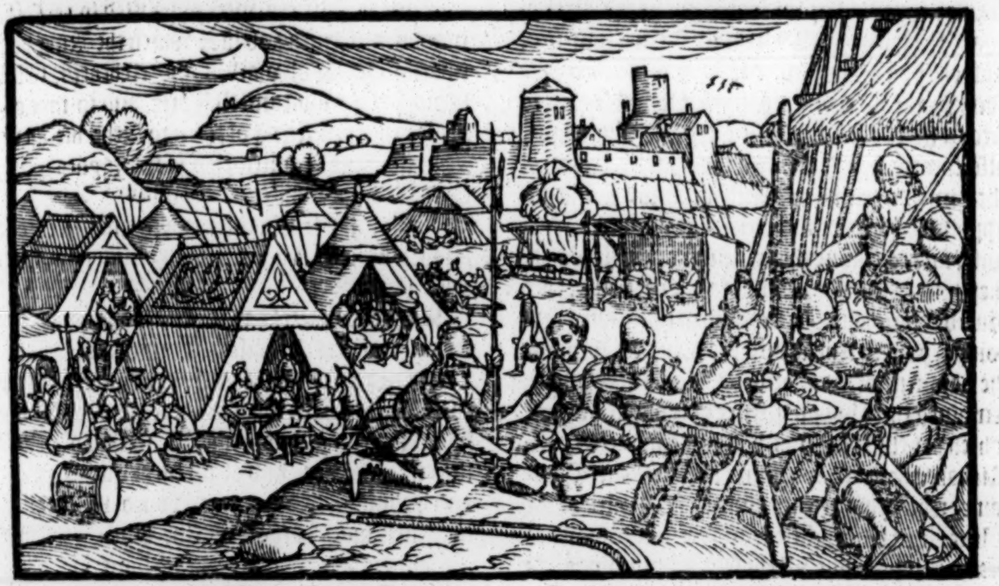
a ſhort tyme. The Normans alſo recouered the Citie of Eureux out of the French mens handes, but thoſe that were ſent vnto Rueill, and had beſieged the Caſtell there an eight dayes wythout any gayne, hearing that the Frenche King was comming towardes them, departed thence, and came backe to the Kings campe, whereupon the French king comming to Ruell razed it to the grounde, bycauſe his enimie ſhoulde not at any time in wynning it neſtle there to the further domage of the Countrey.

Rog. Houed.

Abont the ſame tyme, Robert Earle of Leyceſter iſſuing forth of Rouen in hope to worke ſome feate to the domage of the Frenchmen, as he rode ſomewhat vnaduiſedly in the landes of Hugh Gourney, hee fell within daunger of hys enimies, who tooke hym priſoner, and a few other that were in his companie.

The Earle of Leyceſter taken priſoner.

The French king after this came with his armie into the coaſts of Touraine, and came neare vnto Vandoſme, and there encamped, whereof king Richarde being aduertiſed, cometh to Vandoſme, meaning to aſſayle the French K. in his campe, who hauing knowledge therof diſlodged with his armie early in the morning, and fledde away (to his great diſhonour) in all haſt poſſible. The King of Englande with his people following in chaſe of the French men ſlue many, and tooke a great number of priſoners, amongeſt whome was the french kings chiefe treaſurer.



Alſo the Engliſh men tooke many Wagons and Sumpters laden with Croſſebowes, armor, plate, apparell, and the furniture of the Frenche Kings Chapell.

This chaunced about. xxxvij. dayes after his fleeing in the night from Vernueil, of which two flightes made by the French king in maner as ye haue heard, we find theſe Verſes written:

Gallia fugiſti bis, & hoc ſub rege Philippo,
Nec ſunt ſub modio facta pudenda tuo.
Vernolium, ſumit teſtem fuga prima, ſecunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima, ſecunda diem,
Nocte fugam primam rapuiſti, mane ſecundam,
Prima metus vitio, viq́; ſecunda fuit.

In Engliſh thus.

France, twice thou fledſt, while Philip raignde,
the worlde doth know thy ſhame,
For Vernueil witneſſe beares of th'one,
next Vandoſme knowes the ſame.
Thy firſt by night, and next by day,
thy heart and force do ſhowe,
That firſt through feare, and next by force,
VVe wrought thine ouerthrow.

This meane while in Guien certaine rebels, as the Lorde Geffrey de Rancin or Rencon, and the Erle of Engoleſme with theyr complices, vpon confidence of the Frenche kings aſſiſtaunce, ſore diſquieted the countrey. Howbeit the ſonne of the King of Nauerre, and brother to Berengaria the Queene of Englande, entring into Guienne with an armye, waſted the landes of both thoſe Rebelles, till hee was called home by reaſon of his fathers death which chaunced about the ſame time. Shortly after Geffrey Rancin died. And king Richard comming into the countrey wan the ſtrong Caſtell of Taylleburge by ſurrender, which apperteined to the ſame Geffrey with others, and then going agaynſt the other rebels, he wan by force of aſſault the Citie of Engoleſme from him. All which time the Frenche king ſtirred not, by reaſon that there was ſome communication in hande for a truce to bee taken betwixt him & K. Richard, which by mediation of certaine Biſhops was ſhortly after concluded,

Geffrey de Rancon.

The Earle of Engoleſme.

The king of Nauerres brother.

An. reg. 6.

Engoleſme wonne.

Polidor.

VVil. Paruus.

Polidor.

Great exactiõs

The coulour pretended in leuying of money.

to endure for twelue monethes, the Byſhoppe of Elie was chiefe commiſſioner for the Kyng of Englande, and this truce was accorded aboute Lammas, and ſerued to little purpoſe, excepte to giue libertie to eyther Prince, to breath a little, and in the meane time, to prouide themſelues of men, munition, ſhippes and money, that immediately after the tearme was expired, they mighte with greater force returne to the field agayne, for they hadde not onely a lyke deſire to followe the warres, but alſo vſed a like meane and practiſe to leauie money. For whereas they hadde already made the temporaltie bare with often payments, and callyng them forthe to ſerue with their perſons in the warres, they thoughte beſt nowe to fetch a fleece from the ſpiritualty and Churchmẽ, alſo conſidering that they hadde bin by reaſon of their immunitie more gently dealt with, and not appointed to ſerue themſelues in any manner of wiſe, and to colour this exaction withall, whiche they knewe woulde be euill taken of many, they bruted it abroade that they leuied this money vppon purpoſe, to ſend it into the holy lãd, towards the payment of the Chriſtian Souldiers, whych remained there vppon defence of thoſe Townes, which yet the Saraſins had not conquered. K. Richard therefore comming to Tours in Touraine, required a greate ſumme of money of the Cleargie in thoſe parties, and the like requeſt hee made through out all thoſe his dominions, on that further ſide of the Sea. King Phillippe for his parte demaunded likewiſe intollerable tythes and dueties of all the Churchmen in his territories, and thoſe that hadde the gathering of that money, ſerued their owne turne in dealing moſte ſtraightly with ſilly Prieſtes, making them to pay, what they thought good, though ſometyme beyond the boundes of equity and reaſon.

Rog. Houed. Inquiſitions taken by a Iury of ſundry matters.

In September, the Iuſtices Itinerantes made their circuites through euery Shire and Countie of thys Realme, cauſing inquiſitions to be taken by ſubſtanciall iuries of pleaes of the Crowne both olde and new, of recogniſances, of eſcheates, of wardes, of marriages, of all maner of offendors againſte the lawes and ordinaunces of the Realme, and of all other tranſgreſſors, falſifiers, and murtherers of Iewes, of the pledges, goods, lands, debtes, and writings of Iewes that were ſlayne, & of other circumſtances touching that matter. Likewiſe of the accomptes of Sherifes, as to vnderſtande what had bin gyuen towards the Kyngs raunſome, howe muche had bin receyued, and what remayned behynde to receyue.

Earle Iohn.

Alſo of the landes that belonged to Earle John, and what goodes he had, and what he helde in demayne, in wardes, eſcheates, and in giftes, and for what cauſe they were giuen.

Alſo of his fautors and partakers whyche had made fine with the King, and whiche not, with many other articles touching the ſame Earle.

Vſurers.

Alſo of Vſurers, and of their goodes being deceaſſed, of wines ſolde contrary to the aſſiſe, of falſe meaſures, and of ſuche as hauing receyued the Croſſe to goe into the holy lande, dyed before they ſet forward. Alſo of graund aſſiſes that were of an hundred Shillings lande or vnder, and of defaultes, and of dyuers other things, the Iurates were charged to enquire, and preſent the ſame.

Alſo the Iuſtices were appointed to cauſe the manours, fermes and lãds which the King held in demayne, or by wardes, and eſcheates, to bee ſurueyed by a ſubſtantiall Iurie, and to take order for the conuerting of them to ſuche vſe, as the Kyng myght be aunſwered of the gaynes ryſing by the ſame at the Fermers handes.

Iewes.

Alſo, the Iewes were appoynted to enrolle all their debtes, pledges, lands, houſes, rentes and poſſeſſions.

Iuſtices Sh- rifes and o- ther offic

Hubert Ar- biſhop of Caunterbu Lorde chi Iuſtice.

Moreouer, there was inquiſition taken of Iuſtices Sherifes, Bailifes, Conneſtables, Foreſters and other officers, belonging to the Kyng to vnderſtande in what manner they hadde behaued thẽſelues in takyng and ſeaſing of things into their handes, and of all ſuche goodes, giftes and promiſes hadde and receyued by occaſion of ſeaſure made of the landes of Earle John and his fautors, and who receyued ẏ ſame, and what delay was graunted by commaundemente of Huberte Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, then Lorde chiefe Iuſtice.

Officers dri to fine for their offic

The King offend d w the Lorde Chauncell

A new ſeal

In this meane tyme, whyleſt theſe inquiſitions were thus taken in Englande, King Rycharde comming forth of Poictow into Aniou, cauſed all the Baylifes and officers of that countrey, and alſo of Mayne, to fyne with hym for theyr offices, and after this, when hee came downe into Normandy, he ſeemed in apparance to bee offended with his Chauncellour the Byſhoppe of Elie, about concludyng of the truce with the Frenche Kyng (where as ye haue heard hee was chiefe commiſſioner) miſliking greatly all that was done therein, and therefore hee tooke the ſeale from him, and cauſed a newe Seale to bee made, commaunding to be proclaymed thorough all his dominions, that whatſoeuer hadde bin ſealed with the olde Seale, ſhoulde ſtande in no force, both for that his Chauncelloure hadde wroughte more vndiſcretely than was conueniente, and agayne, bycauſe the ſame ſeale was loſt, when Roger Malus Catulus hys vicechauncelloure was drowned, who periſhed amongſt other by Shipwracke, neere to the Iſle of Cipres, before the Kyng arriued there, beeyng as then on hys iourney into the holye lande. Therefore all menne hadde commaundemente to come to this new ſeale, that would haue theyr charters and writings confirmed.

. Paris. king re- eth into lande. graunteth nglishe licence rney.

Furthermore, whileſt the truce yet laſted, king Richard ſayled ouer into England, where he cauſed turneys to bee exerciſed in dyuers places, for the better trayning of men of armes in feates of warre, that they might atteyne to be more ſkilfull and perfect in the ſame, when they ſhoulde come to the triall of their forces, whereby hee rayſed no ſmall ſummes of money for graunting licence to his ſubiectes ſo to tourney. Euery Earle that woulde tourney, payde to hym for hys licence twentie markes, euery Baron tenne markes, and euery Knighte hauyng landes, dyd gyue foure markes, and thoſe that hadde no landes two markes.

Homeden es payde icence to ciſe tur- cotes.

The charter of this graunte was delyuered by the Kyng vnto William Earle of Saliſburie, to haue the keeping thereof: but Huberte Walter the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, and Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, made his brother Theobald Walter collector of the money. The tenor of the charter was as followeth.

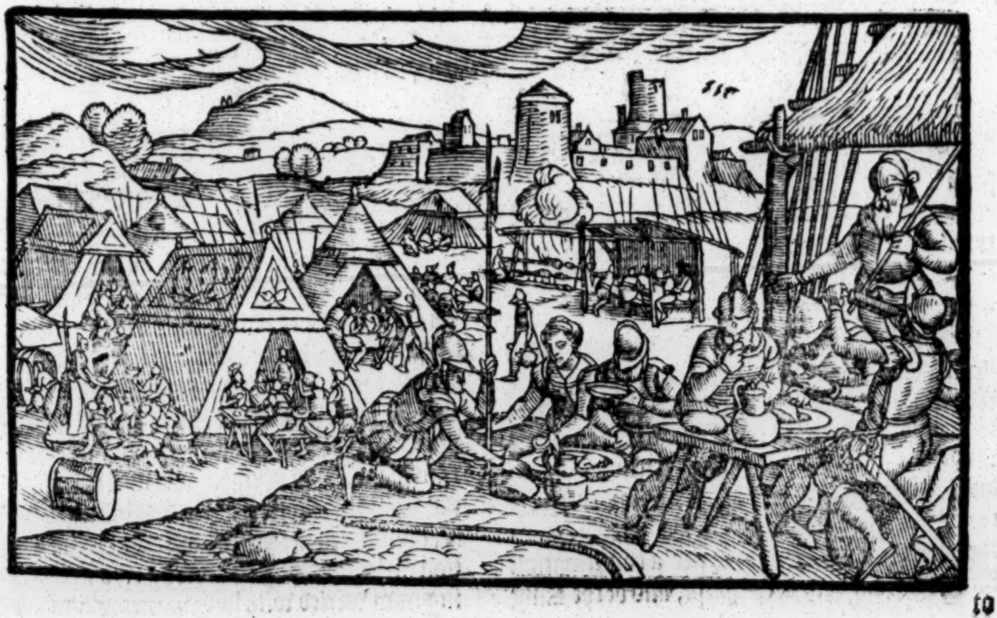
RIcharde by the grace of God Kyng of Englande, Duke of Normandy and Aquitayne, and Earle of Aniou, to the reuerende father in Chriſt, Hubert Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and primate of all England, ſendeth greeting. Know ye that we haue graunted that tournaments may be kept in Englande in fiue ſteedes, to witte, betwixte Sariſburie and Wilton, betwixt Warwike and Kenelworth, betwixte Stanforde and Warmeford, betwixt Brackeley and Mirburgh, betwixte Blie and Tickhill, ſo that the peace of our land be not broken, nor our Iuſticiers authoritie deminiſhed, nor anye domage done to oure Forreſtes: and that Earle that will turney there, ſhall giue to vs twentie markes, and a Baron tenne markes, and a Knighte that hathe landes ſhall gyue foure markes, and hee that hathe no lands ſhall gyue two markes.

Moreouer, no ſtraunger ſhall bee admitted to tourney there, whereupon wee commaunde you, that at the day of the turneying, ye haue ther two Clarkes, and two of oure Knightes to receyue the othe of the Earles and Barons, whyche ſhall ſatiſfye vs of the ſayde ſummes of money, before the turneying begin, and that they ſuffer none to turney, til (before) they haue made payment, and haue cauſed to be entred how much, and of whom they haue receyued: and yee ſhall take tenne markes for thys charter to oure vſe, whereof the Earle of Saliſbury, and the Earle of Clare, ard the Earle of Warren are pledges, witneſſe my ſelfe, at Ville Leueſche, the two and twentith of Auguſt.

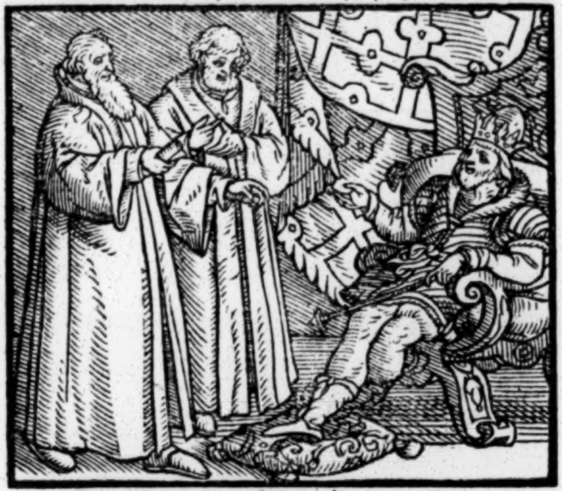
Biſhops town.

Furthermore, there were ordinances made and ſet forthe for the ſafekeeping of the peace, ſo that ſuche as woulde tourney, neyther by the way in comming or going, or whileſt the turneying laſted, ſhoulde violently take any thyng to ſerue theyr neceſſarie vſes, without paying therefore to the owner according to the worth, nor ſhould do iniurie to any man in any manner of wiſe. But now to the other doings of Kyng Richard. Hee made no long abode in Englande at this tyme, but ſhortly returned agayne into Normandy, bycauſe hee hearde that Kyng Phillippe hadde an army ready leuied, and therefore meanyng to buckle with hym vppon occaſion offered, hee made the more haſt, and beeing landed there, hee approched to the bordures of yͤ Frēch dominions, encamping himſelfe with his army in the fielde

I thinke hee came not ouer at all into Englande at thys tyme, but rather ſente his mynde vnto the Archbiſh



to waite for the time that the truce ſhould be expired, leaſt the enimie ſhould in any exployte preuent him. In ſemblable wiſe King Phillippe hauing with hym Earle John Kyng Richardes brother, kept his Souldiers and men of warre in a readineſſe with hym, to worke any feate that ſhould be thought expedient aſſone as the truce ſhould ende. Whileſt both theſe Kyngs are thus bent to poure out their malice, and to eaſe theyr ſtomackes with dint of ſworde, there came meſſengers to eyther of them from the Pope, exhorting them vnto peace and quietneſſe, but hys exhortatiõ little auayled, for they regarding it little or nothing, immediately as the truce was expired, gote them abroade into the field, King Rychard draweth towards Iſoldune, a Towne ſituate in yͤ confines of Berry, whither it was reported, that the Frẽch King meant to come: and there ſtayed for him a whole day togither. But the French Kyng hearing that Kyng Richarde was there to looke for him, thought it beſt not to come there at all. Wherefore King Richarde went the next day vnto a Caſtell called Bryſon, and tooke it vppon his firſt approch. Then wente he to a Towne called Nonen Courte, and perceyuing the ſame to be ſtrong, and well manned, he tooke not in hand to aſſayle it, til the thyrd day after his comming thither, at what time hee ſo encloſed the ſame rounde aboute with diligente watch and ward, that a Catte could not haue eſcaped out of the place, neyther by day nor nyght, but that ſhe ſhould haue bin eſpied. They within being put in feare herewith, yeelded vp yͤ Towne the day nexte following, in whiche meane tyme, the French Kyng beſieged Albemarle, wherevpõ King Richard hauing left a garriſon of Souldiers in Nonen Courte, came to reyſe the enimie from his ſiege, and ſetting vpon the Frenchmẽ, there began a ſharp fighte: but the Engliſhmenne weary with trauayle of their paſſed iourney, and being raſhly entred into the battayle, were not able to endure the Frenchmens violence, and ſo not without great loſſe, were conſtreyned to retire in fleeing wiſe, or to ſay the troth, apace to runne away, ſo that the French K. hauing thus chaſed his enimies, returneth to aſſalt Albemarle, and winneth the caſtell by force, and the Towne by compoſition, permitting the garniſon there to depart with all their armour. This done, he ruinated the Caſtel flat to the ground. Robert Erle of Leyceſter offered to the French Kyng for hys raunſome a thouſande markes ſterling, and to quite clayme to him and his heires for euer, the right which he had to the caſtell of Paſcy, with the appurtenaunces, and to get a confirmation thereof for him both of the Pope, and of the King of England: but for that the warre ſtill dured, the Frenche King tooke a reſpite in aunſweryng this offer, but yet afterwardes in the yeare nexte enſuing, he tooke the offer, and ſo the Earle was ſet at libertie. It was not long after this foreſaid repulſe, but the K. of England hauing refreſſhed his Souldiers with ſome reſt, after their greate trauaile, went to Million, and gyuing aſſault to the Towne, wanne it at the firſt brũt, and made it playne with the earth. After this, ther was motion made for a peace betwixt yͤ two Kings, being now weried with long warres: wherof when Earle



1195

Meſſengers ſẽt to the Pope.

Iſoldune.

Nonen Co
yeeldeth
king Ric
Albemarle
beſieged.

Math.W

Polidor.

Rog. Houedẽ.

The Earle of Leiceſters offer for his raunſome.

Million
and raſed.

A motio
peace.

Earle John was aduertiſed, who as it ſhoulde ſeeme by ſome writers, hauing tarried with the Frẽch King till this preſent, began now to doubt leaſt if any agreement were made, he might happily bee betrayed of the Frenche King by couenauntes that ſhould paſſe betwixt them: he determined therefore with him ſelfe to committe hys whole ſafetie to his naturall brother, and to no man elſe, perceyuing that the French King made not ſo great accompt of him after the loſſe of hys Caſtels here in Englande, as he had done before. Hereupon comming to his brother Kyng Rychard, he beſought him to pardon his offence, and though he had not dealt brotherly towards hym, yet that he would brotherly forgiue him his Rebellious treſpaſſe, adding furthermore, that wheras he had not heretofore bin thankfull for his manifold benefites whiche hee hadde receyued at hys hands, yet hee was now moſt ſory therefore, and was willing to make amendes: and herewith hee acknowledged the ſafegard of hys life to reſt in him, for the whiche hee was bounde to giue hym thankes, if he would graunt thereto. The Kyng moued with his wordes, made this aunſwere (as it is ſayde) that he pardoned him indeede, but yet wiſhed that he might forget ſuche iniuries as hee had receyued at his hands, which he doubted leaſt he ſhould not eaſily do. Herewith Earle John being yet put in good hope of forgiueneſſe, ſware to be true euer after vnto him, and that hee woulde endeuor himſelfe to make amendes for hys paſſed miſdoings, and ſo was ſhortly after reſtored vnto his former degree and honor in all reſpectes.

Iohn re-
h to the
his bro-
nd is
ned.

But by ſome writers it ſhuld appeare, that Erle John, immediately vppon concluſion of the firſte truce, came from the Frenche King, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his brother, and by mediation of the Queene their mother, was pardoned, and receyued agayne into fauour, and ſerued euer after againſt the French King very dutifully, ſeekyng by new atchieued enterpriſes brought about, to ỹ contentation of his brother, to make a recompẽce for his former miſdemeanor: but at what time ſo euer he returned thus to his brother, this yeare (as Roger Houeden hath) he was reſtored to ỹ Erledomes of Mortaigne in Normãdie, and Glowceſter in England, with ỹ honor of Eye (the Caſtels only except) and in recompence of the reſidue of the Erledomes which he had before enioyed togither with certaine other lands, his brother king Richarde gaue vnto him an yeerely pention, amounting to the ſumme of eyght thouſand li. of Aniouin money. Here to ſtay a while from matters chauncing heere about home, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the doing of Leopald Duke of Auſtrich, who as one nothing moued with the peſtilence & famnie that oppreſſed his countrey in this ſeaſon, but rather hauing his hart hardned, began to threaten the engliſh pledges, that they ſhoulde loſe their liues if King Richarde kept not the couenauntes which he had vndertaken to performe by a day appointed. Whereupon Baldwine Betun one of the hoſtages was ſente by common agreement of the reſidue vnto King Richarde, to ſignifie to him their eſtate. King Richard willing to deliuer them out of further daunger, ſente with the ſame Baldwin his couſin, the ſiſter of Arthur Duke of Britayne, and the daughter of the Emperour of Cipres, to be conueyed vnto the ſayde Duke of Auſtrich, the one, to witte, the ſiſter of Arthur, to be ioyned in marriage with the Dukes ſonne, and the other to remayne in the Dukes handes, to diſpoſe of hir at his pleaſure. But in the meane time, on Saint Stephens day, Duke Leopald chaunced to haue a fall beſyde his Horſe, wherewith hee did hurt hys legge, in ſuche wiſe, that all the Chirurgians in the Countrey coulde not help him, whervpon in extreame anguiſh he ended hys lyfe, and where before his death hee required to be aſſoyled of the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſte him by the Pope, for (apprehending of Kyng Richarde in hys returning from his iourney made into the holye lande,) heewas aunſwered by the Cleargie, that except hee woulde receyue an oth to ſtande to the iudgement of the Churche for the iniurie done to Kyng Richarde, and that alſo excepte other of the nobilitie would receyue the lyke oth with him if he chaunced to die (whereby hee might not fulfill that whyche the Churche heerein ſhoulde decree) that yet they ſhoulde ſee the ſame performed, he might not otherwiſe bee aſſoyled. Hee therefore toke the othe, and the Nobles of his countrey with hym, and therewithall releaſſed ỹ Engliſh pledges, pardoned the money that yet remained behinde, of his portion aforeſaide, and immediatly therewith dyed. After his deceſſe, bycauſe certayne peeres of the Countrey withſtoode the performance of the premiſſes, his body lay eyghte dayes longer aboue grounde than otherwiſe it ſhould haue done, for till ſuche time as all ỹ pledges were perfectly releaſſed, it might not be buried. Alſo Baldwin de Betun being approched nere to the confynes of Auſtrich, when he hearde howe the Duke was dead, hee returned backe with the two Ladies vnto his maſter King Richarde.

.Par.
Houed.
. Par.
Houed.
Houed.

Rog. Houedē.
VVil. Paruus.
Mat Paris.
Polichron.
Baldwine de Betun.

Duke Leopald catcheth a fall beſyde his Horſe and dyeth of the hurt.

Thus (as yee haue heard) for feare of ỹ Cenſures of the Churche were the pledges reſtored, and the reſidue of the mony behynde releaſſed.

Thys thyng was to King Richarde bothe pleaſaunt, and alſo profitable for his ſoule healthe (as may bee thoughte) bycauſe hee toke occaſion thereof, to amend his owne former life, by conſidering how muche hee myghte bee reprehended for his ſundry faultes committed both agaynſte God and man. A marueillous matter to heare, howe greatly from thenceforth he reformed hys paſſed trade of liuing into a better forme and order. Moreouer, the Emperour gaue to the Ciſteaux Monkes three thouſand markes of ſiluer percell of King Richards raunſome, to make ſyluer ſenſers in euery Church through out where they had any houſes, but the Abbots of the ſame order refuſed the gifte, being a portion of ſo wrongfull and vngodly a gayne. At which thing, when it came to the knowlege of King Richard, he greatly maruelled at the firſt, but after commended the Abbots in their doings, but chiefly for ſhewyng that they were voyde of the accuſtomed greedineſſe of hauing, whiche moſt men ſuppoſed them to be much infected with.

White Monks

Rog. Houedē.

Hugh Nouant Biſhop of Couentrie reſtored to his See.

King Richarde this yeare pardoned Hugh Nouant Biſhop of Couentrie of all his wrathe and diſpleaſure conceyued towarde hym, and reſtored to him his Biſhopricke for fiue thouſande markes of ſiluer, but Roberte Nouant the ſame Byſhops brother dyed in the Kyngs priſon at Douer.

The Archb. of Yorke.

Alſo whereas the Archbiſhop of Yorke hadde offended Kyng Richard, hee pardoned him, and receyued him againe into fauoure, with the kiſſe of peace, wherevppon the Archbiſhoppe waxed ſo proude, that vſing the King reprochfully, hee loſt both his Archbiſhopricke, and the rule of Yorkeſhire, whyche hee hadde in gouernemente as Sherife.

Pope Celeſtine.

The Archb. of Caunterbury is made the Popes Legate.

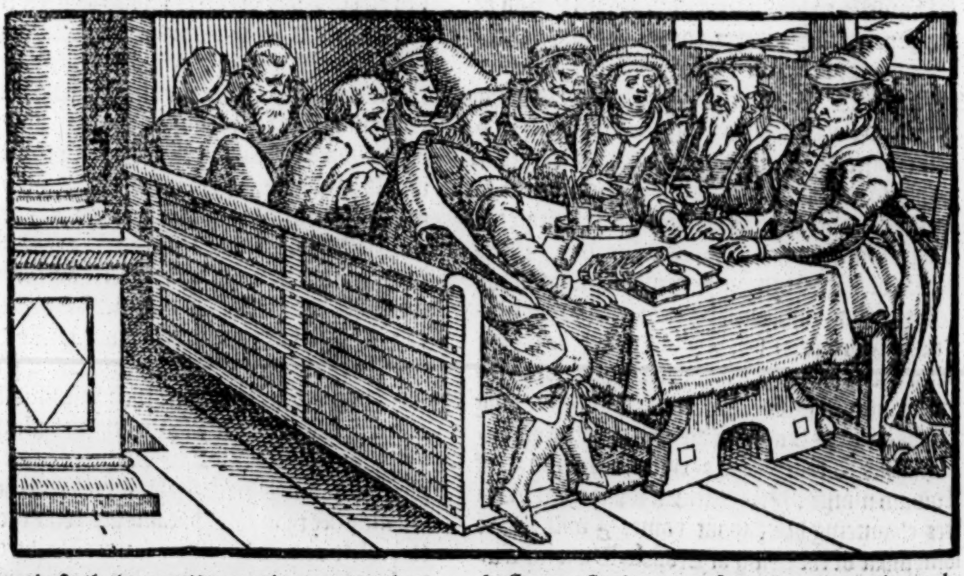
Moreouer, through the Kings requeſt, Pope Celeſtine this yeare made the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury Legate of all Englande by hys Bulles directed to hym, bearing date at hys Palace in Rome called Laterane, the fifteene Kalendes of Aprill, in the fourth yeare of hys Papacie.

And further, the Pope wrote alſo to the Engliſhe Cleargie, giuing them to vnderſtande, that hee had created the ſayde Archbiſhop of Caunterbury hys Legate, commaunding them ſo to accept him: by vertue of whiche letters, the Archbyſhop Huberte beeyng nowe both Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Legate of the Apoſtolike ſea, and Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Englande, appoynted to holde a Counſell at Yorke, and therefore gaue knowledge by the Abbot of Binnham in Northfolke, and one maſter Geruiſe, vnto the Canons of Yorke, and to the Archbiſhoppes officials of his purpoſed intention.

The ſayd Canons and officials well conſidering of the Popes letters whiche were delyuered vnto them by the meſſengers, ſignifyed for anſwere, that they woulde gladly receyue hym as Legate of the Apoſtolyke See, but not as Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, nor as theyr primate.

Herewith he came vnto Yorke vppon Sainte Barnabees day beeing Sunday, and was receyued with Proceſſion.

On the morrowe after, he helde court of pleaes of the Crowne, of aſſiſes, and ſuche other matters, touching the King, and on the nexte daye beeyng Tweſday, he entred into the monaſterie of Sainte Maries in Yorke, and depoſed the Abbot, bycauſe of his infirmitie of body at the requeſt of the Monkes, but the Abbot appealed to the Popes conſiſtory.



A Synod h
den at Yo

After this, hee aſſembled the Cleargie in the Church of Saint Peter in Yorke, and there helde a Synode for reformation of thynges amiſſe in the Church, and amendmente of manners in the Cleargie, ſo that dyuers decrees were made there, the whiche for breefeneſſe we omitte to ſpeake of in perticular. Thys yeare alſo, the ſayd Archbyſhoppe Huberte cauſed all menne throughout the Realme of Englande to receyue an othe, for to obſerue the Kynges peace, and that they ſhoulde not be robbers, nor receptors of robbers, nor in any wiſe conſenting vnto them, but ſhould do what in them mighte lie, to apprehend all ſuche offendors, and to diſcouer them to the kings officers to bee apprehended, and to purſue them vppon hew and crie to the vttermoſt of their powers, and thoſe that withdrew thẽſelues from ſuch purſute, ſhould be apprehended as partakers with the offenders.

About this time alſo the Emperour ſent to K. Richarde, requiring him in no wiſe to conclude any peace with the Frenche King, but rather to inuade his dominions, promiſing to ayde hym in all that hee might: but Kyng Richard to vnderſtand further of the Emperours mind herein, ſent ouer his Chauncellor the Biſhoppe of Elie vnto him in ambaſſadge, and in the meane time the warre was ſtill continued betwixte hym and the Frenche, by the whiche they were commonly put to the worſe, and Kyng Richarde inuadyng their bordures, did much hurt in waſting ẏ coũtreys on each ſide. The Frenche Kyng was at one time ſo narrowly chaſed, that as hee woulde haue paſſed a bridge that lay ouer the water of Sayne, hee was in daunger of drowning by the fall of the ſame vnder him, but yet at lengthe hee eſcaped, and gote to the further ſide. After thys, the two Kings came to a communication togyther, in the which a motion was made, that Lewis the French Kyng his ſonne and heire ſhould haue in marriage the ſiſter of Arthur Duke of Britaine, and that Kyng Richarde in conſideration thereof, ſhoulde ſurrender vnto them and to their heires the Townes of Giſors, Bademont, with the countrey of Veulqueſſine, or Veurine le Normant, Vernon, Juery and Paſcy, and further, ſhoulde giue vnto them twentie thouſande markes of ſiluer: and on the other ſyde, the French Kyng ſhoulde reſigne vnto King Richarde all that he could demaund in the countie of Engeuleſme, and alſo reſtore vnto hym the Counties of Albemarle and Augy, with the Caſtel of Arkes, and all other Caſtels which he had takẽ in Normandy, or in any partie during theſe laſt warres. But ther was a reſpite taken for the full concluding and aſſuring of theſe conditions, till ẏ Octaues of all Saints, that King Richard myghte vnderſtande the Emperours pleaſure, withoute whoſe conſent he myght not conclude any thing concerning that matter, bycauſe he had ſent ſuch word vnto him by the Lorde Chauncellor, who at this time was attendant in his court. In the meane time, the Emperoure being aduertiſed of the whole matter, and articles afore mentioned, gaue knowledge to King Richarde by the Byſhoppe of Elie at his returning backe, that thys forme of peace nothing lyked hym, for (as hee alledged) it ſhould ſound to King Richardes diſhonor if he ſurrendred any thing that he had not in poſſeſſion, and to encourage him to recouer thoſe things which had bin taken from him, the emperoure pardoned him of ẏ ſeuenteene M. markes of ſiluer which yet remained behynde due vnto hym for the Kings raunſome. Howſoeuer the matter paſſed, the two Kings met not in the Octaues of all Saints, according to the appoyntment, although they were come, and approched very nere to the place, where they ſhoulde haue communed togither: but through the diſſimulation of the Frenchmen, they departed, withoute ſeeing the one the other, and immediately they beginne the warre as fiercely, as at any time before. The French Kyng alſo toke the Towne of Dieppe whiche King Richard hadde lately repared, and brenned it, with the Shippes that harbored in the hauen.

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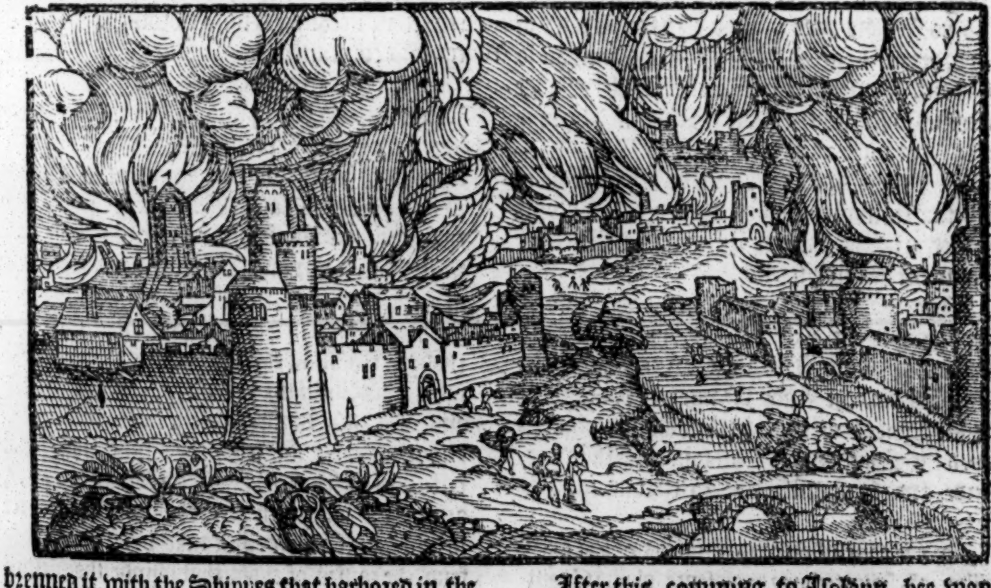
The Emperor diſſuadeth the king from agreeing to the peace.

The warre is begon afreſh.



After this, comming to Iſoldun, hee wanne the Towne and beſieged the Caſtell: but Kyng Richard

Richard

The haſt which king Richarde made

The two kings againe talke togither of peace.

1196.

The conditiōs of the peace concluded betwixt the two kings.

Math. Paris.

Richarde aduertiſed thereof, came with quicke ſpeede (making of three dayes iourney but one) and entred into the Caſtell of Iſoldun to defend the ſame againſte his aduerſaries: and forthwith there reſorted ſuche numbers of men vnto hym when they hearde howe he was beſieged, that the Frenche Kyng doubting howe to retire from thence in ſafetie, made ſute firſt to haue licence to depart, and after when that would not be graunted, he required at the leaſt wiſe to talke with the Kyng of Englād about ſome agreement: wherevnto Kyng Richard condeſcended, and ſo communyng togyther, they concluded vppon a truce to endure from that day, being Saterday next after the feaſt of Saint Nicholas, vnto the feaſt of S. Hillarie next enſuing, and then to meete againe neere vnto Louiers with their counſels, that they might growe by ſome reaſonable way, vnto a finall peace and concorde. And according to thys Article, ſhortly after the ſame feaſt of Sainte Hillarie, they mette at Louiers, wher finally they were accorded to conclude a peace on theſe conditions, that the French King ſhoulde releaſſe to the King of England Iſoldun, with the Countrey aboute, wonne by him ſith the beginning of theſe warres. Likewiſe, all the right which he had in Berry, Auuergne, and Gaſcoigne, and the County of Aubemarle.

Math. VVeſt.

Mat. VVeſt.
Mat. Par.

Vpon the other parte, the King of Englande ſhould reſigne Giſors, and certayne other places, and namely Veurin or Veulqueſſine to yͤ Kyng of Fraunce. Herevpon were ſureties alſo bounde for performance, and the forfeyture of fifteene thouſande markes aſſigned to be payde by yͤ partie that firſt brake the peace. Wherevppon, ſhortly after, when the French Kyng repenting hym ſelfe of the agreement, began to make war a new, King Richard ſeaſed into his hands all yͤ goodes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the Abbots of the order of the great Monaſtery of Cluny, and of Saint Denice and la Charitie, whiche hadde become ſuretie for the French King in yͤ ſumme of 1500. markes aforeſayde.

Rog. Houedē.
The Erle of Albemarle departed his life.

This yeare dyed William de Forz Earle of Albemarle, in whoſe place ſucceeded Baldwine de Betun by the Kinges gifte, and married the Counteſſe of Albermarle.

Otho ſonne to the duke of Saxony.

Lawrēs.

There was a motion alſo made for a marriage betwixte the Lorde Otho, ſonne to Henry Duke of Saxony, Kyng Richardes nephewe by hys ſyſter, and the Lady Margaret, daughter to the Kyng of Scottes, ſo as they ſhould haue enioyed the Countreys of Lothian, Northumberlande, and the Countie of Carleil with the Caſtels.

For the concluſion of this marriage, the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury was ſente about Chriſtmas to commune with the Kyng of Scottes: but bycauſe the Scottiſh Queene was then conceyued of childe, hir huſbande (in hope that God woulde ſende hym a ſonne) refuſed to ſtand vnto the aboue mentioned couenauntes.

VVil. Pa
Ran. Hi
The Ab
Caen ſent
Englan

Fraudule
dealing
ficers.

About thys time alſo, King Richarde ſente the Abbot of Caen, (that was alſo the elect of Durham) into England, to take an accompts of thoſe that hadde the receyptes of the Kyngs money: for this Abbot had enformed the Kyng, that his receyuors and officers heere in the Realme, dealt not iuſtly in their accomptes makyng, but both deceyued the King, and oppreſſed hys people, in exacting more than was due, and concealing that which they ought to ſtand accomptable for.

The Kyng ſuppoſing hys wordes to be true, or at the leaſt wayes likely ſo to bee, and that in reforming ſuch vntroth in his officers, it ſhoulde bee both profitable to him, and well liked of the people, ſent this Abbot ouer, with commiſſion, to be as it were his generall Auditor. Howbeit, the Byſhoppe of Caunterbury Hubert, whiche was gouernour of the Realme in cauſes both Temporall and ſpirituall, by reaſon he hadde both the Kings authoritie as his vicegerent, and alſo the Popes as his Legate authoriſed, dyd ſomewhat ſtomacke yͤ matter, in that it ſhoulde be thought, that he did ſuffer ſuch abuſes in the Kyngs officers, and not reforme them: but he helde hym cōtente and ſayde little, ſith the Abbot ſhewed him the Kings commiſſion to do that which he went aboute, although hee brought it not to paſſe, for whereas hee came ouer in the Lente ſeaſon, and gaue out commaundements, that all ſuch as had any thing to doe in receipt of the Kyngs money, ſhould appeare before him at after Eaſter, he taried not to ſee Eaſter himſelfe, but was called into another worlde, by the ſtroke of death, there to render an accomptes for his owne actes heere in thys life committed.

Fabian.
VVil. Pa
Mat. Pa
Ran. Hi
William Oſbert.

The foule
order in
Citizens
London.

At the ſame time, there was another perſon in London called William with the long berde (alias Fitz Oſbert) whyche hadde lykewiſe enformed the Kyng of certayne great oppreſſions and exceſſiue outrages vſed by rich men againſt the poore, (as namely the Worſhipfull of the Citie, the Maior and Aldermenne, the whyche in theyr hoyſtings, when any tallage was to bee gathered, burdened the poore further than was thought reaſon to eaſe themſelues, wherevppon the ſayde William beeyng a ſeditious perſon, and of a buſie nature, ſeaſed not to make complayntes:) and whereas the Kyng gaue eare vnto him at the firſt, he tooke a boldneſſe thereof, and drewe vnto him greate routes of the poorer ſort of people, and woulde take vpon hym to defende the cauſes of thoſe that founde themſelues greeued with the heauie yoke of riche menne, and gentlemen. He was ſomwhat learned, and very eloquent: he had alſo a verie good witte, but he applyed it rather to ſet diſſention betwixt the hye eſtates and the lowe, than to any other good purpoſe: Hee accuſed alſo his owne brother of treaſon, who in his youthe hadde kepte him to ſchole, and bin verye good and beneficiall brother vnto him, bycauſe now he would not ſtill mayntayne hym with money to beare out his riottous port.

e vnnatural
ratitude of
Osbert.

Moreouer, he declared to the Kyng, that by the extortion and bryberie of certaine menne of great wealth, he loſt many forfaytes and eſcheates. Many Gentlemen of honor ſore hated hym for his preſumptuous attempts to the hyndering of theyr purpoſes: but he had ſuche comforte of the king, that he little paſſed of their malice, but kept on his intent, till the king beeing aduertiſed of the aſſemblies whiche he made, commaunded hym to ceaſſe from ſuche doings, that the people myghte fall agayne to theyr ſciences and occupations whiche they hadde for the more part lefte off, at the inſtigation of thys Willyam wyth the Long bearde, ſo named of the long heare of his beard, whiche he nouriſhed of purpoſe to ſeme the more graue and manlyke, and alſo as it were in deſpite of them which counterfaited the Normans (that were for the moſte parte ſhauen,) and bycauſe he woulde reſemble the auncient vſage of the Engliſh nation. The kyngs commaundement in reſtraynt of the peoples reſort vnto him, was well kepte a whyle, but it was not long ere they beganne to follow him againe as they hadde done afore. Then he toke vpon him to make vnto them certain collations or ſermons, taking for his theme, *Haurietis aquas in gaudio de fontibus ſaluatoris*, That is to meane: Ye ſhall drawe in gladneſſe waters oute of the fountaynes of oure Sauiour. And hereto he added, I am (ſayd he) the ſauyour of poore menne. Ye be the poore, and haue aſſayed the harde handes and heauie burdens of the ryche: Nowe drawe ye therefore, the healthfull waters of vnderſtandyng out of my welles and ſprynges, and that with ioye. For the tyme of your viſitation is commen: I ſhall (ſayde he) departe waters from waters: by waters I vnderſtande the people, and I ſhall departe the people whych are good and meke, from the people that are wicked and prowde, and I ſhall diſſeuer the good and euyll, euen as the lyghte is deuyded from darkeneſſe.

Vhy he
are his long
rde.

at.Paris.

abian.

orations to
people.

And by ſuche perſwaſyons and meanes as he vſed, he hadde gotten two and fyftie thouſande perſons, readye to haue taken his parte, as appeared after by a rolle of theyr names founde in hys keepyng, beſydes dyuers Inſtrumentes of yron to breake vp houſes, and other thynges, ſeruyng to ſuche lyke purpoſes.

erſuaſiue
rober.

Thus hee broughte the Commoners into a great lykyng of hym: but the ryche and wealthye Citezens ſtoode in greate feare, ſo that they kepte theyr houſes, in armes, in doubte to bee robbed and ſlayne by hym in the nyghte ſeaſon.

The Archebyſhoppe of Canterburye (vnto whome the rule of the Realme chiefely belonged,) beeing aduertiſed heereof, ſendeth for the greateſt number of the Citizens, and vſing them wyth gentle wordes, perſwaded them to delyuer pledges, the better to aſſure hym, that no ſuche thyng ſhoulde chaunce, whyche was ſuſpected of manye, thoughe he was lothe to conceyue anye ſuche opinyon of them. They beeing ouercome with his courteous wordes, gaue vnto him pledges.

After this, when the foreſayd Willyam ceaſſed not to make congregations of the people, at lengthe the Archebiſhoppe ſente a commaundemente vnto hym, that hee ſhoulde appeare before him and other of the Counſell, at a certayne prefixed daye, to aunſwere to ſuche thynges as myghte be layde to his charge.

He is called be-
fore the Archb
of Canterbury
Lorde chief Iu
ſtice or preſi-
dent of the
realme.

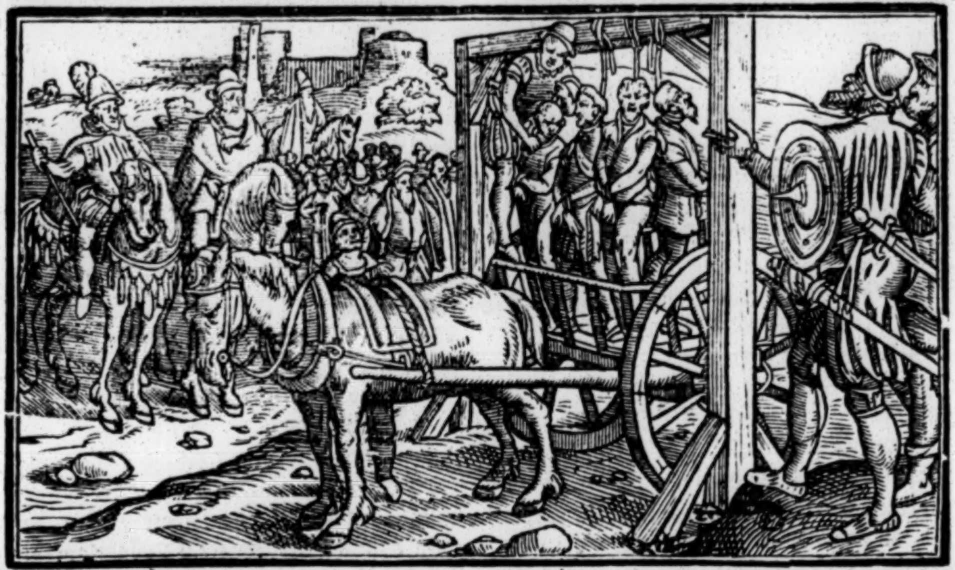
To be ſhorte, he didde ſo, at the tyme appointed, but with ſuche a route of the common people aboute hym, that the Archebiſhoppe durſte not pronounce agaynſte him, but licenced him to departe for that tyme, giuyng him ſofte and gentle wordes: But certayn perſons were then appoynted by the ſayde Archebyſhoppe and other of the Counſell to watche hym ſometyme when he ſhould haue no great companie aboute hym, and then to apprehende him.

Amongſt thoſe that were thus commaunded to attache hym, were two burgeſſes of the Citie, the whych hauing eſpyed a conuenient tyme for the execution of theyr purpoſe, ſette vppon hym to haue taken hym, but he getting an Axe, defended hymſelfe manfully: and in reſyſtyng, ſlewe one of them, and after that fledde into the Churche of Saynt Marye Bowe, kepyng the ſame not as a place of Sainctuarie, but as a fortreſſe: In ſo muche that by the helpe of ſuche as reſorted vnto hym, he defended it agaynſte his aduerſaryes, tyll with fyre and ſmoake, they conſtrayned hym to come forthe, and all thoſe that were there with him: Amongeſt them alſo was his concubine, who neuer lefte hym for any daunger that myght betyde him.

He fleeth into
the churche o
S.Mary Bo

His concubin

The people regardyng the daunger of theyr pledges, came not out to ayde hym, as it was muche doubted they woulde haue done. Wherefore being thus attached, he was brought forth, and commyng out of the Churche, the ſonne of that burgeſſe whome he had ſlayne, (as you haue heard) ſtrake hym very ſore into the belly with a knife, in reuenge of his fathers death. After this, he



was had to his araignmẽt before the Archbiſhop, ſitting within the Towre, and beeing condemned, was from thence drawn with horſſes to the place of execution called the Elmes, and there hanged on a Gybet, with nyne of his adherents, whiche hadde defended the Churche agaynſt the kings power: and yet for al this, the grudge ceaſed not, but the common people reyſed a greate ſlaunder vpon the Archbiſhoppe, both for cauſing him to be taken out of the churche, where he claimed the priuiledge of Sayntuarie, and alſo for putting him to death, who was innocent (as they alledged) and not giltie to thoſe crimes that were layde agaynſt him: who ſought onely the defence of poore people agaynſt extortioners, and ſuche as were wrong doers.

He is executed.

VVil. Paruus

Mat. Paris.

The Archbish. of Canterburye euill ſpoken of, for the death of VVilliam Fitz Osbert.

This rumour roſe ſo faſte, that at lengthe (by bruting abroade, that certayne miracles ſhoulde be wroughte by a chayne, wherin he was bounde in tyme of his impriſonment) hee was taken for a Sainte. The place alſo where he ſuffred, was viſyted by women, and other ſuperſtitious folks, as a plotte of great holyneſſe, tyll at lengthe the Archebiſhoppe cauſed it to be watched, to the end that no ſuche fooliſheneſſe ſhould be vſed there.

An old vvhore monger, and a nevve ſaint.

At length the opinion whiche the people had thus fondly conceyued of his vertue and innocencye, was by little and little remoued out of their heades, when his actes were more certaynely publyſhed: as the ſleaing of a manne with his owne handes, and the vſyng of his Concubine within Bowe Churche, during the tyme of his being there.

Alſo the Archbiſhoppe accurſed a Prieſt, which had firſte broughte vp the falſe reporte and fayned Fable of the miracle wroughte by the chayne, wherby the occaſion of Idolatrie was firſt giuen, and might eaſily haue bin continued, if the Archbiſhop had not bin the wyſer man, and by ſuche meanes repreſſed the rumour.

But now to returne vnto the doings of kyng Richard in France. Ye haue heard how a peace was concluded (as ſome haue written) but the ſame continued not long: for the Frenche kyng ſeeming to repente hymſelfe of that he had done, (as is aforeſayd) breaketh the peace, and reyſing a power, beſieged Albemarle, and at lengthe wanne it, and raſed it downe to the ground, and kyng Richarde gaue vnto hym three thouſande Markes of Syluer for the ranſom of his knightes, and yeomen, or demylaunces (as I may call them) that were taken in that fortreſſe. After thys, the Frenche kyng wan Nonencourte, and Earle Iohn tooke the caſtell of Gamages.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo kyng Rycharde gaue vnto hys Nephew Otho the Earledome of Poictowe: Whyche I haue thoughte good to note oute of Roger Houeden, to remoue the doubte of Iohn Bouchet, that in the thyrde parte of hys Annales of Aquitayne, meruayleth of an olde Pancarte or Recorde, whyche he had ſeene, by the tenoure whereof, it appeareth, that this Otho entitled hymſelfe Duke of Aquitayne and Earle of Poictou, beyng in his Caſtel of Monſtereulbonin nere to Poictiers, in the yeare a thouſande, one hundred nyntie nyne, in preſence of Geffrey de Luſignen, and others, and graunted vnto a certaine perſon, the office of cutting the money in the mynte of that towne, as by the ſame Pancarte it further appeareth. The ſyghte whereof, broughte the ſayde Bouchet into a greate perplexitie, conſyderyng that no Chronicle whyche hee hadde eyther ſeene, or hearde of, made mention of any Otho that ſhould be Duke of Aquitayn, or Erle of Poictou, eyther before that tyme, or after: Where againe it was euydente to hym, that Queene Eleanore the mother of Kyng Rycharde, as then liuing,

The Erledom of Poictou.

Iohn Bouchet his doubt.

lyuing, named hir ſelfe Ducheſſe of Aquitaine, and Counteſſe of Poictou: and likewyſe Kyng Richard entitled himſelfe duke of Aquitayn, and Earle of Poictou, euer after he had fiaunced the Earle of Barcelones daughter, as by dyuers recordes both of the mother, and the ſonne hee had ſeene perfect notice. At length yet he geſſeth (and that truly) that it ſhould be this Otho, to whom the mother and ſonne had aſſigned the Duchie of Aquitayne and countie of Poictou, for the maintenance of his eſtate, he holdyng the ſame till the yeare. 1199. in the whiche he was made Emperour by king Richards good helpe, as after ſhall be ſhewed more at large.

Ranulph earle of Cheſter, toke his vvyfe the Ducheſſe, of Britayn, priſoner.

About this time alſo as the Counteſſe of Britayn, the mother of duke Arthur came into Normandie to haue ſpoken with king Richard, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter hir huſbande meeting hir at Pountourſon, tooke hir as priſoner, and ſhutte hir vp within his caſtel at S. James de Beuueron: and when hir ſonne Arthur could not finde meanes to deliuer hir out of captiuitie, he ioyned with the king of France, and made great hauock in the lands of his vncle king Richard, whervpon the king gathered a mightie armie, and inuading Britayn with great force, cruelly waſted and deſtroyed the countrey.

A dearth.

Here is alſo to bee noted, that in this. vij. yeare of king Richard, a great dearth chanced through this realme of England, and in the coaſts about the ſame. Alſo aboute the ſame tyme dyed William Erle of Saliſbury, the ſonne of Erle Patrike, whoſe daughter and heire Kyng Richarde gaue in mariage, together with the Erledome of Saliſbury, vnto his baſe brother, ſurnamed Lōg Eſpee.

The deat o the Earle of Salisburye.

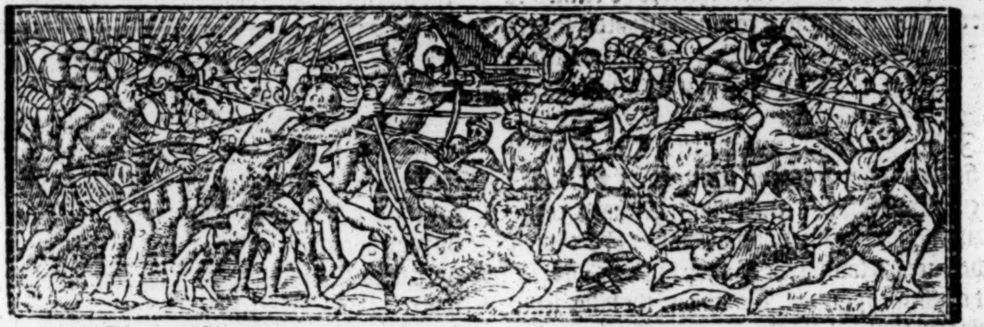
Reg. Hou

Mat. Pari

It chanced moreouer, aboute the ſame time, that Erle John the kings brother with certain capitaynes of ſuche hyred ſouldiors as ſome cal *Brabancens*, other the Rowts, and the French hiſtories name them *Coſtereaux*, or *Coterells*, went abrode to atchieue ſome enterpriſe againſt the biſhop of Beauvoys, and other Frenchmen, whiche had done muche hurt to king Richards ſubiectes in thoſe parties. The chief leaders of thoſe Routes or *Coſtereaux*, whiche went forth with Erle John, and ſerued vnder him at that tyme, were two *Prouancols*, Marchades, and Lupeſcaro. Theſe riding forth into the cōtrey about Beauvoys, made hauocke in robbing and ſpoyling all afore them. Anon as Philip the Biſhop of Beauvoys, a man more giuen to the campe than to the Churche, had knowledge hereof, thinkyng them to be a meete pray for him, with ſir William de Merlow and his ſonne, and a greate number of other valiaunt men of warre, came forth into the fields, & encoūtring with the enimies, fought very ſtoutly. In the ende yet the Biſhop, the Archdeacon, and all the chiefe capitaynes were taken: the reſidue ſlayne and chaſed.

Marchades, Lupeſcaro.

The Biſhop of Beauvoys taken priſoner



After this, Earle John and the foreſayd Capitaynes paſſed forth, and wanne the towne of Milly, and ſo returned.

The two Prelates, Erle John and Marchades, preſented with greate triumph vnto Kyng Rycharde early in the mornyng, lying yet in his bedde, as thoſe that were knowne to bee his greate enemies, ſaying to hym in Frenche, Ryſe Richarde, aryſe, wee haue gotten the great Chauntour of Beauvoys, and a good quier man (wee take it) to aunſwere him in the ſame note, and here we delyuer them vnto you to vſe at your diſcretion.

The king ſeeing them ſmyled, and was verye gladde for the taking of this Biſhop, for that he had euer founde hym his greate aduerſarie: and therefore beyng thus taken fightyng in the fielde with armour on his backe, he thought he myght bee bolde in temporall wyſe to chaſtyſe hym: Sith hee (not regardyng hys callyng) practiſed to moleſte hym wyth Temporall weapons: And hereuppon hee committed hym to ſtrayte pryſon all armed as he was.

It chanced ſoone after, that two of his chaplaynes came to the Kyng vnto Rouen, where this Byſhoppe was deteyned, beſeechyng the Kyng of licence to attend vppon theyr mayſter nowe in captiuitie: Unto whome (as it is of ſome reported) the Kyng made thys aunſwere: I am contente to make you Judges in the cauſe betwixte mee and your maiſter. As for the euils whiche he hath either done, either elſe gone aboute to doe vnto mee, lette the ſame be forgotten. This is true, that I being taken as I returned from my iorney made into the holy land, and deliuered into the Emperors hands, was in reſpect of my kingly eſtate, vſed acording therunto verie friendly and honorably, till your maiſter comming thither (for what purpoſe hee himſelfe beſt knoweth) had long conference with the emperor. After whiche, I for my parte in the nexte morning taſted the frute of their ouernights talk, being then loden, with as many yrons, as a good Aſſe might not verie eaſily haue borne. Iudge you therfore, what mauer of impriſonment your maiſter deſerueth at my handes, that procured ſuch eaſe for me at the Emperors handes.

The two Chaplaines had their mouths ſtopped with theſe wordes thus by the King vttered, and ſo departed their wayes. The Biſhop being ſtill deteyned in priſon, procured ſuite to be made to the Pope for his deliuerance: but the Pope, being truly informed of the matter, and wiſely conſidering that the king had not taken the Biſhop preaching, but fighting, and kept him priſoner rather as a roughe enimie, than as a peaceable prelate, would not be earneſt with the king for hys deliuerance, but rather reproued the Biſhoppe, in that he had preferred ſecular warrefare before the ſpirituall, and had taken vppon him the vſe of a ſpeare in ſtead of a croſier: an helmet in ſtead of myter: an habergeon in ſteede of a white rochet: a tergate for a ſtoale: and an yron ſworde, in lieu of the ſpirituall ſword: and therfore he refuſed to vſe any commandment to king Richarde, for the ſetting of him at libertie. But yet he promiſed to doe what he coulde by way of intreating, that he might be releaſſed.

It is reported by ſome writers, that the Pope at firſt, not vnderſtanding the truth of the whole circumſtance, ſhould ſend to king Richard, commanding him by force of the Canons of yͤ church to delyuer his ſonnes the Biſhop and Archdeacon out of their captiuitie. To whom the king ſente their armour with this meſſage in Latine, *Vide an tunica filij tui ſit, an non*, that is, See whether theſe are the garments of thy ſonnes, or not: alluding to the ſaying of thoſe yͤ caryed Iosephs cote to Iacob. Which whẽ yͤ Pope ſaw, he ſaid: Nay by S. Peter, it is neither the apparell of my ſons, nor yet of my brethren: but rather they are the veſtures of the children of Mars and ſo he left thẽ ſtill to be raunſomed at the kings pleaſure. The Biſhop thus ſeeing no hope to be deliuered without ſome agreement had betwixt the two kings, became now through yrkſomneſſe of his bondes, an earneſt mediatour for the peace, where tofore he had bin an extreme ſtirrer vp of warre. Suche a Schoolemaiſter is impriſonmente, and plucker downe of loftie courages. But to proceede.

ſ.37.

reg.8.

Normandie interdited by the Archbishop of Rouen.

About the ſame tyme the Archbiſhop of Roan put all the countreye of Normandie vnder ſentence of interdiction, bycauſe kyng Richarde had begonne to fortifye a Caſtell at Liſle Dandely, vpon a peece of grounde whiche the Archbiſhoppe claymed to appertayne vnto his ſea. The matter was broughte afore the Pope, who perceyuyng the intent of King Richarde was not otherwyſe grounded vpon any couetous purpoſe to defraude the Churche of hir ryght, but only to buyld a fortreſſe in ſuche place as was moſte expedient for defence of the countrey about, to preſerue it from inuaſyon of the enimies: He counſelled the Archbiſhop not to ſtande againſte the King in it, but to exchaunge with hym for ſome other landes, whiche was donne, and the Interdiction by the Pope releaſſed. The Biſhop of Ely Lord Chãcellour, being ſente about this buſineſſe towardes Rome, departed this life by the way at Poictiers in Ianuarie. But the Biſhops of Durham and Liſieux that were ſent with him, paſſed forward, and comming to Rome, informed the Pope of the matter, who toke order with the Biſhoppes (as before is mencioned.) The kyng gaue to the Church in Rouen in recompence, his milles whiche he had in Rouen, ſo that the ſayde Churche ſhould paye the almes of olde tyme appoynted to be giuen for the ſame. He gaue to the ſaid churche likewyſe the towne of Diepe, and the Towne of Buſſeles, ſo that the Churche ſhoulde lykewyſe paye the almes aſſigned forth of the ſame, being the ſumme of .372. poundes of Aniouyne money: Alſo the manour of Louers, and the Forreſt of Alermounde with the deere, and the appurtenances. But now to other doings.

The Bishop of Elye departed this lyfe,

Rog. Houed.

The king and the Earle of Tholouse agreed.

About the ſame time, or not long before, where as there had beene long contention betwixte the kings of England, and the Earles of S. Gyles for the Earledome of Tholouſe, King Richarde by way of aliaunce fell nowe at an appointement with Erle Raimond, that helde thoſe landes: for where as the Counteſſe Conſtaunce wife to the ſaide Raymond Erle of Tholouſe and Aunte to Kyng Phillip was now departed this life, King Richarde concluded a mariage betwene the ſayde Erle and his ſiſter Ioane, Quene of Sicill, ſomtime wife to William King of Sicill, ſo that being thus ioyned in alliaunce with the ſaide Earle of Tholouſe on the one ſide, he procured a leage alſo with the Earle of Flaunders Baldwyne on the other, vnto whome hee gaue fiue thouſande markes in rewarde, vpon condition that he ſhuld couenaunte not to growe to any agreement with the Frenche King without his conſent.

Mat. Paris.

The Earle of Flanders alyed vvith K. Rich.

Iaco. Meir.

Les Annales de France.

Likewiſe the Earle of Bolongne Reginald, that was ſon to the Earle of Chaſteau Martine, alied hymſelfe with them againſt the Frenche King, and ſo dydde Baldwine Earle of Guynes with diuers other.

And thus Kyng Richarde by ſuche aliaunce

hauing

hauyng his parte greatly ſtrengthened, prepared himſelfe to the warre more earneſtly than before, and taking order with the Erle of Flanders, that they ſhould inuade the French dominions in two ſeuerall quarters bothe at one time, as the Earle by Flaunders, and he himſelfe by Normandye, acording to appointment betwixt them deuiſed.

o.Meir.
il.Parus

The Erle preparing an armie, firſte wan the Towne of Dowaye, and then beſieged Saincte Omers, and wan it after.v. weekes ſiege: wherupon they of Ayre yelded vnto him. Shortely afer he entred into Artoys, and beſieged the Citie of Arras.

ovvns vvon the Earle of unders.

At the ſame time king Richard marching towards Gyſors, wanne in his waye the Caſtelle of Corſelles, and deſtroyed it. That doone, hee came to Gyſors, and beſieged the towne, waſting all the countreye rounde aboute hym where hee came.

ſors beſie- d.

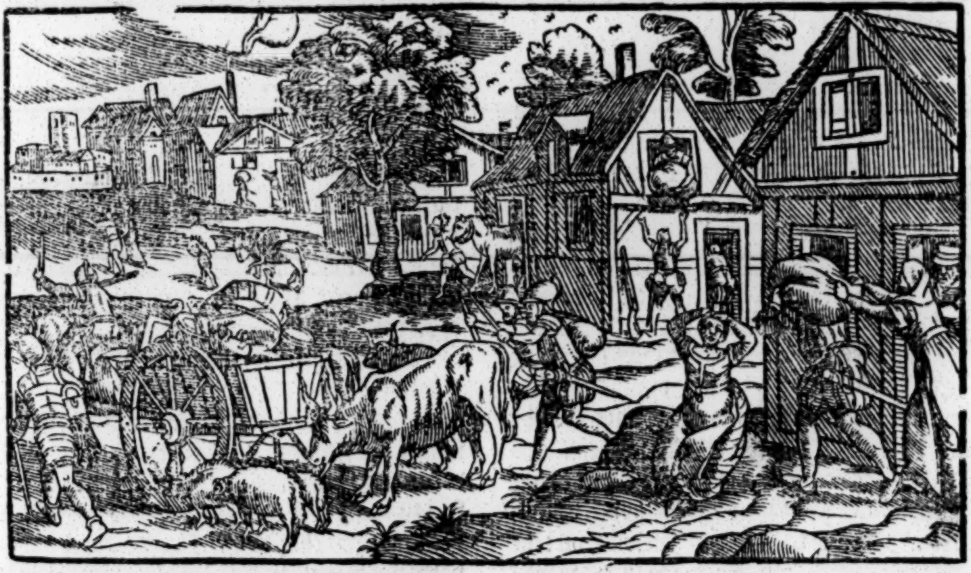
The Frenche king beeing thus troubled wyth the inuaſion of his enimies in two ſeueral places at one preſent time, ſente certayne bandes of hys ſouldiors towards Arras, to keepe the Earle of Flaunders play, whileſt he himſelf goeth againſt king Richard: and cōming vnto Gyſors, findeth it ſtraitly beſieged of the ſame king, ſo that he wiſt not well how to enter the towne.

At lengthe yet fayning to gyue battayle to Kyng Richarde, (who vppon deſyre to receyue it, came abroade into the field,) the French king ruſheth forth with all his whole force to make towardes the Towne, and ſo gotte into it, thoughe not withoute greate loſſe and damage of his people.

The Frenche king entreth to Gyſors.

King Richard not meanyng to breake vp his ſiege from beefore the Towne, (notwythſtanding the Frenche kyng hadde entred it) ſtayed a certayne tyme of purpoſe to wynne it, knowing the gayne to bee the greater, and hys name more famous, if hee myghte atchieue hys purpoſe, nowe that his aduerſarie was within it. But when hee ſawe it woulde not bee, hee reyſed his ſiege, and departed towardes Cleremonte, ſpoyling all the Countrey by hys forrays as hee wente, ſo that hee wanne greate pillage, wherewith hys Souldiers were loaden and made verie ryche.

King Richarde reiſeth his ſiege



It chaunced, that in a ſkirmiſhe, Hugh de Chaumount was taken Priſoner, one that was of the Frenche Kynges priuie councell, and king Richarde appoynted hym to the keepyng of Roberte Ros, who charged one of hys ſeruauntes named William de Spyney with the cuſtody of hym. But the ſayde Hugh corrupting hys keeper the foreſayde William, eſcaped out of the Caſtell of Bonneville, where he was within warde, to the greate diſpleaſure of kyng Rycharde, who cauſed Roberte Ros to paye for a fyne, the ſumme of twelue hundred markes, whyche the Priſoner ſhoulde haue payde for hys raunſome: and further, commaunded William de Spyney to bee hanged for hys diſloyall dealing.

ugh de Chau ount taken iſoner.

Robert Roſſe ut to his fyne or an eſcape.

Mat. Paris.

Kyng Phillippe, after that the King of Englande was remoued from Giſors (as before yee haue hearde,) aſſembled a greate hoſt. and with banner diſplayed, entred into Normandy, and waſted the countreye from Newburg to Beaumount le Rogier, and that done, returned into Fraunce, licencing his men to returne vnto theyr homes.

Ni.Triuet.

The French kings requeſt for a combat

About the ſame time, he ſente vnto King Richarde, requiring him to appoynte fiue Champions, and he woulde appoynte other fyue for hys parte, which myghte fyghte in liſtes, for triall of all matters in controuerſie betwixte them, ſo to auoyde the ſhedyng of more giltleſſe bloud. K. Richard accepted the offer, with condition, that

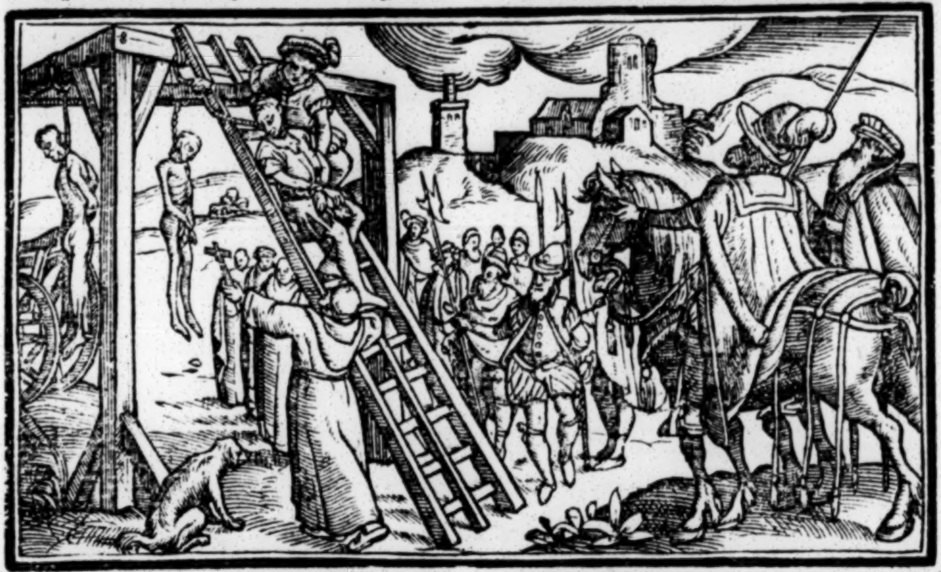
Kyng Richards anſvvere.

eyther king myght be of the number, that is, the Frenche king one of the fiue vppon the Frenche parte, and kyng Richarde one of the fyue vpon the Engliſh part. But this condition would not be graunted.

1196.

Herevpon, when ſhortly after it was ſignified to Kyng Richarde, that ſhips vſed to come oute of Englande to Sainte Valerye with victualles whiche were foulde and conueied awaye vnto the Frenche king and other his enimies, hee rode to Sainte Valeries, and ſet the towne on fire, and ſuche ſhippes of Englande as he founde there, he alſo brent, and hanged the mariners by the necke, deuiding the graine and other victualles whiche were founde in the ſame Shippes amongeſt his owne ſouldiers.

Mat.Pari.



Ships brent, & marinets hanged.

Les Annales le France.

About the ſame time he got the fauour of them of Champaigne and of the Brytons, and Wilyam Creſpine alſo was conſtrayned to delyuer vnto hym the Caſtell of Auge, but the Frenche king recouered it by ſiege, whileſt king Rycharde entryng into Aluergue wanne dyuers caſtelles there, to the number of tenne out of king Philips handes. In the meane time the Earle of Flaunders made ſore warre agaynſte the frenche king for his part, and treyning the ſame kyng within ſtreites, ſo that he was almoſt encloſed on eche ſide, he conſtrayned him to agree to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed the ſame Earle to appoynt, but afterwardes the frenche king refuſed to ſtande to the couenauntes of that agreement, and ſo the warre continued betwixt them as before.

An.reg.7.

g.Houed.

ne yeare and moneths hath Vil.Paruus

At length king Richarde and the frenche king concluded vpon an abſtinence of warre to endure from the feaſt of Saint Hillary for one hole yere, purpoſing in the mean time to make a finall peace and agreement.

In which ſeaſon Baldwine Earle of Flaunders came into Englande to doe hys deuotions vnto the ſhrine where Thomas the Archebiſhop, laye buried at Canterburye. The ſame yeare alſo ſomewhat before this time, Riſe ap Griffiin king of Wales departed thys life, after whoſe deathe there fell diſcorde betwixt his ſonnes for the ſucceſſion, till the Archebiſhoppe Hubert went to the marches of that country and made an agreemēt betwixt them.

iffin king of Vales depar ths lyfe.

Not long after, Roger the brother of Robert earle of Leiceſter, elected biſhoppe of Saint Andrewes in Scotland, receiued the order of prieſtehoode, and was conſecrate biſhoppe by the handes of the biſhop of Aberdine. And this yeare it was ordeigned that meaſures of all manner of grayne ſhoulde conteigne one quantitie throughout the Realme, that is to ſay, one reſonable horſelode, and that the meaſures of wine and ale wyth all manner of licours ſhuld be of one iuſte quantitie according to the diuerſitie of the licour: alſo that weightes ſhoulde be of like rate throughout the Realme, and that clothe ſhoulde conteine twoo yardes in breadth within the liſts, of perfect goodnes throughout, aſwell in the middes as by the ſides, and that one manner of yarde ſhuld be vſed through the realme: it was alſo ordeigned that no marchantes within the Realme ſhoulde hang anye redde or blacke clothes afore theyr ſhoppe windowes, nor ſet vp any pentiſes or other thing whereby to darken the light from thoſe that come to buye theyr clothe, ſo as they might be deceyued in chooſing thereof.

VVeyghts and meaſures.

Alſo it was enacted that there ſhoulde be foure or ſyxe ſubſtanciall honeſt menne choſen in euerye towne: and lykewyſe in Shyres, wyth the head officers of Cities and Boroughes, whiche hadde a Corporation, to ſee that the Aſſyſes aforeſayde were truely kepte, and that if anye were founde to be offendyng in the premiſſes, to cauſe their bodyes to bee attached and committed to priſon, and their goodes to be ſeyſed to the kings vſe: And if thoſe that were choſen to haue regarde thereto, were tryed to bee negligente, ſo that by other, and not by them anye offenders chaunced to bee conuicted afore the Juſtices, then ſhoulde the regarders bee put to theyr fynes, for the negligente looking to their offices and charge.

1198.

Kyng Richarde helde his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Roan, and Huberte the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye Legate of the Apoſtolique ſea, named Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Englande, was aboute the ſame time in the marches of Wales at Herefor de, and there receyued into his handes, the Caſtels of Herefor de, Bridgenorth and Ludlow, remouing thoſe that had the ſame in keping, & appoynting other in their roomths. Afterwards cõming by Couentrie, he placed ẏ Monks agayne in the Cathedrall churche of that Citie by commandement of Pope Celeſtine, and chaſed out the ſecular Canons, whiche the Biſhop Hugh Nouant had brought into the ſame church when he remoued the Monkes.

Monkes placed agayne in the churche of Couentrie.

In the Chriſtmaſſe weeke alſo there came to Rouen meſſengers from the Archebiſhoppes of Coleyn and Mentz, and from other ſtates of the Empire, the whiche declared vnto kyng Richard, that all the Princes of Germanie were appointed to aſſemble at Coleyn, the .xxij. of Februarie about the chooſing of a newe Emperour, in place of the late deceaſſed Henrye: and therefore they commaunded him by force of the othe and league in whiche he was bounde to the Emperour and Empire, that all excuſe of denyal or occaſions, to the contrary ceaſſyng and ſette aparte, he ſhould make his repaire vnto Coleyne at the foreſayde daye, to helpe them in chooſing of ſome worthye perſonage that mighte and was able to haue the Empire. King Richard doubting to put hymſelfe in daunger, bicauſe he had not diſcharged all the debte due for his raunſome, ſtayed at home, but yet he ſent diuers noble men thyther, and did ſo muche in fauour of his nephue Otho, that by the helpe of the foreſayd two Archbiſhops of Colein and Mentz, the ſame Otho was elected emperour. But of this matter more ſhall bee ſayde hereafter.

Meſſengers frõ the ſtates of Germanie.

Moreouer about the ſame tyme king Richard required by the Archebiſhop of Canterburye his chiefe Juſtice, an ayde of .iij. hundred knightes to be founde by his ſubiectes of England, to remain with him in his ſeruice for one whole yere, or elſe that they woulde giue him ſo muche money, as myght ſerue to reteyne that number after the rate of .iij. ſ. a daye of Engliſhe money for euerye knyghte. Where as all other were contented to be contributories herein, onely Hughe Biſhop of Lincoln refuſed, and ſpake ſore againſt the Archbiſhop that moued the matter.

Three hundred knightes or men of armes to bee founde.

The biſhop of Lincolne.

But howe ſo euer that requeſte tooke place, King Richarde (as we fynde) leuyed thys yeare a Subſidie of fiue ſhillings of euery hide of lande within the realme, two Commiſſioners, that is to witte, one of the Spiritualtie, and a knyghte of the Temporaltie being appoynted as Commiſſioners in euery Shire, with the aſſiſtance of Sheriffe, and others, to ſee the ſame aſſeſſed and rated after an hundred acres of lande to the hyde of lande, according to the cuſtome.

The ſame yeare alſo the Monkes of the houſe of the holye Trinitie, otherwyſe called Chriſtes churche in Canterbury, exhibited their complaint vnto Pope Innocent, that theyr Archebiſhoppe Hubert (contrary to his order and dignitie) exerciſed the office of highe Juſtice and ſate in iudgement of bloud, beeing ſo encombred in temporall matters, that he could not haue time to diſcharge his office touchyng Spirituall cauſes: whereupon the Pope ſent vnto kyng Richard, admoniſhing hym not to ſuffer the ſayde Archebiſhop to bee any longer troubled with temporall affaires, but to diſchardge hym thereof and not to admit any ſpirituall perſon from thenceforthe vnto any temporall adminiſtration.

The Monkes of Chriſts chu che ſend to th Pope, compla ning of their Archbiſhop.

The Pope ſen deth to the ki

He further prohibited by vertue of their obedience all manner of Prelates and menne of the churche that they ſhoulde not preſume raſhlye to take vpon them any maner of ſecular function or office. Whereupon the Archebiſhoppe was diſcharged of his office of chief Juſtice, and Geffrey Fitz Peter ſucceded in gouernement of the realme in his ſteede. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis ſayth, that the Archebiſhoppe reſigned that office of hys owne accorde, and that not till after his retourne from the marches of Wales, where he had ouerthrowen the Welchemen, and ſlayne fyue thouſande of them. Whiche victory other aſcribe vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter, whiche Geffrey (as the ſayd Dorobernenſis ſayth.) ſucceeded the Archebiſhop in the office of Lorde chiefe Juſtice, but not vntill Auguſte, in the tenthe yeare of the Kings Reigne.

An.reg 10

In which tenth yeare immediatly vpon the expiring of the truce whiche was taken till harueſt might be ended, the warre betwixt the two kyngs of Englande and Fraunce beganne eftſoones to be purſued with like earneſtnes as before, wherupon many encounters chaunced betwixt the parties, wyth taking of Townes and fortreſſes. as commonly in ſuche caſes it happeneth.

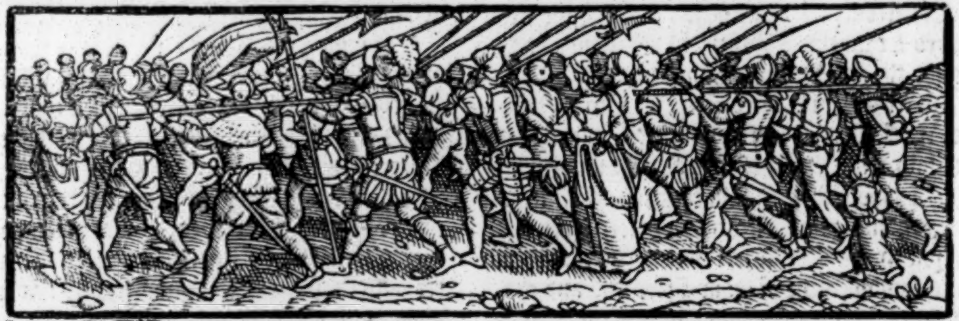
Twice the French king was put to the worſe, once in September betwixt Gamages and Vernon, wher he was driuen to ſaue himſelf by flight loſing twenty Knights, and threeſcore ſeruitors or yeomen, whiche were taken, beſides thoſe that were ſlayne.

And againe in the ſame moneth on Michaelmaſſe euen betwixte Curſeilles and Gyſours, at what time he came to ſuccor Curſeilles, bringing with him .400. knightes, beſide ſeruitors, & a great multitude of cõmons. But the caſtel was won before he could approch to it. And K. Richard aduertiſed of his coming, haſted forth to mete him, and giuing the onſet vpon him, forced him to flee vnto Gyſors, where at the entring of the bridge there was ſuche preaſſe, that the bridge brake, ſo that amongſt other, the king himſelfe wyth hys horſe and all fel into the riuer of Gethe, and with muche a doe was relieued, and gotte out of the water, no ſmall number of right hardie and valiant Gentlemen, beeing taken at the ſame tyme, whiche put themſelues forwarde to ſtay the Engliſhmen tyll the king was recouered out of that preſent daunger.

King Philip almoſt drowned.

To conclude, there were taken to the number of an hundred Knightes, and two hundred barded horſes, beſides ſeruitours on horſebacke, and footmen with Croſſebowes. Amongſt other Priſoners theſe are named, Mathewe de Montmorancie, Gales de Ports, Iollen de Bray, and many other innumerable.

Seuen ſcore hath Rog. Houeden.



Math. Paris. Rog. Houed.

King Richard hauing got this victorie, wrote letters therof vnto ỹ Archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots erles & barons of his realme, ỹ they might prayſe GOD for his good ſucceſſe. And ſuche were the proceedyngs of the K. of Fraunce at thys tyme, the farther relation whereof ſhall ſtay a whyle, till we haue touched other things that hapned in England at the ſame ſeaſon. And firſt yͤ ſhall vnderſtand, that Hugh Bardolfe, Roger Arundell, and Geffrey Hachet, to whome as Iuſtices, the counties of Lincolne, Notingham, Yorke, Derby, Northumberland, Weſtmerland, Cumberlande, and Lancaſter, were appoynted for circuites, helde not only pleas of aſſiſes, and of the Crowne, but alſo tooke Inquiſitions of Eſcheates, and forfaytures of all manner of tranſgreſſions, and of donations of benefices, of maryages of widowes and maydes, and other ſuch lyke things as appertayned to the king, whereby any aduantages grewe to his vſe, the which for tediouſneſſe we paſſe ouer.

nquiſitions aken.

Theſe thynges were ſtrayghtly looked to, not without the diſquieting of many. And herewith came an other trouble in the necke of this former, to dyuers perſons wythin the Realme thorough Inquiries taken by the Iuſtices of the Forreſtes, for Hugh Neuyl, Hugh Waley, and Heruiſius Neuylle, appoynted Iuſtices *Itinerantes*, in that caſe, were commaunded by the king to call afore them Archebiſhoppes, Biſhoppes, Earles, Barons, Knyghtes, and Freeholders, wyth the Reeue, and foure of the ſubſtanciall men of euery towne or village, to heare and take knowledge of the kings commaundement, touchyng the ordinaunces of Forreſtes, the whiche were verie ſtraighte in ſundry poyntes, ſo that where as before thoſe that offended in killyng of the kyngs deere were puniſhed by the purſe, now they ſhould loſe their eyes and genitories, as the lawe was in the dayes of king Henry his grandfather: and thoſe that offended in cutting downe woddes or buſhes, or in digging and deluing vp of turues and cloddes, or by any other maner of way made waſte and deſtruction in woddes or graſſe, in waſte or venyſon, within the precinct of the Foreſtes, contrary to order, they ſhould be put to their fines. He gaue commaundement alſo, that it ſhoulde bee lawefull to the Forreſters to take and put vnder arreſt, as well Prieſtes, and thoſe of the Clergie, as temporall men, beyng founde offendyng in Forreſt groundes and chaſes.

Ordinances of forreſtes.

Prieſts to be arreſted offẽding in foreſtes.

Manye other ordinaunces were decreed touching the preſeruation of Foreſts, and the kings prerogatiue, aduauntages and profites riſing and growing by the ſame, as well for ſauyng of hys woddes and waſtes, as in pannage and agiſtementes, greately to the reſtraynte of them that myghte vſurpe or incroche vppon the groundes within compaſſe of his foreſtes.

Ye haue heard before, how the Monks of Cãterbury did ſende to exhibite a complaynte to the Pope, for that their Archbiſhoppe tooke vpon him to deale in exerciſe of matters belongyng to a temporall man, and not to ſuche one as had rule ouer the ſpiritualtie: but thys was not the cauſe that dydde greeue them ſo muche, as that hee went forwarde wyth the erection of that churche at Lameth, which his predeceſſor the Archbiſhop

Geruas. Dor

he Churche f Lammeth.

biſhoppe Baldwin had firſt begonne at Hakeſton, nowe called Saint Stephens (as before ye haue heard) and after was driuen throughe the importunate ſuite of the Monkes to leaue off, and raſe that, which he had there begonne, to obey the Popes pleaſure: and after layde a newe foundation at Lameth.

he Pope commaundeth the hurch of Lameth to be ra d.

The Monkes of Canterburie therefore ſtill fearing leſte that churche ſhulde greately preiudice ſuch right and liberties, as they pretended, namely in the election of their archbiſhop, woulde neuer reſte, but ſtill complayned and followed their ſuite in moſt obſtinate manner in the court of Rome, aſwel in the dayes of the ſayde Baldwine, as nowe agaynſte Huberte, (when he took in hande to continue the worke accordyng to the purpoſe of hys predeceſſoure the ſayde Baldwine, whiche was to haue inſtituted a Colledge there, and to haue placed ſecular Canons in the ſame) and ſuch was the earneſt trauaile of the Monkes herein, that in the end nowe after the deceaſſe of Pope Celeſtine, they founde ſuch fauour at the handes of Pope Innocent hys ſucceſſor, that the ſame Innocent directed his letters of commaundement to the Archebiſhoppe, and other biſhopps of this lande, to deſtroye and raſe the ſame foundation, as a peece of worke derogatorie to the ſea of Caunterbury, and verie preiudiciall to the eſtate of holy church. The Archebiſhoppe at the firſt truſted to be borne out by the king (who was highelye offended wyth the Monkes for theyr preſumptuous dealing) and therefore refuſed to obeye the Popes commaundement. The king in deed ſtomacked the matter ſo highely, that he ſente letters vnto the Monks by no worſe meſſengers than by Geffrey Fitz Peter, and Hugh Fitz Bardolfe his Iuſtices, ſignifying to them not only hys high diſpleaſure for their preſumptuous proceedings in their ſuit without his conſent, but alſo commaunding them to ſurceaſſe, and not to proceede further in the matter by vertue of anye ſuche the popes letters, which they had purchaſed contrary to the honour and dignitie of his crowne and realme.

The preſumptuoes ſtoutneſſe of the Monks.

Moreouer, he wrote to the biſhops, cōmaunding them to appeale, and to the Archebiſhop, forbidding hym in anye wiſe to breake downe that churche whiche hee had ſo builded at Lameth. The Sherif of Kent alſo was cōmaunded to ſeaſe into his handes all the tenementes and poſſeſſions that belonged to the Monkes, who neuertheleſſe were ſo ſtout in that quarell that they woulde not prolong one daye of the tyme appoynted by the Pope for the raſing of that church. Hereupon the kyng for hys parte and the biſhops in their owne behalfes wrote to the Pope. Likewiſe the Abbots of Boxeley, Fourd, Stratford, Roberts Bridge, Stanley, and Baſing Wark, wrote to hym the matter: and agayne the Pope and the Cardynalles wrote to the king, to the Archebiſhoppes, and biſhoppes: and ſo letters paſſed to and fro, till at length the Pope ſente a *Nuncio* of purpoſe, to ſignifie his full determination, as in the nexte yeare it ſhall be ſhewed at full.

VVelchmen vanquiſhed. Geruaſ. Doro aſcribeth this victorie vnto Hubert Archb of Canterbur and ſayth ther vvere ſlayne boute.500.of the enimies.

Maudes caſtel.

Aboute the ſame tyme Geffreye Fitz Peter, Lorde chief Iuſtice of England, reyſed a power of men, and wente into Wales to ſuccoure the tenāts of Williā de Brauſe, which were beſieged of the king, or rather Prince of that countrey, named Owen, the brother of Cadwalayn, in Mawdes Caſtell, but the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice comming to the reſkue of them within gaue battayle to the aduerſaries, and vanquiſhyng them, ſlewe three thouſande of them, and ſeuen hundred of thoſe that were taken priſoners and

wounded. And all the whyle the warres continued in Fraunce, and the loſſe for the moſte parte ſtill redounded to the Frenchemen.

Erle John brent Newburg, and toke eightene knightes of ſuche as were ſente to the reſkue.

The Earle of Leyceſter.

The Earle of Leyceſter with a ſmall companie came before the Caſtell of Paſcy, which (although the Frenchemen helde it) didde yet of ryght belong vnto the ſayde Earle. The Souldiours within iſſued forth, and being too ſtrong for the Earle, cauſed hym to flee, for otherwyſe he had bin taken. But returning on the morrowe after with more companie about hym, and laying ambuſhes for the ennemie, hee approched the ſayde Caſtell, and trayned the Frenchemen forth tyll he had them within his daunger, and then cauſing his men to breake out vpon them tooke an. xviij. knightes, and a greate multitude of other people. Alſo Marchades with his route of Brabanders did the Frenchemen muche hurt in robbyng and ſpoyling the countreys.

Marchades.

About which ſeaſon the Archbiſhop of Canterbury went ouer into Normandie to ſpeake with king Richarde, and at the Frenche kings requeſt he wente into France, to commen with him of peace, the whyche the Frenche king offered to conclude, in reſtoryng all the townes and Caſtels whiche he had taken (Giſours only excepted) and touching the poſſeſſion and title therof, he was contented to put the matter in comprimiſe, to the order and awarde of ſixe barons in Normãdie to be named by him, and of ſixe Barons in Fraunce whyche kyng Richarde ſhoulde name.

King Richarde woulde not thus agree, except the Earle of Flaunders and other whyche had forſaken the Frenche king to take his part, myght be cõpriſed in the ſame peace. At length yet in Nouember, there was truce taken betwixt the two kings til the feaſt of S. Hillarie next enſuyng.

ruce taken rvixt the o kings.

In the mean time Pope Innocent the third vnderſtanding in what preſent daunger things ſtoode in the holy lande, and on the other ſyde, conſydering what a weakenyng it was vnto Chriſtendome, to haue theſe two Kinges thus to warre with mortall hatred one againſt the other: hee thoughte it ſtoode him vppon to trauaile betwixt them, to bring them vnto ſome peace and agreement. Heervpon he diſpatched one Peter the Cardinal of Capua into France, as legate from the ſea of Rome, vnto the two foreſayd kinges, to enſtruct them in what preſent daunger the ſtate of the Chriſtians in Aſia preſently ſtoode, ſo that without the ayde of them and of other Chriſtian Princes, it coulde not be holpen, but needes it muſte come to vtter ruine, and the Saraſyns ere long to be poſſeſſed of the whole. Therfore bothe in reſpecte hereof, and alſo for the auoyding of the further wylfull ſpillyng of Chriſtian bloud in ſuche ciuile and vngodly warre, he beſought them to ſtaye theyr handes, and to ioyne in ſome friendly bande of concord, whereby they might with mutuall conſent beſtow their ſeruice in that neceſſarie and moſt godlye warre, wherin by ouercõming the enimies of Chriſt, they mighte looke for worthye rewarde at his handes, whiche is the giuer of all victories.

1199.

Rog. Houed.

The Cardinall comming into Fraunce, and doing his meſſage in moſte earneſt wiſe, was preſent at the enterview appointed betwixt the two Kings in the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, but yet coulde not he bring his purpoſe to full effect: onely he procured them to take truce for the terme of fiue yeares: further he coulde not get them to agree.

A truce concluded for.v.yeres

The faulte by authors is aſcribed aſwell to king Richard, as to king Philip: for king Richarde being firſt euyll vſed, and put to hinderaunce, determined eyther to vanquiſhe, or neuer to giue place.

This abſtinence of warre was concluded & taken in the yeare. 1199. after the incarnation, and tenth of king Richards reigne. But immediatly after, there aroſe matter of newe diſpleaſure betwixt thieſe twoo Kyngs to keepe their minds in vre with ſecret grudges, though by reaſon of the truce they outwardlye abſteined from declaring it by force of armes. It chaunced that in the election of a new emperor, the Electors could not agree, one parte of them choſing Otho Duke of Saxonye, nephew to

king

to king Richard by his ſiſter Maude, and another parte of them namyng Philippe Duke of Tuſkayne, and brother to the laſte Emperour Henrye.

ontention a-
out the choo-
ng of the em-
erour.

King Richard (as reaſon was) did procure what fauour he coulde to the furtheraunce of his nephew Otho: and king Philip on the contrary part, did what he could in fauour of the foreſayde Philippe. At length Otho was admitted by the Pope to ende the ſtryfe: but yet the grudge remayned in the heartes of the two Kinges.

Philip fyndyng himſelfe muche greeued in that he had miſſed his purpoſe, and Richarde being as little pleaſed, for that hee had won his ſo hardly, and with ſo muche adoe.

And thus matters paſſed for that yeare. In the beginning of the nexte, the Popes *Nuncio* came with letters, not only to the Archbiſhop & Biſhops of England, but alſo to the king himſelfe, ſignifying the Popes reſolute decree touching the church and colledge of Lameth to be broken downe and ſuppreſſed. Wherupon the King and Archbiſhop, althoughe ſore agaynſt theyr willes, when they ſaw no way longer to ſhift off the matter, yelded to the Popes pleaſure: and ſo the Archbiſhop ſente his letters to Lameth, where the .xxj. day of Januarye, they were red, and the .xxvij. day of the ſame month was the Churche caſte downe, and the Canons which were alredy there placed, had cõmaundement to depart from thẽce without further delay. Thus the Monkes in deſpite of the Kyng and Archbiſhop had their willes, but yet theyr vexation ceaſſed not, for the King and Archbyſhop bearing them no ſmall euill will, for that they had ſo obteyned their purpoſe contrary to their myndes and intents, moleſted them dyuers wayes, although the Monkes ſtill vppon compleynt to the Pope, were very muche relieued, and founde great friendſhip both with him, and with his court.

or. Houedẽ.

he Popes let-
rs to the king
r the churche
Lameth.

he Monkes
orne out by
e Pope.

In this meane time, King Richard beeyng now at reſt from troubles of warre, ſtudyed buſily to prouide money, meaning to make a new voyage into the holy lande. Therefore finding himſelfe bare of treaſure, by reaſon the French warres had emptied his cofers, he ſetteth a great taxe vpon his ſubiectes, and by that meanes, hauing recouered a great ſumme, hee builded that notable ſtrong Caſtell in Normãdy, vpon the banke of the Riuer of Sayne, named Chateau Galiard: which when it was finiſhed, he fell a ieſting thereat and ſayd, behold, is not thys a fayre daughter of one yeares growth. The ſoile wher this Caſtel was builded, belonged to the Archbiſhop of Rouen, for whiche there followed greate ſtrife betwixte the Kyng, and the Archbyſhoppe, till the Pope tooke vp the matter (as before ye haue heard.)

Taxe.
iue shillings
f euery
lough land, as
yth Mathevv
Veſtmin.

haſteau Ga-
ard buylt.

After this, he determined to chaſtiſe certayne perſons in Poictou, whiche during the warres betwixt him and the Frenche King, had ayded the Frenchmen againſt him: wherevpon with an army, he paſſed forthe towards them, but by the way he was enformed, that one Widomer a Vicount in the countrey of Britayne, hadde found a great treaſure: and therfore pretending a right therto by vertue of his prerogatiue, hee ſent for the Vicoũt, who ſmelling out the matter, and ſuppoſing the King woulde not be indifferent in parting the treaſure, fled into Lymoſin, where although the people were tributaries to the K. of England, yet they tooke part with the French King.

Images of an
Emperor and
of his vvyfe,
and children al
of fine golde.
The Annales
of Aquitayne.

Ther is a town in yͤ contrey called Chaluz Cheuerell, into whiche the ſayde vicount retired for ſafegarde of himſelfe, and then gaue the townſemen a greate portion of treaſure, to the ende they ſhould defend him and his quarel for the reſt. King Richarde ſtill following him, as one that coulde not auoyd his fatal ordinance, haſted into the confines of Lymoſin, fully determining eyther to winne the towne by force, if the inhabitants ſhould make reſiſtance, or at the leſt wiſe, get into his hands the praie, which he ſo earneſtly purſewed.

Chalus
Cheuerelle.

Rog. Houedẽ.

At his firſt approch he gaue many fierce aſſautes to the Towne, but they within hauing thoroughly prouided aforehande for to defende a ſiege, ſo reſiſted his attempts, that within three dayes after his comming, he ceaſſed to aſſaulte the towne, meaning to vndermine the walles, which otherwiſe he perceyued would very hardly be gotten, conſidering the ſtouteneſſe of them within, and withall, the naturall ſtrengthe and ſituation of the place it ſelf. Herevpon therfore the .xxvj. of March, whiles he together with capitayn Marchades goeth about vnaduiſedly to view yͤ town (the better to conſider yͤ place which waye hee might conueye the courſe of his myne) they came ſo farre within daunger, that the king was ſtriken in the left arme, or (as ſome write) in the ſhulder, where it ioyned to the necke, wyth a quarrel enuenimed (as is to be ſuppoſed by the ſequele.) Being thus wounded, he gat to his horſe, and rode home agayne to his lodgyng, where hee cauſed the wounde to be ſearched and bounde vp, and as a man nothing diſmayde therewith, hee continued his ſiege with ſuch force and aſſurance, that within twelue dayes after the miſhappe, the towne was yelded vnto hym, althoughe verye little treaſure (to make any great accompt of) was at that time founde therin.

King Richard
beſiegeth Cha-
lus.

He is vvoũde

Rad. Niger.

In this meane ſeaſon, the king had committed the cure of his wounde vnto one of Marchades his ſurgeons, who taking in hand to pluck out the quarrel, drew forth only the ſhaft at the firſt, and left the yron ſtill within, and afterwardes going about moſt vnſkilfully to get forth yͤ head of the ſaide quarrel, he vſed ſuche inciſions, and ſo mangled the kings arme, ere he coulde cut it, that he himſelfe diſpaired of all helpe and lenger life, affirming flatly to ſuch as ſtood about him, that he could not long continue by reaſon of his butcherly handling. To be ſhort, feling himſelf to waxe weaker and weaker, and preparing his mind to death, which he perceiued now to be at hand, he ordeined his teſtament, or rather reformed and added ſundry thinges vnto the ſame which he before had made at the time of his going forth towards the holy land. Vnto his brother Iohn he aſſigned the crowne of Englande and all other his lands and dominions, cauſing the nobles ther preſēt to ſwear fealtie vnto him. His money, his iewels, and all other his goods mouable he willed to be diuided into .3. partes, of the which Otho the emperor his ſiſters ſonne to haue one, his houſeholde ſeruantes an other part, and the third to be diſtributed to the poore. Finally, remembring himſelf alſo of the place of his burial, he cōmaunded that his body ſhuld be enterred at Fonteuerarde at his fathers feet, but he willed his hart to be conueyed vnto Rouen, and there buryed, in teſtimonie of the loue whiche he had euer borne vnto that citie for the ſtedfaſte faithe and tryed loyaltie at all tymes found in the citizēs there. His bowels he ordeined to be buryed in Poitiers as in a place naturally vnthankefull and not worthy to reteine any of the more honorable partes of his bodye.

The king deſpaired of lyfe

He ordeyneth his teſtament.

Rog. Houedē.

Mat. Paris.

Moreouer he cauſed the Arcbaleſtar that had wounded him, to be ſoughte out, whoſe name was Barthram de Gurden, or as ſome write, he named himſelfe Peter Baſill, who being broughte before him, he demanded wherin he had ſo much offended him, that he ſhoulde ſo lye in awayte to ſlea him, rather than Marchades, who was then in his company, and attendant on his perſon? The other anſwered boldly again, ſaying, I purpoſed to kil thee, bicauſe thou ſleweſt my father, and two of my brethren heretofore, and wouldeſt alſo now haue ſlayn me, if I had hapned to fall into thy hands: Wherfore I entended to reuenge their deaths, not carying in the meane tyme what became of my ſelf, ſo that I might in any wyſe obteyne my will of thee, who in ſuche ſort haſt bereft me of my friendes. The king herkning vnto his wordes, and pondering his talke by good aduiſement, he freely pardoned him, and with all commaunded that he ſhoulde be ſette at libertie, and thereto haue an hundred ſhillings giuen hym in his purſe, and ſo to bee lette goe. Moreouer, he gaue ſtraight charge that no manne ſhould hurte him, or ſeeke anye reuenge for thys his deathe hereafter. Thus the penitent prince not only forgaue, but alſo rewarded his aduerſarie. Howbeit after his deceaſſe, Marchades getting him into his hands, he firſt cauſed the ſkinne to be ſtripped of his bodie, and after hanged him on a gibet.

Rog. Houed.

Mat. Paris.

At length king Richard by force of ſickeneſſe increaſed with anguiſh of the incurable wounde, departed this lyfe, on the tuiſday before Palme-Sunday, beyng the ninth of Aprill, and the .xj. day after he was hurt, in the yeare after the birth of our Sauior. 1199. in the .xliij. yeare of his age, and after he had reigned .ix. yeares. ix. monethes and odde dayes: he lefte no iſſue behinde him. He was of ſtature tall, and well proportioned, fayre and comely of face, ſo as in his countenance appeared much fauor and grauitie. Of heare bright Aborne, as it were betwixte redde and yealowe, wyth long armes, and nimble in all hys ioyntes. Hys thighes and legges of due proportion, and aunſwerable to the other partes of his bodie. As he was comely of perſonage, ſo was hee of ſtomacke more couragious and fierce, ſo that not without cauſe, he obteyned the ſurname of *Cueur de Lyon*, that is to ſaye, the Lyons harte. Moreouer, he was curteous to his Souldiours, and towardes his friendes and ſtrangers that reſorted vnto hym verie liberall, but to his enimies hard & not to be intreated, deſirous of battayle, an enimie to reſte and quietneſſe, verie eloquente of ſpeeche and wyſe, but readie to enter into ieopardyes, and that without feare or forecaſt in tyme of greateſt perilles.

King Richard departed this lyfe.

His ſtature and ſhape of body.

Gal. Vinſauf.

His diſpoſition of mynde.

These were his vertuous qualities, but his vices (if his vertues, his age, and the warres whiche he maintained were throughly weyed) were either none at all, or els fewe in number, & not very notorious. He was noted of the cōmon people to be partly ſubiect vnto pride, which ſurely for the more parte foloweth ſtouteneſſe of mynde: He was noted alſo ſomewhat of incontinencie, to the which his youth might haply bee ſomewhat bent: and laſtly of couetouſneſſe, into the whiche infamie moſte Capitaynes & ſuche Princes as commonly folow the warres doe oftentimes fall, when of neceſſitie they are driuen to exact money, as wel of their frēds as enimies, to mainteyn the infinite charges of their warres.

Hereof it came, that on a time whiles hee ſoiourned in Fraunce aboute his warres whiche he held againſt King Phillip, ſomwhat before the truce was taken betwixte them, there came vnto him a french prieſt whoſe name was Fulco, a preacher and a man of ſome reputation of holineſſe amongeſt the common people. This prieſt required the king in any wiſe to put from

Fulco a prieſt.

him three abhominable daughters which he had, and to commit them to mariage, leaſt God puniſhed him for them. Thou lieſt hipocrite (ſayde the king) to thy verie face: for all the worlde knoweth, that I haue not one daughter. I lye not (ſaide the prieſte) for thou haſte three daughters: one of them is called pride, and an other couetouſneſſe, and the thirde lecherie. With that the king called vnto him his Lordes and Barons, and ſayde vnto them: This hipocrite here hath required mee to marie forth my three daughters, which as he ſayth I cheriſh and maintaine, that is to ſaye, pride, couetouſneſſe, and lecherie. And nowe that I haue founde out apt huſbandes for them, I will doe it with effecte, and ſeeke no more delaies: I therefore bequeath my pride to the high minded Templers, and hoſpitallers, whiche are as proude as Lucifer himſelfe. My couetouſneſſe, I giue to the white Monkes, otherwiſe called of the Ciſteaux order, for they couet the deuill and all. My lecherie I commit to the prelates of the Churche, who haue moſte pleaſure and felicitie therein.

vvin and
ert Arch-
ops of Can-
rie.

There liued in the dayes of thys King Richarde, men of worthie fame amongſt thoſe of the Clergie, Baldwine Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and Hubert that ſucceeded him in that ſea, alſo Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne, a man for his worthineſſe of life highly to bee commended. Moreouer William biſhop of Ely, who though otherwiſe hee was to bee diſpraiſed for his ambition and pompouſe hawltines, yet the king vſed his ſeruice for a time greatly to his profit and aduauncement of the publique affaires. Alſo of learned men, we finde diuers in theſe dayes that flouriſhed here in this lande, as Baldwin of Deuonſhire that came to bee Biſhop of Worceter in this kings tyme, and after his deceaſſe, he was aduaunced to the Gouernement of the Archebiſhops ſea of Canterbury: hee wrote diuers treatiſes, namely of matters pertaining to diuinitie. Daniell Morley well ſeene in the Mathematicals. John de Hexam, and Richard de Hexham two notable hiſtoriciens. Gulielmus Stephanides a Monke of Canterburye, who wrote muche in prayſe of the Archebiſhoppe Becket.

Bale.

Beſide theſe, we finde one Richard, that was an Abbot of the order Premonſtratenſis, Richard Dunelmenſis, Nicholas Warkington, Robert de Bello Foco, an excellent Philoſopher. &c. See Bale *Centuria tertia.*

In martiall renoume there flouriſhed in thys kings dayes diuerſe noble captaines, as Roberte Earle of Leyceſter, Ranulfe de Fulgiers, two of the Bardolphes, Hugh and Henrie, three Williams, Marſhall, Brunell, and Maundeuil, with two Roberts, Ros and Sabeuile. Furthermore, I fynde, that in the dayes of this king Richard, great dearth raigned in Englande, and alſo in Fraunce, for the ſpace of three or foure yeares during the warres betweene hym and Kyng Phylippe, ſo that after his retourne oute of Germanie, and from impriſonment, a quarter of wheate was ſoulde at .xviij. ſhillings eight pens, whiche was no ſmall price in thoſe dayes, if you conſyder the alaye of moneye then curraunt.

A great dearth

Alſo imediatelye after: that is to witte, in the yeare of our Lorde a thouſande, one hundred nyntie ſixt, whiche was about the .vij. yeare of the ſaide kings raigne, there folowed a maruellous ſore death whych daply conſumed ſuch number of people, that vneth might there bee founde anye to keepe and loke to thoſe that were ſicke, or to burye them that dyed. Whiche ſickneſſe was a peſtilenciall Feuer or ſharpe brenning Agewe. The accuſtomed maner of Buryal was alſo neglected: So that in manye places they made greate pittes, and threwe theyr deade bodies into the ſame, one vppon another. For the multitude of them that dyed was ſuch, that they coulde not haue time to make for euery one a ſeuerall graue.

A great morta-
litie of people
VVil. Paru

This mortalitie continued for the ſpace of .v. or .vj. monethes, and at length ceaſſed in the cold ſeaſon of wynter. In the Octaues of Penthecoſte before this great death, in the firſte houre of the day, there appeared two Sunnes, the true Sunne and an other, as it were a counterfaite ſunne: but ſo apparantly, that harde it was to the common people, to diſcerne the one from the other. The ſkilfull alſo were compelled by inſtrumentes to diſtinguiſh the one from the other in taking their altitudes and places, whereby in the ende they founde the newe apparition, as it were, to waite vppon the Planet, and ſo continued by the ſpace of certaine houres.

Tvvo Sunne

At lengthe when the beholders (of whome Wilhelmus Paruus that recorded thinges in that age was one) had well wearied their eyes in diligent marking the manner of this ſtraunge appearaunce, the counterfayte ſunne vaniſhed awaye.

This ſtraunge wonder was taken for a ſignification of that whiche followed, that is to witte, of warre, famine, and peſtilence: or to ſaye the truthe, it betokened rather the continuaunce of two of thoſe miſchiefes. For warre and famine hadde ſore afflicted the people before that time, and yet ceaſſed not: But as for the peſtilence, it began ſone after that vnketh ſight, whereof enſued ſuche effecte, as I haue alreadye rehearſed.

K. Iohn

An. Reg. 1.

IOHN, the yongeſt ſonne of Henrye the ſecond, was proclaimed King of Englande, beginning his raigne the. vj. day of Aprill in the yeare of our Lord. 1199. the firſte of Philip Emperor of Rome, and the. xx. of Philip king of France, King Williã as yet liuing in gouernement ouer the Scots.

og. Houed.

So ſoone as his brother Richard was deceaſed, hee ſendeth Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and William Marſhall Earle of Stregill (otherwiſe called Chepſtow) into Englande, both to proclaime him king, and alſo to ſee his peace kepte, togither with Geffrey Fitz Peter Lorde chiefe iuſtice, and diuers other Barons of the Realme, whileſt he himſelfe went to Chinon where his brothers traſure laye, whiche was forthwith deliuered to hym by Robert de Turnham: and therewithal at the Caſtel of Chinon and Sammer and diuerſe other places, whiche were in the cuſtody of the foreſaide Robert. But Thomas de Furnes nephue to the ſaide Robert de Turnham deliuered the Citie and Caſtell of Angiers vnto Arthur Duke of Britaine. For by generall conſent of the nobles and peeres of the countries of Aniou, Maine, and Touraine, Arthur was receiued as the liege and ſoueraine Lorde of the ſame countreys. For euen at this preſent, and ſo ſoone as it was knowen that king Richard was deceaſſed, diuers cities and townes on that ſide of the ſea belonging to the ſaide Richarde whileſt hee liued, fell at oddes among themſelues, ſome of them endeuouring to preferre King Iohn, other labouring rather to bee vnder the gouernaunce of Arthur Duke of Britaine, conſidering that he ſeemed by moſte righte to be their chiefe Lorde, foraſmuche as hee was ſonne to Geffrey elder brother to Iohn. And thus began the broyle in thoſe quarters, whereof in proceſſe of time enſued great inconuenience and finally the death of the ſaide Arthur, as ſhal be ſhewed hereafter.

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Now whileſt king Iohn was thus occupied in recouering hys brothers treaſure, and traueling with his ſubiectes to reduce them to his obedience, Queene Eleanor his mother by the helpe of Hubert archebiſhoppe of Canterburye and other of the noble menne and barons of the lande trauayled as diligentlye to procure the engliſhe people to receiue their othe of allegiance to be true to King Iohn: for the ſayde archbiſkoppe and William Marſhall Earle of Striguill being ſente ouer into Englande, as before you haue hearde, to proclaime him king, and to kepe the lande in quiet, aſſembled the eſtates of the Realme at Northampton, where Geffrey Fitz Peter Lorde chiefe Iuſtice was preſente with other of the nobles, afore whome thoſe lordes whoſe fidelities were earſt ſuſpected, wyllingly toke their othes of obedience to the newe King, and were aſſured by the ſame Lordes on his behalfe, that they ſhoulde finde him a liberal, a noble and a righteous Prince, and ſuche a one as woulde ſee that euery man ſhoulde enioy hys owne, and ſuche as were knowen to bee notorious tranſgreſſors, ſhould be ſure to receiue their condigne puniſhment. They ſent alſo Euſtace de Veſcye vnto William King of Scotlande, to ſignifie to him, that king Iohn vppon his arriuall into Englande, woulde ſatiſfie him of all ſuche right as hee pretended to haue within the Engliſh dominions. And thus was King Iohn accompted and proclaimed King of Englande by the generall conſente of all the Lordes and barons of the ſame. The names of the chiefe of thoſe peeres that were ſworne (as you haue hearde) are as foloweth. Dauid Earle of Huntingdon, brother vnto William king of Scots, Richarde Earle of Clare, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, William Earle of Tutebury, or rather Ferrers, Walran Erle of Warwik, Roger Lacye conſtable of Cheſter, and Williã de Mowbray, with diuers other whoſe names I heere omit, bicauſe I wold not be tedious & irkeſome to the readers. Now the king of Scotlande being enformed by the Lord Euſtace Veſcy (who had maried his daughter) that there was ſome hope to bee had on his parte, for the recouerie of ſuch ſeignories as hee and his predeceſſors ſometime helde in Englande, doth forthwith diſpatche ſundrie Ambaſſadours with ful purpoſe to ſende them ouer into Normandie vnto Kyng Iohn, there to require reſtitution of the countryes of Northumberlande, and Cumberlande, wyth their appurtinaunces, and he promiſed alſo by hys letters, that if the ſame might be graunted vnto him in as ample manner as they had beene in time paſt vnto his anceſtors, hee woulde gladly do his homage to King Iohn, as to the true and lawefull king of Englande, and further

Mat. Pa
The ſtates
ſembled at
Northam

Euſtace Ve
ſent into Sco
lande.

thermore yeelde to him his faithefull ſeruice againſt all men, ſo often as he ſhuld be required therevnto. Howbeit when the archebiſhoppe of Canterburie and the reſt of the counſell, vnderſtood that theſe ambaſſadors ſhuld paſſe thorow England, they would not ſuffer them ſo to do, but ſpeedyly ſent Dauid Earle of Huntington into Scotland vnto the king his brother, requiring him earneſtly yͭ he wold not ſend any ambaſſadors ouer as yet, but rather tarie, and take pacience a while, til the king ſhould come ouer into England: which (as they ſayd) he purpoſed to doe very ſhortly.

King Iohn alſo hauing vnderſtanding of his purpoſe, ſent ouer the ſaide Lorde Euſtace againe vnto him with the like requeſt, who in ſuche wiſe perſwaded him, that he was contented to abide a time, in hope of the better ſucceſſe in his late attempted ſute. And all this was don chiefly by the working of the kyngs mother, whome the nobilitie much honored and loued: for ſhe being bent to preferre hir ſon Iohn, left no ſtone vnturned to eſtabliſh him in the throne comparing oftentimes the differẽce of gouernment betwene a king that is a man, and a king that is but a childe. For as Iohn was .xxxij. yeres olde, ſo Arthur Duke of Britain was but a babe to ſpeake of.) In the end winning al the nobilitie wholye vnto hir will, and ſeeing the coaſte to be cleare on euery ſide, without any doubt of tempeſtuous wether likely to ariſe, ſhe ſignified the whole matter vnto Kyng Iohn, who forthwith framed all his endeuours to the accompliſhment of his buſines. Surely Quene Elianor the Kyngs mother was ſore agaynſt hir nephew Arthur, rather moued therto by enuye conceyued agaynſte his mother, than vpon any iuſte occaſion giuen in the behalfe of the childe, for that ſhe ſawe if he were King, howe his mother Conſtance would looke to beare the moſt rule within the realme of Englande, till hir ſonne ſhuld come to lawful age, to gouerne of himſelfe. So hard a thing it is to bring women to agree in one minde, their natures commonly being ſo contarie. When this doyng of the Queene was ſignified vnto the ſaide Conſtance, ſhe doubting the ſuretie of hir ſon, committed him to the truſte of the Frenche King, who receiuing him into his tuition, promiſed to defend him from all his enimies, and forthwith furniſhed the holdes in Britayne with French ſouldiours Queene Elynor being aduertiſed hereof, ſtode in doubt by and by of hir countrey of Guyenne, & therfore with all poſſible ſpeede paſſed the ſea, and came to hir ſonne Iohn into Normandie, and ſhortely after they wente forth togither into the countrey of Mayne, and there toke both the citie and caſtell of Mauns, throwing down the walles and turrets therof, with all the fortifications and ſtonehouſes in & about the ſame, and kept the Citizens as priſoners, bicauſe they had ayded Arthur againſt his vncle Iohn. After this, king Iohn entring into Aniou, held his Eſter at Beaufort (which feaſt fell that yere the .xviij. day of April,) and from thence he went ſtreyght vnto Rouen, where on the Sunday next after Eaſter, being Sainct Markes day, he was girded with the ſword of the duchie of Normandie in the high Churche there by the handes of Walter Archbiſhop of Rouen. And ſo being inueſted duke of Normandie, hee receiued the othe according to the cuſtome, that he ſhould defend the Church, and mayntеyn the liberties therof, ſee Iuſtice miniſtred, good lawes put in execution, and naughtie lawes and orders aboliſhed. In the meane tyme his mother Quene Elenor, togither with Captaine Marchades entred into Aniou, and waſted the ſame, bicauſe they of that countrey had receyued Arthur for their ſoueraigne Lord and gouernor. And amongſt other townes and fortreſſes, they toke the citie of Angiers, ſlewe manie of the Citezins, and committed the reſt to priſon. This enterpriſe beeing thus luckily atchieued, the reſidue of the people in thoſe parties were put in ſuche feare, that of their owne accord, they turned to their wonted obedience, ſeeming as though they woulde continue ſtill therin. The Frenche king all this while conceyuing an other exployte in his heade more commodious vnto him than as yet to attempt warre againſte the Engliſhmen vpon ſo lighte an occaſion, diſſembled the matter for a tyme, as thoughe he would know nothing of all that was

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The citie of
Mauns taken

Mat. Paris.
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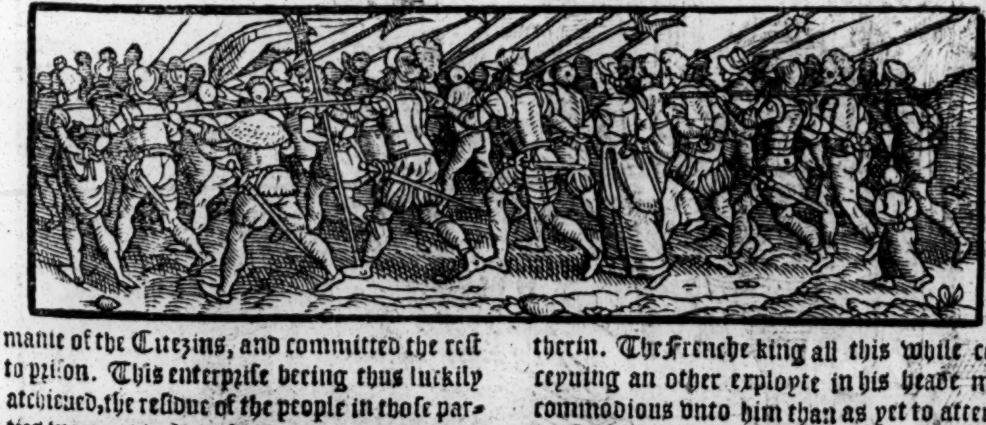
King Iohn in-
ueſted Duke o
Normandie.

The Citie of
Angiers take



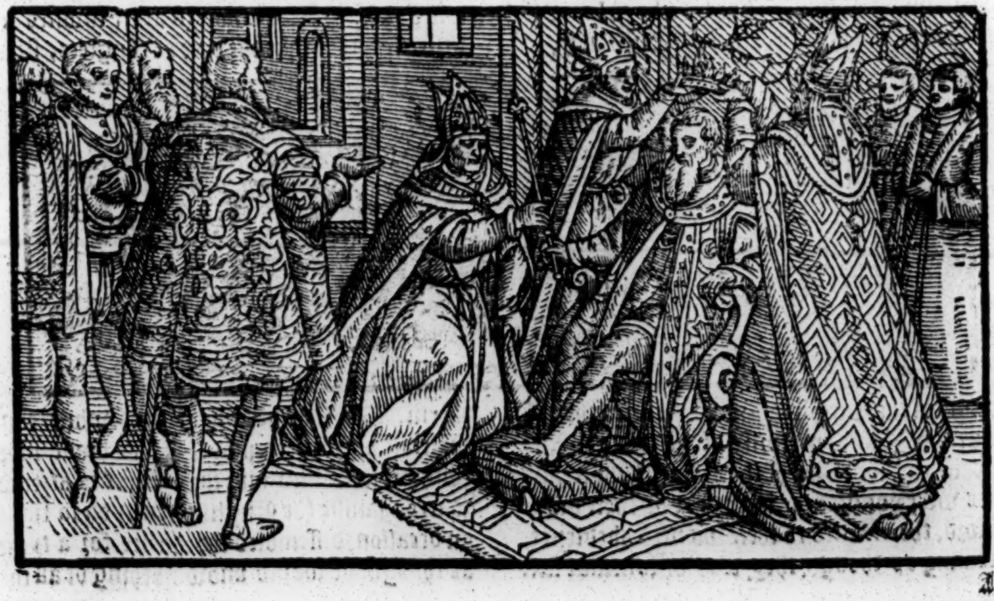
was done,til the king ſhould be otherwyſe occupied in England about his coronation.

King Iohn cōmeth ouer into Englande.

In the meane ſeaſon king John hauing ſette ſome ſtay in his buſineſſe on the further ſide of the ſea,he left his mother ſtil in Guienne to defend that countrey againſt the enimies,and taking the ſea,came ouer himſelf into England, landing at Shorehā, the.xxv.day of May. On the next day,being yͤ Aſcention euen,he cam to London, there to receyue the crowne. On the morow after,being the Aſcention day, whē the nobilitie and cōmons were aſſembled, and the king broughte into the Churche of S. Peter at Weſtmin.there to receiue his diademe. Hubert Archebiſhop of Canterbury being chief in authoritie and honor,both for his age and calling, ſpake theſe wordes or the like in ſubſtance before the whole aſſemblie:

The Archbi-
hop of Can-
terburies ora-
ion.

Moſt honorable Lordes of the ſpiritualtie, and moſt graue and politike peeres and barons of the temporaltie,you are come hither this day to chooſe you a king,and ſuche a one as(if need ſhould require)may be able of himſelfe to take ſuche a charge vpon him, and hauing taken it vpon him,to execute that which he ſhal think to be expediēt for the profit of his ſubiects:we haue therfore one preſent here amōg vs,vpon whom the hartes and good willes of high & lowe, riche and poore,do generally depend: a man I doubt not,but that for his owne parte, will applye all his whole endeuour, ſtudie, and thoughte vnto that only ende, whiche he ſhall perceyue to bee moſt profitable for the common wealth,as knowing himſelf to be borne not to ſerue his owne turne, but for to profite his countreye, and to ſeeke for the generall benefite of vs that are his ſubiectes. And albeit I am ſure that you doe well knowe how all theſe qualities are moſt abundantly plāted in the perſon of John duke of Normandie (a perſon of hygh prowes and no leſſe prudencie)for the which ye ought to iudge hym ryghte worthye of the gouernement: yet beeyng in doubte leaſte the common fame ſhould carrie you awaye, or leaſt you ſhoulde turne your myndes to the fauour of an other, as in reſpect of ſome better ryght, by title of a more lawfull deſcente of inheritaunce pretended by others than he hath to ſhewe, I require you to giue eare vnto my wordes: who bearyng the ſtate of two mauer of perſones, ought to be profitable to my countrey, not only by example and exhortation, but alſo by loyaltie and good counſell, whyche hytherto I haue euer ſtudyed to perfourme, and wherein (God willing) I meane to perſiſte, ſo long as I ſhall continue in this mortall & tranſitorie tabernacle. Therfore wheras at this preſent wee haue in hande to conclude vppon ſuche a weyghtie matter, which being once done, can not be vndone, I cōmend vnto you this John, euen with all my very hart, and iudge that you ought to accept him for your King, who in all things which he ſhall ordein,purpoſe,or take in hand, ſhal not fayle ſo to anſwere your opinions,with his well doyng, and to ſatiſfie youre good expectations alredy cōceiued of him with his diligent prouidence,that al the whole realm ſhall not only like of, and allowe your doings herein,but alſo with highe cōmendation extoll the ſame to the very ſtarres. Theſe things do I promiſe vnto you,and ſo farforth as in me may lye, I dare take vpon me all chances & perils yͭ may procede therof. Whē the Archb.had ended, diuers held their peace, & many with great zele ſaluted king John,whom the ſame day the ſaid Archebiſhoppe crowned at Weſtmynſter, after the manner,with great ſolemnitie, & no leſſe reioycing of all ſuch as were preſent.



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At the ſame time alſo, he receyued the homages of the Lords and Barons of the Realm, and promiſed with all ſpede, to haue conſideration of things that apperteyned as well to Religion, as to the due execution of lawes, whereby euery mã myght come to enioy that which was his owne, by right and due courſe of iuſtice. We fynde, that there were preſent at this ſolemnitie and Coronation of King John, whiche was celebrate on the Aſcention day the .27. of May, Archbyſhoppes and Byſhoppes to the number of ſeuenteene, as Hubert Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, John Archbiſhop of Dublin, alſo yͤ Archbyſhop of Raguſe, William Biſhop of London, Gilbert Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, John Biſhop of Norwich, Hugh Byſhop of Lincolne, Euſtace Byſhop of Elye, Godfrey Byſhop of Wincheſter, Henry Byſhop of Exetor, Sefride Biſhop of Chicheſter, Godfrey Byſhop of Couentry, Sauarie Byſhoppe of Bath, Herbert Biſhoppe of Sareſbury, Phillip Biſhop of Dureſme, Roger Biſhoppe of S. Andrew in Scotland, and Henry Biſhoppe of Landaffe in Wales.

Par.
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The Biſhop of Dureſme found himſelfe ſomewhat greeued in the matter, making obiections, that the Coronation ought not to bee celebrate withoute the preſence of Geffrey Archbyſhop of Yorke: but it preuayled not. Beſides theſe Biſhops, there were of the temporall Lords, theſe Erles, Robert of Leceſter, Richard of Clare. Willi. of Tutbury, Hamlin of Warren, William of Saleſbury, William of Chepſtow, otherwiſe called Strighuile, Walranne of Warwike, Roger Bigot, William of Arondell, & Ranulfe of Cheſter, with many other Barõs, Lordes, Knightes, and no ſmall multitude of Gentlemen and other common people.

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The ſame day of his Coronatiõ alſo, he inueſted Wi. Marſhal, wͭ the ſword of yͤ Erledome of Strighuile, & Geffrey Fitz Peter, with yͤ ſword of yͤ Earledom of Eſſex: for althogh they wer called Erles, & exerciſed yͤ adminiſtration of their Earledoms, yet were they not till that daye girded with the ſword of thoſe Earledomes, and ſo that day they ſerued at the table with theyr ſwords girded vnto them.

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In like manner, Hubert the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, was made Lord Chauncellour of England, who as he vttered ſome words vnaduiſedly, that ſhewed, how he inwardly reioiced of the Kings fauoure towarde him in the gifte of this office, the Lorde Hugh Bardolph ſaide vnto him, yet not ſo ſoftly in his eare, but yͭ ſome ouer heard it, my Lorde, to ſpeake and not offend you, ſurely if you would wel conſider the dignitie and honor of youre calling, you would not willingly yeelde to ſuffer this yoke of bondage to bee layde vppon youre ſhoulders, for wee haue oftentimes heard of a Chancellor made an Archbyſhop, but neuer an Archb. made a Chauncelloure till now.

Ambaſſadors from the king of Scottes.

The Coronation beeing thus ended, it was not long ere there came Ambaſſadors from the Scottiſhe Kyng, namely William the Prior of May, William the Prior of Sainte Colmes Ins, and one William Hay, the whiche on the behalfe of the ſaid Scottiſh Kyng, required reſtitution of Northumberlande and Cumberlande, with the appurtenaunces, promiſing, that if the ſame were reſtored to him, he would ſerue the K. of England with all his whole power agaynſt al men then aliue, otherwiſe, that is, if hee coulde not haue thoſe countreys, whiche of right to hym apperteyned by law, as he pretended, he would do the beſt he could, to recouer thẽ by force. K. John made aunſwere heereunto, that if his couſin the K. of Scottes would come vnto him, he ſhoulde bee aſſured to receyue at his hands all that was reaſon, as well in thoſe demaunds, as in all other things. Hee alſo ſente to him the Byſhop of Dureſme, to require him to come vnto Nottingham, where he would meete with him. Howbeit, K. William refuſed to come himſelf as then, but he ſent the B. of S. Andrewe, and Hugh Malebiſſe to follow his ſute, with promiſe to abſteyne from any forcible inuaſiõ of England, by yͤ ſpace of fortie days, ſo that he might within yͤ tearme haue ſome reſolute aunſwere frõ K. John, wherunto he might ſtãd eyther on the one ſide or on yͤ other.

Nic. Triuet.
The French K. inuadeth Normandy.

Whileſt theſe things wer a doing in England, Phillip King of Fraunce hauing leuyed an army, brake into Normandy, and tooke the Citie of Eureux, the Town of Arques, and diuerſe other places from the Engliſh. And paſſing from thence forthe into Mayne, recouered that countrey lately before through feare alienated. In an other part, an army of Britaines with great diligence wanne the Townes of Gorney, Butenant and Genſolin, and following the victory, tooke the Citie of Angiers, which King John had wonne from Duke Arthur, in the laſt yeare paſſed. Theſe things being ſignified to King John, he thought to make prouiſion for the recouery of

Rog. Houedē.

his loſſes there, with all ſpeede poſſible. And therevpon perceyuing that the Scottiſh Kyng meant not to meete with him at Nottingham whyther he was come, and where hee kepte the feaſt of Whitſontide, he determined to paſſe ẏ Seas ouer into Normandy: but firſte hee tooke order for the gouernemēt & defence of ẏ Realm in his abſence.

Lord William de Stuteuille.

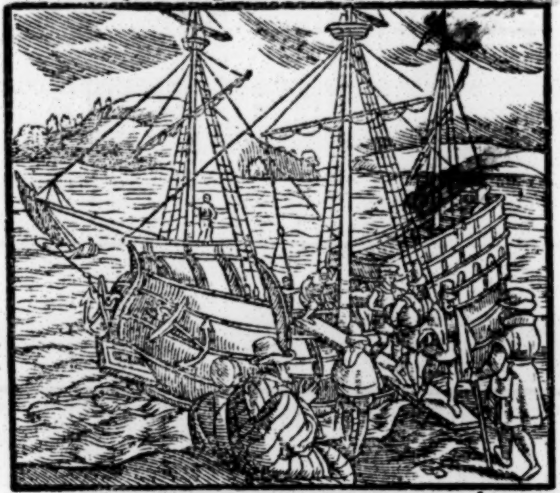
And therevpon, he deliuered ẏ charge of ẏ Counties of Northumberlād & Cumberland, vnto the Lord Wil. de Stuteuile, with all ẏ Caſtels, & other ẏ appurtenances which ẏ L. Hugh Bardolfe before held, & had in keeping.

Roger de Lacy Conneſtable of Cheſter.

He alſo deliuered vnto Roger de Lacy Conneſtable of Cheſter, ẏ Caſtel of Pomfret, hauing firſt ẏ ſonne and heire of the ſame Lacy deliuered vnto him as an hoſtage for his loyaltie & faithful obedience.

King Iohn paſſeth ouer into Normandy.

This done, he haſted vnto ẏ ſea ſide, and sayled ouer into Normandy, landing firſt at Diepe, and from thence went to Rouen, whether hee came vpon ẏ Sunday before Midſommer day, whiche was the. 26. of Iune as Harriſon hath noted.



A truce for fiftie dayes.

Immediately vpō his arriual in thoſe parties, there reſorted vnto him a greate number of Souldiers both horſemen & footmen, hoping to be enterteined, but by reaſon of Imbaſſadors riding too and fro betwixt the two Kings, they came to a communication, and tooke truce for fiftie dayes.

The Earle of Flanders. *Polidor.* The league renued betwixt England and Flanders.

The Earle of Flanders being certified thereof, was ſory in hys hart, and loth that ẏ French K. ſhuld come to any accord with the K. of England, and therefore to turne ẏ minde of K. Iohn from the purpoſe of peace, he came to viſit him at Rouen, where they renew the league betwixt England and Flaunders, to be the better able to defend themſelues frō the French power: and withall determine fully, ẏ immediately vppon the expiring of this laſt truce they would make the French King warre, to reuenge their late receyued iniuries. The Frenche K. aduertiſed by eſpials of their determination, prepareth alſo for the warres.

Rog. Houed. The Earle of Namure.

And in this meane time it chaunced, that Henry Erle of Namure, brother to Phillip Earle of Flaunders, and one Peeter of Doway, a right valiant Knight, with his brother that was the elect Biſhop of Cambrey, were taken Priſoners in a ſkirmiſhe, and preſented to the French K.

France interdited. Normandy interdited.

Wherevpon, the Cardinal of Capua, (being at the ſame time ẏ Popes Legate in Fraunce) enterdited that Realme for the taking of the ſame elect of Cambrey, and alſo all Normandy, for the deteyning of the Biſhop of Beauuoys in priſon, (who had laine there long time, and was taken in the fielde after ſuche maner as is before rehearſed) ſo that the French K. was glad to reſtore the elect of Cambrey to his libertie.

Rog. H

And likewiſe, K. Iohn deliuered the Biſhoppe of Beauuoys, who payed two thouſande markes, beſide expenſes of diet during the time of his captiuitie, and furthermore tooke an oth, that hee ſhoulde neuer after beare armour in the warre againſt any Chriſtian or Chriſtians.

Arthur Du of Britaine made Knig

About the ſame time alſo, K. Phillip made Arthur Duke of Britaine Knighte, and receiued of him his homage for Aniou, Poicters, Maine, Touraine, & Brytayne. Alſo ſomewhat before the time that ẏ truce ſhould expire, to witte, on the morrow after the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, and alſo the day next following, the two Kings talked by commiſſioners, in a place betwixte the Townes of Buteuant and Guletō. And within three days after, they came togither perſonally, and commoned at full of the variance depēding betwene thē.

The Fren Kings de

But the Frēch K. ſhewed himſelf ſtiffe and hard in this treaty, demanding all ẏ whole coūtrey of Veulqueſſin to be reſtored vnto him, as that which had bin granted by Geffrey Earle of Aniou, the father of K. Henry the ſecond, vnto Lewes le Groſſe, to haue his aide then againſt K. Stephē. Moreouer, hee demanded, that Poicters, Aniou, Maine, & Touraine, ſhould be deliuered & wholly reſigned vnto Arthur Duke of Britaine. But theſe, & diuers other requeſts which he made, King Iohn would not in any wiſe graunt vnto, and ſo they departed without concluſion of any agreement. Therefore dyuers Earles and Ba-

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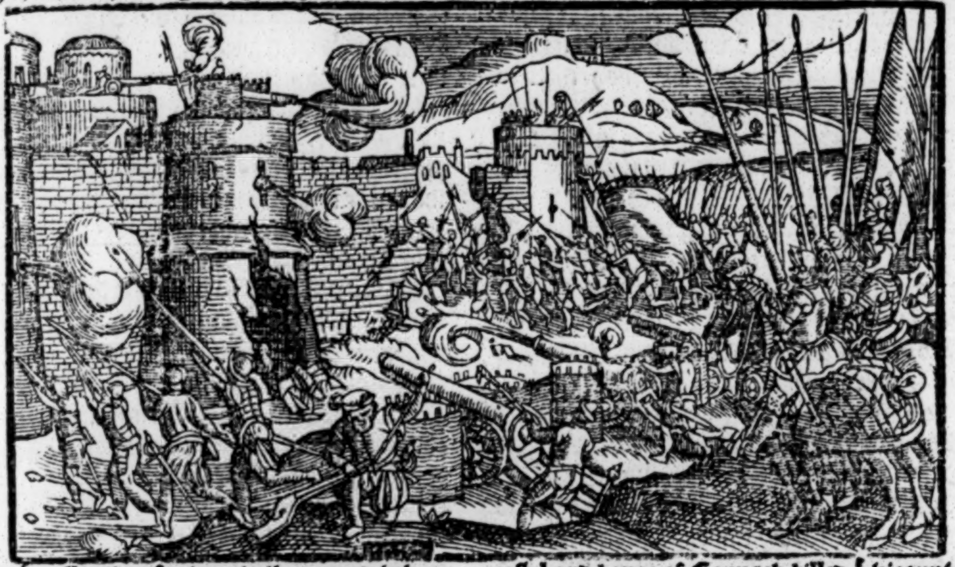

rons of Fraunce which before that time had ſerued Kyng Richard, repayred vnto King Iohn, and tooke an othe to aſſiſt him, and not to agree with the French King without his conſent: and hee likewiſe ſware vnto them, not to make peace with the Frenche King, except they were therein compriſed. In the moneth of September, Ioan King Iohns ſiſter, wife to Raymonde Earle of S. Giles, and ſometime Quene of Cicil, dyed at Rouen, and was buried at Fonteuerard. The French K. alſo tooke diuers Townes and Caſtels, but amongſt other, the Caſtell of Balun, & raced yͤ walles therof downe to the ground, wherwith William des Roches, generall of the army of Arthur Duke of Britaine, was greatly offended, and did ſo much by his drift, that ſhortly after, a peace was concluded betwixt Kyng Iohn, and his nephewe Duke Arthur, though the ſame ſerued but to ſmall purpoſe. The Frenche K. hauing (as I haue ſaid) ouerthrowen the walles of Balun, beſieged a fortreſſe called Lauardin, but K. Iohn comming with an army, cauſed him to raiſe his ſiege, and to withdrawe himſelfe to the Citie of Mauns, whither he followed, and compelled him mauger his force, to remoue frõ thẽce. All this while, was William des Roches buſily occupyed about his practiſe, to make K. Iohn & his Nephewe Arthur friendes, whiche thyng at length he brought about, and therevpon delyuered into King Iohns hands the Citie of Mauns which he had in keping. Alſo yͤ Vicont of Tours came to the K. of England, and ſurrendred vnto him the Caſtel of Chinon, the keeping whereof, he betooke vnto Roger de Lacy the Conneſtable of Cheſter: but in the night followyng, vpõ ſome miſtruſt and ſuſpition gathered in the obſeruatiõ of the couenants on K. Iohns behalfe, both yͤ ſaid Arthur, with his mother Cõſtance the ſayd Vicont of Tours, and diuers other, fledde away ſecretly frõ the K. and gote them to yͤ Citie of Angiers, where the mother of the ſaide Arthur refuſing hir former huſbande the Earle of Cheſter, married hirſelfe to the Lord Guy de Tours, brother to the ſaid Vicont, by the Popes diſpenſatiõ. The ſame yeare alſo Philip baſtard ſonne to K. Richarde, to whome his father hadde giuen the caſtel and honor of Coynack, killed yͤ vicount of Lymoges, in reuenge of his fathers death, who was ſlayne (as yee haue heard) in beſieging the caſtel of Chalus Cheuerell. Moreouer, there fell many great floudes in Englande, and on the borders of Scotland, by violence wherof, diuers bridges wer borne down, & amongſt other, the bridge at Barwike. For the buylding vp againe wherof, ſome variance roſe betwixt Philippe Biſhop of Dureſme & erle Patrike Lord chief Iuſtice of Scotland, and capitain at that time of the town of Berwike, who by the Scottiſh kings cõmandemẽt wold haue repared again the ſame bridge, which coulde not bee done, but that the one ende thereof, muſt be buylded on the biſhop of Durhãs ground, which he wold not ſuffer, til by the councell of the Lorde Williã de Stuteuile, he agreed, ſo that the conuention accorded and concluded betwixt the king of Scottes and his predeceſſour Biſhop Hugh might be reſerued inuiolate.

Balun wonne.

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Vicont
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Duke
ur had in
ncle
Iohn.

Phillip Kyng Richards baſtard ſonne, ſlewe the vicōt of Lymoges.

Great floudes.

Variance betwixt the Byſhop of Durham, and Earle Patricke.

Furthermore, king Iohn did ſet a rate vpõ the prices of Wine, as Rochel wine to be ſold for .xx. ß. the tonne, and not aboue. The wine of Aniou for .xxiiij. ß. the tonne, and no other French wynes aboue .xxv. ß. except it were of ſuche notable goodneſſe, as that ſome peraduẽture for their own expences, wold be contented to giue after .xxvj. ß. viij. d. for the tonne, and not aboue. Moreouer, the galon of Rochel wyne he appoynted to be ſold at foure pens: And the galon of white wine at .vj. pens. It was alſo ordeined, yͭ in euery citie, town & place wher wine was vſed to be ſold, there ſhuld be .xij. honeſt mẽ ſworn to haue regard yͭ this aſſiſe ſhuld not be brokẽ. And that if they found any

A rate of the prices of Wines.

Vintnor that ſhould from the piane ſel any wine by ſmall meaſures contrary to the ſame aſſiſe, his body ſhoulde bee attached by the Sherife, and deteyned in priſon, till other commaundemente were giuen for his further puniſhmente, and hys goodes ſeaſed vnto the Kings vſe. Furthermore, if any perſons were or ſhuld be found to buy and ſell by the hogſhead or tunne, contrary to this aſſiſe, they ſhould be committed to priſon, there to remaine, till other order were taken for thẽ: neyther ſhould there be any regrating of wines, that were brought into England. But this ordinance laſted not long, for the marchãts could not beare it, & ſo they fell to, & ſold white wine for eight d. the galon, & red or claret for ſixe d. K. Iohn alſo came ouer frõ Normãdy into England, and ther leuied a ſubſedy, taking of euery plough land thre s. And in the Lent ſeaſon following, he wente to Yorke, in hope to haue met yͤ K. of Scots there, but he came not, & ſo K. Iohn returned back and ſayled again into Normãdy, bycauſe the variãce ſtil depended betwene him & the king of Fraunce. And finally vpon yͤ Aſcention day in this ſecond yere of his raigne, they came eftſones to a cõmunication betwixte the Townes of Vernon and Liſle Dandely, where finally they concluded an agreement, with a marriage to be hadde betwixt Lewis yͤ ſon of K. Phillip. & the Lady Blanch, daughter to Alfonſo K. of Caſtell the eyght of yͤ name, and neece to K. Iohn by his ſiſter Elenor. In conſideration whereof, K. Iohn, beſides yͤ ſumme of thirtie thouſand markes in ſiluer, as in reſpect of dower aſſigned to his ſayd neece, reſigned his title to yͤ Citie of Eureux, & alſo vnto all thoſe Townes, which yͤ French K. had by warre taken from him, the Citie of Angiers only excepted, which Citie he receiued againe by couenants of the ſame agreement. The Frenche K. reſtored alſo to Kyng Iohn (as Rauſe Niger writeth) the Citie of Tours, and all the Caſtels and fortreſſes which he had takẽ within Touraine. And moreouer, receiued of King Iohn his homage for al the lands, fees & tenements which at any tyme his brother K. Richarde, or his father K. Henry had holden of him, the ſaid K. Lewis or any hys predeceſſors, yͤ quite claymes and marriages always excepted. The K. of England likewiſe dyd homage vnto yͤ French King for Britayne, and againe (as after ye ſhal heare) he receyued homage for the ſame countrey, & for the countie of Richmont of his nephewe Arthur. Hee alſo gaue the Erledome of Glowceſter, vnto the Earle of Eureux, as it were by way of exchange, for that hee reſigned to the Frenche King all right, title and clayme that might be pretended vnto the countie of Eureux. And thus by this concluſion of marriage betwixt the ſaide Lewis and Blanche, the right of K. Iohn went away, which he lawfully before pretended vnto the Citie of Eureux, and vnto thoſe Townes in the confynes of Berry, Chateau Roux or Raoul, Creſſy, & Iſſoldune, & likewiſe vnto the countrey of Veuxin or Veulqueſſine, whiche is a parte of the territory of Giſours: the right of all whych lands Townes and countreys was releaſſed to the Kyng of Fraunce by Kyng Iohn, who ſuppoſed, that by this affinitie and reſignation of hys ryghte to thoſe places, the peace nowe made, woulde haue continued for euer. And in conſideration thereof, hee procured furthermore, that the foreſayd Blanche ſhoulde be conueyed into Fraunce to hir huſband with all ſpeede. And that done, he returned again into Englande.

King Iohn returneth into Englande.

1200

A ſubſedie.

He ſayleth againe into Normandy.

An.reg.2.

A peace concluded with a marriage.

Math. Paris.

Rauſe Niger.

Polidor.

The K.com
meth backe
againe into
Inglande.

Certes this peace was diſpleaſant to many, but namely to the Erle of Flanders, who hereupõ making no accompt of K. Iohns amitie, cõcluded a peace with K. Philip ſhortly after, & ment to make war againſt the infidels in the eaſt parties. But by the chronicles of Flaunders it appereth, that the Erle of Flanders cõcluded a peace with the Frenche King in Februarie laſt paſt, before that king Iohn and the French king fell to any compoſition. But ſuch was the malice of writers in times paſt, which they bare towards K. Iohn, that whatſoeuer was done in preiudice of him, or his ſubiects, it was ſtil interpreted to chãce through his defalt, ſo as the blame ſtill was imputed to him, in ſo much that although many things he did peraduenture in matters of gouernemẽt, for yͤ which he may be hardly excuſed, yet to thinke that he deſerueth the .x. parte of the blame wherewith writers charge him, it might ſeme a great lack of aduiſed conſideration in them that ſo ſhuld take it. But now to proceed with our purpoſe.

Iaco. Mem

King Iohn being now in reſt from warres with foreyn enimies, began to make war with his ſubiects purſſes at home, emptying them by ſubſidies, taxes, and tallages, to fill his coffers, which alienated the mindes of a great number of them from his loue & obedience. At length alſo when he had got togither a great maſſe of money, he went ouer again into Normandie, where by Helias, Archbiſhop of Burdeaux, & the biſhop of Poictiers and Scone, he was diuorſed from his wife Iſabel, yͤ was the daughter of Robert erle of Glouceſter, bicauſe of the nereneſſe of bloud, as touching hir in the third degree. And after he maried Iſabel the daughter of Amery Earle of Angoleſme, by whome he had two ſonnes, Henry and Richard, & .iij. daughters, Iſabell, Eleanor and Iane.

Reg.Hou

K. Iohn is deuorced.

Mat.VV

Mat. Par.

Reg.Hou

Moreouer, about this time, Geffrey Archbyſhoppe of Yorke was depriued of al his manors, lands, and poſſeſſions, by the kings commandemẽt, directed to yͤ Sherife of Yorkſhire

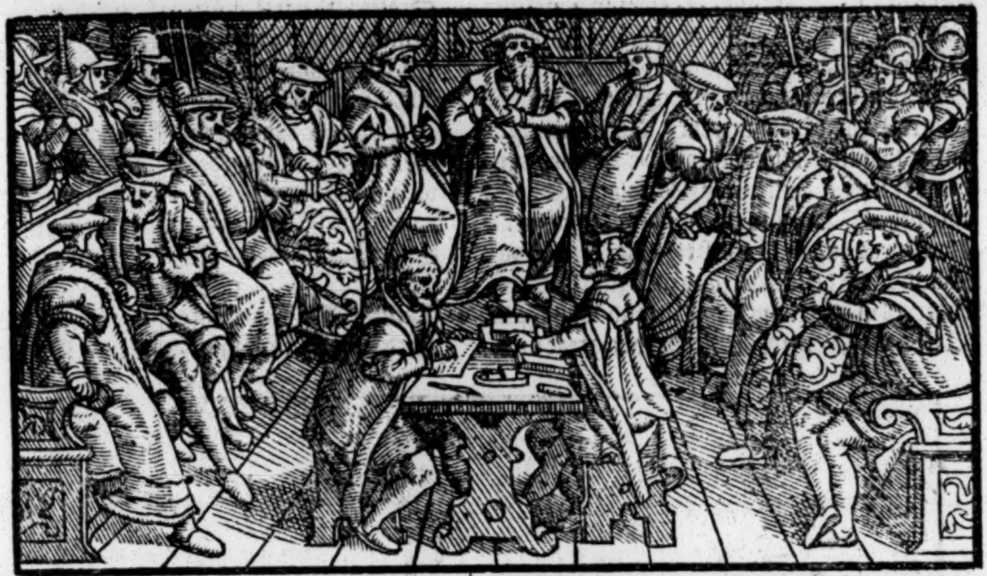
Mat. Par

Geffrey A
of Yorke
priued.

for diuers cauſes, for that he would not permitte yͤ ſame ſherife to leuie yͤ duty called Charugage, that was, three Shillings of euery plough lande within his dioceſſe, rated & appointed to be leuied to the Kyngs vſe, throughout all parties of the Realme. Againe, for that the ſame Archbyſhoppe refuſed to goe ouer with the Kyng into Normãdy to helpe to make the marriage betwixte the Frenche Kyngs ſonne and hys neece. Thyrdly, bycauſe hee had excommunicated the ſame Sherife and al the prouince of Yorke: whereupon, the Kyng tooke diſpleaſure againſt hym, and not only ſpoyled him (as I ſayde) of his goodes, but alſo baniſhed him out of the Court, not ſuffering hym to come in his preſence for the ſpace of twelue monethes after.

Rog. Houed.

A counſell called at Weſtminſter by the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury.



In this yeare alſo, Huberte Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury helde a Counſell at Weſtminſter agaynſte the prohibition of the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice Geffrey Fitz Peter Earle of Eſſex. In the which Counſell or Synode, dyuers conſtitutiõs were made and ordeyned for order and cuſtomes to be vſed touching the ſeruice and adminiſtration of Sacraments in the Churche, and other articles concerning Churchmen and eccleſiaſticall matters.

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lande.

About the ſame time, King Iohn and Phillip King of France met togither neere to the towne of Vernon, where Arthur Duke of Brytayne (as vaſſall to his vncle Kyng Iohn) did his homage vnto him for the Duchie of Brytayne, and thoſe other places whiche he helde of him on thys ſyde, and beyonde the riuer of Loyr, and afterwarde ſtill miſtruſting his Uncles curteſie, he returned backe againe with the French Kyng, and would not committe hymſelfe to hys ſaide Uncle, who as he ſuppoſed, did beare him litle good wil. Theſe things being thus performed, King Iohn returned into Englande, and there cauſed his newe married wife Iſabell to be Crowned on yͤ Sunday before the feaſt of Sainte Dioniſe, the eyght of October.

Iohn re-
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ned.

The ſame time, hee gaue commaundemente vnto Hugh Neuill hygh Iuſtice of his forreſts, that hee ſhould awarde his preceptes vnto al forreſters within the Realme, to giue warning to al the white Monkes, that before the Quindene of Saint Michaell, they ſhoulde remoue out of hys forreſtes all their horſes or haras, and other cattel, vnder the penaltie to forfeit ſo many of them, as after that daye chaunced to be founde within the ſame forreſtes. The cauſe that moued the K. to deale ſo hardly with them was, for that they refuſed to help him with money, when before hys laſt going ouer into Normandy, he demaunded it of them towardes the paymente of the thirtie thouſande pounde whiche hee hadde couenaunted to pay to the Frenche Kyng, to liue in reſt and peace, which he coueted to haue done for reliefe of hys people, and hys owne ſuretie, knowing what enimies he had that lay in waite to deſtroy him, and agayne, what diſcommodities had chaunced to his father and brethren, by the often and continuall warres. But nowe to proceede with other doings.

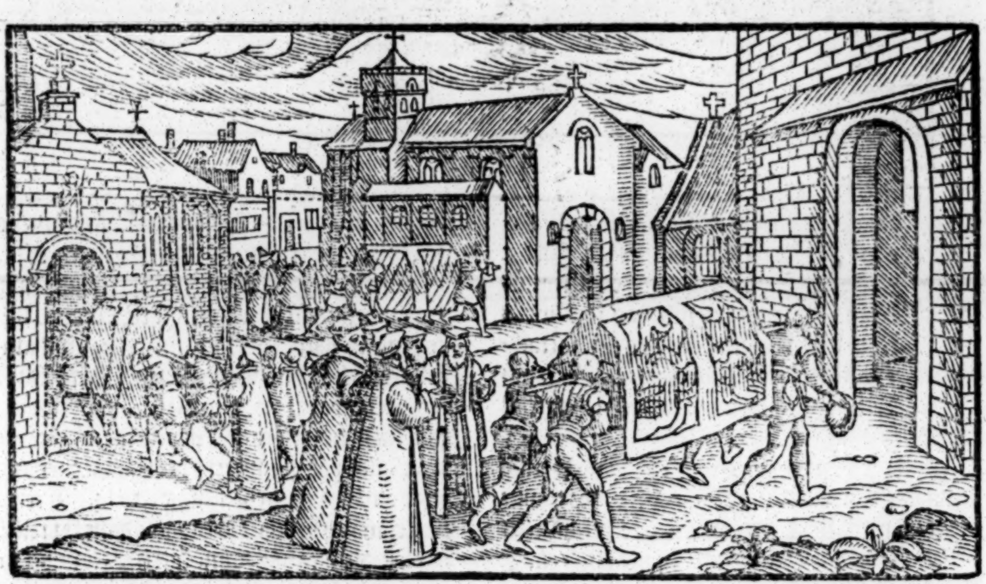
An ambaſſade ſent vnto the K. of Scottes.

Immediatly after the ſolemnization of the Queenes Coronation ended, hee ſente Phillippe Biſhoppe of Dureſme, Roger Bigot Earle of Northfolke, and Henry de Bohun Earle of Hereford, Nephew to William King of Scotland, and Dauid Earle of Huntington, brother to the ſame King, and Roger de Lacy Coneſtable of Cheſter, the Lorde William de Veſcy, and the Lord Robert de Ros, which had married two of the daughters of yͤ ſayd K. and Robert Fitz Roger Sherife of Northumberlãd, as Ambaſſadors from him vnto yͤ foreſaid William K. of Scotland, with letters patents, conteining a ſafe con-

The King of Scottes came to the King of Englande at Lincolne.
Math. Paris.
Ran. Higd.
Rog. Houed.
Polidor.

duit for him to come into England, and to meete with K. Iohn at Lincolne on the morrowe after the feaſt of S. Edmunde, who gladly graunted therevnto, and ſo according to that appoyntmēt, both yͤ kings met at Lincolne the. 21. day of Nouember. And on the morrow after, K. Iohn wēt to the Cathedrall Church, and offered there vpon the high Alter a chalice of golde. And yͤ ſame day, vppon a hill without the Citie, the Kyng of Scottes did homage vnto K. Iohn, in yͤ preſence and ſight of a great multitude of people, ſwearing fealtie of life, limme, and worldly honor vnto K. Iohn, whiche othe hee made vppon the Croſſe of Hubert Archb. of Caunterbury. There were preſent at that time, beſide other noble menne, three Archbyſhops, Caunterbury, Yorke, and Raguſe, with other Biſhops, to the number of thirtene, as Dureſme, London, Rocheſter, Elie, Bath, Saliſbury, Wincheſter, Hereford, Norwich, Saint Andrewes in Scotland, Landafe, and Bangor in Wales, and Meth in Irelād, beſide a great multitude of Earles, Barons, and other noble men. When the K. of Scottes had thus done his homage, hee required reſtitution of Northumberland, Cumberland and Weſtmerland, whych he claymed as his right and lawfull heritage. Much talke was hadde touching this matter, but they coulde not agree, and therefore King Iohn aſked reſpite to conſider of it till the feaſt of Pentecoſt next enſuing, which being graunted, the Kyng of Scottes the nexte morrow being the. 23. of Nouember returned homewardes, and was conducted backe agayne into his countrey by the ſame noble men that brought him to Lincolne.

The ſame day that the Kyng of Scots tooke his iourney homewardes from Lincolne, yͤ corps of Hugh, Biſhop of that Citie (lately before, departed this life at London, after his returne from the parties of beyonde the Seas,) was brought thither to be buried, the King, and al yͤ Byſhops, Earles and Barons went to receyue it, and honored his buriall with their preſence. On yͤ morrow after being Friday, hee was enterred within the new Church which he had builded.



This Hugh was a French man by nation, borne at Granople, a man of a pregnant witte, and ſkilfull both in ſcience of holy Scripture, and humane knowledge. He was firſt a regular Chanon, and after became a Cartuſian Monke. K. Henry the ſeconde moued with the fame of hys vertue and godly lyfe, ſent the Byſhop of Bath to bryng hym into Englande, and after he was come, made hym fyrſte Abbot of Whithing in the dioceſſe of Welles, and after created hym Byſhoppe of Lincolne. Hee was noted to bee of a very perfit and ſound lyfe, namely, bycauſe hee woulde not ſticke to reproue menne of theyr faultes playnely and frankely, not regardyng the fauoure or diſfauoure of anye manne, in ſo muche, that hee woulde not feare to pronounce them accurſed, which being the Kynges officers, woulde take vpon them the puniſhmente of any perſon within orders of the Churche, for huntyng, and kylling of the Kynges game within hys Parkes, Forreſtes, and chaſes, yea, and that which is more, hee woulde denye paymentes of ſuche ſubſedies and taxes as hee was aſſeſſed to pay to the vſes of Kyng Rycharde and Kyng Iohn, towardes the mayntenaunce of theyr warres, and dyd oftentymes accurſe by hys eccleſiaſticall authoritie, ſuch Sherifes, Collectors, or other officers, as dyd diſtrayne vppon hys landes and goodes for to ſatiſfye theſe Kyngs of their demands, alledging openly, that hee woulde not pay any money towards the maintenance of wars, whiche one Chriſtian Prince, vpō priuate diſplea-

A preſump
ous part i
Biſhop.

diſpleaſure and grudge made againſte another Prince of the ſame Religion. This was his reaſon, and when he came before the King to make aunſwere to his diſobedience ſhewed herein, hee woulde ſo handle the matter, partly with gentle admoniſhments, partly with ſharp reproofes, and ſometyme mixing merie and pleaſant ſpeeches amongſt his ſerious arguments, that ofttimes hee would ſo qualifie ẏ kings moode, that beyng deliuered from anger, he could not but laugh and ſmile at the Biſhops pleaſaunte talke, and merie conceytes. And this manner hee vſed, not only with the King alone, but with the father and the two ſonnes. That is to ſay, Henry the ſecōd, Richard and John, in whoſe tyme he liued, and gouerned the See of Lincolne. He was after his deceſſe for the opinion which men conceyued of his holynes and vertues, admitted into the number of the Saintes.

Yee haue heard howe K. John had conceyued no ſmall diſpleaſure againſte the Monkes of the white order, for that they would not depart with any money, excuſing themſelues, that they might not do it, without conſente of a generall chapiter of their order. Whervpon the King had cauſed them diuers wayes to be moleſted, but chiefly in reſtreyning them of libertie to haue any Horſes, or other cattell goyng to paſture within his forreſts. They therefore takyng aduice togyther, choſe forthe twelue Abbots amongſt them of that order, the which in all their names went to Lincolne, there to make ſute to the King (comming thither at this time to meete the King of Scottes) that it would pleaſe him to remitte hys diſpleaſure conceyued agaynſt them, and to take them agayne into his protection.

This ſute was ſo followed, although with ſome difficultie, that at length, to witte, the ſunday after that the King of Scottes had done his homage, through the help and furtherance of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, they came to ẏ kings ſpeeche, and obteyned ſo much, as they in reaſon might deſire: for he pardoned them of all his paſſed diſpleaſure, receyued them againe into his fauoure, toke them into his protection, and commaunded that all iniuries, greeuaunces and moleſtations ſhoulde bee reformed, redreſſed and amended, whiche in reſpect of his indignation had bin offered and done to them by any manner of meanes, and to ſee the ſame accompliſhed, writtes were directed vnto the Sherifes of the counties, bearing date from Lincolne the. 27. of Nouember. And thus were thoſe Monkes for ẏ time reſtored to the Kings fauour, to their great commoditie and comfort.

Moones.

Aboute the moneth of December, there were ſeene in the prouince of Yorke fyue Moones, one in the Eaſt, the ſeconde in the Weſt, the thyrde in the North, the fourth in the South, and the fifthe as it were ſet in the middes of the other, hauing many Starres aboute it, and went fiue or ſixe tymes in compaſſing the other, as it were the ſpace of one houre, and ſhortly after vaniſhed away.

The Winter after was extreamely colde, more than the naturall courſe had bin aforetime. And in the Spring time came a great glutting, and continuall rayne, cauſing the Riuers to riſe with hygher floudes, than they hadde bene accuſtomed.

1201

Mat Par.

An.reg. 3.

In the yere. 1201. Kyng John held his Chriſtmas at Guildforde, and there gaue to his ſeruauntes many faire lyueries, and ſutes of apparell. The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury dyd alſo the lyke at Caunterbury, ſeemyng in deede to ſtriue with the Kyng, whyche of them ſhoulde paſſe the other in ſuche ſumptuous apparrellyng of their men: wherat the Kyng (and not without good cauſe) was greatly moued to indignation agaynſte hym, although for a time hee coloured the ſame, going preſently into the North, where he gathered of the countrey there no ſmall ſummes of money, as it were by way of fyning them for theyr tranſgreſſions committed in hys forreſtes.

From thence he returned and came to Canterbury, where he held his Eaſter, which fell that yeare on the day of the Annunciation of our Lady, in the which feaſt, he ſate Crowned, togyther with hys wife Queene Iſabell, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury bearing the charges of them and their traynes whileſt they remayned there.

At the feaſt of the Aſcention nexte enſuing, Kyng John ſet out a proclamation at Tewkeſbury, that all the Earles and Barons of the Realme, and alſo all other that helde of him by Knightes ſeruice, ſhoulde be ready in the feaſt of Pentecoſt nexte enſuyng, with Horſe and armour, at Porteſmouth, to paſſe ouer with him into Normandy, who made their apperance accordingly. Howbeit, a great number of them in the ende gate licence to tarry at home, paying for euery Knightes fee two markes of ſiluer for a fyne, which then was a great matter. But he ſent before him into Normandy William Marſhall Earle of Striguill with an hundred Knights, or men of armes, which he had hired, and Roger de Lacye, with an other hundred men of armes to defende the confynes of Normandy againſte the enimies: and to his Chāberlain Hubert de Burgh hee delyuered the like number of Knyghtes or men of armes alſo, to keepe the marches betwixt England & Wales as Warden of ẏ ſame. This done, he pardoned his brother ẏ Archb. of York, & reſtored him to al his dignities, poſſeſſiōs & liberties, cōfirming ẏ ſame vnto him in as ful & large

Rog. Houed.

The Archb. of York reſtored.

manner, as euer Roger late Archbiſhop of yͤ See had and enioyed the ſame: for the whiche confirmation his ſayd brother vndertoke to pay to the King within the tearme of one yeare the ſumme of a thouſand pounds ſterling: and for the aſſurance thereof, engaged his barony to the King in pledge. Moreouer, about the ſame time, the Kyng ſent Geffrey Biſhoppe of Cheſter, and Richarde Malebiſſe, with Henry de Poyſy, vnto William King of Scotlande, requiring him, that the tyme appoynted for him to make aunſwere touchyng his demaund of Northumberland, might be prorogued vntill the feaſt of Saint Michael the Archangell next enſuing, whiche was obteyned, and then the King and Quene (being come to Portſmouth on the Monday in Whitſon weeke) toke the Sea to paſſe ouer into Normandy, but not both in one Ship, ſo that the Queene with a proſperous gale of winde, arriued there at hir owne deſire: but the Kyng was driuen by reaſon of a pirry, to take lãd in yͤ Iſle of Wight, and ſo was ſtayed ther for a time, howbeit, within a few days after, he toke ſhip again at Portſmouth, & ſo paſſed ouer into Normandy, wher ſhortly after hys arriuall in thoſe parties he came to an enteruewe with yͤ K. of Frãce, nere to Liſle Donely, where comming a lõg time togither alone, they agreede ſo wel, yͭ within thre days after, K. Iohn at the Frẽch kings requeſt went into France, and was receiued of him with much honor, firſt at S. Diniſe with Proceſſiõ of yͤ Cleargie, and there lodging one night, vpon yͤ morrow the Frẽch K. accompanied him vnto Paris, where he was receyued of yͤ Citizẽs with great reuerẽce, the Prouoſt preſenting vnto him in yͤ name of yͤ whole Citie many riche giftes to his welcome. K. Phillip feaſted him alſo in his owne Palace, and for his part gaue vnto him to his Lords and ſeruantes many great & princely giftes. Moreouer, the league at this time was renued betwixt them, & put in writing, with this caution, that whether of them firſt brake the couenaunts, ſuch Lords on his parte as were become ſureties for performãce, ſhuld be releaſed of their allegiance which they ought to him yͭ ſo ſhuld breake, & that they might therevpõ frely become ſubiects to yͤ other prince. Theſe things done, at length after that K. Iohn had remayned at Paris with greate mirth and ſolace certayne days, yͤ French K. brought him forth of the Citie & toke leaue of him in very louing wiſe. After this K. Iohn went to Chinon, & frõ thence into Normandy. About whiche time, there chanced ſome troubles in Ireland, for where Walter Lacy vnder pretence of a communication that was appoynted betwixt him and Iohn de Curcy, Lorde of Vlneſter, meante to haue taken the ſayd Curcy, and for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe ſet vppon him, ſlew many of his menne, and for hys ſafegard conſtreyned Curcy in the end to take a Caſtell which belonged vnto Hugh Lacy, vppon fayre promiſes made to him by the ſame Hugh, to be preſerued out of all danger, it came to paſſe, that when he was once gote in, he might no more be ſuffred to depart. For yͤ Lacies thought to haue deliuered him to K. Iohn, but the ſeruaunts and friends of the ſayd Curcy, made ſuch cruell warre in waſting and deſtroying the lands & poſſeſſiõs that belonged vnto the ſaid Walter & Hugh Lacyes, that finally they were conſtreined to ſet him againe at libertie whether they woulde or no. At the ſame time alſo, the kings of Fraunce & England gaue large money towards the maintenãce of yͤ army, which at this preſent went forth vnder the leading of the Earle of Flanders and other, to war againſt the enimies of yͤ Chriſtian faith, at yͤ inſtance of Pope Innocent. There was furthermore graunted vnto thẽ the fortith part of all the reuenewes belonging to eccleſiaſtical perſons, towards yͤ ayde of yͤ Chriſtiãs then being in yͤ holy land, & al ſuch as wel of yͤ nobilitie as other of the meaner ſort, which had taken vpõ them yͤ croſſe, & ſecretly laide it downe, were compelled eftſones to receyue it now again. There chanced alſo this yeare wonderfull tempeſts of thunder, lightning, hayle, & abundance of rayne, in ſuch wiſe, yͭ mens minds were greatly aſtonied therwith: meddows and marſh grounds were quite ouerflowen, bridges broken and borne downe, and greate quantitie of corne and hay loſt and carried away, & dyuers men and women drowned. Margaret mother of Conſtance, Duches of Britayne, ſiſter to William King of Scottes, and mother to Henry Boun Erle of Hereford, deceaſſed. This yere alſo by the councell and aduice of the Burgeſſes of London, there were choſen fiue and thirtie of the moſt ſubſtanciall and wiſeſt men, which after the report of ſome writers, were called the councel of the Citie of London, out of whiche number, the Maior and Bailifes were yerely choſen. In the yere. 1202. K. Iohn held his Chriſtmas at Argẽton in Normãdy, and in the Lent following, he and the French K. met togither, nere vnto yͤ Caſtell of Gulleton, and there in talke had betweene them, he commanded K. Iohn with no ſmall arrogancie, & contrary to his former promiſe, to reſtore vnto his nephew Arthur Duke of Britaine, all thoſe landes now in his poſſeſſion on that ſide the Sea, which K. Iohn earneſtly denied to doe, wherevpon the French K. immediately after, began war againſt him, & toke Buteuaunt Augi, and the Caſtel of Linos. Moreouer, he beſieged yͤ Caſtel of Radepont for yͤ ſpace of eight days, till K. Iohn came thither, & forced him to depart with much diſhonor. Howbeit after this, the Frẽch K. wan Gourney, & then returning to Paris, he appointed certaine perſons to haue yͤ gouernãce of yͤ

foreſaid

Ambaſſadors ſent into Scotlande.

The King paſſeth ouer into Normandy.

He commeth to talke with the Kyng of Fraunce.

King Iohn entreth into Paris.

The league renued.
Mat. Par.
Rog. Houed.

Walter Lacy meant to haue taken the lord Curcy.

Polidor.

Ayde ag
the Tur
and Infi

Mat.Pa

Vnſeaſo
weather.

Fabian.

Math. P
120

The Fren
K. begin
to make
againſt K
Iohn.

foreſaid Arthur Duke of Britain, & then ſent him forth with two C. men of armes into Poictou, yͭ he might bring yͤ countrey alſo vnder his ſubiection. Hereupon Hugh le Brun Erle of Marche (vnto whom Queene Iſabell the wife of King Iohn had beene promiſed in mariage before that king Iohn was motioned vnto hir, and therefore bare an inwarde diſpleaſure towards the king of England, for that he had ſo bereft him of his promiſed ſpouſe) being now deſirous to procure ſome trouble alſo vnto king Iohn, ioineth himſelf with Arthure Duke of Britaine, and findeth meanes to cauſe them of Poictou (a people euer ſubiect to rebellion) to reuolt from king Iohn, and to take armor againſt him, ſo that the yong Arthur being encouraged with this newe ſupplie of aſſociates, firſt goeth into Touraine, and after into Anion, compelling both thoſe countreyes to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and proclaymed hymſelf Erle of thoſe places, by commiſſion & graunt obteyned from king Philip.

Earle of

Poicta- reuolt frō Iohn.

re pro- eth him- Erle of u,&c.

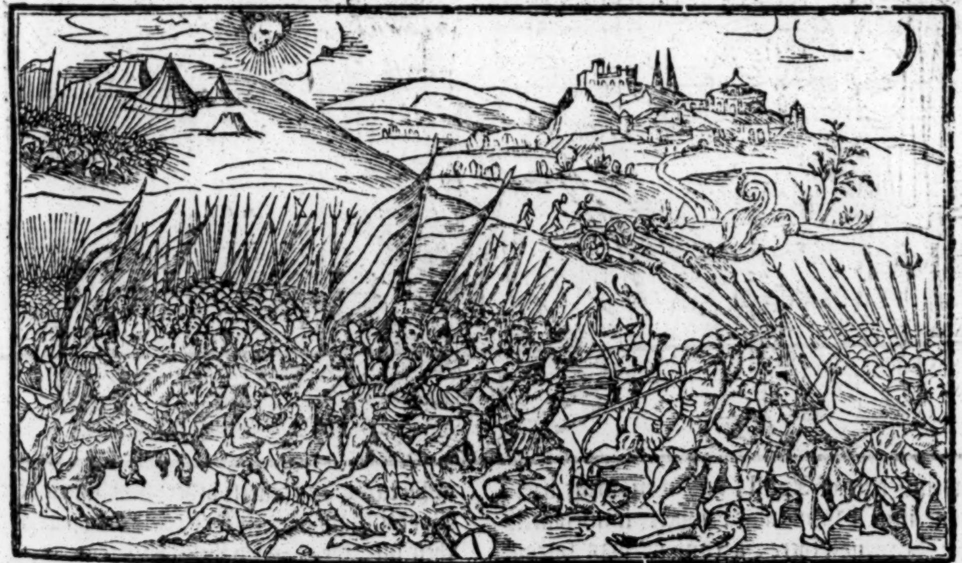
Queene Elenor that was Regent in thoſe parties being put in great feare with the newes of this ſodaine ſturre, getteth hir into Mirabeau a ſtrong towne, ſituate in the Countrey of Aniou, and forthwith diſpatcheth a meſſenger with letters vnto king Iohn, requiring him of ſpeedy ſuccor in this hir preſent daunger. In the meane time, Arthur ſtil following the victory, ſhortly after followeth hir, and winneth Mirabeau, where he taketh his grandmother within the ſame, whō he yet intreateth verie honorably, and with great reuerence (as ſome haue reported.) But other write farre more truly, that ſhee was not taken, but eſcaped into a Tower, within the which ſhee was ſtraytly beſieged. Thither came to ayd Arthur alſo, all the Nobles and men of armes in Poictou, & namely the foreſayd Earle of Marche according to appoyntment betwixt them. And ſo by this meanes Arthur had a great army togither in the field. King Iohn in the meane time hauing receyued his mothers letters, and vnderſtanding thereby in what daunger ſhe ſtoode, was maruellouſly troubled with yͤ ſtrangeneſſe of the newes, and with many bitter words accuſeth the French K. as an vntrue prince, & a fraudulent league breaker: and in al haſt poſſible ſpeedeth him forth, continuing his iourney for the moſte part both daye and night to come to the ſuccours of his people. To be briefe, he vſed ſuch diligence that hee was vpon his enimies necks ere they could vnderſtand any thing of his cōming, or geſſe what the matter ment, when they ſaw ſuch a companie of ſouldiers as he brought with him to approche ſo neare the Citie. For ſo negligent were they, that hauing once wonne the towne, they raunged abrode ouer the countrey hither and thither at their libertie without any care. So that now being put in a ſodaine feare, as preuented by the haſty comming of the enimies vppon them, and wanting leyſure to take aduice what was beſt to be done, and hauing not time in maner to get any armor on theyr backes, they were in a maruellous trouble, not knowing whether it were beſt for them to fight or to flee, to yeeld or to reſiſt. This their fear being apparant to the Engliſh men (by their diſorder ſhewed in running vp and downe frō place to place with great noyſe and turmoyle) they ſet vpon them with great violence, and compaſſing them round about, they either take or ſlea them in a maner at their pleaſure. And hauing thus put them all to flight, they purſue the chaſe towards the towne of Mirabeau, into which the enimies made verie great haſt to enter, but ſuch ſpeede was vſed by the Engliſh ſouldiers at that preſent, that they entred and wanne the ſayde towne before their enimies coulde come neare to get into it. Great ſlaughter was made within

ne Ele-

Par. VVest.

Polidor.

King Iohn cōmeth vpon his enimies not looked for.



Arthure duke of Brytaine taken priſoner.

Mat. Par.

Mirabeau it ſelfe, and Arthure with the reſidue of the army that eſcaped with life from the firſt bickering, was taken, who being hereupon committed to priſon, firſt at Faleyſe, and after within the Citie of Rouen, liued not long after as you ſhall heare. The other of the pryſoners were alſo committed vnto ſafe keeping, ſome into caſtels within Normãdie, and ſome were ſent into Englãd.

King Iohn hauing got this victorie, and taken his nephew Arthure, he wrote the maner of that his ſucceſſe vnto his Barons in England, in forme as followeth.

Iohn by the grace of God king of Eugland, and Lorde of Irelande, to all his Barons ſendeth greeting. Knowe ye that we by Gods good fauour are in ſounde and perfect health, and thorowe Gods grace that maruellouſlye worketh with vs, on Tueſday before Lammaſſe day, wee being before the Citie of Mauns, were aduertiſed that our mother was beſieged in Mirabeau, and therefore we haſted ſo faſt as we poſſible might, ſo that wee came thither on Lammaſſe daye, and there wee tooke our nephew Arthure, Hugh le Brun, Andrewe de Chauenye, the Vicont of Chateau Eralde, Reymonde de Tobars, Sauary de Mauleon, and Hugh Bangi, and all other enimies of Poictou that were there aſſembled agaynſt vs, to the number of two hundred knightes and aboue, ſo that not one of them eſcaped. Giue God therefore thankes, and reioyce at our good ſucceſſe.

De Caſtre Eralde.

252. knightes or men of armes beſide demelances.

The Frenche king at the ſame time lying at ſiege before Arques, immediatly vpon the newes of this ouerthrowe rayſed from thence, and returned homewardes, deſtroyed all that came in his waye, till hee was entred into his owne Countrey.

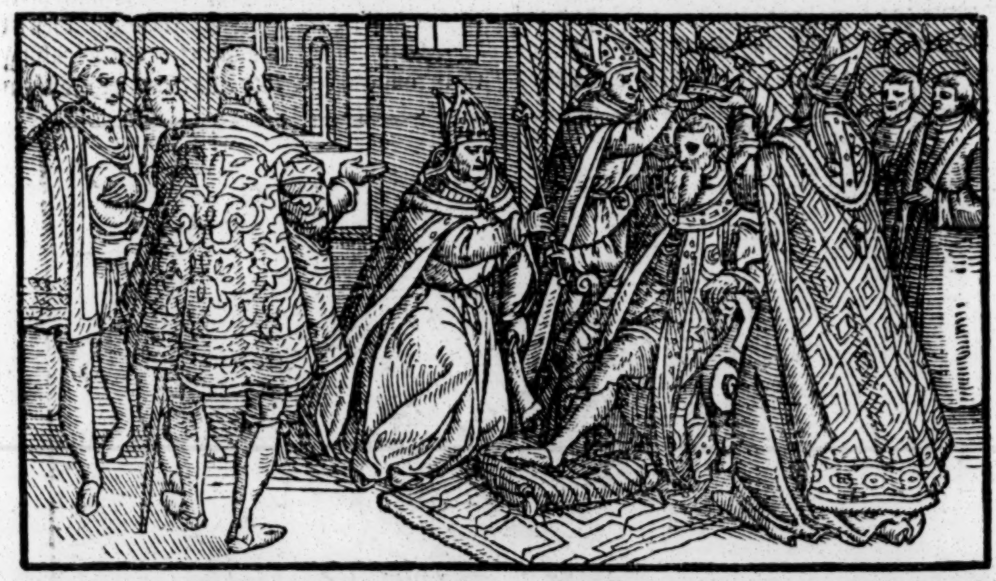
An.

It is ſayde that king Iohn cauſed his nephew Arthure to be brought before him at Falaiſe, and there went aboute to perſwade him all that hee coulde to forſake his friendſhip and alliance with the French king, and to leane and ſticke to him being his naturall vncle: but Arthur like one that wanted good counſel, and abounding too much in his owne wilfull opinion, made a preſumptuous anſwere, not onely denying ſo to do, but alſo cõmaunded King Iohn to reſtore vnto him the realme of Englande, with all thoſe other landes and poſſeſſions which king Richarde had in hys hand at the houre of his death. For ſith the ſame apperteyned to him by right of inheritance, he aſſured him except reſtitutiõ were made the ſooner, hee ſhoulde not long continue in reſt and quiet. King Iohn being ſore amoued with ſuch wordes thus vttred by his nephew, appointed (as before is ſayde) that he ſhoulde be ſtraytely kept in priſon, as firſt in Falais, and after at Roan within the new Caſtell there.

Mat.Pa

King Io
ſoone c
ned.

Thus by meanes of this good ſucceſſe, the Countreyes of Poictou, Touraine, and Anion were recouered. And ſhortly after king Iohn comming ouer into Englande, cauſed himſelfe to bee crowned agayne at Canterburie by the handes of Hubert the Archbiſhop there on the fourtenth day of Aprill, and then went backe agayne into Normandie, where immediatly vpon his arriuall there, a rumour was ſpredde through all Fraunce, of the death of his nephew Arthure. True it is that great ſute was made to haue Arthur ſet at libertie, as well by the Frenche king, as by William de Riches a valiant Baron of Poictou, and diuerſe other Noble men of the Brytains, who when they could not preuayle in their ſute, they banded themſelues togither, and ioyning in confederacie with Robert Erle of Alenſon, the vicont Beaumont, William de Fulgiers, and other, they began to leuie ſharp warres agaynſt King Iohn in dyuerſe places inſomuch



Rauſe Cog.

as it was thought that ſo long as Arthur liued, there woulde be no quiet in thoſe parties: wherevpon it was reported, that king Iohn through perſwaſion of his Counſellers appoynted certaine perſons to go vnto Falays where Arthure was kept in priſon vnder the charge of Hubert de Burgh, and there to put out the yong Gentlemans eyes. But through ſuch reſiſtance as he made agaynſt one of the tormenters that came to execute the kings commaundement (for the other rather forſooke their Prince and Countrey, than they would conſent to obey the kings commaundement herein) and ſuch lamentable wordes as he vttered, Hubert de Bourgh did preſerue hym from that iniurie, not doubting but rather to haue thankes than diſpleaſure at the Kinges handes, for delyuering hym of ſuch infamie as woulde haue redounded vnto his highneſſe, if the yong Gentleman had beene ſo cruellye dealt with. For he conſidered king Iohn had reſolued vpon this poynt onely in ſome furie, and that afterwardes vppon better aduiſement, hee woulde both repente himſelfe ſo to haue commaunded, and conne them ſmall thanke that ſhoulde ſee it put in execution: but yet to ſatiſfie hys mynde for the tyme, and to ſtaye the rage of the Brytains, he cauſed it to bee bruted abrode throughe the Countrey, that the kings commaundement was fulfilled, and that Arthure alſo through ſorrow and griefe was departed out of this life. For the ſpace of fifteene dayes, thys rumour inceſſauntly ranne through both the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and there was ryngging for hym through Townes and Villages, as it had bene for his funerals.

It was alſo bruyted, that his bodie was buryed in the Monaſterie of Saint Androwes of the Ciſteaux order. But when the Brytaines were nothing pacifyed, but rather kindled more vehemently to worke all the miſchiefe they could deuiſe in reuenge of their Soueraignes death: there was no remedie but to ſignifie abroade againe that Arthure was as yet lyuing and in health. And when the king heard the truth of all thys matter, he was nothing diſpleaſed for that his commaundement was not executed, ſithe there were diuerſe of hys Captaynes which vttered in plaine wordes, that he ſhoulde not finde knightes to keepe his Caſtelles, if he dealt ſo cruelly with his nephew. For if it chaunced any of them to bee taken by the king of Fraunce or other their aduerſaryes, they ſhoulde be ſure to taſt of the like cup.

But nowe touching the maner in very deede of the ende of this Arthur, wryters make ſundrie reportes: But certaine it is, that in the yeare next enſuyng, hee was remoued from Falais vnto the Caſtell or Tower of Rouen, oute of the which there was not anye that woulde confeſſe that euer he ſaw him aliue.

Some haue written, that as hee aſſayed to haue eſcaped out of priſon, and prouing to climbe ouer the walles of the Caſtell, hee fell into the Ryuer of Sayne, and ſo was drowned. Other write, that through verie griefe and languor hee pyned away, and died of naturall ſickneſſe. But ſome affyrme, that King Iohn ſecretely cauſed him to be murthered and made away, ſo as it is not throughly as yet agreed vpon, in what ſort hee finiſhed hys dayes: but verily King Iohn was had in great ſuſpition, whether worthily or not, the Lorde knoweth. Yet howe extreemelye ſoeuer he dealt with his nephew, diuerſe of thoſe Lordes that were taken priſoners with him he releaſed and ſet at libertie, namely Hugh le Brun, and Sauerye de Mauleon, the one to his greate trouble and hynderaunce, and the other to his gayne: For Hugh le Brun afterwardes leuyed and occaſioned ſore warres agaynſt hym, but Sauerie de Mauleon continued euer after hys faythfull and loyall ſubiect, doyng to him right agreeable ſeruice, as partly hereafter it maye appeare.

Guy ſonne to the vicont of Touars.

The Lord Guie, ſonne to the vicount of Touars, who had taken Arthurs mother Conſtance to wife, after the deuorce made betwixt hir & the Erle of Cheſter, in right of hir obteyned the dukedome of Britain. But king Philip after he was aduertiſed of Arthurs death, tooke the matter very grieuouſly. And vpō occaſiō therof, cited K. Iohn to appeare before him at a certain day, to anſwer ſuch obiections as Conſtance the duches of Brytain, mother to the ſaid Arthur, ſhould lay to hys charge touching the murther of hir ſon. And for bycauſe K. Iohn appeared not, he was therefore cōdemned in the Action, & adiudged to forfeite all that he held within the precinct of France, aſwell Normādy as all his other lands and dominions.

Conſtance the mother of duke Arthure accuſeth king Iohn.

Mat. Par.

The ordinance for the aſſiſe of breade.

About the ſame time the king cauſed a proclamation to bee publiſhed for the lawfull aſſiſe of breade to bee made by the Bakers, vpon payne to be puniſhed by the Pillorie. The which aſſiſe was approued and aſſeſſed by the Baker of Geffrey Fitz Peter, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England, and by the Baker of Robert de Tvinham. So that the Baker might ſell and gayne in euerye quarter three pence, beſide the bran, and two loues for the heater of the ouen, & for foure ſeruants foure halfpens, for two boyes a farthing, for allowance for ſalt an halfpeny, yeſt an halfpeny, for candell a farthing, for fewell three pens, and for a bulter an halfpeny. And this was the rate. When wheate was ſolde for .vj. ſhillings the quarter, then ſhall euery loafe of fine manchet wey .xlj. ß. and euery loafe of cheate ſhall wey .xxiiij. ß. Whē wheate is ſolde for .v. ß. vj. pens, then manchet

ſhall

ſhal wey.xx.ſhillings,and cheat.xxviij.ſhillings. When wheate is ſold.for fiue ſhillings,thẽ manchet ſhall wey.xxiiij. ſhillings, and cheate breade xxxij.ſhillings. When wheate is ſold for foure ß. vj.d. Manchet ſhal wey xxxij.ß.and cheate.xlij. ſhillings. When wheate is ſolde for foure ſhillings,manchet ſhall wey.xxxvj.ß.& cheate. xlvj. ſhillings. When wheate is ſolde for three.ß. ſixe pence, then ſhall manchet wey.xlij.ſhillings,and cheate.liiij.ſhillings. When wheate is ſolde for three ſhillings,manchet ſhall wey. xlviij. ß. and cheate.lxiiij.ß.When wheate is ſolde for two. ß. ſixe pence, manchet ſhall wey. liiij. ß. and cheate lxxij.ß.When wheat is ſold for two.ß.manchet ſhall wey.lx. ſhillings, and cheate foure pound. When wheate is ſold for.xviij.pence the quarter, Manchet ſhall wey.lxxviij. ſhillings, and cheate foure.℔.viij.ß. This ordinance was proclamed throughout the Realme, as moſt neceſſarie and profitable for the common wealth.

Great tẽpeſts.

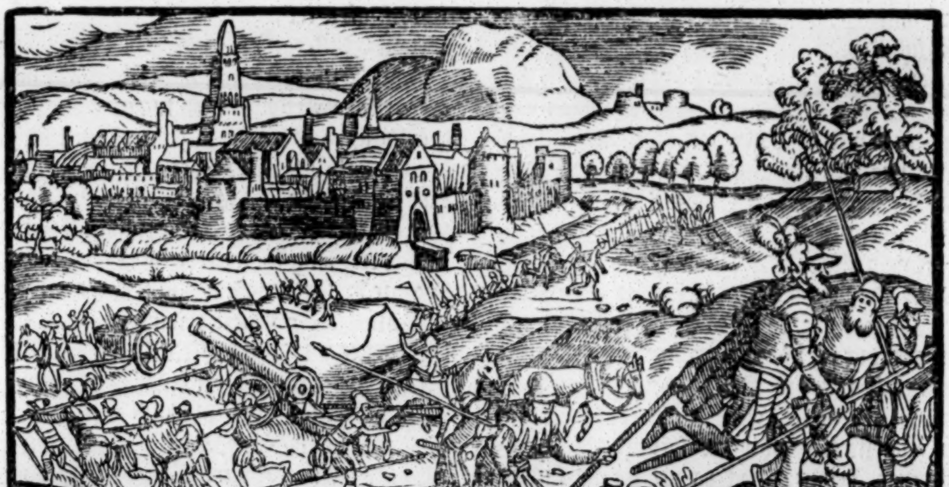
This yeare many wonderfull things happened. for beſides the ſore winter which paſſed any other that had beene heard of in many yeares before,both for continuance in length, and extreme coldneſſe of froſtes, there followed griſely tempeſtes,with thunder, lightning, and ſtormes of raine, and haile of the bigneſſe of hennes egges, wherewith much fruites, and much corne was periſhed,beſides other great hurt done vpõ houſes and yong cattel.Alſo ſpirites(as it was thought) in likeneſſe of byrdes and foules were ſeene in the ayre fleeing with fire in their beakes, wherewith they ſet diuerſe houſes on fire whiche did import great troubles ere long to enſue,and followed in deed,as ſhal appere hereafter.

120 Mat. Pa

With this entrance of the yeare of our Lorde. 1203.King John helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Caen, where not hauing (as ſome wryters ſay) ſufficient regarde to the neceſſarie affayres of hys warres, he gaue his mynde to banquetting, and paſſed the tyme in pleaſure wyth the Queene his wife, to the great griefe of his Lordes, ſo that they perceyuing his retchleſſe demeanour (or as ſome write, the doubtfull myndes of the Nobilitie whiche ſerued on that ſyde, and were readie dayly to reuolt from his obedience) wythdrew theyr dutifull heartes from him,and therefore gettyng licence, they returned home into Englande.

An. re

In which meane tyme the French King, to bring his purpoſe to full effect, entred into Normandie, waſted the Countreys, and wanne



Mat. Par.
Polidor.
The French k. inuadeth Normandie.

the townes of Cowches, le Val de Rueil, and Liſle Dandele. Le Val de Rueil,was giuen ouer without any great enforcement of aſſault,by two Noble men that had charge thereof, the one named Robert Fitz Walter, and the other Sacr de Quincy.Howbeit Liſle Dandeley was valiãtly for a certaine tyme defended by Roger de Lacie the Coneſtable of Cheſter. But at length they within were ſo conſtrayned by famin and long ſiege,that the ſayd Lacie and other perceyuing it to be more honourable for thẽ to die by the ſword than to ſtarue through want of foode; brake out vpon theyr enimies, and ſlue a great ſorte of the French men, but yet in the ende they were taken priſoners, and ſo theſe Fortreſſes came into the French kings hands.

Roger de
Coneſtab
Cheſter

The Pope hearing of theſe variances betwixt the two Kings, ſent the Abbot of Caſiner into France,accompanied with the Abbot of Troyſſons to moue them to a peace.

The Pop
deth his
into Fra

Theſe two Abbottes tooke ſuche paynes in the matter, that the Kings were almoſt brought to agrement. But the Frenche King perceyuing himſelf to haue a forehand in his buſineſſe, ſticked at one article, which was, to repayre agayne all ſuch Abbays as he had deſtroyed within the dominions of King John: And King John to doe the lyke by all thoſe that hee hadde waſted within the French kings Countreys.

The Popes *Nuncy* woulde haue excommunicated king Philip, bycauſe he woulde not thus agree. But king Philip appealing from them, purſued the warre, and beſieged the Towne of Radpont. The Souldiers within the towne defended the firſt aſſault verie manfully, and cauſed the Frenchmen to retyre backe: but king Philip meaning to haue the towne ere hee departed, did ſo incloſe it about, that within tenne dayes he wanne it, and tooke there twentie menne of armes, an hundred demilances, and twentie Arcbaleſters.

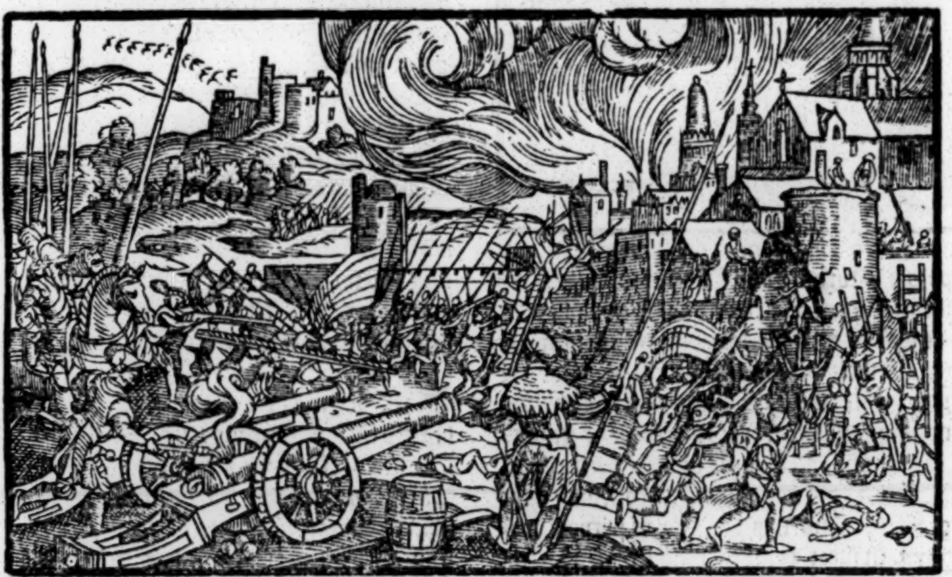
Radpont won.

After this, when hee had fortifyed this place, he went to Caſtel Galiard, which he beſieged (and though by the high valiancie of Hugh de Gourney the Captayne there, the French men were manfully beaten backe, and kept out for a month and more, yet at length by ſtrayte ſiege and neare approches hardily made, the fortreſſe was deliuered into the French kings handes. And in the ende the ſayde Hugh Gourney reuolted from his obedience, delivering alſo the Caſtell of Mountforte vnto the Frenche King, whiche Caſtell with the honour thereto apperteyning king John had giuẽ to the ſame Hugh, not very long before.

Caſtel Galiard

Mat. Paris.

Hugh de Gourney reuolteth from king Iohn.



And all this while king John did lie at Rouen: but forasmuch as he coulde not well remedie the matter as then, bycauſe he wanted ſuch helpe as he dayly looked for out of England, and durſt not truſt any of that ſide, hee paſſed it ouer with a ſtoute countenance for a while, and woulde ſaye oftentymes to ſuch as ſtoode about him, what elſe doth my couſin the French king nowe, than ſteale thoſe things from me, whiche hereafter I ſhall indeuour my ſelfe to cauſe him to reſtore with intereſt? But when hee ſawe that his enimies would ſtill proceede, and that no ayde came out of Englande, he came ouer himſelfe, and landed at Porteſmouth on Saint Nicholas day.

King Philip doubting by vſing the victorie with too much rygour, leaſt he ſhoulde bring the Normans into a deſperate boldneſſe, and ſo to cauſe them for ſafegarde of theyr lyues to hazarde all vpon reſiſtance, he ſtayed for a tyme, & withdrewe his ſouldiers backe agayne into Fraunce, hauing not onely furniſhed thoſe places in the meane tyme whiche he had wonne, with ſtrong garniſons of his ſouldiers, but alſo appointed certain perſonages to trauaile with the people, yet remaining in the Engliſh ſubiection, to reuolt & turne frõ K. John, to his obeyſance & ſubiection.

King John being returned into England, accuſed diuerſe of his nobles for ſhewing thẽſelues negligent and ſlouthful in ayding him, according to his commaundement, alledging furthermore, that being deſtitute of their due and requiſite ſeruice, he was cõſtrayned to loſe his tyme in Normandie, as not being able for want of their ayde to reſiſt his enimies. Wherfore for this and other matters layd to their charges, he did put them to grieuous fines. By meane wherof, and by leuying of a ſubſedie of his people, he got togither an huge ſumme of money. This ſubſedie was graunted to him in Parliament holden at Oxford, and begon there vpon the ſeconde of Januarie. 1204. wherein of euery knightes fee was graunted the ſumme of two Markes and an halfe. Neyther were the Biſhops, nor the Abbots, nor any other eccleſiaſticall perſons exempt, by meanes wherof he came firſt into the hatred of the Cleargie, and conſequently of many other of his ſubiects: ſo that they failed him at his neede, whereby he often ſuſteined no ſmal damage, as after it may appeare.

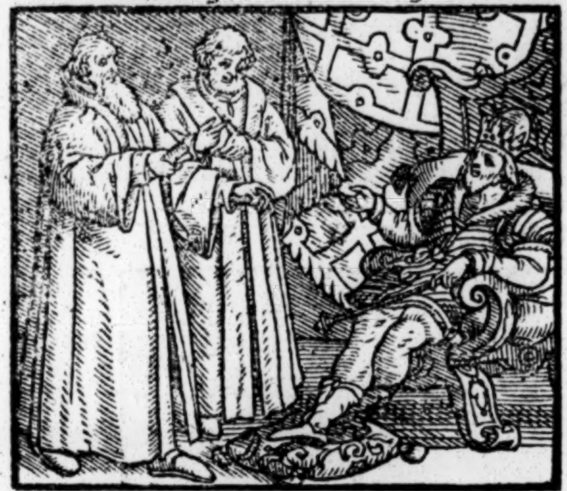
Math. Paris.

A Parliament at Oxforde.

1204

A ſubſedie graunted.

This yere the ayre toward the north and eaſt parties ſeemed to be on a bright fire for the ſpace of .vj. houres togither. It beganne about the firſt watch of the night, the firſt of Aprill.



An. Reg. 6.

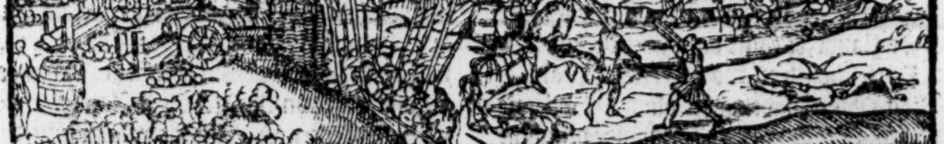
Raufe Cog.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Frāce

King John about the beginning of thys ſixt yere of his raigne, ſent in Ambaſſage to the Frēch King the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhoppes of Norwich and Elie, the Earles Marſhall and Leyceſter, to treate wyth him of peace: but he was ſo farre off from comming neare to any reaſonable motions, bycauſe he ſawe the worlde frame as hee wiſhed, that ſtill by demaunding ſomewhat that might not be graunted, he kept off, and brought in ſuche hard conditions, that it was not poſſible to conclude anye agreement. And this hee dyd of purpoſe, hoping within ſhort tyme to conquer all that the king of Englande poſſeſſed as yet on that ſyde the Seas.

He was the more vntowarde to compounde, for that he was informed how Arthure the Duke of Brytayne was diſpatched out of hys lyfe, and therefore not doubting but to haue many to take part with him in ſeeking reuenge of his death, he made that his chiefe quarell, ſwearing that he woulde not ceaſſe to purſue the warre agaynſte King John, till hee had depriued him of hys whole Kingdome. So the Ambaſſadors departed wythoute all hope to come to anye agreement.

Thys yeare Eaſter day fell ſo high as it poſſibly might, that is to witte, on Saint Markes day.



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King Philip vnderſtanding that king John remayned ſtill in Englande, rather occupyed in gathering of money amongſt his ſubiects, than in making other prouiſion to bring them into the fielde (to the greate offence of hys ſayde people) thought nowe for his parte to loſe no tyme: but aſſembling a mightie armie, hee came with the ſame into Normandie, and vpon his firſt comming, hee wanne the Towne of Falayſe, and ſhortly after was Dampfront deliuered vnto him by ſurrender. This done, he marched further into the Countrey, and with his ſodaine inuaſion ſo oppreſſed the people euery where, that they coulde haue no time to make ſhift by flight to get into the townes. With this ſwiftneſſe of ſpeede, hee brought alſo ſuche a feare into the heartes of moſte menne, that hee wanne all the Countrey of Normandie euen vnto Mounte Saint Michaell. The inhabitants in euery place ſubmitting themſelues, as thoſe of Bayeulx, Cōſtances, Liſeux, and other townes there aboutes. Finally, he came before Rouen, the principal Citie of all the Countrey, and incamped ſo in ſundrie places about the Citie, that all the iſſues, entryes and wayes, were cloſed vp by his armie, being ſo deuided into ſeuerall campes, that the diſtance was not great from one to another, making a terrible ſhew to them within. At length after he had prouided all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, and taken good aduice of his captaynes how he ſhoulde beſt imploy his force for the winning of this Citie, (in which exployte he knewe the full perfection of al his paſſed conqueſts, chiefly to conſiſt) he did manfully aſſault it, and they within as manfully defended themſelues, ſo that he got little by the aſſaultes and approches which he made. Wherevpon he fell in hande to practiſe with the Citizens to winne them wyth meede, curteſie, gentle ſpeeche, and great promiſes. At length they within were ſo moued with ſuch reaſons as he vſed to perſwade them withall, that they made requeſt for a truce to bee had for certaine dayes, wythin the tearme whereof if no ſuccor came, they couenanted to yeeld without any further trouble.

This truce being obteyned, Ambaſſadours

were ſent from them of Rouen into England, to ſignifie vnto king John the whole ſtate of the citie, and of the truce, ſo that if ayd came not within the tyme appoynted, the Citie muſt needes be deliuered into the enimyes handes. The king hauing no armie in readyneſſe to ſende ouer, nor other ſhyft to make for the ſuccour of the Citie, permytted the Ambaſſadours to depart wythout comfort of any ayde, who hereupon returning to Rouen, and reporting what they hadde hearde, ſeene, and founde, brought the Citie into great ſorrowe. For whereas that Citie had euer beene accuſtomed to glorie for the greate loyaltie and faythfull fidelitie whiche the ſame had euer ſhewed towardes theyr liege Lordes and naturall Princes, nowe the Citizens perceyued manifeſtly, that vnleſſe they woulde caſt awaye themſelues, and loſe all they had, they muſt of force yeelde into the handes of theyr enimyes. Wherefore yet to make theyr true allegiance more apparant to the worlde, they stayed the ſurrender as long as they had anye ſtore of vittayles wythin the Citie to relieue theyr fainting bodies withall. And ſo in the ende vanquiſhed with hunger, they ſubmitted themſelues to the French king. Theyr ſubmiſſion being once knowne, cauſed all thoſe other townes whiche had not yeelded, to delyuer vp theyr Keyes vnto the Frenche men, as Arques, Vernueill, and other.

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king.

Moreouer the townes in Poictou, Tourain, & Aniou, which lately before king John had recouered, do now again (being in no ſmal feare) yeeld themſelues vnto king Philip: ſo that of all the townes within thoſe Countreys there remayned none vnder the Engliſh obeiſance, ſaue only Rochelle, Tours, Niorth, and a few other. And thus Normãdy which king Rollo had purchaſed and gotten. 316. yeares before that preſent time, was then recouered by the Frenchmen, to the great reproche and diſhonour of the Engliſhe, in this yeare. 1204.

Mat. Par.

About this time, Queene Elenor the mother of king John departed this life, conſumed rather through ſorow and anguiſh of minde than of any other naturall infirmitie.

By Rauſe Cogheſhals report this ſhould ſeeme to haue chanced in the dayes of king Henrie the ſeconde.

A fiſh like to a man.

In this firſt yeare of king Johns raigne, at Orford in Suffolke, as Fabian hath (although I thinke he be deceiued in the time) a fiſh was taken by fiſhers in their nettes as they were at ſea, reſembling in ſhape a wilde or ſauage man, whõ they preſented vnto Sir Bartholmew de Glanuille knight, that had then the keeping of the Caſtell of Orford in Suffolk. Naked he was, and in all his limmes and members reſembling the right proportion of a man. He had heares alſo in the vſual parts of his body, albeit that on ỷ crown of his head he was balde: his beard was ſide and rugged, and his breaſt verie hearie. The knight cauſed him to be kept certaine dayes and nightes from the ſea. Meate ſet afore him he greedily deuoured, and eate fiſhe both raw and ſodde. Thoſe that were rawe he preſſed in his hande tyll he had thruſt out all the moyſture, and ſo then he did eate them. Hee woulde not, or coulde not vtter any ſpeeche, although to trye him they hung hym vppe by the heeles, and myſerably tormented him. He woulde get him to his Couche at the ſetting of the Sunne, and ryſe agayne when it roſe.

One day they brought him to the hauen, and ſuffered him to go into the ſea, but to be ſure hee ſhould not eſcape from them, they ſet three ranks of mightie ſtrong nettes before him, ſo to catche him againe at their pleaſure (as they ymagined) but he ſtreyght wayes dyuing downe to the bottome of the water, gotte paſt all the Nettes, and comming vppe ſhewed himſelfe to them againe, that ſtoode wayting for him, and dowking dyuerſe tymes vnder water and comming vp agayne, hee behelde them on the Shore that ſtoode ſtill looking at him, who ſeemed as it were to mocke them, for that he had deceyued them, and gotte paſt theyr Nettes. At length after hee had thus played him a great while in the water, and that there was no more hope of hys returne, he came to them againe of his owne accorde, ſwimming through the water, and remayned wyth them two Monethes after. But finally, when hee was negligently looked to, and nowe ſeemed not to bee regarded, hee fledde ſecretelye to the ſea, and was neuer after ſeene nor heard of.

This much out of Rauſe Coggeſhall, who affyrmeth that this chaunced in the dayes of Henrie the ſeconde, aboute the. xxxiij. of hys raigne, as John Stowe in his Summarie hath alſo noted.

Iohn Stow.

The warre was mightily mainteyned all this while betwixt them of Poictou and Aquitayne, and many ſharpe encounters chaunced betwyxt the partyes, of which the one following the king of Englandes Lieutenaunt Robert de Turnham, valiantly reſiſted the other that helde wyth the French king vnder the conduct of William des Roches, and Hugh le Brun erle of Marche, chiefe leaders of that faction. But Robert de Turnham, togyther with Sauaric de Mauleon, and Gerarde de Atie, bare themſelues ſo manfully, that in all conflictes for the moſt part, the victorie remayned on their ſides.

The Gaſcoignes alſo tooke part with king John, and continued in dutifull obedience towardes him, for the which theyr loyaltie, he was readie to conſider them with princely gyftes, and beneficiall rewardes, in ſuch bountifull wiſe, that hee gaue vnto a Noble man of that Countrey named Moreue, the ſumme of. xxviij. thouſande Markes to leuie and wage thirtie thouſande men to ayde hym at his comming ouer into thoſe partyes.

The Archbiſhop of Burdeaux, that was brother vnto the foreſaid Moreue, became ſuretie for performance of the couenants, and remayned in England a long time, bycauſe the ſame couenãts were not in all poynts accompliſhed.

The Biſhop of London was ſent Ambaſſadour from king John vnto the Emperour vpon certaine earneſt buſineſſe. The Duke of Louayne, and the Earle of Bollongne were made friendes by the French Kings drift, and promiſed to inuade Englande wyth an armye, and to make warre agaynſt King John for the withholding of ſuche landes and reuenues as they claymed to be due vnto them, in right of theyr wyues.

King Philip alſo vndertooke to follow them within a Month after they ſhould be entred into Englande, and thus did the French king ſeeke to make him ſtrong with friends, which dayly fell from king John on eche hande. Godfrey biſhop of Wincheſter, that was ſonne to the Lorde Richard de Lucy departed this life.

1205

This yeare the King was on Chriſtmaſſe day at Teukeſburie, where hee ſtayed not paſt one day.

An extreeme froſt.

The. xiiij. day of Januarie it began to freeſe, and ſo continued tyll the. xxij. of Marche, wyth ſuch extreemitie, that the huſbande men coulde not make their tilth, by reaſon wherof in the Sommer following corne began to grow to an exceſſiue price, ſo that wheate was ſolde by the quarter at. xij. ß. of money then currant.

An. Re
Polidor.
Mat.Pa
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This yeare about the feaſt of Pentecoſt, the king by the aduice of his Counſell aſſembled at Northampton, prepared a nauie of ſhippes, muſtred ſouldiers, and ſhewed great tokens that hee woulde renue the warre, and ſeeke to be reuenged of his enimie the French king.

The Nobles of the realme endeuoured themſelues alſo to matche the diligence of the king in this preparation, vpon an erneſt deſire to reuenge the iniuries lately done to the common wealth. And when all things were readie, and the ſhippes fraught with vittayles, armour, and al other prouiſions neceſſarie, the King came to Porcheſter, there to take the Sea, purpoſing verily to paſſe ouer into Fraunce, in hope of ſuche fayre promiſes as his friendes of Normandie and Poictou had made, in ſending oftentymes to him, to procure him wyth ſpeede to come to theyr ſuccours. But nowe euen as the king was readie to enter a Shipbourde, Hubert Archbyſhop of Canterburie, and William Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke came to hym, and with many greate reaſons went aboute to perſwade him to ſtaye hys iourney. And although he was very loath to follow theyr counſaile, yet they put forth ſo manye doubtes and daungers that myght follow of his departing the Realme at that preſent, to the hazarding of the whole ſtate, that in the ende (ſore to his griefe) hee was ouercome by theyr importunate perſwaſions, and ſo diſmiſſing the moſte part of his armie, he appoynted his brother the Earle of Saliſburie with a certaine number of knights and men of armes to paſſe ouer into Rochell, whither was gone before hym the Lorde Geffrey the Kings baſe Sonne, wyth many other Knightes alſo and men of armes.

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home.

The Lordes and other that were diſmiſſed, tooke it verie euill, conſidering the great preparation that had bin made for that iourney. But ſpecially the Mariners were ſore offended, curſing the Archbiſhop, and the ſayde Earle of Pembrooke, that were knowne to bee Authours of ſo naughtie counſayle as they tooke this to be.

It was thought there was neuer ſo many ſhippes got togither at one tyme before, as were at that preſent, to haue attended the King: for (as wryters haue recorded) there were to the number of fourteene thouſande. Mariners that had brought theyr Shippes thyther for that purpoſe. But as the breaking vp of this voyage grieued others, ſo it pynched the King ſo neare the heart, that hee beeing come backe from the Sea ſide to Wincheſter, repented ſo muche that he had not gone forwarde with his iourney, that the next day he returned again to the coaſt, and at

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Porteſmouth, entring the ſea with his ſhips, on the .xv. of July he ſailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe for the ſpace of two dayes togither, till by aduice of his friendes, he was perſwaded not to aduenture to paſſe ouer, ſithe his armie was diſmiſſed and gone home, and ſo hee returned backe to the Shore againe, arriuing at Stodlande, neare vnto Warham the thirde day after his ſetting forth: yet ſuch as were behynde, and haſted after him, thought verily he had beene gone ouer, and ſuche a bruyte was ſpredde ouer all, tyll at length in tyme the truthe was knowne.

At his comming backe (as ſome write) hee charged certaine of the Nobilitie wyth treaſon, bycauſe they did not follow him: wherevppon ſhortly after he puniſhed them ryght grieuouſly, and peraduenture not withoute ſome grounde of iuſt cauſe. For likelye it is, that ſome greater matter there was, that forced him to breake vp his iourney, than appeareth in our wryters, although Rauſe Cogheſhall ſetteth downe ſome reaſons alledged by the Archbiſhoppe Hubert, and Earle Marſhall, to perſwade him not to depart the Realme: But peraduenture other cauſes there were alſo of farre more importaunce that conſtreyned hym ſo greatly agaynſte hys mynde and full reſolution, both at the firſt, and nowe at thys ſeconde tyme to returne. Verily to vtter my coniecture, it maye bee that vppon hys laſte determination to goe ouer, hee gaue newe commaundement to hys Lordes to followe hym, and they peraduenture vſed not ſuche diligence in accompliſhing hys pleaſure therein, as hee looked they ſhoulde haue done: or it may be, when the armie was once diſcharged, the Souldiers made ſuche haſte homewardes, eche man towardes hys Countrey, that it was no eaſie matter to bryng them backe againe in anye conuenient time. But howſoeuer it was, as it had beene vppon a chaunge of purpoſe, hee came backe agayne (as before yee haue hearde.)

The death of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. *Mat. Par.* *Polidore.*

The .xiij. of July Hubert Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, departed this life at Tenham, the king not beeing greatlye ſorie for his death (as ſome haue wrytten) bycauſe hee gathered ſome ſuſpition that hee bare too muche good will towardes the French king.

In verye deede (as ſome wryte) the Archebiſhop repented himſelfe of nothing ſo muche, as for that he hadde commended King John vnto the Noble menne and Peeres of the Realme, ſith hee proued an other manner manne than hee looked to haue founde hym. Thys Archebiſhoppe hadde gouerned the See of Canterburie eleuen yeares, eight monethes, and ſixe dayes.

An Archb. choſen.

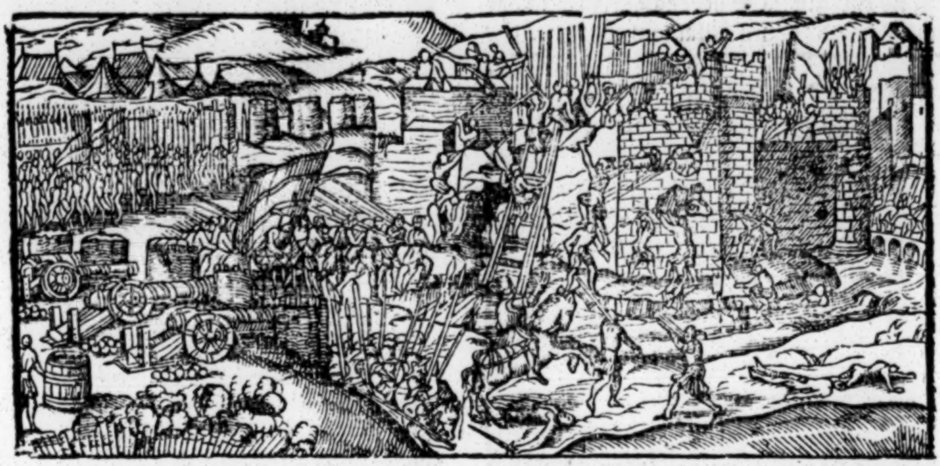
After his deceaſe, the Monkes of Canterburie without knowledge of the King, choſe one Reginalde the Subprior of theyr houſe to bee theyr Archbiſhoppe, who ſecretely wente vnto Rome to obteyne his confirmation of the Pope, which thing bred much miſchiefe and great diſcorde betwixt Pope Innocent, and king John, ſince the Pope woulde not confirme the election, bycauſe he ſawe ſome peece of ſecrete practiſe, till he might vnderſtand and be certified by report of ſufficient witneſſe (for that he wanted the letters commendatorie from the king) that the ſame election was lawfull and orderly made. Of thys delay alſo the Monkes being ſpeedily aduertiſed, and to the end they might now recouer the kings fauor whom they had verye ſore offended in not making him priuie to the firſt election, they make requeſt vnto him, that by his nominatiō it might be lawful for them to chooſe an other Archbiſhop. The king gladly hereunto aſſented, requiring thē to graunt their voyces vnto John Gray the Biſhop of Norwich, being both his Chaplaine and preſident of his Counſaile. The Monkes to gratifie the king, obeyed his requeſt, and ſo electing the ſame Biſhop of Norwiche, they ſent theyr procurators to Rome in the yeare following, to ſignifie the ſame vnto the Pope, and to requyre him to confirme this their ſecond election, as vnmindfull of their firſt, and clearly adnihillating the ſame to all intents and purpoſes. Amongſt other that were ſent to Rome about this buſineſſe, Helias de Brantfield was one, a Monk of great eſtimation, and had in good credite with the king, who miniſtred vnto thē that were thus ſent, ſufficient allowance wherwith to beare theyr charges. Alſo at the ſame time the Biſhops that were Suffragans to the Sea of Canterburie, ſent their procurators vnto Rome aboute a quarell whiche they had againſt the Monkes there, for that the ſame Monkes preſumed to proceede to the electiō of an Archbiſhop without their conſent, hauing (as they alledged) a right by ancient decrees and

Mat. VVeſt. Iohn Gray Biſhop of Norwich preſident of the counſel. *Math. Paris.*

Helias de Brantfield.

The Biſhops quarell with the Monkes of Canterburie about the election of an Archbiſhop.

cuſtomes to bee aſſociate with them in the ſayde electiõs. But how this matter was anſwered, ye ſhall ſee hereafter. In the meane time, yͤ theſe and other like things procured the Pope to reiect both the elections, and of his owne authoritie to nominate the thirde perſon, whereby the trouble begon was not a little augmẽted (as you ſhal heare hereafter) nowe whileſt theſe procurators were thus occupied in Rome, Philip the French king mynding to cõquer all that which king Iohn yet held within France, aſſembled an army, and cõming before the towne of Loches, wanne it, and toke



Gerard de Atie and Robert de Turnham taken priſoners

Gerarde de Atie priſoner, that had ſo long time, and with ſuch valiancie defended it. The ſame time alſo, was Robert de Turnham taken priſoner, who with great manhode had all this while repreſſed and chaſtiſed the rebellious Poictouins.

Hubert de Burgh a valiant Captaine.

Moreouer after that the French king had won Loches, he went to Chinon, within the whiche Hubert de Burgh was Captaine, a right valiant mã of war as was any wher to be foũd, who hauing prepared all things neceſſarie for defence, manfully repulſed yͤ Frenchmen, which inforced thẽſelues to win yͤ town with cõtinuall aſſaults & alarmes, not ſuffring them within to reſt neyther day nor night, who yet for certaine dayes togyther, by the valiant encouragement of theyr captain defended the towne, with greate ſlaughter of the Frenchmen. But neuertheleſſe, at length beginning to deſpayre by reaſon of their inceſſant trauaile, certaine of thẽ that were ſomwhat faint hearted, ſtale ouer the walles in the night, & ranne to the French men, and for ſafegard of theyr liues inſtructed them of the whole eſtate of the towne.

Polidor.

Chinon taken by force of aſſault.

The Frenche vnderſtanding, that they wythin were in no ſmall feare of themſelues, with ſuche violence came vnto the walles, and renued the aſſault vpon all ſides, that ſtreight wayes they entred by force. A great number of Engliſhmen were taken, and amongſt other their Captain the foreſayd Hubert de Burgh. [This chaunced on the vigill of S. Iohn Baptiſt.]

After this, King Philip toke diuerſe other townes & Caſtels in that Country, of the which ſome hee razed, and ſome he fortified and ſtuffed with garniſons of his ſouldiers. This done hee paſſed ouer the Riuer of Loyr, and wan a caſtell ſituate neare vnto a promontorie or heade of land called Grapelitũ, which was wont to bee a great ſuccor to the Engliſhmen arriuing on that coaſt.

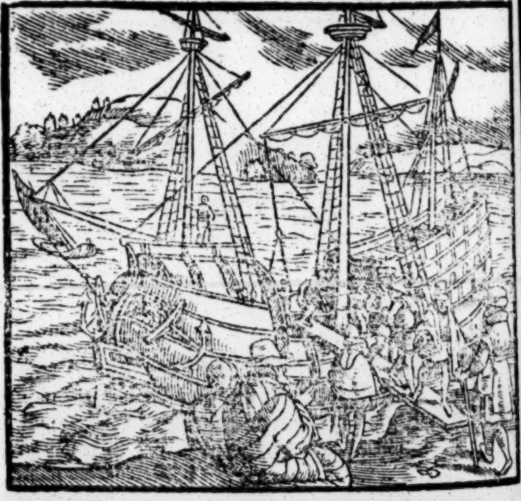
The occaſion why he made warres thus to the Brytaines, was (as ſome write) for that Guy Duke of Brytayne, who had maried the Duches Conſtance, and ſucceded in the Duchie after hir ſonne Arthure, without regarde to reuenge the death of the ſame Arthure, was ioyned in league with K. Iohn togither, with Sauare de Mauleon, and Almerick de Buſignian, Lords of great honor, power, and ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke.

12

An.

King Iohn alſo in this meane while, moued with the increaſe of theſe his newe aſſociates, and alſo with deſire to reuenge ſo many iniuries and loſſes ſuſteyned at the French kings handes, preparing an armie of men, and a nauie of ſhippes, toke the ſea with them and landed at Rochel the

Polidor



ninth of Iuly, where he was receyued with great ioy and gladneſſe of the people, and no ſmall number of Gentlemen, and others that inhabited thereaboute repayred vnto him, offering to ayde hym to the vttermoſte of theyr powers. He therefore wyth aſſured hope of good ſpeede departed from thence, and wanne the Towne of Montalban, wyth a great part of all the Countrey thereaboutes.

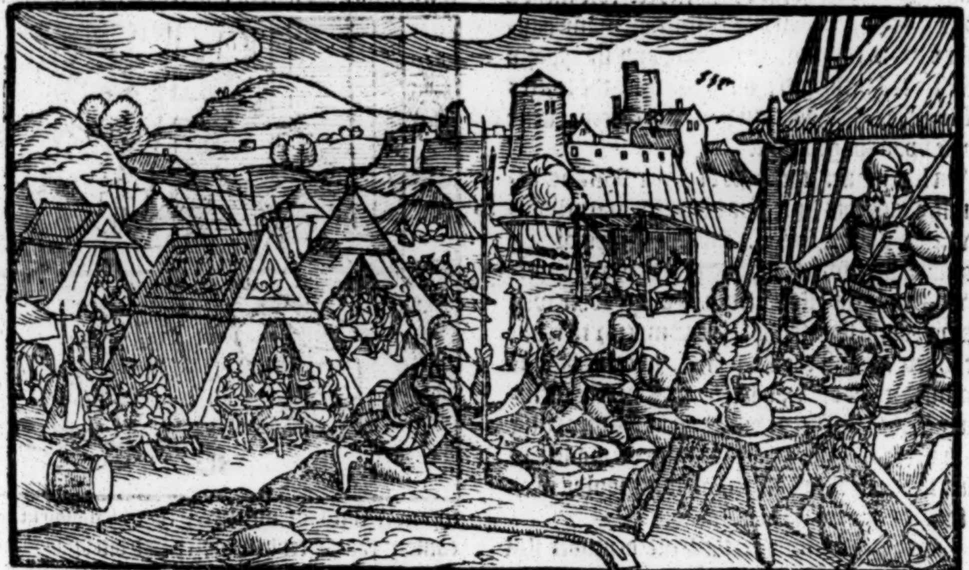
Finally, he entred into Aniou, and comming to the Citie of Angiers, appoynted certaine bandes of his footmen, and al his light horſemen to compaſſe the towne about, whyleſt he, with the reſidue of the footmen, and all the men of armes, did goe to aſſaulte the gates. Which enterpriſe with fyre and ſworde he ſo manfully executed, that the Gates being in a moment broken open, the Citie was entred and delyuered to the Souldiers for a pray.

The Citizens were ſome taken, and ſome killed, and the walles of the Citie beaten flatte to the grounde. This done, he went abrode into the Countrey, and put all things that came in his way to the like deſtruction. So that the people of the Countreyes next adioyning, came of their owne accorde to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, promiſing to ayde hym with men and vittayles moſt plentifully.

King Iohn beeing verie ioyfull of this good ſucceſſe, marched towardes Poictou, ſending forth his troupes of horſemen to waſt the Countrey on euery ſide. In the meane while the French K. being hereof aduertiſed, came forth with his army ready furniſhed to reſiſt K. Iohn, and by the way encoũtred with ẏ duke of Britain, Sauary de Mauleon, & Americk de Luſignian, which had bin abrode to ſpoyle the French kings countries. But being now ouerſet with the kings puiſſãce, they were taken, and all their company ſtripped out of their armor, to their great confuſion.

The duke of Britaine and other of King Iohns friends ouerthrowne.

This miſhap ſore weakened the power and courage of King Iohn. But the French King proude of the victorie, kept on his iourney, and approching neare vnto the place where King Iohn was as then lodged, did cauſe his tentes to be pitched downe for the firſt night.



And on the morrowe after, as one deſirous of battaile, brought his army forth into the fieldes, raunged in good order, and readie to fight.

The like did King Iohn, ſo that wyth ſtoute ſtomackes and egre myndes, they ſtoode there in the fielde readie to trye the matter with dynt of ſworde vpon ſounde of the warning blaſt gyuen by the Trumpettes. When by the mediation of certaine graue perſonages, as well of the ſpiritualtie as of the temporaltie, which were in good eſtimation with both the Princes, a communication was appoynted, which tooke ſuch effect, that a truce was taken betwixt them for the terme of two yeares, the pryſoners on eyther ſide being releaſed by way of exchaunge: and thus the warre ceaſed for that time. King Philip returning into Fraunce, and King Iohn into Englande, where he landed at Portſmouth the xij. of December.

About this time, came one Iohn Ferentino a Legate from the Pope into England, and paſſing through the ſame as it were in viſitatiõ, gathered a great ſumme of money. And finally at Reading on the morow after Saint Lukes day, celebrated a Councel, which being ended, he cauſed his Coffers to bee packed vp and ſent away, haſting himſelfe after to depart the realme, and ſo taking the ſea bad England farewell.

Iohn Ferentin. the Popes Legate.

About the ſame ſeaſon alſo, Pope Innocent confirmed the authoritie and power which the Prior and Monkes of Canterburie had to elect & chooſe the Archbiſhop of that ſea, gyuing ſentence agaynſt the Suffraganes which claymed a right to be ioyned with the ſayde Prior and Monkes,

The Pope giueth ſentence with the Monkes agaynſt the Biſhops.

See Mat. Paris Pag. 287. in the printed copie.

in the election, as by a letter directed to the ſame Suffraganes from the ſayde Pope it may more plainly appeare.

King Iohn repareth the city of Angiers.

After this it chaunced that king Iohn remembring himſelfe of the deſtruction of the Citie of Angiers, which bycauſe he was deſcended from thence, he had before tyme greatly loued, beganne nowe to repent him, in that hee had deſtroyed it, and therefore with all ſpeede he tooke order to haue it againe repayred, whiche was done in moſte beautifull wiſe.

1207

A tax leuyed.

Moreouer in this yeare about Candlemaſſe, he cauſed the .xiij. part of euery mans goodes, as well of the ſpiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, to be leuied and gathered to his vſe, all men murmuring at ſuche doings, but none being ſo hardie as to gainſay the kings pleaſure, except onely Geffrey the Archbiſhop of Yorke, who thereupon departing ſecretly out of the realm, accurſed al thoſe that layd any hands to the collection of that payment, within his Archbiſhoprike of Yorke.

The Archbiſhop of York ſtealeth out of the realme.

A mightie tempeſt.

Alſo vpon the .xvij. of Ianuarie then laſt paſt, about the middeſt of the night, there roſe ſuche a tempeſt of wind vpon a ſodaine, that many houſes were ouerthrowne therewith, and ſheepe and other cattell deſtroyed, and buried in the drifts of ſnowe, whiche as then laye verye deepe euerie where vpon the grounde.

The Emperor Otho cõmeth into England.

In like maner, the order of Frier Minors beganne about this time, and increaſed marueilouſly within a ſhort ſeaſon. And the Emperor Otho came ouer into England in this yeare, where he was moſt royally receiued by king Iohn, who taking counſell with the ſayde Emperor to renue the warre againſt the French K. bycauſe he was promiſed great ayde at his handes for the furniſhing of the ſame) gaue vnto him at his departing forth of the realme, greate ſummes of money in hand towards the payment of ſuche ſouldiers as he ſhould leuie for this buſineſſe.

Fiue thouſand markes of ſiluer as Math. Weſt. & Mat. Par. do write.

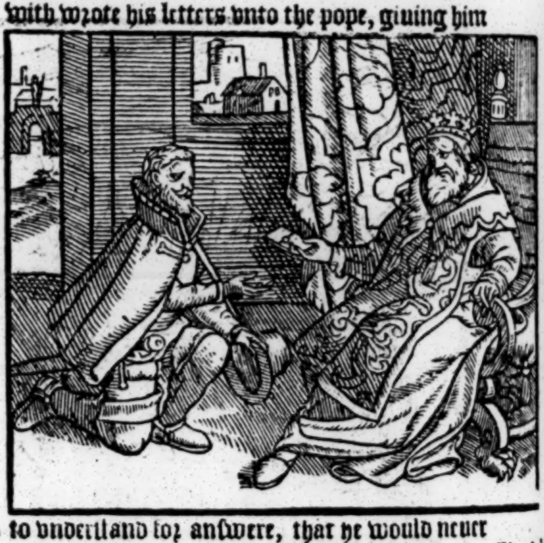
An. Reg. 9.

In this meane while, the ſtrife depended ſtill in the Court of Rome betwixt the two elected Archbiſhops of Cãterburie, Reginald and Iohn, but after the Pope was fully informed of the maner of their elections, he diſanulled them both, and procured by his Papall authoritie the Monkes of Canterburie (of whom many were then come to Rome about that matter) to chooſe one Stephen Langton the Cardinall of Saint Chriſogon an Engliſhman borne, & of good eſtimation and lerning in the court of Rome, to be their Archbiſhop. The Monks at the firſt wer loth to conſent therto, alledging that they might not lawfully do it without conſent of their king, and of their couent. But the Pope as it were taking the worde oute of theyr mouthes, ſayde vnto them: doe yee not conſider that we haue full authoritie and power in the Churche of Canterburie: Neyther is the aſſent of kings or Princes to be looked for vpon elections celebrate in the preſence of the Apoſtolike Sea. Wherefore I commaunde you by vertue of your obedience, and vpon paine of curſing, that you being ſuch and ſo many here as are ſufficient for the election, to chooſe him to your archbiſhop whom I ſhall appoynt to you for father and paſtor of your ſoules. The Monkes doubting to offende the Pope, conſent all of them to gratifie him, except Helias de Brantfield, who refuſed. And ſo the foreſayde Stephen Langton being of them elected, the Pope confirmed him, and ſignified by letters the whole ſtate thereof to king Iohn, commending the ſayde Stephen as Archbiſhop vnto him.

Stephen Langton choſen Archb. of Canterburie by the Popes appoyntment.

The Mo of Cante baniſhed.

The king ſore offended in his minde that the Biſhoppe of Norwich was thus put beſide that dignitie, to the which he had aduaunced him, cauſed forthwith all the goodes of the Monkes of Canterburie to be confiſcate to his vſe, and after baniſhed them the realme, as well I meane thoſe at home, as thoſe that were at Rome, and herewith wrote his letters vnto the pope, giuing him to vnderſtand for anſwere, that he would neuer conſent that Stephen which had bin brought vp and alwayes conuerſaunt with his enimies the French men, ſhould now enioy the rule of the Biſhoprike and dioces of Canterburie.



King Iohn wryteth the Pope.

Moreouer he declared in the ſame letters, how he marueiled not a little what the Pope ment, in that he did not conſider how neceſſarie the friendſhip of the king of Englande was to the Sea of Rome, ſith there came more gaynes to the Romaine Church out of that kingdome, than out of any other realme on this ſyde the Mountaynes. Hee added hereto, that for the liberties of hys Crowne he would ſtand vnto death if the matter ſo required. And as for the electiõ of the Biſhop of Norwich vnto the Sea of Canterburie, ſithe it was profitable to him and to his realme, he ment not to releaſe it.

How gr England to the Co of Rom

Moreouer, he declared that if he might not be heard and haue his minde, he woulde ſurely reſtraine the paſſages out of this realme, that none ſhould go to Rome, leaſt his lande ſhould bee ſo emptied of money and treaſure, that he ſhould want ſufficient abilitie to beate backe and expell his enimies that might attempt inuaſion againſt the ſame. Laſtly of all he cōcluded, ſith the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, as well of his Realme of Englande, as of other his landes and dominions, were ſufficiently furniſhed with knowledge, that hee woulde not goe for anye neede that ſhoulde driue hym thereto, to ſeeke iuſtice or iudgement at the preſcript of any forraine perſons.

Popes an- vnto ing

The Pope greatly marueilling hereat, wrote again to the king, requiring him to abſtaine from the ſpoyling of thoſe men that were priuiledged by the Canons of the Church, ẏ he would reſtore the Monkes again to their houſe and poſſeſſions, and receyue the Archbiſhop canonically elected and cōfirmed, the which for his learning & knowledge, aſwell in the liberall ſciences, as in holye ſcripture, was thought worthy to be admitted to a prebend in Paris: and what eſtimation he himſelfe had of him it appeared, in that he had writtē to him thrice ſince he was made Cardinal, declaring although he was minded to call him to hys ſeruice, yet he was glad that he was promoted to an higher roumth, adding further, how there was good cauſe that hee ſhoulde haue conſideration of him, bycauſe he was borne within his land of father and mother, that were his faythfull ſubiects, and for that he had a Prebende in the Church of Yorke, which was greater and of more dignitie than that he had in Paris. Wherby not onely by reaſon of fleſh and bloud, but alſo by hauing eccleſiaſticall dignitie and office, it could not be but that he loued him and his realme with ſincere affection. Many other reaſons the Pope alledged in his letters to King Iohn, to haue perſwaded him to the allowing of the election of Stephen Langton. But king Iohn was ſo farre from giuing care to the popes admonitions, that he with more crueltie handled all ſuch, not only of the ſpiritualtie, but alſo of the temporalty, which by any maner meanes had aided the forenamed Stephē. The Pope being hereof aduertiſed, thought good not to ſuffer ſuch contempt of his authoritie, as he interpreted it, namely in a matter that touchtd the iniurious handling of men within orders of the church. Which enſample might procure hinderance, not to one priuate perſon alone, but to the whole ſtate of the ſpiritualtie, which he would not ſuffer in any wiſe to be ſuppreſſed: therefore hee decreed with ſpeede to deuiſe remedie againſt that large encreaſing miſchief. And though there was no ſpeedier way to redreſſe the ſame, but by excōmunicatiō, yet he would not vſe it at the firſt towards ſo mightie a Prince, but gaue him libertie and time to conſider of his offence and treſpaſſe ſo cōmitted. These things being come to this point, the farther narration of them ſhal ſtay for a time, tyll I haue tolde you of a little trouble which about this tyme happened in London. For vpon the ſeuenth of Iune, the Baylifes of London, Roger Winchester, and Edmond Hardell, were diſcharged, and Serle the Mercer, and Hugh of Saint Albons choſen in their roomes.

Baylifes of Lōdon diſcharged and committed to warde.

The two former Baylifes were diſcharged and committed to priſon by the kings cōmaundement, vpon diſpleaſure taken againſt them, bycauſe they had reſiſted his purueyer of wheat, and woulde not ſuffer him to conuey any of that kind of grayne out of the Citie, till the Citie was ſtored. The .xxxv. rulers of the Citie, hauing fulfilled the kings commaundement to them directed for the diſcharging of thoſe Baylifes, and impriſoning them, did after take aduiſe togither, and appoynted a certaine number of themſelues with other to ryde vnto the king, as then beeing at Langley, to obteyne pardon for the ſayde Baylifes, and ſo comming thither, they made ſuch excuſe in the matter, ſhewing further, that at the ſame ſeaſon there was ſuch ſcarcitie of wheate in the Citie, that the common people were at point to haue made an inſurrection about the ſame. By which meanes, and through friēdſhip which they had in the Court, the king was ſo ſatiſfied, that he releaſed them from priſon, and pardoned theyr offences.

The birth of king Henrie the thirde.
Nic. Triuet.

Alſo vpon the firſt of October, Henrie the ſon of king Iohn, begotten of his wife Queene Iſabell, was borne [at Winchester] who after ſucceeded his father in the kingdome.

1208

The Pope writeth to the Biſhops.
Mat. Par.
Nic. Triuet.

But now againe to our purpoſe. The Pope perceyuing that king Iohn continued ſtill in his former minde, (which he called obſtinacie) ſent ouer his Bulles into England, directed to William Biſhop of London, to Euſtace Biſhop of Elie, and to Mauger biſhop of Worceſter, commaunding them, that vnleſſe king Iohn woulde ſuffer peaceably the Archbiſhop of Canterburie to occupie his ſea, and his Monkes theyr Abbey, they ſhould put both him and his lande vnder the ſentence of interdiction, denouncing him and hys lande plainly accurſed. And further he wrote expreſſe letters vnto all the Suffragancs of the church of Canterburie, that they ſhould by vertue of theyr obedience, which they ought to the Apoſtolique ſea, receyue and obey the Archebiſhoppe Stephen for their father and Metropolitane.

Mat. Paris.

These Biſhops with other to them aſſociate, made inſtant requeſt and ſute to the king for the obſeruing of the Popes commaundement, and to eſchew the cenſures of the Church: but that was in vain: for the king in a great rage ſware, that if

Romaines, that is ſuch chaplaynes, ſtraungers, as belonged to the Pope.

The Munday in the paſsion weeke hath *Mat. VVeſt.*

The king and realme put vnder the Popes curſe.

eyther they or anye other preſumed to put his lande vnder interdiction, he would incontinently therevpon ſende all the Prelates wythin the Realme out of the ſame vnto the Pope, and ſeaſe all theyr goodes vnto his owne vſe. And further he added, that what Romaines ſoeuer he founde within the precinct of anye his dominions, he would put out their eyes, and ſlit their noſes, and ſo ſende them packing to Rome, that by ſuche markes they might be knowne from al other nations of the worlde. And herewith he commaunded the Biſhoppes out of his ſight, if they loued theyr owne health and preſeruation. Herevpon therefore the ſayde Biſhops departed, and according to the Popes commiſſion to them ſent, vpon the euen of our Lady day the Annunciation, denounced both the king and the Realme of England accurſed, and furthermore cauſed the doores of churches to be cloſed vp, and of all other places where diuine ſeruice was accuſtomed to be vſed, firſt at London, and after in al other places where they came. Then perceyuing that the king ment not to ſteupe for all this which they had done, but rather ſought to be reuenged vpon them, they fled the Realme, and got them ouer vnto Stephen the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to wit, William Biſhop of London, Euſtace Biſhop of Elye, Malger Biſhoppe of Worceſter, Joccline Byſhoppe of Bathe, and Gyles Biſhop of Hereforde.

An. Reg. 10.

The dealing of the king after the interdiction was pronounced.

The king taking this matter verie diſpleaſantly, ſeaſed vpon all their temporalites, and conuerted the ſame to his vſe, and perſecuted ſuch other of the Prelacie as hee knewe to fauor theyr doings, baniſhing them the realme, and ſeaſing their goodes alſo into his handes.

The moſte parte of the Prelates yet wiſely prouided for themſelues in this poynt, that they would not depart out of their houſes, except they were compelled by force, whiche when the kings officers perceyued, they ſuffred them to remaine ſtill in theyr Abbayes, and other habitations, bycauſe they had no Commiſſion to vſe any violence in expelling them. But theyr goodes they did confiſcate to the kings vſe, allowing them onely meate and drinke, and that verie barely in reſpect of their former allowance.

An heauie time for churchmen.

Mat. Par.

It was a miſerable time nowe for Prieſtes and Churchmen whiche were ſpoyled on euery hand without finding remedie agaynſt thoſe that offred them wrong. It is reported that in the borders of Wales, the officers of a Sherife brought before the king a fellowe whiche had robbed and ſlaine a prieſt, deſiring to vnderſtande his pleaſure what ſhould be done with that offender: Vnto whõ the king made this anſwere, he hath ſlain mine enimy, and therfore ſet him at libertie.

Lord Wil
de Breuſ

The king alſo doubting leaſt the Pope ſhould proceede further, and aſſoyle all his ſubiectes of their allegiance which they ought to him, and that his Lordes woulde happely reuolt and forſake him in this his trouble, he tooke hoſtages of them whom he moſt ſuſpected. And as the Meſſengers which were ſent abrode for that purpoſe, came vnto the Lorde William de Breuſe, requiring to haue his ſonnes for the ſayde purpoſe, hys wife (like a quicke and haſtie dame) taking the worde out of hir huſbandes mouth, made thys rounde anſwere, that ſhe woulde not deliuer hir ſonnes vnto king John, that alreadie had ſlaine his owne nephew Arthur, whom he ought rather honourably to haue loued and preſerued. Theſe wordes being ſignified vnto the king, ſet him in ſuch an heat againſt hir huſband (though he rebuked hir ſharpely for the ſame) that the ſayd Lorde was glad togither with his wife and children to flee out of the realme into Irelande for ſafegarde of theyr lyues.

Londõ b
repayred.

Where as before this time the Bridge ouer Thames at London was made of tymber, and was ruled, guided and repayred by a fraternitie or Colledge of Prieſts: this yeare by great ayde of the Citizens of London and other paſſing that way, the ſame bridge was begonne to be made of ſtone. And the ſame yeare S. Marie Oueries in Southwarke was begonne to be repayred.

1209

. Par.

The ſame yeare alſo, the Citizens of London made ſuch ſuyte vnto the King, that they had graunted to them by his letters patents, licence to chooſe to themſelues a Maior, and two Sherifes euery yeare. After which graunt vnto them confirmed, they choſe for theyr Maior Henrie Fitz Alwyn, who was ſworne and charged at that preſent Maior of that Citie, vpon the day of S. Michaell the Archangell, in the the ſayde tenth yeare of king John his raigne. And the ſame day and yeare, were Peter Duke, and Thomas Nele ſworne for Sherifes. And the name of Bayliffes from thenceforth was clearely extinguiſhed.

John St

But here ye haue to vnderſtand, that this Henrie Fitz Alwin had bene Maior of London long before this time, euen from the firſt yeare of king Richard (as John Stow hath truly gathered out of auncient inſtrumentes and recordes) vnto thys preſent tenth yeare of king John, and now vpon graunt made to the Citizens, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull for them to chooſe euery yeare a Maior, and two Sherifes, for the better gouernment of their citie, the ſayd Henrie Fitz Alwin was newly by them elected. and likewiſe afterwardes from yeare to yeare, till hee departed this life, whiche chaunced in the yeare. 1213. and. xv. of king Johns raigne, ſo that he continued Maior of the ſame Citie of London, by the terme of. xxiiij. yeares.

Nowe therfore bycauſe it appeareth here how the gouernors of the Citie of London had theyr names altered for their greater honour. And the ſtate of gouernment thereby partly chaunged, or rather confirmed. I haue thought good (though very briefly) to touch ſomewhat the ſignification of this worde Mayre, before I proceede any further with the reſt of this hiſtorie.

ſignifica- of this de Mayre.

lſg. Laz. ſus.

The auncient inhabitants of Frãconia or Frankenland, from whom the Frenchmen are deſcended, and their neighbors the olde Saxons, of whō the Engliſhmen haue their original, being people of Germanie, and deſcended (as Beroſus ſayth) of the old Hebrues, haue reteyned manye Hebrue wordes, either frō the beginning, or elſe borowed them abrode in other Regions which they conquered, paſſing by force of armes through a great part of the worlde. For no doubt by conuerſation with thoſe people whō they ſubdued, they broght home into their own country & tongue many borowed words, ſo that their lãguage hath no ſmal ſtore of thē, fetched out of ſundry ſtrange tongs. And amongſt other olde wordes yet remayning in their tong, this worde Mar was one, which in the Hebrue ſignifieth *dominus*, (that is to ſay lord) but pronounced now ſomwhat corruptly Mayr. So as it is to be ſuppoſed, hereof it came to paſſe that the head officer & Lieutenant to the Prince, aſwell in London as in other Cities and townes of the realme, are called by that name of Mayre, though in the Cities of London, and Yorke, for an augmentation of honor by an ancient cuſtom (through ignorance what the title of Mayr doth ſignifie) they haue an addition, and are intituled by the name of Lord Mayre, where Mayre ſimply pronounced of it ſelfe, ſignifieth no leſſe than Lord, without any ſuch addition. Thus much for the name of Mayre. And nowe to proceede.

lſg. Laz.

209

. Par.

King John holding his Chriſtmaſſe this yere at Briſtow, ſet forth a cōmaundement, whereby he reſtrayned the taking of wilde foule.

About the ſame time, Henrie Duke of Suaben came into Englande from the Emperour Otho, and receyuing no ſmall portion of money of the king, departed backe into his owne Countrey againe.

In the vigill of the Epiphanie alſo, the kings ſecond ſonne was borne, and named Richard, after his vncle king Richarde. And the Court of the Eſchequer was remoued from Weſtminſter vnto Northampton.

The Eſchequer remoued.

Moreouer, in the ſame yeare, Walter Gray was made Lorde Chancellor, who in all things ſtudied to ſatiſfie the kings will and purpoſes, for the which hee incurred greate indignation of the Clergie, & other that fauored not the proceedings of the king. It was ſurely a ruful thing to cōſider the eſtate of this realme at yͤ preſent, when as the king neyther truſted his Peeres, neither the nobilitie fauored the king, no there were very few that truſted one another, but eche one hid and hourded vp his welth, looking dayly when another woulde come and enter vpon the ſpoyle. The comunaltie alſo grew into factions, ſome fauoring, ſome curſing the king, as they bare affection. The Cleargie was likewiſe at deſſention, ſo that nothing preuayled but malice & ſpite, which brought forth & ſpred abrode the fruits of diſobedience to al good lawes and orders, greatly to the diſquieting of the whole ſtate. King John notwithſtanding that the realme was thus wholy interdyted & vexed, ſo that no Prieſtes coulde be founde to ſay any ſeruice in Churches or Chapels, made yet no great account thereof as touching any offence towarde God or the Pope. But rather miſtruſting the hollow heartes of his people, hee taketh a newe othe of them for their faythfull allegiance, & immediatly therupō aſſēbled an army to go againſt Alexāder K. of Scots, vnto whō (as he had herd) diuerſe of the nobilitie of this realme were fled,

An. Reg. 11

Polidor.

A new othe of allegiance.

Alexander K. of Scots.

which Alexander was the ſeconde of that name that had ruled the Scots, and lately before was entred into the rule as lawfull ſucceſſour to the Crowne of Scotlande, by the death of his father king William.

In this meane while alſo Stephē Archbiſhop of Canterburie lamēting (as ſome haue reported) the ſtate of his natiue country, and yet not minding to giue ouer his hold, obteyned of Pope Innocent, that vpon certain dayes it might be lawful to an appoynted number of prieſts within the realme of Englād, to celebrate diuine ſeruice, that is to wit, vnto thoſe of conuentuall Churches once in the weeke. But the Monkes of the white order were forbidden to vſe that priuiledge, bycauſe in the beginning of the interdictiō they had at the appoyntment of their principall Abbot preſumed to celebrate the Sacraments without the Popes conſent or knowledge.

[illegible]. Par.
The white Monkes.

In like maner, on the other ſide, king Iohn hauing his armie in a readineſſe, haſted forth towards the borders of Scotland, and comming to the Caſtell of Norham, he prepared to inuade the Scots. But king Alexander wanting power to giue him battaile, ſought to come vnto ſome friendly agreement with him, and ſo by counſell of his Lords, caſting off his armor, he came to the king, and for a great ſumme of golde (or. xj. M. Markes of ſiluer as ſome write) with much adoe he purchaſed peace, deliuering. ij. of his daughters in hoſtage for more aſſuraunce of his dealing.

Polidor.
Math. Paris.

Alexander K. of Scots compoundeth for peace with king Iohn.

Whereupon King Iohn after his returne from Norham, which was about the. xxiiij. of Iune, ſhewed himſelfe not a litle diſpleaſed with thoſe of the nobilitie which had refuſed to attende vpon him in that iourney, hauing receyued ſtrayt commaundement frō him to wayte vpon him at that time. Certes the cauſe why they refuſed to follow him, was euident, as they ſayd, in that they knew him to ſtand accurſed by the Pope.

Polidor.

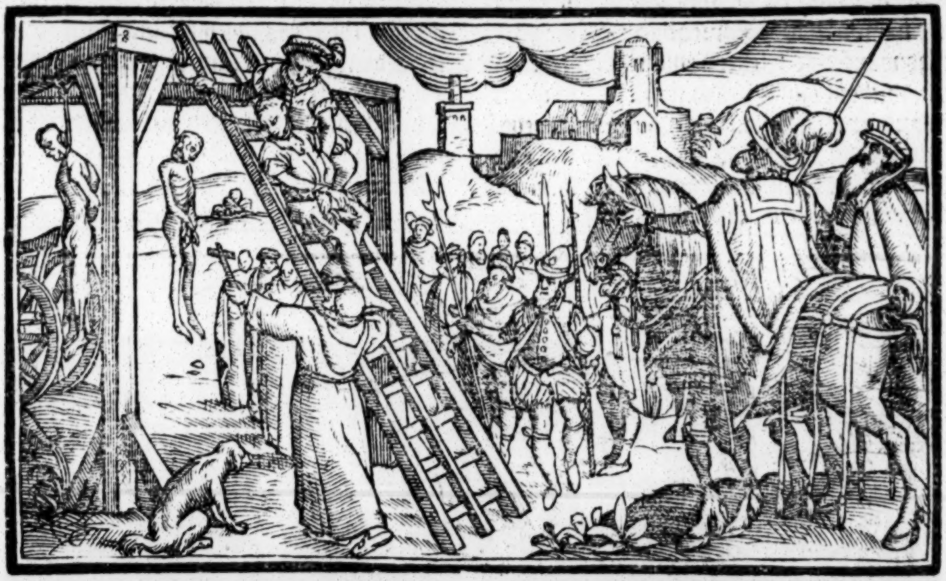
About the ſame time alſo, when corne began to waxe ripe, to reuenge himſelfe of them that had refuſed to go with him in that iourney, hee cauſed the pales of all the Parkes and Foreſts which he had within his realme to be throwne downe, and the ditches to be made plain, that the Deere breaking out and raunging abrode in the corne fields, might deſtroye and eate vp the ſame before it could be ryped, for which act (if it were ſo in deed) many a bitter curſſe proceeded from the mouthes of the poore huſbandmen towardes the kings perſon, and not vnworthily.

Mat. Pa

Moreouer in this ſeaſon the Welchmen (which thing had not beene ſeene afore time) came vnto Woodſtock, and there did homage vnto the king, although the ſame was chargeable, aſwell to the rich as the poore ſo to come out of theyr country.

About the ſame time alſo, it chaunced, that a Prieſt ſlue a woman at Oxforde, and when the kings officers could not finde him that had committed the murther, they apprehended three other Prieſtes not guiltie to the fact, and ſtreight way hanged them vp without iudgemēt. With which crueltie, others of the Uniuerſitie beeing put in feare, departed thence in great numbers, and came not thither again of a long time after, ſome of thē repayring to Cambridge, and ſome to Reading to apply their ſtudies in thoſe places, leauing Oxford voyde.

Mat Pa
A murther Oxford.



Three thou- [illegible] as ſayth *[illegible]at. Paris.*

Oxford forſaken of the ſcholers.

The ſame yeare, one Hugh Archdeacon of Welles, and keeper of the kings great ſeale, was nominated Biſhop of Lincolne. And herewithall he craued licence to go ouer into France vnto the Archbiſhop of Rouen, that he might be conſecrated of him. The king was contented herewith, and gladly gaue him leaue, who no ſooner got ouer into Normandie, but that hee ſtreyght tooke the high way to Rome, and there receyued hys conſe-

Hugh Arch con of We made Biſh of Lincoln
Polidore.
Math. Pa

conſecration of Stephen the Archbyſhop of Canterbury. Now when the Kyng vnderſtode thys matter, and ſaw the dulneſſe of the Byſhoppe, hee was in a wonderfull chafe towarde him, & therevpon made port ſale of all his goodes, and receyued the profit of the reuenewes belonging to the See of Lincolne to his owne vſe. There lyued moreouer in theſe dayes a Deuine named Alexander Cementarius, and ſurnamed *Theologus*, who by his Preaching incenſed the King greatly vnto all cruelty (as the Monks and Friers ſay) againſt his ſubiectes, affirming, that the generall ſcourge wherewith the people were afflicted, chãced not through the Princes fault, but for yͤ wickedneſſe of his people, for the King was but the rodde of the Lordes wrathe, and to thys ende a Prince was ordeined, that he might rule the people with a rodde of iron, and breake them as an iron veſſell, to chayne the mighty in fetters, and the noble men in iron manacles. Hee did ſee as ſhould ſeeme, the euil diſpoſed humors of the people concerning their dutiful obedience which they ought to haue borne to their naturall Prince K. Iohn, and therefore as a doctrine moſt neceſſary in that daungerous time, hee taughte the people how they were by Gods lawes bound in duety to obey their lawfull Prince, and not through any wicked perſwaſion of buſie heads and lewde diſcourſers, to be carried away, to forget their loyall allegiance, and ſo to fall into the damnable ſinke of Rebellion.

tarius.

He wente about alſo to proue with likely arguments, that it apperteyned not to the Pope, to haue to do, concerning the temporall poſſeſſions of Kings or other potentates touching the rule and gouernement of their ſubiectes, ſith no power was graunted to Peter (eſpecially the chiefe of the Apoſtles of yͤ Lord) but only touching yͤ church, & matters apperteyning therevnto. By ſuch doctrine by him ſet forth, hee wanne in ſuch wiſe the Kings fauour, that he obteyned many great prefermentes at the Kyngs handes, and was Abbot of S. Auſtines in Caunterbury: but at length, when his manners were notifyed to the Pope, he toke ſuch order for him, that hee was deſpoyled of all his goodes and benefices, ſo that afterwards he was driuen in great miſerie to begge his bread from dore to dore, as ſome write.

1210

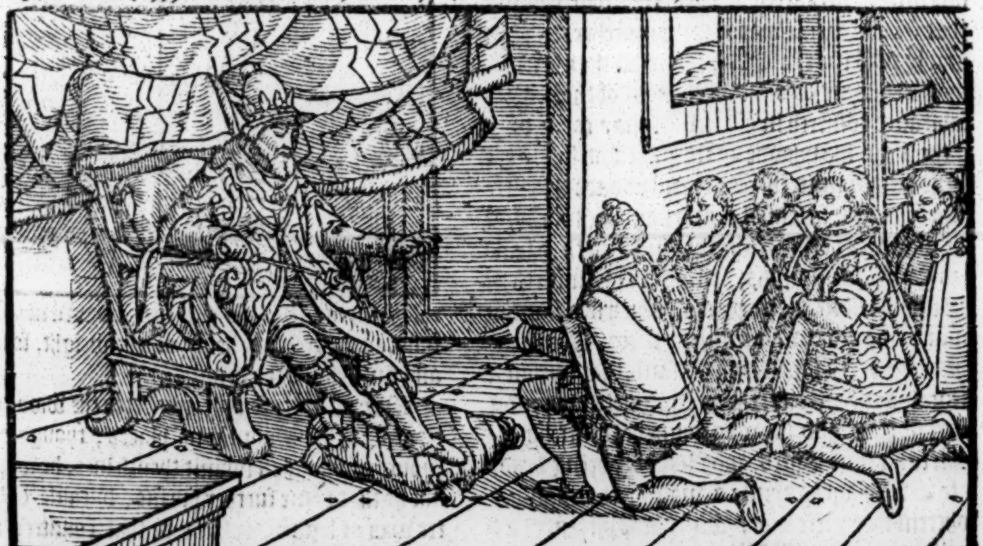
Math. Paris.
Iues taxed.

Furthermore, about the ſame time, the Kyng taxed the Iewes, and greeuouſly tormented and empriſoned them, bycauſe diuers of them woulde not willingly pay the ſummes that they wer taxed at. Amongſt other, there was one of them at Briſtow, which woulde not conſent to giue any fine for his deliuerance: wherefore by the Kyngs commaundement he was put to this penaunce, that euery daye till he would agree to giue to the King thoſe tenne thouſand markes that hee was ſeaſed at, he ſhoulde haue one of his teeth plucked out of his head. By the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither he ſtood ſtedfaſt, loſing euery of thoſe dayes a tooth, but on the eight day, whẽ he ſhould come to haue the eight tooth and the laſt (for he had but eight in all) drawen out, hee paide the money to ſaue that one, who with more wiſedome and leſſe paine, might haue done ſo before, and haue ſaued his ſeuen teeth, which he loſt with ſuch tormẽts, for thoſe homely tothdrawers vſed no great cunning in plucking them forth (as may be coniectured.) Whilſt K. Iohn was thus occupied, newes came to him, that the Iriſhe Rebels made foule worke, & ſore annoyed the Engliſh ſubiectes. He therefore aſſembling a mighty army, embarqued at Pembroke in Wales, and ſo haſting towards Ireland, arriued there the .25. of May, & broughte the people in ſuch feare immediately vpon his arriuall, that all thoſe that inhabited vpon the Sea coaſtes in the champaigne countreys, came in, & yeelded themſelues, receyuing an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him.

A Iew hath his teeth drawen forth.

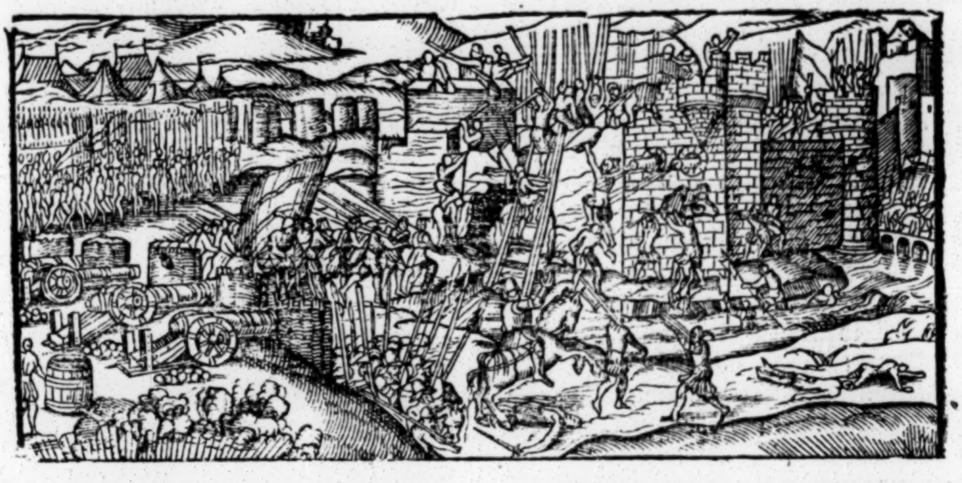
An.reg.12.

Mat. Par.
King Iohn paſſeth ouer into Irelande.
Polidor.
Mat.Paris.



Walter de Lacy.

There were twentie of the chiefeſt Rulers within Ireland, whiche came to the King at hys comming to Dublin, and there did to hym homage and fealtie as apperteyned. The King at the ſame time ordeyned alſo, that the Engliſhe lawes ſhould be vſed in that land, and appoynted Sherifes and other officers to haue the order of the countrey, to rule the ſame according to the Engliſh ordinances. After this, hee marched forward into the land, and toke diuers fortreſſes and ſtrōg holds of his enimies which fled before him, for feare to be apprehended, as Walter de Lacy, and many other. At length, comming into the Countrey of Meth, he beſieged a Caſtell, wherein the wife of William de Breuſe, and hir ſonne named alſo Williā were incloſed, but they found meanes to eſcape before the Caſtell was wonne, although afterwarde they were taken in the Iſle of Man, and ſente by the King into Englande, where they were ſo ſtraightly kept within yͤ Caſtell of Windſor, that as the fame wente, they were famiſhed to death.



The Lady de Breuſe and hir ſonne taken.

A preſent of white Kyne.

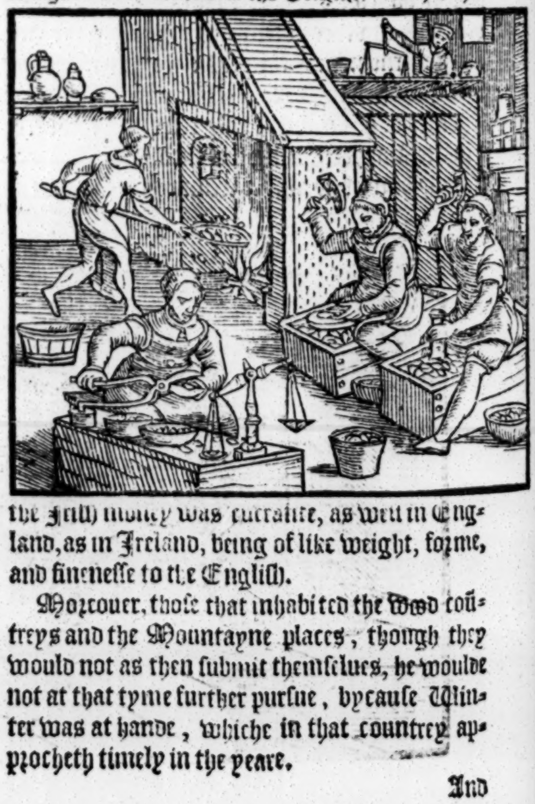
He himſelfe eſcapeth.

The Biſ
Norwich
Lord Lie
nant of I

Wee reade in an olde hiſtory of Flaunders, written by one whoſe name is not knowen, but Printed at Lions by Guillaume Roulle, in the yeare.1562.that the ſaid Lady, wife to the Lorde William de Breuſe, preſented vpon a time vnto the Queene of Englande a gift of four hundred Kine, and one Bulle, of colour all white, the eares excepted, which were redde. Although thys tale may ſeeme incredible, yet if we ſhall conſider that yͤ ſaid Breuſe was a Lord marcher, and had goodly poſſeſſiōs in Wales, and on the marches, in which countreys the moſt parte of the peoples ſubſtance cōſiſteth in Cattell, it may carrie with it the more likelyhoode of troth. And ſurely the ſame author writeth of yͤ iourney made this yere into Irelande, ſo ſenſibly, and namely, touchyng the manners of the Iriſh, that he ſeemeth to haue had good informations, ſauing that he miſſeth in the names of men and places, which is a fault in maner cōmō to al foreigne writers. Touching the death of the ſaid Lady, he ſaith, that within a eleuen dayes after ſhee was committed to priſon heere in England, ſhe was found dead, ſitting betwixte hir ſons legges, who likewiſe being dead, ſate directly vp agaynſte a wall of the chamber wherein they were kept, with harde pittance (as writers do report.) William the father eſcaped, & goſe away into Fraunce. Thus the more part of the Iriſh people being brought vnder, he appointed Iohn Gray the Biſhop of Norwiche, to bee his deputie there, remouing out of that office Hugh Lacy, whiche bare great rule in that quarter before.

Iriſh mo
reformed

The Biſhoppe then beeing appoynted deputy and chiefe iuſtice of Irelande, reformed, the coine there, cauſing the ſame to be made of lyke weight and fyneneſſe to the Engliſh coine, ſo that the Iriſh money was curraunte, as well in England, as in Irelande, being of like weight, forme, and fineneſſe to the Engliſh.

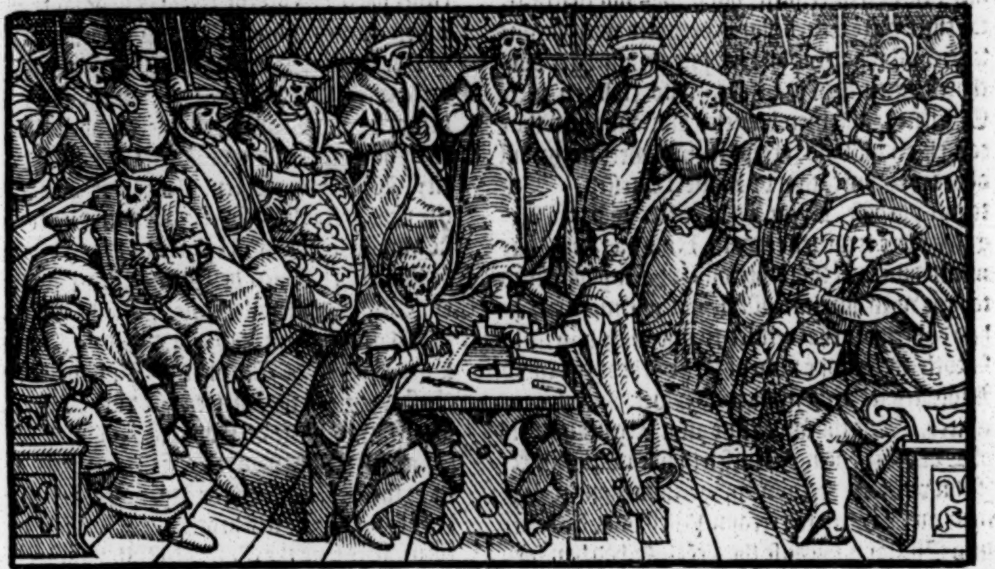


Moreouer, thoſe that inhabited the Wood cōtreys and the Mountayne places, though they would not as then ſubmit themſelues, he woulde not at that tyme further purſue, bycauſe Winter was at hande, whiche in that countrey approcheth timely in the yeare.

King re-
th into
ande.

And ſo hauing thus ſubdued the more parte of all Ireland, and ordred things there at hys pleaſure, he toke the Sea again with much triumph, and landed in Englande about the thirtith day of Auguſt. From hence, he made haſt likewiſe to Londō, and at his comming thither, he toke coūſell how to recouer the greate charges and expenſes that he had bin at in this iourney, and ſo by ỳ aduice of William Brewer, Roberte de Turnham, Reignold de Cornhull, & Richarde de Mariſh, he cauſed all the chiefe Prelates of England to aſſemble before him at S. Brides in London.

An aſſemble of the Prelates at London.



So that thither came all the Abbottes, Abbeſſes, Templers, Hoſpitallers, keepers of fermes and poſſeſſions of the order of Clugny, and other ſuch foreyners as had lands within this Realme belōging to their houſes. All whiche were cōſtreined to pay ſuche a greeuous taxe, that the whole amounted to the ſumme of an hundred thouſande pounde.

leuied.

The Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, otherwiſe called white Monkes, were conſtreyned to paye fortie thouſande pounde of ſyluer at this time, all their priuiledges to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Moreouer, the Abbots of that order might not get licence to goe to theyr generall Chapter that yeare, which yeerely was vſed to bee holden, leaſt theyr complaynte ſhoulde moue all the worlde agaynſte the Kyng, for hys harde handlyng of them.

211

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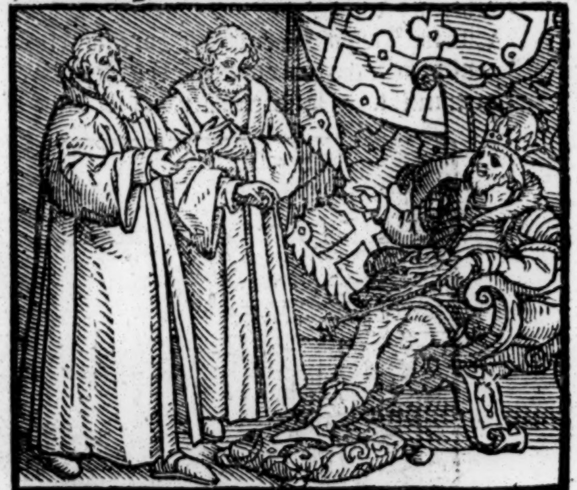
In the Sommer following, about the eyghte day of July, Kyng Iohn with a mighty army went into Wales, and paſſing foorth into the inner partes of the countrey, he came into Snowdon, beating downe all that came in his way, ſo that hee ſubdued all the Rulers and Princes, without contradiction. And to bee the better aſſured of their ſubiection in time followyng, hee toke of them pledges to the number of eyght and twentie, and ſo returned vnto *Album Monaſterium* on oure Lady daye the Aſſumption, from whence hee firſt ſet foorthe into the Welſhe confynes.

Paris.
church
ke.

In the ſame yeare alſo, the Pope ſente two Legates into Englande, the one named Pandulph a Lawyer, and the other Durant a Templer. They comming vnto King Iohn, exhorted him with many terrible wordes, to leaue his ſtubborne diſobedience to the Church, and to reforme his miſdoings.

Pandulfe and Durant the Popes Legates
Polidor.



The King for his part quietly heard them, and bringing them to Northampton, being not farre diſtant from the place where he met them vpon his returne foorth of Wales, had much conference with them, but at length, when they perceyued that they coulde not haue their purpoſe, neyther for reſtitution of the goodes belonging to Prieſts which hee had ſeaſed vpon, neyther of thoſe that apperteyned to certayne other perſons, whyche the K. had gotten alſo into his handes by meanes of the controuerſie betwixte hym and the Pope, the Legates departed, leauing him accurſed, and the land interdited, as they found it at their comming. Of the maner of this interdiction haue bin diuers opinions, ſome haue ſaide, that the lande was interdited throughly, and the Churches and houſes of Religion cloſed vp, that no where was any deuine ſeruice vſed: but it was not ſo ſtraite, for there were diuers places occupied with deuine ſeruice all that time by certayne Priuiledges purchaſed, either then or before. Alſo children were Chriſtned, and men houſeled and annoyled thorough all the land, except ſuch as were in the bill of excommunication by name expreſſed. But to our purpoſe, Kyng Iohn, after that the Legates were returned toward Rome againe, puniſhed diuers of thoſe perſons whiche had refuſed to goe with him into Wales in like maner as he had done thoſe that refuſed to goe with him into Scotland: he tooke now of each of them for euery Knightes fee two markes of ſyluer, as before is recited.

Fabian.

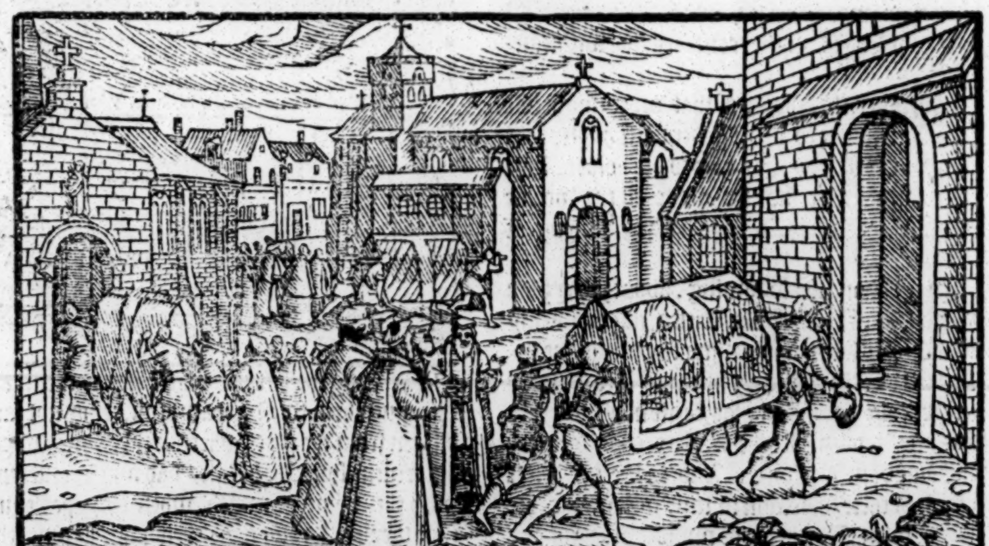
Mat. Paris.

Reginald Erle of Bullongne.

About the ſame time alſo, Reginald Erle of Bullongne being accurſed in like maner as K. Iohn was, for certayne oppreſſions done to pore men, and namely to certayn Prieſtes, he fled ouer into England, bycauſe the Frēch K. had baniſhed him out of Fraunce. The chiefeſt cauſe of the Frenche Kings diſpleaſure towards this Earle, may ſeeme to proceede of the amitie and league whiche was concluded betwixt King Iohn, and the ſaid Earle in the firſt yeare of the ſaid Kings raigne, whereby they bound themſelues either to other, not to make any peace, or to take any truce with the King of Fraunce, without either others conſent firſte thereto had, and that if after any agreemente taken betwixte them and the King of Fraunce, hee ſhoulde chaunce to make warre againſt eyther of them, then ſhoulde the other ayde and aſſiſt hym againſt whome ſuche war ſhould be made, to the vttermoſt of his power. And this league was accorded, to remayn for euer betwixt them and theyr heyres, with ſureties ſworne on either parte: as for the Kyng of Englande, theſe, whoſe names enſue, William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke, Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter, Roberte Earle of Leiceſter, Baldwine Earle of Albemarle, William Earle of Arundell, Raulfe Erle of Augi, Robert de Mellet, Hugh de Gourney, William de Kaeu, Geffrey de Cella, Roger Conneſtable of Cheſter, Raufe Fitz Water, William de Albeny, Roberte de Ros, Richarde de Mōtfichet, Roger de Thoney, Saer de Quincy, Williā de Montcheniſe, Peter de Pratellis, William de Poole, *alias* de Stagno, Adam de Port, Roberte de Turnham, William Mallet, Euſtace de Veſcy, Peter de Brus, William de Preſinny, Hubert de Burgh, William de Manſey, and Peter Sauenye. For the Earle, theſe were ſureties, Anſelme de Kaeu, Guy Lieſchās, Raufe the ſaid Erles brother. &c.

The like leage was made in the ſame firſte yeare of Kyng Iohn betwixte him and Ferdinando Earle of Flaunders.

But now to returne: after that the Earle of Bullongne was expulſed out of Fraunce (as before ye haue heard) he came ouer vnto K. Iohn, and was of him ioyfully receiued, hauing three C.li. of reuenewes in land to him aſſigned within Englād, for yͤ which he did homage and fealtie vnto him alſo. Shortly after this alſo, died William de Breuſe the elder, which fledde from the face of K. Iohn out of Irelande into Fraunce, and departing this lyfe at Corbell, was buried at Paris in the Abey of S. Victor.



Polidor.

In yͤ meane time Pope Innocent, after yͤ returne of his Legates out of England, perceyuing yͭ K. Iohn would not be ordred by him, determined with the conſent of his Cardinals and other coūſellors & alſo at the inſtant ſute of yͤ Engliſh Biſhops & other Prelates being ther with him, to depriue Kyng Iohn of his kingly eſtate, and ſo firſte aſſoyled all his ſubiects and vaſſals of theyr othes of allegiāce made vnto the ſame King, and after depriued him by ſolemne proteſtation of his Kingly adminiſtration and dignitie, and laſtly, ſignifieth vnto the French King and other Chriſtian Princes, of that his depriuation, admoniſhing them to purſue King Iohn, being thus depriued, forſaken, and condemned as a common enimie to God and his Church. Hee ordeyned furthermore, that whoſoeuer employed goodes or other ayde to vanquiſh and ouercome that diſobedient Prince, ſhould remaine aſſured in peace of the Church, as well as thoſe whiche wente to viſit the Sepulchre of our Lord, not only in their goodes and perſons, but alſo in ſuffrages for ſauing of their ſoules. But yet that it might appere to al men, that nothing could be more ioyfull vnto his holineſſe, than to haue K. Iohn to repente his treſpaſſes committed, and to aſke forgiuenes for the ſame, hee appointed Pandulph, whiche lately before was returned to Rome, with a great number of Engliſh exiles, to goe into Fraunce, togither with Stephen the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and the other Engliſh Biſhops, giuing him in commandement, that repayring vnto the French K. he ſhoulde communicate with him all that which he had appoynted to be done agaynſt K. Iohn, and to exhorte the Frenche K. to make war vpon him, as a perſon for his wickednes excommunicate. Moreouer, this Pandulph was commaunded by the Pope, if he ſaw cauſe, to goe ouer into England, and to deliuer vnto K. Iohn ſuche letters, as the Pope had written for his better inſtruction, and to ſeeke by al meanes poſſible to draw him from his naughty opinion. In the meane time, when it was bruted through the Realme of England, that the Pope had releaſſed the people and aſſoyled them of their oth of fidelitie to the K. and that he was depriued of his gouernement by the Popes ſentence, by little and little a great number both of Souldiers, Citizēs, Burgeſſes, Captaines, and Cōneſtables of Caſtels, leauing their charges and Biſhops with a great multitude of Prieſts reuolting from him, and auoiding his company and preſence, ſecretely ſtale away, and gote ouer into Fraunce. Notwithſtanding that, diuers in reſpect of the Popes curſe, and other cōſiderations them mouing, vtterly refuſed in this maner to obey K. Iohn, yet there were many others that did take his parte, and mayntayne his quarrell right earneſtly, as his brother William Earle of Saliſbury, Albericke de Veer Earle of Oxforde, Geffrey Fitz Peter Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England, alſo three Biſhops, Durham, Wincheſter, and Norwich, Richard de Mariſh Lord Chācellor, Hugh Neuill chiefe forreſter, William de Wrothing Lord Warden of the portes, Roberte Veipount, and his brother Yuan, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucy, Hugh Balliole, and his brother Barnard, William de Cantlow, and his ſonne William, Foulke de Cantlow, Reginalde de Cornehull Sherife of Kent, Robert Braybroke, and his ſon Harry, Phillip de Louecotes, Iohn de Baſſingborne, Phillippe March, Chatelaine of Nottingham, Peter de Maulley, Robert de Gaugy, Gerard de Athie, and his Nephewe Ingelrand, William Brewer, Peter Fitz Hubert, Thomas Baſſet, and Foulks de Breaut a Norman, with many other, too long here to reherſe, who as fautors and counſellers vnto him, ſought to defende him in all cauſes, notwithſtanding the cenſures of the Churche ſo cruelly pronounced agaynſte hym.

…lfe ſent …aunce …tile …e Frēch K Iohn …ructiō.

VVeſt. Paru.

…ames of …ble men …ntinued …to king

The ſame yeare, King Iohn held his Chriſtmas at Windſor, and in the Lent following, on midlent Sunday beeing at London, hee honored the Lorde Alexander ſonne and heire to the Kyng of Scottes, with yͤ high order of Knighthoode.

1212

And as I fynde it mentioned by ſome writers, whereas he vnderſtoode how there were dyuers in Scotlande, that contemning their naturall Lorde and Kyng by reaſon of his great age, King Iohn wente thither with an army to repreſſe the Rebels, and being come thither, hee ſendeth his men of warre into the inner parts of the Countrey, who ſcouring the coaſtes, tooke Guthred Macwilliam Capitaine of them that moued the ſedition, whome Kyng Iohn cauſed to be hanged on a paire of Gallowes.

Bernewell.

This Guthred was diſcended of the line of the auncient Scottiſhe Kynges, and beeing aſſiſted with the Iriſhmen and Scottes that fauoured not yͤ race of the Kyngs that preſently raigned, wrought thē muche trouble, as his father (named Donald) hadde done before him, ſometime ſecretly vnder hande, and ſometime agayne by way of open Rebellion.

Shortly after, the Welchmen began to ſturre alſo, and ruſhing forthe of their owne confynes, fell vppon their next neigbours within the Engliſhe marches, waſted the countrey, and ouerthrew diuers Caſtels flatte to the grōd. Wherevpon the King hauing knowledge therof, aſſembled a mighty army out of hande, and comming to Nottingham, he hanged vp the Welſh hoſtages (whiche the laſt yeare hee had receyued) to the number of eight and twētie yōg ſtriplings, and by reaſon he was now ſet in a marueillous chafe, he roughly proceded againſt all thoſe whome hee knew not to fauour his cauſe: ſome he diſchargeth of their offices, other hee depriueth of their Captayneſhippes and other roomes, and reuoketh certaine priuiledges and immunities graunted to Monkes, Prieſts, and mē of Religion. And now hauing his army redy to haue gone into Wales,

The Welſh men moue Rebellion.

Mat Par.

An. reg. 14.

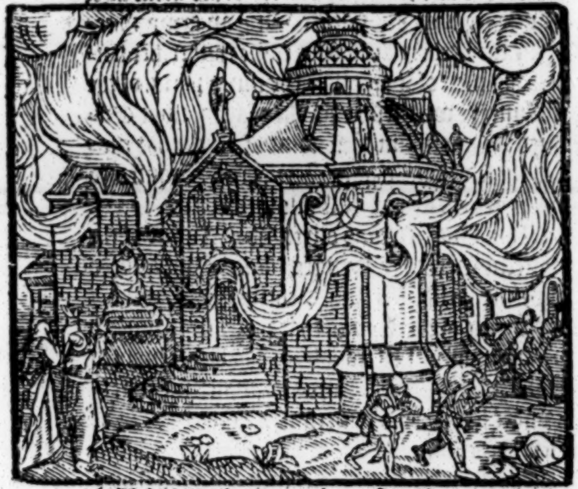
King Iohn hangeth the Welſh pledges.

hee receyued letters the ſame time, both from the K. of Scottes, and from his daughter the wife of Leoline Prince of Wales, conteyning in effecte the aduertiſement of one ſelfe matter, which was, to let him vnderſtand, that if he went forward on his iourney, he ſhould eyther through treaſon bee ſlayne of his owne Lords, or elſe bee deliuered to be deſtroyed of his enimies. The K. iudging no leſſe, but that the tenor of the letters conteyned a truth, brake vp his army, and returned to Londõ. From whence he ſente meſſengers vnto all ſuche Lordes as hee ſuſpected, commaunding them to ſend vnto him hoſtages for more aſſuraunce of their fidelities. The Lords durſt not diſobey hys commaundemente, but ſente their ſonnes, theyr nephewes, and other their kinſmen, accordingly as he required, and ſo hys rancor was appeaſed for a time. But Euſtace de Veſcy, Roberte Fitz Walter, and Stephen Ridell, being accuſed and ſuſpected of the K. for the ſaide treaſon, were glad to flee the Realm, Veſcy departing into Scotland, and the other two into Fraunce.

Mat. Paris. King Iohn breaketh vp his army.

Mat. Par. *Math VVeſt.* Saint Mary Oueryſ brent.

The ſame yeare, the Church of S. Mary Oueryſ, & all the buildings vpon London bridge on both ſydes the ſame, were conſumed with fyre,



whiche was iudged to be a ſignification of ſome miſhap to follow. The K. helde his Chriſtmas this yere at Weſtminſter, with no great traine of knightes about him. And muchwhat about the ſame time, Geffrey Archb. of Yorke departed this life, after he had remained in exile about a ſeauen yeres. But now to returne again to the practiſes of the Popes Legates. Yee ſhall vnderſtande, the French K. being requeſted by Pandulfe yͤ Popes Legate, to take the war in hãd againſt K. Iohn, was eaſily perſwaded thereto of an inwarde hatred that he bare vnto our K. and thereupon with all diligence made his prouiſion of men, ſhippes, munition and victuall, in purpoſe to paſſe ouer into Englãd: and now was his nauy ready rigged at the mouth of Saine, and he in greteſt forwardneſſe, to take his iourney. When Pandulfe vpon good conſiderations thought firſt to goe eftſoones, or at the leaſt wiſe, to ſend into England, before the French army ſhould land there, and to aſſay once agayne, if he might enduce the Kyng to ſhew himſelf reformable vnto the Popes pleaſure. King Iohn hauing knowledge of the Frẽch kings purpoſe and ordinance, aſſembled his people, and lodged with them alongſt by the coaſt towards France, that he might reſiſt his enimies and keepe them off from landing. Heere writers declare, that he had gote togither ſuch an army of men out of all the parties of his Realme, both of Lords, Knightes, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, that notwithſtãding al the prouiſion of vittayles that might poſſible be recouered, there could not be found ſufficient ſtore to ſuſteyne the huge multitude of them that were gathered alongſt the coaſt, namely at Douer, Feuerſham, Gipeſwich, and other places. Whereupon the Captaynes diſcharged and ſente home a great number of the cõmõs, reteining only yͤ men of armes, yeomen, and free holders, with the Croſſebowes and Archers. There came likewiſe to yͤ kings aide at yͤ ſame time, yͤ B. of Norwich out of Ireland, bringing with him fiue C. mẽ of armes, and a great ſort of other horſemẽ. To cõclude, there was eſteemed of able men aſſembled togither in the army on Barrcham downe, what of choſen mẽ of armes, & valiant yeomen, & other armed men the number of ſixty thouſand: ſo that if they had bin all of one mind, and well bente towards the ſeruice of their K. and defence of theyr countrey, there had not bin that Prince in Chriſtendome, but that they mighte haue bin able to haue defended the Realme of England agaynſte him. He had alſo prouided a nauie of Shippes farre ſtronger than the Frenche Kyngs, ready to fyghte with them by Sea, if the caſe hadde ſo required. But as hee lay thus ready, neere to the coaſt, to withſtande and beate backe hys enimyes, there arriued at Douer two Templers, the whyche commyng before the Kyng.

1213

The deceſſe of Geffrey the Archbyſhop of Yorke.

The French King prepareth to inuade Englande.

Mat. Pa

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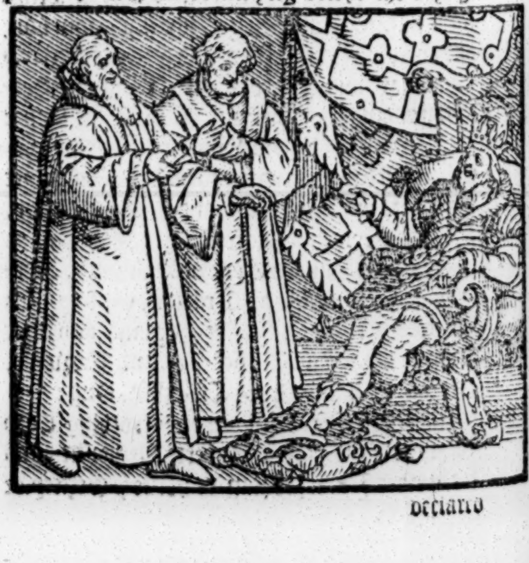


declared vnto him, that they were ſente from the Popes Legate Pandulfe, who for his profite coueted to talke with him: for hee had as they affirmed, meanes to propone, whereby he might be reconciled, both to God, and to hys Churche, although he were adiudged in the court of Rome, to haue forfeted all the right which he had to hys Kingdome.

Legate
ulph
neth ouer

The Kyng vnderſtanding the meaning of the meſſengers, ſent them backe againe to bring ouer the Legate, who incontinently tranſported ouer vnto Douer, of whoſe arriuall when the K. was aduertiſed, he went thither, & receyued hym with al due honor & reuerence, and after they had talked togither a little, and courteouſly ſaluted eache other, as the courſe of humanitie required, the Legate as it is reported, vttered his tale vnto the Kyng in this manner: I doe not thinke that you are ignorant, how Pope Innocẽt, to do that which to his duety appertayneth, hath both aſſoiled youre ſubiectes of that oth whiche they made vnto you at the beginning, and alſo taken from you the gouernaunce of England, accordyng to youre deſertes, and finally giuen commaundement vnto certayne Princes of Chriſtendome, to expulſe you out of thys Kingdome, and to place an other in your roumth, ſo worthely to puniſh you for your diſobedience and contempte of Religion, and that Phillippe King of Fraunce with the firſt being ready to accompliſh yͤ Popes commaundement, hath an army in a readineſſe, and with his nauie newly decked, rigged and furniſhed in all poyntes, lyeth at the mouth of the Riuer of Sayne, looking for a proſperous winde, that as ſoone as it commeth about, hee may ſayle therewith hither into Englande, truſting (as hee ſaith) with the help of your owne people (whyche neyther name you, nor will take you for theyr Kyng) to ſpoyle you of youre Kyngdome with ſmall adoe, and to conquere it at his pleaſure, for he hath as he ſticketh not to proteſt openly to the world, a charter made by all the chiefeſt Lordes of England touching their fealtie and obedience aſſured to him. Therefore, ſith God for your iuſt deſert is wroth with you, and that you are as euill ſpoken of by all menne, as they that come againſt you be well reported, I would aduiſe you, that whileſt there is place for grace and fauour, rather to obey the Popes iuſt demaundes, to whoſe worde other Chriſtian Princes are ready to giue eare, than by ſtriuing in vayne to caſt away youre ſelfe and all others that take youre parte, or are bente to defende your quarrell or cauſe.

Legates
s to the

These wordes beeing thus ſpoken by the Legate, Kyng Iohn as then vtterly deſpayring in his matters, when hee ſaw hymſelfe conſtreyned to obey, hee was in a greate perplexitie of minde, and as one full of thoughte, looked aboute him with a frowning countenaunce, waying with himſelfe, what counſell were beſt for him to follow. At length, oppreſſed with the burthen of the imminent daunger and ruine, agaynſt hys will and very loth ſo to haue done, hee promiſed vpon hys oth to ſtande to the Popes order and decree. And therefore ſhortly after (in lyke manner as Pope Innocent hadde commaunded) hee taketh the Crowne beſydes his owne head, and deliuereth the ſame to Pandulph the Legate, neyther hee, nor hys heires at any tyme thereafter to receyue the ſame, but at the Popes handes.

K. Iohn deliuereth his crowne vnto Pandulph.

After thys, hee promiſed to receyue Stephen the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury into hys fauour, with all other the Byſhoppes and baniſhed menne, makyng vnto them ſufficiente amendes for all iniuries to them done, and ſo to pardon them, that they ſhoulde not runne into any daunger, for that they hadde rebelled agaynſte hym.

Then Pandulph keepyng the Crowne with hym by the ſpace of fyue dayes in token of poſſeſſion thereof, at length as the Popes Vicar, hee reſtored it to hym againe. By meanes of thys acte (ſayth Polidore) the fame went abroade, that Kyng Iohn willing to continue the memorie hereof, made himſelfe vaſſall to Pope Innocente, with condition, that hys ſucceſſors ſhould lykewiſe from thenceforth acknowledge to haue theyr righte to the ſame Kyngdome from the Pope.

Pandulph reſtoreth the Crowne again to the Kyng.

But thoſe Kynges that ſucceeded Kyng Iohn, haue not obſerued any ſuche lawes of reconciliation, neyther doe the autentique Chronicles of the Realme make mention of any ſuche ſurrender, ſo that ſuche Articles as were appointed to Kyng Iohn to obſerue, perteyned vnto hym that hadde offended, and not to hys ſucceſſors. Thus ſaith Polidor, howbeit, Ranulf Higden in hys Booke entituled *Polichronicon*, ſayth indeede, that Kyng Iohn dyd not onely bynde hymſelfe, but hys heires and ſucceſſors, beeyng Kynges of Englande, to bee feodaries vnto Pope Innocente and hys ſucceſſors Popes of Rome, that is to ſaye, that they ſhoulde holde theyr dominions of them in fee, yeeldyng and paying yeerely to the See of Rome the ſumme of ſeuen hundred markes for England, and three hundred markes for Irelande.

Ran. Higd.

England became tributarie to the Pope

Mat. VVeſt.

Furthermore, by reporte of the moſt autentique and approued Writers, Kyng Iohn, for to auoyde all daungers whyche (as he doubted) myghte enſue, deſpairing as it were in hymſelfe, or rather moſt ſpecially, for lacke of loyall duetie in hys Subiectes, condiſcended to all the perſwaſions of Pandulph, and ſo not withoute hys greate hartes greeuaunce, he was contented to take hys othe, togyther

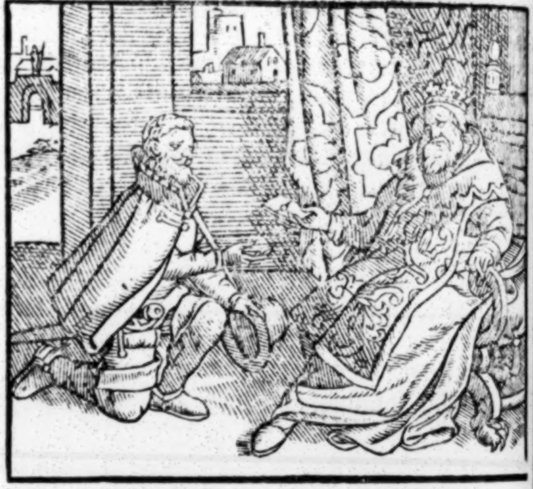
Mat. Pariſ.

with ſixteene Earles and Barons, who laying their hands vppon the holy Euangeliſtes, ſware with him vpon perill of ſoule, that hee ſhoulde ſtand to the iudgement of the Church of Rome, and that if hee repented him, and would refuſe to ſtand to promiſe, they ſhould then compell him to make ſatiſfaction. Herevpon, they being altogither at Douer, the King and Pandulfe, with the Earles and Barons, and a greate multitude of other people, agree and conclude vpon a final peace in forme as here enſueth:

The charter of King Iohn his ſubmiſſiõ.

Iohannes Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus hanc chartam inſpecturis, ſalutem in domino. Vniuerſitati veſtræ per hanc chartam ſigillo noſtro munitam, volumus eſſe notum, quod cùm Deum & matrem noſtram ſanctam Eccleſiam offenderimus in multis, & proindè diuina miſericordia plurimum indigeamus, nec quid dignè offerre poſſimus pro ſatisfactione Deo & eccleſiæ debita facienda, niſi noſmetipſos humiliemus & regna noſtra, volentes noſipſos humiliare, pro illo qui ſe pro nobis humiliauit vſq; ad mortem, gratia ſancti Spiritus inſpirante, non vi interdicti, nec timore coacti, ſed noſtra bona ſpontaneaq; voluntate, ac cõmuni conſilio Baronum noſtrorum conferimus, & libere concedimus Deo & ſanctis Apoſtolis eius Petro & Paulo & ſanctæ Romanæ eccleſiæ matræ noſtræ, ac domino Papæ Innocentio, eiuſq; catholicis ſucceſſoribus, totum regnum Angliæ & totũ regnum Hiberniæ, cum omni iure & pertinentijs ſuis, pro remiſſione omnium peccatorum noſtrorum, & totius generis noſtri, tã pro viuis quàm pro defunctis, & amodo illa ab eo & eccleſia Romana tanquã ſecundarius recipientes & tenentes, in præſentia prudentis viri Pandulphi domini Papæ ſubdiaconi & familiaris. Exindè prædicto domino Papæ Innocentio, eiuſq; catholicis ſucceſſoribus, & eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſecundùm ſubſcriptam formam fecimus & iurauimus, & homagium ligium in præſentia Pãdulphi: ſi coram domino Papa eſſe poterimus, eidem faciemus: ſucceſſores noſtros & hæredes de vxore noſtra in perpetuum obligãtes, vt ſimili modo ſummo Pontifici qui pro tempore fuerit, & eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſine contradictione debeant fidelitatem præſtare, & homagium recognoſcere. Ad indicium autem huius noſtræ perpetuæ obligationis & conceſſionis, volumus & ſtabilimus, vt de proprijs & ſpecialibus redditibus noſtris prædictorum regnorum, pro omni ſeruitio & conſuetudine, quæ pro ipſis facere debemus, ſaluis per omnia denarijs beati Petri, eccleſia Romana mille marchas Eſterlingorum percipiat annuatim: in feſto ſcilicet ſancti Michaëlis quingẽtas marcas, & in Paſcha quingentas: Septingentas ſcilicet pro regno Angliæ, & trecentas pro regno Hyberniæ, ſaluis nobis & hæredibus noſtris, iuſtitijs, libertatibus, & regalibus noſtris. Quæ omnia, ſicut ſupra ſcripta ſunt, rata eſſe volentes atque firma, obligamus nos & ſucceſſores noſtros contra non venire, & ſi nos vel aliquis ſucceſſorum noſtrorum contra hæc attentare præſumpſerit, quicunque ille fuerit, niſi ritè commonitus reſipuerit, cadat à iure regni. Et hæc charta obligationis & conceſſionis noſtræ, ſemper firma permaneat. Teſte meipſo, apud domum militum templi iuxta Doueram, coram H. Dublinenſi Archiepiſcopo, Iohanni Norwicenſi epiſcopo, Galfrido filio Petri, VV. comite Sareſberiæ, VVillielmo comite Penbroc, R. comite Bononiæ, VV. comite VVarennæ, S. comite VVinton. VV. comite Arundel VV. comite de Ferarijs, VV. Briwere, Petro filio Hereberti, VVarino filio Geroldi, xv. die Maij, anno regni noſtri decimo quarto.

This deede and inſtrument being written and ingroſſed, the King deliuered it vnto Pandulfe, to take with him to Rome, there to make deliuerie thereof to Pope Innocente, and herewith dyd homage to yͤ ſame Pope, in forme as followeth.



Ego Iohannes dei gratia Rex Angliæ, & dominus Hyberniæ, ab hac hora & in antea, fidelis ero Deo & beato Petro & eccleſiæ Romanæ, & domino meo Papæ domino Innocentio, eiuſq; ſucceſſoribus catholicè intrantibus. Non ero in facto, in dicto, conſenſu vel conſilio, vt vitam perdant vel membra, vel mala captione capiantur. Eorum damnum ſi ſciuero, impediam, & remanere faciam ſi potero: alioquin eis quàm citius potero intimabo, vel tali perſonæ dicam, quam eis credam pro certo dicturã. Conſilium quod mihi crediderint, per ſe vel per nũcios ſuos ſeu literas ſuas, ſecretum tenebo, & ad eorum damnum nulli pandam me ſciente. Patrimonium beati Petri, & ſpecialiter regnum Angliæ, & regnum Hyberniæ adiutor ero ad tenendum & defendendum, contra omnes homines pro poſſe meo. Sic me adiuuet Deus, & hæc ſancta Euangelia, Amen. Acta autem ſunt hæc, vt prædictum eſt, in vigilia dominicæ Aſcẽtionis ad Doueram. Anno. 1213.

The engliſh whereof is as followeth.

I John by the grace of God K of Englande, and Lord of Ireland, from this houre forward, ſhall be faithfull to God and to Saint Peter, and to the Church of Rome, and to my Lorde Pope Innocentius, and to his ſucceſſors lawfully entring. I ſhal not be in worde nor deede, in conſent or counſell, that they ſhoulde loſe life or member, or be apprehended in euill manner. Their loſſe if I may know it, I ſhal impeach and ſtay, ſo farre as I ſhall be able, or elſe ſo ſhortly as I can, I ſhall ſignifie vnto them, or declare to ſuch perſon the whiche I ſhall beleeue will declare the ſame vnto them. The councell which they ſhall committe to me by themſelues, their meſſengers, or letters, I ſhall keepe ſecrete, and not vtter to any man to their hurt to my knowledge. The patrimony of Saint Peter, and ſpecially the Kyngdomes of England and Ireland, I ſhall endeuor my ſelfe to defend againſt all men to my power, So help me God, and theſe holy Euangeliſts. &c. Theſe things were done on the euen of the Aſcētion of our Lord, in the yere. 1213.

Paris.

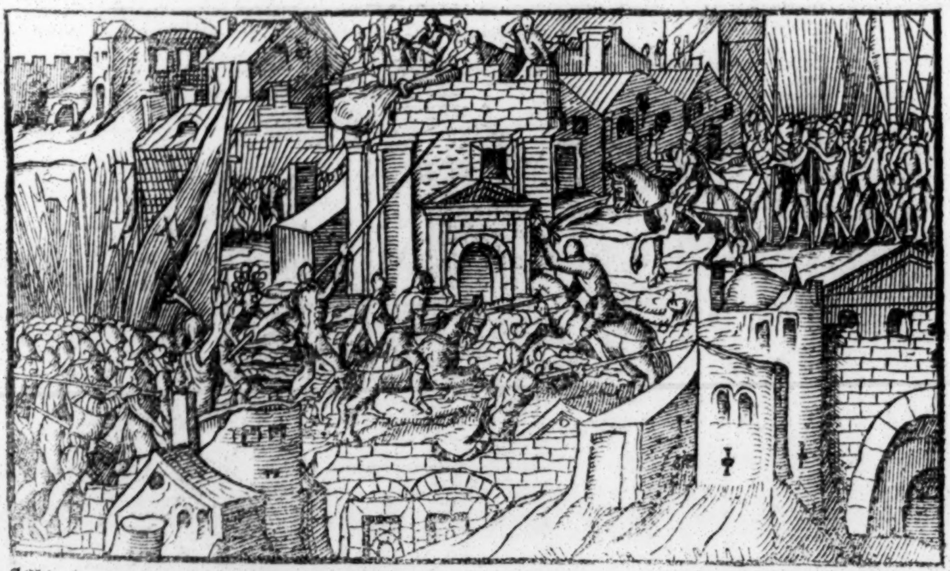
Pandulph hauing thus recōciled King Iohn, thought not good to releaſſe the excommunication, till the Kyng hadde performed all thinges whiche hee had promiſed, and ſo with all ſpeede hauing receyued eyghte thouſande markes ſterling in part of reſtitution to be made to the Archbyſhop, and the other baniſhed menne, hee ſayled backe into Fraunce, and came to Roan, where he declared to King Phillip the effect of his trauaile, and what he had done in England. But Kyng Phillip hauing in this meane while conſumed a great maſſe of money, to ẏ ſumme of ſixtie thouſande pounde, as he himſelfe alledged, about the furniture of his iourney which he intēded to haue made into Englande, vpon hope to haue had no ſmall ayde within the Realme, by reaſon of ſuche Byſhops and other baniſhed men as he hadde in France with him, was much offended for the reconciliation of Kyng Iohn, and determined not ſo to breake off his enterprice, leaſt it mighte bee imputed to him for a great reproch to haue bin at ſuch charges and great expences in vayne. Therfore calling his councell togither, he declared vnto them what he purpoſed to do. All his nobles in like manner held with him, and allowed his purpoſe to be very good and requiſite, except the Erle of Flanders named Ferdinando, who in hope to recouer againe thoſe Townes which the French King helde from hym in Arthois, as Ayre, and Saint Omers, hadde ioyned ſecretely in league with Kyng Iohn, and with the Earle of Bullongne, and therefore miſliked the concluſion of their aduice. Howbeit, King Phillip not being yet fully certified hereof, cauſed his nauie to drawe alongſt the coaſt towardes Flaunders, whyther he himſelfe haſted to goe alſo by land, that comming thither, he might from thence ſayle ouer into England, and take lande at a place to him aſſigned. Now it came to paſſe, that at his comming to Graueline, he hadde perfect knowledge, that the Erle of Flaunders was ioyned in league with his enimies, wherefore he determined fyrſte to ſubdue the Earle, leaſt whileſt hee ſhoulde bee out of his Realme, ſome great trouble or ſedition might riſe within his owne dominions. Therefore, leauing the enterpriſe whiche hee meante to haue made againſt Englande, he turned his power againſt the Earle of Flaunders, and firſt cōmaunded his nauie to ſayle vnto the Porte of Damme, whileſt he himſelf keeping on his iourney ſtill by lande, tooke the Towne of Caſſyle, and likewiſe Ypres. Frō thence, he went to Bruges, and beſieged the Towne, but hee coulde not winne it at the firſte, and therefore leauing a power of men to mayntayne the ſiege before it, hee himſelfe went to Gaunte, and thereto alſo layde his ſiege.

thou-
arkes
ſayth
West.

The French K. diſpleaſed for the reconciliation of K. Iohn with the Pope.

The French K. meaneth to proceede in his iourney againſt the Realme of Englande.

The French K. inuadeth Flanders.



Gaunt beſieged by the French king.

In the meane time, the Earle of Flaunders perceyuing that he was not able to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an enemie as the French King, ſent ouer in haſt vnto the King of England for ayde: whereupon King Iohn vnderſtanding that his aduerſarie Kyng Phillip hadde turned all his force againſt the Earle of Flaunders, and that thereby he was deliuered out of the feare of the Frenchmens comming into England. That ſame nauy (which as before is recited,) he had put in a readineſſe, conteyning the number of fyue hundred ſayle, hee ſente ſtraighte into Flaunders with a ſtrong army, both of Horſemen and footemenne, vnder the guiding of William Duke of Hollande, William Longſpee Earle of Saliſbury, baſe brother to King Iohn, and Reginald Earle of Bullongne.

Mat. Paris.

Theſe Captaynes being nowe paſſed forthe with their fleetes into the mayne Sea, eſpied anone many Shippes lying without the hauen of Dam (for the number of Shippes of the Frenche fleete was ſo greate, that the hauen could not receyue them all, ſo that many of them lay at ancre withoute the hauen mouth, and all alongſt the coaſt.) Wherefore, they ſente forthe certayne Shallops, to eſpie whether they were friendes or enimies, and what theyr number and order was.

It chanced, that the ſame time, the menne of Warre which were appoynted to keepe yͤ French fleete, were gone forthe, togither with a greate number of the Marriners to ſpoyle and fetche booties abroade in the Countrey.

The Engliſhe eſpials therefore, makyng ſemblance as though they had bin ſome fiſhermen of thoſe parties, came very neere the Frenche Shippes lying at ancre, and perceyuing them to be vnfurniſhed of people neceſſary to defend them, came backe to their company, and declared what they hadde ſeene, certifying theyr Captaynes that the victory was in theyr handes, if they woulde make ſpeede.

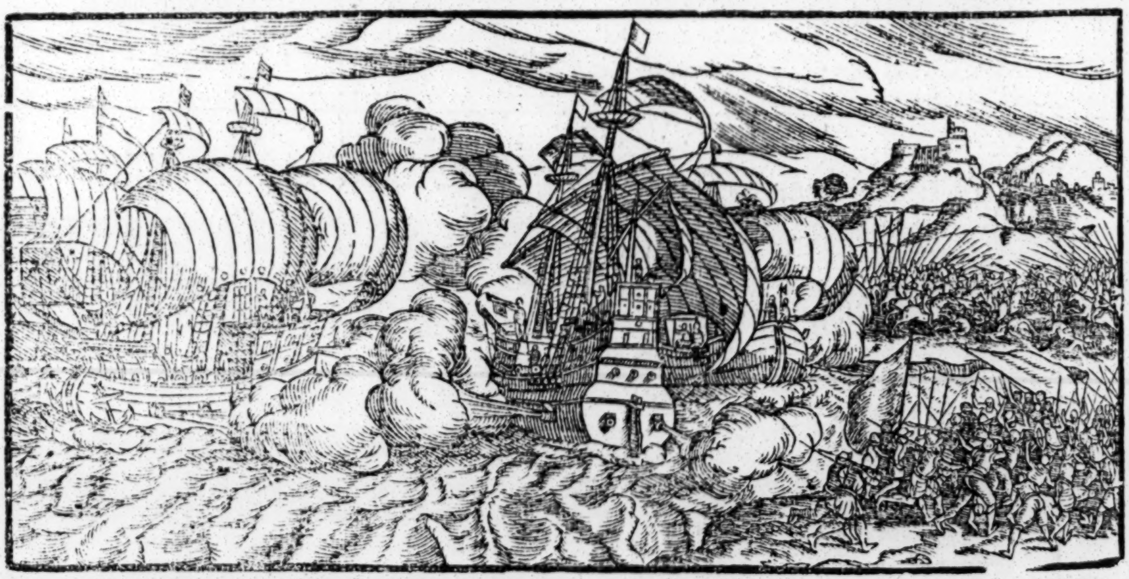
The Captaynes glad of theſe newes, commaunded theyr men to make them ready to giue battayle, and cauſing theyr marriners to make ſayle directly towards the Frenche fleete, at theyr firſt approch they wanne thoſe tall Shippes that lay at ancre abroade afore the Hauen, withoute any great reſiſtance, the Marriners only making requeſt to haue their lyues ſaued.

The En men wa the Fr Shippes.

The other ſmaller veſſels whyche (after the tyde was gone) remayned vppon the ſandes (ſpoiling them fyrſte of theyr tacle and other thyngs that would ſerue to vſe) they conſumed with fire, the Marriners eſcaping by flight.

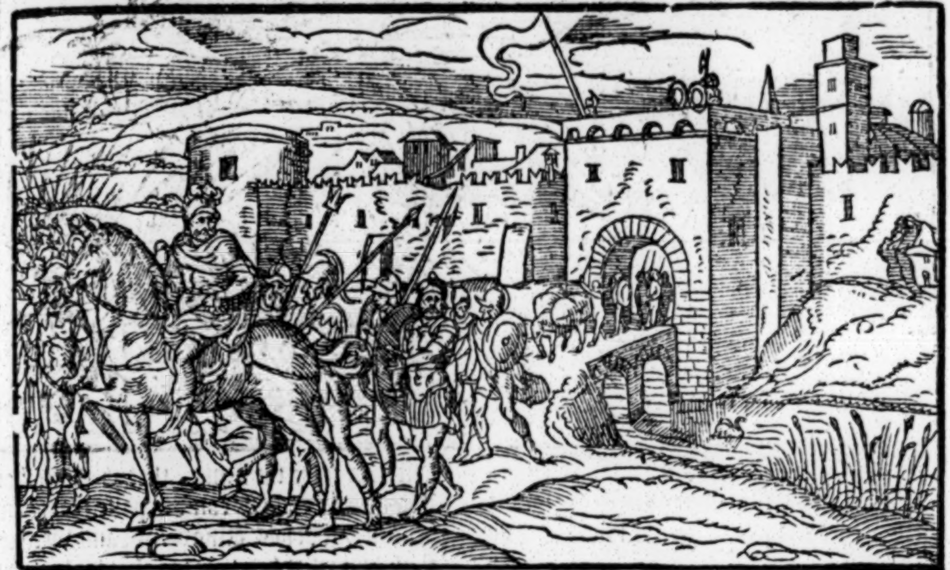
Thus the Engliſhmenne hauyng diſpatched thys buſineſſe with good ſucceſſe, they ſet vppon thoſe Shippes that lay in harbrough within the Hauen. But heere was hard holde for a whyle, bycauſe the narrowneſſe of the place woulde not gyue any great aduauntage to the greater number.

And thoſe Frenchmenne that were gone abroade into the Countrey, perceyuyng that the enimies were come, by the running away of the Marriners, returned with all ſpeede to theyr Shippes to ayde theyr fellowes, and ſo made valiant reſiſtance for a time, till the Engliſhmen getting on lande, and raunging themſelues on eyther ſyde of the Hauen, beate the Frenchmen ſo on the ſydes, and the Shippes crapolling togyther on fronte, that they foughte as it had byn in a pight field, till that finally the Frenchmenne were not able to ſuſteyne the force of the Engliſhmen, but were conſtreyned after long fyghte and greate ſlaughter, to yeelde themſelues Priſoners.



The Engliſhmen wanne the Frenche Shippes.

The Engliſh Captaynes glad of this victory gotten contrary to expectation, fyrſte gaue thankes to God for the ſame, and then manning three C. of thoſe Frēch Shippes which they had taken fraught with corne, wine, oyle, fleſhe, and other vittayles, and alſo with armour, they ſente them away into England, and afterwardes they ſet fire on the reſidue that lay on ground, whyche were aboue an hundred, bycauſe they were drawen vp ſo farre vpon the ſandes, that they coulde not eaſily get them out, without their farther inconuenience.



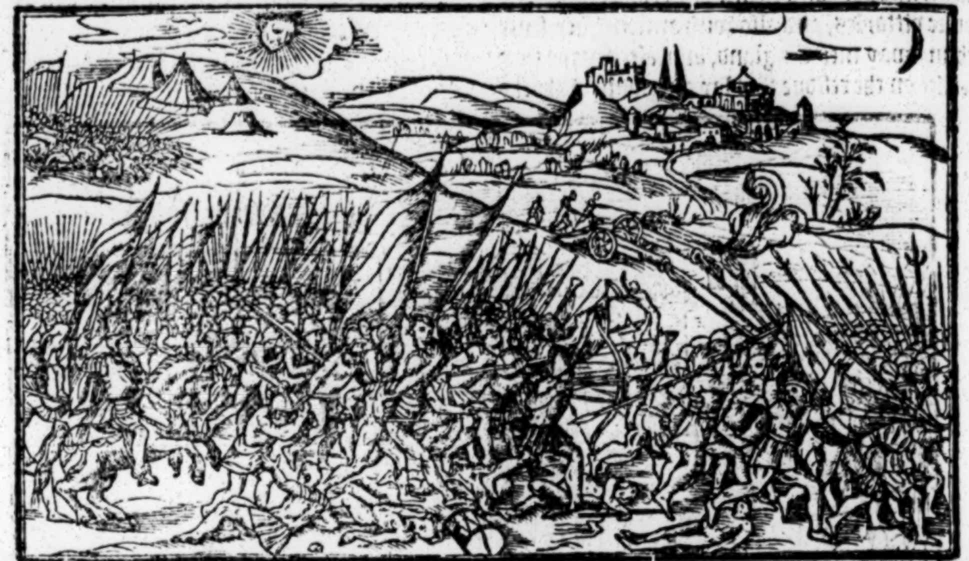
After this, comming on lande with their power, they marche forthe into the Countrey in good order of battayle, to the ende, that if they ſhould encounter with Kyng Phillip by the way comming to the reſkewe of hys Shippes, they myghte bee ready to giue him battayle, whyche thyng was not deuiſed, without good and greate conſideration. For Kyng Phillip being certified of the daunger wherein hys Shippes ſtoode by the ſuddayne commyng of his enimies, and therwithall beeing in good hope to come to their ſuccours in tyme, and ere the Engliſhmenne hadde wrought their full feate, hee raiſed his ſiege, and made haſt toward the coaſt: but as he was comming forward towards his nauie, he was aduertiſed, that the enimies had wonne all his whole fleete, and were nowe marching forth to meete him, and to giue him battayle. Alſo it was tolde him, howe Ferdinando the Earle of Flaunders, beeing certified of the victory atchieued by hys friendes, followed at his backe. Wherefore, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme ouerraſhly to committe himſelfe into manifeſt perrill, he ſtayed a little from Bruges, and there encamped for that day, as if hee meant to abide the comming of his enimies. The nexte morrowe, he raiſed, and returned towardes Fraunce, the very ſame way that hee came, no man purſuing him. For the Engliſhmen contẽted with that victory whiche they hadde gotten, thought it not neceſſary to follow him with their farther hazard. In the meane time, Kyng Iohn receyuing newes of this proſperous victory thus gotten by his people, did wonderfully reioyce for the ſame, conceyuing an hope, that all his buſineſſe woulde now come forwarde, and growe to good ſucceſſe. This is the troth of this hiſtory, as ſome authors haue ſet forth, but Iames Maier in his diſcourſe of Flaunders, declareth the matter ſomewhat otherwiſe, as thus: Vpon yͤ Thurſday before yͤ feaſt of Pentecoſt (ſaith he) the Engliſh fleete ſetting vpon the French nauie whyche lay at ancre in the Hauen of Dam, drowned certayne of the Frenche Veſſels, and tooke to the number of four, which they conueyed away with them. Ferdinando the Erle of Flaunders hauing an army of men ready by lande, was lodged the ſame time not farre off from the coaſt, and therefore hearing what had chaunced, came the nexte day, and ioyned with the Engliſhmen.

Mat. Paris.
Polidor.
Ia. Meir.

There were yet remayning alſo diuers other of the Frenche Shippes, (beſydes thoſe whiche the Engliſhmen hadde ſonke and taken,) whiche were drawen vp further into the land warde.

The Earle of Flaunders therefore, and the Engliſh Captaynes iudged, that it ſhould much hinder the Frenche Kinges attemptes, if they myghte winne thoſe Shippes alſo with the Towne of Dam, wherein the Kyng hadde layde vp a greate parte of hys prouiſion for the furniture of hys warres.

Heerevppon the Engliſhmenne were ſette on lande, and ioyning with the Earles power, they marche ſtrayte towardes Dam. Thys was vppon Whitſon euen, vppon the whyche daye, as they were moſt buſie in aſſaulting the Towne and Shippes whyche laye there in the Hauen, the Frenche Kyng beeyng come away from Gaunt, ſuddaynely ſet vpon them, and though in the beginning he found ſharp reſiſtãce, yet in the ende, the Engliſhmen and Flemmings ouerſet with the great multitude of the Frenchmen, were putte to flighte, and chaſed to theyr Shippes, with the loſſe of two thouſand men, beſydes thoſe that were taken Priſoners, amongſt the which Priſoners were founde to be two and twentie Knightes.



The Engliſhmen and Flemmings vanquiſhed by the French power.

The Earle of Flaunders with the Earles of Bulleyne and Saliſbury, doubting to loſe theyr Shippes, and late gotten bootie, ſailed ſtraite into one of the Iles of Selande called Walkeren, then the Frenche Kyng conſtreyning them of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, to deliuer vnto him pledges, cauſed the Towne of Damme, and hys Shippes lying there in the Hauen to be brenned, doubting leaſt they ſhuld come into ẏ hands of his enimies. And this done, hee returned into Fraunce, leauing his ſonne Lewis and the Erle of Saint Paule in garriſon at Liſle and Doway, and for great ſummes of money which by agreement he receiued of the Townes of Gaunt, Bruges, and Ypres, he reſtored vnto them their pledges. Thus hathe Meire: and Mathew Paris differeth not muche from him touching the ſucceſſe which chaunced to the Engliſhmenne by land. Heere will I ſtaye a while in the farther narration of this matter, and touche by the way a thing that hapned to Kyng Iohn about thys preſent time.

The French K. brenneth his Shippes.

An Hermite named Peter of Pontfret, or Wakefield as ſome Writers haue. See maſter Fox tome firſt page. and. 331.

There was in this ſeaſon an Hermite, whoſe name was Peter, dwelling about Yorke, a man in great reputation with the common people, bycauſe that eyther inſpired with ſome ſpirite of prophecie as the people beleeued, or elſe hauyng ſome notable ſkill in arte magike, he was accuſtomed to tell what ſhoulde followe after. And for ſo muche as oftentimes his ſayings prooued true, greate credite was giuen to him as to a very Prophet.

This Peter about the fyrſte of January laſt paſt, had tolde the King, that at the feaſt of the Aſcention it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that he ſhould bee caſt out of hys Kingdome, and whether, to the intente that hys wordes ſhoulde be the better beleeued, or whether hee hadde too muche truſt of hys owne cunning, hee offered hymſelfe to ſuffer deathe for it, if hys Prophecy prooued not true. Heerevppon hee beeyng committed to priſon within the Caſtell of Corf, when the daye by him prefixed came, without any other notable domage vnto Kyng Iohn, hee was by the Kynges commaundemente drawen from the ſayde Caſtell, vnto the Towne of Warham, and there hanged, togither with hys ſonne.

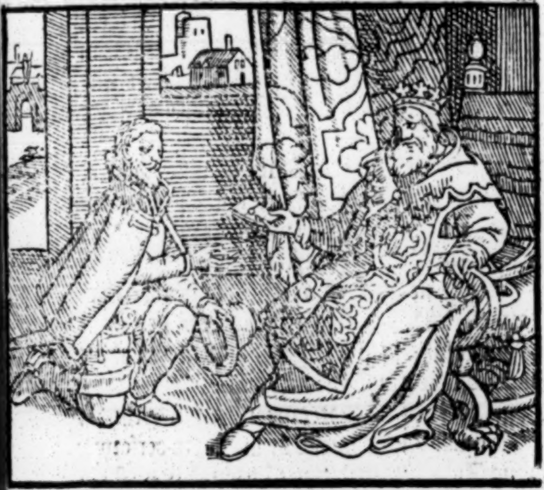
The He and his hanged.

The people muche blamed Kyng Iohn, for thys extreame dealing, bycauſe that the Hermite was ſuppoſed to be a man of greate vertue, and his ſonne nothing gilty to the offence committed by hys father (if any were) againſte the Kyng.

Moreouer, ſome thought, that he had muche wrong to dye, bycauſe the matter fell out euen as hee hadde prophecyed: for the daye before the Aſcention daye, Kyng Iohn hadde reſigned the ſuperioritie of hys Kyngdome (as they tooke the matter) vnto the Pope, and had done to hym homage, ſo that he was no abſolute Kyng indeede as Authors affirme. One cauſe, and that not the leaſt which moued King Iohn the ſooner to agree with the Pope, roſe through the wordes of the ſayde Hermite, ẏ did put ſuche a feare of ſome greate miſhappe in hys hart, which ſhould grow through the diſloyaltie of his people, that it made hym yeelde the ſooner. But to the matter agayne.

King Iohn after hys Captaines in Flaunders hadde ſpedde ſo well (as before yee haue hearde,) hee prepareth to make a voyage into

Guyenne, not regarding much the matter, in that the Realme ſtoode as yet interdicted. But when hee vnderſtoode by hys Lordes, that they woulde not goe with hym excepte the interdicting might fyrſte be releaſſed, and hee cleerely aſſoyled of the Popes curſſe, to the ende that Goddes wrathe and the Popes beeyng fully pacifyed towardes hym, hee myghte with better ſpeede moue and mainteyne the warres, hee was conſtreyned to change hys purpoſe, and ſo commyng to Wincheſter, diſpatched forthe a meſſenger with letters ſigned with the handes of foure and twentie Earles and Barons, vnto the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury and Byſhoppes of London, Lincolne, and Herefoorde, as then ſoiourning in Fraunce, requiring them with all the other baniſhed menne, to returne into England, promiſing them by hys letters patentes, not onely a ſure ſaufeconduit for their comming ouer, but that hee woulde alſo forget all paſſed diſpleaſures, and frankely reſtore vnto euery manne all that by hys meanes hadde bene wrongfully taken from them, and as yet by hym deteyned.



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The Archbyſhoppe and the other Byſhoppes receyuing the Kynges letters, with all ſpeede made haſt to come into Englande, and ſo arriuing at Douer the ſixteenth daye of July, with other the baniſhed menne, they goe to Wincheſter, where the Kyng yet remayned, who hearing that the Byſhoppes were come, went forthe to receyue them, and at his fyrſte meetyng with the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, hee kneeled downe at hys feete, and beſoughte hym of forgiueneſſe, and that it woulde pleaſe hym and the other Byſhoppes alſo to prouide for the reliefe of the miſerable ſtate of the Realme. Herewith the water ſhooting in dyuerſe of theyr eyes on bothe ſydes, they enter into the Citie, the people greatly reioycing to beholde the head of the common wealthe to agree at length with the members.

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This was in the yeare after the birth of oure Sauiour. 1213.

Kyng John required of the Archbyſhoppe (hauing as then the Popes power in his handes, bycauſe hee was hys Legate) to be aſſoyled, promiſing vppon hys ſolemne receyued oth, that hee woulde (afore all thyngs) defende the Churche and the order of Prieſthoode from receyuing any wrongs.

The K. prayeth to be aſſoyled.

Alſo, that hee woulde reſtore the olde lawes made by the auncient Kings of Englande, and namely thoſe of Saint Edward, which were almoſt extinguiſhed and forgotten. And further, that hee woulde make recompence to all menne whome he had by any meanes indomaged. This done, he was aſſoyled by the Archbiſhop, & ſhortly after he ſent his Orators to Rome, to intreate with the Byſhoppe to take away the interdiction of the land. On the morrow after alſo, the Kyng ſente hys letters to all the Sherifes of the Counties within the Realme, commaunding them to ſummon foure lawfull men of euery towne belonging to the demeane of the Crowne, to make their appearance at Sainte Albons, vppon the fourth day of Auguſt, that they and other might make inquiſition of the loſſes whiche euery Byſhoppe hadde ſuſteyned, what had bin taken from them, and what ought to bee reſtored to them as due for the ſame.

He is aſſoiled.

A queſt of inquirie.

The Archbyſhoppe for that time takyng hys leaue of the Kyng, went to Caunterbury, where he reſtored the Monkes to theyr Abbey, and then tooke poſſeſſion of hys See, beeing the two and fortith Archbyſhoppe that hadde ruled the ſame.

The Archb. taketh poſſeſſion of his See.

In the meane tyme, the Kyng repayred to Porteſmouth, there to take the Sea to ſayle ouer into Poictowe, committing the rule of the Realme vnto Geffrey Fitz Peter or Fitz Peers, Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and to the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, commaunding them to vſe the councell and aduice of the Archbyſhoppe of Canterbury, in gouerning thyngs touching the common wealthe.

Herewith, there came alſo to the Kyng a great multitude of men of warre, alledging, that they had ſpent in ſtaying for him, and his going ouer ſea all their money, ſo that hee muſt now needes giue them wages, if he would haue them to paſſe ouer with him into Fraunce. The whiche when hee refuſed to do, hee was conſtreyned to take the water with his owne ſeruauntes, arriuing about a three dayes after at the Iſle of Jerſey: but perceyuing that none of his Lordes followed hym according to his commaundement, as one diſappoynted of ayde, hee returned backe againe into Englande, there to take further order for thys theyr miſdemeanor. Whyleſt theſe thynges were thus in doyng, Geffrey Fitz Peeter, and the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter were come

The Lords refuſe to follow the King into Fraunce.

to S. Albons, togither with the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury, and other Biſhops and peeres of the Realme, where the Kyngs peace being proclaymed to all men, it was on his behalfe ſtraitly commaunded, that the lawes of Kyng Henry his Graundfather ſhoulde be obſerued vniuerſally within his Realme, and that all vniuſt lawes and ordinances ſhould be abrogated.

King Hẽry the firſt his lawes.

It was alſo commaunded, that no Sherife, no forreſter, nor other miniſter of the Kynges, ſhould vpon paine of life and limme, take violẽtly any thing of any man by way of extortion, nor preſume to wrong any man, or to fyne any man, as they had afore time bin accuſtomed to doe.

After this, the King beeing come backe from his iourney which he purpoſed to haue made into Poictow, hee aſſembled an army, and meante to haue gone againſt thoſe Lordes which had refuſed to goe with him, but the Archbiſhop of Canterbury cõming to him at Northamptõ, ſought to appeaſe his moode, and to cauſe him to ſtay, but yet in his furious rage he went forwarde till he came to Nottingham, and there with muche adoe, the Archbiſhop following him with threatning to excommunicate all thoſe that ſhould aid him, procured him to leaue off his enterprice.

The Archb. menaceth to excommunicate thoſe that aſsiſt the king

After thys, the Archbyſhoppe aboute the fyue and twentith day of Auguſt, came to London, there to take aduice for the reformation of things touching the good gouernemente of the common wealthe. But heere, whyleſt the Archbyſhoppe, with other peeres of yͤ Realm deuiſed orders very neceſſary (as was thought) for the ſtate of the cõmon wealthe, the King doubting leaſt the ſame ſhould be a bridle for him to reſtrayne his authoritie royall from doyng thyngs to his pleaſure, he beganne to fynde fault, and ſeemed, as though hee hadde repented hymſelfe of his large promiſes made for his reconciliation: but the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury ſo aſſuaged his moode, and perſwaded him by opening vnto him what daunger woulde enſue both to him and to hys Realme, if hee wente from the agreemente, that he was glad to be quiet for feare of further trouble. In thys hurly burly alſo, the Lordes and peeres of the Realme (by the ſetting on of the Archbyſhoppe) were earneſtly bente to haue the Kyng to reſtore and confirme the graunt which hys Graundfather Kyng Henry the firſte hadde by his charter graunted and confirmed to his ſubiectes, whiche to doe, Kyng Iohn thoughte greatly preiudiciall to hys royall eſtate and dignitie.

Raufe Cog.
The Earle of Tholouze.

The Earle of Tholouze hauing loſt all hys poſſeſſions, the Citie of Tholouze only excepted, came ouer into Englande, and rendred the ſayde Citie into the handes of King Iohn, and receyued at his departure, the ſumme of tenne thouſande markes as was reported, by the bountifull gifte of Kyng Iohn.

Mat. Pari.
Geffrey Fi
Peers or Fi
Peter depar.
teth this li

The ſecond of October, Geffrey Fitz Peter, Erle of Eſſex, and Lord chiefe Iuſtice of England, departed this life, a man of great power and authoritie, in whoſe politique direction and gouernemente, the order of things perteining to the common wealth chiefly conſiſted. Hee was of a noble mind, experte in knowledge of the lawes of the land, riche in poſſeſſions, and ioyned in bloud or affinitie with the more parte of all the Nobles of the Realme, ſo that his deathe was no ſmall loſſe to the common wealthe: for through hym and the Archbiſhop Hubert, the King was oftentimes reuoked frõ ſuch wilfull purpoſes, as nowe and then he was determined to haue put in practiſe, in ſo much, that the King, as was reported, but how truely I cannot tell, ſeemed to reioyce for his death, bycauſe hee might now worke hys will without any to comptroll him.

A Cardinal
ſent into E
lande.

The ſame time, to witte, aboute the feaſt of Saint Michaell, came Nicholas, the Cardinall of Tuſculane into Englande, ſente from the Pope, to take away the interdiction, if the King woulde ſtande to that agreemente whyche hee hadde made and promiſed by his oth to performe. Kyng Iohn receyued this Cardinall in moſt honorable wiſe, and gladly heard him in all things that he had to ſay.

Thys Legate at his comming to Weſtminſter, depoſed the Abbot of that place, named William, from hys roome, for that hee was accuſed both of waſting the reuenewes of the houſe, and alſo of notable incontinencie.

The burg
of Oxfo
quire ab
tion.

Moreouer, the Burgeſſes of the Towne of Oxforde came vnto hym to obteyne abſolution of their offence, in that through their preſumption, the three ſcollers (of whome ye haue heard before) were hanged there, to the greate terror of all the reſidue. To be ſhorte, they were aſſoyled, and pennance enioyned them, that they ſhould ſtripe them out of their apparell at euery Churche in the Towne, and going barefooted with ſcourges in their handes, they ſhoulde require the benefite of abſolution of euery the Pariſh Prieſte within their Towne, ſaying the Pſalme of *Miſerere*.

A conuo
called by
Cardinall

After this, the ſaide Cardinall called a counſell or conuocation of the Cleargie, to reforme ſuch things touching the ſtate of the Churche as ſhould be thought requiſite. And though he handled not thys matter with ſuche fauour and vprightneſſe as the Biſhoppes wiſhed on their behalfes, yet hee cauſed King Iohn to reſtore the moſt parte of all thoſe goodes that remayned vnſpente, and alſo the valewe of halfe of thoſe that were conſumed and made away, vnto thoſe perſons as well ſpiritual as temporal, from whome they had bin taken in time of the diſcord betwixt him and the Pope.

But before all things coulde bee thus quieted and ſet in order betwixte the King and the Byſhops, many meetings were had, as at London, Reading, and Wallingford, and in other places. Nowe the Archbiſhoppe and Prelates for theyr partes thought this recompence to be but ſmall in reſpect of the great loſſes and hinderances whiche they had ſuſteyned: and to haue the whole reſtitution delayed, they tooke it not well. But the Cardinall leaned ſo to the Kyngs ſyde (hauyng receyued of hym to the Popes vſe the charter of ſubiection of the Realmes of England and Irelande, nowe bulled with golde, where at the firſte it was deliuered to Pandulph, ſealed only with ware. But their ſute came to little effect, and in yͤ end it fell out in ſuch wiſe, that their complaynte was leſſe regarded. The rating moreouer of the valew which the Kyng ſhoulde reſtore vnto the Archbyſhoppe, and to the other Byſhops, was by agreemente of the Kyng and them togither, appoynted vnto four Barons, indifferently choſen betwixt them. Yet at length that deuiſe tooke no place: but it was otherwiſe decreede by the Pope, that the Kyng ſhoulde reſtore to them the ſumme of fortie thouſande markes, of the whych he had payde already twelue thouſand, before the returne of the ſayde Archbiſhoppe and Byſhops into the Realme, and fifteene thouſande more at the late meeting had betwixt them at Readyng, ſo that there remayned only .13000. behynde: for not only the Kyng, but alſo the Cardinall hadde ſent to the Pope, requiring him to take direction in the matter, and to aduertiſe hym, that there was a great fault in the Archbyſhop and his fellowes. In ſo muche, that Pandulph whiche was ſente to him from the Legate, declared in fauoure of the King, that there was not a more humble and modeſt Prince to be found thā Kyng Iohn, and that the Archbyſhop and hys fellowes were too hard, and ſhewed themſelues too couetous in requiring the reſtitution that ſhoulde bee made to them for loſſes ſuſteyned in time of the interdiction. Now the cauſe wherefore the Legate and the Kyng dyd ſende vnto the Pope, was this: there was ſome grudge betwixte the Legate and the Archbiſhoppe, for that where the Pope had written to the Legate, how he ſhoulde accordyng to the order of the auntient Cannōs ot the Church, place in euery Byſhoppes See and Abbey (that was vacant) meete, and able perſons to rule and guyde the ſame, the Legate preſuming vppon that authoritie graunted him by the Pope, without the aduice of the Archbyſhoppe or other Byſhops, tooke onely with him certayne of yͤ kings Chaplaynes, and commyng with them to ſuche Churches as were vacant, ordeined in them ſuch perſons, as wer nothing mete to take ſuch charge vpon them, and that accordіng to the olde abuſe of England, as ſaith Mathew Paris. Whereupon the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury repinyng at ſuche doyngs, ſente to the Legate as then beeing at Burton vppon Trente, two of his Chaplaynes from Dunſtable (where he and his ſuffraganes helde as then a Synode, after the feaſt of the Epiphany) commaundyng hym by way of appeale, in no wiſe to meddle with inſtituting any gouernours to Churches, within the precinct of his iuriſdiction, where ſuch inſtitutions belonged only to him.

1214

Burton vpon Trent.
Dunſtable.
A Synode.
Diſcord betwixt the Cardinall and the Archbyſhop of Canterbury

Heerevppon therefore the Legate diſpatched Pandulph to Rome vnto the Pope as is aforeſaide, and the Kyng likewiſe ſente Imbaſſadors thither as the Byſhop of Norwich, and yͤ Archdeacon of Northumberland, with other, the whiche in the ende ſo behaued thēſelues in their ſute, that notwithſtanding Simon Langhton the Archbyſhops brother earneſtly withſtoode them, as Proctor for the Byſhoppes, yet at length, the Pope tooke order in the matter, writing vnto hys Legate, that hee ſhoulde ſee the ſame fulfilled, and then aſſoyle the Realme of the former interdiction.

In this meane tyme, Kyng Iohn made prouiſion to goe ouer into Fraunce (as after ye ſhall heare) but at hys going ouer, hee committed the whole ordering of this matter vnto the Legate, and to William Marſhall the Earle of Pembroke. The Legate therefore vppon the recept of the Popes Bulles, called a Counſell at London, & there declaring what was conteyned in yͤ ſame, he tooke bandes for paymente of the reſidue of the fortie thouſande markes which was behinde, being .13000. only as before I haue ſaide.

About yͤ ſame time alſo, Walter Gray B. of Worcetor, was remoued to yͤ gouernemente of yͤ See of Yorke, which had bin vacant, euer ſith the death of the Archbyſhop Geffrey. This Walter was yͤ three and thirtith Archbiſhop that gouerned that See. But nowe to returne and ſpeake of the kings affayres in the parties of beyonde the Sea.

Walter Gray Biſhop of Worcetor, is remoued to the See of Yorke.

Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that hauing ſet hys buſineſſe in ſome good ſtay at home with the Legate, hee applyed his ſtudy to the performance of his warres abroade. And therefore hee firſte ſent money into Flaunders to pay the Souldiers wages, whyche hee had ſente thither to ayde yͤ Erle there agaynſte Kyng Phillippe. Whiche Earle came ouer thys yeare into Englande, and at Caunterbury the Kyng receyued hym, where he dyd homage to the Kyng for the whole Earledome of Flaunders: and on the other parte, the K. as well to the ſayde Earle, as to ſuche Lordes & Biſhops which came ouer with hym, declared

Mony ſent into Flanders.

Rauſe Cog.
The Earle of Flanders doth homage to K. Iohn.

his royall liberalitie by princely giftes of golde ſiluer, iewels, and precious ſtones.

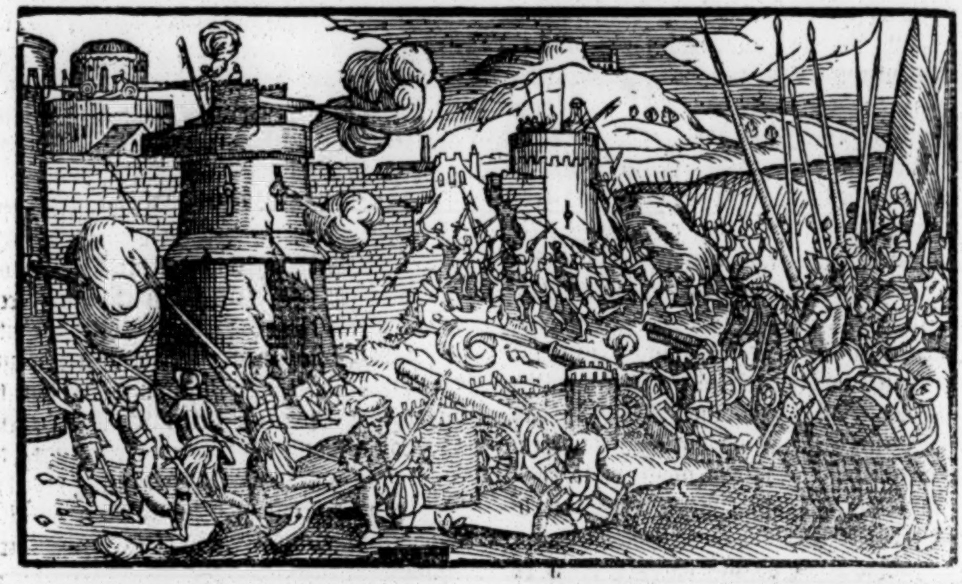
Mat. Paris. After his returne, ſuch captaines as remayned in his countrey with their bandes at the Kyng of

The lands of the Earle of Guiſnes waſted

Englandes pay, made a iourney into Fraunce, and waſted the landes that belonged to the Erle of Guiſnes, wanne the Caſtell of Bruncham, and raſed it, taking within it diuers mẽ of armes and demilances.

They alſo wanne by ſiege the Towne of Ryre, and brent it.

The Caſtell of Liens they tooke by aſſaulte,



and ſlewe many Souldiers that defended it, beſide thoſe which they tooke priſoners.

Moreouer, they waſted and deſtroyed the landes whiche Lewes the Frenche Kings ſonne was poſſeſſed of in thoſe parties. In the meane tyme, Kyng Iohn hauing prepared a mighty nauie, and a ſtrong army of valiant Souldiers, tooke the Sea at Portſmouth on Candlemaſſe day, togither with his wife, hys ſonne Richarde, and Eleanor the ſyſter of Arthur Duke of Brytayne. Hee hadde not many of hys Earles or Barõs with him, but a great number of knights, and Gentlemenne, with whome hee landed at Rochell in ſafetie, within a fewe dayes after hys ſetting forth.

Hee tooke ouer with him ineſtimable treaſure as it was reported, in golde, ſyluer, and iewels.

Immediately vppon hys arriuall at Rochell, the Barons of Poictow reuolted from ẏ French King, and comming in to Kyng Iohn, did homage vnto him, as to their King and ſoueraigne Lord.

But howſoeuer it was, after the truce began

An. reg. 16. to expire which he had graunted vnto the Earles of March and Augi, on the Friday before Whitſonday he came with his army before the Caſtell

Meireuent. Geffrey de Lucignan.

of Meireuẽt, which belõged vnto Geffrey de Lucignam, and on ẏ day next enſuing being Whitſon eue, he wanne the ſame. And on Whitſonday he layde ſiege vnto Nouant, an other Caſtel

Nouant.

belonging to the ſame Geffrey, who as then was lodged in the ſame, and alſo two of hys ſonnes: but within three dayes after that the ſiege was layde, the Earle of March came to King Iohn, and did ſo much, that through his meanes, both Geffrey, and his two ſonnes were receyued to mercy, and Kyng Iohn put in poſſeſſion of the Caſtell.

After this, bycauſe King Iohn was aduertiſed that Lewis the Frenche Kings ſonne hadde beſieged Mountcounter, a Caſtell that was apperteyning to the ſaid Geffrey, he haſted thitherwards, and came to Parthenay, whither came to hym as well the forſayd Earle of Marche, as alſo the Earle of Augy, and both they togyther with the ſayde Geffrey de Lucignam dyd homage to oure Kyng, and ſo became hys liege men.

Mountco

Parthen

Iane the daughter King Ioh married t erle of M

The ſame time alſo, the Lady Iane the kings daughter was affianced to the ſayde Earle of Marche hys ſonne, whereas the Frenche Kyng made meanes to haue hir married to hys ſonne: but for that Kyng Iohn doubted leaſt that ſute was attempted but vnder ſome cloked pretext, he would giue no eare thereto, but rather made thys matche with the Earle of Marche, in hope ſo to aſſure himſelfe of the ſaid Earle, that might ſtand him in no ſmall ſteede to defend his cauſe againſt his aduerſaries of Fraunce. But now to the doings in Englande.

Ye haue heard before how Pope Innocẽt, according to that whiche King Iohn had required of hym by ſolemne meſſengers, directed hys

Bulles vnto his legate Nicholas, declaring vpon what conditions his pleaſure was to haue the ſentence of interdiction releaſed. Wherein firſt he commaunded that the king ſhoulde ſatiſfie and pay ſo much money vnto the Archbiſhop of Cāterburie, and to the Biſhop of London, and Ely, as ſhould fully amount to the ſumme of. xl. M. Markes, with that which alreadie he had payed, which was. xxvij. thouſand Markes, at two ſeuerall payments, as vpon his accounts appeared.) For true contentation and payment to bee made of the reſidue, he ordeyned that the king ſhould be ſworne, and alſo ſeale to an obligation (and certaine ſureties with him, as the Biſhops of Norwich, and Winchester, with the Earles of Cheſter, Wincheſter, and Marſhall) all which things were performed at this preſent, ſo that after the aſſurance ſo taken for payment of the odde. xiij. thouſande Markes behinde, reſidue of the. xl. M. Markes, the interdiction was takẽ vtterly away, and the lande ſolemnly releaſed by the Legate, ſitting within the Cathedrall Church of S. Paule at London, vpon the. xxix. of Iune. in the yeare 1214. after the terme of. vj. yeares, three monethes, and. xiiij. dayes, that the realme had bene ſtryken with that dreadfull darte of correction, as it was then eſteemed.

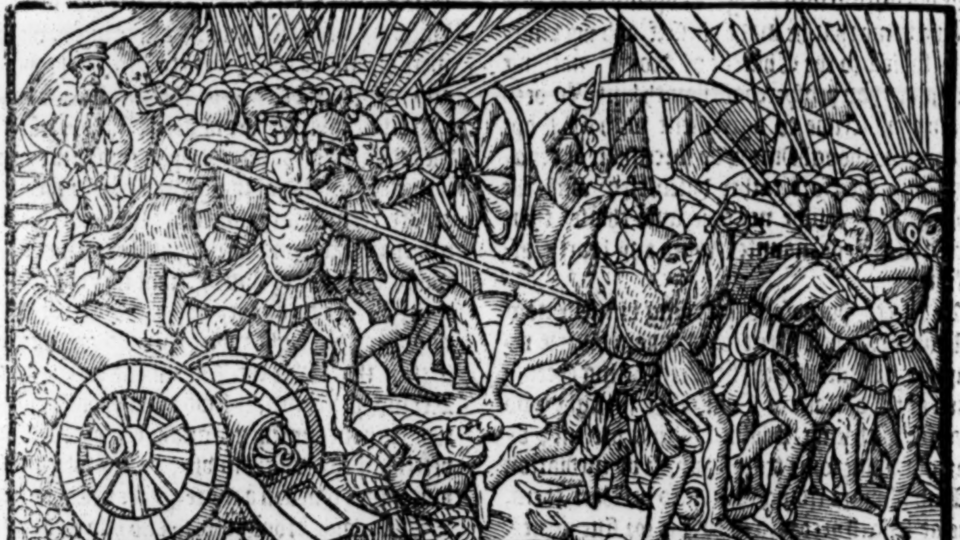
nterdic-
eleaſed.

King Iohn in this meane while remayning ſtill in France, and finding at the beginning fortune fauourable ynough vnto him, by reaſon his power was muche encreaſed by the ayde of the Poictouins, he determined to attempt the wynning of Brytaine, for this cauſe ſpecially, that he might by ſo doing weaken the French kings power, and partly alſo to withdraw him frõ the warres of Flanders, on which ſide he had procured likewiſe the Frenche borders to bee inuaded with great force, and that not onely by the Earle and ſuch captaynes as he had ſent thither, and reteyned in wages, but alſo by the Emperour Otho, who in proper perſon came downe into that Countrey himſelfe.

The Emperor Otho.

Herevpon king Iohn went forth with all his power of horſemen, and entring into Brytaine, maketh rodes through the Countrey, waſting the ſame euen to the walles of Nauntes: But ſhortly after the Brytaines aſſembled togither, vnder the leading of Peter, the ſonne of Robert Earle of Drieux (the French kings vncle, who had maried the Ladie Adela yͤ daughter to Duke Guy of Brytaine) and marching forth into the fielde to defend their Countrey from the enimies, came to ioyne with them in battaile. At the firſt there was a right ſharpe encounter, but at length the Britains being vanquiſhed and put to flight, a greate number of them were taken priſoners; and amongſt other their Captaines, the foreſayde Peter was one, whome king Iohn ſent away with all the reſt vnto Angiers, to be kept in ſafegarde vntill he ſhould returne.

King Iohn inuadeth Brytaine.



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After this, hee beſieged a Caſtell that ſtoode vpon the banke of the Riuer of Loyer called *La Roch au Moyne*, enforcing his whole endeuour to haue wonne it. But ere hee coulde attaine his purpoſe, he was aduertiſed that Lewes the ſonne of King Philip was comming towardes him with a great power to rayſe his ſiege, wherefore hauing no greate confidence in the Poictauins, and vnderſtanding that Lewes brought wyth him a verie ſtrong armie, hee tooke aduice of hys Counſell, who iudged that it ſhoulde bee beſt for him to breake vp his ſiege, and to depart, whiche hee did and went ſtraight way to Angiers.

ench
onne
o fight
K. Iohn.

Lewes (after king Iohn was thus retyred,) brought the Poictauins againe to ſubiection, and put the chiefe authours of the rebellion to death.

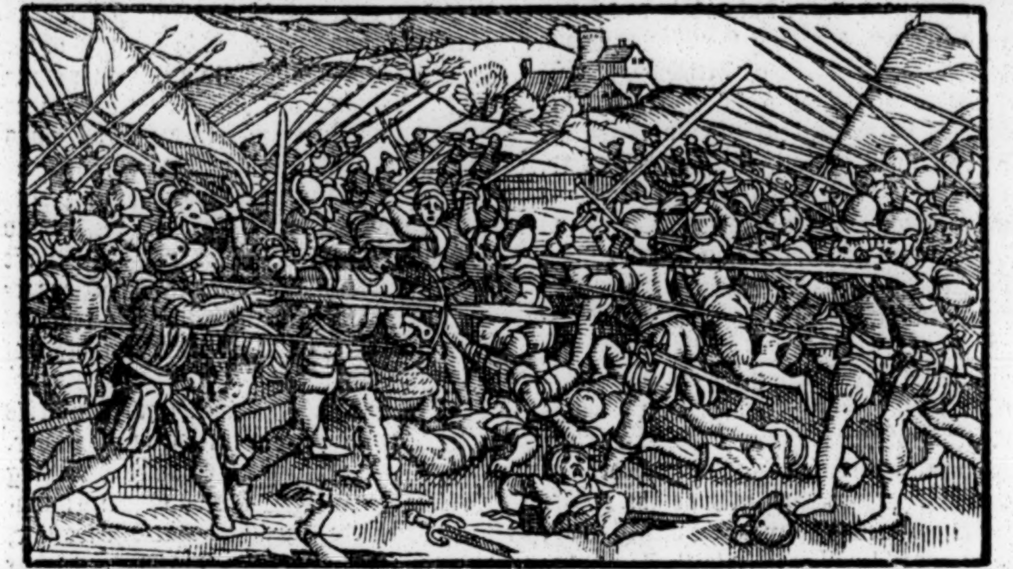
King Iohn remoueth to Angiers.

The Poictauins ſubdued by the French.

In the meane time alſo his father king Philip with like ſucceſſe, but in a foughten field vanquiſhed

The battaile at the bridg of Bouins,

quiſhed the Emperour Otho at the Bridge of Bouins on the.xxviij.day of Iuly, as in the hyſtorie of Fraunce maye more at large appeare. There were takẽ amõg other priſoners, the three



Erles of Flanders, Saliſburie and Bollongne. Now king Iohn being aduertiſed of that ouerthrow, was maruellouſly ſadde and ſorrowfull of the chaunce, inſomuch that he woulde not receyue any meate in a whole day after the newes thereof was brought vnto him. At length turning his ſorrow into a rage, he openly ſayde, that ſith the tyme that he made himſelf and his kingdome ſubiect to the Churche of Rome, nothing that he did had proſpered well with him. In deed he did condiſcende to agreement with the Pope (as may be thought) more by force than of deuotion, and therefore rather diſſembled with the Pope (ſithe he coulde not otherwiſe chooſe) than agreed to the couenauntes wyth any heartie affection.

The ſaying of king Iohn.

But to the purpoſe. Perceyuing himſelfe now deſtitute of his beſt friendes, of whom diuerſe remayned priſoners with the French king (beeing taken at the battaile of Bouins) he thought good to agree with king Philip for this preſent, by way of taking ſome truce, which by mediation of Ambaſſadors riding to and fro betwixt them, was at length accorded to endure for fiue yeares, & to begin at Eaſter, in the yere of our lord. 1215.

A truce taken betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce.

Then after this about the.xix. day of October he returned into Englande to appeaſe certain tumultes which beganne alreadie to ſhewe forth buddes of ſome newe ciuill diſſention, and ſurely the ſame ſpredde abrode theyr bloſſomes ſo freſhly, that the fruite was knitte before the growth by any tymely prouiſion coulde be hyndered. For the people being ſet on by diuerſe of the ſuperiors of both ſortes, fynding themſelues agreeued that the King kept not promiſe in reſtoring the auncient lawes of Saint Edwarde, determined from thenceforth to vſe force, ſince by requeſt he might not preuayle.

The Nobles alſo ſuppoſing that longer delay therin was not to be ſuffred, aſſembled themſelues togyther at the Abbey of Burie (vnder colour of going thither to doe their deuotions to the bodie of Saint Edmond which lay there enſhrined) where they vtter their complaynt of the kings tyrannicall maners, alledging howe they were oftẽtimes called forth to ſerue in the warres and to fight in defence of the Realme, and yet notwithſtanding were at home ſtill oppreſſed by the kings officers, who (vppon confidence of the lawes) attempted al things whatſoeuer they conceyued. And if any man complayned, and alledged that he receyued wrong at theyr handes, they would anſwere by and by, that they had law on theyr ſide, to do as they had done, ſo that it was no wrong but right which they did, and therefore if they that were the Lordes and Peeres of the Realme were men, it ſtood them vpon to prouide that ſuch inconuenience might bee auoyded, and better lawes brought in vſe, by the which theyr aunceſtors lyued in a more quiet and happy ſtate.

A cloked
grymage.

There was brought forth and alſo read an ancient Charter made ſomtime by Henry the firſt, (which Charter Stephẽ the Archbiſhop of Canterburie had deliuered vnto them before in the Citie of London) conteyning the grant of certain liberties according to the lawes of king Edwarde the Confeſſor, profitable to the Church and Barons of the Realme, which they purpoſed to haue vniuerſallye executed ouer all the lande. And therefore beeyng thus aſſembled in the Queere of the Church of Saint Edmond, they receyue a ſolemne othe vpon the Aulter there, that if the king would not grant to the ſame liberties, with others which he of his own accord had promiſed

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to confirme vnto them, they would from thenceforth make warre vpon him, till they had obteyned theyr purpoſe, and enforced him to graunt, not onely to al theſe their petitions, but alſo yeeld to the confirmation of them vnder his ſeale, for euer to remaine moſt ſtedfaſt and inuiolate.

The chiefe cauſe that moued the Lordes to this conſpiracie, roſe by reaſon the king demaunded *Eſcuage* of them that refuſed to go with him into Poictou: and they on the other part mainteyned, that they were not bounde to pay it, for any warres whiche the king made in the parties of beyonde the Seas. But hee to proue that hee ought to haue it, declared howe in his fathers and brothers tyme it was payed, and therefore hee ought to haue it. Much adoe there was aboute this matter at the firſt broching thereof, and more adoe there had beene, if the Legates preſence had not ſomewhat ſtayed the parties. But after they had gotten the charter of K. Henrie the firſt at the handes of the brew bate the Archb. of Cant. they made ſuch an interpretation thereof, that ſuppoſing it to ſerue their turnes, they proceeded in their wilfull opinions (as aboue is mentioned.)

And finally it was determined amongſt them, that ſhortly after Chriſtmaſſe, they ſhoulde go to the king, and require of him that they might haue thoſe lawes reſtored, which hee had promiſed to them as is aforeſayde:) But foraſmuch as they knew well that their requeſt would not be thankfully accepted, in the meane time they prouided themſelues of horſe, armour, and other furniture for the warre, thereby to be in the better readineſſe and ſafegarde, if in exhibiting their requeſt, the matter did grow to any ſuch enforcement. They appoynted alſo diuerſe of the moſt auncient lordes to moue the ſayde matter to the king, in all their names, who was as then at Worceſter, and being aduertiſed of this conſpiracie, as ſoone as the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe was paſt, he went ſtreight to London: thither came the Lordes alſo wyth like ſpeede, leauing their men in the townes and villages abroade, to be readie vpon any ſodaine warning, to come vnto them if neede ſhoulde ſo require. Being come into his preſence, they require of him that it might pleaſe him, firſt, to appoynt the exerciſe and vſe of thoſe auncient lawes vnto them, by the which the kings of Englãd in times paſt ruled their ſubiects; ſecondly, that according to his promiſe, he woulde abrogate thoſe newer lawes, which euerie man might with good cauſe name mere wrongs, rather than lawes: and thirdly, they require of him the performance of al other things, whiche hee had moſt faythfully of late vndertaken to obſerue.

The king though ſomwhat contrarie to his nature) hauing heard their requeſt, gaue them a very gentle anſwere. For perceyuing them ready with force to conſtrayne him, if by gentleneſſe they might not preuayle, he thought it ſhould be more ſafe and eaſie for him to turne their vnquiet mindes with ſoft remedies, than to goe about to breake them of their willes by ſtrong hand, which is a thing verie daungerous, eſpecially where both parties are of like force. Therefore he promiſed them within a fewe dayes, to haue conſideration of their requeſt.

The king promiſeth to conſider of their requeſts.

And to the intent they might giue the more credite to his wordes, he cauſed the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Biſhop of Elie, with William Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke (vnto whom he had giuen his daughter Elenor in maryage) to vndertake for him, and as it were to become his ſureties: which willingly they did. Herewith the myndes of the nobilitie being ſomewhat pacified, they returned home to theyr houſes.

Math. Paris.

The king ſoone after alſo, to aſſure hymſelfe the more effectually of the allegeance of his people in tyme to come, cauſed euery man to renue his homage, and to take a newe othe to be faythfull to him agaynſt all other perſons. And to prouide the more ſurely for himſelf, on Candlemaſſe day next enſuing, he tooke vpon him the Croſſe to goe into the holye lande, whiche I thinke he did rather for feare than any deuotion, as was alſo thought by other, to the ende that he might vnder the protection thereof remaine the more out of daunger of ſuch as were his foes.

The king demaundeth a new othe of allegeance of his ſubiects.

The king taketh on him the croſſe.

Some ſay that a great part of this variance that chaunced betwene king Iohn and his Barons, was bycauſe the king would without ſkilfull doome haue exiled the Earle of Cheſter, and for none other occaſion, than for that he had often tymes aduiſed him to leaue his cruel dealing, and alſo his accuſtomed adulterie with his brothers wife and others.

The cauſes of the diſcorde betwixt the king and his Barons.

Fabian.

Caxton.

The Earle of Cheſter.

Other write, that the ſame diſſention roſe by reaſon of the great crueltie, and vnreaſonable auarice, which the king vſed towardes all the eſtates and degrees of his ſubiects, as wel towards them of the ſpiritualtie, as of the temporaltie.

Hec. Boetius.

The kings couetouſneſſe.

The Prelates therefore of the realme ſore repining at his doings, for that they could not paciently ſuffer ſuch exaction to be leuied of their liuings (contrarie as they tooke it to the libertie of the Church) founde meanes through practiſe, to perſwade both the kings of Scotland ⁊ Fraunce to ayde and ſupport them againſt him, by linking themſelues togither with ſundrie Noble men of England. But theſe ſeeme to bee coniectures of ſuch wryters, as were euill affected towardes the kings cauſe.

The repining of the Cleargy agaynſt the king.

Nowe therefore to the ſequele of the matter. The king hauing ſent away the Barons with a gentle anſwere, though he minded nothing leſſe than to ſatiſfie them in that they did demaunde,

Polidor.

bycauſe it made much agaynſt his royall prerogatiue: and therewith forſeeing that the matter woulde be like to growe at length to bee tried by force, he beganne to doubt his owne eſtate, and therefore he prepared an army, and fortefied dyuerſe Caſtelles and places with men, munition, and vitayles, into the which he myght retyre for his ſafetie in anye tyme of neede. The Barons which vnderſtoode the kings diligence herein, and coniecturing thereof his whole intent, made readie alſo their power, appoynting for theyr generall one Robert Fitz Walter, a man both excellent in councell, and valiant in warre. And herewith they come to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, preſenting vnto him a booke, wherein was conteyned a note of all the Articles of their petitions, and require him to vnderſtande the Kings minde touching the ſame. The Archbiſhop couetting to extinguiſh the ſedition (wherof he himſelf had beene no ſmall kyndler) and which was lyke to growe, if the Nobilitie were not pacifyed the ſooner, talked with the king, and exhorted hys grace verie inſtantly to ſatiſfie the requeſtes of his Barons, and herewith doth ſhew the booke of the Articles which they had delyuered vnto him.

Robert Fitz Walter.

The Archbi. of Canterbury moueth the K. to ſatiſfie the requeſts of the Baron.

The king when he ſaw what they demaunded, whiche in effect was a newe order in things touching the whole ſtate of the cōmon wealth, ſware in a great furie, that he would neuer condiſcende vnto thoſe petitions: Wherof when the Barons had knowledge, they gat them ſtreyght vnto armour, making their aſſemble at Stamforde in the Eaſter weeke, whether they had drawne vnto them almoſt the whole Nobilitie, and gathered an exceding great army. For the Commons flocked vnto them from euerie part, bycauſe the King was generally hated of the more parte of his ſubiectes.

The king refuſeth to grāt their petitions

Math. Paris.

It was eſteemed that there was in that armie, the number of two thouſande knightes, beſyde yeomen on Horſebacke, or Demilaunces (as I may call them) and footemen apparelled in dyuerſe ſortes of Armor.

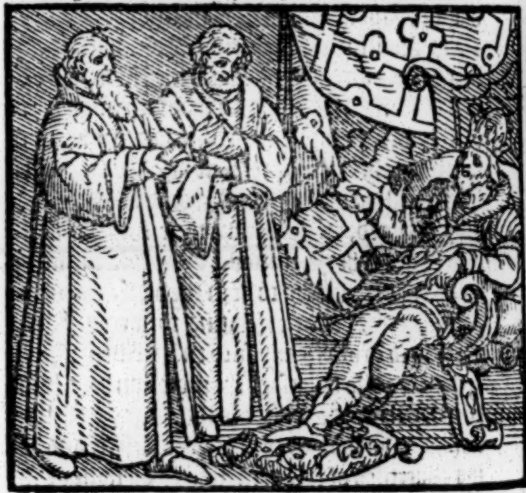
The chiefe ringleaders of this power, were theſe whoſe names enſue: Robert Fitz Water, Euſtace Veſcy, Richarde Percie, Robert Roos, Peter de Breuſe, Nicholas de Stouteuile, Saer Earle of Wincheſter, Robert Earle of Clare, Henrie Earle of Clare, Richarde Earle Bygot, William de Mowbray, William de Creſſey, Rauſe Fitz Robert, Robert de Vere, Foulk Fitz warren, William Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchampe, Simō de Kime, W. Marſhal the yonger, Wil. Mauduyt, Rob. de Montibigonis, John Fitz Roberte, John Fitz Alane, G. Lanale, O. Fitz Alain W. de Hobrug. O. de Wales, G. de Gaunt, Maurice de Gaunte, Robert de Brakeſley, Robert de Moūſichet, W. de Lanvalley, G. de Maundeuile Erle of Eſſex, W. his brother, W. de Hūtinfield, R. de Greſley, G. Coneſtable of Menton, Alexander de Pāton, P. Fitz John, Alexander de Sutton, Oſbert de Body, John coneſtable of Cheſter, Thomas de Muleton, Conane Fitz Hely, & many other: they had alſo of counſel with them as chief, the Archb. of Canterburie. The king as then was at Oxford, and hearing of the aſſemble which the Barons made, & that they were come to Brakeſley, on the Monday next after the octaues of Eaſter, he ſent vnto thē the Archb. of Canterbury, in whō he repoſed great confidence, & William Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke, to vnderſtande what they ment by that their aſſembling thus togither. Wherupon they deliuered to the ſame meſſengers a roll conteyning the auncient liberties, priuiledges, and cuſtomes of the realme, ſignifying that if the K. would not confirme the ſame, they would not ceaſe to make him warre, til he ſhoulde ſatiſfie their requeſts in that behalfe.

The names of the Lords that banded themſelues againſt the king.

An. Re

Mat. Pa

The kin deth wo Lorde,



The Archbiſhop and the Earle returning to the king, ſhewed him the whole circumſtance of that which the Barons demaunded, who tooke great indignation thereat, and ſcornefully ſayde, why do they not aſke to haue the kingdome alſo? Finally, he affirmed with an othe, that he woulde neuer graunt any ſuch liberties, wherby he ſhould become a ſlaue. Hereupon the Archb. and the erle of Pembrooke returned to the Barons, and declared the kings deniall to confirme their Articles. And then the Barons naming their hoaſt the army of God, and of the holy Church, they ſet forwarde, and firſt came vnto Northampton, and beſieging the towne, when they coulde not preuaile, bycauſe the ſame was wel prouided for defence aforehande, they depart from thence, & come towardes Bedford to beſiege the caſtel there, in the which ſir William Beauchampe was captaine, who being ſecretly confederate with them, delyuered the place incontinently into theyr handes.

Th Baro giue a p be name their arm

Northam beſieged.

They wa towne bu the Caſt

Mat. P

Bedford deliuere the Baro

Whileſt they remayne here a certaine time to fortifie & furniſh the caſtell with neceſſarie prouiſion, there came letters to thẽ from London, gyuing them to vnderſtande that if they woulde ſende a conuenient crew of Souldiers to defende the Citie, the ſame ſhoulde be receyued therinto at ſome meete and conuenient tyme in the nyght ſeaſon by the Citizens, who woulde ioyne wyth them in that quarell againſt the king to the vttermoſt of theyr powers. The Lordes were glad of theſe newes, to haue the chiefe Citie of the realme to take part with them. And therfore they ſent foure bandes of ſouldiers ſtreyght way thyther, the which were brought into the Citie in the night ſeaſon, (according to order aforehande taken.) But as Mathew Paris hath, they were receyued into the citie by Algate, the .xxiiij. of May being ſunday, whileſt the citizens were at Maſſe. The next day they made open rebellion, toke ſuch as they knewe fauoured the king, brake into the houſes of the Iewes, and ſpoyled them of that they had.

. Par.

The Barons hauing thus gotten poſſeſſion of the Citie of London, wrote letters vnto all thoſe Lordes which as yet had not ioyned with them in this confederacie, threatning that if they refuſed to ayde them nowe in this neceſſitie, they would deſtroy their Caſtels, Manours, Parkes, and other poſſeſſions, making open warre vpon them as the enimies of God, and rebelles to the Church. Theſe were the names of thoſe Lordes which yet had not ſworne to mainteyne the foreſayd liberties, William Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, Reynulfe Earle of Cheſter, N. Earle of Saleſburie, W. Earle Warren, W. Erle of Albemarle, H. Earle of Cornewall, W. de Albeny, Robert de Veypount, Peter Fitz Herbert, Brian de Liſley, G. de Lucy, G. de Furniuall, Thomas Baſſet, H. de Braybroke, I. de Baſſingborne, W. de Cantlow, H. de Cornewall, John Fitz Hugh, Hugh de Neuill, Philip de Albeny, John Marſhall, and William Brewer. All theſe vpon the receipt of the Barons letters, or the more part of them came to London, and ioyned themſelues with the Barons, vtterly renouncing to ayde king John.

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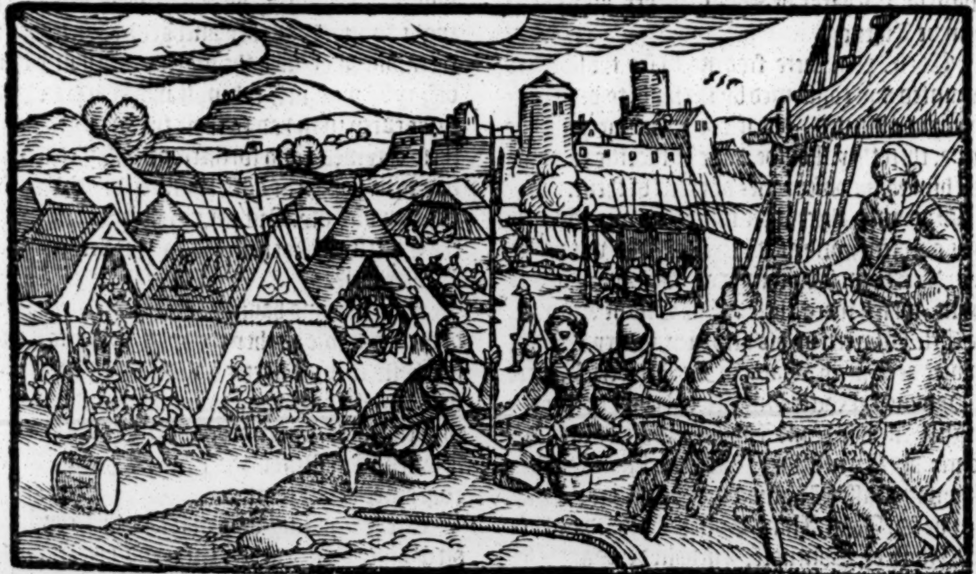
Alſo the pleyes in the Eſchequer ceaſed, and the Sheriffes ſtayed from executing their office. For there was none that would pay any money to the kings vſe, nor any that did obey him: inſomuch that there remayned with him, but onelye vij. horſemen of all his trayne at one time, as ſome write, though ſone after hee had a greate power, (which came to him to the caſtell of Windſore, where he then lay) and ment to haue ledde the ſame agaynſt the Lordes with all ſpeede: but hearing now of this newe rebellion of the Londoners, he changed his purpoſe and durſt not depart from Windſore, being brought into greate doubt leaſt al the other cities of the realme would follow their example. Hereupon he thought good to aſſay if he might come to ſome agreement by way of communication, and incontinently ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Barons, promiſing them that he would ſatiſfie their requeſts, if they would come vnto Windſore to talke with him. The Lords hauing no confidence in his promiſe came yet with their army within three myles of Windſore, and there pight downe their tentes in a medow betwixt Stanes and Windſore, whither king John alſo commeth the .xv. day of June, & ſheweth ſuch friendly coũtenance towards euery one of them, that they were put in good hope he ment no deceipt. Being thus mette, they fell in conſultation aboute an agreement to be made, On the kings part (as it were) ſate the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Dublin, the biſhops of London, Winchester, Lincoln, Bath, Worceter, Couentrie, Rocheſter, and Pandulph the Popes *nuncio*,

The king left deſolate of friendes.

Polidor.

The Lordes encamped betwixt Stanes and Windſore



ohn cõ-
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of ſome
ation.
Paris.

nuncio, with Almerick maſter of the knights templers: the Erles of Pēbroke, Saliſburie, Warren, Arundell, Alane de Galoway, W. Fitz Geralde, Peter Fitz Herbert, Alane Baſſet, Hugh de Neuile, Hubert de Burgh Seneſchal of Poictou, Robert de Ropeley, John Marſhall, and Philip de Albeney. On the Barons part, there were innumerable, for al the nobilitie of England was in a maner aſſembled there togither.

Magna Carta, and Carta de Foreſta.

Finally, when the king meaſuring his owne ſtrength with the Barons, perceyued that he was not able to reſiſt them, he conſented to ſubſcribe and ſeale ſuche articles concerning the libertyes demaunded, in forme for the moſt part as is cōteyned in the two Charters *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foreſta*, beginning *Iohannes dei gratia &c.* And he did not onely graunt vnto thē their petitions touching the foreſayde liberties, but alſo to winne him further credite, was contented that they ſhoulde chooſe forth certaine graue and honourable perſonages, which ſhoulde haue authoritie and power to ſee thoſe things perfourmed which he then graunted vnto them.

There were .xxv. of thoſe that were ſo elected, by name theſe. The Earles of Clare, Albemarle, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, and Herefoꝛde: alſo Earle Roger, Earle Robert, the Erle Marſhall the yonger, Robert Fitz Water the yonger, Gilbert de Clare, Euſtace de Veſcy, Hugh Bygot, William de Moumbray, the Maior of London, Gilbert de la Vale, Robert de Roos, John Coneſtable of Cheſter, Richard de Percey, John Fitz Robert, William Mallet, Geffrey de Saye, Roger de Mounbray, William de Huntingfield, Richarde de Mountefichet, and William de Albeney.

Theſe .xxv. were ſworne to ſee the liberties graunted and confirmed by the king, to be in euery poynt obſerued, but if hee went agaynſt the ſame, then they ſhoulde haue authoritie to compell him to the obſeruance of euery of them.

Moreouer, there were other that were ſworne to be obedient, and as it were aſſiſtent vnto theſe .xxv. Peeres in ſuch things as they ſhoulde appoynt, which were theſe: The Erle of Arundel, the Erle Warren by his attorney, Henry Doyly, Hubert de Burgh Mathew Fitz Herbert, Robert de Pynkney, Roger Huſcarle, Robert de Newburgh, Henry de Pont Audoin, Raufe de la Hay, Henrie de Brentfielde, Waryn Fitz Geralde, Thomas Baſſet, William de Buckland, William de S. John, Alane Baſſet, Richard de Riuers, Hugh de Boneuale, Jurdain de Saukvile, Raufe Muſgraue, Richard Siſilewaſt, Robert de Ropeley, Andrew de Beauchampe, Walter de Dunſtable, Walter Folioth, Foukes de Brent, John Marſhal, Philip Daubney, Wil. de Perca, Raufe de Normanvile, Wil. de Percy, William Agoilum, Engerand de Pratellis, William de Cirentō, Roger de Zuche, Roger Fitz Reynero, and Gotfrey de Grancombe. It was further ordered, that the Chatelaynes or Coneſtables (as I may call them) of the foure caſtels of Northampton, Killingworth, Notingham, and Scarborow, ſhould be ſworne to the .xxv. Peeres, to gouerne thoſe Caſtels in ſuch wiſe as they ſhoulde haue in commaundement from the ſayde .xxv. Peeres, or from the greater part of them: and that ſuch ſhould be placed as Chatelaines in the ſame, as were thought to be moſt true and faythful vnto the Barons and the realme.

The Cha-
lanes of
Caſtels.

It was alſo decreed, that certaine ſtraungers, as Flemings and other, ſhoulde be baniſhed out of Englande.

The king herevpon ſent his letters patentes vnto the Sheriffes of all the Counties of hys Realme, commaunding them to ſee the ordinances and liberties which hee graunted and confyrmed, to be diligently obſerued. And for the more ſtrengthning of this his graunt, he had gotten the Pope to confirme a like charter graunted the yere before. For the Pope (ſith king John was become hys obedient vaſſall, ⁊ the Apoſtolike king) eaſily graunted to gratifie both him and his Lordes herein, and ſo was the graunt of the libertyes corroborate and made good wyth a double confyrmation, and ſo ſealed, that it was impoſſible for them to bee ſeparate in ſunder, the Kings graunt being annexed to the Popes Bull.

Immediatly alſo vpon the confyrmation nowe made by the king, dyuerſe Lordes came to him and required reſtitution of ſuche poſſeſſions, landes, and houſes, as he had in his handes, the ryght whereof (as they alledged) apperteyned to them: but he excuſed the matter, and ſhifted them off, tyll by enqueſt taken, it might appeare what right euery man had to thoſe things whiche they then claymed: and furthermore aſſigned them a day to be holden at Weſtminſter, which was the .xvj. day of July. But yet he reſtored at that time the Caſtell of Rocheſter vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie.

Rocheſter
ſtell reſto
to the Ar
of Cant

The Barons hauing obteyned a great peece of theyr purpoſe as they thought, returne to London with theyr Charter ſealed, the date whereof was this. Yeuen by our owne hande, in the Medow called Kuningſmede or Rinemede, betwixt Stanes and Windſore, the .xv. of June, in the xvij. yeare of our raigne.

Math.

Great reioyſing was made for this concluſion of peace betwixt the King and his Barons, the people iudging that God had touched the kings heart, ⁊ mollified it, whereby happy dayes were come for the Realme of Englande, as though it had beene deliuered oute of the bondage of Egypt: but they were much deceyued, for the king hauing condiſcended to make ſuche graunt of liberties, farre contrary to hys mynde, was right ſorrowfull in his heart, and curſed hys mother that bare him, the houre that hee was borne, the pappes that gaue him ſucke, wiſhing that he had receyued death by violence of ſworde or knife, in ſteede of naturall nouriſhment: hee whetted his teeth, hee bote nowe on one ſtaffe, and nowe on another as he walked, and oft brake the ſame in peeces when hee had done, and with ſuche diſordered behauiour and furious geſtures he vttered his griefe, in ſuche ſort that the Noble men right well perceyued the inclynation of his inwarde affection concerning theſe things before the breaking vp of the Councell, and therefore ſore lamented the ſtate of the Realme, geſſing what woulde followe of his impaciencie and diſpleaſant taking of the matter. And therefore they ſayde among themſelues, wo be to vs, yea rather to the whole Realme that wanteth a ſufficient king, and is gouerned by a tyrant that ſeeketh the ſubuerſion thereof. Nowe hath our ſoueraigne Lorde made vs ſubiect to Rome, and to the Romiſh Court, ſo that wee muſt henceforth obteyne our protection from thence. It is verie much to be feared, leaſt we doe feele hereafter ſome further peece of miſchiefe to light vpon vs ſodenly. We neuer heard of any king that woulde not gladly endeuor to withdrawe his neck from bondage and captiuitie, but ours of his owne accorde voluntarily ſubmitteth himſelfe to become vaſſall vnto euery ſtraunger. And thus the Lordes lamenting the caſe, left the king, & returned to Lōdon (as before ye haue heard.) But the king diſquieted not a litle for that he was thus driuen to yeeld ſo farre vnto the Barons, notwithſtanding as muche as was poſſible he kept his purpoſe ſecret, deuiſed by what meanes hee might diſappoynt all that had bin done and promiſed on his part, at this aſſemble betwixt him and the Lordes for a pacification, (as ye haue heard) and hereupon the next day very late in the euening, he ſecretly departed to Southhampton, & ſo ouer into the Ile of Wight, where he tooke aduice with his councell what remedy he might find to quiet the mindes of his Lordes and Barons, and to bring them vnto his purpoſe. At length after much debating of the matter, it was concluded by the aduice of the more part, that the king ſhould require the Popes ayde therein. And ſo Walter the Biſhop of Worceſter, & Iohn the Biſhop of Norwich, with one Richard Mariſhe his Chancellor, with all ſpeed were ſent as Ambaſſadors from the king vnto Pope Innocent, to inſtruct him of the rebellion of the Engliſh nobilitie, & how that he cōſtrayned by force had graunted vnto them certain lawes & priuileges, hurtfull to the realme, and preiudiciall to his crowne. And ſith that all this was done by the authoritie of the Pope, the king beſought him to make the ſame voyde, & to cōmaund the Barons to obey him being their king, as reaſon required thē to do. There were alſo ſent by him other meſſengers, as Hugh de Boues & others, into diuerſe partes beyond the ſea, to bring from thence great numbers of mē of warre and ſouldiers, appoynting them to meete him at Douer, at the feaſt of S. Michael next enſuing. He ſent alſo vnto al his Chatelaines & Coneſtables of Caſtels within the realme, requiring them to prouide themſelues of all things neceſſarie for defence of their holdes committed to theyr charge, if they ſhuld chance to be beſieged, though it were on the next morow.

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Pope.

Hugh de Boues.

Mat. Paris.

His Ambaſſadors and other meſſengers being thus diſpatched, and hauing but few perſons left about him, or in maner none, except ſuche of the Biſhop of Norwich his ſeruaunts, as hee had borowed of him, he falleth to take priſes as any ſhips came by ſuſpected not to be his friendes, ſo ſeeking to winne the fauor of the Mariners that belonged to the cinque portes, and ſo lyeth cloſe in the Ile of Wight, and there aboute the Sea coaſts, for the ſpace of three Monethes togither. In which meane time, many things were reported of him, ſome calling him a fiſher, ſome a merchant, and ſome a pyrate and rouer. And many, (for that no certain newes could be heard of him) iudged that he was either drowned, or dead by ſome other meanes. But hee ſtyll looking for ſome power to come ouer to hys ayde, kept himſelfe out of the way, tyll the ſame ſhoulde be arryued.

Polidor.

The Lordes all this while, lie at London, and beganne to doubt the matter, bycauſe they coulde heare no certaine newes where the king was become: for hee doubting (as I ſayde) the ſuretie of his perſon, conueyed himſelfe ſecretely from one place to another, lodging and taking his diet oftentymes more meanly than was decent for his eſtate: and ſtyl he longed to heare howe his Ambaſſadours ſpedde with the Pope, who in the meane tyme comming vnto Rome, and there declaring theyr meſſage at ful, tooke it vpon their ſolemne othe, that the right was on the Kings ſyde, and that the fault reſted onely on the Lordes, touching the whole controuerſie betweene them and him, who ſought with great rigour and agaynſte reaſon to bridle him at theyr pleaſures. They ſhewed alſo a note of certayne Articles conteyned in the Charter, which ſeemed to make moſt for the kings purpoſe, and withall declared that the King in open aſſemblie where hee and the Barons mette to talke of ſuch matters, had proteſted that the kingdome of Englande ſpecially apperteyned (as touching the ſoueraigntie) vnto the Church of Rome, wherevpon hee neyther coulde nor ought without knowledge of the

The Ambaſſadors comming to the Popes preſence declare their meſſage.

Mat. Par.

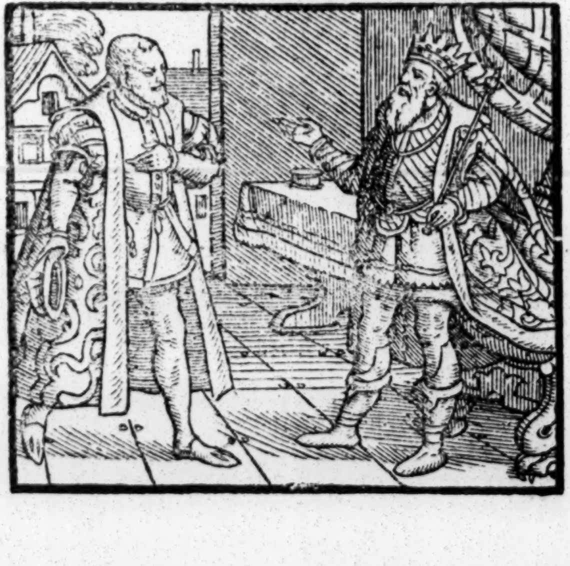
the Pope ordeyne any thing of newe, or chaunge ought within that kingdome in preiudice therof. Wherefore where as he put himſelfe and all the rights of his kingdome by way of appealing vnder the protection of the Apoſtolike ſea: the Barons yet without regard had to the ſame appeale, did ſeaze into their poſſeſſion the citie of London, and getting them to armor, enforced the king to confirm ſuch vnreaſonable articles, as there appeared for him to conſider of.

The Popes anſwere vnto the kings Ambaſſadors

The Pope hauing heard their tale, and conſidered of the articles, with bending browes (in witneſſe of his indignation) made forthwith this ſhort anſwere: And is it ſo, that the Barons of England quoth he) do go about to expell theyr king, which hath taken vpon him the Croſſe, and is remayning vnder the protection of the Apoſtolike ſea? and doe they meane in deede to tranſlate the dominiõ that belõgeth to the church of Rome vnto an other? By S. Peter wee cannot ſuffer this iniurie to paſſe vnpuniſhed. Hereuppõ therfore (crediting the Ambaſſadors wordes) by the aduice of his Cardinals, he decreed that al thoſe priuiledges, which the king had graunted vnto the Lords & Barons of this realme, as inforced therto by their rebellious attempt, ſhould be accoũted voyd and of none effect. Alſo he wrote vnto the Lords, admoniſhing thẽ by his letters, that they ſhould obey their K. vpõ paine of his curſe, if they ſhould attempt any thing that ſounded to the cõtrary. At the ſame time likewiſe there was in the court of Rome (as Hector Boetius hath) a Cardinal named Gualo or Wallo, a moſt auaritious perſon, and ſuch one (as in that place ſome are neuer wanting) whiche for money paſſed not what he did to further any mans ſuyte, without regarde either to right or wrong, by whoſe chiefe trauaile and meanes the Pope was greatly induced to fauor king Iohns cauſe, and to iudge with him in preiudice of the Lordes purpoſes, as before is expreſſed.

Boet. in.

Cardinall Gualo.



Polidor.

But to proceed. The Ambaſſadors being diſpatched, and hauing the popes preſcript, and ſuch other his letters with them as they had obteyned of him, returne with all ſpeed into England vnto the K. (who was come a litle before vnto Windſore caſtell) and there declare vnto him how they had ſpedde. Who being ioyfull in that they had brought the matter ſo well about for his purpoſe, cauſed the Popes decree to bee declared vnto the Barons, commaunding them ſtraitly for to obey the ſame. The Barons taking the matter grieuouſly to be thus mocked, with great indignation both blame king Iohns vniuſt dealing, and the Popes wrongfull iudgement, in that he had pronounced agaynſt them, without hearing what they had of right to alledge for themſelues. And therefore out of hand (notwithſtanding the popes prohibition and preſcript to the contrarie) they determin to trie their cauſe by dint of ſworde, and with al ſpeed aſſemble their powers, which for the more part they had lately diſmiſſed & ſent home. They furniſh the caſtel of Rocheſter with a ſtrõg garniſon of men, and place therein for captaine, one William Albeney, a very ſkilfull warriour.

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King Iohn after he vnderſtood that the Barons (contẽning the popes decree and inhibition,) were more offended and bent againſt him than before, ſendeth once againe to the Pope, to aduertiſe him of their diſobedience and great cõtumacie ſhewed in refuſing to ſtand vnto his preſcript. This done he returned into the Ile of Wight, and ſailed from thence vnto Douer, where diuerſe of thoſe his cõmiſſaries which hee had ſent to hyre ſouldiers in forraine partes returne to him, bringing with thẽ out of diuerſe countreys ſuch a multitude of ſouldiers and armed men, that the only ſight of them ſtroke the hearts of all the beholders with great feare & terror. For out of the parties of Poictou, and Gaſcoine, their came men of great nobilitie, and right worthy warriors, as Sauery de Mauleon, Geffrey and Oliuer de Buteuile, two brethren, hauing vnder them great numbers of good ſouldiers and tal men of warre. Alſo out of Brabant, there came Walter Buc, Gerarde de Sotignie, and one Godeſtall, with three legions of armed men and Croſſebowes. Likewiſe there came out of Flaunders other Captaynes, wyth diuerſe bandes of ſouldiers, whiche Ferdinando Earle of Flaunders (lately returned oute of the French captiuitie) for olde friendſhippes ſake furniſhed and ſent ouer to ayde hym agaynſte hys ſubiectes, according as he had requeſted.

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turneth
the Ile
Wight.

Mat. Pa

Polidor.

The arri
forain ſol
to the ki
ayde.

Sauerie d
Mauleo

Ferdinan
Earle of
ders.

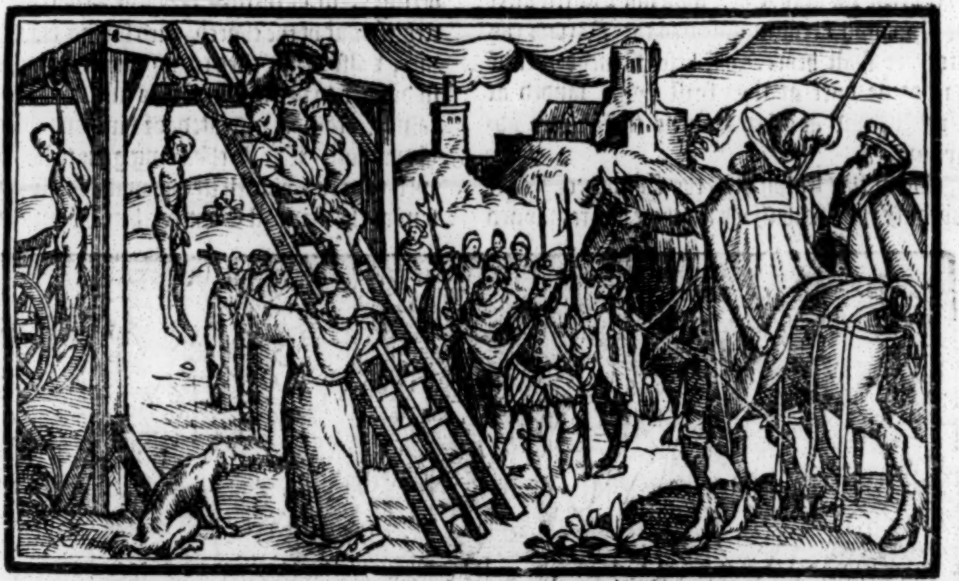
King Iohn then hauing recouered ſtrength about hym. And beeing aduertiſed that William de Albeney was entred into the Caſtell of Rocheſter with a greate number of Knightes, men of Armes and other Souldiers, haſted thither with his whole armie, and beſieged them within, enforcing himſelfe by all wayes poſſible

Wil. de A
ney capt
Rocheſte
Caſtell.

to winne the Caſtell as well by battering the walles with Engines, as by giuing thereto many aſſaultes: but the garriſon wythin (conſiſting of. 94. knightes beſide Demilaunces, and other Souldiers) defended the place verie manfully, in hope of reſcue from the barons, which lay as then at London: but they comming forward one dayes iourney vnto Dartforde, when they heard that the King was comming forwarde in good array of battayle to meete them, vpon conſideration had of theyr owne forces, for that they were not able to match him with footemen, they returned backe againe to the Citie, breaking that aſſured promiſe which they had made and alſo confirmed by theyr ſolemne othes, which was that if the Caſtell ſhoulde chaunce to be beſieged, they woulde not fayle but to rayſe the ſiege. At length they within for want of vitayles were conſtrayned to yeelde it vp vnto the king, after it had beene beſieged the ſpace of three ſcore dayes: duryng which time they had beaten backe theyr enimyes at ſundrie aſſaultes, with great ſlaughter and loſſe. But the king hauing now got the poſſeſſion of that holde, vpon a griefe conceyued for the loſſe of ſo many men, and alſo bicauſe he had lien ſo long about it ere hee coulde wynne it, to his ineſtimable coſtes and charges, was determined to haue put them al to death that had kept it. But Sauarie de Mauleō aduiſed him otherwiſe, leaſt by ſuche crueltie, the Barons in any lyke caſe ſhoulde bee occaſioned to vſe the ſame extremitie towardes ſuche of his people, as by chaunce might fall into theyr handes. And ſo the king ſpared the nobles and gentlemen, ſending Wil. de Albeney, William de Lancaſter, William de Emeford, Thomas de Muletō, Oſbert Gifford, Oſbert de Bobye, Odynell de Albeney, and dyuerſe other to the Caſtell of Corſe, there to bee kepte as pryſoners. And Robert Charney, Richarde Gifforde, and Thomas de Lyncolne were ſent to Notingham, and ſo other were ſent to other places. But all the Demilaunces or yeomen (if I ſhall ſo call them) and the Arbaleſtiers whiche hadde ſlayne manye of his men during the ſiege (as Mathew Paris hath) the King cauſed to bee hanged, to putte other in feare that ſhoulde ſo obſtinatelye reſyſte hym.

The counſaile of Sauarie de Mauleon.

Arbaleſtiers, thoſe that beat Croſſebowes.



But as the booke that belonged to Bernwell Abbay hath, there was not any of them hanged, ſauing one onely Arbaleſtier, whome the King had brought vp of a childe. But howſoeuer the king dealt with them after they were yeelded, true it is (as by the ſame booke it appeareth) there had beene no ſiege in thoſe dayes more earneſtly enforced, nor more obſtinately defended: for after that all the lymmes of the Caſtell had beene reuerſed and throwne downe, they kept the maiſter Tower, tyll halfe thereof was alſo ouerthrowne, and after kept the other halfe, tyll throughe famine they were conſtrained to yeelde, hauing nothing but horſefleſh and water to ſuſteyne theyr lyues withall.

Here is to bee remembred, that whyleſt the ſiege lay thus at Rocheſter, Hugh de Boues a valiant knight, but full of pryde and arrogancie, a French man borne, but baniſhed out of his countrey, came downe to Calice with an huge number of men of warre and ſouldiers to come to the ayde of king Iohn. But as he was vpon the ſea with all his people, meaning to lande at Douer, by a ſoden tempeſt which roſe at that inſtant, the ſayde Hugh with all his companie was drowned by ſhipwracke. And ſoone after the bodie of the ſame Hugh with the carkaſſes of other innumerable, as well of menne, women, and children, were founde not farre from Yermouth, and all alongſt that coaſt. There were of them in all

Hugh de Boues drowned.

xl. thouſand as hath Mat. Paris, for of all thoſe which he brought with him, there was (as it is ſayd) not one man left aliue. The king (as the fame went, but how true I know not) had giuen by charter vnto the ſayde Hugh de Boues, the whole Countrey of Norffolke, ſo that he ment to haue expulſed the old inhabitants, and to haue peopled it with ſtrangers. But whether this was ſo or not, ſure it is that he was verie ſorowful for the loſſe of this ſuccor and ayde which thus periſhed in the ſeas, though it happened very well for his ſubiects of England, that ſhould haue bin ſore oppreſſed by ſuch multitude of ſtraungers, which for the moſt part muſt needes haue liued vpon the Country, to the vtter vndoing of the inhabitants whereſoeuer they ſhould haue come.

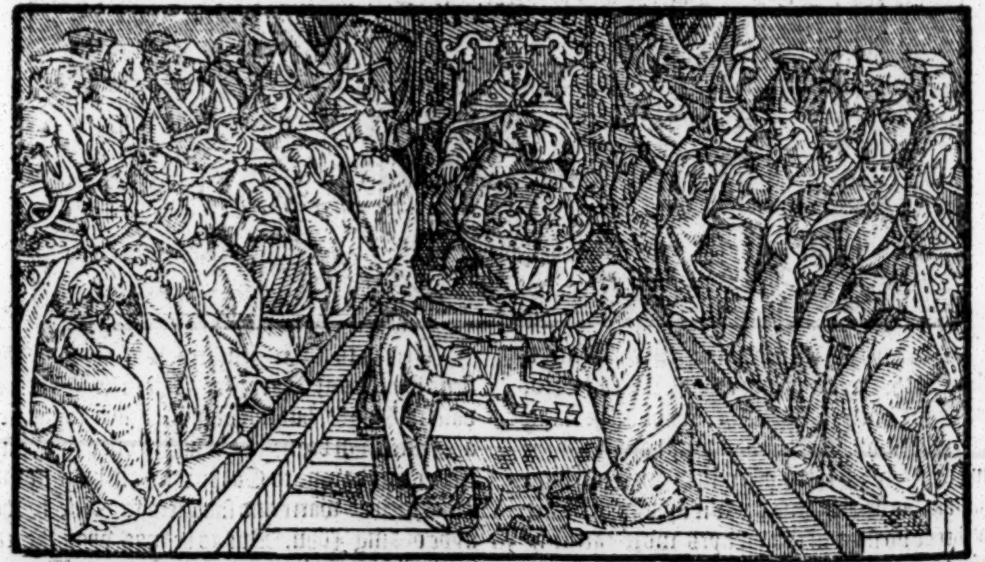
Raufe Cog.

Here is to be noted, that during the ſiege of Rocheſter (as ſome write) ther came out of Frãce to the number neare hande of ſeuen thouſand men ſent from the Frenche king vnto the ayde of the Barons, at the ſute of Saer de Quincie Erle of Wincheſter and other Ambaſſadours that were ſent from the Barons, during the time of thys ſiege, although it ſhoulde ſeeme by Mathewe Paris, that the ſayd Earle was not ſent till after the Pope had excommunicated the Barons (as after yee ſhall heare.) Theſe Frenche menne that came ouer at thys fyrſt tyme landed at Orwell, and at other hauens there neare adioyning.

About this ſeaſon alſo, the Canons of Yorke (bycauſe the Archbiſhops ſea there had remayned voyde a long time) obteyning licence of the king, aſſembled togither about the election of an Archbiſhop. And though the king had once againe earneſtly moued them to preferre Walter Gray Biſhop of Worceſter, yet they refuſed ſo to do, and therfore choſe Simon de Langton, brother to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, which election was afterwarde made voyde by the earneſt trauaille of the king to the Pope, bycauſe his brother the ſayd Archbiſhop of Canterburie was knowne to fauor the part of the Barons againſt him, ſo that the ſayd Walter Gray was then elected and promoted to the guiding of the ſea of Yorke, according to the kings eſpeciall deſire in that behalfe.

Walter
elected
of Yorke.

About the ſame time alſo, Pope Innocent being certified, how the Barons of England would not obey his preſcript, iudged them enimies to the Church, and gaue commaundement to Peter the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to the Abbot of Reading, and to the ſubdeacon Pãdulph, to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt them. But they coulde not at the firſt execute the Popes cõmaundement herein, by reaſon that the Archb. of Cant. who fauored the Barons cauſe, would not permit them. Wherfore the ſame Archb. was interdited out of the church, & frõ ſaying diuine ſeruice, & alſo being cited to appeare at Rome, was in danger to be depriued of his miter, had not certaine Cardinals intreated for him, and obteyned his pardon. The Archb. being gone to Rome, as well to excuſe himſelf in this matter, as to be preſent at the generall Councel there holden at that time (for he was readie to goe take the ſea thitherwardes when the Biſhop of Wincheſter & Pandulph came to him with the popes letters) the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter and Pandulph proceed to the pronouncing of the excommunication againſt the Barons, renuing the ſame euery ſunday and holyday. Although the Barons (bycauſe that in the Popes letters there were none of them expreſly named) made none account of the cenſure, reputing it as voyde, and not to concerne them in any maner of poynt.



The Ar
Cant
fauoure
Baron

Raufe Cog.

Math. Paris.

The Barons denounced accurſed by the Popes commaundement.

But now to returne to king Iohn. After he had wonne the caſtel of Rocheſter (as before you haue heard) he haſted to S. Albons, and there hee

ohn de-
his ar-
nto two

ere.
.Paris:

deuided his army into two partes, appoynting the one to remaine in the parties about London, whileſt he himſelfe with the other might goe into the north parties to waſt and deſtroy the poſſeſſions of certaine Lordes there, which (as he was informed) went about to rayſe an armie agaynſt him. He made Captaines of that armie which he left behinde him, his brother William, Earle of Saleſburie, Sauarie de Maulcon, William Brewer, Walter Bue, and others. He himſelfe departed frõ S. Albons about the .xxj. day of December, leading his ſayd army northwardes. In which were chiefe captaines theſe that followe, Wil. Erle of Albemarle, Philip de Albeney, and John Marſhal. Alſo of ſtrãgers, Gerard de Sotigam, & Godſtall with the Flemings, the Croſbows, and others. The firſt night he lay at Dunſtable, & from thence paſſing forwardes towardes Northampton, he deſtroyed by the way all the manours, places, and houſes, which belonged to the aduerſaries, and ſo kept on his iourney till hee came to Notingham, where he lay in the Caſtell on Chriſtmaſſe day, and in the morning being S. Stephens day he went to Langar, and lodged there that night, ſending his ſũmons in the morning to the Caſtell of Beauer, willing thẽ within to yeeld. This caſtell apperteyned to Wil. Albeney, who had cõmitted the cuſtodie therof vnto his ſon Nicholas de Albeney prieſt, to ſir Wil. de Stodham, and to ſir Hugh Charnelles knights: the which came to the king with the keyes of the Caſtell, and ſurrendered the ſame vnto him, with condition that he ſhoulde be good to their maſter the ſayd William de Albeney, and graunt to thẽ their horſes and armor, with which they woulde remain with him vnder his peace and protection.

John go
orthward
Par.

gham.
16

Beuer Caſtell ſummoned to yeelde.

William de Albeney.

Stodham.
Charnelles.

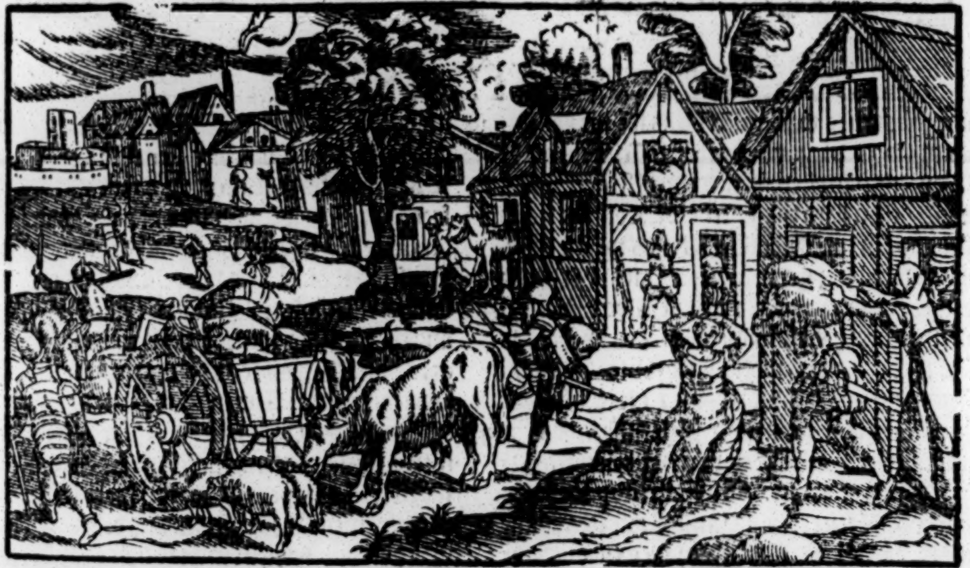
On the next morow being S. Johns day, the king went to the caſtell, and receyuing the ſame, deliuered it to the keeping of Geffrey Butevile, and his brother Oliuer,

The Caſtell of Beauoir rendred to the king.

After this, was the Caſtell of John Lacie at Dunnington taken, and razed flat to the ground, by commaundement of the king, who hauing accompliſhed his will in thoſe parties, drewe towardes Yorkeſhire, and at his comming thither, deſtroyed the houſes, townes, and manours of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen which were againſt him. It is horrible to heare, and lothſome to reherſe the crueltie which was practiſed by the ſouldiers and men of war, in places where they came, to ſpoyle and ranſacke the houſes of the people without pitie or compaſſion, and beſides the robberies, ſpoyles and great outrage vſed by the ſoldiers generally agaynſt the common people, fewe there were in that Countrey of great lynage or wealth, whom the king for theyr aſſembling thẽſelues wyth the Barons, eyther ſpoyled not, or put not to execution. And thus with his armye (to the great deſolation of the Countrey) he paſſed forth to the borders of Scotland, and entring that Realme, tooke the Caſtell of Barwike, and other places of ſtrength in thoſe parties, meaning to haue wonne more from the Scottes, if other vrgent buſineſſe had not called him backe again.

Dunnington Caſtell taken and razed.

Mat. Par.



ohn ta-
e caſtel
ike.

The Countrey therefore which lieth betwixt the riuer of These, and the confines of Scotlande, he committed to the keping of Hugh de Baltol, and to Philip de Hulcotes, aſſigning to them ſuch cõuenient number of men of warre as was thought expedient, and the cuſtodie of the caſtels in Yorkeſhire he deliuered to Robert de Vepount, to Brian de Liſle, and to Geffrey de Lucie.

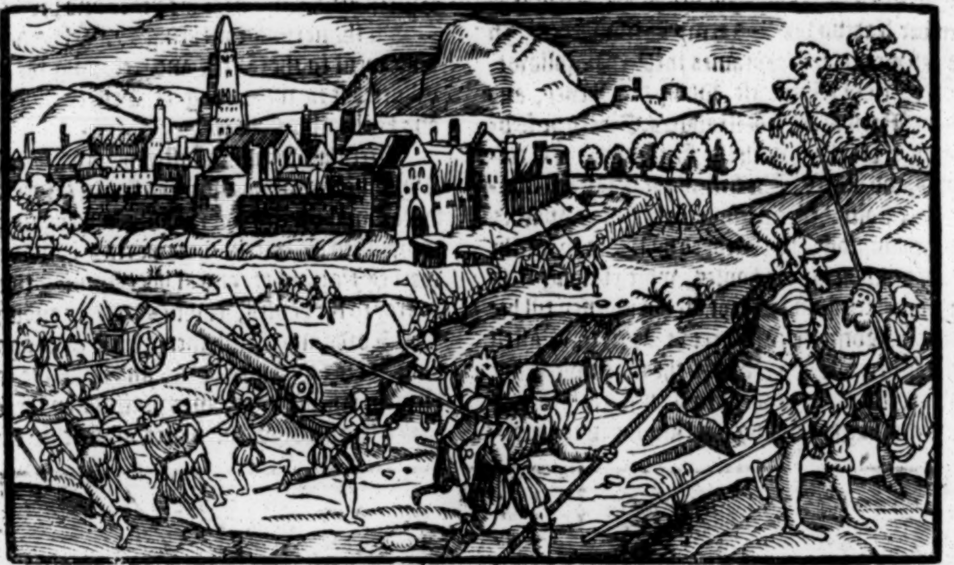
Hugh de Baltol, and Philip de Hulcotes.

Robert de Vepont, Brian de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucie.

Finally, when he had ſo ordred things in the North parties as ſtoode with his pleaſure, ſo that there remayned no mo but two Caſtelles, that is to witte, Mountſorell and another in Yorkeſhire, that apperteyned to Robert de Roos in poſſeſſion of the Barons, he returned by the borders

Montſorel betwixt Leiceſter and Lughborough.

of Wales into the ſouth parts: and by all the way as he paſſed he ſhewed great crueltie agaynſt hys aduerſaries, beſieging and taking their Caſtelles and ſtrong houſes, of the which ſome he cauſed to be fortified with garniſons of ſoldiers to his own vſe, and ſome hee razed. The like feates were wrought by the other army in the partyes aboute London. For William Erle of Saliſburie, and Foukes de Brent, with the other captains which the King had left behinde him there, perceyuing that the Citie would not eaſily be wonne by any ſiege, firſt furniſhed the Caſtell of Windſore, Hertford, and Barkhamſted, with ſuche ſtrong garniſons of ſouldiers as might watch, vpon occaſion giuen to aſſaile thoſe that ſhould eyther go into the Citie, or come from thence: they marched forth with the reſidue of the armie, and paſſing through the Counties of Eſſex, and Hartford, Middleſex, Cambridge, and Huntington, waſted the Countreys, and brought the townes to become tributaries to them. And as for the houſes, manor places, parkes, and other poſſeſſions of the Barons, they waſted, ſpoiled and deſtroyed them, running euen hard to the citie of London, and ſetting fire in the Suburbes. In this meane time, whileſt the king goeth forwarde on his iourney northwardes, vpon the. xviij. of December laſt paſt, the Caſtel of Hanſlap was taken by Foukes de Brent, whiche apperteyned vnto William Mauduit, and the ſame day was the Caſtell of Tunbridge alſo taken by the garniſon of Rocheſter, which Caſtel of Tunbridge belonged vnto the Earle of Clare. Moreouer, the foreſayde Foukes de Brent cōming vnto Bedford, wanne both the towne and Caſtell: for they that had the Caſtell in keeping, after. vij. dayes reſpite (which they obteined at the hands of the ſaid Fouks) whē reſcue came not frō the Lord Wil. Beauchampe their maſter, they deliuered it vnto yͤ ſaid Foukes. Vnto whō K. Iohn gaue not only that Caſtell, but alſo committed to his keeping the Caſtels of Northamtō, Oxford & Cambridge. The K. had this Foukes in great eſtimation, and amongſt other wayes to aduaunce him, he gaue to him in mariage Margaret de Riuers, a Lady of high nobilitie, with all the landes and poſſeſſions that to hir belonged. Moreouer, to Wil. Erle of Albemarle the king deliuered the cuſtodie of the caſtels of Rokingham, Sawey, & Biham. To one Ranulfe Teutonicus, the Caſtell of Barkehamſted, and to Water Goderuile ſeruant to Foukes de Brent, he betooke the keping of the caſtel of Hertford. And thus what on the one part, and on the other, the Barons loſt in maner all their poſſeſſions from the ſouth ſea vnto the borders of Scotlande, the king ſeazing the ſame into his handes, and committing them to the keeping of ſtraungers, and ſuch other as he thought more truſtie and conuenient. And in all this meane tyme, the barons lay at London banquetting and making merry, without attempting any exployte prayſeworthie. But yet when they heard by certaine aduertiſement, what hauock and deſtruction was made of their houſes and poſſeſſions abrode, they could not but lament their miſeries, and amongſt other their complaints which they vttered one to another, they ſore blamed the Pope, as a chiefe cauſe of all theſe euils, for that he mainteyned and defended the king againſt them.



The Ea
Saliſbu
with h
inuadeth
Countr
bout Lo

The Caſtell of Hanſlap.

Tunbridge Caſtell.

Bedford taken by Foukes de Brent.

William Beauchame.

Caſtels deliuered to the keeping of Fouks de Brent.

Foukes de Brent aduaunced by mariage.

Rockinghem, Sawey, and Biham.

Barkh

Hertfor

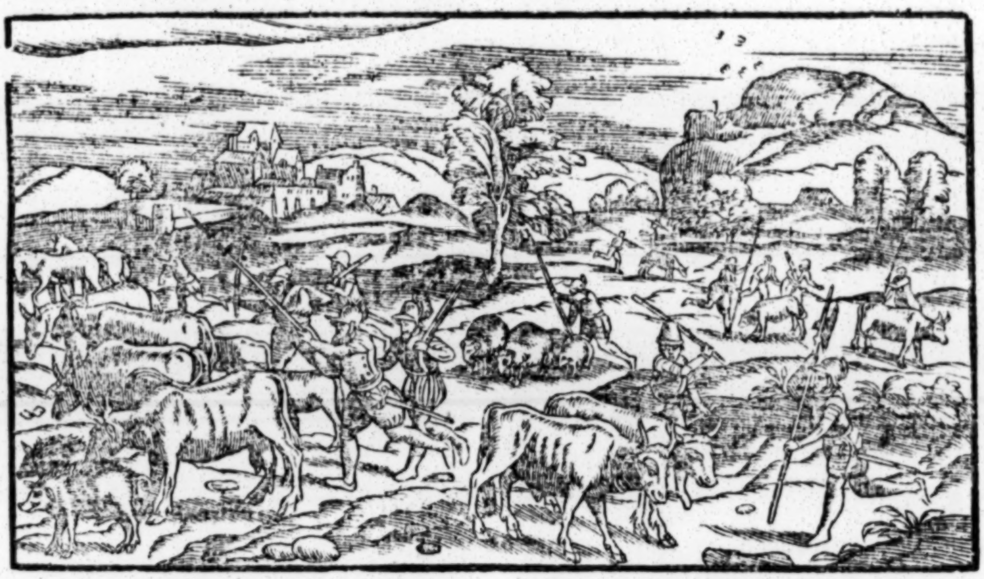
In decde about the ſame time Pope Innocent, who before at the inſtant ſute of king Iohn had excommunicate the Barons in generall, doth now excommunicate them by name, and in perticular, as theſe. Firſt all the Citizens of London which were authors of the miſchief that had happened by the rebellion of the ſaide Barons. Alſo Robert Fitz Water, Sacr de Quincy Earle of Winchester, R. his ſon, G. de Mandeuile, & W.

The Ba
accurſed
name.

his brother the Erle of Clare, & G. his ſonne, H. Earle of Hereford. R. de Percy, G. de Veſcy, J. Coneſtable of Cheſter, W. de Mountbray, Wil. de Albeny, W. his ſon, R. de Roos, & W. his ſon, P. de. Breuſe, R. de Creſſey, J. his ſon, Raunlfe Fitz Robert, R. Erle Bygot, H. his ſon, Robert de Vere, Foulke Fitz Warren, W. Mallet, W. de Moũtacute, W. Fitz Marſhall, W. de Beauchampe, S. de Kime, R. de Montbygons, and Nicholas de Stutvile, with diuerſe other.

The army which king John had left behinde him in the South partes, vnder the leading of the Earle of Saliſburie and other, lay not ydle, but ſcouring the Countreys abroade (as partly yee haue heard) came to Saint Edmondſburie, and hauing intelligence there, that dyuerſe knightes, Ladyes, and Gentlewomen that were there before theyr comming, were fled out of that towne, and for theyr more ſafetye were withdrawne into the Iſle of Elye, they followed them, beſieged the Ile, and aſſayled it on eche ſyde, ſo that (although they within had fortified the paſſages, and appoynted menne of warre to remayne vpon the garde of the ſame in places where it was thought moſte needefull) yet at length they entered vpon them by force, Walter Bucke wyth hys Brabanders beeyng the fyrſt that got foote wythin the Iſle towardes Herbey: For by reaſon that the waters in the Fennes and Dytches were harde frozen, ſo that menne myghte paſſe by the ſame into the ſayde Iſle, they founde meanes to enter, and ſpoyled it from ſyde to ſyde, togyther wyth the Cathedrall Churche, caryng from thence at theyr departure, a marueylous great pray of goodes and Cattell.

The Ile of Ely ſpoyled.
Polidor.
Bernwel.



The Barons of the Realme being thus afflicted with ſo many miſchiefes all at one tyme, as both by the ſharpe and cruel warres which the king made agaynſt them on the one ſyde, and by the enmitie of the Pope on the other ſyde, they knewe not whiche way to turne them, nor how to ſeeke for reliefe. For by the loſſe of theyr complices taken in the Caſtell of Rocheſter, they ſawe not how it ſhoulde any thing auayle them to ioyne in battaile with the king. Therfore conſidering that they were in ſuch extremitie of diſpayre, they reſolue with themſelues to ſeeke for ayde at the enimies handes, and thereupon Saer Earle of Wincheſter, and Robert Fitz Water, with letters vnder theyr ſeales were ſent vnto Lewes the ſonne of Philip the French king, offering him the Crowne of England, and ſufficient pledges for performaunce of the ſame and other couenãts to be agreed betwixt thẽ, requiring him with al ſpeede to come vnto their ſuccors. This Lewes had maried (as before is ſaide) Blanche daughter to Alfonſe king of Caſtile, neece to king John by his ſiſter Elenore. Now king Philip the father of this Lewes, being glad to haue ſuch an occaſion to inuade the Realme of Englande which he neuer loued, promiſed willingly that his ſonne ſhould come vnto the ayde of the ſaid Barons with all conuenient ſpeed (but firſt he receyueth. xxiiij. hoſtages which he placeth at Compaigne for further aſſurance of the couenants accorded.) And herewith he prepared an army, and diuerſe ſhippes to tranſport his ſonne and hys armie ouer into Englande: alſo in the meane time, and to put the Barons in comfort, he ſent ouer a certaine number of men of warre, vnder the leading of the Chatelayne of Saint Omers, the Chatelayne of Arras, Hugh Thacon, Euſtace de Neuile, Baldwin Brecell, William de Wimes, Giles de Melun, W. de Beamõt, Giles de Herſie, Biſet de Ferſie, and others, the whiche taking the ſea, arryued with. xlj. ſhippes in the Thames, & ſo came to Lõdon the. xxvij. of Febr.

French men ſent ouer to the ayde of the Barons.

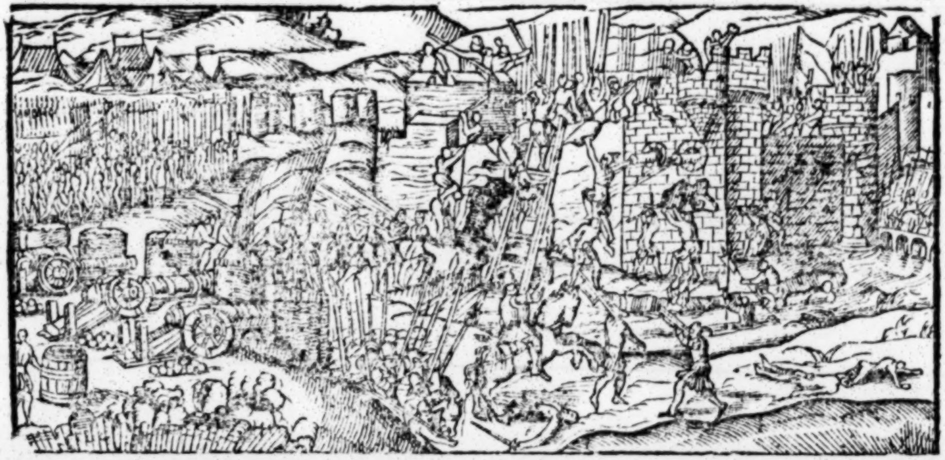
The Saterday after the Epiphanie, ſayth Raufe Cogbeſhall.

where they were receyued of the Barons with great ioy and gladneſſe.

Moreouer the ſayde Lewes wrote to the Barons how that he purpoſed by Gods aſſiſtance to be at Calice by a day appoynted with an armye redy to paſſe ouer wͭ all ſpeed vnto their ſuccors.

Rauſe Cog.

The Fryday before Candlemaſſe day, Sauarie de Mauleon, and other Captaines of the kings ſide, layde ſiege to the Caſtell of Colcheſter, but hauing intelligence that the Barons which lay at London made forward with all ſpeede to come to ſuccor that Caſtell, on the Wedneſday after Candlemaſſe day, being the thirde of Februarie, they raiſed their ſiege, & went backe towards S. Edmondſburie.



In this meane time, the king being gone (as ye haue hearde) vnto the borders of Scotlande, a bruyte was rayſed that hee was deade, and ſecretely buryed at Reding. But this rumour had not tyme to worke any great alteration, for after he had diſpatched his buſineſſe in the north, as hee thought expedient, he returned, and comming into the Eaſt partes about the midſt of lent, himſelfe in perſon beſieged the Caſtell of Colcheſter, and wythin a fewe dayes after hys comming thyther it was delyuered vnto hym by the Frenche men that kept it, wyth condition that they myght depart with all their goodes and armour, vnto theyr fellowes at London, and that the Engliſhmen that were there in their companie within that Caſtel, might likewiſe depart vpon reaſonable raunſome. But although that couenant was kept with the French men, the Engliſhmen were ſtayed and committed to priſon. Wherevpon when the Frenchmen came to London, they were apprehended and charged with treaſon for making ſuch cōpoſition, wherby thoſe Engliſhmen that were fellowes with them in armes were ſecluded from ſo beneficiall conditions as they had made for themſelues. They were in daunger to haue beene put to death for theyr euill dealing herein, albeit at length it was concluded that they ſhoulde remayne in priſon till the comming of Lewes, vnto whoſe pleaſure theyr cauſe ſhoulde be referred.

After this was the Caſtell of Hedingham woonne, whiche belonged vnto Earle Robert de Vere. And then the King prepared to beſiege London. But the Londoners were of ſuch courage, that they ſet open theyr gates, and hearing of the kings approch, made readie to iſſue forth to giue him battaile: whereof the king being aduertiſed, he withdrewe backe, but Sauerie de Mauleon was ſodenly ſette vppon by the Londoners, loſt many of his men, and was ſore wounded himſelfe.

The King therefore perceyuing it woulde not preuaile him to attempt the wynning of the Citie at that tyme, drewe alongeſt the coaſte, fortifyed hys Caſtelles, and prepared a greate Nauie, meaning to encounter his enimy Lewes by Sea: But through tempeſt the ſhippes which hee hadde got togyther from Yermouth, Dunwiche, Lynne, and other Hauens, were diſperſed in ſunder, and many of them caſt awaye, by rage and violence of the outrageous windes.

King Io
once ag
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the Pop

Somewhat before this tyme alſo when hee heard of the compaſt made betwixt the Barons and his aduerſaries the French men, hee diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſt to the Pope, ſignifying to him what was in hande and practiſed agaynſt him, requiring furthermore the ſaid pope by his authoritie to cauſe Lewes to ſtay his iorney, and not to ſuccor thoſe rebels in Englande which he had alreadie excommunicated.

An. R

Cardinall
Gualo.

Math. P

The Fre
kings al
tions to
Popes Le
Gualo.

The Pope deſirous to helpe king John in all that he might, bycauſe he was now his Vaſſall, ſent his Legate Gualo into Fraunce to diſſwade king Philip from taking any enterpriſe in hande againſt the king of England. But king Philip though he was content to heare what the Legate coulde ſay, yet by no meanes he coulde be turned from the execution of his purpoſe, alledging that king John was not the lawful king of England, hauing firſt vſurped & taken it away from his nephew Arthur the lawful inheritor. And that now ſithence as an enimie to his owne royall dignity he had giuen the right of his ſayde kingdome away to the Pope (which he could not do without conſent of his nobles.) And therefore thorow his owne fault he was worthily depriued of all hys kingly honour. For the kingdome of Englande (ſaith he) neuer belonged to the patrimonie of S. Peter, nor at any tyme ſhall: for admit that hee were rightfull king, yet neyther he nor any other Prince may giue away his kingdome without the aſſent of his Barons, which are bounde to defende the ſame, and the prerogatiue royall, to the vttermoſt of their powers. Furthermore (ſaith he) if the Pope do meane to maintaine this error, he ſhall giue a perilous example to al kingdomes of the worlde. Herewithall the nobles of France the preſent, proteſted alſo with one voyce, that in defence of this article they would ſtand vnto death, which is, that no king or prince at his will and pleaſure might giue away his kingdom, or make it tributarie to any other potentate, whereby the Nobles ſhoulde become thrall or ſubiect to a forrain gouernor. Theſe things were done at Lions in the quindene after Eaſter.

On the morrow following being the. xxvj. of Aprill, by his fathers procuremẽt, Lewes came into the Councell Chamber, and with frowning looke behelde the Legate, where by his procurator he defended the cauſe that moued him to take vpon him this iourney into Englande, diſprouing not onely the right which king John had to the crowne, but alſo alledging his owne intereſt, not only by his new election of the barons, but alſo in the title of his wife, whoſe mother the Queene of Caſtile remayned only in life of all the brethren & ſiſters of Henry the ſecond late king of England, (as ye before haue heard.) The Legate made anſwere herevnto, that king John had taken vpon him the Croſſe, as one appoynted to goe to warre agaynſt Gods enimies in the holy land, wherfore he ought by decree of the general Coũcell to haue peace for foure yeares to come, and to remaine in ſuretie vnder protection of the Apoſtolike Sea. But Lewes replied thereto, that king John had firſt inuaded by warre his Caſtels and landes in Picardy, and waſted the ſame, as Buncham caſtell & Liens, with the countie of Guiſnes which belonged to the fee of the ſayd Lewes. But theſe reaſons notwithſtanding, the Legate warned the French king on paine of curſing, not to ſuffer his ſonne to goe into Englande: and likewiſe hys ſonne, that he ſhould not preſume to take the iorney in hand. But Lewes hearing this, declared that his father had nothing to do to forbid him to proſecute his right in ẏ realm of England, which was not holden of him. And therefore he required his father not to hinder his purpoſe in ſuch things which belonged nothing to him, but rather to lycence him to ſeeke the recouery of his wiues right, which he ment to purſue with peril of life if neede ſhould require. The Legate perceyuing he coulde not preuaile in his ſute made to k. Philip, thought that he would not ſpend time longer in vaine, in further treating with him, but ſped him forth into England, obteining yet a ſafecõduct of the french king to paſſe through his realme. Lewes in like maner purpoſing by all meanes to preuẽt the Legate firſt diſpatched forth Ambaſſadors in al haſt vnto the Court of Rome to excuſe himſelfe to the Pope, and to render the reaſons that moſt ſpecially moued him to proceede forwarde in his enterpriſe againſt king John, being called by the Barons of England to take the crowne thereof vpon him. And this done, with all conuenient ſpeed he came downe to Calice, where he found. 680. ſhips wel appointed and trimmed, which Euſtace ſurnamed the Monke had gathered and prepared there readie agaynſt his comming.

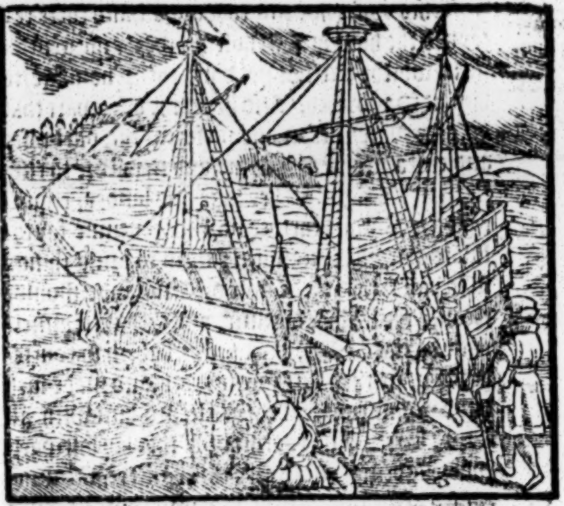
The French kings ſonne ſendeth to the Pope.

He commeth to Calice.

Lewes therefore forthwith embarking himſelfe with his people, and all neceſſarie prouiſions for ſuch a iourney, tooke the Sea, and arriued at a place called Stanchorre in the Ile of Tenet, vpõ the. xxj. day of May, and ſhortly after came to Sandwiche, and there landed with all his people.

He taketh the ſea.

He landeth in Kent.



Here hee alſo encamped vppon the ſhore by the ſpace of three dayes. In which meane time there came vnto him a greate number of thoſe Lordes and Gentlemen which had ſent for him, & there euery one apart and by himſelfe ſware fealtie and homage vnto him, as if he had bene their true and naturall Prince.

The Lordes do homage vnto him.

King John about the ſame time that Lewes thus arriued, came to Douer, meaning to fight with his aduerſaryes by the way as they ſhoulde come forwarde towardes London. But yet vpon other aduiſement taken, he chaunged his purpoſe, bycauſe hee putte ſome doubt in the Flemings and other ſtraungers, of whome the moſt part of his armye conſiſted, bycauſe hee knewe that they hated the Frenche men no more than

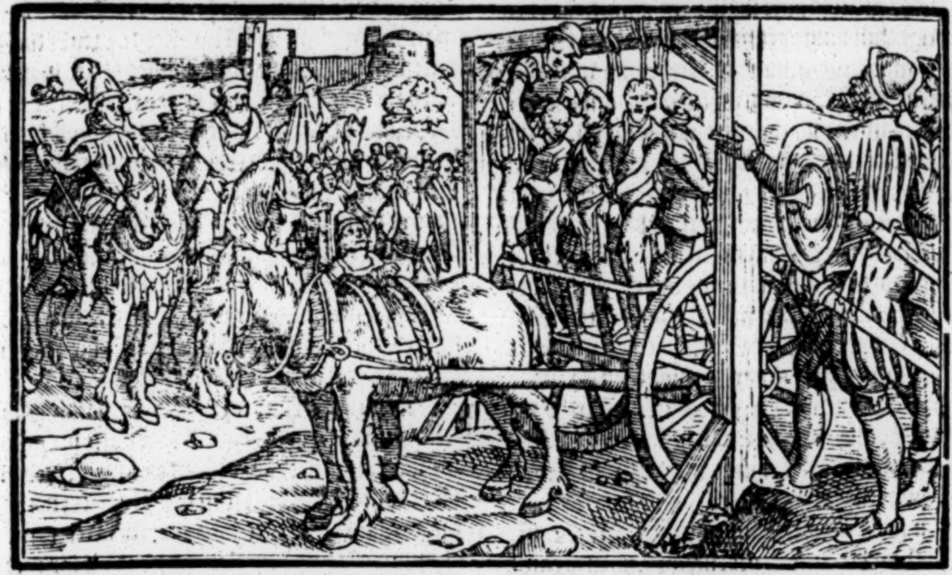
Mat. Par.

they did the Engliſh. Therefore furniſhing the Caſtell of Douer, with men, munition, and vittails, he left it in the keeping of Hubert de Burgh, a man of notable prowes and valiancie, and returned himſelfe vnto Canterburie, and frō thence tooke the high way towardes Wincheſter.

Lewes being aduertiſed that king Iohn was retyred out of Kent, paſſed through the country without any encounter, and wanne al the caſtels and holdes as he went, but Douer he coulde not wynne.

Rocheſte
ſtell wo

At his comming to Rocheſter, he layde ſiege to the caſtel there, & wan it, cauſing al the ſtraungers that were found within it to be hanged.



Lewes commeth to London.

Noble men reuolting frō king Iohn vnto Lewes.

Simon Langton Chancellor to Lewes.

This done, he came to London, and there receyued the homage of thoſe Lordes and gentlemen whiche had not yet done theyr homage to him at Sandwich. And he on the other part toke an othe to mainteyn and performe the old lawes and cuſtomes of the realme, and to reſtore to euerie man his rightfull heritage and landes, requyring the Barons furthermore to continue faythfull towardes him, aſſuring them to bring things ſo to paſſe, that the realme of Englande ſhoulde recouer the former dignitie, and they their auncient liberties. Moreouer hee uſed them ſo courteouſly, gaue them ſo fayre wordes, and made ſuch large promiſes, that they beleeued him with all theyr heartes. And the rumor of this his outward courteſie being once ſpred through the Realme, cauſed great numbers of people to come flocking to him, amongſt whō there were diuerſe of thoſe which before had taken part with king Iohn, as William Erle Warren, William erle of Arundell, William Earle of Saliſburie, William Marſhall the yonger, and diuerſe other, ſuppoſing verily that the Frenche kings ſonne ſhoulde nowe obteine the kingdome, who in the meane time ordeyned Simon Langton afore mentioned, to bee his Chancellor, by whoſe preaching and exhortation, aſwel the Citizens of London as the Barons that were excōmunicate, cauſed diuine ſeruice to be celebrated in their preſēce, induced therto bycauſe Lewes had alreadie ſent his procurators to Rome before his cōming into Englande, there to ſhewe the goodneſſe of his cauſe and quarell. But this auayled them not, neyther tooke his excuſe any ſuch effect as he did hope it ſhould: for thoſe Ambaſſadors that king Iohn had ſent thither, replied againſt theyr aſſertions, ſo that there was hard hold about it in that Court, albeit that the Pope would decree nothing till he heard further from his Legate Gualo, who the ſame time (being aduertiſed of the proceedings of Lewes in his iorney wͭ all diligence haſted ouer into England, & paſſing through the middle of his aduerſaries, came vnto King Iohn, as then ſoiorning at Gloceſter, of whō he was moſt ioyfully receiued, for in him king Iohn repoſed all his hope of victorie. This Legate immediatly after his cōming did excōmunicate Lewes by name, with all hys fautors & cōplices, but ſpecially Simon de Langton, with booke, bel, & cādel, as ẏ maner was. But the ſame Simon, & one Geruaſe de Hobrug dean of S. Pauls in Lōdon with other, alledged that for the right and ſtate of the cauſe of Lewes, they had alredy appealed to the court of Rome, & therfore the ſentence publiſhed by Gualo they tooke as voyd. The ſame time alſo, all the knights & men of warre of Flanders and other parties of beyond the ſea, which had ſerued the king, departed from him, except onely the Poictouins. And part of them that thus went from him, reſorted vnto Lewes, and entred into his wages: but the reſidue repayred home into their owne countries, ſo ẏ Lewes being thus encreaſed in power, departed frō London, & marching towards Wincheſter, he wan ẏ caſtels of Rigate, Guildford, & Farnham.

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Iohn.

Caſtels
by Lew

From thence he went to Wincheſter, where ẏ Citie was yeelded vnto him, with all the Caſtels and holdes thereabout, as Wolueſey, Odyham, and Beaumere. Whileſt the ſayde Lewes was thus occupyed in Suſſex, about the ſubduing of that countrey vnto his obeyſance, there was a yong Gentleman in thoſe parties named William de Collingham, who in no wiſe would doe fealtie to Lewes, but aſſembling togither aboute the number of a thouſande archers, kept himſelfe within the woodes and deſerte places, whereof that countrey is full, and ſo during all the tyme of this warre, ſhewed himſelfe an enimie to the French men, ſlaying no ſmall numbers of them, as he tooke them at any aduantage.

In like manner, all the Fortreſſes, Townes, and Caſtels in the South parties of the Realme were ſubdued vnto the obeyſance of Lewes, (the Caſtels of Douer and Windeſor onely excepted.)

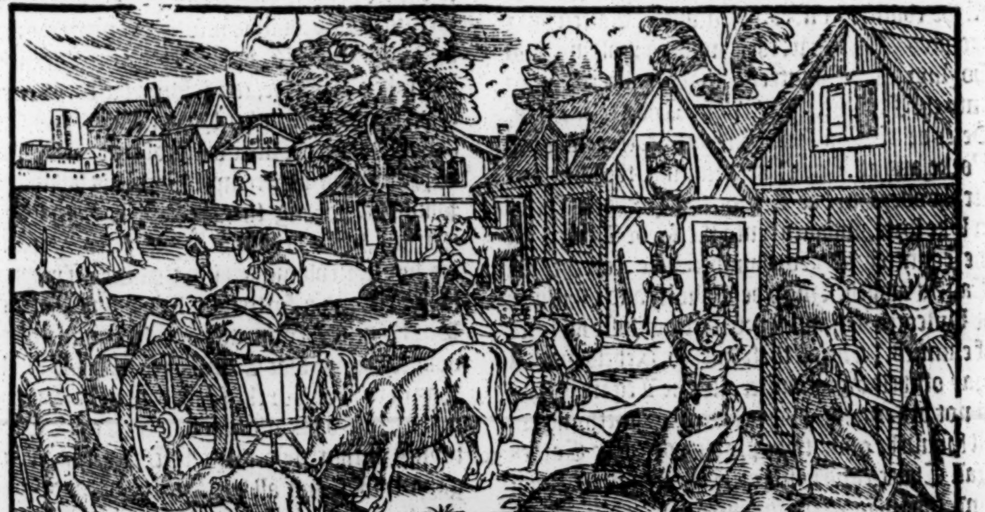
Within a little while after, Wil. de Mandeuile, Robert Fitz Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a greate power of men of warre, dyd the like vnto the Countreys of Eſſex and Suffolke. In whyche ſeaſon, Kyng Iohn fortified the Caſtels of Wallingforde, Corſe, Warham, Briſtow, the Vies, and diuerſe others, with munition and vittailes. About whych time, letters came alſo vnto Lewis from his procurators, which he had ſent to the Pope, by the tenor whereof he was aduertiſed, that notwithſtanding all that they coulde doe or ſay, the Pope meante to excommunicate him, and did but onely ſtay till he had receyued ſome aduertiſement from his Legate Gualo.

The poyntes wherewith King Iohn was charged.

The chiefeſt poyntes (as we fynde) that were layde by Lewes his procurators againſte King Iohn were theſe, that by the murther committed in the perſon of his nephew Arthur, hee had bene condemned in the Parliamente chamber, before the Frenche Kyng, by the peeres of Fraunce, and that beeing ſummoned to appeare, he had obſtinately refuſed ſo to doe, and therefore had by good right forfeyted not only his lands within the precinct of Fraunce, but alſo the Realme of England which was now due vnto the ſayde Lewes as they alledged, in righte of the Lady Blanche his wife, daughter to Eleanor Quene of Spaine. But the Pope refelled all ſuche allegations as they produced for proofe heereof, and ſeemed to defende King Iohns cauſe very pithyly, but namely, in that hee was vnder the protection of him as ſupreme Lord of Englande. And againe, for that hee had taken vppon him the Croſſe (as before ye haue heard.) But now to returne where we left.

The French men begin to ſhewe themſelues in their kinde.

About the feaſt of Saint Margaret, Lewes with the Lordes came agayne to London, at whoſe comming, the Tower of London was yeelded vp to him by appoyntmente, after whiche, the Frenche Captaynes and Gentlemen, thinking themſelues aſſured of the Realme, beganne to ſhewe their inwarde diſpoſitions and hatred towarde the Engliſhmen, and forgetting all former promiſes (ſuch is the nature of ſtraungers, that are once become Lordes of theyr deſires,) they did many exceſſiue outrages, in ſpoyling and robbing the people of the coũtrey, without pitie or mercye. And not onely brake into mens houſes, but alſo into Churches, and tooke out of the ſame ſuche veſſels and ornamentes of golde and ſyluer, as they dyd lay handes vppon: for Lewes coulde not now rule the greedy Souldiers, being giuen wholy to the ſpoyle. But moſt of all, theyr tyrannie did appeare in the Eaſt partes of the Realme, when they wente through the Countreys of Eſſex, Suffolke and Northfolke, where they miſerably ſpoyled the Townes



and villages, reducing thoſe quarters vnder their ſubiection, and making them tributaries vnto Lewes in moſt ſeruile and ſlauiſh manner.

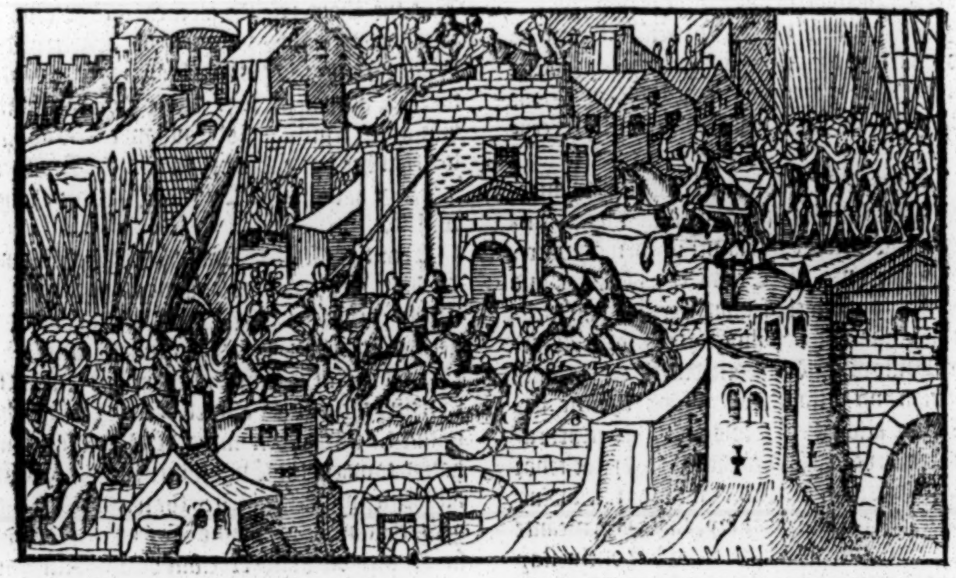
The Caſtell of Norwich left for a pray to Lewes.

Linne.

Moreouer, at his comming to Norwiche, hee found the Caſtell voyde of defence, and ſo tooke it, without any reſiſtaunce, and put into it a garriſon of his Souldiers. Alſo hee ſente a power to the Towne of Linne, whiche conquered ỷ ſame, and tooke the Citizens priſoners, cauſing them to pay greate ſummes of money for theyr raunſomes.

Thomas de Burgh taken priſoner.

Moreouer, Thomas de Burgh, Chatelayne of the Caſtel of Norwich, who vpon the approch of the Frenchmenne to the Citie, fledde out, in hope to eſcape, was taken Priſoner, and put vnder ſafekeeping. He was brother vnto Hubert de Brughe Captayne of Douer Caſtell.



Gilbe
Gaun
Earle o
colne

Lincolne won.

Holland in Lincolnſhire inuaded.

Yorkſhire ſubdued to Lewes.

Now when Lewes had thus finiſhed his enterpriſes in thoſe parties, he returned to London, and ſhortly therevpon created Gilbert de Gaunte Earle of Lincolne, appoynting hym to goe thither with all conueniente ſpeede, that he myghte reſiſt the iſſues made by them whyche helde the Caſtels of Nottingham and Newarke, waſting and ſpoyling the poſſeſſions and landes belonging to the Barons neere adioyning to the ſame Caſtels. Thys Gilbert de Gaunt then, togyther with Roberte de Ropeley, comming into that countrey, tooke ỷ Citie of Lincolne, and brought all the countrey vnder ſubiection (the Caſtell only excepted.) After that, they inuaded Holland, and ſpoyling that Countrey, made it alſo tributary vnto the Frenche. Lykewiſe, Roberte de Roos, Peter de Bruys, and Richarde Percy, ſubdued Yorke, and all Yorkſhire, bringing the ſame vnder the obeyſance of Lewes. The K. of Scottes in lyke ſorte, ſubdued vnto the ſayde Lewes, all the countrey of Northumberlande, excepte the Caſtels whyche Hugh de Baliole, and Phillippe de Hulcotes valiantly defended againſte all force of enimies. And as theſe wicked Rebels made a pray of their own countrey, ſo the Legate Gualo not behynde for his parte to get ſomethyng ere all ſhould be gone, tooke proxies of euery Cathedrall Church and houſe of Religiõ within England, that is to witte, for euery proxie fiftie Shillings.

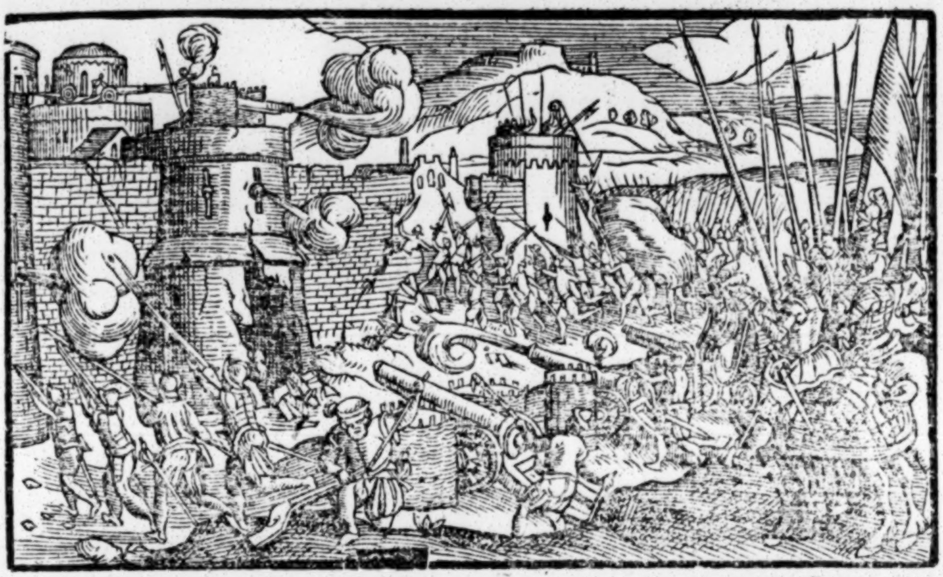
The Legate Gualo gathereth proxies. Sequeſtration of benefices.

Lewes tr
uelleth i
vayne to
the Caſte
of Doue
Rauſe C

Moreouer, hee ſequeſtred all the benefices of thoſe perſons and religious men, that eyther ayded or councelled Lewes, and the Barons, in their attemptes and enterpriſes. All whiche benefices he ſpeedily conuerted to his owne vſe, and to the vſe of his Chaplaynes. In the meane time, Lewes was broughte into ſome good hope thorough meanes of Thomas de Burgh, whome he had taken Priſoner, (as before you haue heard,) to perſwade his brother Hubert to yeld vp ỷ Caſtel of Douer, the ſiege whereof was the next enterpriſe which he attempted. For his father king Phillippe, hearing that the ſame was kepte by a garriſon, to the behoofe of Kyng Iohn, wrote to his ſonne, in blaming him, that hee left behynde hym ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe in hys enimies handes. But though Lewes enforced hys whole endeuour to winne that Caſtell, yet all his trauayle was in vayne. For the ſayde Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotigani, that were chiefe Captaynes within, dyd theyr beſt to defende it agaynſte hym and all hys power, ſo that deſpayring to winne it by force, hee aſſayed to obteyne his purpoſe, by threatning to hang the Captaynes brother before hys face, if he woulde not yelde the ſooner. But when that would not ſerue, he ſoughte to winne him by large offers of golde and ſyluer. Howbeit, ſuch was the ſingular conſtancie of Huberte, that hee woulde gyue no

care

eare to thoſe his flattering motions. Then Lewes in a great furie menaced, that he would not depart from thence, till he had wonne the Caſtel, and put all them within to death, and began to aſſayle it with more force than before he hadde done.



The Barons alſo, which at this ſeaſon lay at London, made a rode vnto Cambridge, and toke the Towne, and after wente forth into Northfolke and Suffolke (as it were, to gather vp ſuch ſcrappes as the Frenche had left) ſpoyling thoſe countreys very pitifully, with Churches and all. They conſtreyned the Townes of Yermouth, Dunwiche and Gippeſwiche, to pay to them great ſummes of money by way of raunſoming. And at length returning by Colcheſter, they vſed the lyke practiſe there. From thence, they returned to London, and ſhortly after, vnder the conduit of the Earle of Neuers (vpon a ſodayne) they wente vnto Windeſor, and layde a ſtrong ſiege about that Caſtel. In the which was Captayne Ingelarde de Athie, with ſixtie valiaunte Knightes, and other men of warre of their ſuite, the which manfully ſtoode at defence. In the moneth of Auguſt, Alexander K. of Scotland came through the countrey vnto the ſiege of Douer, & there did homage vnto Lewes, as in right of hys tenure holden of the kings of England, and then returned home, but in his comming vp, as hee came by Caſtell Bernarde, in the Countrey of Halywerkfolke (whiche appertayned vnto Hugh de Baliole) hee loſt his brother in law the Lorde Euſtace de Veſcy, who was ſtriken in the forehead with a quarrell, as he rode in company of the King, neere vnto the ſame Caſtell, to viewe if it were poſſible vpon any ſide to winne it by aſſault.

About the ſame tyme, or rather in the yeare laſt paſt as ſome holde, it fortuned the Vicount of Melune a French man, to fall ſicke at London, and perceyuing that death was at hand, hee called vnto hym certayne of the Engliſhe Barons, whyche remayned in the Citie, vpon ſafegard thereof, and to them made thys proteſtation: I lament (ſayth he) for your deſtruction, and deſolation at hand, bycauſe ye are ignorant of the perils hanging ouer youre heads. For this vnderſtande, that Lewes, and with him ſixteene Earles and Barons of Fraunce, haue ſecretely ſworne (if it ſhall fortune him to conquere thys Realme of England, and to be Crowned king) to kyll, or baniſhe, and confyne all thoſe of the Engliſhe nobilitie, whyche nowe doe ſerue vnder hym, and perſecute theyr owne Kyng as Traitors and Rebels, and furthermore, diſpoſſeſſe all theyr linage, of ſuche inheritances as they nowe holde in Englande. And bycauſe (ſayth hee) you ſhall not haue doubt hereof, I which lye heere in the poynte of death, doe now affirme vnto you, and take it on the perill of my ſoule, that I am one of thoſe ſixteene that haue ſworne to performe thys thyng: and therefore I aduiſe you, to prouide for youre owne ſafeties, and alſo of your Realme which you nowe deſtroy, and that you keepe this thyng ſecrete whych I haue vttered vnto you. After thys, he ſtraight wayes dyed. When theſe wordes of the Lord of Melune were opened vnto the Barons, they were, and not without cauſe, in greate doubt of themſelues, for they ſawe howe Lewes had already placed, and ſet Frenchmenne in moſt of ſuche Caſtels and Townes as he hadde gotten, the right whereof indeede belonged to them. And againe, it greeued them much to vnderſtande, how beſides the hatred of theyr Prince, they were euery Sunday and holyday openly accurſed in euery Churche, ſo that many of them inwardly relented, and coulde haue bin contented to haue returned to

The Vicount of Melune diſcouereth the purpoſe of Lewes.

The Vicount of Melune dyeth.

The Engliſh nobilitie beginneth to miſlike with the marche which they had made with Lewes.

King John, if they had thought that they ſhould thankfully haue bin receyued.

The death of Pope Innocẽt.

In this yeare, about the ſeuententh of July, dyed Pope Innocente, whoſe deathe being knowen in England, all they greatly reioyced thereof, that were enimies to Kyng John, for they were in great hope, that his ſucceſſor would haue rather enclined to their parte, than to the Kings: but it fell out otherwiſe, for Honorius the thirde that ſucceeded the ſame foreſayde Innocente, maynteyned the ſame cauſe in defence of Kyng John, as earneſtly, or rather more, than his predeceſſor hadde done, ſending with all ſpeede hys Bulles ouer into Englande to confirme Guaio in hys former authoritie of Legate, commaunding him with all endeuour, to proceede in hys buſineſſe, in maynteyning the Kyng agaynſte Lewes, and the diſloyall Engliſh nobilitie that ayded the ſayde Lewes. But nowe to our purpoſe.

Honorius the third choſen Pope.

Kyng John lying all this while at Wincheſter, and hauing knowledge how his aduerſaries were dayly occupied in moſt hard enterpriſes, as in beſieging ſundry ſtrong and inuincible places, ſent forth hys Commiſſioners to aſſemble men of warre, and to allure vnto his ſeruice all ſuche, as in hope of pray, were minded to followe hys Standerde, of the whiche, there reſorted to hym no ſmall number. So that hauing gotten togyther a competent army for his purpoſe, hee breaketh forth of Wincheſter, as it had bin an hideous tempeſt of weather, beating downe al things that ſtoode in hys way, ſending forthe his people on eache ſyde to waſt the Countreys, to brenne vp the Townes and Villages, and to ſpoyle the Churches and Churchmen. With whiche ſucceſſe, and ſtill encreaſing his fury, hee turned hys whole violence into Cambridge ſhire, where hee dyd hurte ynough. And after entring into the Countreys of Northfolke and Suffolke, hee committed the lyke rage, waſt, and deſtruction, in the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged vnto the Earle of Arundell, vnto Roger Bygot, William de Huntingfield, and Roger de Creſſey.

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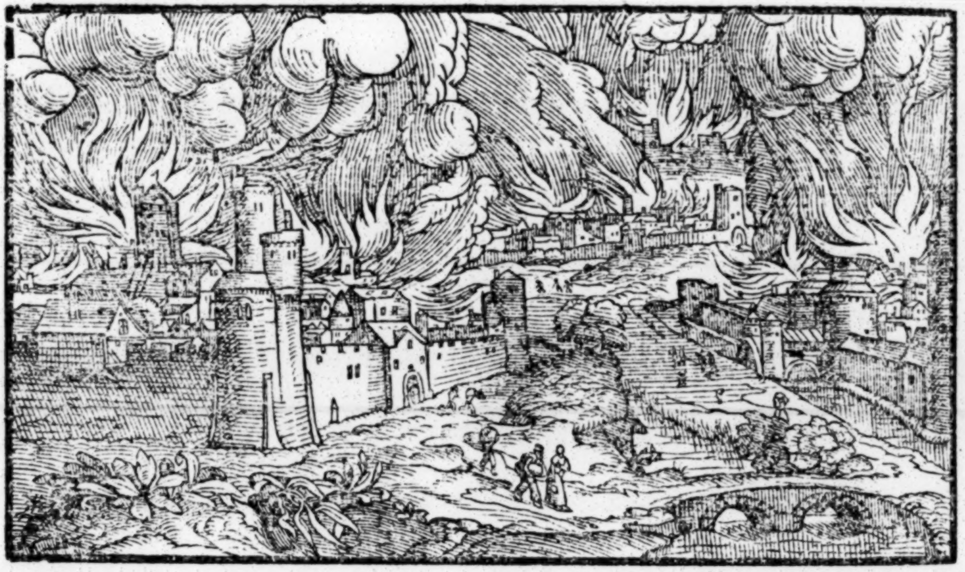

Northfolke and Suffolke.

The ſiege reiſed from Windſor.

The Barons in the meane time that lay at ſiege before the Caſtell of Windeſor, hearing of that hauocke whych Kyng John had made in yͤ Eaſt partes of the Realme, ſecretly in the nyght ſeaſon rayſed their Campes, and leauing theyr tentes behinde them, with all ſpeede made towards Cambridge. But King John by faythfull eſpials, hauing aduertiſement of their intent, which was, to get betwixt him and the places of his refuge, he withdrewe, and was got to Stanford, ere they mighte reach to Cambridge, ſo that miſſing their purpoſe, after they had taken ſome ſpoyles abroade in the Countrey, they returned to London. King John from Stanforde, marcheth towarde Lincolne, bycauſe hee hearde that the Caſtell there was beſieged, but thoſe that had beſieged it, as Gilbert de Gaunt, and others, hearing that K. John was comming towards thẽ, durſt not abide him, but fled, and ſo eſcaped. The K. then turned his iourney towards the marches of Wales, ⁊ there did much hurt to thoſe places yͭ belõged to his aduerſaries. After this alſo, ⁊ with a great puiſſant army, he wente eftſoones Eaſtwards, ⁊ paſſing through the Countreys, came again into the Counties of Northfolke ⁊ Suff. waſting ⁊ afflicting al that came in his way, and at length comming to Linne, was there ioyfully receiued. Then keeping forth Northwards, hee ſpoiled the townes ⁊ Abbeyes of Peterburgh, and Crowland. Here at Crowland, a number of the kings enimies were withdrawen into yͤ Church, but Sauary de Maulcon, being ſent forth to ſeke them, found them there in the Church yͤ morrow after S. Michael, ⁊ drew thẽ out by force, ſpoiled

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the houſe, and getting a greate bootie and pray of Cattell and other riches, hee with his people conueyed the ſame away at his departyng, after he hadde ranſacked euery corner of the Churche, and other the houſes and places belongyng to that Abbey.

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Thus the Countrey beeyng waſted on eache hande, the Kyng paſſeth forwarde tyll he came to Welleſtreme ſandes, where in paſſing the waſhes, hee loſt a great parte of his army, wyth horſes and Carriages, ſo that it was iudged to bee a puniſhmente appoynted by God, that the ſpoyle whyche hadde bene gotten and taken out of Churches, Abbeys, and other Religious houſes, ſhoulde periſhe, and be loſt by ſuche meanes, togither with the ſpoylers. Yet the Kyng hymſelfe, and a fewe other, eſcaped the violence of the waters, by following a good guide. But as ſome haue written, hee tooke ſuche griefe for the loſſe ſuſteyned at thys paſſage, that immediately thereuppon hee fell into an agewe, the force and heate whereof, togither with his immoderately feeding of rawe Peaches, and drinking of newe Syder, ſo increaſed his ſickneſſe, that he was not able to ryde, but was fayne to be carried in a litter preſently made of twigges, with a couche of Strawe vnder him, without anye bedde or pillow, thynking to haue gone to Lincolne, but the diſeaſe ſtill ſo raged and grew vpon him, that hee was inforced to ſtay one nyght at the Caſtell of Laford, and on the next day with great payne, he cauſed hymſelfe to bee carried vnto Newarke, where in the Caſtell through anguiſhe of mynd, rather than through force of ſickneſſe, he departed thys lyfe the nyghte before the nineteenth day of October, in the yeare of his age fiftie and one, and after hee had raigned ſeauen yeares, ſixe monethes, and ſeuen and twentie dayes.

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There be whiche haue written, that after hee had loſt hys army, hee ſhoulde come vnto the Abbey of Swyneſhead in Lincolneſhire, and there vnderſtanding the cheapeneſſe and plentie of corne, ſhewed hymſelfe greatly diſpleaſed therewith, as he that for the hatred whiche he bare to the Engliſhe people, that had ſo trayterouſly reuolted from hym vnto his aduerſarie Lewes, wiſhed all miſerie to lighte vppon them, and thereupon ſayde in hys anger, that hee woulde cauſe all manner grayne to be at a farre higher price, ere many dayes ſhoulde paſſe. Whereuppon, a Monke that heard hym ſpeake ſuche wordes, being moued with zeale for the oppreſſion of hys Countrey, gaue the Kyng poyſon in a cuppe of Ale, whereof hee fyrſte tooke the aſſaye, to cauſe the Kyng not to ſuſpect the matter, and ſo they both dyed in manner at one time.

s Cro.

There are that write, howe one of hys owne ſeruauntes dyd conſpire with a conuert of that Abbey, and that they prepared a diſhe of peares, whyche they poyſoned, three of the whole number excepted, whyche diſhe, the ſayde conuerte preſented vnto hym: and when the Kyng ſuſpected them to be poyſoned indeede, by reaſon that ſuch precious ſtones as he hadde about, caſt forth a certayne ſweate, as it were, bewraying the poiſon, hee compelled the ſayde conuerte to taſt and eate ſome of them, who knowing the three peares whych were not poyſoned, tooke and eate thoſe three, whych when the Kyng had ſeene, he coulde no longer abſteyne, but fell too, and eate greedily of the reſt, and ſo dyed the ſame nyghte, neyther any hurte chaunced to the conuert, who thorough helpe of ſuche as bare no good will to the Kyng, founde ſhift to eſcape, and conueyed himſelfe away from daunger of receyuing due puniſhmente for ſo wicked a deede.

The variable reportes of writers, concerning the death of King Iohn.

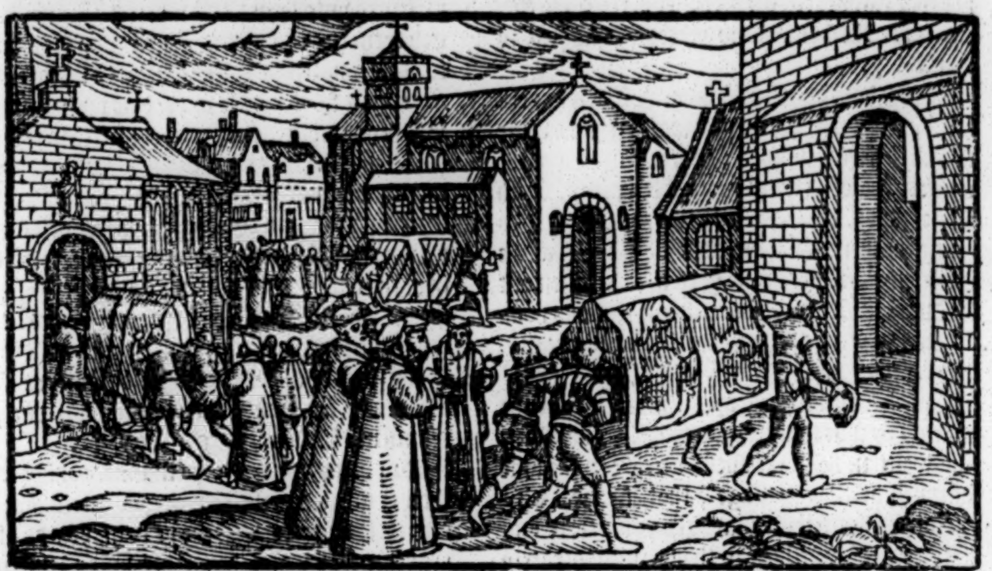
But verily, touching the manner of his death, there is great diuerſitie among Writers. For beſyde theſe reportes whyche ye haue hearde, there are other that write, howe hee dyed of ſurfeting in the nyghte, as Raufe Niger: ſome of a bloudy flixe, as one hathe, that writeth an addition vnto Roger Houeden. And Raufe Cogheſhall ſayeth, that comming to Lynne, (where he appoynted Sauary de Mauleon to be Captayne, and to take order for ẏ fortifying of that towne) hee tooke a ſurfet there of immoderate dyet, and withall fell into a laſke, and after hys laſke had left hym, at hys commyng to Laford in Linſey, hee was let bloud, and to increaſe hys other griefes and ſorrowes for the loſſe of his carriage, iewels & men, in paſſing ouer the waſhes, whych troubled hym ſore: there came vnto him meſſengers from Hubert de Burgh, and Gerard de Sotegam Captaynes of Douer Caſtell, aduertiſing him, that they were not able to reſiſt the forcible aſſaultes and engines of the enimies, if ſpeedy ſuccoures came not to them in tyme.

Hereof his greefe of mynde beyng doubled, ſo as hee myghte ſeeme euen oppreſſed with ſorrow, the ſame increaſſed hys diſeaſe ſo vehemently, that within a ſmall tyme it made an ende of hys lyfe (as before yee haue hearde.)

The menne of warre that ſerued vnder hys enſignes, beeyng for the more parte hyred Souldiers and ſtraungers, came togyther, and marching forthe with his body, eache man with hys armour on hys backe, in warlike order, conueyed it vnto Worcetor, where hee pompouſly was buryed in the Cathedrall Churche before the hygh Aulter, not for that hee had ſo appointed, (as ſome write,) but bycauſe it was thought to be a place of moſt ſuretie for the Lordes and other of hys friendes there to aſſemble and to take order in their buſineſſe nowe after hys deceaſſe.

Bernewell.

Bycauſe he was ſomewhat fatte and corpulente, his bowels were taken forth of his body, and buried at Croxton Abbey, a houſe of Mōks, of the order called *Premonſtratenſis*, in Staffordſhire. The Abbot of which houſe was his Phiſition.



He had iſſue by his wife Queene Iſabell two ſonnes, Henry who ſucceeded him in the Kyngdome, and Richard, with three daughters, Ioane married to Alexander Kyng of Scotlande, Iſabell coupled in matrimony with the Emperoure Fredericke the ſeconde, and Eleanor whome William Earle of Glowceſter had to wife. Hee had alſo another daughter (as ſome haue lefte in writing) called alſo Eleanor.

Hee was comely of ſtature, but of lookes and countenaunce diſpleaſant and angry, ſomewhat cruell of nature, as by the writers of hys time he is noted, and not ſo hardy as doubtfull in time of perill and daunger.

But this ſeemeth to be an enuious report vttered by thoſe that were giuen to ſpeake no good of hym whome they inwardly hated. But yet there be that giue this witneſſe of him, as the author of the booke of Bernewell Abbey and other, that he was a great and mighty Prince, but yet not very fortunate, not vnlike altogither to Marius the noble Romayne, taſting of fortune both wayes: bountifull and liberall vnto Strangers, but of his owne people (for their dayly treaſons practiſed towardes hym) he was a great oppreſſour, ſo that hee truſted more to forreyners than to them, and therefore in the ende he was of them vtterly forſaken.

Verely, who ſoeuer ſhall conſider the courſe of the hiſtory written of thys Prince, hee ſhall fynde, that he hath bin little beholden to ẏ Writers of that time in which he liued: for vnneth cã they aford him a good word, except whē ẏ trueth enforceth them to come out with it as it were againſt their willes.

And the occaſion (as ſome think) was, for that he was no great friende to the Cleargie. And yet vndoubtedly his deedes ſhew, he hadde a zeale to Religiõ as it was then accompted: for he fou͂ded the Abbey of Beauleau in the new forreſt, as it were, in recompence of certayne Pariſhe Churches, which to enlarge the ſame forreſt, he cauſed to be throwen downe and demoliſhed.

Hee alſo buylded the Monaſterie of Farendon, and the Abbey of Hales in Shropſhire. Alſo he repared Godſtow where his fathers concubine Roſamond lay enterred. Likewiſe, he was no ſmall benefactor to the Minſter of Liechfielde in Staffordſhire. Likewiſe, to the Abbey of Crokeſden in the ſame ſhire, and to the Chappell at Knateſburgh in Yorkſhire. So that to ſay what I thinke, hee was not ſo voyde of deuotion towards the Churche, as dyuers of his enimies haue reported, who of meere purpoſe, conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices, but are plentifull ynough in ſetting forthe the ſame to the vttermoſt, and interprete all hys doyngs and ſayings to the worſt, as may appeare to thoſe that aduiſedly reade the workes of them that write the order of hys lyfe, whych may ſeeme rather an inuectiue than a true hiſtory. Albeit, ſyth we cannot come by the trueth of things through the malice of Writers, wee muſt contente oure ſelues with this vnfriēdly deſcription of his time. Certaynely it ſhoulde ſeeme the man hadde a princely heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithful ſubiectes to haue wroken himſelfe of ſuch wrongs as were done and offered to him by the French Kyng and others.

Mat.
Polidor.
& alii.

Moreouer, the pride and pretenced authoritie of the Cleargie he could not well abide, whē they went about to wraſt out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princely rule and gouernemente. True it is, that to mayntcyne his warres whych he was forced to take in hand, as wel in Fraunce as elſe where, he was conſtreyned to make all the ſhift hee coulde deuiſe to recouer money, and bycauſe he pinched at theyr purſes, they conceyued no ſmall hatred againſt him, which when he perceyued, and wanted peraduenture diſcretion to paſſe it ouer, hee diſcouered now and then in hys rages hys immoderate diſpleaſure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing very hard in a ſtout ſtomacke, and thereby he miſſed nowe and then to compaſſe that which otherwiſe he might very well haue broughte.to paſſe. It is written, that he meant to haue become feodarie (for maintenaunce ſake agaynſte hys owne diſloyall ſubiectes, and other his aduerſaries) vnto Miramumeline the great Kyng of the Saraʒens: but for the trueth of this reporte, I haue little to ſay, and therefore I leaue the credite thereof to the Authors.

ris.

It is reported lykewiſe, that in time when the Realme ſtoode interdited, as he was abroade to hunt one day, it chaunced, that there was a great Stagge or Hart killed, whiche when he came to be broken vp proued to be very fatte and thycke of fleſh, oh (ſayth hee) what a pleaſant lyfe thys Deare hathe ledde, and yet in all hys dayes hee neuer hearde Maſſe. To conclude, it may ſeeme, that in ſome reſpectes hee was not greatly ſuperſtitious, and yet not voyde of a religious zeale towardes the mayntenaunce of the Clergie, as by his bountifull liberalitie beſtowed in buylding of Abbeyes and Churches (as before yee haue hearde) it may partly appeare.

There lyued in hys dayes many learned men, as Geffrey Vineſaufe, Simon Frarinus *alias* Iſch, Adamus Dorenſis, Gualter de Conſtantijs, firſt Biſhop of Lincolne, and after Archbyſhop of Rouen, Iohn de Oxeford, Colman ſurnamed Sapiens, Richard Canonicus, William Peregrine, Alane Teukeſbury, Simon Thurnaye, who beeing an excellente Philoſopher, but ſtanding too much in his owne conceypt, vppon a ſuddayne dyd ſo forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the moſt ignorant of all other, a puniſhment (as was thought) appoynted to hym of God, for ſuche blaſphemies as he hadde wickedly vttered, both againſt Moiſes & Chriſt. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis, Iohn Hanwill, Nigel Woreker, Gilbert de Hoyland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Paruus a Monke of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Huberte Walter, firſte Biſhop of Saleſbury, and after Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Alexander Theologus, of whome ye haue heard before, Geruaſius Tilberienſis, Silueſter Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote many treatiſes, Ioſeph Deuonius, Walter Mapis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauritius Morganius, Walter Morganius, Iohn de Fordeham, William Leiceſter, Iocelin Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candidus, that wrote an hiſtory entituled *Hiſtoria Petroburgenſis*, Iohn de Saint Omer, Adam Barking, Iohn Gray, an hiſtoriographer and Byſhop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Niger. &c. See Bale *Scriptorum Britanniæ Centuria tertia.*

Bale.

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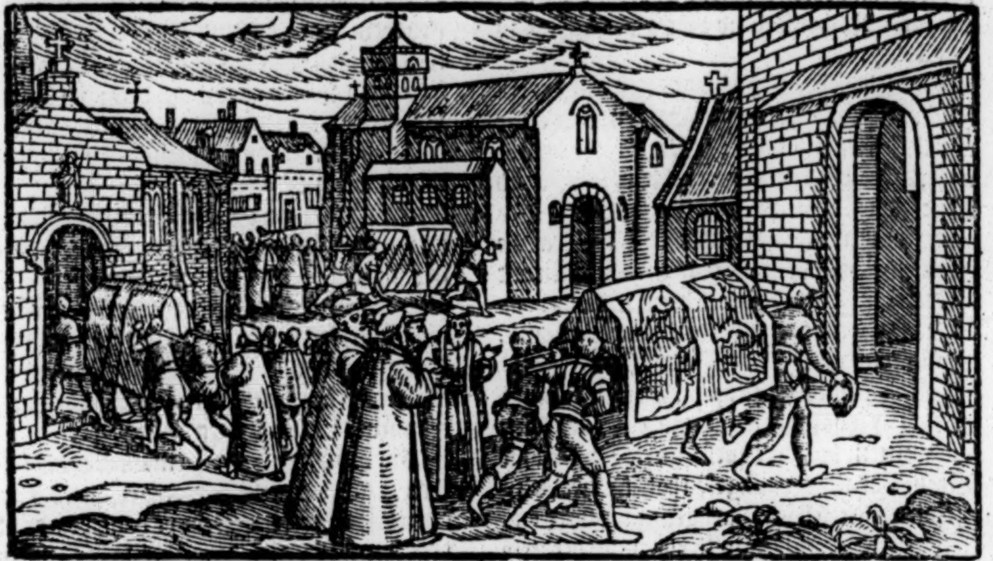

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But this ſeemeth to be an enuious report vttered by thoſe that were giuen to ſpeake no good of hym whome they inwardly hated. But yet there be that giue this witneſſe of him, as the author of the booke of Bernewell Abbey and other, that he was a great and mighty Prince, but yet not very fortunate, not vnlike altogither to Marius the noble Romayne, taſting of fortune both wayes: bountifull and liberall vnto Strangers, but of his owne people (for their dayly treaſons practiſed towardes hym) he was a great oppreſſour, ſo that hee truſted more to forreyners than to them, and therefore in the ende he was of them vtterly forſaken.

Verely, who ſoeuer ſhall conſider the courſe of the hiſtory written of thys Prince, hee ſhall fynde, that he hath bin little beholden to yͤ Writers of that time in which he liued: for vnneth cā they aford him a good word, except whē yͤ trueth enforceth them to come out with it as it were againſt their willes.

And the occaſion (as ſome think) was, for that he was no great friende to the Cleargie. And yet vndoubtedly his deedes ſhew, he hadde a zeale to Religiō as it was then accompted: for he foūded the Abbey of Beauleau in the new forreſt, as it were, in recompence of certayne Pariſhe Churches, which to enlarge the ſame forreſt, he cauſed to be throwen downe and demoliſhed.

Hee alſo buylded the Monaſterie of Farendon, and the Abbey of Hales in Shropſhire. Alſo he repared Godſtow where his fathers concubine Roſamond lay enterred. Likewiſe, he was no ſmall benefactor to the Minſter of Liechfielde in Staffordſhire. Likewiſe, to the Abbey of Crokeſden in the ſame ſhire, and to the Chappell at Knateſburgh in Yorkſhire. So that to ſay what I thinke, hee was not ſo voyde of deuotion towards the Churche, as dyuers of his enimies haue reported, who of meere purpoſe, conceale all his vertues, and hide none of his vices, but are plentifull ynough in ſetting forthe the ſame to the vttermoſt, and interprete all hys doyngs and ſayings to the worſt, as may appeare to thoſe that aduiſedly reade the workes of them that write the order of hys lyfe, whych may ſeeme rather an inuectiue than a true hiſtory. Albeit, ſyth we cannot come by the trueth of things through the malice of Writers, wee muſt contente oure ſelues with this vnfriēdly deſcription of his time. Certaynely it ſhoulde ſeeme the man hadde a princely heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithful ſubiectes to haue wroken himſelfe of ſuch wrongs as were done and offered to him by the French Kyng and others.

Mat.
Polidr.
& alii.

Moreouer, the pride and pretenced authoritie of the Cleargie he could not well abide, whē they went about to wraſt out of his hands the prerogatiue of his princely rule and gouernemente. True it is, that to mayntayne his warres whych he was forced to take in hand, as wel in Fraunce as elſe where, he was conſtreyned to make all the ſhift hee coulde deuiſe to recouer money, and bycauſe he pinched at theyr purſes, they conceyued no ſmall hatred againſt him, which when he perceyued, and wanted peraduenture diſcretion to paſſe it ouer, hee diſcouered now and then in hys rages hys immoderate diſpleaſure, as one not able to bridle his affections, a thing very hard in a ſtout ſtomacke, and thereby he miſſed nowe and then to compaſſe that which otherwiſe he might very well haue broughte to paſſe. It is written, that he meant to haue become feodarie (for maintenaunce ſake agaynſte hys owne diſloyall ſubiectes, and other his aduerſaries) vnto Miramumeline the great Kyng of the Sarazens: but for the trueth of this reporte, I haue little to ſay, and therefore I leaue the credite thereof to the Authors.

It is reported lykewiſe, that in time when the Realme ſtoode interdited, as he was abroade to hunt one day, it chaunced, that there was a great Stagge or Hart killed, whiche when he came to be broken vp prooued to be very fatte and thycke of fleſh, oh (ſayth hee) what a pleaſant lyfe thys Deare hathe ledde, and yet in all hys dayes hee neuer hearde Maſſe. To conclude, it may ſeeme, that in ſome reſpectes hee was not greatly ſuperſtitious, and yet not voyde of a religious zeale towardes the mayntenaunce of the Cleargie, as by his bountifull liberalitie beſtowed in buyldyng of Abbeyes and Churches (as before yee haue hearde) it may partly appeare.

There lyued in hys dayes many learned men, as Geffrey Vineſaufe, Simon Fraxinus *alias* Aſch, Adamus Dorenſis, Gualter de Conſtantijs, firſt Biſhop of Lincolne, and after Archbyſhop of Rouen, John de Oxeford, Colman ſurnamed Sapiens, Richard Canonicus, William Peregrine, Alane Teukeſbury, Simon Thurnaye, who beeing an excellente Philoſopher, but ſtanding too much in his owne conceypt, vppon a ſuddayne dyd ſo forget all his knowledge in learning, that he became the moſt ignorant of all other, a puniſhment (as was thought) appoynted to hym of God, for ſuche blaſphemies as he hadde wickedly vttered, both againſt Moiſes & Chriſt. Geruaſius Dorobernenſis, John Hanwill, Nigel Woreker, Gilbert de Hoyland, Benet de Peterburgh, William Paruus a Monke of Newburgh, Roger Houeden, Huberte Walter, firſte Biſhop of Saleſbury, and after Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Alexander Theologus, of whome ye haue heard before, Geruaſius Tilberienſis, Silueſter Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote many treatiſes, Joſeph Deuonius, Walter Mapis, Radulfus de Diceto, Gilbert Legley, Mauritius Morganius, Walter Morganius, John de Fordeham, William Leiceſter, Joceline Brakeland, Roger of Crowland, Hugh White *alias* Candidus, that wrote an hiſtory entituled *Hiſtoria Petroburgenſis*, John de Saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Gray, an Hiſtoriographer and Byſhop of Norwich, Walter of Couentrie, Radulphus Niger. &c. See Bale *Scriptorum Britanniæ Centuria tertia.*

Bale.

Henry

Henry the. iij.

An.reg. 1.

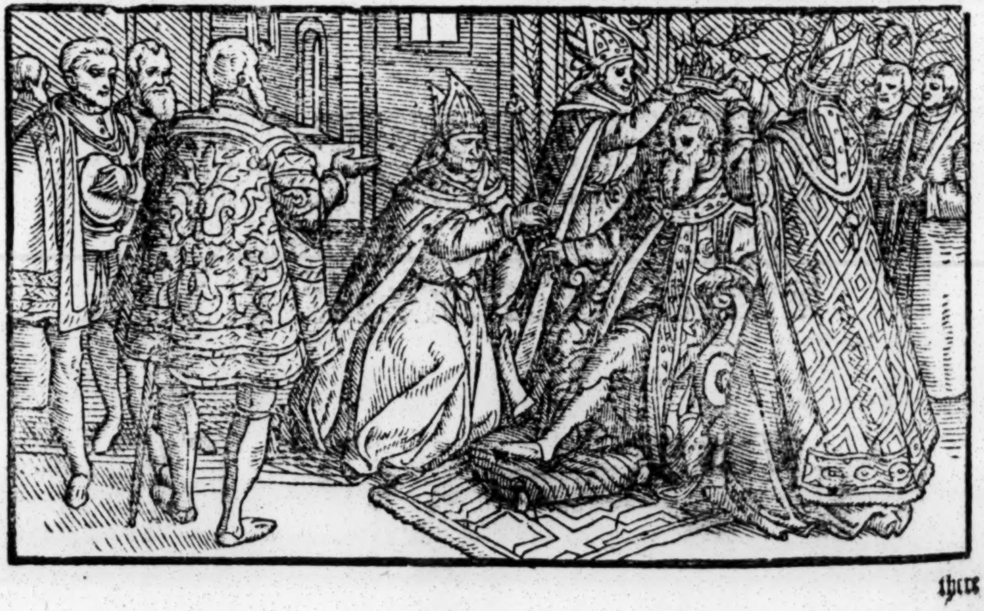
1216

Williã Marſhall Earle of Pembroke.

Mat.

This borrow M.Fo.

HEnry, the thirde of that name, the eldeſt ſonne of King John, a childe, of the age of nine yeres, began his raigne ouer the Realme of Englande the nineteenth daye of October, in the yeare of our Lord. 1216. in the ſeuenth yeare of the Emperour Fredericke the ſecond, and in the. 36. yeare of the raigne of Phillip the ſecond King of Fraunce. Immediately after the deathe of his father Kyng John, William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke generall of his fathers army, broughte this yong Prince with hys brother and ſiſters vnto Glowceſter, and there called a Counſell of all ſuch Lords, as had taken part with Kyng John: and ſoone after, when it was once openly knowen, that the ſonnes and daughters of the late deceaſſed Prince were brought into a place of ſafetie, a great number of the Lords and chiefe Barons of the Realme haſted thither, I meane not only ſuch as had holden with King John, but alſo diuers other, whyche vpon certayne knowledge had of his death, were newly reuolted from Lewes, in purpoſe to ayde the yong King Henry, to whome of righte the Crown did apperteyne. Thither came alſo Wallo or Guallo the Popes Legate (an earneſt defender of the Kings cauſe) with Peter Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Jocelin Biſhop of Bath. Alſo Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, William Ferrers Earle of Derbie, John Marſhall, and Phillip de Albeny, with diuers other Lords and Peeres of the Realme, and alſo a great number of Abbots, and Priors, who by and by fell to councell togither what way ſhould be beſt to take, for the good order of things now in ſo doubtfull and perilous a time as this. The peeres of the Realme beeyng thus aſſembled, William Earle of Pembroke bringing the yong K. into their preſence, and ſetting him before them, vſed theſe words: Behold (ſaith he) right honorable & welbeloued, although we haue perſecuted yͤ father of this yong Prince for his euill demeanor, & worthily, yet this yong child whom here ye ſee before you, as he is in yeres tender, ſo is he pure & innocẽt frõ thoſe his fathers doings: wherfore, in aſmuch as euery mã is charged only with the burthẽ of his owne works and trãſgreſſiõs, neither ſhal the child (as yͤ Scripture teacheth vs) beare the iniquitie of hys father: wee ought therfore of ducty & conſcience to pardõ this yong & tender Prince, & take cõpaſſion of his age as ye ſee. And now, for as much as he is yͤ kings natural & eldeſt ſon, & muſt be our ſoueraigne, and King, and ſucceſſor of this kingdome, come, and let vs appoint him our K. and gouernoure, and let vs remoue from vs thys Lewes the Frenche kings ſon, & ſuppreſſe his people, which are a cõfuſion & ſhame to our natiõ: and the yoke of their ſeruitude, let vs caſt from off our ſhoulders. Whẽ the Barons had heard this Earles wordes, after ſome ſilence and conference had, they allowed of his ſayings, and immediatly with one conſente, proclaimed the yong Gentlemã K. of England, whom the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Bath did Crowne and annoynt with all due ſolemnities



there at Glouceſter, vpon the day of yͤ feaſt of the Apoſtles Simon & Jude in preſēce of the Legat, beyng thus crowned, he was committed to the gouernance of his brother in lawe, the foreſayde Willyam Marſhall, Earle of Pembroke, who to wynne the good wyll of the people towardes the young kyng, ſente forthe Meſſengers with Letters into all parties of the Realme, to ſignifye the newes of the kynges Coronation, with an offer alſo of pardon to all ſuch of the Barons ſide as woulde turne to his parte: and lykewyſe of greate rewardes to thoſe whiche hauing hitherto continued faythfull woulde ſo remayne vntyll this trouble ſhoulde be ouerpaſte.

By this means it came to paſſe, that his frendes greatly reioyced of theſe newes, and manye of thoſe, whyche tyll that tyme hadde ayded the Frenchemen, reuolted from them, and in hope of pardon and rewarde, tourned to king Henry.

It is reported by writers, that amongſt other thyngs, as there were dyuers whiche withdrewe the hearts of the Engliſhemen from Lewes, the conſideration had of the confeſſion which the vicount of Melune made at the houre of his death was the principall. The order whereof, in the later ende of the lyfe of king John, ye haue heard.

Truly how little good will inwardly Lewes and his Frenchemen bare towardes the Engliſhe nation, it appeared ſundry ways. And firſt of all in that they had them in a maner in no regard or eſtimation at al, but rather ſought by all meanes to ſpoyle and keepe them vnder, not ſufferyng them to beare anye rule, nor puttyng them in truſte wyth the cuſtodye of ſuche places as they had brought them in poſſeſſion of. Secōdly, they called them not to councel, ſo often as at the firſt they vſed to doe, neyther dydde they proceede by theyr directions in their buſineſſe, as before they were accuſtomed. Thirdly, in all maner of theyr conuerſation, neyther Lewes nor his Frenchmen vſed them ſo familiarly, as at their firſt cōming: but (as their maner is) ſhewing more loftie coūtenances towardes them, they greatly increaſed the indignation of the Engliſhe Lordes againſt them, who myght euyll abyde to be ſo ouer ruled. To conclude, where greate promiſes were made at their entring into the lande, they were ſlowe ynough in perfourmyng the ſame, ſo as the expectation of the Engliſh barons was quite made voyde: For they perceyued dayly that they were deſpiſed and ſcoffed at, for their diſloyaltie ſhewed towardes their owne naturall Prince, hearyng nowe and then nyppes and tauntes openly by the Frenchemen, that as they had ſhewed them ſelues falſe and vntruſtye to theyr owne lawfull Kyng, ſo they woulde not contynue anye long tyme trewe vnto a Straunger.

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Thus all theſe thyngs layde togyther, gaue occaſion to the Englyſhe Barons to remember themſelues, and to take iuſt occaſion to reuolte vnto Kyng Henrye, as before wee haue mencioned. But nowe to the purpoſe of the Hiſtorye.

Ye haue hearde howe Lewes had ſpent long tyme in vayne about the beſiegyng of the Caſtell of Douer: for although he conſtrayned them within ryght ſore, yet Huberte de Burghe and Girarde de Sotigam bare them ſelues ſo manfully, and therewith ſo politikely, that their aduerſaries coulde not come to vnderſtande their diſtreſſe and daunger within the Caſtell, in ſo muche that diſpairing to winne it in any ſhorte tyme, euen before the deathe of Kyng John was knowne as (ſome write) Lewes was contented to graunte a truce to them that kept this Caſtell, tyll the feaſte of Eaſter nexte enſuyng: but as it appeareth by other, thys truce was not concluded till after the death of Kyng John was ſignified to Lewes, who greately reioycing thereat, ſuppoſed nowe wythin a ſhorte tyme, to bryng the whole Realme vnder hys ſubiection: and therefore rayſyng his ſiege from Douer, in hope to compaſſe enterpriſes of greater conſequence, came backe vnto the Citie of London.

When they within the Caſtell of Douer ſaw the ſiege remoued, they came forthe and brente ſuche houſes and buyldyngs as the Frenchemen hadde reyſed before the ſame Caſtell, and commyng abroade into the Conntrey, gotte togyther ſuche victuals and other neceſſarie prouiſion as myghte ſerue for the furniſhing of theyr fortreſſe for a long ſeaſon.

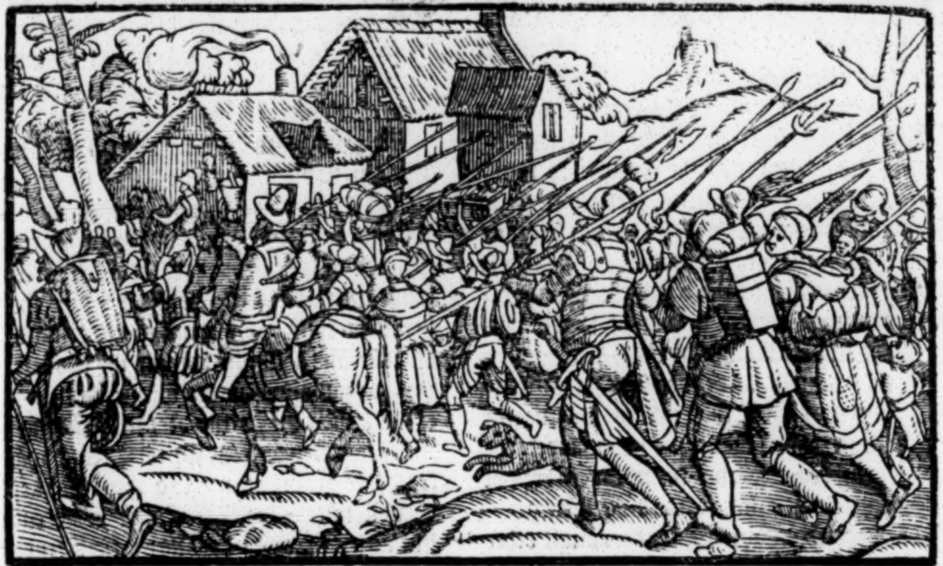
After that Lewes was retourned vnto London, he remayned not long there, but wyth a greate armye marched forthe vnto Harteforde, where he beſieged the Caſtell, whyche was in the keepyng of Walter de Godardule ſeruaunte of houſeholde vnto Foulques de Brente, who defended the place from the feaſt of Saint Martine, vnto the feaſte of Saincte Nicholas, and then delyuered it by compoſition that he and his people myghte departe wyth all theyr goodes, horſe and armour.

Mat. Paris.

Hartford Caſtell deliuered to Levves.

From thence Lewes wente vnto Berkhamſtede, and beſieged that Caſtell, whyche was valiauntly defended by a Dutche Capitayne named Waleron, who with hys people behaued hymſelfe ſo manfully, that a greate number of Frenchemen and other of them without, were lefte deade in the ditches.

At an iſſue alſo made vpon the ſide toward the North where the Barons lay, they ſpoyled the carriage and truſſe of the ſayde Barons, and toke therwithall the Standerd of William Maundeuyle. Finally about the .xx. day of December, they yet yelded the place vnto Lewes, bycauſe they were no longer able to kepe it, theyr lyues, goodes, horſe and armour ſaued.)



Mat. Paris.

Lewes hauyng furniſhed this caſtell with a ſufficient garniſon, returned back towardes London, and comming to Sainte Albanes, conſtrayned the Abbotte to giue vnto him foure ſcore markes of ſyluer, for a fyne, to be reſpected of doing his homage vnto the feaſte of the Purification of our Ladye nexte inſuyng. Whiche poore Abbot was made to beleue, that he ought to take thys dealing to be an acte of great courteſy, the Earle of Wincheſter being an earneſt meane for hym that he myght ſo eaſily eſcape.

Bernewell.
A Truce.

About the ſame tyme was a generall truce taken betwixte the kyng and Lewes, and all their partakers, till the .xx. daye after Chriſtmaſſe, for the obteyning of whiche truce (as ſome write) the Caſtell of Berkehamſtede was ſurrendred vnto the ſame Lewes, as beefore yee haue hearde.

1217

After Chriſtmaſſe, and whyleſt the truce yet dured, Lewes and the Barons aſſembled at the Councell whiche they helde at Cambridge, and the Lordes that toke part with the kyng, mette likewyſe at Oxford, and muche talke there was, and great trauayle imployed to haue concluded ſome agreemente by compoſition beetwixte the parties, but it would not bee, nor yet any longer truce (which was alſo ſought for) could be granted: Whereupon Lewes beſieged the Caſtell of Hydingham, the whiche togyther with the Caſtels of Norwich, Colcheſter, and Oxford: were ſurrendred vnto hym, to haue a truce graunted vntill a moneth after Eaſter next enſuing. And ſo by this meanes all the eaſt parte of the realme came vnto the poſſeſſion of Lewes. For the Iſle of Elye was wonne by his people a little before the laſte truce, whyleſt he hymſelfe lay at ſiege of Berkhamſtede, excepted one fortreſſe belongyng to the ſame Iſle, into the whiche the Souldiors that ſerued ther vnder the king were withdrawn.

But yet although Lewes might ſeme thus partly to preuayle in hauing theſe caſtelles delyuered into his handes, he beeing yet aduertiſed that dayly there reuolted diuers of the barons of Englande vnto king Henry, which before had taken part with him: he ſtood in great doubt and feare of the reſte, and therfore furniſhed all thoſe Caſtels which he had woon with conuenable garniſons, and namely the Caſtel of Hertford, and after, wente to London, there to vnderſtande what further truſt he myght put in the reſt of the Engliſhe Lordes and Barons: for as diuers had already forſaken hym, as it is ſayde, ſo the reſidue were doubtful what they were beſt to do. For firſt they conſidered, that the renouncing of their promyſed fayth vnto Lewes, whome they hadde ſworne to maynteyn as king of England, ſhulde be a great reproche vnto them: and agayne they well ſawe that to continue in their obedience towardes hym, ſhould bring the realme in greate daunger, ſyth it woulde bee harde for any louyng agreemente, to contynue betweene the Frenche and Engliſhemen, their natures being ſo contrarye. Thyrdly, they ſtoode ſomwhat in feare of the Popes curſſe, pronounced by hys Legate, bothe agaynſt Lewes and all his partakers. Albeit on the other ſyde to reuolte vnto Kyng Henrye, thoughe the loue whyche they did beare to theyr countrey, and the greate towardneſſe whyche they ſawe in him greatly moued them, yet ſith by reaſon of his young yeares, hee was not able eyther to followe the warres himſelf, or to take counſell what was to be done in publike gouernement, they iudged it a verie daungerous caſe. For where as in warres nothyng can be more expedient than to haue one head by whoſe appointment all things maye bee gouerned, ſo nothyng can be more hurtfull than to haue many rulers, by whoſe authoritie things ſhall paſſe and be ordered. Wherfore theſe conſiderations ſtayed and kepte one parte of the Engliſhe Lords ſtill in obedience to Lewes, namely for that diuers of the confederates, thoughte that it ſtoode not with their honours ſo to forſake him tyll they myght haue ſome more honorable colour to reuolte from their promiſes, or elſe that the matter ſhould be taken vp by ſome indifferent agreement to be concluded out of hande betwixt them. Hereupon they reſorte in lyke maner vnto London, and there with Lewes take counſell what was to bee done with their buſineſſe touching the whole ſtate of their cauſe.

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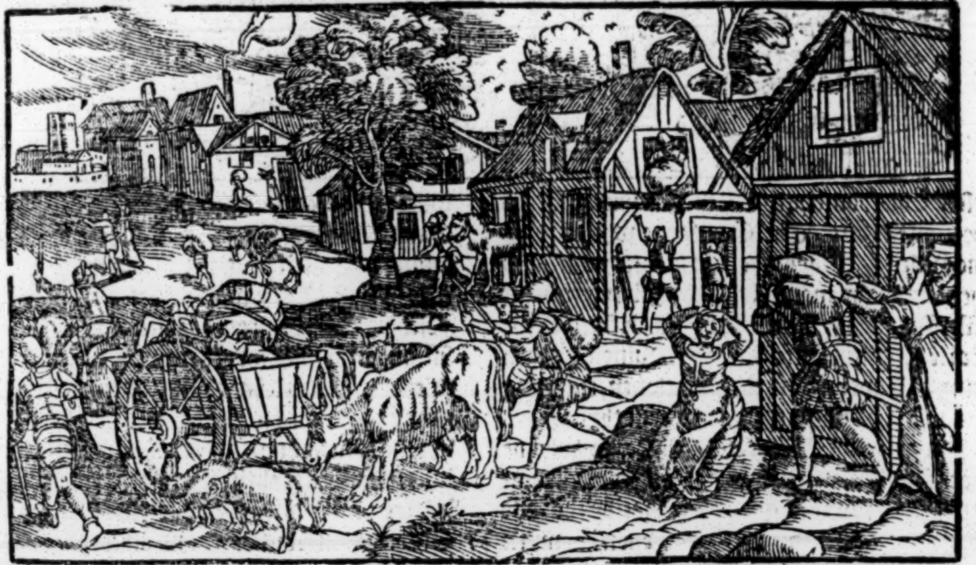
Here ye ſhall note, that before the concluding of this laſt truce Foulks de Brent the Capitayn of the Caſtel of Bedford gat together a number of ſouldiors out of the garniſons of the Caſtels of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windſor, and comming with them to Saint Albans the two and twentie of Februarye ſpoyled the Towne and Abbey, in like maner as he had done al the townes and villages by the way as he paſſed thorough the countrey, from Bedforde vnto Saint Albanes.



The meſſengers whiche Lewes had remaynyng in the Courte of Rome, ſignifyed vnto hym aboute the ſame tyme, that excepte he departed out of England, the ſentence of excommunication which Gualo or Walo the Legate had pronounced againſt him, ſhoulde bee confirmed by yͤ Pope on Maũdie Thurſday next enſuyng. Wherupon Lewes was the more inclined to graunt to the truce before mencioned, that he might in the meane tyme go ouer into France to his father, who had moſte earneſtly written and ſent in commaundement to hym, that in any wyſe he ſhould retourne home to talke with him, and ſo about Midlent after the truce was cõcluded, hee prepared himſelfe, and ſayled ouer into Fraunce, and as Polydore ſayth (but with what authoritie I knowe not) the Kyng of Scottes went alſo with him.

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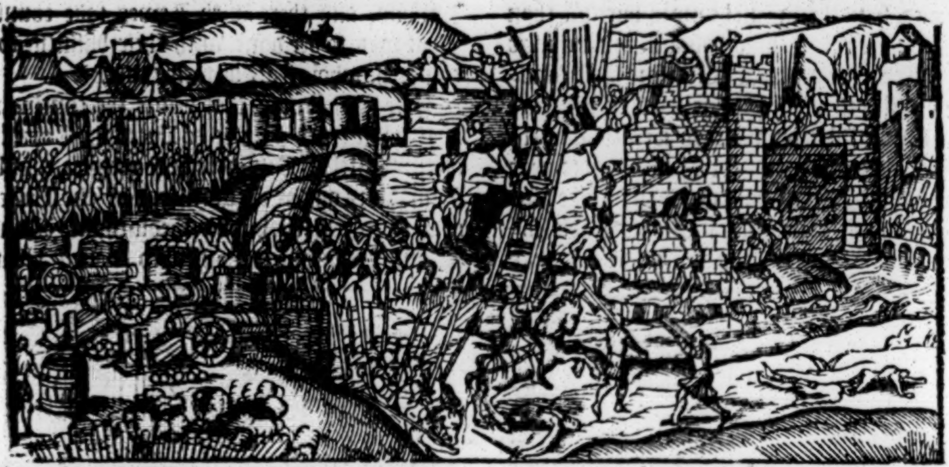
After his departure ouer, William Earle of Saliſbury, William Earle of Arundell, wyth Willyam Earle Warrein, and diuers other reuolted to king Henrye. Moreouer Williã Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, ſo trauailed with his ſon William Marſhall the yonger, that he likewiſe came to take parte with the yong king: wherby the ſyde of Lewes and his Frenchmen was ſore weakened, and theyr hartes no leſſe appalled for the ſequele of their affaires. Lewes returned yet into Englande before the truce was expired.

The Lordes that helde on the kings parte, in the abſence of Lewes were not forgetfull to vſe oportunitie of tyme: for beſyde that they hadde procured no ſmall number of thoſe that before tyme helde with Lewes to reuolte from hym to the kings ſyde, they at one ſelf tyme beſieged dyuers Caſtelles, and recouered them out of theyr aduerſaries handes, as Marlebrough, Farnham, Wincheſter, Ciceſter, and certayne other, thee whyche they ouerthrewe, and raſed, bycauſe they ſhould not be taken, and kepte agayne by the enemie.

For ye muſte vnderſtande, that the goyng ouer of Lewes nowe at that tyme when it ſtode hym moſte vppon, to haue bene preſente heere in that troubleſome tyme, broughte no ſmall hyndrance to the whole ſtate of all his buſineſſe, in ſo muche that hee was neuer ſo hyghly regarded afterwardes among the Engliſhemen as before.



Mat. Pariſ.
The Earle of Cheſter.

About the ſame tyme Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter, William Erle of Albemarle, William erle Ferrers, Robert de Veypount, Bryan de Liſle, William de Cantlowe, Philip de Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Foulkes de Brent, and others aſſembled their powers, and comming to Mountſorel, beſide Loughborough in Leyceſterſhire, beſieged the Caſtell there. The Capitayne whereof was one Henry de Braybroke. This Henry defended the place ryght manfully, and doubting to be in diſtreſſe by longe ſiege, ſente with all ſpeed to the Earle of Wincheſter, Saer de Quincy, as then being at London with the Frenchmen, requiring him to ſende ſome ſuccour to remoue the ſiege.

The caſtell of Mountſorell beſieged.

Henry Braybroke.

Saer de Quincy Earle of VVincheſter.

An armie ſente from London to remoue the ſiege of Montſorell.

Herevpon the Erle of Wincheſter, to whome that Caſtel belonged, required Lewes, that ſome conuenient power might be ſent, wherby the ſiege might bee remoued. Wherfore vpon Counſell taken with deliberate aduiſe, it was ordeyned, that an army ſhoulde bee ſente thyther wyth all ſpeede, not only to raiſe the ſiege, but alſo to ſubdue that countrey vnto the obedience of Lewes. Herewith there went out of London vj. hundred knightes, and wyth them aboue twentie thouſande men in armour, greedye (as it ſeemed) to haue the ſpoyle of other mennes goodes.

Their chiefe Capitaines were theſe: Saer de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, Robert Fitzwater and others, and they did ſette forwarde vpon the laſt of Aprill, whiche was the Monday before the Aſcention daye, paſſing through Sainct Albons, where they lodged the fyrſte nighte, and ſo to Dunſtable, and by the way ſuche Souldiours as were vſed to ſpoyle and pillage, played their partes, not ſparing to robbe and ranſacke as well religious houſes as other. From Dunſtable keeping on their iourneye Northwardes, at length they come to Mountſorell, but the erle of Cheſter and the other Lordes, aduertiſed of their approche, were retyred before to Notingham, determining there to abyde tyll they might vnderſtande what way the enimies would take.

The Earle of Cheſter raiſeth his ſiege.

In the meane tyme the Earle of Wincheſter and the other Barons, fyndyng their enimyes departed, and the ſiege rayſed, determyne forthwith to goe vnto Lincolne, where Gilberte de Gaunt and other hadde kepte ſiege a long tyme before the Caſtell, but yet in vayne. For there was a noble Lady within that Caſtell named Nichola, who demeaned hir ſelf ſo valiãtly in reſiſting all aſſaults and enterpriſes, which the enimies that beſieged hir coulde attempte by anye meanes agaynſt hir, that they rather loſte than wanne honour and eſtimation at hir handes dayly. Therefore Roberte Fitzwater and the other leaders of this armye, to the ende they myghte get that Caſtel out of hir and other their enimies handes, they take theyr iourney forwarde, and paſſing thorough the vale of Beauvere, all thinges there that came to ſighte fell into the handes of the greedie Souldiours. For the French footmen whiche were as it had bene the ſcumme and refuſe of theyr countrey, left nothyng vntouched that they might laye handes vpon, not ſparyng Churche nor Churchyarde, halowed place more than common or prophane. For they were ſo poore and ragged, that they had vneth any tatters to couer theyr priuie partes withall. Finally cõming vnto Lincolne, they aſſaulted the Caſtell with al maner of engins, & aſſayed by all wayes poſſible wherby they hoped to aduance their purpoſe. Thus whiles the Barons with the Frenchmen were muche buſyed about the ſiege of Lincolne caſtell, William Marſhall Erle of Pembrooke by the aduiſe of the legate Gualo or Wallo, and of Peter Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and other of the Counſell with king Henrye, cauſed ſummonaunce to bee giuen to all Capitaynes and Chatelayns on the kings parte, to be at Newarke vpon Monday in Whitſon weeke, with ſuche power as they myght make, from thence to marche vnto Lincolne, there to rayſe the ſiege, & deliuer yͤ country frõ imminẽt oppreſſiõ. Wherevpon there aſſembled at the day & place prefixed, a great

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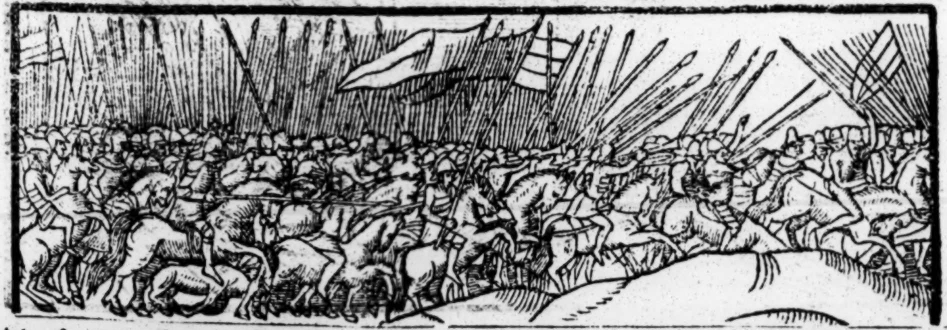
great puiſſaunce of people deſirous to fighte for defence of their countrey againſt the Frenchmen and other aduerſaries, rebelles to the Pope, and excommunicated perſons, ſo that when the muſter was taken, ther was numbred .iiij.C. knightes. CCl. croſſebowes, beſydes demylaunces and horſemen in greats numbers, whiche for neede might haue ſupplyed and ſerued in ſtede of men of armes, being verie well furniſhed for the purpoſe, and armed at all poyntes. The chiefe Capitaines of this companie were theſe, Willyam Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, and his ſon William Marſhal the yonger, Peter biſhop of Wincheſter, a man right ſkilful in feats of warre, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, William Earle of Saliſburye, William earle Ferrers, William earle of Albemarle, beſydes Barons, as Willyam de Albeney lately releaſed oute of captiuitie, John Marſhall, William de Cantlowe, and William his ſonne, Foukes de Brente, Thomas Baſſet, Robert de Weypount, Bryenne de Liſle, Geffrey de Lucy, Philippe de Albeney, with many other Chatelayns and Conſtables of ſundry Caſtels.

The Legate being there preſente alſo on the Friday in the Whitſon weeke aforeſaid, reueſted in a white Albe, accompanyed with the Clergie, accurſed in ſolemne wyſe Lewes the French kinges ſonne, with all his fautours and complices, and eſpecially thoſe whiche helde ſiege before the Caſtell of Lincolne, with all the Citie: and the more to encorage all thoſe that ſhould paſſe forth in this armye, to rayſe the ſiege, he graunted to them free remiſſion of al their ſinnes, wherof they were truly confeſſed, and by auctoritie whiche he had from the Almightie God, and the Apoſtolike ſea, he promiſed to them the guerdon of euerlaſting ſaluation. Herewith when the armie hadde receyued abſolution, & the Legates bleſſing, euery man marched forth in his order and place apointed, and comming to Stow, an eight miles from Lincolne, lodged there all night. In the mornyng alſo they paſſed forth towardes Lincolne, vnder the conducte of the ſayd Earle of Pembroke as generall of the whole armie, who beeing comen thyther, compaſſeth about the Citie with his armie. And to cauſe the enimie the ſooner to leaue the ſiege of the caſtel, he aſſaulted the gates of the Citie, enforcing his power to beare downe and breake them open. The Frenchmen perceyuing all the daunger to be about the gates, withdrewe a little from the aſſayling of the Caſtell, and reſorting to the walles of the Citie, doe their beſte wyth ſhootyng and caſtyng of ſtones and other things, to driue their aduerſaries from the gates.

Foulkes du Brent.

Thus whiles they are here occupyed on bothe partes, Foulkes du Brent entreth into the Caſtel by a poſterne gate on the backeſide, and a greate number of Souldiours with him, and ruſhing into the Citie oute of the Caſtell, beginneth a fierce battayle with the Citizens within the Citie: whyche, when the Frenchmen perceyued, by the noyſe and cry rayſed at theyr backs, they ran to the place where the affraye was, doyng theyr beſte to beate backe the aforeſayde Foulques du Brent wyth hys companye: But in the meane tyme the Engliſhmen vnder the leading of Sauarye de Mauleon, a Poyctouin, of whom you haue hearde in the lyfe of Kyng John, brake open the gates, and entred the Citie. Then the fyght was ſore encreaſed and maynteyned for a tyme with great furye: ſo that it was harde to iudge who ſhoulde haue the better. But at length the Frenchemenne and thoſe Engliſhe Lordes that were with them, beyng ſore layde to on eche ſyde, began to retyre towardes the gates, and finally to tourne theyr backes, and ſo fled away: but being beſette rounde aboute with the Kinges horſemen, they were ſtraight wayes eyther ſlain or taken for the moſte part of them.

The Frenchemen put to flight at Lyncolne.



Amongeſt other that were there ſlayne, the Erle of Perche a Frencheman was one, who being gotten into a Churchyarde manfully defended himſelf till his horſe was killed vnder hym, and laſtly hymſelfe was alſo beaten downe and ſlayn. There were taken of Engliſhmẽ, Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter, and Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Herforde, Gilberte de Gaunt Earle of Lincolne, by gifte of Lewes, Richard de Montfichet, William de Mowbraye, William de Beauchampe, William de Mauduyt, Oliuer de Harecourt, Roger de Creſſy, William de Coleville, William de Roos, William de Ropeley, Raufe Chanduit, and diuers other: ſo that of knightes there were taken to the number of

Gilberte de Gaunt by gifte of Lewes.

foure hundred, beſide ſuche multitude of demylances, and other horſmen and footmen, as could not well be numbred. Morouer, al the prouiſion, truſſe, and baggage loden in cartes, clothſackes, and males belonging to the barons and Frenchmen was taken, and the Citie was ſpoyled, ryfled and ſacked.

Lewes his faire.

This enterpriſe and diſcomfiture at Lincolne whyche was in deriſion called Lewes his fayre, chaunced the .xiiij. Calends of June, beeing Saterday in the Whitſon weeke. Many of the honeſt Matrones of the towne were drowned, as they were got into boates to auoyde the daunger of theyr perſons, wanting ſkill how to guyde the ſame boates.

The king commaundeth the caſtel of Moūtſorell to be raſed.

The Erle of Pembroke the ſame daye before he receyued any repaſt, rode backe in poaſt to the kyng, whome he had left at Stow, and there declared the ioyful newes of his good ſpeede, in vanquiſhing of the enimies. On the next morowe, newes came to the king, that they which had kept the Caſtell of Montſorell were fledde out of the ſame, and had left it voyde. Wherevpon immediatly he ſent in commaundement vnto the Sheriff of Notynghamſhire, that goyng thyther in hys owne perſon, he ſhoulde ruinate the ſayd Caſtell, and make it playne with the grounde.

The Frenchmen which eſcaped with lyfe from the ſlaughter at Lincolne, as the Marſhall of Fraunce, the Chatellain of Arras, with others, made towardes London with all poſſible ſpeede, in hope to eſcape ſo well as they myght: but many of them, and namely the footmen were ſlayne by the coūtrey people where they paſſed, and that in great numbers: for the huſbandmen fell vpon them with clubbes and ſwordes, not ſparing thoſe whome they got at aduauntage. Two hundred knights or men of armes (as we may cal them) getting to London, preſented vnto Lewes the ſorowful report of their miſaduenture, and were of hym not moaned, but blamed and ſore rebuked, for that they had fled, and ſhamefully left the reſidue of their companies to be diſtreſſed, taken, and ſlayne by the aduerſaries, where if they had manfully ſtood to it, they might haply haue ſaued their fellowes, and obteyned victorie.

The Chronicle of Dunſtable ſheweth in deed that Simon de Peſchi and Hēry Braybroc perceyuing that Foulkes du Brent was entred into the Citie, and that they were now aſſayled both afront, and on the backs they withdrew, and getting togither .lxxx. French knights or men of armes, (if we ſhall ſo call them) departed out of the citie, and fleeing through the countrey by Linne and S. Edmunds Bury, at length got through to London. Howſoeuer they were welcomed of Lewes, certain it is, that the Lordes that toke part with king Henry, were put in no ſmall hope by the atchieuing of this ſo greate a victorie, to bring within a ſhorte tyme all the realme to the obediēce of K. Henry: & hereupon marching forth into the countrey, put the people in ſuche feare, that they ſubmitted themſelues vnto the gouernement of king Henry in all places where ſoeuer they came.

On the other parte, Lewes who all thys ſeaſon remayned at London, beeyng ſore diſmayed for the loſſe of his people, began to feare euery day more and more, leaſt by ſome practiſe he ſhould be betrayed and deliuered into his enimies hande. Therefore he goeth aboute to make hymſelfe as ſtrong as was poſſible, and fortifyeth the citie, ſending meſſengers into Fraunce, to require his father to ſende him more ayde. Hys father ſorye to heare of his ſonnes diſtreſſe, and loth that he ſhulde take the foile, cauſed his daughter, the wyfe of Lewes, to prepare a power of men, that the ſame myght paſſe wyth all ſpeede ouer into Englande to the ayde of hir huſbande. For the Frenche king himſelfe woulde not ſeeme to ayd his ſonne bicauſe he was excommunicate: but his daughter in lawe hauing licence and cõmiſſion thereto, gat togither. iij. C. knightes, or men of Armes, the whyche with a greate number of other ſouldiours and armed men, ſhe ſent downe to Caleys, where Euſtace the Monke had prouided a nauie of ſhippes to conuey them ouer into Englande. But howe they ſped, you ſhall after heare.

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In the meane tyme the Earle of Pembrooke approcheth towardes Lõdon, purpoſing to aſſaile the Citie now in this oportunitie of tyme, letting paſſe no occaſion that myght further his proceedings, night and day, ſtudying how to recouer the Realme wholy out of the Frenchemens handes, and to ſet the ſame at libertie: ſo that what was to be deuiſed, he did deuiſe, and what was to bee done that he dyd, not forſlowing any occaſion or oportunitie that might be offered.

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the Erle of
broke.

The Engliſhe Barons alſo calling to mynde the benefite which they had receiued at the Frenchmens handes in tyme of their moſt neede, ſought nowe by all meanes poſſible, ſome waye howe to procure a peace betwixt King Henry and the ſaid Lewes, cauſing dayly new articles of agreement to be preſented in writing vnto the ſayde Lewes, as from king Henrye. But whyle theſe thinges were a dooing, the Earle of Pembroke, and other the Lordes that tooke parte with King Henrye, hauing aduertiſement, that a newe ſupply of men was readye to come ouer to the ayde of Lewes they appoynted Philip de Albeneye and John Marſhall to aſſociate with them the power of the fiue ports, and to watche for the comming of the aduerſaries, that they might kepe them from landing, who on Sainte Bartholomewes day, ſette forthe from Caleys, in purpoſe to arriue in the Thames, and ſo to come vp the riuer to London. Howbeit Hubert de Brough capitain of the Caſtell of Douer, together with the ſayd Philyp de Albeney and John Marſhal, with other ſuch power as they could get togethers of the fiue portes, hauing not yet aboue the number of. xl. ſhippes great and ſmall, vppon the diſcouering of the Frenche fleet, which conſiſted of. lxxx. great ſhips beſides other leſſer veſſels well appointed & trimmed, made forth to the ſea.

Mat. Paris.

And firſte coaſting a looſe from them till they had got the wynde on their backes, came finally with their mayne force to aſſaile the Frenchmen, and with helpe of their Croſſebowes and archers at the firſt ioyning, made great ſlaughter of their enimies, and ſo crapelyng togyther, in the ende the Engliſhemen bare themſelues ſo manfully, that they vanquiſhed the whole Frenche fleete, and obteyned a famous victorie.

Hubert de Burgh aſſaile the Frenche fleete

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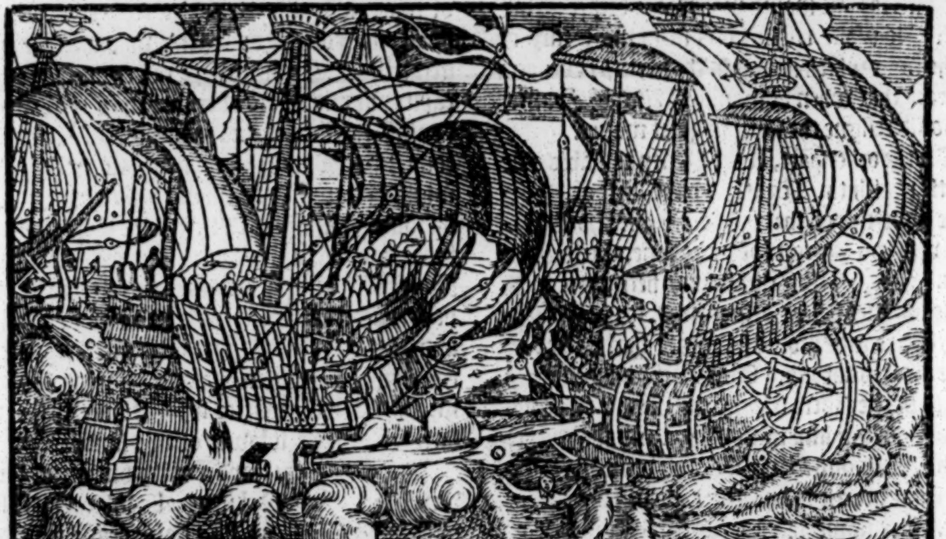

Euſtace the Monke was founde amongeſt the captayns, who although he offred great ſummes of gold for his raunſom, ſo that he myghte haue had his lyfe ſaued, & alſo to ſerue K. Henry, yet the Engliſh capitaynes would none of that, but Richard the baſterd ſonne of king John, toke him, & cut off his head, and ſent it vnto K. Henry his brother, as a witneſſe of this their atchieued victorie.

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This Euſtace was a Flemyng borne, and ſometyme a Monke, but renouncyng his coole to receyue ſuche heritage as fell to hym by the death of his brethren, deceaſſing wythoute iſſue, hee became a notable Pyrate, and hadde doone in his dayes muche miſchiefe to the Engliſhemenne, and therefore was nowe rewarded according to his demerites.

Euſtace the Monke vvha he vvas.

The ſpoyle and praye of the Frenche ſhippes was verye ryche, ſo that the Engliſhmen being loden wyth ryches and honour, vpon their ſafe returne home were receyued with great ioye and gladneſſe.

A riche ſpoyl

But Lewes after he vnderſtoode of this miſchaunce happened to his people that came to his ayde, began not a little to diſpayre of al other ſuccour to come vnto hym at any time hereafter: wherfore he enclined the ſooner vnto peace: ſo that at length he tooke ſuche offers of agreemente as were offred vnto him, and receiued furthermore a ſumme of money for the releaſe of ſuche hoſtages as he had in his handes, together with the title of the kingdom of England, and the poſſeſſion of al ſuch Caſtels & holds as he held within the realm.

An accord betvvixt K. Henry and Levves.

The French Chronicle (to the which the chronicle of Dunſtable and Mathewe Paris doe alſo agree) affirmeth that he receyued. xv. M. markes. Moreouer, the Popes Legate aſſoyled Lewes, & all thoſe that had taken his part of the offence of diſobedience ſhewed in attempting the warre agaynſt the Popes commaundement.

The Englishe Chronicle sayeth a thousand pound.

Math. Paris.

After whiche, Lewes with all his complices that had bin excommunicate ſware vpon the holye Euangeliſt, that they ſhuld ſtande to the iudgement of holy Churche, and from thenceforth be faythfull vnto the Pope and to the Churche of Rome. Moreouer, that he with his people ſhould incontinently depart out of the realme, and neuer vpon euil intent returne agayn. And that ſo farre as in him lay, he ſhould procure his father King Philip, to make reſtitution vnto king Henry of all the right which he had in the parties of beyond the ſea: & that when he ſhould be king of France, he ſhould reſigne the ſame in quiet maner.

On the other part, King Henry tooke his othe together with the Legate, and the Erle of Pembroke gouernor of the realme, that he ſhoulde reſtore vnto the Barons of his realme, and to other his ſubiectes, all their rightes and heritages, with all the liberties before demaunded, for the whiche the diſcorde was moued betwixte the late Kyng John and his barons. Moreouer, all pryſoners on both parties were releaſed and ſette at libertie, without paying any ranſom, yea and thoſe whiche had couenaunted to paye, and vpon the ſame were ſet at libertie before the concluſion of thys peace, were nowe diſcharged of all ſummes of money whiche then remained vnpayed.

Thus peace was concluded on the. xj. daye of September, not farre from Stanes, harde by the riuer of Thames, where Lewes himſelf, the Legate Guallo, and diuers of the ſpiritualtie wyth the erle of Pembroke, lord gouernor of the realm, and others, did meete and talke about this accord.

When all things were ordred and finiſhed agreable to the articles and couenants of the peace, ſo farre as the tyme preſent required, the Lordes of the realme when Lewes ſhould departe homewarde attended him to Douer in honorable wiſe, as appertayned, and there tooke leaue of him, and ſo he departed out of the realme about the feaſt of Sainct Michaell.

King Henry by this meane being put in full poſſeſſion of the realme, according to the preſcript of that article conteined in thoſe conditions of the peace lately ſpecified, pardoned all thoſe that had ayded his aduerſaie Lewes during the warres, except certain of the ſpiritualtie, whiche were put to ſuche fynes, that they were compelled to laye all that they had to pledge, to leuie ſuche ſummes of money, as they might with the ſame obteyne the kings fauoure againe: and beſide that, to ſue to Rome for their entier abſolution at the Popes owne handes. Amongeſt other, Hugh Biſhop of Lincolne returning into England, was compelled to paye a thouſande markes to the Popes vſe for recouerie of his Biſhoprike, and an hundred markes alſo to the Legate of good and lawfull money.

The prelats are fyned.

Suche cheuaunce made the Legate amongeſt them of the church, as well perſons ſecular as regular, that he got together. xij. thouſand markes toward his charges, whereby it appeared, that he loſte no tyme in England. But to procede.

An. reg. 4.

VVhat cheuance the Legate made

The realme now being in quiet of al outward felicitie, a number of vnruly perſons, ſuch as deliting in ydleneſſe, knew not how to lyue in tyme of peace, aſſembled themſelues together (and appointyng Foulkes du Brent, who was a man of greate ſtomacke and more raſhneſſe, to bee their capitayne and ringleader) began to make warre againſt the Kyng, and to ſpoyle the townes and countreys about them, ſo that their euill doings might haue cauſed no ſmall perill to haue enſued by ſome great ciuill ſedition if the Erle of Pembroke had not in tyme preuented their attemptes. For he aſſēbling the kinges power, haſted towardes the rebelles, and what by his owne auctoritie and by the reuerend regard of ſome biſhops in his companie, more than by vſing of any force of armes he ſtayd the matter for that time, ſo that no farther miſchiefe folowed of this mutenie.

Foulkes de Breut.

Math. Pa

Beſydes the foreſayd Foulks du Brent, there were other of the Nobilitie alſo whiche practiſed the lyke myſorder, as William Earle of Albemarle, Roberte de Veypounte, Bryan de Liſle, Hugh de Baliole, Philip de Marc, and Roberte de Gaugi, the whiche Robert withheld the Caſtell of Newarke that belonged to the Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and would not deliuer it tyll the K. with Willyam Marſhall Earle of Pembroke had layne at ſiege before it an eight days: In the ende of which terme by mediation of friendes, the matter was taken vp, and the Biſhop recouered his caſtell, paying to the ſayde Robert de Gaugi an hundred poūds ſterling for the vittuals which he left within the ſame caſtell.

The Castel
Nevvarke
stored to the
bishop of L
colne.

Soone after this, Ranulph Earle of Cheſter, was ſent into the holy lande by king Henry, with

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a faire companie of ſouldiours and men of war to ayde the Chriſtians there againſte the Infidels, whiche at the ſame time had beſieged the citie of Damieta in Egypt, in which enterpriſe the valiancie of the ſame Erle after his cōming thyther, was to his greate prayſe moſte apparaunt.

ne to kyng
belyke.

There went with him in that iourney Saer de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, William de Albeney Earle of Arundell, beſide dyuers barons, as the Lord Robert Fitz Walter, John Conſtable of Cheſter, William de Harecourt, and Olyuer Fitzroy ſonne to the kyng of England, and diuers other.

n.reg. 3.
1219.
deceaſſe
e Earle of
broke.

The next yeare whiche was after the birthe of our Lord. 1219. dyed William Marſhal the forſayde Earle of Pembroke, and gouernoure both of the realme and alſo of the Kings perſon, a man of ſuche worthineſſe both in ſtoutneſſe of ſtomacke and martiall knowledge, as Englande had few then lyuing that might be compared wyth hym. Hee was buryed in the newe Temple Churche at London vppon the Aſcention day.

buried in
Temple
che.

dulph made
op of Nor-
he.

The ſame yeare alſo Wallo or Guallo the legate returned to Rome, and Pandulph (who (as before is expreſſed) did the meſſage ſo ſtoutly from Pope Innocent to king John) is alſo made Biſhop of Norwiche.

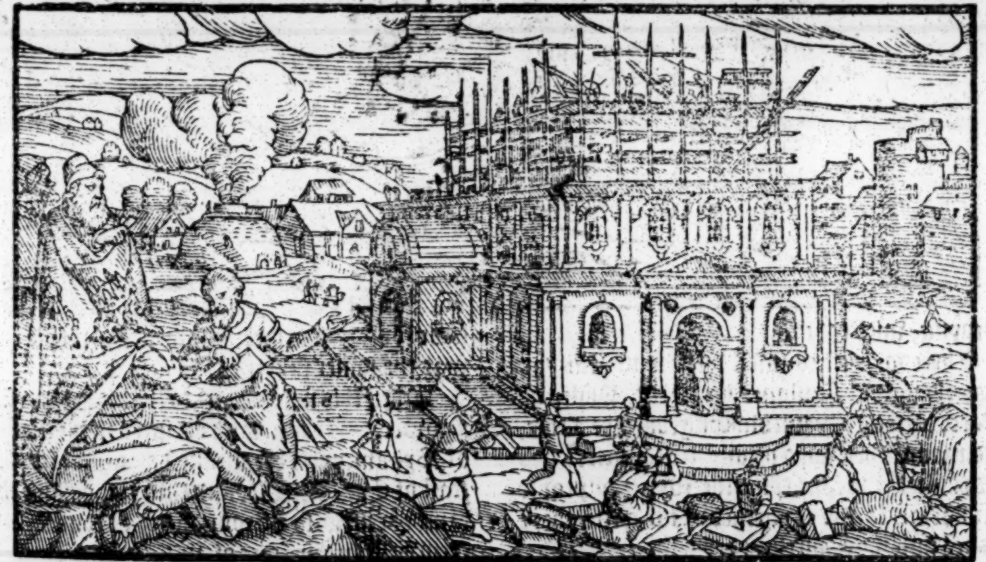
The biſhop of VVincheſter. gouernour to the kyng.

Queene Iſabel maryed to the Erle of Marc

Moreouer, the gouernement of king Henry after the death of William Marſhall the elder, Earle of Pembroke, was committed vnto Peter Biſhop of Wincheſter: For the yong king was almoſte deſtitute of any of his kinred that wer worthie to haue the rule of him: foraſmuch as his mother Quene Iſabell was lately maryed to Hughe Brune the Earle of Marche in Fraunce, vnto whome ſhee was promyſed before king John toke hir to wife, as in the life of the ſame Kyng John is before mentioned.

A parliamente and a ſubſidie.
R. Fabian.

The biſhop of Wincheſter being now in the poſſeſſion of the kings perſon, doubting leaſt he had taken a greatter charge vppon him than hee might well anſwer, cauſed diuers ſage and honorable perſonages to be admitted of the kings Councell to aſſiſte him in the adminiſtration of the Common weale and good gouernance of the realme. Which being done, a parliamente was holden at London, wherein a Subſidye was graunted to the King of .ij.ß. to be gathered and leuyed of euery ploughe lande within his dominions towardes the relieuing of the great charges whiche hee had ſuſteyned by the warres againſt the foreſayd Lewes.



The nevve churche of VVeſtmin. begonne.

n.reg. 4.
.VVeſt.
Earle of
ſter retur-
home,
der.

About the ſame time alſo, he began the building of the new worke of the Church at Weſtminſter. In whiche meane tyme the Citie of Damieta afore mencioned, was won by the Chriſtian Princes, and Ranulph Erle of Cheſter returned home, leauyng the Erle of Arundell with a great number of ſouldiors behynde him there in ayde of the chriſtians agaynſt the Sarazins, which dayly attempted the recouerie of the ſame.

1220

The king crowned the ſecor tyme.

Moreouer, in the yeare enſuing, whiche was of our Lord. 1220. and vpon the. xvij. daye of May being Whitſunday, the K. was eftſoones ſolemnely crowned at Weſtminſter, to the end it might be ſayd, that now after the extinguiſhment of all ſeditious factions, he was crowned by the general cōſent of all the eſtates and ſubiects of his realme.

Mat. Pari.

The ſame yeare alſo was the bodie of Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury tranſlated, and Hugh biſhop of Lincoln canonized for a ſaint.

Mat. Paris.

In like maner in the vigile of Peter & Paule the king fynding the Caſtels of Rokingham and Saubeye at that preſente vnpurueyde of victuals, toke the ſame into his handes againſte the will of William of Albemarle, whiche before helde the ſame.

Ran. Higd.
A proclamation to auoyde ſtrangers.

This yeare alſo was a proclamation made in London, and throughout all the realme, that all ſtraungers ſhould auoide the land before the feaſt of Saint Michaell then nexte following, except thoſe that came with marchandiſe. Furthermore Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter, after hee was come from the holy land, beganne to build the Caſtels of Chartley and Beeſton, and afterward he alſo builded the Abbey of Dieu Lencreſſe, commonly called Delacreſſe of the white order. Toward his charges ſuſteined aboute the building of whiche Caſtells and Abbey, he toke toll throughout all his Lordſhippes of all ſuche perſons as paſſed by the ſame with any cattel, chaffre or marchandiſe.

The caſtelles of Chartley & Beeſton buylt.
Ran. Higd.

Anno reg. 5.
1121.

Thys yeare deceaſſed alſo Henry de Boun earle of Hereford, and Saer de Quincy earle of Wincheſter in theyr iourney which they made into the holy land. Alſo the ſame yeare the Prieſtes or canons that inhabited within the kings caſtell of olde Saliſbury, remoued with the biſhoppes ſea, vnto newe Saliſbury, whiche by the king was made a citie. The biſhop Richarde procured this remouing, through the kings helpe, who was very willing thereunto, as it ſeemed by his charters largely graunted in that behalfe.

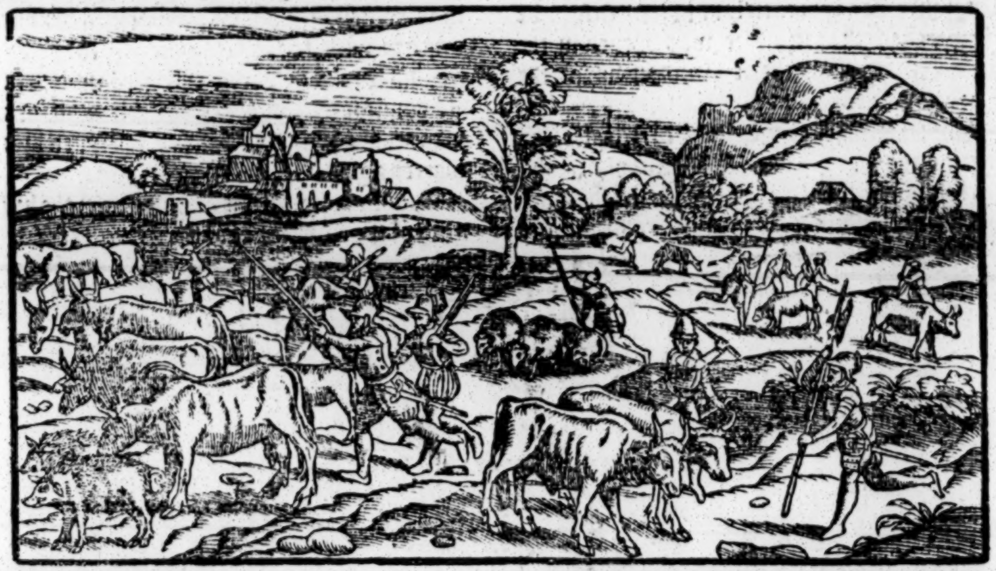
Saliſbury.

Math. Pa

After this king Henry helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Oxforde, at what tyme William de Fortz Erle of Albemarle meaning to trouble the kinges peace, and to ſette things in a new broyle, departed from the Courte in the nyght ſeaſon, withoute leaue or licence, and haſted with all ſpeed vnto the Caſtell of Biham, where he aſſembled a ſorte of youthfull perſons, giuen to lewde demeanor, and wearie of quietneſſe, as to whome theft and robberies were moſt pleaſaunt. By whoſe helpe he ſpoyled dyuers townes and villages aboute him, as Tenham and Depyng, with other.

The Erle
Albemarle

The caſtel
Biham.



There were of counſell with hym alſo (as was thoughte) Foulques du Brent, Philip de Marc, Peter de Mauleon, Engellard de Athie, and many other, who priuily ſente men to hys ayde. In the meane tyme the countrey people withdrewe to the Churches, and gatte theyr goodes into the Churchyardes.

Moreouer, the Peeres of the realme aſſembled themſelues in counſell at Weſtm. where the king was preſent, and whither the Earle of Albemarle was ſummoned to come, who faynyng as though he had ment to haue gone thytherward directly, turned ſodeynly his way to the Caſtel of Fodringhey, and toke it vpon the ſodayne, furniſhing it alſo with a garniſon of Souldiours, to be kepte hereafter to hys owne vſe. That Caſtell was in the keeping of the Earle of Cheſter, who at that inſtant had but fewe ſouldiours there in garniſon, whereby it was the ſooner ſurpriſed.

e caſtell of
ringhey.

When this news came to the king, he reyſed a power, and came with all ſpeed to the Caſtel of Byham, vpon the wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of Candelmaſſe, and then compaſſing the ſame about with a ſtrong ſiege, he conſtreyned them within (by force of ſuche engins as they vſed in thoſe dayes) that finally on the eyghte day of February they came forth and ſubmitted themſelues and all that they had into the kings pleaſure. Who cauſed them to be ſafely kept till he might take further aduiſement what ſhould be done with them.

The caſtell of Biham yel-
ded.

In the meane whyle alſo commeth the Erle of Albemarle, and by helpe and meanes of the Archebiſhop of Yorke, and the Legate Pandulphe, he purchaſed his peace at the Kings hands, the rather in dede bycauſe he had faithfully

Paris.

fully ſerued bothe the kyng and his father kyng John in theyr warrs, before that time. Al thoſe men of armes and ſouldiours alſo, whiche had ſubmitted them ſelues, and remained as priſoners, wer pardoned. Which ouer great clemencye cauſed others miſgouerned perſones to attempt the like offence of rebellion ſhortely after.

At the very ſelfe ſame time the Welchemen beganne to ſturre, and vnder their prince and leader Leolin, they entred vpon the engliſhe marches, and with greate crueltie ſpoyled and robbed the ſame, wherevpon it was determined by the councell, that the king (as he was comming toward the caſtell of Biham) ſhould deuide his army, and ſo he did, ſending one parte thereof againſt the Welchmen: wherupon Leolin after he vnderſtode that the kyngs power came toward him, as one not able to reſiſt the ſame, caſt off his armor, and ſubmitted himſelfe to his mercy.

Paris.

There bee whiche write, that where Prince Leolin had beſieged the Caſtel of Buet belonging to Reginalde de Breuſe, the ſame Reginalde beſought the king to helpe to remoue that ſiege. The king contented with his requeſt, came with a puiſſant armye into thoſe partyes, and therwith the ſiege was rayſed, for the Welchemen (according to theyr accuſtomed maner) fled. The king then entring farther into the country came to the place where Mountgomerie nowe ſtandeth, and perceiuing the ſite of the ſame to ſerue well for fortification, he cauſed a caſtell to be builded there, to reſtrayn the Welchmen from theyr accuſtomed trade of harrying the countrey. And ſo after he had forraied thoſe quarters, and taken order for the full accompliſhment of that caſtell, hee returned, the nobles graunting to him of euerye Knightes fee two markes of ſiluer. Theſe things being thus brought to quiet, the king (who by dayly experience of matters grewe to more knowledge from time to tyme) beganne nowe of himſelfe to order his affayres for his owne behalfe, namely touching the eſtate of his kingdome: and bicauſe he was minded to aſſaye the recouerye of thoſe places which his father had loſte in Fraunce, he ordeined Sauarye de Mauleon to be his lieutenant in Guyenne, wherof a great part as yet remained in his handes, and moreouer ſent ambaſſadors vnto the Frenche king, requiring of him reſtitution of thoſe places whiche he had taken from his father.

Eſcuage payde.

Polidor.

K. Henry requireth reſtitution of his right of the Frẽch king.

Theſe Oratours being come into Fraunce, and admitted to the kings preſence, receyued aunſwere, that nothing oughte to be reſtored, whiche by lawe of armes was rightly conquered: And other redreſſe at that tyme, woulde none bee graunted.

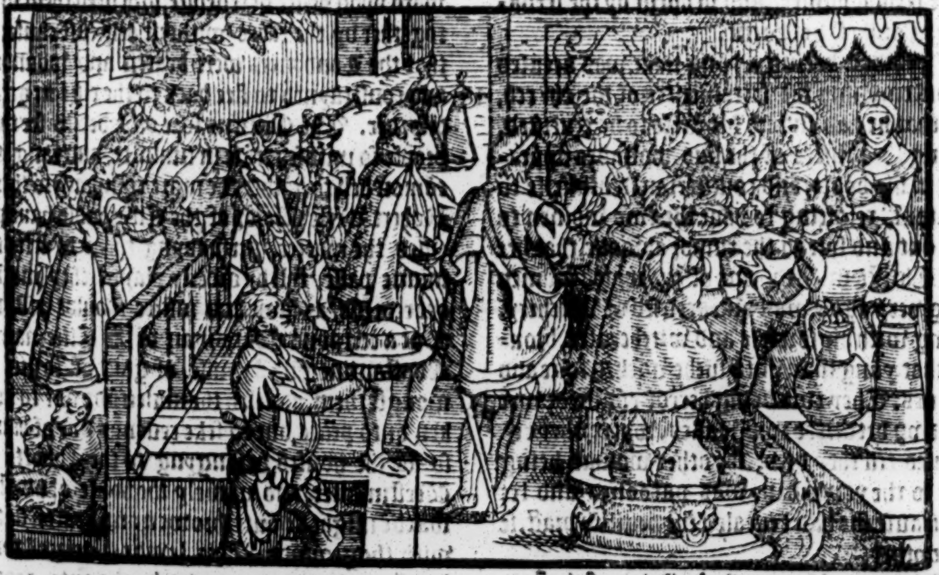
The Frenche kings anſvver.

But a maruayle it was to conſider heere at home in how ſhort a ſpace, the ſtate of the Engliſhe Common wealthe was chaunged, and from a troubled fortune reduced to a flouriſhyng and proſperous degree: chiefly by the diligente heede and carefull prouiſion of the king himſelfe. So muche auaileth it to haue him that ruleth, to attende that whiche belongeth to his office.

After this, to the intent that whiles he might be occupied in warres abroade, he ſhoulde not be troubled with ciuile diſcorde at home, he deuiſed to ioyne in affinitie with the Scots, giuing his ſiſter Joan in mariage vnto Alexander the king of Scotland, and Hubert of Burgh on the other ſide maried the ſiſter of the ſame Alexander clepted Margaret.

Mat. VVeſt.

Mat. Paris.



The caſtel of Biham ...ded.

Theſe mariages were ſolempniſed at Yorke on the morowe after the feaſte of Saint John Baptiſt, in the preſence of a greate number of the nobles bothe of Englande and Scotlande.

An.reg. 6.
1222.

A councell or ſynode at Oxford.

A councell alſo was holden by the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury at Oxforde for reformation of the ſtate Eccleſiaſticall and the Religion of Monkes.

In which Coũcel two naughtie felowes were preſẽted before him, that of late had bin apprehended, eyther of them naming himſelf Chriſt, and preached many thinges againſte ſuche abuſes as the Clergie at thoſe dayes vſed.

Tvvo diſſembling perſones apprehended.

Mat.VVeſt.

Moreouer, to proue theyr errour to haue a ſhewe of truth, they ſhewed certein tokens and ſignes of woundes in theyr bodies, handes and feet, like vnto our ſauiour Jeſus, that was nailed, on the croſſe. In the ende being well appoſed, they were founde to be but falſe diſſemblers, wherefore by dome of that councell, they were iudged to be nailed vnto a croſſe of woode, and ſo thoſe to whome the execution was aſſigned, had them forthe to a place called Arborberie, wher they nailed them to a croſſe, and there left them till they wer dead. The one of them was an Hermophrodite, that is to wit, bothe man and woman.

They are executed.

Tvvo vvomen counterfaiting themſelues to be, the one our Lady, the other Marye Magdalene.

Alſo there were two women condempned, of whome the one had taken vpon hir to be that bleſſed Virgin Marye, and the other fained hir ſelfe to be Marye Magdalen.

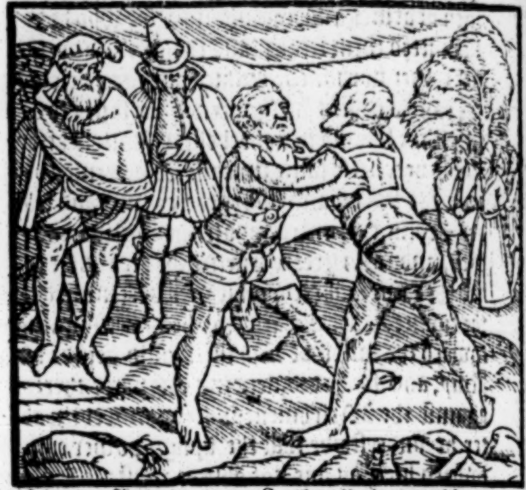
Radulphus Cogeſhall.

Rafe Cogheſhall ſheweth this matter otherwiſe, and ſaith, that there were two men and two women in deede broughte before the archbiſhoppe, at this Councell, of the whiche one of the men being a deacon, was accuſed to bee an Apoſtata, and for the loue of a woman that was a Jewe, he had circumciſed himſelfe: he beeing hereof conuict and diſgraded, was committed to the ſecular power, and ſo burnt by the ſeruãtes of Foulkes de Brent.

The other beeing a yong man, was accuſed of contempning the ſacramentes of the church, and that he had ſuffred himſelfe to be crucified, hauing the printes of the fiue woundes appearing in his bodie, and counterfaited himſelfe to be Chriſt, reioicing to haue the two women to giue out and ſpread the rumor abroade, that hee was Chriſte in deed, one of the which women being very aged, was alſo accuſed of witchery, hauing with hir ſorcerie and witchcrafte, brought that yong man vnto ſuche wicked folie and madnes. They two being hereof cõuicted, wer cloſed vp betwixte two walles, where they remayned till they died, the other woman being ſiſter to the yong man, was pardoned and let go, bicauſe ſhe had reuealed the deuilliſh practiſe of the other.

Mat.Pa

This yeare alſo was the building of the ſteeple belonging to the Churche of ſaint Paule in London fynyſhed. And this yeare alſo vpon Saint James day the citizens of London kept a playe of defence and wraſtling at the hoſpitall of Saint James, againſt other their neyghbors of the ſuburbes, & the quarters next adioyning. In the ende whereof, it ſo fortuned, that the Londoners had the vpper hande: And amongſt other that were put to the foile, the ſtewarde of the Abbot of Weſtminſter with his folkes went awaye with the worſe, to theyr greate griefe: Wherupon the ſame ſteward deuiſed an other game of wraſteling to be holden at Weſtminſter on Lammas day next following, and that whoſoeuer coulde gette the vpper hande there, ſhoulde haue a Ramme for the price, whiche the ſtewarde had prepared.



Mat.Pa
Mat.W

A bell
ſome by

A riot
ted vnder
tence of
ſtelyng.

At the daye appointed, there was a greate aſſemblie, and the Stewarde hadde gotte together out of all partes, the beſt wraſtlers that might be hearde of, ſo that there was harde holde betwixte them and the Londoners. But finally, the Steward vpon deſire of reuenge, procured them to fal together by the eares without any iuſt cauſe, ſo that the Londoners were beaten and wounded, and conſtrayned to flee back to the citie in greate diſorder. The Citizens ſore offended to ſee their people ſo miſuſed, roſe in tumulte, and rang the cõmon bell to gather the more company to them. Robert Serle Maior of the Citie wold haue pacified the matter, perſuadyng them to lette the iniurie paſſe, tyll by orderly playnt they mighte get redreſſe, as lawe and iuſtice ſhoulde aſſigne. But a certayne ſtoute man of the Citie named Conſtantine Fitz Arnulfe, of good auctoritie amongſt them, aduiſed the multitude not to herken vnto peace, but to ſeke reuenge out of hand, ſo as the houſes belongyng to the Abbotte of Weſtminſter, and namely the houſe of his ſtewarde might be ouerthrowen and beaten flatte with the grounde. This lewde Councell was ſoneſt receiued and executed by the outrageous people, Conſtantine himſelfe being chiefe leader of them, crying with a loude voice Mount ioy,

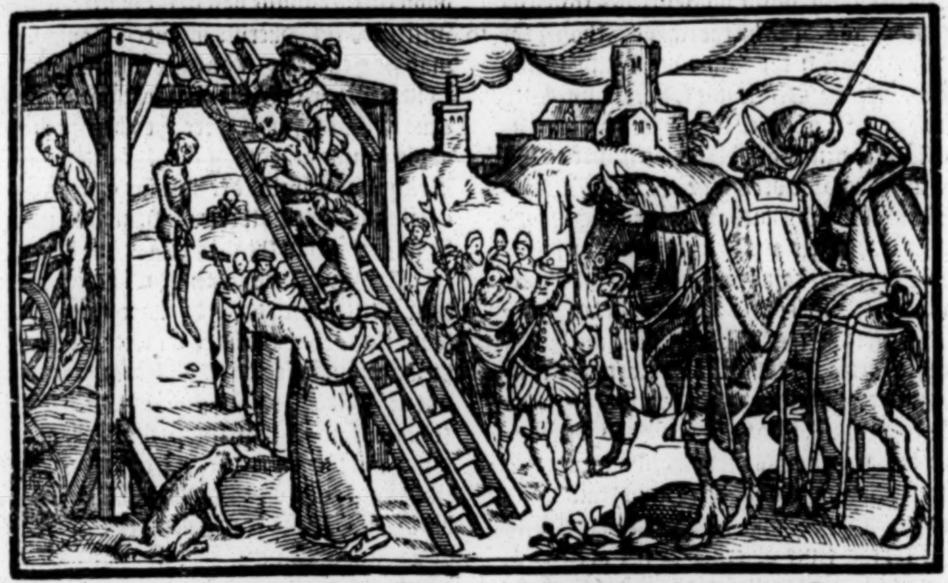
Robert S
Maior of
don.

Con
Citezen
don pro
the citi
reuenge
cauſe by
of rebel
Math.

Mount

Mounte ioye, God bee our ayde and our ſoueraigne Lewes.

This outrageous parte comming to the notice of Hubert de Brough Lord chiefe Iuſtice, he gat togither a power of armed mē, and came to the citie with the ſame, and taking inquiſitiō of the chiefe offenders, founde Conſtantine as conſtante in affirming the deede to be his, as he had before conſtantely put it in practiſe, wherevppon he was apprehended and two other citizens wyth hym. And on the nexte daye in the morning Foulkes de Brent was appoynted to haue them to execution: And ſo by the Thames he quietly led them to the place wher they ſhuld ſuffer: when Conſtantine had the halter aboute his necke, hee offered .xv. M. markes of ſiluer to haue bin pardoned, but it would not be. There was hanged with him his nephewe named alſo Conſtantine, and one Geffrey, who made the proclamation, deuiſed by the ſaide Cōſtantine. The crye alſo whiche Conſtantine vſed to the ſetting forwarde of his vnlawfull enterpriſe in the name of Lewes moſte of all offended the kings frendes, as the lord chief Iuſtice & others, who not ſatiſfied with the deathe of the three before remembred perſones, but alſo entring the Citie againe with theyr bandes of armed men, apprehended diuerſe of thoſe whome they tooke to be culpable, not onely putting many of them into priſon, but alſo puniſhing other of them, as ſome with loſſe of a foote, ſome of an hande, and other of theyr eye ſight.



The King furthermore to reuenge this matter, depoſed all the Magiſtrates of the Citie, and ordeined newe in their roomes. Whiche cauſed greate hartburning againſt diuers of the nobilitie, but chiefly the Lorde Hubert and Foulkes de Brent, on whom in time they hoped to haue reuenge. And as the broile vexed the Citie of London, ſo in this yeare there chaunced greate tempeſt of thunder, lightning and rayne, wherby muche hurte was done in dyuers partes of the realme, and at ſundry times, as by throwing downe of Steeples, Churches, and other buildings, with the rootewaſting of trees, aſwel in woodes as in orchards, righte marueilous to conſider, namely on the eighte day of February at Grauntham in Lincolneſhire, where there chaunced beſide the thunder, ſuche a ſtinke and filthie ſauour to followe in the Churche, that the people fledde out, for that they were not able to abide it.

Likewiſe in the daye of the exaltation of the Croſſe, a generall thunder happened throughe the Realme, and thereof folowed a continuall ſeaſon of fowle weather and wet, till Candelmas nexte after, which cauſed a dearth of corn, ſo as wheate was ſolde at twelue ſhillings the quarter. Likewiſe on the day of Saint Andrew an other terrible tempeſte of thunder happened through the Realme, throwing downe and ſhaking buildings in many places, in ſo much that at Pillerdeſton in Warwikeſhire, in a knights houſe, the Ladie thereof and .vj. other perſones were deſtroyd by the ſame: and a Turbary therby compaſſed aboute wyth water and marreſſe was ſo dried vp that neyther graſſe nor mire remained, after which enſued an Earthe quake. Moreouer on the euen of ſaint Lucy, a mightie winde raged, whiche did muche hurte in ſundry places of the Realme. Furthermore aboute this time there appeared in Englande a wonderfull Comet or blaſing ſtarre. The ſea alſo roſe with higher tides and ſprings than it had bin accuſtomed to doe.

Great dearth of corne.

An other tempeſt of thunder.

Polidore.

A Comete or blaſing ſtarre.

All the whiche wounders were afterwarde iudged to betoken and ſignifye the loſſe whiche the Chriſtians ſuſteined the ſame yere in Egipt

when

The loſſe of the citie of Damieta.

VVilliam Dalbenye earle of Arundell departed this life.

An. reg. 7.
Iohn Scot marieth the daughter of Leolyn prince of VVales.

1223

Math. Paris.
A Councell at London.

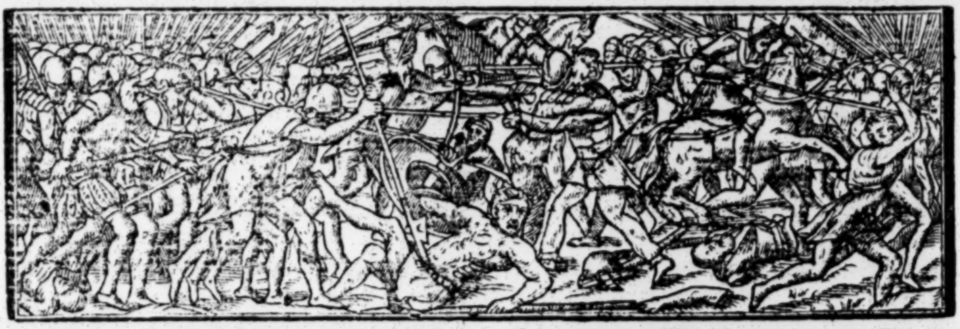
Note the redineſſe of this biſhop to broche nevve contention.

The aunſvvere of VVilliam Brevver to the Archbishops demaunde.

The prince of VVales diſcomfited

A conſpiracie againſt the L. chief Iuſtice.

when they wer conſtrained to ſurrender the citie of Damieta into the Sarazins hands, which lately before, as ye haue heard, they had wonne with long and chargeable ſiege. After the yelding vp of Damieta, William de Albeney erle of Arundell (whome Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter left behinde hym in the holy lande) with many ſouldiers and men of warre, (when he returned from thence) came nowe homewardes towards Englande, and dyed by the waye. Aboute the ſame tyme Iohn the ſonne of Dauid Earle of Anguiſhe in Scotlande ſyſters ſonne vnto Ranulphe Erle of Cheſter, married the daughter of Leolin prince of Wales, as it wer to procure a finall accorde betweene the ſaide Leolin and Ranulf. After which mariage, king Henry helde his Chriſtmas at Oxford, and ſhortly after the Twelftide came to London: where aſſembling a counſell of his Barons, he was earneſtly required by the Biſhoppe of Canterbury and other Peers, to confirme the liberties, franchiſes, and freecuſtomes of the realme, for whiche the warres in his fathers tyme had bin moued: which to deny (as the archbiſhoppe ſeemed to alledge) he mighte not with anye reaſon, ſith he had couenaunted and all the baronage with him, to ſee the ſame obſerued by the articles of the peace concluded with Lewes, when the ſame Lewes departed the realme. Hereupon Williā Brewer one of the kings counſell, hearing the archbiſhop ſo earneſt in theſe matters, told him, that ſith theſe liberties wer procured and extorted rather by force than otherwyſe, of the Kyng being vnder age, they wer not to be obſerued. Wherunto the archbiſhoppe replied, that if he loued the king, he wold be loth to ſeeke to trouble the quiet ſtate of the realme. The king perceiuing the archebiſhoppe to be chafed, toke the tale himſelf, and made a curteous anſwere, and vpon further aduiſe had in the matter, ſent forth writtes to the Sheriffe of euery County, commanding them by inquirie of a ſufficient Iewry impaneled, to make certificat within ẏ quindene of Eaſter, what were the liberties in tyme, of his grandfather king Henry, vſed within the Realme of Englande. The ſame yeare whiles William Marſhall erle of Pembroke was buſie in Ireland in the warres againſt Hugh Lacye, Leolin prince (or king) of Wales, as ſome haue intitled him, toke by force two Caſtelles that belonged to the ſame Earle: whereof when he was aduertiſed, with all ſpeede he retourned out of Irelande rayſed an army, and recouered the ſaid Caſtels, putting to death all ſuch as he founde in the ſame, to requite Leolin with the like damage as hee had ſhewed hym before in his abſence. This done he entred into the lande of Leolin, waſting and ſpoiling the ſame, wherof when the ſaide Leolin was enformed he aſſembled an hoſte of Welchemen, and comming into the fielde gaue battell, but the victorie reſted on the Erle of Pembrokes ſide: ſo that ther were taken and ſlaine in this bickering to the number of nine thouſande Welchemen. There was in this yeare a conſpiracy alſo begonne by the Earle of Cheſter, and other noble men, agaynſte Huberte de Broughe, Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, by whoſe counſell (as it was thought) the king was more ſtraighter towardes the nobilitie and other his Subiectes, in ſtaying his graunte to confirme the Charter of liberties, than otherwiſe he woulde haue bin, if the ſame Hubert and other had not adniſed him to the contrarye.



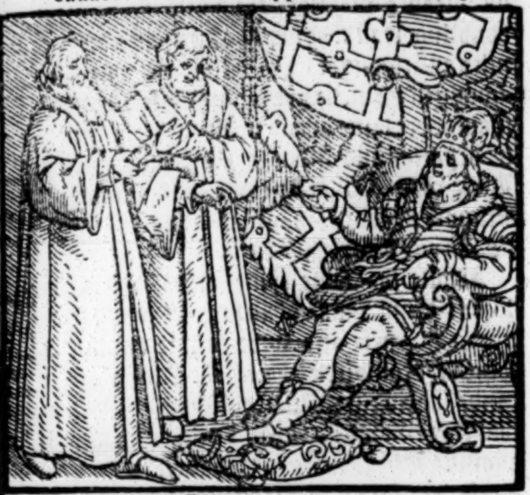
Math. Paris.
The king of Ieruſalem cōmeth into Englande.

In thys ſeaſon alſo Iohn de Brenne king of Ieruſalem, and the Lorde greate maiſter of the Knightes Hoſpitallers came into Englande, where they were honourably receyued of King Henrye, and liberally rewarded. The cauſe of their comming was to require ayde of the king for the recouery of the holy lande out of the poſſeſſion of the Sarazins.

In like maner aboute the ſame time Leolin Prince of Northwales, with certein Engliſhe Lordes, as Hugh Lacy and others, vpon an hatred whiche they bare towardes king Henry for his fathers ſake, ſuppoſing that ſo euill a ſtocke as they toke him to be, coulde not bring forthe any good brāch, ſought by open warres to bring William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke and other Barons that wer faithfull friendes to the king vnto their purpoſe, but the whole Country riſinge againſt them, they were diſappointed to their owne confuſion, ſo that they coulde neuer bring that to paſſe, whiche they ſo earneſtly intended.

eath of
nche

In this yeare alſo Phillip the Frenche kyng departed this life, and after him ſucceded Lewis his ſonne, vnto whome king Henry ſent in ambaſſade the archebiſhoppe of Canterbury with three other biſhops to require nowe that according to his othe made and receiued at his return out of England, he woulde reſtore and deliuer vp to hym the Dukedome of Normandie with other ſuche landes and poſſeſſions as his father in times paſſe had taken from King John, and ſtill did wrongfully withholde. King Lewes aunſwered hereunto, that hee helde Normandy and the other lands by good right and iuſt title, as hee coulde well proue and iuſtifie, if Kyng Henry would come to yͤ Parliament in France to heare it. And as touching the othe whiche hee had ſworne in Englande, hee affirmed that the ſame was firſt broken by kyng Henry, both in yͤ his men which had bin taken at Lincolne were put to greuous ranſomes, and alſo for that their liberties for whiche the warre firſt began, were not obſerued, but denyed to the Engliſhe ſubiectes, contrarie to that whiche was concluded at the agreemente betwixte them at the ſame time made.



dours
Frãce.

Moreouer, King Henry ſent other ambaſſadoures to Rome, who purchaſed a Bull of the Pope, wherby hee was adiudged to be of age ſufficient to receyue the gouernmẽt of the kingdome of England into his owne handes, therby to order and diſpoſe al things at his pleſure, and by the aduiſe of ſuche councellers as hee ſhoulde electe and choſe to be aboute him.

Wheruppon after the ſayde ambaſſadoures wer returned, all thoſe Erles, Barons and nobles whiche helde any caſtelles, honors, manors or places apperteining to the king, were commaunded to deliuer and reſigne the ſame to his vſe, whiche cauſed muche trouble, as after ſhall appeare: for dyuers noble men whoſe hartes were filled with couetouſnes, woulde not obey the Popes order herein, but ſore repined, (yet not ſo muche againſte the Kyng as againſte the Lorde Hubert de Burghe, by whoſe counſell the king was moſte ledde and ruled.) And therfore they did put hym in all the blame, as one that ſhulde ſet the king againſte them, and ſtay him from ſuffering them to enioye thoſe libertyes, whyche they from tyme to tyme ſo muche laboured to haue had to them granted & confirmed. Vpon this occaſion therefore, they ſued to the Kyng for the reſtitution of the auncient lawes according to his promyſe, who to pacifie them for the tyme, gaue them a gentle anſwere, aſſuring them, that hee woulde perfourme all that he had promyſed, ſo ſoone as opportunitie woulde permit and ſuffer hym ſo to doe.

An.reg.8.

Polidor.

The king gyueth a gentle anſvvere to his Lordes.

Howebeit, afterwardes by the aduiſe of certayne olde counſellours which had bene of the priuy counſell with Kyng John his father, he founde a ſhift to diſappoynt them of theyr demaundes, by requyring them on the other ſide to reſtore vnto hym thoſe things whiche they had in tymes paſt receiued of his auncetors.

Furthermore, bicauſe he would the more eaſily obteyne his purpoſe, and make the reſidue afraide to followe a ſuite ſo diſpleaſaunte and yrkeſome, he thoughte beſte to beginne wyth the chiefe auctors and firſte procurers of the ſayd petitions, and to take from them whatſoeuer they helde belonging to his crowne.

1224.

The kyng demaundeth reſtitution of parcels of inheritance belonging to the crovvne.

Hereuppon therfore aſſembling a greate power aboute hym, he demaunded of Ranulphe Earle of Cheſter, the reſtitution of certayne Lordeſhippes whiche auinciently appertained to the Crowne of the Realme, whiche Earle not being as then able to reſiſt, readyly obeyed the Kyngs pleaſure, and reſigned them all. By this entraunce of the Kyng into the execution of his purpoſe, diuers of the reſt of the Barons were brought into ſuche feare, that they were contented alſo to doe the like, ſo that by this meanes the Lordes being cut ſhorte and weakened in power, ſurceaſed as then from moleſting the Kyng any further with the demaunde of other landes or liberties.

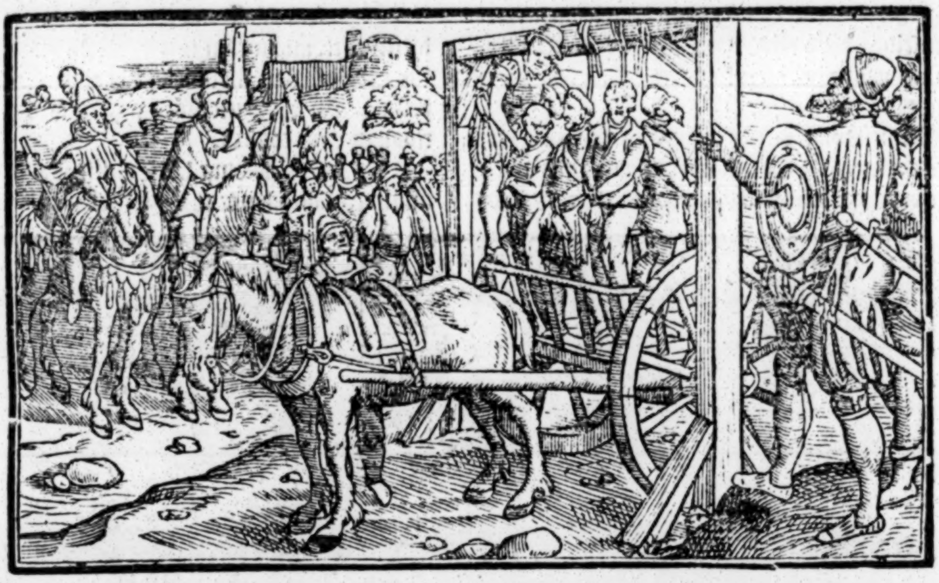
The Archebiſhop of Canterbury alſo threatned them with the darte of excommunication, if they wente aboute to diſquyet the Realme with any ciuile commotions, thoughe no man was more deſyrous to haue that matter goe forwarde than hee, as appeared by his diligent trauaile therin (hoping as now in ſhort proceſſe of tyme, and that by curteouſe meanes, to perſwade the King to his purpoſe) but the Kyng droue hym off with fayre wordes, and mynded nothing leſſe than to alter any one of the lawes whiche he knewe to be profytable to hym ſelfe, and his ſucceſſoures after hym. Wherevppon diuers myſlykyng hys dealyng herein, withdrewe themſelues ſecretly, ſome into one place, and ſome into an other, to the intent they might auoyde the dayely ſyghte of ſuche abuſes, as they for the moſte parte coulde not well abide to heare.

Discorde betwixt Sauary de Mauleon and the Earle of Salisbury.

Whileſt King Henry thus politikely prouideth for his affaires at home, Sauary de Mauleon maketh prouiſyon in Guyenne to withſtande ſuch perils and dangers as he ſaw moſte lykely to enſue by the practiſes of the Frenchemenne. But as hee was moſte buſily occupyed aboute the purueyaunce of ſuche thynges as ſhoulde bee verye neceſſarye for his doyngs, there ſprang a greate dyſſention beetwixte hym and Wyllyam the Earle of Saliſburye, who was ſente ouer into that Countreye, with Commiſſion to ſurueye the ſtate thereof, and by colour of the ſame Commiſſion, tooke vpon hym to order all thyngs at his owne pleaſure. Whereas the foreſayde Sauarye de Mauleon (being a man of highe parentage in thoſe parties where hee was borne) iudged it to be a matter nothyng ſtandyng wyth his honour, that an other man ſhoulde order thyngs at his will and commaundement wythin the Countrey, whereof hee him ſelfe had the chiefe charge, as the Kings lieutenaunt: And therfore determined not to ſuffer it any longer. And herevpon verily roſe the contention beetwixte them, whiche the Engliſhe ſouldyours that were there, did greatly encreaſe, fauouring the Earle as the Kyngs vncle, and contemning the lieuetenaunt as a ſtraunger borne, by meanes whereof, the foreſayde Sauarye doubting leaſt if he ſhoulde fight with his enemies and throughe ſuche diſcorde as was nowe amongeſt them, be put to the worſe, the faulte ſhoulde bee laide wholy in his necke: he ſecretely departed and fledde to Lewes the Frenche Kyng who was lately come to the Crowne of Fraunce by the deathe of his father king Philip, as you before haue hard.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo Foulkes du Brent being a man of an vnquiet mynde, readye to miſchiefe and lothe to liue in peace as ſome ſaye conſpired againſt the King of Englande, and aduertiſed the Kyng of Fraunce that if hee woulde boldely beginne the warres againſte King Henry in Fraunce, hee woulde not faile but rayſe warre agaynſte hym here in the middeſte of his Realme of Englande, hauing diuers noble men in a redineſſe, that wold willingly take his parte. But how ſoeuer it fell out, certayne it is that this Foulkes hauyng fortifyed his Caſtell of Bedforde, attempted many enterpriſes greatly to the preiudice of the Kyngs peace, aſwell in robbyng and ſpoylyng the Countrey aboute him, as otherwiſe. And nowe fearyng to bee puniſhed therefore by order of lawe, hee ſhewed his malice agaynſte ſuche as had the execution of the ſame lawes chieflye in theyr handes. Herevpon he tooke priſoner Henry Braybroke, one of the Kyngs Iuſtices of his benche, and ledde hym to his Caſtell of Bedforde, and there ſhutt hym vp cloſe as his lawfull priſoner. In deede the ſaid Henry de Braybroke, wyth Martin de Pateſhull, Thomas de Multon, and other of the Kyngs Iuſtices were come to keepe theyr circuit at Dunſtable. Where vpon information gyuen and preſented before them, Foulkes du Brent was condempned to the King in greate ſummes of money. Wherewithall this Foulkes tooke ſuch indignation and diſpleaſure, that he commaunded his men of warre whyche lay in ẏ Caſtell of Bedford, to ride vnto Dunſtable, and there to apprehende the ſayd Iuſtices, and to bring them vnto Bedford, where (as he ſayde) he meant to cōmē further with them. But they hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, fledde quickly out of the Towne, ſeeking to eſcape euery man whiche way he might beſt deuiſe. Howbeit, the ſouldiers vſed ſuch diligēce, that Henry de Braybroc fell into their hands, and ſo was broughte captiue to Bedford as theyr maſter had commaunded them. The Kyng aduertiſed hereof by the greeuous complaynts of hys ſubiectes, was as then at Northampton (where hee had aſſembled hys Parliament,) and thereupon hauing gathered ſpeedily a power, with all expedition hee haſted towards Bedford. At his comming thither, he beſieged the Caſtell on each ſide, and at length after two monethes, though not without muche adoe, hee wanne it, and hanged them all whiche were taken within, being in number 80. or aboue: And amongſt other, William de Brent, the brother of the ſayd Foulkes was one. There were but three that eſcaped with lyfe, who were pardoned, vpon condition they ſhould paſſe into the holy lande, there to ſerue among the Templers. The ſiege began on the Aſcention euen, and continued till the fiftenth day of Auguſt, beeing the feaſt day of the aſſumption of our Lady. Foulkes hymſelfe whileſt the ſiege continued, lay aloofe in Cheſhire, and on the bordures of Wales, as one watching to do ſome miſchiefe: but after the Caſtell was wonne, he gote hym to Couentrie, and there was ere long apprehended, and brought to the Kyng, of whome he obteyned pardon of lyfe, but yet by the whole conſente of the nobles and peeres of the Realme, he was exiled the lande for euermore, and then wente to Rome, where hee knewe to purchaſe his pardon eaſily ynough for money, of what crime ſoeuer he ſhould be iudged culpable. His wife, bycauſe ſhe neuer conſented to his doyngs, nor yet willingly to the marriage hadde betwixte hir and him, was acquited of all blame, and ſo likewiſe was his ſonne Thomas. Howbeit at length, the foreſayd Foulkes, hauing obteyned hys purpoſe at Rome (by meanes of his Chaplayne Roberte Paſlew an Engliſhman, who was his ſollicitor there,) as hee returned towards England in the yeare enſuing, was poyſoned, and dyed by the way, making ſo an ende of his inconſtant life, whiche from the time that he came to yeares of diſcretion, was neuer bente to quietneſſe. But nowe to leaue theſe things, and returne to the doings in Fraunce where wee left. Yee ſhall vnderſtande, that after Sauery de Mauleon was reuolted to the Frenche King, the ſayde Kyng with all ſpeede, determined to make warre vppon Kyng Henry, and to winne from hym certayne Townes & fortreſſes within the countrey of Poictou.

Bedford Caſtel beſieged.



The Frenche Writers affirme, that Kyng Lewes recouered out of the Engliſhmens hands the Townes of Niorte, Saint Iohns d'Angeli, and Rochell, before that Sauar de Mauleon reuolted to the French part.

Dunſtable.

In deede, the Chronicle of Dunſtable ſayth, that after the truce tooke ende, thys yeare the Frenche Kyng rayſed an army, and tooke Niort, and after they of Saint Iohn d'Angeli ſubmitted themſelues to hym. From whence hee went to Rochelle, within the whiche at that preſente, was the ſayde Sauary de Mauleon with ſeuenty Knightes, and Richarde Gray, with Geffrey Neuille, who had in their retinue ſixtie Knightes. Theſe with the forces of the Towne, ſallied forth, and encountring with the Frenche army, ſlewe many of their aduerſaries, and loſt ſome of their owne people. Yet after this, the Frenche Kyng beſieged the Towne, and in the ende wanne it, whileſt the King of Englande being occupied about the aſſieging of Bedforde Caſtell, neglected to ſende them within Rochell neceſſary ſuccoures.

The Poictouins ſend to King Henry.

But Polidor Vergill writeth, that now after that Sauary de Mauleon was become the Frēch Kings man, the Poictouins ſente vnto Kyng Henry, ſignifying, that they were ready to reuolt from the Frenche Kings ſubiection, and yeelde themſelues vnto him, if hee woulde ſende vnto them a power of men to defende their countrey from the French men.

Nowe Kyng Henry hauyng receyued theſe letters, entertayned them that brought this meſſage very curteouſly, and promiſing them to ſend ouer ayde with all expedition, he cauſed his nauie to be made ready for that voyage.

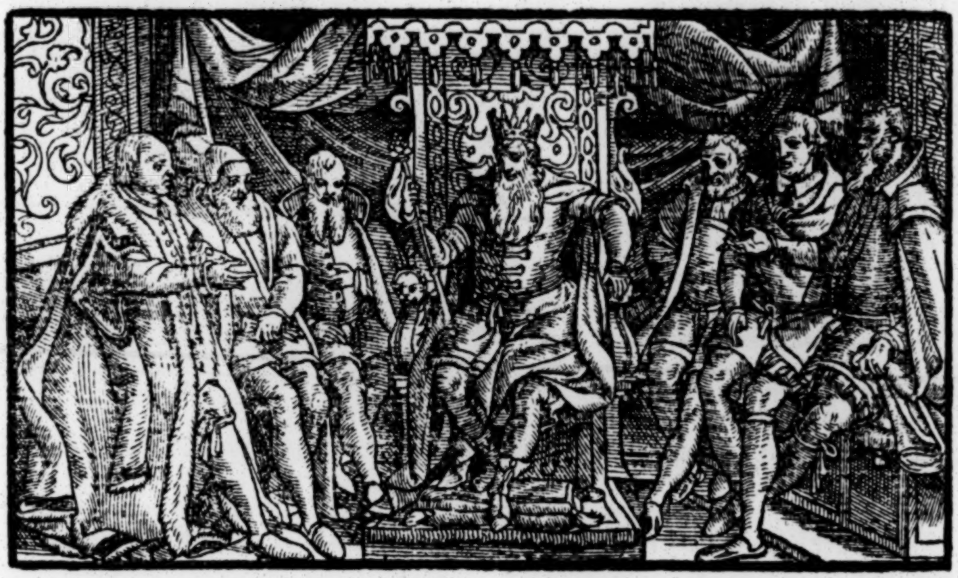
In the meane time, the Frenche Kyng ſente forthe an army vnder the leading of Sauary de Mauleon, who then tooke Niort and Rochelle, placing in the ſame ſundry garriſons of Souldiers, but chiefly, he fortified Rochelle (whiche had bin long in the Engliſhmens handes, and alwayes ſerued them to very good purpoſe, for the handſome landing of their people, when any occaſion required.)

The Frenche Kyng therefore hauing got it, fortifyed it, and meant to keepe it, to the intente the Engliſhmen ſhoulde not haue heereafter in tyme of warre, ſo neceſſary a place for their arriuall in thoſe coaſtes.

1225

A fifteenth graunted to the Kyng.

King Henry holding his Chriſtmas at Weſtminſter, called his high Courte of Parliamente there the ſame time, and demaunded a reliefe of money, towardes ÿ mayntenaunce of his warres in Fraunce, and had graunted to him the fifteenth peny, in value of all the moueable goodes, to bee founde within the Realme, as well belonging to the ſpiritualty as temporalty, but vnder condition, that hee ſhoulde confirme vnto his ſubiectes, their often demaunded liberties. The King vpon deſire to haue the money, was contented to condiſcende vnto theyr requeſtes, and ſo the two Charters were made, and by the Kyng confirmed, the one entituled *Magna Charta*, and the other *Charta de Forreſta*. Thus at this Parliamēt were made and confirmed theſe good lawes and laudable ordinaunces, whyche haue bin from time to time by the Kyngs and Princes of thys Realme confyrmed, ſo that a greate parte of the law now in vſe dependeth of the ſame. The ſame Charters alſo were directed and ſente forthe into euerie Countie within the Realme to bee proclaymed.



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Magna Carta and Carta de Forreſta confirmed.

It was moreouer decreed, that at a certayne day after Eaſter, there ſhoulde bee an inquiſition taken by the Inqueſt of a ſubſtantiall Jury, for the ſeuering of Forreſtes, the newe from the olde, ſo as all thoſe groundes whyche hadde bin made Forreſtes, ſith the dayes of Kyng Henry the Graundfather of this Henry the third ſhoulde bee diſforreſted. And therevppon after Eaſter, Hugh de Neuile, and Brienne de Liſle, were ſente forthe as Commiſſioners, to take that inquiſition. By force whereof, many woodes were aſſerted and improued to arrable land by the owners, and ſo not onely men, but alſo dogges, whyche for ſafegarde of the game were accuſtomed to loſe theyr clawes, hadde good cauſe to reioyce of theſe confyrmed liberties.

In the meane tyme, and about the feaſt of the purification, King Henry (hauing iuſt occaſion to purſue the warre, for recouery of thoſe townes taken, as before you haue hearde by the Frenchmen,) ſente ouer hys brother Richarde whome hee had made Earle of Cornewall and Poictow, with a mighty nauie of Shippes vnto Gaſcoigne. This Earle, hauing in his company the Earle of Saliſbury, Phillip de Albanie, and others, with proſperous winde and weather arriued at Burdeaux with foure hundred ſayles, and there landing his men, went ſtraighte vnto the Towne of Saint Macharie, ſituate vppon the banke of Garon, where vppon his firſte comming, he gate the Caſtell, and ſacked yͤ Towne, and then paſſing further, wanne dyuers other Townes, as Louguile, Bergerat, and other, and after, wente with greate diligence to beſiege and recouer Rochell, or rather Riole. The French K. aduertiſed of the Earles arriuall, and of theſe hys atchieued enterpriſes, ſente forthe by and by the Earle of Champaigne with a mighty army into Guyenne to ayde his people there.

The Earle of Marche, hath Math. Paris.

The Earle of Cornewall vnderſtanding of the comming of that Frenche army, taketh a part of his hoſt, and therewithall goeth to meete hys enimies, and lying in ambuſhe for them by the way, taketh them at a good aduauntage, and ſlewe greate numbers of them. After this, the Earle of Champaigne keeping his men within their trenches and Campe, without attempting any other exployte, the Earle of Cornewall thought it ſufficiente, if he myght keepe the Gaſcoignes in obedience, which he had already practiſed a Rebellion, by ſending letters and meſſengers for yͤ ſame intent vnto yͤ French K. & therefore breaking vp his ſiege before yͤ Riole, he ſtayed a while from exployting any further enterpriſe.

The Frenchmen taken at aduantage.

About the ſame time, the Earle of Saliſbury returning homewards out of Gaſcoigne, was ſo toſſed and turmoyled on the Seas by tempeſtes of weather, that hee fell ſicke thereof, and within a few dayes after hys arryuall dyed.

This yeare alſo, there came forth a decree frō the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, and his ſuffraganes, that the concubines of Prieſtes and Clearkes within orders (for ſo were theyr wiues then called in contempt of their wedlocke) ſhould be denied of Chriſtian buriall, except they repented whyleſt they were aliue in perfect healthe, or elſe ſhewed manifeſt tokens of repentaunce at the tyme of their deathes.

The ſame decree alſo prohibited them from the receyuing of the pax at Maſſe time, and alſo of holy bread after Maſſe, ſo long as the Prieſtes kept them in their houſes, or vſed their company publiquely out of their houſes.

Moreouer, that they ſhoulde not bee purified when they ſhoulde be deliuered of childe as other good women were, withoute that they found ſufficient ſuretie to the Archdeacon, or his officiall to make ſatiſfaction at the next Chapter or Courte to be holden, after they ſhould be purified. And yͤ Prieſts ſhould be ſuſpēded, which did not preſent all ſuch their concubines as were reſiaunt within their Pariſhes. Alſo, all ſuch women as were cōuict to haue dealt carnally with a Prieſt, wer appointed by the ſame decree to doe open pennance.

This yeare, or as ſome haue in the nexte, the Kyng graunted to the Citizens of London free warreyn, that is to meane, libertie, to hunt within a certaine circuite about London, and that all weires in yͤ Thames ſhuld be plucked vp and deſtroyed. Alſo in this ninth yeare of his raigne, K. Henry graunted to the Citizens of London, that they might haue and vſe a common ſeale. About the time of the making of whiche ordinaunces, Otho yͤ Cardnal of S. Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano* came as Legate from Pope Honorius into England to King Henry, preſenting him with letters from the Pope. The tenor whereof when the Kyng hadde well conſidered, hee declared to the Legate, that withoute the whole aſſente

An. Reg. 10.
A Legate from the Pope.
Mat. Paris.

A Parliamente called.

of the eſtates of his Realme, he coulde doe little in that whiche the Pope as then required. Hereupon therfore he cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned at Weſtminſter, there to be holden in the octaues of ẏ Epiphanie: This Legat alſo moued the king in the behalfe of Foulkes de Brent, that he might be reſtored to his poſſeſſions, and to enioye his wife as before tyme he had done: but the King declared that for his manifeſt treaſon committed, he was iuſtly exiled, and not only by his, but by the ſentẽce of the nobles and other eſtates of the whole Realme: which aunſwere when the Legat had heard, he left off to ſolicite the king for Foulkes, and from thenceforth talked no more of that matter.

1226

The Kyng is ſicke.

Mat. VVeſt.

Mat. Paris.

The Cardinals requeſt.

Shortly after by way of proxie, the ſaid Legate gathered a duety whyche he clayned of the ſpiritualtie, that was of euery cõuentual Church within the Realme two markes of ſiluer. In this yere the king held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, and after comming to Marlebridge chaunced there to fall ſicke, ſo that he laye in deſpayre of life for certaine dayes together. In the meane time alſo came the daye appoynted for the Parliament to beginne at Weſtminſter, where the Legate and other of the Spiritualtie and Temporaltie being aſſembled, the ſayde Otho ſhewed forthe the Popes letters, and accordyng to the tenor and purporte of the ſame, was earneſtly in hande to haue the Prieſtes to graunte to the yearly payment of a certaine pention or tribute to the Pope, and toward the maintenaunce of his eſtate, whiche they generally denied. When he ſaw that this baite woulde not take, hee onelye demaunded a tenth parte of al their ſpirituall liuings for maintenaunce of the warres againſte the Sarazins, whiche was eaſily graunted, as more reaſonable than the firſt. Here by dyuers credible writers of good credite it ſhoulde appeare, that the Pope demãded to haue aſſigned to him out of euery Cathedrall Church two prebendes, one of the portion belonging to the biſhoppe, and an other out of the portion belonging to the Deane and Chapiter: and likewiſe of the Abbeyes, where there were ſeuerall portions, that is to witte, ſo much of the conuent as belõged to the finding of one Monke, and as much alſo of euery Abbots liuing, as ſhuld counteruaile the ſame. The Cardinall vſed iolly perſwaſions to induce the Prelates to aſſent to this graunte, alledging that the Church of Rome was runne in great ſlaunder for taking of money in diſpatche of ſutors cauſes, whiche aroſe by meanes there was no mayntenaunce of liuyng ſufficient for the Churchmen there: and therefore he added, how it was the parts of naturall childrẽ to releue the neceſſitie of theyr louing mother, and that except the charitable deuotion of them and other good and well diſpoſed perſons were ſhortly extended, they ſhoulde wante neceſſary mayntenaunce for the ſuſtentation of their lyues, whiche ſhoulde bee altogither an vnſeemely thyng for the dignitie of the Romane Churche. The Cleargie reſorting togyther to take aduice what aunſwere they ſhoulde make, at length vppon theyr reſolute determination, John the Archdeacon of Bedforde was appoynted to tell the tale for them all: who comming before the Cardinall, declared boldly vnto hym, that the demaunde whyche hee hadde proponed, touched the Kyng eſpecially, and generally all the nobilitie of the Realme, whyche were patrones of any Churches. Hee added furthermore, how the Archbyſhoppes and Byſhoppes, and many other of the Prelates of Englande (ſithence the Kyng by reaſon of ſickneſſe could not be there, were alſo abſent, ſo that they whych were there preſent, beyng but as it were the inferiour part of the houſe, neyther myghte nor ought to make any reſolute aunſwere in this matter as then. Immediatly heerewith alſo came the Lorde John Marſhall, and other meſſengers from the Kyng vnto all the Prelates that helde anye Baronies of the Kyng, ſtraightly commaundyng them, that they ſhoulde in no wiſe bynde and endaunger hys lay fee vnto the Churche of Rome, whereby hee myghte bee depriued of hys due and accuſtomed ſeruices, and ſo euery man heerevpon departed and went home.

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This yeare, the plees of the Crowne were pleated in the Tower of London.

Fabia

And the ſixtenth day of Marche in this tenth yeare of his raigne, the Kyng graunted by hys Charter enſealed, that the Citizens of London ſhoulde paſſe tolle free through all England, and if anye of them were conſtreyned in any Citie, borough or Towne within the Realme, to pay tolle, that then the Sherifes of London myghte attache any man of the ſayde Citie, Bourrough or Towne where ſuche tolle was exacted, beyng founde within the liberties of London, and hym retayne with hys goodes and cattalles, till the Citizens that payde ſuche tolle were ſatiſfied, by reſtitution of the ſame, with all coſtes and charges ſuſteyned in the ſute. But yet about the ſame tyme, the Kyng conſtreyned the Londoners to gyue vnto hym the ſumme of fyue thouſande markes as a fyne, for that they hadde ayded and ſuccoured hys aduerſary Lewis agaynſte hym, and lente to the ſayde Lewis at hys departure out of the Realme a lyke ſumme. But it maye rather bee thought they gaue vnto the Kyng the ſayde fyue thouſande markes for hys fauoure ſhewed in graunting vnto them the aboue mentioned freedome and liberties. At the ſame tyme, hee hadde alſo twelue hundred pounde of the burgeſſes of Northampton, beſydes the fifteenth,

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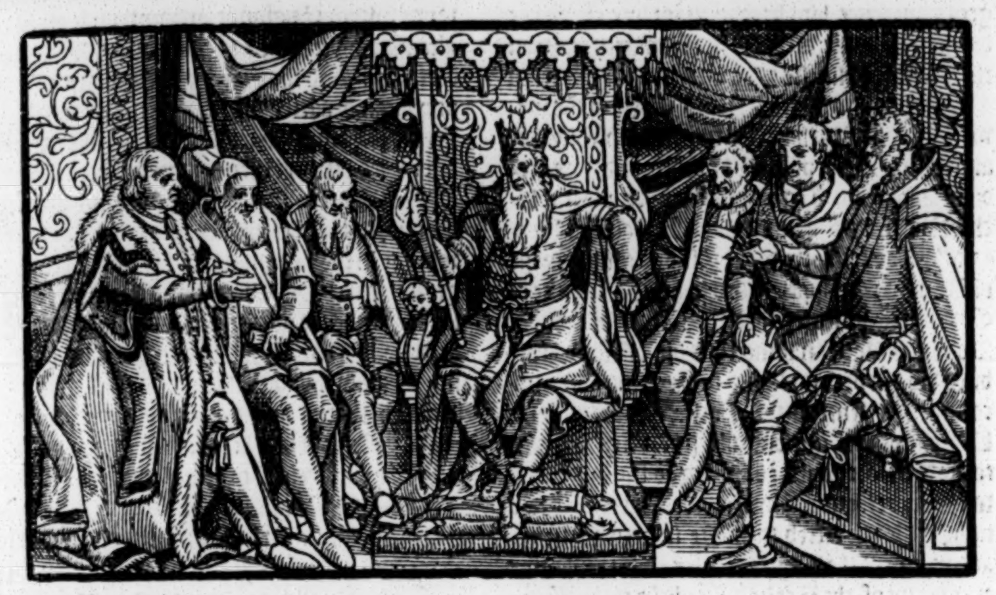
whyche not onely they, but alſo the Londoners and all other generally through the Realme, paid accordingly as it was graunted.



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In February, the Kyng called a Parliament at Oxforde, in the which he made open declaration vnto all the aſſembly, that hee was nowe of lawfull age to gouerne of himſelfe, withoute any to haue rule ouer him, and ſo whereas before hee was gouerned firſte by the Earle of Pembroke Lord protector whyleſt he liued, and after by the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter and others, hee nowe remoued them from hym by the councell of the Lorde chiefe Juſtice, takyng the regiment wholly to himſelfe, and to ſuche as ſhould pleaſe hym from thenceforth to appoynt. Alſo in the ſame Parliamente, hee dyd cancell and diſanull the two charters before mẽtioned, after that the ſame had bin vſed through the Realme for the ſpace of two yeares, pretending them to bee of no value, ſith they were ſealed and ſigned whileſt hee was vnder age. This deede of the King was greeuouſly taken, and all the blame put in the Lorde chiefe Juſtice. Heerewith all ſuche alſo as claymed any manner Charters of liberties, were appoynted to remoue the ſame, (a practiſe onely to gette money by) and to get them confyrmed with the Kings newe ſeale, the olde being made voyde and pronounced of none effect.

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In this yeare dyed the French Kyng Lewes the eyght, and his ſonne Lewes the ninth ſucceeded hym, a childe of twelue yeares of age, by reaſon of whoſe infancie, dyuers peeres of ẏ Realme began to withdrawe their obedience from hym, as Theobalde Earle of Champaigne, Hugh Earle of Marche, and Peter Duke of Britaine. Howbeit, the Earle of Champaigne was eaſily reduced againe to hys former obedience, by the hygh wiſedome and policie of the Queene mother, who hadde the gouernemente of hir ſonne the yong Kyng, and hys Realme committed vnto hir.

The Earle of Marche commeth ouer to the king and offereth hym his ſeruice.

But the Earle of Marche conſtante in hys purpoſe, came ouer to Kyng Henry, whoſe mother hee hadde married, and declareth vnto hym, that nowe was the tyme for hym to recouer againe thoſe places whych king Phillippe hadde vniuſtly taken from hys father Kyng John: and to bryng the ſame to paſſe, hee offered hymſelfe and all that hee coulde make, in the furthering of thys voyage.

Polidor.

Mat. Paris.
Ambaſſadors ſent into Fraunce.

The Kyng beeyng thus pricked forwarde with the Earle of Marche hys wordes, determined withoute delay to take in hande the warre. Heere authors varye, for ſome write, that kyng Henry ſente ouer certayne perſons, as the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, the Byſhoppe of Careleill, and the Lorde Phillippe Dalbeny, to vnderſtande the myndes of the Normans, the Britaines, and Poictouins, and for that, thoſe that were ſente, broughte worde againe that the ſayde people were not greatly mynded to forſake the Frenche gouernemente, hee ſurceaſſed from attempting any exployte at that tyme.

Polidor.

Other write, that gatheryng a greate ſumme of money of hys ſubiectes, towardes the mayntenaunce of hys charges, hee prepared a nauie of Shippes, and ſayled ouer with the ſayde Earle of Marche into Britaigne, and there waſted the confynes of the Frenche dominions, and that when the Frenche kyng was ready with an army to ſuccoure his ſubiectes, hee ſoddaynely retired to hys Shippes, and returned into Englande, withoute atchieuing any enterprice worthie of remembrance, ſo that whether hee wente hymſelfe or ſente, it

The Earle of Cornewall returneth home.

Mat. Paris.

The Earle of Cornewall.

He departeth frō the Courte ſecretely.

He ioyneth himſelfe with the Earles of Cheſter and Pembroke and others. They meete at Stanfort with an army.

A day appointed to meete at Northampton, for a treatie of pacification.

it forceth not: for certayne it is, that hee profited nothing at that ſeaſon, either by ſending meſſengers to procure him friendſhip, or by going ouer himſelfe to make an entry of the warres. When the Frenche buſineſſe was thus at a ſtay, within a few monethes after, Richard Earle of Cornewall returned forth of Gaſcoigne into Englād, and ſhortly after, bycauſe he heard, and was credibly enformed, ỹ a certaine manour place whiche Walerane ỹ Teutchman, Captaine of Berkamſtede caſtell held, by the gift and aſſignement of Kyng Iohn, apperteyned to his Earledome of Cornewall, he ſeaſed that Caſtel into his hands. So that Waleran being thus diſpoſſeſſed, exhibited his bill of complaynt to the King, who incontinently ſente to the Earle, commaundyng him to make reſtitution, which he vtterly refuſed to do. But forthwith, comming to the King, and withoute reteyning anye aduocate, declared hys right which he offred to auerre in open preſence, and in any of the kings Courtes, before whatſoeuer peeres of the Realme ſhould be there aſſembled. This addition (the peeres of the Realme) nothing pleaſed the Kyng and hys Counſell, namely the Lord chiefe Iuſtice, by whoſe aduice the King meante to haue apprehended the Earle the ſame nyght after he was withdrawen to hys lodging. But the Earle warned thereof, ſecretely departed, accompanyed only with one man, and neuer drew bridle out of hys horſes mouth, vntill he came to Readyng, (whether his ſeruauntes reſorted to him) and from thence, he rode ſtraight to Marlebridge, where he founde hys deare friend William Earle Marſhall, with whome hee dyd participate of the daunger likely to haue befallen hym. Then they drewe to the Earle of Cheſter, and taking order with him for the rayſing of an army, there met ſhortly after at Stamford theſe perſons whoſe names heereafter enſue, Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter, William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke, Richard Erle of Cornewall ỹ kings brother, Gilberte Earle of Glouceſter, William Earle Warenne, Henry Earle of Herforde, William Erle Ferrers, William Erle of Warwike, and dyuers Barons, Lords and Knights, hauing there with them a great puiſſance of warlike perſonages. The Kyng hauing vnderſtanding as well of their demeanor, as alſo what they required by their letters and meſſengers to hym dayly ſente, thought good for a time to pacifie their fury, and therevpon appoynted a day at Northampton, where he woulde meete, and miniſter ſuche iuſtice vnto thē, as ſhould be thought reaſonable, and to ſtande with their good willes and contentation.

The Kyngs graunt to hys brother.

Whervpon, the parties comming to Northhampton at the daye aſſigned, hee graunted to the Earle his brother (at the inſtant deſire of the Lordes) all hys mothers dower, with all thoſe landes whyche belonged to the Earle of Brytayne within Englande, and withall, thoſe lands alſo that apperteyned to the Earle of Bollongne deceaſſed. And thus the matter being pacified, euery man departed to hys home, whereas, if the Kyng had bin froward, warres had immediatly bin rayſed betwixt them, namely bycauſe many of the Lordes bare a ſecret grudge towardes the Kyng, for that hee had reuoked certayne liberties whyche in the beginning of his raigne hee hadde graunted to be holden, though now to take away the enuy whiche mighte bee conceyued towardes hym for hys doyng, he alledged, that hee dyd not infringe any thyng that hee hadde then graunted, but ſuch things as his gouernoures hadde ſuffered to paſſe whyleſt hee was vnder age, and not ruler of hymſelfe: hee cauſed them therefore to redeeme many of the ſame priuiledges, whereby he gayned great finaunce for the ſettyng too of hys newe ſeale, (as before ye haue heard.)

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Moreouer, in thys yeare there were ſent certayne perſons from Pope Gregory the nynth, (that ſucceeded Honorius) into all the parties of Europe, to moue by Preaching the Chriſtian people to make a iourney into the holy lande, agaynſte the Sarazens. Suche a multitude by meanes heereof dyd aſſemble togyther from all parties, and that within a ſhort tyme, as the lyke hadde ſeldome tymes bin hearde of. It is ſayde, that amongſt them there ſhoulde bee at the poynt of fortie thouſand Engliſhmenne, of whome Peter Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and William Biſhop of Exceter wer the chiefe. Captaynes alſo of that greate multitude of croſſed Souldiers that wente forthe of ſundry countreys were theſe, Theobalde Earle of Champaigne, and Phillip de Albeny, through whoſe negligence the ſequele of this noble enterpriſe came but to ſmall effect. But to procede.

Anno
122

Mat. P

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About this time alſo, the kyng minding the benefyte of the cōmon wealth, cauſed ỹ weightes and meaſures generally within the land to be reformed after one ſtanderd. And furthermore, hee created Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent, whych Hubert, how muche prayſe ſo euer hee got at the beginning for his ualiancie ſhewed in the defending of Douer Caſtell, and in vanquiſhing the Frenche fleete that was comming to the ſuccour of Lewes by battayle on the Sea, it is certaine, ỹ he now purchaſed hymſelfe double aſmuch hatred & euil wil, bycauſe that being of ſecret counſell with the King, and thereby after a ſort ſequeſtred from the Lords, he was knowen to diſwade the ſayde Prince from reſtoring of the auntiente lawes and cuſtomes vnto the people, whyche the Barons oft required, whereby it came to paſſe, that the more hee grewe in fauoure with the

Prince, the further hee came into the ennie of the nobilitie, and hatred of the people, which is a cōmon reward to ſuch as in reſpect of theyr maſter, do little regard the profite of others.

Arch- Cā- de- is life We- cle- ys

Furthermore, vppon the ninth of July dyed Stephen the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, after hee hadde gouerned that ſee the tearme of one and twentie yeares, and after him ſucceeded Richard Wetherſheyd Deane of Poules, who became the three and fortith Archbyſhoppe of that See. The

aris. ..l-

Monkes of Caunterbury had firſte elected one of theyr owne conuent, named Walther de Helmeſham: whiche election was made by the ſame Monkes the thirde daye of Auguſt next enſuing the death of their ſayd Archbyſhop Stephen, but the Kyng would not conſent that hee ſhould haue the place for dyuers cauſes, whych he obiected: As firſt, for that he knew hym to bee ſuch a man as ſhoulde be vnprofitable, both to him and to his Kyngdome. Secondly, bycauſe hys father was a Theefe, and thereof beeyng conuict, ſuffered deathe vppon the gallowes. Thirdly, for that he hymſelfe hadde ſtoode againſt Kyng John in tyme of the interdiction. On the other ſide, the Byſhops Suffraganes to the Churche of Caunterbury obiected alſo againſte hym, that he hadde vſed the familiar company of a Nonne, and begote of hir certayne children. Moreouer they alledged, that any election without their conſente, could not be good, nor ought to take place: but the Monke making his appeale, ſtoode in it, and taking with him certayne of hys fellowes Monkes of Caunterbury, went to Rome, and there made ſupplication to the Pope, that his election by his authoritie might be ratified ⁊ cōfirmed: Whereof the Kyng and the other Byſhops being aduertiſed, did put their obiections in writing vnder their ſeales, and ſent the ſame vnto Rome to be exhibited to the Pope by the Byſhops of Weſtcheſter and Rocheſter, and John the Archdeacō of Bedford, who vſed ſuch meanes, that his election was iudged voyde, and then the ſayde Richard Wetherſheid was out of hand elected and confirmed.

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Fabian.

In that yeare alſo, a graunt was made to the Citizens of London, that they ſhoulde haue and vſe a common Seale. And in this meane while, Hugh the Earle of Marche ſo laboured with the Normans and Poyctouins in the behalfe of the Kyng of England, that they began to incline to hys purpoſe: and heerevpon ſent letters by ſecrete meanes vnto Kyng Henry, ſignifying to hym, that if it woulde pleaſe him to come ouer with an army to make warre againſt the Frenche King, they woulde be ready to turne vnto his ſyde, and receyue him as their ſoueraigne. Kyng Henry taking aduice what to aunſwere and doe herein, with hys welbeloued Councellour Huberte of Bourgh, thoughte it not good to attempte anye thing raſhly in this matter, bycauſe the dealings of yͤ Normans were neuer without ſome fraude: but yet to ſatiſfie yͤ requeſt of hys friends, he promiſed to come ouer ſhortly vnto them, if in the meane time he might perceyue that they remayned ſtedfaſt in their purpoſe, giuing them furthermore many greate and harty thankes for theyr good meaning and ſingular kindneſſe towardes hym.

Polidor.

The Earle of Marche worketh to induce the Normans and Poictouins to fauour the King of Englande.

The Normās write to the K. of England.

Math. Paris.

The eſtate of things beyond the Sea, ſtanding now in this order, it happed in the moneth of Auguſt, that the Souldiers whiche lay in garniſon within the Caſtel of Montgomerike, tooke in hande to ſtocke vp a Woodde not farre from the ſayde Caſteil, through whiche lay an high way, where oftentimes many fellonious robberies and murders were committed by the Welſh: and as the Souldiers wer buſie at worke in ſtocking vp the wood, there came vpon them an ambuſhment of Welſhmē, which not only droue thē away from their worke, but alſo tooke and ſlewe diuers of them, conſtreyning the reſidue to flee into the Caſtell, which immediatly the Welchmē enuironed alſo about with a ſtrong ſiege, thinking to fynde the defendaunts vnprouided. They within aduertiſed Hugh de Burgh, the Lorde chiefe Juſtice (to whome the Caſtell belonged by the Kings late gift) of the exployte and enterprice attempted by their enimies, with all poſſible haſt: wherevpon, the king at requeſt of the ſaid Hubert leuied a power, and came to rayſe the ſiege: but the Welchmen hearing of the Kings approche, fledde away like ſheepe, ſo that comming to the Caſtell, hee found no reſiſtance: howbeeit, for aſmuch as he ſaw the foreſayde woodde to be troubleſome and an annoyance to the ſayd Caſtel, he willed it to be deſtroyed. True it is, that the ſame woodde was very thicke and rough; and further it conteyned alſo fiue leagues or fifteene miles in length, yet by ſuche diligence as was vſed, the ſame was aſſerted, ſtocked vp, and quickly ridde out of the way by fire and other meanes, so that yͤ countrey was made plain by a great way about.

The Welſhmen beſiege the Caſtell of Montgomerie

The King with an army, commeth to the ſuccour of them within the Caſtell.

The Abbey of Cride brēned.

After this, yͤ King parted forth into yͤ Welſh confynes, and comming to an Abbey of yͤ white Monkes called Cride, he cauſed it to be brenned, bicauſe it ſerued as a refuge for his enimies. Thē by the aduice of the Lord chiefe Juſtice Huberte de Burgh, he ſet in hand to buyld a Caſtel there,

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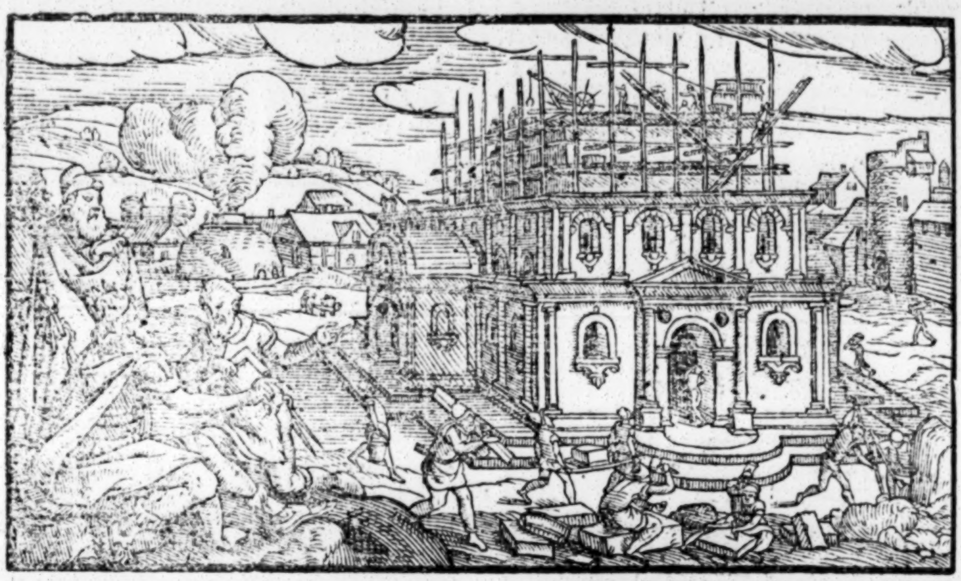

bicauſe the place ſeemed very fitte for fortificatiō. But after yͤ King with his army had laine there a three monethes, through lacke of vittayles (the Welſhmen ſtill cutting the Engliſhmen off as they went abroade to fetche in forrage and other prouiſion) hee was conſtreyned to fall to agreement with Leoline their Prince, and receyuing of the ſayde Prince the ſumme of three thouſand markes, hee was contented that ſo muche of the Caſtell as was already builded, ſhoulde be raſed and made flatte agayne with the ground, before his departure from thence. Herevpon many men tooke occaſion to ieſt at the Lorde chiefe Juſtice and his doings about this Caſtell, who at the beginning named it Hubertes folly. Amongſt other alſo that were taken priſoners by the Welſhmen whyleſt the Kyng thus vaynely ſpent hys tyme about the buyldyng of that forte, William de Breuſe a right valiant man of warre was one, who being taken by Lewline Prince of Wales, was afterwardes by hym cruelly put to deathe (as after it ſhall appeare) for the which acte, and other ſuch iniuries receyued at yͤ ſame Lewlines hādes, King Henry at length greeuouſly puniſhed him. And for the moſt part of the ſommer ſeaſon great thunders happened in Englande: the Elemente alſo ſeemed, as though it had brenned with continuall flames: Steeples, Churches, and other high buildings were ſtriken with lightning: & the harueſt was ſore hindred through cōtinual raine. Alſo in the middeſt of the day there came a wonderfull darkneſſe vpon the Earth, that the brightneſſe of the aire ſemed to be couered & takē away.

He is conſtreined to agree with the Welſhmen.

The Lorde William de Breuſe taken priſoner.

Mat. Paris. Strange ſights in the ayre.

Polidor.

An. Reg. 13. 1229

In the thirteenth yeare of this King, Stephen the Popes Chaplayne and his Nuntio came ouer vnto K. Henry, requiring to haue towardes the maintenaunce of the Popes warres agaynſte the Emperour Fredericke, a tenth part of all the mouable goodes within the Realmes and Countreys of Englande, Wales, and Ireland, as well of ſpirituall perſons as temporall. Wherevppon, a Parliament, or an aſſemblie of the Lordes was called at Weſtminſter, on the ſeconde Sunday after Eaſter, whiche was the 29. of Aprill. At whiche Parliamente, when the Popes Bulles were red, and the matter therin conteined playnely opened and examined, to the ende it mighte appeare vppon what neceſſary cauſes the Pope was conſtreyned to purſue the ſayd warres, and to aſke reliefe of faithfull Chriſtian people, beyng members of the holly Churche: The Kyng, bycauſe hee had by his procurators at Rome afore hand promiſed and bound himſelfe to ſuche payment of tenthes, ſate ſtill, and aunſwered not to the contrary, (whereas the hope of a greate number was repoſed in him, that by hys deniall the Popes requeſt ſhoulde haue bin fruſtrate) ſo that when by his ſilence, he was adiudged to conſente, yet the temporall Lords and ley men vtterly denied to agree vnto ſuche paymente, not willing in any wiſe to bynde their Baronies and temporall poſſeſſions vnto the Church of Rome. Howbeit, the Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, after they had ſtriued themſelues to reſt doubtfull (not without great grudging and murmuring in the meane tyme, for the ſpace of three or foure dayes togyther) at length, for feare of excommunication, conſented to bee contributaries, but in ſuche ſorte, as they hadde eſcaped for a farre more reaſonable ſumme, if Stephen Segraue one of the Kynges counſell hadde not by compacte (as was thoughte made

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made with the *nuncio*) wrought ſo in the matter, that the tenthes were finally graunted, to the great impoueriſhment and ineſtimable domage of the Church and realme of England.

After this, the *nuncio* ſhewed the procuratorie letters, wherby he was authorized to gather thoſe tenthes, and that not after a common maner, but by a right ſtrayte and hard valuation. And for the more ſure way of proceding herein, he had letters of authoritie from the Pope, to excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould withſtand him or his deputies in proceding with thoſe affayres. He ſhewed himſelf moreouer verie extreme in collecting of this money, and namely towardes the Prelates of the Church, inſomuch that appoynting him a certen day in the which vnder paine of excommunication they ſhould make payment, diuerſe for want of readie money, were compelled to make ſhift with the Chaliſes, and other veſſels and ornamēts belonging to their churches, and other were glad to take vp money vpon intereſt, and for that ſhyfte ther were come ouer with the *nuncio* diuerſe wicked vſurers, vnder the name of marchants, which when they ſaw thoſe that ſtood in neede like to bee excommunicate for want of readie money, they would offer themſelues to lend vnto any yͭ would borow, after the rate of one noble for the loane of xx. by the month, ſo bringing the needie into their ſnares, to their irrecouerable loſſes and vndoing. Hereby the land was filled with bitter curſings, (though in ſecrete) by thoſe that wiſhed ſuch vnreaſonable exactors neuer to ſee good ende of the vſe of that money. And from that day forwarde, ther wanted not in England certain vſurers called *Caurſini*, which ſought nothing elſe but the wealthes of ſuch perſons as they might get into their ſnares, namely thoſe whom the Church of Rome doth vexe and put to trouble with hir exactions and payments. The Erle of Cheſter onely ſtoode manfully agaynſt the payment of thoſe tenthes inſomuch that he woulde not ſuffer hys lands to be brought vnder bondage, neither wold he permit the religious men and prieſts that held of his fee to pay the ſame, although the reſt of England, Wales, Irland, and Scotland, were compelled to be contributories therto, hauing only this comfort, that not they alone, but alſo other forraine regions were driuen to do the like.

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But let this paſſe: King Henrie purpoſing to ſaile ouer into Brytain and inuade France, came to Porteſmouth about Michaelmaſſe, with ſuche an army aſſembled out of Englant, Wales, Ireland, and Scotlād, as the like for number of people had not bene knowne to haue paſſed ouer with any of his aunceſters: howbeit when hee ſhoulde come to the very point of embarquing his people, with vytayles, armor, and other prouiſion, there were not ſhippes ſufficient to paſſe ouer the one halfe of the armie: wherefore when the king ſawe this default, he was ſore offēded, but chiefly with Hubert the Earle of Kent, Lorde chiefe Juſtice, inſomuch that he openly called him olde traytor, and layde to his charge, how he had thus vſed the matter of purpoſe, and onely for to pleaſure the Queene of Fraunce, of whom (as he ſayd) he had receiued fiue thouſand Markes to hinder his proceedings. In this heate if the Earle of Cheſter and other had not beene at hande, hee had ſurely ſlaine the chiefe Juſtice euen there with hys drawne ſworde, who was glad to auoyde hys preſence, till his moode was ſomewhat pacified.

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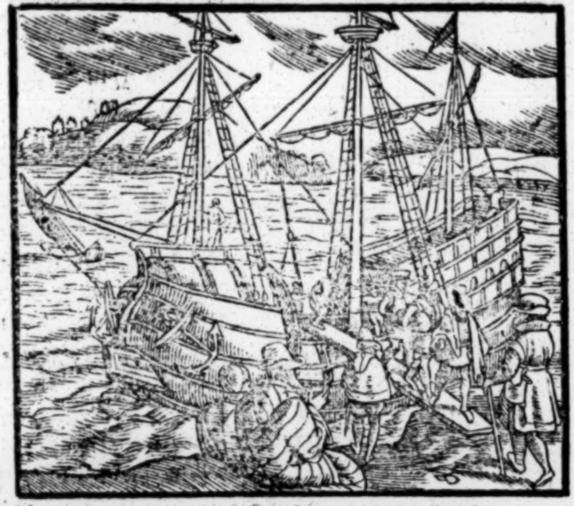
The Earle of Kent fallen into the kings diſpleaſure.

In the meane time there arriued Henrie Earle of Brytaine on the .ix. of October, whiche ſhoulde haue conducted the king into his Countrey. But ſith winter was come vpon them, he aduiſed him to ſtay till the next Spring, and ſo he did. Thē euery man was licenced to depart home, and the Earle of Kent reconciled againe into fauor.



Henrie Earle of Britaine.

The kings iourney deferred.

The erle of Britain in like maner did homage to the king for Brytaine, & the king reſtored him to all his rights in England, and further gyuing him fiue thouſand Markes to defende his Countrey agaynſt the enimies, ſent him home againe in moſt curteous and louing maner.

An. Reg. 14.
1230

Math. Paris.

In this yeare of our Lorde .1230. King Henrie helde his Chriſtmaſſe at Yorke, togither with the king of Scots, whom he had deſired to come thither at that time, that they might make mery: and ſo for the ſpace of three dayes togyther, there was great banquetting and ſport betwene them. On the fourth day they toke leaue either of other, the king of Scots with rich giftes returning towardes his Countrey, and the king of Englande towardes London.

The king of Scots kept Chriſtmaſſe with the king of Englande, at Yorke.

Mat Paris.

Upon the .xxv. day of Januarie alſo, whileſt the Biſhop of London was at high Maſſe within the Church of Saint Paule in London, a ſodaine darkneſſe ouerſhadowed the Quiere, and therwith ſuch a tempeſt of thunder and lightning that the people there aſſembled, thought verily the

A ſtraunge tempeſt at London.

Church and ſteeple had come downe vpon theyr heades. There came moreouer ſuch a filthie ſauour and ſtinke withall, that partly for feare, and partly for that they might not abide the ſauour, they voyded the Churche, falling on heapes one vpon another, as they ſought to get out of the ſame. The Vicars and Canons forſooke theyr Deſkes, ſo that the Biſhop remained there onely, with one Deacon that ſerued him at Maſſe. Afterward, when the ayre began to cleare vp, the people returned into the Church, and the Biſhop went forward and finiſhed the Maſſe.

Mat. Paris.

The king gathereth money towardes his iourney into France.

In the meane time the king leuyed a greate ſumme of money of the Prelates of his lande towardes his iourney into Fraunce: Hee had alſo a great reliefe of the Citizens of London. And the Iewes were conſtrayned to gyue to hym the thirde part of all theyr moueable goodes.

Math. Paris.

The Lorde Wil. de Breuſe hanged.

P.V.

The king ſayleth ouer into France.

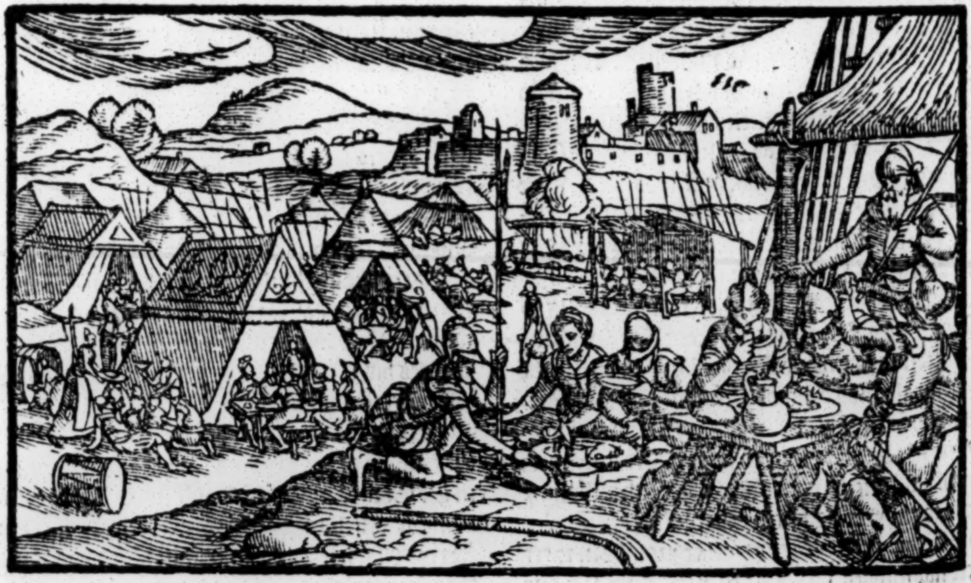
In the Moneth of Aprell, Llewelline prince of Wales, cauſed William de Breuſe, whome he had taken priſoner long before (as aboue is mentioned) to bee hanged on a payre of Gallowes, for that hee was taken (as was reported) in adulterie with the wyfe of the ſayd prince. And on the laſt day of Aprill, the King wyth a puyſſaunt armye tooke the Sea at Porteſmouth, and landed at Saint Malos in Brytayne on the thirde daye of May, where he was ryght ioyfully receyued of Henrie Earle of that Countrey.

After he was thus arryued in Brytayne, he entered into the Frenche dominions. with the ſayde Earle, and the Earle of Marche hys father in lawe, doing muche hurte wythin the ſame. Hys armye dayly encreaſing by the great numbers of Normans and other, whiche at the fame of the King of Englandes arryuall in thoſe partyes, came flocking from dyuerſe places to ayde him.

Amongeſt other, there were two brethren that were Normās, Foulke, and William, of the familye and ſurname of the Paganelles, or Paynelles, being men of great byrth and eſtimation in theyr Countrey, whiche brought with them threeſcore knightes or men of armes, right worthie and valiaunt in feates of warre. Theſe noble men woulde faine haue perſwaded the King to haue entred into Normandie, for that as they affyrmed, it ſhoulde bee an eaſie matter for him to ſubdue the whole Countrey: whereto the King woulde gladly haue conſented, if the Earle of Kent had not aduiſed him otherwiſe.

After this, they beſought him at the leaſtwiſe to graunt them two hundred knightes or menne of Armes of hys armye, wyth whoſe ayde they doubted not to bee able (as they ſayde) to expulſe all the Frenche men out of Normandie, but neyther woulde thys bee obteyned, ſo that thoſe Norman Lordes remayned without comfort, whyleſt the Frenche King cauſed theyr Caſtelles and Manours to bee ſeazed vnto his vſe.

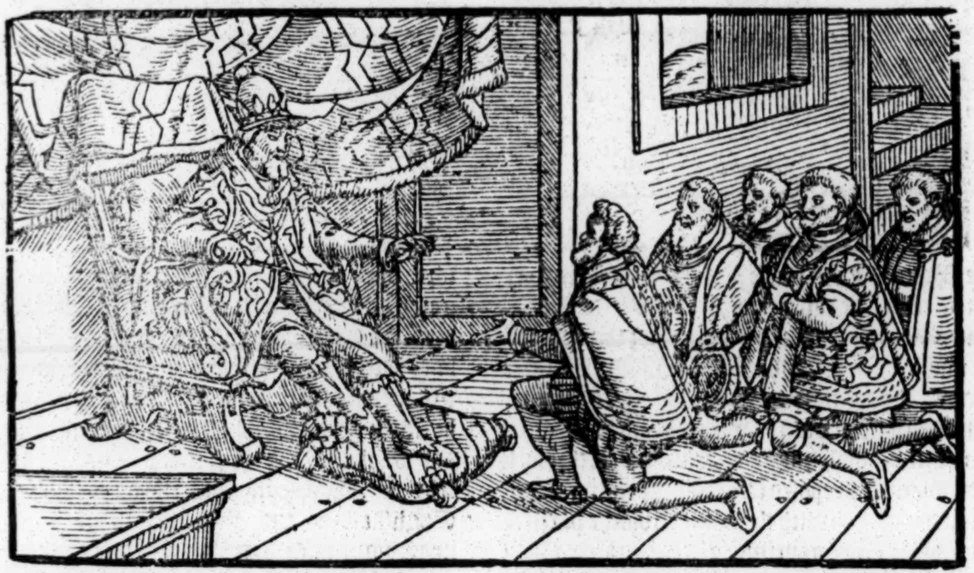
During this time, King Lewes (who a fewe dayes afore had taken from the Duke of Brytayne the townes of Ardone, Campanelle, and Beleſme) beeing nowe certifyed by his eſpyalles, of the landing and inuaſion made by the King of Englande, haſted forth wyth hys armie into the Countrey of Aniou, and there by the ſide of the Loyre, he encamped to ſtay the king of England, that he ſhould not paſſe ouer the ſame riuer into Poictou, ſuſpecting leaſt ỹ Poictouins (whom he had always in ſome iea[illegible]) would reuolt vnto him. But the K. of Eng[illegible]d aduertiſed of his approch, paſſed that riuer ſooner thā any mā wold haue iudged, & encāped firſt in the coūtry of



Poictou,and after drew into the cōfines of Xantonge, the French king ſtill following,and by the way deſtroying the townes of Fountney, & Villars, apperteyning to one Guy de Rochfort, a captaine belonging to the Erle of Marche. Afterward alſo he paſſed the riuer of Charent,and waſted all the Countrey of Xantonge. Where (if we may beleue ſome wryters) the two kings ioyned battaile,which continued a long time right fierce and cruel: but at length the Engliſh men giuing backe,the victorie remayned on the French ſyde,a great number of their aduerſaries beeing ſlaine and taken.

After this battaile,they ſay alſo, that a peace was concluded betwixt them. But other writers haue recorded, that the matter was firſt taken vp by a truce without any battaile, bycauſe both the kings being yong men, and as yet not verie ſkilful in martial affayres,were content to giue eare vnto Queene Blanche,to Philip Earle of Bolongne,and to Ranulfe Earle of Cheſter,whiche three tooke vpon them to entreate a peace, and preſcribe the couenants of agreement, by whiche meanes they were at the laſt accorded.

Amongſt other things which were concluded at this preſent time, the Duke of Brytaine, and the Earle of Marche were made friendes agayne with the French king, and receyued eftſoones into his fauour.



Thus ceaſſed the warres for that time betwixt the kings of Englande and Fraunce (as ſome haue witneſſed.) But if we ſhall beleeue other, which wrote and liued in thoſe dayes, there was no peace at that time concluded: But after that king Henrie had paſſed through Aniou, and Poictou without battail,he came into Gaſcoign, where he receyued the homages and fealties of many noble men in thoſe parties, and returning into Poictou, not onely had the lyke alſo of ſundrie Lordes and men of honour in that countrey, but alſo tooke the Caſtell of Mirabeau by aſſault, through the manhoode of the Engliſh men. This done,and order taken for the ſafe keeping of thoſe quarters, he returned into Brytayne, and comming to the Citie of Nauntes, he remayned for a while there, ſpending the time vainely in pleaſure and banquetting. Finally in the Moneth of October he tooke the Sea, and returning into Englande after many perilles, landed at Porteſmouth,the.xxvij.of October,leauing behind him in Brytaine fiue hundred knightes or menne of armes,a thouſand yeomen or ſtipendarie ſouldiers, for defence of the Countrey agaynſte the French men, and appoynted for theyr Captaine the Earle of Cheſter, the Earle Marſhall, and the Earle of Albemarle, with certaine other valiant and approued warriours, who after the departure of the king, made two rodes into the French Countreys, but fyrſt into Aniou, where they remayned xv. dayes without battaile, taking and deſtroying the Caſtell of Gonner, alſo Newchatell vpon the riuer of Sart, and finally laden with plentie of riche ſpoyles, they returned into Brytaine from whence they ſet forth.

Mat. Pari

What feates he wrought.

Shortly after they entred into Normandie, deſtroying the Caſtel of Pontorſon,and burning the towne: which enterpriſe whē they had accompliſhed at theyr willes,they returned eftſoones into Brytaine,where they were ioyfully receyued.

Pontorſon burnt.

The Earle of Cheſter hauing in this meane while fortified the Caſtell of S. Iames de Bewmeron,which (bycauſe it belonged to the right of his wife) the Erle of Brytaine had ſith the kings comming ouer reſtored vnto him.

Saint Iames de Bewmeron.

In this yeare vpon the.xiiij. of May,a maruellous Eclipſe of the Sunne chaunced immediately after the ryſing thereof, ſo that the earth ſeemed as it had beene couered againe with ſhade of night,

A ſtraunge Eclipſe.

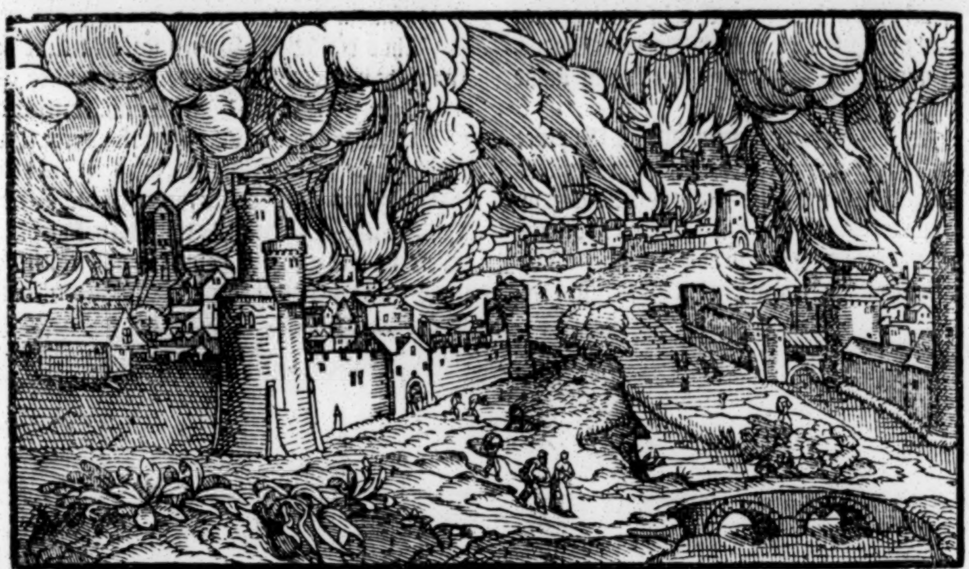
An. Reg. 15.

night. On the .xxij. day of Nouember, the Moone was likewiſe eclipſed, beeing as then thirteene dayes olde.

The Duke of Saxonie commeth into Englande.

Furthermore, whileſt the king was in France, there came ouer into England the duke of Saxonie, couſin to the king, and of the Citizens of London was honourably receyued. Hee was a man of ſuch high and tall ſtature, that men toke great pleaſure to beholde him. And in the ſame yeare alſo in the Moneth of July, an Iriſhe king that was gouernor of Connagh, vnderſtanding that both the king of Englande, and the Earle Marſhall were gone ouer into Fraunce, and ſo Irelande left without any greate ayde of men of warre on the Engliſh part, rayſed a mightie armie, and with the ſame entered into the marches of the Engliſh dominion, ſpoyling and burning the Countrey before him: whereof when Geffrey de Mauiſh Lord chiefe Juſtice of Ireland was aduertiſed, he called to him Walter de Lacie, and Richarde de Burgh aſſembling therewithall a mightie armie, whiche hee deuided into three partes appoynting the ſayde Walter de Lacie, and Richarde Burgh, with the two firſt partes to lie in ambuſh within certaine woods, through the which he purpoſed to drawe the enimies, and marching forth with the thirde, whiche he reſerued to his owne gouernment, hee profered battaile to the Iriſhe menne, the whiche when they ſawe but one battaile of the Engliſh men boldlye aſſayed the ſame. The Engliſhe menne according to the order appoynted, feigned as though they had fledde, and ſo retyred ſtill backer and backer, till they had trayned the Iriſh within daunger of their other two battailes, which comming forth vpon them, did ſette on them egrely, whileſt the other which ſeemed before to flee returned backe againe, and ſet vpon them in like maner, by meanes whereof the Iriſh men being in the midſt, were beaten downe on al partes, and vtterly vãquiſhed, with loſſe of .xx. thouſand men (as it was credibly reported.) The king of Connagh was alſo taken and committed to pryſon.

The kin Connag



Geffrey de Mauiſh Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Irelande.

Walter de Lacie, Richarde de Burgh.

The Iriſhmen vanquiſhed by the Engliſhme in battaile.

1231

In the meane time king Henrie hauing ſpent a great deale of treaſure in his iourney made into Fraunce, there was graunted vnto his a fiftenth of the temporaltie, with a diſme and a halfe of the ſpiritualtie, towardes the newe furniſhing forth of a power of men to be ſent into Spain agaynſt the Sarazens, which made ſore warres vpon the Chriſtians in that Country, wherupon king Henrie being required of the king of Aragon to ayde him with ſome number of Souldiers, he ſent a great power thyther wyth all ſpeede, and ſo lykewiſe did the French king by meanes whereof, the Spaniardes beeing ioyned with Engliſhe men and Frenche men, obteyned a noble victorie, in vanquiſhing thoſe theyr enimyes. Thus hath Polidore. But other wryte that the King on the .xxvij. day of Januarie, holding a Parliament at Weſtminſter (where the Nobles both Spirituall and Temporall were aſſembled) demaunded eſcuage of all thoſe that helde any baronies of him, that is to witte, fõraine Knightes fee, fortie ſhillings, or three markes.

A.xv. and graunted the king. *Polidor.* Engliſh ſent into agaynſt Sarazyns.

Math.

Eſcuage maund

Moreouer, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, (as they ſay) ſtoode agaynſt the king in this demaunde, mainteyning that the Cleargie ought not to be ſubiect vnto the iudgement of lay men, ſith this eſcuage was graunted in the parties beyonde the ſeas without their conſent. Wherupon the matter as touching the Biſhops was deferred till the quindene of Eaſter, albeit that all the laitie, and other of the ſpiritualtie conſented to the kings will.

The Ar Canter ſtãdeth the kin fence of Cleargi

About this time alſo there chaunced to ryſe a greate ſtrife and contention betwixt Richarde the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Hubert the Earle of Kent, who as garden to the yong Erle of Glouceſter, had got into his handes the Caſtell of Tunbridge, with the towne, and certaine other poſſeſſions which belonged to the Archbiſhops Sea, and therfore did the Archbiſhop complaine to the king of the iniurie which he ſuſteyned: but when hee perceyued no hope likely to come for any redreſſe at the kings handes, hee tooke an other way: and firſt by his pontificall authoritie, accurſed all thoſe that withhelde the ſame poſſeſſions, and all theyr mainteyners, (the king excepted) and therewith appealing to the Pope, he went to proſecute his appeale to Rome, whither the king and the Erle ſent alſo their procurators, and made the Pope their arbitratour to iudge of the matter. In the ende Pope Gregorie hauing heard the whole proces of the cōtrouerſie, iudged the right to remaine with the Archbiſhop, who hauing then obteyned his deſire, haſted toward England: but as he was returning homewards, he dyed by the way, not farre from Rome, whereby the Popes iudgement tooke no place: for whileſt the ſea was voyde, there was none that woulde follow the ſute, and ſuch was the ende of this controuerſie for this tyme.

Aftrr the deceaſſe of this Archbiſhop Richard, the Monkes elected Raufe Neuil Biſhop of Chicheſter the kings Chauncellor, an vpright man, and of iuſt dealing in all his doings. In whome alſo it is to be noted, he would not giue one halfpenie to the Monks towards the bearing of their charges in their iourney to Rome, whiche they ſhoulde take vpon them from thence to fetche hys confirmation, according to the maner, leaſt hee ſhoulde burden his conſcience with the crime of Simonie which he greatly abhorred, although ſome imputed this to proceede rather of a cloked ſpice of couetouſnes. But to yͤ purpoſe. Whē the Monks came to the popes preſence, vpon inquirie made, & chiefly by report of Simon Langtō (who as ſome thinke gaped for yͤ dignitie) he vnderſtood that the ſayde Raufe Neuill ſhould be a man vnlearned, a courtier, haſty & ſhort of word, and that which moſt diſpleaſed the Pope, it was to be feared, that if he ſhould be preferred to that rowmth, he would go about to deliuer the realme of England frō the thraldom of the Pope, & the Court of Rome (into the which being made tributorie by k. Iohn it had lately bin brought) that as he ſhuld alledge it might ſerue God & holy Church in the old accuſtomed libertie. And to bring this to paſſe (hauing the king thereto greatly inclined, & al the realme ready to aſſyſt him in the ſame) he would not ſticke to put his life in ieopardie, namely vpō confidence of the right and appeales of Stephen the late Archb. of Canterburie, made in ſolemne wiſe before the aulter of S. Paul in the cathedral Church of London, when K. Iohn reſigning his crowne into the handes of the Legate, made that writing obligatorie moſte execrable to the whole world. When the Pope had heard this tale tolde, he ſtreight diſanulled the election & requeſt of the confirmation of the ſaid Rauf Neuil graunting libertie to the Monkes to choſe ſome other which might proue a wholſome ſhepherd for the ſoule of mā, profitable to yͤ church of Englād, & a faithful ſon to the ſea of Rome: & ſo the Monks returning home, made relation to the couent how they had ſped. After this the monks elected the prior of their houſe named Iohn vnto their Archb. who going to Rome for his cōfirmation, was perſuaded in yͤ end to renoūce his electiō: ſo yͭ at length one Edmōd yͭ was treaſurer of yͤ colledge of Saliſb. was elected, cōfirmed, & cōſecrated, a mā of great zeale, being the .xliiij. Archb. yͭ had gouerned in that ſee.

Simon Langtons report of the conditions of Raul Neuil.

The Pope maketh voyde the election.

This yere the kings brother yͤ erle of Cornwal maried the Counteſſe of Gloceſter, widow to the

The Earle of Cornewal marieth the Counteſſe of Glouceſter.

late

The Earle of Pembroke departed this life.
Polidor.

late Earle Gylbert, and ſiſter to William Marſhall Erle of Pembroke, the which Erle of Pembroke ſhortly after yͤ ſame mariage departed this life, and was buried on the .xv. day of April, within the newe Temple at London, neare vnto hys father.

Llewellin prince of Wales inuadeth the Engliſhe borders.

Moreouer, Llewellin Prince of Wales about this ſeaſon enterpryſed to inuade the Engliſhe confines, and burned and waſted the Countrey in moſt cruell wyſe. Whereof the King being aduertiſed, haſted forth by great iourneyes, with purpoſe to reuenge ſuch iniuries. But the enimyes hearing of his comming (according to the cuſtome of their Countrey) wythdrewe into the Mountaynes, Bogges, and Mariſhes. Wherefore the King (ſeeing that hee coulde not haue them at his pleaſure, and leaſt hee ſhoulde bee thoughte to ſpende tyme in vayne) came backe, and left behinde him a ſmall crewe of ſouldiers to reſyſt theyr attempts, if they ſhould happen to riſe vp any more. The Welch men hauing intelligence that the King was returned home, brake forth againe as before into the Engliſhe Marches, and not onely tooke prayes and booties, but went about to deſtroy with fyre and ſworde all that ſtoode in theyr way. Howbeit in their returne, and as they raunged abrode ſomewhat vnaduiſedly, they were intrapped by the ſouldiers which the king had left there for the defence of the Countrey, and put to flight neare to the Caſtell of Mongomerie, with great ſlaughter and loſſe of their people.

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But Llewellin nothing diſmayed therewith, aſſembled a greater power than hee had before, and began forthwyth to robbe and ſpoyle within the Engliſhe Marches wyth Paganiſme extremitie, which thing when it came to yͤ vnderſtanding of the king, he was verie ſore diſpleaſed that ſo meane a man as Llewellin was, ſhoulde put him to ſo muche trouble, therefore hee rayſed a farre greater armie than hee had done at anye tyme before, and with the ſame came to the Citie of Hereford.

The king goeth agaynſt the Welch men.
Math. Paris.

In the meane time Llewellin comming neare vnto the ſayde Caſtell of Montgomerie, by the practice of a trayterous Monke, trayned forth the Engliſh ſouldiers which lay in garniſon there, and counterfeyting to flee, tyll he had layde them vp in Bogges and Myres with theyr horſes, ſo as they coulde not helpe themſelues, he fell vpon them, and ſo ſlue and tooke a great number of them euen as he coulde haue wiſhed. The King aduertiſed hereof, haſted the faſter forwarde, and comming into thoſe partyes, as he paſſed by an Abbey of the Ciſteaux order (of whiche houſe the Monke, was that had betrayed the Engliſhe men of Mountgomerie) hee burned a graunge that belonged to the ſame Abbay, and farther ſpoyling the ſame Abbay it ſelfe, he had ſet it on a light fire alſo, if the Abbot thereof had not redeemed it with the ſumme of three hũdred marks of ſiluer.

The Engliſhe men diſtreſſed

Mawd
repay

After this, he cauſed Mawdes Caſtell to bee repayred and fortified, which the Welch men in tymes paſt had ouerthrowne, and when the work was finiſhed, hee left there a ſtrong garniſon of ſouldiers to kepe back the Welch men from making their accuſtomed incurſions.

Mat.

Henry
Bryta
erle of
diſtre
French
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Whileſt the king was thus occupied in Wales, there was ſome buſineſſe in Fraunce: for in the Moneth of June, the French king with an armie came to inuade the Countrey of Britain, but Erle Henrie with the Erle of Cheſter and the other Engliſh Captains found meanes to take & deſtroy all the cariages and wagons which came with vitailes and other prouiſion to ſerue the French armie. Thus when the French men perceyued they coulde not haue their purpoſe, by me-

diation

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diation of the Archbiſhop of Reiſmes, and the Erle of Bollongne on the Frenche part, and by conſent of the Erles of Brytain and Cheſter on the Engliſh part, a peace was cōcluded, or rather a truce to endure for three yeres betwixt the two kings of Englande and Fraunce. This agreement was made the fifth day of July, and then the Earles of Brytayne and Cheſter, wyth Richarde Marſhall, came ouer into Englande, and rode to the king, whom they founde at Mawdes Caſtell, where he remayned tyll the worke was finiſhed, and then in the Moneth of October returned into Englande.

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In this meane time no ſmall grudge aroſe among the people, by reaſon that their Churches were occupied by incumbents that were ſtraungers, promoted by the Popes and their Legates, who neyther inſtructed the people, nor could well ſpeake any more Engliſh than that which ſerued for the collection of their tythes, inſomuche that for yͤ inſolencie of ſuch Incumbentes as well the Noble menne and thoſe of good reputation, as other of the meaner ſorte by an vndiſcreete preſumption attempted a diſorderly redreſſe, confederating themſelues togyther, and taking vpon them to wryte and direct theyr letters vnto Biſhops and Chapters, commaunding them by way of inhibition, not to ſeeme to interrupt thoſe that ſhould ſeaze vpon the beneficed ſtraungers, or vppon theyr reuenues. They alſo tooke vpon them to wryte vnto ſuche Religions men and others, whiche were fermours vnto any of thoſe ſtraungers, forbydding them to ſtande accountable vnto the ſayde ſtraungers, but to reteyne the rentes and profites in theyr handes to aunſwere the ſame vnto ſuch as they ſhoulde appoynt for the recept thereof. The ſuperſcription of theyr letters was this. *Tali Epiſcopo, & tali Capitulo vniuerſitas eorum qui magis volunt mori quam à Romanis confundi Salutem.* That is to ſay, To ſuch a Biſhop and Chapter, all thoſe which had rather to die than bee confounded by the Romaines, ſend greeting. In the ſeale wherwith the ſayde letters were ſealed, were two ſwordes engrauen.

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This matter went ſo farre forth, that there were ſundrie perſons armed and diſguiſed lyke Mummers, whiche enterpryſed not onelye to take dyuerſe of thoſe ſtraungers that were beneficed men, but alſo came to theyr Barnes, threſhed vp theyr grayne, and eyther made ſale thereof, or gaue it awaye for God hys ſake, ſhewing ſuch coūterfeyted letters vnder the kings ſeale, which they had procured for theyr warrant as they did pretende.

Mat.

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him.

The Pope cōmaundeth the offenders to be accurſed.

At length the Pope vppon complaynt made vnto him of ſuch violent doings, wrote to king Henrie, blaming him not a little for ſuffering ſuche myſorders to bee committed wythin hys Realme, commaunding hym vpon paine of excommunication, to cauſe a diligent inquirie to be had of the offenders, and to ſee them ſharpely puniſhed, to the example of others.

Inquiſitions taken.

Moreouer hee ſent letters to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and to the Abbot of Saint Edmondſburie, to make the like inquiſition, and to accurſe all thoſe that ſhoulde bee founde culpable within the South partes of Englande, as hee did to the Archbiſhop of York, to the Biſhop of Durham, and to an Italian named John a Canon of Yorke, to do the like in the North partes, ſo that the offenders ſhoulde remaine accurſed, till they came to Rome, there to fetche their abſolution. Hereupon therfore a generall inquiſition was taken, as well by the king as by the Biſhops, and many found guiltie, ſome in fact, and ſome in cōſent: amongſt which number, there were both Biſhops and Chapleynes to the king, with Archedeacons, and Deanes, Knights, and many of the laitie.

There were ſome Sherifes and Baylifes alſo which by the kings commaundement were arreſted and put in priſon, and diuerſe of all ſortes did keepe them ſelues out of the way, and woulde not as yet be founde.

The Earle of Kent put in blame.

Sir Robert de Twing.

In like maner, Hubert the Earle of Kent, Lorde chiefe Juſtice, was accuſed to bee chiefe tranſgreſſour in this matter, as he that had giuen forth the kings letters patents to thoſe diſguiſed and maſking threſhers, who had takē vpon them ſo to ſequeſter other mens goods, wherto they had no right. There came alſo to the King one ſir Robert de Twing, a knight of the North parties (whiche named himſelfe William Wetherſe, & had led about a companie of the foreſaid Maſkers) proteſting that he had done it vpon iuſt cauſe to be reuenged vpon the Romaines, which went about by ſentence of the Pope, and manifeſt fraude to ſpoyle him of the perſonage of a certaine Church which he helde, and therefore he ſayde, he had leuer ſtande accurſed without iuſt cauſe for a tyme, than to loſe his benefice withoute due iudgement. Howbeit the king and the other cōmiſſioners counſayled him in the ende to go vnto Rome, for to purchaſe his abſolution, ſith he was fallen in daunger of excommunication, and there to ſue for his pardon in the Popes conſiſtorie: and to encourage him the better ſo to do, the King wrote alſo in his fauour to the Pope, teſtifying the right which he had to the Churche which he claymed, whereby at length he obteyned his ſuyte (as after ye ſhall heare.)

Polidor.
A Parliament.

The King called a Parliament at Weſtmynſter, wherein declaring what charges hee hadde beene at dyuerſe wayes, hee requyred to haue a Subſidye graunted vnto hym, for

the

A ſubſedie demaunded, and denied.

The Biſhop of Wincheſters counſell giuen to the king.

the reliefe of his want, which was flatly denyed, the Nobles and other eſtates excuſing the pouertie amongeſt all degrees of menne, by many euident reaſons. Hereupon the Byſhop of Wincheſter beeing a verye eloquent and well languaged man, openly counſayleth the King to fauour his people, whome hee had alreadie made poore and bare with continuall trybutes and exactions, and if ſo it were that hee ſtoode in ſuche neede as was alledged, that then he ſhoulde take into his hands again ſuch poſſeſſions and things, which during the time of his yong yeares hee had beſtowed vpon his ſeruants, without any good aduiſed conſideration, for lacke of rype iudgement and diſcretion, and againe to take from certaine couetous perſons, who now were become Horſleches and Caterpyllers in the common welth, all ſuch offices as they helde, and had verie much abuſed, cauſing them to yeelde vp their accountes, and to vſe thē after the maner of ſponges, ſo that where hee had in tymes paſt made them full of moyſture, he might nowe wring them drie, following herein the example of Veſpaſian. And by this meanes it was not to be doubted but he ſhuld haue ynough of his owne, without doing iniury to any man.

The king followeth the Biſhop of Wincheſters counſaile.

The king gaue verie good eare to the Byſhoppes wordes, and following his counſayle, cauſed his receyuers, treaſurers, and other ſuche as had medled wyth any of his receyptes to come to a reckening. And vnderſtanding by the Auditours appoynted to take theyr accountes, that the moſt parte of them had receyued much more and by other meanes than they had entred into theyr reckening, he compelled them to reſtore it out of hand with intereſt.

Mat. Par.

Ranulfe Brytainer, Peter de Riuales.

The Earle of Kent diſcharged of his office of chiefe Iuſtice.

Mat. Par.

The Earle of Kent taketh Sanctuarie.

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Mat. P

Alſo he cauſed the Magiſtrates to be called to a reckening, and many of them beeing conuicted of fraude, were condemned to make reſtitution. And amōg other, Reynulf Brytō treaſorer of his chamber was put beſide his office, & fined at. M. markes, in whoſe place was ſet Peter de Riuales, or after ſome copies de Oriuales, a Poictouin, nephew or rather ſon to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, by whoſe aduice the king tooke a more ſtraite account of his officers, and often remoued ſuche as he adiudged guiltie. At the ſame time alſo, Hubert Erle of Kent was depoſed from the office of high Iuſtice, and Stephen Segraue appoynted in his roumth. The ſaid Hubert (bycauſe he refuſed to ſatiſfie a certaine duetie which was demaunded of him to the kings vſe) ranne ſo farre into his diſpleaſure, that he durſt not abide hys ſight, but for ſafegarde of himſelfe got him to the Abbey of Merton, and there tooke Sanctuarie. The king hearing of this his demeaner, was ſo highly offended withall, that he ſent to the Londoners, willing them to go thither and fetche him to his preſence. The Londoners which in no wiſe loued him, bycauſe of the death of their Citizen Conſtantine, were verie readie to accompliſh this cōmaundement, inſomuch that where the Maior ouernight late declared to them the effect of the kings commiſſion, there were. xx. M. of them in armor gotten forwarde early in the morning towards Merton, in full hope nowe to be reuenged of him, for the ſmall good will that hee had borne vnto their citie heretofore. But the king being informed by the Erle of Cheſter and others, that if the Londoners being thus in armor, & in ſo great a number, ſhould cōmit any other outrage by the way, the matter might grow to ſome ſuch inconuenience as would not eaſily be ſtayed, he ſent to them a countermaund to returne back to the citie againe, which they did, though ſore in their harts that they might not go through with their ſo deſired an enterpriſe. Furthermore (ſee here the mutabilitie of fortune and hir inconſtancie) for now that the Erle of Kent was thus out of the kings fauour, there were few or none of thoſe whom he had before bin beneficiall vnto, that ſhewed themſelues as friends & louers vnto him, but al forſooke and were redie to ſay the worſt of him, except only the the Archbiſhop of Dubline, who yet obteyned of the king reſpite for him to make anſwere vnto ſuch things as ſhoulde lawfully be obiected agaynſt him, both for the debt which ſhoulde bee due to the king, and alſo vpon poynts of treaſon, which were now layde to his charge. After this, as the ſayde Hubert would haue gone to S. Edmondſbury in Suffolk, where his wife as then remayned, he was apprehended at Burntwood in Eſſex, within a Chapel there (as ſayth Fabian.) But as Math. Paris hath, ſir Robert de Cranecombe, with three hundred armed men was ſent to apprehende him by the Kings commaundement, and ſo he was taken in a village belonging to the Biſhop of Norwiche in Eſſex, and by the kings commaundement caſt into priſon, but yet afterwardes he was recōciled to the kings fauor, after he had lien foure Monthes in priſon, and. xiij. Monethes baniſhed the Court.

A ſubſe
graunt
a Parli
holden
Lambe

In this yeare, on the exaltation of the Croſſe, at Lambeth in the aſſemble of the ſtates there, a ſubſedie was graunted to the king of the. xl. part of euerie mans goodes towardes the diſcharge of his debtes which he ought to the Earle of Brytayne.

An. I

Mat. P

Ranulf
of Che
parteth
life.

Alſo in the beginning of the. xvij. yeare of his raigne, Raynulfe Earle of Cheſter and Lincolne departed thys lyfe the. xxvj. daye of October, whoſe bodie was buried at Cheſter, and his bowels at Walingford where he died.

Earle R
thrice

This Erle Ranulf was thrice maried, firſt to Conſtance daughter and heyre to Conan Earle of Brytayne and Richmonde, and ſo in ryght of hir was intituled Earle of thoſe two places: which Conſtance had bin firſt maried vnto Geffrey the third ſonne of king Henrie the ſeconde, by whom ſhee had iſſue Arthure, (as before ye haue heard.) But by Erle Ranulfe ſhe had no iſſue at all, but was from him diuorced, and afterwardes maried vnto Guy vicont de Touars. Then after that Erle Ranulf was ſo deuorced from the ſayd Conſtance, he maried a Lady named Clemence, and after hir deceaſſe, he maried the thirde time the Ladie Margaret, daughter to Humfrey de Bohun Erle of Hereford and Eſſex, Coneſtable of England: but he neuer had iſſue by any of thoſe his wiues, ſo that Iohn Scot hys nephew by his ſyſter Mawde ſucceeded him in the Earledome of Cheſter, and William Dalbeney Earle of Arundell, nephew to him by his ſyſter Mabell, had the Manour of Barrow, and other landes that belonged to the ſayde Ranulfe, of the yearely value of fiue hundred pounds. Robert Quincie, he that maryed hys ſyſter Hauiſe, had the Earledome of Lyncolne, and ſo of a Baron became an Earle, who had iſſue by hys wife, Margerie Counteſſe of Lyncolne, that was maryed to Edmonde Lacie Earle of Lyncolne. William Earle Ferrers, and of Darbie, that had maryed Agnes, ſyſter to the ſayde Ranulfe, had the Caſtell and Manour of Chartley, togyther wyth other landes for hys pourpartie.

lemēce ghter Ferrers.

rtition ndes.

Here is alſo to be remembred, that the afore mentioned Erle Ranulf (or Randulf whether ye liſt to call him) atchieued many high enterpriſes in his time, as partly in this booke ye haue alredie heard: he held ſore warres agaynſt the Welchmen, till at length an agreement was concluded betwixt him & Llewellin prince of Wales. I remember I haue read in an olde record, that vpon a time as this Earle paſſed into Wales with an army, his chance was to be ouerſet by the Welch men, ſo that he was driuen to retire into a caſtell, wherin the Welchmen did beſiege him. And as it fortuned at that time, Roger Lacy yͤ Coneſtable of Cheſter was not thē with him, but left behind at Cheſter to ſee the Citie kept in order (for as it ſhould ſeem, their ſolemne playes which cōmonly are vſed at Whitſuntide were then in hande, or elſe their Faire which is kept at Midſommer.) The Erle therfore ſent a meſſenger in all poſſible haſt vnto his Coneſtable, praying him with ſpeed to come to his ſuccors, in that extreme poynt of neceſſitie. Lacy made no delay, but aſſembling all the foreyners, players, muſitians, & others which he could find within that citie fit to wear armor, went forth with them, and in moſt ſpeedy maner marched toward the caſtell, where the Welchmē kept the Erle beſieged, who now perceyuing ſuch a multitude of mē cōming towards them, incontinently left the ſiege and fled away. The Earle then being thus deliuered out of that preſent danger, came forth of the Caſtell, returned with hys Coneſtable vnto Cheſter, and in recompence of that ſeruice, he gaue vnto his ſayde Coneſtable Roger Lacie, the rule, order, and authoritie ouer all the foreyners, players, muſitians, and other ſtrangers reſorting to Cheſter, at the time when ſuch publike playes (or elſe fayre) ſhoulde be kept and holden.

ger uroa- lle.

Iohn Lacie the ſon of the ſayd Roger, maried Alice the daughter of Gylbert de Aquila, and after hir deceaſſe, he maried the Ladie Margaret, the daughter of Robert Quincy Erle of Lyncolne, of whom he begat Edmonde Lacie, Coneſtable of Cheſter, which Edmond after the deceaſſe of hys father, maried Alice the daughter of the marques of Saluces in Italy, which Lady was ſurnamed the Queene, of whom he begat Henrie Lacy erle of Lincoln, which Henry maried the Lady Margaret, daughter to William Long eſpee Earle of Saliſbury, by whom he had two ſonnes, Edmōd and Iohn, and two daughters, Alice and Ioan, which Alice Thomas Erle of Lancaſter maried, who claymed & had the ſame rights and priuiledges which auncientlу belonged to the ſayde Roger Lacy, and others the Coneſtables of Cheſter, concerning the fines of foreyners and of other.

And this haue I the more willingly declared, that it may appeare in what eſtimation & credite the Lacies Coneſtables of Cheſter by inheritance liued in their time, of whoſe high valiancie, and likewiſe of other of that familie, highly commended for theyr noble chiualrie in martiall enterpriſes ye may reade in ſundrie hyſtories at large.

But now to returne and ſpeake of other doings which chaunced aboute the tyme in whiche the ſayd Ranulfe Erle of Cheſter departed thys life. The king in the meane while ſeazed into his handes a great portion of the treaſure which Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent had committed to the keping of the Templers: but where as there were that trauailed to haue had him put to death, the king in reſpect of the ſeruice which he had done to him, and to his predeceſſors, king Richard, and king Iohn, graunted him life, with thoſe landes which hee had eyther by purchaſe, or by gyft of king Iohn, but neuertheleſſe he cauſed him to be kept in free priſon at the caſtell of the Vees, vnder the cuſtodie of foure knightes belonging to the Erles of Cornwall, Warren, Pembroke, & Ferrers, whiche foure Earles were become ſureties for him.

The Erle of Kent kept in priſon within the caſtell of Vees.

Mat. Par.

A great thunder.

This yeare alſo about the ſame time, to wit, the morow after S. Martyns day, chaunced great thunder and lightning, which continued for the ſpace of .xv. dayes togither, to the great terror and feare of the people, and namely of the Londoners, which haue that kinde of weather ſo familiar to them, that if there bee any abroade in the lande, they haue their part thereof.

1233

A wet ſomer.

Foure Sunnes beſide the accuſtomed Sun.

Mat. Paris.

Mat. Par.

Moreouer on the .xxiij. of March, was heard an other great and terrible tempeſt of thunder, & after folowed a maruellous wette Sommer with many floudes. Alſo on the .viij. day of April, in the parties about Hereford, and Worceſter, there appeared four Sunnes in the Element, beſide the naturall Sunne, of red colour, and a great circle of chriſtaline colour, the which cōpaſſed with his largeneſſe as it had bene the whole circuit almoſt of the whole realme of Englande, from the ſides wherof went forth certaine halfe circles, in whoſe ſections appeared the ſayd foure ſunnes. The naturall ſonne was at the ſame tyme in the Eaſt part of the firmament, for it was about the fyrſt houre of the day, or betwixt ſix and ſeuen in the morning the aire being the ſame time very bright and cleare. The Biſhop of Hereford, & ſir Iohn Monmouth knight, and many others beheld this wonderfull ſight, & teſtified the ſame to bee moſte true. And after this there followed the ſame yeare in thoſe parties cruell warre, ſlaughter, terrible bloudſhed, and a generall trouble through England, Wales, and Irelande.

A ſtraunge wonder.

About the ſame time, to wit in Iune, in the ſouth parts of Englād neare to the ſea coaſt two huge dragons appeared fighting in the aire, and after a long fight the one ouercame the other, and followed him, fleeing into the depth of the Sea, and ſo they were ſeene no more.

Polidor.

The king beginneth to fauor ſtrangers.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter.

The Earle of Pembroke.

Straungers alwayes odious to the home borne.

Moreuer in this yeare great variance & ſtrife roſe betwixt the king and his barons, for the king tooke great diſpleaſure towards all other his officers, and ſo muche the more he miſtruſted them, for that he found himſelfe deceyued in the Erle of Kent, to whom he had cōmitted a further credite than to any other, and had made him high iuſtice of Englande, onely for the good will that he alwayes bare vnto him. Therfore perceyuing this, he was doubtfull now whom he ſhould truſt, he diſcharged the moſt part of thoſe Engliſhmē that bare any office about him, & in their roumes placed ſtraungers, as Poictouins, and Brytaines, of yͤ which their came ouer vnto him many knights and other, to the nūber of two. M. which he placed in garniſons within caſtels in diuerſe places of the lande, & cōmitted the order of all things for the moſt part to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and to his nephew or ſon Peter de Riuales, wherewith hee offended ſo much the myndes of his Nobles, that Richard Marſhal Erle of Pembroke, (chiefe of that familie, & boldeſt to ſpeake, now that Ranulf of Cheſter was gone) as well in his owne name, as in the names of others, tooke vpon hym openly to reproue the kings doings herein, as pernicious and daungerous to the ſtate of the realm. Hereunto the Biſhop of Wincheſter (whoſe counſaile as it ſeemed he folowed) made anſwere, that the king had done nothing in that behalf vnaduiſedly, but vpon good and deepe conſideration: for ſith he might perceyue how the Engliſh nobilitie had firſt purſued his father with malicious hatred and open war, and now had found diuerſe of thē whom he had brought vp and aduaunced to high honors, vnfaythfull in the adminiſtration of their offices, he did not without iuſt cauſe receyue into his fauour ſtraungers, and preferre them before thoſe of his own nation, which were not ſo faithfull in his ſeruice and obedience as they.

The Lo
that wi
into Wa

Mat. Pa

Polidor.

The king
claymeth
traytors.

Straunge
teor

Math. P

The Erle
Kent e
and take
Sanctua

He is fet
out.

This anſwere of the Biſhop ſo pricked and wounded the mindes of the Engliſhe nobilitie, that many of them (amongſt whom the ſaid Erle of Pembroke was the chiefe) began an open rebellion, ſome of them reſorting to one place, & ſome into an other to gather people for their purpoſe. The names of ſuch Barons as ſturred vpon this occaſion were theſe. Richard Marſhall Earle of Pembroke afore named, Gilbert Baſſet and his brethren, men of great honor, & right hardy captains: alſo Richard Sward a warlike perſonage, trayned vp in feates of armes frō his youth, with Walter Clifford a worthy knight, and many others. The king hauing knowlege of their doings proclaymed them all traytors, confiſcated their goodes, and ſent for a great power of men out of Flanders, to ſerue him in his warres. Whileſt K. Henrie thus prouideth himſelfe of an armie, the Lords with their captain Richard Marſhal ioine themſelues with Lewellin prince of Wales, and doubting the comming of the king ſpoyled al the marches next adioyning to England, leauing no vittailes nor cattaile any where aboute in thoſe parties wherby the kings army might haue relief: and further made all things readie for their owne defence ſo well as they could deuiſe. The Erle of Kent about the ſame time, by helpe of two yeomen that attended vpon him, eſcaped out of the Caſtel of Vees, and tooke Sanctuarie in the next Church: but when thoſe that had the charge of him and the Caſtell in keeping, miſſed him, and heard where he was, they fetched both him, and the two yeomen that holpe him to make the eſcape out of the Church, and bringing them backe to the Caſtell, impriſon the Erle And though the Biſhop of Saliſburie came thither and threatned to accurſe them, if they woulde not deliuer the Earle, and reſtore him to Sanctuarie agayne: they made anſwere, that they had rather the Erle ſhoulde hang for himſelfe, than they for hym. And ſo bycauſe they woulde not delyuer hym, the Byſhop did excommunicate them, and after ryding to the Court, and taking with him the Biſhoppe of London, and other Biſhoppes, dyd ſo much by complaynt exhibited to the king, that the Earle was reſtored to the Churche agayne,

the

eſtored ſtuarie.

the.xviij.day of October. But ſo as the Sherife of the ſhire had commaundement to compaſſe the church about with men, to watch that no releife came to him, whereby he might be conſtrayned through famiſhing to ſubmit hymſelfe. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after there came a power of armed men, and fetched the ſayde Earle from thence (ſetting him on horſebacke in fayre complete armour) and ſo conueyed hym into Wales, where he ioyned with other of the kings enimies, the.xxx.day of October.

eg. 18.

le of cuſed ueyed ales.

Polidore.

The king entreth into Wales with an armie.

Within a fewe dayes after came the king with his armie, and entring into Wales, for want of vitayles was conſtrayned to retyre backe into the marches, betwixt Worceſtershire, and Salopſhyre, ſtaying certayne dayes togyther in thoſe partyes, hys Souldiers ſtraying abroade in the Countrey vnaduiſedly, and keeping no watche nor warde aboute theyr campe, were ſurpryſed in the night by theyr enimies, and ſlaine on euerie ſide. The ſlaughter had bin greater, but that the reſidue whiche laye in campe,

brake forth about mydnight, and in a plumpe togyther fledde into a Caſtell which was neare at hande, called Groſſemounde, in the which the king himſelfe was lodged. There were ſlaine aboue fiue hundred men, and all the truſſe and bagage of the campe loſt.

Yet Mathew Paris ſayth there were but two knightes ſlaine, which caſt away themſelues by theyr owne wilfulneſſe, that would needes ſtande to it and make reſiſtance, where the reſidue being ſpoyled of all that they had with them, got away by flight, as the Biſhoppes of Wincheſter and Chicheſter, the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice Stephen Segraue, Peter de Riuales treaſurer, Hugh Bigot Earle of Norffolke, William Earle of Saliſburie, William Lord Beauchampe, and William Dalbeney the yonger, who were witneſſes of this loſſe amongeſt the reſidue.

Hereof it came to paſſe, that many of the kings armie (ſpecially thoſe which had loſt their horſes, armour, money and other furniture, with theyr vytayles) returned into their Countrey, to theyr great confuſion. For the Welchmen and other outlawes, hauing ſpoyled the campe, returned with the cariages and ſumpters which they had taken, into places of ſafe refuge.

The king hauing receyued this loſſe, and oftentimes tryed fortune nothing fauourable vnto him in thoſe parties, by reaſon of the ſtraytes and diſaduauntage of the places, he thought good to reſerue the reuenge of his receyued iniuryes, vnto a more conuenient time: and therevpon returned to Glouceſter, and furniſhed diuerſe Caſtels and fortreſſes in the borders of Wales, with gariſons of Souldiers, namely Poictouins and other ſtraungers to defende the ſame agaynſte William Marſhall, and the other his complices, who vpon occaſions dayly ſought to ſuppreſſe and diſtreſſe the ſayde ſtraungers.

The king returneth out of Wales.

And beſide other encounters, in the whiche manye of thoſe Poictouins and other ſtraungers were ſlaine and oppreſſed by the ſayde William Marſhall and his adherentes, it chaunced that vpon Saint Katherins day, the ſayd William Marſhall comming neare to the Caſtell of Monmouth to view the ſame, was in daunger to haue remayned pryſoner in the enimyes handes, through an iſſue made by Sir Baldwine de Guynes, Capitaine of that Caſtell, with his Poictouins and Flemings. But by ſuche reſcue as came to his ayde, he was delyuered out of their handes, and the Poictouins and other of the gariſon diſcomfited.

The Earle of Pembroke in daunger.

He is reſcued. The Poictouins diſcomfited.

At this ſkirmiſh ſir Baldwin himſelfe being ſore wounded, was borne out of the fielde into the Caſtell, loſing .xv. knightes of his partie, and a great ſort of other which were taken priſoners, beſyde no ſmall number that were ſlaine in the place.

Dearth.

Tempeſtes.

An Earthquake.

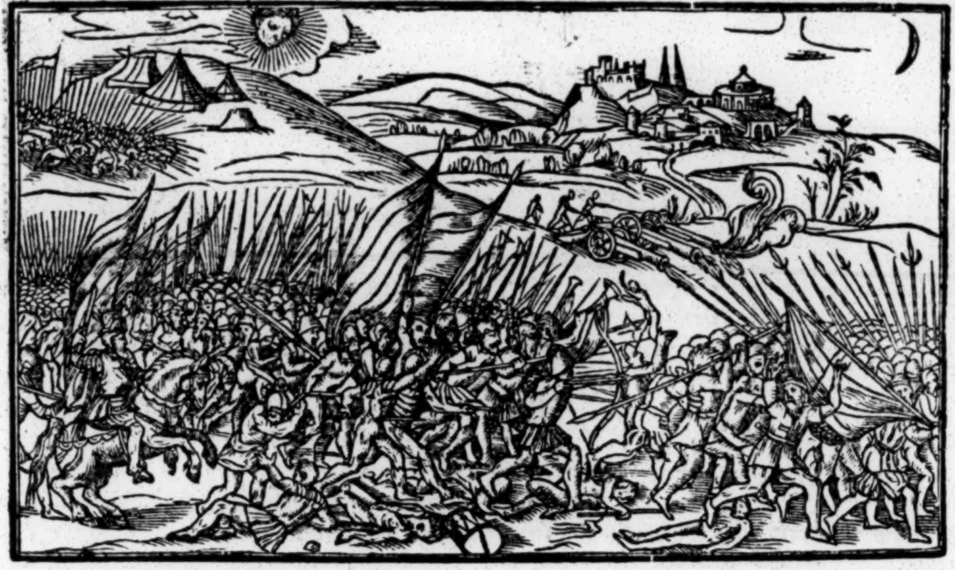
The ſame yeare chaunced great dearth, by reaſon that the growth of all things was muche hindered with the extreeme colde weather. Alſo there happened aboute the begynning of Nouember greate thunder and lyghtning, and therwith followed an Earthquake, to the great feare of the Inhabitauntes of the towne of Huntington and other places thereabout.

A death.

After this, came a great death amongeſt the people, beeing commonlye euer a companion to great famin and dearth.

The Earle of Pembroke Richard Marſhall in this meane tyme ceaſſed not to waſt the Marches of Englande next adioyning to Wales, and dayly diuerſe of the Engliſh nobilitie repayred to him, ſo that ẏ king was ſore troubled in his mind.

And as it chaunced, the ſame time one John of Monmouth a right valiant Captain that led the kings armie, receyued a great ouerthrow at the handes of Richard Marſhall. For where as the foreſayd John hauing aſſembled a mightie hoſt, made great haſt towardes his enimies, in hope to haue come vpon them at vnwares, and therefore marching by night, that he might be readie to aſſayle them ſomewhat afore the breake of the day, which in the Sommer ſeaſon is the moſt ſilent time of all the night, it chaunced farre otherwiſe than he looked that it ſhould haue done. For the Earle of Pembroke hauing knowledge by hys ſpyes of his aduerſaries intent, lay himſelfe with his people within a wood in ambuſhe by the way where the ſayd John ſhould paſſe, and ſetting vpon him as hee approched, put his people in ſuche feare by the ſodain encounter, that they knew not what captaine or enſigne they might follow, and ſo immediatly fel to running away. The ſlaughter was great on euery ſyde, both of Poictouins and other. Diuerſe of them fleeing alſo into the next Woddes, were receyued by ſuche as were layde there to cutte them off, and ſo ſlaine or taken out of hande. Howbeeit theyr chiefe captayne the forenamed John of Monmouth eſcaped, with a fewe other in his companie. This ouerthrow chaunced the morrowe after Chriſtmaſſe day.



John Monmouth receyueth an ouerthrow.

1234

Polidor.

The nexte day Richarde Marſhall hauing thus got the victorie, deſtroyed certaine houſes and Lordſhippes there in the Marches which belonged to the ſayde John of Monmouth.

Mat. Par.

About the ſelfe time alſo, Richard Sward with other outlawes deſtroyed the poſſeſſions belonging to the Erle of Cornwal beſide Brehull: and alſo there burned a place called Segraue, where Stephen de Segraue the lord chiefe Juſtice was borne, and likewiſe a village belonging to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, not farre from Segraue aforeſayde. This was the maner of thoſe outlawes, that they hurt no perſon, but onely thoſe counſaylers about the king by whome they were exiled.

A par towne Shre burnt. Polid

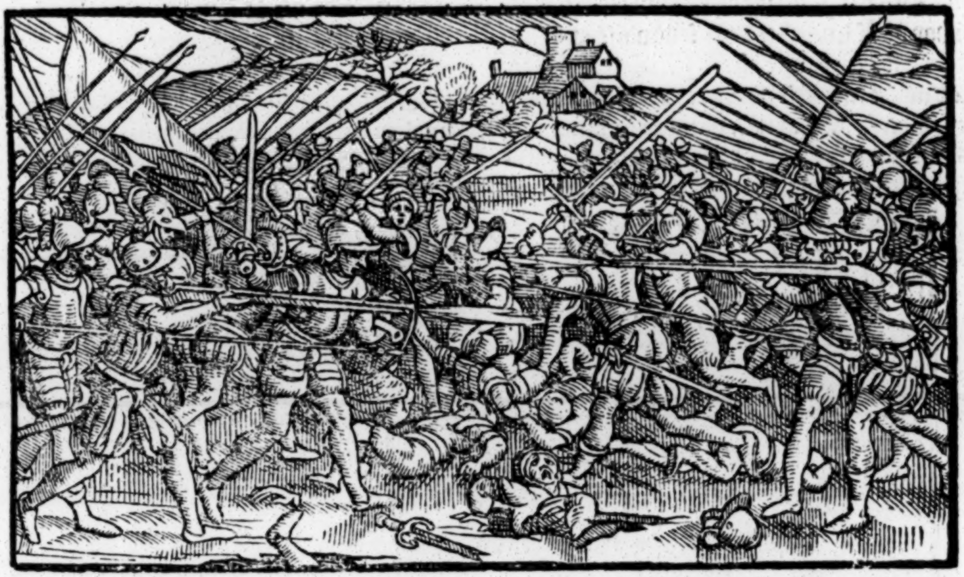
Immediately within the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the Erle Marſhall, & Llewellin Prince of Wales, waſted and robbed al the Marches betwixt Wales and Shrewſburie, a part of which towne they alſo burnt. King Henrie being hereof certified as yet ſoiorning at Glouceſter, was ſore troubled in his minde, and calling togither hys councell, aſked aduice what way he might beſt take to redreſſe ſuch iniuries. After ſundrie opinions amongſt them declared, they agreed al in one ſentence, that it ſhoulde be moſt expedient to ap-

peaſe

appeaſe the mindes of the rebels with gentle offers to graunt them pardon of their offences. Alſo to baniſh from the Court diuerſe that bare great rule, and namely Peter the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſonne or nephew Peter de Riuales, by the counſaile of which two perſones all things had beene chaunged in the kings houſe. Moreouer, to put from him ſuch ſtraungers as bare offices, and to reſtore Engliſhmen againe to the ſame. The king allowing this aduiſe to be good, followed it accordingly, and fyrſt of all he diſcharged the Biſhop of Wincheſter of all publike adminiſtration of things, and commaunded him to repayre home vnto his dioces, and to ſee to the gouernment thereof, as to hys dutie apperteyned. He alſo baniſhed from hys preſence Peter de Riuales, Stephen Segraue, Robert Paſſelew, and dyuerſe other of his chiefe Counſaylers, by whoſe meanes he had procured the euill will of his Nobilitie. Then receyued he againe his olde ſeruants and officers, and finally ſent the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of Cheſter and Rocheſter vnto the Barons in Wales, to offer them peace and pardon of all paſſed iniuries, if they woulde returne to hys obedience. And thus in the ende there was a truce taken betwixt the King and the Rebelles, to beginne at Candlemaſſe, and to endure vntill Eaſter next enſuing, in which meane time, Richard the Erle of Pembroke, hearing that Mauriſhe Fitz Geralde, with Walter Lacie, Richard Burgh, and others, waſted his landes and poſſeſſions in Irelande (according to ſuch commiſſion as they had receyued of late from king Henrie and his Counſayle) he paſſed ouer thyther, and there encountering with his enimies, was ſore wounded and taken pryſoner, hauing entered the battayle verie raſhly, and with a ſmall companie of his people about him, onely by the trayterons perſwaſion of Geffrey Mauriſh, who with other fled at the firſt brunt, and left him in maner alone, to ſtande to all the daunger. Thoſe that thus tooke him, brought him into his owne Caſtell, the which the Lord chiefe Iuſtice Maurice Fitz Geralde had lately woon. This encounter in which Richard Marſhall was thus taken, chaunced on a Saterday, being the firſt of Aprill, and on the .xvj. of the ſame Moneth, by reaſon of the wound which he had receyued, hee departed this life.

Mat. Paris.

The Earle of Pembroke paſſeth ouer into Irelande.



We find alſo that the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and his ſon (or kinſman as ſome haue called him) Peter de Riuales, had procured the king to ſend commiſſion vnder his ſeale vnto the foreſayd noble men in Ireland, that if the ſaid Erle of Pembroke Richard Marſhall chaunced to come thyther, they ſhould do their beſt to take him, and in reward of their paynes, they ſhould enioy all his lands and poſſeſſions which he held in that countrey. But after his death, and when the king had remoued thoſe his Counſailers from him, he confeſſed he had put his ſeale to a wryting, but that he vnderſtood what were the contents thereof, hee vtterly denied. Finally, ſuch was the end of this worthie Erle of Pembroke Richard Marſhall, a man worthie to be highly renowmed for his approued valiancie. His death ſurely was greatly bewayled of king Henrie, openly proteſting that he had loſt the worthieſt captain that then liued.

After this, the Lordes that had remayned in Wales, by ſafecõduct came to yͤ king, & through the diligent trauaile of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, he receyued them into fauour. Amongeſt them were theſe men of name, Gilbert Marſhall, the brother of the foreſayde Richarde Marſhall, Hubert Earle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, and Rychard Sward, beſide diuerſe other. Vnto Gilbert Marſhall he deliuered his brothers inheritaunce,

Polidor.

Mat. Paris.

Gilbert Marſhall Earle of Pembrooke.

and vpon Whitſunday made him knight, giuing vnto him the Rodde of the office of Marſhall of his Court, according to the maner, to vſe and exerciſe as his aunceſters had done before hym. And herewyth the Earle of Kent Gylbert Baſſet, and Richarde Swarde, were receyued againe into the Court, and admitted to be of the kings priuie Counſaile.

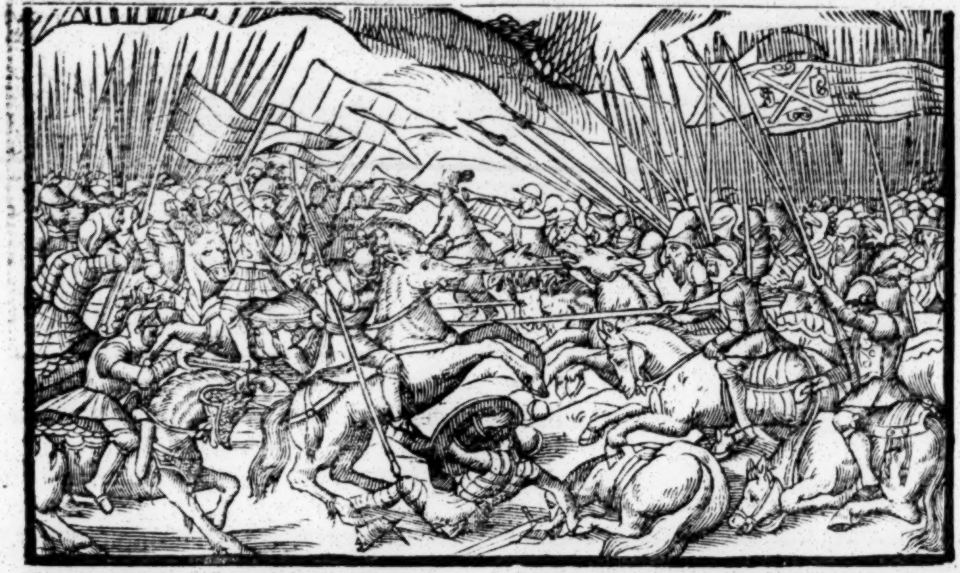
Officers called to accountes.

Soone after this, Peter de Riuales, Stephen Segraue, and Robert Paſſelew were called to accountes, that it might appeare howe the kings treaſure was ſpent, and how they had vſed themſelues with the kings ſeale. The two laſt remembred kept themſelues out of the waye, and coulde not bee founde. Stephen Segraue ſhrowdyng himſelfe in ſecrete within the Abbay of Leyceſter, and Robert Paſſelew feyning himſelfe ſicke, helde him ſecret within the new Temple at London. Peter de Riuales alſo, with his father the Biſhop of Wincheſter tooke ſanctuarie at Wincheſter, for they were afrayde leaſt their bodies ſhuld not be in ſafetie if they came abrode, bicauſe they vnderſtoode that their manors & grange places were ſpoyled and burnt by thoſe that bare thẽ diſpleaſure. At length yet vnder the protection of the Archbiſhop of Canterburie they came to their anſwere, and were ſore charged for their vniuſt dealing, trayterous practice, & great falſhood vſed in time of their bearing office, and as it appeareth by writers, they could but ſorily cleare thẽſelues in thoſe matters wherewith they were charged: but yet by reaſon of their protection they were reſtored to the places frõ whence they came, or elſe otherwiſe ſhifted of the matter for the time, ſo that we find not of any great bodily puniſhmẽt which they ſhould receyue as then. And at length alſo were pardoned and reconciled vnto the kings fauour, vpon paiment of ſuch fines as were aſſeſſed vpon them.

The tr ended.

Welch ſent ou the ay the Ea Bryta

This yeare bycauſe the truce ended betwixt the Kings of Englande and Fraunce, King Henrie ſent ouer to ayde the Earle of Brytayne, threeſcore knightes, and two thouſande Welche men, the which whẽ the French king came with his armie to enter and inuade Brytayne, did cut off and take his cariage laden with vittailes, armour, and other prouiſion, ouerthrowing alſo no ſmal number of the French men, and taking from them their horſes, returned backe in ſafetie, without hurt or notable damage receyued.



Yet after this the French king enforcing againe his power, waxed too ſtrong for the Earle of Brytayne, ſo that he was conſtrayned to take a truce to endure till the feaſt of all Saintes, that hee mighte in the meane tyme vnderſtande if the King of Englande woulde come ouer with ſome puyſſant armie to hys ayde or no: but bycauſe it was perceyued in the ende that the ſayde Earle of Brytayne ſought nothing elſe but how to get money out of King Henries Coffers, and to doe him no pleaſure for it, bycauſe he was in maner at an other agreement alreadie with the King of Fraunce, King Henrie refuſed to ſatiſfie his requeſtes at ſuch time at hee came ouer vnto him (after the taking of that truce) for more money. Herewith alſo the ſayd Erle being offended, got him back into his own country, & ſhortly after apparantly ſubmitted himſelf to the French K. which (as the report went) he had done before in ſecrete.

The E Bryta mitted ſelfe to French

Ann 12

Polid Fabia

Theſe things being thus brought to paſſe, and all troubles quieted, the king as thẽ being at Lõdon, there was brought before him by one Tolie, a cõplaint exhibited agaynſt the Iewes of Norwich, which had ſtolen a yong childe, being not paſt a .xij. monthes olde, and ſecretly kept him an whole yeare togither, to the ende that hee myght (when Eaſter came) crucifie him in deſpite of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, and the chriſtian religion, the matter as it happened fel out well for the lad: for within a fewe dayes before that thoſe curſed murtherers purpoſed to haue ſhed this innocents bloud, they were accuſed, conuicted and puniſhed, whereby he eſcaped their cruell handes.

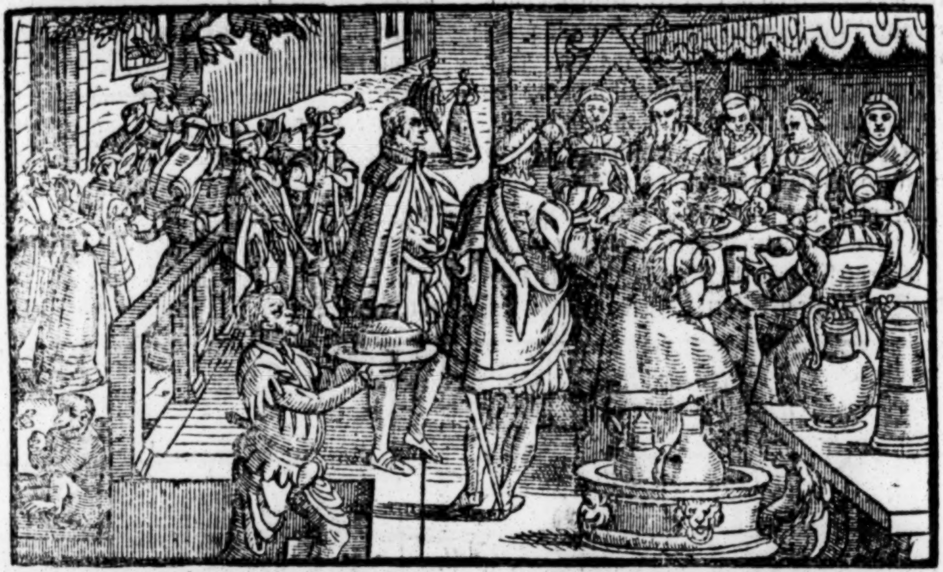
Paris:

About the ſame tyme, to witte the ſeuenth of Februarie died Hugh de Welles Biſhop of Lincolne, a great enimie to Monkes and Religious men. Robert Groſted was then preferred to hys roumth, a man of great learning, and trayned vp in ſcholes euen from his infancie.

The Emperor Frederick marieth the king of Englands ſiſter.

A great and ſumptuous feaſt.

The ſame yeare, the Emperour Frederick the ſecond, maried the Ladie Iſabell the kings ſiſter. This Iſabell was a moſte beautifull Ladie, of comely perſonage, and of age about .xxj. yeares. She was fianced by procuracie, about the .xxvij. of Febr. And after Eaſter, the Archb. of Colen, & the Duke of Louaine came ouer from the Emperour, to haue the conueyance of hir vnto the Emperors preſence. There was ſuch a feaſt holden, ſo ſumptuous ſeruice, ſo riche furniture, and royall banquetting kept the day before hir departure from London towardes the Sea ſide, that more coulde not bee ymagined. The ſame feaſt was kept at Weſtminſter on the fifth day of May, and the day following ſhe did ſet forward, and by eaſie iourneyes came to Sandwich, the King bringing hir thither with three thouſande horſes. Finally, ſhee tooke the Sea the .xj. of May, the king taking leaue of hir not without teares, when they thus departed the one from the other. And ſo with proſperous wind and weather ſhee arriued at Andwerpe, and from thence paſſed forwarde, tyll ſhee came to hir huſbande the Emperour, by whome ſhee was receyued wyth greate ioye and comfort at Wormes, where the maryage was conſummate vppon a Sunday being the .xxij. daye of Iulye, or as Mathew Weſtminſter hath, the .xxvij. of May, being Whitſunday.



Paris.

This yeare the Biſhop of London pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt certaine vſurers called *Caorſini*. But bycauſe the ſame vſurers ſhadowed themſelues vnder the pretext of the Popes marchants (as they named themſelues) they did ſo much by the fauor of the court of Rome, that the ſayde Biſhop being ſicke and feeble, was cited peremptorily in the parties of beyonde the Sea, before Iudges choſen forth by the ſame vſurers, to make anſwere for ſuche high iniurie as he had here done to the Popes factors. The Biſhop willing by the example of Sem, rather to couer his fathers ſhame, than to reueale it to the whole world, did quietly put vp the matter: and to pacifie the trouble, ſuffred their wickednes, commending in the meane while the cauſe vnto his patrone Saint Paule. And when he preached of the force of fayth, he vttered this ſaying: And if an Angell preache contrarie doctrine to vs in theſe things, let him be accurſed.

The Biſhop of London hys doctrine.

An. reg. 20.

In the .xx. yeare of King Henryes raigne, in the Aduent tyme, the noble Baron the Lorde Robert Fitz Water departed this lyfe, and ſo likewiſe did a noble yong man deſcended of a noble parentage, one Roger de Somerie.

1236

King Henrie marieth the Ladie Eleanor daughter to the Earle of Prouance.

On the .xiiij. day of Januarie enſuing, the king maryed the Ladie Eleanore, daughter to the Earle of Prouance named Raymonde.

Thys maryage was ſolemniſed at Canterburie, and in the Vtas of Sainte Hylarye nexte enſuyng beeing Sunday, ſhee was crowned as Queene of Englande at Weſtmynſter.

Mat. Paris.

At the ſolemnitie of this feaſt and coronation of the Queene, all the high Peeres of the realme, both ſpirituall and temporall were preſent to exerciſe their offices as to them apperteyned.

The Citizens of London were there in great array, bearing afore hir in ſolemne wiſe, three hundred. lx. Cuppes of golde and ſiluer, in token that they ought to wayte vpon hir Cuppe. The Archbyſhoppe of Canterburie (according to his dutie) crowned hir, the Biſhop of London aſſiſting him as his Deacon. The Earle of Cheſter bare the ſworde of Saint Edwarde before the king, in token that he was Earle of the Palace, and had authoritie to correct the King, if he ſhould ſee him to ſwarue from the limites of Iuſtice, his Conſtable of Cheſter attending vpon hym, and remouing the people where the preſſe was thicke, with hys rodde or warder. The Earle of Pembroke high Marſhall bare the rod before the king, and made rowmth before hym, both in the Church and in the Hall, placing euery man, and ordering the ſeruice at the Table. The wardens of the cinque portes bare a Canapie ouer the king, ſupported with foure ſpeares. The Erle of Leyceſter held the Baſon when they waſhed. The Earle of Warren, in the place of the Erle of Arundell, bycauſe he was vnder age, attended on the kings cup. M. Michaell Belet was Butler by office. The Erle of Hereford exerciſed the roome of high Marſhal in yͤ kings houſe. The Lord William de Beauchampe was aulmoner. The chiefe Iuſtice of the Foreſtes on the righte hand of the king, remoued the diſhes on the table, though at the firſt he was ſtayed by ſome allegation made to the contrarie. The Citizens of Lõdon ſerued forth wine to euerie one in great plentie. The Citizens of Wincheſter had ouerſight of the Kitchen and Larderie. And ſo euery perſon (according to his dutie) exerciſed his rowmth: and bycauſe no trouble ſhould riſe, many things were ſuffered which vpon further aduiſe taken therein were reformed. The Chancellor and al other ordinarie officers kept their place. The feaſt was plentifull, ſo that nothing wanted that coulde be wiſhed.

The Earle of Cheſter.

The Conſtable of Cheſter.

The Earle of Pembroke.

The wardens of the cinque Portes.

The Earle of Leyceſter.

Erle Waren.

The Ea
Herefor

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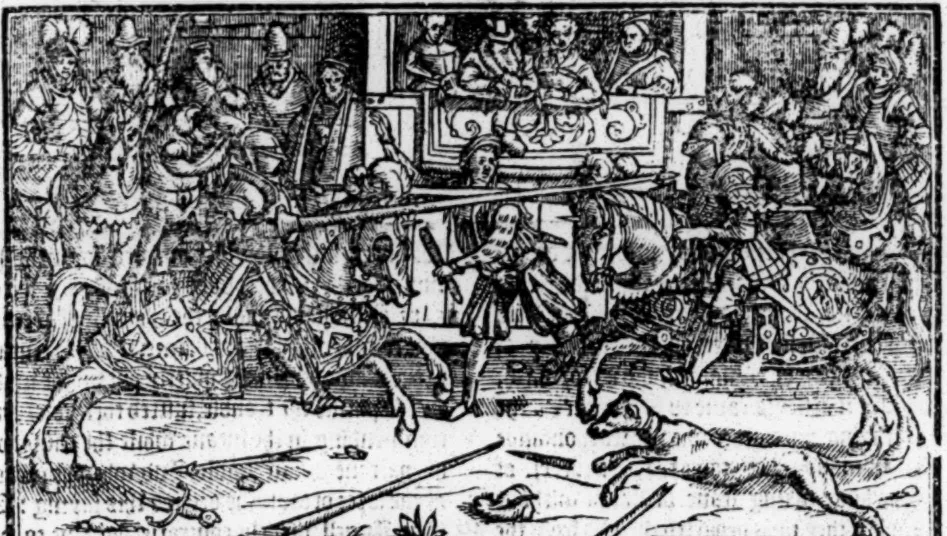
Moreouer, in Tuthill fielde royall Iuſtes were holden by the ſpace of eight dayes togyther.



And ſoone after the king called a Parliament at London, where many things were enacted for the good gouernment of the Realme, and therewith the king demaunded a ſubſedie.

A Parliament at London. *Polidore.*

Aboute the ſame time, wonderfull ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene. In the North partes of England, not farre from the Abbey of Roch or Rupy, there appeared comming forth of the earth companies of armed men on horſebacke, with ſpeare, ſhielde, ſworde, and baners diſplayed, in ſundrie fourmes and ſhapes, ryding in order of battaile, and encountering togyther; and this ſight was ſeene ſundrie dayes eche after other. Sometyme they ſeemed to ioyne as it had bin in battaile, and fought ſore, and ſometime they appeared to iuſt and breake ſtaues, as it had bene at ſome triumphant iuſtes or torney. The people of the country beheld them a far off, with great wonder: for the thing ſhewed ſo liuely, that nowe and then they might ſee thẽ come with their emptie horſes ſore wounded and hurt: and then mẽ likewiſe mãgled and bleeding, that pitie it was to ſee thẽ. And that which ſeemed more ſtrange, & to be moſt marueiled at, the prints of their feet appeared in yͤ groũd, & the graſſe troden down in places where they had beene ſeene. The like ſight was alſo ſeene more apparantly in Irelande, & in the parties thereabout.

Straunge ſightes. *Mat. Paris.*

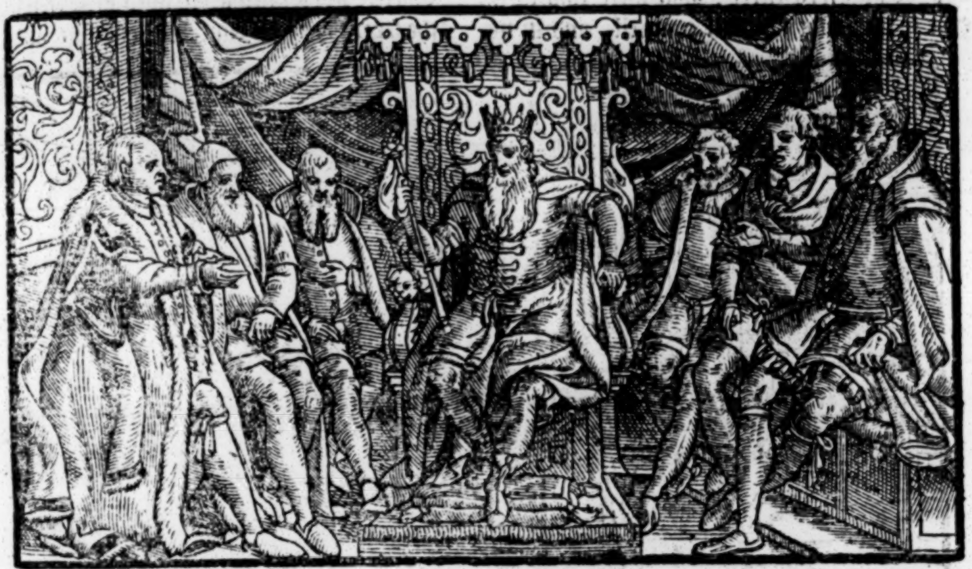
Immediatly folowed, or rather preceded paſſing great tempeſts of raine, which filled the earth full of water, and cauſed monſtrous floudes: for this raine continued by all the ſpace of the monethes of Ianuarie, Februarie, and a great parte of Marche, (and for eyght dayes it rayned (as ſome write) in maner withoute ceaſſing) and vpon

Great ra
Math. P

Mat. W

vpon the tenth of February, immediately after the chaunge of the Moone, the Thames roſe with ſuch an high tide, that boates might haue bin rowed vp and downe in Weſtminſter Hall. In the winter before, on the twentith of December, there chanced a great thunder, and on the firſt friday in December, whiche was the fifth of that moneth, there was a counterfet ſunne ſeene beſide the true ſunne. Moreouer, as in yͤ ſpring preceding, there happened ſore and exceeding great raynes, ſo in yͤ ſommer following, ther chaunced a great drouth, continuing by yͤ ſpace of four monethes or more.

A dry ſomm



This yere was a Parliament holdẽ at Mertõ, a Towne in Surrey, diſtante from London ſeuen miles, where was an Abbey of regular Chãnons founded, by one Gilbert, a Lord of Normãdy, that came into the Realme with William Conquerour.

At this Parliamente, diuers good and profitable lawes were made and eſtabliſhed, whych yet remayne in vſe, bearing the name of the place where they were fyrſte ordeyned.

In the beginning of the one and twentith yere of King Henries raigne, on the morrow after the feaſt of Saint Martine, and certaine dayes after, the Sea burſt out with ſuche high tides and tempeſtes of winde, that the marriſh countreyes nere to the ſame were drowned vp and ouerflowen: and beſide greate heardes and flockes of Cattell that periſhed, there was no ſmall number of men loſt & drowned. The Sea roſe cõtinually in flowing the ſpace of two days and one night, without ebbing, by reaſon of the mighty violence of contrary windes. At Wiſbech alſo, and in Villages thereabouts, the people were drowned in great numbers, ſo that in one Village there were buryed an hundred corpſes in one day.

Alſo the daye before Chriſtmas euen, there chaunced a great winde, with thunder and raine, in ſuche extreame wiſe, that manye buyldings were ſhaken and ouerthrowen.

In a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter about the Octaues of the Epiphany, the King required a ſubſedie of his ſubiects, the which requeſt was not very well taken, but yet at length, vpon promiſe that he would be good Lord vnto them, and not ſeeke to infringe and diſanull the grants which he hadde made by pretence of want of the Popes confyrmatiõ (as it was thought he meant to doe,) they agreed to giue him the thirtith part of all mouable goodes, as well of the ſpiritualtie as the temporaltie, reſeruing yet to euery man his ready coine, with horſe and armoure, to bee employed for the profit of the common wealthe. In conſideration of which graunt, the Kyng beyng of perfect age, and in his owne rule and full gouernaunce, of his free and meere good will, at the requeſt, and by the councell of the Lordes of hys Realme, eftſoones graunted and confirmed the liberties and cuſtomes conteyned in the two charters, the one called *Magna charta*, and the other *carta de Foreſta*, with this addition in the ende,

A ſubſedi

Nunc autem conceſsimus & hac præſenti charta cõfirmauimus omnibus prædictis de regno noſtro omnes libertates & liberas conſuetudines contentas in cartis noſtris, quas ex fidelibus noſtris fieri fecimus cùm in minori eſſemus ætate, ſcilicet tam in Magna carta noſtra, quàm in carta de Foreſta. Et volumus pro nobis, & hæredibus noſtris, quòd præfati fideles noſtri, & ſucceſſores, & hæredes eorum habeant, & teneant imperpetuum omnes libertates, & liberas conſuetudines prædictas, non obſtante quòd prædictæ cartæ cõfectæ fuerint cùm minoris eſſemus ætatis, vt prædictũ eſt, hys teſtibus, Edmondo Cant. Archiepiſcopo, & omnibus alys in Magna carta nominatis Dat. per manum venerabilis patris Ciceſtrienſis epiſcopi, cancellary noſtri 28. die Ianuary, Anno Regni noſtri. 21.

The confirmation of the charters.

A°. 9

Mat. Paris.

Beſide the confirmation of theſe charters, the King further to winne the fauoure of his people, was contẽted to remoue and ſequeſtre from him diuers of hys Counſellers that were thought not to be well minded towardes the aduauncemente of the common wealth, and in their places to admitte the Earle of Waren, William de Ferrers, and John Fitz Geffrey, who were ſworne to giue to the King faithfull councell, and in no wiſe to goe out of the right way for any reſpect that might otherwiſe moue them.

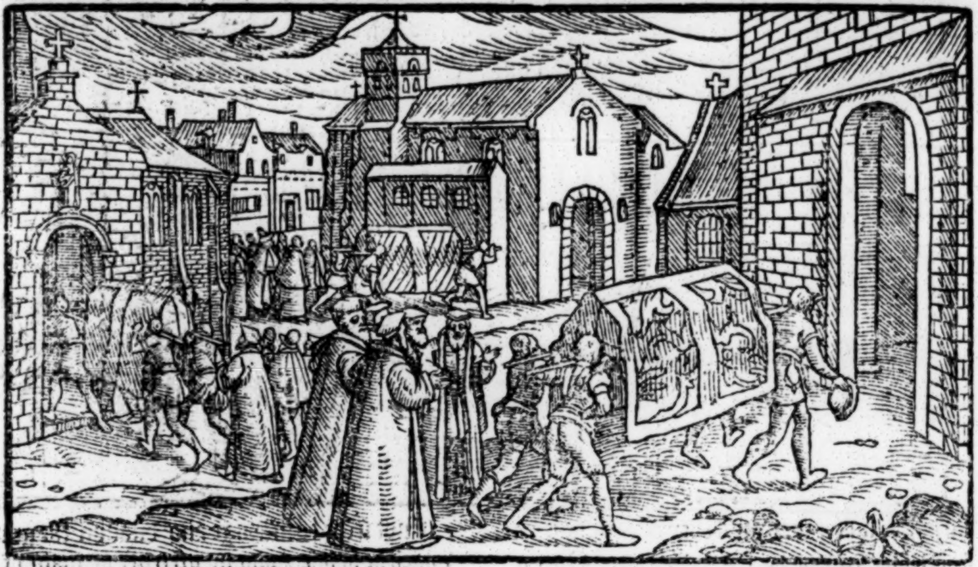
Iohn Sco Erle of Che ſter depa this life.

About the firſte day of Marche, there beganne ſore rayne and tempeſtuous weather, whereof enſued great floudes, as before in the beginning of the yeare paſſed, had chaunced, though not doyng ſo much hurt as before. John Scot alſo Earle of Cheſter & of Huntington, dyed at Deren Haule the ſeuenth day of June, without iſſue, and was buried at Cheſter. He was poyſoned by the diueliſhe practiſe of his wife, that was daughter to Lewline Prince of Wales as Math Paris hath.

Ran. Higd. His ſiſters.

He hadde foure ſiſters, of whome the firſt named Margaret, was married to Allen of Galloway, by whome ſhee had iſſue a daughter named Deuorgoylle, whiche Deuorgoille was married to John Baliolle, by whome ſhe hadde iſſue John Baliolle that was afterward King of Scotlã. The ſecond named Iſabell, was married to Robert le Bruys. The thirde named Maude, dyed withoute iſſue, and the fourth called Alda, was married to Henry Haſtings. But bycauſe the lande pertayning to the Earledome of Cheſter, ſhould not goe amongſt rockes and diſtafes, hauing ſuch royall prerogatiues belonging thereto, the King ſeaſed them into his owne handes, and in recompence, aſſigned other land to the foreſaid ſiſters, as it had bin by way of exchaunge.

Nowe ſith the Earles of Cheſter, I meane, thoſe of the line of Hugh Lupus, toke end in thys John Scot. For the honor of ſo noble a lignage, I haue thought it not impertinent to ſet downe the diſcente of the ſame Earles, beginning at the foreſayd Hugh the firſte that gouerned after the Cõqueſt, as I haue ſeene the ſame collected forth of auncient recordes, according to their true ſucceſſion in ſeuen diſcents one after another, as here followeth.



The true genealogie of the famous and most honorable Earles of Cheſter.

Hugh Lou or Lupus, firſt Earle of Cheſter after the Conqueſt, nephew to Wil. Conquerour by his ſiſter Margaret, wife to Richarde Vicount of Aurãches, maried a noble Lady named Armetruda, by whom he had iſſue Richard that ſucceded him in the Earledome, Robert Abbot of S. Edmonds bury, and Otuell. He departed this life about the yere of our Lord. 1102. whẽ he had bin Earle about 40. yeares. 1

Richard Lupus, eldeſt ſonne to Hugh Lupus, and ſecond Erle of Cheſter, married Maude the daughter of Stephen Erle of Bloys, Charters & Champaigne, and ſiſter to K. Stephẽ. This Richarde with his brother Otuell was drowned in the Seas, in the yeare of our Lord 1120. as before hath bin ſhewed, after he had bin Earle about 19. yeres. 2

Ranulf or Randulf yͤ firſt of that name called Bohun, and otherwiſe Meſtheins, the ſonne of John de Bohun, and of Margaret, ſiſter to Hugh Lupus, ſucceeded Richarde, as Couſin and heire to him in the Erledome of Cheſter, and was the third Erle in number after yͤ Conqueſt. He married Maude the daughter of Auberic de Vere Erle of Giſney and Oxford, by whom he had iſſue Ranulfe ſurnamed Gernons yͤ fourth Earle of Cheſter. He dyed about the yeare of our Lorde 1130. after he had continued Earle, eight yeares. 3

Ranulfe, or Randulfe Bohun, the ſeconde of that name, and fourth Earle in number after the Conqueſt, ſurnamed Gernous, ſucceeded his father, and married Alice, daughter to Robert Erle of Glouceſter, baſe ſonne to King Henry the firſt, by whome he had iſſue Hugh Keuelocke, the fifte Earle of Cheſter. He deceaſſed about the yeare of our Lord. 1152. when he had bin Earle. 29. yeres.

Hugh Bohun, otherwiſe Keuelocke, the ſonne of the ſayd Ranulfe, was the firſt Earle of Cheſter after the Conqueſt, and ſecond of that name. He married Beatrice, daughter to Richard Lucy Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of England, by whome hee had iſſue Ranulfe the thirde of that name, & foure daughters, Maude married to Dauid that was Earle of Anguis and Huntington and Lorde of Galloway, Mabell married to William Dalbigney Erle of Arundel, Agnes married to William Ferrers Erle of Derby, and Hauiſa ioyned in marriage with Roberte Quincy, a Baron of great honor. This Hugh dyed about the yeare 1181. when he had bin Earle. 28. yeares.

Ranulfe Bohun the third of that name, otherwiſe called Blūdeuille, yͤ ſon of Hugh Keuelocke, was the ſixth Erle of Cheſter after yͤ Conqueſt. He was alſo Earle of Lincolne, as next couſin & heire to Wil. Romare Erle of Lincolne. He had three wiues (as before ye haue heard) but yet dyed without iſſue, about the yeare of our Lorde. 1232. after he had bin Earle. 51. yeares.

Iohn Scot, the ſon of Dauid Earle of Angus & Huntington, was in the right of his mother the ſeuenth Earle of Cheſter after the Conqueſt. He dyed without iſſue (as before yee haue hearde) by reaſon whereof, the Erledome came into yͤ kyngs hands in the yeare. 1237. Thus much may ſuffice (with yͭ which is ſaid before) touching yͤ diſcēt of theſe Erles of Cheſter. And now therfore to proceede. The ſame yere that Iohn Scot died, Cardinall Otho by ſome writers named Othobon, about the feaſt of S. Peter and Paule, came into England from Pope Gregory. He was receyued with all honor and ſolemne reuerence as was decent, yea and more than was decent, the Kyng meeting him at the Sea ſide. His comming was not ſignified afore to the nobles of the Realme, whiche cauſed them to miſlike the matter, and to grudge againſt the King, ſeeing that hee dyd all things cōtrary to order, breaking lawe, fayth and promiſe in al things: he hath coupled himſelf ſaid they in marriage with a ſtraunger, without conſent of his friendes and natural ſubiects, and now he bringeth in a Legate ſecretly, who wil take vpon him to make an alteratiō in yͤ whole ſtate of the Realme. But this Legate ſhewed himſelfe a right ſober & diſcret perſon, not ſo couetous as his predeceſſors, in ſomuche, that hee refuſed dyuers giftes which were offered vnto him, though ſome he receyued, and indeede, commaunded the other to be reſerued for him. He alſo deſtributed liberally the vacant rentes vnto ſuche as hee brought with him, as wel being perſons worthy as vnworthy, & pacified ſuche controuerſies as were ſprong betwixt the Nobles & peeres of yͤ Realm, ſo that he made them friends, as yͤ Biſhop of Wincheſter, yͤ Erle of Kent, Gilbert Baſſet, Stephē Siward & others, which had borne ſecret grudge and malice each againſt other a long time, which hatred was at point to haue broken forthe, and ſhewed it ſelfe in perilous wiſe, at a Torney holden at Blie in the beginning of Lent, where the Southernmen ſtroue againſt the Northren men, and in the ende the Southerne men preuayled, & tooke diuers of their aduerſaries, ſo that it ſeemed not to be a triumphāt Iuſtes, but rather a ſharp challenge and encoūter betwixt enimies. But amōgſt al others, Erle Bigot bare himſelfe very ſtoutly. After that the Legate had thus agreed the noblemen, he aſſembled a Synode at Londō, the morrowe after the octaues of Saint Martin, wherin

The Lords grudge at the K. for receyuing the Cardinall without their knowledge.

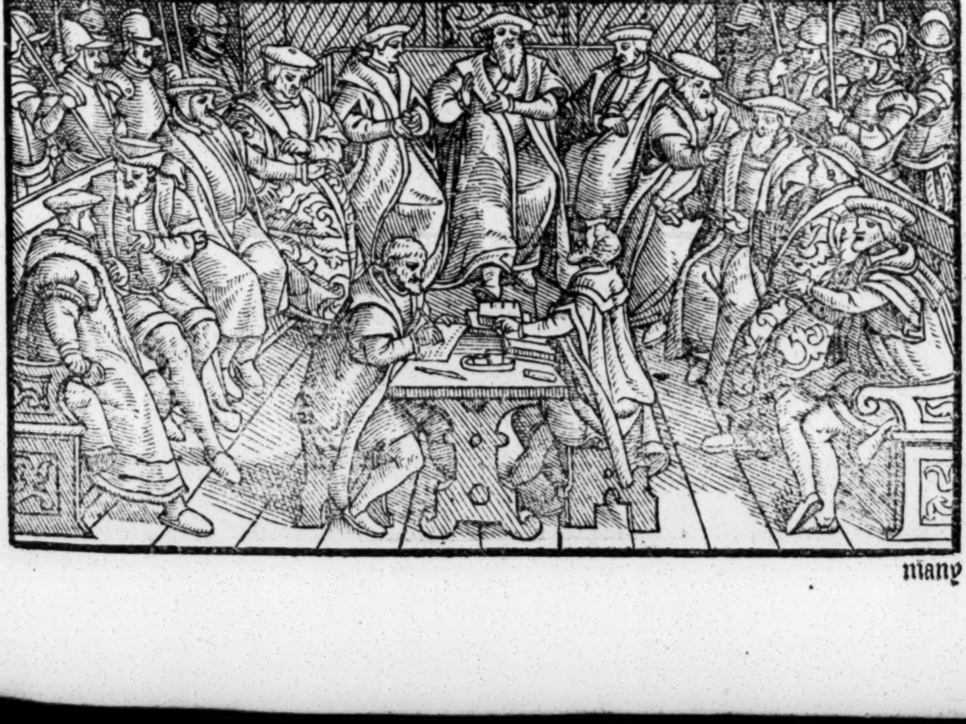
The Legate prayſed for his ſober behauioure.

A torney at Blie.

Erle Bigot.

An. Reg. 22.

The Legate holdeth a Synode at London.



many ordinaunces were newly conſtituted for the ſtate of the Cleargie but not altogyther very acceptable to diuers yong Prieſts and Scollers (as ſome write) in ſo muche, that the Legate afterwardes comming to Oxforde, and lodging in the Abbey of Oſney, it chaunced as certaine ſcollers preſſed to the gates thinking to come in and do their ductie (as they tooke the matter) vnto the Legate, the Porter kepte them backe, and gaue them ouerthwart wordes, wherevppon they ruſhed in vpon him, and began a fray betwixt them and the Legates men, who woulde haue beaten them backe. It fortuned in this hurly burly, that a poore Iriſhe Scoller beeyng got in neere to the kitchin dreſſer, beſought the Cooke for Gods ſake to giue hym ſome reliefe: but the Cooke (as many of that calling are collericke fellowes) in a greate furie, tooke vp a ladle full of hote broath out of a kettill wherein fleſhe had bin ſodden, and threwe it right vpon the Iriſhmans face, whiche thyng when an other Welch Scoller that ſtoode by behelde, he cryed out, what meane we to ſuffer thys villany, and therewithall, taketh an arrowe, & ſetteth it in his bowe which he had caught vp in his hand at the beginning of the fray, and drawing it vp to the head, let flie at the Cooke, and ſo ſlewe him there outright. Herevpon againe, noyſe and tumult roſe round about the houſe, the Legat for feare got him into the Belfray of yͤ Abbey, where he kept himſelfe cloſe til the darke of the night had ſtayed the vprore, and then ſtale forth, & takyng his horſe, he eſcaped as ſecretely as he could ouer the Thames, and rode with al ſpeede to yͤ Court, whiche lay not farre off, at Abington, and there made his complaynt to the King in ſuch lamentable wiſe, that he forthwith ſent the Erle Waren with a power of armed men, to fetche away the reſidue of the Legates ſeruauntes whiche remayned behynde in the Abbey, and to apprehend the chiefe offenders. The Erle cōming thither, tooke thirtie Scollers, with one maſter Odo a lawyer, and brought them to Wallingford Caſtell, and there committed them to priſon.

1238

The Legate commeth to Oxforde.

A fray betwixt the Legates men, and the Scollers of Oxforde.

A Cookes Almes.

The Legates Cooke ſlayne.

The Legate complayneth to the King. The Earle of Waren ſent to apprehend the offenders.

The Legate alſo in reuenge of the iniurie in this wiſe to him done, pronounced the curſe agaynſte the myſdoers, and handled the matter in ſuche wiſe, that the regentes and maiſters of the Uniuerſitie were at length conſtreyned to come vnto Londō, and there to goe bare footed through Cheape ſide, vnto the Churche of Saint Paule, in ſuche wiſe to aſke hym forgiueneſſe, and ſo with muche adoe they obteyned abſolution.

The Le cursed.

The of the ſite a Polide.

This Legate among other thynges demaunded ſoone after the tenth parte of all ſpirituall mens yearely reuenewes, towardes the mayntenaunce of the warres againſte the Sarazens in Aſia.

Moreouer, the Emperour of Conſtantinople, Baldwine ſonne to Peeter Earle of Auſſerre, being expelled foorth of his Empire, came this yeare into England, to ſue for ayde: but at his firſt arriuall at Douer, he was told, that he had not done well to come ſo preſumptuouſly into the lande of an other Prince, without his ſafecōduit: but whē the ſayd Emperour ſeemed to be ſorie for hys offence, and to excuſe his innocencie and ſincere meaning, the king was pacified, and willed him to come to London, where at his commyng thither, being the .22. of Aprill, he was honorably receyued, & at his departure with rich gifts highly honored, ſo that he had away with him to the valewe of about ſeauen hundred markes as was reported. About this time alſo, Eleanor the kings ſiſter (that was ſometime wife vnto William Marſhall Earle of Pembroke) was nowe by the Kyngs meanes married the ſeconde time vnto Simon Mountforth, a man of high parentage, and noble prowes.

Math.

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This Simon was endowed with ſuche vertue, good councell, courteous diſcretion, and other amiable qualities, that hee was highly fauoured as was ſuppoſed, both of God and man. He was yet baniſhed out of Fraunce, vppon diſpleaſure which Blanch the Queene mother conceyued againſt him. But now comming into Englande, hee was ioyfully receyued of King Henry, who not only gaue vnto him (as aboue is mentioned) his ſiſter in marriage, with the Erledome of Leiceſter in name of a dower, but alſo aduanced him vnto offices of greateſt honor within the Realme of Englande. Howbeit, this marriage was very diſpleaſant vnto Edmond the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, bycauſe that the foreſaid Eleanor, after yͤ death of hir firſt huſband, had vowed perpetuall chaſtitie, and betaken hir as was ſaide, to the mantel and the ring. And as the Prelate was not pleaſed with this match, ſo the King was as highly offended with the Archbiſhop for not fauouring the cauſe, in ſomuch, that the Archbiſhop went ſoone after to Rome, where he not only cõplaineth of certayne iniuries receyued lately at the Kings hands, but alſo ſignifieth the eſtate of this marriage, to procure a diuorce. In lyke manner, Richard the Kings brother found great faulte with the King for the ſame matter, but chiefly, for that he ſtroke it vp, without makyng hym and other of the nobles of councell therein. To be ſhort, it was not lõg ere this grudge grew ſo farre, that ciuill warre was very likely to haue followed thervppon. But when the Kyng ſawe that all the Lordes leaned to his brother, he ſought to pacifie the matter by curteous meanes, and ſo by mediation of the Legate, the Kyng and hys brother were reconciled, to the greate griefe of the Lordes, whych hadde brought the matter nowe to that poynte, that the Kyng coulde not haue ſo reſiſted theyr force, but that they were in good hope to haue deliuered the Realme out of bondage from all manner of ſtraungers, as well of thoſe Romanes that were beneficed men, as of any other.

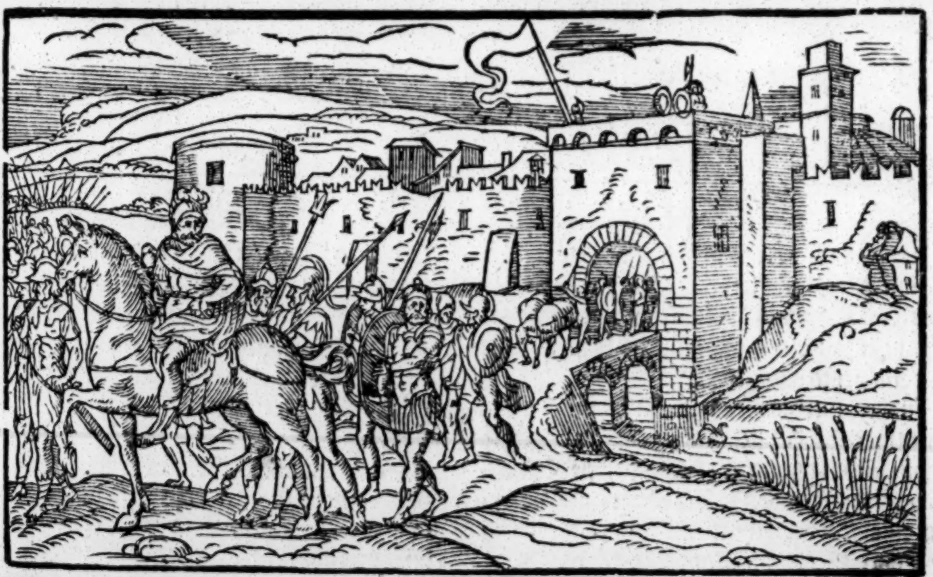
The Earle of Leiceſter gathereth money

Simon the Earle of Leiceſter alſo perceiuyng howe the matter wente, made ſhift another way, to get all the money he coulde in preſt or otherwiſe, in ſo muche, that he hadde of one burges of Leiceſter, named Simon Curleuath, fiue hundred markes,) and leauing his wife in the Caſtel of Kelingworth, hee ſecretely departed out of the Realme, and got him to Rome, to purchaſe a confirmation of hys marriage, whiche hee eaſily obteyned, notwithſtanding the Archbyſhop of Caunterburies former and very vehement information againſt hym, and ſo hauing brought hys purpoſe about in the latter ende of thys yeare, he returned into Englande, and was ioyfully receyued, firſte of the Kyng, and after of hys wife whome hee founde at Kelingworth, neere to the tyme of hir trauaile, and ſhortly after, deliuered of a yong ſonne whome they called Simon after the name of his father.

He goeth to Rome to get a diſpenſation or rather confirmation of his marriage.

Ayde ſente forth of Englande to the Emperour.

The ſame time, Fredericke the Emperour going into Italie, hadde a greate number of Engliſhe Souldiers with him, whyche Kyng Henry furniſhed foorthe for hys ayde, vnder the leadyng of a right valiaunt warrioure, named Henry de Trubleuille, with whom went alſo John Manſell, whoſe valiancie in that iourney well appeared, and William Hardell a Citizen of London, was threaſorour & paymaiſter to the Souldiers.



The Pope heereof was ſore offended, & wrote his minde thereof to the King, who forthwith returned an eloquente aunſwere, requiring him to be more fauourable to the Emperour, conſidering his cauſe was ſuch as could not iuſtly offend hys holineſſe. About the ſame time, or rather, (as by ſome writers it ſhoulde appeare) ſomewhat before, The Biſhop of Wincheſter departeth thys life.

before, the Kings ſiſter Ioane Queene of Scotland, comming into England to ſee hir brother, fell into a ſickneſſe, and dyed. Moreouer, ẏ Archbiſhop of Caunterbury returned into England, who at his comming to Rome, obteyned little or nothing touching the ſute which he hadde before the Pope, for (as ſome haue written) the Legate Otho being his heauy friende, had ſo ſtopped the Popes eares from hearing any of his compleints, that al his whole trauaile did come to none effect. In like maner, Peter des Roches B. of Wincheſter dyed this yeare in his manor at Farnham, about the ninth of Iune, whiche Prelate had gouerned that See about 32. yeres. He was a mã of greate wiſedome and dexteritie in ordering of weighty affayres touching the ſtate of temporall regiment. He builded many goodly Monaſteries, as ẏ Abbeys of Hales, Tikborne and Selborne, with the Hoſpitall at Porteſmouth. He made alſo a notable teſtamente, and beſides his bequeſtes which were greate, he left his Biſhopricke ſo ſtored and throughly furniſhed, that there was not ſo much diminiſhed of that which he found at his comming in value, as the Cattell that ſerued to drawe the very ploughes. Alſo about this time, a learned Eſquire, or rather a Clearke of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford, bearing ſome malice towards the K. fained himſelfe madde, and eſpying thereby the ſecrete places of his houſe at Woodſtocke where he then lay, vpon a night by a Windowe, he gote into the kings bedchamber, and comming to the beds ſide, threw off the couerings, and with a dagger ſtrake diuers times into a pillowe, ſuppoſing ẏ the K. had bin there, but as God would, that night, the K. lay in another chamber with ẏ Queene. In the meane time, one of the Queenes chambermaydes named Margaret Biſet, hauing eſpied the felon, made an outcry, ſo that ẏ Kings ſeruants whiche came to vnderſtande what the matter meante, preſently apprehended the ſayde Clearke, who being conueyed to Couentrie, was there arreigned, & by lawfull proufe hadde of hys malitious intent, was condemned, and executed as a Traitor.

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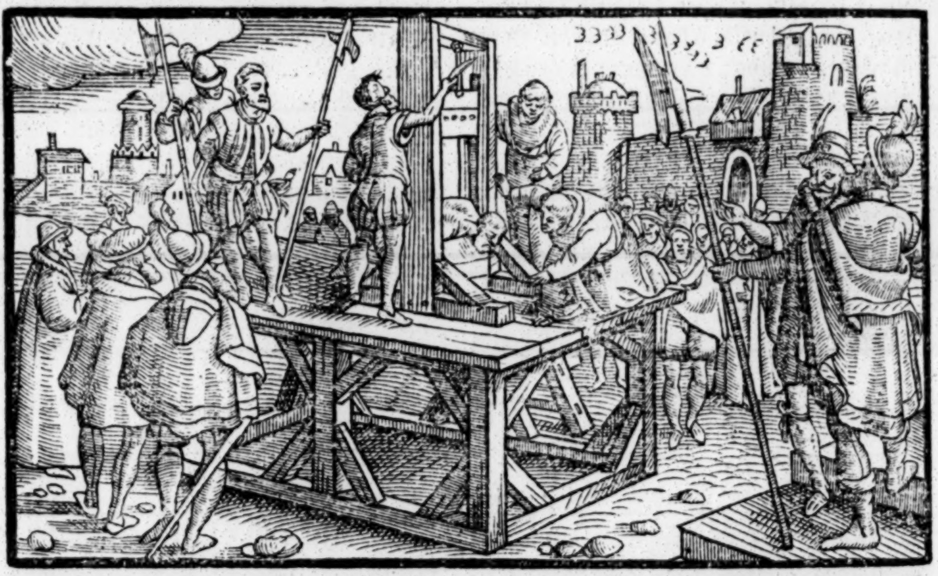

At his death he confeſſed, that he was ſent frõ Wil. de Mariſh, the ſon of Geffrey de Mariſh to murther ẏ K. by ſuche maner of meanes, not caring what had become of himſelfe ſo he myghte haue diſpatched his purpoſe.

An. reg. 23.
1239

Mat. Paris.

Variance betwixt the king and the Erle of Pembroke.

In the 23. yere of his raigne, K. Henry held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, where roſe greate grudge betwixt him and Gilbert ẏ Erle of Pembroke, by reaſon that the ſaid Earle with his ſeruants (hauing tippe ſtaues) in their comming to the Court, were not ſuffered to enter within the gates, but were kept backe by the porters and other. Of which iniurie when he had compleyned, the K. made him ſuche an ouerthwart aunſwere, that ẏ Erle perceyuing him not to like very well of his ſeruice, departed forthwith, & rode into the North countrey, ſo that from that day forth, neither hee nor his brother Walter loued the K. as they ought to haue done. Soone after this departure of Erle Gilbert, vpon Candlemas daye the K. gaue the Earledome of Leiceſter vnto Simõ de Mountford, & inueſted him thereinto, hauyng firſt pacified Earle Almerike that was elder brother to the ſame Simõ. Yet about the beginning of ẏ next Auguſt, the K. was ſo incenſed againſt Erle Simon, that both he and his wife wer glad to get them ouer into France, til the kings wrath were more pacified. Alſo vppon the ſixtenth daye of Iune, the kings eldeſt ſonne named Edward, and after ſurnamed Longſhanke by the Scottes in mockage, bycauſe hee was a tall and ſlender man, was borne at Weſtminſter, who after hys fathers deceſſe, ſucceded him in ẏ kingdome. Before ẏ birth of this Edward, there appeared early

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in the morning certaine daies togither before the ſunne was vp, a Star of a large cōpaſſe, yͤ which with ſwift courſe was carried through a lōg circuit of yͤ aire, ſometimes ſhewing as it had borne fire with it, & ſometimes leauing as it were ſmoke behind it, ſo yͭ it was after iudged, yͭ the gret dedes which were to be atchieued by the ſame Edward; were by this wonderful conſtellation foreſhewed and ſignified. About yͤ ſame time, by reaſon of an accuſation made by a priſoner againſte Ranulfe Briton, (ſometime the Kings Chauncellour, but now leading a priuate life, being a Canon of the Cathedrall Churche of S. Paule in London) the ſame Ranulfe by commaundemente from the King, ſente to the Maior of the Citie William Ioyner, was taken out of his houſe, had to the Tower, and there empriſoned, whereuppon, the Deane of Poules, maſter G. Lucy, in abſence of the Byſhop, accurſed all thoſe that had preſumptuouſly attempted to lay hands on the ſayd Ranulfe, and further, he put his owne Church of S. Paule vnder interdiction. To conclude, through threatning of excommunication to be pronounced againſt yͤ K. and other for this fact by yͤ Legate and the Biſhops of the Realme, as namely, Caunterbury and London, the Kyng was compelled to releaſſe and ſet at libertie the foreſayde Ranulfe: finally, the priſoner that had accuſed the ſayd Ranulf and other, being one of yͤ kings purſeuants, when for his wicked doings he came to ſuffer death, openly confeſſed, how he had accuſed thoſe perſons, only in hope to defer his owne execution, being conuicted as acceſſary to the treaſon of the Clearke that ſuffered at Couentrie the laſt yere. He had accuſed not only yͤ ſaid Briton, but diuers of the nobilitie alſo to be priuie and giltie of the ſame conſpiracie.

Great rayne.

The Legate beginneth to looke to his owne commoditie.

Sir Robert de Twinge.

The Iewes puniſhed by the purſe.

A Synode holden at London.

This yeare for the ſpace of foure monethes togither, fell exceeding great raine, yet at length, it began to hold vp about Eaſter. In this while, the Lords of the Realme practiſed ſundry driftes likewiſe, as men that woulde fayne haue bin rid of the Legates company: but the King did what hee coulde on yͤ other ſide, (by ſending to yͤ Pope for licence) to haue him to remaine ſtill here, who began now indeede to looke to his owne profit, as by way of procuraties and other meanes, ſo that he got togither gret ſummes of money, although in the beginning he ſeemed to forbeare, and not to ſeeke for any ſuch gaine. Alſo, he tooke vpon hym to beſtow benefices withoute conſent of the patrones that were temporall men, wherevpon, cōplaint was made to the Pope, namely, by one ſir Robert de Twinge, who claymed as patrone the preſentatiō of yͤ rectorie of Luthun in Yorkſhire, and could not be permitted to enioy it, by reaſon of the Popes prohibition, but vpon the hearing of his title in the Popes conſiſtory, he obteyned letters from the Pope to be reſtored, and alſo an inhibition, that from henceforth, no perſon ſhoulde be promoted to any ſpirituall benefice or Church, without conſent of the patrone. The King and the peeres of the Realme vnderſtanding themſelues to be touched in this wrong offered to this Knight, had written in his fauour to the Pope, ſo that his ſute had the better ſucceſſe. Moreouer, the Iewes in this yeare, for a murther whiche they had ſecretly cōmitted, were greeuouſly puniſhed, namely by the purſe, for to buy their peace, they were glad to giue the King the thirde parte of all their goodes. The Legate alſo aſſembled a Synode of the Cleargie at London vpon the laſt of July, in the which he demanded procuraties, but the Biſhops vppon deliberation had in the matter, anſwered, yͭ the importunatnes of yͤ Romane Church had ſo oftē conſumed yͤ goods of yͤ Engliſh church, yͭ they could no lōger ſuffer it, & therfore ſaid they, let thē giue you procuracies which

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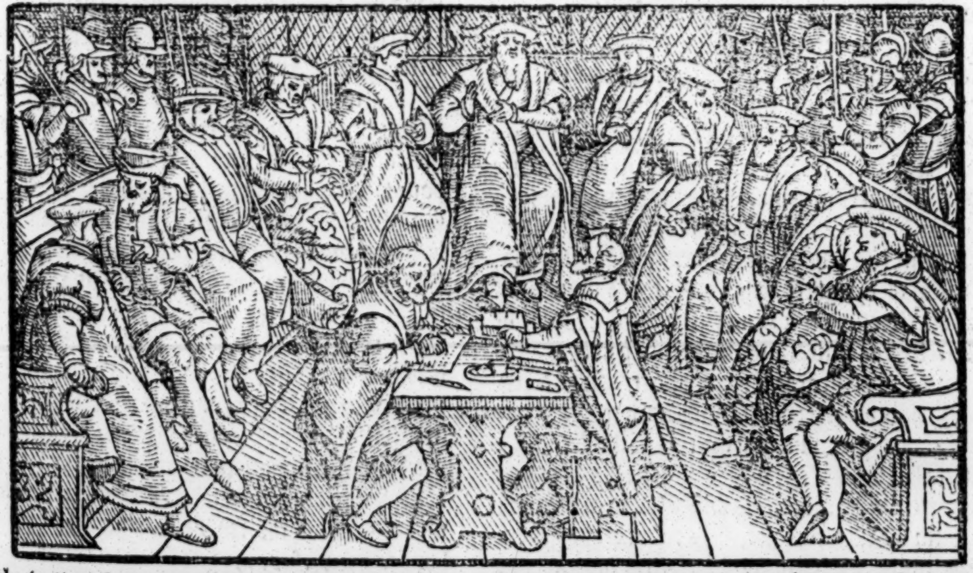

vnaduiſedly haue called you into the Realme, if they will, for of vs you ſhall bee ſure to come by none at all, howbeit, hee gote his demaund of the Abbots and other religious men.

About the feaſt of the aſſumption of our Lady, Thomas Erle of Flaunders, vncle to yͤ Quene, arriued at Douer, and was receyued of the King with greate ioy and gladneſſe, who rode thitherward to meete him, and ſo brought him to London, where the Citizens came forthẽ alſo, & meeting him on the way, brought him into the Citie with all honor that might be deuiſed, he dyd homage to the King as Authors write, and at hys departure, had in reward fiue hundred markes and a penſion aſſured to him of as much yearely out of the Eſchecker, of the Kings free gift. This Earle Thomas was ſonne to the Earle of Sauoy, and a little before his comming into England, he had married Ioane Counteſſe of Flanders, whiche hadde firſt bin coupled in marriage with Ferdinando, as in the life of K. Iohn it further may appeare. In the fourtenth yeare of hys raigne, King Hẽry held his Chriſtmas at Wincheſter, where hee made Baldwine de Riuers Knight, and inueſted him with the right of the Earledome of the Ile of Wighte, in the preſence of yͤ Erle of Cornewall, who procured hym thys honor, bycauſe he had yͤ wardſhip of him, & married him to his daughter in law yͤ Lady Amicia, that was daughter to his wife the Counteſſe of Glouceſter by hir former huſband. The Erle of Leiceſter, alſo meaning to goe into yͤ holy lãd, returned out of Frãce, wher he had remained a certaine time as an exile, but was now receyued honorably of yͤ K. and other peeres of the Realm, & after that he had ſene yͤ K. and done his duetie as apperteined, he wẽt to his poſſeſſiõs to make money for his furniture neceſſary to be had in yͤ iourney, for the which he ſolde at yͤ time his woddes about Leiceſter, vnto the Knightes of the Hoſpitall, and to the Canons of Leiceſter, receyuing of them for the ſame about the ſumme of a thouſand poundes. About the ſame time, to witte, the. 14. of Aprill, dyed Lewline Prince of Wales, and then followed cõtention betwixt his ſonnes Griffin & Dauid for the principalitie, which atlength Dauid obteyned through K. Henries ſupporte (though he were the yonger brother) bycauſe hee was begot in lawfull bed on yͤ ſiſter of K. Hẽry. The whole cõutrey of Wales was maruellouſly in trouble about their quarrels. At length, a day of meeting was appoynted betwixte them, to grow by way of talke vnto ſome quiet ende, & Griffin meaning no deceite, came in peaceable wiſe with Richard B. of Banger and others to yͤ place aſſigned, where they ſhould haue met: but Dauid by a traine tooke Griffin, and committed him to priſon, whervpon afterwards, the yere enſuing, by continual plaint and earneſt ſute of the B. of Bangor, K. Henry entred Wales with an army, & conſtreined Dauid to ſubmit himſelfe, and to deliuer yͤ ſaid Griffin into his handes, and further alſo to put in ſureties to appeare at London, there to receiue ſuche order in the Kynges Courts, as to him by lawe ſhoulde be orderly awarded. Griffin ap Maddocke and diuers other great Lords of Wales ioyned with yͤ K in thys iourney againſt Dauid, as in yͤ next yere ye ſhal further heare. About the ſame time, there was great ſtrife & contention ſtill remaining betwixte the Emperour Fredericke and Pope Innocent yͤ fourth, yͭ ſucceeded Celeſtine yͤ fourth, in ſo much yͭ ſore & mortal warre followed. But K. Henry by the procurement of yͤ Legate Otho, ayded the Pope with money, though hee was ſomewhat loth to do it, bycauſe that yͤ Emperour had married his ſiſter. Indeede, the Emperoure wrote to the K. to ſtay his hand, but the diligence of yͤ Legate was ſuch in furthering his maſters buſines, that the money was gone ouer ere the Emperors letters came. At this time alſo, Edmõd yͤ Archb. of Cãterbury greatly diſalowed yͤ often exactiõs & ſubſedies which yͤ Legate cauſed dayly to be leuied of yͤ Engliſh Cleargie. Howbeit, in hope to haue his purpoſe the rather againſt yͤ Monkes of Caunterbury, with whome hee was at variance, he firſt granted to yͤ Legates requeſt made on the Popes behalfe in a Synode holden at Readyng, for the hauing of the fifth part of ſpiritual mens reuenewes, and ſo by his example other were enforced to do the like. He gaue alſo eyght hundred markes to the Pope, but whether of his owne free will, or by conſtreynt, I cannot ſay, but now vtterly miſliking all things done by the Legate contrary to his minde, after he had done and ſaid what he coulde for redreſſe, and whẽ he ſawe no hope at hande for anye reformation eyther in the K. or the Legate, who eſteemed not his wordes, as a man not longer able to ſee his countrey ſo ſpoiled, he wente ouer into Fraunce, and gote hym

An. Reg. 24.
1240

Mat. Paris.
Mat. VVeſt.
Baldwine de Riuers Earle of the Ile of Wight.

The wods about Leiceſter fielde.

Lewlin of Wal parted life.

Griffi Madd

King H aydeth Pope w money the Em

vnto Pontney, there to remain in voluntarie exile, after the example of his predeceſſor Thomas Becket, whoſe doings he did folow in very many things. Verily the collectiõs of money which the Pope in theſe dayes by his Legates gathered here in this realm were great and ſundry, ſo that (as it appereth by hiſtoriographers of this time) the clergie and other found themſelues ſore greeued, & repined not a little againſt ſuche couetous dealings, and vnmeaſurable exactions, in ſomuch that they ſpake to the king in it, and ſayd, Right famous Prince, why ſuffer you Englande to be made a pray and deſolation to all the paſſers by, as a vineyarde without an hedge, cõmon to the wayfaring man, and to be deſtroyed of the Bores of the field, ſith you haue a ſufficiẽt priuilege that no ſuch exactiõs ſhuld be made in this kingdom? and ſurely he is not worthy of a priuilege whiche abuſeth the ſame being graunted. The kyng anſwered thoſe that went thus aboute to perſwade him, that he neither would nor durſte gaynesay the Pope in any thyng: and ſo the people were brought into miſerable diſpayre. There be yͭ write how that there were other occaſions of the Archbiſhops departure out of the realm, of the which this ſhuld be one, when he ſaw religiõ not to be regarded, & that Prieſts were had in no honor, neither that it lay in his power to reforme the matter, ſith the king gaue no eare to his admonitions, he determined to abſent himſelfe tyl the king (warned by ſome miſhap) ſhuld repent him of his errours, and amend his miſdoings: Other ioyne an other cauſe herevnto, whiche was this. Wheras the kyng by the enſample of other kinges, (begon by William Rufus) vſed to kepe biſhops ſeas, and other ſuch ſpiritual poſſeſſions in his hands, during the vacation, till a conuenient perſon were to the ſame preferred, the Archebiſhop Edmund, for that he ſaw lõg delays made oftentymes ere anye coulde bee admitted to the roomth of thoſe that were deceaſſed, or by any other meanes depriued, he was in hande with the king, that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury might haue power only to prouide for ſucceſſors in ſuch roomths as chãced to be vacant, aboue the terme of .vj. moneths, which thing the K. for a certain ſumme of money graunted: but afterward perceyuing what hinderance he ſuſteyned therby, he reuoked that graunte, ſo muche to the diſpleſure of the Archbiſhop, that he thoughte good no longer to continue in the realme. At his commyng to Pontney, he ſo ſeemed to deſpiſe all worldly pompe and honor, giuing himſelf wholly to diuine contemplation, to faſting & prayer, that the former opinion, which men had conceiued of his vertues, was marueilouſly confirmed. At length being ſore vexed with ſicknes, ſuppoſing that hee might recouer helth by changing of aire & place, he cauſed himſelf to be cõueid into an other houſe of religion, named Soycy, ij. days iorney from Pontney, wher finally he died yͤ .16. of Nouẽber, and his body was brought again to Pontney, & there buried, where alſo through ſundry miracles ſhewed (as they ſay) at his graue, he was reputed for a ſaint, and at length canonized by Pope Innocent the .iiij. He was borne at Abingdon, beſide Oxford, & therby ſome named him Saint Edmund of Abingdon, and ſome Saint Edmunde of Pountneye, after the place where he was enſhrined. The ſea of Canterburye was voyde more than three yeares after his deceaſe, till at length by the kings commandement, the monks of Cãterbury elected one Boniface of Sauoy vncle to queene Eleanor, being the .xlv. Archb. whiche ruled yͤ church. Ther was this yere a certain perſon of honeſt conuerſation & ſober, repreſenting in habite one of the Carthuſian Monkes, taken at Cãbridge, being accuſed for yͭ he refuſed to come to the churche to heare diuine ſeruice, & vpon his examination, bicauſe he anſwered otherwiſe thã was thought conuenient, he was committed to ſecret priſon, & ſhortly after ſent vp to the legat to be of him examined. This mã openly proteſted, yͭ Gregory was not the true pope nor hed of yͤ church, but that ther was another head of the church, and that the church was defiled, ſo yͭ no ſeruice ought to be ſaid therin, except the ſame were newly dedicate, & the veſſels & veſtments again halowed & conſecrate. The deuil (ſaid he) is loſed, & the Pope is an heretik, for Gregorie which nameth himſelf Pope, hath polluted the church. Hereupon in the preſence & audience of the Abbot of Eueſhã, maſter Nic. de Fernhã, and diuers other worſhipful perſonages, the legate ſaide vnto him being thus out of yͤ way, is not power graunted to our ſouerain lord the Pope frõ aboue, both to loſe & binde ſouls, ſith he executeth yͤ roomth of S. Peter vpõ earth: & when al men looked to hear what anſwer he wold make, beleuing his iudgement to depend vpon the ſame, he ſaid by way of interrogatiõ, & not by way of aſſertion, how can I beleue yͭ vnto a perſon ſpotted with ſimonie & vſurye, & haply wrapt in more greuous ſins, ſuch power ſhould be grãted as was granted vnto holy Peter, who immediatly folowed yͤ Lord, as ſoone as he was made his apoſtle, & folowed him not onely in bodily footſteps, but in cleernes of vertues. At whiche worde the legate bluſhed, & ſaide to ſome of yͤ ſtãders by, a mã ought not to chide with a foole, nor gape ouer an ouen. In this ſeaſon the K. ſet his iuſtices *Itinerantes* in circuit about yͤ lãd, the which vnder pretext of iuſtice puniſhed many perſons, & ſo leuied greate ſummes of money to the kings vſe. Sir William of Yorkprouoſt of Beuerley was aſſigned to viſit the South partes, and ſir Robert de Lexinton the north parts. Alſo

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The death of Edmund arche biſhop of Canterbury, ſurnamed of Põtney

A Charterhous Monke apprehended.

Iuſtices itinerantes.

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Math. Paris.

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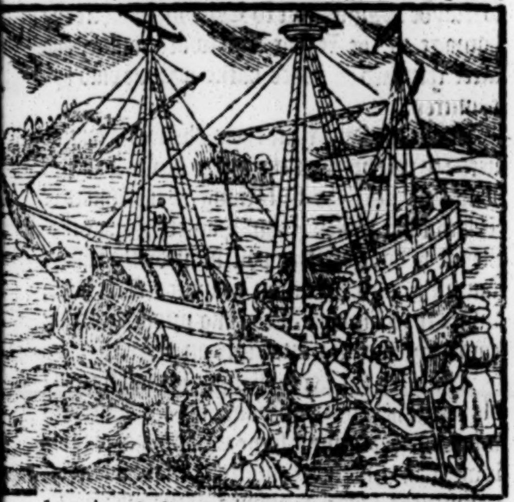

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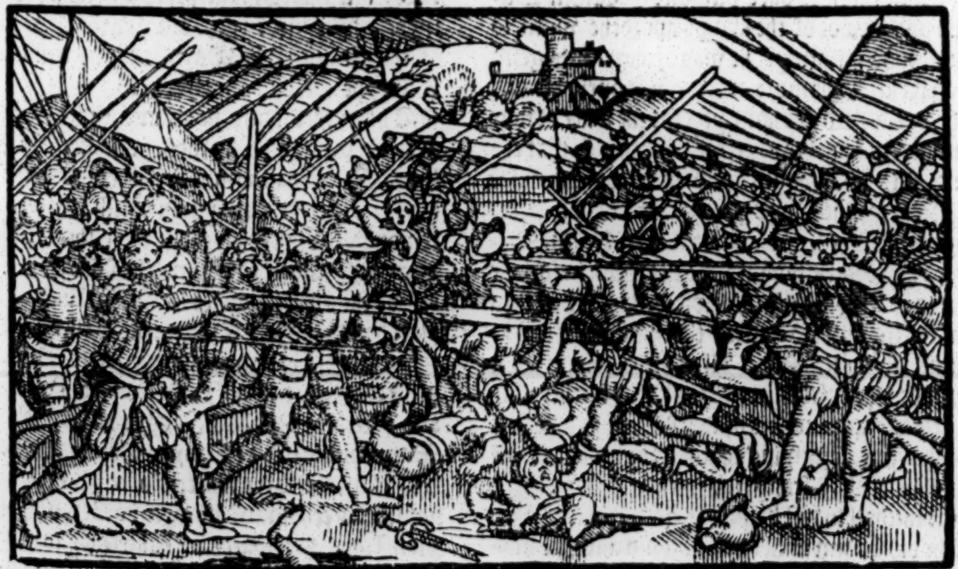

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Math. Paris.

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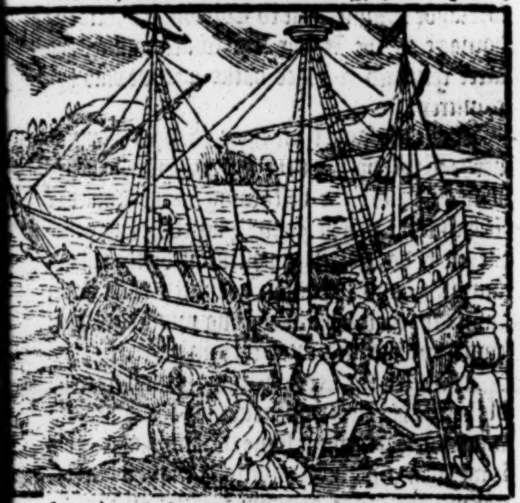

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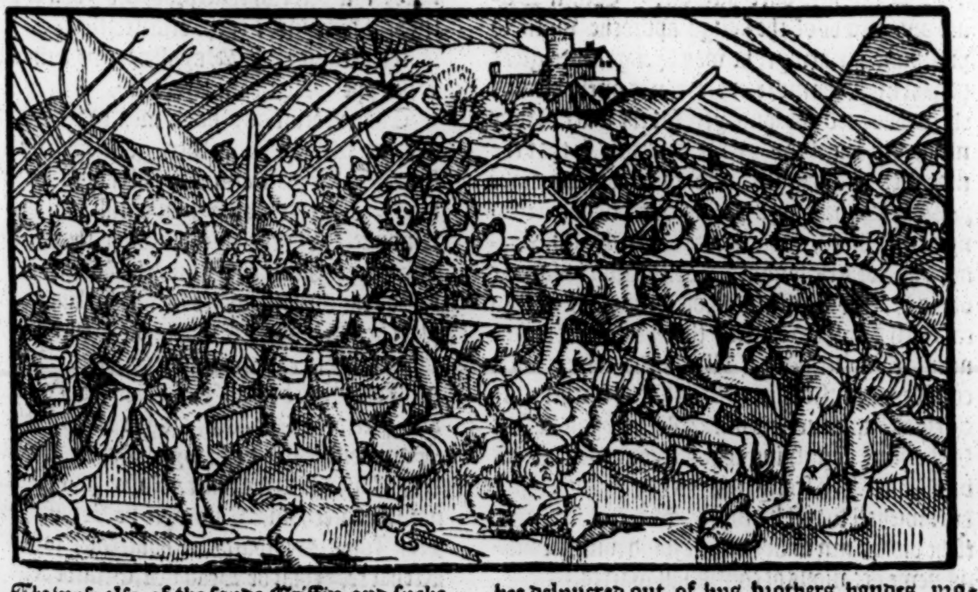

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King Henrye goeth into VVales vvith an armye.

Kyng Henrye vnderſtandyng all theyr doings and intentes, thought that this contention betwene the two brethren for the title of Wales would ſerue verie well for his purpoſe, and therfore he haſted forth wyth a ſpeedye army of men into that countrey, purpoſing to reduce the ſame vnder his obeyſaunce: And herewith Senena or Guenhera, the wyfe of Griffyn, (and other of the Welche Nobilitie, that toke parte wyth hir) conclude a league with Kyng Henry, vppon certayne conditions as the ſame are conteyned in an inſtrumente or Charter, the tenour whereof beginneth as followeth.

See Math.Par in the printed boke.pag.840.

Conuenit inter dominum regem Henricum regem Angliæ, &c.

And for the performance of the articles in this inſtrument or writing conteyned, the ſaid Lady in name of hir huſbande, procured diuers noble men to becom ſuerties or pledges, that is to wit, Raufe de Mortimer, Walter de Clifforde, Roger de Monthault Seneſhall of Cheſter, Mailgun ap Mailgun, Meredoc ap Robert, Griffin ap Maddoc of Bromefield, Howwell and Meredoc brethren, Griffin ap Wenuwen: which perſones vndertoke for the ſaide Lady, that the couenauntes on hir parte ſhould be performed; and therof they alſo bounde themſelues by their writings vnto the ſaide Kyng. Giuen on the Mondaye next before the Aſſumption of our Lady, in the fiue and twentye yeare of the ſame Kynges reigne, as in Mathewe Paris yee may finde the ſame recorded. Pag. 840. 841. and 843. in the printed copie.

Dauid driuen to his vvittes ende.

But nowe to oure purpoſe. When Dauid vnderſtode of the kyngs approche wyth ſo puiſſaunt an armye, he was brought into great perplexitie, & the more in dede, not onely bicauſe there chaunced the ſame yere for the ſpace of foure monethes togither a greate drouthe, ſo that the mariſhes and bogges were dried vp and made paſſable for the kyngs people, but alſo for yͤ many of the Welch nobilitie, as chiefly Griffin Madock and others, ſought his deſtruction in fauour of his brother Griffin (whoſe deliueraunce they earneſtlye wiſhed) and for that he ſtode excommunicate by the Pope. All whiche things well conſidered, cauſed him to doubt of a further miſchiefe to hang ouer his head: Wherevpon he ſent to the king, ſignifying that he would delyuer his brother Griffyn freely into his hands, but letting him withall to wit by many good reaſons, that if he did ſet him at libertie, he ſhuld miniſter many newe occaſions of continuall warres.

Moreouer this couenaunt Dauid required at the kyngs handes, that the kyng ſhoulde reſerue him ſo to his peace, vnder the bonde of Fidelitie and hoſtages, that he ſhould not diſinherite hym: which when the king courteouſly graunted, Dauid ſent vnto hym his brother Gryffin, to diſpoſe of hym as he ſhould thinke requiſite. The Kyng receiuing him, ſent him to London, vnder the conduct of ſir John de Lexinton, togither with other mo (whom hee had receiued as hoſtages both of Dauid and others the nobles of Wales) appointing them to be kept in ſafetie wythin the Tower there.

There was alſo a Charter or dede made by the ſaime Dauid vnto King Henrie, contaynyng the Articles, couenauntes, and grauntes made betwixt the ſayd Prince, and the forſayde Dauid, beginning thus.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus ad quos præſentes literæ &c. And after this, that is to ſay, within .viij. dayes after the ſayd feaſt of Saint Mychael the foreſayde Dauid came to London, and there dyd homage to the Kyng and ſware feaultie, and after returned in peace backe agayne vnto hys countrey.

About the ſame time there chaunced a controuerſie to ryſe betwixt the king and the Biſhop of Lincolne, for the beſtowing of the benefice of Thame, the which John Manſel the kings chapleyne hadde gotten in poſſeſſion by the Kinges fauor through prouiſion graunted of the Pope, where the Biſhoppe alledgyng priuiledges to the contrary, had graunted it to an other.

At length the Kyng hauing his fathers trouble before his eies, and doubting the Biſhoppes wordes, threatning ſome euill myſhappe to folowe, if he ſhoulde ſtande long in the matter agaynſte the ſayde Biſhoppe, gaue ouer hys tenure: and therewythall prouyded John Maunſell of a farre more ryche benefice, that is to ſaye, of the perſonage of Maydſtone, whereinto the Biſhoppe ſpeedyly inueſted hym.

Thys yeare many noble men ended theyr lyues, as well ſuche as were gone with the Erles of Cornewall and Leyceſter into the holye lande, and others remaynyng ſtill at home. Amongeſt whyche number were theſe: Wylliam Forz Earle of Albemarle, Walter Lacy, one of the chiefeſt nobles in all Irelande, Stephen de Segraue, Gilberte de Baſſet and hys ſonne and heire, named alſo Gilberte. Moreouer John Biſet hygh Juſtice of the Forreſtes, and Peter de Mallow, Hughe Wak, Roberte Marmion, Peter de Bruys, Guyſcharde Laidec, Euſtace Stoutville, Eudo Hamon, ſurnamed Peccham, Baldwyn de Betun, John Fitz John, Stewarde of houſeholde to Earle Richarde, John de Beau lieu, Gerarde de Furniuall. There dyed alſo the Ladye Eleanore the Counteſſe of Brytayne, wyfe vnto Geffrey, that was ſomtyme Earle of Britayn,

whiche

(whyche Counteſſe hadde beene long kepte pryſoner at Bryſtowe) wyth dyuers other.

Moreouer, there dyed thys yeare Roger Biſhop of London, and Hughe Biſhoppe of Cheſter. Alſo Gilberte Marſhall Earle of Pembroke in a Tornaye whyche he had attempted at Hereforde agaynſt the kinges licence, was by an vnruly horſe caſte, and ſo hurte, that immediatly he dyed thereof. Neyther was thys yeare onely mournefull to Englande for the loſſe of ſuche hygh Eſtates, but alſo in other places many notable perſonages departed out of this tranſitorie lyfe. As two Popes, Gregorie the ninthe and his ſucceſſour Celeſtine the fourthe, beſydes Cardinalles: amongſt the whiche, Robert Somercote an Engliſhe man was one.

Aboute the later ende of this. xxv. yeare, the ſixth daye of October, there appeared a righte ſore Eclypſe of the Sunne, verie ſtraunge to the beholders.

In the. xxvj. yeare dyed the Empreſſe Iſabell, wyfe vnto Fredericke the Emperoure. In which yeare alſo beganne the warres agayn betwixte Kyng Henrye, and Lewes the kyng of France, for the quarell of Hugh Erle of Marche who refuſed to do homage vnto Alfonſe the brother of kyng Lewes, whyche Alfonſe had maryed the onely daughter and heyre of Raymund Earle of Tholouze, and therefore ſhoulde ſucceede the ſame Earle in his eſtate and inheritaunce. His brother kyng Lewes had alſo gyuen vnto hym the Earledome of Poictou with all the landes of Aluergne: and bycauſe the earle of Marche woulde not doe homage vnto hym, kyng Lewes made warre vppon the Earle of Marche, who therupon ſought to procure king Henrye (whoſe mother hee had maryed) to come ouer wyth an armie vnto hys ayd.

Kyng Henry beyng ſollicited with Letters, not onely from hys father in lawe, but alſo from dyuers other noble menne of Poictou, who willyngly woulde haue bene vnder hys gouernemente, aſked aduyſe of hys counſell what hee oughte to doe in the matter. Some were of opinion, that ſith there hadde bene a truce taken betwixte the Kings, it were not reaſon in any wyſe to breake the ſame: but other thought, that ſith the Frenche men in tymes paſte had taken from King Iohn hys lawfull heritage in Normandie and Poictou, and wrongfullye detayned the ſame ſtyll in theyr poſſeſſion wythoute reſtitution, it coulde not bee at any tyme vnlawfull vpon occaſion giuen to recouer the ſame out of their handes. Thys opinion was allowed for good, and the beſt that myght bee bothe of the Kyng, and alſo of the Earle of Cornewall, lately returned from hys iourney whiche he had made into the holy land.

But nowe all the ſtaye reſted in gatheryng money, which beyng earneſtly demaunded in a parliamente begon at Weſtmynſter the Tuiſdaye before Candlemaſſe, was as ſtyffly denied, alledging in excuſe theyr often payementes of Subſidies and Reliefs, whiche had bene gathered ſith the comming of the king to his crowne, as the thirteenth, fifteenth, ſixteenth and fortieth partes of all their mouable goods, beſide Charugage, hydage, and ſundrye Eſcuages, namely the great eſcuage graunted for the Mariage of his ſiſter the Empreſſe: and alſo beſide the thirtieth within four yeres laſt paſt, or theraboutes, graunted to him, which they thought remayned vnſpent, bicauſe it could not be vnderſtood about what neceſſarie affaires for the common wealth it ſhoulde be layde forth and imployed, where as the ſame was leuyed vpon condition, that it ſhoulde remayne in certayn Caſtels, and not to be expended but by the aduiſe of foure peeres of the realme, as the Earle of Warrein, and others.

Charugage a certain duetie for euerye plowlande.

Moreouer, they alledged, that the eſcheats and amerciamentes whyche had bin gathered of late were ſuche as muſte needes fill the kings Coffers: and ſo to conclude, they woulde not conſente to graunt any Subſidie. But yet the king ſo handeled the matter with the richer ſort, and namely thoſe of the ſpiritualtie, that partely by gifte, and partely by borowing, hee got togyther a greate maſſe of treaſure, and ſo prepared an armie and ſhippes to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoyn with all conuenient ſpeede.

In the meane tyme, bycauſe he woulde leaue thynges in more ſuretie at home, hee ſente the Biſhop of Durham into Scotlande, by whoſe diligence a marriage was concluded betwixte the Lorde Alexander, eldeſt ſonne to the king of Scottes, and the Ladie Margaret daughter to king Henry. Moreouer, the marches of Englande adioyning to Scotlande, were committed to the king of Scots as warden of the ſame, to kepe and defende, whyleſt kyng Henry ſhoulde abyde in the parties of beyond the ſea. The archbiſhop of Yorke in the kings abſence, was alſo appoynted chiefe gouernour of the realme.

The Biſhoppe of Durham ſent into Scotlande.

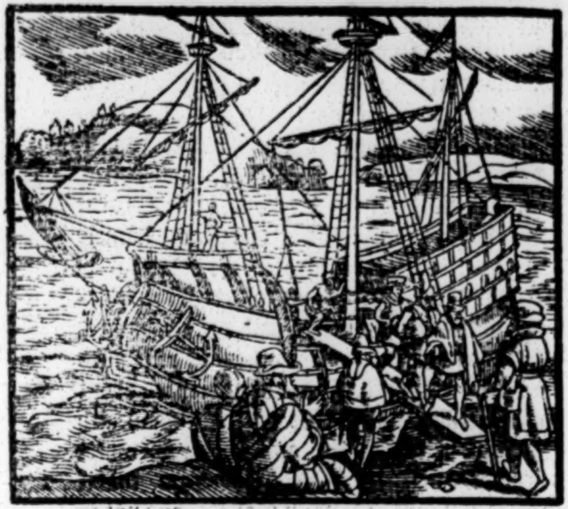
The K. of Scottes vvarden of the Engliſhe marches.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke gouernour of the realme.

When this prouiſion was once ready, aboute the middeſt of May, the king tooke the ſea, together with the Queene his wyfe, his brother Richarde Earle of Cornewal, and ſeuen other Erles, and aboute three hundred knights or men of armes. The Poictouins hadde written to hym that he needed not to bring ouer with him anye great armie of men, but rather plentie of money to retain ſuch as he ſhuld fynd there redy to ſerue him at his comming. Wherupon he tooke with him. 30. barrells of ſterling coyne: And at length (but not without contrary wyndes) he arriued on

Thirtie barrels of engliſh coin.

The K. paſſeth ouer into Frãce



the coaſt of Gaſcoyne, in the mouthe of the riuer of Garon, and taking land, was ioyfully receyued of the people, and namely of Reynolde loꝛd of Pons. The French king aduertiſed that the K. of Englãd was cõmen ouer into Fraunce, to the aide of the Erle of Marche, and other hys ſubiectes againſt him, prepareth a mightie armie, in the whiche were reckened to be to the number of foure thouſand men of armes, well appointed and armed at all peeces, beſides. xx. M. of Eſquiers, Gentlemen, yeomen and croſſebowes: and with the ſame immediatly he entred the dominions of the Erle of Marche, and taketh from him diuers townes and caſtels, as Fountney, wherin he toke one of the Erles ſonnes: Alſo Meruant with diuers other. In the meane whyle the king of England was aduaunced foꝛward and commen neere vnto Tailboꝛge (lying with his armie in the fayꝛe medow by the riuer ſide of Charent faſt by the Caſtell of Thonay) he had there with hym in campe. xvj. C. knyghtes. oꝛ rather men of armes, and twentie thouſande footemen, with ſeuen hundꝛed that bare croſſebows.) Hee made there his two halfe bꝛethꝛen, the ſonnes of the Earle of Marche knights, and gaue to the one of them fyue hundꝛed markes, and to the other. vj. C. markes yerely to be payde out of his Eſcheker, till he had otherwyſe pꝛouided foꝛ them in landes, and reuenues equall to that penſion. Now the Frenche king being aduertiſed, that king Henry laye thus neere to Tailbourg, marched thytherwardes with all his puiſſaunce lately reenfoꝛced with new ſupplies, and appꝛochyng to Tailburg, hadde the towne deliuered vnto hym. This chaunced aboute the latter ende of Julye. Then after the Frenche Kyng hadde gotten poſſeſſion of Tailburg, he mente to paſſe the water, and if by mediation of a truce politikely pꝛocured by the Earle of Coꝛnwall (and as it were at a narow pinch) the king of Englande had not founde meanes to remoue in the night ſeaſon, he had bin in great daunger to haue bin taken, thꝛough wante of ſuche ayde as he looked foꝛ to haue had at the handes of the Poictouins and other his confederates. But yet he got awaye (thoughe with ſome ſtayne of honour) and withdꝛew to Xainctes, whether alſo the French king followed, and comming neere to the towne, there was a ſharpe encounter begon betwixt the French and the Engliſh, wherin the Engliſhmen were victoꝛs, and in whyche

The Frenche king inuadeth the Earle of Marches lande.

The
the Eng
armye

Taileb

Xaint

An encou
betwixt
Englishe
French

by the Frenchmens owne confeſſion, if the Engliſhe power had bin lyke to theyꝛs in number, they had fully atchieued the honour of a foughten field, and foꝛ a light ſkirmiſhe, a ſounde and perfect victoꝛie.

The highe pꝛowes and valiancie of the Earles of Leyceſter, Saliſburie, Noꝛffolke, wyth other noble menne, as John de Bourgh, Warreyn de Mounte Chenille oꝛ Cheincy, Hubert Fitz Mathewe, and Raufe Fitz Nicholas dyd in this fight righte well appeare: and lykewyſe other of the Engliſhe nation bare them ſelues ſo manfullye, that they deſerued no ſmall commendation. Amongeſt other alſo ſyꝛ John Maunſell the Kyngs Chaplayne, and one of hys pꝛiuie counſayle dydde ryghte woꝛthylye, takyng Pꝛyſoner wyth hys owne handes one Peter Oꝛige, that was Stewarde vnto the

Earle

The valiancie of the Earle of Leyceſter and others.

John Ma

Bar-

e Sey. de yne.

There was moreouer taken on the Frenche part ſir Iohn de Barris, a man of good accompt, by William de Sey, beſide ſundry others. On the Engliſhe parte (was ſlayn Gilbert de Clare) and Henrye Haſtings taken priſoner, with other to the number of twenty knyghtes, or men of Armes, if I maye ſo call them.

le of s re- to the ing.

After thys encounter, by reaſon that the Frenche armye encreaſed by newe bandes ſtyll reſortyng to theyr Kyng, the Earle of Marche ſecretely ſoughte meanes to bee reconciled vnto hym: and fynally by the helpe of the Duke of Brytayne, hys olde acquayntance and frende at neede, his peace was purchaſed, ſo that hee hadde his landes agayne to hym reſtored, except certayne Caſtels, whyche for further aſſuraunce the Frenche kyng retayned in his handes by the ſpace of three yeares.

The Kyng of Englande perceyuyng hymſelfe too too muche deceyued in that he had putte ſuche confidence in the Earle of Marche and others of that countrey, whiche ſhoulde haue ayded hym at thys preſente, and agayne aduertiſed, that the Frenche Kyng mente to beſiege hym wythin the Citie of Xainctes, departed wyth all ſpeede from thence, and came to Blay, a towne in Gaſcoigne, ſituate neare to the riuer of Garon, and diſtaunt ſeauen leagues from Burdeaux.

Paris. ounteſſe .

And whyleſt he laye here at Blay, there came vnto hym the Counteſſe of Bierne (a woman of a monſtrous bygneſſe of bodye) bryngyng wyth hir to ſerue the Kyng hir ſonne, and three ſcore knyghtes, in hope to get ſome of hys ſterlyng moneye, whereof ſhe knewe hym to haue plentye: and ſo couenaunting for hir entertaynmente, remayned ſtill wyth hym, and receyued euery day. xiiij. li. ſterlyng, & yet ſhe neuer pleaſured hym to the worthe of a groate, but rather hyndered hym, in makyng hym bare of money, whiche ſhe receyued, purſſed vp and tooke away wyth hir when ſhe departed from hym.

euolting e Frēch s.

In the meane tyme the Lordes de Pons, Mirabeau. and Mortaigne, ſodaynely reuolted, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Frenche kyng. with the Vicount of Touars, and all other the Lordes and knyghtes of Poicton, and the marches therabouttes, that not long before hadde procured Kyng Henrye to come ouer to theyr ayde. The Citie of Xainctes was lykewyſe rendred to hym immediately vppon kyng Henries departure from thence. At whyche ſeaſon the Frenche kyng mente to haue followed hym to Blaye, but by reaſon of a greate deathe whyche chaunced in his armie, he was conſtrained to alter his purpoſe.

in the h campe.

Surely as Authours haue recorded, what through peſtilence and vnwholſomneſſe of the ayre, a great number of Frenchemen dyed that tyme, and dayly more fell ſicke.

The number of them that dyed, as Mathewe Paris, and Mathew Weſtmin. affirme, amounted to twentie thouſande perſones, beſyde fourescore of the Nobilitie that bare banners or Penons. Kyng Lewes hymſelfe alſo beganne to waxe diſeaſed and craſye, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to renewe the truce wyth Kyng Henrye, and therewyth departed home.

Truce renued betvvixt the tvvo kings.

Polidore.

Kyng Henry remayned at Blaye till the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, and then went to Burdeaux to viſite the Quene, which in this meane whyle was brought to bedde about Midſommer of a young Ladye, whome they named Beatrice, after the Queenes mother.

The Queene of Englande deliuered of a daughter.

And whyleſt Kyng Henrye was thus occupyed in Poictou and Gaſcoine, William Mariſch, the ſonne of Geffreye Mariſch (by commaundement ſente from the Kyng) was put to death at London, with ſixteene of his complices on the euen of S. Iames the Apoſtle.

VVilliam Mariſch executed.

This William Mariſch falling into the kinges diſpleaſure, gotte hym to the ſea, and played the rouer, keepyng the Iſle of Lundaye in the Weaſt countrey, tyll fynally he was taken and brought priſoner vnto the Towre, wher he was charged with ſundry Articles of treaſon, as that he ſhoulde hyre that counterfaite madde manne whyche ſoughte to haue murthered the kyng at Woodſtocke, as before ye haue heard.

Yet when he ſhoulde dye, he vtterly denyed that euer he was priuie to any ſuche thing. He was fyrſte had from Weſtminſter to the towre, and from thence drawne to the Gibet, and there hanged, till he was dead, and after beyng cutte downe, hadde his bowelles ripped out, and burned, and when his heade was cut off, the body was diuided into foure quarters, & ſent vnto foure of the principall Cities of the realme. His complices were alſo drawne through the Citie of London vnto the ſame gibet, and there hanged.

The ſeas troubled vvyth men of vvarre.

In the tyme of this warre alſo betwixt Englande and Fraunce, there was much hurt done on the ſea betwixte them of the Cinque Portes and the Frenchemenne of Normandie, and other: as the Caleys menne and the Brytons, whyche did make themſelues as ſtrong as they coulde agaynſte the Engliſhemenne by ſea. Wherupon diuers encounters chaunced betwixt them, but more to the loſſe of the Engliſhmen, than of the Frenchemen: in ſomuche that they of the Portes were conſtrained to require ayde of the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Lorde gouernor of the realme.

About which time, and after the K. was withdrawne to Burdeaux, dyuers noble men, as the erles of Norffolk, and Winchester, with others, got licence to returne into Englande. Soone after whoſe arriual, eſcuage was gathered through the Realme towardes the bearyng of the kings charges.

Eſcuage gathered.xx. ſhillings of euery knightes fee.

Mat. VVeſt.

Death of noble men.

Moreouer, in this yeare of the King there dyed ſundry noble men of naturall infirmities, as the Earle of Warwike, Gilberte de Gaunt, Baldwyn Wake, Philyp de Kyme, and Roger Berthram of the North, with diuers other. Howbeit the king hymſelfe retourned not home, but laye all the Wynter tyme at Burdeaux, meanyng to attempt manye enterpryſes, but he broughte none to paſſe, ſauyng that in protractyng tyme, he ſpente muche money, and to litle purpoſe.

An. Reg. 27.

Aboute the beginning of the ſeuen and twentith yeare of his reigne, his brother the Earle of Cornewall, myſlyking the order of thyngs whiche he ſawe dayly in the king his brothers proceedyngs, woulde needes retourne backe into Englande, but chiefly when hee perceyued that his counſell and aduice could not bee hearde. The Kyng was ſore offended herewyth, but hee coulde not well remedye the matter, nor perſwade hym to tarye. And ſo the ſayde Earle of Cornewall, togyther wyth the Earles of Pembroke and Hereforde, and dyuers other noblemen tooke the ſea, and after manye daungers eſcaped in theyr courſe, at lengthe on Saincte Lucies daye they arriued in Cornewall, though ſome of the veſſelles that were in the companye were dryuen by force of the tempeſtuous weather vppon other contrarye coaſtes.

The Earle of Cornevvall & and other retourne home.

Aboute thys ſeaſon alſo, that is to witte, on the daye of Saint Edmunde the Kyng, there happened a maruellous tempeſt of thunder and lightenyng, and therewyth followed ſuche an exceedyng rayne (whyche contynued manye dayes togyther) that Riuers roſe on maruellous heygthe, and the Thames it ſelfe, whyche ſeldome ryſeth, or is increaſed by lande floudes, paſſing ouer the bankes, drowned all the countrey for the ſpace of ſix myles about Lambheth, ſo that none myght get into Weſtmynſter hall, except it were on horſebacke.

Prouiſion of grayne and victuals taken vp and ſente to the kyng.

Aboute the ſame tyme the Kyng ſente ouer into Englande to the Archbiſhop of Yorke lord Gouernour of the Realme, to cauſe prouiſyon of grayne and Bacon, to be conueyed ouer vnto hym, whiche he appoynted to be taken out of the poſſeſſions of the Archebiſhopryke of Canterburye, and other Biſhoprikes that were vacant, and out of other ſuche places, as ſeemed to hym good to appoynt. Herevpon were ſent ouer to hym ten thouſande quarters of wheate, fyue thouſande quarters of Otes, with as many Bacons. Alſo there was ſent vnto him great prouiſion of other things, as cloth for apparell, and liueryes, but muche of it periſhed in the ſea by one meane or other, that litle therof came to his vſe, who remayned ſtill at Burdeaux to his great coſt and charges, and ſmall gayne, ſauing that he recouered certayne townes and holdes there in Gaſcoyne that were kept by certain rebelles: At whyche tyme, bicauſe he was inclyned rather to follow the counſell of the Gaſcoynes and other ſtraungers than of his owne ſubiectes, and gaue vnto them larger entertaynment, not regarding the ſeruice of his owne naturall people: he was maruellouſly euill ſpoken of here in Englande, and the more in deed, bycauſe his iourney had no better ſucceſſe, and was yet ſo chargeable vnto him and all his ſubiectes. The noble menne that remayned with hym, as the Erles of Leyceſter and Saliſbury, with other, were conſtrained to borow no ſmall ſummes of money to beare out theyr charges: and ſo likewyſe the Kyng himſelfe ranne greatly in debte, by takyng vp money towardes the diſcharging of his importable expenſes.

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At lengthe by mediation of ſuche as were Commiſſioners a truce was concluded betwixt hym and the Frenche kyng for fyue yeares, and then he retourned towarde Englande, but hee arriued not there tyll the nynth of October, althoughe the truce was conluded in Marche vpon Saint Gregories day: for beſide other occaſions of hys ſtaye, one chaunced by ſuche ſtryfe and debate as roſe amongeſt the Gaſcoignes, whyche cauſed hym to retourne to lande, that he myght pacifye the ſame, when he was alreadye embarqued, and hadde hoyſted his ſayle immediatlye to ſette forwarde. Hee lefte in Guyenne for his Lieutenaunt one Nicholas de Mueles or Moles, to defende thoſe townes, which yet remayned vnder his obeyſaunce, for he putte no greate confidence in the people of that countrey, the whiche of cuſtome beeing vexed with continuall warre, were conſtrained not by will, but by the change of tymes, one whyle to holde on the Frenche ſyde, and an other while of the Engliſhe. In deede the Townes, namely thoſe that hadde their ſituation vppon the Sea coaſtes, were ſo deſtroyed and decayed in theyr walles and fortifications, that they coulde not long bee anye greate ayde to eyther parte, and therefore beyng not of force to holde oute, they were compelled to obeye one or an other, where by their willes they wold haue doone otherwyſe.

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And this was the cauſe that the king of Englande, oftentymes vppon truſte of theſe townes, whiche for the moſte were readie to receyue hym, was broughte into ſome hope to recouer his loſſes, and chiefly for that he was ſo manye tymes procured to attempte his fortune there, at the requeſte of the fickle mynded Poyſtouins, who whyleſt they dydde ſeeke ſtyll to purge theyr offences to the one Kyng, or to the other, they dayely by newe treaſons defamed theyr credit, and ſo by ſuche meanes the king of Englande oftentymes with ſmall aduantage or none at all, made warre againſt the French Kyng, in truſte of theyr ayde, that coulde or (vppon the leaſt occaſion conceyued,) quickely woulde doe little to his furtheraunce. And ſo therby Kyng Henry aſwell as his father Kyng John, was oftentymes deceyued of his vaine conceyued hope.

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In this ſeuen and twentith yeare of Kyng Henryes raygne, dyuers noble perſonages departed this lyfe, and firſte aboute the beginning of Januarye, deceaſſed the Lord Richard de Burghe, a man of greate honoure and eſtimation in Irelande, where he helde many faire poſſeſſions, by conqueſte of that noble Gentleman his worthye father. Alſo that valiaunt warriour Hughe Lacye, who had conquered in hys tyme a greate parte of Irelande. Alſo the ſame yeare the ſeuenth of Maye Hughe de Albeney Earle of Arundell departed this life, in the middeſt of his youthfull yeares, and was buried in the Priorie of Wimundham, whiche his aunceters had founded. After his deceaſſe that noble heritage was deuided by partition amongeſt foure ſiſters.

Lacy.

Alſo aboute the ſame tyme, to wit, on the twelfthe daye of Maye, Hubert de Broughe Earle of Kent departed this life at his Manor of Banſtude, and his bodye was conueyed to London, and there buryed in the Churche of the Friers preachers, vnto the whiche Fryers he had bene verie beneficiall: And amongeſt other things, hee gaue vnto them his goodlye Pallace at Weſtminſter adioyning neare to the Pallace of the Earle of Cornewall, whyche the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke afterwardes purchaſed. The Monkes of the Ciſteaux were this yeare ſomewhat vexed by the Kyng, bycauſe they had refuſed to aide hym with money towardes his iourney made into Gaſcoyne. Alſo the pleas of the Crowne were kepte and holden in the Towre of London. And in the nighte of the fiue and twentyth daye of July ſtarres were ſeene fall from the ſkye after a maruellous ſort, not after the common maner, but thyrtye or fortye at once, ſo faſte one after an other and glaunſing to and fro, that if ther had fallen ſo many verye ſtarres in deed, there woulde none haue bene lefte in the firmament.

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In the eighte and twentye yeare of Kyng Henryes raygne, the Quenes mother the Ladye Beatrice Counteſſe of Prouaunce arryued at Douer on the fourteenthe daye of Nouember, bringing with hir the Ladye Sancia hir daughter, and in the octaues of ſaint Martine they were receyued into London in moſte ſolemne wiſe, the ſtreetes beeing hanged wyth ryche clothes, as the maner is at the coronations of Princes. On Saint Clementes daye, Rycharde Earle of Cornewall the Kings brother marryed the ſaide Ladie Sanctia, whych mariage was ſolemniſed in moſte royall wiſe and with ſuche ſumptuous feaſtes and banquetings, as greater coulde not be deuiſed. Finally, the Quenes mother the Counteſſe of Prouance being a righte notable and worthie Lady, was honored in euery degree of hir ſonne in lawe king Henry in moſt curteous and ſumptuous manner, and at hir departure out of the realme, which was after Chriſtmaſſe, ſhe was wyth moſte riche and Princely gyftes honorably rewarded.

The Earle of Cornvvall maried to the Lady Sancta.

Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, where as William de Ralegh was requeſted to remoue from the ſea of Norwyche vnto Wyncheſter, and conſentyng therevnto, without the Kyngs lycence, obtained his confirmation of the Pope. The king was highly diſpleaſed therwith, bycauſe he ment it to an other. Wherevpon when the ſayde Wyllyam Ralegh was retourned from Rome to be inſtalled, the Kyng ſente commaundement to the Mayor and Citizens of Wincheſter, that they ſhoulde not ſuffer him to enter the Citie. Wherevppon hee beeing ſo kept out, accurſed bothe the Citie and the Cathedrall Churche with all the Monkes and others that fauoured the Prior, whiche had intruded himſelfe onely by the Kyngs authoritie, and not by lawefull election and meanes, as was ſuppoſed.

VVilli. Ralegh biſhop of Norvviche.

He is conſecrated biſhop of VVincheſter by the Pope.

1244.

At length the ſayde Biſhoppe vpon griefe conceyued that the Kyng ſhoulde bee ſo heauy Lorde vnto him, got into a ſhippe at London, and ſtale awaye into Fraunce, where of the Frenche Kyng hee was well receyued, and greatly cheriſhed. Alſo he found ſuche meanes that the Pope in fauour of his cauſe wrote letters bothe to the Kyng and to the Quene, namyng hir hys coſin, but whyche waye that kinred ſhould come aboute, as yet it was neuer knowen. The Biſhoppe to ſhewe hym ſelfe not vnthankefull for ſuche friendeſhyppe, gaue to the Pope aboue ſixe thouſande Markes (as is ſaide) and the Pope bycauſe he woulde not be accompted a diſdainefull perſon, turned not backe one pennye of that whiche was ſo gently offred hym. At lengthe partely at contemplation of the Popes letters, and partly by reaſon the Biſhoppe humbled himſelfe in aunſwering the articles whyche the Kyng had obiected agaynſte hym in cauſe of the controuerſie betwixte them, he graunted hym his peace, and

He ſtealeth out of the realme.

He giueth to the Pope.6000 markes.

Martine the Popes Collectour.

receyued hym into the lande, reſtoꝛyng to hym all that had bin taken and deteyned from hym. Moꝛeouer, in this meane while the Pope truſting moꝛe than inoughe vpon the Kyngs ſimplicitie and patience, who in deede durſte not in any caſe ſeeme to diſpleaſe him, had ſente an other Collectoꝛ of money into Englande named Martin, not adoꝛned wyth power Legantine, but furniſhed wyth ſuche auctoꝛities and faculties as had not bene heard of. He was lodged in the Temple, where he ſhewed what commyſſion hee had to gather vp the Popes reuenues, and to exacte money by ſundꝛy maners of meanes, and ſo fell in hand therewyth, vſing no ſmall diligence therin, vnto the great griefe and hurt of conſcience of many: he had power to ſtaye the beſtowing of benefices, tyll he was ſatiſfied to the full contentation of his mynde. Benefices of ſmall valew hee regarded not greatly, but ſuche as were good liuynges in deede felt hys heauye and rauenous handes extended towardes them. He had power alſo to excommunicate, to ſuſpende, and punyſhe all ſuche as ſhoulde reſiſte his will, althoughe neuer ſo wilfully bent, in ſomuche that it was ſaide, he had ſundꝛye blankes vnder the Popes bulled ſeale, bycauſe that vpon the ſodayn hee bꝛought foꝛthe ſuche as ſeemed beſte to ſerue foꝛ his purpoſe. Hee vſed this his vnmeaſurable auctoꝛitie to the vttermoſt, and therin did not foꝛget his own pꝛofit, but toke palfreis and other pꝛeſentes of religious men, as he thought good. But to declare all the pꝛactiſes of this the Popes agent, it wold be too long a pꝛoceſſe. Finally when men ſawe ſuche vnreaſonable couetouſneſſe and polling, ſome of the nobilitie of the Realme, not able longer to beare it, came to the Kyng, and exhibited to hym theyꝛ complaint hereof, namely foꝛ that the Popes pꝛocuratoꝛ beſtowed diuers riche pꝛebends and other roomths in Churches vnto ſtraungers knowen to be infamed foꝛ vſurie, ſimonie, and other heinous vices, whiche had no reſpect to pꝛeaching, noꝛ to keping of any hoſpitalitie, foꝛ maintenaunce wherof, their aunceſtoꝛs had giuen foꝛth theyꝛ landes to the enriching of the Churche, not meaning to haue the ſame beſtowed on ſuch maner of perſons. The Kyng vnderſtoode that truthe it was which was tolde him, and therfoꝛe wꝛitte to the Pope in humble wiſe, beſeching hym of his fatherly care to take oꝛder foꝛ ſome redꝛeſſe therin.

The nobles cōplayne to the king of the Popes collectour.

The king vvriteth to the Pope.

Polidore.

The king aſketh counſell hovv to proceede in hys vvarres againſt the French K..

Aboute this tyme the Kyng beganne to renewe his imagination foꝛ the following of the warres againſte the Frenche Kyng, and therfoꝛe aſked the aduice of his counſell how hee might beſt attempt the recouerie of thoſe lands in Fraunce whiche were wꝛongfully deteyned from him. The moſt parte of all his auncient counſelloꝛs were of this opinion, that to make warre agayn in truſte of others ayde, as had bin attempted ſo often befoꝛe without any pꝛofit, ſhould be no wiſdom, and therfoꝛe he ought either to foꝛbeare, oꝛ els ſo to pꝛouide hymſelfe of power ſufficiēt, without truſting to the ſuppoꝛt of ſtraungers, as he might be able with his owne puiſſaunce and foꝛce to atchiue his enterpꝛiſe, foꝛ otherwiſe his trauaile ſhuld pꝛoue but vaine and to very ſmall effect. The Kyng perſwaded wyth theſe ſound reaſons, thought not good to attempt any thyng moꝛe touchyng the ſayde warre vnaduiſedly: And to the ende it ſhould not be ſaid how he truſted in vain vpon the aide of ſtrangers, he cauſed all ſuch poſſeſſions as the Noꝛmans helde in Englande to be cōfiſcated, to the intēt that aſwel the Noꝛmans as Bꝛitons and Poiſtouins might well vnderſtande, that he mynded not from thencefoꝛth to credite the falſe pꝛomiſes of rebelles, as he that woulde nowe vſe only the ſeruice of his owne people the engliſhmē, which in reſpect of others painted pꝛomiſes he had befoꝛe contemned.

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The occaſion that moued the king ſo to diſinherit the Noꝛmans, chiefly roſe of the French Kynges dealing, who aboute the ſame tyme calling to hym all thoſe that had lands in England, required them eyther to ſticke vnto him inſeparably, either els to the King of England ſithe no man might ſerue two maſters. Wherevpon ſome foꝛſaking theyꝛ landes in England, liued on thoſe, whiche they had in France, and other foꝛſoke thoſe liuings whyche they had in Fraunce, and came ouer into England to liue on thoſe poſſeſſions whyche they had here. But in the Frenche Kyngs doynges was no enfoꝛcing of men, eyther to foꝛſake the one oꝛ the other: wherfoꝛe the pꝛoceedings of the Kyng of Englande ſeemed ſomwhat moꝛe iniurious, & partly founded to the bꝛeach of the truce. Howbeit al was paſſed ouer without apparāt trouble. Whileſt all things were thus in quiet, & the kyng himſelfe not troubled with any outward warres, the Welchemen (who thoughe they wer ſubdued yet could not reſt in quiet) receiue agayne the foꝛnamed Dauid to theyꝛ Pꝛince, the whyche foꝛ a pollicye determined hymſelfe to make offer to the Pope to holde his lande of hym, yelding therefoꝛe yearely vnto hym the ſumme of fiue hundꝛeth markes (as is ſaide) to the end that vnder the wings of the Popes pꝛotection he might ſhadowe hymſelfe, and be defended againſt all men: at length by large gifts of no ſmall ſummes of money he purchaſed letters of the Pope in hys fauour to the pꝛeiudice of the crown of Englād, as touching the right whiche the King of Englande had to the dominion

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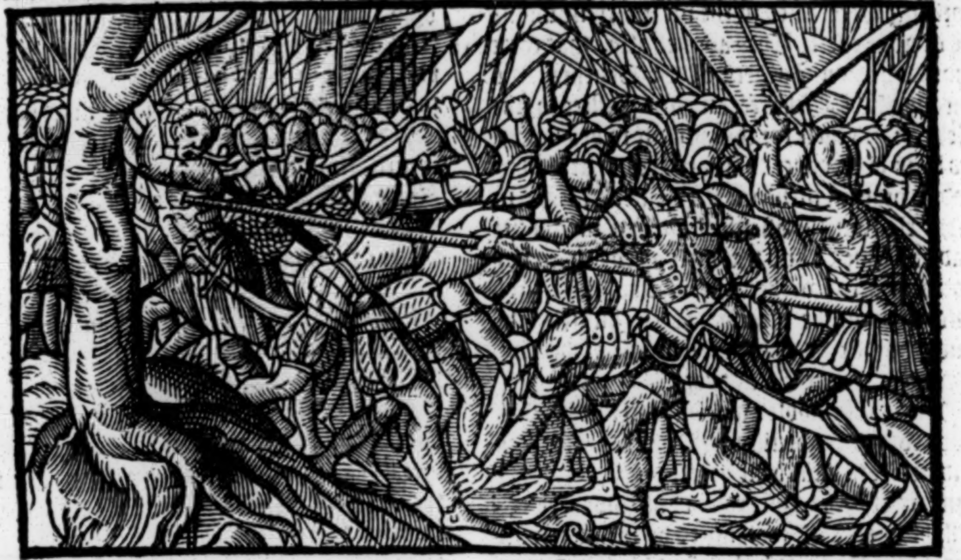
minion of Wales, as by the tenor thereof it may appeare, beginning as here enſueth.

Illuſtri viro domino Henrico Dei gratia Regi Angliæ &c. See Math. Par. pag 850. Thus Dauid being encouraged herewyth & ſuch other of the Welchmen as took his part, at time appointed did ſet vpon the Kyngs capitaines as they ſtragled abrode, whom at the firſt brunt they put to flight, and ſlewe many of them here and there as they toke them at aduenture. The Engliſhemen when night was commen, and that the Welchemen withdrewe to reſt, aſſembled themſelues agayne togyther, and in the morning wyth newe recouered force bothe of minde and body; came vppon the Welchemen and begunne with them a new battaile, which continued the ſpace of .iij. houres together, til at length the Welchmen, which raſhly had entred the fight, begun to ſhrink back, and fled to theyr wonted places of refuge, the woods and mariſhes. Their chief capitayn Dauid fledde into Scotlād, (hauing loſt in yͤ batail the moſt part of all his ſouldiers whiche he hadde there wͭ him.) At his cōming into Scotlād, & whileſt he there remained, he incenſed kyng Alexander againſt K. Henry to his vttermoſt power, putting into his head how reprochfully the engliſh men ſpake of the Scottes, reprouyng them of cowardiſe and lacke of ſtomacke. Alſo that they liued according to the preſcripte of the Engliſh nation, as ſubiectes to the ſame: and many other things he forged, which had bene able to haue moued a moſte pacient man vnto indignation and diſpleaſure. Finally either by the prouoking of this Dauid, or by ſome other occaſion, king Alexander, mēt to make warres to king Henry in deed, and reiſing an army made a roade into Englande, and did ſome hurt by incurſions and further ſignifyed to Kyng Henry, as ſome write, that he neither ought nor woulde holde any parte or portion of Scotlande of the King of Englande. Kyng Henry ſore offended herewith, purpoſed in time to be reuenged, & ſhortly after, called a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the whiche he earneſtly moued the Lordes and other eſtates to ayde hym with money towards the furniſhing of his cofers, being emptied as they knew by his exceeding charges in his laſte iourney into Gaſcoigne. He woulde not open his meanyng which he had to make warre to the Scottes, bycauſe he woulde haue his enterpriſe ſecretly kept, till hee ſhoulde bee ready to ſet forwarde. But although the kyng had got the Pope to write in his fauour vnto the Lords both ſpirituall and temporal, to aide him in that his demaunde of money, there was muche a doe, and playne denyall made at the firſt, to graunt at that tyme to any ſuche payment as was demaunded: and eftſones they fel in hand with deuiſing newe orders, and namely to renewe agayne theyr ſuite for the confirmation of the auncient libertyes of the realme, ſo as the ſame might be obſerued, according to the graunt thereof before made by the Kynges Letters Patentes, without all fraude or contradiction. They alſo appoynted, that there ſhoulde bee foure Lordes choſen of the moſte puiſſaunt and diſcreteſt of all other within the realme, whiche ſhould be ſworne of the Kyngs counſell, to order his buſines iuſtly and truly, and to ſee that euerye man had ryght wythout reſpecting of perſons. And theſe foure chiefe counſellours ſhoulde be euer attending aboute the Kyng, or at the leaſt three or twoo of them. Alſo that by the view, knowledge and witnes of them, the Kynges treaſure ſhoulde bee ſpent and layd forthe, and that if one of them chaunced to fall away, an other ſhuld be placed in his roomth by the apointment of the reſidue remaining. They wold alſo yͭ the lord chief Iuſtice & the



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Nevve orders deuiſed by the Lords.

Vnreaſonable requeſtes.

the Lorde Chauncellor ſhould be choſen by the generall voyces of the eſtates aſſembled, and bicauſe it was needfull that they ſhoulde be oftentymes with the King, it was thought they might be choſen out of the number of thoſe four aboue rehearſed conſeruators of Iuſtice. And if the Kyng at any tyme chaunced to take the ſeale from the Lorde Chauncellor, whatſoeuer writing were ſealed in the meane tyme ſhould be of none effect. They aduiſed alſo, that there ſhoulde be two Iuſtices of the Benches, two barons of the Eſcheker, and one Iuſtice for the Iewes: and theſe for that preſent to be appointed by publike voyces of the eſtates, that as they had to order al mens matters and buſines, ſo in theyr election the aſſent of all men myght bee had and giuen: and that afterwards when vppon any occaſion there ſhoulde be any elected into the roomthe of any of theſe Iuſtices, the ſame ſhoulde be appoynted by one of the afore mencioned foure Counſellors.

The Pope ſendeth for ſome ayde of money to maynteyn warres againſt the Emperour.

Eſcuage graunted to the king.

The K. an arm towa lande.

The K. Engla Scotla freda.

The Alexa Scotl to Hen thirde.

But as the nobles wer buſie in three wekes ſpace aboute the deuiſing of theſe ordinaunces and other, to haue bene decreed as ſtatutes, the ennemy of peace and ſower of diſcorde, the deuill, hindred all theſe thinges by the couetouſnes of the Pope, who had ſent his Chaplayne maſter Martin, with auctoritie to leuie alſo an ayde of money for his needes to mainteine his warres withall againſt the Emperour, and the Emperour on the other part, ſent ambaſſadors to the Kyng to ſtaye him and his people from graunting anye ſuche aide vnto the Pope: ſo that there was no leſſe harde holde and difficultie ſhewed in refuſing to cõtribute vnto this demaunde of the Popes *Nuncio*, than vnto the kyngs. At length yet in an other ſitting which was begon three weekes after Candelmaſſe, they agreed to giue the King eſcuage to runne towards the mariage of his eldeſt daughter, of euery Knyghts fee holden of the Kyng twenty ſhillings to be paid at two termes, the one half at Eaſter, and the other at Michelmaſſe. After this, the Kyng mynding to inuade the Scots, cauſed the whole force of all ſuche as ought to ſerue him in the warres to aſſemble, & ſo with a mightie hoſt he goeth to newe Caſtell vppon Tine, meaning from thence to march towards Scotlande and to inuade the ſame in reuenge of ſuche iniuries as the Scots had done vnto hym and his ſubiects, & namely for that Walter Cumin a mighty Baron of Scotlande and other noble men had built two Caſtelles neare to the Engliſhe confines, the one in Galoway, and the other in Louthian, and further had receyued and ſuccoured certayne rebelles to the Kyng of Englande, as Geffrey de Mariſch or Mareis an Iriſh man, and others. The Kyng of Scottes was aduertiſed of Kyng Henryes approche, and therefore in defence of hymſelfe and his countrey, he had reyſed an huge army. Hereuppon certayne noble men vppon eyther ſide, ſorye to vnderſtande that ſuche bloudſhed ſhould chaunce as was like to follow (and that vpon no great apparãt cauſe) if the two kings ioyned battel, tooke pain in the matter to agree them, which in the end they brought to paſſe, ſo that they were made friends and wholy reconciled. There was a publike inſtrument alſo made therof by the K. of Scots vnto K. Henry, firmed wyth his ſeale, & likewiſe wyth the ſeales of other noble mẽ, teſtifying his allegiance which he ought to the K. of England, as his ſuperior Lord, in fourme as here enſueth.

Alexander Dei gratia Rex Scotiæ, omnibus Chriſtifidelibus hoc ſcriptum viſuris vel audituris, Salutem. Ad veſtram volumus venire notitiam nos pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris conceſſiſſe, & fideliter promiſiſſe chariſſimo & ligio Domino noſtro Henrico tertio dei gratia regi Angliæ illuſtri Domino Hiberniæ, Duci Normaniæ & Aquitaniæ, & Comiti Andegauiæ, & eius hæredibus, quod imperpetuum bonam fidem ei ſeruabimus, pariter & amorem. Et quod nunquam aliquod fœdus iniemus per nos vel per aliquos alios ex parte noſtra, cum inimicis Domini regis Angliæ vel hæredum ſuorum, ad bellum procurandũ vel faciendum, vnde damnũ eis vel regnis ſuis Angliæ, & Hiberniæ, aut cæteris terris ſuis eueniat, vel poſſit aliquatenus euenire: niſi nos iniuſte grauent: ſtantibus in ſuo robore conuentionibus inter nos & dictũ dominum regem Angliæ initis vltimo apud Eboracũ in preſentia domini Othonis tituli S. Nicholai in carcere Tulliano, diaconi Cardinalis, tũc apoſtolicæ ſedis legati in Anglia. Et ſaluis conuentionibus ſuper matrimonio contrahendo inter filiũ noſtrũ & filiã dicti domini regis Angliæ. Et vt hæc noſtra conceſſio & promiſſio pro nobis & hæredibus noſtris perpetuæ firmitatis robur obtineant, fecimus iurare in animã noſtram Alanum Oſtiarũ, Henricũ de Baliol, Da-

uid de Lindeſey, VVilhelmũ Gifford, quod omnia prædicta bona fide firmiter & fideliter obſeruabimus. Et ſimiliter iurari fecimus venerabiles patres, Dauid, VVilhelmũ, Galfridũ, & Clementẽ Sancti Andreæ Glaſconienſem, Dunkeldenſem, Dublinſem epiſcopos. Et præterea Malcolmũ comitẽ de Fiſ, fideles noſtros, Patricium Comitem de Dunbar, Maliſiũ comitẽ de Strathern, VValterũ Cumin comitẽ de Menteth, VVilhelmum comitem de Mar, Alexandrũ comitẽ de Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings comitẽ de Athol, Robertũ de Bruis, Alanũ Oſtiarium, Henricũ de Bailiol, Rogerum de Mounbray, Laurentium de Abirnethiæ, Richardum Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richardũ Siward, VVilhelmum de Lindeſey, VValterũ de Morauia, VVilhelmum Giffarde; Nicholaum de Sully, VVilhelmum de Veteri Ponte, VVilhelmum de Brewer, Anſelmum de Meſue, Dauid de Graham, & Stephanum de Suningham. Quod ſi nos vel hæredes noſtri, contra conceſſionem & promiſſionem prædictam, quod abſit venerimus ipſi, & hæredes eorum nobis & hæredibus noſtris, nullum contra conceſſionem & promiſſionem prædictam, auxilium, vel conſilium impendent, aut ab alijs pro poſſe ſuo impendi permittent. Imò bona fide laborabunt ergà nos & hæredes noſtros, ipſi & hæredes eorum, quòd omnia prædicta à nobis & hæredibus noſtris nec non ab ipſis & eorum hæredibus firmiter & fideliter obſeruentur in perpetuum. In cuius rei teſtimonium tam nos quam prædicti Prelati, comites & Barones noſtri præſens ſcriptum ſigillorum ſuorum appoſitione roborauimus. Teſtibus prælatis, Comitibus, & Baronibus ſuperius nominatis, Anno regni noſtri. &c. VVhiche Charter is thus in engliſhe.

Alexander by the grace of god, Kyng of Scotland, to all faithful Chriſtian people that ſhal ſee or heare this writing, ſendeth greting: We wyll that it be knowen to you, that we for vs and our heires haue granted & faithfully promiſed to our moſt deare and liege lord Henry the thirde, by the grace of God, the noble king of England, Lorde of Ireland Duke of Normãdy, and Guyenne, and Erle of Aniou, and to his heyres, that we will beare and keepe vnto him good faith and loue for euer, and that we ſhall not enter into any league with our ſelues, or by others in our behalfe with the enimyes of our ſayde ſoueraigne Lord the king of England, or of his heyres, to procure or make war whereby any domage may happen to come to them or to theyr kyngdomes of Englande & Ireland or to their other lands, except iniuſtly they do moleſt and oppreſſe vs. The couenantes always ſtanding in force, which were concluded betwixte vs at our laſte being togither at Yorke, in the preſence of Othodeacon Cardinal of ſaint Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano*, then legate of the ſea apoſtolike in Englande, and ſauing the couenaunts made vpon the contract of the mariage betwixt our ſon and the daughter of the ſaide king of England. And that this promiſſe and graunt for vs and our heires may haue the force and confirmation of an euerlaſting aſſuredneſſe we haue cauſed theſe to ſweare on our behalfe. Alane Porter, Henry de Bailiol, Dauid de Lindeſey, Wil. Gifford, that we ſhal in good faith obſerue all the premiſſes faithfully and ſubſtancially, and wee haue likewiſe cauſed to ſweare the reuerend fathers, Dauid, William, Geffrey, and Clement, Biſhoppes of Saint Andrewes, Glaſgew, Dunkeld, and Dublane and furthermore our faithful ſubiectes Patrike Earle of Dunbar, Malcolme Earle of Fife, Maliſius earle of Stratherne, Walter Cumin Earle of Mentech, William Earle of Mar, Alexander Earle of Buchquhan, Dauid de Haſtings Erle of Athole, Robert de Bruis, Alane Porter, Henrye de Bailliol, Roger de Mombraie, Laurence de Abirnethi, Richarde Cumin, Dauid de Lindeſey, Richarde Siwarde, Wyllyam de Lindeſey, Walter de Murraye, Wyllyam de Giffard, Nicholas de Sully, Wyllyam de Veyponte, Willyam de Brewer, Anſelme de Meſſue, Dauid de Graham, & Steephen de Suningham. That if eyther wee or our heyres, agaynſte the foreſayde graunt and promiſſe, ſhall doe any thing to the breache thereof (whyche God forbid), they and theyr heyres ſhall not imploye eyther ayde or counſell agaynſt the ſayd graunt and promiſſe, nor ſhall ſuffer other to imploye any ſuche aide or counſell, ſo farre as they maye hinder them therein: yea rather they and theyr heyres ſhall in good faith and playne meaning, endeuour aneinſt vs and our heyres that all the premiſſes maye firmely and faithefully be obſerued & kept of vs and our heyres, and likewiſe of them and their heyres for euer. In witnes wherof aſwell we our ſelues, as the ſayd Prelates, our Earles and Barons haue confirmed this wrytyng by putting their ſeales vnto the ſame, the Prelates Earles and Barons beefore reherſed, beeing wytneſſes thereunto, In the yeare of oure raigne. &c.

The Lordes ſvveare to ſee the couenantes perfourmed.

The ſeales of Kyng Alexander hymſelfe, of William de Brewer, Wyllyam de Veypont, Willi. de Lindeſey, Stephen de Suningham, the ſeales of the reſte were ſet to afterwardes, and the writing ſente ouer to the kyng of England at Chriſtmaſſe next enſuing, by the Priour of Tinmouth, who had trauailed diligently and faithefully in this negotiation to the honour of bothe partes. This writing alſo was ſente to the Pope, that hee might confirme the ſame in manner as followeth.

The pope requeſted to confirme the foreſayd Charter.

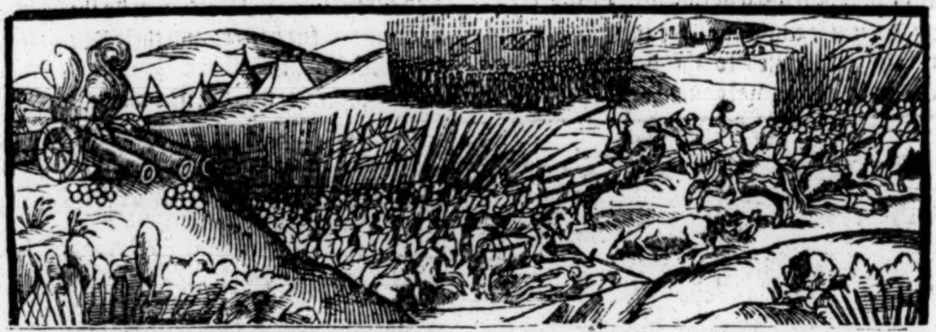
Sanctiſsimo in Chriſto patri I. Dei gratia ſummo pontifici, Alexander eadem gratia Rex Scotia, comes Patricius, Comes de Strathern, Comes Leuenox, Comes de Anegus, comes de Marra, Comes de Atholia, comes de Roos, comes de Catenes, Comes de Buth, Rogerus de Mombray, Rogerus de Abirnethia, Petrus de Mauuere, Richardus Cumin, VVilhelmus de Veteri Ponte, Robertus de Bruis, Rogerus Auenel, Richardus de Sully, VVilhelmus de Murray de Dunfel, VVilhelmus de Murefe de Petin, Iohannes Biſet iuuenis, VVilhelmus de Lindeſey, Iohannes de Vallibus, Dauid de Lindeſey, VVilhelmus Gifford, Dūcanus de Ergatilia, I. de Matreuers, Hemerus filius eius, Rogerus comes VVintonienſis, H. Comes Oxonienſis, VV. de Veſcye, Richardus Siwarde, VVilhelmus de Roos, Rogerus de Clere, Henricus filius comitis de Brettere, Euſtachius de Stont ville, Malcolmus de Fif comes de Mētethſhire, VValterus filius Alani, VValterus Olifard, Bernardus Fraſer, Henricus de Bailliol, Dauid Cumyn, Dauid Mareſchallus, Dauid filius Ranulfi VVilhelmus de Fartere, Ioannes de Bailliol, & Robertus de Ros, Salutem & debitam cum omni honore reuerentiam. Sanctitati veſtra ſignificamus, nos Sacramentum corporaliter præſtitiſſe coram venerabili patre Ottone, tituli Sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano Diacono Cardinali iū Anglia, Scotia, & Hibernia, tūc Apoſtolica ſedis legato, ac chartam noſtram confeciſſe, quæ ita incipit. Sciant præſentes & futuri, quod ita conuenit in præſentia domini Othonis Sancti Nicolai. &c. Quæ charta penes Dominum regem Angliæ, & nos remanet Chyrographata. Item aliam quæ ſic incipit. Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire. Cum vt ex forma præcedentium noſtrarū pateat Obligationum ſubiecimus nos iuriſdictioni veſtræ, vt nos & hæredes noſtros, per Cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam poſsitis coercere, ſi aliquo tempore contra memoratā pacem venerimus. Etſi nonnunquam continget, quod quidam noſtrum omnes vel vnus contrauenire temere præſumerint vel præſumere nituntur vel nitentur. Et ex hoc tam animabus noſtris quàm hæredum noſtrornm graue poſsit generari periculum, & corporibus noſtris & rebus non minimum immineret detrimentum. Sancti paternitati veſtræ ſupplicamus, quatenus alicui Suffraganeorum Archiepiſcopi Cantuarienſis detis in mandatis, vt nos, & hæredes noſtros ad præfatæ pacis obſeruationem compellat, prout in inſtrumentis inde confectis plenius continetur. Alias ſuper eadem pace quod Canonicum fuerit auctoritate veſtra ſtatuat contradictores. &c. Et ad iſtius petitionis noſtræ conſummationem præſenti ſcripto ſigilla noſtra appoſuimus.

VVhiche is thus in Engliſhe.

The letter of the Lords to Pope Innocent

TO our holy father in Chriſt I. by the grace of God, the hygheſt Biſhoppe, Alexander by the ſame grace Kyng of Scotlande, Erle Patricke the Earle of Stratherne, the Earle of Leuenox, the Erle of Angus, the Earle of Mar, the Earle of Athole, the Earle of Ros, the Earle of Catneſſe, the Erle of Buch, Roger de Mombray, Laurence de Abirnethie, Peter de Mauuere, Richarde Cumyn, William de Veypont, Roberte de Brus, Roger Auenel, Nicholas de Souleys, William de Murray de Dunkel, William de Murray de Petin, John Biſet the yonger, Willyam de Lyndeſey, John de Waleys, Dauid de Lindſey, William Giffarde, Duncan de Ergyle, John de Matreuers, Eymere his ſonne, Roger Earle of Wincheſter, Hugh Earle of Oxforde, William de Veſcy, Richard Siward, William de Ros, Roger de Clere, Henrye Fitz Conte de Brettere, Euſtace de Stouteuille, Earle Malcolme of Fife, the Earle of Menteth ſhire, Walter Fitz Alayne, Walter Olyfarde, Bernarde Fraſer, Henry de Bailioll, Dauid Cumyn, Dauid Mareſchall, Dauid Fitz Randulf, William de Forteſe, John de Bailliol, and Roberte Ros, ſende greetyng and due reuerence with all honoure. We doe ſignifye vnto your holyneſſe, that we haue receyued a corporall othe before the reuerend father Otho, deacon Cardinall of Sainct Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano*, Legate to the Sea Apoſtolike, in Englande, Scotland, and Irelande, and haue made our Charter or deed, whyche beginneth thus. *Sciant præſentes. &c.* Whyche Charter or deed indented and ſealed, remaineth with the Kyng of Englande, and with vs. Alſo an other deed or writing that beginneth thus. *Ad omnium veſtrum notitiam volumus peruenire.* Wheras therfore by the form of our precedent deedes obligatorie, wee haue ſubmitted our ſelues to your iuriſdiction, that you may brydle and reſtrayn vs, & our heirs by the Eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if at any time we go againſt the ſayd peace. And if it happen at any time, that any of vs all, or one of vs, ſhall fortune to preſume raſhly and vnaduiſedly to goe againſt it, or be aboute, or hereafter ſhall be about ſo to preſume, & therby may procure great perill as well to the ſoules of our owne ſelues, as of our heires, and no ſmall danger may alſo be redy through the ſame our default to light vpon our bodies and goodes, we beſeche your holy fatherhood, that you will giue in cōmandement vnto ſome of the Suffraganes of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that he do compell vs and oure heires, vnto the obſeruing of the ſame peace, accordingly as in the inſtruments therof more fully it is conteined, or elſe to order by your authoritie vppon the ſame peace, that which ſhal be agreable to the Canons. &c. And to the performaunce of this our petition, wee haue to this preſent writing ſet out ſeales.

When all things were throughly concluded, and order taken in what ſorte the aſſuraunces of this accorde ſhuld paſſe, the king of Scottes retourned into the inner partes of his Realme, and the King of Englande likewiſe retourned to London. At the ſame time alſo, the Welchmen wer very buſy: for hearing that the Kings of Englande and Scotland were agreed, they doubted leaſte all the burthen of the warre woulde be turned agaynſte them. Wherefore (as it were to preuente the matter,) they began to waſte the engliſhe confines.



The King aduertiſed thereof, ſente Hubert Fitz Mathew wyth three hundreth Knyghtes or men of armes to defende the engliſhe Marches againſte the Welchmen, that made daylye warre agaynſte thoſe that dwelled on the Marches, and namely agaynſte the Earle of Herforde, whiche chiefly occaſioned this warre by deteyning the lande whyche apperteyned vnto the wife of Prince Dauid, as in the right of hir purpartie. And therupon when yͤ Welchmen vnderſtoode that the Kyng had broken vp his armye and was retourned to London they inuaded theyr enemies, namely the ſaide earle of Herfordes men and the Mortimers, ſleaing and cutting in peeces two valiant and noble Knyghtes, and maymining the third, they ſlewe and ouerthrewe of the footebandes aboute an hundred, ſo that all the Engliſhe armye was diſordered, and the Welchemen wyth victorie retourned to theyr places of refuge. Whyche when the foreſaid Hubert Fitz Mathew vnderſtoode, the morrowe after he made foorthe wyth his three hundreth waged men of armes in hope to hemme in and take the Welchemen at aduantage: but hee was preuented and by them diſtreſſed, in ſo muche that he was conſtreined wͭ loſſe of men & horſes to returne to his holds, and vneth coulde be ſuffred to remain there in ſafetie. This yere Rafe Neuil biſh. of Ciceſter and Chauncellour of Englande departed this life: and Griffin the ſonne of Leuline prince of Wales, brake his necke as he woulde haue eſcaped out of the Tower of London, on the firſt day of March, hauing tied togither ſheets, couerings of beddes and hangings, by helpe wherof hee aſſaied to eſcape. When the King hearde thereof, hee was ſore offended wyth his keepers, that had looked no more circumſpectly to him, and comaunded that his ſon, whom he kept alſo in the tower, ſhuld be more ſtreightly looked vnto. The ſayd Griffyn when hee was founde deade in the mornyng, had his heade and necke almoſte beaten in and thruſte within his boulke wyth the fall, for he was a mightie perſonage and full of fleſh and therfore (by reaſon of the greate weighte of his bodie) he was the more bruſed and diſfigured. In the nine and twentye yeare of his raigne Kyng Henry hauing ſpente muche treaſure with the greate preparation of warres whiche he had taken in hande againſte the Scots, and alſo bycauſe hee was conſtrayned to bee at further charges for the Welche warres, hee called a Parliament to beginne on the third daye of Nouember, in the whyche hee demaunded a greate reliefe of money, but the ſame being generally denyed of all men, he exacted it in perticular of the richer ſorte of his ſubiectes, and amongeſte other he cauſed the citizens of London to giue vnto him .xv. C. Markes for a fine, bycauſe they had receyued a baniſhed man, one Walter Bukerel into theyr citie, contrary to the lawe and order: but this they denyed, affirmyng that his brother had got his pardon, as by the kings owne letters patentes they coulde proue, but they were anſwered, that the King was vnder age when theſe letters were purchaſed, and therfore were of none effect. Aboute the ſame time, ſir Nicholas de Molis or Mules Seneſhall of Gaſcoigne, hauing warres agaynſte the King of Nauarre, gotte the victorie in battaile. And aboute the middeſt of Nouember, greate thunder and lightning chaunced, with a marueilous vntemperat ſeaſon for yͤ ſpace of .xv. daies togither, as a ſigne of ſome miſfortune to ſucceede.

Math. Paris.

A ſubſidie of the richer ſort.

M. Par.

The Citizens of London.

The Seneſchal of Gaſcoyne vanquiſhed the K. of Nauarre. Anno. 1242. as Mat. VVeſt. hath, and Mat.

On ſaint Hughs day died the Counteſſe of Penbroke Margaret the widowe of Gilbert Marſhall late Earle of Penbroke, and ſiſter to the Kyng of Scottes, and ſhortely after the biſhoppe of Exeter Williā de Brewer, likewiſe deceaſed, as yet beeing in his floriſhing age, a man in manners parentage, and knowledge right honorable and highely commended.

On the daye of Saint Marcellus was the Queene deliuered of a man childe, whyche at the fonte ſtone was named Edmonde.

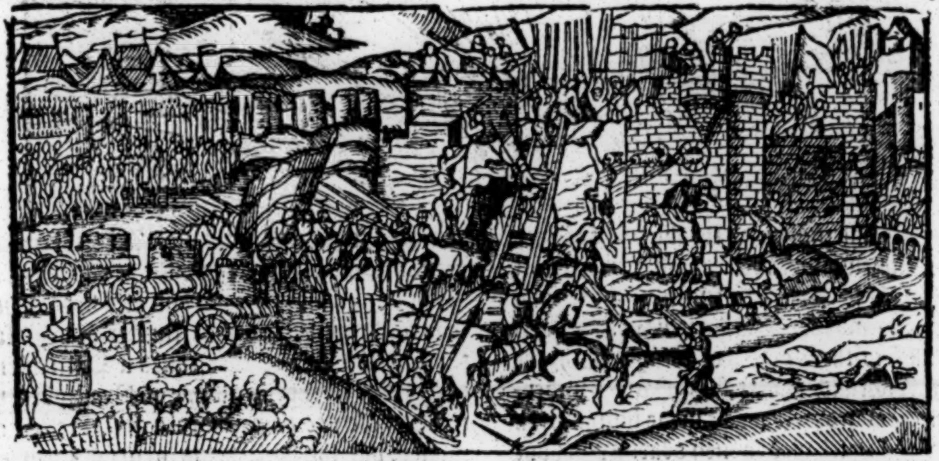
David king or prince of VVales.

In the Lent folowing nere to the Caſtell of Mountgomerye in Wales, three hondred Welchemen, were ſlayne by them that laye in gariſon there by a pollycie of the Capitayne, whyche faining a counterfeted flight, drew the Welchemen wythin daunger of an Ambuſhe, whiche hee had layde to ſurpriſe them vnwares as it came euen to paſſe acording to his deuiſe. Dauid that tooke himſelfe for Kyng of Wales coueting to be auenged of this diſpleaſure, ceſſed not daye nor night to make incurſions and to exploite enterpriſes to the domage of the marchers the whiche valyantly reſiſted the enemies, and droue them oftentimes into the mountaines, woodes, bogs and other places of refuge, and oftentimes the enimies hauing the aduantage of place, did much diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmen.

The caſtell of Monthault taken by the VVelchmen.

A generall Councell.

As at one time being got to the heigth of an hill, they caſt downe ſtones, and threwe dartes vpon the Engliſhmen yͭ aſſailed them beneath, and amongſt other, they chanced to ſlea with a mightie ſtone, which they threw downe by the ſide of the hil, ſir Hubert Fitz Mathew, a right valiant Knight, and a man of greate accompt for his knowledge and ſeruice in warres. And thus the warres cõtinued betwene the parties, and oftentimes yͤ Welchmen by the ſoden inuaſions got the better: and their Prince Dauid comming to the Caſtell of Monthault beſieged it, and within a ſhorte time wanne it, ſlaying



or taking all thoſe whome he founde within it. The owner therof the Lorde Roger de Monthault by chance was not at home, which happened well for him, where otherwiſe he had bene in great danger: but nere to the caſtel of Mõtgomery, the Welchemen yet were eftſoones ouerthrown and .ij. C. of them ſlaine by an Ambuſh that brake forth vpon their backes. Aboute the middeſt of Lent the Prelates of Englande were ſommoned to come to a general counſel, the which Pope Innocent had appointed to be holden at the feaſt of ſaint John Baptiſte next following.

The Popes letters ſtayed.

It chaunced that aboute this time, a poſte commyng from the Pope with Letters to his *Nuncio* maiſter Martin, conteyning inſtructions how he ſhoulde procede for the gathering of money, was ſtaied at Douer, by the practiſe of ſuche noble men as were greeued to ſee any ſuche ſummes of money to be conueyed out of the realm in ſort as was vſed. He was had into the caſtell & his letters taken from him, wherin ſuche ſecrets were conteyned for the getting of money, as ought not to haue bin reueled. M. Martin hearing that the poſte was thus ſtayed and impriſoned, made a greiuouſe complaint vnto the K. ſo that the poſt was ſet at libertie, had his letters to him reſtored, & ſo came vnto maſter Martin, and deliuered them vnto hym that he mighte vnderſtande the Popes pleaſure, which others to his grief vnderſtoode nowe as well as himſelfe.

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The King this yeare cauſed inquiſition to be made thorough euery countye within the realme to vnderſtande the true valuation of all ſuche benefices & ſpirituall promotions as were in the hands of any incumbents that were ſtrãgers borne, and ſuche as had bene preferred by the Courte of Rome, and the whole ſumme of all their reuenues was found to be ſixty thouſande markes.

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On Whitſondaye the K. made the Earle of Glouceſter, Gilbert de Clare knight, and xl. other yong gentlmen that attended vpon him. And perceyuing by the late inquiſition what great reuenues yͤ beneficed ſtrangers had & poſſeſſed wͭin the realm, & again cõſidering the exceding great ſums of money which the court of Rome had recouered of his ſubiects, he begã to deteſt ſuch couetous deling. And herupõ was a

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letter deuiſed by the whole body of the Realme, wherein were conteyned, the ſundry extortions and manyfolde exactions of the Popes Legates, and other of his Chaplaynes, whiche vnder colour of his authoritie they had vſed. There were appoynted alſo to goe with theſe letters vnto the generall Counſell, certayne honorable and diſcret perſonages, as Roger Bigod Earle of Northfolke, John Fitz Geffrey, William de Cantlow, Phillip Baſſet, and Raulfe Fitz Nicholas, with other, the which preſenting the ſame letters vnto the ſayde aſſembly, ſhould declare the griefe of the whole Realme, and require ſome redreſſe and eaſement therein. Moreouer, it chanced, that there was a great number of Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen aſſembled togither at Dunſtable and Luyton, to haue kepte a martiall Juſtes, and triumphant Torney, but they had a countercommaundemente from the Kyng, not to goe forwarde with the ſame: wherupon, when they were diſappoynted of their purpoſe heerein. Upon occaſion of their being altogither, on the morrowe after the feaſt of Peter and Paule, they ſent from them Foulke Fitz Wareine, to declare vnto maſter Martine the Popes Nuncio, as then lodging at the Temple in London, in name as it were of all the whole body of the Realme, that he ſhoulde immediately departe out of the lande. Foulke doing the meſſage ſomewhat after a rough manner, maſter Martine aſked him what hee was that gaue forth the ſaide commaundement, or whether hee ſpake it of himſelfe or from ſome other. This cõmaundement (ſaith Foulke) is ſente to thee from all thoſe Knightes and men of armes whiche lately were aſſembled togyther at Dunſtable and Luyton. Maſter Martin hearing this, got him to the Court, and declaring to the king what meſſage hee had receyued, required to vnderſtand whether he was priuy to the matter, or that his people tooke vpon them ſo raſhly without his authoritie or no. To whome the King aunſwered, that he had not giuen them any authoritie ſo to commaunde him out of the Realm: but indeede (ſaith he) my Barons do vnñeth forbeare to riſe againſt me, bycauſe I haue maintayned and ſuffered thy pilling, and iniurious polling within this my Realme, and I haue had much adoe to ſtay thẽ from running vpõ thee to pull thee in peeces. Maſter Martin hearing theſe wordes, with a fearefull voice beſoughte the K. that hee mighte for the loue of God, and reuerence of the Pope, haue free paſſadge out of the Realme: to whome the King in greate diſpleaſure aunſwered; the Deuill that brought thee in, carrie thee out euen to the pitte of hell for me. At length yet, when thoſe that were about the kyng had pacified hym, hee appoynted one of the Mariſchals of hys houſe, cleped Roberte Northe or Norres, to conduct him to the Sea ſyde, and ſo he did, but not withoute greate feare, ſithence hee was afrayde of euery buſhe, leaſt men ſhoulde haue riſen vpon him and murthered him.

The Popes Nuncio ſent out of the Realme.

Whereupon, when he came to the Pope, hee made a greeuous complaynte, both againſte the King and other.

Saint Peters Churche at Weſtminſter.

The Church of Saint Peter at Weſtminſter was enlarged, and newly repaired by the Kyng, ſpecially all the Eaſt parte of it, the olde walles beeing pulled downe, and buylded vp in more comely forme.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors come to the Counſell.

The generall councell according to the ſummonance giuen, was holden this yeare at Lyons, where it began about Midſomer, in ẏ which the Engliſh Ambaſſadors being arriued, preſented to the Pope their letters, directed frõ ẏ whole body of ẏ Realm of Englãd, requiring a redreſſe in ſuche things, wherewith as by the ſame letters it appeared, the Realm foũd it ſelfe ſore annoyed.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadors threaten the Pope, that hee ſhould not haue any tribute out of Englande.

The Pope promiſed to take aduice therein, but ſith the matter was weighty, it required reſpite. Finally, when they were earneſt in requiring a determinate aunſwere, it was giuen them to vnderſtande, that they ſhould not obteyne their deſires, wherupon in great diſpleaſure, they came away, threatning and binding their wordes with othes, that from thenceforthe they woulde neuer pay, nor ſuffer to bee payde anye tribute to the Court of Rome, nor permit the reuenewes of thoſe Churches whereof they were patrones, to be pulled away, by any prouiſion of the ſame Court.

Mat. Paris.

The Pope hearing of theſe things, paſſed them ouer patiently, but hee procured the Engliſh Biſhops to ſet their Seales vnto that Charter whiche King John had made concerning the tribute againſt the minde of the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury Stephen Langton, who at that time, when King John ſhould ſeale it, ſpake ſore againſt it. When King Henry was enformed hereof, he was greeuouſly offended, and ſware in a greate chafe, that although the Biſhops hadde done otherwiſe than they ought, yet woulde hee ſtand in defence of the liberties of his Realm, and would not ſo long as he had a day to liue, pay any duetie to the Court of Rome, vnder the name of tribute. In this meane while, the Kyng with a puiſſante army inuaded the Welch Rebels, to reduce them to ſome quiet, whereas with their continuall incurſions and other exploytes, they had ſore harried, vexed, and waſted the landes of the Kings ſubiectes.

The King inuadeth Wales. He buildeth a Caſtell at Gannocke.

Heereupon, the King being entred the Countrey, inuaded the ſame, vnto the confynes of Snowdon, and there he began to builde a ſtrong Caſtell at a place called Gannocke, remayning there about the ſpace of tenne weekes, during the which, the army ſuffered greate miſery through want of vittayles and other prouiſions, namely apparrell, and other helpes to defende themſelues from colde, which ſore afflicted the ſouldiers and men of warre, bycauſe they lay in the fielde, and Winter as then began to approche. Moreouer, they were driuen to keepe watch and warde very ſtrongly, for doubt to bee ſurpriſed by ſuddayne aſſaultes of the enimies, the which watched vpon occaſion, euer to doe ſome miſchiefe.

The deceſſe of the Counteſſe of Oxforde, and of the Earle of Deuonſhire.

The morrowe after the Purification of oure Lady, Iſabell de Boulbec Counteſſe of Oxforde departed this life, and likewiſe the morrowe after Saint Valentines day, dyed Baldwine de Riuers Earle of Deuonſhire, and of the Wight.

Geffrey de Marche deceaſſeth.

Moreouer, Geffrey de Mariſh, a man ſometime of great honor and poſſeſſions in Irelande, after hee had remayned long in exile, and ſuffered great miſerie, he ended the ſame by natural death.

The deceſſe of Raymond Erle Prouãce.

Alſo Raymond Earle of Prouance, father to the Queenes of Englande and Fraunce deceſſed this yeare, for whome was kepte in Englande a moſt ſolemne obſequie.

The deceaſſe of the Lorde Humfreuille.

Alſo in the weeke after Palme Sunday, dyed a right noble Baron, and Warden of the North partes of England, the Lorde Gilberte Humfreuille, leauing behind him a yong ſonne, the cuſtody of whome, the King forthwith committed to the Earle of Leiceſter, not withoute the indignation of the Earle of Cornewall, who deſired the ſame.

An. Reg. 30.

Finally, after that the Kyng had lien at Gannocke aboute the fortifying of the Caſtell there, the ſpace of tenne weekes, and ſawe the worke now fully finiſhed, hee appoynted for the ſuche as ſhould lie there in garriſon, and therewith, on the morrowe after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, hee rayſed his field, and returned towards England, leauing the Welchmen in great miſerie, and lyke to ſterue for want of neceſſary foode.

The King returneth foorth of Wales.

Iriſhmen deſtroyed Angleſey.

For the Ile of Angleſey, whiche is as a nurſe to the Welchmen, thoſe Iriſhmen that came to the Kynges ayde, had vtterly waſted and deſtroyed. Agayne, the King of purpoſe had conſumed all the prouiſion of Corne and vittayles whiche remayned in the Marches, ſo that in Cheſhire, and other the partes adioyning, there was ſuch dearth, that the people vnneth could get ſufficiente vittayle to ſuſteyne themſelues withall.

A dearth.

The King alſo gaue forth commandement, that no prouiſion of corne or vittayles ſhould be conueyed vnto the Welchmen, out of any partes, eyther of Englande, or Irelande, on payne of forfeyting lyfe, landes and goodes.

Brine pittes deſtroyed in Wales.

Moreouer, he cauſed the brine pittes in Wales to be ſtopped vp and deſtroyed.

The Lorde Maurice chief Iuſtice of Irelande.

Thus the Kyng hauing ordred his buſineſſe, returned into Englande, and ſhortly after, taking diſpleaſure with the Lord Maurice, chiefe Iuſtice of Irelãd, bycauſe he had not made ſuche ſpeede as had bene conuenient in bringing the Iriſhmen to his ayd, he diſcharged him of the office of chiefe Iuſtice, and placed in his roomth, Iohn Fitz Geffrey.

Iohn Fi… frey Lor… Iuſtice o… lande.

Mat. P…

The dec… of Walt… Erle Ma…

In this .xxx. yere of K. Henries raigne, Walter Erle Marſhal and of Pembroke departed this life: and ſhortly after, to witte, three dayes before Chriſtmas, his brother Anſelme that ſucceeded him in the inheritance, deceaſſed alſo without iſſue: and ſo all the fiue ſonnes of the great Earle William Marſhall, beeing departed this world withoute heires of their bodies begotten, the whole heritage diſcended to yͤ ſiſters, and ſo was deuided amõgſt them as coparteners.

The K. this yeare held hys Chriſtmas at London, and had there with hym, a greate number of the nobilitie of his Realme, whiche hadde bin with him in Wales, that they mighte be partakers of paſtime, mirth and pleaſure, as they had bin participant with him in ſuffering yͤ diſeaſes of heate, colde, and other paines abroade in the fieldes and high Mountaynes of Wales. But that no pleaſure ſhould paſſe without ſome ſteyne of griefe, ther was a rumor ſpred abroade, that the Pope had conceyued freſhe cancor in his ſtomacke againſt the K. and Realm of England, for the complayntes which had bin exhibited in the Counſell at Lion by the Engliſhe Orator, for the oppreſſion done to the Church of England: that thereupon, minding nowe to bee reuenged as was ſayde, hee earneſtly moued the Frenche King to make warre againſt the Engliſhmen and to ſubdue them vnder his dominion:

The P… quire… French… to ma… again… lande.

The F… King r… to gra… Pope …

which enterpriſe, the French King vtterly refuſed both for that hee and the King of Englande were Couſins, and againe, bycauſe the Kyng of Fraunce had no iuſt title of right to make claime to Englande. And further, there was as then a truce betwixt England and Fraunce, and before that Englande could be ſubdued, muche giltleſſe bloud ſhould be ſpilt. Alſo, the Chriſtians in the holy lande were ſore oppreſſed, and looked dayly for the arriuall of the Kyng of Fraunce, & therefore he would be loth to attempt any new enterpriſe to hinder his iorney thither.

The C… of Pro… dealeth… ſtly wi… King … land h… in law…

But about the feaſt of the Epiphany, other newes came out of Prouaunce, that troubled the Kyng of England worſe than the other before, as thus, That the Counteſſe Beatrice his wiues mother, had deliuered vp the Countie of Prouaunce into yͤ Frẽch Kings handes, togyther with ſixteene Caſtels, whiche in right of the Queene ought to haue remayned vnto the King of Englãd. And for the ſafekeeping of the ſame to hys vſe, the ſayde Counteſſe Beatrice hadde receyued yeerely for the tearme of fyue yeares laſt paſt, the ſumme of foure thouſande markes of the Kyng of Englande, and yet nowe in the deliuering of them, with the reſidue of the Countrey vnto yͤ French

King, ſhe neuer made any mention of his right.

Shortly after alſo, Charles the French kings brother, married the Ladye Beatrix, yongeſt daughter of Earle Raymond, and had with hir the ſame Countie of Prouaunce, and ſo was entituled Earle thereof, as in the Frenche Hiſtory appeareth.

Moreouer, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury procured a graunt from the Pope, to recouer for one yeare the firſt fruites of all Charges that chāced to be voyd within the Citie, dioceſſe, and prouince of Caunterbury, by & during the tearme of ſeuen yeares then next following, till the ſumme of tenne thouſand markes were leuied, towardes the diſcharge of the ſayde Archebyſhops debtes.

The collection of the whiche tenne thouſande markes, was aſſigned by the Popes Bulles vnto the Byſhop of Hereford, who ſhoulde alſo leauie two thouſande markes, of the reuenewes belonging to the Churche of Caunterbury, to be conuerted to the ſame vſe. The King at the firſt was ſore offended herewith, but ſhortly after, he was pacified, and ſo the Archbyſhop had his will.

After this, aboute the beginning of the nexte ſpring, Dauid Prince of Wales departed thys life, after great penſiueneſſe of mynde, for the deſtruction and miſerie into the which his countrey had bin broughte, through the preſente warres with the Engliſhmē. After his deceſſe, ẏ Welchmen elected to ſucceede in his place, the ſonne of Griffin, whome King Henry had reteyned in ſeruice and honorably vſed, euen of a childe: but now that he heard that the Welchmen had elected him to their Prince, he ſtale away, and fledde into Wales.

On the day of the Purification of our Lady, a robberie was committed vpon certayne Iewes at Oxforde, for the whiche fact, fiue and fortie of the offendors were put in priſon, but at the ſute of Robert Biſhop of Lincolne, they were deliuered by the Kyngs commaundement, bycauſe no man impeached them of any breache of peace, or other crime. The Citizens of London alſo about the beginning of the ſpring, were compelled to pay a talage, wherewith they founde themſelues ſore agreeued.

About the middeſt of Lent, there was a Parliament holden at London, wherin diuers ſtatutes and ordinances were deuiſed, as penalties for thoſe that offended in other mens Parkes, and warrennes: but the chiefeſt occaſion of aſſembling this Parliamente, was to take aduice in matters touching the griefes wherewith the Church of England ſeemed to be oppreſſed by the Pope and the Court of Rome. The Pope indede to quiet the Engliſhe Ambaſſadors, and to putte the Kyng and Realme in ſome good hope of reliefe and deliuerance out of ſuche oppreſſions, as were opened vnto him in the face of the whole councell, dyd not onely promiſe largely, but alſo cauſed diuers priuiledges to be made and delyuered vnto the ſayd Imbaſſadors very fauourably, in the behalfe of their requeſt. But yet the ſame notwithſtanding, ſith the breaking vp of the ſayd generall Counſell, and returne of the Imbaſſadors, many things were done, to the encreaſing and continuation of the former griefes, ſo that they ſtoode in doubt of further oppreſſions to followe, rather than in hope of the promiſed redreſſe. Herevpon, they concluded eftſoones to write vnto the Pope, and to the Cardinals, both in name of the King, of the Byſhops, and Prelates, of the Earles, Barons, and other eſtates of the Temporaltie, and of the Abbots and Priors.

In the mean time, the Pope for a while, ſomewhat relented in the poynt of beſtowing benefices here in England, for when any of his friends or kinſmen was to bee preferred to any benefice within this Realme, hee would ſue to the Kyng for his graunt and good wil that ſuche one might be admitted, and not ſeeme of himſelfe to graunte it without the Kings conſent.

The Earle of Sauoye doth homage to the Kyng of Englande.

The Earle of Sauoy in the preſence of the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and the Biſhoppe of Hereford and others, did homage to the Kyng of England, acknowledging to holde of him certayne fees, as thoſe of Suſe, Auillian, S. Maurice de Chablais, and the Caſtell of Bard, whych hee might well doe, not preiudicing the righte of the Empire, ſith hee helde nothing of the ſame Empire, except Aigues and the paſſages.

Roger Bigod, entitled to the office of Earle Marſhall.

This yeare, the office of Earle Marſhall was giuen to Roger Bigod Earle of Northfolke, in right of hys wife the Counteſſe, that was eldeſt daughter vnto the greate Earle William Marſhall.

Math. Paris.
Harold King of Man.

Moreouer this yeare, the King holding hys Eaſter at London, honored Harolde Kyng of Man with the order of Knighthoode.

Welchmen receyued to the Kyngs peace, vpon their ſubmiſſion.

Aboute the ſame time, diuers noble menne of Wales ſubmitted themſelues, and were receyued to the Kyngs peace.

On Saint Markes daye, was great froſt and ſnow, which nipped the leaues of trees and hearbes in ſuche extreame wiſe, that for the more parte, they withered and faded away.

A decree of the Pope.

Furthermore, bycauſe that the Pope vnderſtoode, that dyuers riche beneficed men were of late dead in Englande inteſtate, as Roberte Hayles the Archdeacon of Lincolne, Almerike, the Archdeacon of Bedforde, and John de Hotoſpe Archdeacon of Northhampton, he ordeyned a decree, that all ſuche ſpirituall perſons as dyed Inteſtate, theyr goodes ſhould remayne to the Pope. The execution of whyche decree, hee commaunded to the Friers Preachers and Minors: but the Kyng woulde not ſuffer it to take place, bycauſe hee ſawe that it ſhoulde redounde to the preiudice of him and his Kyngdome.

Alſo, where the Pope required a talage of the Cleargie, the King forbad it by his letters inhibitorie.

In this mean while, William Powic Chaplayne, and ſir Henry de Lamere Knight, whych were ſente with the ſeconde letters, deuiſed in the late Parliament (as you haue heard) to be preferred vnto the Pope and Cardinals, returned agayne without obteyning any towardly anſwer, but rather (as they declared) they founde the Pope ſharp and rough, as thus, the Kyng of England which nowe kicketh againſt the Church, and beginneth to play Frederickes part, hath his Councell, and ſo likewiſe haue I, whiche I intende to followe: other aunſwere coulde they not obteyne. Agayne, the Engliſhmen that were ſutors in the Court of Rome, were ſtrangely vſed, and could not get any diſpatche in their buſineſſe, but were rather put backe as Sciſmatikes, and with rebukes reuiled. Hervpon, the King called a Parliamente at Wincheſter, to haue the aduice of hys Lordes in this matter, where howſoeuer they agreed, Proclamation was immediately ſet forth, and publiſhed in euery ſhire and Countie through the Realme, that no man ſhould conſent to the Popes contribution, nor ſende any money out of the Realme to his ayde. When the Pope hearde of this, hee wrote very ſharply to the Byſhops, commaunding them on payne of excommunication and ſuſpenſion, to ſatiſfie his Nuncio remayning at the newe Temple in London, before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady. And where as the Kyng minded to haue ſtoode in the matter through threates of his brother the Earle of Cornewall, and of certayne Prelates, namely, the Biſhop of Worcetor (who had authoritie as was ſayde to interdite the lande,) hee yeelded, and ſuffred the Pope to haue his will, to the greate griefe and diſcomforte of many.

A proclamation inhibiting money to be ſent to the Pope.

A ſore tempeſt of Hayle.

On Saint Margarets daye, there fortuned a maruellous ſore tempeſt of hayle, rayne, Thunder, and lightning, whyche beeyng vniuerſall through the Realme, did muche hurt, and continued the ſpace of ſixteene houres togither without ceaſſing.

Iſabel the Kings mother departeth thys life.

Roger de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter

This yeare, ſundry noble perſonages departed thys worlde, as Iſabell the Kings mother, wife to the Earle of Marche in Poictowe. Alſo, the Counteſſe of Albemarle, the daughter of Alaine of Galoway, and ſiſter to the Counteſſe of Wincheſter: whervpon, a great parte of Galloway that belonged to hir (for that ſhee dyed withoute iſſue) remayned to Roger de Quincy Earle of Wincheſter, that married the eldeſt ſiſter.

Iohn Lo
Neuill
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other.

Moreouer, Iohn Lord Neuill dyed this yere, whyche hadde bin chiefe Foreſter of Englande: but hee was not onely put out of that office for certayne tranſgreſſions, but alſo out of yͤ kings fauoure, before hee dyed, where at the fyrſte, none was more eſteemed in the Courte than hee.

The Byſhoppe of Saliſbury, named maſter Roberte de Bingham, dyed alſo thys yeare, and Sir Richarde de Argenton Knighte, a right noble perſonage, whiche in the holy lande hadde ſhewed good proofe of his high valiancie, manhoode, and prowes: likewiſe Sir Henry Bailliol of the North, and dyuers other.

An.

In the beginning of the one and thirtith yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, the Pope ſente into Englande to haue the thirde parte of one yeares profit of euery beneficed man that was reſident, and of euery one not reſident, the one halfe. The Byſhoppe of London ſhoulde haue ſeene thys ayde and collection leuied, but it woulde not bee graunted.

Mat.

And in a Parliamente called thys yeare on the morrowe after the Purification of our Lady, it was ordeyned, that newe letters, ſealed with the common Seale of the Citie of Lõdon, ſhould bee ſente by ſufficiente meſſengers, from all the eſtates of the Realme, vnto the Pope and Cardinals, requiring a moderation to be had in ſuche exactions as were intollerable for the Realme to beare.

Intolle
exactio

Peter
uoy E
Rich

Whileſt this Parliamente yet laſted, there came ouer the Lorde Peter of Sauoy Earle of Richmonde, bringing with hym certayne yong Ladies and Damoſels, to bee beſtowed in marriage on ſuche yong Lordes and Gentlemen as were Wardes to the King.

An E

On Saint Valentines euen, a greate Earthquake happened heere in England, and namely, about London, on the Thames ſyde, with the whyche manye buyldings were euerthrowen.

These Earthquakes, the ſeldomer they chãce in Englande, the more dreadfull the ſame are, and thoughte to ſignifie ſome greate alteration.

A ſtra
wonde

Conti
rayne.

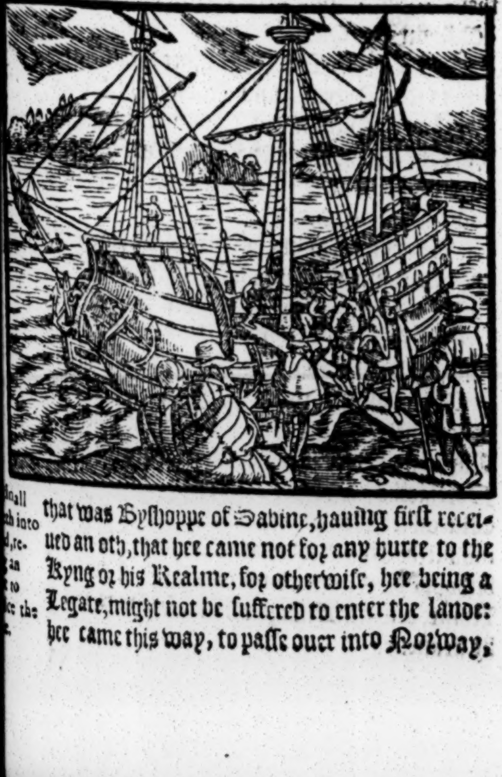
A little before thys Earthquake, the Sea had ceaſſed from ebbing and flowing for the ſpace of three monethes togyther, by a long tract neere to the Engliſhe ſhore, to the greate maruell of many, for eyther it flowed not at all, or elſe ſo little, that it might not be perceyued. And after the Earthquake, there followed ſuche a ſeaſon of foule weather, that the ſpring ſeemed to be chaunged into Winter, for vnneth was there anye day without rayne, till the feaſt of the tranſlation of S. Benet.

¶ There were at this time, dyuers ordinaunces decreed and enacted by way of prohibition, to reſtrayne the anthoritie of ſpiritual perſons, as that no eccleſiaſticall Iudge ſhould determine in cauſes of any Temporal man, except touching cauſes of Matrimony and Teſtamentes. They were alſo prohibited to ſue any actions touching tythes, before any ſpirituall Iudge, and the writ whereby they were prohibited, is called an Indicauit. Sundry other ſuch ordinances were deuiſed, which for breefeneſſe we omitte. What ſpeede or aunſwer ſo euer the meſſengers had that were ſent to Rome with the letters deuiſed in the late Parliament, troth it is, that the Pope ſent ouer into England ſuche of his agents as gathered no ſmall ſummes of money amongſt the Cleargie, as one Marinus, and an other named Iohannes Anglicus a Frier Minor, the which were not entituled by the name of Legates, to ſaue the priuileges whiche the Kyng hadde, that no Legate myghte come into the Realme withoute hys licence.

The comming ouer of theſe men, bycauſe it was to gather money, contented not many mens mindes, as well appeared in a Parliament called at Oxforde about reformation thereof, but yet notwithſtanding, it was there agreed, that the Pope ſhoulde haue eleuen thouſande markes to be leuied amongſt them of the ſpiritualtie, exempt perſons and places reſerued.

Aboute the ſame time, Baldwine naming himſelfe Emperoure of Conſtantinople, came againe into Englande, to procure ſome newe aide of the King, towardes the recouerie of hys Empire, out of the whiche hee was expulſed by the Greekes.

Alſo, there arriued in England a Cardinall that was Byſhoppe of Sabine, hauing firſt receiued an oth, that hee came not for any hurte to the Kyng or his Realme, for otherwiſe, hee being a Legate, might not be ſuffered to enter the lande: hee came this way, to paſſe ouer into Norway, whither hee wente to Crowne and annoynt Hacon, King of that Realme.



The kings halfe breethrē came to ſee the King.

There arriued heere with him the three halfe brethren to the King, Guy de Lucignan, William de Valence, and Athelmare a Prieſte, with their ſiſter Alice. Theſe were begotten by Hugh Brun Earle of Marche, of Queene Iſabell the Kings mother, and were therefore ioyfully receyued of the King, with faithfull promiſe, that hee woulde be to them a beneficiall good brother, whiche hys ſayings with effectuall deedes he after fully performed.

The Cardinall maketh ſhift for money.

The Cardinall hauyng ſaluted the Kyng, tooke leaue of hym, and came to Linne, where he ſtayed at the poynt of three monethes, making ſuch purchaſe amōgſt religious men, that what by procuracies and other ſhiftes, hee got as was thought, a foure thouſande markes towardes hys charges, and ſo departed. Edmond Lacye Earle of Lincolne, and Richarde de Burgh, as then Wardes to the Kyng, were married vnto two of thoſe yong Ladies of Prouaunce, whiche Peter de Sauoy Earle of Richmond brought ouer with hym, whereat, many of the Engliſh nobilitie grudged.

William de Valence marrieth Lorde Montchencies daughter.

Alſo, about the thirtenth of Auguſt, the Lady Ioane, daughter to the Lorde Guarine de Monchency, was married vnto William de Valence the Kyngs halfe brother. The ſame Laty, was heyre to hir fathers landes, by the deathe of hir brother the ſonne of the ſaid Lorde Guarine.

Gaſton de Bierne maketh warre againſte the Kynges Lieutenaunt.

Prieſtes of the prouince of Caunterbury ſuſpended.

Sir Foulkes de Newcaſtell the Kings Couſin by his mother departeth thys life.

Sir William de Bueles Knight, a Norman borne, was made Seneſhall of Gaſcoigne about this ſeaſon, and was ſore vexed with warres by Gaſton the ſonne of the Counteſſe of Bierne and others, whyche Gaſton ſhewed hymſelfe very vnthankfull, for the Kyng had giuen both to him and to hys mother (a woman of a monſtrous ſtature) right large entertainemente to ſerue him in his warres at his laſt beeing in that countrey (as before yee haue heard.) The Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury ſuſpended the Prieſts of hys prouince, bycauſe they would not conſent (according to the graunt which he bad purchaſed of ẏ Pope) that he ſhould haue the firſt frutes for one yeare, of euery benefice that chanced to be vacant within the ſame prouince. The Earles of Cornewall and Pembroke, gote muche money by way of a collection, towardes the reliefe of the warres in the holy lande, hauing purchaſed of the Pope certayne Bulles of Indulgence for the ſame. Sir Foulke de Newcaſtell, a valiaunte Knighte, and Couſin germaine to the Kyng on the mothers ſide, dyed at London, during the tyme of the Parliament.

On the thirtenth of October, was a portion of ẏ holy bloud of Chriſt (as it was thē ſuppoſed) ſhewed in moſt reuerent wiſe in a ſolemne proceſſion, for the King comming to the Church of Saint Paule in London, receyued there the ſame bloud conteyned in a chriſtalline glaſſe, the which he bare vnder a Canapie ſupported with foure ſtaues, through the ſtreetes, vnto yͤ Abbey Church of Weſtminſter.

His armes were alſo ſupported by two Lordes as aydes to him all the way as hee wente. The maſters of the Templers and Hoſpitallers, had ſent this relike to the king. To deſcriue the whole proceſſe of the proceſſion and feaſt kept that day, would require a ſpeciall treatiſe. But this is not to bee forgotten, that the ſame day, the Byſhop of Norwich preached before the Kyng in commendation of that relike, pronouncing ſixe yeares, and one hundred and ſixteene dayes of pardon, graunted by the Byſhoppes there preſente, to all thoſe that came to reuerence it.

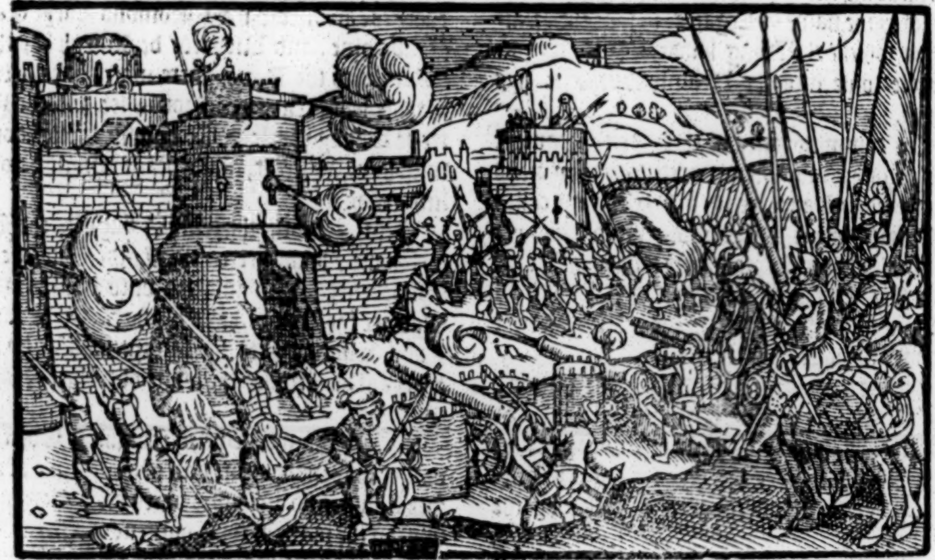
Pardon granted by biſhops

Alſo the ſame day & in yͤ ſame Church, the K. made his halfe brother William de Valence, and dyuers other yõg bachelers Knightes. Vnto the ſayde William de Valence, for his further aduauncement and mayntenance, he gaue the Caſtell of Hertford, and the honor therto belonging, with great treaſure: and to the elder brother Guy de Lucignan, whiche about the ſame time returned into Fraunce, he gaue right great and honorable giftes, lading his ſumpters with plate and threaſure of ſterling money, whych in thoſe days in all countreys was very much eſteemed.

Knigh made.

Ann

The Earle of Wincheſter remayning in Galloway, where he had faire poſſeſſions in right of his wife, was beſieged of his owne tenaunts, within a Caſtell wherein he lodged, and beeyng in daunger eyther to die through famine, or elſe at the diſcretion of the enimies, hee burſt forthe, and making way with his ſworde eſcaped, and comming to the King of Scottes, complayned of the iniurie done to him by his people, wherevpon the Kyng tooke ſuch order, that the Rebels were puniſhed, and the Earle ſet in quiet poſſeſſion of his landes againe.



The E Winch beſieg Gallow his own nauts

Toward the latter end of Nouember, William Earle Ferrers and of Derby, departed thys life, a man of great yeres, and long troubled with the gout, a iuſt man and a peaceable.

William Earle Ferrers departeth thys life.

The ſame moneth the counteſſe his wife dyed alſo, a woman of yeares vertue and fame lyke to hir huſband: Thomas Becket the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury did miniſter the Prieſtes office at their marriage. Their eldeſt ſonne William ſucceeded his father in the Earledome, a good mã and a diſcret, but vexed with the gout very pitifully, hauing that diſeaſe alſo as it were, by inheritance from his father. There dyed lykewiſe other of the nobilitie, as Richarde de Burgh, and William Fitz Ham.

The Counteſſe of Prouaunce Beatrice, mother to the Queene, and Thomas de Sauoy, late Earle of Flaunders, came into England to viſite the Kyng and Queene, and were honorably receyued, and at their departure back towards home, richly rewarded.

The C of pr comm Engla

This yeare in the octaues of the purification, a Parliament was holden at London, where all the nobilitie of the Realme in manner was preſent. There were nine Biſhops, as the Archbiſhop of Yorke, with the Biſhops of Wincheſter, Lincolne, Norwich, Worcetor, Chicheſter, Elie, Rocheſter and Carleil, with the Earles of Cornewall, Leiceſter, Wincheſter, Hereforde, Northfolke, Oxforde, Lincolne, Ferrers, and Warwike, with Peter de Sauoy Erle of Richmount, beſydes Lordes and Barons. The Archbiſhoppe of Caunterbury was at the Courte of Rome, and the Biſhop of Dureſme was letted by ſickneſſe.

A Par

In this Parliamente, King Henry earneſtly required a ſubſedie, in reliefe of the greate charges which he had diuers wayes ſuſteyned, whereupõ, he was ſtraightwayes by the peeres of ẏ Realm, noted both of couetouſneſſe, vnthankefulneſſe, and breache of promiſe, bycauſe he neuer ceaſſed in gathering money, withoute regard had to hys people: and where he had promiſed many things, as that he woulde not bee burdenouſe vnto them and ſuche lyke, hee hadde performed very little of thoſe hys gaye promiſes. Many miſdemeanors, and wrongfull doyngs, to the greeuaunce of hys people were opened and layde before him, as cheriſhing and enriching of Straungers, and vſing hys prerogatiues too largelye, to the greate decaye and hinderaunce of the common wealthe.

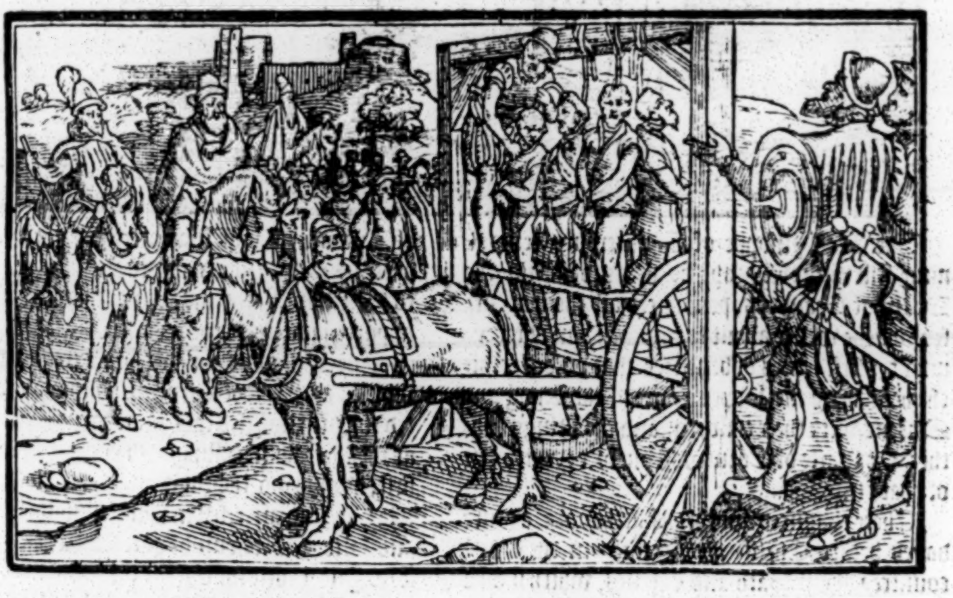
The Kyng abaſſhed herewith, and ſuppoſing that the confeſſion of hys faulte ſhould make amendes, and aſſwage the diſpleaſure whyche his Nobles and other had conceyued of his miſgouernaunce, to content them all with one anſwere, hee promiſed, that hee woulde reforme all that was amiſſe, and ſo quieting the mindes of hys Barons, the Parliament was prorogued till the Quindene of the Natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt.

The Parliament prorogued.

An ordinance for money.

About the ſame time, by reaſon that the ſterling money was generally ſo clipped, that the inſcription was cut off for the moſt part euen to the inner circle, a proclamation was ſet forthe, that no peeces thereof ſhoulde paſſe from one to an other, nor be receyued as currant and lawfull money, except the ſame were of iuſt weight and faſhion. Herewith alſo, inquirie was made for thoſe that had ſo defaced it, and ſundry Jewes Bankers, and cloth marchauntes of Flaunders were found giltie. Alſo, the French King cauſed ſearch to bee made within his Realme for the ſame offendors, and ſuche as were founde giltie, were hanged, ſo that hee was more ſeuere in puniſhing thoſe falſifiers of the Kyng of Englandes coyne, than the Kyng of England was hymſelfe.

Inquirie made for waſhers and clippers of money.



The Parliamente began agayne at the daye appoynted, but nothyng to accompt of was then concluded, but rather a diſpleaſure kindled betwixte the Kyng and hys Barons, for that they looked for a reformation in his doings, and hee for money out of their coffers whyche would not be graunted, and ſo that Parliament brake vp.

The Kyng hereuppon for wante of money, was driuen to ſo harde a ſhifte, that hee was conſtreyned to ſell hys plate and Jewels (whych the Londoners bought) ſo muche to hys hinderaunce, that diuers peeces (the workemanſhippe whereof was more worth, than the valew of the ſtuffe) were ſolde notwithſtanding after the rate as they weyed.

Saint Edwards fayre at Weſtminſter.

This yeare, the Kyng cauſed a feyre to bee kepte at Weſtminſter at Saint Edwards tide, to endure for fifteene dayes, and to the ende that the ſame ſhoulde bee the more haunted with all manner of people, hee commaunded by proclamation, that all other feyres, as Elye, and ſuche like holden in that ſeaſon, ſhoulde not bee kepte, nor that anye wares ſhoulde bee ſhewed within the Citie of London, eyther in ſhoppe or without, but that ſuche as would ſell, ſhould come for that tyme vnto Weſtminſter: whyche was done, not withoute greate trouble and paynes to the Citizens, whyche hadde not roomthes there, but in Boothes and Hales, to theyr greate diſquieting and diſeaſe, for wante of neceſſarye prouiſion, beeyng turmoyled too pitifully in myre and dyrte, through occaſion of rayne that fell in that vnſeaſonable tyme of the yeare.

The Byſhoppe of Elye complayned ſore of the wrong done to him by ſuſpending of his faire at Elye aforeſayde.

Sir Richard Sward deceaſſeth.

Sir Richarde Sward dyed this yeare, after he had layne a long tyme vexed with the Palſey, the which ſir Richard had in his daies bin a right worthy and famous Knight.

Death of
ſhops,

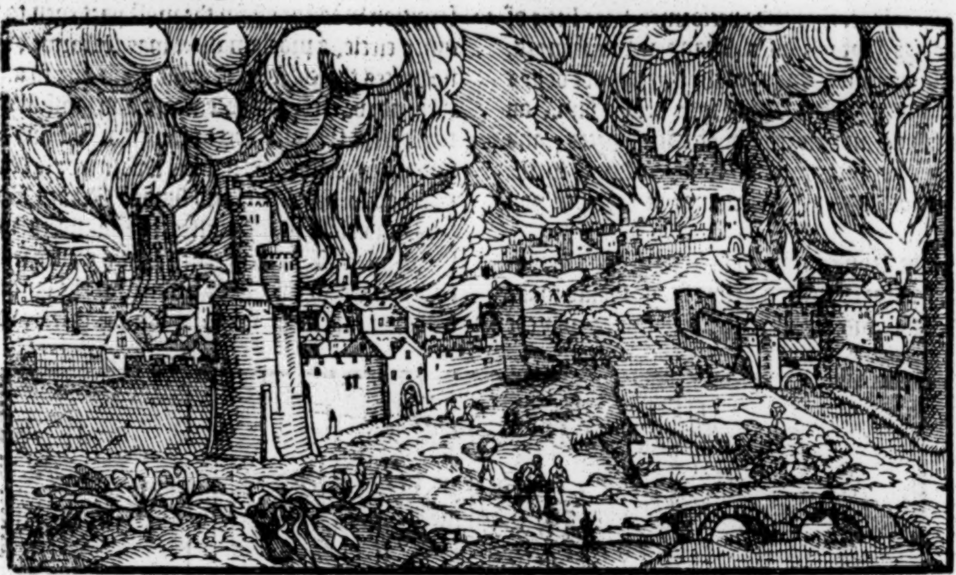
There dyed alſo the Byſhoppes of Bath and Saint Dauids.

An Eclip

In the firſt day of Iune, the Moone, immediately vpon the ſetting of the Sunne, was almoſt wholly eclipſed, ſo that little of hir myghte appeare.

Newca
brent b
ſuall fi

The Towne of Newcaſtell vppon Tyne was almoſt wholly conſumed with fyre, togither with the bridge there.



The Archb. of Cant. curſeth.

The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury remayning ſtill with the Pope by hys procurator the Deane of Beauveys, denounced all them accurſed whiche wente about to impeach him of receyuing the firſt frutes of benefices that voided, whiche hee had by the Popes graunt, the Kyng and Queene, with their children, and the Kings brother, the Earle of Cornewall onely excepted out of that curſe.

*An.reg.*33.
An earthquake

There chaunced another Earthquake a foure dayes before Chriſtmas, namely in the Weſt countrey about Bath and Welles, which ſhooke and ouerthrewe ſome buildings, ſpecially, the toppes and ſummettes of ſteeples, turrets and chimneys were ſhaken therewith, and not yͤ baſes nor lower partes.

1249

In Chriſtmas following, the Earle of Leiceſter returned out of Gaſcoigne, where he hadde bin as general againſt Gaſton de Bierne, whom he had ſo afflicted and put to the worſe, that the ſame Gaſton was glad to ſue for an abſtinence of warre, where before hee had done muche hurte to the Kings ſubiects.

The ſayde Erle had alſo with the ayde of the kings ſubiects apprehended an other Rebell, one William Berthram de Egremont, who hadde done much hurt in the parties of Gaſcoigne, and in the confynes there, whome hee had left in priſon within the Caſtel of the Riole.

The
Durh
ſigne
Biſho

This yere a little before Candlemas, the B. of Durham being a man of great yeres, by licēce obteined of the Pope, reſigned his miter, reſeruing to himſelfe only three manors, houeden with the appurtenaunces, Stocton and Euerington.

Ma
The
Citie
mon

The K. hauing the laſt yeare receiued of hys ſubiects a deniall of a general ſubſedie to be graunted to him, practiſed this yeare to get ſome reliefe at their hands, in calling each of them a part: but firſt, he got two thouſand markes of the Citie of London, and after, fell in hande with the Abbots and Priors, of whome he gote ſomewhat, though ſore againſt their willes. By occaſiō of two marchante Straungers of Brabant, whych chaunced to bee robbed about the parties of Wincheſter, whileſt the King was there, vpon theyr importunate ſute and complaynte, there was a greate neſt of theeues broken, amongſt the whiche were many welthie perſons and freeholders, ſuche as vſed to paſſe on lyfe and death of theyr owne companions, to whome they were fauourable ynough you maye be ſure: alſo, there were ſome of the Kyngs ſeruaunts amongſt them. About thirtie of thoſe offendors were apprehended, and putte to execution, beſydes thoſe that eſcaped, ſome into ſainctuary, and ſome into voluntary exile, running out of, and vtterly forſakyng the countrey.

A ne
thee

The
of R

About Eaſter, the Archbyſhoppe of Roan came ouer into England, and doyng homage for ſuche reuenewes as belonged to his Church

heere

here within this realme, had the ſame reſtored vnto him.

In Iune there fell ſuch aboundance of raine, ſpecially about Abingdō, that the Willow trees, Mylles, and other houſes ſtanding neare to the water ſyde, were borne downe and ouerturned, with one Chapell alſo: and the corne in the fields was ſo beaten to the grounde, that breade made thereof after it was ripe, ſeemed as it had beene made of branne.

About the ſame tyme, William de Longeſpee Earle of Saliſburie, and Robert de Veer, with other Engliſh men to the number of two hundred knightes, hauing taken on them the Croſſe, went into the holy lande, the ſayde Earle being their chiefe captaine, and had ſo proſperous ſpeed in their iourney, that they arriued ſafe and ſound in the Chriſtian armie, where the Frenche king being chiefe thereof, they were receyued ioyfully. But yet (as Mathew Paris writeth,) the pride and diſdaine of the French men was ſo greate, that vpon ſpite and enuie conceyued at the Engliſhmens glorie, which bare thēſelues right worthily, the French men vſed the Engliſh men nothing friendly. Namely the Earle of Arras ſticked not to ſpeake manye reprochfull wordes agaynſte the ſayde William de Longeſpee and his people, whereat they could not but take great indignation.

Alſo the ſame ſeaſon, the Earle of Leyceſter who had likewiſe receyued the Croſſe, deferred his iourney for a tyme, and ſayling into Gaſcoigne, mightily there ſubdued the kings enimies, as Gaſcon de Bierne. Alſo one Ruſteyn, and William de Solares.

Peter de Genevre.

This yeare died Peter de Geneure, a Prouancoys borne, whom the king had preferred in maryage vnto the Ladie Mawde, daughter and heyre of Walter Lacye a man of fayre poſſeſſions in Irelande. Of which maryage there came iſſue a ſonne and a daughter.

The deceaſſe Roger Fitz Iohn.

Alſo about whitſuntide dyed a noble Baron of the North parties, named the Lorde Roger Fitz Iohn, whoſe ſonne and heyre beyng yong, was giuen in wardſhip to William de Valence the kings halfe brother.

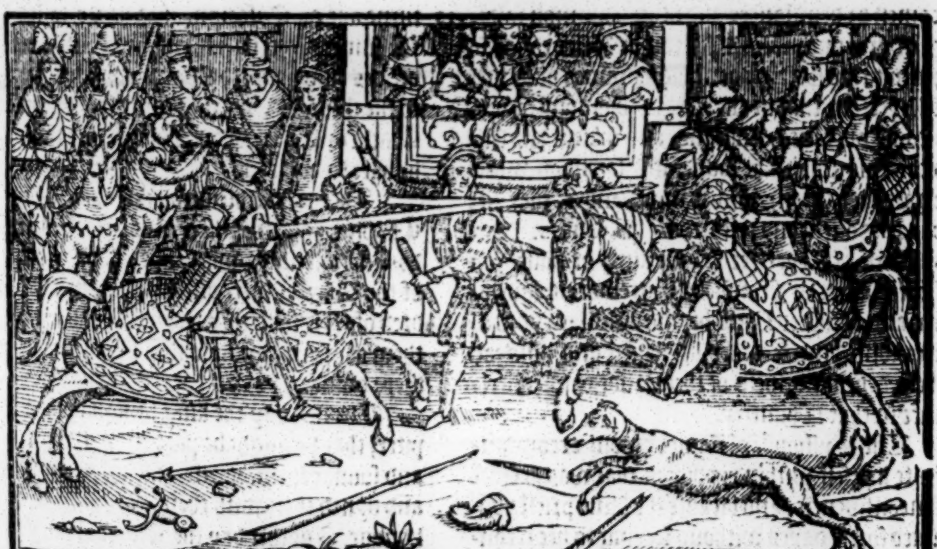
The death of Hugh le Brun.

Alſo this yeare Hugh Earle of March, father to the ſame William de Valence dyed in Cypres, whileſt the French armie wintered there, as then going into the holy lande.

An. reg. 34.

The Archb. of Canterburie intronizate.

In the feaſt of all Saintes, the Archbiſhop Bonifacius was inthronizate at Canterburie, and kept a ſolemne feaſt, at the which the King & Queene, with the more part of all the Prelates of the lande were preſent.



A tourney holden at Brackley, or as ſome copies haue, at Barkley.

About this ſeaſon, was a great tourney and iuſtes holden at Brackley, where the Earle of Glouceſter (contrarie to his accuſtomed maner) fauoured the part of the ſtraungers, whereby they preuayled. Inſomuch that William de Valence handeled one ſir William de Odingeſſelles very roughly, the ſame ſir William beeing a ryght worthie knight. Aboute the ſame tyme, the Counteſſe of Cornewall at Berkhamſted was deliuered of a ſonne named Edmonde.

An ambaſſade ſent to the Pope.

This yeare aboute the beginning of the Spring, the kings brother the Earle of Cornewall, with other noble men of the Realme, as the Earle of Glocester, Henrie Haſtings Baron, and Roger Thirkeby, went ouer into Fraunce in Princely array and furniture to viſite the Pope, who helde his Court ſtill at the Citie of Lion.

The Biſhop of Lyncolne alſo and the Byſhop of Worceſter went thither. For what cauſe the other went it was not openly knowne. But the Biſhop of Lyncolne went thither about ſuch buſineſſe as he had in hande agaynſt the Templers, Hoſpitalers and ſuch other whiche had appealed from him to the Court of Rome, where he coulde not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, for his aduerſaries with money had purchaſed the Iudges fauor. And ſo the Biſhop returned, hauing ſpent his trauaile and money in vaine,

The king taketh on him the Croſſe.

The .vj. of March being Sunday, the king tooke vpon him the croſſe, with his brother William de Valence, and a greate number of other noble men, and amongſt other the Abbot of Burie, to the preiudice (as was thought) of his order.

The lord Roger de Monthault.

Roger de Mounthault, a Baron of great honour, meaning verily to goe in that iourney, to recouer money towards hys neceſſarie furniture, ſet and ſolde the moſte part of his liuings. His woodes and poſſeſſions which he had about Couentry, he ſolde and let to fee farme vnto the Couent there. The like chieuance was made by ſundrie noble men, which prepared themſelues to go in that iourney.

Vpon the .xxvij. day of Aprill thoſe that had taken on them the Croſſe, aſſembled at Bermõdſey beſides London, to treate of their ſetting forwarde, determining that the ſame ſhoulde bee at Midſommer next: but by the Popes letters which the king procured, they were commaunded to ſtay till the king himſelfe went. Thus their iourney for that time was diſappoynted.

There was of them and their retinues that ment thus to haue gone, fiue. C. knightes, beſides yeomen or demilances and other common ſoldiers in great numbers. Gaſcon de Bierne was ſo driuen to his ſhiftes by the high prowes of yͤ Erle of Leyceſter, that in the ende he was conſtrayned to come ouer into England, and ſubmit himſelfe to the king, whom he found at Clarendon, where he gate ſuch mercie at the kings handes, that hee was pardoned and reſtored to his landes. But the Earle of Leyceſter put the king in poſſeſſion of the Caſtels of Fronſacke, Egremount, and other, and baniſhed Ruſtein, and William de Solares with diuerſe other ſtubburne and diſloyall rebels, depriuing them of their landes and inheritance in that Countrey.

Gaſcon de Bierne ſubmitteth himſelfe to the K.

The Earle of Leyceſter his ſeruice in Gaſcoigne.

The Biſhop of Lincolne.

The Byſhoppe of Lyncolne did excommunicate a prieſt within his dioces, that was accuſed of incontinencie. And bicauſe the ſame prieſt continued fortie dayes without ſeeking to bee reconciled, the Biſhop ſent to the Sherif of Rutlande within whoſe Bayliwike the ſame Prieſt dwelled, to apprehende him as a diſobedient and rebellious perſon: but the Sherif wynked at the matter, and woulde not execute the Biſhoppes commaundement, wherevpon the Biſhoppe did alſo excommunicate the Sherif: whereof the king being enfourmed, tooke diſpleaſure, and ſending to the Pope, procured an inhibition, that no Archbiſhop nor Biſhop ſhoulde compell any officer belonging to the King, to follow any ſuyte afore them, for thoſe things that apperteyned to the kings iuriſdiction, or giue ſentence agaynſte them for the ſame.

An inhibition procured by the king of the Pope.

The Monday before the Rogation weeke, Richarde the kings brother Erle of Cornewall, returned from the Court of Rome, where he had beene about certaine buſineſſe vnknowne to moſt men: but whatſoeuer the ſame was the Pope gaue him moſt courteous and honourable intertainment for his welcom, and made to him great chear during his abode at Lion, where the Popes Court as then lay.

The E
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About this ſeaſon, the king to ridde himſelfe out of debt wherein he was endaungered to certaine marchants, leſſened the charges of his houſholde, and kept but a meane port, diminiſhing euen the accuſtomed almes of the poore, and alſo the greate number of Tapers and lyghtes in his Chappell, ſo that he was noted wyth the blame of too muche nygardly ſparyng and pynching: but in that hee diſcharged his debt to the Marchants, he was thought to doe wiſely and charitably, for that he would not ſee them hyndered to whom he was ſo indebted.

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Aboute the ſame tyme alſo, hee cauſed the Iewes to gyue vnto him a great portion of their goodes, ſo that they were greatly impoueriſhed. There was one of them named Aaron, borne in Yorke, the whiche ſince the Kings laſte returne out of Gaſcoigne, had payed to the King the ſumme of thirtie thouſand Markes, ouer and beſides two hundred Markes which he had giuen to the Queene, as the ſame Aaron proteſted to Mathew Paris, vpon his fayth and truth which he bare to his law.

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In the Whitſunweeke was a generall Chapiter holden of the Friers preachers, at London in Holborne, where out of ſundrye partyes of the Worlde were aſſembled aboue foure hundred of them, and they had meate and drink found them of almes, bycauſe they poſſeſſed nothing of theyr owne.

A ge
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The firſt day the king came into their Chapiter, that he might be partaker of theyr prayers, and founde them meate and drynke that daye, and dyned there with them, to do them the more honour. Another day the Queene likewiſe fedde them, & afterwardes the Biſh. of London, the Abbots of Weſtminſter, Saint Albon, and Waltham with other.

About the ſame ſeaſon the Citizens of London founde themſelues agreeued verye ſore, for ſuch liberties as the king graunted to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, to the great hinderance and decay of the franchiſes of their Citie.

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The Maior & communaltie reſiſted in all that they might agaynſt thoſe liberties, and finally by the good helpe and fauour of the Lordes, as the

Earles of Cornwall, and Leyceſter, they obteyned theyr purpoſe.

This yeare maiſter William de Kilkenny, a ſober, faythfull, and learned man, was made keeper of the great ſeale.

The ſame yeare vpon inquiſition made by Geffrey de Langley, one of the kings counſaile of tranſgreſſors in forreſts and chaſes, many that had offended were preſented, and moſt grieuouſly puniſhed by impriſonment, fines, and exceeding great amerciaments, and namely in the North Countrey.

The .xix. day of May, died Robet de Lexinton Clearke, the which hauing continued a long time in the office of a Iudge, purchaſed to himſelf great fame, and alſo moſt large poſſeſſions. But certaine yeares before his death, bycauſe he was diſeaſed with the Palſey, he gaue ouer that office, and drewe himſelfe into a quiet trade of lyfe, ſo ending his dayes in prayers and doing of almes deedes.

The Lorde Henry Haſtings deceaſſeth.

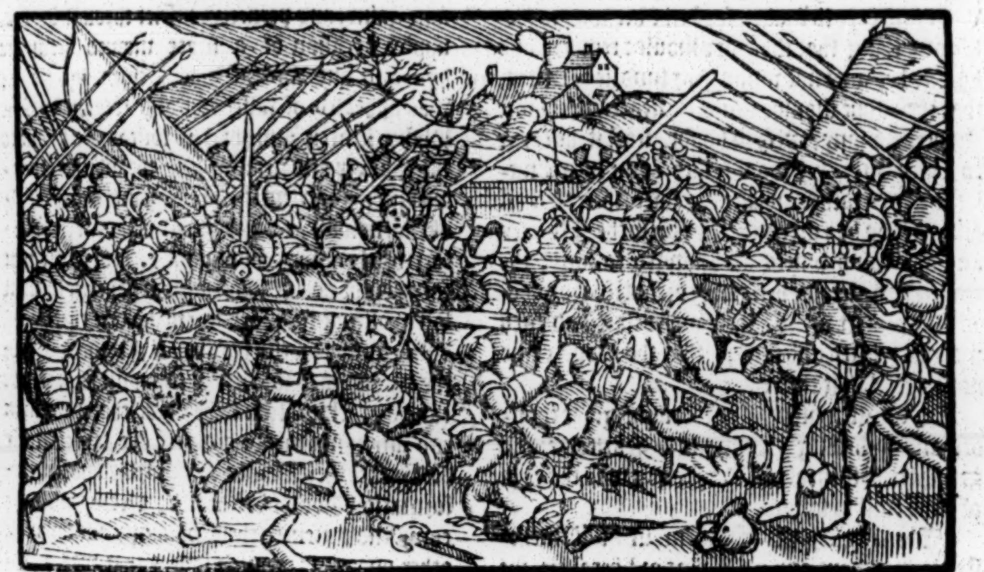
Robert Muſchampe.

About the feaſt of S. Margaret, died Henrie Haſtings, a noble Baron, and one Robert de Muſchampes, a man of greate renoume in the North parties. Alſo Walter Biſhop of Wyncheſter departed this lyfe, about the feaſt of Saint Mathew, in whoſe place (through the kings earneſt ſute) his halfe brother Athelmare was promoted to ſucceede.

Athelmare the kings halt brother made Bi. of Winchest.

The Earle of Salisbury ſlain by the Sarazens.

Moreouer, in the Eaſt partes, that valiaunt Erle of Saliſburie William de Loncgſpee, with Robert de Veer, and other, was ſlayne in that vnfortunate battaile, in the which the Sarazens vanquiſhed the Chriſtian armie, and toke Lewes the French king priſoner.



On the firſt day of October, the Moone vpon hir change, appearing exceeding red and ſwelled, beganne to ſhewe tokens of the great tempeſt of winde that followed, whiche was ſo huge and mighty, both by land and ſea, that the like had not bin lightly knowne, nor ſeldome or rather neuer heard of by men then aliue. The ſea forced contrarie to hir natural courſe, flowed twice without ebbing, yeelding ſuch a roaring noyſe, that the ſame was heard (not without greate wonder,) a farre diſtance from the ſhore. Moreouer, the ſame ſea appeared in the darke of the night to burne, as it had beene on fire, and the waues to ſtriue and fight togither after a maruellous ſort, ſo that the mariners coulde not deuiſe howe to ſaue theyr ſhippes where they lay at ankre, by no cunning nor ſhift which they could deuiſe. At Hertburne three tall ſhippes periſhed without recouerie, beſides other ſmaller veſſelles. At Winchelſey beſides other hurt that was done in bridges, milnes, breakes and banks, there were three hundred houſes, with ſome Churches drowned with the high ryſing of the water courſe. The country of Hollande in Lyncolnſhire, and Holland beyonde the ſea, and the Mariſh lande in Flaunders, ſuſteyned ineſtimable domage, & in many other places, by reaſon that riuers beaten backe and repulſed (by the ryſing of the ſea) ſwelled ſo on high that they ouerflowed theyr chanels, & much hurt was done in Medowes, Brigges, Mylnes, and houſes.

An. Reg. 35.

The practiſe of the Biſhops to diſappoynt the Archb. of Cant. of his purpoſe.

About the beginning of the .xxxv. yeare of king Henries raigne, the Biſhops of Englande vnderſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, was about to purchaſe of the Pope a graunt to gather money through his whole prouince, of the Cleargie and people for Sinodes and procuracies, they thought to preuent him, and therfore made a collection euery one through hys owne Dioces, of two pence of euery marke, which any beneficed man might diſpende, which money ſo collected, they ment to employ about charges in the Popes Court, for the ſtay of the Archbiſhops ſute, ſuyte, that the graunt ſhould not paſſe.

A earthquake at S. Albons.

About the ſame time, to witte, vpon Saint Lucies day, there was a great Earthquake at S. Albons, and in the parties there aboutes with a noyſe vnder the grounde, as though it had thūdred. This was ſtraunge and maruellous, bycauſe the ground there is chalky, and ſound not hollow nor lowſe as thoſe places be, where Earthquakes for the moſt part happen. Doues, Rookes, and other birdes that ſat vpon houſes, and in boughes of trees afrayd of this ſtrange wonder, flickred vp, & flew to and fro, ſhewing a token of feare, as if a Goſhauke had bene ouer their heades.

The Pope ſueth for licence to ſoiourne at Burdeaux.

The Pope required by ſolemne meſſengers ſent to the king of England, that he might come to the Citie of Burdeaux in Gaſcoigne, and there for a tyme remayne. The king wyſt not well what anſwere to make, for lothe hee was to denie any thing that the Pope ſhoulde requyre, and againe hee was not willing for ſundrie reſpectes, that the Pope ſhoulde come ſo neare vnto him. In deede, manye were in doubt, leaſt if he came to Burdeaux, hee woulde alſo come into Englande, and rather appaire the ſtate thereof than amend it by hys preſence, ſithe by ſuche Vſurers and licencious lyuers as belonged to him, the realme had alreadie bene ſore corrupted. Howſoeuer the matter went, there was delay and ſuch meanes deuiſed and made, that the Pope came not there at that time.

The Popes preſence more like to appaire than mende things.

1251

Thunder and lightning.

On Chriſtmaſſe day in the night, great thunder and lightning chaunced in Norffolke and Suffolke paſt meaſure, in token as was thought of ſome euill to follow.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Wincheſter, but without any great port or liberalitie, for hoſpitalitie with him was greatly layd aſide.

Guy de Luſignan brother to the king.

About this time, Guy de Luſignan the kings halfe brother came ouer into Englande, after hys returne out of the holy lande, and was of the king ioyfully receyued. Towardes the reliefe of his expences made in that iourney, the king gaue him fiue hundred pounde which he got of the Iewes. Moreouer he gaue to his brother Geffrey the cuſtodie of the Baron Haſtings landes, and ſo by ſuch liberal and bounteous gyftes as he beſtowed on them and other ſtraungers, hee greatly incurred the hatred of his naturall people, the Engliſh men.

The Earle of Leyceſter returneth.

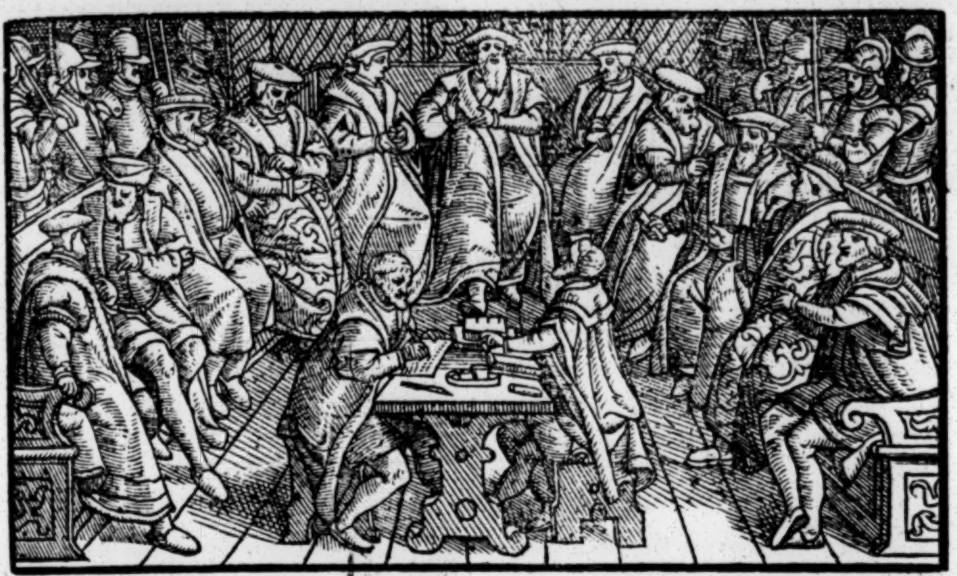
He had of the king three. M. markes.

On the day of the Epiphanie, the Earle of Leyceſter came to the king in great haſt oute of Gaſcoigne, giuing him to vnderſtande, that the Gaſcoignes were reuolted in ſuche number, that if ſpeedie ſuccours were not prouided, the whole Countrey woulde fall from the Engliſhe ſubiection. Hereupon the King furniſhed him with money, and the Earle himſelfe got all that hee coulde make of his owne reuenues, and likewiſe of the Vmfreuilles landes, the heyre whereof he had in cuſtodie. Hee made no long abode, but with all ſpeede returned, and reteyned two hundred Rutters oute of the Duke of Brabantes Countreys, and with them certaine Croſbowes. Theſe were egre ſouldiers, and bloudie: But yet the Gaſcoignes prepared themſelues to reſiſte them in all that they myght: howbeit the Earle putte them ſtyll to the worſe. Before hys laſte returne from thence, hee hadde razed the Caſtell of Fronſacke flatte with the grounde, and likewyſe left deſolate the Caſtell of Egremounte.

About this ſeaſon, one of the Kings Iuſtices named Henrie de Bath, fell in the kings diſpleaſure, bycauſe he was accuſed that he had not exerciſed his office vprightly, but to his owne priuate gaine, and peruerted iuſtice through brybes, vppon occaſion of a ſuyte moued betwyxte hym and one Euerarde de Trumpington: hee was appealed of falſehoode and treaſon by Sir Philip Darcie Knight. His wife was a kynne to the Baſſets and Sanfordes, the whiche procured him great friendſhip at the handes of the Erle of Cornewall, and of Iohn Manſell, and other of the kings Counſayle. But for all that they coulde doe, he was in great daunger to haue loſt his life at the Parliament holden that yeare, and begunne on the .xvj. day of Februarie. For the king was ſo ſore moued agaynſt him, that he cauſed proclamation to be made, that if any man had any thing to lay agaynſt the ſayde Henrie de Bathe, they ſhoulde come forth, and their information ſhoulde bee heard. Hereupon diuerſe came and preſented their cōplaints, and amongſt other, one of his owne fellowes that was a Iuſtice alſo, declared that he had ſuffred an offender conuict, to eſcape vnpuniſhed, for a bribe, which he receyued to the preiudice of the king, & the danger of his aſſociates the other Iuſtices.

The king herewith roſe vp in a greate fume and ſayd openly: If any man will ſlea Henry of Bath, he ſhal not be impeached for his death. For I doe here plainly declare him acquit & guiltleſſe for the ſame. Herewith diuerſe woulde haue ron vpon him to haue murdred him, but that Iohn Manſell ſtayed their outrage, ſhewing them that the king might well hereafter repent the wordes which he ſpake thus in his furie, and thoſe ẏ ſhuld do any violence vnto the man, were not lyke to eſcape puniſhment: for both the Biſh. of London would ſurely accurſe thē, and other of his friends would not fail to ſeeke reuenge by tēporall force: and thus was Henrie of Bathe in the kings high diſpleaſure for the tyme. At length yet through interceſſion of the Earle of Cornewall, and the Biſhop of London, he was put to his fine and pardoned.

About the ſame tyme, Athelmare the kings halfe brother was cõfirmed Byſhop of Wincheſter by the Pope, although he was thought ſcarcely ſufficient to haue the place, for lacke of learning and ripe yeares.



A conuocation of the of Biſhops.

About this time alſo, the Biſhops aſſembling at Dunſtable, toke aduice togyther, how to preuent the Archbiſhop of Canterburie that he ſhuld not viſite: and in the ende they concluded to ſende their procurator vnto the Court of Rome, to trie what purchaſe might be made there for money to ſtay the lycence, and not to ſticke for the diſburſing of foure thouſande Markes, if neede requyred. Their Procurator did ſo much in the matter, that he founde the Pope fauourable to his cauſe, though no determinate anſwere was giuen of a long time, till at length to gratifie the Archbiſhop and his kinne, as the Duke of Sauoy and other, the Pope graunted to him lycence to viſite, but not generally: For he might not viſit any pariſh Church, except the perſon requyred him therto. And whereas he had libertie to viſite cõuentuall Churches, yet might hee not receyue for procuracies aboue foure Markes. For this moderation to be had, the Procurator for the Biſhoppes gaue vnto the Pope ſix thouſand Markes.

The ſame yeare the Biſhop of Lyncolne viſited the Religious houſes within his dioces, to vnderſtande what rule was kept amongſt them, vſing the matter ſomewhat ſtraytely (as they thought:) for he entred into the Chambers of the Monkes, and ſearched theyr beddes. And comming vnto the houſes of the Nunnes, hee went ſo neare, as to cauſe theyr breaſts to be tryed, that he might vnderſtande of their chaſte liuings. In Lent following hee was ſuſpended by the Pope, bycauſe he would not ſuffer an Italian that had no ſkill of the Engliſhe tongue to enioy a Prebend in his Church, which the Pope had giuen to the ſame Italian.

In this ſeaſon, Wales was brought to be ſubiect vnto the Engliſh lawes, and that part which ioyneth to Cheſſhire, was committed to the cuſtodie of Alain Lorde Zouch, the whiche gaue for the hauing of the profites thereof to ferme, xj. hundred Markes, and ſupplanted Lorde John Gray whiche ſhoulde haue had it for fiue hundred.

Alain Lorde Zouch.

Certaine Vſurers and ſtraungers borne, called *Caorſini*, had bought at London fayre houſes, and ſo remayned there as inhabitants, occupying their trade without controlment, for the Prelates durſt not ſpeake agaynſt them, bycauſe they alledged themſelues to be the Marchants of the Popes highneſſe: and the Citizens durſte not trouble them bycauſe they were defended by certain noble men, whoſe money (as was ſayd) they occupied to gaine after the maner of the Courte of Rome. But at length yet they were called before the ciuill Magiſtrate by the kings procurement, and grieuouſly accuſed for theyr vnlawfull occupying of vſurie, and ſome of them committed to priſon, the reſidue hid themſelues out of the way, tyll at length for a ſumme of money they were licenced to be at reſt, and ſo continued for a ſeaſon. The Jewes reioyced hereat, to haue fellowes with them in their miſerie.

Vſurers called Caorſini.

In this ſeaſon alſo there depended a controuerſie betwixt the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and the Biſhoppe of London and his Canons of Paules, ſo that the ſayde Biſhop of London and the Deane of Paules, and other of the Canons were excommunicate. But the Biſhop perceyuing which way the world went, recõciled himſelfe. But the Deane ſtoode long in the matter, and at length went himſelfe to the Pope to vtter his griefe.

Controuerſie betwixt Prelates.

This controuerſie hanged long betwixt them, and was handled in ſuch wiſe, that laye menne laught at their doings, for now and then whom the Pope commaunded to be aſſoyled, theyr aduerſaries by colour of the Popes authoritie would commaund to be excommunicate.

The Earle of Leyceſter proſpereth in Caſcoigne.

The firſt day of July the Erle of Leyceſter in Gaſcoign ouercame many of the kings enimies, and tooke from them a fortreſſe called Chattellō.

A ſore tempeſt of thunder and lightning.

On S. Dunſtans day there was a maruellous ſore tēpeſt of weather, the ayre being darkned on euery ſide from the foure corners thereof, and withall chaunced ſuch a thunder as fewe the like had beene heard of. Firſt it beganne as it had beene a greate waye off, but after it burſt out with ſuch terrible crackes as was wonderful. But one amongſt the reſt exceeded, and withall ſuch lightning flaſhed forth as put men in great feare and terror. The chymney of the Chamber wherein the Queene and hir children then were, was beaten downe to duſt, and the whole buylding ſore ſhaken. This was at Windſore, where in the Parke Okes were rent in ſunder, and turned vp by the rootes, and much hurt done, as mylnes with the Mylners in them, and ſhepefoldes with the ſhepheardes, and plowmen, and ſuche as were going by the way, were deſtroyed and beaten downe.

Wind

About the ſame tyme the ſea on the coaſtes of Englande, roſe with higher tydes than the naturall courſe gaue, by the ſpace of ſixe foote.

High

About Michaelmaſſe, the Queene dowager of Scotlande, that was daughter to Monſieur de Couſie a French man, came through Englād to return into France where ſhe was born, & was of the king honourably receyued and welcomed.

The N
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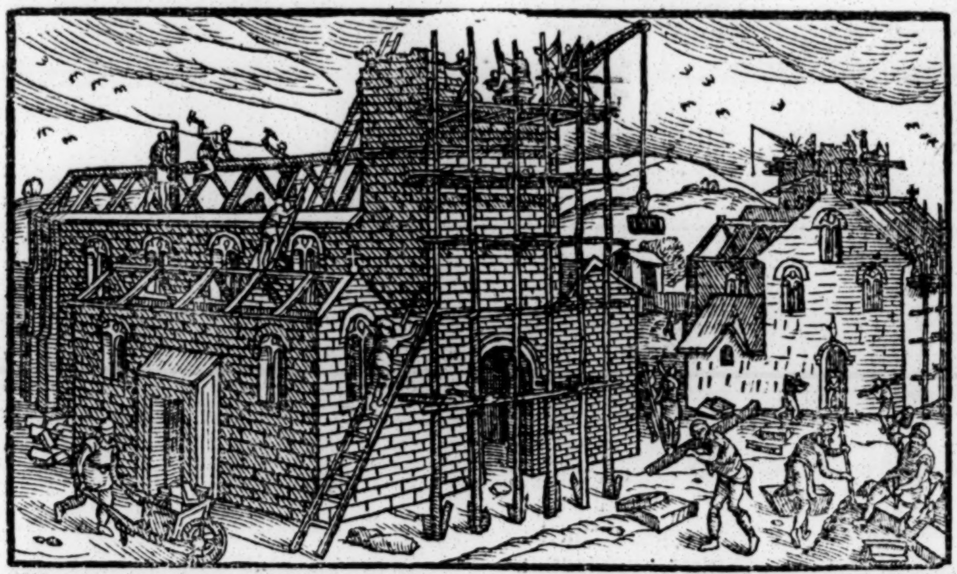
This yeare the Nunrie of Marran not farre from Lynne was founded by the Ladie Iſabell, Counteſſe of Arundell.



Alſo this yeare the Lorde William de Cantlow departed this life, in whoſe heritage his ſon named alſo William ſucceeded.

Moreouer, John Cobham, and Geffrey Spencer (that was a man of great fame, and one of the kings counſaile) departed this life, Cobham before Eaſter, and Spencer ſhortlye after the ſame feaſt. Alſo in the Octaues of Pentecoſt, Paule Peyuer or Peure departed this life. Hee was alſo one of the kings chiefe Counſaylers, and Lorde Stewarde of his houſe. This man at the firſt was not borne to any great poſſeſſions, but by purchaſe hee atteyned to greate reuenues. The Ladie Joan his wife compounded with the king, for the maryage of hir ſonne named Paule, after his father, but the Lorde John Gray payed the money, being fiue hundred marks, and ſo diſcharging hir of that debt, maried hir ſonne to one of his daughters at his manour of Eyton, and afterwardes at London maried the mother of his ſonne in lawe, wherewyth the King was ſore diſpleaſed, for hee hadde gyuen the maryage of hir vnto a Staunger, one Stephen de Salines, ſo that the Lorde Gray was glad to gyue to the King the ſumme of fiftie markes, by way of a fine to haue his good will.

Paule Peyuer.

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In the. xxxvj. yeare of King Henries raigne, the Churche of Hales was dedicate of the foundation of Richarde Earle of Cornewall. At which dedication hee kept a ſolemne feaſt on the Euen of Saint Leonarde being Sunday. There was preſent the King, and Queene, and almoſte all the Nobilitie of Englande, both ſpiritual and temporall.

The C
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The buylding of that Churche, all charges accounted, ſtoode the Earle in tenne thouſande Markes, as hee himſelfe confeſſed vnto Mathew Paris.

The
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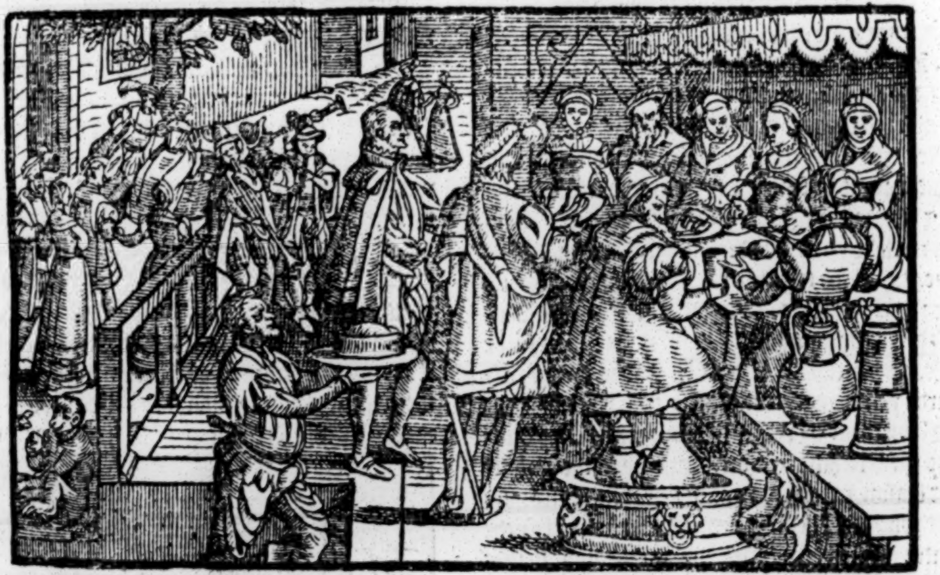
About the ſame tyme the Earle of Leyceſter, and Guy de Luſignan the Kings halfe brother,

ther came into Englande out of Fraunce, and landed at Douer. The king receyued them with great ioy & gladnes. He gaue to his brother at his return great rewardes, as he was euer accuſtomed.

In the feaſt of the Conception of our Ladie at a Juſtes holden at Rocheſter, the ſtraungers were putte to the worſe, and well beaten by the Engliſhe Batchlers and men of Armes, ſo that the diſhonour which they did to the Engliſh men at Brackley was nowe recompenſed with intereſt. For the Straungers fleeing to the Citie for ſuccour, were mette by the way by the Engliſh Knightes ſeruaunts and yeomen, which fell vpon them, beate them ſore with Clubbes and ſtaues, and handled thẽ very euill. Hereof ſprang a greate hatred betwixt the Engliſhe men and ſtraungers, whiche dayly grewe and encreaſed more and more, the rather bycauſe the king had them in ſo good eſtimation, and reteyned ſo many of them within the realme.

1252

The king did celebrate the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe at York, whether came Alexander the yong king of Scottes, and was there made Knight by the King of Englande, and on Saint Stephens day he maryed the Ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of England, according to the aſſuraunce before time concluded. There was a great aſſembly of noble perſonages at that feaſt.



The Queene dowager of Scotland mother to king Alexander, a French woman of the houſe of Coucie, had paſſed the ſea, & was preſent there with a fayre companie of Lordes and Gentlemẽ. The number of knights that were come thither on the king of Englandes part were reckened to be at the poynt of one thouſande. The King of Scottes had with him. lx. knightes and a great ſort of other gentlemen comparable to knightes.

The king of Scottes did homage to the king of Englande at that time for the realme of Scotlande, and all things were done with great loue and fauour, although at the begynning ſome ſtrife was kyndled about taking vp of lodgings.

This aſſembly of the Princes, coſt the Archbiſhop right deerely, in feaſting and banquetting them and theyr traynes. At one dinner it was reported he ſpent at the firſt courſe. lx. fat Oxen. At requeſt of the king of Scottes, the king of England receyued agayne into fauour Philip Lunell, or rather Luvell as I take it, one of his counſaile, againſt whom he had conceiued diſpleaſure in the yere laſt paſt, for ſuch bryberie as he was thought to be guiltie of for to ſhewe fauour to the Jewes.

The king of Scottes when he ſhould depart, tooke his leaue in moſt courteous maner, and led with him his new maried wife, on whom attended ſir Robert Norice knight marſhall of the kings houſe, and ſir Stephẽ Bauſan, and alſo the Ladie Maude, the widow of the Lorde William Cantlow, with other.

Sir Robert Norice, & ſir Stephen Bauzan

On the octaues of the Epiphany chanced an exceeding great wind, which did much hurt in diuerſe places of the realm.

An exceeding great wind.

The B. of Rocheſter returning frõ the court of Rome, brought wᵗ him a bul, authoriſing him to receyue to his owne vſe the. v. part of the reuenues of al yͤ beneficed men within his dioces.

The Biſhop of Rocheſters bul

In this meane while the erle of Leyceſter remaining in Englãd, the Gaſcoignes made ſore war againſt ſuch as he had left behind him, & withal gaue information to the K. that the Erle of Leyceſter was a traytor, & one yͭ had ſpoiled the kings ſubiects: And furthermore by his vniuſt dealings had giuẽ to the Gaſcoignes cauſe of rebelliõ. The K. to boult out the truth of this matter, ſent firſt his chaplaine Hẽrie Winghã, & afterwards ſir Nic. de Moles de Valence, as cõmiſſioners to enquire of yͤ erles doing, who wẽt & returned wᵗout finding any manifeſt crime in yͤ erles demenor. The erle was much offended that his innocency ſhuld be thus ſuſpected.

The Gaſcoignes make warre againſt the Engliſh ſubiects.

But at length being appoynted to returne into Gaſcoigne, he obeyed, and hauing a great ſumme of money, he reteyned a power of men of warre, aſwell French men as other, and meaning to bee reuenged of thoſe that had giuen the information agaynſt him, he ſtrengthned himſelfe with the ayde of the king of Nauarre, and of the Earle of Bigorre and other, ſo that hee oppreſſed his aduerſaries on eche hande, and ſo abated their pride, that if they conueniently had might, they would haue yelded themſelues to ſome other prince, and vtterly haue renounced the King of Englande for euer.

The Earle of Leyceſter daūteth his enemies.

The .xiij. day of March, the newe moone was ſeene, where the prime chaunge by natural courſe ſhould not haue beene tyll the .xvj. day following, and for the ſpace of .xv. dayes that then next enſued, the Sunne, the Moone, and Starres appeared of a red colour. And herewith the whole face of the earth ſeemed as it had beene ſhadowed with a thicke myſt or ſmoke, the winde notwithſtanding remayning North and Northeaſt. And herewith began a ſore drought, cōtinuing a long time, the which togither with morning froſts, and Northerly windes, deſtroyed the fruites and other growing things, which were blaſted in ſuche wiſe, that although at the firſt it was a very forwarde yeare, and great plentie towardes of corne and fruite, yet by the meanes aforeſayd, the ſame was greatly hindered, and ſpecially in the Sommer ſeaſon, when the Sunnes heat increaſed, and the drought ſtill continued. The reſidue of ſuche fruites as then remayned, withered away, ſo that vneth a tenth part was left, and yet there was indifferent ſtore. For if the abundaunce which the bloſſomes promiſed had come forwarde, the trees had not bene able to haue borne the ſame. The graſſe was ſo burned vp in paſtures & medowes, that if a man toke vp ſome of it in his hands, and rubbed the ſame neuer ſo little, it ſtreight fell to poulder, and ſo cattel were redie to ſterue through lacke of meate: and bycauſe of the exceeding hote nightes, there was ſuch abundance of fleas, flies, and gnattes, that people were vexed, and brought in caſe to be wearie of their liues. And herewyth chaunced many diſeaſes, as ſweates, agues, and other. And in the Harueſt tyme there fell a great death or murreyn amongſt cattell, and ſpecially in Norffolke, in the fennes and other parties of the South. The infection was ſuch, that dogs, and rauens feeding on the dead carraynes, ſwelled ſtreight wayes and dyed, ſo that the people durſt eate no biefe, leaſt the fleſh happely might be infected.

A ſtraunge wonder of the newe Moone.

A great drought.

Many diſeaſes raigned.

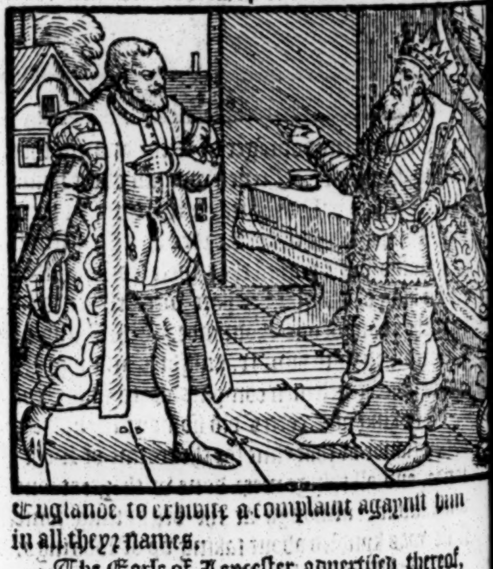
A murreyn of cattaile.

Alſo this was noted not without great wonder, that yong heyfers and bullockes followed the mylche kine, and as it had beene calues ſucked the ſame kine. Alſo Apple trees and Peare trees now after the time of yeelding their ripe fruite, began againe to bloſſome, as if it had beene in Aprill. The cauſe of the death of cattell was thought to come hereof. After ſo great a drougth (which had continued by all the ſpace of the monethes of Aprill, May, June, and July,) when there folowed good plentie of raine, the earth began to yeelde hir encreaſe moſt plentiouſly of all growing things, though not ſo wholſome nor of ſuch kindly ſubſtance, as in due time and ſeaſon ſhee is accuſtomed to bring forth, and ſo the cattell which before was hungerſtaruen, fed now ſo greedily of thys newe graſſe ſprung vp in vndue ſeaſon, that they were ſodenly puffed vp with fleſhe, and ſuch vnnaturall humors, as bredde infections amongeſt them, whereof they dyed.

The Biſhop of Lincolne would haue enforced all the beneficed men within his dioces to bee Prieſts, but they purchaſed a licence from Rome, to remaine at the Uniuerſities for certain yeares, without taking the order of Prieſthode vpon them.

The king meaning to go (as he pretended) into the holy land, had graunt of the Pope to leuie a tenth of his ſubiects both ſpirituall and temporal.

The Gaſcoines ſore repining at the Earle of Leyceſter his ſtrayte gouernance, (who handled them more roughly than they had beene accuſtomed,) ſent the Archbiſhop of Burdeaux ouer into Englande to exhibite a complaint agaynſt him in all theyr names.



The Earle of Leyceſter aduertiſed thereof, followed him, and comming to the Court, found the Archbiſhop readie to auouche the information which he had made agaynſt the ſayde Earle, chiefely in that he had ſought the deſtruction of thoſe whome the Earle of Cornwall when hee was ruler there, had graunted life and peace, and whome ſir Henrie Trubleuile, and Waleran the Teutchman, late Stewardes of Gaſcoigne, vnder the king, had cheriſhed and mainteyned.

Many other things the Archbiſhoppe charged him with, the which the Erle wittily refelled and diſproued, ſo as he was allowed in his iuſtification by thoſe that ſtoode by, as the Erle of Cornwall and others.

The Biſhop of Lincolne got authoritie of the Pope to inſtitute Vicarages, in Churches impropriate to religious men, where no Vicars were, and where ſuch were as ſeemed to ſlenderly prouided of ſufficient allowance, to augment the ſame as he thought expedient: which his authoritie he vſed more largely than ſtoode with the pleaſure of religious perſons, bycauſe hee ſhewed great fauour to the Vicars. The copie of the letters which the Biſhop had procured of the Pope, authoriſing him herein, followeth as we find the ſame in the Chronicles of Mathew Paris.

Innocentius Epiſcopus. &c. Cum ſicut accepimus in tua ciuitate & diœceſi, nonnulli religioſi & alij collegiati eccleſias parochiales in proprios vſus optineant, in quibus nimis exiles aut nullæ taxatæ ſunt Vicariæ: fraternitati tuæ per authoritatis ſummam mandamus, quod in eiſdē eccleſijs de ipſarū prouentibus vicarias inſtituas, & inſtitutas exiles adaugeas vice noſtra: prout iuxta conſuetudinem patriæ ſecundum deum videris expedire, non obſtantibus ſi prædicti excepti ſint, aut alias muniti apoſtolicis priuilegijs ſiue indulgentijs, per quæ id impediri vel differri poſſit. Et de quibus ſpecialē oporteat in præſentibus fieri mentionem: contradictores per cenſuras eccleſiaſticas apoſtolica poteſtate compeſcendo. Datū Lugduni. vij. kal. Octob. pōtificatus noſtri. An. viij.

The Earle of Leyceſter ſent eftſoones into Gaſcoigne.

The Earle of Leyceſter is eftſoones ſent into Gaſcoigne by the king, who had not cared if hee had fallen into his enimies handes as ſhould appeare. But the Earle hyred ſouldiers in France, and comming into Gaſcoigne preuayled agaynſt his enimyes, though in one conflict hee was in daunger of looſing both life and the honour of the fielde. But yet through his good happe, Gods fauour, and the valiancie of himſelfe and ſome of his retinue, hee gotte the vpper hande, and putte hys enimies to flight, taking Ruſteyn, one of the chiefe ringleaders of the rebels, whome he cauſed to be preſented to the king.

Ruſteyn takē.

At the ſame time had the king inueſted hys ſonne Edward with the Duchie of Aquitaine to the offence of the Erle of Cornwal, to whom by charter he had before giuen & confirmed the ſame.

In a Iuſtes holden at Walden, ſir Arnold de Monteny, a right valiāt knight, was ſlaine by ſir Roger de Lemborne, for which miſchaunce all the Nobles there aſſembled made great lamentation, and namely the ſayde ſir Roger: but yet he was ſuſpected to be in blame, bycauſe the ſoket of his ſtaffe was poliſhed, and not abated. Hereby it ſhould appeare, that in qualitie of weapon, & not in maner of their running togither, theſe iuſtes & turneys in thoſe dayes practiſed differed from the very order of warre.

The. xvij. of Septem. the cathedral Church of Ely was dedicat, which the B. of that ſea named Hugh had builded with his owne proper coſtes & charges, togither with the palace there. The king & a great nūber of the peeres & nobles of the realm both ſpiritual & temporal were preſent at this ſolēne feaſt, which was kept in moſt plētiful maner.

A Parliament.

The. xiij. day of October, the king held a great feaſt at London, and had called the eſtates of the Realme, then and there to aſſemble in Parliament, wherein he opened to them the popes grant, which he had obteyned of the tenthes due to the Churche, to be receyued by him for three yeares, towardes his charges in his iourney which hee ment to make into the holy lande. The Biſhops, and namely Lincolne, vtterly refuſed to be contributaries to his graunte. They alledged ſundrie reaſons for their excuſe, as the pouertie of the Engliſh Church being alreadie made bare wyth continuall exactions and oppreſſions, but chiefly they excuſed themſelues by the abſence of the Archbiſhops of Canterburie and Yorke, of whom the one was beyond the ſea, and the other at home in the north partes. All the reſidue of the Engliſh Biſhops were there, except Hereforde & Cheſter,

The king demaundeth the tenthes of the ſpiritualtie.

The Biſhops refuſe to yeeld to the Popes graunt.

which Cheſter was ſicke, and therefore without the conſent of thoſe that were abſent and namely theyr Primate the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, they coulde not conclude vpon any general point touching the kings demaunde. And although the king fretted and ſtormed agaynſt them, yet could he not bring them to his purpoſe, ſo that the Parliament for that time was diſſolued. Yet before theyr departure from London, hee communed with the Biſhops apart, to ſee if hee myght perſwade them to giue to him ſome portion of money towardes his charges: but they had tuned theyr ſtrings all after one note, diſcording all from his tenour, ſo that not a penie coulde be got of them: wherefore hee toke high diſpleaſure agaynſt them, reuyling them in moſte reprochfull maner, and amongſt other he vpbrayded his half brother, (the elect of Wincheſter) of greate vnthankfulneſſe; who alſo amongſt the reſidue ſtood agaynſt him.

The king highly offended with the Biſhops.

The king aſſayeth to get money of the Lordes temporall.

The king hauing this repulſe at the Biſhops handes, began to fall in talke with the Lordes of the Temporaltie touching the troubles in Gaſcoigne, where things were in broyle by the harde doings of the Earle of Leyceſter, againſt whome the Gaſcoignes ceaſſed not to make warre ſtyll, and of late hauing beſieged him in the Caſtell of Mountalbon, droue him to ſuch ſhift, that to eſcape the preſent daunger, he was glad to ſet at libertie certaine rebels, whiche he had before taken captiues. Therefore to reduce that Countrie vnto quiet, the king determined to go thither himſelfe, and to remoue the Earle of Leyceſter out of hys office: but when he came to the pith of the matter, whiche was to deſire them of ayde both of men & money, the Lordes woulde not agree to graunte him any. And where he ſought to burden the erle of Leyceſter with miſgouerning things agaynſt his honour, they excuſed the ſame Earle, and ſo the Lordes alſo departed in diſpleaſure of the king aſwell as the Biſhops. Of the Londoners yet the king by way of princely prayer got .xx. thouſand Markes of golde at that time: And to theyr further griefe for better meane to be reuenged agaynſt the Biſhop of Elie, he cauſed the ſayde Londoners to keepe S. Edwards fayre for .xv. dayes togither at Weſtminſter, and in the meane time to keepe their ſhops ſhut through all the Citie. Which thing (by reaſon of the foule weather chauncing at that time) was very grieuous vnto them, albeit there was ſuch repayre of people thither, that London had not bene fuller to the iudgement of olde auncient men neuer at any tyme in theyr dayes to theyr remembraunce.

The Londoners helpe at a pinche.

The death of ſir Nicholas Samford.

This yeare died ſir Nicholas Samford knight, a man of great reputation and valiancie. Alſo on the .xx. day of October, the Counteſſe of Wincheſter, daughter to the Erle of Hereford departed this life at Groby, a Manor place belonging to hir huſband the Earle of Wincheſter, a little beſides Leyceſter, and was buried at Brackley. The ſayde Earle ſhortly after maryed an other wife in hope of iſſue. For neither by this his laſt wife, neyther by his firſt that was daughter to the Lord Alane de Galoway he had any childe.

Alſo the ſame yeare, that noble Ladie Margaret Counteſſe of Liſle ſurnamed Riuers, ſomtime wife to Fowkes de Brent, departed out of this worlde, about the ſecond day of October.

In the .xxxvij. yeare of king Henries raigne, one of the Popes notaries called Albert came into England to offer vnto Richard erle of Cornwall the kings brother, the kingdomes of Naples and Sicill. But the Erle ſuppoſing it not to ſtande with his honour, to depriue his nephewe Henry ſon to the Emperor Frederick the ſeconde, by his wife the Empreſſe Iſabell that was ſiſter to ẏ ſaid erle, refuſed to take that honor vpō him.

About the ſame time, that is to ſay, in the Octaues of Saint Martin, Boniface the Archbiſhop of Canterburie arriued in Englande comming from the Court of Rome, where he had bin long reſiant.

The ſame time there chaunced a great occaſion of ſtrife betwixt the ſayd Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter. For where maiſter Euſtace de Linne, officiall to the ſaid Archbiſhop had firſt excommunicate, & after for his cōtumacie cauſed to be attached a prieſt which by authority of ẏ elect of Wincheſter as dioceſane there, was entred into poſſeſſion of an Hoſpitall in Southwarke, as gouernour thereof, by the name of Prior, without conſent of the Officiall, whiche pretended tytle as Patrone in hys Maiſters name, the ſayd elect of Wincheſter cauſed a ryotous ſort of perſons after the maner of warre to ſeeke reuenge hereof, the whiche after manye outrages done, came to Lambeth, and there by violence toke the ſayde Euſtace out of his owne houſe, and ledde him to Farnham, where hee was kepte as priſoner.

The Archbiſhop hereof aduertiſed, at his firſt comming ouer, and taking the ſame but for a homely welcom, was marueilouſly offended, and comming to London accompanied with the Biſhops of Chicheſter and Hereforde, in the Church of Saint Mary Bowe, being reueſted in *Pontificalibus*, pronounced all thoſe accurſed whiche were Authours or fauourers of ſuch a raſhe and preſumptuous deede, and further commaunded all the Biſhops within his Prouince, by vertue of their obedience, to denounce the ſame in their Churches euery Sunday and holy day.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter on the other part, ſent cōmaundement to the deane of Southwarke to reſiſt the Archbiſhop to his face, & to denounce his curſſe to be voyde, vaine, and of no force, but deuiſed of a craftie purpoſe and wicked meaning. The Archbiſhop continuing in his conceiued diſpleaſure, went to Oxforde, and there on the morow after Saint Nicholas day, renued the ſame curſe in ſolemne wiſe before all the learned men, ſtudents, and ſcholers of the vniuerſitie. At length yet the matter was taken vp betwixt them, for the king in his brothers cauſe, and the Queene for hir vncle the Archbiſhop, tooke ſome payne to agree them. And ſo in the Octaues of the Epiphanie they were made friendes, and thoſe aſſoyled that were excommunicate, in which number William de Valence, and Iohn de Warren were thought to be conteyned as thoſe that ſhoulde be preſent in vſing the force againſt the Official (as before ye haue heard.) By inquiry takẽ about this time by the diligence of the Biſhop of Lincolne, it was found that the yearely profites and reuenues of ſpirituall promotions, and liuings reſting in ſtrangers hands preferred by the Popes prouiſions, amounted to the ſumme of .lxx. thouſand Markes, which was more by two thirde partes, than the kings reuenues belonging to his crown.

The Earle of Glouceſter and the Lord William de Valence went ouer into Fraunce in moſt triumphant maner, to conclude a maryage betwixt the ſonne of the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, and the daughter of the Lorde Guye of Engoleſme. Which mariage the king had mocioned for the affection which he bare towardes the aduauncement of his linage, by the mothers ſyde. Whereat becauſe they were ſtrangers, the Engliſh nobilitie ſomwhat repined. And whereas like luſtie yong gentlemen they attempted a Iuſtes and tourney to ſhewe ſome proufe of theyr valiaunt ſtomackes, they were well beaten by the French men, that diſdeyned to ſee yong men ſo preſumptuous, to prouoke olde accuſtomed warriours to the tryall of ſuch martiall enterpriſes

The newe Moone appeared before hir time.

About the beginning of Lent the new Moone was ſeene foure dayes before ſhe ought to haue appeared by hir common courſe.

The king by a ſhift got of the Londoners .1000. Markes. For as it happened about the ſame time the youthfull Citizens (for an exerciſe and triall of their actiuitie) had ſet forth a game to runne at the Quintine, and who ſoeuer did beſt ſhould haue a Peacocke which they had prepared for a priſe. Certaine of the kings ſeruants, bycauſe the court lay then at Weſtminſter, came (as it were in ſpight of the Citizens) to the game, & giuing reprochfull names to the Londoners (which for the dignitie of the Citie & auncient priuiledges which they ought to haue enioyed were called Barons) the ſayd Londoners not able to beare ſo to be miſuſed, fell vpon the kings ſeruaunts, and bet them ſhrewdly, ſo that vpon complaint, the king cauſed the Citizens to fine for their raſh doings.

Running at the Quintine.

The Londoners called Barons.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, the K. vpon diſpleaſure conceyued agaynſt the Earle of Leyceſter, had cauſed him to reſigne his office of the gouernment of Gaſcoigne: and bycauſe the erle had it by graunt, the k. not able to find any iuſt cauſe of forfeiture, agreed to pay vnto him for ÿ reſignation a certaine portion of money. And whereas the Gaſcoignes had charged the erle with too much ſtrait handling of them, wherby they were occaſioned to rayſe tumultes, the matter was now nothing at al amended. For after the erle had reſigned, they continued ſtill in rebellion, ſo that the Rioll with S. Millions and other places were taken by the aduerſaries out of the Kings handes, and greate ſlaughter of people made in thoſe parties: wherefore the king intending to goe thither, cauſed muſters to be taken, and men put in a readineſſe according to the cuſtome, that he might vnderſtande what number of able men furniſhed for the war

The Earle of Leyceſter reſigneth his gouernment of Gaſcoigne.

The Rioll. S. Millions. Townes in Gaſcoigne.

were to be had. He alſo tooke order that euery mā that might diſpend yearely .xv. poundes in lands ſhould be made knight.

Knightes to be made.

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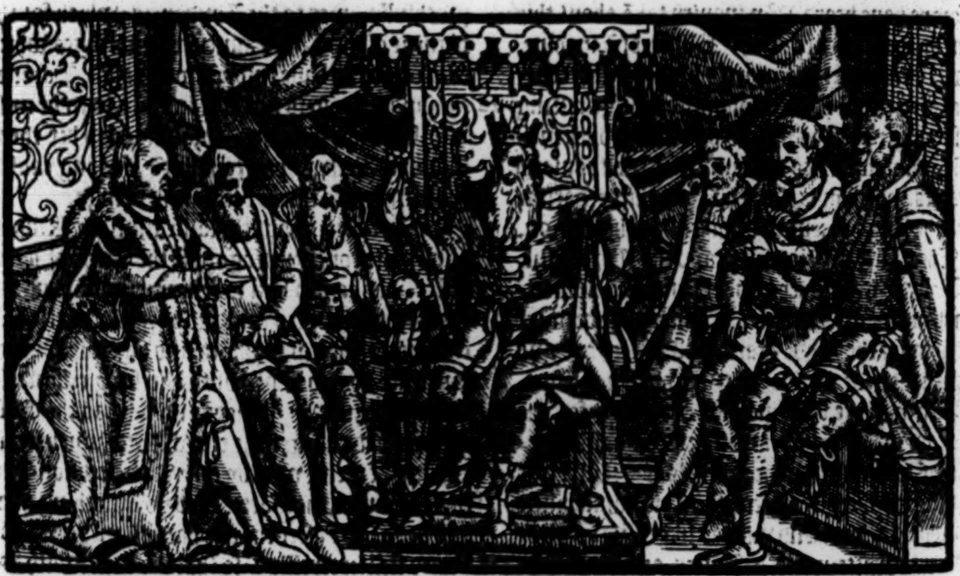

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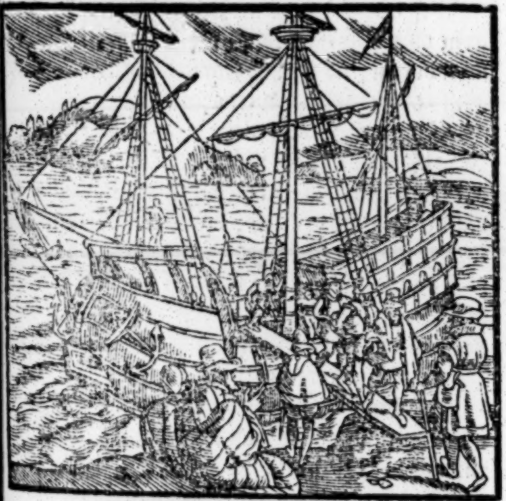

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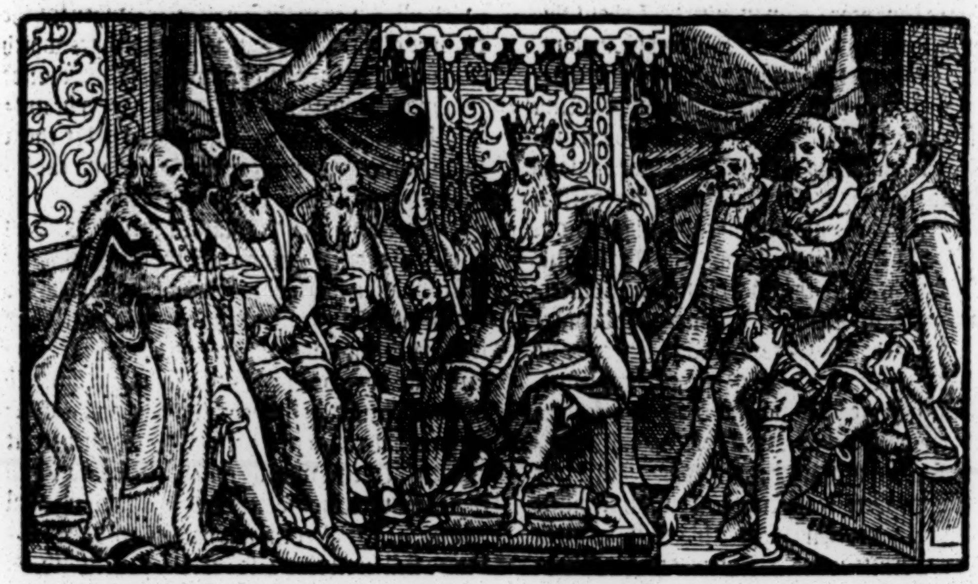

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The L. Wil. Veſcie departeth this life.

Weſcie a baron of great fame in the north partes.

Great weate.

Alſo in the Spring and Sommer of thys yeare was a greate drought, and in the Harueſt ſeaſon fell ſuch wette, that great flouddes by the ryſing of the Ryuers, and ouerflowing theyr Bankes, did muche hurt in ſundrye places of the Realme. Againe in the latter ende of Harueſt about Michaelmaſſe, there was eftſoones ſuche a drought, that menne coulde gette no grynding at the Mylnes, but were conſtrayned to goe in ſome places a dayes iourney of, to haue theyr corne grounde.

Great drought

An. reg. 38.

The Lady Katherin the kings daughter borne.

In the .xxxviij. yeare of king Henries raigne, the Queene was deliuered of a daughter whiche was called Katherin, bycauſe the ſame was born on Saint Katherins day.

Winter thũder

On S. Lucies day, there fell a great ſnowe, and withall a winters thunder, for a token of ſome euill to follow. The king to ſettle the ſtate of the countrey of Gaſcoigne in better order, taryed there all the winter, and repaired certaine decayed townes and Caſtels.

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The Queene kept hir Chriſtmaſſe at London, where ſhe lay in childebed, and was purified on the euen of the Epiphanie, making a royall feaſt, at the which many great Lordes were preſent, as the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie, the Biſhop of Elie, the Erles of Cornewall and Glouceſter, and many other. She ſent ouer at the ſame time to hir huſband for a new yeares gift the ſumme of fiue C. Markes of hir owne reuenues towardes the maintenance of his warres.

The Queenes liberalitie towardes the king.

A ſtrange ſight in the ayre.

On the euen of the Circumciſion of our Lord, in the night ſeaſon whileſt the ayre was moſte cleare and bright with ſhining ſtarres, the Moone being .viij. dayes olde, there appeared in the Element the perfect fourme and likeneſſe of a mightie great Shippe, whiche was fyrſt ſeene of certaine Monkes of Saint Albones, who remayning at Saint Amphibalus, were got vp to behold by the ſtarres, if it were tyme for them to go to Mattens, but perceyuing that ſtraunge ſight, they called vp ſuche of their acquayntaunce as lodged neare at hande, to viewe the ſame. At length it ſeemed as the bourdes and ioyntes thereof had gone in ſunder, and ſo it vaniſhed awaye. There followed a marueilous ſore latter ende of a Winter, through colde and ouerſharpe weather, which continued till the feaſt of S. Gregorie in March next enſuing.

Redborne.

A death of ſheepe.

Alſo there chanced the ſame yere a great murreyn & death of ſheepe and Deare, ſo that of whole flocks & heardes, vneth the one halfe eſcaped.

Whileſt the King remayned ſtyll in Gaſcoigne, hee ſent for his wife Queene Eleanore, with his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde, but bycauſe he coulde not make an ende of his buſineſſe of al that Winter, hee continued there the Sommer alſo. And foraſmuch as he ſtoode in neede of money, to haue ſome reaſonable pretence to demaunde a ſubſedie, in the begynning of Marche, hee ſent to hys brother Richarde the Earle of Cornewall (which was come ouer before chiefly for that purpoſe) certain inſtructiõs to declare how there was like to follow great warre, by meanes of Alfonſe the tenth of that name king of Caſtile, who menaced verie ſhortly to inuade the confines of Gaſcoigne perteyning to the Engliſh dominion, and therefore he required of his faithful ſubiectes ſome ayde of money, whereby he might be able to reſiſt his aduerſarie the ſayd king of Caſtile. Earle Richard did what he could to perſwade the people to this payment, but he caſt his net in vaine, before the face of the feathered foule. For though he ſette forth the matter to the vttermoſt in the preſence of the nobles and other eſtates, yet woulde they not heare of any payment to bee made, as thoſe that ſmelled out the feyned fetche and forged tale of the Kings neede. For they had intelligence that there was an agreement concluded betwixt him and the king of Spaine. And for the ſame cauſe the Queene and the Lorde Edwarde were gone ouer, that the king of Spaine might haue a ſight of him, as hee had required when the couenants of the mariage were accorded.

Twice the eſtates of the realme were aſſembled at London about the graunt of this paymẽt, but all in vaine, ſo that they were conſtrayned to paſſe it ouer with ſilence, and to ſurceaſſe in the matter to theyr great griefe, and namely the erle of Cornwal, who had taken great paynes therein. Yet for that he would not returne with emptie hande, he leuyed by rygorous meanes a great ſumme of the Iewes (of whom a great multitude inhabited in that ſeaſon in London) and therewith returning to his brother king Henry ſhewed him how he had ſped.

The king was not a little offended with them that thus had denied to helpe him with money, inſomuch that vpõ euery light occaſiõ, he was redy to reuenge his diſpleaſure towards thẽ, in taking away ſuch grauntes of priuiledges and liberties, as before he had made. But now to auoyde ſuſpition of hys feyned pretence of warre betwixte him and king Alfonſe, hee ſent hys ſonne Edwarde into Caſtile vnto the ſame Alfonſe, vnder a colour to compound with him for peace, where the verie occaſiõ of his going thither was to purchaſe him the Ladie Elenore to wife, that was ſiſter to the ſayd king Alfonſe.

At his comming to the Court of Spaine, he was of the king there verie honourably receyued, and in the ende, vpon conference had of hys meſſage, hee obteyned hys ſuyte, ſo that King Alfonſe was content to beſtowe vppon hym hys daughter in maryage, wyth the Countie of

Pontieu

Pontieu in Fraunce, which ſhee helde in right of hir mother Queene Joan, the ſeconde wyfe of Ferdinando the thirde king of Caſtile, Father vnto this king Alfonſe, which Joan was the only daughter and heyre of Symon Earle of Pontieu, and had iſſue by hir huſband the ſayde Ferdinando two ſonnes, Ferdinando and Lewis, with one daughter, to wit the foreſayde Elenore, the which by reaſon hir brethren dyed yong, was heyre to hir mother. The Lorde Edward hauing ſped his buſineſſe according to his deſire returned with a ioyfull heart to his father, and declared to him what he had done. His father moſt glad thereof, for an augmentation of honor created hym Prince of Wales, and Erle of Cheſter, and appoynted him to be his deputie and generall Lieutenant both in Guyenne and in Irelande, & gaue to him the townes of Briſtow, Stanforde, and Granthã. Hereof came it, that euer after the kings eldeſt ſonne was made immediatly vpon hys byrth Prince of Wales, and Erle of Cheſter. He created alſo his other ſon named Edmond, Earle of Lancaſter.

About this ſeaſon were certain ſhips dryuen by force of winde and weather into certaine Hauens on the north coaſtes of England towardes Berwike, which ſhippes were of a right ſtraunge forme & faſhion, but mightie & ſtrong. The men that were aborde the ſame ſhips were of ſome far countrey, for their language was vnknowne, and not vnderſtandable to any man that coulde bee brought to talke with them. The fraught & balaſt of the ſhips was armor and weapon, as habergeons, helmets, ſpeares, bowes, arrowes, croſbowes and darts, with great ſtore of vitailes. There lay alſo without the hauens on the coaſt diuerſe other ſhips of like forme, molde & faſhion. Thoſe that were driuen into the hauens were ſtayed for a time by the Baylifes of the Portes. But finally when it coulde not be knowne what they were, nor from whence they came, they were licenced to depart, without loſſe or harme in body or goodes.

About Candlemaſſe, Gaſton de Bierne, aſſembling togither a multitude of the kings enimies, through intelligence of ſome of the Citizens of Bayon that fauoured not the K. wrought ſo that certaine of his number entred that Citie, meaning to haue bereft the king of the dominion thereof. But other of the Citizens, (namelye thoſe of the meaner ſorte whiche fauoured the King) made ſuche reſiſtaunce, that the enimyes whiche were entred, were apprehended, and dyuerſe of them ſuffered puniſhment, as they hadde well deſerued.

Gaſton de Bierne attempteth to take the citie of Bayon.

After this, there chaunced a mutenye in the Engliſhe armie, bycauſe the kings brethren and the Biſhop of Hereforde tooke vpon them to puniſh certain Welchmen, for that without cõmiſſion they had beene abrode to ſpoyle within the French confines. Therefore in aſmuch as the puniſhment ſeemed to exceed the degree & qualitie of the offence, and againe for that the Erle of Hereford being Coneſtable of the hoſt by inheritaunce ought to haue had the order of all corrections in caſes of ſuch offences, the Engliſhe men were in minde to haue ſlaine all the Poictouins in deſpite of the kings brethren, if the king had not in humble wiſe ſought to haue appeaſed their furie.

A muteny in the Engliſh armie.

The wind continuing this yeare for the ſpace of three Monethes and odde dayes northerly, did greatly hinder the growth and increaſe of floures and fruites: and about the firſt of July there fell ſuche a ſtorme of hayle and rayne, as the lyke had not beene ſeene nor hearde of in thoſe dayes, breaking downe the tyles and other couerings of houſes, with boughes of trees, by the violent abũdance and force of the water & haileſtones, whiche continued aboue the ſpace of an houre powring

A mightie ſtorme of hayle.

and beating downe inceſſauntly.

An. Reg. 39.
The king returneth homewards through France.

After this, when the king had remayned a whole yere in Guienne, he returned homewards through Fraunce, and comming vnto Chartres, was honourably there receyued of Lewes the French king, as then lately returned oute of the holy lande, and from thence he was royally by the ſame king Lewes brought vnto Paris.

The Coũteſſe of Cornewall.

The Counteſſe of Cornwal went ouer with a noble trayne of Lordes, Gentlemen, and others, to bee preſent at thee meeting of hir two ſiſters, the Queens of England & France, ſo that the royaltie of the aſſemble on ech part was great.

1255

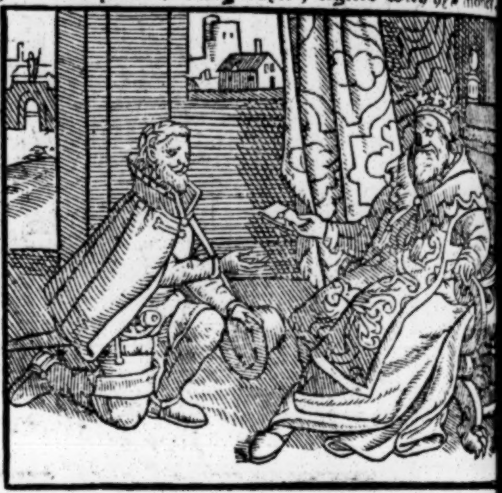
Finally after that king Henry had continued for his pleaſure certaine dayes, hee returned ſtreight into Englande, landiug at Douer in Chriſtmaſſe week. This iourney into Gaſcoigne was right coſtly, and to ſmall purpoſe (as wryters haue recorded, for the kings charges amounted to the ſumme of. xxvij. hundred thouſande poundes and aboue, except landes and rentes which he gaue vnaduiſedly to thoſe which little deſerued, but rather ſought the hynderance both of him and his Realme, beſydes the gyfte of. xxx. thouſand Markes, which he beſtowed vpon hys halfe brethren by the mother ſide, not reckening the landes nor rentes, neyther yet the wardes nor the horſes, nor Iewelles which he gaue to them beſides, being of price ineſtimable.

And thus in two iourneys which he made, the one into Poictou, which Countrey hee loſt, and the other into Gaſcoigne, which he hardly preſerued, he ſpent more treaſure than a wiſe chapman would haue giuen for them both if they had beene ſet on ſale (as Mat. Paris writeth.)

The pope offereth the kingdome of Sicill vnto the king of England.

The king maketh great ſhift for mony to ſend to the pope.

Moreouer to encreaſe the kings vain charges, ſo it fell out, that Pope Innocent bearing grudge towardes Conrade king of Sicill, he offred that kingdome (as before is partly touched) vnto Richard Duke of Cornewall, who refuſed the offer aſwell for other cauſes, as chiefly for that the pope would not agree to ſuch conditions as Erle Richard thought neceſſarie for his aſſurance: whereupon the Pope graunted that kingdome vnto K. Henrie, with many goodly promiſes of ayd to his furtherance for atteyning the poſſeſſion thereof. King Henrie ioyfully receyued that graunt, and called his ſonne Edmond openly by the name of king of Sicill, and to furniſh the Pope with money for the maintenance of his war againſt Cõrade, he got togither all ſuch ſummes as he could make, aſwell out of his owne coffers, and out of the Exchequer, as by borowing of his brother erle Richard, & likewiſe what he could ſcrape frõ the Iewes, or otherwiſe extort by the rapine of the Iuſtices Itenerantes, all the which he ſent to the Pope, who not content herewith (when he began eftſoones to want) wrote againe to the king for more. The King through the inſtinct of the diuell to anſwere the Popes auarice, ſent to him his letters patents obligatorie, ſigned with hys royall ſeale, by whiche he might take by way of lone ſuche ſummes of money, as would largely ſerue his turne of the Marchants Italians, wylling him not to ſtick at the diſburſing of treaſure, nor at the great quãtitie of the intereſt riſing vpõ the vſury, for he would diſcharge all. And hereunto he bound himſelfe vnder paine to forfeyte hys kingdome and other his heritages. The Pope cõſenting herevnto, accepted this large offer, if he did well herein ſayth Mat. Par.) the Lord the iudge of all Iudges iudge it, to whom apperteyneth the care of al things. To conclude, much money was ſpent, for the Pope ſpared not the king of Englands purſe, though litle good was done therwith. At length Conrade died, not without ſuſpition of poyſon. The Pope being aduertiſed of his death, reioiced greatly as he wel vttered in plain wordes, ſaying. Let all vs that be the children of the Romain church reioyce, for now two of our greateſt enimies are diſpatched out of yͤ way, the one a ſpiritual mã, that is to wit, Robert B. of Lincoln, & the other a lay man, that is Conrade K. of Sicill, but yet the Pope miſſed of his purpoſe, for Manfred the baſterd ſon of the Emperor Frederick the ſecond, was ſhortly after proclaimed K. of Sicil, and ſo the ſecond error was greater than the firſt.



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Aboute the quindene of Eaſter, there was a Parliament holdẽ at London, at the which were aſſembled all the eſtates of the realme in greater number than had bin cõmonly ſeene. This Parliamẽt was called chiefly to let thẽ vnderſtand yͤ kings neceſſitie of money, for diſcharging of hys debts, & to require them of their ayde towards the ſame: but whereas he requeſted more than was thought ſtoode wyth reaſon, they woulde not agree therevnto. but they deſired that he woulde confyrme, and without all cauillation ſweare to obſerue the liberties which by the charter hee had promiſed to hold. Moreouer they required yͭ by the common councell of the Realme, they myghte choſe to them the chiefe Juſtice, the Chauncellour and Treaſurer, but they were aunſwered playnely by ſome of the priuie Councell, that this requeſt would at no hand be graunted.

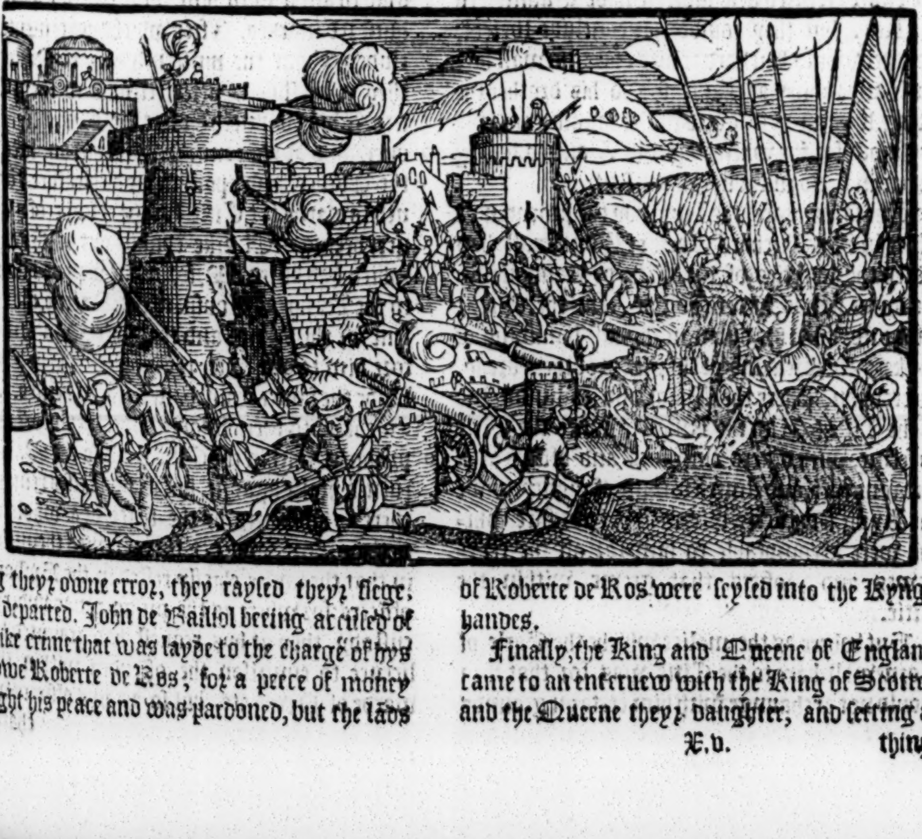
Furthermore, the Prelates complayned, that they were driuen to pay the tenthes whiche they promiſed condicionally, as it were now by conſtreynt and of dutie, to the preiudice of the liberties of the Church. The nobles alſo found themſelues greeued for the exactions which they ſawe at hand, but finally, after many thyngs had bene debated touching theſe matters, the Parliamente was adiourned till Michaelmas nexte, and euery man departed to his home, with no greate truſt of the Kyngs good will towarts them, nor anye harty thankes receyued of hym for theyr paynes, as may be thought by that whyche writers haue recorded. Two noble men, to whome the cuſtody and guyding of the Kyng & Queene of Scottes was committed, that is to witte, Robert de Ros, and John de Baillioll, were accurſed, for miſuſing themſelues in the truſt and charge whyche they had taken vpon them. King Henry was the ſame time at Nottingham. The information came forth by a Phiſition, the which was ſente from the Queene of England, vnto hir daughter the Queene of Scottes, to be about hir for regard of hir health, but bycauſe the ſame Phiſition, (whoſe name was Reginalde of Bathe) perceyued the Queene of Scottes to bee empayred in health through anguiſh of minde, by reaſon of the miſdemeanor of ſuch as had the gouernemēt of hir and hir huſbād, he ſticked not to blame and reproue them in their doings, for the whiche hee was poyſoned as ſome thinke: for the troth was, he ſhortly after ſickened and dyed, ſignifying vpon his death bed vnto the Queene of Englande what he miſliked in thoſe that had the doings about hir daughter and hir huſband the Scottiſhe Kyng.

An Eclipſe.

The Earle of Glouceſter and Iohn Manſell ſent into Scotland.

Robert de Ros ſummoned to appeare.

The Moone ſuffered a maruellous eclipſe, on the night following the day of Saint Margaret in July. It began afore midnight, and continued foure houres. The King at the contemplation of his daughter the Queene of Scottes, rayſed a power, and drewe Northwardes, ſending before him the Earle of Glouceſter, and John Manſell, that was his Chaplayne and one of his Counſell. Theſe two ſo vſed the matter, that they came to Edenburgh, where the King and Queene of Scottes then lay in the Caſtell, into the whyche they entred, and altred the order of the houſholde, ſo as ſtoode with the contentation of the Kyng and Queene, which were in ſuch wiſe vſed before that time, that they were not ſuffred to lie togyther, nor vnneth come to talke togither. Robert de Ros was ſummoned to appeare before the K. of Englande, to aunſwere to ſuche thynges as might be layd to hys charge. At the firſt he withdrew himſelfe, but afterwardes he came in, and ſubmitted him to yͤ Kings pleaſure. Diuers of yͤ nobles of Scotland tooke it not well, that yͤ Erle of Glouceſter and John Manſell ſhoulde thus come into the Caſtell of Edenburgh, and order things in the Kings houſe in ſuche ſort at theyr pleaſure, wherevpon, they aſſembled a power, and beſieged the ſame Caſtell, but at length, perceyuing theyr owne error, they rayſed theyr ſiege, and departed. John de Bailiol beeing accuſed of the like crime that was layde to the charge of hys fellowe Roberte de Ros, for a peece of money bought his peace and was pardoned, but the lāds of Roberte de Ros were ſeyſed into the Kynges handes.



Finally, the King and Queene of Englande came to an enteruew with the King of Scottes, and the Queene theyr daughter, and ſetting all things with them in ſuch order as was thought conueniente, they returned agayne towarde the South parties.

A ſhift to get money of the Biſhops deuiſed by the Biſhop of Herefordе.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Biſhop of Hereforde deuiſed a ſhift to help yͤ King to money, towardes the payment of his debtes, by obteyning certayne autentike ſeales of the Prelates of this land, with whiche he ſealed certayne inſtruments and writings, wherein it was expreſſed, that he had receyued dyuers ſummes of money for diſpatche of buſineſſe perteyning to them and to their Churches, of this and that merchaunt of Florence or Siena, whereby they ſtoode bound for repayment thereof by the ſame inſtruments and writings ſo made by him theyr agent in theyr names. This ſhift was deuiſed by the ſayde Byſhop of Hereford, with licence obteyned therevnto of the king, and alſo of the Pope, vnto whome for the ſame intent, the ſayd Byſhop was ſent, with Sir Robert Walerane Knight. The Pope was the ſooner perſwaded, to graunte licence for the contriuing of ſuche manner of ſhift, bycauſe the money ſhould goe to the diſcharging of the kings debts, into the whiche hee was runne, by bearing the charges of the warres againſt the King of Sicill.

About the feaſt of Saint Edward, the Parliament began agayne at London, in the whyche, the eſtates treated of a ſubſedie to be graunted to the King, but they coulde not conclude thereof, neyther would Richard Earle of Cornewall diſburſe any money at that ſeaſon to his brother the King, bycauſe he allowed not the manner of laying it out for the warres againſt Manfred, beyng taken in hand without his conſent.

Richard Earle of Cornewall ſtandeth againſt his brother for the graunt of a ſubſedie.

The ſame yeare, the King, by the procurement of his brother Richard Earle of Cornewall, had ſeaſed the liberties of the Citie of London into his owne hands, vnder coulour, that the Maior hadde not done his duetie in the iuſt puniſhing of Bakers for breaking of the aſſiſes of their bread. Herevpon, where the Maior and communaltie of the Citie had by the Kings graunte the Citie to ferme, with diuers cuſtomes and offices at a certayne rate, and ſtinted ſumme of money, nowe the Kyng ſet officers therein at his pleaſure, whiche were accomptable to him for all the reuenewes and profites that grewe within the Citie.

The liberties of London ſeaſed into the Kings handes.

But where as the malice whiche the Earle of Cornewall bare to the Citie, was, for that they would not exchaunge with him certayn groundes that belonged to their communaltie, they were glad to agree with him, and pay vnto him fiue hundred markes. After whiche agreemente concluded, about the ninteenth daye of Nouember, they were ſhortly after reſtored to theyr liberties. This chaunced before the Kings comming ouer, who at his comming to London, lodged in the Tower, and vpon newe diſpleaſure conceyued towards the Citie for the eſcape of a priſoner, beeing a Clearke conuict out of Newgate, which had killed a Prior, that was of alliaunce to the Kyng, as Couſin to the Queene, the King ſent for the Maior and the Sherifes to come before him to aunſwere the matter. The Maior layde the faulte from hym to the Sherifes, for ſo muche as to them belonged the keeping of all the priſoners within the Citie: and ſo the Maior returned home agayne, but the Shriffes remayned there as priſoners by the ſpace of a whole moneth or more, and yet they excuſed themſelues, in that the faulte chiefly reſted in the Byſhoppes officers: for where as the priſoner was vnder hys cuſtody, they at hys requeſt had graunted hym licence to empriſon the offendor within theyr warde of Newgate, but ſo as hys officers were charged to ſee him ſafely kept. The King notwithſtanding demanded of the Citie three thouſand markes for a fyne. Moreouer, whereas hee ſtode in great neede of money, he required by way of a tallage eight thouſand marks of the Iewes, charging them on payne of hanging, not to defer that payment. The Iewes ſore empoueriſhed with greeuous and often payments, excuſed thẽſelues by the Popes vſurers, and reproued plainly the Kings exceſſiue taking of money, as well of his Chriſtian ſubiectes as of them. The Kyng on the other ſyde, to let it be knowen that he taxed not his people without iuſt occaſion, and vpon neceſſitie that droue him thereto, confeſſed openly, that he was indebted by his bondes obligatorie, in three hundred thouſand marks: and again, the yearely reuenewes aſſigned to his ſon Prince Edward, roſe to the ſumme of fiftene thouſande markes and aboue, where the reuenewes that belonged to the Crowne were greatly diminiſhed, in ſuch wiſe, that without the ayd of his ſubiects, he ſhould neuer be able to come out of debt. To be ſhort, when he had fleeſed the Iewes to the quick, he ſet them to ferme vnto his brother Earle Richard, that hee mighte pull off ſkinne and all, but yet he conſidering their pouertie, ſpared them, and neuertheleſſe, to relieue his brothers neceſſitie vppon pawne, he lent to him an huge maſſe of money.

About the ſame time, Lewes the French king ſent vnto King Henry for a preſent, an Oliphãt, a beaſt moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull to ẏ Engliſh people, ſith moſt ſeldome or neuer any of that kynde had bin ſeene in England before that time.

The French Queene alſo ſente for a preſente vnto the King of England an ewer of pearle like to a Peacocke in forme and faſhion, garniſhed moſt richly with golde, ſiluer, and Saphires to furniſh him forth in all poyntes of fine and cunning workmanſhip, to the very reſemblaunce of a liue Peacocke.

Alſo many wonders chaunced about the ſame time. The Sea roſe with moſt hygh tydes, Ryuers were ſo fylled with abundance of water, by reaſon of the great continual rayne, that maruellous floudes followed thereupon. A Comet alſo appeared, and many high buyldings were ſtriken by force of tẽpeſtes. The death of Walther Archbyſhop of Yorke followed theſe prodigious wõders, who had gouerned that ſee the ſpace of fortie yeares. After him ſucceeded one Seuall the 34. Archbiſhop of that Citie.

About the feaſt of Saint Ethelred, the Lady Eleanor, wife of Prince Edwarde the Kinges ſonne, came to London, where ſhe was honorably receyued of the Citizens, and conueyed thorough the Citie to S. Ioanes withoute Smithfielde, and there lodged for a ſeaſon, and ere long ſhe remoued vnto the Sauoy.

It was not long after, that the King ſeaſed the liberties of the Citie of Londõ into his hãds, for certayne money whiche the Queene claymed as due to hir of a certayne right to be payde by the Citizens, ſo that about the feaſt of Saint Martine in Nouember, they gaue vnto the Kyng foure hundred markes, and then had their liberties to them againe reſtored, and the Kings vndertreaſorer diſcharged, the whiche for the tyme was made cuſtos, or keeper of the Citie.

The liberties of the Citie reſtored to the Londoners.

About the ſame time, came another Legate from the Pope, one Ruſcand a Gaſcoigne borne.

A Legate frõ the Pope named Ruſcand a Gaſcoigne.

The Pope had graunted vnto the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and to the Biſhop of Hereford, and to this Ruſcand authoritie, to collect and gather the tenthes of the ſpiritualty within Englande, Scotlãd, and Ireland, to the vſe of the Pope and the Kyng, notwithſtanding all priuiledges, for what cauſe, or vnder what forme of wordes ſo euer the ſame had paſſed.

Tenthes gathered for the Pope.

This Ruſcand alſo aſſoyled the King of his vowe made to goe into the holy lande, to the ende he might goe againſt Manfred King of Sicill.

He alſo preached the Croſſe againſt the ſame Manfred promiſing all thoſe remiſſion of their ſinnes which ſhould goe to warre againſt Manfred, as well as if they ſhoulde goe into the holye land, to warre againſte Goddes enimies there, whereat faithfull men much marueiled, that hee ſhould promiſe as greate meede for the ſheading of Chriſtian bloud, as of the bloud of Infidels.

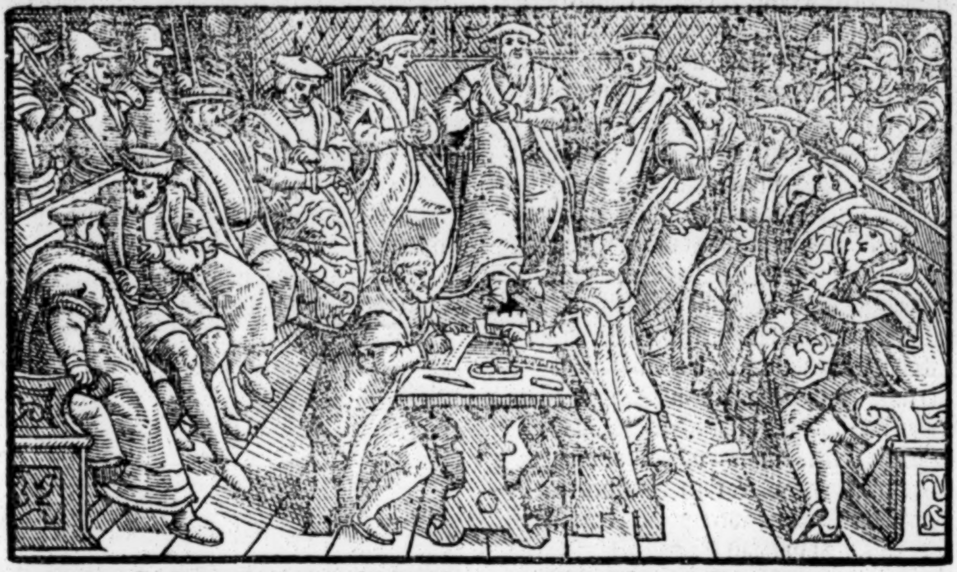
The Croſſe preached againſt Mãfred.

The fetches whiche were vſed in this ſeaſon, by this Ruſcande, and the Biſhop of Herefoꝛde, and other their complices, for to get money of the Prelates and gouernoures of Monaſteries within this Realme, were wonderfull, and right greeuous to thoſe that felt themſelues oppreſſed therewith, and namely, for the debt whyche the ſayde Byſhoppe of Herefoꝛde hadde charged them with, they beeyng not priuie to the receypt, nor hauing any benefite thereby.

Ruſcand

A Cõunſell called at London by the Legate.

Ruſcand called a Councell at London, and propoũded great cauſes why the Prelates ought to ayde the Pope, and ſo thereupon, demaunded great ſummes of money. Amõgſt other ſummes, hee demaunded ſixe hundred markes of the houſe of Saint Albons. To conclude, his demaundes were eſteemed vnreaſonable, ſo that the Byſhops and Abbots were in a maruellous perplexitie, perceyuing into what miſerable ſtate by reaſon of immoderate exactiõs the Church of England was brought. The Byſhop of London ſticked not to ſay, that he would rather loſe his head, than conſent that the Church ſhould be brought to ſuch ſeruitude as the Legate went about to enforce: and the Biſhop of Worcetor openly proteſted, that hee would ſooner ſuffer himſelfe to bee hanged, than to ſee the Church ſubiect to ſuch oppreſſion by their examples. Other alſo taking a boldneſſe vnto them, affirmed, that they woulde follow the ſteppes of Thomas ſometime Archbiſhop of Canterbury, whych for the liberties of the Church, ſuffred himſelfe to haue his braynes cut out of his head. Yet were thoſe prelates euil troubled, for the K. was againſt them on the one ſide, and the Pope gaping after money, was become their vtter enemie on the other: neyther were the noble men muche moued with pitie towardes the Churche their mother (as the terme then wente) now thus in miſerie. Finally, the Prelates appealed from Ruſcand, vnto the Popes preſence, and woulde not obey the wilfull and violent oppreſſions of ẏ ſame Ruſcand, ſo that muche adoe there was, & a great complaint made to the K. by Ruſcand, of ẏ ſtubborne diſobedience of the Prelates, and namely, of ẏ B. of Londõ. The K. was in a great chafe with him, & threatned, that hee would cauſe ẏ Pope to puniſh him according to that hee well deſerued: but the B. anſwered thereto, let the Pope and K. (ſaith he) which are ſtronger than I am, take frõ me my Biſhoprick, which by law yet they cannot doe: let them take away my myter, yet an helmet ſhall remayne.



M. Paris.

The Churchmen beyng pinched by their parties, fret and fume againſt the Popes proceedings in that behalfe.

The Biſhops would rather become Martirs, than loſe their money.

Ruſcand compleyneth to the King, of the frowardneſſe of the Prelates.

The Biſhop of London his ſayings.

This yeare after Saint Lukes day, the kyng aſſembled a great number of the nobilitie at Lõdon, and thither came the Biſhop of Bologna la Graſſe from the Pope, bringing with him a ring with the which he inueſted Edmond the Kyngs ſonne, King of Sicil and Naples. About ẏ ſame time, the burgeſſe of Derby obteyned of the King for a ſumme of money to haue the Iuſtices Itinerantes to holde their aſſiſes at Derby for the Countie of Derby, and likewiſe, the Sherifes to keepe their tourneys there, and not at Nottingham, as before they had bin accuſtomed for both the Shires. But now to returne to the Biſhops.

In the meane time, the Byſhop of Hereforde and Ruſcand ſought to ſet variance and diſcorde amongſt the Engliſh Prelates, whereby, beeyng deuided in partes, and not conſenting togither, they ſhould be leſſe able to giue true information to the Pope, how the very troth reſted. But finally, bycauſe the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury was in the parties of beyõd the Sea, and for that alſo the Sea of Yorke was vacante, and diuers Byſhops were abſent, the Counſell was prorogued till the feaſt of Sainte Hillarie, and ſo they departed euery man to his home in a maruellous doubt what way were beſt for them to take, for they ſaw themſelues in great diſtreſſe if Ruſcand did ſuſpend or excõmunicate any of them eyther iuſtly or otherwiſe. For ſure they were, that the K. as a Lion lying in awayte whome he myght deuoure (to get money) after 40. days wer paſt, if they ſubmitted not thẽſelues, would deſpoile thẽ of al their goodes as forfeited, ſo ẏ the Pope & the K. ſemed, as though ẏ ſhepherd & Woulf had bin cõfederate togither to ẏ deſtructiõ of ẏ poore flocke of the Sheepe, threatning euery mans vndoing.

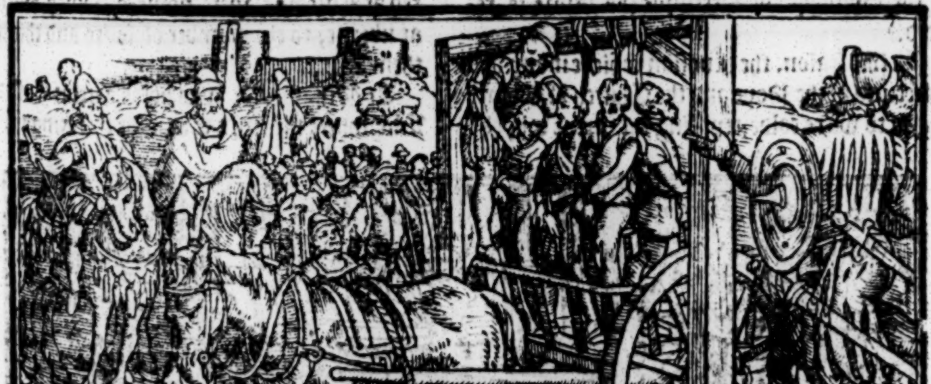
Thus by reaſon of couetous greedineſſe to get money for the furniſhing of yͤ Popes warres againſt Manfred King of Sicill, both the Pope and the King of England came in ſlaunder and hatred of the Engliſh nation, namely, of the ſpiritualtie, ſo that ſuch as recorded the actes and doings of that time, ſpared not to make manifeſt to the worlde by their writings, howe iniuriouſly they were handled, blaming the practiſes of the Court of Rome in playne tearmes, and affirming that the Pope hath power in thoſe thyngs which worke to edification, and not to deſtruction.

Aboute this ſeaſon, John Lorde Grey, beeing one of the chiefe Counſellors to the king, a right honorable Knighte, and for his good demeanor and high valliancy greatly commended ouer all, withdrew himſelfe from the Court, either by reaſon of age that deſireth reſt, or rather as was thoughte, for that hee doubted to beare blame for ſuche errors as were dayly committed by the that bare rule about the King, whiche coulde not but bring the authors into greate infamie at length, and therefore was hee loth to bee partaker with them of ſuche ſlaunder as might haue redounded to him alſo, if hee hadde ſtill continued amongſt them.

Alſo, vpon the two and twentith of Nouember, were brought vnto Weſtminſter 92. Jewes from Lincolne, that were accuſed for the crucifying of a childe the laſt ſommer, in deſpite of Chriſtes Religion. They were vpon theyr examination ſent to the Tower. The childe whyche they had ſo crucified, was named Hugh, about an eyght yeares of age. They kept him tenne dayes after they had got him into their handes, ſendyng in the meane time vnto diuers other places of the Realme, for other of their nation, to bee preſent at the crucifying of hym. The murther came out by the diligent ſearch made by the mother of the child, who found his body in a wel, on yͤ backe ſide of the Jewes houſe, where he was crucified: for ſhee hadde learned, that hir ſonne was laſtly ſeene playing with certayne Jewes children of like age to him, before the dore of the ſame Jewe. The Jewe that was owner of the houſe, was apprehended, and being brought before Sir John de Lexinton, vpon promiſe of pardon, confeſſed the whole matter. For they vſed yerely, (if they could come by their praye,) to crucifie one Chriſtian childe or other.

The King vpon knowledge hadde hereof, woulde not pardon this Jewe that had ſo confeſſed the matter, but cauſed hym to be executed at Lincolne, who comming to the place where hee ſhould die, opened more matter, concerning ſuche as were of councell and preſent at the crucifying of the poore innocent. Whereupon at length alſo eighteene of them, that were ſo brought to London, were conuict, adiudged and hanged, the other remayned long in priſon.

Eighteene Iewes hanged.



When the feaſt of Saint Hillarie was come, the Cleargie met againe at London, and fell to entreate of their former buſineſſe, at what tyme, one maſter Leonard, alias Reginald, that was choſen prolocutor for all the Prelates, amongſt other aunſweres made to the Legate Ruſcande, when the ſame Ruſcand alledged that al Churches were the Popes, troth it is ſayd Leonard, to defende, and not to vſe and appropriate them to ſerue his owne turne, as wee ſaye, that all is the Princes, meaning, that all is his to defende, and not to ſpoyle: and ſuch was the intent of the founders. Ruſcand ſore offended herewith, ſayde, hee would that euery man ſhould ſpeake afterwardes for himſelfe, that as well the Pope as the Kyng, might vnderſtand what euery man ſayd in theyr buſineſſe and matters. The Prelates were ſtrike

downe

The Prelates appeale.

dompe herewith, for they perceyued now how the matter wente: they appealed yet againſt the demaundes that were made by Ruſtande, who would not chaunge a worde of that he had written, in whiche was conteyned, that the Prelates had knowledged themſelues to haue borowed of the marchaunt ſtraungers, no ſmall ſummes of money, and the ſame to bee conuerted to the vſe of their Churches, which was moſt vntrue as all men well vnderſtoode: whereupon, the Prelates affirmed, and not without reaſonable cauſe, that there was a greater occaſiō in this cauſe of martirdome, thā in that of Thomas ſometime Archbyſhop of Caunterbury.

Marke the cauſe of Martirdome.

The Deane of Saint Paule ſent to Rome on the behalfe of the Prelates

Ruſtand at length perceyuing their manner, became ſomewhat more milde, and promiſed, that hee woulde talke with the Pope of this matter. But fyrſte, there was ſent to Rome ỹ Deane of Saint Paule in London, and certayne other, as Attorneys or Agents, for the whole Cleargie of Englande. Theſe ſpedde ſo in their ſute, that the Pope tooke order, that if the Prelates payde the money by force of the contriued writings, whereby they ſtoode bound for them, their houſes and Churches, then to eaſe their burthen they might reteyne in their handes ſuch percel of tēthes as they ought to pay to the Kyng, for furniſhing of hys warres againſt the Sarazens, amounting to the ſumme whyche they ſhould be conſtreyned to pay for the bondes made to the Marchauntes, by the Byſhoppe of Hereforde (as before is recited.)

Mens deuotion towards the Pope waxeth colde.

In this ſeaſon, the deuotion whiche many had conceiued of the Pope and the Church of Rome, began to waxe colde, reputing the vertue whyche he ſhewed at his entring into the Papacy, to be rather a colourable ypocriſie, than otherwiſe, ſith his proceedings aunſwered not to his good beginnings: for as it was manifeſt, where ſutors broughte their compleyntes into the Courte of Rome, ſuch ſpedde beſt as gaue moſt in bribes, and the two Priors of Wincheſter, the one expulſed, and the other got in by intruſion, coulde well witneſſe the ſame.

The B Saliſb parted life.

This yeare, dyed William of Yorke Byſhop of Saliſbury, which hadde bin brought vp in the Court, euen from his youth. This Biſhop firſte cauſed that cuſtome to bee receyued for a lawe, whereby the tenauntes of euery Lordſhippe are bound to owe their ſute to the Lordes Courte, of whome they holde their tenementes.

Sute when firſt for a l

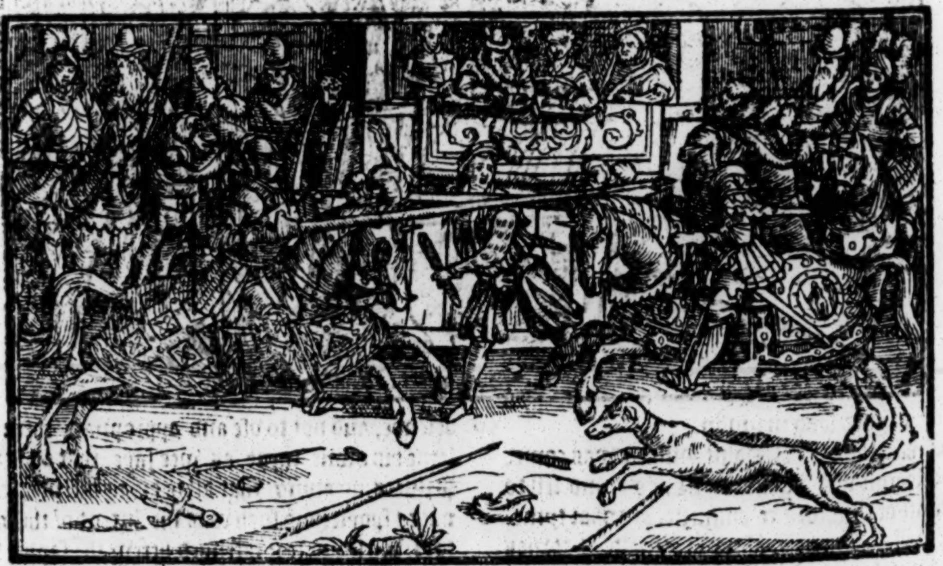
Ma. Mag of Ma

In the feaſt of Eaſter this yeare, the Kyng adorned Magnus Kyng of Man, with the order of Knighthoode, and beſtowed vppon him greate giftes and honors.

The Counteſſe of Warren Iueſta, or Ieteſta as ſome bookes haue, ſiſter to ỹ King by his mother, departed this life in hir flouriſhing youth, to the great griefe of hir brother, but ſpecially, of hir huſbande Iohn Earle of Waren, that loued hir entierly.

Aboute midde May, the Iewes that were in the Tower, and in other priſons for the murther of the childe at Lincolne, and had bin indited by an inqueſt vpon the confeſſion of him that ſuffered at Lincolne, were nowe diſmiſſed and ſette at libertie, to the number of foure and thirtie of them.

At Whitſontide was holdē a great Iuſtes at Blie, where the Lord Edwarde the Kings eldeſt ſonne fyrſte beganne to ſhewe proofe of hys chiualrie. There were dyuers ouerthrowen and hurt, and amongſt other, William de Longeſpee was ſo bruſed, that hee coulde neuer after recouer his former ſtrength.



Knig

The Kyng cauſed a proclamation to bee ſet forth, ẏ all ſuch as might diſpend fiftene pound in lands, ſhould receyue the order of Knighthod, and thoſe that would not or coulde not, ſhoulde pay theyr fynes.

This yeare, a three dayes after the feaſt of S. Ciricus, a maruellous ſore tempeſt of winde, rayne, hayle and thunder chaunced, that dyd exceeding much ſkath. Mille wheeles by the violence of waters were carried away, and the Windmilles were no leſſe tormented with the rage of winde, arches of bridges, ſtackes of hay, houſes that ſtoode by water ſides, and children in cradles were borne away, that both wonderfull, and no leſſe pitifull it was to ſee. At Bedford, the riuer of Ouſe bare downe fiue houſes togither, & did hurt therabowtes vnſpeakeable.

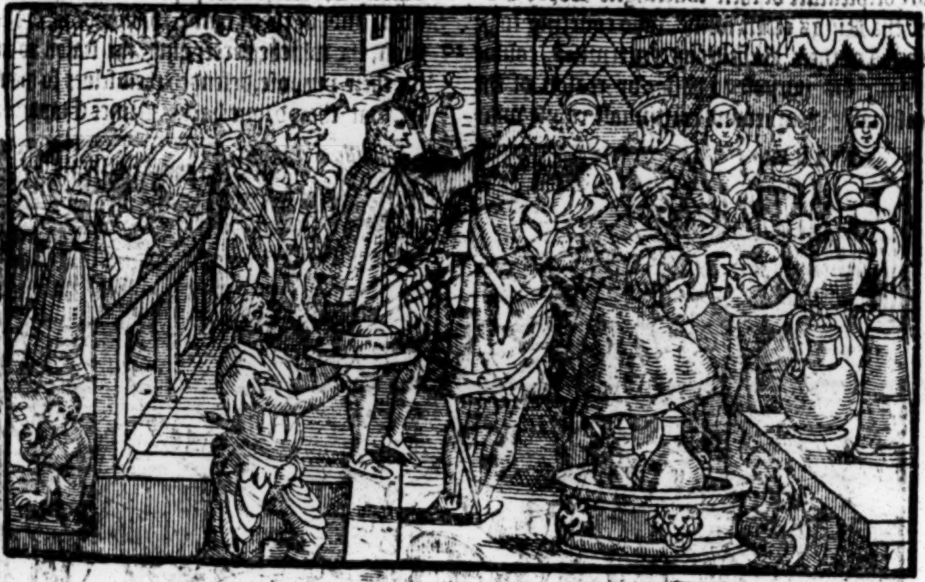
The King of Scottes commeth into Englande.

The Kyng of Scottes, Alexander the thyrde, with hys wife Queene Margaret, came aboute the beginning of Auguſt into England, and found the Kyng at hys manor of Woodſtocke, where he ſported him a ſeaſon, and had the landes of the Earledome of Huntington reſtored vnto him, which his Graundfather Kyng William in his time loſt and forfeyted. Here he dyd homage to Kyng Henry.

Upon the day of the decollation of Saint John, the two Kynges with their Queenes came to London, where they were honorably receyued, and ſo conueyed vnto Weſtminſter.

John Maunſell feaſted the two Kings.

On the day of Saint Auguſtine the Biſhop, being the eight and twentith of Auguſt, John Manſell the Kyngs Chaplayne brought the two Kings, and other eſtates, to dyne with hym on the morrow following, which they graunted, and ſo he made a maruellous great dynner. There were ſeuen C. meſſes ſerued vp, but ẏ multitude of gheſtes was ſuche, that vnneth the ſame ſuffiſed, his houſe was not able to receyue them all, and therefore hee cauſed tentes and hales to bee ſet vp for them. The like dinner had not bin made by anye Chaplayne before that time. All thoſe that came were worthely receyued, feaſted, and entertayned, in ſuche ſorte, as euery man was ſatiſfied.



A foure dayes before the feaſt of Saint Edwarde, Kyng Henry came into the Eſcheker himſelfe, and there deuiſed order for the appearãce of Sherifes, and bringing in of theyr accomptes.

At the ſame time alſo, there was fiue markes ſet on euery Sherifes head for a fyne, bycauſe they had not diſtreyned euery perſon that myght diſpende fifteene pound land, to receyue the order of Knighthode, as was to the ſame Sherifes cõmaunded.

The King of Scottes returneth into his countrey.

The K. of Scottes, after he had remayned a while with the K. of England, returned back into Scotlande, and left his wife behinde with hir mother, till ſhe ſhould be brought to bed, for ſhee was as then great with childe.

An. Reg. 41. Richard Earle of Cornewall elected Emperoure.

1257

In the 41. yere of the raigne of K. Henry, hys brother Richard Earle of Cornewall was elected Emperoure, by one parte of the Coruoſters: and diuers Lords of Almayne comming ouer into thys land, vppon the day of the Innocents in Chriſtmas, preſented vnto him letters from the Archb. of Colen, & other gret Lords of Almaine, teſtifying their cõſents in ẏ choosing of him to be Emperour, and withal, that it might ſtand with his pleaſure, to accept that honor. Finally, vppon good deliberation had in the matter, he conſented thereunto: whervpon, the Lords that came with the meſſage, right glad of their aunſwere, returned with all ſpeed, to ſignifie the ſame vnto thoſe from whome they had bin ſent.

The greate treaſure of Richard king of Almayne.

The treaſure of this Earle Richarde now elected King of Almaine, was eſteemed to amoūt vnto ſuch a ſumme, that he mighte diſpend euery day an hundred markes, for the tearme of tenne yeares togither, not reconing at all the reuenewes which dayly accrewed to him of his rents in Almayne and Englande.

The Welchmen chooſe them a gouernour, and rebell againſte the King

In thys meane tyme, the vnquiet Welchmen, after the death of their Prince Dauid, choſe in his ſtede one Lewline, that was ſonne to the ſame Griffyne that brake his necke as hee would haue eſcaped out of the Tower of London: and herewith, they began a new Rebellion, either driuing out ſuche Engliſhmen as lay there in garriſons within the Caſtels and fortreſſes, or elſe entring into the ſame by ſome trayterous practiſe, they ſlewe thoſe which they found within them, to the greate diſpleaſure of their ſoueraigne Lorde Edward the Kings eldeſt ſonne, who coueting to be reuenged of their Rebellious enterpriſes, coulde not bring his purpoſe to paſſe, by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable weather and continuall rayne which fell that Winter, ſo reyſing the waters, and ſetting the Mariſhes on fluddes, that hee coulde not paſſe with his army.

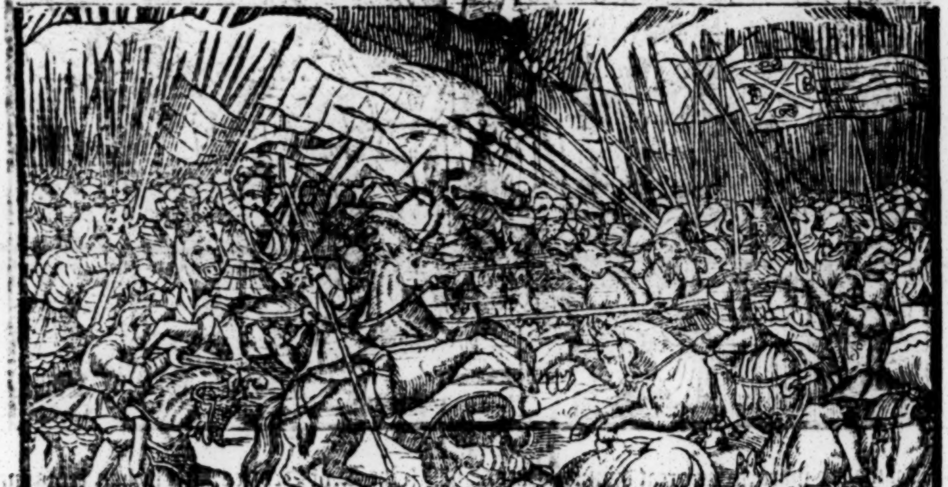
The Ky wanted mo ney.

Sir Ge Lang hard d cauſe Welch Rebel

Mat. The n of the comm

Moreouer, his father the Kyng wanted money and treaſure to furniſh him withall, howbeit, Prince Edwarde borrowed of his vncle Earle Richarde foure thouſande markes towardes the mayntenaunce of that warre. The Rebellion of the Welchmen ſpecially roſe, by the hard dealing of Sir Geffrey de Langley Knight, the Kynges Collector amongſt them, who handled them ſo ſtraightly, that in defence of their countrey, lawes and liberties, as they pretended, they putte on armoure, they tooke and deſtroyed the landes and poſſeſſions which were great and large, of Griffin Brunet, beeing fledde for ſafegard of his lyfe, vnto the Kyng of England. There were of thoſe Welch Rebels, at the poynt of twenty thouſand men, and of them tenne thouſande were horſemen, the whiche perceyuing the ſeaſon to make for their purpoſe, defended themſelues ſo manfully, that they droue backe Prince Edwarde and his army, and ſo continuing the warres, dyd much hurt to the Engliſhe marches. Theyr power ſo encreaſed, that at length, they deuided the ſame into two parties, the better to recouer vittaples, and in eyther army, there were eſteemed to be a thirtie thouſand men armed, after the maner of theyr countrey, of the whiche, there were a fiue hundred men of armes in eyther hoſt, with barded horſes all couered in iron. Thus they being of ſuche puiſſance, dyd muche miſchiefe to the Engliſhmen that inhabited on the marches, neyther were the Lordes marchers able to reſiſt them, although the Earle of Glouceſter ayded the ſame Lords in all that he might.

The Welchmen deuide their power into two parts.



Nic. Triuet.

Stephen Bauzan, alias Baucan.

Kyng Henry beeing hereof aduertiſed, ſente with all ſpeede Stephen Bauzan, a man ryght ſkilfull in feates of warre, with a greate number of Souldiers into Wales, againſt thoſe Rebels, he comming into that countrey, and entring into the lands of a Welch Lord named Riſe Vaughan, was entrapped by ſuche buſhmentes as hys enimies layde for hym, and thereby was ſlayne with the more parte of his army.

Eng cu

No and wal togi leag

This ouerthrowe chaunced by the treaſon of Griffin de Brunet, the whiche at that preſent reuolting from the Engliſhe ſide to his countrey men, inſtructed them in all things, howe they might vanquiſh their enimies. And at that time, Northwales and Southwales ioyned in league and friendly amitie togither, whiche commonly was not ſeene in thoſe dayes, they being for the more parte at variance, the one rather ſeeking ſtill how to endomage the other: but nowe in defence of their liberties, as they pretended, they agreed in one.

The Kyng ſore moued heerewith, determined to goe himſelfe into Wales, that he mighte take worthy puniſhment of thoſe his aduerſaries, that could neuer be ſufficiently chaſtiſed. Heerevppon rayſing a great power, he haſted forth, and comming into Wales, put the Rebels in ſuch feare, that they withdrewe to theyr accuſtomed places of refuge, I meane, the woddes and marriſhes.

The King paſſeth himſelfe in perſon into Wales.

The Kyng woulde fayne haue hadde them forth, that hee myght haue puniſhed them according to their deſertes, and therefore to bring hys purpoſe the better to paſſe, he ſent for an army of Souldiers into Ireland, and tarried for theyr cōmyng at the Caſtell of Brecknocke, but the yeare was farre ſpente, ere his people could be gathered, ſo that by the aduice of his Lords, hee ſtrengthned certayne Caſtels, and ſo returned for that yeare into England, leauing the Lorde Roger Mortimer for his Lieutenaunt in Wales, to reſiſt the Rebels. But now to ſpeake of other doings whiche chaunced in the meane while that the warres thus continued betwixt Englande and Wales.

Yee ſhall vnderſtand, that in the Lent ſeaſon, the Archbyſhoppe of Meſſina came as Legate from the Pope hyther into England, with letters of procuration, to demaund and receyue, and alſo with power, to puniſhe ſuche as ſhould denie and ſeeme to reſiſt, and ſo beeyng heere arriued with a greate trayne of ſeruauntes and horſes, he ſent forthe his commaundements in writing to euery prelate, to prouide him money by way of prorie, ſo that of the houſe of Saint Albons, and of the Celles that belonged therevnto, he had one and twentie markes, and when the Monkes of Saint Albons came to viſit him in his houſe, they coulde not bee permitted to depart, but were kept as priſoners, till they had ſatiſfied hys couetous demaund: for whereas they alledged that they had not brought any money with them, hee aſked thē why they were ſuch beggers, and further ſayd, ſende ye then to ſome Marchaunt, that will lende to you money, and ſo it was done: for otherwiſe, they might not haue libertie to depart.

This Archbyſhop was of the order of the Friers preachers, in whome (ſaith Mathew Paris) we had hoped to haue found more abundant humilitie.

Mat. Paris.

About the ſame time, there appeared at London a new order of Friers, not knowen till thoſe dayes, hauing yet the Popes autentike Bulles, which they openly ſhewed, ſo that there ſeemed a confuſion of ſo many orders, as the ſame Math. Paris recordeth, bycauſe they were apparelled in Sackcloth, they were called ſacked Friers.

A new order of Friers.

About the middeſt of Lent, there was a greate Parliament holden, to the whiche, the maſters of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford were ſummoned, that peace might be concluded betwixt them, and the Byſhoppe of Lincolne, whiche had them in ſute about theyr liberties.

A Parliament.

There came to the ſame Parliamente, the Earle of Glouceſter, and Sir John Mancell, lately returned out of Almaigne, where they had bin on Ambaſſade from Richard the elect Kyng of Almaigne. Thither came alſo the ſame elect King of Almaigne, and almoſt all the Nobilitie of the Realme, ſo that vnneth myghte the Citie of London receyue the number that repaired to that Parliamēt. The Kyng of Almaigne meant to take his leaue at that time of the Lordes and peeres of the Realme, purpoſing ſhortly after, to take his iourney towardes Almaigne, and to ordeyne the Byſhoppe of London gouernour of all

Mat. Paris.

The Lord Edmunde the kings ſonne.

A ſubſedie demaunded.

The offer of the ſpiritualty

his landes and poſſeſſions within Englande. In this Parliament, the Lord Edmond the Kyngs yonger ſonne was ſhewed as King of Naples and Sicile, for the obteyning of the poſſeſſion of whiche Kingdomes, his father King Henry demaunded no ſmall ſubſedie and ayde of money, both of the temporaltie, and alſo of the ſpiritualtie, but namely, he required to haue the tenthes of ſpirituall mens liuings, for the tearme of fyue yeares, according to the new taxations without any deductions to be allowed, excepte neceſſary expenſes. Alſo, the frutes for one yeare of benefices that chaunced to fall voyde within the ſayde tearme of fiue yere. Moreouer, ſundry other dueties he required to haue of the ſpirituall men, ſore to their greeuaunce, and ſpecially, bycauſe they knew that ſuch tirannie firſt tooke beginning frō the Pope. In the ende (though loth they were to conſent) yet conditionally that the Kyng would confirme the liberties conteyned in the greate Charter, and obſerue the ſame throughly, nowe after it had bin ſo many times brought out and redeemed, they offered to giue hym towardes his inſtant neceſſity two & fifty. M. marks, to the irrecouerable danger of empouerſhing the Church. And yet as it is ſayd, the Kyng refuſed the gift, as that which he thought not ſufficient. Truely it ſhoulde ſeeme, that there was a greate vntowardly diſpoſition in the ſubiectes of that time, for the helping of their K. with neceſſary ayde of money, towards ſuch great charges as he hadde bin diuers wayes occaſioned to be at ſith his firſt comming to yͤ Crowne: but bycauſe it was perceyued that he beſtowed no ſmall quantitie of his treaſure to the aduauncing of his kinſfolke and aliances, namely ſtraungers, and agayne, defreid great ſummes, in vayne hope to obteyne yͤ kingdomes of both the Sicils whiche the Pope offred to him freely ynough in wordes, as before yee haue hearde, the Engliſh ſubiectes conceyued a greate miſliking of the whole gouernement, and namely, for that hee ſeemed to be led and ruled by the aduice and counſell of thoſe ſtrangers, who being not throughly acquainted with the nature of the Engliſhe people, nor fully inſtructed in the lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme, cauſed him to doe many things, that procured both to him and thē muche euil will, as well of the high eſtates as of commons, whiche as occaſion ſerued, they were ready ynough to diſcouer, and therfore they were very inquiſitiue, both to learne what he receiued, & alſo in what ſorte he beſtowed yͭ which he dyd receiue. It was therefore knowen, yͭ ſith he firſte began to waſt his treaſure, his charges amoūted vnto yͤ ſumme of 950000. markes, as the bookes of accōptes remaining in yͤ handes of yͤ Clearkes of his cloſet plainly witneſſed, and yet of al thoſe vaine expenſes, no great aduantage was growē therby to the K. or realme, but rather diſaduauntage, as yͤ moſt part of mē thē tooke it, & no maruell, for there was ſuch hart burning amōgſt the nobilitie, one enuying an others aduancemēt, ſo repining at each others doings, yͭ it was not poſſible to bring any good drift forward amōgſt mē ſo far at oddes togither. But to let this paſſe as a thing manifeſt ynough to them yͭ ſhall wel cōſider yͤ courſe of yͤ time, we will returne agayne to yͤ Parliamēt, before yͤ end wherof, the Archbiſhop of Colen with a Duke, and an other B. came ouer out of Almaigne, vnto their elect K. Richard, to whom they did fealty and homage, as to their ſoueraigne liege Lord & gouernour, which thing once done, he gaue to yͤ ſaid Archb. fiue C. marks to beare his charges, with a riche miter ſette with ſtones, and furniſhed with plates of beatē golde, which miter whē yͤ Archb. had ſet it on his head, he hath (ſaith he) giuen a riche gift to me & to my Church, and verely, euē as I haue put this miter on my head, ſo wil I ſet on his head the Crowne of yͤ kingdome of Almaigne, he hath mitred me, & I ſhal crowne him. The other lords of Almaine, which at yͭ the ſaime time did homage vnto Erle Richerd, were alſo preſented with great and rich giftes. Heere is further to be noted, yͭ there were preſent at this Parliamēt ſixe Archbiſhops, Cāterbury, Yorke, Dublin, Meſſina, Terento and Colen. The Archb. of Meſſina was come to the K. to ſet him on dotage, for the buſineſſe about yͤ cōqueſt of Naples & Sicilo. At the feaſt of Eſter next following, the Archb. of Colen returned into his Countrey, & the third day after Eaſter, the elect K. of Almaine tooke his leaue, & departed toward Yermouth, where he purpoſed to take yͤ ſea, to ſayle ouer into Almaine, but by reaſon of contrary windes, hee was driuen to remaine there a long time, to his greate griefe and ineſtimable charges before hee coulde paſſe ouer, yet finally, about the latter ende of Aprill, he got forth to the Sea, and landed at Dordreigh the firſt of May next enſuing.

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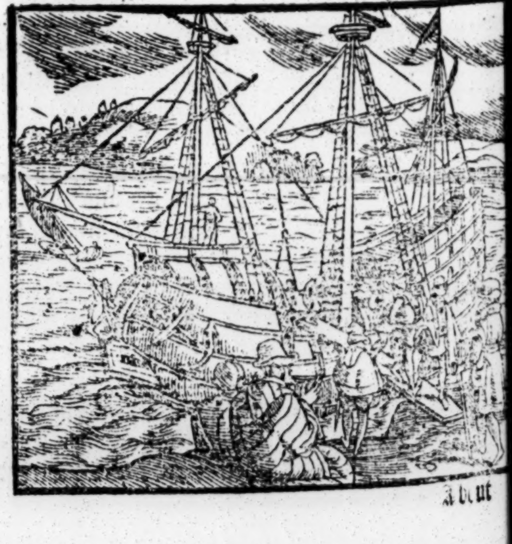

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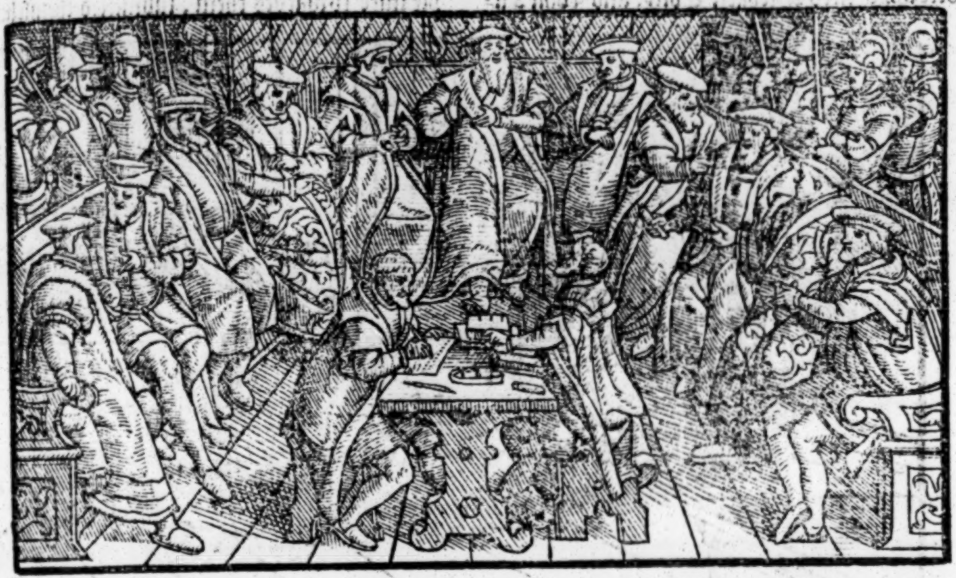

About the ſame time, the Archbyſhop of Cãterbury called a Sinode of the Biſhops and Abbots inhabiting within his prouince, that inuocating the grace of the holy Ghoſt, they myghte foreſee ſome redreſſe for reliefe of the Engliſhe Church, nowe in theſe late yeares ſore diſquieted by new oppreſſions, more greeuous than had bin accuſtomed: for the Kyng by councell, or rather by the whiſpering of ſome flatterers and enimies to the Realme, was ſo induced, that he permitted certayne euill cuſtomes, as thorny brembles, to encreaſe in the frutefull garden of pleaſure, and to choke vp the trees that brought forthe frute in great plentie.

Moreouer in this yeare, King Henry cauſed the walles of the Citie of London, whiche were ſore decayed and deſtitute of turrets, to be repayred in more ſeemely wiſe than before they hadde bin, at the common charges of the Citie.

There was an ordinance made at Rome by the Pope and his Cardinals (whiche righte diligently foreſawe to aduaunce their temporall cōmodities, not muche paſſing for other mens aduauntages) that euery one which ſhould be choſen an exempt Abbot, ſhoulde come to the Court of Rome to bee there confirmed, and receyue the Popes bleſſing, by whiche haynous ordinaunce, Religion was layde open to great daunger, and the Church depriued of temporall proſperitie (as ſayth Mathewe Paris) for by this meanes (ſaith hee) it was needefull vnto Religious menne, to chooſe to theyr gouernour a man, not religious, but rather halfe temporall, and ſuche one as to whome rather Juſtinians lawes than Chriſtes whiche conuerteth ſoules ſhoulde be familiar.

The Monkes of Durham, the whiche onely with the Chanons of Giſborne, reſiſted the wicked proceedyngs of the Popes exactors, and ſtood therefore interdited a long tyme, at length, after manye alterations, were aſſoyled. Oh (ſayeth Mathewe Paris) if in that theyr tribulation they myght haue hadde fellowes, and in theyr conſtante doyngs aydors, howe happely hadde the Churche of Englande triumphed ouer hir tormentors and oppreſſors.

Mat. Paris.

Yee haue hearde howe Richarde Earle of Cornewall beeyng elected Kyng of Almayne, sayled thither, where on the Aſcention daye laſt, he was Crowned Kyng by the Archbyſhoppe of Colen, of whome, and dyuers other great Princes of Germanie, hee was holden for their lawfull King and gouernour, (as in the Teutch hyſtories yee maye finde more largely expreſſed,) though other of them had choſen Alfonſe Kyng of Caſtill, the whych Alfonſe wrote to the King of Englande, as his confederate and alie, requiring hym of ayde againſte the ſayde Richarde that was hys owne brother, to the whych vnreaſonable requeſt, the Kyng woulde in no wiſe conſente.

Fabian.

An information againſt the Lord Maior of London.

Moreouer, in this fortie one yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, by reaſon of a rolle cloſed in greene waxe and founde in the Kyngs Wardrobe at Windſor, conteynyng as it were, an information againſte the Maior and the Sherifes of London, for oppreſſion and wrongs done to the communaltie of the Citie, the Kyng tooke greate diſpleaſure, and cauſed greate inquiſition to be made, as well by Folke Mootes, as ward Mootes, and by dyuers other meanes. At length, the Maior and Sherifes, with the Chamberlayne of the Citie, were diſcharged by John Manſell, one of the Kyngs Juſtices, afore whome, and other the Kyngs Counſayle, the inquiſition was taken, and then was

The Lorde Maior and Sherifes of London diſcharged.

the cuſtody of the Citie aſſigned vnto the Conſtable of the Tower, and in place of the Sherifes were appoynted Michaell Tony, and John Audrian. At length, yͤ Mayor, Sherifes and Aldermen that were accuſed, perceyuing the kings diſpleaſure towardes them, ſubmitted themſelues wholly to his mercy, ſauing to them, and to all other the Citizens, their liberties and franchiſes, and ſo in the Checker chamber at Weſtminſter afore the King there ſitting in Judgement vpon the matter, they were condemned to pay theyr fynes for their offences committed, and further, euery of them diſcharged of his warde and office.

The Lorde Maior and Sherifes fined.

Shortly after, was William Fitz Richarde by the Kyngs commaundement, made Mayor, and Thomas Fitz Thomas, and William Grapiſgate Sherifes.

Math. Paris.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke accurſed.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke was accurſed by the Popes commaundemente through all Englande, with booke, bell and candle, that by ſuche terror, his conſtancy might be weakened: but the Archbiſhop (ſaith Mathewe Paris) enformed by the example of Thomas Becket, and by the example and doctrine of Saint Edmond ſometime his inſtructor, and alſo taughte by the faythfulneſſe of bleſſed Robert, late Byſhop of Lincolne, deſpaired not of comfort from Heauẽ, in bearing paciently the Popes tyrannie: neyther woulde he beſtowe the welthy reuenewes of his Churche vppon Italians, beeing vnworthy perſons and ſtraungers, neyther would he obey and encline to the Popes will like a faint harted perſon, by leauing and ſetting aparte the rigor of the lawe.

The conſtancy of the archbyſhop of Yorke.

An. Reg. 42.

About the beginning of the two and fortith yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, the Lord James Audeley that had bin ouer with the King of Almayne, and was lately returned home in company of the Lord Henry, ſonne to the ſaid Kyng (who came backe from his father about the feaſt of Saint Michael laſt paſt) vnderſtanding howe the Welchmen in his abſence, had brent, waſted, and deſtroyed his lands, poſſeſſions, and Caſtels, which belonged to him in yͤ confynes of Wales, he meant to be reuenged of thoſe iniuries, and inuading them, hee ſlewe a great number of them, ſo reuenging the deathe of thoſe his friendes, ſeruauntes and tenauntes, whome they before had murthered. The Welchmen were not ſo diſcouraged heerewith, but that they brake vpon hym out of their ſtarting holes and places of refuge through the mariſhes, and ſlaying their enimies horſes, put them backe to their power, and ceaſſed not to do what miſchiefe they could, by ſpoyling, killing, and brenning houſes and Caſtels where they mighte come vnto them, and ſo the Realme of Englande was dayly put to loſſes and hinderance. For out of Wales, Englande was accuſtomed to bee furniſhed with Horſes, Cattell, and other things, to the profit of both the Countreys.

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About the ſame time, there was an Imbaſſate ſente from the Kyng of Englande, vnto the Frenche Kyng, as the Biſhop of Worcetor, the elect of Wincheſter, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, the Earle of Leiceſter, and Hugh Bigod Earle Marſhall, with Peter de Sauoy, and Roberte Waleron.

The effect of their meſſage, was to require reſtitution of thoſe countreys, lands, Cities, and Townes whiche had bin euicted out of the hands of King John and others, apperteyning by righte of inheritance to the Kyng of England. Theſe Lordes did their meſſage, but as was thoughte, they had no towardly aunſwere, but rather were putte off with trifling wordes and ſkornefull tauntes, ſo that they returned ſhortly againe all of thẽ, the Abbot of Weſtminſter only excepted, who remayned there behinde, for a more ful aunſwere,

ſwere, not only to thoſe requeſts exhibited on the part of the Kyng of Englande, but alſo on the behalfe of the Kyng of Almaigne. The marches towardes Wales in this ſeaſon were brought almoſt deſerte, by reaſon of the continuall warres with the Welchmen, for what with fire & ſworde, neyther building, nor liuing creature, nor any other thing was ſpared, that fire and ſworde might bring to ruine.

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In this yeare was an exceeding great dearth, in ſomuch, that a quarter of wheate was ſolde at London for four and twenty ſhillings, whereas within two or three yeares before, a quarter was ſolde at two ſhillings. It had bin more deerer, if great ſtore had not come out of Almaigne, for in France and in Normādy it likewiſe fayled. But there came fiftie greate Shippes fraughte with wheate and barley, with meale and bread out of Teutchland, by the procurement of Richard K. of Almaigne, which greatly relieued the poore, for proclamation was made, and order taken by the K. that none of the Citizens of London ſhoulde buy any of that grayne to lay it vp in ſtore, wherby it might be ſold at an higher price vnto yͤ needy, but although this prouiſion did muche eaſe, yet the want was great ouer all the Realm. For it was certainely affirmed, that in three ſhires within the Realm, there was not found ſo much grayne of that yeares growth, as came ouer in thoſe fiftie ſhippes. The proclamation was ſette forth, to reſtreine yͤ Londoners from engroſſing vp that grayne, and not withoute cauſe, for the welthy Citizens were euill ſpokē of in yͤ ſeaſon, bicauſe in time of ſcarcetie they would either ſtay ſuch ſhippes as fraught with vittayles wer comming towards the Citie, and ſend them ſome other way forthe, or elſe buy the whole, that they myghte ſell it by retaile at their pleaſure vnto the needy. By meanes of this great dearth and ſcarcetie, the common people were conſtreined to liue vpon herbes and rootes, and a greate number of the poore people dyed through famine.

The greedy dealing of the Londoners, to the hurt of the cōmō welth

A Parliament. *Math. Paris.*

This yeare after Eaſter, a Parliament was holden at London, in the whiche, many waighty matters were intreated of touching the Kynges cauſes, namely, about the cōqueſt of the Realme of Naples; the Pope hauing ſente a meſſenger named Hurtred for the diſcharge of money, whiche the Pope had receyued of Merchaunts, as it were to the Kings vſe, and entred bandes for the payment thereof. Alſo, where the Kyng was ſore diſquieted for the warre whiche the Welchmen made againſte him, he aſked aduice of the ſtates, howe hee might procede to ſeeke his iuſt reuenge of them, the which by reaſon of their good happe, were become very ſtout and loftie, and had of late by the expiring of a truce which hadde bin accorded betwixte them, ſpoyled and waſted the moſt parte of Pembroke ſhire, of which iniurie, yͤ Erle of Pembroke, William de Valēce ſore compleined: but whereas the Kyng knowing him to bee riche, willed him to lay out ſome greate portion of money, towards yͤ mayntenāce of his warres, the Earle tooke greate diſpleaſure therewith, as though the Kyng had made that requeſt by the ſuggeſtion and ſetting on of ſome of the Engliſh Lordes, in ſo much, that wordes paſſed in diſpleaſaunte wiſe betwixte him and the Earles of Glouceſter and Leiceſter, ſo farre forth, that the Earle of Pembroke called the Earle of Leiceſter Traitor, who therewith made towards him, to haue reuēged yͤ iniurie, & ſo would haue done indede, if the K. had not bin a ſtickler betwixt thē. Finally at this Parliament the lordes tolde yͤ K. yͭ they might not aide him with any great ſummes of money, except it ſhould redounde to their great empouerishmēt: they tolde him alſo, yͭ he had not don wiſely, to enter into couenāts, for yͤ purchaſe

Variance betwixt the Erle of Pembroke and others.

of the Kingdome of Naples for his ſonne, without theyr conſentes. They alſo declared to him, what artycles it ſhould be good for him to propone vnto yͤ Pope, if he would haue him to continue in bearing yͤ charges of the warres againſt Manfred. But when thoſe articles were afterwards preſented to the Pope, hee allowed them not, and ſo the matter remayned withoute anye certayne aſſurance of the promiſes, whiche hadde bin, and ſtill were from time to time made, to ſet the Kyng on dotage. The Archbyſhop of Yorke had his Croſſe taken from him by the Popes cõmaundement, but the Archbyſhoppe woulde not yet bowe his knee vnto Baall, to beſtowe the benefices of his Churche vpon aliants, and ſuch as were vnworthy perſons, as it hadde bin to caſt pearles vnto Swine.

The Archbyſhop of Yorke depriued of his Croſſe.

Manſuetus the Popes Nuncio.

There came from the Pope as his Nuncio, vnto Kyng Henry a Frier minor, named Manſuetus, furniſhed with great power and authoritie, in ſo muche, that he tooke vpon him to aſſoyle men of chaunging vowes, and to iuſtifie thoſe that were excommunicate perſons, falſe periured, and ſuch like. Wherevpon, many of euil diſpoſition preſumed to offende: for eaſineſſe to purchaſe pardon, bred boldneſſe in many, but yͤ wiſe ſeemed to laugh at ſuch doings. The Parliamẽt ſtill continued, till the Sunday after the Aſcention day, with hard holde betwixte the Kyng and the Lordes, who layde it ſore to his charge, that he hadde not performed the promiſes whiche hee made touching the obſeruing of the liberties conteyned in the great charter.

They alſo complayned greatly of his miſgouernaunce, in that hee aduaunced ſo muche the Poictouins and other ſtraungers, to the impoueriſhment of himſelfe, and the whole Realme, and further, maynteyned them ſo farre forthe, that they were ready to offer wrong vnto other, vpon preſumption of his fauoure, and bearing with them, he hauing by commaundement reſtreined that no proceſſe ſhoulde paſſe out of the Chauncery againſt certayne of them that were his couſins, as the Earle of Pembroke and others.

Finally, when the Lordes were in doubte which way to worke for their owne ſafeties, they cauſed the Parliament to be proroged, till yͤ feaſt of Saint Barnabe, then to begin againe at Oxforde.

The Par ment pr ged.

In the meane time, the Lords of the Realme, as the Earles of Glouceſter, Leiceſter, Herforde and Northfolke, with other, did confederate thẽſelues togither, bycauſe they ſtoode in feare to bee entrapped by the Kings ſubtile ſleightes, and by the craftie wiles of thoſe ſtraungers which he reteyned againſt them. The ſame yere by yͤ wind, which continually certayne monethes togyther kept Northerly, the floures, with other growing things, were ſo hindered, that vnneth they appeared to any purpoſe, till yͤ moſt parte of Iune was paſt, wherevpon, the hope of receyuing the frutes of the earth, was quite taken away, and ſo vppon the great dearth that happened, a ſore deathe and mortalitie followed, for want of neceſſary foode to ſuſteyne the languiſhing bodyes of the poore people.

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They dyed ſo thicke, that there were greate pittes made in Churchyardes to lay the dead bodies in one vpon an other.

About the feaſt of the Aſcention, Seuall the Archbyſhop of Yorke departed this life, the which conſtantly had reſiſted the tyrannie of the Court of Rome, in defence of his Churche, ſuffering in this worlde many greeuous tribulatiõs, but now was remoued from thence vnto the Kingdome of Heauen, to be Crowned with the elec̃ for hys good deſeruings, as was then certainely beleued.

Seuall of Yo parteth life.

Mat.

About this time alſo, a great number of Poictouins were come into Englande, by reaſon of their aliance and coſynage to the King, the whiche by the Kings fauour being highly aduaunced, began to waxe proude thereof, and to require to be reſtored vnto ſuch lands and liuings as beforetime they had poſſeſſed. Namely the Kyngs halfe brethren, Athelmare or Edomare, that was a Prieſt, with William Geffrey and Guy, theſe were the ſonnes of Hugh le Brun Earle of Marche, by his wife Queene Iſabell, the mother of Kyng Henry, and being come into England, ſhewed themſelues very loftie and high minded, partly, bycauſe of the Couſinage to the Kyng, and partly, by reaſon of his courteous entertaining of them, in ſo muche, that they forgetting themſelues, began to deſpiſe vpon a preſumptuous pride, the Engliſh Nobilitie, looking ſtill for preeminente of honor aboue all other. And ſurely Edomare obteyned at the firſte a great peece of his purpoſe, beeyng made by the Kyngs gifte Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and by that meanes bare a ſtout porte, and greately holpe his other brethren.

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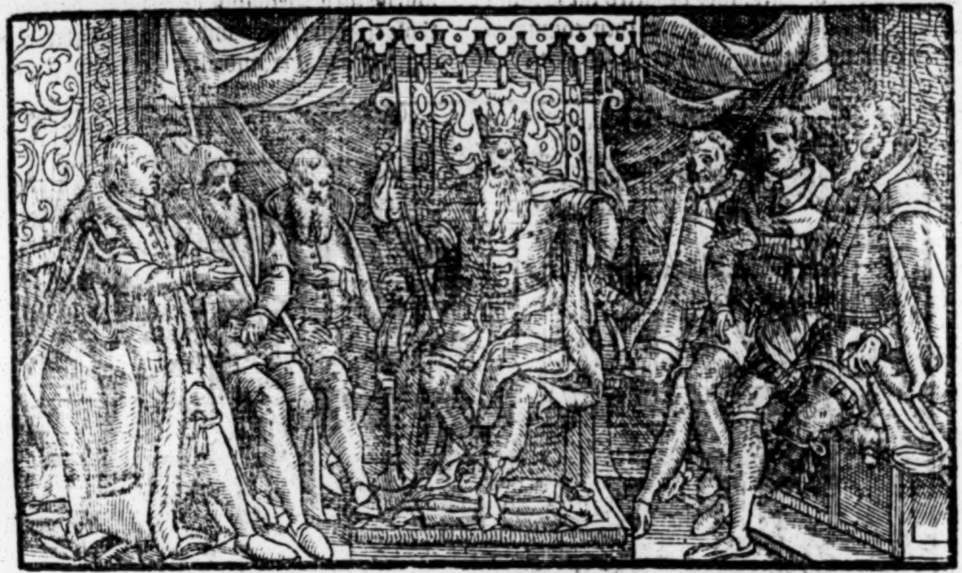
brethren.

The Engliſh Barons not well able to ſuffer ſuch preſumption in ſtraungers, who ſeemed to haue them in deriſion, compleyned to the Kyng, in ſo much, that at length, as well for a reformation heereof, as in other things, a Parliamente was called, (as before yee haue hearde) fyrſte at London, and after reiorned to Oxeforde, there to be aſſembled about the feaſt of Saint Barnabie in the moneth of June.



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Lordes.

This (of ſome writers) is named *Inſanum Parliamentum*, that is to ſay, the madde Parliamente: for at this Parliamente (to the whiche the Lords came with great retinues of armed men, for the better ſafegarde of their perſons) manye things in the ſame were enacted contrary to the Kings pleaſure, and his royall prerogatiue. For the Lords at the firſte, determined to demaunde the confirmation of the auntient charter of liberties which his father Kyng John had graunted, and hee himſelfe had ſo often promiſed to obſerue and maynteyne, ſignifying playnely, that they meant to purſue their purpoſe and intent herein, not ſparing eyther for loſſe of life, lands or goods, according to that they had mutually giuen theyr faythes by ioyning of handes, as the manner in ſuch caſes is accuſtomed.

Beſides the graunt of the greate charter, they required other things neceſſary for the ſtate of the common wealthe, to bee eſtabliſhed and enacted.

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It was therefore fyrſte enacted, that all the Poictouins ſhould auoide the land, togither with other ſtraungers, and that neyther the King, nor his ſonne Prince Edwarde ſhoulde in anye ſecrete manner ayde them agaynſte the people.

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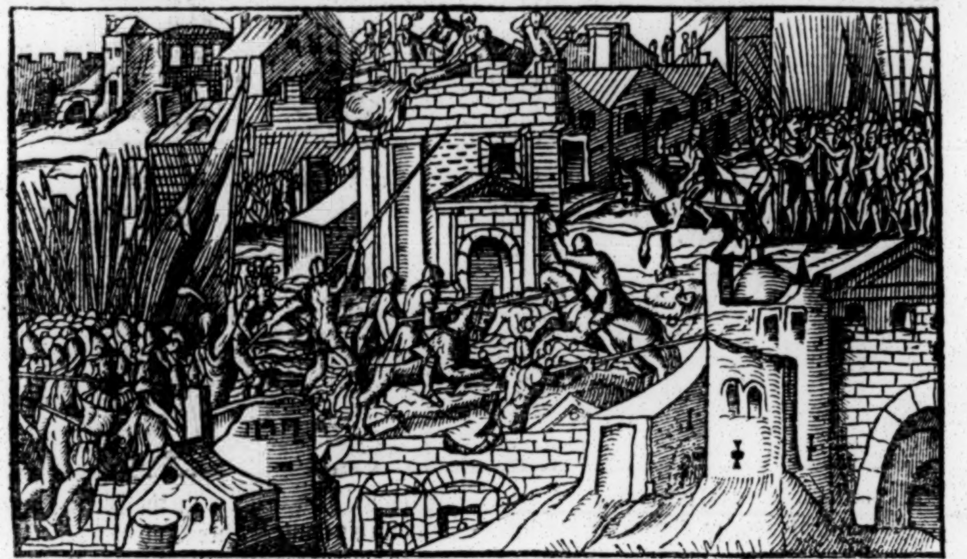
Moreouer, that the Kyng and hys ſonne ſhould receyue an othe, to ſtande vnto the decrees and ordinances of that Parliament, and withall ſpeede, to reſtore the auntient lawes and inſtitutions of the Realme, whyche they both did, rather conſtreyned therevnto by feare, than of any good will. And ſo not only the Kyng himſelfe, but alſo his ſonne Prince Edwarde receyued an oth, to obſerue the ordinances of that Parliamẽt. But John Earle Warren, and the Kyngs halfe brethren, namely, the Earle of Pembroke refuſed that othe, and likewiſe the Lord Henry, ſonne to the Kyng of Almayne, excuſed himſelfe by his fathers abſence, without whoſe conſent he would not receyue it, vnto whome thys aunſwere was made, that if his father would not conſente to the agreemente of the Baronage, hee ſhoulde not poſſeſſe one fourrough of lande within thys Realme.

The Earle of Leiceſter threatneth the Earle of Pembroke.

Alſo, whereas the Earle of Leiceſter reſigned the Caſtels of Kenelworth and Odiham into the Kyngs handes, the which he had lately receiued by his gifte, and newly repaired them, the Earle of Pembroke and his other brethrẽ ſware deepely, that they woulde for no mans pleaſure giue ouer ſuche Caſtels, rentes, and Wardſhips of theirs, as they had of the Kyngs gift: but the Earle of Leiceſter tolde the Earle of Pembroke flatly and playnely, that he ſhoulde eyther render them vp, or elſe he ſhoulde be ſure to loſe his head: and thys ſaying was confyrmed, by the generall voyces of all other the Barons, bycauſe it was a ſpeciall article concluded amongſt other in that Parliament.

The Kings halfe brethren ſhift away.

The Kings halfe brethren, perceyuing which way the worlde wente, ſtoode in doubt of themſelues, and ſecretely therevpon departed frõ Oxforde, and firſte withdrewe vnto Wincheſter, where Odomare, one of the ſame brethren was Biſhop, through whoſe ſupport, and by reaſon of the ſtrength of ſuch Caſtels as he held, they truſted to be in more ſafetie: but finally, perceyuing themſelues not to be ſo out of daunger, ſith the Barons minded to purſue them, about the eightenth day of July, they departed the Realme with a greate number of other, of their countreymen, and amõgſt thoſe, William de Saint Herman the Kyngs karuer was one.



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Henry Montfort, ſonne to the Earle of Leyceſter, vnderſtanding of their departure out of the Realme, followed, and hearing that they were arriued at Bulleigne, he landed in thoſe parties, and by ſuch friendſhip as he found there amõgſt thoſe that bare good will vnto his father, he gote togither a power, and after a manner beſieged the Poiſtouins within Bulleigne, laying watch for them in ſuche ſorte, both by Sea and land, that there was no way left for them to eſcape. When they ſawe themſelues in that daunger, they made forthe a meſſenger with all poſt haſt vnto the Frenche Kyng, requiring to haue his ſafe conduit, to paſſe freely through his Realme, as they truſted hee woulde bee contente to graunte vnto ſuche, as for refuge and ſafegarde of life ſhoulde repaire vnto him for comfort. The French King curteouſly graunted to their requeſt, and ſo they were in ſafetie permitted to paſſe quietly through the Countrey.

They ſent to the French K.

Richard Gray, Captayne of Douer Caſtell, and Lorde warden of the portes.

In the meane while, one Richard Gray, Chateillayne of Douer Caſtell, a right valiant man and a faithfull, ſuffred no man to paſſe that ways vnſearched, according to that which he hadde in commaundement: whervppon, he tooke and ſeaſed into his handes a greate portion of treaſure, whyche was broughte thither to bee tranſported ouer to the Poiſtouins that were ſo fledde the Realme.

Alſo, there was founde a greate quantitie of treaſure in the newe Temple at London, whych they had gathered and hoorded vp there, the which alſo was ſeaſed to the Kings vſe. But nowe to returne vnto the doings in the Parliamente holden at Oxford. It was ordeyned (as ſome write) that the Kyng ſhoulde chooſe forthe twelue perſons of the Realme, and the communaltie of the land ſhoulde chooſe forth other twelue, the which hauing Regall authoritie in their hands, myghte take in charge the gouernaunce of the Realme vpon them, and ſhould from yeare to yeare prouide for the due election of Juſtices, Chauncellors, Treaſorers, and other officers, and ſee for yͤ ſafekeeping of the Caſtels which belonged to the Crowne.

Mat. West.

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These foure and twentie gouernours appointed as prouiders for the good gouernement of the Realme, began to order all things at theyr pleaſure, in yͤ mean time, not forgetting to vſe things chiefly to their owne aduantages, as well in prouiding eſchetes and wardes for their ſonnes and kinſfolkes, as alſo in beſtowing patronages of Churches (belonging to the kings gift) at theyr pleaſures, ſo that theſe prouiders ſeemed to prouide all for themſelues, in ſo muche, that neyther Kyng nor Chriſt coulde receyue ought amongſt them. There be that write, how there were but twelue of theſe gouernours choſen, whoſe names were as followe. Firſt, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, the Byſhoppe of Worcetor, Roger Bigod Earle of Northfolke and Marſhal of Englande, Simon de Montforde Earle of Leiceſter, Richard de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereford, the Earles of Warwike and Arundell, Sir John Manſell chiefe Juſtice of Englande, Sir Roger Lorde Mortimer, Sir Hugh Bigod, Sir Peter de Sauoy, Sir James Audeley, and Sir Peter de Montforte.

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Fabian.

To theſe was authoritie only giuen to puniſh and correct al ſuch as offended in breaking of any the ordinãces at this Parliament eſtabliſhed.

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It was not long after the finiſhing of thys Parliament, but that ſtryfe and variaunce beganne to kindle betweene the King and the Earles of Leyceſter and Glouceſter, by reaſon of ſuch officers as the ſayde Earles hadde remoued, and put other in theyr rowmes. Among the whiche John Manſell was diſcharged of his office, and ſir Hugh Bygod, brother to the Earle Marſhall, admitted in his rowmth.

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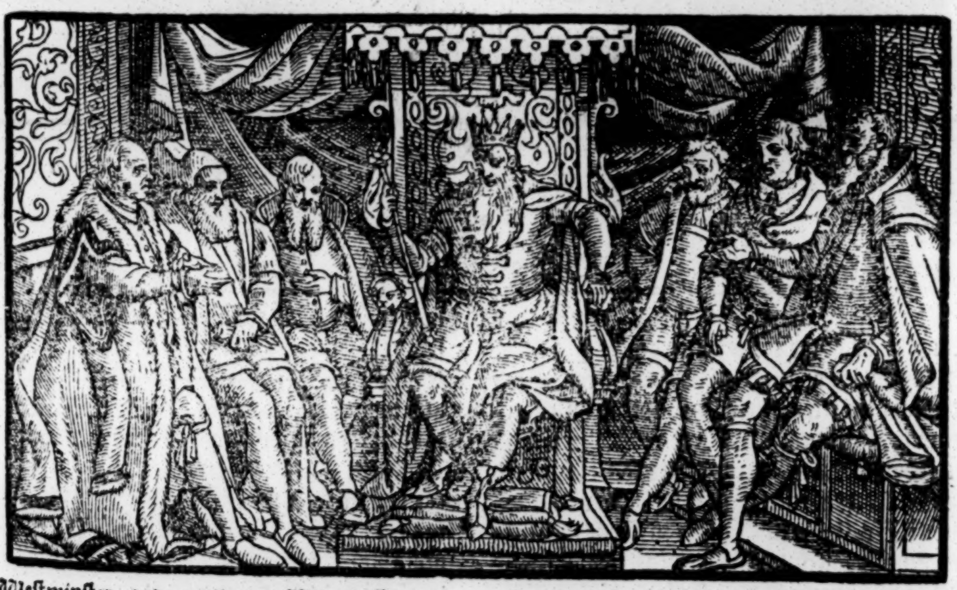
Alſo bycauſe the foreſayde gouernours had knowledge that the king minded not to performe the ordinaunces eſtabliſhed at Oxforde, they thought to make theyr part as ſtrõg as was poſſible for them to doe, and therefore vpon the morrow after the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the king as then being at Weſtminſter, the Earle Marſhall, the Earle of Leyceſter, and dyuerſe other came to the Guyldhall of London, where the Maior and Aldermen, with the Commons of the Citie were aſſembled, and there the Lordes ſhewed the Inſtrument or wryting ſealed wyth the kings Seale, and with the Seales of hys ſonne Prince Edwarde, and of many other Lordes of the lande, conteyning the Articles of thoſe ordinances whiche had beene concluded at Oxforde, wylling the Maior and Aldermen to ſet alſo therevnto theyr common Seale of the Citie. The Maior and Aldermen vppon aduice amongſt them taken, required reſpyte till they might knowe the kings pleaſure therein, but the Lordes were ſo earneſt in the matter, and made ſuch inſtance, that no reſpit coulde be had, ſo that in the ende the common Seale of the Citie was put to that writing, and the Maior and diuerſe of the Citie ſworne to mainteyne the ſame, their allegiance ſaued to the king, with their liberties & franchiſes, according to the accuſtomed maner.

A Proclamation agaynſt puruеyers.

Vpon the .ix. day of Auguſt, Proclamation was made in dyuerſe places of the Citie, that none of the kings takers ſhoulde take any thing within the Citie, without the will of the owner, except two tunnes of Wine, which the king accuſtomably had of euery ſhippe comming from Burdeaux, paying but .xl. ſhillings for the tun. By meanes of this Proclamation, nothing was taken by the kings officers within the Citie and liberties of the ſame, except readie payment were made in hande, which vſe continued not long.



A Parliament.

Herevpon the King helde a Parliament at Weſtminſter, and another at Wincheſter, or elſe proroged and remoued the ſame thither. Alſo ſir Hugh Bygod Lord chiefe iuſtice, with Roger Turkſey, and other, kept the Terme for plees called *Itenerarij*, at Saint Sauiours: For you muſt vnderſtande, that in thoſe dayes they were kept in diuerſe places of the Realme, which now are holden altogyther at Weſtminſter, and Judges ordeyned to keepe a cyrcuite, as now they keepe the Sizes in time of vacation.

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The foreſayde Judges ſitting on that maner at Saint Sauiours, puniſhed Baylifes, and other officers very extreemely, which were conuict afore them for diuerſe treſpaſſes, and ſpecially for taking of merciaments, otherwiſe than law gaue them.

Bakers puniſhed.

After this the ſame ſir Hugh came vnto the Guyldhall, and there ſat in iudgement and kepte plees without order of law, and contrarie to the liberties of the Citie. Hee puniſhed Bakers for lacke of true ſyze, by the Tumbrell, where before they were puniſhed by the Pillorie, and many other things he vſed after ſuch maner more by wil than by any good order of law.

Math. Paris.

The Poictouins ſuſpected to haue poyſoned the Engliſh Lordes.

There was a bruyte rayſed (whether of truth or otherwiſe we leaue to the credit of the authors) that the Poictouins had practiſed to poyſon the moſt part of the Engliſh nobilitie. In deede diuerſe of them were grieuouſly tormented with a certaine diſeaſe of ſwelling and breaking oute, ſome dyed, and otherſome right hardly eſcaped, of which number the Earle of Glouceſter was one, who lay ſicke a long time at Sonninge, a place beſydes Reading. At length hee recouered: but his brother William died of the ſame diſeaſe, and vpon his deathbed layde the faulte to one Walter Scotenye, as the occaſioner of his death, which afterwardes coſt the ſayde Walter hys lyfe. For although he was one of the chiefe Counſaylours and Stewarde alſo to the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, yet beeing had in ſuſpition, and thereupon apprehended and charged wyth that cryme, when in the yeare next following in Iune hee came to be arraigned at Wincheſter, and put himſelfe to bee tryed by a Iury, the ſame pronounced him guyltie: and when thoſe that were empaneled vpon that Iurie were aſked by the Iudges howe they vnderſtoode that hee ſhoulde bee guiltie, they anſwered, bycauſe that where the ſayde Walter was neuer indebted that they could heare of, eyther to William de Valence, or to any of his brethren; they were fully certified that he had of late receyued no ſmall ſumme of money of the ſayde de Valence, for to poyſon both his maiſter and other of the Engliſh nobilitie as was to be thought, ſithe there was no other apparant cauſe why he ſhoulde receyue ſuch gyft at the handes of their enimie the ſayde William de Valence, and ſo was the ſayde Walter executed at Wincheſter aforeſayde.

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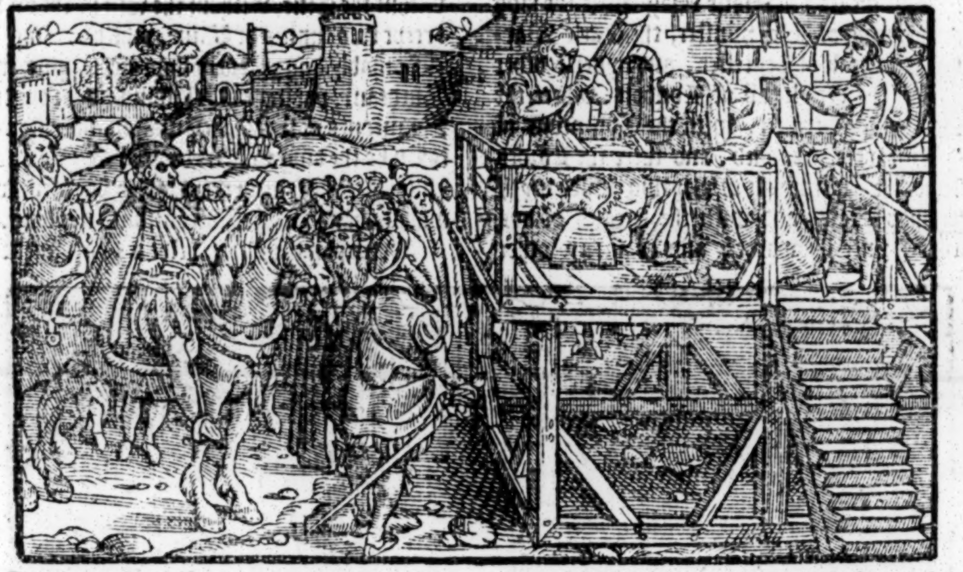

A late harueſt.

The Harueſt was very late this yeare, ſo that the moſt part of the corne rotted on the grounde, and that which at length was got in, remayned yet abrode till after Alhallowentide, ſo vntemperate was the weather, with exceſſiue wette and raine beyonde all meaſure. Herevpon the dearth ſo encreaſed, that euen thoſe which had of late relieued other, were in daunger to ſterue themſelues. Finally ſolemne faſtes, and generall Proceſſions were made in diuerſe places of the realm, to appeaſe Gods wrath, and (as it was thought) their prayers were heard, for the weather partly amended, and by reaſon the ſame ſerued to get in ſome ſuch corne as was not loſt, the price thereof in the Market fell halfe in halfe.

Dearth of corn increaſeth.

Faſts and proceſsions vſed.

Richard Gray Lord warden of the portes.

The Chattellaine of Douer Richarde Gray looking diligently to his charge, tooke a thouſand marks which the Biſhop of Wincheſter had ſent thither to haue bin tranſported ouer into France. Erlotus the Popes *nuncio* perceiuing the trouble that was like to enſue within the realme woulde no longer tary, but wiſely departed and got him home. Herewith certaine wiſe perſonages were ſent to Rome on the part of the king & baronage, to enforme the Pope in what ſtate ẏ realm ſtood, and to giue him to vnderſtād how grieuouſly the people had bene handled by the practiſe of certaine Romaine Prelates promoted in this lande.

Erlow the Popes nuntio returneth home.

Mat.
The L
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This yere nere to Carmardin Patrik de Chaunton lord of Kedwelli, & Hugh de Viun, & diuerſe other both horſmen & footmen were ſlain through treaſon by the Welchmē: yet it ſhould appeare by Mat. Pa. that ẏ engliſhmē procured this miſchief to light on their own heads, through their diſloial dealing. For where they wer come to the place to talke of an agreement, ſome of the marchers ſuppoſing they had bin to ſtrōg for ẏ Welchmē, perſwaded the ſaid L. of Kedwelly to aſſaile thē vpō the ſodain, in hope to haue deſtroyed thē, albeit in the end ẏ engliſhmē were diſtreſſed through ẏ valiancie of Dauid, one of the ſonnes of the great Llewillin & other captains of the Welch nation. Neuertheleſſe Mat. Weſt. ſayth briefly, that the Engliſh men were treaſonably ſlaine, ſo that it

Mat.

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ſeemeth that Mathew Paris ſpeaketh rather of an affection and good will whiche hee bare to the Welche proceedings in thoſe dayes, than otherwiſe. For who that marketh the courſe of hys hyſtorie ſhall perceyue that he had no good liking of the ſtate in thoſe dayes, neither concerning the eccleſiaſticall nor temporal policie, inſomuch that hee ſticketh not to commende the Welche men greatly for theyr holding togither, againſt the oppreſſion (as he meaneth it) of the Engliſh gouernmente, and no doubte there was cauſe that moued him to ſuch miſliking, namely the often payments and collections of money by the Popes agents, and other ſuche miſorders as dayly were permitted or rather mainteined to the enpoueriſhing of both the eſtates ſpirituall and temporall.

Godfrey de Kynton, was conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterburie at Rome, about the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe laſt paſt, and ſo returned frō thence home to his cure.

There was an ordinance made aboute thys time, for puniſhment to be had of the extortion of Sheriffs, ſo that aſwell the receyuer, as the gyuer of brybes was puniſhable.

The biſhops of Worceſter and Lincoln, with the Earles of Norffolke and Leyceſter, were ſent ouer in Ambaſſade vnto a Councell holden at Cambrey, for a league and peace to be concluded betwixt the kingdomes of England and France, and alſo the Empire: but bycauſe the French K. looked to haue the king of England there, when he heard that the ſame king came not, he alſo ſtayed at home, and ſo no concluſion followed at that aſſemble.

Joan Counteſſe of Pembrooke, the wife of William de Valence the kings halfe brother, demaunded hir right of dower, in ſuch landes as belonged to hir by title of inheritance. At length ſhe had to the value of fiue hundred markes aſſigned to hir of the ſame landes, notwithſtanding hir heritage amounted to the ſumme of a thouſande markes and aboue of yearely reuenues, but for that ſhe ſhoulde not ayde hir huſbande with part thereof, the one halfe was thought ſufficient for hir maintenance.

About Aduent next enſuing, ſhee went ouer vnto hir huſband, either for the deſire ſhee had to enioy his perſonall preſēce, or for that ſhe thought hirſelfe not wel dealt with, to be abridged of thoſe reuenues, which by right of inheritance were hir owne.

In the firſt night of December, there chaunced a maruelous ſore tempeſt of lightning and thunder, with mightie windes and raine, as a token and ſigne of the troubles that after followed, the more noted, for that thunder in the winter ſeaſon is not commonly heard of.

Guy de Rochford a Poictouin, to whom about two yeares before the king had giuen the Caſtell of Rocheſter, was now baniſhed the realme, and depriued of all that he held within this lande.

Guy de Rochford baniſhed.

About this ſeaſon, there roſe great variance amongſt the ſcholers of Oxford, being of ſundrie Countreys, as Scottiſh men, Welchmen, Northren men, and Southren men: they fel ſo farre at ſquare, that they raiſed Baners one againſt another and fought togither, inſomuch that diuerſe were ſlaine, and many hurt on both parties. The Welchmen this yere notwithſtanding their good ſucceſſe had in theſe late warres, conſidered with themſelues, that if the Barons of Englande did once ioyne in one knot of friendſhip, they would with maine force eaſily ſubdue them, wherefore to preuent that which might chaunce vnto them by ſtubburne reſiſtance, they made ſuyte to be receyued into the kings peace, offring to giue vnto him the ſumme of foure. M. Markes, and to his ſon the Lorde Edward three. C. markes, and to the Queene two. C. marks. The king yet would not accept thoſe offers, and ſo the matter depended in doubtfull balance a certaine time. The Welchmen in the meane ſeaſon attempted not any exployte, but rather ſate ſtill in hope to come at length to ſome reaſonable agreement.

Variance and debate betwixt the ſtudents of Oxford.

The Welchmen ſeeke to agree with the king.

The Monkes of Wincheſter meaning to prouide themſelues of a biſhop, now that Athelmare *alias* Odomare the kings halfe brother was baniſhed the realme, elected one Henrie de Winghā the kings Chancellor, in hope that the K. would be contented with his election, and ſo he was, but yet condicionally, that if the Pope woulde allow his ſayde halfe brother for Biſhop, then ſhoulde the other giue place.

Henrie de Wingham elected Biſhop of Wincheſter

About the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, when knowledge was giuen that king Richarde of Almaine ment to returne into Englande, there were ſent ouer vnto him the Biſhop of Worceſter, the Abbot of Saint Edmondeſburie, Peter de Sauoy, and John Manſell, as Ambaſſadours from the Baronage and communaltie of the Realme, to re-

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Ambaſſadours ſent to the K. of Almaine.

quire

His proteſtation of their demaunde.

He chaungeth his purpoſe and commeth ouer into Englande.

quire of him an othe, to ſtand vnto, and obey the ordinances of the late Parliament holden at Oxford: when the ſayde Imbaſſadors came before his preſence, and declared to him the effect of their meſſage, he behelde them with a ſterne looke, and frowning coũtenance, ſaying, & bynding it with an othe, that he would neither be ſworne, nor kepe any ſuch ordinances as had bene made withoute his conſent, neyther woulde hee make them of counſail how long his purpoſe was to ſtay within the realme, which the Imbaſſadours required alſo to vnderſtande. Herevnto he further added, that he had no peere in Englande, for he was the ſon of the deceaſed king, and brother of the king that now raigned, and alſo Earle of Cornwall, and therefore if the Barons of England ment to reforme the ſtate of the kingdome, their duetie had beene firſt to haue ſent for him, and not to haue proceeded ſo preſumptuouſly in ſuche a weightie cauſe, without his preſence or conſent. When one of the Imbaſſadors was aboute to haue made anſwere ſomewhat roundly, and alſo nyppingly vnto this ſpeeche vttered by the King of Almaine, he was ſtayed by one of his aſſociates. And ſo the Imbaſſadours vnderſtanding his minde, returned with all conuenient ſpeede. The king of Almaine had aſſembled a great hoſte of men on the further ſide the Sea, meaning wyth all expedition to haue paſſed hither into England: but when he had aduertiſement giuen that there was a power rayſed in Englande; and beſtowed both by ſea and lande to reſiſt him, he chaunged his purpoſe by aduiſe of his friendes, ſo that he conſented to receyue ſuche maner othe as the Barons required, and herewith taking the Sea, he arriued at Douer on Saint Julians day with his owne houſeholde ſeruants, bringing with him no trayne of ſtraungers, except onely two Earles of Almaine, whiche brought with them but onely three knightes, and hee himſelfe had but. viij. knightes: his brother King Henrie was readie to receyue him, and brought him from Douer vnto Canterburie, for neyther of them was ſuffered to enter into the Caſtell of Douer, the Lords hauing them in a iealouſie, leaſt they ſhoulde bee about to breake the ordinances which were concluded.

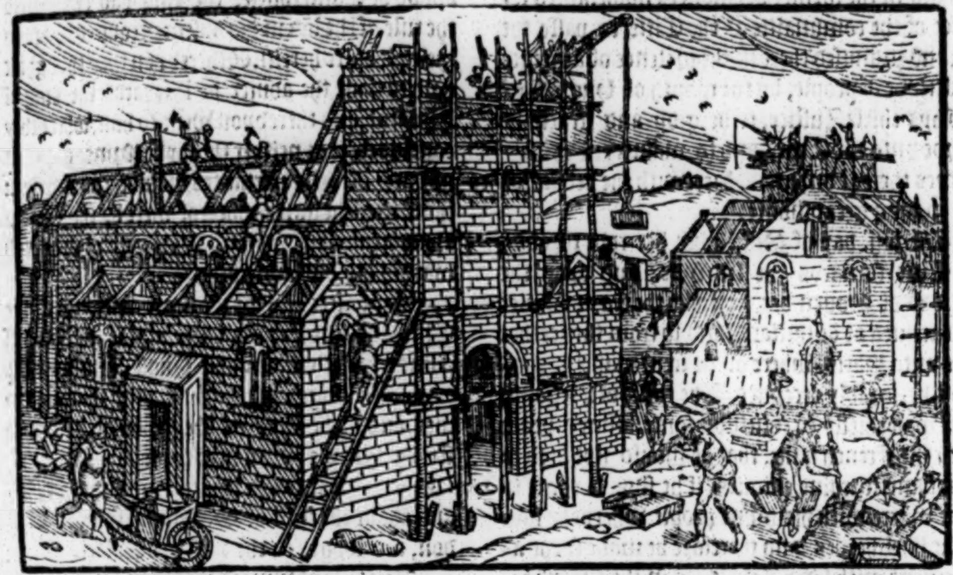
He receyueth an othe not to infringe the ſtatutes of Oxforde.

On the Morow after, the king of Almaine receiued the othe in the preſence of Richard Erle of Glouceſter and others, within the Chapter houſe of Cãterburie. And on the day of the Purification of our Ladie, the two kings with their Queenes and a great number of other noble perſonages, made their entrie into the Citie of London.

A Parliament.

In the Octaues of the ſayd Purification, the Parliament began at Lõdon, to the which came the Earle of Leyceſter from the parties of beyond the ſea where he had for a certaine time remayned. There came alſo an Imbaſſador from the French king, one that was deane of Burges, and ſo there was an earneſt treatie had touching a peace to be concluded betwixt the two kings of Englande and Fraunce, which on the day of Saint Valentine was accorded, and put in Articles with condition that the ſame ſhould remain firme and ſtable, if the kings would aſſent to that which had beene talked of and agreed vppon by theyr ſpeciall and ſolemne agentes. For the further perfecting of this agreement and finall peace betwixt the kings of England and Fraunce, about the beginning of Aprill, the Earles of Glouceſter and Leyceſter, John Mancel, Peter de Sauoy, and Robert Walerane were ſent ouer into Fraunce, hauing with them letters of credence to conclude in all matters as had beene talked of by theyr agentes. But when the Counteſſe of Leyceſter would not conſent to quiteclayme and releaſe hir right in ſuch parcels of Normandie as belonged to hir, which king Henrie had couenanted with the reſidue to reſigne vnto the Frenche king, the Earle of Glouceſter fell at wordes with the Earle of Leyceſter, aboute the ſtubburne demeanor whiche his wife ſhewed in that matter, and ſo by reaſon that eyther of them ſtood at defiance with the other (although by meane of friendes they ſtayed from further inconuenience) they returned back without cõcluding any thing in that whereabout they were ſent.

Aboute the ſame time there was a certaine manſion houſe by waye of deuotion giuen vnto the Friers that are called Preachers within the towne of Dunſtable, ſo that certaine of thẽ thruſting themſelues in there, began to inhabit in that place, to the great annoiance of the Prior & Conuent of Dunſtable, and as it were by the example of the other order called Minors (which in the laſt preceding yeare, at Saint Edmondeſburie in Suffolke had practiſed the like matter agaynſt the willes of the Abbot and Conuent there) they beganne to buylde ryght ſumptuous houſes, ſo that in the eyes of the beholders ſuch chargeable workes of building ſo ſodenly aduaunced by them that profeſſed voluntarie pouertie, cauſed no ſmall wonder. The ſayde Friers buylding them a Church with all ſpeede, and ſetting vp an aulter, immediately beganne to celebrate diuine ſer-



uice, not once ſtaying for the purchaſe of any lycence. And ſo buylding from day to day, they obteyned great ayde of ſuch as inhabited neare vnto them, of whome the Prior and Conuent ought to haue receyued the reuenues that were nowe conuerted to bee employed on the ſayde Friers towardes theyr maintenance. And thus by howe much the more theyr houſe encreaſed, by ſo muche the more did the Prior and conuent decreaſe in ſubſtance and poſſeſſions: for the rentes whiche they were accuſtomed to receyue of the Meſſuages and houſes gyuen to the Friers were loſt, and likewiſe the offerings (which were wont to come to their handes) nowe theſe Friers newly being entred by occaſion of their preachings, vſurped to themſelues.

Richarde Gray Coneſtable of the Caſtell of Douer, and Lord Warden of the fiue portes was this yeare remoued by the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, Hugh Bygod, who tooke into his owne handes the cuſtodie of the ſayd Caſtell and portes. The cauſe why the ſayd Richard Gray was diſcharged, we finde to haue fallen out by this meanes. He ſuffered a Frier minor called Walaſcho, cōming from the Pope, (bycauſe he had the kings letters vnder the great ſeale) to enter the land, not ſtaying him, nor warning the Lordes of his cōming, cōtrary (as it was interpreted) vnto the articles of their prouiſiōs enacted at Oxford. This Frier in deed was ſent from the Pope to haue reſtored Athilmarus or Odomarus, as ſome write him, the kings halfe brother, vnto the poſſeſſions of the Biſhoprike of Wincheſter, to the which he had bene long before elected: but the Lordes were ſo bent agaynſt him, that vpon ſuch ſuggeſtions as they layde forth, Walaſcho refrayned from doing that which he had in commaundement, & returned to make report what he vnderſtood, ſo that Odomare was nowe as farre from his purpoſe as bef[illegible]re.

The Biſhop of Bangor ſent frō the Prince of Wales to king Henrie.

The Welchmē offer to reſort vnto Cheſter.

About the feaſt of Saint Michael, the Biſhop of Bangor was ſent from Llewellin Prince of Wales vnto the King of Englande, to make offer on the behalfe of the ſayd Llewellin and other the Lordes of Wales, of .xvj. thouſande poundes of ſiluer for a peace to be had betwixt the king & them, and that they might come to Cheſter, and there haue their matters heard & determined, as in time paſt they had bene accuſtomed. But what anſwere at his returne was giuen to this Biſhop by the king and his nobles it is vncertaine.

*An.reg.*44. A Parliament.

The ſtatutes of Oxford read, and the breakers of the ſame denounced accurſed.

Eſcuage graunted.

Knights fees how manye were then in Englande.

In the .xliiij. of king Henries raigne, the Friday following the feaſt of Simon and Iude, in Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, were read in preſence of all the Lordes and commons, the actes and ordinaunces made in the Parliament holden at Oxford, with certaine other articles by the gouernours thereunto a[illegible]d and annexed. After the reading whereof the Archbiſhop of Canterburie being reueſted with his Suffraganes to the number of .ix. Biſhops beſides Abbots and others, denounced al them accurſed that attempted in word or deed to breake the ſayd ſtatutes, or any of them. In the ſame Parliament was granted to the King a taſke called *ſcutagium*, or eſcuage, yͭ is to meane. xl. ſhillings of euery knights fee throughout England, the which extended to a great ſumme of money. For as diuers writers do agree, there were in Englande at that time in poſſeſſion of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie beyond .xl. thouſand knightes fees, but almoſt halfe of them were in ſpirituall mens hands.

Fabian.

A Folkemote.

The king aſketh licence to paſſe the ſeas.

The. vj. day of Nouember the king came vnto Paules, where by his cõmaundement was the Folkemote Court aſſembled, and the king according to the former ordinances made, aſked licence of the comunaltie of the Citie to paſſe the ſea, and promiſed there in the preſence of a greate multitude of people, by the mouth of Hugh Bygod hys chiefe Iuſtice, to be good and gracious Lorde vnto the Citie, and to mainteyne the lybertyes thereof vnhurt.. Herewith the people for ioy made a great ſhoute.

Mat. VVeſt.

The king ſayleth ouer into Fraunce.

The. viij. day of Nouember hee rode through the Citie towards the ſea ſyde, and vpon the xiij. day of Nouember, he tooke the ſea at Douer and arriued at Whitſand, and ſo from thence hee rode vnto Paris, where of the french king he was moſt honorably receyued. The cauſe of his going ouer was chiefly to conclude ſome aſſured peace with the French king, that he ſhould not need to doubt any forraine enimies, if he ſhould come to haue warre with his owne people, whereof he ſaw great likelihoodes, and therefore he made ſuche agreement with king Lewes (as in the French hiſtorie more at large appeareth) which (to be ſhort) I here omit.

1260

He cõpoũdeth all differences with the Frẽch king.

This one thing is here to be noted, that beſides the money which king Henrie had in hande, amoũting to the ſumme of an hundred fiftie. M. Crownes for his reſignation then made vnto Normandie, Aniou and Maine, it was accorded, that he ſhould receyue yearely in name of a trybute the ſumme of ten thouſand crownes.

Polidor.

Nic. Triuet.

VVil. Riſang.

Other write that he had three hundred thouſande poundes of ſmall Turon money, which he receyued in readie payment, and was promiſed reſtitution of landes to the value of. xx. thouſand pounds of yearely rent. And that after the deceaſe of the French king that then was, the Countrey of Poictou ſhould returne vnto the Engliſh dominion.

Mat. VVeſt.

Some write that immediately after King Henrie had concluded this agreement, hee began to repent himſelfe thereof, and would neuer receyue penie of the money, nor leaue oute in hys ſtile the tytle of Duke of Normandie. But it is rather to be thought that ſuch an agreement was at poynt to haue beene concluded, or at the leaſt wiſe was had in talke, but yet neuer concluded nor confirmed with handes and Seales as it ought to haue beene, if they had gone through with it.

Diſſention betwixt Prince Edwarde and the Erle of Glouceſter.

In the meane time that king Henry was thus occupied in Fraunce, diſſention fell in Englande betwene prince Edward & Richard Erle of Gloceſter, for the appeaſing whereof a Parliament was called at Weſtminſter, to yͤ which the lordes came with great companies, & ſpecially the ſaide Prince and Erle. They intended to haue lodged within the Citie: But the Maior going vnto the Biſhop of Worceſter, to ſir Hugh Bigot, and to ſir Philip Baſſet, (vnto whom, and to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the king had committed the rule of the lãd in his abſence) required to know their pleaſure herein. Wherevpon they thought it good to haue the aduice of Richarde the king of Almaine, and therevpon went to him, where they concluded, that neither the ſayde Prince nor Erle nor any of their partakers ſhoulde come within the Citie, the gates whereof were by the Maiors appoyntment cloſed and kept with watche and warde both day and night.

Soone after alſo for the more ſafegarde of the Citie, and ſure keeping of the peace, the king of Almaine with the ſayd ſir Hugh, and ſir Philip came and lodged in the Citie with their companies, and ſuche other as they woulde aſſigne to ſtrengthen the citie if need required.

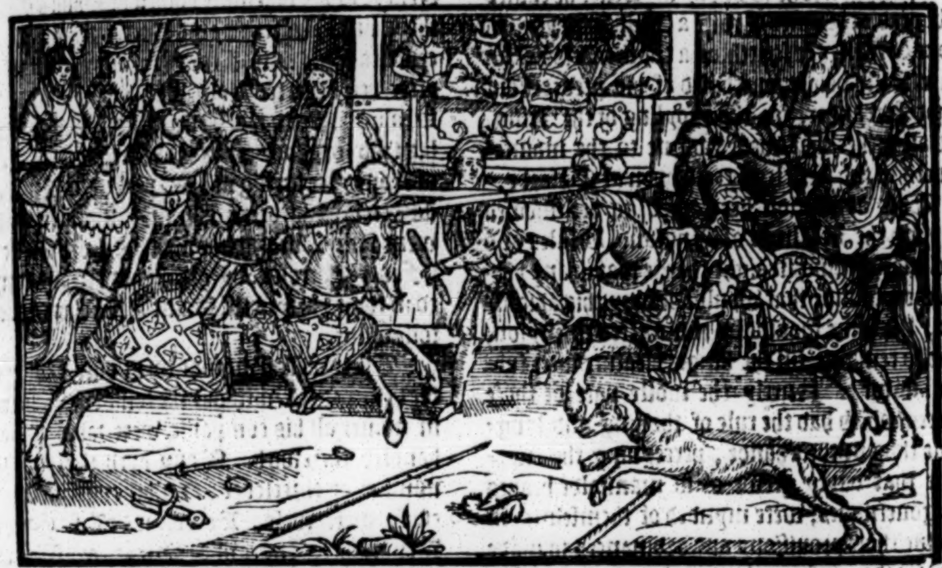
Shortly after the king returned out of France, and about the feaſt of S. Marke came to London, and lodged in the Biſhops Palace.

Bycauſe of rumors that were ſpred abroade ſounding to ſome euill meaning, whiche Prince Edward ſhould haue agaynſt his father, the king brought ouer with him a great power of men of armes ſtraungers, howbeit he brought them not into the Citie, but left them beyond the bridge in the parties of Surrey, but he being entred yͤ citie, ſo kept the gates & entries, that none was permitted to enter, but ſuch as came in by his ſufferance. The Erle of Glouceſter by his appoyntment alſo was lodged within the Citie, and the Prince in the Palace at Weſtminſter. And ſhortly after by the kings commaundement, hee remoued to S. Iohns, & all the other Lordes were lodged without the citie, and the king of Almaines remoued againe to Weſtminſter. In which time a direction was taken betweene the ſayde partyes, and a newe aſſembly and Parliament aſſigned to bee kept in the quindene of Saint Iohn Baptyſt, and after deferred or proroged tyll the feaſt of Saint Edwarde, at the which tyme al things were pacifyed for a tyme, but ſo as the Earle of Glouceſter was put beſyde the rowmth whiche hee had amongeſt other the Peeres, and ſo then hee ioyned in friendſhippe with the Earle of Leyceſter, as it were by way of confederacie againſt the reſidue, and yet in this laſt contention, the ſayde Earle of Leyceſter tooke parte wyth the Prince agaynſt the Erle of Glouceſter.

This yeare the Lorde William de Beauchampe the elder deceaſed.

The Lorde Edwarde the kings ſonne with a fayre companie of knightes and other men of armes, paſſed the Seas to exerciſe himſelfe in Iuſtes, but hee hymſelfe and his menne were euill entreated in manye places, ſo that they loſt horſe, armour, and all other things to hys great griefe and diſlyking (as may be eſteemed) yet as ſome write he returned home with victorie in the Iuſtes.

Mat. VVeſt.



This yeare at Teukeſburye, a Iew falling by chaunce into a Iakes vppon the Saterday, in reuerence of his Sabboth woulde not ſuffer anye manne to plucke hym forth, whereof the Erle of Glouceſter beeyng aduertiſed, thoughte the Chriſtians ſhould doe as much reuerence to their Sabboth which is Sunday, and therfore woulde ſuffer no man to go about to take him forth that day, and ſo lying ſtyll till Monday, he was there founde deade.

Diuerſe noble men departed this life in this yeare, as the Erle of Albemarle, the Lord William Beauchampe, Stephen de Longeſpee Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Irelande, and Roger de Turkby one of the kings chief counſellers & Iuſtices of the land, William de Kirkham B. of Durham, and Iohn de Crakehale treaſurer of England, a ſpiritual man, but rich beyond meaſure: Alſo Hērie de Ba another of the kings Iuſtices of the Benche.

In the .xlv. yeare of king Henries raigne, Alexander king of Scotland came vnto Lodon anon after the feaſt of S. Edwarde, with a fayre companie of Scottiſhmen, and ſhortly after his wife the Queene of Scottes came thyther alſo. Moreouer K. Henrie kept a royal feaſt at Weſtminſter, where he made to the number of .lxxx. knightes, amongſt tye which, Iohn, ſonne to the Erle of Britain, who had maried the Lady Beatrice, one of the kings daughters was there made knight. And ſhortly after was ſir Hugh Spencer made Lorde chief Iuſtice.

After Chriſtmaſſe the king comming into the tower of London, fortified it greatly, and cauſed the gates of the Citie to be warded, ſending forth commaundement to his Lordes that they ſhould come to the tower, there to holde a Parliament, but they denied flatly ſo to do, ſending him word that if it pleaſed him, they would come to Weſtminſter where vſually the Parliament had beene kept and not to any other place, whervpon there roſe diſſention betwixt him and the Barons.

Fabian.
A Folkmote holden at Pauls croſſe.

After the feaſt of the Purification, at a Folkmote holden at Paules Croſſe (where the King was preſent in perſon, with the king of Almaine, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and diuerſe other of the nobles) commaundement was giuen to the Maior, that euery ſtripling of the age of .xij. yeares and aboue, ſhould before his Alderman be ſworne to bee true to the king & his heyres kings of England, and that the gates of the Citie ſhuld be kept with armed men, as before by the king of Romaines was deuiſed.

An othe to be true to the king.

The L. Spencer diſcharged of his office.

About Eaſter the Barons of the lande with cōſent of the Peeres, diſcharged ſir Hugh Spencer of his office of chiefe Iuſtice, and placed in hys rowmth ſir Philip Baſſet without the kings aſſent, hee beeing not made priuie therevnto. Wherevpon a newe occaſion of diſpleaſure was miniſtred to kindle debate betwixt the king and his Lordes, but by the policie of the king of Almaine, and ſome Prelates, the matter was quieted for a time, till after at Hallowentide next enſuing, which was the .xlvj. yeare of king Henries raigne.

An. reg. 46.
The preſumptuous proceedings of the Barons againſt the king.

At that time the Barons tooke vppon them to diſcharge ſuch Sherifes as the king had elected and named Gardeyns of the Countreys and Shires, and in theyr places putte other Sherifes. And beſydes that woulde not ſuffer the Iuſtice whiche the King had admytted, to doe hys office in keeping hys cyrcuite, but appoynted ſuche to doe it, as it pleaſed them to appoynte, wherwith the king was ſo much offended, that he

laboured

1262

A Bull read at Pauls croſſe

laboured by all meanes to him poſſible about the diſanulling of the ordinaunces made at Oxforde, and vpon the ſecond Sunday in Lent, he cauſed to be read at Paules Croſſe a Bull, obteyned of Pope Vrbane the fourth, as a confirmation of an other Bull before purchaſed of his predeceſſour Pope Alexander, for the aſſoyling of the King, and all other that were ſworne to the maintenances of the Articles agreed vpon at Oxforde.

This abſolution hee cauſed to bee ſhewed through the Realmes of England, Wales and Irelande, giuing ſtraight charge that if any perſon were founde that woulde diſobey this abſolution, the ſame ſhoulde be committed to pryſon, there to remaine till the kings pleaſure were further knowne. Surely the moſte part of thoſe Peeres which had the rule of the king and kingdome thus in their hande, perceyuing the enormitie that dayly grewe of ſo manifolde heades and gouernours, were mynded of themſelues to diſſolue thoſe prouiſions and ordinances ſo made at Oxforde, inſomuche that there were but fiue which ſtiffely ſtoode in defence of the ſame. That is to witte, the Biſhoppe of Worceſter, and the Earles of Leyceſter and Glouceſter, with Henry Spencer, and Peter de Mountfort, the whiche by no meanes coulde bee brought to confeſſe that they myght with a ſafe conſcience goe contrarie to thoſe ordinaunces which they had confyrmed with theyr ſolemne othe, notwythſtanding the Popes diſpenſation, where as the ſame othe was rather a bonde of iniquitie (as ſayth Mathewe Weſtminſter) deuyſed to conſpyre agaynſte Chryſt and hys annoynted, that is to wit, theyr naturall liege Lorde and lawfull King, than any godlye othe aduiſedly taken, or neceſſarie to bee receyued of good meaning ſubiectes.

Mat. VVeſt.

Many gouernors pernitious to a common wealth.

The k Almain ouer in Germa

Fabian.

The kin uing lo paſſeth into Fr

In Iune the king of Almaine tooke ſhipping and ſayled ouer into Teutchlande, and King Henrye at a Folkemote holden at Paules Croſſe the Sunday after Saint Peters daye, had lycence to ſayle into Fraunce, and the morrowe after hee departed from London towardes the Sea ſyde, with the Queene and other Lordes, his two ſonnes, Prince Edwarde and the Earle of Lancaſter beeing at that preſent in Guienne. When hee had beene a ſeaſon in Fraunce, hee went vnto Burdeaux, and there hee fell ſicke of a Feuer quartaine, by occaſion whereof he taryed in thoſe partyes till Saint Nicholas tide next following.

He fal of a Fe quartai

Chro.

Death men.

There were fewe that went ouer with hym that eſcaped free without the ſame diſeaſe, ſo that in maner all his companie were taken and ſore handled therewith. Many dyed thereof to the number of threeſcore, and amongeſt them as chiefe were theſe, Baldwyn de Liſle Earle of Deuonſhire, Ingram de Percye, and William de Beauchampe.

The E Glouc parted life.

Alſo this yeare dyed Richarde de Clare Erle of Glouceſter, and his ſonne ſir Gilbert de Clare was Earle after him, to whome his father gaue great charge that he ſhoulde mainteyne the ordinances of Oxforde.

An.

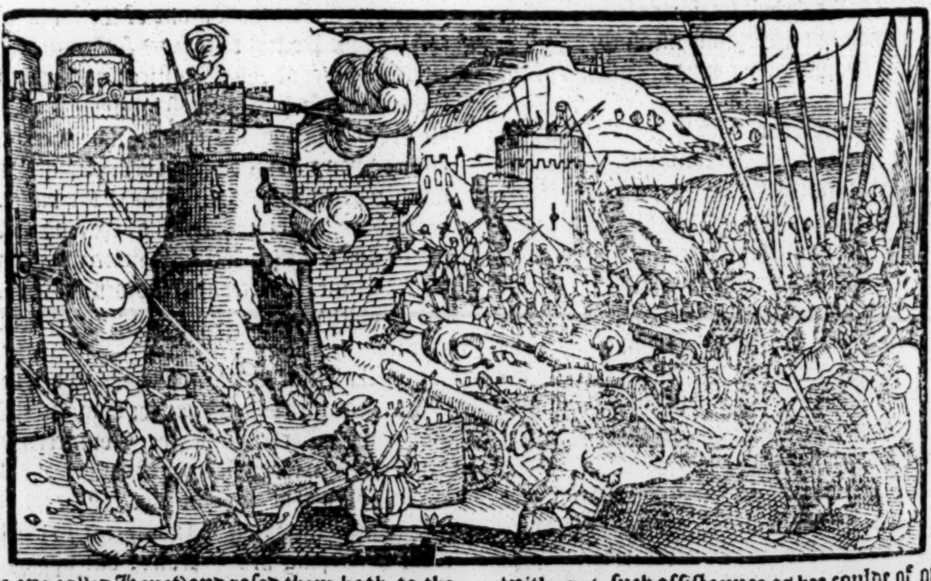
Iewes

In the .xlvij. yeare of king Henries raigne, by reaſon that a Iewe had wounded a Chriſtian man at London within Colechurch, in the warde of Cheape, not onely the ſayde Iewe was ſlaine by other Chriſtians that followed him home to his houſe, but alſo many other Iewes were robbed & ſlaine in that furie and rage of the people.

Mat.

The W mes gaynſt Mort tenaū

The Welchmen with their Prince Llewellin made warres againſt the men & tenants of Roger de Mortimer. They tooke two of his Caſtels (the one called Kenef) and raſed them both to the ground. The ſayd Roger being ſore grieued herewith, got ſuch aſſiſtaunce as hee coulde of other Lordes there in the Marches, and watching the



He ſe reueng them.

Welchmen at aduantage, diſtreſſed diuerſe companies of them, ſomtime three.C. ſomtime foure C.and other whiles fiue.C. But at one time he loſt three hundred of his footemen that were entred the Countrey, and ſo encloſed that they could make no ſhift to eſcape.

Upon the euen of Saint Thomas the Apoſtle, the king landed at Douer, and came to London the Wedneſday before ẏ.xij.day in Chriſtmaſſe.

froſt.

This yeare the froſt beganne about Saint Nicholas day, and continued for the ſpace of a Moneth and more, ſo extreemely, that the Thames was frozen, ſo that men paſſed ouer on horſebacke.

The ſame Winter the kings little hall at Weſtminſter, with many other houſes therevnto adioyning, was conſumed with fire, by negligence of one of the kings ſeruants.

be-
Ci-
Lon-
the
le of
er.

Variance roſe betwixt the Citizens of London, and the Coneſtable of the Tower, for that contrarie to the liberties of the Citie he tooke certaine ſhippes paſſing by the Tower with wheate and other vitayles, which he ſtayed, and brought the ſame vittailes into the Tower, making the pryce thereof himſelfe. The matter was hadde before ſir Philip Baſſet Lorde chiefe Juſtice and other, who vpon the ſight and hearing of all ſuche euidences and priuiledges as coulde bee brought forth for the aduauntage of both the partyes, tooke order that the Coneſtable ſhould (when he lacked prouiſion of grain or vitailes) come into the market holden within the Citie, and there to haue wheate two pence in a quarter wythin the Maiors price, and other vittayles after the ſame rate.

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Prince Edwarde the kings ſonne returning from the parties of beyonde the Sea, went with a great power, (as wel of Engliſhmen as ſtrangers) agaynſt the Welchmen towardes Snowdon hilles: but the enimies withdrawing themſelues to their ſtrengthes within the Woodes and Mountaynes, he could not much endomage thē. Whervpon after he had fortified certain Caſtels in thoſe parties, with men, munition, and vitails, he returned being ſent for backe of his father.

The Archb. of Canterburie goeth to Rome.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie foreſeeing the trouble that was like to enſue betwixt the King and his Barons, got licence of the king to goe vnto Rome, aboute ſuche buſineſſe as hee feyned to haue to doe with the Pope, and ſo departed the land, and kept him away till the trouble was appeaſed.

Fabian.

Upon Midlent Sunday, at a Folkmote holden at Paules croſſe, before ſir Philip Baſſet and other of the kings Counſaile, the Maior of London was ſworne to be true to the king, & to his heyres kings of Englande, and vpon the morow at the Guyldhall euery Alderman in preſence of the Maior tooke the ſame othe. And vpon the ſunday following, euery inhabitant within the Citie of the age of. xij. yeares and aboue, before hys Alderman in hys Warde was newly charged with the like oth.

The Lord Maior of London ſworne to be true to the king.

Cloked malice burſteth out.

Then beganne the diſpleaſure betweene the king and his Barons to appeare, which had bene long kept ſecrete, dyuerſe of them aſſembling togither in the Marches of Wales, gathered vnto them a power of men, and ſent a letter vnto the king, vnder the Seale of ſir Roger Cliffor de, beſeeching him to haue in remembraunce his othe and manifolde promiſes made for the obſeruing of the ſtatutes ordeyned at Oxforde. But although this letter was endyted and written very effectually, yet receyued they no anſwere from the king, who mynded in no wiſe to obſerue the ſame ſtatutes, as by euident tokens it was moſte apparāt. Wherupon they determined to attempt by force to bring their purpoſe to paſſe.

The Barons rayſe people.

The Lorde Cliffordе.

Chron. Dunſt.

The king and the Queene for their more ſafegard got them into the Tower of London, and Prince Edward lay at Clerkenwell, but in ſuch neceſſitie and diſcredit for mony, that neither had they any ſtore to furniſh their wāts, neither was there any mā that would truſt thē with a grote.

Prince Edward taketh money out of the treaſurie of the temple.

Prince Edward not able to abide ſuch diſhonor, in the feaſt of the Apoſtles Peter and Paule, taking with him Robert Waleran, & certaine other, went to the new Temple, and there calling for the keeper of the treaſure houſe, as if hee ment to ſee his mothers Jewels, that were laid vp there to be ſafely kept, he entred into the houſe, & breaking the Coffers of certaine perſons that had likewiſe brought their money thither, to haue it in more ſafetie, he tooke away from theſe to the value of a thouſand poundes. The Citizens of London were ſo offended herewith, that they roſe in armor againſt him and other of the kings counſaile, inſomuch that they aſſayled the lodging of the Lord John Gray without Ludgate, and toke out of his ſtables. xxxij. horſes, & ſuch other things

The Londoners rob the houſe of the Lorde Gray as they might lay hold vpon, keeping ſuch ſturre that the Lorde Gray himſelfe was forced to flie beyonde Fleete Bridge. The like rule they kept at the houſe of Iohn de Paſſelew. Iohn Mancell departing forth of the Tower to the Thames, with the Counteſſe de Liſle, and other ladies that were ſtraungers borne, ſayled into Fraunce, and landed at Whitſand, where the ſayde Mancell hearing that the Lorde Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine, that then held with the Barons was in thoſe parties, he cauſed the Lorde Ingram de Fines to ſtay him as priſoner, and ſo he remayned till king Henrie vpon the agreement betwixt him and the Barons, found meanes to get him releaſed, and ſo then he returned into Englande.

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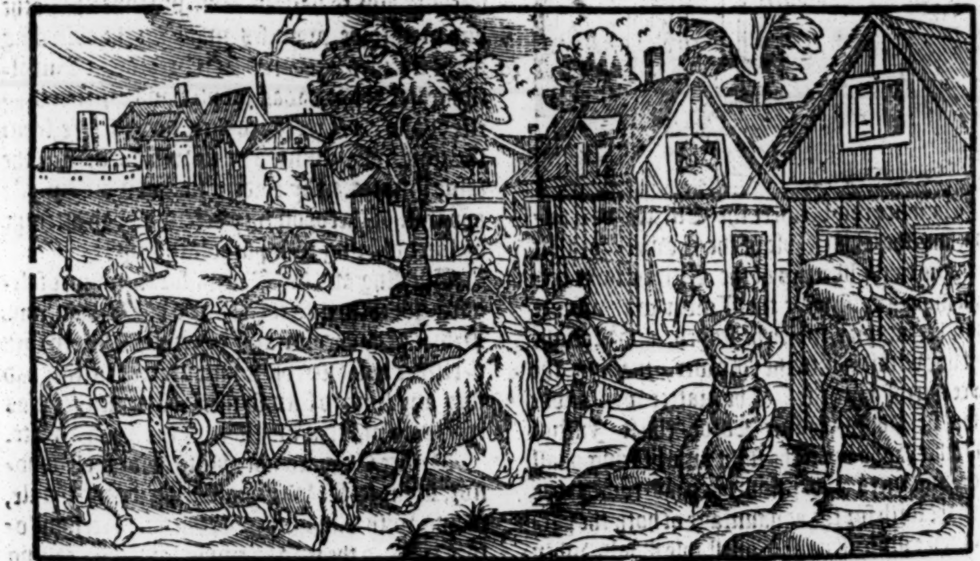

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The Maior bare thys Letter and the Copie of the Articles vnto the King, who in this meane time remained in the Tower of London, togither with the Queene and the K. of Almain, lately returned oute of Almaine, alſo his ſonne prince Edward, and many other of his counſail. The king aſked of the Maior what he thought of thoſe articles, who made ſuch anſwer as the king ſeemed well pleaſed therewith, and ſo permitted the Maior to returne againe into the Citie, who toke muche payne in keeping the Citie in good quiet nowe in that daungerous tyme. All ſuche the Inhabitantes as were ſtraungers borne, and ſuſpected to fauor eyther of the parties were baniſhed the Citie, but within a while after, Prince Edward ſet them or the moſt part of them in offices within the Caſtell of Windſore. And on the Saterday next after the tranſlation of Saint Benet, as the Queene woulde haue paſſed by water from the Tower vnto Windſore, a ſort of lewde naughtipacks got them to the bridge, making a noiſe at hir, and crying drowne the witch, threw downe ſtones, cudgels, dyrt, and other things at hir, ſo that ſhee eſcaped in great daunger of hir perſon, fled to Lambeth, and through feare to be further purſued, landed there, and ſo ſhe ſtayed till the Maior of London with much adoo appeaſing the furie of the people, reſorted to the Queene, and brought hir backe againe in ſafetie vnto the Tower. And as ſome wryte, bycauſe the King woulde not ſuffer hir to enter agayne into the Tower, the Maior conueyed hir vnto the Biſhop of Londons houſe by Paules, and there lodged hir.

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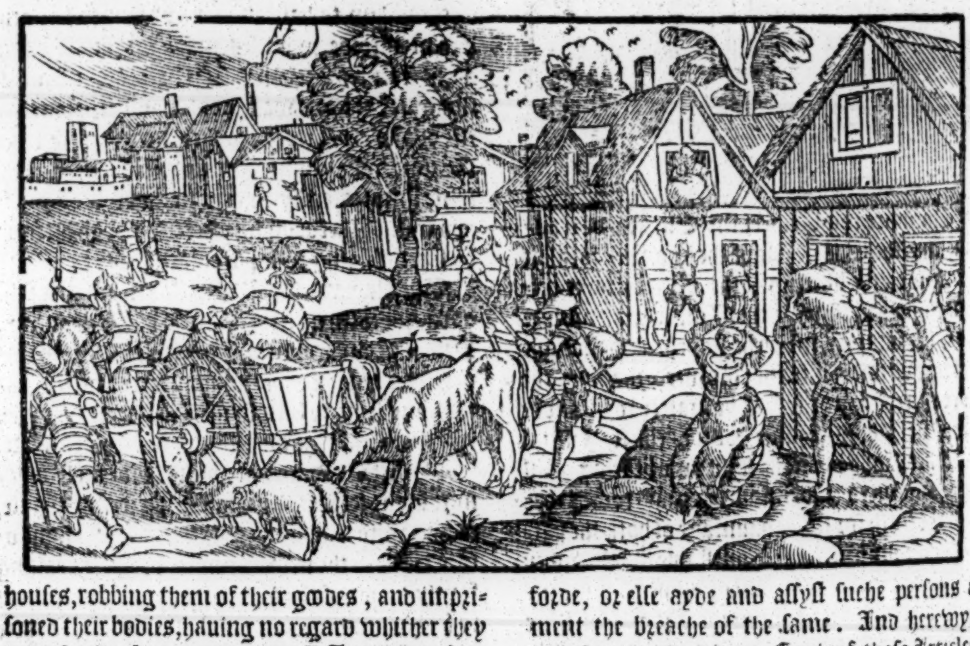

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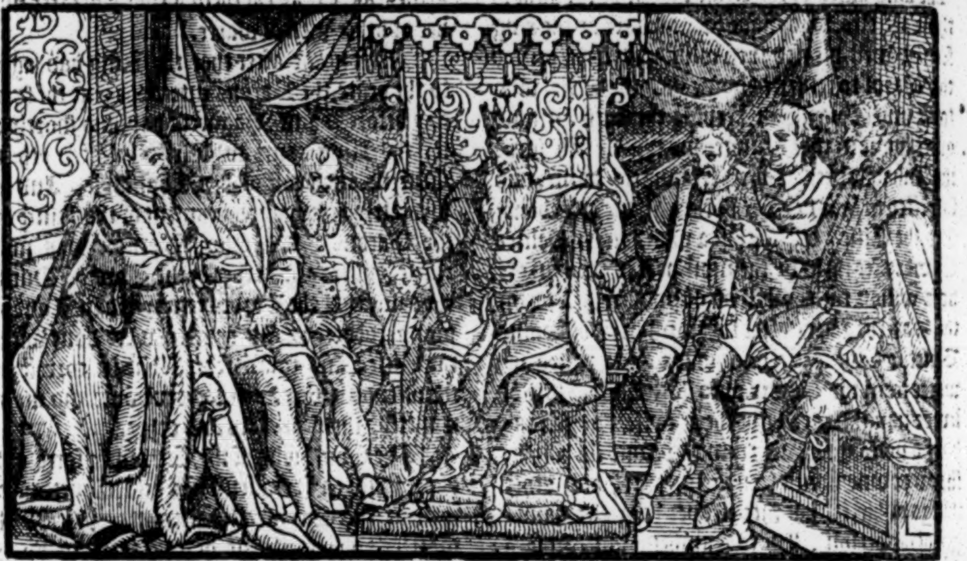
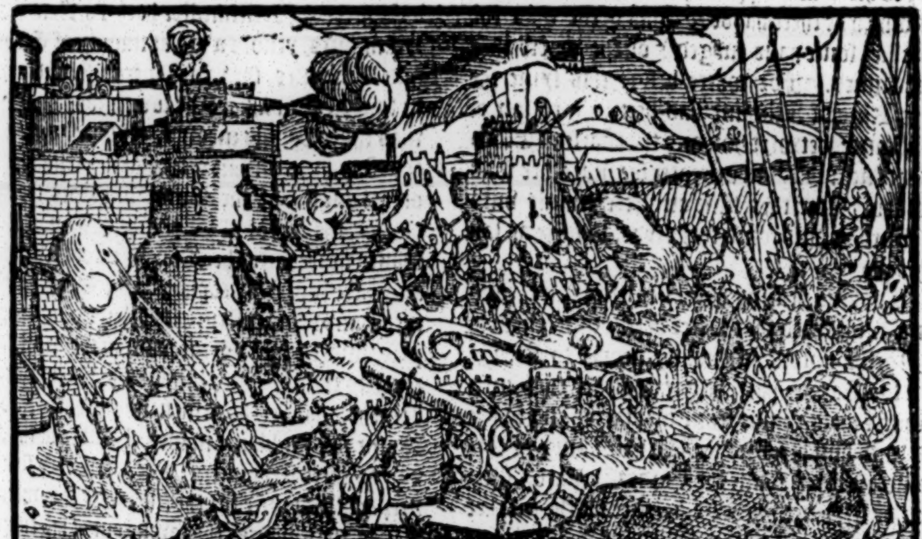


Aboute the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, there was a Parliament holden at London, at the which all the Nobles of the Realme both ſpirituall and temporall were preſent, and then the Citie of London, and the fiue Portes ioyned in league as confederates with the Barons, but the king plainly proteſted before all the aſſembly, that by the ſtatutes and prouiſions (as they termed them) made at Oxford, he was much deceyued: For contrarie to that which the Barons had promiſed, hee felt himſelfe rather charged wyth more debt than any thing relieued: and therefore ſith he had obteyned of the Pope an abſolution of the othe both for himſelfe & his people, his requeſt was to be reſtored vnto his former eſtate of all ſuche prerogatiues as in time paſt hee hadde enioyed. The Barons on the other ſide ſtifly mainteyned, that they coulde not with ſafe conſciences go againſt their othe, and therefore they ment to ſtand in defence of the articles aforeſayde ſo long as they had a day to liue. Thus whileſt both parties kept off ſo farre from all hope of agreement, & were nowe in poynt to haue departed in ſunder, through mediation of ſome Biſhoppes that were preſent, a peace was concluded, and the parties ſo agreed, that all matters in controuerſie touching the articles, prouiſions, & ſtatutes made at Oxford ſhould be ordred and iudged by the Frenche king, whom they choſe as arbitrator betwixt thẽ. Herevpon the .xiiij. day of September, both the King and Queene, with their ſonnes, and dyuerſe other of the Nobles of this lande tooke ſhipping, and ſayled ouer to Bullongne, where the French king as then was at a Parliament, with a great number of the Nobles and Peeres of France. The Erle of Leyceſter alſo with diuerſe of his complices went thither, and there the matter was opened, argued, and debated before the French king, who in the ende vpon due examination, and orderly hearing of the whole proceſſe of all theyr controuerſies, gaue expreſſe ſentence, that all and euery of the ſayde Statutes and ordinaunces deuiſed at Oxforde, ſhould bee from thenceforth vtterly voyd, and all bandes and promiſes made by king Henrie, or any other for performance of them, ſhould likewiſe be adnihilate, fordone, and clearely cancelled. The Barons highly diſpleaſed herewith, refuſed to ſtand to the French kings awarde herein, bycauſe he had iudged altogither on the kings ſide. Whervpon after they were returned into the realme, either partie prepared for warre: but yet about the feaſt of S. Edward, the King and the Barons eftſoones mette at London, holding a newe Parliament at Weſtminſter, but no good could be done. Thẽ when the King of Almaine, and Prince Edwarde, wyth other of the Kings counſayle ſaw that by rapine, oppreſſion, and extortion practiſed by the Barons agaynſt the kings ſubiectes, as well ſpirituall as temporall, the ſtate of the Realme, and the Kings honour was much decayed, and brought in manner vnto vtter ruine, they procured the King to withdrawe ſecretely from Weſtmynſter vnto Wyndſore Caſtell, the which his ſonne Prince Edwarde had gotte poſſeſſion of by a trayne. From Windſore he went to Reading, and from thence to Wallingforde, and ſo to Oxforde, hauing a great power with him. At his being at Oxforde there came vnto him the Lorde Henrie, ſonne to the king of Almaine, John Earle Warren, Roger Clifford, Roger Leyborne, Haymond le Straunge, and John de Vaux, which had reuolted from the barons to the kings ſide. John Gyfford alſo did the lyke: but he ſhortly after returned to the Barons part againe. The kings ſonne the Lord Edward had procured them thus to reuolt, promiſing to euery of them in rewarde by his charter of graunt fiftie pounde landes to ayde the king his father, and him agaynſt the Barons.

After this the king went to Wyncheſter, and from thence came backe vnto Reading, and then he marched forth with his armie vnto Douer, where he could not be ſuffred to come into the caſtell, being kept out by the Lorde Richarde Grey that was captaine there. Hereupon he returned to London, where the Barons againe were entred, through fauor of the comoners, agaynſt the will of the chiefe Citizens, and here they fell eftſoones to treate of agreement, but their talke profited nothing. And ſo in the Chriſtmaſſe weeke the king with his ſonne Prince Edward and diuerſe other of the counſayle ſayled ouer agayne into Fraunce, and went to Amiens, where they found the French king, and a great number of his Nobles. Alſo for the Barons, Peter de Montforde, and other were ſent thither as Commiſſioners, and as ſome wryte, at that preſent, to wit on the xxiiij. day of Ianuarie, the Frenche king ſitting in iudgement, pronounced his definitiue ſentence on the behalfe of king Henrie agaynſt the Barons: but whether he gaue that ſentence now, or the yeare before, the Barons iudged him verye partiall, and therefore ment not to ſtand vnto his arbitrement therein. The king hauing ended hys buſineſſe with the French K. returned into Englande, and came to London the morrowe after Saint Valentines day. And about ſeuen or eight dayes after, the Lorde Edwarde his eldeſt ſonne returned alſo. And hearing that the Barons were gone into the Marches of Wales (where ioyning with the Welchmen, they had begonne to make warre agaynſt the kings friendes, and namely agaynſt his Lieutenant Roger Lorde Mortimer, whom they had beſieged in the Caſtell of Wigmore,) the Lorde Edwarde thereupon with ſuch power as he could get togither, marched thitherwardes to reyſe theyr ſiege: but the Lord Mortimer perceyuing himſelfe in danger, fledde priuily out of the Caſtell, and got to Hereford, whither the Prince was come. The Barons enforced their ſtrength in ſuch wiſe that they wan the caſtel. Prince Edward on the other ſide tooke the Caſtels of Hay and Huntingdon that belonged vnto the Earle of Hereford yong Henrie de Boun.

Nic. Triuet.

Caſtels gotten by prince Edwarde.



The Caſtell of Brecknoc was alſo deliuered into his hands, which hee tooke to the keeping of the Lorde Roger de Mortimer, with all the territorie therto belonging. Robert Erle of Darby that tooke part with the barons beſieged the Citie of Worceſter, & tooke it by ẏ old caſtel, ſacked the citizens goods, & cōſtrayned the Iewes to be baptiſed. The Citie of Gloceſter alſo was taken by ẏ barons: but prince Edward folowing thē & repayring the bridge ouer Seuerne, which the Barons had broken downe after they were come ouer, he entred the Caſtell of Glouceſter with his people. The next day by procurement of Walter Bi. of Worceſter, a truce was takē betwixt prince Edward & the barons that had taken the town, during the which, the barōs departed out of ẏ town, & the burgeſſes ſubmitted thēſelues vnto Prince Edward: and ſo he hauing the caſtell & towne in his handes, impriſoned diuerſe of the burgeſſes, & fined the town at the ſumme of M. pounds. Thē he drew towards his father lying at Oxforde, or at Woodſtock, gathering people togither on eche hād. In the meane time the lords drew towards Lōdon, & the new aſſurance by writing indented was made betwene the comunaltie of the Citie & the barons, without conſent of any of the rulers of the citie. The cōmons herewith appointed of thēſelues two captains, which they named conſtables of ẏ city, that is to ſay, Tho. Piwelſdon, and Ste. Bukerel, by whoſe cōmaundement & tolling

Mat. VVeſt.

The Citie of Glouceſter recouered, and put to fine.

The comoners of the city of London cōpound with the Barons.

R. Fabian.

of the great Bell of Paules at the citie was warned to be redie in harneſſe to attend vpon the ſayd two Captaines. About the beginning of Lent the Conneſtable of the tower ſir Hugh Spencer, with the ſayde two Captaines, and a great multitude of the Citizens & others went to Thiſtleworth, and there ſpoyled the manour place of the King of Almaine, and then ſet it on fire, and deſtroyed his water Mylnes, and other commodities which he there hadde. This deede was the cauſe (as ſome haue iudged) of the warre that after enſued. For where before this tyme the ſayde King of Almaine had beene by reaſon of the alliance betwixt him and the Earle of Glouceſter continually an intreater for peace, hee was nowe euer after this time an vtter enimie vnto the Barons, and vnto theyr ſyde, ſo farre as lay in his power.

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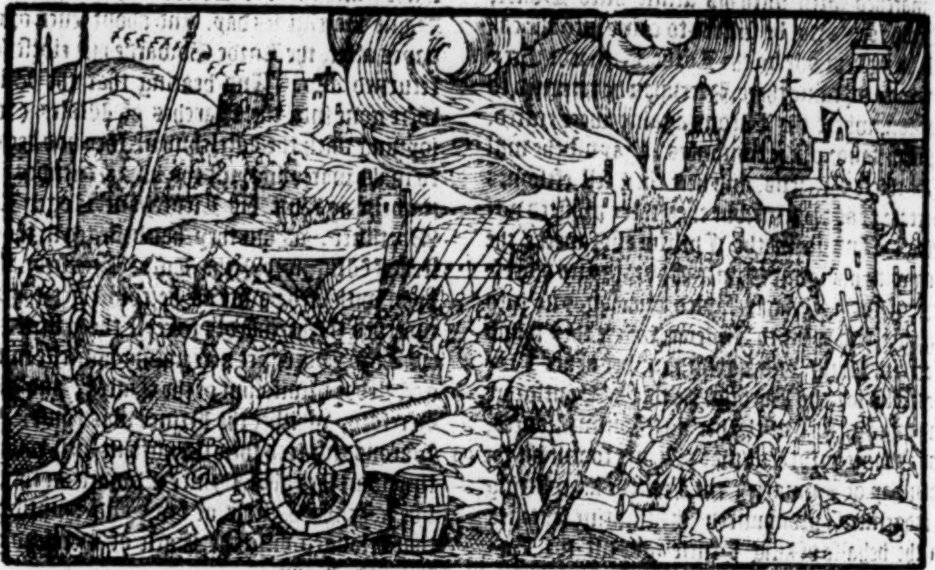
ſpoyled



The chiefe cauſe that ſet the king of Almaine ſo ſore againſt the Barons.

The king hearing of this riottous acte, and being infourmed that Peter de Mountford was at Northampton aſſembling people to ſtrengthen the Barons part, he got togither ſuch men of warre as he coulde from all places, and ſo hee had with him his brother Richarde king of Almaine, his eldeſt ſonne the Lorde Edward, William de Valence his halfe brother on the mother ſyde, and Iohn Comyn of Warde in Scotland wyth a greate number of Scottes, Iohn Balioll Lorde of Galloway, Robert Bruys Lorde of Innandale, Roger Clyfforde, Philip Marmyon, Iohn Vaux, Iohn Leyborne, Henry Percy, Philip Baſſet, and Roger Mortimer.

The Lordes that followed the king.

Thus the King hauing theſe noble men about him, with his armie ſpedde him towardes Northampton, and comming thither tooke the towne by force, ſlue dyuerſe, and tooke priſoners Peter Mountefort, and Simon Mountefort the Earle of Leyceſters ſonne, William Ferreys, Baldwyn Wake, wyth Nicholas his brother, Berengarius de Wateruile, Hugh Eubyun, Robert Butteuyleyn, Adam of Newmarch, Robert Newtō, Philip Driby, Grimbald Pauncefort, Roger Beltram, Thomas Mauncell, and dyuerſe other to the number of lxxx. knightes (or as Mathew Weſtminſter hath, xv. Barons, and lx. knightes) beſides a great number of Eſquires and Burgeſſes, the which were beſtowed abrode in ſundrie priſons. The towne (as ſome write) was taken by this meanes. Whileſt dyuerſe of the Captains within were talking with the king on the one ſide of the towne towardes the Medowes, the Lorde Philip Baſſet approched the walles neare vnto the Monaſterie of S. Andrew, and there with his people hauing Spades, Mattocks, and other inſtrumētes prouided for the purpoſe, vndermine a great paine of the wall, and reuerſed the ſame into the ditches, making ſuch a breache, that .xl. horſemen might enter afront. Some put the blame in ſuch Monkes of the Abbay as were ſtraungers, as though they ſhoulde prepare this entrie for the enimie: but howſoeuer it was, the king got the towne out of his enimies handes.

Northampton taken by force.

This alſo is to be remembred, that where by reaſon of variance which had chaunced that yere betwixt the ſcholers of Oxforde and the townes men, a greate number of the ſame ſcholers were withdrawen to Northampton and there ſtudied. They had rayſed a Banner to fight in defence of the towne agaynſt the king, and did more hurt to the aſſaylants than any other bande, whereupon the king threatned to hang them all, and ſo had he done in deede, if by the perſwaſion of his counſaill he had not altred his purpoſe, doubting to procure the hatred of their friendes, if the execution ſhould haue bin ſo rigorouſly proſecuted agaynſt them: for there were amongſt them many yong gentlemen of good houſes and noble parentage. Thus was

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was the town of Northampton taken on a Saterday being paſſion Sunday euen, and the morow after the day of S. Ambroſe which is the fift of April. On the Monday following, the king led his armie towardes Leyceſter, where the Burgeſſes receiued him into the towne at his comming thither. From thence he marched to Notingham, burning and waſting the houſes and manors of the Barons and other of his enimies, and ſpecially thoſe that belonged to the Erle of Leyceſter. Here he alſo gathered more people, and ſo encreaſed his power: inſomuch that diuerſe noble men, as Roger Clifforde, Henrie Percy, Richarde Grey, Philip Baſſet, Richard Sward, and Hubert Earle of Kent, doubting the lacke of power in theyr companions, reuolted incontinently to the kings ſyde.

He ſent his ſonne Prince Edward into Darbyſhyre, and Staffordſhire with a ſtrong power, where he waſted the Manours and poſſeſſions of Robert de Ferrers Earle of Darby, and namely he ouerthrew and defaced the caſtell of Tutbury. Whereſoeuer the kings armie, or that which his ſon Prince Edward led chaunced to come, there folowed ſpoyling, burning and killing. The Barons on the other ſide ſate not ſtill, for the Lorde John Gyfford, with other that were appoynted by the Erle of Leiceſter to kepe Killingworth caſtell (which was furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, maruellouſly and with ſuch ſtrange kind of engines as had not bin lightly heard of nor ſeene in theſe parties) toke by a policie the *Caſtell of Warwike, and William Manduit Earle of Warwike, with his wife and familie within it, and leading them to Kenilworth, there committed them to priſon. The cauſe was for that they ſuſpected him that hee woulde take part with the king agaynſt them. The Caſtell of Warwike they razed downe, leaſt the kings people ſhoulde take it for their refuge.

The Caſtell of Warwike razed.

In the Paſſion weeke the Iewes that inhabited in London being detected of treaſon, whiche they had deuiſed agaynſt the Barons and Citizens were ſlaine almoſte all the whole number of them, and great ryches founde in their houſes, which was taken and caried away by thoſe that ranſacked the ſame houſes.

The Iewes are killed.

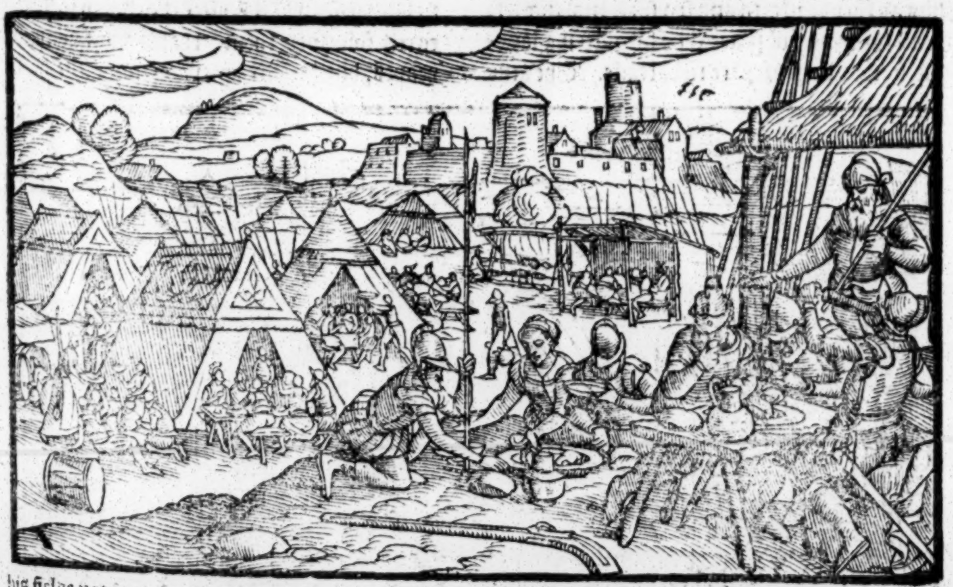
After Eaſter the Earle of Leyceſter hauing London at his commaundement, went to Rocheſter and beſieged that Citie, but the Captaine therof John Erle of Warren did manfully reſiſt the enimyes, till the king aduertiſed therof, with the power of the Marches of the North parties and other came & remoued the ſiege. This done, he left a conuenient garniſon within the Citie to defende it, and comming to Tunbridge wan the Caſtell, and taking the Counteſſe of Glouceſter that was within it, permytted hir to depart. This done, he repayred to the ſeaſide towards Fraunce, to ſtay there till his brethren, Geffrey & Guy, the ſonnes of the Erle of Marche ſhould arriue with ſome band of ſoldiers, for whom he had now ſent & reuoked into the realme, being lately before baniſhed by the nobles as before ye haue herd. They ſhortly after lãded, wherupon the king hauing his power encreaſed, came to Lewes & pight downe his fielde not farre from that towne.

Rocheſter beſieged.

Nic.Triuet.
Math.VVeſt.

The kings halfe brethren come out of Fraunce to his ayde.

The king encampeth at Lewes.



In the end of April the Barons hearing where the King was, departed from London with a great multitude of the Citizens, whom they placed in the vawarde, and marched forth towardes the king, and comming neare to the place where he was lodged, ſet downe their Tentes, and encamped themſelues a little beſide him. Eyther here or by the way as they came forward, the barons deuiſed a letter and ſent it unto the K. conteyning an excuſe of their doings, and a declaration of their well meanings, both towardes him,

The Barons ſend a letter to the king.

and the wealth of the realme, and herewith accuſing thoſe that were aboute him, and with euill counſaile miſenformed him, both agaynſt them, agaynſt the publike wealth of the lande, and hys owne honor. This letter was dated the tenth of May, and ſubſcribed with the names of a great number of noble men, of the which the more part doe here enſue, but yet not all. Sir Simon de Mountford Erle of Leyceſter, and high ſteward of Englande, Sir Gylbert de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, Robert Ferreys Earle of Darbye, Hugh Spencer Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, and Henry Mount ford ſonne and heyre to the Erle of Leyceſter, Richarde Grey, Henrie Haſtings, Iohn FitzIohn, Robert de Veepont, Iohn Gynuile, Robert Roos, William Marmion, Baldwyn Wake, Gylbert Gyfforde, Nicholas de Segraue, Godfrey de Lucy, Iohn de Veiſie, William de Mountheniſey, with other. The King anſwered this letter in charging them wyth rebellion, and mouing of open warre agaynſt him, to the great diſquieting of the Realme. Alſo hee layde vnto theyr charge, the burning of the Manours, houſes and places of his nobles and counſaylers and herewith defied them by the ſame anſwere, which was dated at Lewes aforeſayd the xij. of May.

The anſwere to the Barons.

He defieth them.

Alſo the king of Romaines, and prince Edwarde ſent their defiaunce vnto the Barons the ſame time in writing vnder their ſeales, for that the Barons in their letter to the king, had burthened them and other with miſleading the king with vntrue informations and ſiniſter counſaile. Thus as they write to and fro ſuch nipping letters, all the treatie of peace was forgotten & layde aſyde, ſo that they prepare to battaile. The king had in deede the greater number of armed men, but many of them were vnfaythfull, and cared not greatly though the loſſe fell to his ſyde, and ſo whileſt they go to it without order, and vnaduiſedly, they fight at aduenture, and continue but faintly. His Captaines made three battailes of theyr armie, the forewarde the Lorde Edwarde led, and with him William de Valence Erle of Pembroke, and Iohn de Warrenne Earle of Surrey and Suſſex. In the ſeconde the king of Almaine, with his ſonne Henrie were chieftains. The thirde the king gouerned himſelfe.

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The Barons deuided their hoſt into foure battayles, the firſt was vnder the gouernment of the Lorde Henrie de Mountforde and others, the ſeconde was led by the Lorde Gylbert de Clare, the Lorde Iohn FitzIohn, and the Lorde William de Mountcheniſey, the thirde in which the Londoners were placed, the Lord Nich. de Segraue ruled. The fourth was led by Simond Mountford Earle of Leyceſter himſelfe, and one Thomas de Peuelſton. Thus being ordred, on the xiiij. of May being Wedneſday, they ioyne in fight, and at the firſt encounter, the Lorde Henry de Haſtings, the Lord Geffrey de Lucy, & Humfrey de Bohun the yonger are wounded, and the Londoners forthwith were beatē back: for prince Edward ſo fiercely aſſayled them, that they were not able to abide the brunt. He hated thē in deede aboue all other, namely for yͤ of late they had miſvſed his mother, reuiling hir, & throwing durt and ſtones at hir, when ſhe paſſed the bridge (as before ye haue herd.) Wherevpon prince Edwarde now to be reuenged of thē, after they began to flie, moſt egrely followed them, chaſed and ſlue them by heapes, but whileſt he ſeparated himſelfe by ſuch earneſt folowing of the Londoners too farre from the reſidue of the kings army, he was yͤ only cauſe of the loſſe of that field: for the Erle of Leyceſter perceiuing that yͤ prince with the chiefeſt force of the kings army was thus gone after yͤ Lōdoners of whome he made no great account, he exhorted

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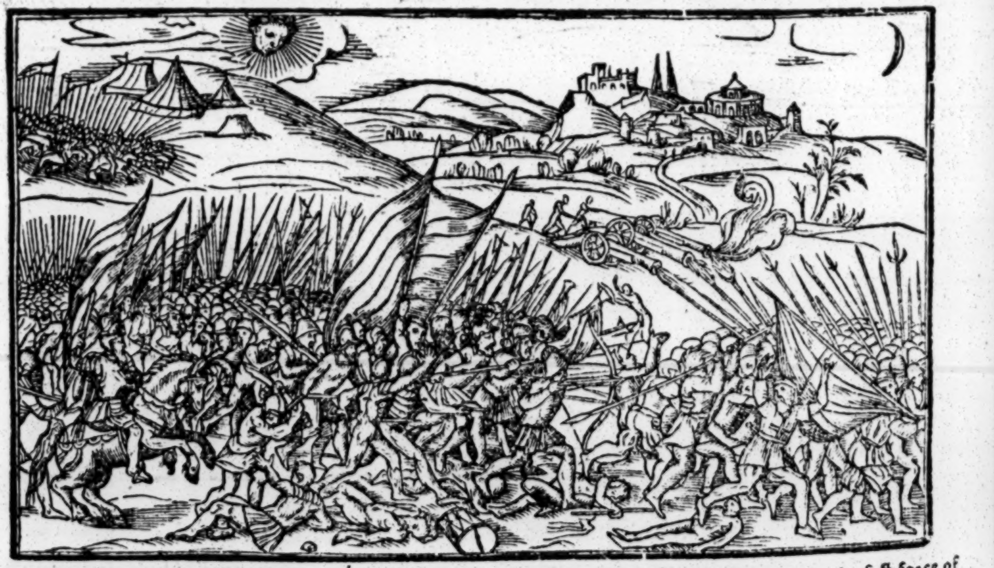
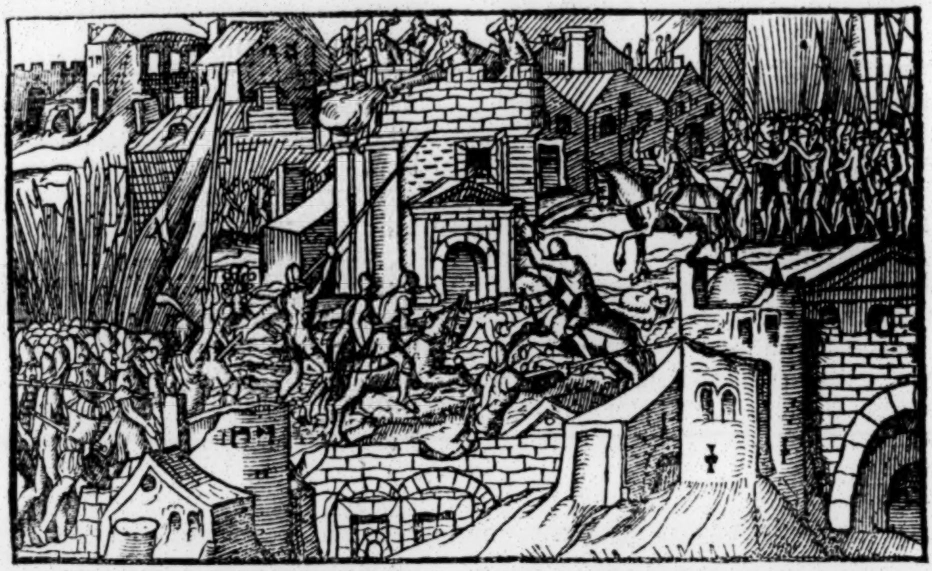


his people, to ſhew their valiancie at that inſtant, and ſo commeth vpon his aduerſaries with great courage, and in a momēt putteth them to flight. There were taken, the Kyng of Almaigne, the Lords, Iohn de Burgh, and Phillip Baſſet with all other the chiefeſt that were about the Kyng, but the King hymſelfe retired with thoſe fewe about him that were left, into the Priorie of Lewes, and other there were, that withdrew into the Caſtell. The Barons purſuing them, enter the Towne, and tooke or ſlew ſo many as they foūd within the Caſtell and Priorie. At length, prince Edwarde returned from the chaſe of the Londoners, whome he had purſued for the ſpace of foure myles, and finding the field loſt, beginneth a new battell, but the Earle of Surrey, William de Valence, and Guy de Lucignan, with Hugh Bigod and others, hauing with them a three hundred armed men, ſtraight wayes fled vnto the Caſtel of Pemſey. Prince Edward thē perceiuing ſlaughter to be made on each hand, caſt about ẏ towne, and with his company, got into the Priory to his father. In the meane time, the Barons gaue aſſault to the Caſtell, but they within valiantly defended themſelues, with whoſe hardy doings, Prince Edward encouraged, gathered his people togither againe, and meant eftſoones to giue battayle, but the ſubtill head of the Earle of Leiceſter beguiled them all, for he cauſed certayne Friers to take in hand to be intreators betwixt thē, which comming to the Kyng, and to the Prince his ſonne, declared, that the Barons to auoyde that more Chriſtian bloud ſhoulde not be ſpilt, woulde bee contented to haue the matter put in compromiſe of indifferent perſons, but if it were ſo, that the King and hys ſonne would needes ſtand to the vttermoſt triall of battel, they would not fayle, but ſtrike off the heads of the Kyng of Almaigne & other ẏ priſoners which they would ſet vpon the endes of their ſpeares in ſtead of ſtāderts. The K. and his people hauing the reſpect of pitie before their eyes, chaunged their purpoſed intent to fight, and falling to a parley (which cōtinued for the moſt part of al ẏ night following) at length it was agreed, that the Frenche Kyng with three Prelates and three other noble men of the temporaltie, ſhould chooſe forth, and name two noble men of Fraunce, which comming into Englande, ſhould take a third perſon to them whome they thought good, and they three ſhould haue the hearing of all controuerſies betwixt the K. and the Barons, and what order ſo euer they tooke therein, the ſame ſhould ſtand, and be receiued for a perfect concluſiō and ſtable decree. This agreement was confirmed, and Prince Edward and Hēry ſonne to the King of Almaigne, were appoynted to remayne as hoſtages with the Barons.

Mat. Paris.

Seuen hūdred hath Abingdō.

Prince Edward commeth backe to his father.



Other write otherwiſe of this battell at Lewes, affirming, that not only the Kyng of Romaynes, but that alſo Kyng Henry hymſelf hauing his horſe thruſt through on both ſides, was taken, and likewiſe his ſonne Prince Edwarde with other on their ſide, to the number of fiue and twentie Barons and Banerets. And that moreouer, there dyed on the Kings ſide that day in the battell and chaſe, a ſixe thouſande and fyue hundred men as Polidore noteth, howbeit, Ri. Southwell ſayth, there dyed on both parties only 3400. But Math. Weſt. writeth, that as the report wente, there dyed a fiue thouſande on bothe ſides, and amōgſt other, theſe he nameth as chiefe, William de Wilton, one of the Kings Iuſtices, and the Lorde Foulke Fitz Waryne a Baron, that tooke the Kings parte. On the Barons ſide, the Lord Raufe Heringander a Baron alſo, and William Blunt the Earles Standertbearer. Of them that were taken on the Kings ſyde,

Polidor.

Mat. VVeſt.

Lords taken on the Kings ſide.

beſide ſuch as before are recited, we find theſe named, Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereforde, William Lord Bardolf, Robert Lord of Tateſhale, Roger Lord Somery, Henry Lord Percy, Iohn de Balioll, Robert de Bruis, and Iohn Comin, with other Barons of Scotlād, hauing loſt all their footemen whiche they had broughte with them to the Kings ayde.

Fabian.
Nic. Triuet.
Mat. VVeſt.

Moreouer, it ſhoulde appeare by ſome writers, that the King being thus in captiuitie, was conſtreyned to make a new graunt, that the ſtatutes of Oxford ſhould ſtand in force, and if any were thought vnreaſonable, the ſame ſhoulde bee reformed by foure noble menne of the Realme of Fraunce, two of the ſpiritualtie, and two of the temporaltie. And if thoſe foure could not agree, then the Earle of Aniou and the Duke of Burgoigne ſhuld be Iudges in the matter. But if either thoſe or the other were appoynted to be arbitrators, like it is, that the former report touching the ſucceſſe of the battell is true, for if both the K. and his ſon had bin taken priſoners in the fielde, the Barons would ſurely haue conſtreyned him to haue conſented to the obſeruance of the ſtatutes, without putting the ſame in compromiſe, to be altered at the diſcretion of any arbitrators, and namely, ſtraungers. But howſoeuer it was, on the Tweſday before the Aſcention day, peace was proclaymed in London, betweene the King and the Barons, and whereas the King eyther by conſtreynte for ſafegarde of hymſelfe or his friendes, eyther vppon aſſurance of the Barons promiſe, committed hymſelfe vnto the company of the ſame Barons, at their comming with him to London, they went from this laſt agreement, and forthwith deuiſed other ordinances as thus. They ordeyned, that two Earles and a Biſhop, which being elected out by the cōmunaltie, ſhould chooſe to them nine other perſons, and of theſe, three of them ſhoulde ſtill remaine about the K. and by their order and the other nyne, all thyngs ſhould be gouerned both in the Courte and in the Realme. They conſtreyned the King and hys ſonne Prince Edwarde, (menacing to depoſe the one, and to keepe the other in perpetuall priſon) to conſente and agree to this laſt ordinance: and ſo the Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and the Biſhoppe of Chicheſter were ordeyned there the chiefe rulers, and letters ſent with all ſpeede, vnto the Cardinall Sabinenſis the Popes Legate, and to the King of Fraunce, to ſignifie to them, that the compromiſe agreede vppon at Lewes, was vtterly reuoked, and that a newe peace in friendly wiſe was concluded. But although the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, and Worceſter inſtantly required the ſaide Legate, that hee would help to further the ſame peace, yet hee ſore rebuked them, in that they woulde giue their cōſent, ſo much to abaſe and bring vnder the Kings royal power. And bycauſe he might not be ſuffered to enter the Realme, he firſt cited them to appeare before him at Bulleigne. And wheras they ſeemed to contemne his authoritie, and appeared not, he both ſuſpended the ſaid three Biſhops, and excommunicated the ſaide Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, and their complices, with the Citie of London, and the fiue portes: but yͤ foreſaid Byſhops, Earles and Barons, feigning to make their appeales to the Popes conſiſtory, or if neede were, vnto a generall Counſell and ſo forth, though indeede truſting more to the temporall ſword, than fearing the ſpirituall, they did not forbeare to ſaye and heare deuine ſeruice in Churches and elſe wher, as before they had done, till the commyng of the Cardinall Othobone.

Peace proclaymed.

A new deuiſe of the Barons.

The Captaines and men of warre, which the King had left at Tunbridge, immediately vpon the agreement concluded betwixt the Kyng and the Barons, were commaunded by the King to depart, and repaire euery man to his home, but they fearing the malice of their enimies, woulde not breake in ſunder, but keeping togither, wente ſtraight to Briſtowe, and there remained, till the Lorde Edwarde the Kinges ſonne was eſcaped out of Captiuitie. But this is to be remembred, that before their departure from Tunbridge, when by reporte of William de Say, who eſcaping from the battell at Lewes, was come thither, they vnderſtoode howe the matter hadde paſſed on both ſides, and that the Londoners being chaſed out of the field, were lodged at Croydon, about the euening tide, they came thyther, and aſſayling them in their lodgings, ſlew many, and wanne a great ſpoile. The Earle of Leiceſter and the Barons hauing the rule of the K. and Realme in theyr handes, ſoughte to oppreſſe all ſuche as they knewe to be againſt thē, and not to lyke with theyr proceedyngs, namely, the Northren Lordes, and thoſe of the Marches of Wales, as the Lorde Mortimer and others, but waxing heerewith wilfull, they vſed thyngs with ſmall diſcretion, whyche at length, broughte them to confuſion. For the four ſonnes of the Earle of Leiceſter, Henry, Guy, Simon, and an other Henry, whiche hadde ſerued ryghte worthely indeede on the daye of the battayle, beganne to waxe ſo proude, that in compariſon of themſelues, they deſpiſed all other.

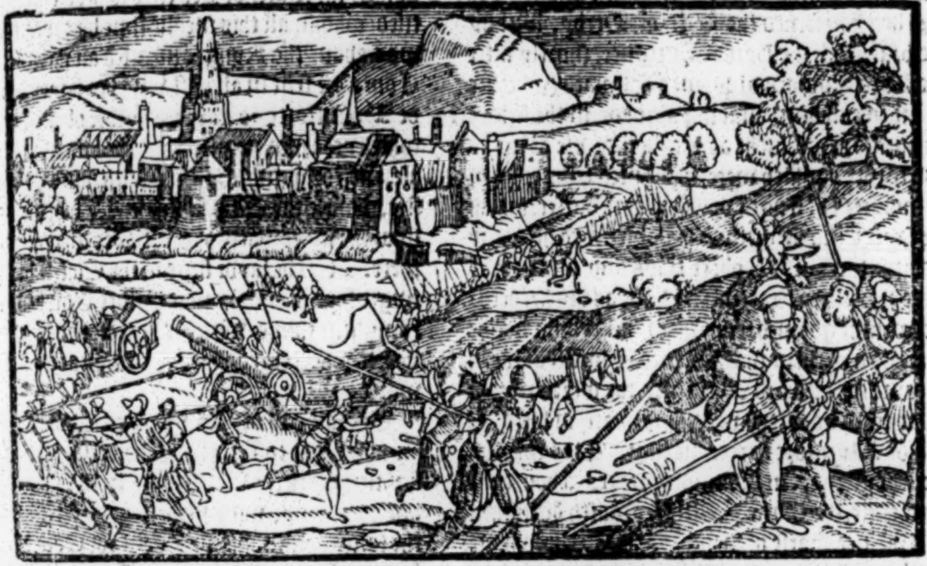
Mat.

Nic.

The Lordes of the Marches of Wales, as Roger de Mortimer, Iames de Audeley, Roger de Clifford, Roger de Leiborne, Haymon le Strange, Hugh Turberuile, and other that had eſcaped from the battell of Lewes, beganne to make agaynſte them that hadde vſurped thus

Mat.

the rule of the lande, vnder colour of hauing the King in their handes. The Erle of Leiceſter aduertiſed hereof, ioyned in league with Lewlyne Prince of Wales, and comming with the King into thoſe parties, entred into the Caſtell of Hereford, into the which, he remoued the Lorde Edward from Douer, where hee was firſte kepte in warde, after hee had yelded himſelfe at Lewes. After this, the Erle of Leiceſter recouered ẏ Caſtel of Hay, and waſting the landes and manors



of the Lord Mortimer, conſtreyned Hugh Mortimer to yeeld himſelfe, ſo that his Caſtell called Richar, and other his poſſeſſions, were committed to the keeping of the Lorde John Fitz John. The Earle of Derby, Robert de Ferrers, with a great puiſſance of Horſemen and footemen came to Cheſter, in fauour of the Earle of Leiceſter, againſt whome, although Wil. de Couſcne, & Dauid Brother to the Prince of Wales, taking the contrary part with the lord James Audeley and other, came to encounter, yet they durſt not abide him, but fled, and loſt an hundred of their mẽ. In the meane time, the Erle of Leiceſter proceeding in his buſineſſe, wanne the Caſtell of Ludlowe, & after marching towards Montgomerie, whyther the Lords, Roger de Mortimer, and James Audley were withdrawen, hee conſtreyned them at length to a feigned agreement, ſo ẏ they gaue hoſtages, promiſing to come to the next Parlia, that was appoynted to be holdẽ, where they were baniſhed the land for a twelue monethes, and all the Caſtels on the marches, in manner frõ Briſtow to Cheſter, were deliuered to the Earle. After this, as by Nic. Treuet it appeareth, ther was a great aſſemble of men of warre made out of all parts of the Realme, to reſiſt ſuche ſtraungers as the Queene (remaining in the parties of beyonde the ſea) had got togither, meaning to ſende them into England to ayde ẏ Kyng agaynſt the Barons, and for that purpoſe, hadde cauſed a greate number of Shippes to be brought into the Hauen of Dam. But now that the King was in ẏ Barons hands, and that ſuch a multitude of Horſemen and footemen were aſſembled on Barham downe (as a man would not haue thought hadde bin poſſible to haue foũd within the whole realm) to reſiſt the landing of thoſe ſtraungers, the ſayde ſtraungers were ſent home againe, without hauing done any pleaſure to the Queene, other thã ſpent hir money. The K. helde his Chriſtmas at Woodſtocke, and the Earle of Leiceſter, who ſeemed then to rule ẏ whole realm, kept his Chriſtmas at Kenelworth. After this, a Parliamente was holden at Londõ in the Octaues of Saint Hillarie, and many things were concluded, couenauntes accorded, and othes takẽ for performãce by the K. and his ſonne Prince Edward, whych ſhortly after came to little effect. Prince Edward yet, and Henry the ſonne and heire of the Kyng of Almaigne, which hadde bin kept as pledges about the tearme of nine monethes and odde days, were in the Lent following ſet at libertie, vpõ aſſurance made, that ẏ ſaid Prince Edward ſhould remaine in the kings court, and not departe from thence without licence of the Kyng and of a certaine of the Barons. He was alſo conſtreyned to giue vnto the Erle of Leiceſter the Countie Palatine of Cheſter, before he might obteine to haue ſo much libertie. Betweene Eaſter and Whitſontide, the Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter fell at variance, through the preſumpteous demeanor of the Earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, and alſo bycauſe the Earle of Leiceſter woulde not deliuer the King of Almaigne and other priſoners vnto the Earle of Glouceſter, requiring to haue the cuſtody of them, bycauſe he hadde taken them in the battell at Lewes.

An army lodged on Barham downe.

Mat. VVeſt.

1265

Chron. Dunſt.

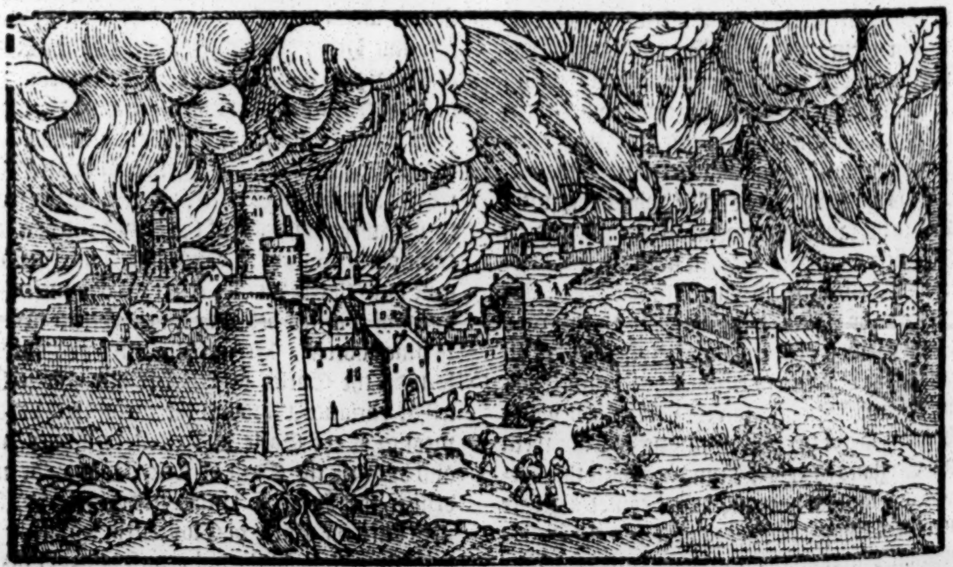
Abindon.

The Earle of Glouceſter perceyuing hymſelfe

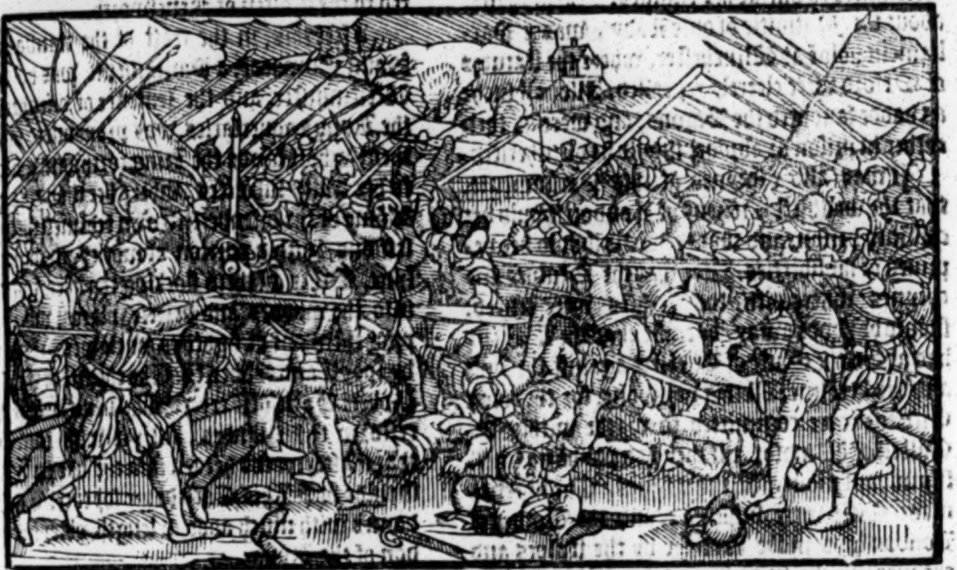
ſelfe not well vſed, ſecretly entred into confederacie with the Lorde Mortimer, and other of the marches: whervpon, the Earle of Leiceſter hauing thereof ſome inkeling, came to Hereford, in purpoſe to haue taken the Earle of Glouceſter, and to haue put him in ſafekeeping, as lately before hee had ſerued the Erle of Derby. But by the practiſe of the Lorde Mortimer, ſhortly after the Lord Edward or Prince Edward (whether ye liſt to call him) aſſaying abroade in the fieldes an horſe or two, ſuche as hee ſhoulde vſe at iuſtes and torneys which were appoynted to be holden, he mounted at length vpon a light courſer, which the ſayd Lord Mortimer hadde ſente to him, and bidding the Lorde Robert Roos and other (that were appointed to attend on him, as his keepers) farewell, he galoped from them, and could not be ouertaken of them that purſued him, till at le̅gth he came to the Lord Mortimer, the which with a great troupe of men, was come forth of his Caſtell of Wigmore to receyue him. This was on the Thurſeday in Whitſon weeke. Aboute the ſame time, the Earle of Warren, with William de Valence Earle of Pembroke, the Kings halfe brother, and other, the whiche as ye haue hearde, fledde from the battell at Lewes, were nowe returned into the Realme, landing firſt in Southwales with a power of Croſſebowes and other men of warre, the whiche hearing that the Lorde Edwarde was thus eſcaped out of captiuitie, came to Ludlowe, and there ioyned with hym, and ſo likewiſe did the Earle of Glouceſter. And after they had co̅muned togither and were made friendes and co̅federates, they cauſed all the bridges to be broken. that the enimies ſhuld not come to oppreſſe them, till they had aſſembled all theyr forces, and ſo paſſing forward towards Glouceſter, wanne the Citie, and ſtill came people vnto them from all ſides, and namely, thoſe Lordes and Captaynes, whiche all the time ſith the battayle of Lewes had laine in Briſtow. After this, they came to Worceſter, and entred there alſo. When the Earle of Leiceſter was hereof aduertiſed (who in all this meane time by order taken, was about the Kyng, and ruled all things in the Court) he ſent in all haſt vnto his ſonne Simon de Mountforte to rayſe a power of menne, the which accordingly aſſembled to him much people, and comming with the ſame vnto Wincheſter, wanne the Citie by ſurrender, ſpoyled it, and ſlew the more parte of the Iewes that inhabited there. Then he layde ſiege to the Caſtell, but hearing a fayned rumor that Prince Edwarde was comming thither with his power, he departed fro̅ thence with his company, and went to Kenelworth.

Prince Edward eſcapeth away.
Mat. VVeſt.

The laſt day of Iuly Prince Edwarde with his hoſt came to Kenelworth aforeſayd, and there fighting with the ſayde Simon de Mountforde and hys army, with little ſlaughter diſcomfited the ſame, and toke priſoners the Earle of Oxford, the Lords William de Mount Cheney, Adam de Newmarche, Baldwine Wake, and Hugh Neuill, with diuers other: the Lorde Simon himſelfe fledde into the Caſtell, and ſo eſcaped. In this meane while, the Earle of Leiceſter hauing reyſed his power, came to the Caſtell of Munmouth, which the Earle of Glouceſter had lately taken and fortified: but they that were within it, beeing driuen to yeelde, it was now raſed downe to the ground. This done, the Earle of Leiceſter entring into Glamorgan ſhire, and ioyning his power with the Prince of Wales, waſted and brent the landes of the ſayde Erle of Glouceſter: but hearing what his aduerſaries wente about in other places, hee returned from thence, and came forwarde towardes the ſayde Prince Edwarde, who likewiſe



made towardes him, and at Eueſham they met the ſixth daye of Auguſt, where was foughten a righte fierce and cruell battayle betwixte the parties.



As ſome write, the Earle of Leiceſter placed Kyng Henry in the fronte of his battell, whome he had there with him as captiue, and had arrayed him in his owne coate armour, that if fortune went againſt him, whileſt the enimies ſhould be earneſt to take the K. bearing the ſemblaunce of the chiefe Captayne, hee mighte himſelfe eſcape: but King Henry whē they came to ioyne, fought not, but called to his people, and declared who he was, whereby hee eſcaped the daunger of deathe, for being knowen of them he was ſaued. The Welchmen whiche in greate numbers the Earle of Leiceſter had there on his ſide, at the firſte onſet fledde and ranne away, whiche their demeanor, when the Earle ſawe, hee exhorted thoſe that were about him to play the men, and ſo ruſhing forth into the preaſe of his enimies, hee was encloſed about and ſlayne, togither with his ſonne Henry. Hereupon, his death beeing knowen, hys people tooke them to flight as men utterly diſcomfited. There dyed in that battell about 4000. men as Polidor hathe: but Richarde Southwell ſaith, there were killed of Knightes or rather men of armes 180, and of yeomen or rather dimelances 220. of Welchmen 5000. and of ſuch footemē as were of the Earle of Leiceſters owne retinue 2000. ſo that there dyed in all to the number of tenne thouſand men, as the ſame Southwell affirmeth. Among whiche of noble men, theſe are reckoned, Hugh Spencer Lord chiefe Iuſtice, the Lord Raulf Baſſet, the Lord Peter de Mountford, the Lord John Beauchampe, Sir William Yorke, the Lorde Thomas de Eſterley, the Lord Walter de Creppings, Guy de Bailliol a Frenchmen, the Lord William de Maundeuill, the Lord Roger Saint John, the Lord Roberte Tregoz, and other. This ruine fell to the Barōs by the diſcord whiche was ſprong lately before, betwixt the Earles of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, through the inſolency and pride of the Earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, who as I ſayde before, deſpiſing other of the nobilitie, ſpake many reprochfull wordes by the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, and uſed him in ſuch euill ſorte, that he upon diſpleaſure therof, hadde not onely procured the ſcape of Prince Edwarde, but ioyned with him in ayde, agaynſte the ſayde Earle of Leiceſter and other of the Barons, to the utter confuſion, both of them and of theyr cauſe.

The pride of the Earle of Leiceſters ſonnes, bringeth the Barons to confuſion.

The body of the ſame Earle was ſhamefully abuſed and cut in peeces, his head and his priuie members were cutte off, and faſtned on eyther ſide of his noſe, and preſented unto the wife of the Lord Roger Mortimer.

Polidor.

The people conceyued an opinion, that thys Earle, beeing thus ſlayne fighting in defence of the liberties of the Realme, and performance of his oth, as they tooke it, dyed a Martir, whiche by the bruted holyneſſe of his paſſed lyfe and miracles aſcribed to him after his death, was greatly confirmed in the nexte age: but the feare of the Kyngs diſpleaſure ſtayed the people from the haſty honoring hym as a Saint at thys tyme, where otherwiſe, they were enclined greatlye thereto, reputing him for no leſſe in their conſcience, as in ſecret talke, they woulde not ſticke to utter. There were wounded and taken, beſide the other that were ſlayne at that battayle of Eueſham, Guy de Mountfort, the Erle of Leiceſters ſonne, the Lordes, John Fitz John, Henry de Haſtings, Humfrey de Bohun the yonger, John de Veſcy, Peter de Mountfort the yonger, and Nicholas de Segraue with others. The Kyng being now deliuered out of his aduerſaries hāds,

Mat. VVeſt.

and

A Parliament at Wincheſter

and likewiſe the King of Romaines, went vnto Warwike, and there encreaſing his power, determined to purſue his enimies. But fyrſte, about the Natiuitie of oure Lady, was a Parliament holde at Wincheſter, where the ſtatutes of Oxforde were cleerely repealled. Alſo, all ſuche as hadde fauoured the Barons, and were as then eyther in priſon or abrode, ſhould be diſenherited.

It was alſo ordeyned at this Parliamente, that the welthieſt Citizens of London ſhould bee caſt into priſon, and that the Citie ſhould bee depriued of hir liberties. Alſo, that the Stulpes and cheynes wherewith the ſtreates were fenced, ſhould be hadde away, bycauſe that the Citizens had ayded the Earle of Leiceſter againſt the king and his Realme. All this was done, for the chiefe Citizens were committed to warde within the Caſtell of Windſor, till they had payde no ſmall ſummes of money for theyr fynes. The liberties of the Citie were ſuſpended, and the Tower of London was made ſtronger by the ſtulpes and cheynes whiche were broughte into it out of the Citie. Moreouer, bycauſe Simon de Mountfort might not agree with the King, beeing come to this Parliamente vpon aſſurance, he was reſtored to the Caſtell of Kenelworth.

A Par
at We
ſter.

After this, in the feaſt of the tranſlation of Saint Edwarde, a Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, and the ſentence of diſenheriting the Kyngs aduerſaries, was pronounced againſt them, whoſe lands the King forthwith gaue vnto his truſty ſubiectes, where hee thoughte good. Some of the diſenherited men redeemed their poſſeſſions, with a portion of money, in name of a fyne. Other of them flocking togither, got them into the woddes and deſerte places, where keeping them out of ſighte as outlawes, they liued by ſpoyle and robberies. The chiefeſt of thẽ, was Robert Earle of Ferrers, who neuertheleſſe, was reſtored to his landes, but yet with condition, that if afterwardes hee fell into the like cryme, hee ſhoulde forfeit his Earledome for euer. The Londoners with much adoe, at length, obteyned pardon of the Kyng.

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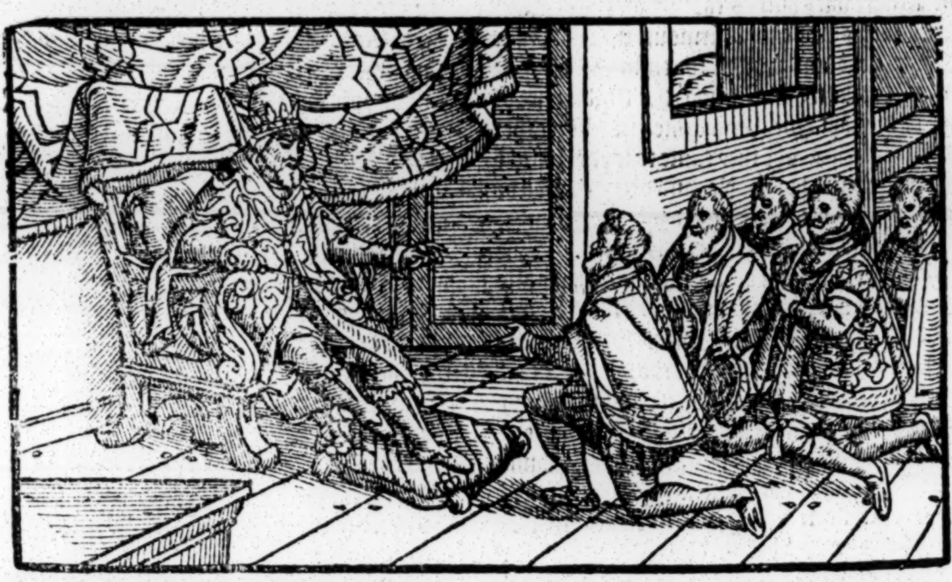
The Maior and Aldermen of the Citie, were glad to ſubmit themſelues, though the commons



without conſideration of the great perill whiche they were in, woulde haue ſtand ſtill at defiaunce with the King, and defended the Citie agaynſte him. It was no maruell though they were of diuers and contrary opinions, for at thoſe dayes, the Citie was inhabited with many and ſundry nations, whiche then were admitted for Citizẽs. At length, vpon theyr ſubmiſſion, the King tooke them to mercy, vpon theyr fyne, whych was ſeaſed at twentie thouſand markes.

The Londoners put to their fine.

Cardinall Othobone, the Popes Legate. *Fabian.*

About all hallowen tide, Cardinall Othobon came from the Pope into Englande as hys Legate, to help towardes ſome agreemente to be had betwixte the K. and hys Barõs. He was cõmitted to priſon (as ſome write) by the Londoners, for that hee ſpake againſte theyr doyngs, when they ſhutte theyr gates agaynſte the Kyng, but hee was ſhortly releaſſed as ſhoulde appeare.

The ſixth daye of Nouember in the fiftith yeare of hys raigne, King Henry came to Weſtminſter, and ſhortly after, hee gaue away the nũber of threeſcore houſes, with the houſhold ſtuffe in the ſame conteyned, ſo that the owners were compelled to redeeme them agayne of thoſe hys ſeruauntes, to whome hee hadde giuen the ſayde houſes, togyther with all ſuche landes, goodes and cattayles, as the ſame Citizens had within any part of England. Then was one called ſir Othon, made Cuſtos, or gardein of the Citie, who was alſo Conneſtable of the Tower, hee

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choſe to bee Baylifes, and to bee accomptable to the Kings vſe, John Adrian, and Walter Henry, Citizens of the ſame Citie. The Kyng alſo tooke pledges of the beſt mens ſonnes of the Citie, the whiche pledges, hee cauſed to be put in the Tower, and there kept, at the coſtes of their parents.

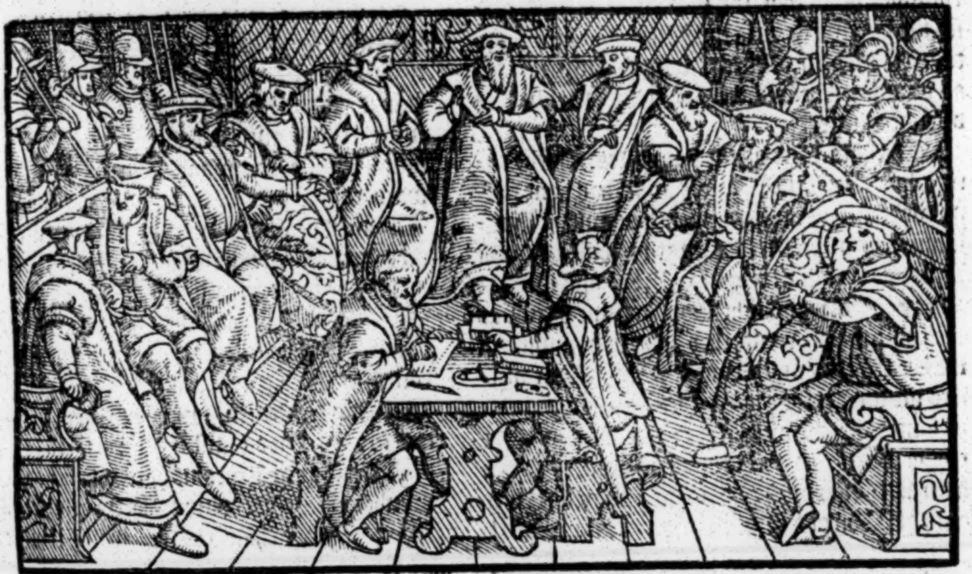
eſt.

The King by aduice of his Counſell ordeyned, that within euery ſhire of the Realme, there ſhoulde be a Captayne or Lieutenant appoynted with neceſſary allowance of the Kyng for his charges, the whiche, with the aſſiſtance of the Sherife, ſhould puniſhe and keepe downe the wicked outrage of theeues & robbers, which in time of the late ciuil warres were ſprong vppe in great numbers, and growen to exceeding greate boldneſſe, but now, through feare of deſerued puniſhment, they began to ceaſſe from theyr accuſtomed rapine, and the Kynges power came agayne in eſtimation, ſo that peace after a maner, tooke new roote and increaſe.

Nic.Triuet.

The legat holdeth a Sinode at Northampton.

Uppon Saint Nicholas euen, the King departed from Weſtminſter, towardes Northampton, where the Cardinall Othobon helde a Synode, and according to that he had in commaundemente, pronounced all the Kings aduerſaries accurſed, and namely, all the Biſhops which had ayded the Barons agaynſte the King, in time of the late warres, of whome afterwardes, he aſſoyled the more part.



eſt.

But John Byſhop of Wincheſter, Henry Biſhop of London, and Stephen Biſhop of Chicheſter, wer ſent to Rome, to purchaſe their abſolution of Pope Clemēt yͤ fourth, as well for other poyntes of diſobediēce, as chiefly, for that, where the Queene hadde procured a curſe of Pope Urbane the fourth, that was predeceſſor to this Clemēt, to accurſe al the Barons and their ſupporters, which warred againſte the King hir huſband, the ſaide Biſhops (to whome the commiſſion was ſent to denounce that curſe) for feare of the Barons deferred the execution.

eſt.

Walter Biſhop of Worcetor, chauncing to fall ſicke at that tyme, died about the beginning of February, confeſſing firſte, that hee hadde greeuouſly erred, in mainteyning the ſide of the Erle of Leiceſter againſt the King, and therefore, directed hys letters to the Popes Legate, requiring to bee aſſoyled, whiche hys petition the Legate graunted.

uet.

Moreouer, in this Councell at Northampton, there was publiſhed by the Cardinall a graunte, made to the King by the Pope, of the diſmes of the Engliſhe Churche, for one yeare then next enſuing.

A little before the kings departure from London now in this laſt tyme, he ordeined Sir John Linde Knighte, and maſter John Waldren Clearke, to be gardians of the Citie and Tower, by the names of Seneſhals or Stewardes: but ſuche earneſt ſute was made to the King, for to obteyne a perfect pardon for the Londoners, that at length after that the foreſaide Seneſhals had taken ſureties of them for the paymente of theyr fyne, the Kyng cauſed his charter of pardon to be made vnder his broade ſeale, and ſente it vnto them, wherein all former treſpaſſes committed by them in the laſt warres, was cleerely pardoned, excepted out of the ſame pardon certayne perſons, whoſe bodies and goodes were giuen vnto his eldeſt ſonne Prince Edward.

The Londoners pardoned

1266

Fabian.

Thys Charter was dated at Northampton, the tenth day of January, in the fiftith yeare of King Henries raigne. Then alſo were diſcharged the foreſayd Seneſhals, and the Citizens of themſelues choſe for Maior, Wiliam Fitz Richard. And for Sherifes, Thomas de la Fourd, and Gregory de Rockeſley.

Simon de Mountfort.

Whileſt the King lay at Northampton, the Lord Simon de Mountforde put himſelfe vpon the dome and order of the Legate Othobone, and was therefore permitted to be at large in the Kings Courte: but at the Kyngs comming to Londõ, he ſuddaynely departed out of the Court, and rode to Winchelſey, wher he aſſociated himſelfe with Rouers, and after ſome priſes taken, departed from them, and wente into Fraunce, where he offred his ſeruice to the French Kyng, and was receyued. Thus hath Math. Weſt. and other: but Polidor ſayth, yͭ by Othobõs meanes, he was reconciled to the Kyngs fauour, & thereupon to auoyde occaſion of further diſpleaſure, he commaunded, that the Caſtell of Kenelworth ſhould be reſtored vnto the King, which the Captayne refuſed to deliuer, hauing fortified it with all manner of prouiſion, and things neceſſary to defende a ſiege.

Mat. VVeſt.

Polidor.

The Wardens of the fiue portes, whiche during the time of the Barons war, had done many robberies on the Sea, as well againſt yͤ Engliſhmen as other, were at length reconciled to the K. who was faine to agree with thẽ vpõ ſuch cõditions as they thought good, bycauſe yͭ time as the cõmon fame went, they had the dominion of the Sea in their owne hands. But in ſome writers we finde it thus recorded, that when certaine priſoners whiche were kept by the Barons of the cinque portes in the Caſtell of Douer, hearde how all things proſpered on the Kings ſide, they got poſſeſſion of a tower within the ſame Caſtel, and toke vpon them to defende it againſte theyr kepers, whereof whẽ aduertiſemẽt was giuẽ to yͤ K. and to his ſonne yͤ Lord Edward, they haſted forth to come to ſuccour their friendes. The kepers of the Caſtell, perceyuing themſelues beſet with their enimies, ſente to the K. for peace, who graunting them pardon of life and limme, with horſe, armour and other ſuch neceſſaries, the Caſtell was yeelded vnto his handes. From thence, Prince Edwarde departing, viſited yͤ ſea coaſts, puniſhing diuers of the inhabitantes within the precinct of the cinque ports, and putting them in feare, receiued diuers to the K. his fathers peace. The inhabitants of Winchelſey only made countenance to reſiſt him, but Prince Edwarde with valiant aſſaultes entred the Towne, in whiche entry, muche giltie bloud was ſpilt, but yet the multitude by commaundement of Prince Edward was ſpared. And thus hauing wonne the Towne, he commaunded that from thenceforth they ſhoulde abſteyne from piracies, which they had before tyme greatly vſed. Thus were the Seas made quiet, and thoſe of the cinque portes brought to the Kings peace, and throughly reconciled. In this meane whyle, diuers of the diſinherited Gentlemen, ſore repining at the ſentẽce and order giuen againſt them, had taken the Iſle of Oxholme in Lincolne ſhire, whither a greate number of euill doers immediately reſorted, and began to do much miſchiefe in all the countreys

Fabian.
The wardens of the fiue portes reconciled to the K.
Mat. VVeſt.

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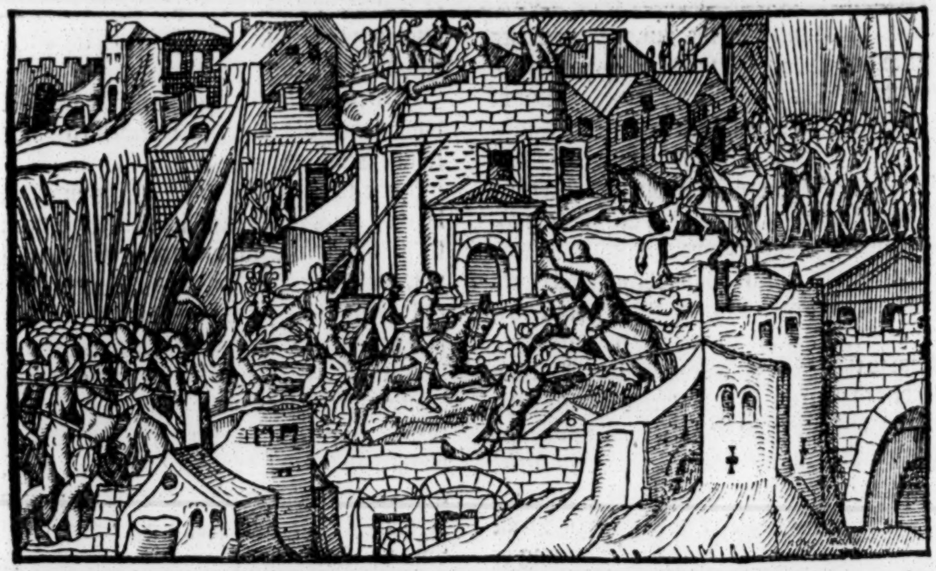

next adioyning. They toke & ſacked the Citie of Lincolne, ſpoyled the Iewes, and ſlew many of them, entred their ſinagoge, and brent the boke of their lawe. At length, Prince Edwarde, or as other haue, his brother Earle Edmond, was ſente againſt them, the which compelled them by force to come to the kings peace, which to obſerue, they receyued an oth ſhortly after at London, but neuertheleſſe, they were as ſhortly ready to breake and renounce the ſame, and began a newe broyle in diuers parts of the Realme. Diuers of thẽ fortified the Caſtell of Kelingworth, prouiding thẽ ſelues of al things neceſſary for defẽce out of the countreys adioyning. The K. aduertiſed hereof, ſent vnto them a purſeuant, commaunding thẽ to ceaſe from ſuche rebellious attemptes, but the meſſenger had one of his hands cutte off, and ſo with a contemptuouſe anſwere, was ſent backe againe.

Abingdon.
Lincolne taken.

Nic. Triuet.

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agayne. Prince Edward in paſſing through the foreſt of Aulton, got ſight of ſyr Adam Gurdon one of the diſinherited mẽ, with whom he coped, and toke him pryſoner with his owne hand, ſauing hym yet, and pardonyng the offence of rebellion, in reſpect of the valiancie whiche he tryed by proofe to reſt in him: but his ſouldiors & complices being there taken, hee cauſed to be hanged vpon trees within the ſame foreſt. Robert Erle Ferreys contrary to his othe of late receyued, accompanyed with the Lorde John d'Euille and others did much hurte by way of open warre agaynſt the kings frendes in the north parties. Agaynſt whome the Lorde Henry, ſonne to the king of Almaine was ſent with a great power: The whiche comming to Cheſterfield fell vpon his enimies in ſuche wyſe on the ſodaine, that they hadde not tyme to arme them ſelues, and ſo were diſtreſſed and ouercome.

Gurdon

VVeſt.

The lord Io. d'Euille yet brake out, & encountring with ſir Gilbert Haunſard, ouerthrew him and eſcaped oute of daunger. Greate ſlaughter was made on eche hand, and in the meane while the Nobles and Gentlemen ſought to get out of perill by flyght. The Earle of Derby got into a Churche, but he was diſcryed by a woman, and ſo was taken. There were many other alſo taken: and amongſt them the Lorde Baldwyn Wake and ſir John de la Haye wyth muche paine eſcaped.

This battaile was foughten about the middeſt of Maye, or vppon Whitſon euen, as the Chronicle of Dunſtable hath.

Those that eſcaped, as the Lorde John d'Euille and others, gaue not ouer yet, but aſſemblyng them ſelues togyther in companies, kept within woods and other deſert places, brake out oftentymes, and did much miſchiefe.

On the nynth of Auguſt they toke the yſle of of Elye, and ſo ſtrengthned it, that they helde it a long tyme after, ſpoyling & robbing the countreys round about them, as Norffolke, Suffolk, and Cambridgeſhire.

The Biſhoppe of Elye hadde vndertaken to keepe the Iſle to the Kings vſe, but being now diſpoſſeſſed thereof, he gotte him awaye, and fell to curſing them that were thus entred againſte his will, but they ſeemed to paſſe little vppon his thundring excommunications.

The .xvj. of December, they came to the citie of Norwich, and ſpoyling it, toke many of the welthie Citizens, and ranſomed them at greate ſummes of money.

The Lorde Henrye Haſtinges and Simon de Pateſhull, with diuers other, gotte them into the Caſtell of Kenilworthe, and dayely went forthe at their pleaſures, ſpoylyng and waſting the townes aboute them, or cauſyng them to fyne with them to bee ſpared: And this they ſpared not to do, although the lord Edmund the kings ſonne lay in Warwike, to cut them ſhort of ſuche their licentious doings.

The ſiege of Kenelvvorth caſteil beginneth.

The Lorde Haſtings.

The king therefore meaning to haue the ſayd Caſtell of Kenelworthe by force, beganne his ſiege aboute the ſame vpon the euen of S. John Baptiſt. But the Lorde Henrye Haſtinges, the Captaine of that Caſtell, and other his complices defended it ſo ſtrongly, that though the king enforced his power to the vttermoſte to winne it of them, yet coulde he not any thing preuaile, til at lẽgth vittails began to faile them within, and then vpon the euen of S. Thomas the Apoſtle before Chriſtmaſſe, the lord Henry Haſtings deliuered the ſayd Caſtel into the kings hands, vppon condition that he and all other ſhulde haue lyfe and limme, horſe and armoure, with all things within the place to them belonging. And thus this ſiege had continued from the .xxvj. of June, vnto the .xx. day of December.

An. reg. 51.

Kenelvvorth caſtel deliuered to the kyng.

Here is to be remẽbred, that at the beginning of the ſiege, there were within the caſtell a thouſande and .vij. hundred armed men, & .viij. ſcore women, beſide lackeys and coyſterels.

Here is alſo to bee remembred, that whyleſt the ſiege laye before Killingworth, by the aduiſe of the Kinges Counſell, and of the Legate Othobone, there were twelue peeres appointed and choſen forth which ſhould deuyſe and make ordinaunces touching the ſtate of the realme, and the diſinherited perſones, the whiche according to their commiſſion, ordeyned certaine prouyſions, the whiche are conteyned within the ſtatute intitled *Dictum de Kelyngworth*.

Dictum de Kenelvvorth.

The Kyng after that the Caſtell of Kenelworth was deliuered to his hande, he left therin his ſonne Edmunde, and went hymſelfe to Couentrye (or as other haue) to Oxforde, and there helde his Chriſtmaſſe.

Abyngdon.

Mat. VVeſt.

1267.

A parliamente at VVeſtminſt.

Shortely after commyng to Weſtminſter hee helde a parliamente there, ſtudying to ſet a quyetneſſe in all matters and controuerſies depending beetwixt hym and the Barons.

Earle Ferreys diſherited.

In this parliament ſentence was giuen agaynſt Earle Ferrers for the forfeyture of hys Earledome: then was Edmunde the Kynges yonger ſonne put in poſſeſſion bothe of the Earledome of Darbye and Leyceſter.

The ſixte of Februarye beyng Sundaye, the Kyng came to Saynct Edmundeſburye, and ſtaying there till the two and twentyth of the ſame Moneth, ſette forewarde that daye towardes Cambridge, where hee lay wyth hys armye, the better to bridle them that kepte the Iſle of Elye agaynſte hym: Hee laye there all the Lente ſeaſon. And in the meane tyme the Earle of Glouceſter takyng greate diſplea-

The Earle of Glouceſt. vvith an armie commeth to Lõdon

The Earle of Glouceſter with an armye commeth to London.

ſure, for that hee myghte not haue his will, as well for the baniſhing of ſtraungers: as for reſtitution to bee made vnto the diſenherited men of their lãds, he began a new ſturre, and aſſembling a greate power in the marches of Wales, came neare vnto London, pretẽding at yͤ firſt as though he had come to aide the kyng, at length he got licence of the Mayor and citizens to paſſe through the citie into Southwarke, where he lodged with his people, & thither came to him ſhortly ſir John de Euyele, by Southery ſide, bringing with him a great company. The Mayor cauſed the bridge & water ſide to be kept and watched both day and night with armed men, and euery night was the drawbridge drawne vp: but within a whyle the Erle vſed the matter ſo, that he was permitted to lodge within the Citie with a certaine of his men, by reaſon wherof, he drewe more and more of his people into the citie, ſo that in the ende he was maſter of the citie, & in Eſter weeke toke the keys of the bridge into his hands. The legate cõming forth of the Toure, repaired vnto the church of S. Paule, vnder a color to preach yͤ Croſſey, but in the end of that his exhortation, he turned his wordes to the Erle of Glouceſter, admoniſhing him to obey the king as he was boũd by his allegiaunce: and further whereas the Earle had giuen commaundement that no victuals ſhuld be ſuffred to be brought into the Toure wher the Popes legate was lodged, he thought himſelfe euil vſed in that behalf, ſith he was a mediator for peace, and no partaker. But when the Earle ſeemed to giue ſmall regarde to his wordes, he got him ſecretly againe into the Tower, with certain noble men the Kings friendes, meaning to defẽd it to the vttermoſt of their powers. There entred alſo into the Tower a great number of Jewes wͭ their wiues & children, vnto whome one ward of yͤ Tower was committed to defend, which they did in that neceſſity very ſtoutly. Many of yͤ citizens fearing a newe inſurrection auoided out of yͤ citie, whoſe goods the Erle ſeaſed vnto his owne vſe, or ſuffred his men to ſpoyle the ſame at their pleaſures.

The Legate admoniſheth the Earle of Glouceſter to obey the king.

The legate and other meane to defende the Tovver againſte the erle of Gloceſter.

The citizens of London in an vprore choſe nevve officers.

The moſte parte of all the commons of the citie toke parte with the Erle, and in a tumulte got them to the Guilde hall, and there choſe for theyr Maior or Cuſtos of the Citie, Richard de Collworthe knyght, and for bailiffes, Robert de Linton & Roger Marſhall, diſcharging the olde Mayor and Sheriffes of their romths. Diuers Aldermen were committed to priſon, and their goodes ſequeſtred, and muche parte therof ſpoyled. Alſo all ſuche perſons as were pryſoners in Newegate, Ludgate, Creplegate, or in any other priſon aboute the Citie, for the quarrell of the Barons warre, were ſet at libertie.

Priſoners ſette at libertie.

The legate perceyuing ſuche diſorder, accurſed generally all ſuche as thus troubled the kinges peace, ſhewyng them to bee enimies to the King and the realme. He alſo interdited all the churches within the citie and aboute it, permittyng only diuine ſeruice to be ſayde in houſes of religion, and without ringyng of any bell or ſinging: and whyleſt ſeruice was in hande he appointed the Churche dores to be ſhutte, bicauſe none of them that ſtode accurſed, ſhoulde enter and be preſent. The King in the meane time lay at Cambridge to defend the countries about from iniuries whiche were dayly attempted by them that helde the Jle of Ely agaynſte hym, of whome at one time he diſtreſſed a certaine number at Ramſey. And bicauſe nowe after that the Earle was thus come to London, an other cõpanie of them brake out to robbe and ſpoyle, and were ſtopped by the kyngs power from entryng into the Jſle agayne, they repayred ſtreyght to London, doing miſchiefe inough by the waye.

The Earle of Glouceſter greatly encouraged by theyr aſſiſtance, fell in hande to aſſayle the Tower, wythin the whyche the Popes Legate Othobone, and dyuers other were incloſed, takyng vppon them to defende it agaynſte the Erle and all his puiſſaunce.

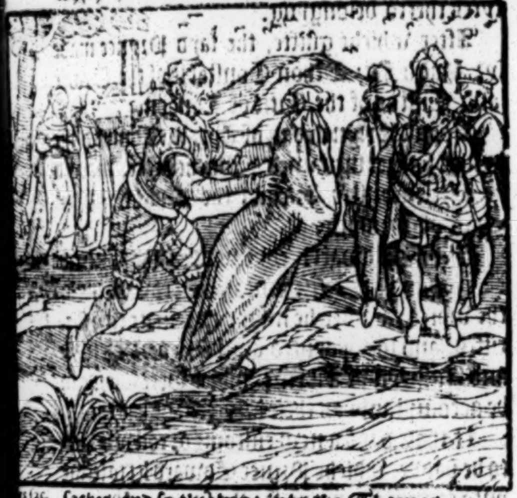
The Kyng vppon the fyrſte newes of the Earle of Glouceſter his commotion, engaged the Shrynes of Saincttes, and other Jewelles and Relykes of the Churche of Weſtmynſter vnto certayne Merchauntes for greate ſummes of money, wyth the whyche ſendyng into Fraunce and Scotlande, hee reteyned men of warre to come to hys ayde.

Herevpon his ſonne Prynce Edward came to hys ſuccoure vnto Cambridge, bryngyng thyther wyth hym thyrtie thouſande able men, out of the north partes, Scottes and other.

The kyng then leauing a conuenient number to defende Cambridge, marched from thence towarde Wyndeſore. After his comming thither, his armie dayly increaſed.

The Earle of Glouceſter and hys complyces, beganne to feare the matter, and ſente to hym for peace, whiche coulde not bee graunted: wherevpon they appoynted to giue him battayle vpon Houndeſlow heath. The kyng comming thither in the mornyng, founde no man there to reſiſt him, and therfore after he had ſtayed there a certain ſpace, he marched forth & came to Stratforde, where hee was lodged in the Abbey: hys hoſte laye at Hamme, and thereabouttes.

This chaunced about three weekes after Eaſter. The Souldiors whiche lay in London and in Southwark, did much hurt about in the countrey of Southerye, and elſe where. They alſo ſpoyled the towne of Weſtminſter, and the pariſh churche there: but the Monkes and the go-ders belonging to the Abbey they touched not, but they made hauocke in the Kings palace, drynking vp and deſtroying his wine, brake the glaſſe windowes, and defaced the buildings moſt diſorderly, vnneth forbearing to ſet the houſe on fyre. Alſo there were of them that brake vp and robbed certayne houſes in London, of the which miſgouerned perſons there were ſome taken, that ware the cogniſance of the Earle of Darby, the which the Erle of Glouceſter cauſed to be put in ſackes, and ſo throwne into the Thames.



As the Kyng thus laye at Stratforde, there came vnto hym from the parties of beyonde the ſea, the Earle of Bolongne, and Saint Paule, with CC. men of armes, and theyr ſuite of other ſouldiours. Alſo there arriued in the Thames a fleete of great veſſels, fraught with Gaſcoynes, and laie afore the Towre, abiding the kings pleaſure.

The Earle of Glouceſter had cauſed bulwarkes and barbicanes to be made betwixte the Tower and the Citie, and alſo in ſundrye places where neede required, dytches and trenches were caſt, ſo that the Citie was ſtrongly fortifyed. But yet nowe that the ſayd Earle and his complices perceyued thẽ ſelues in maner as beſieged, they ſought for peace. And by mediation of the King of Almayne, the Lorde Philippe Baſſet and the Legate Othobone, the ſame was granted, the ordinaunce of Killingworthe in euerye condition obſerued.

The Londoners were pardoned of theyr treſpaſſe for receyuing the Earle, though they were conſtrayned to paye a thouſande Markes to the K. of Romans, in recompence of the hurts done to him in burning of his houſe at Thiſtleworth.

Whyleſt the Erle of Gloceſter kept the citie of London againſt the K. one Henry de Gudereſch, ſteward to the ſayd Erle, departing from Lõdon, cam to ỹ manor houſe of Geffrey Saint Leger, at Offeld, whiche he brent, and tourning from thence came to Brickhill. The Lord Reynolde Gray that held of the kings parte, aduertiſed hereof, folowed hym with his retinue of men of warre, and comming vpon his enimie at vnwares, toke the ſayd Henry, and ſlewe .xxx. of the chiefeſt of his companie, ſome he toke, howbeit many eſcaped. But nowe to our purpoſe.

The Lorde Grey.

By this agreement concluded betwixte the Kyng and the Earle of Glouceſter, hee alſo accepted into his grace the Lorde John Eyuile, the Lorde Nicholas de Segraue, the Lorde William Marmyon, the Lorde Richarde de Grey, the lorde John Fitz John, and the Lorde Gilbert de Lucy with others: ſo that all parts of the realme were quieted, ſauing that thoſe in the Iſle of Elye would not ſubmit themſelues: yet at length by mediation of Prince Edward, they were reconciled to the king, and all the fortreſſes and defences within that yſle by thẽ made, were plucked downe and deſtroyed.

Euerſden.

But it appeereth by other writers, that immediatly after the agreement concluded betwixt the Erle of Glouceſter, Prince Edward the kinges ſonne, by ſetting workmen in hand to make a cauſey through the Fennes with bordes and hurdels, entred vpon them that kepte the Iſle of Elye, ſo that many of them got out, and fledde to London, vnto the ſayde Earle of Glouceſter, and other their complices. The reſidue ſubmitted themſelues, as the Lorde Wake, Symon Mountfort the yonger, the Peches, and other, vpon condition to be pardoned of life and member: And further, that Prince Edwarde ſhould be a meane to his father, to receyue them into fauour. But by other, it maye rather ſeeme, that ſome of them kept and defẽded themſelues within that Iſle till after the agreemente made betwixt the King and the Earle of Glouceſter.

By order of whiche agreement there were foure Biſhops and eight Lordes choſen forth, which had bin firſte nominated at Couentrie, to order and preſcribe betwixt the king and the diſenherited menne, a forme of peace and redemption of their landes.

An. reg. 52.

And ſo in the feaſt of all Saincts, proclamation was made of a full accord and agreement, and what euery man ſhould pay for his raunſom for redeeming his offence agaynſt the Kyng.

A parliament at Marleburghe.

In the Octaues of Saint Martine, the king helde a Parliament at Marleborough, where the liberties conteyned in the Booke called *Magna Charta*, were confirmed, and alſo dyuers other good and wholſome ordinances concernyng the ſtate of the cõmon wealth were eſtabliſhed and enacted. In the moneth of Aprill, there chaunced greate thunder, tempeſtuous rayne, and floudes, occaſyoned by the ſame, ryghte ſore and horrible, continewyng for the ſpace of fifteene dayes togyther. The Legate Othobone,

1268.

after he had in the Synods holden at Northampton and London, deuiſed and made many orders and rules for Churchmen, and leuied amongſt them greate ſummes of moneye, finallye in the moneth of Iuly, he tooke leaue of the King and retourned to Rome, where after the deceaſſe of Innocent the fifth about the yere of our Lord 1276, hee was choſen Pope, and named Adryan the fifth liuing not paſt fifty days after. He went ſo neere hande to ſearch out things at his going away, that he had enrolled the true value of all the churches and benefices in England, and took the note with him to Rome.

The Legate Othobone returneth to Rome. Othobon choſen Pope.

Abyndon.

Prince Edward the kings ſonne, and diuers other great lordes of England before this legates departure out of the realm, receiued the croſſe at his handes in Northampton on Midſommer day, meaning ſhortly after, according to theyr promiſe there made, to goe into the holy land to warre againſt Gods enimies.

Prince Edvv. receyueth the Croſſe.

Fabian.

A fray in London betvvixte the Goldſmiths and Taylours.

This yeare there fell variance betweene the felowſhippes of the Goldſmythes and Taylours within the Citie of London, ſo that one euening there were aſſembled to the number of fiue hundred in the ſtreetes in armor, and running togyther made a foule fray, ſo that many were wounded, and ſome ſlayne. But the ſheriffes hearing therof, came and parted them, with aſſiſtaunce of other craftes, and ſent diuers of them beyng taken, vnto priſon. Of the which, there were arraigned to the number of thirtie, and .xiij. of them condemned and hanged.

An. reg. 53. Thames frozen

1269.

In the fiftieth and three yeare of Kyng Henries reygne there was ſuche an exceedyng great froſte, beginning at Sainct Andrewes tyde, and continuyng tyll it was neere Candelmaſſe, that the Thames from the Bridge vpwardes, was ſo harde frozen, that menne and beaſtes paſſed ouer on foote, from Lambhythe to Weſtmynſter, and ſo Weaſtwarde in dyuers places vp to Kyngſton. Alſo Merchandyze was broughte from Sandwyche and other places, vnto London by lande. For the Shippes by reaſon of the Ice coulde not enter the Thames.

And about the feaſt of Saint Vedaſt, whiche falleth on the vj. of Februarie, fel ſo great abundaunce of rayne, that the Thames roſe ſo high, as it hadde not donne at anye tyme before, to rememberaunce of man then lyuing: ſo that the cellours & vaultes in London by the water ſide were drowned, and much merchandiſe marred and loſte.

Abyngdon.

A parliamente holden at London.

About Sainct Georges day, there was a parliament holden at London, for the appeaſing of a controuerſie depending betwixte Prince Edward the kings ſonne, and the Earle of Glouceſter. At the whiche Parliamente were preſent almoſt all the Prelates and peeres of the realme, At length they put the matter in compromiſe, into the handes of the Kyng of Almayne, vndertakyng to be orderd by hym hygh and low, touchyng all controuerſies: and lykewyſe for the iourney to be made into the holy lande, but the king of Almayne did little in the matter to any great effecte.

In the beginning of Lente the King gaue to his ſonne Prince Edwarde, the rule of the Citie of London, wyth all the reuenues and profytes therto belongyng.

After whiche guifte, the ſayd Prynce made ſyr Hugh Fitz Othon Conſtable of the Tower and Cuſtos of the Citie of London.

Upon the nynth day of Apryll, Edmund the kyngs ſonne, ſurnamed Crouchebacke, maryed at Weſtmynſter Auelina the daughter of the Earle of Aumarle.

Prince Edwarde commanded the Citizens of London to preſent vnto him ſixe Citizens, of the which number he might nominate two ſheriffes, and ſo appoynted William de Hadſtocke and Anketyll de Alverne, which were ſworne to be accomptants as their predeceſſour had bin.

Prince / vvard / ſethe / and She / of Lon

At thoſe days a new cuſtome or toll was vſed to be payde, whiche Prince Edward let to ferme vnto certain ſtrangers, for the ſumme of twentie markes by yere. Wherefore the Citizens being grieued therwith, bought it of him for .CC. markes. Alſo this yere there was graunted to the K. towards his iourneye by him purpoſed into the holy lande, the .xx. peny of euery mans mouable goodes throughout the realme of the lay fee, and of the ſpiritualtie was graunted by the aſſent of Pope Gregorie the .x. three diſmes to be gathered within the terme of three yeeres.

An aide / ted to

This yere the kings ſonne the Lord Edward obteyned a confirmation for the citie of London of the charter of the ancient liberties, ſo ẏ the Citizens did then choſe vnto them a Maior & two Sheriffes, which ſheriffes by vertue of the ſame Charter, had their office to ferm, in maner as before tyme was accuſtomed: ſauyng that where they payd afore but .iij. hundred and fiftie pound, they payde now foure hundred and fiftie pound.

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After which confirmation graunted and paſſed vnder the Kyngs broade ſeale, they choſe for their Mayor Iohn Adryan, and for Sheriffes, Walter Potter, and Iohn Taylour, the whiche were preſented the .xvj. day of Iuly vnto the K. at Weſtminſter by his ſonne Prince Edwarde, and there admitted and ſworne. Then was ſyr Hugh Fitz Othon diſcharged of the rule of the citie. The Citizens of their owne freewill gaue vnto the Kyng an hundred markes, and to hys ſonne Prince Edwarde fiue hundred markes.

Chro.

There was no greate dyſorder attempted thys yeare to the diſquietyng of the Realme,

ſauing

ſaying that certaine of the diſenherited Gentlemen that belonged to the Earle of Derby, withdrew vnto the foreſt of the Peake in Derbiſhire, and ther making their abode, ſpoyled and waſted the countreys next adioyning.

In the moneth of May Prince Edward the kings ſonne ſet forward on his iourney towardes the holy lande, and taking the ſea at Douer, paſſed ouer into Fraunce, and came to Burdeaux, where he ſtayed a whyle, and after went to Agues Mortes, and there tooke ſhypping, firſt ſayling (as ſome write) vnto Thunys, where the Chriſtian armie, whiche Lewes the French K. as then deceaſſed had brought thither, was ready to depart, and ſo Prince Edward, with the new French king Lewes & other Princes paſſed ouer into Sicile, where hee ſoiourned for the Winter tyme.

This yere the King was vexed with a greeuous ſicknes: and the Iriſhmen in rebellion ſlew a great ſort of Engliſhmen, as well Magiſtrates, as other in that countrey.

When the ſpring of the yeare began to approche, Prince Edward eftſoones taketh the ſea, and finally arriueth at Acres with a thouſande choſen men of warre, thoughe there be writers that affirme, how there arriued with him of ſundry countreys fiue thouſand horſemen, and double the ſame number of footemen. But amongſt thoſe that went out of England with him, theſe we fynde as principall, Iohn de Britayn, Iohn de Veſcye, Otes de Grauntſon, and Roberte de Bruſe, beſydes other. Of his noble chiualrie there atchieued, ye ſhall fynde a briefe note in the deſcription of the holy lande, and therefore here we omitte the ſame.

This yet is to bee remembred, that whyleſt the Lorde Edward ſoiorned there in the citie of Acres, hee was in great danger to haue bin ſlaine by treaſon: for a traiterous Sarazin of that generation, which are called *Arſacidæ*, & lately reteyned by the ſame Lord Edwarde, and become very familiar with him, founde meanes one day as he ſat in his chamber, to giue him three woũdes, whiche ſurely had coſt him his lyfe, but that one of the Princes chamberlaynes ſtayed the traytours hande, and ſomwhat brake the ſtrokes, tyll other ſeruantes came to the reſkue, and ſlewe him there in the place.

There bee that write, howe the Prince Edwarde himſelfe perceyuing the traytor to ſtrike at his bellie, warded the blowe with his arme: And as the Sarazin made to haue ſtriken again, he ſtroke him backe to the grounde with his foot, and catching him by the hand, wreſted the knife from him, and thruſtyng him into the bellye, ſo killed him, though in ſtruggling with hym, he was hurte againe a little in the forhead: And his ſeruantes withall, comming to helpe hym, one of them that was his Muſitian, got vp a treſtyll and ſtroke out the braynes of the traytour, as he lay dead on the grounde, and was blamed of his maiſter for ſtriking him, after he ſawe him once dead before his face, as he mighte perceyue hym to bee.

Some write, that this traytor was ſent from the great Admirall of Iapha, aunciently called Ioppa, on meſſage to the Prince Edwarde, and had bin with him diuers tymes before, and nowe making countenance to plucke foorth letters, got foorth his knyfe, & attempted ſo to haue wrought his feate. What ſoeuer the man was, the prince was in great danger by reaſon of the enuenymed knife wherwith he was wounded, ſo that it was long ere he coulde be perfectly whole.

Porte Iaphe.

Theſe Sarazins called *Arſacidæ*, are a wicked generation of men, infected with ſuche a ſuperſtitious opinion, that they beleeue heauenly bliſſe is purchaſed of them, if they can by anye meanes ſlea one of the enimies of their religion, and ſuffer themſelues for that facte the moſt cruell death that may be deuiſed.

The generation of the Arſacidæ, or Aſſaſſini.

An.reg.55.

Prynce Edwarde after hee was whole and recouered of his woundes, perceyuyng that no ſuche ayde came into thoſe parties oute of chriſtendome, as was looked for, hee tooke a truce wyth the enimies of oure Faithe, and retourned towardes Englande, as hereafter ſhall bee ſhewed.

1272.

Nic.Triuet.

Mat.VVeſt.

The deceaſſe of the king of Almayne.

The fourthe Nones of Aprill (as ſome haue) or in the Moneth of Februarie, as other write in the lvj. yere of king Henries reign at Berkhamſted, died Richard King of Almayn and Erle of Cornwal, and was buried in the abbey of Hailes which he himſelf had founded: he was a worthye Prince, and ſtood his brother king Henry in great ſtead, in handling matters both in peace & warre. He left behinde him iſſue begot of his wife Sanctia two ſons, Edmunde and Henry. This Edmunde was he that brought the bloud of Hayles out of Germanie: for as he was there vppon a time with his father, it chaunced that as he was beholding the reliques, and other precious monumentes of the auncient Emperours, he eſpyed a boxe of golde: by the inſcription whereof, he perceyued (as the opinion of men then gaue, (that therein was conteined a portion of the bloud of our Sauior: He therfore being deſirous to haue ſome part thereof, ſo intreated hym that had the keping of it, that he obteined his deſire, & brought it ouer wyth hym into Englande, beſtowyng a third part thereof after his fathers deceaſſe in the Abbeye of Hayles, as it were to adorne and enryche the ſame, bycauſe that therein bothe hys father and hys mother were buryed, and the other two partes hee dydde reſerue in his owne

His iſſue.

Edmund Earle of Cornevvall.

The bloud of Hayles.

cōtinuance, tyll at length he moued vppon ſuche deuotion as thinges then vſed, hee founded an Abbey at Aſhrugge nere his Manour of Berkhamſted: which abbey was named Aſhrugge, in the which he placed Monkes of the order of Bonnehommes, being the firſt that euer had bin ſeene of that order here in England. And herewith he alſo aſſigned the two other partes of that bloud to the ſame Abbey: Wherevpon followed great reſort of people to thoſe two places, induced therevnto by a certaine blynde deuotion.

Aſhrugge abbey built.
Bonnehommes.

Henrye the brother of thys Edmunde, and ſon to the foreſayde Kyng of Almayne, as hee returned from Affrike, where hee hadde bene wyth the Prince Edwarde, was ſlayne at Viterbo in Italy (whither he was come about buſineſſe which he had to do with the Pope,) by the hand of Guy de Montfort, the ſonne of Symon de Montfort Earle of Leyceſter, in reuenge of the ſame Symons death. This murder was cōmitted afore the high aultar, as the ſame Henrye kneeled there to heare diuine ſeruice.

The lord Henry ſonne to the king of Almayn murdered in Italy.

The foreſayd Guy vpon that murder cōmitted, fled vnto his father in law, the Earle of Anguilare, as then gouernour of Tuſkayn. There was at Viterbo the ſame tyme Philippe king of Fraunce, returning homewards from the iorney which his father made into Affrik, where he died. Alſo Charles king of Sicile was there preſent, whome the ſayde Guy then ſerued. Both thoſe Kyngs were put in muche blame, for that the murder and wilfulle ſcape was done and ſuffred in their preſence, and no purſute made after the murderer.

Boniface the Archbiſh. of Canterbury after he had ruled the ſea. xxvij. yeres, departed this life: And after his deceaſſe, about two yeres or more, was one Roberte Kylwarbye appointed in hys place by Pope Gregorie, which Robert was the xlvj. Archbiſhop that hadde gouerned the ſea of Canterburye.

Robert Kilvvarby Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury.

About the moneth of Iune there fell great debate and diſcorde betwixte the Monkes of Norwiche and the Citizens there. Which increaſed ſo farfoorth, that at length the Citizens wyth great violence aſſaulted the Monaſterie, fired the gates, and forced the fyre ſo with reede and drye wood, that the church with the bookes, and all other ornamentes of the ſame, and all houſes of office belonging to that Abbey were cleane brenned, waſted, and deſtroyed, ſo that nothing was preſerued except one little Chapell.

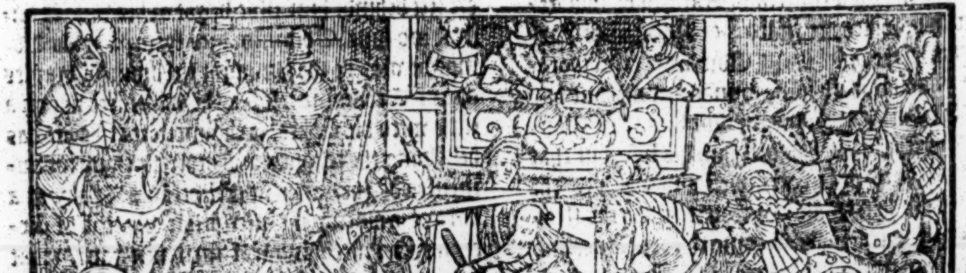
The Kyng hearing of this riot, rode to Norwiche, and cauſyng inquirie to be made therof, thirtie young men of the Citie were condemned, hanged and brente, to the greate griefe of the other Citiſens, for they thought that the Priour of the place, was the occaſion of all that miſchiefe, who hadde got togither armed men, and tooke vppon hym to keepe the Belfrey and Churche by force of armes: but the Priour was well ynough borne oute and defended by the Byſhoppe of Norwyche, as then named Roger.

Thirtie Citezen Norw gedand

The King returnyng by Sainte Edmunds Burye, after hee hadde done hys deuotions to Saincte Edmundes ſhrine, began to waxe ſomwhat craſye: but after hauing a little recouered his helth, he called a Counſell there, wherein he went aboute to haue taken order for the puniſhment of rebels: but his ſyckneſſe agayne renuing, he brake vp the aſſembly, and with al ſpeede haſted to London.

Prynce Edwarde vppon his retourne forth of the holye Lande came to Chalons in Burgogne, at the requeſte of the Earle hee didde attempte wyth hys companye to holde a Iuſtes and Tourneye agaynſte the ſayde Earle

Prince E vvards from the lande. A Iuſtes tourney at Cha



and all other commers, and although thorough diſdeyne and ſpyte there was homely playe ſhewed, vpon purpoſe to put the Engliſhemen to the ſoyle and reproche, yet by high valiancie Prince Edwarde and his companie bare themſelues ſo worthyly, that in the ende the aduerſaries were well beaten, and conſtrayned to leaue the honor of that enterpriſe to the ſayd Prince Edwarde and his partakers.

and
ry hol-
Chalons

After this, he kept on his iourney till he came vnto Parys, where hee was honourably receyued of the Frenche Kyng, and from thence, he went to Burdeaux, and there remayned till after his fathers death.

An. reg. 57.

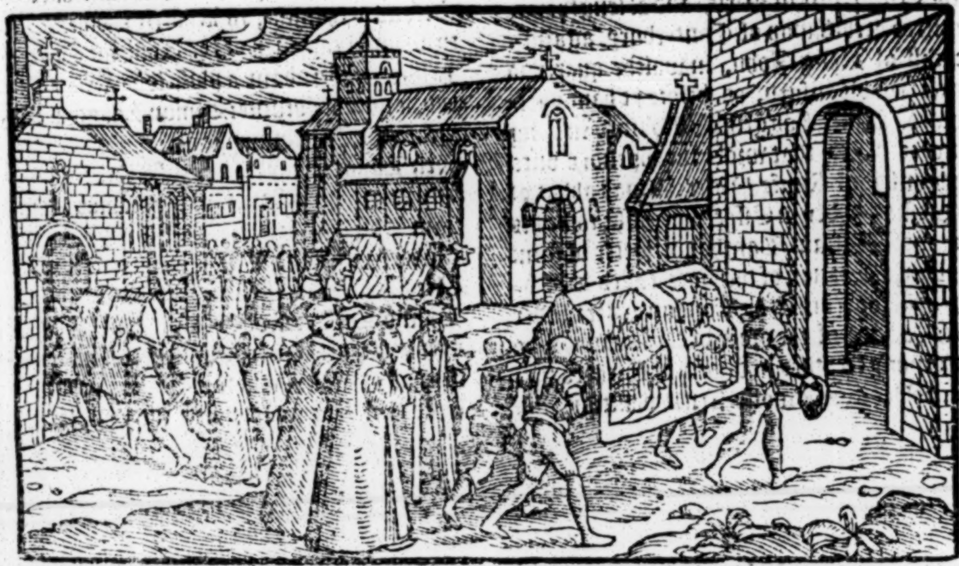
In this meane time King Henry being returned to London from Sainct Edmundes Burye (as before ye haue heard) his ſickneſſe ſo encreaſed vpon him, that finally he died there at Weſtminſter the ſixteenth daye of Nouember in the yeare of our Sauiour. 1272. after he hadde lyued threeſcore and fyue yeres, and reigned fiftie & ſixe yeares, and .xxviij. dayes.

King Henrye departeth thys lyfe.

A little before his deathe, when hee perceyued that he coulde no longer lyue, he cauſed the erle of Glouceſter to come afore him, and to be newly ſworne to keepe the peace of the lande, to the behofe of his ſonne Prince Edwarde.

The Earle of Glouceſter.

His body was buried at Weſtminſter. He had iſſue by his wyfe Quene Eleanor .ij. ſonnes, the foreſayd Edward, Prince of Wales, that ſucceded him, and Edmund Erle of Lancaſter, by ſome authors ſurnamed Crouchback, though (as other affirme) vntruly, that this Edmunde was the elder brother, but bicauſe he was a deformed perſon, therefore his yõger brother Edward was preferred to the kingdom, whiche was deuiſed of purpoſe to cõuey a right to K. Henry the fourth, which fetched the deſcent from the ſaid Edmũd, and by force vſurped & helde the crowne, as after it may appeare.



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Moreouer, Kyng Henry had three daughters by the ſayde Eleanore, as Margarete married to Alexander K. of Scots, Beatrice which the duke of Britayn had to wife, and Catherine whiche died before ſhe was mariageable: he was of body well caſt and ſtrong, of a good ſtature in heigth, well fauored of face, with the lidde of one of his eyes comming downe, ſo as it almoſt couered the apple of the ſame eye. Of nature he was curteous, and of ſtomacke rather noble thã ſtoute: a deuoute Prince and liberall towardes the poore and needie. He wanted not yet diſpraiſe in ſome poyntes, namely for that in ordering of things and weightye affaires, he vſed ſmall conſideration: he was alſo noted to be a great taker of money by loanes, taxes, and Subſidies. But therevnto he was enforced by neceſſitie to beare the charges of warre and other publike affaires, than of any couetous mynde on purpoſe to ſerue his owne turne.

ortion

tions.

What Captaines of honoure among the Nobilitie liued in his tyme, it maye appeare by the courſe of the hiſtorye of his tyme.

Of ſundry learned menne theſe wee fynde mencioned in Mayſter Bales Centuries and others. Walter of Couentrie an hiſtoriographer: Radulphus Niger, that wrote bothe hiſtories and other treatiſes: Geruaſius de Melkeley: Albricius of London: Roberte Curſon, a man excellently learned bothe in diuine and humain letters, ſo that comming to the Courte of Rome, he there grew in ſuche eſtimation, that he became a Cardinall, of whome thys wytneſſe wee fynde recorded by Matthewe Weſtmonaſterienſis, and Mathew Paris. At the takyng of Damiate, a Citie in Egypte, there was wyth Pelagius, the Cardinall of Alba, the Popes Legate, mayſter Roberte Curſon an Engliſhe man a moſt famous clerke, borne of a noble houſe, and Cardinall of the church of Rome. Theſe are reported to floriſh in the days both of King John and Kyng Henry his ſon: in whoſe time alſo ther liued other lerned men, as theſe, Hughe Kirkeſted, Richarde of Ely: Peter Henham: John Giles, or de Sancto Egidio, an excellent phiſitiō: Caducan a Welchman borne, and Biſhoppe of Bangor: Alexander, a ſinguler lerned man, that wrote dyuers and many treatiſes aſwell in diuinitie as philoſophie and humanitie, bothe in verſe and proſe: Alſo Steephen Langton, that for his ſinguler knowledge was made high chancelor of the Uniuerſitie of Paris, and at length was admitted archebiſhop of Canterbury, againſte the will of Kyng John, in whiche quarell ſo greate trouble enſued, as before ye haue partly heard. Ralfe Coggeſhall alſo liued in kyng Henryes dayes, that wrote the appendix vnto the chronicle of Raufe Niger: he was abbot of Coggeſhall abbey in Eſſex, wherof he tooke his ſurname: William Lanthonie: Peter of ſaint Sauiour, a Chanon of the houſe called S. Sauior, or of the trinitie by London: Alexander Hales, a frier of the order of the minors, who wrote many treatiſes in diuinitie: Richard ſurnamed Medicus, a moſte lerned phiſition, and no leſſe expert in Philoſophie & the Mathematicals. Ther is alſo remembred by maſter Bale, the Earle of Cheſter, Randulf, the thirde and laſte of that name, who hauing greate knowledge and vnderſtanding in the lawes of this lande, compiled a booke of the ſame lawes, as a witneſſe of his greate ſkill therin: Alexander Wendock Biſhop of Cheſter: John Blunde: Edmund Riche: Robert Riche: Henry Bracton, that excellent lawyer, who wrote the booke commonly called Bracton after his name, entituled *de conſuetudinibus Anglicanis*: Richard ſurnamed Theologus: Walter de Eueſham: Raufe Freſborne: Laurence Somercote, brother, as is thought, to Roberte Somercote, at that time a cardinall of the Romaine Churche: Nicholas Fernham a phiſition: Robert Bacon, a notable diuine: Simon Langton, brother to the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury: Stephen Langton: Richarde Fiſaker: Simon Stokes: John of Kent, or Kantianus: William Shirwoode: Michaell Blaunpaine: John Godarde: Vincent of Couentrye: Alberike Veer, Richarde Wiche, John Baſing, *alias de* Baſing Stoke: Roger Waltham: Wylliam Seningham: Robert Groſted, that lerned byſhop of Lincolne, whoſe memorie amongſt the lerned will remayn whileſt the world laſteth.

EDVVARDE the firſte of that name after the Conqueſt, beganne hys reigne ouer the Realme of of Englande, the xvj. daye of Nouember in the yere of the world, 5239. of our Lorde. 1272. of the Saxons. 814. after the conqueſt. 206. the vacation of the Empire after the deceaſſe of Frederike the the ſeconde as yet enduring (though ſhortly after in the yere next following, Radulf of Habſpurge was elected Emperor) in the third yeare of Philippe the third as then reigning in Fraunce, and Alexander the thirde as yet lyuyng in gouernemente of the Scottiſhe Kyngdome. Thys Edwarde the firſt when his father dyed beyng aboute the age of. xxxv. yeares olde, was as then in the holy lande, or rather in his iourney homewards: but whereſoeuer he was at that preſent, the nobles of the lād after his father was departed this life, aſſembled at the new Tēple in London, and cauſing a new ſeale to be made, they ordeyned faithfull miniſters and officers, which ſhuld haue the treaſure in keeping and the adminiſtration of iuſtice for the mayntenaunce of peace and tranquilitie wythin the lande, and on the. xxij. daye of Nouember hee was proclaymed Kyng, who after he had remained a time in the holy lād, and perceyued himſelfe deſtitute of ſuche ayde as hee looked for at the handes bothe of the Chriſtians and Tartarians, he left in the Citie of Acon certayn ſtipendarie ſouldiers, and taking the ſea ſailed homewards, arriuing firſt in Sicill, where of Charles Kyng of that lande hee was honorably receiued and conueyed, til he came vnto *Ciuita Vecchia* in Italy, where Pope Gregorye as then laye with his Courte, of whome as of his olde friende that had bene wyth hym in the holy land he obteined that Erle Aldebrandino Roſſo, and Guy of Mountfort, that had murthered the Lord Henry, eldeſt ſonne to Richarde Kyng of Almain, might be ſent for. Earle Aldebrendino purged hymſelfe, but Guye de Mountfort was excommunicate, as a violatour of the churche, a murderer and a Traytour, ſo as he was diſinherited euen vnto the fourth generation, til he had reconciled hymſelfe to the church. After this it is wonderfull to remember with what great honor kyng Edward was receyued of the Cities, as he paſſed throughe the countreys of Tuſkayne and Lumbardy. At his comming ouer the mountains at Chalon in Burgundy, he was at a Juſtes and Tourney which then was there holden by the french men againſt the Engliſhmen, the honor wherof remained with the Engliſhemen. In this Torney the fight of the footmen was greate: for the Engliſhe menne beeyng ſore prouoked, ſlewe manye of the Frenche footemenne, but bycauſe they were but raſkalles, no greate accompte was made of them, for they were vnarmed, gaping for the ſpoyle of them that were ouerthrowen. King Edward paſſing forth came to the Frenche court, where of his couſin germayn king Phillippe he was ioyfully receyued. Here King Edwarde doing homage to the Frenche Kyng for the landes whiche he ought to holde of hym in Fraunce, paſſed into Guyenne. A Tenthe of of the Clergye was graunted this yeare to the Kyng and to his brother Edmund Erle of Leyceſter and Lancaſter by the Popes appointment for two yeares, a chaplein of the Pope a Gaſcoin borne named Reymond being ſent into Englād for that purpoſe, who gaue parte vnto them, and parte thereof he kept to himſelfe, towardes hys charges, but the moſte parte was reſerued to the Popes diſpoſing. Whileſt the Kyng remained in Gaſcoigne he had ſomewhat to doe againſte certaine rebelles as Gaſton de Bierne, and other that were reuolted from hym. The Caſtelles belongyng to the ſaide Gaſton, he ſubdued, but his perſon he coulde not meete with. Finally, after he had ſet order in things aſwell in Guyenne as in other places in the partes of beyonde the ſeas, he haſted homewardes, and came to London the ſeconde daye of Auguſt, where he was receyued wyth all ioye that might be deuiſed. The ſtreetes were hanged wyth riche cloths of ſilke, arras, and tapeſtrie, the Aldermen and Burgeſſes of the citie threwe out of theyr wyndows handfulles of golde and ſiluer, to ſignifye the greate gladneſſe which they had conceyued of his ſafe returne: the Cundits ran plentifully wyth white wine ⁊ red, that eche creature myght drink his fill. Vpon the. xix. day of Auguſte in this ſeconde yeare of hys raygne he was crowned at Weſtminſter, togyther with his wife Quene Elianor, by the hands of Robert Kilwarby Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Hariſon

Veſt.

Seale

Dunſt.

Veſt.

An. Reg. 2.

Mat. VVeſt.

A diſme graunted to the king and his brother

1274

Nic. Triuet.

K. Edward his returne home.

Mat. VVeſt.

At this coronation were preſent Alexander Kyng of Scottes, and John Earle of Britayn, with their wiues that were ſiſters to Kyng Edward. The Kyng of Scots did homage vnto Kyng Edward for the Realme of Scotlande, in like maner as other the kyngs of Scotlande before hym had done to other Kyngs of England auncetours to this Kyng Edwarde. At the ſolempnitie of this coronation there were let goe at libertie, catche them that catche myght, fiue hundred great horſes by the King of Scottes, the Erles of Cornwall, Glouceſter, Penbroke, Warren, and others, as they were alighte beſide theyr backs. On ſaint Nicholas euen there chaunced ſuche an earthequake with lightning and thunder, and therewythall the appearing of the brenning drake, and a blaſing ſtarre called a comete, that the people were brought into no ſmall feare vpon conſideration therof. But nowe to the poynte of the hiſtorie.

Caxton.

Kyng Edward at the fyrſte like a prudente prince choſe forth of the wyſeſt and worthyeſt men to be of his coũſell, to purchaſe the loue of his ſubiectes, whoſe myndes were ſomwhat offended towardes his father (by reaſon that he refuſed to keepe promiſe wyth them, touchyng the reſtitution of gentle and fauourable lawes) Kyng Edwarde ſhewed himſelfe ſo gentle towardes all degrees of men, that he ſeemed to excede the reaſonable bonds of curteous humanitie, muche more than became his royall eſtate. After this, he reformed dyuers lawes and ſtatutes, and deuiſed ſome new ordinãces, greatly for the wealthe of the realme. He helde his firſt Parliament at Weſtminſter, where the ordinances were made, called the ſtatute of Weſtminſter the firſt. To this Parliament was the prince of Wales Lewelin ſummoned to come and doe his homage, hauing bin requeſted firſt to come to the kings coronation, but he refuſed, and nowe hauing ſummonance to come to this Parliament, he excuſed hymſelf, affirming that hee durſte not come for feare of certayne noble men that laye in wayte for his life, requiring to haue pledges deliuered for his ſafe comming and going, the Kyngs ſon, and Gilbert Earle of Glouceſter, with Robert Burnell the Lord Chauncellour. The Kyng was greatly offended with ſuche a preſumptuous demaunde, but paſſed it ouer, till after the ende of the Parliament, and then repairing to Cheſter he ſent eftſones meſſengers to the ſaid Llewelin, requiring to come and doe his homage, but hee ſtill detracted time, ſo that in the ende the Kyng reyſed an armye, meanyng to recouer that by force, whiche otherwiſe he could not obteine by quiet meanes.

1275.

An. Reg. 3.

A parliament.

The ſtatute of VVeſtminſter.

The Prince of VVales Llevvellin.

The king cõmeth to Cheſter.

This yeare the people payd a fifteenth to the Kyng of all theyr temporall goodes which was ſayde to be graunted firſte to his father.

The ſame yeare departed this life, John Breton biſhoppe of Hereford, who being very experte in the lawes of the lande, compiled a booke of them called le Breton. The eleuenth of September, a generall earthquake chaunced betwixt the firſt houre and thirde of the ſame daye, the Church of Saint Michaell on the hill wythout Glaſtenbury, was therwyth throwen downe to the grounde. And after this, it rained bloude in the countrey of Wales, as a prodigyouſe euill token to that nation, wyth whoſe bloude ſhortely after that Regyon was in many places moyſted and ſtayned. For as it chaunced ſhortly after, Llewellin the ſonne of Griffyn came to haue the gouernement of Wales, who partly to reyſe newe ſeditions in England, and partly to purchaſe hym friendſhip and alyaunce in Fraunce, ſente vnto king Phillippe, requiring of him that he myght haue in marriage the Ladye Eleanor daughter to Symon Mountfort Earle of Leyceſter, the whiche togyther wyth hir mother and brother Emerike, remayned as banyſhed perſons in France. The French K. granted his requeſt, and ſent hir vnder the conducte of hir ſaide brother to be conueyed into Wales vnto Llewelin who had promiſed to marry hir. But ere they approched to Wales, at the Iſle of Silly bothe the brother and ſiſter were taken by foure ſhippes of Briſtowe, the owners wherof that ſo tooke them, ſent them vnto Kyng Edwarde. When Llewelin vnderſtood that his wife was takẽ from him by the way as ſhe was cõming, he was not a little wrothe, and incontinently beginneth to make warre vppon Kyng Edwardes ſubiectes that bordered neare vnto Wales, killing the people, ſpoiling their goods, and brenning vp theyr Townes and houſes on eche ſide.

Mat. VVeſt.

Bracton biſhop of Hereforde departeth this lyfe.

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Herewith the Kyng of Englande was ſo moued, that although the ſaid Llewellin made ſuite for peace and offered no ſmall ſumme of moneye to haue the daughter of the Earle of Leyceſter his fianced wife deliuered to hym, yet woulde not the Kyng by any meanes conſent to that marryage nor receyue any money of hym, except he would reſtore vnto the right owners ſuche landes as hee had inuaded and got into his poſſeſſion, and further repayre ſuch Caſtels as hee had deſtroyed. Herevpon grew no ſmall grudge betwixt the Welchemen and Engliſhemen, ſo that to repreſſe the inuaſion of the enimies in the parties towardes Briſtow, Montgomerie and Cheſter, the king ſent three hundreth men at armes on horſe backe. In the quindene of Paſche, the King departing from Weſtminſter, haſted towardes Wales wyth a mighty power, and cauſed the courts of the Eſcheker, and of hys benche, to remoue vnto Shrewesbury, that they myght be neere vnto hym, making forwarde wyth all conuenient

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ſpede to come to the ayde of his people. And thereuppon entring into Wales, toke the caſtell of Rutlande, and ſent into weſt Wales a valiant Capitayn named Paine de Camurcijs

which with fyre and ſworde waſted that country, ſo that the people offring themſelues to the Kyngs peace, deliuered vnto the ſayde Paine the Caſtell of Stridewy wyth the country adioyning. Then Llewelin the prince of Wales perceyuing that hee was not able to reſiſte the Kyngs power, made ſute for peace, in ſo much that finally it was agreed, that commiſſioners for bothe parties ſhoulde talke concerning certayne articles, and whatſoeuer they concluded, aſwell the Kyng as the ſaide Llewelin ſhould holde the ſame for firme and ſtable.

The Kyng appoynting one of his commiſſioners, to wit, the Lorde Robert de Tiptoſt, to take an othe for hym, and authoriſing the ſaide Robert, Anthony Beke, and frier Wylliam de Southampton, Prior prouinciall of the friers preachers, commiſſioners nominated on his behalfe, to receyue the like othe of the ſaide Lewellin: Which Llewelin appoynted commiſſioners for his parte, Tuder ap Edeuẽnet, and Grono ap Helin, the which commiſſioners wyth good deliberation concluded vpon certain poyntes and articles, of whyche the principall were as followeth.

Firſt, that the ſaide Llewelin ſhoulde ſet at libertie all priſoners whiche hee helde in captiuitie for the Kyng of Englandes cauſe freely and without all chalenge. Alſo to haue peace and the Kings of Englands fauour, he ſhulde giue vnto the ſaide king fiftye thouſand pound ſterling, the dayes of the payment whereof to reſte in the Kyngs will and pleaſure.

Alſo yͤ the lande of the four Candreds without all contradiction ſhoulde remaine for euer to the King and his heyres, with all lands conquered by the Kyng and his people, the Iſle of Angleſey excepted, whiche Iſle was graunted to the prince, ſo that he ſhulde pay for the ſame yerely the ſumme of one thouſand marks, and fiue thouſand markes for an income, and if the Prince chaũced to dye without iſſue, then yͤ ſaid Iſle to reuert again vnto the kings hands. Alſo that the Prince ſhall come to Rothelan or (Rothlande as it is commonly called) there to doe fealtie to the Kyng, and before his cõming thither, he ſhuld be aſſoyled and haue the interdiction of his landes releaſed, and at his being at Rothelan, a daye ſhall be appoynted hym by the king for his comming to London, there to doe his homage: And herevpon was order taken for his ſafeconduit, aſwell in his comming to Rothelan, as to Lõdon. Ther be that wryte that he was appoynted to come vnto London, at the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Lord. Alſo it was further couenanted, that all the homages of Wales ſhould remaine to the Kyng except only of fiue barons which inhabited neare vnto the caſtell of Snowdon: for otherwiſe the ſaid Llewlin could not conueniently call himſelfe Prince, except he had ſome Barons vnder him. Alſo that he ſhoulde reteyne the title and name of Prince ſo long as he liued, and after his deceaſſe the homages of thoſe fiue barons ſhoulde reuerte to the Kyng and to his heyres for euer.

Angleſey.

Moreouer the kyng graunted vnto the ſaide Llewlin, the landes that belonged to his brother Dauid, for term of the ſaid Llewlins life, and in recompence thereof was contented to ſatiſfie the ſaid Dauid with other lands in ſome other place, yͤ which after the deceſſe of the ſaid Llewlin or Dauid ſhould reuert agayne to the Kyng and his heyres. For the aſſuraunce of which

N. Triuet.

Dauid Llevvelines brother prouided for.

An othe to be receyued.

whiche articles and couenauntes the Prince deliuered for hoſtages tenne perſons of the beſt in Wales, whiche he coulde get without impriſonment, diſenheriting or terme of deliuerance, and of euery Candred twentye perſones, of the beſte and moſte ſufficient to be choſen by ſuche as the Kyng ſhall thither yearely ſend, ſhall be from yeare to yeare ſworne vpon the Euangeliſtes, in preſence of the bailifs of the ſaid Llewellin, that whenſoeuer the Prince ſhal breake any of theſe articles, & vpon admonition doth not reforme hymſelfe, they ſhall forſake hym, and in all thinges be vnto hym open enimies.

Llevvellines brethren.

Dauid revvarded by Kyng Edvvard.

Dauid preferred in marriage.

The article cõcerning Ovven

Alſo beſides this, the Prince ſhall as farre as in him may lie, pacifie his brethren, of the which he had put two in priſon, Owen and Roderik, the thirde named Dauid, eſcaping his handes, fled into England, and remained many yeares wyth King Edward, who receyuing him into his ſeruice, made him knight in this warre, and gaue vnto him a caſtel at Denbigh in Wales, wyth landes to the yearely value of a thouſande markes, in recompẽce of thoſe poſſeſſions whiche he ought to haue had in Angleſey, the which as before is ſaid, the king graunted vnto Llewellin for terme of his life, and after his deceſſe, to reuert vnto the Kyng and to his heyres. Moreouer, he preferred Dauid to the mariage of a loylie widowe, that was daughter to the Erle of Darby. As concerning Owen, through the Kyngs fauour he was deliuered out of priſon, by force of yͤ articles concluded at this preſent by the cõmiſſioners, vnder this forme and maner: that vppon his being ſet at libertie, certayne perſons appoynted by the Kyng ſhoulde make offer to hym, to choſe whether he would firſte compounde wyth his brother, and thervppon come to the Kyng, and beſeeche hym to allowe the compoſition, or elſe to put hymſelfe vnder the ſafe keeping of the King, till accordyng to the lawes and cuſtomes of Wales, in the place where he did tranſgreſſe, iudgement ſhould be giuen of the matter: And if he were acquitte, then mighte hee demaunde his heritage if he thought it ſo expedient: and which of theſe two wayes he ſhuld choſe, the ſame ſhuld be made firme and ſtable in the kyngs preſence.

All theſe articles with other additions, were accorded by the ſaide commiſſioners at Aberconwey, the Tueſday before the feaſt of ſaint Martin, in the yere 1277. and letters of confirmatiõ made therof by the king, dated at Rutlande the tenth daye of Nouember, in the fifth yeare of his raigne. Alſo the ſaide Llewellin by the name of Llewellin ap Griffyn, prince of Wales, with letters vnder his ſeale, confirmed the aboueſaid articles on his behalf, for yͤ releaſing of his right to the foure Cantredes & other things that ſhuld remain vnto the king, whiche letters bare date at Aberconwey, the foreſaide Tueſday in the ſaide yere 1277. Alſo the king releaſed vnto the ſaid Llewellin, the ſaide ſum of .l.M. poundes and the ſaid ſumme of a M. markes yearely to be payde for the Iſle of Angleſey, as by his letters dated at Rutlãd yͤ ſaid tenthe daye of Nouember in the ſaide v. yeare of his raigne more at large it appeareth. Yet neuertheleſſe by his letters dated at Rutlande the ſaide .xj. of the ſaide moneth of Nouember, it is euident that he receyued of the ſaide Llewellin the ſumme of .ij.M. markes ſterling by the hands of Thomas Beke keper of his wardrobe. Moreouer the Kyng in the weſt parte of Wales buylt at the ſame tyme a caſtell at Lãperdeuaur, to kepe vnder yͤ rebellious attempts of the Welchemen. Kyng Edwarde gaue in mariage by way of reſtitution vnto the foreremembred Llewellin Prince of Wales, the erle of Leiceſters daughter, which was takẽ (as ye haue hearde) at the Iſle of Silly. He alſo bare all the charges of the feaſte at the daye of the marriage, and honoured the ſame with the preſence of himſelfe and of the Queene. A ſubſidie of yͤ .xx. parte of euery mans goods was granted to the Kyng towards his charges ſuſteined in the Welche warres. Moreouer in the ſixte yeare of his raigne kyng Edward helde a parliamẽt at Glouceſter, in the which were certayn actes and ſtatutes made for the welth and good gouernment of the realm, which vnto this day ar called the ſtatutes of Glouceſter. Alexander kyng of Scottes came into England, to commune with king Edward, of matters touching his kyngdome of Scotlande. Shortely after, kyng Edwarde went ouer into Fraunce, and there receyued certayne Townes that were reſtored to hym, but not the moitye of thoſe that were promiſed to his father, when he releaſed his title vnto the Duchie of Normandie. Roberte Kilwarby Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury was by pope Nicholas aduaunced to the dignitie of a Cardinall, and made Byſhoppe of Portua, ſo that he went to Rome, and gaue ouer the archbyſhopricke of Canterbury, to the which throughe the Popes graunt, Frier Iohn Peckham was admitted Archebiſhoppe. This yere ther was inquirie made in Lõdon for ſuch as had clipped, waſhed & counterfeted the kings coigne, whereuppon the Iewes of the citie and dyuers goldſmithes that kepte the Exchange of ſiluer were endited, and after to the number of .ij.C.lxxxvij. perſons were condempned, & in diuers places put to execution. There were but .iij. Engliſhemen among them, all the reſidue were Iewes but dyuers Chriſtians that were participante: with them in theyr offences

were

wer put to their fines, & not without iuſt cauſe. About the ſame time yͤ Kyng remoued all ſuche ſherifs as were either prieſtes or ſtrangers, & in theyr places appoynted knyghts to be ſheriffes, yͭ were of yͤ ſame countrey where theyr offices lay. Moreouer about this ſeaſon king Edward builded yͤ caſtell of Flint, & fortified yͤ caſtell of Rutland & others, placing gariſons of engliſh mē in the ſame to defende yͤ countrey, & to kepe yͤ Welchemē vnder obedience. But Llewellin ſo ſmally regarded all couenātes made, & benefites receiued, that ſhortly after vpon the death of his late maryed wife, being ſummoned to come to a parliament holden by king Edward, he diſdained to obey, & vpon a very ſpite began to make new warre to the Engliſhmē, in waſting & deſtroying yͤ countrey: but being put in feare with yͤ Kings comming towards him wͭ his power, he laid armor aſide, & begā eftſoones to require peace, which the king now yͤ ſecond time did not deny to graunt, bycauſe he would not loſe time in warring wͭ yͤ moūtains, wods & mariſhes, places of refuge for yͤ Welchmē in thoſe days whē they wāted power to abide battaile & keepe the fieldes. About the ſame time the king gaue vnto Dauid the brother of Llewellin the lordſhip of Frodeſham in Cheſhire, and made hym Knight. Moreouer, this yeare the King held a parliamēt, in which the ſtatute of Mortmain was eſtabliſhed.

Frier John Peccham, whome the Pope had alreadye conſecrated Archbiſhop of Canterbury, being the xlvij. in number that had gouerned in that ſea, came this yere ouer into England to ſupplie the roomth. Alſo Walter Gifforde, Archebiſhop of Yorke, departed this life, in whoſe place ſucceded Willyam Wickwan, the. xxxvij. Archbiſhop there. The archbiſhop of Cāterbury held a Synode at Reding about the latter ende of July, in the whiche he renued the conſtitutiōs of the general coūſell, as thus: That no eccleſiaſticall perſon ſhuld haue aboue one benefice to the which belōged cure of ſoule, and agayne that all thoſe that were promoted to any eccleſiaſticall liuing, ſhoulde receyue the order of prieſthode wythin one yeare after his being promoted therto. Moreouer this yere the Kyng toke order for the amending of his money and coyne, which in that ſeaſon was fouly clipped, waſhed, & coūterfeted by thoſe noughty men the Jewes, and other, as before you haue partely hearde. The King therefore in the octaues of the Trinitie ſente forth commaundement to all the ſherifes within the lande, that ſuche mony as was coūterfeted, clipped or waſhed, ſhoulde not be currant from thenceforth: and furthermore hee ſente of his owne treaſure good mony and not clipped, vnto certaine cities and towns in the realme, that exchange might be made wyth the ſame till newe money were ſtamped. And about the thirde day of Auguſt the firſt exchange was made of the newe money of pence and farthings, but yet the olde money went all this yeare togyther wyth the newe, & then was the olde coyne generally forbidden, and commandement giuen by publike proclamation, that frō thenceforth it ſhould no more be allowed for currant: and herewith alſo halfpence whiche had bene ſtamped in the meane time, beganne to come abroade the ſame daye in which the old money was thus prohibited. The Lord Roger Mortimer kept a great feaſt at Killingworth, with iuſtes and triumphes of an hundred Knyghts and as many Ladyes, to the which reſorted Lords, Knyghts, and gentlemen from dyuers countryes and landes to ſhew profe of their valiancie in practiſe of warlike feates and exerciſes. In the meane ſeaſon king Edward ſtanding in need of money, deuiſed a newe ſhift to ſerue his tourne, as this: whereas he was chiefe Lorde of many Lordeſhippes, manours poſſeſſions and tenementes, he well vnderſtode, that partely by length and proces of time, & partly by caſualties during the troubles of the ciuill warres, many mens euidences, as theyr charters, deedes, copies & other writings were loſt, waſted, and made awaye, hee therefore vnder colour to put the ſtatute of (*quo waranto*) in execution, whiche was ordeyned this yere in the parliamēt holden at Glouceſter in Auguſt laſt paſte, as ſome write, did nowe cōmaunde by publike proclamation, that all ſuche as helde any landes or tenementes of hym, ſhuld come and ſhew by what right and title they helde the ſame, that by ſuche meanes their poſſeſſions might returne vnto him, by eſcheate, as chiefe Lord of the ſame, and ſo to be ſolde or redeemed agayne at his handes. This was thought to be a ſore proclamation, that a more greuous, had not lightly be herd of. Mē in euery part made complaint and ſhewed thē ſelues greuouſly offended, ſo that the Kyng by meanes thereof, came into great hatred of his people: but the meane ſort of men, though they ſtode in defence of theyr right, yet it auayled them but litle, bycauſe they had no euidence to ſhew, ſo that they were conſtrained to be quiet wyth loſſe, rather than to ſtriue agaynſte the ſtreame. Many were thus called to anſwere, till at lengthe the Lorde John Warren Earle of Surrey, a mā greatly beloued of the people, perceyuing the Kyng to haue caſte his net for a praye, and that there was not one whyche ſpake againſt him, determined to ſtand againſt thoſe ſo bitter and cruell proceedings, and therfore being called afore the Juſtices aboute this matter,

An.reg.8.
1280.

Nic.Triuet.
Polidore.
Abingdon.

A ſhift to get money.

Ordinances for money.

The ſaying of the Earle of Surrey.

matter he appeared, and being aſked by what right he held his landes? He ſodenly drawing forth an olde ruſty ſworde, By this inſtrument (ſayde he) doe I holde my landes, and by the ſame I entende to defende them. Our aunceſtours comming into this Realme with William Conquerour, conquered theyr lands with the ſworde, and wyth the ſame will I defende me from all thoſe that ſhall be aboute to take them from me, he did not make a conqueſte of this Realme alone, our progenitors were with him as participators and helpers with him.

The Kyng vnderſtoode into what hatred of his people by this meanes hee was fallen, and therefore to auoyde ciuill diſſention and war that mighte thereby enſue, he left off his begun practiſe: ſo that the thing which generally ſhuld haue touched and bene hurtfull to all men, was nowe ſodeinly ſtayed by the manhood and couragiouſe ſtoutneſſe only of one man, the forſaid Earle.

A Synode at Lambeth.

The archebiſhoppe of Canterbury helde an other Synode at Lambheth, in the whiche hee receyued and confirmed the orders and conſtitutions decreed and eſtablyſhed by the Legates Otho and Othobone, in councels by them kept here within this Realme, adding diuers other of his owne: and in the ſame councell hee went aboute to adnihilate certayne Liberties belonging to the crowne, as the taking knowledge of the right of Patronages and the Kings prohibitions *In placitis de catallis*, and ſuche like, which ſeemed merely to touche the ſpiritualtie: but the Kyng by ſome in that councell wythſtoode the Archebiſhoppe openly, and wyth menaces ſtayed hym from concluding any thing that mighte preiudice his royall liberties and prerogatiues. Kyng Edward helde a Parliament at London, in the which he demaunded a fifteenthe of the Clergie, whyche lately before he had got of the temporaltie. The archbiſhoppe of Yorke was content at the firſt to graunte this fifteenth to bee payde of the Clergie wythin his dioceſſe in two yeares, but the Archebyſhoppe of Canterbury helde of, and required reſpite till the nexte parliament to bee houlden after Eaſter, and then hee graunted vnto the Kyng the diſmes of all his Clergie for three yeares, that in ſome poynt hee might be different from the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke.

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In the ninthe yeare of Kyng Edwardes raigne, the feaſte of the rounde table was kept at Warwike wyth greate and ſumptuous triumphe.

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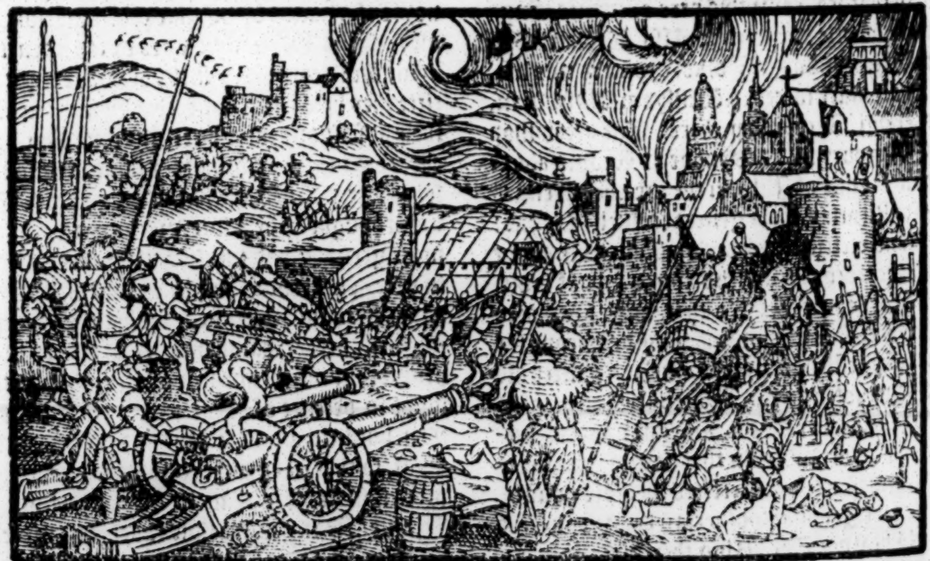
Whyleſt theſe thinges were a doing, Dauid brother to Lewellin Prince of Wales, forgettyng the greate benefites whiche hee had receyued at the handes of Kyng Edward, became his aduerſarie, and cauſed his ſaid brother the prince of Wales with a greate number of other noble men of that country to rebell: and to encourage them the ſooner to attempt the warre, he beginneth the firſte exploite himſelfe, takyng the ſaide Lorde Roger Clifforde, (a right worthie and famous Knight) in his caſtell of Hawardine, vppon Palmeſondaye, the ſaide Lorde being in no doubte of any ſuche matter. Diuers Knyghts and other that were in the ſame caſtell at that time and made reſiſtance were ſlaine. After this the forſaid Dauid retourned to his brother, the Prince, and therwith aſſembling an army, they went bothe togyther and beſieged the caſtell of Rutlande. Kyng Edward at the ſame time being in the parties aboute Saliſburye, where he kept hys Eſter at the Vies, ſent out Commiſſioners to leuie an army, and commaunded ſuche men of warre as he had then in a redines, to haſt forth



to the reſcue of the caſtell of Rutlande. And in the meane time, the caſtell of Lampardeuaur was taken by Rice ap Malgone and Griffyth ap Meridocke. Alſo diuers other caſtells were taken by other of the Welche nobilitie.

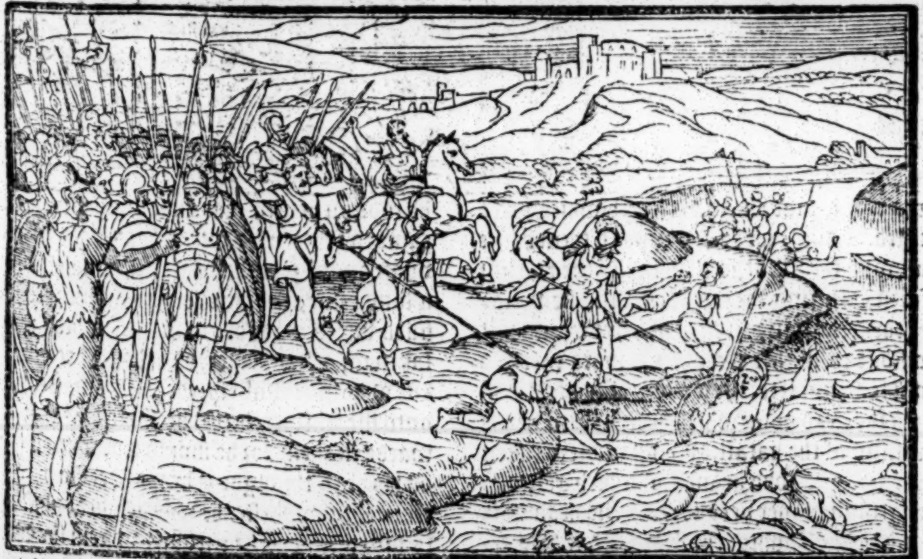
Moreouer about this time by the labour and ſute of John the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, Emericke de Mountfort, whiche had bene reteyned in priſon (ſith that hee was firſte taken together with his ſiſter at the Iſle of Sillie by the Briſtowmen) was now ſet at libertie and permitted to retourne into Fraunce. The ſaid Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye was ſent into Wales to perſwade Lewellin and his brother, wyth the other rebels vnto peace and quietnes, but retourning into Englande wythout bringing any thing to paſſe, he denounced them accurſed.

The Kyng haſted forthe to come to the reſcue of his people, whervppon Lewellin and his brother Dauid retired wyth their people to Snowdon hilles and fortified the caſtel there wyth a ſtrong garniſon of men. The king entring into Wales, when hee heard that his enemies were wythdrawn into the mountayns, hee paſſed forth till hee came neare vnto them, where hee pitched downe his fielde, and the nexte daye cauſing his horſemen to iſſue forth of the campe, filleth all the plaines which compaſſe the fote of thoſe hilles (aſwell on the Eaſt ſide as towarde the South) wyth the ſame horſemen, and herewyth placed his fotemen more aloft on the ſide of the hills in couert: this done, he prouoketh his enemie to come forth to fight, but when he ſaw this woulde not be, then that he might ſtoppe them from all places of refuge, hee cauſeth his ſhips to take the Iſle of Angleſey, bycauſe the Welchmen vſed to flie thither oftentimes for theyr ſafegarde, in the whiche enterpriſe the Marriners of the cinque portes bare them ſelues right manfully. After this, ioyning certayne veſſels togither, he cauſed a Bridge to be made in the riuer of Meneth, into the which an other ſmall riuer falleth that riſeth at the rotes of thoſe hilles of Snowdone, to keepe the enimies from lodging on the further ſide of that ryuer. This bridge conteining roomth for lx. armed mē to paſſe afront, was made ouer yͤ riuer of Sient, by the which men ſaile into the Iſle, whiche by the courſe of the ſea ebbeth & floweth euery twelue houres. But ſo it came to paſſe, that before the Bridge was well bourded ouer, whyleſt the Kyng yet remained at Aberconway, diuers of the engliſh Nobilitie, to the number of ſeuen Banerettes wyth three hundreth armed men raſhely paſſed ouer, and as they ſurueyed the fote of the moūtaine, the tide began to come in ſo ſwiftly, that where the engliſhemen were aduaunced a good pretie way from the water ſide, they could not nowe get backe again to the bridge, which as yet was not fully made vp. The Welchemen perceyuing this, came downe beſide the mountain, and aſſailed the Engliſhmen right fiercely, and with theyr great multitude ſo oppreſſed them, that for feare the Engliſhmen were driuen to take the water, and ſo by reaſon they were loaden wyth armor, many of them were drowned. And amongeſt other, that famouſe knight ſir Lucas de Thanie, Robert Clifford, ſir Wyllyam Lindſey, and two gentlemen of good accompte that were brethren to Robert Burnell as then byſhoppe of Bath. There periſhed in all (as ſome write) thirtene Knyghts, ſeuenteen yong gentlemen, and to the number of two hundreth fotmen. Sir Wyllyam Latimere, yet as good happe would, eſcaped, and dyuers other. This miſchaunce happened on the

The Marriners of the cinque Portes.

Meneth.

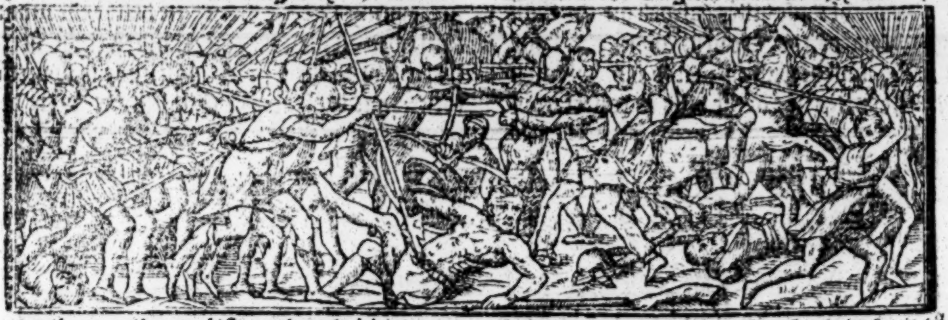
Chro. Dunſt.



Sainct Leonardes daye.

The Earle of Glouceſter maketh vvarre on the vvelchmen.

In this meane time in an other parte of the countrey the Earle of Glouceſter wyth an armye, made ſore warre to the Welchemen, and neare vnto the Towne called Lantilaware, ſought a ſore battaile wyth them, in the whiche many of the Welchmen beeing ſlaine, the Erle loſte alſo fiue Knyghtes vppon his partye, as Wyllyam Valence the yonger beeing one of that number, who was the Kynges couſin.



An.reg.11.

Llevvellin inuadeth the kings friendes.

The Lorde Gifforde and Mortimer.

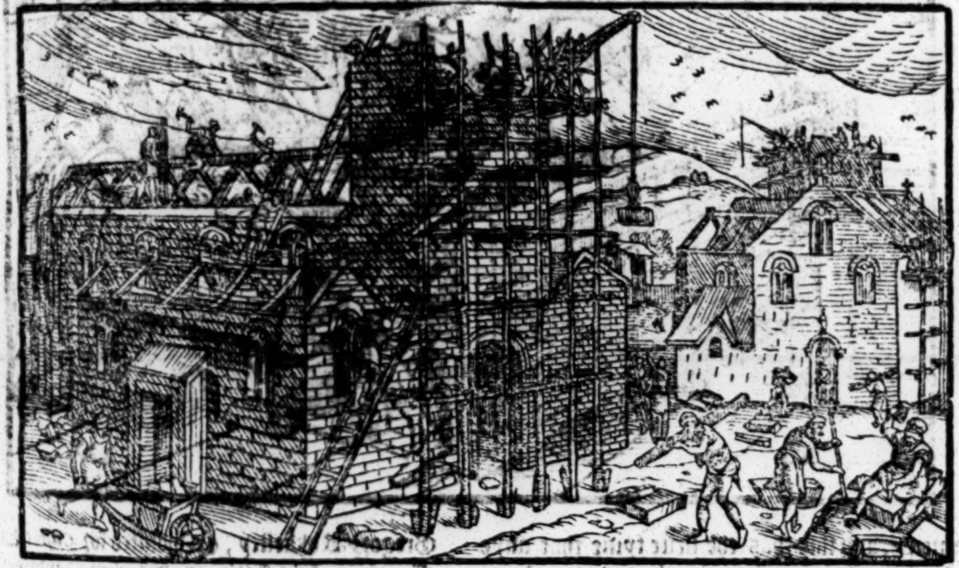
Llevvellyns head preſented to the kyng.

The Erle of Gloceſter then departing from thence, Llewellin the Prince of Wales entred into the country of Cardigan and Stradwye, deſtroying the landes of Rice ap Meridocke, which nowe helde wyth the Kyng againſte the ſaide prince. At length, prince Llewellin going towardes the land of Buelth wyth a ſmall company, lefte his maine army behinde hym aloffe vpon the top of the mountaine near to the water called Waye, and he had ſet a number of his people to kepe the bridge of Orewin: and ſo the Welchemen kept on the one ſide, and the Engliſhemen on the other, of whome were capitaines the Lorde Iohn Gifforde and the lorde Edmunde Mortimer, the whiche perceyuing the Welchemen that were ready to defend the bridge, and a greate hoſte of them vpon the top of the mountain, they conſulted togither what they were beſt to doe. At length by the courageous exhortation of one Hellas Walewayne they drewe on the one hand alongeſt the riuer, where was a forde paſſable in deede, though not wythout daunger: but yet the Engliſhemen by the conduicte of the ſame Hellas, got ouer by the ſame forde, ſo that it bare the name long after of Hellas waye. And ſo the Welchmen that kept the bridge (perceyuing the Engliſhmen to be got ouer vnto that ſide) fled, wherevppon the reſidue of the Engliſhe armye paſſed ouer at the Bridge, whereof roſe a greate noiſe, whiche Llewellin lurking not farre off might well heare, but yet at the firſt he coulde not bee brought to thinke that by any poſſible meanes the Engliſhemen were gotte ouer to that ſide of the water. At lengthe yet perceyuing it to be true, hee drew backe towardes the heigth of the mountaine agayne, but beeyng diſcouered by one Stephan de Frankeſton, named by ſome writers Swarde, hee was ſo narrowly purſued of the ſame Stephan, that hee was ouertaken and ſlaine. Stephan not knowing whome he had ſlain, returned to the hoſt, the whiche was nowe mounting vp the hill to ioyne with the Welch army that ſtoode ſtill looking for the returne of theyr prince Llewellin, (though in vaine) yet they manfully abode by theyr tackle, diſcharging plentie of arows and dartes at the Engliſhemen as they came vp towards them, & the engliſh archers which were mingled amongſt the horſmen, payd them home again with their ſhot, ſo that finally the engliſh horſmen, winning the top of the hill, ſlew many of them ſtanding ſtoutly at defence, and put the reſidue to flight. Stephen Sward that had ſlain Llewelin, after the victorie was atchieued rode to the dead body which he had ſlaine in the beginning of the batail, and vpon view taken of him perceiued who he was, of which good hap the engliſhmen wer very ioyful. His head was herewith cut off, which the Lord Edm. Mortimer tooke with him vnto Rutlande (where the king as then was lodged) vnto whome he preſented it: and the king ſent it vnto Londõ, appointing that there ſhuld be an Iuie crown ſet vpon it, in tokẽ that he was a prince, and ſo being adorned, a horſman carried it vpon the end of his ſtaffe throughe Chape ſide, holding it as he rode on heigth, that all mẽ might ſee it, til he came to the toure, & ther it was pight vp aloft vpon one of yͤ higheſt turrets, remaining there a long time after, and ſo was the prophecy fulfilled which was told to him by an olde womã taken for a ſouthſayer, of whom he required to know how he ſhuld ſpede in this warre, wherunto ſhe anſwered, that he ſhuld boldly go forwarde in them, for he ſhould ride with a crown on his head throughe Chrape ſide: & ſo by yͤ deceaueable propheſie, he was deluded & brought to diſtruction. The encoũter wherin the Welchemen wer vãquiſhed (as before ye haue herd) chaũced on the Friday before S. Lucies day. King Edwarde being certified thus of the victorie, ſtreighte wayes marcheth forth with his people, and appoynteth at euery paſſage certaine bandes of ſouldiours to lye in wayte for the enimies. Alſo at the foote of the hylles he leaueth his horſemen, and mounteth vp the hilles himſelf, with the reſidue of his army. There were certaine Gaſcoignes, which the Lord Iohn Veſcy had brought with him out of their countrey, to ſerue the Kyng, whiche brenned manye Townes, and ſlew great numbers of yͤ Welchmen, all that came in their way, and finally, they giuing an aſſaulte to Snowdon Caſtell, wanne it by fyne force.

In this meane tyme, the Welchmen, when they ſawe themſelues encloſed, and ſtopped from all wayes to eſcape, after the maner of wilde beaſtes, flee into the thicke woodes and caues, ſome of them make ſhift to get downe through the ſteepe and broken rockes, and ſome of them ſeeking to eſcape by flight, fall into their enimies handes, and are eyther ſlayne or taken, and amongſt theſe, aboute Midſommer, was Dauid taken, togither with his wife, his two ſonnes, and ſeuen daughters, and brought to the Kyng, who ſent them firſt vnto Rutland Caſtell, there to be ſafely kept. K. Edward hauing ſubdued the Welchmen that inhabited in the Mountaynes, went about all the Countrey to conquere the reſidue, aſſembling all his army togither, and then purſuing his aduerſaries, made great ſlaughter of them on eache ſide, ſo that there were ſlayne aboue three thouſand men: then hauing the countrey at his will, he gaue vnto the Engliſh Lordes Townes in the middeſt of Wales, and deuided the countrey into Shires, ordeined Sherifes, and other officers as then were vſed in Englande. At Aberconow hee builded a ſtrong Caſtell, where before, was an houſe of white Monkes, the whiche hee remoued to the Vale royall in Cheſſhire, where he builded a fayre Abbey of the Ciſtraux order, and endowed it with greate landes and reuenewes. He alſo made and fortified the Caſtell of Carnaruan faſt by Snowdon, and repared agayne the Towne of Lambaterwhir, otherwiſe called Abereſwith, which Lewline had before beaten downe. Alſo, he placed Engliſh garriſons in the Caſtels and holdes by the Sea ſides, & made Engliſhmen Lordes of the groundes and poſſeſſions belonging to the ſame. Rees a Bonan one of the chiefeſt and mightieſt Captaynes of all Wales, which during the warres, had done more diſpleaſure to the Engliſhe men, than any other, in ſpoyling their confynes, and making greate ſlaughters vpon them, vnderſtanding nowe both of the deathe of Prince Lewline, and the takyng of his brother Dauid, and alſo, perceyuing hymſelfe purſued on each ſide, at length, yeelded hymſelfe and his complices, vnto Humfrey de Boun Erle of Hereforde, who ſtraight wayes ſente him to the Kyng, and the Kyng ſente him to London, there to be kept priſoner in the Tower.

Wales deuided into ſhires.

The Vale Royall built by K. Edward the firſte.



Thus Kyng Edwarde, hauing broughte the rebellious Welchmen vnder his correction, hee appoynted his generall Lieutenaunt there, the Lorde Robert Tiptoft, and when hee had ſet all things in good order, about Michaelmas he came to Shrewſbury, where at a Parliament by hym there holden, the foreſayde Dauid (that was broughte thither) as chiefe procurer of all thys warre, was condemned of treaſon, and was afterwarde executed, according to iudgement pronounced againſte him, that is to witte, hee was hanged drawen and quartered. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vp by the head of his brother Lewline. His quarters were deuided, and ſent to be ſet vp on the gates of four of the chiefeſt Cities of England. During theſe warres, the King had of the Temporaltie, the thirtith parte of all their goodes, and of the Spiritualtie, the twentith parte, towardes the maintenance of the

A Parliament at Shreweſburie.

Dauid condemned of treaſon.

He is executed.

Nic. Triuet.

ſame warres.

The ſame yeare alſo after Michaelmas, the Kyng helde a Parliamente at Acton Burnell, wherein, thoſe ſtatutes were ordeyned, whiche vnto this day beare the name of the place where they were made.

An.reg.12.
1284

Edward the ſecond borne.

In the twelfth yeare of this Kings raigne, his eldeſt ſonne Alfonſe departed this life at Windſor, and on Saint Markes daye, hys ſonne Edward that after ſucceeded him in the Kingdome, was borne at Carnaruan, where the King had bulded a ſtrong Caſtell, and was come thyther with the Queene at that tyme, to ſee the ſame.

Abingdon.

Alſo this yeare, in the Quindene of Sainte Michaell, the Iuſtices *Itinerantes* began to goe their generall circuites.

A gre
peſt on
day in
morni

On Eaſter day, which fell this yeare the ninth of Aprill, beeing alſo leape yeare, in the morning about the riſing of the ſunne, the elemente was ſhadowed with ſuche darkeneſſe and thickneſſe of aire, that it ſeemed to ware night again, and ſuddainely roſe an horrible tempeſt, fyrſte of hayle and rayne, and after of ſnow, that couered all the Earthe, and then followed ſuche thunder and lightning, that men were maruellouſly amaſed therewith, conſidering it ſeemed to bee againſt the nature of the ſeaſon, for vnneth in Aprill ſhall ye heare any ſuch thunder. At length yet it brake vp, and the element recouered hir accuſtomed cleereneſſe.

An.
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Briſtowe.

In the thirteenth yere of his raigne, King Edward kept his Chriſtmas at Briſtowe, and helde there a priuate Councell, but no generall Parliamente, and this was the firſte tyme that anye Engliſhe King can be remembred, to haue kepte any ſolemne feaſt at Briſtowe.

Ambaſſadors from the French kyng.

The King then leauing his Court of Chancery at Briſtowe, with his children, came to Lõdon, where he had not bin almoſt of three yeares before. Heere came meſſengers to him from the Frenche King, requiring him to come in perſon, with a certayne number of men of warre, to ayde him in the warres againſt the King of Aragone, as of right he ought to doe, by reaſon of the Duchie of Guyenne which he held of him.

William the Archbyſhop of Yorke deceaſſed.

John Romane Archbyſhop of Yorke.

Marton Colledge in Oxford builte.

The ſame yeare, dyed William the Archbyſhop of Yorke, after hee had gouerned that See ſixe yeares, and then ſucceeded one John ſurnamed Romayne.

Aboute this ſeaſon, was Marton Colledge in Oxforde founded by Walter Marton that was Lord Chauncellour of England, and after Byſhoppe of Rocheſter. King Edwarde ſeaſed the franchiſes and liberties of London into hys handes, and diſcharged the Maior then beeing Gregory Rokkeſley, & appointed for *Cuſtos* and Guardein of the Citie, one Stephen Sandwich, the which from the day of the cõuerſion of Saint Paule, till the Monday following the Purification of our Lady, continued in that office, & was then diſcharged, and Sir John Breton Knighte charged therewith for the reſidue of the yeare.

There is no certain knowledge left in recordes, why the Kyng tooke ſuche diſpleaſure with the Citie, ſaue that the Mayor, the ſayde Gregory Rokkeſley, as the ſame went, tooke bribes of the bakers, and ſuffred them to ſell bread, lacking ſixe or ſeauen ounces of weight in a peny loſe.

The new worke of the Church of Weſtminſter, to the ende of the quiar, begun as before is ſhewed, in the thirde yeare of Kyng Henry, was this yeare fully finiſhed.

The
the
Ky

The nineteenth of Marche, dyed Alexander Kyng of Scotlande by a fall whyche he caught as hee ranne a ſtirring horſe: hee left no iſſue behinde hym, nor any certain knowne heire to ſucceede hym, by reaſon whereof enſued greate borne to that Realme (as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie, may more at large appeare.) The manner of whoſe death, as in Richard Southwell I fynde it reported, I haue thought good briefly to touch, for that in recitall thereof, hee ſomewhat diſagreeth from the Scottiſh hiſtorie. There went (ſaith he) a common ſpeeche through Scotlande all this yeare, before the Kynges deathe, that the ſame nineteenth of Marche, ſhoulde the daye of Iudgement be: and here vpon, as the ſayd king ſate at dinner in the Caſtell of Edenburgh, hauing a diſhe of excellente good Lampreys before him, he ſent part thereof vnto one of the Lordes that ſate at ſome other table, not farre from him, and willed him by the Gentleman that bare it, to be merrie, and to haue in minde, that this was the day of doome: the Lorde ſente him thankes agayne, and prayed the meſſenger to tell the king merily; that if this were the day of doome, they ſhould riſe to iudgemente ſpeedily with their bellies filled, with good meates and drinkes. After that they had dyned, and nighte began to drawe on, hee toke his Horſe, and onely accompanyed with three Gentlemenne, woulde needes ride to Kingorne, where the Queene his new wife then lay, and before he coulde get vnto Innerkenin it was darke nighte, ſo that hee toke there two guides to leade him the way, but they hadde not ridden paſt two miles, but that the guides hadde quite loſt the way, ſo that they were driuen to gyue their horſes libertie to beate it out themſelues: but herewith, the King being ſeuered from his company, how he ruled his Horſe it is harde to ſay, but downe he was throwen, and immediately died with the vehement fall which he thus caught, eyther headlong down one of the cliffes, or otherwiſe, and thus he came to his ende, on a monday being Saint Cuthberts euen the nynetenth of March (as before is noted) after he hadde raigned ſixe and thirtie yeares & nine monethes, as the ſame Southwell writeth, who alſo contrary to that which Hec. Boe. writeth, affirmeth, that yͤ ſame day was ſo tempeſtuous with winde, ſnow, hayle and raine, that hee, and many other that thē liued and felt it, durſt not vncouer theyr faces in going abrode againſte the bitter Northren winde, that droue the ſnow and ſleete moſt vehemently vpon them. And although that ſuche foule weather might haue ſtayed him frō takyng his iorney in that ſort, yet he made no accompte thereof, as hee that was accuſtomed to ride as wel in foule weather as faire, and ſpared neyther for tempeſt, waters, nor craggie rockes, thick nor thinne, for al was one to him, oftentimes takyng his iourney in diſguiſed apparell, accompanyed only with one ſeruaunt. But to returne vnto the doings in England. This yeare, the Kyng toke eſcuage fortie ſhillings of euery Knightes fee, towards the charges of his laſt warres in Wales.

A Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, at the which were made yͤ ſtatutes called *Additamenta Gloceſtriæ*, or rather the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the ſeconde.

An. reg. 14.

Fabian.

Thomas Piwileſdon a Citizen of London.

In the fourtenth yeare of K. Edward, a Citizen of London named Thomas Piwileſdon, the whiche in time of the Barons warres had bin a greate doer to ſtirre the people againſt Kyng Henry, was now accuſed, that hee with other ſhuld goe about to make new diſturbance within the Citie: whereof, enquirie beeyng made and had before ſir Rauſe Standiſch as the *Cuſtos*, or guardein of the Citie, the ſaid Piwileſdon, & other, to the number of fiftie, were baniſhed the Citie for euer.

He with othes are baniſhed the Citie.

A new order for merchant ſtraungers.

Alſo, where of olde tyme before this ſeaſon, the merchaunte ſtraungers were vſed to be lodged within the dwelling houſes of the Citizens of London, and ſold all theyr merchandiſe, by procuration of their hoſtes, for the whiche their ſayde hoſtes had a certayne allowance, after the rate of euery pound. Now it was ordered, that the ſayde merchaunt ſtraungers myghte take houſes to hyre, for to inhabite therein, and for ſtowage of their wares, and no Citizen to intermedle with them or their wares: by reaſon whereof, they vſed many deceyptes, both in vttering counterfaite wares, and alſo vniuſt waightes: and moreouer, muche of thoſe wares which they ſhould haue wayed at yͤ kings beame, they wayed at home within their houſes, to the hinderance of the Kings cuſtome. Hereof, ſearch being made vpon a ſuddayne, and their waightes founde and prowued falſe, twentie of the ſayde ſtraungers were arreſted and ſente to the Tower and theyr wayghtes brent, deſtroyed and broken to peeces in Weſt cheape, the thurſeday before the feaſt of Simon and Iude. Fynally, the ſayde Merchauntes were deliuered, being putte to a fyne of a thouſande pounde, after ſore and hard impriſonmente.

Strangers committed to the Tower.

1286

The Iewes in one nyghte were generally apprehended, and putte in priſon, through all the parties of Englande, and ſo kept in durance, till they hadde fyned at the Kynges pleaſure.

It is reported, that the commons of Englande graunted to the Kyng, the fifte parte of theyr moueables, to haue the Iewes baniſhed out of the land: but the Iewes to put the Engliſhmē from their purpoſe, gaue to the Kyng greate ſummes of money, whereby they tarried yet a whyle longer.

N. Triuet.

The Kyng paſſeth ouer into Fraunce.

King Edward went ouer into Fraunce vpon the fiue and twentith of May, paſſing through Pycardy vnto Amiens, and there the Frenche Kyng to doe him honor, was ready to receyue hym. Here Kyng Edwarde dyd homage vnto the Frenche Kyng, for yͤ lands which he ought to holde of hym in Fraunce. And after, hee was alſo preſent at a Parliament, the which yͤ Frēch King helde at Paris, in the whiche hee obteyned many things for the liberties of his ſayd landes, as then by diuers wayes wrongfully oppreſſed, though ſuch graunt continued not long in force. After Whitſontide, King Edward departed frō Paris, and wente into Gaſcoigne, togither with his wife Queene Eleanor, the whiche was with him in all this iorney.

An.reg.15.
1287

This yeare, the King wente into Aragone, where his authoritie auayled muche, in the making of agreement betwixt the kings of Aragone and Naples, whereby, Charles King of Naples was then ſet at libertie, vpon certayne couenants paſſed, and agreed betwixt them.

Rich.South.

The Kings mother Queene Eleanor thys yeare forſooke the world, and tooke vppon hir the habite of a Nunne at Ambreſbury, but yet ſhee ſtill reteined and enioyed hir dower by the Popes authoritie and diſpenſation.

Briſtow faire robbed.

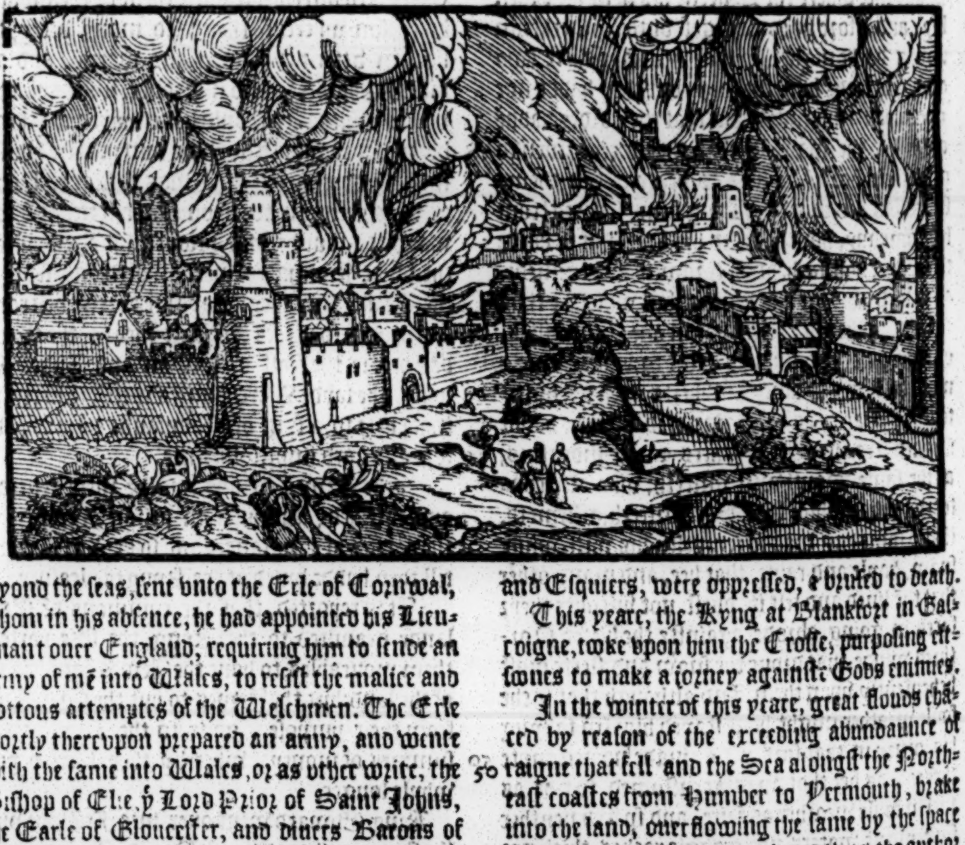
Aboute this time, a Squire called Chamberlaine, with his complices, ſet fire in the merchāts boothes, at Saint Butholpes fayre, and whyleſt the Merchauntes were about to quench the fire, the ſayde Squire and his complices ſet vpon the ſayd Merchaunts, ſlewe many of them, and robbed them of their goodes.

Varia twixt Lord Tip Rice docu

This yeare, fell variance betweene the Lorde Payne Tiptoft, Wardeine of certayne Caſtels in Wales, and a Welch Knight called Sir Rice ap Meridocke, ſo that ſundry ſkirmiſhes were foughten betwixt them, and men ſlayne on both ſides, to the great diſturbance of the Countrey.

N.T

The cauſe of this warre, roſe chiefly, for that the ſaid Lord Tiptoft, & the Lord Alane Plucknet, the kings Steward in Wales, would haue cōſtreined the ſaid Rees to appeare at counties & hundreds, as the vſe in other parts of Wales thē was, contrary to ſuch liberties as he had obteined of the K. as he pretēded. But when the K. wrote vnto the ſame Rees, requiring him to keepe the peace, til his returne (at what time, he promiſed to reforme al things in due & reaſonable order) Rees hauing already put armour vpō his back, would not now encline to any peace, but to reuenge hys cauſe, aſſēbled a great multitude of Welchmē, with whoſe help hee brente and deſtroyed many Townes in Wales, ſo that the King being then beyond the ſeas, ſent vnto the Erle of Cornwal, whom in his abſence, he had appointed his Lieutenant ouer England, requiring him to ſende an army of mē into Wales, to reſiſt the malice and riottous attemptes of the Welchmen. The Erle ſhortly thervpon prepared an army, and wente with the ſame into Wales, or as other write, the Biſhop of Ele, yͤ Lord Prior of Saint Iohns, the Earle of Glouceſter, and diuers Barons of the land went thither, and chaſing the ſaid Rees, diſperſed his army, and ouerthrewe and raſed his caſtells, but by vndermining and reuerſing the walles of the Caſtell of Druſlan, with the fall therof, the Baron Stafford, and the Lord William de Monchency, with many other Knightes and Eſquiers, were oppreſſed, & bruſed to death.



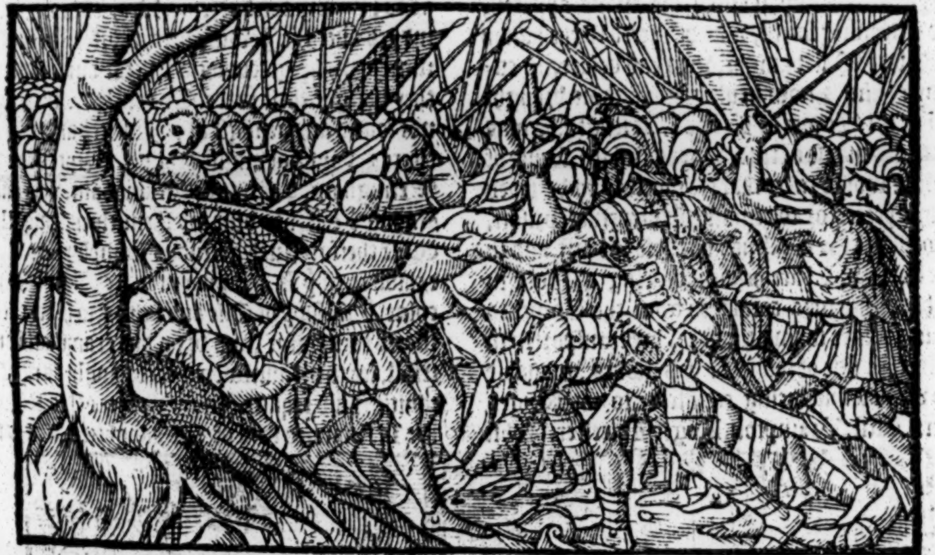
This yeare, the Kyng at Blankfort in Gaſcoigne, tooke vpon him the Croſſe, purpoſing eftſoones to make a iorney againſt Gods enimies.

Ch

In the winter of this yeare, great floudes chaūced by reaſon of the exceeding abundaunce of raigne that fell and the Sea alongſt the Northeaſt coaſtes from Humber to Yermouth, brake into the land, ouerflowing the ſame by the ſpace of three or foure leagues in breadth, as the author of the Chronicle of Dunſtable affirmeth, ouerthrowing buildings, and drowning vp mē and cattaylle, that coulde not auoyde the daunger, by the ſuddayne commyng in thereof, namely, about Yermouth, Dunwiche, and Gippeſwiche

wiche. Likewiſe in the Mers lande of Lincolneſhire, it did paſſing greate hurte, bringing al the Countrey into water. This chanced in the very night of the beginning of this yeare, to wit, in the feaſt of the circumciſion of our lord, and in December it brake out againe in Northfolke and Suffolke, wher it did much harme, namely about Yermouth.

This yeare, and likewiſe the yeare laſt paſt, was ſuche plentie of grayne, that wheate was ſolde in ſome places of this lande, for twentie pence a quarter, and in ſome places for ſixteene pence, and peas for twelue pence a quarter. The ſommer this yeare exceeded in heate, ſo that men through the intemperate exceſſe thereof, dyed in diuers places. It chanced in Gaſcoigne, that as the King and Queene ſate in their chamber vpõ a bedde talking togither, the thunder bolte comming in at the windowe behinde them, paſſed through betwixt thẽ as they ſate, and ſlewe two of their Gentlemen that ſtoode before thẽ, to the great terror of all yͭ were preſent. This yeare, dyuers of thoſe yͭ had robbed the faire at Boſton, were executed. Moreouer, wheras Rees ap Meridocke continued ſtil in his miſcheuous doings, at length, the Lorde deputie of Wales, Roberte Tiptoft, vſing both ſpeedy diligence, and tymely counſell, gathering all ſuche power as hee coulde make, paſſed forth againſt his aduerſaries. Wherof, when ſir Rees was aduertiſed, and vnderſtanding that the Engliſhmen were far fewer in nũber than his Welchmẽ, he thought to ouerthrow them at his pleaſure, and therfore encouraging his people with many cõfortable words, to ſhew their manhood vpõ the Engliſhmens approch, he haſted to meete them. The Welchmen being for the more part but yong ſouldiers, and not trayned to keepe any order of battayle, ranne fiercely vpon their enimies, aſſayling them on the front before, on the ſides a flanke, and on the backe behinde, enforcing themſelues to the vttermoſt of their power to breake their array. But yͤ Engliſhmen valiantly reſiſted, ſo that there was a ſore battayle for a while, and the more couragiouſly yͤ Welchmen aſſailed, yͤ more ſtoutly the Engliſhmen defended, in keeping thẽſelues cloſe togither, & beating back their aduerſaries: and at lẽgth, perceiuing thẽ to faint & waxe weery, they ruſh forth into yͤ middle of yͤ Welchmen, & brake them in ſunder, ſo that when they ſaw thẽſelues thus repulſed by the Engliſhmẽ, contrary vnto all their expectation, they knew not what to doe, for they durſt neyther fighte nor flee, and ſo by yͭ meanes were beaten downe on euery ſide. Meridocke himſelfe was taken, but the moſte part of al his army was ſlain, to the number of four M. mẽ. Thus were the Welchmẽ worthily chaſtiſed for their Rebellion. Sir Rees ap Meridocke was had to Yorke, wher at lẽgth, after yͤ K. was returned out of Gaſcoigne, he was hãged, drawẽ and quartred. This yere on S. Margarets euen, that is, the 19. day of July, fel a wonderful tẽpeſt of haile, that yͤ like had not bin ſeene nor heard of by any mã thẽ liuing. And after, ther enſued such continuall raine, ſo diſtempering yͤ ground, that corne waxed very deare, in ſo muche, that where wheate was ſolde before at three d. a buſhell, the market ſo roſe by little and little, yͭ it was ſolde for two s. a buſhell, and ſo yͤ dearth encreaſed ſtil almoſt, by yͤ ſpace of 40. yeres, til yͤ death of Edward the ſecod, in ſo much, that ſometime a buſhell of wheate, London meaſure, was ſolde at tenne ſhillings.



Polidor.
Ran. Higd.
Nic. Triuet.

A great dearth beginneth.

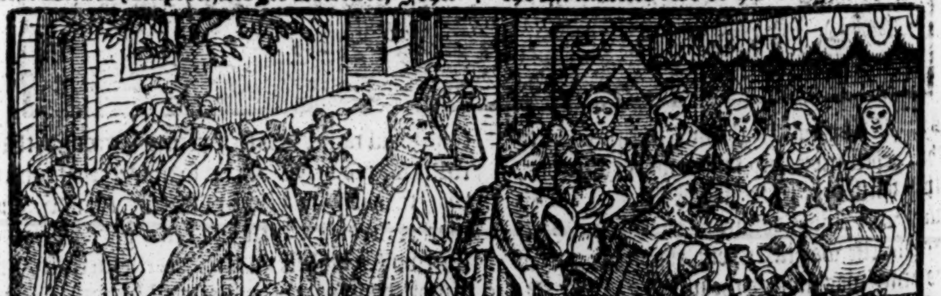
The King, after he hadde remained a three yeares, two moneths, and fifteene dayes in Gaſcoigne, and in other parts there beyond the ſea, he returned into Englãd the fourth day of Auguſt, & vpõ the euen of our Ladys day yͤ Aſſumptiõ, he came to London, where he was moſt ioyfully receyued, & ſo came to Weſtminſter: wher ſhortly after, were preſented vnto him many greeuous complayntes and informations, againſt dyuers of his Iuſtices, as ſir Thomas Weyland, Adam Stretton, and others, the which were had in examination, and thereupon, found giltie of manye treſpaſſes and tranſgreſſions, in ſo much, that it was giuẽ him to vnderſtand, ỹ there were amõg them that had giuen conſent to the cõmitting of murders & robberies, & wittingly had recepted the offendors. Whereupõ, the K. cauſed ſtraight enquirie to be made by an inqueſt of 12. ſubſtantiall perſonages, who found by verdict, that Thomas Weyland Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the kings bẽch, had cauſed a murther to be done by his ſeruants, and after ſuccoured and maynteyned them: whereupon, he was by the kings officers arreſted, but eſcaping their hãds, he tooke Saintuarie in ỹ Church of ỹ Friers minors at S. Edmondeſburie, & was admitted into their habite, but within 40. dayes after, order was giuen by the K. that no kind of vittayles ſhould bee ſuffered to be conueyed into that houſe, ſo that all the Friers came forth, except three or four, & at length, he was cõſtreyned to take vpon him a lay mans apparell, and comming forth, was deliuered to the hands of Robert Malet knight, who had before, the cuſtody of him, & now hauing him againe, brought him to the Tower of London. At length, he was put to his choyſe of three wayes, which ſoeuer of them he would take, that is, whether to be tryed by hys peeres, or to remaine in perpetuall priſon, or to abiure the Realme: he choſe the laſt, and ſo bare footed, and bare headed, bearing a Croſſe in his hand, hee was conueyed from the Tower to Douer, where taking the Sea, hee tranſported to the further ſide of the Sea hys goodes, mouable and vnmouable, beeing confiſcate to the Kinges coffers. Wil. Brampton, Roger Leiceſter, Iohn Lineth, aſſociates of ỹ ſaid Thomas, & Iuſtices of ỹ kings bench: Alſo, Roberte Lithbury Chaplayn, & maſter of ỹ rolles, being accuſed of wrõgful iudgemẽts and other treſpaſſes were cõmitted to priſon within the Tower, and at length with much adoe, eſcaped with paying their fynes, ſo ỹ hee whiche payed leaſt, gaue a thouſand markes. Moreouer, Salomon of Rocheſter, Thomas de Sudington, Richard de Boylande, & Walter de Hopton, Iuſtices *Itinerantes*, were likewiſe puniſhed, & for ỹ ſemblable offences, put to their fines. Sir Rauf de Hinghã a Iuſtice alſo, to whom in ỹ kings abſence, the ordering of ỹ Realme chiefly apperteyned, being accuſed of diuers tranſgreſſions, & cõmitted to ỹ tower, redeemed his offence for an infinit ſumme of money: Adam de Stratton, Lord chiefe Baron of the eſchecker, being cõuicted of many hainous crimes, a man plentifully prouided both of temporall poſſeſſions, and eccleſiaſticall reuenewes, loſt all hys temporall lyuings and 34. thouſande markes in ready coine, beſide other mouables, in cattaile, iuwels & furniture of houſhold, which were all confiſked, & forfeyted wholly: and it was thought, he was gẽtly delt, ỹ he eſcaped with life, & ſuch ſpiritual liuings as to him remained. Henry Bray eſcheator, & the iudges ouer the Iewes, were reported to haue cõmitted many greeuous offences, but for money they bought their peace. To conclude, there was not found any amõgſt al ỹ Iuſtices and officers cleere & voyde of vniuſt dealing, except Iohn de Metingham, & Elias de Bekingham, who only among ỹ reſt, had behaued themſelues vprightly. Whẽ therfore, ſuch greeuous complayntes were exhibited to ỹ K. he appoynted the Earle of Lincolne, ỹ Biſhop of Elie and others, to heare euery mans complaint, and vpon due examinatiõ and triall, ſee them aunſwered accordingly as right & equitie ſhuld require. In the 18. yere of his raigne, the K. married two of his daughters, that is to

Chron. Dunſt.

Thomas Weyland Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the kings benche.

Robert Mallet.

William Brampton. Roger Leiceſter.



witte,

arle.
uet.

witte, Ioane de Acres vnto Gilberte de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, and the Lady Margaret vnto the Lord Iohn ſonne to the Duke of Brabant. The Kyng ordeyned, that all the wolle which ſhould be ſolde vnto ſtraungers, ſhould be brought vnto Sandwich, where the ſtaple therof was kept long time after.

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The ſame yeare, was a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, wherein, the ſtatutes of Weſtminſter the third were ordeyned. It was alſo decreed, that all the Iewes ſhoulde auoide out of the land, in conſideration whereof, a fifteenth was graunted to the King, and ſo herevpon, were the Iewes baniſhed out of all the Kings dominiōs, and neuer ſithence, could obteyne any priuiledge to returne hither againe. All their goodes not moueable, were confiſcate, with their taillies and obligations, but all other theyr goodes that were moueable, togither with their coyne of golde and ſiluer, the King licenced them to haue and conueigh with them. A ſort of the richeſt of them, being ſhipped with their treaſure in a mightie talle ſhippe which they had hired, when the ſame was vnder ſayle, and gote downe the Thames towards the mouth of the riuer beyonde Quinborowe, the maſter Mariner bethoughte him of a wile, and cauſed his menne to caſt ancre, and ſo rode at the ſame, till the Shippe by ebbing of the ſtreame, remayned on ẏ drie ſands. The maſter herewith entiſed the Iewes forth with him to walke a land for their recreation, and at lēgth, when he vnderſtode the tide to be comming in, he gote him backe to the ſhippe, whether he was drawen vp by a corde. The Iewes made not ſo muche haſt as he did, bycauſe they were not ware of the daunger, but when they perceyued how the matter ſtode, they cried to him for helpe: but hee tolde thē, that they ought to crie rather to Moyſes, by whoſe conduct their father paſſed through the redde Sea, and therefore if they would call to him for helpe, hee was able ynough to helpe them out of thoſe raging floudes whiche nowe came in vpon them: they cried indeede, but no ſuccour appeared, and ſo they were ſwallowed vp in water. The maſter returned with the Shippe, and tolde the King howe hee had vſed the matter, and had both thanks and rewarde, as ſome haue written, where other affirme, and more truely as ſhould ſeeme, that diuers of thoſe marriners which dealte ſo wickedly againſt the Iewes, were hanged for their wicked practiſe, and ſo receyued a iuſt rewarde of their fraudulente and miſcheuous dealing. But now to the purpoſe.

Iewes drowned.

Chro. Dun.

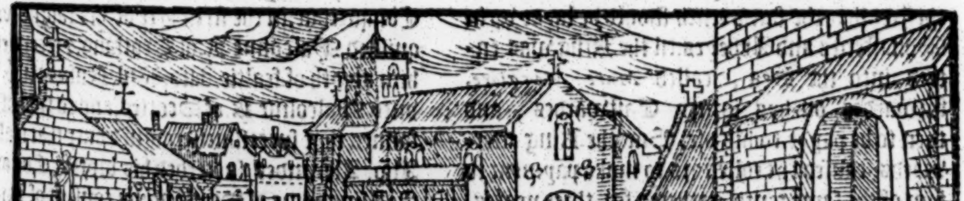
In the foreſayde Parliamente, the Kyng demaunded an ayde of money of the Spiritualtie, for that (as he pretended) he meant to make a iorney into the holy lande, to ſuccour the Chriſtians there: whereupon, they graunted to him the eleuenth parte of al their moueables. He receiued the money aforehande, but letted by other buſineſſe at home, he went not forth vpon that iorney.

The eleuenth part of eccleſiaſticall reuenewes, graunted to the K.

An. Reg. 19.
The deceaſſe of Q. Eleanor.

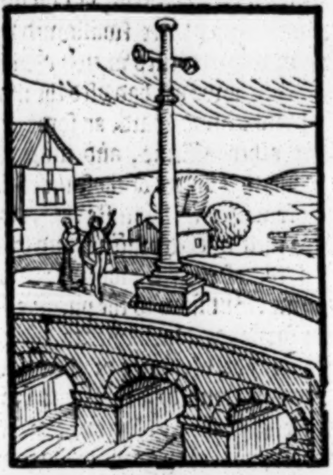
Tho. VVal.

In the nineteenth yeare of King Edwarde, Queene Eleanor Kyng Edwardes wife dyed vpon Saint Andrewes euen at Herdeby, or Herdeley (as ſome haue) neere to Lincolne, the Kyng beyng as thē on his way towards ẏ borders of Scotlād: but hauing now loſt ẏ iewell which hee moſt eſteemed, he returned towards Londō to accōpany ẏ corps vnto Weſtminſter, wher it was buried in S. Edwards Chappell, at the feete of K. Henry the third. She was a right godly & modeſt princes, ful of pitie, & one ẏ ſhewed much fauour to ẏ Engliſh natiō, ready to releeue euery mans griefe that ſuſteyned wrong, and to make them



frendes that were at diſcorde, ſo farre as in hir lay.

In euery Towne and place where the corpes reſted by the way, the Kyng cauſed a Croſſe of cunning workmanſhippe to be erected in remembrance of hir, and in the ſame, was a picture of hir engrauen.



Charing croſſe and other erected.

Two of the like Croſſes were ſet vp at Londō, one at Charing, & the other in Weſt Cheape.

Moreouer, he gaue in almes euery wedneſday whereſoeuer hee wente, pence a peece, to all ſuche poore folkes, as came to demaund the ſame.

1291

The tenth of ſpirituall reuenewes grāted to the K.

Aboute the ſame time, bycauſe that the Kyng ſhoulde bee the more willing to goe into the holy land as he had promiſed to doe, hauing money to furniſh him forth, the Pope graunted vnto hym the tenth of the Church of Englād, Scotlād and Ireland, according to the true value of all the reuenewes belonging to the ſame for ſixe yeares. He wrote to the Biſhops of Lincolne and Wincheſter, that the ſame tenth ſhould be layde vp in Monaſteries and Abbeyes, til the King was entred into the Sea, called *Mare Maggiore*, forwardes on hys iorney Eaſtwardes, and then to be payde to his vſe. But the King afterwards, cauſed the collectors to make payment to him of the ſame tenth gathered for three yeares, and layde vp in Monaſteries, although he ſet not one fote forward in that iorney, as letted through other buſineſſe.

Alſo, by reaſon of the controuerſie whiche depended as then betwixt diuers perſons, as competitors of the Crowne of Scotland, he went into the North partes. & kept his Eaſter at Newcaſtell, and ſhortly after, called a Parliamente at Northampton, where by the aduice of the Prelates and other of his councell, learned in both the lawes, vpon knowledge had by ſearch of records, and Chronicles of auncient time, hee cauſed all the Prelates and Barons of Scotland to be called afore him, and there in the Pariſh Church of Norham, hee declared vnto them his right to the ſuperioritie of the Kingdom of Scotland, and requiring of them, that they woulde recogniſe the ſame, proteſting, that he would defende the right of his Crowne, to the ſhedding of his own bloud, that a true certificate & information might come to light of his title and rightfull clayme, vnto the direct and ſupreme dominion, ouer the Realm of Scotland. He had cauſed verily all the Hiſtories, Chronicles and monumēts that were to be foūd within Englād, Scotlād & Wales, to be ſought vp and periſed, ẏ it might be knowen, what right he had in this behalfe: whereupon, it was founde by ẏ Chronicles of Marianus the Scot, Wil. of Malmeſ. Roger Houeden, Henry Huntington, Rauf de Diceto, & others, ẏ in the yere of our lord 910. K. Edwarde ſurnamed *Senior*, or the elder, ſubdued to him the kings of Scottes & Welchmē alſo, that in the yere 921. the ſame people choſe the ſaid Edward to be their King and patrone. And likewiſe, in the yeare 926. Athelſtane King of England, vanquiſhed Conſtantine K. of Scotland, and permitted him yet to raigne vnder him. Morouer, Edred ẏ brother of Athelſtan, and K. of Englād, ouercame the Scottes and Northūbers, ẏ which ſubmitted themſelues to him and ſware to him fealtie. Alſo Edgar K. of England vanquiſhed Kineth the ſonne of Alpine Kyng of Scotland, who ſware fealtie to him. Likewiſe Cnute K. of Englād and Denmarke, in the ſixtenth yere of his raigne ouercame Malcolme K. of Scottes, and ſo became K. of four kingdoms, England, Scotland, Denmarke and Norway. Furthermore, that bleſſed K. Saint Edwarde, gaue ẏ kingdome of Scotland vnto Malcolme the ſonne of the K. of Cumberlande, to holde the ſame of him. Again, Willi. Baſtard the Normā Conquerour, in the ſixth yere of his raigne vanquiſhed Malcolme K. of Scotland, & receyued of him an oth of fealtie. Alſo, Wil. Rufus did ẏ like vnto Malcolme K. of Scottes, and to two of his ſonnes that ſucceſſiuely raigned ouer that realm. Alſo, Alexander ſucceded his brother Edgar in the Kingdome of Scotland, by conſent of Kyng Henry ẏ firſt. Alſo, Dauid K. of Scotlande, dyd homage to K. Stephen, and Wil. K. of Scottes, did homage to Henry, the ſon of K. Henry ẏ ſecond, whē in his fathers life time, he was Crowned, and againe, to Henry the father, in the twētith yeare of his raigne, as by an agreemēt made betwixt thē two, it doth appere. Alſo, Ro. Houed. ſaith, that Willi. K. of Scotland, came to his ſoueraigne Lord K. Henry into Normandy, and likewiſe to K. Richard, & moreouer, to K. John, at Lincolne, doing to them his homage. Alſo, in the Chronicles of S. Albons it is found, that Alexander King of Scotlande married at Yorke Margaret the daughter of K. Hēry the third in ẏ 35. yeare of his raigne, and did to hym homage.

And further when king Edwarde himſelfe was crowned at Weſtminſter, in the yere of our Lorde. 1274. being the ſeconde of his raigne, the laſt deceaſſed king of Scotlande, Alexander the third of yͤ name, did homage vnto him at Weſt. the morow after the coronatiō. All which homages and fealties thus done by ſundrie kings of Scotland, vnto ſundrie kings of England, were directly and moſt manifeſtly proued to bee done for the Realme of Scotlande, and not onelye for the landes whiche they helde of the kings of Englande within Englande, as the Scottiſhe wryters woulde ſeeme to colour the matter. But things being then freſh in memorie, no ſuch cauillation might be auerred. And ſo herevpon king Edwardes tytle being ſubſtantially proued, he was recogniſed ſuperiour Lorde of Scotlande, of all them that pretended tytle at that tyme to that kingdome, by wrytings thereof made and confirmed vnder theyr ſeales, the which being written in French conteyned as here followeth.

A Tous iceulx, qui ceſte preſente lettre verrunt ou orrunt, Florence Counte de Holland, Robert de Brus ſeigneur du Val Danand, Iohn Bailol ſeigneur de Gallawey, Iohn de Haſtings ſeigneur de Abergeuenne, Iohn Comin ſeigneur de Badenaugh Patrique de Dunbar Count de la Marche, Iohn de Veſcy pur ſon pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaum de Ros, ſaluz en deu. Come nous entendons d'auer droyt en reaume d'Eſcoce, & celle droyt munſtrer, chalẽger, & auerer deuant celuy, que plus de poer, iuriſdiction, & reeſun, euſt de trier noſtre droyt, & le nobleprince Sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, rey d'Angleterre, nous a enforme per bonnes & ſuffiſaunt reeſons, que a luy apent, & auer doyt la ſouerein ſeigneurie, du dict reaume d'Eſcoce, & la cogniſaunce de oir, trier & terminer noſtre droyt. Nous de noſtre propre volũte, ſanz nulle maniere de force ou deſtreſſe, voluns, otrions, & grantons de receiure droyt deuaunt luy, come ſouerein ſeigneur de la terre. Et voluns ia lemeins, & promettons, que nous auerons, et tendrons, ferme, & eſtable ſon fait, & que celui emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. En teſſimogne de ceſte choſe, nous auons mis nos ſeaules a ceſt eſcript. Fait & donné a Norham, le Mardi prochein apres la Aſcention. L'an de grace. M.CC. nouante, premerein.

Which in Engliſh is as followeth

TO all them that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare. Florence Earle of Holland, Robert le Bruce Lorde of Annandale, Iohn Comyn Lorde of Badenaw, Patrike de Dunbarre Erle of Marche, Iohn de Balliol Lord of Galloway, Iohn Haſtings Lorde of Abergeuenny, Iohn de Veſcy in ſtead of his father, Nicholas de Sules, and Walter Ros, ſende greeting in our Lorde. Whereas wee intende to haue right in the kingdome of Scotlande, and intende to declare, challenge, and proue the ſame before him that hath the beſt authoritie, iuriſdiction and reaſon to examine our right, and that the noble Prince the Lorde Edwarde, by the grace of God King of England, by good and ſufficient reaſons hath informed vs, that the ſuperior dominion of Scotland belongeth to him, and that he ought to haue the knowledge in the hearing, examining, and defining of our right, we of our free willes without all violence and conſtraynt, will, conſent, and graunt, to receyue our right before him, as the ſuperior Lord of the lande: We will alſo and promiſe, that we ſhall haue and holde his deede for fyrme and ſtable, and that he ſhall haue the kingdome, vnto whom before him beſt right ſhall aſſigne the ſame. In witneſſe whereof we haue to theſe letters put our ſeales. Yeuen at Norham, the Tueſday next after the feaſt of the Aſcention of our Lorde, in the yeare. 1291.

The recogniſing therefore made of the ſuperioritie and ſubmiſſion of graunt to receyue that which before the king of England ſhould by law be defined, the ſayde king requyred to haue the Caſtels, and the whole lande deliuered vnto hys poſſeſſion, that by peaceable ſeyſine thereof had, his right of ſuperioritie now recogniſed by theyr letters and wrytings, might be the more manifeſt and apparant to the whole world. They ſtreight way agreed to the kings requeſt, and wrytings thereof were made and confirmed wyth theyr Seales, being written in Frenche. The tenour whereof enſueth.

A Tous iceulx, que ceſte preſente lettre verrant ou orront. Florence Counte de Holland, Robert de Brus ſeigneur du Val Danand, Iean de Bailliall Seigneur de Gallawey, Iehan de Haſtings ſeigneur de Abergeuenny, Iehan Comin ſeigneur de Badenaw, Patrique Dunbar Counte de la Marche, Iean de Veſcy pour ſon pere, Nichol de Seules, & Guilaume de Ros, ſaluz en dieu. Come nous auons otrie, & graunte, de noſtre bonne volunté, & comune aſſent ſans nulle deſtreſſe, a noble prince Sire Edward, par la grace de dieu, rey de Angleterro quil come ſouerein ſeig. de la terre de Eſcoce puiſſe oir trier, & terminer nos chalenges, & nos demandes, que nos entendons monſtrer, & auerrer pur noſtre droyt en la reaume de Eſcoce, & droyt receiuer deuant luy, come ſouerein ſeigneur de la terre, promettons ia lemains que ſon fait auerons & tendrons ferme & eſtable, & qu'il emportera le reaume, a qui droyt le durra deuant luy. Mes pour ce que lauandict roy de Ang. ne puiſt nulle manier conuſance faire ne a cõplier ſauns iugement, ne iugement doit eſtre ſauns execution, ne execution ne peult il faire duement ſauns la poſſeſſion, & ſeyſine de meſme la terre, & de chaſteaux. Nous volons, otrions, & grantons, qu il come ſouereine ſeigneur, a parfaire les choſes auant dictes, ait la ſeyſine de toute *la meſme terre, & de chaſteaux de Eſcoce, tant que droyt ſoit feit & perfourme, as demandans en tiel maniere, que auant ceo qu'il eit le ſeyſine auant dict face bonne ſeurte, & ſuffiſante as demandants & as gardiens, & a la commune du reaume d'Eſcoce, a faire la reuerſion de meſme le royalme, & de chaſteaus, oue toute la royauté, dignité, ſeignourie, franchiſes, conſtumes, droitures, leys, vſages, & poſſeßions, & touz manieres des apurtenances, en meſme le eſtate, quils eſtoient quant la ſeyſine luy fuſt bailleé, & liueree a celuy que le droyt emportera par iugement de ſa royaute, ſauue au roy dengliterre le homage de celuy, qui ſerra rey. Yßint que la reuerſion ſoit feit dedans les deux moys apres le iour que le droyt ſera triee & affirmé. Et que les yſſues de meſme la terre en le moyne temps reſceus, ſoient ſauuement mis en depos & bien gardees par la main le Chamberleyn d'Eſcoce que ore eſt, & de celuy qui ſerra aßigne a luy de par le rey dengliterre, & de ſous leur ſeaus ſauue renable ſuſtinance de la terre, & des chauſtiaux & des miniſtres du royaume. En teſtimoigne de ceſtes choſes auandicts, nous auons mis nos ſeaules a ceſte eſcript. Fait & donne a Norham le Mercredie prochein apres l'Aſcention l'an de grace. 1291.*

The Engliſh whereof is thus.

The Copie of the ſeconde charter touching the poſſeſſion of the lande.

TO all thoſe which theſe preſent writings ſhal ſee or heare, Florence Erle of Hollād, Robert de Bruce lord of Annādal, John de Balliol Lord of Galloway, John Haſtings Lorde of Abergeuennie, John Comin Lord of Badenaw, Patrik de Dunbarre Earle of Marche, John de Veſcy in ſteade of his father, Nicholas de Sules, Williā de Ros, ſend greeting in our Lord. Bycauſe that of our good wil and common aſſent without all conſtraint, we do conſent and graunt vnto the noble prince the Lorde Edwarde, by the grace of God king of England, that he as ſuperior Lorde of Scotland, may heare, examine, define & determine our claymes, challenges, & petitions, whiche we intend to ſhew and proue for our right, to bee receyued before him as ſuperior Lord of the land, promiſing moreouer, that we ſhall take his deed for firme and ſtable; and that he ſhall inioy the kingdome of Scotland, whoſe right ſhall by declaration beſt appeare before him. Where as then the ſayde king of England cannot in this maner take knowledge, nor fulfill our meanings without iudgement, nor iudgement ought to be without execution, nor execution may in due forme be done without poſſeſſion and ſeyſine of the ſayde land and Caſtels of the ſame, we will, conſent, and graunt, that he as ſuperior Lord to perform the premiſſes may haue the ſeyſine of all the land and Caſtels of the ſame, till they that pretend tytle to the crowne be ſatiſfied in theyr ſute, ſo that before he be put in poſſeſſion and ſeyſine, he finde ſufficient ſuretie to vs that pretende tytle, and to the Wardens, and to all the comunaltie of the kingdome of Scotland, yͤ he ſhal reſtore the ſame kingdome with all the royaltie, dignitie, ſeigniorie, liberties, cuſtomes, rightes, lawes, vſages poſſeſſions, and all and whatſoeuer the appurtenances, in the ſame ſtate wherein they were before the ſeyſine to him delyuered, vnto him to whome by right it is due, according to the iudgement of his regalitie, ſauing to him the homage of that perſon that ſhall be king: and this reſtitution to be made within two Moneths after yͤ day in the which the right ſhall be diſcuſſed and eſtabliſhed, the iſſues of the ſame lande in the meane tyme ſhall be receyued, layd vp, and put in ſafe keping, in the handes of the Chamberlaine of Scotlande which nowe is, and of him whome the king of Englande ſhall to hym aſſigne, and thus vnder theyr Seales, reſeruing and allowing the reaſonable charges for the ſuſtentation of the lande, the Caſtelles and officers of the Kingdome. In witneſſe of all the which premiſſes, we haue vnto theſe letters ſet our Seales. Yeuen at Norham the Wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of the Aſcention of oure Lorde, in the yeare of grace. 1291.

These two letters the King of England ſent vnder his priuie Seale vnto diuerſe Monaſteries within his realme, in the .xix. yeare of his raigne, that in perpetuall memorie of the thing thus paſſed, it might be regiſtred in their Chronicles.

And thus by the common aſſent of the chiefeſt of the Lordes in Scotlande, king Edwarde receyued the lande into his cuſtodie, tyll by due and lawfull tryall had, it myght appeare who was rightfull heyre to the crowne there.

The homage or fealtie of the Nobles of Scotland was expreſſed in wordes as followeth. Bycauſe that all wee are come vnto the allegiance of the noble Prince Edwarde King of Englande, wee promiſe for vs and oure heyres vpon all the daunger that wee may incurre, that wee ſhall bee faythfull, and loyally holde of hym agaynſte all manner of mortall menne, and that wee ſhall not vnderſtande of any domage that may come to the king, nor to his heyres, but wee ſhall ſtay and impeache the ſame to our powers. And to this we binde our ſelues and our heyres, and are ſworne vpō the Euangeliſts to performe the ſame. Beſide this, we haue done fealtie vnto our ſoueraigne lord the ſaid king in theſe wordes eche one by himſelf: I ſhall be true and faythfull, and fayth and loyaltie I ſhall beare to the King of Englād Edward and his heyres, of life member and worldely honour agaynſte all mortall creatures. The King hauing receyued as well the poſſeſſions of the Realme, Caſtelles, Manours, and other places belongyng to the crowne of Scotlande, he committed the gouernment and cuſtodie of the realm vnto the Biſhops of Saint Andrewes and Glaſgo, to the Lordes, Iohn Cumyn, and Iames Stewarde, who had put him in poſſeſſion, ſo that vnder him they held the ſame, in maner as they had done before. But in diuerſe Caſtels hee placed ſuch Captaynes as he thought moſt meeteſt, to keepe them to hys vſe, till he had ended the controuerſie, and placed him in the kingdome, to whome of ryght it belonged.

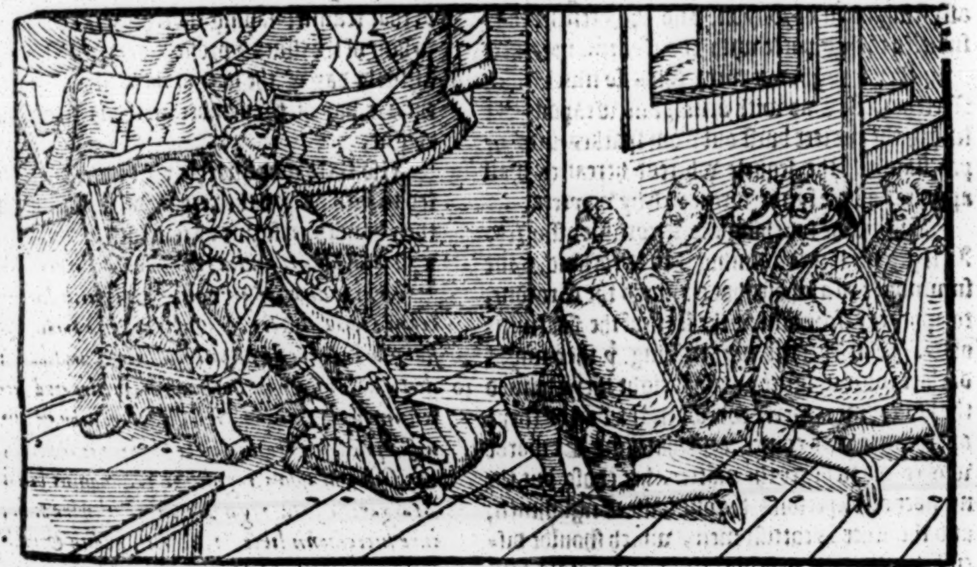
He alſo willed the Lordes of Scotland to elect a ſufficient perſonage to bee Chancellour of the Realme, which they did, naming Alane Biſhop of Catneſſe, whom the king admitted, ioyning with him one of his Chapleynes named Walter Armundeſham, ſo that on the .xij. of Iune, vpon the greene ouer agaynſt the Caſtell of Norham, neare to the ryuer of Twede, in the Pariſhe of Vpſetelington, before Iohn Balliol, Robert Bruce, the Biſhops of Saint Andrewes, and Glaſgo, the Lordes Cumyn and Steward, wardens of Scotlande. The Biſhop of Cathneſſe receyued his Seale, appoynted him by the king of England, as ſupreme Lorde of Scotlande, and there both the ſaid Biſhop, & Walter Amondeſham were ſworne truly to gouerne themſelues in the office.

He receyueth his ſeale.

He is ſworne.

The morow after were the Wardens ſworne and with them as aſſociated Brian Fitz Alain, and there all the Earles and Lordes of Scotland that were preſent ſware feaultie vnto king Edwarde, as to theyr ſupreme ſoueraine Lorde, and withall, there was peace proclaimed, and publike Edictes ſet forth in the name of the ſame King, intituled ſupreme Lorde of the realme of Scotlande. The reſidue of the Scottiſhe Nobilitie, Earles, Barons, Knightes, and other, with the Biſhops and Abbottes, vpon his comming into Scotland, ſware fealtie eyther to himſelfe in perſon, or to ſuch as he appoynted his deputies to receyue the ſame, in ſundrie townes and places according to order giuen in that behalfe. Suche as refuſed to doe theyr fealtie, were attached by their bodies, till they ſhoulde doe their fealties, as they were bounden. Thoſe that came not, but excuſed themſelues vpon ſome reaſonable cauſe, were heard, and had day giuen vnto the next Parliament; but ſuch as neyther came, nor made any reaſonable excuſe, were appoynted to bee diſtrayned to come.

The wardens ſworne.



The Biſhop of Saint Androwes, and Iohn Lorde Comyn of Badenoth, with Brian Fitz Alain, were aſſigned to receyue ſuch fealties at Saint Iohns towne. The Biſhop of Glaſgo, Iames Lorde Stewarde of Scotlande and Nicholas Segraue were appoynted to receyue them at Newcaſtell of Are. The Earle of Southerland, and the Sherife of that Countrey with his Bayliffes, and the Chatellain of Inuerneſſe were ordeyned to receyue thoſe fealties in that Countrye, the Chattelain firſt to receyue it of the ſayde Earle, and then he with his ſayd aſſociates to receyue the ſame of others. The Lorde William of Saintclare, and William de Bomille, were appoynted to receyue fealtie of the Biſhoppe of Whitterne, and then the ſayd Biſhop with them to receyue the fealties of all the Inhabitantes of Galloway.

Amongſt other that did theyr homage to the king himſelfe, was Marie Queene of Man, and Counteſſe of Stratherne, vpon the .xxiiij. day of Iuly, the king being then in Saint Iohns towr, otherwiſe called Perth.

Marie

To conclude, he was put in full poſſeſſion of the Realme of Scotlande, and receyued theyr homages, and fealties (as before ye haue hearde) as the direct and ſupreme Lorde of that lande.

This done, and euery thing ordered as ſeemed moſt expedient, King Edwarde returned into the South partes of his realme to be at his mothers buriall, that in this meane tyme was departed this lyfe. Hir hart was buried in the church of the gray Friers at London, and hir bodie at Ambreſburie in the houſe of the Nunnes.

The kings mother deceaſed.

After the funerals were ended, king Edwarde returned into the north parties againe: he ſtayed a while at Yorke, and during his abode there, Rees ap Meridoc, (of whom ye haue heard before) was by order of law condemned and executed.

An. reg. 20.
1292
Nic. Triuet.

This yeare after Eaſter, as the Fleet lay before S. Mathewes in Britaine, there roſe certain diſcorde betwixt the Mariners Normans, and them of Bayon, and ſo farre the quarel increaſed, that they fell to trie it by force, the Engliſh men aſſyſting them of Bayon, and the French kings ſubiects taking parte with the Normans, and now they fraught not theyr ſhips ſo much with Merchandiſe, as with armor and weapon. At length the matter burſt out from ſparkes into open flambe, the ſequele whereof hereafter ſhall appeare, as we fynde it reported by wryters.

But nowe touching the Scottiſhe affayres. At legth the king comming into Scotland, gaue ſummonce to al thoſe that claymed the Crowne, to appeare before him at the feaſt of the Natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt next enſuing, þ they might declare more at large by what right they claimed the kingdome. Herevpon when the day of theyr appearance was come, and that king Edwarde was readie to heare the matter, hee choſe out the number of .xl. perſons, the one halfe Engliſhmen, and the other Scottiſh men, which ſhoulde diſcuſſe with aduiſed deliberation and greate diligence the allegations of the competitors, deferring the finall ſentence vnto the feaſt of S. Michael next enſuing, the which feaſt being come, after due examination, full triall, & aſſured knowledge had of the right, the kingdome by al their aſſents was adiudged vnto John Balliol, whiche deſcended of the eldeſt daughter of Dauid king of Scotland, Robert le Bruce, betwixt whom and the ſame Balliol at length (the other being excluded) the queſtiō and triall only reſted, was deſcended of the ſeconde daughter of king Dauid, though otherwiſe by one degree he was nearer to him in bloud. Thus writeth Nicholas Triuet. Albeit other affirme, that after long diſputation in thys matter, by order of king Edward, there were appoynted .lxxx. auncient and graue perſonages, among the which were .xxx. Engliſh men, vnto whome (being ſworne and admoniſhed to haue God before their eyes) authoritie was giuen to name him that ſhould be king. Theſe .lxxx. perſons, after they had well conſidered vnto whome the right appertayned, declared with one voyce, that John Balliol was rightful king. King Edward allowed their ſentence, and by his authoritie confirmed vnto the ſame John, the poſſeſſion of the kingdome of Scotlande, with condition that if he did not gouern that Realme with iuſtice, then vpon complaint, the king of Englande might put vnto his hande of reformation, as hee was bounde to doe by hys ryght of ſuperioritie, that in him was inueſted.

John Balliol obteyneth the kingdome of Scotlande.

Nic. Triuet.

Polidor.

Herevpon king Edwarde awarded forth his writ of deliuerie of ſeyſine at the ſute of the ſayde Balliol, vnto William and Robert, Biſhops of Saint Andrewes and Glaſgo, to John Lorde Cumyn, James Lorde Steward of Scotland, and to the Lorde Brian Fitz Alain, wardens of Scotlande, commaunding them to deliuer vnto the ſayde John Balliol the ſeyſine and poſſeſſion of that realme, ſauing the reliefes and debts due to him of the iſſues & profites of the ſame realme, vnto the day of the date of the writ, whiche was the .xix. day of Nouember, in the .xx. yeare of his raigne.

Alſo there was another writ made, and directed to ſuch as had the keeping of the Caſtelles in their handes, in forme as followeth.

EDwardus dei gratia rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, & ſuperior dominus regni Scotiæ, dilecto & fideli ſuo Petro Burdet, Conſtabulario caſtri de Berwike ſalutem. Cùm Iohannes de Balliolo nuper in Parliamento noſtro apud Berwicum ſuper Tuedam, veniſſet coram nobis, & petiuiſſet prædictū regnū Scotiæ ſibi per nos adiudicari, & ſeiſinam ipſius regni, vt propinquiori hæredi Margaretæ filiæ regis Norwegiæ dominæ Scotiæ, iure ſucceſsionis liberari, ac nos, auditis & intellectis petitionibus, & rationibus diligenter examinatis, inuenerimus præfatum Iohannem de Balliolo eſſe propinquiorem hæredem prædictæ Margaretæ, quoad prædictum regnum Scotiæ obtinendum: propter quod idē regnum Scotiæ, & ſeiſinam eiuſdem, ſaluo iure noſtro, & hæredū noſtrorū, cùm voluerimus inde loqui, prædicto Iohanni reddidimus: tibi mandamus quod ſeiſinā prædicti caſtri de Berwico cum omnibus pertinentijs ſuis, vnà cum alijs omnibus rebus tibi per cyrographū traditis, ſecundū quod in prædicti caſtri tibi commiſſa cuſtodia res huiuſmodi recepiſti, ſine dilatione præfato Iohanni de Balliolo, vel attornato ſuo has litteras deferenti ſibi, deliberari facias. Teſte meipſo apud Berwicum ſuper Tuedam .xix. die Nouembris. Anno regni noſtri .xx.

The ſame in Engliſh is thus.

EDward by the grace of god, king of Englād, lord of Irland, duke of Aquitaine, and ſuperior lord of the realme of Scot. to his welbeloued & faithful ſeruant Peter Burdet Conſtable of the Caſtell of Berwike, ſendeth greeting. Where John de Balliol, late in Parliamente holden at Berwicke vppon Twede, came before vs, and demaunded the ſayde Realme of Scotlande to be adiudged to him by vs, and ſeaſine of the ſame realme to bee to him deliuered as next heyre to Margaret daughter to the king of Norway, Ladie of Scotlande by right of ſucceſſion. We hauing heard and vnderſtoode the ſame petitions and reaſons beeing diligentlye wayed and examined, we finde the ſayde John Ballioll to be next heyre vnto the ſayde Margaret, as to obteyne the ſayde kingdome of Scotlande, whervpon wee haue deliuered vnto him the ſayde kingdome of Scotlande, and the ſeyſin thereof, ſauing the right of vs and our heyres, when it ſhall pleaſe vs to ſpeake thereof. Wee therfore commaund you, that you deliuer vp vnto the ſayde John Ballioll, or to his attourneys, that ſhall bring with them theſe our preſent letters, the ſeyſine of the ſayde Caſtell of Barwike, with all the appurtenances, togither with all other things to you by Indenture deliuered accordingly as you did receyue the ſame, with the cuſtodie of the ſayde Caſtle to you committed: and this without delay. Witneſſe our ſelfe at Berwike vpon Tweed, the .xix. day of Nouember, in the .xx. yeare of our raigne.

In the ſame forme of wordes were writtes awarded forth, to all and euery other the keepers of Caſtels and Manors belonging to the crowne of Scotlande, and being at that time in king Edwards handes, the names of places and the perſons that had them in cuſtodie onely chaunged.

The ſame day alſo in the Caſtel of Berwike was the Seale broken which had bene appoynted to the gouernors during the time that the realme was vacant of a king. It was broken into foure partes, and put into a purſe to bee reſerued in the treaſurie of the king of Englande, in further and more full token of his ſuperioritie and direct ſupreme dominion ouer the Realme of Scotland. Which things were done in preſence of the ſayd John Balliol then king of Scotland, John Archbiſhop of Dublin, John Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, Anthonie Biſhoppe of Dureſme, William Biſhop of Ely, John Biſhop of Carleil, William Biſhop of Saint Andrewes, Robert Biſhop of Glaſgo, Marke Biſhop of Man, and Henrie Biſhop of Aberdene, with diuerſe other Biſhoppes, beſides Abbottes and Priors of both Realmes, Henrie Earle of Lyncolne, Humfrey Earle of Hereforde, Roger Erle of Norffolke, John Erle of Buchquane, Douenalde Earle of Mar, Gylbert Earle of Angus, Patrike Earle of Marche, and Maliſius Earle of Stratherne, with the .xxiiij. Auditors of Englande, and the .lxxx. Auditors of Scotland, chaplaynes. Alſo Henrie de Newmarke Deane of Yorke, John Lacie Chancellour of Chicheſter, William de Grenefielde Chanon of Yorke, and John Eccurie Notarie, and many other.

John Ballioll beeing thus created King of Scotlande, on the .xx. day of Nouember, in the Caſtell of Norham, did fealtie vnto king Edwarde for the kingdome of Scotlande in maner as followeth.

The forme of the fealtie of Iohn Balliol.

This heare you my Lorde Edward king of Englande, ſoueraigne Lorde of the Realme of Scotlande, that I John de Ballioll K. of Scotlande, which I holde and clayme to hold of you, that I ſhall be faythfull and loyall, and owe faith and loyaltie to you, I ſhal beare of life and member, and of earthly honor, agaynſt all people, and lawfully I ſhal acknowledge and do the ſeruices which I owe to doe to you, for the Realme of Scotlande aforeſayde. So god me helpe and his holy Euangeliſts.

Hereof alſo hee made letters patents witneſſing that he had thus done fealtie vnto king Edwarde, which letters hee ſealed and deliuered in preſence of William biſhop of Saint Andrewes, Robert biſhop of Glaſgo, John Erle of Bouchquane, William Earle of Ros, Patrike Earle of Marche, Walter Earle of Menteth, James lord Stewarde of Scotlande, Alexander de Ergay, Alexander de Ballioll Lorde of Caures, Patrike de Graham, and William de Saintclere. This done, king Edwarde appoynted Anthonie Biſhop of Dureſme, and the lord John Saint John to paſſe with the Ballioll into Scotlande, and there to put him into the corporall poſſeſſion of the ſame realme of Scotlande, whiche they did, and ſo hee was crowned at Scone vppon Saint Andrewes day, being placed in the Marble chaire within the Abbay Church there.

An. reg. 21. John Ballioll crowned king of Scotland.

The ſolemnitie of which coronation beeing ended, he returned into Englande, and comming to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, where king Edward that yeare kept his Chriſtmaſſe, he there did homage vpon Saint Stephens day vnto the ſayde king Edwarde in fourme of wordes as followeth.

The forme of the king of Scots homage.

My Lorde, Lorde Edwarde king of Englande, ſuperior Lorde of Scotlande, I John de Balliol king of Scotlande, do acknowledge and recogniſe mee to be your liegeman of the whole Realme of Scotlande with all the appurtenances and whatſoeuer belongeth thereto, the which kingdome I hold and ought of right and clayme to holde by inheritance of you and your heires kings of Englande, and I ſhall beare fayth and loyaltie to you and to your heires kings of England, of life, of member, and earthly honor, againſt all men, which may liue and die. This homage in forme aforeſayde did king Edwarde receyue, his owne and others right ſaued.

1293

Then did the king of Englande without delay, reſtore vnto the ſayd John Balliol the kingdome

dome of Scotlande with all the appurtenances.

Richarde Bagley.

This yere, as one Richard Bagley an officer of the Shirifes of London, led a priſoner towardes the gayle, three perſons reſcued the ſayde priſoner, and toke him from the officer, the which were purſued & taken, and by iudgement of lawe the iuſtices, were brought into weſt Cheape, & there had their handes ſtriken off by the wreſtes.

The offenders loſt their hãds.

A great ſnow and tempeſt of winde in May.

The .xiij. day of May fell a wonderfull ſnow, and therwith blew ſuch an exceeding winde, that great harme was done thereby in ſundrie places of Englande.

The Archbi. of Canterbury deceaſeth.

The ſame yeare died Frier Iohn Pecham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and then was Robert of Wincheleſey elected Archbiſhop, the .xlviij. in number that had ruled that ſea.

The kings daughter maried to the Erle of Bar.

About the middle of September following, the Erle of Bar a Frenchman, maried the ladie Elenor the kings daughter in ẏ towne of Briſtow.

War betwixt England and Fraunce.

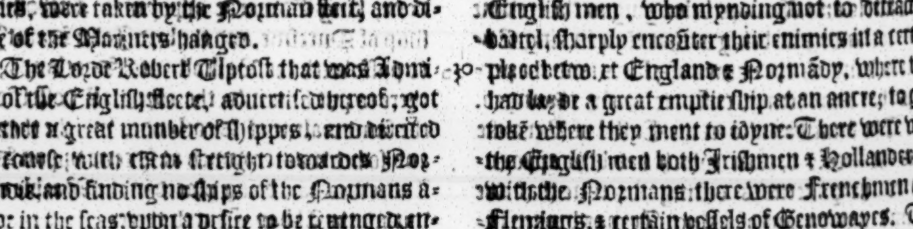
This yeare wheate was ſolde at London for two ſhillings a buſhel. This yeare alſo the warre was begonne betwene the kings of England and Fraunce. For whereas king Edwarde had furniſhed forth ſixe ſhippes of warre, and ſent them vnto Burdeaux for defence of the coaſtes thereabouts, two of them as they ſayled alongeſt the coaſt of Normandie, and fearing no hurt by enimies, were taken by the Norman fleet, and diuerſe of the Mariners hanged.

Two Engliſhe ſhips taken.

The Lord admirall of England ſetteth vpon the Norman ſhippes.

The Lorde Robert Tiptoſt that was Admirall of the Engliſh fleete, aduertiſed hereof, got togither a great number of ſhippes, and directed his courſe with them ſtreight towardes Normandie, and finding no ſhips of the Normans abrode in the ſeas, vpon a deſire to be reuenged, entred the mouth of the ryuer of Saine, and ſet vpon the Norman ſhippes that lay there at ancre, ſlue many of the Mariners, and toke fiue ſhips away with him, and ſo returning to the Sea againe, caſt ancre not farre off from the lande, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forth with their fleete to giue battaile. And as he lay there at ancre, it chaunced that certaine Norman Shippes, fraught with Wine, came that wayes as they returned out of Gaſcoigne. The Lorde Tiptoſt ſetting vpon them, toke them with little adoe, and ſleaing neare hand the thirde part of all the Mariners, ſent the ſhips into England.

The Frenchmen to reuenge this act, prepare a nauie, and furniſhing the ſame with ſouldiers went forth to the Sea to encounter the Engliſh men: but ere they met, Meſſengers were ſent to and fro, the Engliſh men accuſing the Frenchmen of truce breaking, and the Frenchmen again requiring reſtitution of their goodes taken from them by violence. And now forasmuch as thys buſineſſe had bin moued raſhly betwixt the Engliſh men and the Normans, without any commiſſion of their Princes, their mindes therefore were not ſo kindled in diſpleaſure, but that there had beene good hope of agreement betwixt them, if Charles Earle of Valoys the Frenche kings brother (being a man of a hote nature, and deſirous of reuenge) had not procured hys brother to ſeeke auengemente by force of armes. Wherevpon the French fleete made towardes the Engliſh men, who mynding not to detract the battel, ſharply encoũter their enimies in a certain place betwixt England & Normãdy, where they had layde a great emptie ſhip at an ancre, to giue tokẽ where they ment to ioyne. There were with the Engliſh men both Iriſhmen & Hollanders, & with the Normans there were Frenchmen and Flemings, & certain veſſels of Genowayes. The fight at the firſt was doubtfull, & great ſlaughter made, as in the meeting of two ſuch mightie nations muſt needes enſue. In the end yet the victory fell to the Engliſhmen, & the French ſhips put to



the

chaſe and ſcattred abroade. The number of ſhips loſt is not recorded by ſuch wryters as make report of this conflict, but they write that the loſſe was great. King Philip being aduertiſed of this diſcomfiture of his fleet, was ſore diſpleaſed, and as though he would proceede agaynſt king Edward by order of law, he ſummoneth him as hys liegeman to appeare at Paris, to anſwere what might be obiected agaynſt him, but withall bycauſe he knew that K. Edward would not come to make his appearance, he prepareth an army.

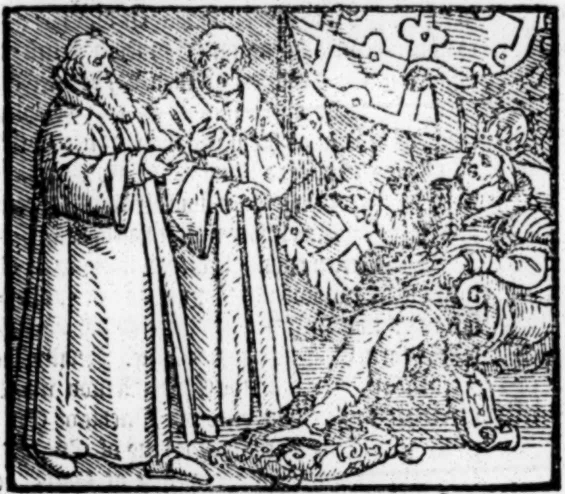
In the meane time K. Edwarde ſendeth his brother Edmond Erle of Lancaſter to be his attorney, & to make anſwere for him before all ſuch Iudges as might haue hearing of the matter: but the Iudges meaning nothing leſſe thã to trie out the truth of the cauſe, admit no reaſons that the Erle could allege in his brothers behalf, & ſo pronounce K. Edward a rebel, & decree by areſt, that he had forfeyted all his right vnto the Duchie of Guienne. Theſe things thus done, he ſendeth priuy meſſengers vnto Burdeaux, to procure the citizens to reuolt frõ the Engliſhmen, & appointed the Conſtable of France the L. Arnold de Neall to follow with an army, who cõming thither eaſily brought thẽ of Burdeaux vnder the French dominion, being alredy minded to reuolt through practiſe of thoſe that were lately before ſent vnto them from the French king for that purpoſe.

After this, the ſaid Conſtable brought the people neare adioyning vnder ſubiection, partly moued by the example of the chiefe and head Citie of all the Countrey, and partly enduced thervnto by bribes and large giftes.

The Engliſh men that were in the Countrey, after they perceiued that the people did thus reuolt to the French king, withdrew incõtinently vnto the townes ſituate neare to the ſea ſide, but eſpecially they fled to a towne called the Rioll, which they fortifie with all ſpeed. Thus ſayth Polidor.

Nicholas Triuet writing hereof, declareth the beginning of this warre to be on this maner. The Engliſh Marchants being diuerſly vexed vpon the ſeas, made cõplaint to the K. for loſſe of their marchandice. The king ſent the Erle of Lincoln Henrie Lacie vnto the French king, inſtantly requiring, that by his aſſent there might ſome way be prouided with ſpeed by them and their counſel, for ſome competent remedie touching ſuch harmes and loſſes by ſea as his people had ſuſteined. In the meane time whileſt the Earle tarieth for anſwere, a nauie of the parties of Normandy cõteyning two. C. ſhips and aboue, being aſſembled togither, that they might the more boldly aſſayle their enimies, and the more valiantly reſiſt ſuche as ſhould encounter them, ſailed into Gaſcoigne, determining to deſtroy all thoſe of their aduerſaries that ſhould come in their way. But as theſe Norman ſhips returned back with wines, glorying as it were that they had got yͤ rule of the ſea onely to themſelues, they were aſſayled by. lx. Engliſh ſhips, which toke them, and brought thẽ into Englãd the Fryday before Whitſunday: all the men were eyther drowned or ſlaine, thoſe onely excepted which made ſhift to eſcape by boates. The newes hereof being brought into France did not ſo much moue the K. & the counſel to wonder at the matter, as to take therof great indignation.

There were appointed Ambaſſadors to go into Englãd, the which on the behalf of the French king, might demaunde of king Edward reſtitution of thoſe ſhips and goodes thus taken by hys ſubiects, and conueyed into his realme, without all delay, if he mynded to haue any fauour in the French Court touching his affayres that belonged to his Countrey of Gaſcoigne.



The Biſhop of London ſent with an anſwer vnto the french king.

The king of England hearing this meſſage, toke therein deliberation to anſwere, and then ſent the Biſhop of London, accompanied wyth other wiſe and diſcreete perſons into Fraunce, to declare for aunſwere vnto the French King and his Counſayle as followeth, that is: Where as the King of Englande hath his regall Courte without ſubiection to any man, if there were therefore anye perſones that founde themſelues hurt or endomaged by hys people, they myght come to hys Court, and vppon declaration of theyr receyued iniuries, they ſhoulde haue ſpeedie iuſtice, and to the ende they might thus do without all daunger, whoſoeuer mynded to complayne, hee woulde giue vnto them a ſafeconducte to come and goe in ſafetye through hys lande: But if this way pleaſed not the Frenche King, then he was contented that there ſhoulde bee Arbitratours choſen on bothe ſydes, the whiche weighing the loſſes on bothe partyes, might prouide howe to ſatiſfie the complaynts: and the King of Englande woulde for hys parte enter into bondes by obligation to ſtande to and abyde theyr order and iudgement herein, ſo that the French king would likewiſe be bound for his part. and if any ſuch doubt fortuned to ariſe, which could not be decyded by the ſayde arbitrators, let the ſame be reſerued vnto the kings themſelues to diſcuſſe and determine, and the king of Englande vpon a ſufficient ſafeconduct had, woulde come ouer to the Frenche King, if he woulde come downe vnto any hauen towne neare to the Sea coaſt, that by mutuall aſſent an ende might be had in the buſineſſe: but if neither this waye ſhoulde pleaſe the Frenche king nor the other, then let the matter bee committed to the order of the Pope, to whom it apperteyned to nouriſh concorde among Chriſtian Princes, or bycauſe the Sea was as then voyde, let the whole Colledge of Cardinals or part of them take order therin, as ſhould be thought neceſſarie, that ſtrife and diſcord being taken away and remoued. peace might again flouriſh betwixt them and their people, as before time it had done.

The French counſaile weyed nothing at all theſe offers, & would not ſo much as once vouchſafe to giue an anſwere vnto the Engliſh Ambaſſadors earneſtly requiring the ſame. Finally, the French king ſent vnto the Citie of Aniou which is knowne to belong vnto the Duchie of Guienne, where he there cauſed the king of England to be cited to make his appearance at Paris, at a certaine day, to anſwere to the iniuries and rebellions by him done in the Countrey of Gaſcoigne, at the which day when he appeared not, the French king ſitting in the ſeate of iudgement in hys owne proper perſon, gaue ſentence there agaynſt the king of Englande, for making default, and withall commaunded the high Coneſtable of Fraunce to ceaſe into his handes all the Duchie of Guienne, and eyther take or expulſe al the king of Englandes officers, ſouldiours, and deputies, which were by him placed within the ſayde Duchie.

The king of England cited to appeare

Sentence geuē againſt the king of Englande.

The king a little before had ſent thither a valiant knight, named the Lord Iohn Saint Iohn, which had furniſhed all the Cities, townes, Caſtels, and places, with men, munition, and vytayles, for defence of the ſame.

An. Reg. 22.

1294

In the meane time the king of Englande deſirous to be at quiet with the Frenchmen, appoynted his brother Edmunde Earle of Lancaſter as then ſoiourning in France, to go vnto the Frenche kings counſaile to procure ſome agreement, which both might be allowed of the French king, and not bee diſhonourable vnto him. But when the Erle could not preuaile in his ſute, hee tooke his iourney towardes Englande, vtterlye diſpayring to procure any peace. But ere he came to the ſea ſide, he was ſent for backe againe by the two Queenes of Fraunce, Ioan wife to King Philip, and Marie his mother in lawe, whiche promiſed to frame ſome accorde betweene the two kings, & ſo thereupon after diuerſe communications by them had in the matter with the ſaid Erle of Lancaſter, at length it was accorded, that for the ſauing of the French kings honour which ſeemed to bee touched by things done by the king of Englandes miniſters in Gaſcoigne, ſixe Caſtels ſhoulde remaine at the ſayde kings pleaſure, as Sanctes, Talemonde, Turnim, Pomoroll, Penne, and Mount Flaunton. Alſo there ſhould be ſet a ſeruant or ſergeant in the Frenche kings name, in euerie Citie and Caſtell within all the whole Duchie of Guienne, except Burdeaux, Bayon, & the Rioll. And further hoſtages ſhould be deliuered at the French kings pleaſure, of all miniſters to be placed by the king of England in Gaſcoigne and other places throughe all the Countrey.

Theſe things done, the French king ſhoulde reuoke the ſummonance publiſhed and pronounced in the Court of Paris agaynſt the king of England. Alſo he ſhould reſtore all the Caſtels (his ſeruants being remoued which he had placed in the ſame) togither with the pledges incontinētly, at the requeſt of the ſame Queenes, or of either of them. The king of Englande hauing a ſafeconduct ſhould come to Amiens, that there meeting with the French king, peace and amitie might be confirmed betwixt them. Then were there writings made and engroſſed touching the foreſayd Articles of agreement, one part deliuered to the erle, ſealed with the ſeales of the Queenes, and other remayned with the foreſayd Queenes ſealed with the ſeale of the Earle.

The k. of Englād certified hereof, ſent his letters patents, directed vnto all his officers & miniſters in Gaſcoigne, commaunding them to obey in all things the French kings pleaſure. Theſe letters patents were firſt ſent vnto the Erle of Lācaſter, that he might cauſe thē to bee conueyd into Gaſcoigne when he ſhould ſee time. The Earle hauing receyued thoſe letters, doubting whether the French king would obſerue the agreement which the Queenes had made & concluded or not, he required of thē that he might heare the French K. ſpeake the worde; that he would ſtande vnto that which they had concluded. Wherevpon in the preſence of the ſaid Erle & his wife Blanch Queene of Nauarre, mother to the French Queene, alſo of the duke of Burgoigne, Hugh Veer ſon to the Erle of Oxford, & of a Chaplain cleped ſir Iohn Lacie, the French king promiſed in the fayth of a Prince, that he would fulfill the promiſes of the ſaid Queenes, and the couenants by them accorded. Shortly herevpon was ſent into Gaſcoigne a knight of the Erles of Lancaſter, called ſir Geffrey de Langley, with letters from the French K. directed to the Coneſtable, to call him back again from his appoynted enterpriſe. And the foreſayd Chaplaine ſir John Lacy was ſent alſo thither with the letters patents of the king of England, directed vnto his officers there, in forme as is aboue mentioned, whervpon the Lorde John Saint John the king of Englands lieutenant in Gaſcoigne, vnderſtanding the concluſions of the agreemẽt, ſold all ſuch prouiſions as he had made and brought into the Cities, townes, and fortreſſes for the defence of the ſame, and departing out of Gaſcoigne, came towardes Paris to returne that way into England. But beholde what followed: ſodainly by the enimie of peace was the French kings minde quite chaunged. And where the king of England was come vnto Canterburie, and kept there his Eaſter, that immediatly vpon the recept of the ſafeconduct he might tranſport ouer the ſeas, and ſo come to Amiens, according to the appointment made by the agreement, now not only the ſafeconduct was denied, but alſo the firſt letters reuocatorie ſent vnto the Coneſtable to call him backe, by other letters ſent after were alſo made voyde. and he by the latter letters appoynted to keepe vpõ his iourney, ſo that yͤ Coneſtable entring into Gaſcoine with a power, found no reſiſtance, the Captains & officers ſubmitting themſelues with the townes & fortreſſes at his pleaſure, according to the tenor of the letters patents lately to them deliuered. All the officers and captains of the fortreſſes were brought to Paris as captiues and pledges.

Within a few dayes after, the Erle of Lancaſter required the Queenes, that they would cal vpon the king to grant his ſafeconduct for the K. of Englãd, to reuoke the citatiõ or ſummonãce, to reſtore the lands taken from him, and to delyuer the pledges: but the French king by the mouthes of certain knights ſent vnto the Erle, renoũced al ſuch couenants as before had bin cõcluded.

The Earle of Lancaſter then perceyuing that both he and his brother king Edward were mocked thus at the French kings hands, returned into Englande, and informeth the king and hys counſaile from poynt to poynt of all the matter. Hereupon a Parliament being called at Weſtminſter, at the which the king of Scotlande was preſent, it was decreed by the eſtates, that thoſe landes which were craftily taken ſo from the king ſhould be recouered againe by the ſworde. And the king herewith ſent vnto the French King a Frier Preacher named Hugh of Mancheſter, and a Frier Minor called William de Gayneſbourgh, both being wiſe and diſcreete men, and Doctours of Diuinitie, to declare vnto him, that ſithe he woulde not obſerue ſuche agreements as had beene concluded betwixt their anceſters, and further had broken ſuch couenantes as were now of late agreed vpon betwixt thẽ, by the trauaile of hys brother Edmonde Earle of Lancaſter, there was no cauſe why hee ought to accounte hym being King of Englande, and Duke of Guien as hys liegeman, neyther did he intende further to bee bounde vnto hym by reaſon of hys homage.

The king of England renounceth the French king.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Germanie.

About the ſame time did the King of Englande ſende the Archbiſhop of Dubline, and the Biſhop of Dureſme into Germanie, aboute the concluding of a league with Adolph King of Romaines, to whom was giuen a great ſumme of mony (as was ſayd) vpon couenantes, that he ſhoulde ayde the king of Englande agaynſt the French king, with all his maine force, & that neyther of them ſhould conclude peace with the ſayd French king without conſent of the other.

Wolles ſtayed

Fabian.

A ſubſidie rayſed of woolles.

About the Aſcention tide, king Edward ſtayed the woolles of this lande, aſwell belonging to ſpirituall men as temporall men, till the marchants had fined with him for the ſame, ſo that there was a ſubſidie payed for all ſarpliers of wool that went out of the realme, and in ſemblable wiſe for felles and hydes.

A army ſent into Gaſcoigne.

He alſo ſent an army by ſea into Gaſcoigne, vnder the cõduct of his nephew John of Britain that was Erle of Richmond, appoynting to him as counſaillers, the Lord John Saint John, and the Lord Robert Tiptoft, men of great wiſdom, and right expert in warlike enterpriſes.

Nich: Triuet:

Three fleetes appoynted to the ſea.

He alſo cauſed thre ſeueral fleetes to be prepared, and appoynted to them three ſundrie Admirals, for the better keeping of the ſeas. To them of Yermouth and other of thoſe partyes, he aſſigned the Lorde John Botetourt: to them of the cinque Portes, William de Leyborne: and to them of the weſt Countrey, and to the Iriſhe men, he appoynted a valiant knight of Irelande to their chieftaine.

A dearth.

Rich. Southw.

This yeare in England was a great dearth & ſcarcitie of corne, ſo that a quarter of wheate in many places was ſolde for. xxx. ß. By reaſon wherof pore people died in many places for lack of ſuſtenance.

The Engliſh armie paſſeth into Gaſcoigne.

About Michaelmas, the Engliſh fleet toke the ſea at Portſmouth, & after ſome contrary winds at laſt yet they arriued within the riuer of Garon, and ſo paſſing vp the ſame Riuer, wanne diuerſe townes, as Burg, Blaynes, Rions, and other.

Townes won.

Nich. Triuet.

Polidor.

Abingdon.

The kings Coffers by reaſon of furniſhing forth of this army, and other continuall charges which he had ſuſteined, were now in maner emptie: for remedie wherof, Wil. Marche one of the kings Treaſurers, purpoſed with other mens loſſes to ſupplie that wante. He knewe that in Abbeys & Churches was much mony kept in ſtore, the which if he cõmaunded to be taken frõ thence, he thought that he ſhould not cõmit any offence, but rather doe a good deede, that the mony

Mat. VVeſt.

A ſhift for money.

Abingdon.

The Treaſurer accuſee.

The king excuſeth himſelf

Abyngdon.

The ſpiritualtie called to a counſaile.

might come abrode to the vſe of the people, whereby the ſouldiers might be ſatiſfied for theyr wages. Such Captaines therefore, as he appoynted to worke the feat, placing their ſouldiers in euery quarter through the Realme, make ſearche at one ſelfe time, the fourth of July at three of the clocke in the after noone, for all ſuche money as was hid and layde vp in all hallowed places, and taking the ſame away, brought it vnto the king, who diſſembling the matter, as he that ſtoode in neede, excuſed the acte done by hys Treaſorer ſo well as he coulde to auoyde the enuie of the people, and not content herewith, hee called togyther ſhortly after, to witte on Sainte Mathewes day the Apoſtle, at London, all the Archbiſhoppes, Biſhoppes, Deanes, and Archedeacons, not in theyr proper perſons, but by two Procuratours of euerie Dioces. Here when they were once aſſembled, the King declared vnto thẽ the warres which he was driuen to mainteyne agaynſt the Frenchmen, and the charges which hee was at for the ſame. Hee alſo ſhewed them, that the Earles, Barons and Knights of the Realme, did not onely ayde him with theyr goods, but put their perſons forward to ſerue him in defence of the lande whereof they were members euen to the ſhedding of theyr bloud, and oftentymes with loſſe of theyr lyues. Therefore (ſayeth he) you which may not put your perſons in perill by ſeruice in the warres, it ſtandeth with good reaſon you ſhoulde ayde vs wyth youre goodes.

Their offer not lyked.

The halfe part of ſpirituall liuings graunted to the king

R. Fabian.

Polidor.

Abingdon.

The Cleargie hauing no ſpeciall head by reaſon that the Sea of Canterburie was voyde, wiſt not well how to gouerne themſelues. At length Oliuer Biſhop of Lincolne, required in all theyr names to haue three dayes reſpite to make anſwere to the matter, the which time expired, they offred to the king two diſmes to be payde within one yeare. The which when the King heard, hee tooke great diſdaine therewith, and threatned by ſome of his men of warre to put the Cleargie out of his protection, except they would grãt to him the half of their goodes. The Clergie put in feare herewith, and ſome of them alſo deſirous to wyn the kings fauour, graunted to his requeſt, and ſo the king at that time got the halfe parte of euerye ſpirituall mans liuing and benefice for one yeres extent to bee payde in portions wythin three yeares next enſuing, beginning at .xx. Marke benefice, and ſo vpwardes. And the ſooner to induce them herevnto, hee promiſed the Biſhops to graunt ſomething that myght bee beneficiall to the Cleargie, if they woulde demaunde it.

The prelates require to haue the ſtatute of Mortmain repealed.

The Biſhops taking counſaile togither, required of him that yͤ ſtatute of Mortmain might be repealed, which they ſawe to be moſt preiudiciall to theyr order: But the King anſwered them, that without the whole conſent of a Parliament hee coulde not breake that ordinaunce, whiche by authoritie of Parliament had beene once eſtabliſhed, and therfore he wiſhed that they woulde not requyre that thing which lay not in him to graunt, and ſo by that meanes he ſhyfted them of.

The ſpiritualtie was not onely charged with this ſubſidie, but they of the temporaltie were alſo burdened. For the Citizens & Burgeſſes of good towns gaue to the king the ſixt part of their goods and the reſidue of the people gaue the tenth part.

Moreouer about the ſame time, the Welchmen eftſoones rebelled agaynſt the King, and in dyuerſe parts made diuerſe rulers amongſt them. Thoſe of Northwales which inhabited aboute Snowdone hilles, hauing to their Captaine one Madock, of the line of their former Prince Llewline, burned the towne and caſtel of Carnaruan, ſleaing a great multitude of Engliſhmen, which doubting no ſuche matter, were come thither to the Fayre. Thoſe of the Weſt part hauing choſen to theyr ruler one Malgon in the parties of Pembroke and Carmardyn ſhires, did muche miſchiefe. And one Morgan hauing them of Southwales at hys commaundement, expulſed and droue the Earle of Glouceſter out of his Countrey of Glamorgan, which Earle had before tyme diſherited the aunceſters of the ſame Morgan.

The king therfore to repreſſe the Welchmens attempts, called backe his brother Edmond Erle of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Lincolne, beyng readie to haue ſayled ouer into Gaſcoigne; the which Earles as they approched neare vnto the Caſtell of Dinbigh vpon Saint Martyns day, the Welchmen with great force encountred thẽ, and giuing them battaile, droue them backe and diſcomfited their people.

Polidore iudgeth that this ouerthrow happened to the Engliſhmen, the rather for that the army was hyred with ſuche money as had beene wrongfully taken out of the Abbeys and other holy places, howbeit it is but his opinion onely.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Aberconwey in Wales, and hearing that the new Archebiſhop of Canterburie, doctor Robert Wynchelſey being returned from Rome (where of Pope Celeſtine he had receyued his Pall) was cõming towards him, he ſent one of his Chaplaines named John Berwike with a power of ſouldiers to conduct him ſafely vnto his preſence. And after the Archebiſhoppe had done this fealtie to the King accordingly as of dutie and cuſtome hee was bound, he was licẽced to returne with great honor ſhewed vnto him at the kings handes.

Vpon the day of the circumciſion of our Lord, was the Citie of Bayon rendred vnto the Lorde

John Saint John, the which the day before had beene taken by the mariners by force of aſſaulte. Many of the Citizens which were knowne to be chiefe enimies vnto the king of Englande were apprehended and ſent into Englande. The Caſtell was then beſieged, and after eight dayes taken. The Lorde of Aſpermont with diuerſe other that helde it, were cōmitted to priſon. There were alſo taken two Galleys which the French King had cauſed to bee made, and appoynted to bee remaining there vppon defence of that Citie.

Shortly after, the towne of Saint John de Sordes was deliuered vnto the Engliſhe men, who wan many other townes & fortreſſes, ſome by ſurrender of their owne accord, & ſome by force and violence. The Engliſhe army greatly encreaſed within a while, after the deceypte of the Frenchmen once appeared, for the Gaſcoigns returned vnto the Engliſh obedience, in ſuch wiſe that foure thouſand footmen and two. C. horſemen came to ayde the Engliſh captaines.

In the meane time, the king of England paſſing ouer the riuer of Cōwey with part of his army to go further into Wales towardes Snowdone, loſt many cartes and other cariages which were taken by the Welchmen, being loden with the prouiſions of vittayles, ſo that hee with hys people indured great penurie, and was conſtrayned to drink water mixt with honie, and eat ſuch courſe breade, and ſalt fleſh as he could get, til the other part of the army came vnto him.

There was a ſmal quantitie of wine amongſt them, which they woulde haue reſerued onely for the king, but he refuſed, ſaying, that in time of neceſſitie all things ought to be common, and all men to be contented wyth lyke dyet. For as touching him (being the cauſe and procurer of theyr want,) he woulde not bee preferred vnto anye of them in his meates and drinkes.

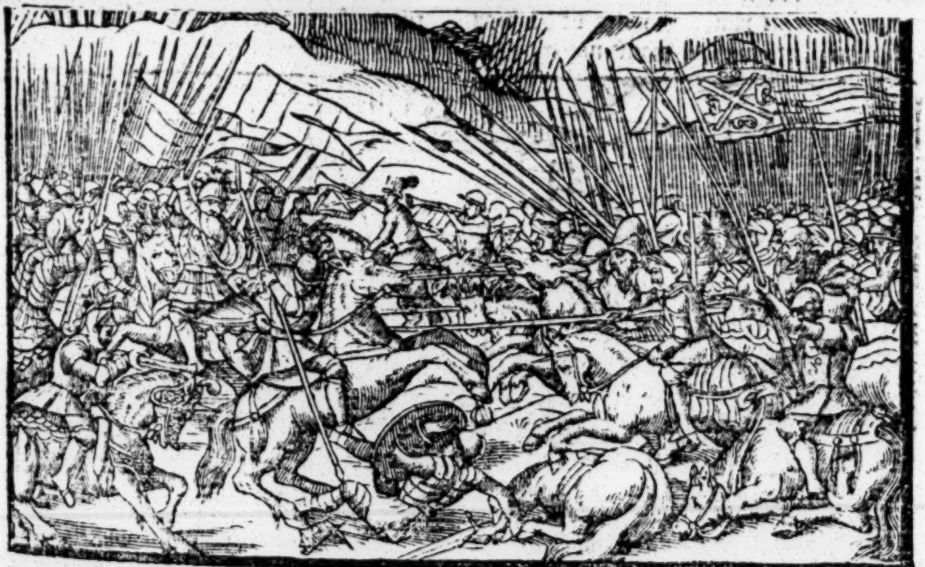
The Welchemen compaſſed him aboute in hope to diſtreſſe him, for that the water was ſo ryſen that the reſidue of his armie coulde not get to hym. But ſhortly after when the water fell, they came ouer to hys ayde, and therewith the aduerſaryes fled.

The Earle of Warwike hearing that a great number of Welchmen was aſſembled togyther, and lodged in a valley betwixt two woddes, he choſe out a number of horſemen, with certayne Croſbowes and Archers, and comming vpon the Welche men in the night, compaſſed them rounde about, the which pytching the endes of their Speares in the grounde, and turning the poyntes agaynſt theyr enimies, ſtoode at defence ſo to keepe off the horſmen. But the Earle hauing placed his battaile ſo, that euer betwixt two horſemen there ſtoode a Croſbowe, a great parte of the Welchmen which ſtoode at defence in maner aforeſayde with theyr Speares, were ouerthrowne and broken with the ſhotte of the quarels, and then the Earle charged the reſidue with a troupe of horſemen, and bare them downe with ſuch ſlaughter, as they had not ſuſteyned the like loſſe of people (as was thought) at any one time before.

The Earle of Warwike.

Nic. Triuet.

The Welche men ouerthrowne by the Earle of Warwike.



In the meane while, king Edwarde to reſtrayne the rebellious attempts of thoſe Welchmen, cauſed the woddes of Wales to bee cutte downe, wherein before tyme the Welchmen were accuſtomed to hyde themſelues in time of daunger. He alſo repaired the Caſtels and holdes in that Countrey, and buylded ſome new, as the Citie and Caſtell of Bewmariſe with other, ſo that the Welchmen conſtrained through hūger & famine, were enforced within a while to come to the kings peace. Alſo at length aboute the feaſt of Saint Laurence, the Welcheman Madocke,

Beaumares buylt.

Madock taken priſoner.

Abingdon.

Welchmen impriſoned.

that tooke himſelfe for Prince of Wales was taken priſoner, and being brought to London was committed to perpetuall priſon. By ſome wryters it ſhoulde appeare, that Madocke was not taken, but rather after many aduentures and ſundrie conflictes, when the Welch men were brought to an iſſue of greate extremitie, the ſayde Madocke came in and ſubmitted himſelfe to the kings peace, and was receyued, vpon condition that he ſhoulde perſue Morgan till hee had taken him and brought him to the kings priſon, which was done, and ſo all things in thoſe parties were ſet in reſt and peace, and many hoſtages of the chiefeſt amongeſt the Welch nobilitie were deliuered to the king, who ſent them to diuerſe caſtels in Englād where they were ſafely kept almoſt to the end of the warres that folowed with Scotlād.

Polidor.

Charles de Valoys chaſeth the Engliſh men.

The Earle of Richmond.

Rion

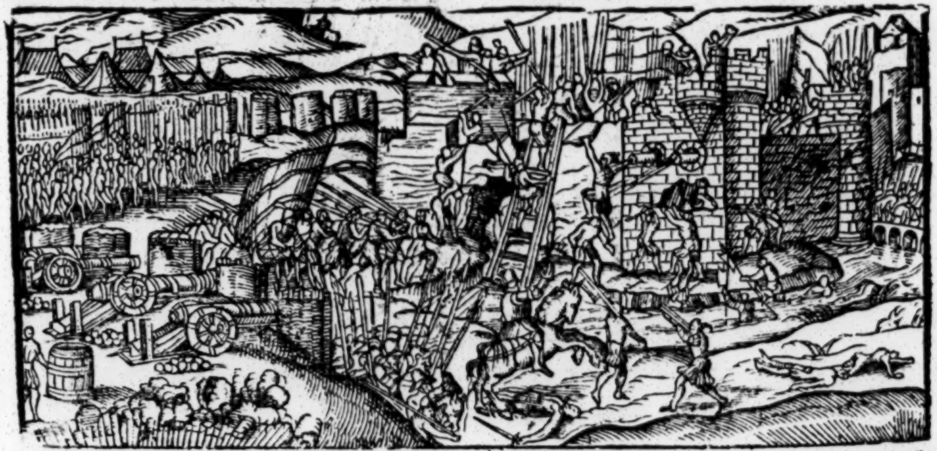
About the ſame time Charles de Valoys brother to the French king being ſent with an army into Gaſcoigne, and comming vpon the ſodaine, found the Engliſh men wandring abrode in the Countrey out of order, by reaſon whereof taking them at that aduantage, he cauſed them to leaue theyr booties behinde them, ſlue part of them, and chaſed the reſidue, the which fled to theyr ſhippes, or to ſuch hauen townes as were in their poſſeſſion. The Captaines of ẏ Engliſhmen, as John de Britaine Earle of Richmond, and the Lorde John Saint John, after they had gotte togither their ſouldiers whiche had bene thus chaſed, ſent two bandes vnto Ponteſey to defend that towne agaynſt the enimies: alſo other two bandes vnto Saint Seuere: and they themſelues went to Rion to fortifie that place. Charles de Valoys aduertiſed hereof, thought he would not giue thē long reſpyte to make themſelues ſtrong by gathering any newe power, and therefore appoynted the Coneſtable Sir Rauſe de Neale (who hadde wonne the Citie of Burdeaux from the Engliſh men lately before) to goe vnto Ponteſey and beſiege that towne, whileſt hee wente vnto Ryon, which he beſieged and fiercely aſſaulted. But the Engliſh men and Gaſcoignes doe do not onely defende the towne ſtoutely, but alſo make an iſſue forth vppon their enimies, though (as it happened) the ſmaller number was not able to ſuſtaine the force of the greater multitude, and ſo were the Engliſh men beaten backe into the towne agayne.

Pon

Nic

Rio

Whileſt they trie their manhood thus at Rion, the Coneſtable winneth Ponteſey or Pontſac vpon Dordone, and commeth to ioyne with the Earles de Valoys at Rion, and ſo enforce both their powers to winne that towne. The Engliſh men and Gaſcoignes, though they were put in ſome feare, yet they ſhew their approued valiancie in defending the towne, tyll at length whē they ſaw they could defend it no longer, and were in no hope of ſuccor from any part, they fled out about midnight, and made toward their ſhippes: but diuerſe of them were takē by the way: for the Frenche men hauing knowledge of their intent forlay the paſſages, and taking ſome of them that firſt ſought to eſcape thus by flight, ſlue them, but there was not many of thoſe, for all the reſidue when they perceyued that the French men had layde betwixt them and their ſhips, making vertue of neceſſitie, ſtood ſtil in defence of the towne, till the Frenchmen entred it by force of aſſaulte the Fryday in Eaſter weeke.



Abingdon.

Eng take

Some write, that the ſame night in whiche they ſo ment to flee to theyr ſhippes, there chaunced a great tumult and muteny betwixt the footmen and horſemen, ſo that they fought togither, or elſe might the whole number of them haue eſcaped. The horſemen that got forth left their horſes behind them readie brideled and ſadled, which the Frenchmen vpon entring the towne in the morning tooke, after they had ſlain the moſt part of the footemen. The Frenchmen hauing got a bloudie victorie, ſaued onely the Captaines and Gentlemen, and ſlue the other, aſwell Engliſhe men as Gaſcoignes. There was takē of knights, Sir Raufe Tanny, ſir Amis de Saint Amand, with his brother ſir Raufe de Gorges Marſhall of the armye, Sir Roger Leyborne, Sir John

Kreting, ſir James Kreting, ſir Henrie Boding, ſir John Mandeuile, ſir John Fuleborne, ſir Robert Godfielde, ſir Thomas Turberuile, and ſir Walter, with .xxxiij. Eſquiers, which were ſent all vnto Paris. But Adam Kreting was killed, a right valiant knight, by treaſon of one ſir Walter Gyfford a knight alſo, which had dwelled in Fraunce manye yeares before as an outlaw.

The ſame day was the towne of Saint Seuere deliuered vnto the Engliſhmen, the whiche Hugh (or as Abingdon hath) Robert Veer, brother to the Earle of Oxforde tooke vpon him to kept as Captaine there with two hundred men of armes. Charles de Valoys aduertiſed thereof, departed from Rion with all ſpeede to beſiege the forſayde towne of Saint Seuere, ere the Engliſh men ſhould haue time to fortifie it. But the forſayde Hugh Veer kept him out the ſpace of .xiij. (or as Abingdon hath. ix.) Weekes, to the great loſſe of the Frenche men, no ſmall parte of theyr people dying in the meane tyme, both of peſtilence and famine. At length when vittailes beganne to fayle within, a truce was taken for .xv. dayes, within the which it might bee lawfull for them within the towne to ſende vnto Bayonne for ſuccor, which if it came not within that tearme, the towne ſhoulde bee yeelded vnto the French men, and ſo it was vpon theſe conditions, that the Engliſh men and other that would depart, ſhoulde haue libertie to take with them their armor and goodes, and be ſafely conueyed two dayes iorney on their way from the French army. Alſo that thoſe which were minded to remaine ſtill in the towne, ſhould not ſuſteyne any loſſe or domage in theyr bodies or goodes.

The pledges alſo which aforetime were taken out of that towne by the Frenche kings Seneſchall, ſhould returne in ſafetie to the towne, and haue their goodes reſtored vnto them.

This done, Charles de Valoys appoynted a garniſon of ſouldiers to remaine there for the keeping of the towne, and then returned backe into Fraunce. The Engliſhmen which eſcaped out of thoſe places from the French mens handes, repayred vnto Bayonne to defend that towne with theyr Captaynes the forſayde Earle of Richmont, and the Lorde John de Saint John, the which of ſome are vntruely ſayde to haue beene ſlaine at Rion.

Then ſhortly after that Charles de Valoys was departed out of the Countrey, the Towne of Saint Seuere was againe recouered by the Engliſh men.

It ſhoulde appeare by report of ſome writers, that Hugh Veer whome they wrongly name to be Earle of Oxforde, was ſent ouer as then from king Edward to the ayde of his captains in Gaſcoigne, and at his firſt comming, recouered the towne of Saint Seuere, and afterwards ſo valiantly defended it againſt the French men, ſo that honourable mention is made of him, both by Ni. Tri. and alſo by ſome French writers, for his high manhood therein ſhewed. But whether he were brother or ſonne to the Earle of Oxforde, I can not ſay, howbeit about the .xxvij. yere of this king Edwardes raigne, we find one Hugh Veer, that was a Baron, which I take to be this man, but Earle I thinke hee was not. For (as Euerſden hath) one Robert Veer that was Earle of Oxforde deceaſſed in the yeare next enſuing, and after him ſucceeded an other Earle that bare the ſame name (as by recordes it may appeare.)

Nich: Triuet.

Polidore ſpeaking of the ſiege of Saint Seuere, rehearſeth not who was Captaine as then of the towne, but in the yeelding of it vnto Charles de Valoys, after he had layne more than three monethes before it, he agreeth with other writers.

Polidore.

The ſame yeare Berarde Biſhoppe of Alba and Simon Archbiſhop of Bourges two Cardinalles of the Romaine Sea were ſent vnto the kings of Englande and Fraunce to moue them to conclude a peace. They fyrſte came into Fraunce, and after into Englande, but perceyuing the myndes of the kings nothing inclyned to concorde, they returned to Rome without any concluſion of theyr purpoſe, but not without money gathered of Religious men to beare oute theyr expences, for they had authoritie by the Popes graunt to receyue in name of procuracies and expences, ſixe Markes of euery Cathedrall and collegiate Church through the Realme, beſydes diuers other rewardes. And where anye poore Chapiter of Nunnes or religious perſons were not able of themſelues, the Pariſhe Churches next adioyning were appoynted to bee contributories with them.

Polidor.

Cardinals ſent to the kings of Englande, and France to treat a peace.

Mat. VVeſt.

The Cardinals gather money.

The ſame tyme ſir Thomas Turberuile a knight, and one of thoſe (as before ye haue heard) which were taken at Rion, to ſaue his life and to deliuer himſelfe out of captiuitie, though he was neuer proued falſe before, promiſed King Philippe that if he woulde ſuffer him to returne into Englande, hee woulde ſo worke with King Edwarde, that he might be made by him Admirall of the Seas, which thing brought to paſſe, he would deliuer the Engliſh Nauie into the handes of the ſayde King Philippe. Herevpon was he ſet at libertie, and ouer hee commeth into Englande. And for as muche as he was knowne to bee a manne of ſyngular and approoued valyauncye, King Edwarde receyued hym verye courteouſly, who remembring hys promyſed practiſe to the Frenche King, fell in hande by procuring friendes to bee made Admirall of the Seas. But King Edwarde (as God woulde

Polidor.

Nich. Triuet.

Mat. VVeſt.

Sir Thomas Turberuiles promiſe to the French king.

haue it) denied that ſute.

The French king ſendeth forth a fleet againſt engläd.

Abingdon.

The French king in the meane time hauing prepared his nauie, cōteining three hundred ſaile, what with the Galleys and other Ships (for hee had got diuerſe both frō Merſelles & Genoa) ſent the ſame forth to the ſeas, that vpon ſuch occaſion the king of Englande might alſo ſende forth his Fleete. But the Frenche nauie comming neare to the coaſt of Englande, and lying at Ancre certaine dayes looking for ſir Thomas Turberuile, when hee came not at the day prefixed, the Captaynes of the Frenche fleete appoynted one of theyr Veſſelles to approche neare to the ſhore, and to ſette a lande certaine perſons that knewe the Countrey, to vnderſtande and learne the cauſe of ſuche ſtay. They beeing taken of the Engliſhe men and examined, coulde make no direct anſwere in theyr owne excuſe, and ſo were put to death.

Abingdon.

Some write that they ſent fiue Galleys towards the ſhore to ſuruey the coaſt, of the which Galleys one of them aduauncing forth afore hir fellowes, arriued at Hide neare to Rumney hauen, where the Engliſh men eſpying hir, to draw the French men a lande, feigned to flie backe into the Countrey, but returning ſodainly vppon the enimies, they ſlue the whole number of them, being about two hundred and fifty perſons. They ſet fire on the Galley alſo and burned hir.

French men ſlaine.
A Gally burnt.

Douer robbed by the French.

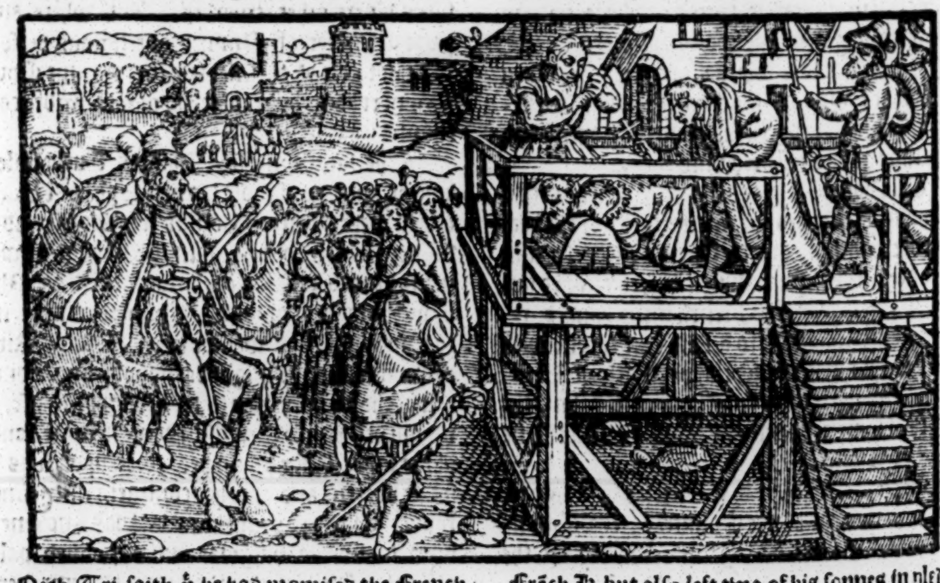
The Admirall of the French fleete kindled in anger herewith, ſayled ſtreight vnto Douer, and there landing with his people, robbed the towne and Priorie. The townſmen being ſtriken with feare of the ſodaine landing of their enimies, fled into the Countrey, and rayſed people on euerye ſide, the which being aſſembled togither in great numbers, towards euening came to Douer, and inuading ſuch French mē as were ſtrayed abrode to ſeeke prayes, ſlue thē downe in ſundry places. The French Admiral which had bene buſie al the day in pilfring the towne, hearing the noyſe of thoſe Frenchmen that came running towardes the ſea ſide, ſtreight ways getteth him to his ſhips with ſuch pillage as he could take with him. The other French men whiche were gone abrode into the Countrey to fetche prayes, and coulde not come to theyr ſhippes in tyme, were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne. Some of them hid themſelues in the corne fieldes, and were after ſlaine of the Country people. There was little leſſe than .viij. hundred of them thus ſlaine by one meane and other at that time. There were not manye of the men of Douer ſlain, for they eſcaped by flight at the firſt entrie made by the Frenchmen: But of women and children there dyed a great number, for the enimyes ſpared none. There was alſo an olde Monke ſlaine named Thomas, a man of ſuche vertue (as the opinion went) that after his deceaſſe, many myracles through hym were ſhewed.

The
men
then

Frenc
ſlain
Dou

Sir Thomas Turberuile being troubled in his minde that he could not bring his trayterous purpoſe to paſſe, beganne to aſſay another way, which was to procure Iohn Ballioll King of Scotlande to ioyne in league with the Frenche K. but ere any of his practiſes coulde be brought aboute, his treaſon was reuealed, and he conuict thereof was put to execution.

Sir
Tu
exec



Nic. Triuet.

Nich. Tri. ſaith, ỷ he had promiſed the French king to cauſe Wales to reuolt frō K. Edwarde, and that by procurement of the Prouoſt of Paris, he conſented to worke ſuch treaſon. And as ſome write, hee did not onely homage vnto the Frēch K. but alſo left two of his ſonnes in pledge for aſſurance to worke that which he had promiſed. His ſecretarie that wrote the letters vnto the French K. cōteining his imagined treaſons, with other aduertiſements touching king Edwardes

xton.

purpoſes, fearing leaſt the matter by ſome other meanes might come to light, as well to his deſtruction as his maiſters for concealing it, diſcloſed the whole to the king. He hauing knowledge that he was bewrayed by his ſeruant, fled out of the Court, but ſuch diligence was vſed in the purſute of him, that he was taken within two dayes after, and brought backe agayne to London, where he was conuicted of the treaſon ſo by hym imagined, and therfore finally put to death.

This yeare the Cleargie gaue to the king the tenth part of their goodes, the Citizens a ſixt part, and the commons a twelfth part, or rather (as Euerſden hath) the Burgeſſes of good townes gaue the ſeuēth, and the commons abrode the .xj. peny.

The ſame yeare died Gilbert de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, which left iſſue behinde him, begot of his wife the Counteſſe Joan the kings daughter (beſide three daughters) one yong ſonne named alſo Gylbert to ſucceede him as his heyre.

The Counteſſe his wife, after hir huſbandes deceaſe maried a knight of meane eſtate, borne in the Byſhoprike of Dureſme, named Sir Raufe Monthermer, that that had ſerued the Earle hir fyrſt huſbande in hys lyfe tyme. The king at the firſt tooke diſpleaſure herewith, but at length thorow the high valiancie of the knight, diuerſe tymes ſhewed and apparantly approued, the matter was ſo well taken, that he was entituled Erle of Gloceſter, and aduanced to great honor.

John Romain Archbiſhop of Yorke alſo this yeare died, after whom one Henry de Newmarke deane of the Colledge there ſucceeded.

Moreouer the ſame yeare William de Valence Earle of Pembroke departed this life, and lyeth buryed at Weſtmynſter, and then Aimer his ſonne ſucceeded him.

John king of Scotlande fianceth his ſonne Edwarde Balliol with the daughter of Charles du Valoys brother to the French king, and concludeth with the ſayde Frenche king a league, againſt the king of England. Nothing moued the Scottiſhe king ſo much hereto, as the affection which he bare towards his natiue Countrey, for he was a French man borne, a lord of Harecourt in Normandie, which ſeignorie was after made an Earledome by Philip du Valoys King of Fraunce.

The Scottiſhmen had choſen .xij. Peeres, that is to ſay foure Biſhops, foure Earles, and foure Barons, by whoſe aduiſe and counſayle the King ſhoulde gouerne the Realme, by whom he was induced alſo to conſent vnto ſuch accordes wyth the French men, contrarie to his promiſed fayth giuen to king Edward when he did to him homage.

King Edwarde not fully vnderſtanding the concluſion of this league, requyring ayde of the Scottiſh king for the maintenance of his warres againſt France, and receyuing a doubtfull anſwere, he began to ſuſpect the matter, and therevpon required to haue three Caſtels, as Berwik, Edenbourgh, and Rokeſbourgh, deliuered vnto him as gages till the ende of the warre, and if the Scottiſhmen continued faythfull vnto him, hee woulde then reſtore the ſame Caſtelles when the warres wer ended vnto thẽ again. This to do the Scottiſh men vtterly denied, alledging that their Countrey was free of it ſelfe, and acquit of all ſeruitude or bondage, and that they were in no condition bounde vnto the King of Scotland, and therefore they would receyue the Merchants of Fraunce, of Flaunders, or of any other Countrey without exception, as they thought good.

King Edwards requeſt made to the Scottes is denied.

Abyngdon.

The diſloyall dealing of the Scottes.

There were in the hauen of Barwicke at the ſame time, certain Engliſh Marchants, vpõ whõ the Scottes made aſſault, and wounded ſome of them, and ſome of them they ſlue, and chaſed the reſidue, the which returning into England made complaynt and ſhewed in what euill maner they had beene dealt with.

N. Triuet.

King Edward herevpon perceyuing the purpoſes of the Scottes, determined to make warre vpon them with all ſpeede, and to conquere the whole Countrey, if they coulde not cleare themſelues of ſuch euill dealing as of them was reported, and thought to be be put in practiſe.

The of Lancaſter ſent into Gaſcoigne.

Abingdon.

About the conuerſion of Saint Paule in Januarie, king Edwarde ſent ouer into Gaſcoigne his brother the Lorde Edmonde Earle of Lancaſter, with the Earle of Lyncolne, and other, to the number of .xxvj. Baronettes, and ſeuen hundred men of armes, beſides a great multitude of other people. They arryued at Blay, aboute the myddeſt of Lent, and ſtayed there tyll towards Eaſter.

In which meane ſeaſon, a great ſort of Gaſcoignes and other people reſorted vnto them, ſo that they were two thouſande men of armes.

The Caſtell of Leſpar deliuered vnto him.

Nic. Triuet.

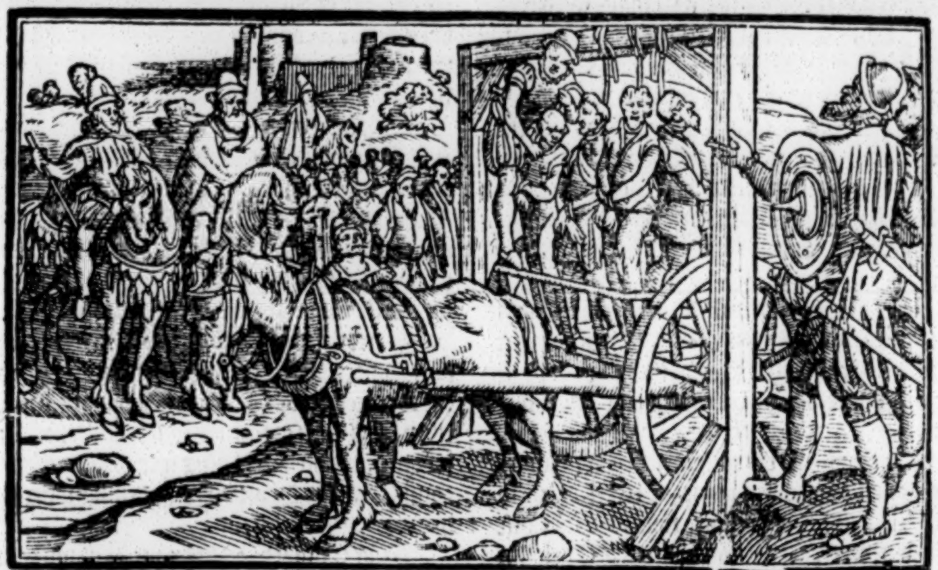
Vpon Shere Thurſday, the Caſtell de Leſparre was deliuered vnto the Erle of Lancaſter, and after that diuerſe other Caſtels. At his approching neare vnto Burdeaux, vpon the Thurſday in Eaſter Weeke, as he reſted to refreſh himſelfe and his armie in a little village called Rekel, an armye of Frenche menne iſſuyng oute of Burdeaux, meant to come vppon the Engliſhe menne at vnwares: But they hauyng warning thereof, prepared themſelues to battayle, ſo well as the ſhortneſſe of tyme woulde permit, and ſo therevpon encountring with theyr enimies, and fighting a ſore battaile, at length conſtrayned the French menne to returne vnto the Citie, and purſuyng them as they fledde, two Engliſhe Knightes beeing brethren to Sir

The French-men forced to retire.

Polidor.

Peter de Mallow and an other that was a Gaſcoigne, entred the Citie with two ſtanderde bearers belonging to the Erle of Richmond, and to the Lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the French men tooke, cloſing them within the gates. The other Engliſhmẽ being ſhut out, firſt fel to yͤ ſpoile of the ſuburbs, and then ſet fire vpon the ſame.

After this there were certain of the Citizens that ſecretly were at a poynt with the Earle of Lancaſter, to haue deliuered the Citie into his handes, but their practiſe being eſpied, they were taken and executed ere they coulde performe that



which they had promiſed.

The Earle of Lancaſter departeth this life.

Then the Earle perceyuing he ſhould but loſe his labor to ſtay any lon ger there, vpon certaine weightie occaſions he returned vnto Bayonne, where he ſhortly after fell ſicke and died. He left behind him three ſonnes, Thomas that ſucceded him in the Erledome of Lancaſter, Henry Lorde of Monmouth, and John whom he had begot of his wife Blanch, the which before had bene maried vnto Henrie Erle of Chãpaigne, and king of Nauarre, by whom ſhe had but one onely daughter, that was maried vnto the French king Philip le Beau.

Aques beſieged.

After this the Engliſh army beſieged the City of Aques, but through want of vittayles he was conſtrayned to riſe from thence and breake vp the ſiege. The Earle of Arthoys being ſent of the French king with an army into Gaſcoigne, encountreth with the Engliſhmen, and chaſeth thẽ with the ſlaughter of a great number, & after recouereth diuerſe townes & fortreſſes in the cõtry.

The Earle of Arthoys ſent with an army into Galcoine.

Nic. Triuet.

Burg beſieged

Thoſe Engliſh men that kept the towne of Burg, being compaſſed about with a ſiege by monſieur de Sully, obteyned truce for a certaine ſpace, during the whiche they ſent vnto Blaynes for ſome reliefe of vittayles: and where other refuſed to bring vp a ſhip loden wyth vittayles, whiche was there prepared, the Lorde Simon de Montagew, a right valiant chiefetaine, and a wyſe, tooke vppon him the enterpriſe, and through the middle of the French Galleyes whiche were placed in the ryuer to ſtoppe that no ſhippe ſhoulde paſſe towardes that towne, by helpe of a proſperous winde, he got into the hauen of Burg, and ſo relieued them within of theyr wante of vyttayles, by meanes whereof, Mounſeur de Sullye brake vppe his ſiege, and returned into Fraunce.

The Lord Simon de Montagew his enterpriſe to reſcue the garniſon of Burg.

In the meane time, king Edwarde not ſleeping his buſineſſe, procured Guy Earle of Flanders to ioyne with him in league agaynſte the French men. This Guy was the ſonne of Margaret Counteſſe of Flaunders, whom ſhe hed by hir ſeconde huſband William Lord of Dampier in Burgoygne. Alſo king Edwarde procured Henrie Earle of Bar, to whome (as before yee haue hearde) he had giuen his daughter Eleanore in mariage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen, ſo that at one tyme the Earle of Bar inuaded the Countrey of Champaigne, and the Earle of Flaunders made incurſions vpon thoſe Countreyes of Fraunce which ioyne vnto Flaunders.

King Philip hereof aduertiſed, ſent forth one Walter de Creſſie with a great armie agaynſte the Earle of Bar, ſo that beſieging the chiefeſt Towne of Bar, he conſtrayned the ſayde Earle to leaue off his enterpriſe in Champaigne, and to returne home, for doubt to loſe more there than he ſhould winne abrode.

But now to touche more at large the cyrcumſtaunces of the occaſion that moued the Earle of Flaunders to make warre agaynſte the French king, I find (in Jacob Mayer) that there was a maryage concluded betwixte the Lorde Edward the eldeſt ſonne of king Edwarde, and the Ladie Philip daughter to the forſayde

Guy Earle of Flaunders, which marriage was concluded by Henry Byſhop of Lincolne, and the Erle Warren, being ſent ouer as Ambaſſadors by Kyng Edwarde, vnto the ſayde Earle Guy for the ſame purpoſe.

In the yeare following, the ſayde Earle of Flaunders, togither with his wife, comming to viſite the Frenche Kyng at Corbeill, were arreſted, and ſent to Paris, there to remayne as priſoners, bycauſe that the Earle had fiaunced hys daughter to the French Kings aduerſarie, without his licence: neyther mighte they be deliuered, till by mediation of the Pope, and ſuretie hadde vppon the promiſe of Amedey Earle of Sauoy, they were ſet at libertie, with theſe conditions, that they ſhould deliuer into the Frenche Kyngs handes their daughter, whiche was ſo fiaunced vnto Kyng Edwardes ſonne, and further couenaunted, not to conclude any league with the Kyng of England, but in all poyntes to obſerue a certaine peace which was concluded with Ferdinando Earle of Flaunders, in the yeare. 1225. And if Earle Guy brake the ſame peace, then ſhould he be excommunicated, and all his countrey of Flaunders interdited by the Archbyſhop of Reims, and the Byſhoppe of Senlis, Judges appoynted heerein by authoritie of the Pope.

The Earles daughter beeing ſente for, and brought vnto Paris, the Erle and his wife were releaſſed, and ſuffered to returne into Flaunders, and ſhortly after, the Earle made earneſt ſute to haue his daughter reſtored vnto hym agayne, in ſo muche, that hee procureth Pope Boniface to bee a meane for him vnto the French Kyng, but all would not ſerue, no, though as ſome ſay, the Pope accurſed the Frenche Kyng for reteyning hir, aunſwer being made, that matters perteining to worldly gouernemente, belonged not to the Pope to diſcuſſe. Finally, Earle Guy perceyuing he coulde not preuayle in that ſute, to haue hys daughter agayne, vpon high diſpleaſure concluded to ioyne in league with King Edward and his confederates. Hereupon, at an aſſemblie or Councell kept at Gerardmount, there was a ſolemne league made and agreed betwixt Adolph the Emperoure of Almaine, Edwarde Kyng of England, Guy Earle of Flaunders, John Duke of Brabante, Henry Earle of Bar, both ſonnes in lawe to Kyng Edwarde, and Albert Duke of Auſtrich, againſte Phillip King of Fraunce, and John Earle of Henault his partaker. The Merchauntes of Flaunders procured the Earle to conclude this league with Kyng Edward, as ſome write, the rather in reſpect of the great commodities whiche roſe to their countrey, by reaſon of the entercourſe of merchandiſe vſed betwixte Englande and Flaunders, and for that through ayde of the Engliſhmen, they mighte the better withſtande the malice, both of the Frenche, and all other their enimies. This league being proclaymed in England, there were ſente ouer into Flaunders, the treaſorer of the Exchequer, and diuers other noble men, to fetche hoſtages from thence, and to giue to the Erle fifteene thouſand pounde of ſiluer, towardes the fortifying of his Caſtels and holdes. King Phillip beeing heereof aduertiſed, by counſel of the peeres of his Realm, ſent two honorable perſonages, as the Captaine of Mounſtrell, and the Captayne of Belquerke, whiche ſhoulde attach the Earle of Flaunders by his body, and ſummon hym to yeelde himſelfe priſoner at Paris, within the ſpace of fifteene dayes next enſuing. This attachment made, and ſommonance giuen, the Earle of Flaunders ſendeth his defiance vnto the Frenche King by the Abbots of Gemblois, and Seneffes, vnto whome he gaue ſufficient letters procuratorie, to authoriſe them thereto, dated at Male in yͤ yeare of grace. 1296. after yͤ accompt of the Chronicles of Flaunders, which begin their yeare at Eaſter: and ſo this chanced in the fiue and twentith yere of King Edwards raigne, the Wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of the Epiphany. Heerevppon was the Earle accurſed, and Flaunders interdited by the Archbiſhop of Reims, and the Biſhoppe of Senlis comming vnto Terwane for that purpoſe, about the fifteene day of June, in the yeare 1297. But the Lorde Robert the Earles ſonne appealed from that interdict vnto the Pope, and ſo the Flemings toke themſelues free and out of daunger of the ſame. Earle Guy alſo obteyned of King Edwarde, that it mighte be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy woolles, through Englande, Scotlande and Irelande, as freely as the Italians might, by their priuiledge and graunt.

The Earle of Flaunders defieth the French king.

The Earle of Flaunders accurſed.

His ſonne appealeth from the interdiction.

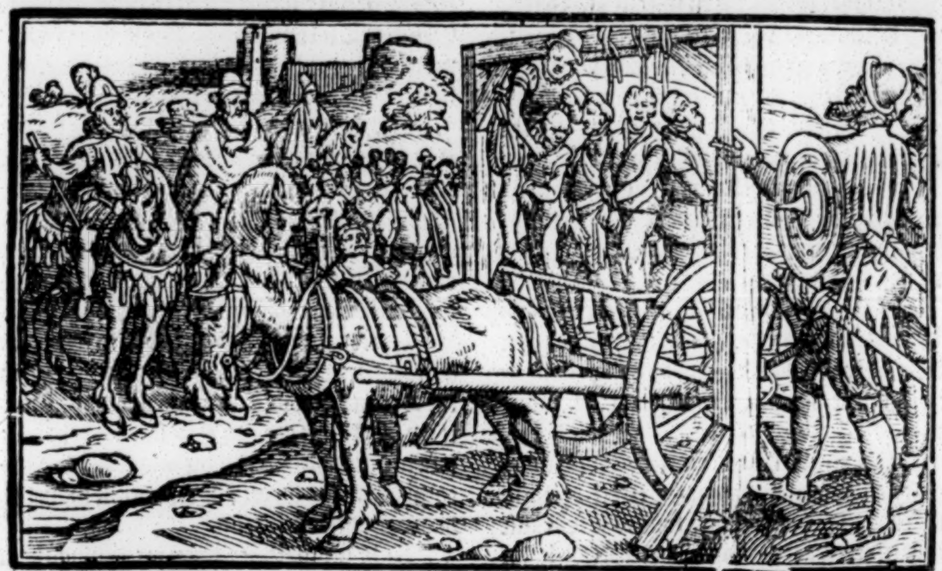
But to returne now to the doings of Kyng Edward, whiche in this meane time, hauing perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the King of Fraunce and the King of Scotlande, prepared an army, and firſte ſente Ambaſſadors into Scotland, to giue ſummonance vnto Kyng John, to appeare at Newcaſtell within certayne dayes, that he might there ſhew the cauſe why he had broken the league. And further, to declare vnto him, that he was deceyued, if he thought he might ſerue two maſters, contrary to the wordes of the Goſpell, for ſo much fauour as he purchaſed at the handes of the Frenche King, as muche diſpleaſure mighte he aſſure himſelfe to procure at the handes of the King of Englande, whome to obey, it ſhould be moſt for his aduantage. The Ambaſſadors that were ſente, did their meſſage throughly, but King John was ſo farre off from aunſwering any thing that mighte ſound to the mayntenance of peace, that ſhortly after he ſente letters of complaynte vnto King Edwarde, for

Ambaſſadors ſent to the K. of Scottes.

Polidor.

Peter de Mallow and an other that was a Gaſcoigne, entred the Citie with two ſtanderde bearers belonging to the Erle of Richmond, and to the Lord Alane de la Zouch, whom the French men tooke, cloſing them within the gates. The other Engliſhmē being ſhut out, firſt fel to ẏ ſpoile of the ſuburbs, and then ſet fire vpon the ſame.

After this there were certain of the Citizens that ſecretly were at a poynt with the Earle of Lancaſter, to haue deliuered the Citie into his handes, but their practiſe being eſpied, they were taken and executed ere they coulde performe that which they had promiſed.



The Earle of Lancaſter departeth this life.

Then the Earle perceyuing he ſhould but loſe his labor to ſtay any longer there, vpon certaine weightie occaſions he returned vnto Bayonne, where he ſhortly after fell ſicke and died. He left behind him three ſonnes, Thomas that ſucceded him in the Erledome of Lancaſter, Henry Lorde of Monmouth, and John whom he had begot of his wife Blanch, the which before had bene maried vnto Henrie Erle of Chāpaigne, and king of Nauarre, by whom ſhe had but one onely daughter, that was maried vnto the French king Philip le Beau.

Aques beſieged.

The Earle of Arthoys ſent with an army into Gaſcoine.

After this the Engliſh army beſieged the City of Aques, but through want of vittayles he was conſtrayned to riſe from thence and breake vp the ſiege. The Earle of Arthoys being ſent of the French king with an army into Gaſcoigne, encountreth with the Engliſhmen, and chaſeth thē with the ſlaughter of a great number, & after recouereth diuerſe townes & fortreſſes in the coūtry.

Nic. Triuet.

Burg beſieged

The Lord Simon de Montagew his enterpriſe to reſcue the garriſon of Burg.

Thoſe Engliſh men that kept the towne of Burg, being compaſſed about with a ſiege by monſeur de Sully, obteyned truce for a certaine ſpace, during the whiche they ſent vnto Blaynes for ſome reliefe of vittayles: and where other refuſed to bring vp a ſhip loden wyth vittayles, whiche was there prepared, the Lorde Simon de Montagew, a right valiant chiefetaine, and a wyſe, tooke vppon him the enterpriſe, and through the middle of the French Galleyes whiche were placed in the ryuer to ſtoppe that no ſhippe ſhoulde paſſe towardes that towne, by helpe of a proſperous winde, he got into the hauen of Burg, and ſo relieued them within of theyr wante of vyttayles, by meanes whereof, Mounſeur de Sullye brake vppe his ſiege, and returned into Fraunce.

In the meane time, king Edwarde not ſleeping his buſineſſe, procured Guy Earle of Flanders to ioyne with him in league agaynſte the French men. This Guy was the ſonne of Margaret Counteſſe of Flaunders, whom ſhe had by hir ſeconde huſband William Lord of Dampier in Burgoygne. Alſo king Edwarde procured Henrie Earle of Bar, to whome (as before yee haue hearde) he had giuen his daughter Eleanore in mariage, to make warre vpon the Frenchmen, ſo that at one tyme the Earle of Bar inuaded the Countrey of Champaigne, and the Earle of Flaunders made incurſions vpon thoſe Countreyes of Fraunce which ioyne vnto Flaunders.

King Philip hereof aduertiſed, ſent forth one Walter de Creſſie with a great armie agaynſt the Earle of Bar, ſo that beſieging the chiefeſt Towne of Bar, he conſtrayned the ſayde Earle to leaue off his enterpriſe in Champaigne, and to returne home, for doubt to loſe more there than he ſhould winne abrode.

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The Earles daughter beeing ſente for, and brought vnto Paris, the Erle and his wife were releaſſed, and ſuffered to returne into Flaunders, and ſhortly after, the Earle made earneſt ſute to haue his daughter reſtored vnto hym agayne, in ſo muche, that hee procureth Pope Boniface to bee a meane for him vnto the French Kyng, but all would not ſerue, no, though as ſome ſay, the Pope accurſed the Frenche Kyng for reteyning hir, aunſwer being made, that matters perteining to worldly gouernemente, belonged not to the Pope to diſcuſſe. Finally, Earle Guy perceyuing he coulde not preuayle in that ſute, to haue hys daughter agayne, vpon high diſpleaſure concluded to ioyne in league with King Edward and his confederates. Herevpon, at an aſſemblie or Councell kept at Gerardmount, there was a ſolemne league made and agreed betwixt Adolph the Emperoure of Almaine, Edwarde Kyng of England, Guy Earle of Flaunders, Iohn Duke of Brabante, Henry Earle of Bar, both ſonnes in lawe to Kyng Edwarde, and Albert Duke of Auſtrich, againſte Phillip King of Fraunce, and Iohn Earle of Henault his partaker. The Merchauntes of Flaunders procured the Earle to conclude this league with Kyng Edward, as ſome write, the rather in reſpect of the great commodities whiche roſe to their countrey, by reaſon of the entercourſe of merchandiſe vſed betwixte Englande and Flaunders, and for that through ayde of the Engliſhmen, they mighte the better withſtande the malice, both of the Frenche, and all other their enimies. This league being proclaymed in England, there were ſente ouer into Flaunders, the treaſorer of the Exchequer, and diuers other noble men, to fetche hoſtages from thence, and to giue to the Erle fifteene thouſand pounde of ſiluer, towardes the fortifying of his Caſtels and holdes. King Phillip beeing heereof aduertiſed, by counſel of the peeres of his Realm, ſent two honorable perſonages, as the Captaine of Mounſtrell, and the Captayne of Belquerke, whiche ſhoulde attach the Earle of Flaunders by his body, and ſummon hym to yeelde himſelfe priſoner at Paris, within the ſpace of fifteene dayes next enſuing. This attachment made, and ſommonance giuen, the Earle of Flaunders ſendeth his defiance vnto the Frenche King by the Abbots of Gemblois, and Seneſles, vnto whome he gaue ſufficient letters procuratorie, to authoriſe them thereto, dated at Male in yͤ yeare of grace. 1296. after yͤ accompt of the Chronicles of Flaunders, which begin their yeare at Eaſter: and ſo this chanced in the fiue and twentith yere of King Edwards raigne, the Wedneſday nexte after the feaſt of the Epiphany. Herevppon was the Earle accurſed, and Flaunders interdited by the Archbiſhop of Reims, and the Biſhoppe of Senlis comming vnto Terwane for that purpoſe, about the fifteene day of Iune, in the yeare 1297. But the Lorde Robert the Earles ſonne appealed from that interdict vnto the Pope, and ſo the Flemings toke themſelues free and out of daunger of the ſame. Earle Guy alſo obteyned of King Edwarde, that it mighte be lawfull for them of Bruges, to buy woolles, through Englande, Scotlande and Irelande, as freely as the Italians might, by their priuiledge and graunt.

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The Earle of Flaunders accurſed.

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But to returne now to the doings of Kyng Edward, whiche in this meane time, hauing perfect knowledge of the league concluded betwixt the King of Fraunce and the King of Scotlande, prepared an army, and firſte ſente Ambaſſadors into Scotland, to giue ſummonance vnto Kyng Iohn, to appeare at Newcaſtell within certayne dayes, that he might there ſhew the cauſe why he had broken the league. And further, to declare vnto him, that he was deceyued, if he thought he might ſerue two maſters, contrary to the wordes of the Goſpell, for ſo much fauour as he purchaſed at the handes of the Frenche King, as muche diſpleaſure mighte he aſſure himſelfe to procure at the handes of the King of Englande, whome to obey, it ſhould be moſt for his aduantage. The Ambaſſadors that were ſente, did their meſſage throughly, but King Iohn was ſo farre off from aunſwering any thing that mighte ſound to the mayntenance of peace, that ſhortly after he ſente letters of complaynte vnto King Edwarde, for

Ambaſſadors ſent to the K. of Scottes.

wrongs whiche he alledged to haue ſuſteyned by his meanes & at his hands. Hereupon, King Edward by aduice of his councell, determined to ſet forward with his army into Scotland.

Nic. Triuet.

The Lord Ros reuolteth to the K. of Scots

In the meane time, Roberte Ros, Captayne of Warke Caſtell, reuolted to the Scottiſh Kyng, moued therunto through the loue of a Scottiſh Gentlewoman, whome hee meante to marry, notwithſtanding, he had ſworne fealtie vnto King Edward.

William de Ros continueth faithfull to the King of Englande.

Wherevpon, his brother William de Ros giuing knowledge to Kyng Edwarde, required to haue ſome ayde, whereby hee myghte defende the Caſtell againſt the Scottiſhmen. King Edward ſent vnto him a thouſand Souldiers (Polidor ſayth an hundreth) the which as they lodged one night in a Town called Preſtfen, they were ſlayne by the Scottiſhmenne of the garriſon of Rockeſborough, that were ledde and guided by the ſayd Robert Ros: ſome of them although but few eſcaped away by flight.

Engliſhmen diſtreſſed.

K. Edward aduertiſed hereof, haſted forth, & came to the ſaid Caſtell, glad in this, as is reported, that the Scottiſhmen had firſt begun the warre, meaning as it ſhoulde ſeeme by their procedings, to follow the ſame, for vpon good friday, diuers Scottiſhmen entring the bordures, brente ſundry villages, and ſpoyled the Abbey of Carham.

Ri. South.

Nic. Triuet.

And furthermore, whileſt K. Edward kept his Eaſter at Warke, ſeuen Erles of Scotlãd, as Bouchan, Menteth, Stratherne, Lennox, Ros, Atholl and Mar, with John Comin the Maſter of Badenawe, hauing aſſembled an army togither of fiue hundred men of armes on horſebacke, and ten M. footemen in Annandale, vpon Monday in Eſter weeke entred England, & putting all to fyre and ſworde, approched to Carleill, and layde ſiege therevnto on eache ſide, paſſing the water of Eden by a forde vnder Richardſton, and did ſo much, that they brenned the ſuburbes and aſſaulted the gates, at whyche enterpriſe, a gentleman of Galloway as he ventured ſomewhat neere to the gate, was drawen vp by an iron hooke, of thoſe that ſtoode aloft vpon the gates to defende the ſame, and there ſlaine, and thruſt through with ſpeares. In the meane time, a ſpie, yͤ which had bin taken and committed to priſon, ſet fire on the houſe wherein he was encloſed, and ſo the flames catching hold vpon yͤ other buildings, a greate parte of the Citie was thereby brent. The men yet and the women getting themſelues to the walles, droue their enimies backe, and ſo defended the Citie frõ taking. Wherevppon, the Scottiſhe Lordes, perceyuing they could not preuaile, left their ſiege on yͤ thurſday in Eaſter weeke, and returned agayne into Scotland.

Abingdon.

The Scottes inuade England.

N. Tri

The S reiſe ſiege Carle

The ſame thurſday, K. Edward with his army paſſed yͤ riuer of Tweede, & ſo entring into Scotland, ſent to the burgeſſes of Berwike, offering them peace vpon certayne conditions, & ſtayed a whole day for an aunſwere, but whẽ he could haue none that liked him, nor that ſounded in any thing to peace, he approched the Towne, and lodged in the Monaſterie of Caldeſtreyme,

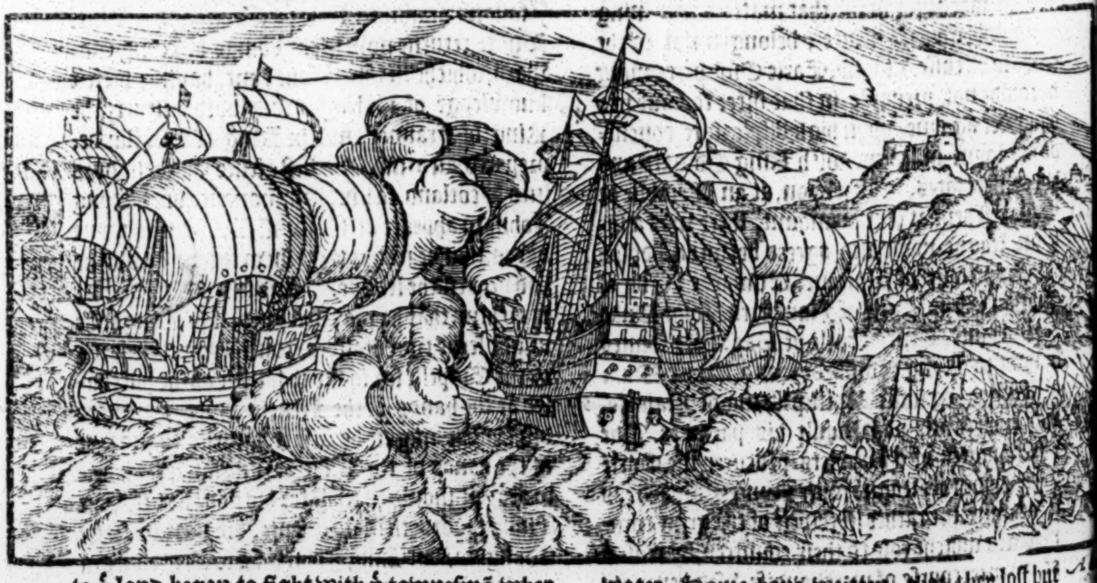
Berwi ſumm

Ali

His army conſiſted as ſome write of foure thouſand mẽ of armes on Horſeback, and 30. M. footemen, beſide fiue C. men of armes on horſebacke, and a M. footemen of the Biſhopricke of Durhã.

The flee

At the ſame time, there came 24. Engliſh ſhips, yͤ marriners wherof, beholding where the Engliſh army was placed in battell aray vpon a playne, the Kyng making there certaine Knightes, they thought his meaning was to haue giuen forthwith an aſſault, & ſo entring yͤ hauẽ, & approching



Four engliſhe ſhippes loſt.

to yͤ land, began to fight with yͤ townesmẽ, wher they loſt foure of their ſhips, & were cõſtreined to withdraw with yͤ reſidue, with help of yͤ falling water. Some haue written, that they loſt but three ſhippes, whiche were conſumed with fire, and that the Mariners and Souldiers of one of thoſe ſhippes, after they had defended themſelues by great manhoode from the firſt houre of ẏ day, till eleuen of the clocke, eſcaped away, ſome by the boate of that ſhippe, and ſome leaping into the water, were ſaued by the boates of other ſhips that made in to ſuccour them. The rumor of the Marriners attempt being bruted through the army, the Kyng paſſing forwarde towardes the Towne, gote ouer a ditche, whiche the Scottes hadde caſt to impeache his paſſage, and ſo comming to the Towne, wanne it, not loſing any man of renowne, ſauing Sir Richarde Cornewall, the which was ſlayne by a quarrell whyche a Flemming ſhot out of a Croſſebowe, beyng in the red hall, which the Merchaunts of Flaunders helde in that Towne, and had fortified it in maner of a Tower, but when they would not yeeld, and coulde not eaſily otherwiſe bee wonne, the houſe towardes euening was ſet on fire, and ſo they being thirtie in number, were brenned to death within it.

The ſame nighte, the King lodged in the Caſtell, whiche was yeelded vnto him by them that kepte it, their liues and lymmes ſaued, and receyuing an othe, that they ſhould not from thenceforthe beare armour againſte the King of England, they were permitted to depart whether they thought good, their Captayne Sir William Dowglas excepted, whome the Kyng ſtill kepte with him, till the ende of the warres.

Some write, that there ſhoulde bee ſlayne of Scottiſhmen at the winning thus of Berwike, aboue the number of twentie thouſand men, with ſmall loſſe of Engliſhmen, not paſt eyghte and twentie of all ſorts. Yee may reade more hereof alſo in the Scottiſh hiſtory.

Eight thouſande hath Abyngdon, but Richard Southwell ſaith, there were ſlayne fifteene thouſand at the leaſt of one and other.

Kyng Edwarde remayned at Berwike a fifteene dayes, and cauſed a ditche to be caſt aboute the Towne, of fourescore foote in breadth, and of the like deapth.

King Edward fortifieth Berwike.

In the meane tyme, about the beginning of Aprill, the wardein and reader of the Frier Minors of Rockeſborough called Adam Blunt, came vnto him with letters from Kyng Iohn, of complaynt for the wrongs done and offered vnto him and his Realme, as well in claymyng an vniuſt ſuperioritie, and conſtreyning him to doe homage by vndue and wrongfull meanes, as alſo by inuading his townes, ſlaying and robbing his ſubiects, for the whiche cauſes, hee teſtified by the ſame letters, that hee renounced all ſuche homage and fealtie for him and his ſubiects, as hee, or any of them ought for any lands holden within England.

A Scottiſhe Frier ſent to king Edward.

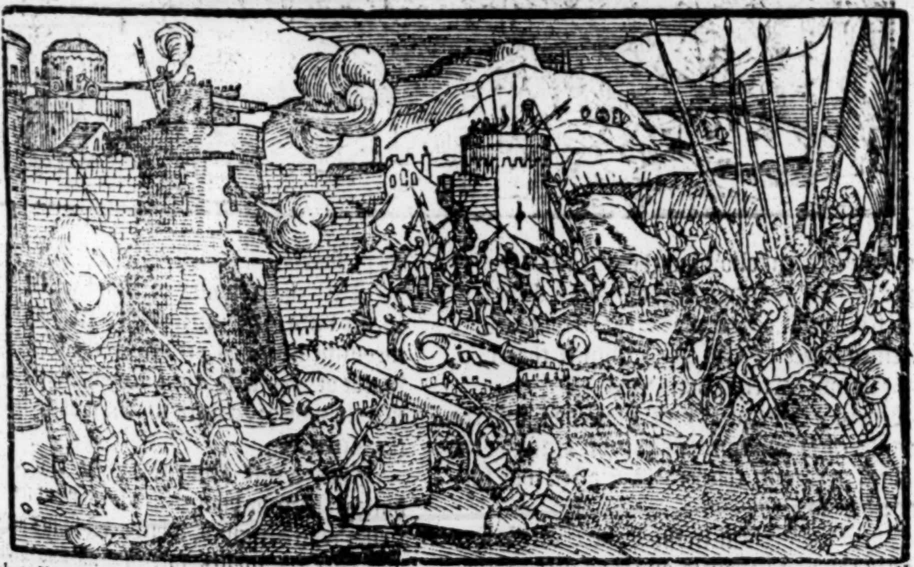
The Scottiſhe K. renounceth his homage and fealtie vnto the king of Englande.

The Kyng hearing the letters red, receyued the reſignation of the homage, and commaunded his Chauncellour, that the letter might be regiſtred in perpetuall memory of the thing.

The Earles of Scotlande before remembred, being aſſembled togither with their powers at the Caſtell of Iedworth, entred into Englande the eighth of Aprill, and with fire and ſword dyd much hurt in the Countreys as they paſſed.

The Scottes inuade the Engliſh bordures.

In Reedeſdale they beſieged the Caſtell of Harbottell by the ſpace of two dayes, but when they could not preuayle, they remoued, and paſſing forth by the Eaſt part of the Riuer of Tine, through Cokeſdale, Reedeſdale and Northumberland vnto Exham, they did muche ſkath, by brenning and harrying the countreys.



At Hexham, they ſpoyled the Abbey Churche, and gote a great number of the Cleargie, as well Monkes, Prieſtes, as Scollers, and other, whom they thruſt into the Scholehouſe there, and cloſing vp the dores, ſet fire on the Schole, and brenned all them to aſhes that were within it. It is wonderfull to reade, what beaſtly crueltie the Scottes vſed in that roade whiche they made at

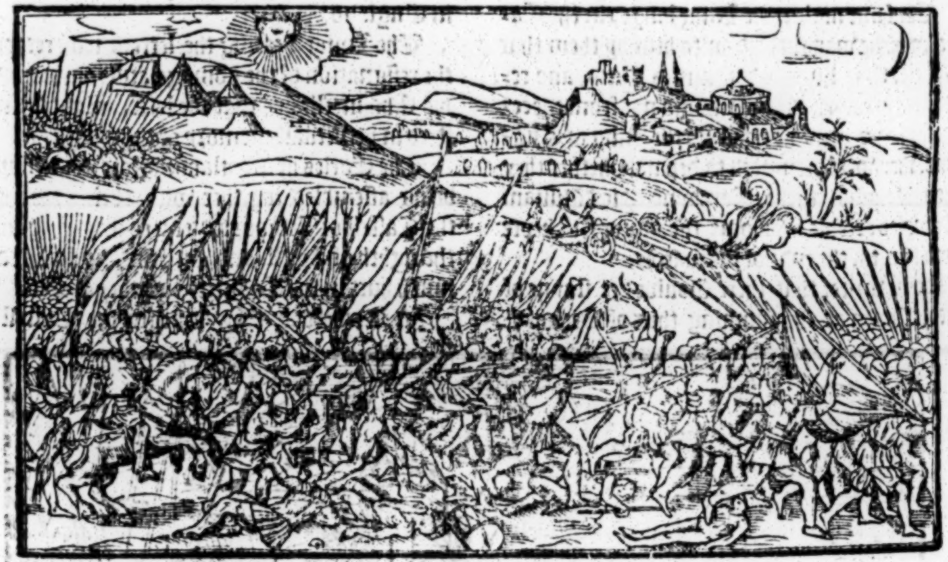
The Earle of Boghan.

The crueltie of the Scottes

that time in two ſeuerall parties, for the Earle of Boghan, with them of Galloway, entred by Cumberlande in like manner as the other dyd in Riddeſdale, brenning and murthering all that came in their way. For whereas all thoſe that were of able age, and luſty to get away, fledde, and eſcaped their handes, the aged impotent creatures, women in childebed, and yong children that could not ſhift for thēſelues, were vnmercifully ſlayne, and thruſt vpon ſpeares, and ſhaken vp in the ayre, where they yeelded vp their innocent ghoſts in moſt pitifull wiſe. Churches were brenned, women were forced, without reſpect to order, condition or qualitie, as well the maydes, widdowes and wiues, as Nunnes, that were reputed in thoſe dayes conſecrate to God, and after they hadde bin ſo abuſed, many of them were after alſo murthered, and cruelly diſpatched out of life. At length, they came to the Nunry of Lanielay, and brenned all the buildings there, ſauing the Church, and then returned backe into Scotlande with all their pillage and booties by Lanircoſt, an houſe of Monkes, which they likewiſe ſpoyled.

The Nunry of Lanieley brent.

Patricke Earle of Dunbar came to the King of Englande, and ſubmitted hymſelfe, with all that hee had into his handes, but the Caſtell of Dunbar vpon Saint Markes day, being aſſieged of the Scottes, was rendred vnto them, by treaſon of ſome that were within it, of whome, the Counteſſe, wife to the ſame Earle was the chiefeſt, for recouery whereof, Kyng Edwarde ſente John Earle of Warren, Surrey and Suſſex, and William Earle of Warwike, with a great power, the whiche laying ſiege to that Caſtell, a greate hoſt of Scottiſhmen came vppon them to the reſcue of them within, ſo that there was foughten a righte ſore and terrible battayle. At length, the victory abode with the Engliſhmenne, and the Scottiſhmen were put to flight, the Engliſhmen following them in chaſe eyghte myle of that countrey, almoſt to the forreſt of Selkirke: the ſlaughter was great, ſo that as was eſteemed, there dyed of Scottiſhmen that day, to the number of tenne thouſand.



The number ſlayne.

Mat. VVeſt.

Abingdon.

The morrowe after beeing ſaterday, whyche was the eight and twentith day of Aprill, at the Kinges comming thither, the Caſtell was ſurrendred vnto hym.

There were taken in the ſame Caſtell three Earles, Menteth, Caſſels, and Ros, ſixe Barōs, John Comin the yonger, William Sanclere, Richard Siwarde the elder, John Fitz Geffrey, Alexander de Murtaigne, Edmonde Comin of Kilbird, with thirtie Knightes, two Clearkes, John de Somerville, and William de Sanclere, and three and thirtie Eſquires, the whiche were ſente vnto diuers Caſtels in England, to be kept as priſoners.

After the winning of Dunbar, the Kyng wente vnto the Caſtell of Rockeſburgh, whiche incontinently was yeelded by the Lorde Stewarde of Scotland, the liues and members ſaued of all ſuche as were within it at the tyme of the ſurrender.

Then wente King Edwarde vnto Edenburgh, where he planted hys ſiege about the Caſtell, & reyſed engines, whiche caſt ſtones againſt and ouer the walles, ſore beating and bruſing the buyldings within. But as it chaunced, the Kyng writing letters to aduertiſe his councell at home of his proceedings, and concerning other buſineſſe, deliuered yͤ packet vnto a Welchman named Lewyn, commaunding hym to goe with yͤ ſame vnto Lōdon in al haſt poſſible, for he knewe him to be a right ſpeedy meſſenger and a truſtie alſo, as hee tooke it, but he hauing the letters thus deliuered to him, togither with money to beare his charges, got him to a tauerne, where riotouſly conſuming the money (whiche hee had ſo receyued) in play, and making good cheare, in the morning, he cauſed one of his companions to take a target, and beare it afore him in approching the Caſtell, for that he meant (as he coulorably pretended) not to depart, til he had wrought ſome diſpleaſure to thẽ within with his Croſſebowe whiche he tooke with him for that purpoſe: but comming vnto the Caſtell gates, he called to the warders on the walles to caſt downe to hym a corde, that they mighte plucke him vp to them therewith, for that he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto their Captayne, touching the ſecretes of the kyng of England. They fulfilling his deſire, when hee came in, and was brought afore the Captayne, ſitting then at breakefaſt, hee ſaide vnto hym: beholde ſir, heere ye may peruſe the Kyng of Englands ſecretes, and withall, raught to him a boxe, wherein the packet of the kings letters were encloſed, and appoint me ſayth he vnto ſome corner of the wall, & trie whether I can handle a Croſſebowe or not, to defend it againſte youre aduerſaries.

Heere when other woulde haue opened the boxe, and haue red the letters, the captaine would in no wiſe conſent thereto, but going into a turret, called to the Engliſhmen belowe, and willed them to ſignifie to the K. that one of his ſeruants being fled to him, ſought to bewray his ſecretes, whereunto he would by no meanes agree, & therefore, meant to reſtore both the traytor, and yͤ letters. Hereupon, the Lord John Spencer, cõming to heare what the matter might meane, the Captaine cauſed Lewine to be let downe to hym, togither with the letters ſafe, and not touched by hym at all: whiche thing when the Kyng vnderſtood, he muche commended the honeſt reſpect of the Captaine, and where he had cauſed engynes to be reiſed to annoy thẽ within, as ye haue heard, he commaunded the ſame to ceaſſe, and withall, vpon their captaynes ſute, he granted them libertie to ſende vnto their K. John Balioll, to gyue him to vnderſtand in what ſort they ſtood. Touching the Welchman, he was drawen and hanged on a paire of high galowes, prepared for hym of purpoſe, as he had well deſerued. And whyleſt the meſſengers were on their way towards Forfair, where the Scottiſh K. then lay, K. Edward with a parte of his army went vnto Striueling, where he found the Caſtel gates ſet open, and the keyes hanging on a naile, ſo that hee entred there without any reſiſtance, for they that hadde thys Caſtel in gard, were fledde out of it for feare before his comming. The meſſengers that were ſent from them within Edenburgh Caſtel, comming to their king, declared to him in what caſe they ſtoode that were beſieged. King John, for that hee was not able to ſuccour them by anye manner of meanes at that preſente, ſente them worde, to take the beſt way they could for theyr owne ſafetie, with whiche aunſwere the meſſengers returning, the Caſtell was immediatly deliuered vnto the Lorde John Spencer, that was left in charge with the ſiege, at the Kings departure towardes Striueling, with the like conditiõs as the Caſtell of Rockeſburgh had yeelded alittle before. And thus was that ſtrong Caſtell of Edenburgh ſurrendred by force of ſiege, to the kyng of Englands vſe the fiftenth daye, after hee hadde firſte layde his ſiege aboute it. A place of ſuche ſtrength by the height of the grounde whereon it ſtoode, that it was thought impregnable, and had not bin wonne by force at any time, ſith the firſte buylding thereof, before that preſente, ſo farre as any remembraunce eyther by writing or otherwiſe could be had thereof.

Edenburgh Caſtell deliuered to the K. of England.

Heere at Edẽburgh, or rather at Rockeſburgh as Abingdon hathe, a greate number of Weelche footemen came to the Kyng, who ſente home the lyke number of Engliſhe footemen, of thoſe that ſeemed moſt wearie.

Moreouer, at Striueling, there came to the Kyng the Earle of Vlſter, with a greate number of Iriſhmẽ. Thẽ paſſing ouer yͤ riuer of Forth, the Kyng came vnto Saint Johns Towne aboute Midſommer, and there tarried certayne dayes.

Saint Iohns Towne.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, John K. of Scotlande, perceyuing that he was not of power to reſiſt Kyng Edwarde, ſente Ambaſſadors vnto him to ſue for peace: King Edwarde was content to heare them, and therevpon appointed, that King John ſhould reſorte vnto the Caſtell of Brechin, there to commen with ſuche of hys councell as hee woulde ſende thither within fifteene dayes nexte enſuing, to treate of an agreemente. King Edwarde ſente thither Anthony Byſhoppe of Durham, with full commiſſion to conclude all things in his name. And within the appoynted tyme, came Kyng John, and dyuers of his nobles vnto him, the whiche after manye and ſundry treaties holden betwixt them and the ſayde Byſhoppe, at length they ſubmitted themſelues and the Realme of Scotland, ſimply and purely, into the handes of the Kyng of England, for the which ſubmiſſion, to be firmely kept and obſerued. Kyng John deliuered hys ſonne in hoſtage, and made letters thereof, written in French, conteyning as followeth.

The King of Scottes ſueth for peace.

The Biſhop of Durham.

The King of Scottes ſubmitteth hymſelfe vnto the K. of England.

IEhan per la grace de Dieu, Roy de Eſcoce, á toutz ceulx: quæ ceſtes præſentes lettres verront ou orront Saluz. &c.

John

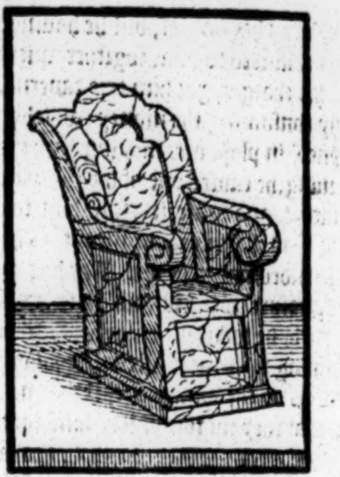
The inſtrument of the ſubmiſſion.

IOhn by the grace of God King of Scotland, to all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, ſendeth greeting. Bicauſe that we through euill counſell and oure owne ſimplicitie, haue greuouſly offended oure ſoueraigne Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God Kyng of Englande, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Aquitayne, in many thynges, that is to ſaye, in that, whereas wee beeyng and abidyng vnder hys faithe and homage, haue bounde oure ſelues vnto the Kyng of Fraunce whyche then was hys enimie and yet is, procuring a marriage with the daughter of hys brother Charles *du Valoys*, and that wee myghte greeue our ſayde Lorde, and ayde the Kyng of Fraunce with all oure power by warre and other meanes, we haue at length by aduice of oure peruerſe counſell defied oure ſayde Lorde the Kyng of Englande, and haue putte oure ſelues out of hys allegiance and homage, and ſente oure people into Englande, to brenne houſes, to take ſpoyles, to committe murther, with many other domages, and alſo in fortifying the Kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche is of hys fee, puttyng and eſtabliſhing armed menne in Townes, Caſtels, and other places, to defende the lande agaynſte hym, to deforce hym of hys fee, for the whyche tranſgreſſions, oure ſayde ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng, entring into the Realme of Scotlande with hys power, hathe conquered and taken the ſame, notwithſtandyng all that wee coulde doe agaynſte hym, as by right he maye doe, as a Lorde of hys fee, bycauſe that we did render vnto hym oure homage, and made the forſayde Rebellion. Wee therefore as yet beeing in our full power and free will, doe render vnto hym the lande of Scotland, and all the people thereof with the homages. In witneſſe wherof, wee haue cauſed theſe letters patentes to made. Yeuen at Brechin the tenth daye of July, in the fourth yeare of oure raigne, Sealed with the common ſeale of the Kyngdome of Scotlande.

King Edward paſſeth forward through Scotland.

After thys, Kyng Edwarde wente forwarde to ſee the Mountayne countreys of Scotlande, the Byſhoppe of Durham euer keepyng a dayes iorney afore hym. At length, when hee hadde paſſed through Murrey lande, and was come to Elghin, perceyuing all thynges to bee in quiet, hee returned towardes Berwike, and commyng to the Abbey of Scone, he tooke from thence the Marble ſtone, whereuppon, the Kynges of Scotlande were accuſtomed to ſitte as in a chayre, at the tyme of their Coronation, whyche Kyng Edwarde cauſed nowe to be tranſferred to Weſtminſter, and there placed, to ſerue for a Chayre for the Prieſt to ſit in at the Aulter.

King Edward bringeth the Marble ſtone out of Scotlande.



The Kyng comming to Berwike, called thither vnto a Parliament all the Nobles of Scotlande, and there receiued of them their homages, the whyche in perpetuall witneſſe of the thyng, made letters patents thereof, written in French, and ſealed with their ſeales, as the tenor heere followeth.

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A Touz ceux que ceſtes lettres verront & orront, &c.

TO all thoſe that theſe preſent letters ſhall ſee or heare, we John Comin of Badenaw. &c. Bycauſe that wee at the faithe and will of the moſt noble Prince, and our deareſt Lorde, Edwarde by the grace of God Kyng of England, Lorde of Irelande, and Duke of Aquitaine, doe vowe and promiſe for vs and our heires, vppon payne of body and goodes, and of all that wee may haue, that wee ſhall ſerue him well and truly againſt all men, whiche maye liue and die, at all tymes when we ſhall bee required or warned by our ſaid Lord the Kyng of Englande, or hys heires, and that wee ſhall not know of any hurte to bee done to them, but the ſame wee ſhall lette and impeach with all our power, and giue them warning thereof: and thoſe things to holde and keepe, wee binde vs our heires, and al our goodes, and further, receyue an oth thereof vpon the holy Euangeliſtes: and after all, wee and euery of vs haue done homage vnto oure ſoueraigne Lorde the King of Englande in wordes as followeth. I become your liegeman of life, members, and earthly honor, againſt all men which maye lyue and die. And the ſame oure ſoueraigne Lorde the King receyued this homage vnder thys forme of wordes. We receyue it for the land of the whiche you bee nowe ſeaſed, the righte of vs or other ſaued, and excepte the landes whiche John Balioll ſometime Kyng of Scotland graunted vnto vs after that we did deliuer vnto him ẏ kingdome of Scotlande, if happely hee hathe giuen to you any ſuche landes.

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Moreouer, all wee, and euery of vs by hymſelfe haue done fealtie to oure ſaide ſoueraigne Lord the Kyng in theſe wordes: I as a faythfull and liege man, ſhall keepe faith and loyaltie vnto Edward Kyng of England, and to his heires, of life member and earthly honor, againſte all men whiche may liue and die, and ſhall neuer for anye perſon beare armour, nor ſhall be of councell nor in ayde with anye perſon againſte hym, or hys heyres in any caſe that maye chaunce, but ſhall faithfully acknowledge, and doe the ſeruice that belongeth to the tenementes the which I claime to holde of hym, as God me helpe and all hys Saintes. In witneſſe whereof, theſe letters patentes are made and ſygned with our ſeales. Yeuen at Warke the foure and twentith of Marche, in the yeare of the reigne of oure ſayde Lord the Kyng of Englande.

Then was Iohn Warren Earle of Surrey and Suſſex made by Kyng Edward warden of Scotlande. Hugh Creſſingham Threaſorer, and William Ormeſby high Iuſtice, whome the King commaunded, that hee ſhoulde call all thoſe before him whyche helde any landes of the Crowne, and to receyue of them in hys name theyr homages and fealties.

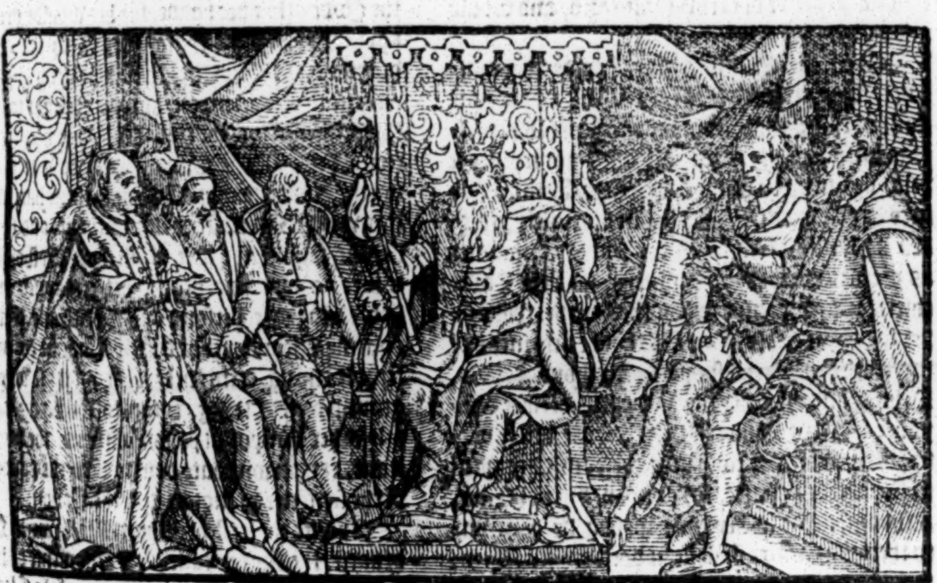
Iohn Balliol ſent to London.

Iohn Balliol the late Kyng of Scotlande was ſent to London, and had a conuenient company of ſeruauntes appoynted to attende hym, hauyng licence to goe anye whether abroade, ſo that hee kepte hym ſelfe within the circuit of twentie miles neere to London.

Iohn Comin of Badenaw, and Iohn Comin of Lowan, and diuers other nobles of Scotlande were brought into England on the South ſide of Trent, being warned vpō payne of death, not to returne into Scotlande, till the King had made an ende of his warres with Fraunce.

A Parliament at Saint Edmondeſburie.

After this, at his returne into Englande, king Edward held a Parliament at Saint Edmōdſburie, which began the morrow after the feaſt of all Saintes, in whiche, the Citizens and burgeſſes of good Townes graunted vnto him an eigth part of their goodes, and of the reſidue of the people a twelfth part.



The Cleargie, by reaſon of a cōſtitution ordeyned and conſtituted the ſame yeare by Pope Boniface, prohibiting vpon payne of excommunication, that no talages nor other exactions ſhould be leuied or exacted of the Cleargie in any manner of wiſe by ſecular Princes, or to be paid to them of things that perteyned to the Church, vtterly refuſed to graunte any manner of ayde to the King, towardes the maintenaunce of hys warres. Wherevppon, the Kyng, to the intent they ſhoulde haue tyme to ſtudy for a better aunſwere, deferred the matter to an other Parliamente to bee holden on the morrowe after the feaſt of Saint Hillarie.

An. reg. 25.
1297
The Earle of Holland marrieth Elizabeth the kings daughter.
N. Triuet.

This yeare after the feaſt of the Epiphany, Elizabeth the Kings daughter was married vnto Iohn Earle of Holland. Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereford and Eſſex, was ſente to conuey them into Hollande, there to take poſſeſſion of the Earledome, as then diſcended vnto the ſaid Iohn, by the death of his father lately before ſlayne by his owne ſubiectes, bycauſe he woulde haue diſinherited this Iohn, and made a baſtarde ſonne whiche hee hadde to be his heire. The daye appoynted for the Parliamente to bee holden at London being come, and the Cleargie continuing in their deniall to graunt anye ſubſedy, the King excluded them out of his protection, for the redeeming whereof, many by themſelues, and many by mediators, did afterwardes giue vnto the King a fifth parte of all their goodes. The Archbi-

Abingdon. The Archbyſhoppe his wordes.

Archbiſhop of Caunterbury being founde ſtiffe in the matter, the Kyng ſeaſed all his landes, and commaunded all ſuche debtes as were founde of his in the rolles of the Exchequer, to bee leuied with all ſpeede of his goodes and cattayle. Some write, that when the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie in name of all the reſidue, hadde declared to them whome the Kyng had appoynted commiſſioners to receyue the aunſwere, that whereas they of the Cleargie hadde two ſoueraigne Lordes and gouernoures, the one in ſpirituall matters, and the other in temporall, they ought yet rather to obey theyr Spirituall gouernoure than their Temporall. Neuertheleſſe, to ſatiſfye the Kynges pleaſure, they woulde of theyr owne charges ſende to the Pope, that by hys licence and permiſſion, they myghte graunte the Kyng ſome aide, or elſe receyue ſome aunſwere from hym, what to doe therein: for ſayeth the Archbyſhoppe, wee beleeue, that the Kyng feareth the ſentence of excommunicatiõ, and would be as glad to auoyde it as wee.

The declaration of the Lord chiefe Iuſtice.

When the Commiſſioners hearde this aunſwere, they required that they woulde appoynte ſome of theyr owne company to beare this meſſage vnto the Kyng, for they durſt not reporte it vnto hym: which being done as the Commiſſioners had required, the Kyng in his furie proceeded agaynſte them, in ſuche rigorous manner as yee haue hearde, in ſo muche, that the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice ſitting vppon the benche, ſpake openly theſe wordes. You ſirs that be attorneys of my Lords the Archbiſhoppes, Byſhops, Abbots, Priors, and all other the Cleargie, declare vnto youre maſters, and tell them, that from henceforthe there ſhall no Iuſtice be done vnto them in the Kyngs courte, for anye manner of thing, although neuer ſo heynous wrong be done vnto them: but iuſtice ſhall be hadde agaynſte them, to euery one that will complayne, and require to haue it.

The Clearkely handling of the matter by the Archbyſhop of Yorke his ſuffraganes.

The elect Biſhoppe of Yorke, Henry de Newarke, with the Biſhops of Durham, Elie and Saliſburie, with certayne other, fearing the Kynges indignation thus kindled againſt them, ordeyned to lay downe in the Churches, a fifte parte as yee haue hearde, of all theyr goodes, towardes the defence of the Realme, and mayntenaunce of the Kynges warres in ſuche time of great neceſſitie, and ſo the King receyuing it, they were reſtored to the Kinges protection agayne.

The Friendes of the Byſhoppe of Lincolne founde meanes, that the Sherife of the Shire leuied and tooke the fifth parte of all his goodes, and reſtored to him agayne hys landes and poſſeſſions.

Alſo, all the Monaſteries within his dioceſſe, and within the whole prouince of Caunterbury, were ſeaſed into the Kings handes, and wardens appoynted, whiche only miniſtred neceſſary finding vnto the Monkes and other religious perſons, and conuerted the ouerplus vnto the kings vſe. Wherevpon, the Abbots and Priors were glad to followe the Courte, and ſued to redeeme, not their ſinnes, but their goodes, with giuing of a fourth parte thereof. The Cleargie ſuffered many iniuries in that ſeaſon, for religious men were ſpoyled and robbed in the Kynges high way, and could not haue anye reſtitution nor remedie againſte them that thus euill intreated them, till they had redeemed the Kyngs protection. Perſons and Vicars, and other of the Cleargie, when they rode forthe any whither, were gladde to apparell themſelues in lay mens garmentes, ſo to paſſe through the Country in ſafetie.

The Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury loſt all the goodes that hee hadde, for hee woulde neyther agree to giue anye thing, nor to lay any thyng downe in the Churche, that the Kyng myghte receyue it. Wherevpon, he was brought to ſuch extreame miſerie, that all his ſeruauntes wente from hym, and commaundemente was giuen forthe, that no man ſhoulde receyue him, neyther within Monaſterie nor without, and ſo not hauing anye one place of all hys Byſhoppricke where to laye hys head, hee remayned in the houſe of a poore perſon, onely with one Prieſte and one Clearke: yet he ſtiffely ſtoode in the matter, affirming certaynely, that all thoſe whyche graunted anye thing, eyther to the Kyng, or to any other temporall perſon withoute the Popes leaue, ranne withoute doubte into the daunger of the ſentence pronounced in the Canon.

Aboute the feaſt of Saint Mathewe in Februarie, the Kyng called a Parliamente of hys nobles, (not admitting thereto any of the Cleargie) at Saliſburie, and there required certayne of hys Nobles to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, but euery of them ſeemed to excuſe hymſelfe, whereat the Kyng beeyng moued, threatned, that they ſhoulde eyther goe, or hee woulde gyue theyr landes to other that woulde goe, with whyche wordes, many of them were greeuouſly offended, in ſo muche, that the Earles of Herforde and Marſhall, Humfrey Bohun, and Roger Bigod, declared that they woulde bee ready to goe with the Kyng if hee wente himſelfe, or elſe not.

And when the Earle Marſhall was eftſoones required to goe, hee aunſwered, I will willingly goe with the King, and marche before hym in the forewarde, as by righte of inheritaunce I am bounden. Yea ſayeth the Kyng, and you ſhall goe with other though I goe not, I am not ſo bounde (ſayth the Earle) neyther doe I purpoſe to take the iourneye in hande with you.

The king then in a greate chaſe, burſt out and ſware. By God ſir Earle, eyther thou ſhalt goe or hang: and I ſweare (ſayth the Erle) the ſame othe, that I will neyther goe nor hang: and ſo departed from the Kyng without leaue taking: And immediatly herevpon thoſe two Erles aſſembled many noble men, and other of their frendes togither to the number of thirtie Banerettes and aboue, ſo that in all they were founde to be xx.C. men of armes appoynted and ready for battayle, and herewith they withdrewe into their countreys, and kepte ſuche ſturre there, that they woulde not permitte the kyngs Officers to take neyther Wolles, leather, nor any thing againſte the owners wyl, but forbad them on pain of loſing theyr heads to come within theyr roomthes, and wythall prepared them ſelues to reſyſte if neede were.

In this meane tyme the warre was proſecuted in Gaſcoyne. The thurſdaye before the Purification of our Lady, Henry Earle of Lyncolne, and the lord Iohn Saint Iohn departing from Bayonne towardes Bellegard, a place beſieged as then by the Earle of Arthoys, to ſuccour them within the ſame with victuals, (whereof they ſtoode in neede:) as they approched to a wood diſtant from the fortreſſe a three myles, they deuided themſelues into two ſeuerall battailes, the Lord Iohn Saint Iohn leadyng the fyrſt, and the Earle of Lyncolne the ſeconde.

The Lord Saint Iohn therfore hauyng paſſed the wood with his battayle, and entryng into the playne fieldes, was encountred by the Earle of Arthoys, who tarried there for hym wyth a greate power, where immediatly at the firſt ioyning of the battayles, the Earle of Lincolne retyred backe: ſo that the Lorde Iohn Saint Iohn and his companye ouerſette with preaſſe of enimies, were vanquiſhed: and the ſaid Lorde Saint Iohn with Syr William de Mortymer, Sir William Burmengham and other to the number of eyght Knyghtes, and diuers Eſquires were taken, the whiche were ſente to Parys as Priſoners.

Other wryte ſomewhat otherwyſe of thys battayle, as that vppon the firſte encounter the Engliſhmen droue backe one regimente of the Earle of Arthoys hys men of armes, whome hee deuided into foure partes: but when they once ioyned wyth the ſeconde regiment, to the whyche they were beaten backe, forwarde they came agayne, and ſo chargyng the Engliſhemenne, with helpe of theyr thyrde ſquadrone, whiche was nowe come to them alſo, they eaſily put the Engliſhmen oppreſſed with multitude vnto flyghte, and followe them in chaſe.

After thys, came the Engliſhemen whyche were in the rerewarde, and encountryng wyth the fourthe ſquadrone or regiment of the Frenchemenne, ſtreyghte wayes brake the ſame. Herewith was the nyghte come vppon them, ſo ſo that one coulde not knowe an other, a friende from an enimye, and ſo bothe the Engliſhemen and Frenchemen were diſperſed tyll the Moone roſe, and the Frenchemen wythdrewe to theyr Fortreſſes, and amongeſt them certayne of the Engliſhemen were myngled, whyche beyng diſcouered, were taken Priſoners, as the Lorde Iohn Saint Iohn, and others.

The lord Saint Iohn taken.

The ſlaughter was not great, for there were no footemenne on eyther parte, to ſpoyle or kill the men of armes that were throwen beſyde their horſſes: For the Engliſhe footmen remayned in the wood, or were wythdrawne backe, as before ye haue hearde, without attemptyng anye exployte worthie of prayſe.

Mat. VVeſt.

In deede ſome lay the blame in the Gaſcoyne footemen, for the loſſe of this battayle, bycauſe that they withdrewe backe, and lefte the Engliſhe horſemen in daunger of the enimies whiche hadde compaſſed them aboute on euerye ſyde,

Abyngdon.

Three hundred of the menne of armes came through to the towne of Bellegarde, but bicauſe it was nyghte, ſo that they coulde not be diſcerned whether they were friendes or foes, they within the towne wold not ſuffer them to enter: whereupon they departed, and went to S. Seuere, foure leagues off. Yet further in the night, other of the Engliſhmenne were receyued into Bellegarde, which came thyther after the other, and ſo in the mornyng they of the gariſon with theyr aſſiſtance iſſued foorth, and commyng to the place where the battaile hadde bene, gathered the ſpoyle of the fielde, and conueyed into their Towne ſuch prouiſion of victuals as they founde there.

The Earle of Lincolne, eſcaped.

The Earle of Lincolne wyth a great many of other wandred a greate parte of the night and knewe not whether to goe. At lengthe aboute three of the clocke in the mornyng he came to Perforate, where he had lodged with his army the night before, and there founde a greate number of hys people ryght gladde of hys commyng and happye eſcape oute of daunger.

He commeth home.

From thence hee retourned vnto Bayonne wyth the Earle of Richemont ſir Iohn de Brytayne and all hys companye that were lefte. And ſuche was the happe of this iourneye.

In Lent folowing, thoſe that were diſperſed here and there abroade, reſorted to the Erle of Lincolne, ſoiorning at Bayonne, and in the

He inuadeth the countrey about Tholouſe.

ſomnier ſeaſon, made a iourney towardes Tholouſe, ſpoyling and waſtyng the Countreyes of Tholouſyne, and other therabouts, and remoued alſo the ſiege whyche thoſe of Tholouſe had layde vnto a fortreſſe called Saint Kiternes, in chaſing them from the ſame ſiege: and towardes Michaelmaſſe they retourned to Bayonne, and there laye all the Wynter till after Chriſtmaſſe, and then by reaſon of the truce concluded, as after appeareth, betwixte the two kinges of Englande and Fraunce, they retourned home into Englande.

The cuſtom of vvooll rayſed.

The ſame yeare the kyng reyſed the cuſtome of Wooll to an hygher rate than had bin payde at any tyme before: for he tooke now forty ſhillings of a ſack or ſerpler, where before there was payde but halfe a marke.

Abingdon.
Euerſden.
Prouiſion for the kings iourney into Frãce.

Moreouer he commaunded, that agaynſt his iourneye whyche hee meant to make ouer into Fraunce, there ſhoulde be two thouſande quarters of wheate, and as muche of Oates taken by the Sheriff in euery countie within the realme to be conueyed to the ſea ſide, except where they had no ſtore of corn, and there ſhould beeues and bakons be taken to a certayne number.

Ia. Meir.

The Frenche king inuadeth Flaunders.

In the meane tyme the Earle of Flaunders was ſore vexed by warre which the French king made againſt hym, being entred into Flaunders with an armie of three ſcore thouſande men, as ſome authors haue recorded.

Liſle beſieged.

About the feaſte of the Natiuitie of Sainte Iohn Baptiſte he layde ſiege to Liſle, and ſhortly after came the Earle of Arthois, being retourned out of Gaſcoyne with his power vnto that ſiege, and was ſent forth to keepe the Flemings and others occupyed, whyche laye at Furneys, and in other places therabouts in lowe Flaunders, wyth whome hee foughte, and gotte the victorie.

The Earle of Arthois vanquiſheth the Flemings in battayle.

N. Triuet.

Kyng Edwarde therfore, to ſuccour his frendes prepared to go ouer into Flanders, and therupon ſummoned all thoſe that ought hym any ſeruice, and ſuche alſo as helde landes to the value of .xx. poundes and aboue, to bee ready wyth horſſe and harneys at London about Lammaſſe to paſſe ouer wyth hym in that iorney.

A rebellion in Scotlande by the meanes of one VVilliam VValace.

In the meane tyme aboute the Moneth of Maye, there beganne a Rebellion in Scotland by the ſettyng on of William Waleys: for the kyng of Englandes Iuſtice Wylliam Ormeſbye accordynglye as hee hadde in Commiſſion, conſyned and put to outlawrye a greate ſorte of ſuche Scottiſhmen, as refuſed to doe fealtie and homage vnto the Kyng of Englande, the whyche Scottiſhemen beeing thus condemned as Outlawes, elected the foreſayde Wylliam Waleys for their captayn, with whom Williã Douglas beeing once aſſociate, the number of them encreaſed hugelye.

The Erle of Surrey and the Treſorer being in Englande, thoſe outlawes purpoſed to haue taken the Iuſtice at Scone: but he beyng warned though almoſte too late, eſcaped him ſelfe, wyth muche adoe, leauyng the moſte parte of his people as a ſpoyle to the enimies. For Williã Waleys and his company kylled as many Engliſhmen as fell into his handes, and taking certayn religious men, he bound their hands behynd thẽ, and conſtrained them to leape into the riuer, taking pleaſure to beholde howe they plunged.

The King ſent the Biſhop of Durham into Scotlande, to vnderſtande the certaintie of this rebellion, who retourning from thence, informed him of the truthe. The Kyng not myndyng to break his iorney which he had purpoſed to make into Flaunders, appoynted that the Earle of Surrey ſhould haue the leadyng of all ſuch men of warre as myght be leuyed beyonde Trent, to repreſſe the Scottiſh rebels, and alſo wrote vnto Iohn Cumyn Lorde of Badenaw, and to the other Iohn Cumyn Erle of Boughan, that remembring their fayth and promyſe, they ſhould retourne into Scotlande, and doe theyr beſte to quiet the countrey: they accordyng to his commaundement, went into Scotlande, but ſhewed themſelues ſlow inough to procure thoſe things that perteyned to peace and quietneſſe.

In the meane tyme whileſt theſe things were a doing, the Biſhop of Carleile, and other which lay there vpon the garde of that Citie and Caſtell, hauing ſome miſtruſt of the loyaltie in Robert Bruce the yonger, that was Earle of Carrike by his mother, they ſente hym word to come vnto them at a certayne daye, bycauſe they had to talke with hym of matters touchyng the kinges affaires: he durſt not diſobeye, but came to Carleile together with the Biſhop Gallowaye, and there receyued a corporal othe vpon the holy and ſacred myſteries, and vpon the ſworde of Thomas Becket, to be true to the king of Englande, and to ayde him and his agaynſt theyr enemyes in all that hee myghte: and further to withſtande that the ſayde Kyngt receyued no hurte nor dammage ſo farre as in hym myght lye.

This done, he returned agayn into Scotlãd, and for a colour entred into the landes of William Douglas, and brent part of them, bringing the wyfe & chyldren of the ſame Wylliam backe wyth hym into Annandale: but ſhortly after, he conſpyred with the Scottiſh rebelles, and ioyned hym ſelfe wyth them, not making his father priuye to the matter, who in the meane whyle remayned in the Southe parties of Englande. He would haue perſwaded ſuch knights, Gentlemen and other as helde their landes of his father in Innandale to haue gone with him, but they would not breake their faith giuen to the K. of England, and ſo left him. The Erle of Surrey aſſembling together his power in Yorkſhire, ſent his nephew the Lord Henry Percy with the ſouldiors of the countrey of Carleile before into Scotlãd, who paſſing forth to the town of Ayre, went about to induce them of Gallowaye vnto peace, and hering that an armie of Scottiſhmen was gathered togither at a place lyke a four miles from thence called Irwyn, he made thitherwarde, and comming neere to the Scottiſh hoſt might behold where the ſame was lodged beyõd a certayne lake. In that army were capitaines, the Biſhop of Glaſgowe, Andrewe de Murray Steward of Scotlande, and William Waleys which (as ſhuld ſeeme) were not all of one mind.

There was in the ſame army a knight named ſir Richard Lundy which neuer yet had done homage to the king of England, but now fleing frõ his company, he came to the Engliſh armie, and ſubmitted himſelfe with his retinue vnto the K. of Englande, ſaying that he meant not to ſerue amongſt them any longer that coulde not agree togither. The reſidue of the Scottiſhemen ſued for peace, vpon condition to haue lyues, mẽbers, goodes, cattals and lands ſaued, with a pardon of all offences paſt. The Lord Percy vpon pledges and writings hereof deliuered, was contented to graunt their requeſts, ſo that the king his maſter would be therwith pleaſed, who being hereof certified, bicauſe he wold not gladly be ſtayed of his iorney into Flaunders, graunted vnto all things that were thus required.

Then after that the erle of Surrey was come to the Engliſh camp, bicauſe William Waleys ceaſſed not in the meane tyme to aſſemble more people, the Engliſhmen doubting ſome treaſon, reſolued to giue battayle, but whyleſt they were in mynde thus to doe, the Biſhop of Glaſcowe and William Douglas to auoyde the note of diſloyaltie and treaſon, came & ſubmitted themſelues: and ſo the Biſhoppe was committed to warde within the caſtell of Rockeſborough, and William Douglas in the caſtell of Berwike. It is to be noted, that euen in the very time that the treatie was in hande betwixte the Lorde Percye and the Scottiſh capitaynes, the Scots of Galloway and other ſet vpon that part of the engliſh campe, where the truſſe & baggage laye, whiche they ſpoyled and ranſacked, ſleaing aboue. v. C. perſons what of men, women and children, but the alarum being reyſed, the Engliſhmen came to the reſkue, and chaſed the Scots, ſlewe aboue thouſand of them, and recouered the moſt parte of their owne goods, with more which they toke from their enimies. In this meane time king Edward at the feaſt of Lammas held a counſell at London, where he receiued the Archb. of Canterbury again into his fauor, reſtoring vnto him al his goods and lands. He apointed him and the lord Reynold Grey to haue his eldeſt ſon prince Edw. in keping til his returne out of Flaunders. But Nic. Triuet writeth, yͭ the ſaid prince Edward being apointed to remain at home as lieutenant to his father, there were appoynted vnto him as coũſellors, Rich. Biſh. of London, Williã erle of Warwike, and the forenamed Lorde Reignold Grey, with the lord Iohn Gifford, and the lord Alane Plokenet, men of high wiſedom, grauitie & diſcretion, without making mention of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in that place.

The Biſhop of Glaſcovv and VVilliam Douglas.

Alingdon

The two Erles Marſhal and Hereford being cõmanded to attend yͤ K. into Flanders, refuſed, excuſing themelues by meſſenger.

After this, the King cauſed ſir Rafe Monthermer (whome hys daughter the Counteſſe of Glouceſter, in hir widdowhode hadde taken to huſbande without knowledge of hir father) to be deliuered out of the caſtel of Briſtow, wherin he had bin kept priſoner a certain time vpon diſpleſure for yͤ mariage: but now he was not only ſet at libertie, but alſo reſtored to his wife, & to al the lands perteyning to the erledome of Glouceſter, appoynting him to finde. l. men at armes to ſerue in yͤ iorney into Flãders. He alſo deliuered the erles of Caſſels & Menteth, Io. Cumyn and diuers other Scottiſhmen, apointing thẽ alſo to go with him into Flãders. Finally hauing aſſẽbled his army, ouer the whiche he made the lorde Thomas Berkley Conneſtable, & Geffrey Ienuille Marſhall, hee wente to Winchelſey, and whileſt he lay there before he toke yͤ ſea, ther was preſẽted vnto him frõ the erles a wryting which

Sir Rafe Mõthermer releaſed.

Scottiſhmen releaſed.

The Lorde Berckley.

A libell deliuered to the king from the Earles of Herefordе & Marſhall.

A libell deliuered to the kyng from the Earles of Hertford & Marshall.

conteyned the cauſes of the griefe of all the Archebiſhoppes, Biſhops, Abbottes, Earles, Lordes, Barons, and of all the Communaltie, as well for ſummonyng them to ſerue by an vndue meane, as alſo for the vnreaſonable taxes, Subſidies, Impoſitions, and paymentes whiche they dayly ſuſteined, and namely the impoſt augmented vpon the cuſtome of Wooll ſeemed to them verye grieuous. For where as for euerye ſacke of whole Woolle there was fortye ſhillings payde, and for euery ſacke of broken wooll one marke: It was well knowne that the wooll of England was almoſt in value eſteemed to bee worth halfe the riches of the Realme, and ſo the cuſtome thereof payde, would aſcende to a fifth parte of all the ſubſtance of the lande.

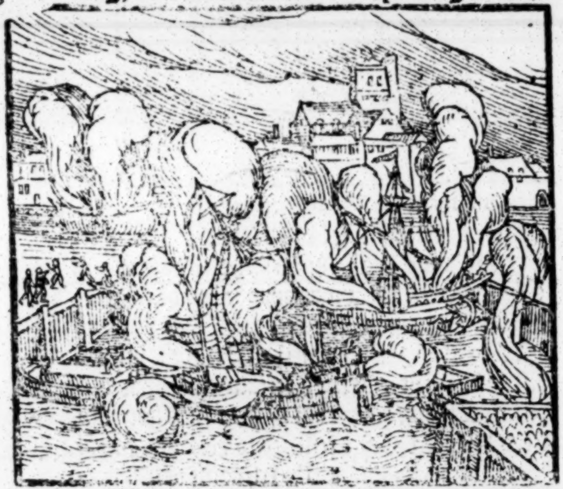
The kings anſvvere.

The kings aunſwere therevnto was, that hee coulde not alter any thing, withoute the aduice of his Counſell, of the whiche parte were alreadye paſſed ouer into Flaunders, and parte were at London, and therefore hee required the ſayde Earles, that if they woulde not attende hym in that iourney into Flanders, they wold yet in his abſence doe nothing that mighte bee preiudiciall to the realme: for hee truſted by Gods fauour to returne againe in ſafetie, and ſette all thinges in good order.

The King paſſeth ouer into Flaunders.

Abingdon.

At length about the .xxj. day of Auguſt, the king tooke the ſea, and landed in Flaunders neere to Sluyce, about the .xxviij. day of the ſame moneth. Hee was no ſooner on lande, but that thorough olde enuie and malice depending betwixt the Mariners of the cinque Portes, and them of Yermouth, and other quarters, a quarell was picked, ſo that they fel togither and fought on the water in ſuche cruell ſorte, notwithſtanding the kings commaundement ſent to the contrary, that there were fiue and twentie ſhips brente and deſtroyed of theirs of Yermouth, and other their partakers: alſo three of their greateſt ſhippes, parte of the kings treaſure being in one of them were toiled forthe into the highe Sea, and quite conueyed away.



Debate and fighting betvvixt the mariners of the cinque Portes, and others.

The king from Sluce firſt went to Bruges, and after to Gaunt, finding the countrey in euill ſtate, by reaſon that the good townes were not all of one mynde: for diuers of them miſlyked with the doings of the Earle, in that he had allyed himſelfe with the Frenche Kynges aduerſaries. Aboute the beginnyng of September was Liſle yelded vnto the Frenche king, and after that they of Doway, Curtray, and Bruges, dydde lykewyſe ſubmitte them ſelues vnto the ſame kyng.

Then was Charles Earle of Valoys ſente vnto Bruges to fortifye that Towne, and to take the Engliſhe Nauye that laye at anker in the Hauen of Damme: but the Engliſhmen hauyng warning thereof, gotte forth with their veſſelles into the Sea, and ſo the Earle of Valoys beeing diſappoynted of that praie, ſette in hande to fortifye Bruges and Dam, but the Earle of Auſtriche, and Robert de Neuers ſonne to Earle Guy beeing ſent with a power of Engliſhmenne, Flemyngs, and other Souldiours vnto Dam, foughte with the Frenchemenne, ſlewe foure hundred of them, beſydes dyuers that were taken, and recouered the Towne.

They myghte alſo haue recouered Bruges, as was thoughte, if the Engliſhmenne and Flemmings had not fallen at ſtryfe, and fought togyther about deuyding of the praie.

Fynally, after thys, the Frenche kyng came to Bruges, and when the Kyng of Englande and the Earle of Flaunders hadde long looked and all in vayne for the Emperoure Adulfe, who hadde promyſed to come to their ayde wyth a greate armye, for the charges and wages whereof he hadde receyued greate ſummes of money bothe of the Kyng of England, and alſo of the Earle of Flaunders: they concluded in the ende (when they perceyued he would not come) to make ſome agreemente wyth the Frenche Kyng: and ſo firſte was a truce taken, from the myddeſt of October, vnto the Calendes of December, and after by mediation of Charles, (ſurnamed Claudus) Kyng of Sicill, the ſame truce was prolonged, as hereafter yee ſhall heare.

In thys meane whyle, to witte, aboute the ende of Auguſte, the Earle of Surrey when he ſawe that the Scottyſhmen woulde not performe promyſe touchyng the delyuerie of the pledges, and that Wylliam Waleys ſtil moued the people to rebellion, hee aſſembled his army, and with the ſame entring Scotland, came vnto Striuelyng.

Then the Lorde Stewarde of Scotlande and alſo the Earle of Lenox came vnto hym, requiring him to ſtaye tyll they myght haue leiſure

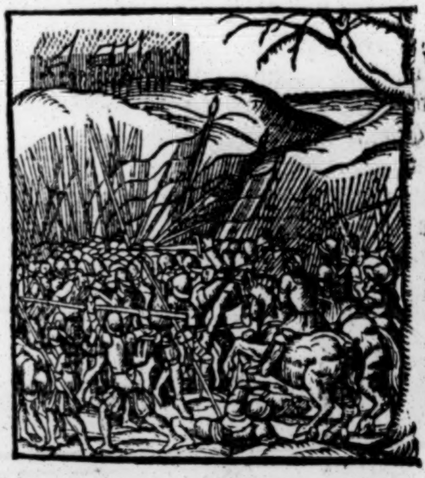
ſure to ſee if they could bring the people of Scotlande vnto the Kinges peace: but when they coulde not do it, they returned the tenth daye of September, promiſing to bring to the ayd of the Earle of Surrey on the morrow after .xl. horſemen, vpon the whiche day .ij. Fryers, of the order of Preachers were ſent vnto William Waleys, and to the other Scottiſhmen lying beyond the hill aboue the monaſterie of Scambeſkyn to moue them to the kings peace. But their anſwer was, that they were not come to haue peace, but to try the matter by battaile.

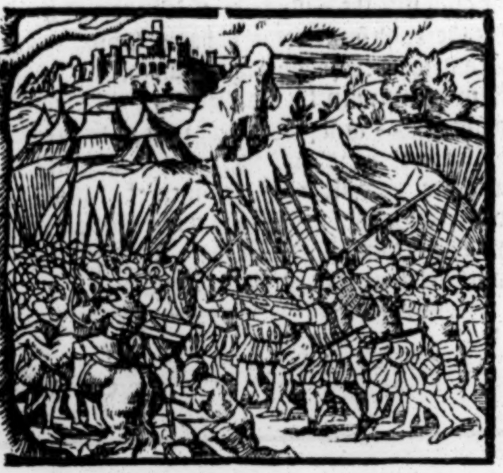
The Engliſhe armye withoute good aduice thorough the preſumptuous pryde of the Lord Hugh Creſſingham preaſed to the bridge, and haſtyng to paſſe the ſame, the Scottyſhemenne came vpon them, ere the one halfe could get ouer, and ſo fiercely aſſayling them, that the Engliſhmen were beaten backe and ſlayne downe. For the Scots after they ſawe ſo many of the Engliſhmẽ to haue paſſed the bridge, as they thought themſelues able to diſtreſſe, they made downe to the bridge foot, and with a number of their ſpearmen a foote, cloſed it vp that no more ſhuld come ouer to the ayde of theyr fellowes, nor thoſe that were already paſſed, ſhould returne agayne: Yet a right valyaunt knighte, one ſir Marmaduke Thweng, whiche was one of the firſt among the men of armes that came ouer, after that he & his cõpanie had driuẽ down one wing of their aduerſaries, & had folowed them in chaſe a good way, at length perceyuing their company behynde diſtreſſed by the Scottes, he retourned with thoſe fewe that were about hym, purpoſyng to repaſſe the bridge, ruſhed in among the Scots that ſtood afore him with ſuch violence, that he paſſed thorough them, making waye for hymſelfe and for his folkes by great manhoode, ſauing one of his nephues alſo which was ſet a foote and wounded after his horſe had bin killed vnder him.

The Scottes aſſayle the Engliſhemen.

Alingdon.

The valiancie of ſir Marmaduke Thvveng





At length the diſcomfiture was ſuche, and the Scottes preaſſed ſo earneſtly to winne the bridge alſo of thoſe Engliſhemen whiche were not yet paſſed, that at length the Earle of Surrey commaunded to breake that end of the bridge, where they ſtoode at defence, to kepe backe the Scots, for elſe had there fewe of the Engliſhemen eſcaped.

There were ſlayne (as ſome haue written) to the number of ſixe thouſand men, and among other was ſlayne ſir Hugh Creſſingham, whoſe ſkinne (as hath bene reported) the Scottes ſtripped off his dead carkaſſe, for the malice whiche they bare towardes him. This diſcomfiture chaunced the .xj. day of September.

The Earle of Surrey leauing in the caſtell of Striueling the ſaid ſir Marmaduke Thweng promiſed hym to come to his ayde at all tymes when neede ſhoulde be within .x. weekes ſpace, and herewith taking his horſe, rode in ſuch haſte to Barwike, that after his comming thyther, his ſteede beyng ſette vp in the ſtable of the Fryers Minors, neuer after taſted meate but dyed: After this, the ſayd Erle making no long abode in Barwike, rode vp to London vnto Prince Edwarde, and lefte the towne of Barwike as a pray to the Scottiſhmen: but thoſe yet that had the caſtel in keping defended it manfully againſt the Scottes, the whiche aſſembled togyther in campe vnder the leading of Alexander Earle of Murrey: and their Capitayne William Waleys came to Berwike, and fynding the Towne voyde of all defence entred it, but they could not winne the caſtell by any meanes.

The Scots enter Barvvike. The caſtel holdeth good againſt them.

The Northumberlande men conueyed their wyues, their children, their cattel, and other goodes which might be remoued out of the countrey for feare of the enimies inuaſion: but when the Scottes lingred tyme, and entred not within the Engliſhe borders for a ſeaſon, they broughte theyr goodes agayne, in hope that the Scottes woulde not come forth of theyr owne marches at that time. But the Scottes hauing aduertiſemente thereof, aboute the feaſte of Saint Luke

The Scots inuade Northumberlande, and ſpoyle the coũtrey.

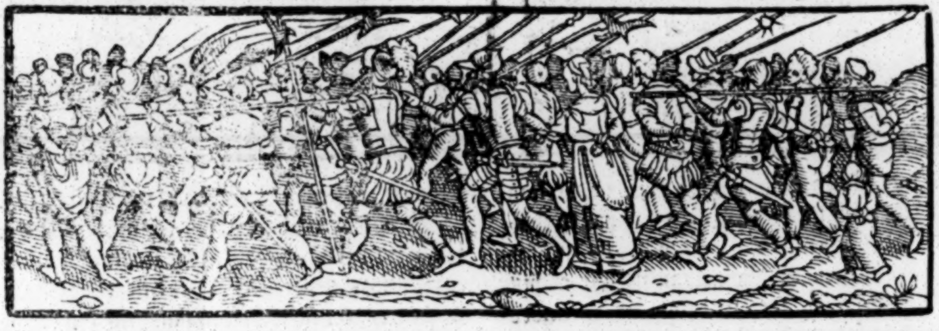
entred the Engliſhe borders, and didde muche hurte within the countrey of Northumberland, ſo that to auoyde the daunger, all the Relygious menne fledde out of the Monaſteries ſituate betwixt Newcaſtel vpon Tyne, and Carleile.

The Scottes ſpoyled, harryed, and brente vp and downe the countrey tyll the feaſte of Saint Martine, and in the Octaues of the ſame feaſte they drewe togither, and wente towards Carleyle, whiche towne they ſummoned in ſendyng a Prieſte to them that kepte it, commaunding them to yeelde: but receyuyng a frowarde aunſwere, they fell too and waſted all that countrey, paſſing through the forreſt of Inglewood, Cumberlande, and Allerdale, tyll they came vnto Derwent at Cokermouth, not ſparyng neyther Churche nor chapell. Theyr meanyng was to haue gone into the Biſhoprike of Durham, but what thorough ſore weather of hayle, ſnow and froſt, and what thorough vayne feare of wrong information gyuen by their ſpyalles, that the Countrey was well prouided of men of warre for defence, they brake off that iourney, and yet there were not paſte a hundred men of armes, and three thouſande footemen in that countreye, whiche were then alſo diſperſed thorough yrkeſomneſſe of long ſtaying for the enimies.

The foreſt of Inglevvood.

The Scottes therefore drewe to Exham, and there lodged, not wythout vexyng the Chanons although they had graunted Letters of protection vnto the Prior and couent of the ſame houſe, to endure for one whole yere: and lykewyſe letters of ſafeconduite to paſſe and repaſſe for one Chanon, one Squyer, and two ſeruaunts, when ſo euer they ſhoulde ſende to them, duryng that tearme: Whiche letters were gyuen forth vnder the name of the ſayde Earle of Murreye, and William Waleys. From thence they went towardes Newcaſtell, and brente the Towne of Ryton. Fynally, perceyuyng they coulde not preuayle in attempting to winne the towne of Newcaſtell, they deuided theyr ſpoyles, and retourned home.

Aboute the ſame tyme, to witte, a little before Chriſtmaſſe, the Lorde Roberte Clifforde with the power of the Citie of Carleyle, entred Annandale, committyng all to the ſpoyle of the footmen, of whome there was a great number. The men of armes on horſebacke being not paſt an hundred in all, kepte togyther, and fyndyng their enimies aſſembled nere to Annan kirk, gaue a charge vpon them, and chaſed them into a mareys, within the whiche they kepte them till the footmen came in, and aſſayling them, ſlew a 308 perſons, and tooke diuers of them priſoners, and returning againe to their market, brente ten villages, and on Chriſtmaſſe euen retourned wyth their pray and booties vnto Carleil.



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Annan kirke brent.

In the beginning of Lent they made an other roade, in the whiche they brente the Churche of Annan. Whyleſt theſe things were in hande, Prince Edward the kinges eldeſt ſonne & other, which had the rule of the realme in the kings abſence, ſought meanes to pacifie the Erles Marſhall and Hereforde: but they woulde not agree but vpon ſuche conditions as pleaſed themſelues to preſcribe, which were, that the king ſhuld cõfirme the great Charter, and the Charter of Foreſts, with certain new articles to be included in the ſame great Charter, & that from thenceforth the king ſhould not charge his ſubiectes ſo freely at his pleaſure, as before tyme he had don without conſent of the ſtates of parliament, and that he ſhould pardon his diſpleaſure and malice conceiued againſt them for denying to go with him into Flanders. Many other articles they woulde that the king ſhuld graunt, confirme, pardon and eſtabliſhe. The whiche were all ſente ouer into Flaunders vnto the King, that he might peruſe them, and declare whether he wold agree or diſagree to the ſame. He as one being driuen to the wall, thought good to yelde vnto the malice and iniquitie of the time to reconcile yͤ offended mindes of the peeres & barons of his realme, & graunted vnto al the ſaid articles, confirming the ſame with his Charter vnder his great ſeale. In conſideration wherof, the nobles of the Realme and commons granted to the king the .ix. peny of all their goodes: the Archebiſhop of Canterburye, with the clergie of his prouince, the .x. penie, and the elect of Yorke and thoſe of his prouince, grãted the fifth penie towardes the mayntenaunce of the warre againſte the Scottes, bicauſe they were next vnto the daunger.

Nic. Triuet.

The frovvarde dealing of the Erles of Hereford and Marſhall.

The kyng alſo by his ſpeciall letters required the nobles of the Realme, that if they dyd continue in theyr due obedience to hym, as they promiſed at his departure out of the realme to doe, that then they ſhoulde reſorte and appeare at his Parliamente to beginne at Yorke, the morrowe after the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, without all excuſe or delay: for as much as he woulde commune things concerning the common wealthe of the Realme. At which daye appeared the Earles of Warreyn and Glouceſter wyth the Counteſſe of Glouceſter his wyfe daughter to the King, the Earles Marſhal, Hereford & Arundell, Guy ſonne to the Earle of Warwike in his fathers roumth: and of Barons, the lord Henry Percy, the lord John Wake, and the lord John Segraue, with many of the nobilitie, the whiche being aſſembled togither, would that it ſhould to all men be notified in what maner the king had confirmed the great Charter, and the Charter of forreſts: wherevpon the ſame being read with the Articles therevnto added, and put in, the Biſhop of Carleile, adorned in *Pontificalibus*, did pronounce all them accurſſed, that wente aboute to violate and breake the ſame. And bycauſe the Scottiſh Lordes appeared not, being ſummoned to be there, it was decreed, that the armie ſhould come togither at Newe Caſtell vppon Tyne in the Octaues of that feaſt of ſaint Hillarie nexte enſuing, ſo that the generall muſters might then and there be taken.

The kyng lay the moſt part of thys winter at Gaunt, in the which mean time tyme ther chanced ſedition betwene the Engliſhemen and the Gauntoys, in ſo muche that the Welchmen had ſette fyre on the Towne, if the king hadde not ſtayed the matter. But the Flemiſhe writers ſay, the Engliſhmen, ſette fyre in foure partes of the towne in deede, that they mighte the more freely haue robbed in other parties thereof, whyleſt the Townſemen had gone about to quenche the fire. But the Townſemen bente on reuenge, aſſembled togither in great number, and falling on the Engliſhmen ſlew thirtie of their horſemen, and of their footmen to the number of ſeuen hundred or thereaboutes. They hadde alſo ſlayn the king if a knight of Flaunders hadde not made ſhifte to ſaue hym.

In deed (as ſhould appeare by the ſame writers) the Engliſhe footemen had done much hurt in the countrey, & namely one day they ſpoyled the towne of Dam, & ſlew two hundred worthy perſonages which hadde yelded themſelues to the Kyng at his firſte commyng into the countrey.

And although the king cauſed certain of thoſe that had done this outrage to be hanged: yet the Flemings bare this and other iniuries in theyr myndes, and meant to bee reuenged thereof, before the Engliſhmen departed out of their countreye, and therefore there drewe out of ſundrye parties into the Citie of Gaunte by ſmall companyes, to the number of foure thouſande men of armes, beſides a great multitude of footmen: and when they perceyued them ſelues ſtrong ynough (as they tooke the matter) at the daye amongeſt them appoynted, they cluſtred togyther, and vnder the leadyng of the Earles ſons, Wyllyam and Roberte, they didde fyrſte ſette vppon the Engliſhmen that were in theyr lodgyngs, of whome they ſlewe dyuers, and after commyng forthe into the ſtreates, they meant to haue made ſlaughter of all the reſidue: but by the noyſe that was rayſed, the Kyng hadde warnyng in what ſtate the matter ſtoode, and therewyth getteth hym to armoure, and came forth of hys lodgyng, and ſtreyghtwayes hys people flocked aboute hym. And furthermore, the footemen, whyche were lodged in the Suburbes, hearyng of thys tumulte, gette them to armoure, and approchyng the gates, fynd them ſhutte, but with fyre whych they kyndled with ſtrawe, wood, butter, and tallowe, and other ſuch thynges, they brente vp the ſame gates, and ſo got in, loſing not paſte ſixe perſons, and thoſe were ſlayne at the firſt entring.

The Flemyngs ſet vpon the Engliſhmen in their lodgings.

Herewith the Earle of Flaunders commeth to the Kyng and beſeecheth hym to ſtaye hys people from committyng further outrage: but the kyng as he had reaſon ſo to doe, blamed him for the outragious attempte of hys people, and bad hym goe and appeaſe them, or he woulde take payne wyth them hymſelfe to hys owne ſuretie, though not greatly to theyr eaſe.

The Earle of Flaunders pacifyeth his people.

The Earle went, and didde ſo much, that at length he quieted them, and then was order giuen for reſtitution of ſuche thynges as hadde bene taken from anye manne wrongfully, accordyng to the order and direction preſcribed by certayne diſcrete perſons appoynted as Commiſſioners in that behalfe.

The Kyng perceyuyng hym ſelfe in ſome daunger, and that withoute the fauoure of the Flemyngs he myght hardly eſcape out of their countrey, bare manye thynges, and ſpake curteouſlye; makyng partely amendes for the harmes doone by his people, as well abrode in the countrey, as in the townes. And finally aboute Midlent he returned into Englande, as after ye ſhall heare.

Nic. Triuet.

An army aſſembled at Yorke.

In this meane tyme by the Kyngs appointmente, the Earle of Surreye Lorde Warden of Scotland, wyth other Earles and noble menne to hym aſſociate, aboute the feaſte of Sainct Hillarye, had aſſembled an armye at Yorke, hauyng fyrſte ſummoned the Lordes

The Scots beſiege Rockeſburgh.

of Scotlande to appeare there at the ſame daye, who yet came not, but contrarily had beſieged the Caſtell of Rockeſburghe. Wherevppon the Earle of Surrey haſted thytherwardes, ſo that Willyam Waleys and other of the Scottyſhmen whiche laye there at ſiege, reyſed the ſame, and departed from thence.

The Earle of Surrey entreth Scotland.

The Earle of Surrey comming to Rockeſburgh, and releeuing them that kept it with ſuch things as they wanted, paſſed forth to Kelſow, and came afterwards to the towne of Barwike, which the Scottiſhmen had left voyde.

Here came letters vnto them from king Edward, ſignifying that hee had taken truce wyth the Frenche king, and that he mente ſhortely to retourne into England, and therfore commaunded them not to make any further enterpriſe than the defending of the frontiers, and the recouerie of Barwike, til his comming ouer. Herevppon was a greate part of the armie diſcharged, and ſuche only remayned in Barwike as might ſuffice for defence therof.

King Edvvard returneth home vvardes.

The Scottes ſummoned to the parliament at Yorke, refuſed to come.

An army raiſed

King Edwarde hauing made an ende of hys buſineſſe in Flaunders, as before ye haue heard, returned now towards England, and came to a Towne called Ardenburg, where the moſte part of ſuche Scottiſhmen as he had broughte with him into Flanders, ſlipped from him, & went vnto Paris. The king being returned into Englande, remoued the Barons of the Eſchequer, and the Iuſtices of the Benche vnto York, calling a Parliamente thither, and gaue ſummonance to the Lordes of Scotland to come to the ſame: but making defaulte in their appearance, he ſent forth his commiſſion and letters to warne his ſubiectes to be readie with horſe and harneys at Rockeſburgh in the feaſte of the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt next enſuyng. They obeying his commaundement, aſſembled there at the daye appoynted.

Abyngdon.

The number of men armed in this armye.

There were in this armie nowe aſſembled at Rockeſborough together with thoſe of the Biſhopricke aboute three thouſande men of armes mounted on barded horſes, beſydes foure thouſande other armed menne on horſebacke wythout bardes.

VVelchmen & Iriſhmen.

There were alſo a great number of footmen, and yet none but ſuch as came vpon their owne good willes, the whiche were almoſt all Welchmen or Iriſhmen.

Gaſcoynes.

There came alſo afterwardes fyue hundred menne of armes well apparelled, furnyſhed and mounted, out of Gaſcoyne: of the which a certayne number were ſente vnto Barwike by the king: where after the battayle fought with the Scottes, they remayned in garniſon.

Nic. Triuet.

The E
Herde
Mars
firſt

The Earle of Hereford, and the Earle Marſhall were preſente wyth theyr retinues amongeſt other in thys armie here aſſembled at Rockeſborough, the whyche vpon ſuſpition conceyued of that they had hearde, thought it not ſufficient to haue the Kynges Letters patentes touching the confirmation of the two Charters, and other the Articles aboue mencioned, ſygned by hym, whyleſt he was oute of the Realme, and therefore required that he woulde nowe within his owne lande, confirme the ſame againe.

Here the Biſhoppe of Durham, Iohn Earle of Surrey, Willyam Earle of Warwike, and Rauſe Earle of Glouceſter, vndertooke for the kyng, that after hee had ſubdued his enimies, and ſhould be agayne returned into the realme, he ſhoulde ſatiſfie them in that behalfe, and confirme the ſame articles.

Caſte
by the
of D

This done, the King marching forth wyth his armye, came to Temple Hiſton, and ſente forth the Biſhoppe of Durham to take certayn Caſtelles therabouts, as Drinton (or as ſome Copies haue) Driſton, and other two, whiche enterpriſe, the Biſhoppe ſpeedyly accompliſhed.

The Engliſhe fleete that ſhoulde haue come from Berwike, and kepte alongſt the coaſte to haue furniſhed the Armie wyth victualls, was ſtayed and holden backe with contrarie wynd, ſo that the armie beganne to be in greate neceſſitie of victuals. The Scottiſhemen were aduertiſed hereof, and ſuppoſyng that the Engliſhemen by reaſon of ſuche want of victuals, had not bene able through feebleneſſe to make any greate reſiſtaunce, aſſembled theyr powers togyther, and came towardes the place where the kyng with his army was lodged.

Al
A fray
tvvixt
VVel
Engli

The ſame time twoo of the Engliſhe ſhippes arriued there wyth victualles, the whiche beyng beſtowed amongſt the ſouldiors, releeued them greately of theyr hunger. Amongeſt other the Welchemen had twoo tunnes of wine deliuered to them for theyr ſhare, the whiche they taſted ſo greedyly, that ouercome therewyth they fell to quarrelling wyth the Engliſhemen and begunne a fraye, in the whiche they ſlewe an eighteen, and hurte dyuerſe.

The E
men
doubt
VVel

The Engliſhe horſemenne herewyth beyng kindeled wyth diſpleaſure, got them to armour, and ſetting vpon the Welchmen, ſlew of them to the number of foure ſcore, and put the other to flight: whereupon the nexte morning it was ſaid that the Welchemen vppon wrathe conceyued hereof meant to depart to the Scottes: but yet when the campe remoued they followed the army though a farre off, and a part by themſelues, in ſo muche that many doubted leaſt if the Engliſhmen had chaunced to haue had the worſe at the Scottiſhe mennes handes, they woulde haue ioygned wyth them agaynſte the Englyſhemenne.

The Kyng nowe hearing that the Scottes were commyng towardes hym, rayſed hys fielde, and wente forthe to meete them, lodgyng the nexte nyghte in a fayre playne. In the morning very early, a greate alarme was reyſed, ſo that euery man got him to armour, ſuppoſing the Scottes to bee at hande. The horſe appoynted for the kyngs ſaddle that day, as the Kyng ſhoulde haue got vppon hym, afrighted wyth ſome noyſe, ſtarte aſide, and threwe the Kyng downe wyth ſuche violence, that hee brake two of his ribbes, as the reporte went. Other write, that his horſe trode on hym in the night as he and his people reſted them, keeping their horſes ſtill bridled, to bee ready the ſooner vppon occaſion of any neceſſitie: but howſoeuer hee came by hys hurt, he ſtayed not to paſſe forwarde in his purpoſed iourney, but mounting vppon an other horſe, went forth with hys armye till hee came to a place called Fonkirke, where both the armyes of England and Scotland met and fought. The Scottes were deuided into foure ſchiltrons, as they termed them, or as we may ſay, round battailes, in forme of a circle, in the whiche ſtoode theyr people, that caried long ſtaues or ſpeares which they croſſed ioyntly togither one wythin an other, betwixt which ſchiltrons or round battails were certain ſpaces left, the which wer filled wyth theyr archers & bowmen, and behinde all theſe were theyr horſmen placed. They had choſen a ſtrong grounde, ſomewhat ſideling on the ſide of a hill. The Erles Marſhall, Herford, and Lincolne whiche ledde the fore warde of the Engliſhemen, at the firſt made directly towardes the Scottes, but they were ſtayed by reaſon they founde a marys, or an euill fauoured moſſe betwixt theyr enemyes and them, ſo that they were conſtreyned to fetche a compaſſe towardes the weſte ſide of the fielde.

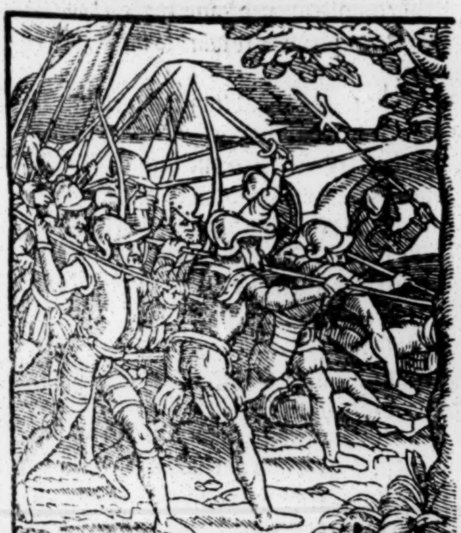
The Earles Marshall, Herforde, and Lincolne ledde the fore vvarde.

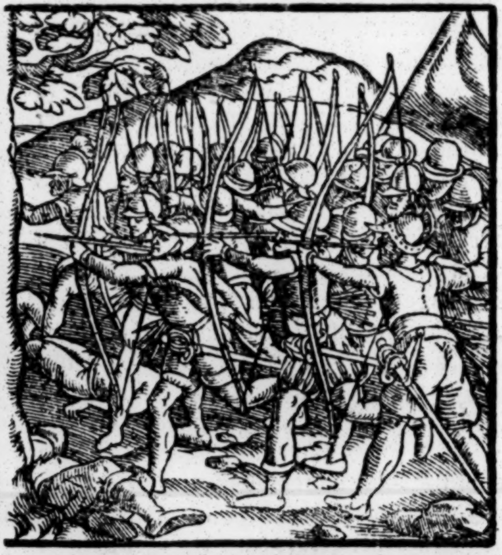
The Byſhop of Durham ruling in the ſeconde battaile of the Engliſhemen conſiſting of ſixe and thirtie ſtanderds or banners, knowing the let of that moſſe or maris, made toward the Eaſte ſide, haſting forth to be the firſte that ſhoulde giue the onſet: but yet when they approched neare to the enemies, the Byſhoppe commaunded his people to ſtaye till the thyrde battaile, which the Kyng led, mighte approch: but that valiant Knyght the Lorde Rauſe Baſſet of Drayton ſayde to hym: My Lorde Byſhoppe, you may goe and ſay Maſſe, which better becōmeth you, than to teache vs what we haue to doe, for wee will doe that that belongeth to the order of warre: and herewyth they haſted forthe on that ſyde to charge the fyrſte ſchiltron of the Scottes, and the Earles wyth theyr battaile on the other ſide, and euen vppon the firſte brunt, the Scottiſhe horſemen fledde, a fewe only excepted, which ſtayed to keepe the footemen in order. And amongeſt other, was the brother of the Lorde Stewarde of Scotlande, who as hee was aboute to ſet in order the bowmen of Selkirke, by chaunce was vnhorſed, and ſlayne there amongeſt the ſame bowemen, and many a tall mans bodye wyth hym. The Scottiſhe archers thus being ſlain, the Engliſhemen aſſailed the ſpeare men, but they keeping them ſelues cloſe togyther, and ſtandyng at defence wyth theyr ſpeares like a thicke wood, kepte out the Engliſhe horſemen for a while, and foughte manfully, though they were ſore beaten wyth ſhotte of arrowes by the Engliſhe archers a foote: and ſo at length galled wyth ſhot, and aſſailed by the horſemen on eche ſide, they begun to diſorder and ſhrinke from one ſide to another, and herwith the horſmen brake in amongſt them, and ſo they were ſlaine and beaten down in maner all the whole number of them. Some ſaye there dyed of the

The biſhop of Durham ledde the ſeconde vvarde.

The Lorde Baſſet of Draitons vvordes to the Biſhop of Durham.

The Scottiſhe horſemen flee.





N. Triuet.

Scottes that daye (beyng the two and twenty of July, and the feaſte of Mary Magdalene) aboue twentie thouſande. Other write, that there were ſlaine at the leaſte to the number of xv. thouſande. The Scottiſhe writers alledge that this battaile was loſte by treaſon of the Cumyns and other, as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie ye may more plainly perceiue, with more mater touching the ſame battaile: after this was the towne of Saincte Andrewes deſtroyed, no man beeyng wythin to make reſiſtaunce. And from thence the Engliſhe army came through Selkirke Foreſte vnto the caſtell of Ayre, whiche they founde voyde: and after they came by the towne of Annan and tooke the caſtell of Lochmaben, and ſo returned into Englande by the Weaſtmarches, and came to Carleil.

Mat. VVeſt. hathe fourtye thouſande.

Polidore.

N. Triuet.

The tovvne of S. Androvvns.

The caſtell of Aire.

Abyngdon.

Iriſhe Lordes.

The Iſle of Arayne.

About the ſame time certaine Iriſhe lords, and amongeſt other as chiefe, one Thomas Biſet landed in the Iſle of Arain, the inhabitants whereof ylded themſelues vnto the ſame Thomas, who as was iudged, ment to haue ayded the Scottes: but nowe hearing of the victorie whiche Kyng Edwarde had gotten in a pight fielde, he ſent vnto hym to giue hym to vnderſtande that hee was come in his ayde, and had wonne the ſaide Iſle of Airen, and therfore beſought him that it might pleaſe him to graũt it vnto hym and hys heyres, to holde of hym and his heyres for euer. Whiche requeſt the K. graunted: whereof when the Earles Marſhall & Herford were aduertiſed, they thoughte this a raſhe parte of the Kyng, conſidering that hee had promiſed to doe nothing of new wythout theyr conſentes and counſell.

Thomas Biſet requireth the Ile of Arain.

The euill opinion of the Erles Marſhall and Herforde tovvardes the Kyng.

Therefore the Kyng beyng as ye haue heard returned to Carleill, they got licence to depart home wyth theyr people leauing the kyng ſtill at Carleil, where he remained a time, and held a Parliament there, in the whiche he graunted vnto many of his nobles, the lands and liuings of dyuers noble men of the Scottes, as to the Earles Earledomes, to the Barons baronies, but Gallowaye and Annandall wyth certayne other counties, he aſſigned to none, reſeruing the ſame (as was thought) vnto the foreſayde two Erles, leaſt they ſhould thinke themſelues euill dealt wyth, if they had no parte beſtowed on them amongeſt the reſidue.

The Kynges liberalitie tovvardes his nobles.

The King after this went to Durham, and from thence thoughte to haue returned ſtreight towardes London, but hearing that the Scottes ment to make ſome inuaſion, hee went to Tynmouth, and remained there till towards Chriſtmaſſe.

An.reg. 27.

Coryngham.

After the Kyng had layne a certen time at Tinmouthe, hee departed from thence and drewe Southwarde, and comming to Cotingham, a little from Beuerley, helde hys Chriſtmaſſe there, and after drewe towardes London, where in the beginning of Lent, hee helde a parliament, at the which hee was required to keepe promiſſe for the confirming of the two charters and articles concluded wyth the Erles of Herford and Marſhall. The King was nothyng contented that this matter ſhoulde bee ſo earneſtly called vppon, for loth he was to graunte theyr full requeſtes, and agaynſt to denye them, hee ſtoode in doubte howe it mighte bee taken: hee therefore prolonged time, and woulde make no aunſwere eyther to or fro: and when the Lordes vrged hym ſore to giue them aunſwere, hee got hym out of the citie, not making them priuie of hys departure, and when they followed hym, and ſeemed not well contented that hee ſhoulde ſo diſſemble wyth them, hee excuſed hymſelfe by blaming the aire of the citie to bee againſte hys health, and therefore he bare them in hande, that he only ſought to refreſhe hymſelfe in ſome better ayre in the countrey more agreable to hys nature: and as for aunſwere to theyr requeſtes, hee willed them to repayre againe to the citie, and they ſhoulde haue aunſwere by hys counſaile ſo farre as ſhoulde ſtande wyth reaſon to content them.

They returned as hee willed them, and had the charters confirmed according to their requeſtes, ſauing that this addition was put in the latter end of ye ſame, *Saluo iure coronæ noſtræ.* Wyth whiche addition, the Lordes were offended, and tourned home to theyr houſes in as greate diſpleaſure towardes the Kyng as before.

The counſel doubting ſome ſeditious ſturre to ariſe hereof amongeſt the people, deliuered the charters (ſo ſealed and ſigned as they were) vnto the Shiriffes of London, that the ſame might bee redde openly before the people, which was done in Poules Churcheyarde in preſence of a greate aſſemblie there come togyther and gathered for that purpoſe. The people at the firſte before they heard the addition gaue many bleſſinges to the Kyng, for thoſe grauntes, but when they hearde wyth what wordes hee concluded, they curſed as faſte as before they had bleſſed. Before this parliament was diſſolued, the Lordes had warnyng to retourne agayne ſhortely after Eaſter, and then they had all thinges graunted and performed as they could wiſhe or deſire. The perambulations of Foreſtes were appoynted vnto three Byſſhoppes, three Earles, and three Barons.

Aboute the latter ende of Iune there came ouer a Byſſhoppe ſente from Pope Boniface as hys *Nuncio*, and dyuers other wyth hym, to declare the order which the Pope as arbitrator indifferently choſen betwixte the two Kynges of Englande, and Fraunce, for the deciding of all controuerſies depending betwixte them) had giuen foorthe and decreed, whiche was in effect as followeth.

Fyrſte that Kyng Edwarde beeyng then a widower ſhoulde marry the Frenche Kynges ſiſter named Margaret, notwithſtandyng the degrees of conſanguinitie, for the whiche the Pope woulde diſpence. Againe that the Lorde Edwarde the Kynges eldeſt ſonne ſhoulde at conuenient tyme take to wyfe the Ladye Iſabell the Frenche Kynges daughter. Alſo that the Kyng of Englande ſhoulde make ſatiſfaction for the Frenche ſhippes whiche hys men had taken at the beginning of the warre, and that ſundrye townes in Gaſcoyne ſhoulde bee put into the Popes handes, till it might be vnderſtode vnto whome the righte apperteyned. But thoſe two laſt articles tooke ſmall effect, the Frenche Kyng refuſing to deliuer any of thoſe townes whiche hee had gotten in poſſeſſion. Moreouer, theſe meſſengers in the Popes behalfe required the Kyng that hee woulde ſet at libertie John Baillol ſometime Kyng of Scotland, and to reſtore thoſe landes vnto his ſonne Edwarde Baillol, whiche hee ought to holde within the Realme of Englande, promiſyng and vndertaking in the Popes behalfe to preſerue and ſaue the Realme harmeleſſe of all hurte or damage that myghte enſue by the libertie of the ſayde John Baillol.

King Edward vnderſtanding that ther was greate daunger in ſetting hym at libertie, was contented to deliuer hym vnto the Pope, but hee refuſed to make reſtitution vnto Edwarde Baillol of the landes whiche hee demaunded. The Popes ambaſſadoures receyuing John Baillol at Kyng Edwards handes, tooke hym ouer wyth hym into Fraunce, and there lefte hym in the cuſtodie of the Byſhoppe of Cambrey, the Popes deputie in that behalfe, where ſhortelye after hee dyed.

After this, according to the couenauntes of agreement made betwixte the two Kynges of Englande and Fraunce, the captiues vpon either parte were deliuered.

In the feaſte of the natiuitie of our Ladye, the Kyng married the Ladye Margaret ſiſter to the Frenche Kyng at Canterburye wyth greate ſolempnitie. Aboute the feaſte of Sainct Martin in wynter the Kyng helde a parliamēt at Yorke, meaning to haue gone from thence into Scotlande, to haue reſcued the caſtell of Struelin, whiche the Scottiſhemen had beſieged, and had it ſurrendred vnto them, ere the Kyng coulde ſet forewarde to come to rayſe the ſiege. The ſame yere died Henry Newarke Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Thomas Corbridge a doctour in diuinitie ſucceeded hym.

The deceaſſe of the Archbiſhop of Yorke.

An. reg. 28. 1300.

Abingdon.

A proclamation for money.

In the eyghte and twentye yere of his raign in the Chriſtmaſſe ſeaſon Kyng Edwarde ſet foorth a proclamation, forbidding and prohibiting all forraine coine to bee receyued and payde as ſterling mony wythin his dominion, commaunding by the ſame proclamation, that two peeces of them ſhuld go for one ſterlyng, vntill the feaſt of Eaſter. There were diuers moneyes in thoſe dayes currant wythin this realme, as Pollardes, Crocards, Staldinges, Egles, Leonines, Sleepinges, and all theſe were white monyes, artificially made of ſiluer, copper, and ſulphur, ſo that it was an yll tyme for baſe moneyes, and muche choppyng and chaunging was vſed in buying and ſelling of thynges. At Eaſter following the King vtterlye forbad that any of thoſe moneyes ſhoulde be currant at all, and helde his exchaunge in ſundry places, and to be rydde of them, men gaue fiue or ſixe of them for one ſterling, not caring for them bycauſe of theyr baſeneſſe, and yet wythin one yeare after that men had learned the ſkill by proofe howe to trie the mettall with melted leade in the fire, they founde that two peeces of thoſe baſe moneys were in valewe worthe one ſterling, and many became riche by the exchange, whiche had boughte good ſtore of them, when they were ſo ſmally eſteemed: but the Kyng cauſed enquirie to be made of them that vſed ſuche exchaunge wythout his licence, and put them to theyr fines.

Forreyne moneys forbidden to go as currãt.

At a Parliement holden at London in lent this yeare, the Kyng renued the confirmation of the charters, and made certain new ſtatutes concerning fines and Gaole deliueries, very profitable to the common wealth.

Aboute the feaſte of Sainct John Baptiſt, Kyng Edwarde went wyth an armye into Scotlande, and there graunted a truce to the Scots that inhabited the mountaine countryes to endure for eleuen Moneths, that is to wit, till Whitſontide nexte enſuing.

Abyngdon.

The king goth vvith an armye into Scotlande.

As the Kyng was vppon hys iourney forewardes in the Northe partes, hys late married wyfe Queene Margaret was deliuered of hys firſt ſonne at Brotherton, a place in Yorkſhire not farre from Pontfret, he was named Thomas, and tooke the ſurname of Brotherton, of the place where he was borne.

Thomas of Brotherton borne the firſte of Iune

Moreouer Pope Boniface at the ſute of the Scottes wrote his letters vnto kyng Edward commaunding hym by the ſame and by the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, whome hee appoynted to delyuer the ſame letters, by other letters to hym directed, that he ſhould not onely releaſe and ſet at libertie all ſuche Scottes as he had in priſon, but alſo giue ouer his warres which he made againſt the realm of Scotlande: and if he ment to make any claime to the ſame, then to ſend his procurators vnto the court of Rome, and there to ſhewe what euidence hee coulde for hys righte thereto, where the matter (as he mainteined) was to be heard, decided, and iudged and not elſe where. The Archebyſhoppe according to the Popes commaundement did the meſſage, and preſented the Popes letters vnto the King, who deferred the anſwer vnto the aſſemblie of the eſtates in parliament, and hereof the Archebiſhop aduertiſed the Pope accordingly as in the letters to hym directed hee was commaunded.

Etterſden.

This yeare alſo on Sainct Remigius day, whiche is the firſte of October, dyed Edmunde Earle of Cornewall, the ſonne of Earle Rycharde, that was alſo Kyng of Almayne: and bycauſe he left no iſſue behynde him to inherite that Erledom, the ſame returned to the crown,

An. reg. 29.
Mat. VVeſt.
Croxden.
1301.

In the *xxix.* yere of king Edwards raigne, on Sainct Oſwaldes daye, or as ſome haue written, the Fryday after the feaſt of Peter *ad vincula*, his wyfe Queene Margaret was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne, that had to name Edmunde of Wodſtocke, ſurnamed ſo of the place where hee was borne. The Kyng alſo this yere after Chriſtmaſſe helde a Parliament at Lincolne, to the whiche the Earles and Barons of the realme came in armour, to the end (as it is ſaide) that they myghte procure of the Kyng the more ſpeedye execution of the charter of Forreſtes, whiche by hym had hitherto bene delaied, but nowe that hee perceiued theyr earneſtneſſe and importunate ſuite, hee condiſcended to their willes in all thynges.

Pope Boniface inhibiteth the king of Englãd further to vexe the Scottes.

Pope Boniface beeyng ſolicited by the inſtant ſuite of the Scottiſhemen, and offended alſo that the landes in Englande whiche belonged vnto Edwarde Bailloll the ſonne of John Baillol, were not to the ſame Edwarde reſtored, hee eftſoones wrote to Kyng Edward forbidding hym from thence forthe any further to vexe the Scottes by warres, bycauſe that the kingdome of Scotlande was ſurrendred alreadye into hys handes by the generall conſent of the Scottiſhemen themſelues, and therefore was it in hys power to beſtowe and take awaye the ſame to whome or from whome ſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe hym.

N. Triuet.

There were reaſons alledged why the King of Englande ſeemed to doe wrong in chalenging as then the kingdome of Scotlande: and amongeſt other, one was that ſuche homage as had bene done of auncient time to the Kings of Englande, by the Kynges of the Scottes, was onely meant for Tyndale, Penreth, and ſuche other landes as the Scottiſhe Kynges helde within England, and not for the Realme of Scotlande.

And whereas the Kyngs of Scotlande had aided the Kyngs of Englande in theyr warres againſte the Rebells of theyr Realme of Englande, and bene preſent at theyr coronation, the ſame was done of ſpeciall fauour and not of dutie. Kyng Edwarde hauyng receyued the Popes preſcript and well conſidered the whole contentes thereof, ſent in writing his anſwere ſo at large, prouing by euident reaſons that the right of proprietie of the kingdome of Scotlande, did moſte iuſtly apperteyne vnto hym, and that the allegations were not true, but forged, whiche had bene by ſurmiſed information preſented againſte hym. Beſide the kyngs letters whiche hee wrote in his owne behalfe, there was an other letter deuiſed and written by all the Lordes temporall of the lande aſſembled in parliament at Lincolne, in which letter they aunſwered in name of all the eſtates there gathered, vnto that pointe wherein the Pope pretended a right to be iudge for the title of the Realme of Scotlande, proteſting flatly that they would not conſent that theyr Kyng ſhuld doe any thyng that might tende to the diſenheriting of the ryght of the crowne of Englande, and plaine ouerthrow of the ſtate of the ſame realme, and alſo hurt of the liberties, cuſtoms, and lawes of theyr fathers, ſith it was neuer known, that the kings of this land had anſwered or ought to anſwere for theyr rights in the ſame Realme, afore any iudge Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular. The Tenour of whiche letter beginneth thus.

TO our moſt holy father in Chriſte, Boniface by gods prouidence high Byſhoppe of the holye Romaine and Vniuerſall Churche, his deuoute ſons John Earle Warren: Thomas Erle of Lancaſter: Rafe de Monthermer Earle of Glonceſter and Hertforde, Humfrey de Bohun Earle of Hereford and Eſſex, and Conneſtable of England: Roger Bigod earle of Norfolke, and Mareſchall of Englande: Guy Earle of Warwike: Rycharde earle of Arundell: Adomare de Valence Lord of Monterney: Henry de Lancaſter Lorde of Monmouth: John de Haſtings Lorde of Bergeuennie: Henry de Percy Lorde of Topclife: Edmunde de Mortimer Lorde of Wigmor: Robert Fitz Water Lord of Wodham: John de Sainct John Lorde of Hannake: Hughe de Veer Lorde of Swaneſtampe: Wylliam de Brewſe Lorde of Gower: Roberte de Monthault Lorde of Hawarden: Roberte de Taleſhall Lorde of Wokeham: Reignald de Grey lorde of Ruthin: Henry de Grey lorde of Codnore, Hugh Bardolfe lorde of Wormegaye: Roberte de Clifforde Chatellain of Appelbye: Peter de Malowe lorde of Mulgreene: Philip lord of Kime: Robert Fitz Roger lord of Clauerings: John de Mohun lorde of Duneſter: Almericke de Sainct Amounde lord of Widehay: William de Ferrers lord of Groby: Alain de Zouche lord of Aſhby: Theobalde de Verdon lord of Webbeley: Thomas de Furniuall lorde of Schefielde: Thomas de Multon lorde of Egremont, William Latimer lorde of Corby, Thomas lorde Berkley: Foulke Fitz Warren lorde of Miringham: John lord Segraue: Edmonde de Eincourt lorde of Thurgerton: Peter Corbet lorde of Caus: Wyllyam de Cantelowe lorde of Rauenſthorpe: John de Beauchampe lorde of Hacche: Roger de Mortimer lorde of Penketolin: John Fitz Reinald lorde of Bleuleueny: Ranfe de Neuell lorde of Raby: Brian Fitz Alaine lorde of Bedale: Wyllyam Mareſhall Lorde of Hengham: Walter Lorde Huntercombe: Wyllyam Martin lorde of Cameis: Henry de Thies lord of Chilton: Roger le Ware lord of Iſefielde: John de Riuers lord of Augre: John de Lancaſter lorde of Griſedale: Robert Fitz Payne lorde of Lainnier: Henry Tregoz lorde of Garinges: Robert Pipard lorde of Lomforde: Walter lord Faucomberg: Roger le Strange lorde of Elleſmer: John le Strange lorde of Cnokyn: Thomas de Chances lord of Norton: Walter de Beauchamp lorde of Alceſter. Rycharde Talbot lorde of Eccleſwell: John Butetourt lord of Mendelſham: John Engain lorde of Colum: Hughe de Poynz lorde of Cornebalet: Adam lorde of Welles: Simon lorde Montacute: John lord Sulle: John de Melles or rather Mocles Lorde of Cantebury: Edmūd baron Stafford: Jo. Louel lord of Hackings: Edmūd de N. lord of Elchimhounkes: Rafe Fitz Williā lord of Grimthorp: Robert de Scales lord of Neuſells: Wil. Tuchet lorde of Lewenhales: Jo Abadan lord of Deuerſton: John de Hauringes lord of Eraſton: Rob. la Warde lorde of Whitehall: Nic. de Segraue lord of Stow: Walter de Tey lord of Stongraue: Jo. de Liſle lord of Wodton: Euſtace lorde Hacche: Gilbert Peche lorde of Corby: Wil. Painel lord Tradington: Rog. de *Albo Monaſterio*: Foulk le Strange lord of Corſham: Henry de Pinkeny lord of Wedon: Jo. de Hoddleſton lorde of Aneys Jo. de Huntingfielde lord of Bradenhā: Hughe Fitz Henry lord of Raueneſwath: Jo. Daleton lorde of Spotle: Ni. de Carri lord of Muleſford: Thomas lord de la Roche: Walter de Mūcy lord of Thornton: Jo Fitz Marmaduke lord of Horden: John lord of Kingſton: Rob. Haſtings the father lorde of Cheueſley: Rafe lord Grendon: Wil. lord of Leiborne: Jo. de Greiſtocke lord of Morpath: Mathewe Fitz John lord of Stokenham: Nic. de Neuell lord of Wherltō: and Jo Painell lord of Atelei: with al humble ſubmiſſion. The holy mother Churche, by whoſe miniſterie the catholik ſea is gouerned: in hir dedes (as we throughly beleue and hold) proceedeth with that ripeneſſe in iudgement, that ſhe wil be hurtfull to none, but like a mother would euerie mans righte be kepte vnbroken, aſwell in an other, as in hir ſelf. Whereas therfore in a general parliament called at Lincolne of late, by our moſte dreade lord Edward by the grace of god the noble King of Englād: the ſame our lorde cauſed certain letters receyued from you to bee redde openly ād to be declared ſeriouſly afore vs, about certain buſineſſe touching the condition and ſtate of the Realme of Scotlande: we did not a little muſe and maruell with our ſelues, hearing the meanings concerning the ſame, ſo wondrous and ſtrange as the like we haue not heard at any tyme before: for we knowe moſte holy father, and it is well known aſwel within this realme of Englande (as alſo not vnknowen to other perſons beſides) that from the fyrſte beginning of the realme of Englande, the certain and direct gouernement of the Realme of Scotlande in all temporall cauſes from tyme to tyme belonged to the Kyngs of the ſame Realme of England and Realme of Scotlande, aſwell in the times bothe of the Britaynes as alſo Engliſhemen: yea rather the ſame Realme of Scotlande of olde tyme was in fee to the auncetours of our foreſayde Lordes Kynges of Englande, yea and to hymſelfe. Furthermore, the Kynges of Scottes and the Realme haue not bene vnder any other than the Kyngs of Englande, and the Kynges of England haue aunſwered or ought to anſwere for theyr rights in the forſayd Realme, or for any his temporalities afore any Judge Eccleſiaſticall or ſecular, by reaſon of free preheminence of the ſtate of hys Royall dignitie and cuſtome kepte wythout breache at all tymes. Wherefore, after treatie had, and diligent deliberation of the contentes in your foreſaide letters, this was the common agreeyng and conſent with one minde, and ſhall be wythout faile in tyme to come by gods grace: that our foreſaide Lorde the Kyng oughte by no meanes to aunſwere in iudgemente in any caſe, or ſhoulde bring his foreſaide rightes into doubte, nor oughte not to ſende any proctours or meſſengers to your preſence, ſpecially ſeeing that the premiſſes tend manifeſtly to the diſenheriting of the right of the crowne of England, and the plaine ouerthrowe of the ſtate of the

Out of maiſter Foxe pag.427.

the ſaide realme, and alſo burte of the liberties, cuſtomes and lawes of our fathers: for the keping and defence of whiche, we are bounde by the duetie of the othe made, and we will maintaine them wyth all power, and will defende them (by gods helpe) wyth all ſtrengthe. And furthermore, will not ſuffer our foreſaide Lord the Kyng to doe or by any meanes attempte the premiſſes beyng ſo vnaccuſtomed, vnwont, and not hearde of afore: wherefore we reuerentlye and humbly beſeeche youre holyneſſe, that yee woulde ſuffer the ſame our lorde King of Englande (who among other princes of the worlde ſheweth hymſelfe catholike and deuout to the Romiſhe Churche) quietly to enioy his rightes, liberties, cuſtomes, and lawes aforeſaide: wythout all empayring, and trouble, and let them continue vntouched. In witneſſe whereof, we haue ſette our ſeales to theſe preſentes aſwell for vs, as for the whole comunaltie of the foreſaide Realme of England. Dated at Lincolne the twelfth of Februarie in the yeare of our Lorde. 1301. *Et anno Edwardi primi .xxix.*

The Pope when he hearde and deliberately pondered the Kyngs aunſwere, wyth this letter dyrected to hym from the Engliſhe Barons, hee waxed colde in the matter, and followed it no farther. The truce betwixte the Kyng and the Scottes beyng once expired, the Kyng aſſembled hys armye, and wente into Scotlande, aboute the feaſte of Sainct John Baptiſt, and tarrying there all the ſommer and winter followyng, his ſouldiors loſte many of their greate horſes for lacke of forrage whiche coulde not bee gotten in the colde winter ſeaſon. Hee kept his Chriſtmaſſe at Lithko, and at length at the requeſt of his brother in lawe the Frenche Kyng, he graunted eftſoones a truce to the Scottiſhemen till the feaſt of all Saintes nexte enſuing. Then hauing ordered his buſines for that time in Scotlande, hee retourned into Englande, and aboute Midlent called a parliament at London. Alſo this yeare Pope Boniface vpon diſpleſure cõceiued againſt the French K. ſent vnto king Edward exhorting hym to make warres againſte the ſame Frenche Kyng, and to perſwade hym the more eaſily thereunto, hee promiſed him great aide: but the King of England hauing proued the ſaid Pope, not the ſureſt man in frendſhip towardes him, he forbare to attempt any forcible exploite againſt the French King, truſting by ſome other meanes to recouer his righte.

The king goeth into Scotlande.

An. reg. 30.
1302.

A truce graunted to the Scots

The king returneth into Englande.

The Pope exhorteth the K. of Englande to make vvarre againſt Fraunce.

This yere departed out of this worlde Humfrey Bohun Earle of Hereforde, after whome ſucceded his ſonne Humfrey, the whiche afterwardes married the Kynges daughter, Elizabeth Counteſſe of Hollande, after that hir firſte huſbande was deade.

The deceaſe of the Earle of Herforde.

Tourneyes, iuſtes, barriers, & other warlike exerciſes, whiche yong Lordes and gentlemen had appoynted to exerciſe for theyr paſtime, in diuers partes of the Realme, were forbidden by the Kyngs proclamations ſent downe to be publiſhed by the Sheriffes in euerye countye abrode in the Realme: the teſte of the writ was from Weſtminſter the ſixtenth of July.

The citizens of Burdeaux could not beare the yoke of the Frenche bondage, and therfore this yere aboute Chriſtmaſſe expulſed them out of theyr Citie. Shortly after the Frenche King doubting leaſte the Kyng of Englande by the ſetting on of the Pope, ſhoulde make warres agaynſte hym for the wrongfull deteyning of Gaſcoigne, to purchaſe his fauour, reſtored vnto hym all that whiche hee helde in Gaſcoigne and ſo then they of Burdeaux, alſo ſubmitted themſelues to the Kyng of Englande of theyr owne accorde.

Nowe after that the truce wyth the Scots was expired, whiche toke ende at the feaſte of all Sainctes laſte paſte, the Kyng ſent the lord John Segraue, a right valiant Knight (but not ſo circumſpect in his gouernement as was neceſſarie) wyth a great army into Scotland, to haue the rule of the lande as lorde Warden of the ſame: wyth him was ioyned alſo Rauſe Confrere, Treaſourer of the armye. Theſe two capitaines comming to the borders, and hearing that the Scottiſhe men already were in armes, they entred into Scotlande, and in order of battaile paſſe forth vnto Edenburgh, and hearing nothing of theyr enemies, whiche kept them ſtill in the mountaines, they deuided their armye into three ſeuerall battailes, two of the whiche came behinde the fore warde vnder the leading of the ſaide Rafe Confrey, the thirde (that is to ſay) the fore ward, the Lorde Segraue ledde hymſelfe. in ſuche order that there was the diſtaunce of foure miles betwixt theyr lodgings. This they did to be the more plenteouſlye ſerued of victualles. But the Scots vnderſtanding this order of theyr enemies, became the more hardy, and thereuppon hauing knowledge where the Lorde Segraue was lodged wyth his companye, a good waye off from the other two partes of the army, they haſte forwarde in the night ſeaſon, and came neare vnto the place where the ſame Lorde Segraue was encamped, a little before daye, making themſelues redie to aſſaile the engliſhmen in their campe, but the lorde Segraue hauing knowlege of their coming, though he was cõuſeled by ſome of them that were about him, either to wythdrawe vnto the other battailes, or

elſe to ſende vnto them to come to his ayde, he would follow neither of bothe the wayes, but like a capitaine more hardie than wiſe in this point, diſpoſed his cõpanies which he had there in order to fight, and encouraging them to play the men, immediatly vpon the riſing of the ſun, & that his enemies approched, he cauſed the trũpets to blowe to the battaile, & gaue therewith the onſet. The fight was ſore, and doutful for a while, till the Engliſhmen ouercome with the multitude of their enemies begã to be ſlaine on eche ſide, ſo ẏ few eſcaped by flight, to the nũber of .xx. worthie knyghts were taken, with their capitaine the ſaide Lorde Segraue being ſore wounded, but he was by chaunce reſkewed, and deliuered out of the enemies handes, by certen horſemen, whiche vnder the leading of the lord Robert Neuile a right valiant knight, (vpon hearing the noiſe of them that fled) came on the ſpurres out of the nexte campe to the ſuccour of theyr fellowes. Raufe Confreir after this miſhappe (as Polydore hathe) brought backe the reſidue of the army into Englande, not thinking it neceſſary to attempt any further enterpriſe at that time againſte the enimyes, ouermatching hym both in ſtrength and number. This encounter chaunced on the firſt Sunday in Lent.

I remember howe the Scottiſh Chronicles conteine muche more of this enterpriſe greatly to their glorye, and more haply than is true, as by cõferring the place where they entreat of it, with this that I haue here exẽplified out of our writers it may well apeare. The erle Marſhall hauing ſpent largely whileſt he ſtood in contẽtion againſt the king, who was now earneſtly called vpon to repay ſuche ſums of money as he had borowed of his brother John Bigot, who was very riche by reaſon of ſuch benefices and ſpirituall liuings as he had in his handes, the erle bicauſe he had no childrẽ to whõ he might leaue his landes, ment to haue left thẽ vnto his ſaide brother: but when he ſaw hym ſo importunate in calling for the debtes which he ought hym, he tooke ſuch diſpleaſure therwith, that to obtaine the Kynges fauour, and to diſappoint his brother of the inheritaunce, he gaue vnto ẏ Kyng all his poſſeſſions, vpon condition that the Kyng adding thereto other landes in value worthe a .M. markes by yeare, ſhoulde reſtore thẽ to him again to enioy during his life, the remainder after his deceſſe to come vnto ẏ K. and further, the kyng ſhould pay and diſcharge him of all his debts. King Edward being aduertiſed of the loſſe whiche his men had ſuſteined in Scotlande, ſtreight wayes called a parliamẽt, wherin by aſſent of the ſtates a ſubſidie was graunted towardes the mainteinaunce of his warres, and thẽ the ſame being leuied he aſſẽbled his people, & ſhortly after about Whitſontide entred into Scotlande to reuenge the death of his men. The Scottes hearing of the Kynges comming, fled into the mountaines, moſſes, and mariſhe groundes, not once ſhewing any countenance to fight any ſet battaile with the Engliſh hoſte, ſo that the king in maner without reſiſtance paſſed throughe the coũtry euen vnto Cathnes, which is ẏ furtheſt part of all Scotlãd: many of the Scots perceyuing theyr lack of power to reſiſt ẏ engliſh puiſſãce, came to king Edward & ſubmitted themſelues, wyth condition ẏ they ſhould enioye their lãds whiche he had giuen awaye to his lordes, they redeming ẏ ſame with conueniẽt fines, which was graũted. But Williã Walleis with certen other keping themſelues in places where no army could come to purſue them, would neuer giue eare to any conditions of agreement: ſo that neither with feare, neither with offer of rewardes coulde this Walleis be induced to folowe or beholde the Engliſhe King ruling the Realme of Scotland. K. Edward retourning backe came to the caſtel of Striueling (which the Scottiſhmen helde againſt hym) & beſteged it. The King hymſelfe lay at Dunferling the moſte parte of the winter: and whileſt he lay there, the Queene which had lyen a long time at Tinmouth came to him, and when the winter was once paſſe, the king himſelfe commeth to the ſiege, and cauſed certain engins of wood to be reiſed vp againſt the caſtell, which ſhot off ſtones of .ij. or. iij. C. weight: but yet woulde not they within once talke of any ſurrender: & where the Engliſhemen filled the ditches with wood and boughs of trees, they ſet the ſame on fyre

A Subſidie.

The king goth in perſon into Scotlande.

Cathneſſe.

The Scots ſubmitte themſelues to the king

Abyngdon.

VVill. VValiace.

Polidore.

Hec. Boetius.

Io. Maior

An. reg. 32.

Striuelyn caſtel beſieged.

Abingdon.

1304.

Engins to caſt ſtones.

fire and brent them to aſhes: at length the diches were filled with ſtones and earthe, ſo that then the Scotts within perceyuing themſelues in euident perill to loſe the caſtell, on ſaint Margarets daye they yelded themſelues ſimply into the Kynges handes, as the engliſhe writers affirme, thoughe the Scottiſhe writers recorde the contrary. Finally, when the Kyng had ordered all his buſineſſe in Scotland at his pleaſure, he retourned into Englande, leauing in Scotland for warden the lord Iohn Segraue, or (as other writers haue, ſir Aymer de Valēce Erle of Pembroke.) At his comming to Yorke he cauſed the Iuſtices of his benche, and the barons of the Exchequer to remoue with their courtes, and all theyr Clerkes and officers, togither with the Lord Chaūcellor and his court vnto London, that the Termes myght be kept there, as in times paſte they had bene, where as nowe the ſame had remayned at Yorke aboue the ſpace of ſixe yeres, vpon this conſideration, that the Kyng and hys Counſell myght bee neare vnto Scotland to prouide for the defence thereof, as occaſion from time to time ſhould requyre. From Yorke he came to Lincolne, and there remayned all the winter, holding a counſell, in the whiche he eftſoones confirmed the articles of *Magna Charta*, touching yͤ liberties, priuileges and immunities of his ſubiects, the whiche to declare theyr thankfull mindes towardes him for the ſame, graunted to him for the ſpace of one yeare the fifteenth parte of all theyr reuenues. Other write that the kyng had this yeare of citizens and of the Burgeſſes of good townes, the ſixt peny according to the valued rate of theyr goodes.

Polidore.

Tho VValſ.

The Earle of Pembroke lord vvarden of Scotlande.

N. Triuet.

Polidore

A fifteenthe graunted.

Aboute the ſame time, Thomas Colebrugh or Corbridge Archbyſhoppe of Yorke departed this life, and one William Greenefielde Doctour of bothe the lawes ſucceeded hym. There dyed aboute the ſame tyme likewiſe that valiant knyght the lord W. Latimer. Alſo Iohn Warrein Earle of Surrey and Suſſex dyed this yeare, and was buryed at Lewes. His nephew by his ſonne, (named alſo Iohn) ſucceeded him, obteining to wife the kings Neece by his daughter Elianor that was married to the Earle of Bar, as before yee haue hearde.

The deceaſſe of the Archebyshoppe of Yorke. VVilliam Grenefielde made Archebyshoppe of Yorke,

And likewiſe Robert Bruiſe Erle of Carrike, the fifthe of that name, dyed this yere, that was father to that Roberte Bruce that was after King of Scottes. Moreouer aboute this ſeaſon the kyng ordeined certain cōmiſſioners or Iuſticiaries, to make inquiſitiōs through yͤ realme, by yͤ verdict of ſubſtācial Iuries vppon all officers, as Maiors, ſheriffes, bailiffes, eſchetors and other, that had miſuſed themſelues in their Offices, either by extortion, briberie, or otherwiſe, to yͤ greuance of the people, contrary to that they rightly might doe ⁊ iuſtifie by vertue of their offices: by meanes of which inquiſitions many were accuſed ⁊ founde culpable, ⁊ therupon put to greuous fines: Alſo yͤ Iuſtices which were aſſigned to take theſe inquiſitions, extēded the ſame according to their cōmiſſion againſt ſuche as had made intruſions into other mēs lands, ⁊ for doubt to be empleaded for the ſame, had made alienatiōs ouer into yͤ hāds of greate men, alſo againſte ſuche barretors as vſed to take mony to beate any man, ⁊ againe wolde not ſticke to take mony of him whome they had ſo beatē, to beate him that had firſt hired them to beate the other. The malice of ſuch maner people was now reſtrayned by force of theſe inquiſitions: for ſuche as were foūde culpable, were worthily puniſhed, ſome by death, ⁊ ſome by ranſoms: diuers alſo for fear to come to their anſwers fled the realme: alſo forfeits againſte the crown were ſtraightly loked vnto, foūd out, ⁊ leuied, by reaſon wherof great ſums of money came to the kings coffers, which holp wel towards the maintenance ⁊ charges of his warres. This kind of inquiſition was named cōmonly Traile baſtō, which ſignifieth Traile or draw the ſtaff. And forasmuch as yͤ proceding in this wiſe againſte ſuche miſdemenors as thē were vſed, brought ſo great a benefit to yͤ realm in reſtreining ſuche malefactors which greatly (as ſhuld ſeme) diſquieted the ſtate of yͤ cōmon welth, I haue thought good to ſet down yͤ form of the writ, as I finde it regiſtred in the booke that belonged to the abbey of Abingdon, which is as followeth.

Robert Bruce Earle of Carrike departeth this lyfe.

Nic. Triuet.

Inquiſitions taken of the myſdemeanours of iuſtices.

Caxton.

Iuſtic

Mat.

Intru

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For

N.

Tr

REx dilectis et fidelibus ſuis, Radulfo filio VVilhelmi, et Iohāni de Bartō de Ritō ſalutē. Quia quāplures malefactores, & pacis noſtræ perturbatores, homicidia, depredationes, incēdia, & alia dāna quāplurima nocte dieq; perpetrantes vagātur in boſcis, parcis, & alijs locis diuerſis, tā infra libertates quā extra, in comitatu Eboracenſi, & ibidē receptātur in maximū periculū tā hominū per partes illas tranſeuntiū, quā ibidē cōmorantiū, in noſtri cōtemptū ac pacis noſtræ læſionē manifeſtā, vt accepimus: per quorū incurſum poterunt peiora peioribus de facili euenire, niſi remediū ſuper hoc citius apponatur, nos eorum malitiæ in hac parte obuiare, & huiuſmodi damnis & periculis precauere volētes, aſſignamus vos ad inquirendum per ſacramentum tam militū quam aliorum proborū & legaliū hominū, de contemptu prædicto, tam infra libertates quā extra, per quos ipſa veritas melius ſciri poterit, qui ſint illi malefactores & pacis noſtræ perturbatores, & eos conduxerūt & cōducunt ad verberādū, vulnerādū, maletractandū, & interficiendū plures de regno noſtro in ferijs, mercatis et alijs locis in dicto comitatu, pro inimicitia, inuidia aūt malitia, *Et etiam pro eo quòd in aſsiſis iuratis, recognitionibus, & inquiſitionibus factis de felonijs poſiti fuerant, & veritatem dixerunt: vnde per conditionem huiuſmodi malefactorum iuratores aſsiſarum, iurationum, recognitionum, & inquiſitionum illarum, pro timore dictorum malefactorum, & eorum minarum, ſepius veritatem dicere, ſeu dictos malefactores indictare minimè auſi fuerunt, & ſunt. Et ad inquirendum de illis qui huiuſmodi munera dederunt, & dant, & quantum, & quibus, & qui huiuſmodi munera receperūt, & à quibus & qualiter & quo modo, & qui huiuſmodi malefactores fouent, nutriunt, & manutenent in comitatu prædicto, & ad ipſos malefactores tam per vos, quàm per vicecomitem noſtrum comitatus prædicti arreſtandos, & priſonæ noſtræ liberandos, & ſaluo, & ſecurè, in eadem, per vicecomitem comitatus prædicti cuſtodiēdos, ita quod ab eadē priſona nullo modo deliberentur, ſine mandato noſtro ſpeciali. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd ad certos diē & locū, quos ad hoc prouideritis, inquiſitiones illas faciatis. Et aſſumpto vobiſcum ſufficiēti poſſe comitatus prædicti, ſi neceſſe fuerit, dictos malefactores coram vobis ſic indictatos, areſtetis, & ipſos priſonæ noſtræ liberetis, in forma prædicta: & etiam omnia bona, & catalla ipſorum malefactorum qui ſe ſubtraxerint, & fugam fecerint, poſtquam de felonijs aliquibus coram vobis ſolemniter indictati fuerint, per vicecomitē comitatus prædicti, in manum noſtram capiatis, & ea ad opus noſtrum ſaluo cuſtodire faciatis, donec aliud inde vobis, præceperimus. Mandamus enim vicecomiti noſtro comitatus prædicti, quod ad certos diem & locū, quos vos prouidere duxeritis, venire faciat, corā vobis tot & tales, tam milites quam alios, quos habere decreueritis, de comitatu illo, tam infra libertates, quàm extra, per quos ipſa veritas melius ſciri poterit, & inquiri. Et quod omnes illos quos per inquiſitionē culpabiles inuenire contigerit, et quos vos eis, ſic liberaueritis, à nobis recipiātur, et quorū nomina eis ſcire faciatis aſſūpto ſecū, ſufficiēti poſſe comitatus prædicti, ſine dilatione arreſtari, & in priſona noſtra ſaluo, & ſecurè cuſtodire faciat in forma prædicta, & communitati dicti comitatus quod ſimul cum vicecomite prædicto, vobis quocienſcunq; opus fuerit in præmiſsis pareat, aſsiſtat, & intendat, prout eis iniungetis ex parte noſtra. In cuius rei teſtimonium. &c.*

Herevnto were annexed certaine articles by way of inſtructions, of what pointes they ſhould enquire, as partly aboue is noted, out of the addition to Mathew Weſt. but not ſo fully, as in the ſaid Chronicle of Abingdon is found expreſſed, and heere for breefeneſſe omitted.

In the 33. yere of his raigne, K. Edward putte his ſon Prince Edward in priſon, bycauſe yͤ hee had riotouſly brokē the parke of Walter Langton B. of Cheſter, and bycauſe the Prince hadde done this dede by the procurement of a lewd and wanton perſon, one Peers Gaueſton, an Eſquire of Gaſcoigne, the K. baniſhed him the Realme, leaſt the prince, who delited much in his company, might by his euil & wanton counſel, fall to euil and naughty rule.

William Walace taken and put to deathe.

Ri. South.

Moreouer, the ſame yere, Wil. Walace was taken, & deliuered vnto K. Edwarde, who cauſed him to be brought to Lōdon, where on S. Bartholmewes euen, hee was conueyed through the ſtreetes vnto Weſtminſter, & there arreigned of his treaſons, & condemned, & therevppon hanged drawen & quartered, his head was ſet ouer Londō bridge, his right ſide ouer the bridge at Newcaſtell vppon Tine, his left ſide was ſent to Berwike, and there ſet vp, his right legge was ſent to S. Johns Towne, and his left vnto Aberden, in which places, the ſame were ſet vp for an example of terror to others.

Nich. Triuet.

Flemings baniſhed the land, at contemplation of the Kyng of Fraunce.

Abingdon.

The Archbyſhop of Caunterbury accuſed by the K.

Nich: Triuet:

He is ſuſpended.

Alſo, about the ſame time, the K. of Fraunce required the K. of Englande by meſſengers and letters ſent vnto him, that he would baniſh al the Flemings out of his Realme, in like manner as at his inſtance he had lately before baniſhed al the Scottiſhmē out of France. The K. of Englande was cōtented ſo to doe, and by that meanes, were all the Flemings auoided out of this lād at yͤ ſeaſon, but ſhortly after, they returned againe. King Edward accuſed Robert Archbiſhop of Canterbury vnto the Pope, for yͤ he ſhould goe aboute to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Realme, & to defende and ſuccour rebellious perſons, wherevppon, the ſaid Archb. beeing cited to the Popes conſiſtory, was ſuſpended from executing his office, till hee ſhoulde purge himſelfe by order of lawe, of ſuche crimes as were laid & obiected againſte him. The K. alſo obteined an abſolution of the Pope, of the othe, which againſt his will he had taken, for the obſeruing of the liberties exacted by force of him, by the Erles and Barons of his Realm, namely, touching diſforreſtings to be made.

An. reg. 34.
1306

John Lorde Comin ſlayne by Roberte Bruce,

The Countes of Boughan ſet the Crowne on Roberte Bruce his head

She is taken.

This yere, Robert Bruce, contriuing wayes how to make himſelf K. of Scotland, the 29. day of Januarie, ſlew yͤ Lord John Comin at Dūfrice, whileſt the Kinges Juſtices were ſitting in iudgemēt within the Caſtell there, and vpon the day of the annunciation of our Lady, cauſed him ſelf to be Crowned K. of Scotlande at Scone, where the Counteſſe of Boughan, that was ſecretely departed from hir huſbande the Earle of Boghan, & had taken with hir, all his greate horſes, was ready to ſet the Crowne vpon the Bruces head, in abſence of hir brother yͤ Erle of Fife, to whom (being then in England) ſoiourning at his manor of Whitwike in Leiceſterſhire, yͤ office of right apperteined. This Counteſſe beyng afterwardes taken the ſame yeare by the Engliſhmen, where other woulde haue had hir put to death, the King woulde not grant therevnto, but commāded, that ſhe ſhuld be put in a cage made

His puniſhment.

of wood, whiche was ſet vppon the walles of the Caſtell of Berwike, that all ſuche as paſſed by, might behold hir. There were preſent at his Coronation four biſhops, fiue Erles, & a great multitude of people of the lande. Immediatly vppon yͤ newes brought to the K. of Bruces coronatiō, he ſente forthe a power of men, vnder the conduit of the Erle of Pembroke, and of the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Robert Clifford and others, to reſiſt the attemptes of the Scottes, now ready to worke ſome miſchiefe, through the encouragement of yͤ new King. Edward Prince of Wales was made knight this yere at Londō, vpō Whitſonday, & a great number of other yong bachelers with him (297. as Abingdon writeth) the whyche were ſent ſtraight wayes with yͤ ſaide Prince towards Scotlād, to ioyne with the Earle of Pēbroke, to reſiſt the attemptes of the new K. Robert le Bruce and his complices. K. Edwarde himſelfe followed. The general aſſemblie of yͤ army was appointed at Carleill, a fifteene dayes after the Natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt, frō thēce to marche forth, vnder the guiding of the Prince into Scotlād.

An army ſent into Scotland.

Prince Edward made Knight.

Thre hundred hath M. Weſt.

Prince Edward ſent into Scotland.

Robert Bruce.

Abingdon.

In the meane time, Roberte le Bruce went abroade in the countreys of Scotlande, receyued the homages of many Scottiſhmenne, and got togither an army of men, with the whiche, he approched neere to S. Johns Towne, into the which the Earle of Pembroke was alitle before entred to defende it, with three hundred menne of armes, beſide footemen. The Bruce ſent vnto the Erle to come out, & giue battell, yͤ Erle ſent vnto him word againe, that he would not fight yͭ day being ſunday, but vpō the next morow, he would ſatiſfie his requeſt. Robert Bruce hereupō withdrew a mile backe frō the towne, determining to reſt himſelfe and his people that night. About euening tide cōmeth the Earle forth of the towne with his people in order of battell, and aſſayling his enimies vpon a ſuddaine, ſlew diuers ere they could get their armour on their backes. Roberte Bruce and others that hadde ſome ſpace to arme thēſelues made ſome reſiſtance for a while, but at length, the Engliſh mē put them to the worſe, ſo that they were conſtreyned to flee. The Earle following yͤ chaſe, purſued thē, euē into Kentire, not reſting, til he vnderſtood that a great number of thē wer gottē into a Caſtel, which he beſieged, in hope to haue found Roberte Bruce within it, but he was fled further into the Cōtrey. Howbeit, his wife & his brother Nigell or Neal, with diuers other, wer takē in this Caſtel, and ſente in ſafetie vnto Berwike. Alſo ſhortly after, the Erle of Atholl was taken, being fledde out of the ſame Caſtel.

It was the next ſunday after Midſomer day.

Robert Bruce put to flight by the Earle of Pembroke.

Robert Bruce fled into Cantir.

His wife and brother are taken.
The Earle of Athol taken.

Fabian.

But ſome write, that this Erle was taken in the battell laſt remembred, after long fight and great ſlaughter of Scottes, to the number of ſeuen M. and alſo that in yͤ chaſe, the Lord Simō de Friſeil was taken, with the biſhops of S. Andrewes & Glaſcow, the Abbot of Scone, and the ſaid Erle of Athoil, named ſir John Chambers. The biſhops and Abbot, K. Edwarde ſente vnto Pope Innocent, with report of their periurie: but other write, that the foreſaide biſhops & Abbot being takē indeede the ſame yere, were brought into Englād, & there kept as priſoners within ſundry Caſtels.

Nic.

Mat.

The wyfe of Roberte le Bruce beeyng daughter to the erle of Vlſter, was ſent vnto the manor of Bruſtwick, & there honorably vſed, hauing a cōuenient nūber of ſeruants appointed to waite on hir. The Erle of Vlſter hir father, in the beginning of theſe laſt warres, ſent vnto K. Edward two of his own ſons to remaine wͭ him, in ſuch wiſe as he ſhuld think cōueniēt to aſſure himſelf of him, yͭ he would attēpt nothing againſt the Engliſh ſubiects. Alſo it was ſaid, yͭ the Lady hirſelf, the ſame day hir huſbād & ſhe ſhould be crowned, ſaid, that ſhe feared they ſhuld proue but as a ſommer K. and Q. ſuch as in Countrey townes yͤ yong folks choſe for ſport to dance about May poles. For theſe cauſes was ſhe yͤ more curteoſly vſed at the Kinges handes, as reaſon no leſſe required.

It ſhuld appeare alſo by Robert Fabian, that the Kyng was preſente himſelfe at this battell: but other affirme, that prince Edward was there as generall, and not his father, and that the battell was foughte at Dunchell vppon the riuer of Tay. But neyther the Scottiſh Chronicles nor Nicholas Triuet, (whome in the hiſtorie of this Kyng Edwarde the firſte, we haue moſt followed) make any mention, that either the King or prince ſhoulde bee at the foreſaide battaile, but that the Erle of Pembroke with Roberte Lorde Clifford, and Henry Lord Percy were ſente before (as ye haue already heard) with an army, by whome as appeareth, this victory was obteyned, at a place called Methfen.

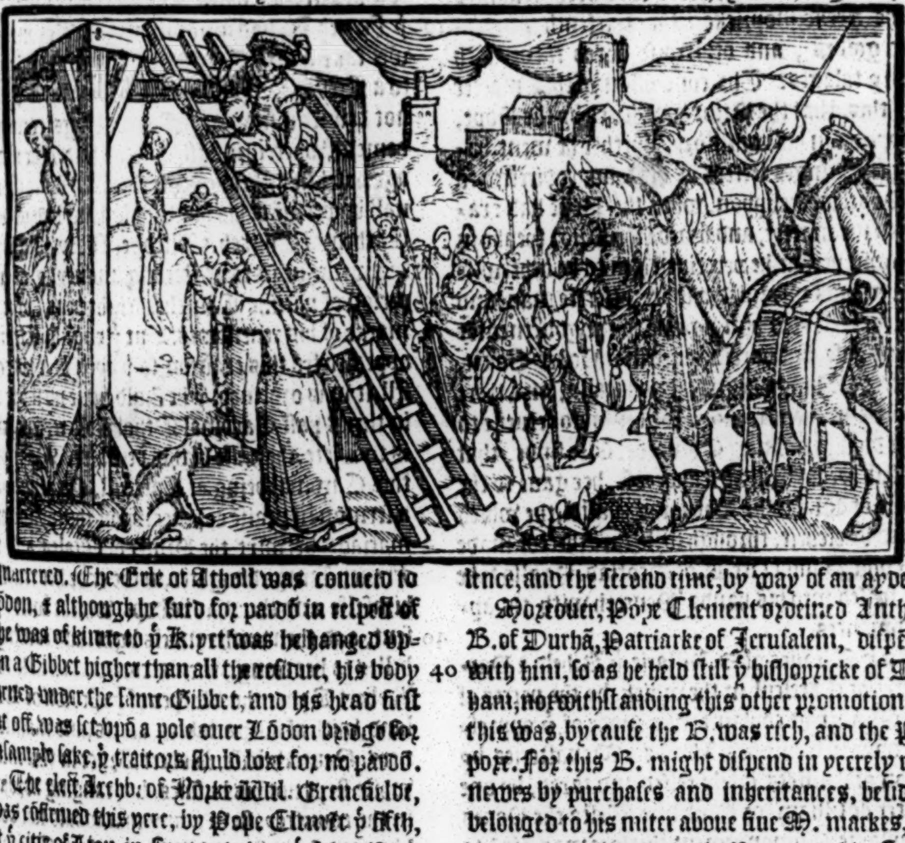
After this, was the Caſtell of Lochdore taken, and within it, Chriſtopher Seiton, that hadde married the ſiſter of Roberte le Bruce: and bycauſe hee was no Scotte but an Engliſhmanne borne, the Kyng commaunded that hee ſhoulde bee leade vnto Dunfriſe, where hee hadde killed one of the Kyngs Knightes, and there to be hanged, drawen and quartered.

The wife of this Chriſtopher Seiton, he appointed to be kept in yͤ Monaſterie of Thixell in Lindſey, and the daughter of Roberte le Bruce, whyche was alſo taken aboute the ſame time, was ſente to the Monaſterie of Waton.

Moreouer, the manor of Seton in Whitebeſtroud, he gaue vnto yͤ Lord Edmōd de Mauley, and thoſe other lands that belonged vnto the ſaid Chriſtopher Selton in Northũberlande, he gaue vnto yͤ Lord Wil. Latimer. The lãds yͤ belõged to the new Scottiſh K. he beſtowed in this wiſe, to Hẽry Bohun Earle of Hereforde, which hadde maried one of K. Edwards daughters, he gaue yͤ Lordſhips of Innãdale, Hert & Hertnes, he gaue vnto yͤ Lord Robert Clifford, ſauing alwayes yͤ right yet that belonged to the Churbh of Durhã, Totenham, and Totenhamſhire: & the maner of Wrothell in yͤ ſouth parts, he gaue to other noble mẽ, and yͤ Erledome of Carrike which yͤ Bruce had holden, as by inheritance frõ his mother, the K. gaue to the Lord Hẽry Percie, the Erledome of Atholl, hee gaue to Rauſe de Monthermer Erle of Glouceſter, who had alſo married as before yee haue heard, an other of the kings daughters, after yͤ deceſſe of hir firſte huſband Gilbert de Clare Erle of Glouceſter. About yͤ feaſt of Saint Michael, the new Scottiſhe K. Robert le Bruce returned forth of yͤ Iles (into yͤ which he had fled) with many Iriſhmẽ and Scottes in his cõpany, & remained a certaine time in Kẽtire, he ſent certaine of his officers, to leuie, & gather vp the rents of yͤ fermes due at yͤ feaſt of S. Martin, for ſuche lands & poſſeſſions as they held in that countrey, whereof the L. Percy being aduertiſed, haſted thither, but yͤ new K. cõming vpon him, ſlewe certaine of his mẽ, toke his horſes & plate, with other things, & droue him into a Caſtel, within yͤ whiche he beſieged him, till at lẽgth, by a power ſente frõ K. Edward, Bruce was cõſtreined to depart. The K. in this meane time was come to Lauercoſt neere vnto Carleil, & there remained a long time. Frõ thence, he ſent his Iuſtices vnto Berwike, where they ſate in iudgement vpon Nigell Bruce, & the other priſoners takẽ with him, which wer cõdẽned to die, & ſo they wer hanged, drawẽ & quartered. The Erle of Atholl was conueid to Lõdon, & although he ſued for pardõ in reſpect yͤ he was of kinne to yͤ K. yet was he hanged vpon a Gibbet higher than all the reſidue, his body burned vnder the ſame Gibbet, and his head firſt cut off, was ſet vpõ a pole ouer Lõdon bridge for enſample ſake, yͤ traitors ſhuld loke for no pardõ.

The Lorde Percy put to flight, by the Scottiſh king Bruce.

Nigell or Neall Bruce condemned and executed.



The elect Archb. of Yorke Wil. Grenefielde, was cõfirmed this yere, by Pope Clement yͤ fifth, at yͤ citie of Lion in France, where yͤ ſame Pope was crowned about the ſame time, and held hys court there, liuing chiefly of the money which he got of biſhops that came to him for their cõfirmatiõs: he had of yͤ ſaid Archb. of Yorke within one yere, nine M. and fiue C. markes, beſides the expences which he was at whileſt he lay there, and ſo whẽ this Archb. was returned into England, through pouerty, he was driuen to gather money of the perſons, prieſtes, and religious men within his prouince at two ſundry times in one yere, as firſt, in name of a courteſie and gracious beneuolence, and the ſecond time, by way of an ayde.

Moreouer, Pope Clement ordeined Anthony B. of Durhã, Patriarke of Ieruſalem, diſpẽſing with him, ſo as he held ſtill yͤ biſhopricke of Durham, notwithſtanding this other promotion, and this was, bycauſe the B. was rich, and the Pope poore. For this B. might diſpend in yeerely reuenewes by purchaſes and inheritances, beſides yͤ belonged to his miter aboue fiue M. markes, & he gaue great rewards to the Pope, & to his Cardinals, by meanes whereof, hee obteined in ſute againſt yͤ Prior of Durham, ſo yͤ hee had yͤ charge & ouerſight of the Monaſterie of Durham, both yͤ ſpirituall gouernemẽt & temporall, through enforming yͤ Pope, that the Prior was not able in diſcretion to rule the houſe. At his returning home, he cauſed a Croſſe of ſiluer and gilt, adorned with an Image of the Crucifex, to bee borne afore him. But where hee appointed certayn perſons as his deputies to enter into the Priorie of Durham, and to take charge thereof, in place

The great reuenewes of Anthony B. of Durham.

He is kept out of the Abbey at Durham.

He is ſummoned to appere before the K. and refuſeth.

The concluſion of the ſtrife betwixt the Biſhop and Monks of Durham.

Bernards Caſtel giuen to the Earle of Warwike.

of the Prior, the Monkes ſhutte the gates againſt them, appealing to the Pope, and pretending the Kyngs protection which they had purchaſed. But thoſe that thus came in the Biſhops name, accuſed the Monkes, and ſo departed. The King herewith was highly offended, ſo that hee cauſed them to aunſwere the matter, afore the Iuſtices of his benche, and for theyr preſumption in pronouncing the curſe, withoute makyng the Kyng priuie to their doings, they were putte to their fines. And whereas the Byſhoppe was ſummoned to appeare before the King in perſon at a certayne day, hee made defaulte, and departing out of the Realme, gote backe agayne to the Pope, contrary to the Kyngs prohibition: wherevppon, the liberties of the Sea of Durham were ſeaſed into the Kinges handes, and the K. placed his Iuſtices and Chauncellor there, and in the yeare nexte enſuing, hee exacted of the tenantes of the Archbiſhopricke, the thirtenth peny of their goodes, and otherwiſe vexed them with ſundry talages. The concluſion of this matter was this, that the Prior was cited by the Pope, to appeare in his conſiſtory, whether he went, hauing the Kinges letters in his fauoure directed to the Pope, wherevppon, when the Pope had examined the matter, and hearde the Prior ſpeake in his owne perſon, he perceiued him to be otherwiſe than he was enformed (a ſober diſcrete man) and therefore reſtored him againe to the gouernemēt of his houſe, but he remayned in yͤ Popes Court, til after the kings deathe, and finally, died there himſelfe, in the yere. 1307. But now to returne to other doings of King Edwarde. We finde, that whileſt hee lay ſtill at Lauercoſt, hee gaue to the Earle of Warwike Bernards Caſtel, the which he had by eſcheit, through forfeiture thereof made by Iohn Balliol late K. of Scotlād. He alſo toke and ſeaſed into his hands Penreth with the appurtenances.

An. reg. 35.
1307

A Parliament at Carleill.

William Teſta the Popes Chaplayne, inhibited to leuie money.

Abingdon.

In yͤ Octaues of S. Hillarie, yͤ K. held a Parliamēt at Carleill, in the which, by the peeres of yͤ Realm, great cōplaint was made of yͤ oppreſſiōs done to Churches, Abbeys & Monaſteries, by reaſon of paimēts lately reiſed and taxed, by one maſter William, or Guilelmo Teſta the Popes Chaplaine. Cōmandement therfore was giuē to yͤ ſame Chaplain, yͭ from thēceforth he ſhuld not leuy any ſuch paimēts, & for further remedy, meſſengers were made forth vnto yͤ Pope, to declare vnto him yͤ incōueniēce therof. This Teſta was ſent frō Pope Clemēt into Englād with bulles, in yͤ contents whereof it appeared, that the Pope had reſerued to himſelf yͤ firſt frutes of one yeares reuenewes of euery benefice that fell void by anye maner of meanes within yͤ Realme of England, Scotland, Wales, and Irelād, and likewiſe of al Abbeys, Priories, & Monaſteries. But the King and lords of yͤ land, thought it againſt reaſon, yͭ the Pope ſhould take & receiue yͤ profites of thoſe Abbeys & Monaſteries; which had bin foūded by their predeceſſors, for the ſeruice of God, and the maintenance of almes deedes, & good hoſpitalitie to be kept: & ſo yͤ Pope changed his purpoſe, touching Abbeys, but graunting to the K. the tenth of the Engliſh Church for two yeres, he obteined the firſt frutes of yͤ ſame Churches for himſelf, as before he required. In yͤ ſame Parliament, were ſtatutes made concerning Religious mē, which had their head houſes in forraigne regions. There came alſo at yͤ ſame time, a Cardinal frō yͤ Pope, named Petrus Hiſpanus, to procure yͤ conſummatiō of yͤ mariage, betwixt yͤ prince of Wales, & the Frēch kings daughter: for yͤ ſame was delayed, by reaſon yͭ al couenants were not kept on yͤ French kings behalf touching yͤ deliuerie of the townes in Gaſcoigne. For wheras in times paſt, yͤ French K. had giuē one of thoſe Townes that wer takē frō the Engliſhmē named Mauleō, vnto a French knight, he kept yͤ ſame ſtil, & woulde not deliuer it now at yͤ French kings commaūdement, wherethrough (as was ſaide) the marriage had bin hitherto deferred. The ſame Cardinall by vertue of his bul, would haue had of euery Cathedral Church, Colledge, Abbey, and Priory, twelue markes of ſterling money, & of euery perſon of pariſhe Churches eight pens, of euery marke of his reuenewes. But yͤ engliſh Cleargie appealed frō this exactiō, ſo yͭ by yͤ K. & his coūſell, it was ordeined, yͭ he ſhuld haue no more thā in times paſt Cardinal Othobō did receiue, that is to witte, the halfe of this demand. Moreouer, this Cardinal being at Carleill, & hauing made a ſermon in praiſe of peace, vpon the cōcluſion of mariage betwixt the Prince of Wales and the French Kings daughter, in the ende hee reueſted himſelfe and the other biſhops whiche were preſent, and then with candels light, and cauſing yͤ belles to bee rong, they accurſed in terrible wiſe Robert Bruce the vſurper of yͤ Crown of Scotland, with al his partakers, aiders, and mainteyners. Neuertheleſſe, Robert Bruce in this mean while ſlept not his buſines, but ranging abroade in the countrey, ſlew many that would not obey him, and ſente forth his two brethren, Thomas that was a Knighte, and Alexander that was a Prieſt, with part of his army into an other quarter of the countrey, to allure the people vnto hys obedience, partly with gentleneſſe, and partly with menaces. But the Engliſhmen came vpon them in the night, and toke them bothe, ſo that being brought afore the Iuſtices, they were condemned, and thereupon hanged, drawen & quartered. Some write, that Duncan Magdoil, a mā of great power in Galloway, toke theſe two brethrē priſoners, togither wͭ Reginald Crawforde on the ninth day of February, as they with certayne other captaines & men of warre came by ſea, & landed in his countrey, vpon whome, beyng ſeuen C. mẽ, he with three C. or few aboue that number boldly gaue the onſet, and not only tooke the ſaid three perſons priſoners, ſore wounded as they were, with diuers other, but alſo ſlew Malcolme Makaile a Lord of Cantir, and two Iriſh lords, whoſe heads, and the foreſaid priſoners, he preſẽted vnto K. Edward, who cauſed Thomas Bruce to be hãged drawen and quartered, but ẏ other two were onely hanged, and quartered at Carleil, where their heads were ſet vp aloft on ẏ Caſtell and gates of ẏ Citie. After Eaſter, their brother Robert Bruce, calling himſelfe Kyng of Scotlãd, & hauing now augmented his army wᵗ many ſouldiers of ẏ out Iles, fought with ẏ Erle of Pembroke, & put him to flight, & ſlewe ſome of his men, though not many. Within a few dayes after, he chaſed alſo the Erle of Glouceſter, into ẏ caſtel of Aire, & beſieged him within ẏ ſame, til an army was ſent frõ K. Edward, to the reſkue: for then the ſaid Robert was cõſtreined to flee, & the Engliſhmẽ followed, till he got into the wods & mariſhes, wher they might come nere him without manifeſt danger, to caſt thẽſelues away. The K. of Englãd, minding to make a full cõqueſt of ẏ Scots, & not to leaue off, vntill he had wholly ſubdued thẽ, ſent his cõmiſſions into Englande, cõmanding al thoſe that ought him ſeruice, to be redy at Carleil, within three weekes after Midſomer. He ſent his ſon Edward into England, ẏ vpõ knowledge had what the French K. did touching ẏ agreemẽt, he might accordingly proceede in ẏ mariage to be made with his daughter. After the prince was departed frõ the campe, his father K. Edward was takẽ with a ſore ſicknes, yet he remoued frõ Carleil, wher the ſame ſicknes firſt tooke him, vnto Bourrough vpõ Sand, and there the day after, being the ſeuẽth day of Iuly, he ended his life, after hee had raigned 34. yeres. 6. moneths & 11. days. He liued 68. yeres & 20. days: his body was cõueyed vnto Londõ, and in ẏ church of Weſtminſter lieth buried. He had iſſue by hys firſte wife Q. Eleanor, 4. ſonnes, Iohn, Henry, Alfonſe & Edward, which Edward ſucceded him ẏ other died lõg before their father. Alſo 5. daughters, Eleanor, Ioan, Margaret & Elizabeth, wer beſtowed in mariage as before in this booke is expreſſed. The 5. named Mary, became a Nonne. By his ſeconde wife Q. Margaret, hee had two ſonnes, Thomas of Brotherton, and Edmõd of Wodſtock, with one daughter named Margaret after hir mother. Hee was tall of ſtature, ſomewhat blacke of colour, ſtrong of body, and leane, auoiding groſſeneſſe, with continuall exerciſe, of comely fauor, and gettie eyes, the which when he wared angrie, would ſuddainely become reddiſh, and ſenie, as though they ſparkled with fire. The heare of his head was black & curled, he cõtinued for the moſt part in good health of body, and was of a ſtoute ſtomacke, whiche neuer failed him in time of aduerſitie. Moreouer, he had an excellente good wit, for to what ſoeuer he applied his ſtudy, he eaſily atteined to ẏ vnderſtãding thereof: wiſe he was & vertuous, an earneſt enimie of the high & preſumptuous inſolencie of Prieſtes, the which he iudged to proceede chiefly of too muche wealth and riches: and therefore, hee deuiſed to eſtabliſh the ſtatute of Mortmaine, to be a bridle to their inordinate luſtes & riotous exceſſe. He built ẏ Abbey of the Uale royall in Cheſhire, he was a conſtãt friend, but if hee once tooke diſpleaſure or hatred againſt any perſon, he woulde not eaſily receiue him into fauour again: whileſt he had anye vacant time frõ waighty affaires, he ſpent lightly the ſame in hunting. Towards ẏ maintenãce of his warres and other charges, beſide the ſubſedies which he leuied of his people and other reuenewes cõming to his cofers, he had great help, by reaſon of the ſiluer mines which in his days were found in Deuonſhire, and occupied greatly to his profite, as in ẏ records remaining in the Exchequer, concerning the accomptes and allowances about the ſame, it doth, and may appeare. For in the accompt of maſter Wil. de Wimondham, it is recorded, that betwixte the twelfth day of Auguſt, and ẏ laſt of October, in the 22. yere of thys K. Edwards raigne, there was tried & fyned out at Martinſtow in Deuonſhire by times, ſo much of fined ſiluer, as amounted to the ſumme of 370. poũd weight, ẏ which being brought to London, was there refined by certaine finers, that plate might bee forged and made thereof, for the Lady Eleanor Duches of Bar, and daughter to ẏ ſaid K. married in ẏ yere then laſt paſt, to the Duke of Bar, as before ye haue heard.

His qualitie of mynde.

He miſlyked the pride of prelates.

Syluermynes.

The ſame VVymondham alſo receyued 82. poundes for. 36. fouders of lead out of the which the ſiluer was tryed, as appereth by his accompts.

In the 23. yeare of his raigne, there was fined at the place aforeſaide 521. ℔. and ten ß. weight of ſiluer by times, whiche was alſo broughte to London. In ẏ 24. yere of his raigne, ther wer taken vp 337. miners, within the wapentake of the Peake in Derbiſhire, & brought into Deuõſhire, to worke there in thoſe ſiluer mines, as appeareth by ẏ allowãce demanded by ẏ ſaid maſter Wil. de Wimondhã in his rolle of accomptes, deliuered ẏ yere into ẏ Exchequer: & there was brought frõ thẽce to Londõ ẏ ſame yere of ſiluer fined and caſt in wedges 700. four pound three ß. one peny weight. In ẏ 25. yere of his raigne, ther were three C. and 84. miners brought again out of the peake into Deuonſhire, and out of Wales there were brought alſo 25. miners, which all were occupyed about thoſe ſiluer mines, beſide others of the ſelfe countrey of Deuonſhire, and other places.

Betwixt the x. day of Iuly, & the. xx. day of October the ſame yeare.

Alſo, Wil. de Iulton clearke, keper of ẏ kings mines in Deuonſhire & Cornewall, was accõptant of ẏ iſſues and profites of the Kings mines, there, from the fourth of March, Anno 26. of hys raigne, vntill the eighteenth of Aprill Anno 27. and yeelded vp his accompt, both of the ſiluer and leade. But now to cõclude with this noble prince K. Edward the firſt, he was ſure not only valiãt, but alſo politike, labouring to bring this deuided Iſle, into one entier Monarchie, which he wente very neere to haue atchieued: for whereas he was fully bente to make a conqueſt of Scotlande, in like caſe as hee had already done of Wales, if hee had liued any lõger time to haue diſpatched Robert le Bruce, that only ſtoode in his way, it was very likely that he ſhould haue found none other to haue reyſed banner agaynſte hym aboute the quarrell or title to the clayme of that Realme. For as hee was a righte warlike Prince of hymſelfe, ſo was hee furniſhed with Captaynes and Souldiers aunſwerable to his deſire, who beyng able to leade and commaunde them of hym ſelfe, hadde them at length obedient ynough to ſerue him, although (as partly yee haue hearde,) ſome of the peeres ſhewed themſelues at tymes diſobedient and ſtubborne, whome yet in the ende, hee tamed well ynough, as the Earles of Hereforde and Northfolke, the whiche in the thirtith yeare of hys raigne, reſigned their Caſtels and manors into his hands, as by the recordes of the Tower it further may appeare.

Nowe to followe as in other Kinges I haue done heretofore for learned men: theſe I finde to haue flouriſhed in this Kinges dayes, Henry de Henna, a Carmelite Frier: Goodwine, the chantor of the Church of Saliſburie: Adam de Mariſco or Mareis, borne in Sommerſetſhire, an excellente Deuine as hee was reputed in thoſe dayes: Gregory Huntingtõ, a Monke of Rameſey, very experte in the tongs: Seuall Archbiſhop of Yorke, a man ſingularly learned and ſtout, in defending the cauſe of his Cleargie againſte the Pope: Haymo de Feuerſham: Peter Swanington: Helias Trickingham: Helias de Eueſham: Radulfe Bocking, borne in Suſſex: Alphred ſurnamed Anglicus, James Ciſtercienſis, William of Ware: Robert Oxford: Thomas Docking: John ſurnamed Grammaticus: Robert Dodeforde: but the more part of theſe are rather to bee aſcribed vnto the tyme of Henry the thirde, the father of this Kyng Edwarde, where theſe that followe, are thoughte to flouriſhe in the tyme of Kyng Edwardes raigne, after the deceſſe of hys father Kyng Henry: Thomas Spotte, a Chronographier: Peter de Ickeham a Kentiſhman borne as Bale thinketh: John Beckton, a doctor of both the lawes: William Hanaberg a Carmelite Frier, prouinciall gouernoure of his order heere in Englande: Robert Kilwarby, Byſhop of Caunterburye, and after made a Cardinall, and Biſhop of Portua: Gilbert ſurnamed Magnus, a Monke of the Ciſteaux order: Helias Ros: Walter Recluſe: Hugh de Eueſham: John Euerſden, a writer of Annales, whome I haue partly followed in thys Kyngs life: William Pagham: Henry Eſſeborne: John de Hayda: Roger Bacon, a Franciſcane Frier, an excellent Philoſopher, and lykewiſe, a Mathematicien: John Derlingon, a Dominike Frier: John Chelmeſton: Thomas Borſtale, a Northfolke man borne: Gregorie Cairugent, a Monke of Glouceſter, a writer of annales: Gregorie de Bredlington: Thomas Bungey, a Frier Minor, borne in Northfolke, an excellente Mathematicien, prouinciall ruler of hys order heere in Englande, hee flouriſhed in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde the firſt, although there were another of the ſame name that liued in the time of Kyng Edward the thirde: Hugh de Mancheſter a Dominike Frier, and prouinciall gouernour of hys order heere in Englande: Richarde Knapwell a Dominike Frier: John Peckham, borne in the dioceſſe of Chicheſter, a Franciſcane Frier, excellẽtly learned, as by his workes it appeereth, he was aduaunced by Pope Honorius the third, to the Archbiſhops ſee of Canterbury: Thomas de Jiley, a Suffolke man borne, and a white or Carmelike Frier in the houſe of Gippeſwiche: Michaell ſurnamed Scotte, but borne in the Biſhopricke of Durham, as Leland hath, an excellent Phiſition, and likewiſe very expert in the Mathematicals: Hugh de Newcaſtell a Frier Minor, profeſſed in the ſame Towne: Thomas Sutton a blacke Frier, that is of the order of S. Dominicke: John Reade, an Hiſtoriographer: William de la Mare a Frier Minor: Thomas Wicke, a Chanon of Oſney in Oxforde: Simon de Gaunt: Wiliam Hothun, prouinciall of the Frier Dominikes in England: John de Hide a Monke of Wincheſter: Roberte Crouche, a cordelier, or a Franciſcane Frier: Richarde Middelton, a Frier Minor, Thomas Spirman a blacke Frier: William Lidlington, a doctor of Diuinitie, and a Carmelike Frier in Stanford: John Fiberie or Beuer, a Monke of Weſtminſter: William Makeleſfield borne in Cheſhire, in a market Towne, whereof he beareth the name, a blacke Frier by profeſſion, and an excellente Philoſopher.

EDward, the ſecond of that name, the ſon of Edward ẏ firſt, borne at Carnaruã in Wales, begã his raigne ouer Englãd ẏ ſeuenth day of July, in the yeare of our Lord. 1307. of the worlde 5[illegible]7. of the comming of ẏ Saxons 847. after the Cõqueſt 241. about the tenth yere of Albert Emperor of Rome, & the 22. of ẏ fourth Philip, ſurnamed le Beau, as then K. of Frãce, and in the third yere after ẏ Robert le Bruce had taken vpõ him the Crown & gouernement of Scotlãd, as Wil. Harriſon doth witneſſe in his Chronologie, whõ I follow in this accõpt of the yeres of ẏ worlde. His fathers corpſe was conueyed frõ Burgh vpõ Sands, vnto the Abbey of Waltham, there to remayn til things were ready for the buriall which was appoynted at Weſtminſter: & within three days after, when the Lord Treaſorer Walter de Langton Biſhop of Couentrie & Lichfielde (through whoſe complaint, Peers de Gauaſton had bin baniſhed the lãd) was going towards Weſtminſter, to make preparation for the ſame buriall, he was vpon commandement from the newe King arreſted, committed to priſon, and after, deliuered to the handes of the ſayde Peers, beeing then returned agayne into the Realme, who ſente hym from Caſtell to Caſtell as a priſoner. Hys landes and tenementes were ſeyſed to the Kyngs vſe, but his mouables were giuen to the forſayde Peers. Walter Reignalde that had bin the Kyngs tutor in his childhood, was then made Lord treaſorer, and after whẽ the Sea of Worceter was voyde, at the Kinges inſtance he was by the Pope to that Biſhopricke preferred. Alſo, Raufe Biſhop of London was depoſed from the office of Lord Chauncellour, and John Langton Biſhop of Chicheſter was thereto reſtored. Likewiſe, the Barons of the Exchequer were remoued, and other put in their places. And Amiere de Valence Earle of Pembroke, was diſcharged of the Wardenſhip of Scotlande, and John de Britaigne placed in that office, whome he alſo made Earle of Richmont. But nowe concerning the demeanor of this newe K. whoſe diſordered maners brought himſelfe and many others vnto deſtructiõ. We finde, that in ẏ beginning of his gouernement though he was of nature giuen to lightnes, yet being reſtrained with the prudent aduertiſemẽts of certain of his Counſellors, to ẏ end he might ſhew ſome likelihood of good profe, he cõterfeited a kind of grauitie, vertue & modeſtie, but yet he could not throughly be ſo bridled, but that forthwith he began to play diuers wanton & light partes, at the firſt indeede, not outragiouſly, but by little and little, and that couertly, for hauing reuoked again into England, his olde mate, ẏ ſaid Peers de Gaueſton, he receiued him into moſt high fauoure, creating hym Earle of Cornewall, and Lord of Man, his principall ſecretarie, and Lord Chamberlaine of the Realm, through whoſe company & ſocietie hee was ſuddainely ſo corrupted, that he burſt out into moſt hainous vices, for then vſing the ſaid Peers as a procurer of his diſordred doings, he begã to haue his nobles in no regarde, to ſet nothing by theyr inſtructions, and to take ſmall heede vnto ẏ good gouernemẽt of ẏ cõmon wealth, ſo that within a while, he gaue himſelf to wãtonnes, paſſing hys time in voluptuous pleaſure, & riotous exceſſe, & to help thẽ forward in that kinde of life, ẏ foreſaid Peers, who (as it may bee thought, he hadde ſworne to make the K. to forget himſelf, and the ſtate, to the whiche hee was called) furniſhed hys court with cõpanies of Jeſters, ruffiãs, flattering paraſites, muſitions, and other vile and naughty ribaulds, ẏ the K. might ſpend both dais & nights in ieſting, playing, banqueting, & in ſuch other filthy & diſhonorable exerciſes: and moreouer, deſirous to aduance thoſe that were like to himſelfe, he procured for them honorable offices.

Polidor.

Peers de Gauaſton.

The yeare next enſuing, the Ile of Man was taken by Robert Bruce.

About ẏ 12. day of October, a Parliamẽt was holdẽ at Northamptõ, in the which it was ordeined by the kings appointmẽt, that ẏ coine of hys father K. Edward ſhould be ſtil currãt, notwithſtãding the baſeneſſe thereof, as ſome reputed it, & therfore it was moued in ẏ Parliament to haue it diſanulled. Alſo, order was taken for the burial of his fathers corpſe, which was ſolemnely conueyed frõ Waltam, and broughte to Weſtminſter ẏ 27. day of October folowing, wher wt al funeral pomp it was enterred. Moreouer, at ẏ ſame Parliament, a marriage was concluded betwixt ẏ Earle of Cornwall Peers de Gaueſton, & the daughter of Gilbert de Clare Erle of Glouceſter, which he had by his wife the Counteſſe Joane de Acres ẏ kings ſiſter, which marriage was ſolẽniſed on all hallowen day next enſuing. About the 22. of Januarie, the K. ſailed ouer into France, & at Bulleigne in Picardie on ẏ 24. day of Januarie, he did homage to ẏ Frẽch K. for his lands of Gaſcoigne & Pontiew, & on ẏ morrow after, maried Iſabell ẏ Frẽch kings daughter, & on ẏ 7. of February, he returned with hir into England, & cõming to London, was ioyfully receiued of the

A Parliament at Northampton.

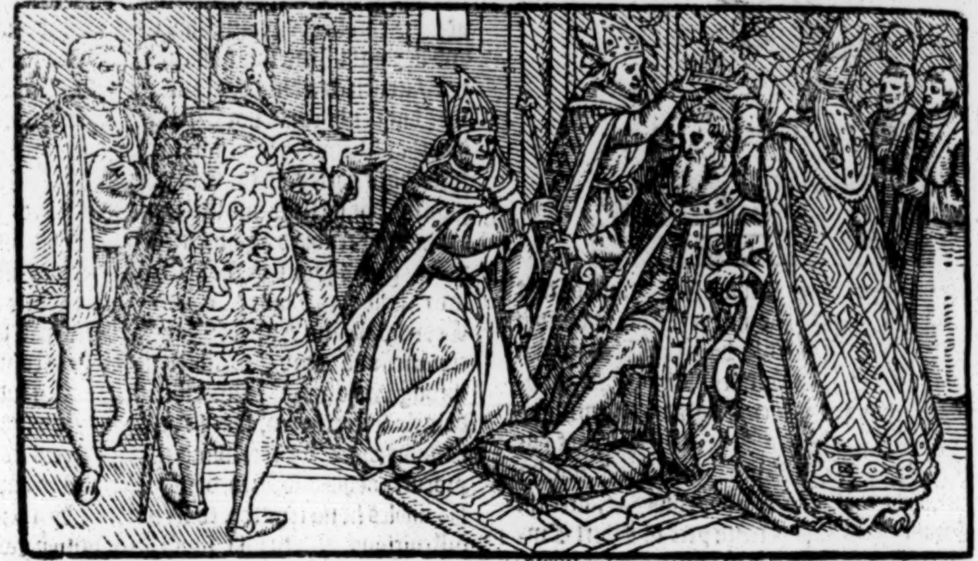
Peeres de Gauaſton maried.

The K. paſſeth ouer into Fraunce.

1308

He was maried the 28. of Februarie, as Tho. de la More witneth.

Citizens, and on the fiue and twentith day of February, beyng Shroue ſunday in the leape yeare, they were ſolemnely Crowned by the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, bycauſe that Robert the Archbyſhop of Canterbury was not as then within the Realme.



Tho. VValſ.

Sir Iohn Bakewell ſmothred and thruſt to death.

There was ſuch preaſe and throng of people at this Coronation, that a Knighte called Sir Iohn Bakewell, *alias* Blackwell, was thruſt to death.

Continuation of Ni. Triuet,

On the daye of the circumciſion this yeare, a great tempeſt of thunder and lightning beganne about euenſong time, that cõtinued the moſt part of the night following.

The order taken, for the apprehenſion of the tẽplers.

On Wedneſday after the Epiphany, the Knightes templers in England were apprehended all in one day by the kings commaundement, vpon ſuſpition of haynous crimes and great enormities by them practiſed, cõtrary to the articles of the Chriſtian fayth. The order of their apprehenſion was on this wiſe, the King directed hys writtes vnto al and euery the Sherifes of Counties within yͤ Realm, yͭ they ſhuld giue ſummonance to a certayne number of ſubſtanciall perſons Knightes or other men of good accompt, to be afore them at certayne places within their gouernementes, named in the ſame writtes, on the ſunday the morrowe after the Epiphanie then nexte enſuing, and that the ſayde Sherifes fayle not to be there the ſame daye in their owne perſons, to execute that whiche in other writtes to them directed, and after to be ſent, ſhould be conteyned. The date of this writte was the fiftenth of December.

The ſecond writ was ſent by certaine Chaplaynes, in whiche the Sherifes were commaunded vppon the opening of the ſame, forthwith to receyue an othe in preſence of the ſayde Chaplaynes, to put in execution all that was therein conteyned, and not to diſcloſe the contents to any man, till they had executed the ſame with all expedition, and therewith to take the like othe of thoſe perſons, whome by vertue of yͤ firſt writte, they had ſummoned to appeare afore them. An other writte there was alſo framed and ſente by the ſame Chaplaines, by the which, the ſaid Sherifes wer cõmanded to attach by their bodies, al yͤ templers within yͤ precinct of their gouernemẽts, & to ſeiſe al their lands and goodes into the Kings hãds, togither with their writings, charters, dedes and miniments, & to make thereof a true Inuentorie & Indenture, in preſence of the warden of yͤ place, whether he were brother of that order, or any other, in preſence of honeſt men being neyghbors, of which Indẽture, one part to remain in yͤ cuſtody of the ſayd Warden, & the other with the Sherife, vnder his ſeale that ſhould ſo make ſeaſure of the ſayd goodes: and further, that the ſayde goodes and chatels ſhould be put in ſafe cuſtody, and that the quicke goodes and cattaile, ſhould be kept and found of the premiſſes as ſhoulde ſeeme moſt expediente, and that their landes and poſſeſſiõs ſhould be manured and tilled to yͤ moſt cõmoditie.

Further, that the perſons of the ſayde Templers being attached in manner as before is ſaid, ſhoulde bee ſafely kepte in ſome competent place out of theyr owne houſes, but not in ſtraight priſon, but in ſuch order, as the Sherifes might bee ſure of them to bring them foorth when he ſhould be cõmaunded, to be found in yͤ meane time according to their eſtate of their owne goodes ſo ſeiſed, and hereof, to make a true certificate vnto yͤ treaſorer & Barõs of yͤ eſchecker, what they had done cõcerning yͤ premiſſes, declaring how many of yͤ ſaid tẽplers they had atached, wͭ their names, and what lands and goodes they had ſeaſed, by vertue of this precept: the date of theſe two laſt writtes was from Biſſet the. xx. of December, and the returne thereof to be made vnto the Exchequer, was the morrow after the Purification. There were writtes alſo directed into Irelande, as wee haue there made mẽtion, and likewiſe vnto John de Brytaine Earle of Richmonde, Lorde Warden of Scotlande, and to Euſtace de Coteſbache Chamberlaine of Scotlande, to Walter de Pederton Juſtice of weſt Wales, and to Hugh Aldighle *alias* Audley Juſtice of north Wales, to Robert Hollande Juſtice of Cheſter, vnder like fourme and maner as in Irelande wee haue expreſſed.

The malice whiche the Lordes had conceyued agaynſt the Earle of Cornewal ſtill encreaſed, the more in deede through the high bearing of him, being now aduaunced to honour. For being a goodly gentleman and a ſtoute, he woulde not once yeelde an ynche to any of them, which worthily procured him great enuie amongſt the chiefeſt Peeres of all the realme, as ſir Henrie Lacie Earle of Lyncolne, ſir Guy Earle of Warwike, and ſir Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembroke, the Earles of Glouceſter, Herefordc, Aruncell, and others, which vpon ſuch wrath and diſpleaſure as they had conceyued againſt him, thought it not conuenient to ſuffer the ſame any longer, in hope that the kings minde might happely bee altered into a better purpoſe, being not altogither conuerted into a venemous diſpoſition, but ſo that it might be cured, if the corrupter therof were once baniſhed from him.

Herevpon they aſſemble togither in the Parliament time, at the new Temple, on Saterday next before the feaſt of Saint Dunſtan, and there ordeyned that the ſayde Pierce ſhoulde abiure the realme and depart the ſame on the morrow after the Natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt at the furtheſt, and not to returne into the ſame againe at any tyme then after to come.

To this ordinance, the king (although againſt his will) bycauſe he ſawe himſelfe and Realme in daunger, gaue his conſent, and made his letters Patents to the ſayde Earles and Lordes, to witneſſe the ſame. The tenour of which letters here enſueth.

Notum vobis facimus per præſentes, quòd amodo vſq; ad diem dominus Petrus de Gaueſton regnum noſtrum eſt abiuratus & exiturus, videlicet in craſtino Natiuitatis Sancti Iohannis Baptiſtæ proximo ſequenti: Nos in quantum nobis eſt nihil faciemus, nec aliquid fieri permittemus, per quod exilium dicti domini Petri in aliquo poterit impediri, vel protelari, quin ſecundum formã à prælatis, comitibus, & baronibus regni noſtri, ordinatam, & per nos libero conſenſu confirmatam, plenariè perficiatur. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Datum apud VVeſtm. xviij. die Maij. Anno regni noſtri primo.

These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the preſence of all the Noble men of this lande, the day and yeare aboueſayd.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie being lately returned from Rome, where he had remayned in exile in the late deceaſſed kings dayes for a certaine time, did pronounce the ſayd Pierce accurſed, if he taried within the Realme longer than the appoynted tyme, and likewiſe all thoſe that ſhoulde ayde, helpe, or mainteyne him, and lykewiſe if he ſhoulde at any time hereafter returne againe into the lande.

An. Reg.2.
The Earle of Cornwal baniſhed the Realme.

To conclude, this matter was ſo followed, that at length he was conſtrayned to withdrawe himſelfe to Briſtow, and ſo by ſea as a baniſhed man to ſaile into Ireland.

The kings fauor towardes the Earle of Cornewall.

Polidor.
Fabian.
The Earle of Cornwal deputie of Ireland.
Hen Marle.

The king being ſore offended herewith, as he that fauored the Erle more than that he could be without his companie, threatned the Lordes to be reuenged for this diſpleaſure, and ceaſſed not to ſende into Irelande vnto Pierce, comforting him both with friendly meſſages, and rich preſentes, and as it were to ſhewe that hee ment to reteyne him ſtill in his fauour, he made him ruler of Irelande as his deputie there. The Lordes perceyuing the kings affectiõ, and that the treaſure was ſpent as lauiſhly as before, thought with themſelues that it might be that the king woulde both amende his paſſed trade of life, and that Pierce being reſtored home, woulde rather aduiſe hym thereto, than follow his olde maners, conſidering that it might be well perceyued, that if he continued in the encouraging of the king to lewdneſſe, as in tymes paſt he had done, he could not thinke but that the Lordes woulde bee readie to correct him, as by proufe he had nowe tryed their meanings to be no leſſe.

1309
An.reg.3.
Hen. Marle.

Herevpon to retaine amitie, as was thought on both ſydes, Pierce by conſent of the Lordes was reſtored home againe (the king meeting him at Cheſter) to his great comfort and reioyſing for the time, although the malice of the Lordes was ſuch, that ſuch ioy laſted not long.

1310
An.reg.4.
The addition to Triuet.

In the fourth yeare of king Edwarde was a Councell holden at London agaynſt the Templers, the which Councell endured frõ the beginning of May, till June. In this councell they confeſſed the fame, but not the fact of the crymes layde to theyr charge, except two or three ribalds that were amongſt them: but bycauſe they could not cleare themſelues, they were adiudged to perpetuall penance within certaine Monaſteries.

The Earle of Cornwal placed in Bamborugh caſtel.

The king this yeare fearing the enuie of the Lordes agaynſt Pierce de Gaueſton, placed him for his more ſafetie in Bambourgh Caſtell, bearing the Prelates and Lordes in hande, that hee had committed him there to priſon for theyr pleaſures.

This yeare alſo there were ordinaunces made for the ſtate and gouernment of the Realme, by the Prelates, Earles and Barons, which were confirmed with the ſentence of excommunication agaynſt all them that ſhould goe about to breake the ſame. The king neither allowed of them, nor obſerued them, although he had confirmed them with his ſeale, and ſent them to all Cathedrall Churches and Counties, to be regiſtred in perpetuall memorie thereof.

Polidor.

The king in deede was lewdly ledde, for after that the Earle of Cornewall was returned into Englande, he ſhewed himſelfe no chaungeling (as writers do affirme,) but through ſupport of the kings fauour, bare himſelfe ſo high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he ſeemed to diſdaine all the Peeres and Barons of the realme. Alſo after the olde ſort he prouoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanor, and hauing the cuſtodie of the kings Jewels and treaſure, he tooke out of the Jewelhouſe a table, and a paire of treſtels of golde, which he deliuered vnto a marchant called Aymerie de Friſcobalde, commaunding him to conuey them ouer the Sea into Gaſcoigne. Thys table was iudged of the common people, to belong ſometime vnto king Arthure, and therefore men grudged the more that the ſame ſhoulde thus be ſent oute of the Realme.

Caxton.

1311

Rich. South.

An. reg. 5.

Berwike fortified.

The king entred into Scotlande.

The king this yeare rayſed a great power to goe into Scotlande. And about the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our ladie, hauing with him Piers de Gaueſton Earle of Cornwall, and the Earles of Glouceſter and Warren, he came to Berwike which town he cauſed to be fortified with a ſtrōg wall, and a mightie deepe ditch, and although the other Earles woulde not come to ſerue him in that voyage, by reaſon of a newe variaunce riſen amongeſt them, yet hee marcheth forth into Scotland to ſeke his aduerſary Robert le Bruce: but Robert refuſing the battaile, kept him forth of the way, so that the king was driuen to return to Berwike againe without meeting with his enimies. And he was no ſooner come backe, but the ſayde Robert and his people enter into Louthian, ſore moleſting ſuch as were yelded to the king of England. The king aduertiſed thereof, followed them, but coulde do no good and ſo returned.

The Erle of Cornewall lay at Rokeſbourgh, and the Earle of Glouceſter at Norham to defend thoſe parties.

After Candlemaſſe, the King ſent the Earle of Cornewall, with two hundred men of armes to Saint Johns towne, beyond the Scottiſh ſea, who receyued to the kings peace all thoſe that inhabited beyonde that Sea vp to the Mountains. The king lay ſtill at Berwike, but the Earles of Glouceſter and Warren after the beginning of Lent rode into the foreſt of Selkyrke, and receyued the Foreſters and other the inhabitants there to the kings peace.

In this fifth yere of the kings raigne, but ſomewhat before this preſent, in the yeare .1310. Henry Lacie Earle of Lyncolne gouernor of England in the kings abſence departed this life, in whoſe place the Earle of Glouceſter was choſen gouernour, and therefore hee returned nowe into Englande.

This Earle of Lyncolne was buried in the new worke at Pauls. Lying on his death bed, he requeſted (as was reported) Thomas erle of Lācaſter that had maried his daughter, that in any wiſe he ſhould ſtand with the other Lords in defence of the common wealth, and to maintein his quarel againſt the Earle of Cornwall, which requeſt Erle Thomas faithfully accompliſhed: for by the purſute of him, and of the Earle of Warwike chiefly, the ſayd Earle of Cornwall was at length taken and beheaded (as after ſhal appeare.)

Some write that king Edward the firſt vpon his death bed, charged ye Erles of Lincoln, Warwike, and Pembroke, to foreſee that the foreſayde Pierce returned not again into England, leaſt by his euill example hee might enduce his ſonne the Prince to lewdneſſe, as before hee had alreadye done.

Thomas Erle of Lācaſter came toward Berwike to do homage to the king for the Erledome of Lincolne fallen to him in right of his wife, now after the deceaſſe of hir father the late Earle of Lincolne. But he was councelled not to goe forth of the Realme to the king, ſo that thervpon roſe no ſmall diſpleaſure, & great doubt leaſt there would haue followed ciuil warres about it. Neuertheleſſe, at length the king was perſwaded to come ouer the water vnto Hagerſton foure myles diſtaunt from Berwike, and there receyued homage of the Earle, & ſo they continued friendes, and for that tyme departed aſunder in louyng maner.

The Lords perceyuing the miſchief that dayly followed and encreaſed by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the Erle of Cornwal, aſſembled at Lyncolne, and there tooke counſaile togyther, and concluded eftſoones to baniſh him out of the Realme; and ſo therevpon ſhortly after, about Chriſtmaſſe (as ſome write) or rather as other haue, within the quindene of Saint Michaell, he was exyled into Flaunders ſore agaynſte the Kings wyll and pleaſure, who made ſuche account of him, that (as appeared) hee coulde not bee quiet in mynde withoute hys companye, and therefore about Candlemaſſe hee eftſoones reuoked hym home. But hee beeyng nothing at all amended of thoſe hys euill manners, rather

demaunded

demeaned himſelf worſe than before he had done, namely towardes the Lordes, agaynſt whome vſing reprochfull ſpeech, hee called the Earle of Glouceſter baſtarde, the Earle of Lyncolne lately deceaſſed burſten belly, the Earle of Warwike the blacke hounde of Ardern, and the Earle of Lancaſter churle. Such Lordes and other more that were thus abuſed at thys Erle of Cornwals handes, determined to bee reuenged vpon him, and to diſpatch the realme of ſuch a wicked perſon: and thereupon aſſembling their powers togither, came towardes Newcaſtell, whither the king from Yorke was remoued, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tynmouth, where the Queene lay, and vnderſtanding there that Newcaſtell was taken by the Lordes, hee leauing the Queene behinde him, tooke ſhipping, and ſayled from thence with his dearely beloued familiar the Earle of Cornewall, vnto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the Caſtell, and rode himſelfe towardes Warwike. The Lordes hearing where the Earle of Cornewall was, made thither with all ſpeede, and beſieging the Caſtell, at length conſtrayned theyr enimie to yeeld himſelfe into theyr handes, requyring no other condition, but that he might come to the kings preſence to talke with him.

The king hearing that his beſt beloued familiar was thus apprehended, ſendeth to the Lords, requiring them to ſpare his life, and that he might bee brought to his preſence, promiſing withall that he woulde ſee them fully ſatiſfied in all their requeſtes agaynſt him. Whereupon the Earle of Pembroke perſwaded with the Barons to graunt to the kings deſire, vndertaking vpon forfeyture of all that he had, to bring him to the king and backe againe to them, in ſuch ſtate and condition as he receyued him. When the Barons had conſented to his motion, he tooke the Earle of Cornwall with him to bring him where the king lay, and comming to Dedington, left him there in ſafe keeping with his ſeruants, whileſt he for one night went to viſite his wife, lying not farre from thence.

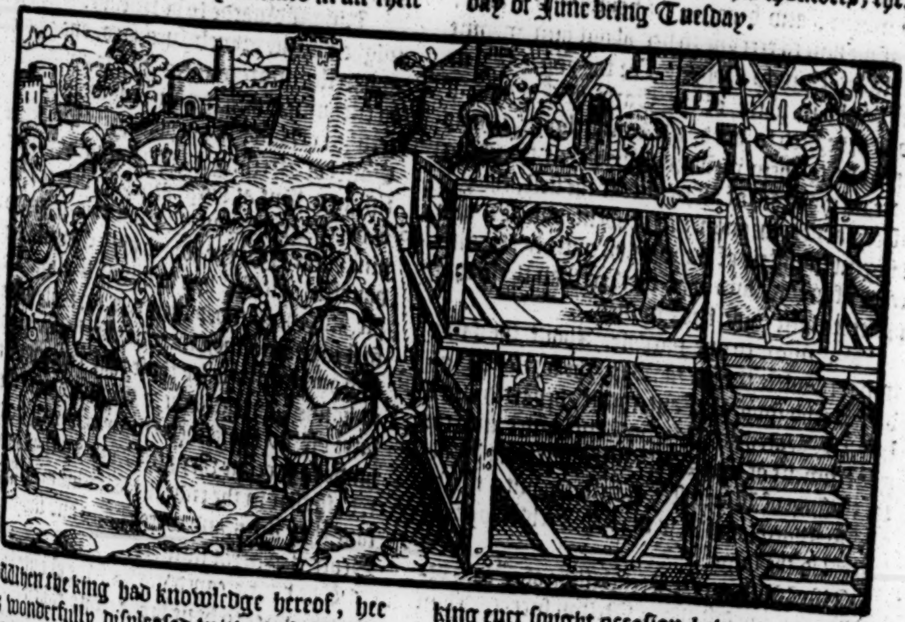
The Earle of Pembrokes ſute to the other Lordes.

The ſame night it chaunced, that Guy Erle of Warwike came to the ſame place where the Earle of Cornewall was left, and taking him from his keepers, brought him vnto Warwike, where incontinently it was thought beſt to put him to death, but that ſome doubting the kings diſpleaſure, aduiſed the reſidue to ſtay, and ſo they did, till at length an auncient graue man amõgſt them, exhorted them to vſe the occaſion nowe offred, and not to let ſlip the meane to deliuer the realme of ſuch a daungerous perſon, that hadde wrought ſo much miſchiefe, and might turne them all to ſuch perill, as afterwardes they ſhould not be able to auoyde, nor finde ſhift howe to remedie it. And thus perſwaded by his wordes, they cauſed hym ſtreyght wayes to bee brought forth to a place called Blacklowe, otherwiſe called by moſt wryters, Gauerſley heath, where he had his head ſmitten from his ſhoulders, the. xx. day of Iune being Tueſday.

Continuation of Triuet.

Gauers heath, or Gauerſuch.

The Earle of Cornwall beheaded.



When the king had knowledge hereof, hee was wonderfully diſpleaſed with thoſe Lordes that had thus put the ſayde Earle vnto death, making his vowe that he would ſee his death reuenged: ſo that the rancour which before was kindled betwixt the king and thoſe Lords, began now to blaſe abrode, and ſpred ſo farre, that the king euer ſought occaſion howe to worke them diſpleaſure.

This yeare, the. xiij. of Nouember, the kings eldeſt ſonne named Edwarde (which ſucceded his father in the kingdome by the name of Edwarde the thirde) was borne at Windeſor.

An. reg. 6.

King Edwarde the third born

King Edwarde now after that the foreſayde

Pierce

Polidor.

The Spencers.

Fabian.
A Parliament.

The Lorde Hugh Spencer the ſonne at the firſt not fauored of the king.

Peers Gaueſton the Earle of Cornwall was dead, nothing reformed his maners, but as one that deteſted the counſail and admonition of hys Nobles, choſe ſuch to be about him, and to be of his priuie counſaile which were knowne to be mē of corrupt and moſt wicked liuing (as the writers of that age report it) amongſt theſe were two of the Spencers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, which were notable inſtruments to bring him vnto the liking of all kind of naughtie & euill rule. By the counſaile therfore of theſe Spencers, he was wholy led & gouerned, wherewith many were much offēded, but namely Robert the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who foreſaw what miſchiefe was like to enſue: and therefore to prouide ſome remedie in tyme, he procured that a Parliament was called at London. In the which many good ordinances and ſtatutes were deuiſed & eſtabliſhed, to oppreſſe the riottes, miſgouernance & other miſchiefes which as then were vſed: and to kepe thoſe ordinances, the king firſt, and after his Lordes receyued a ſolemne othe, that in no wiſe neither he nor they ſhould breake them. By this meanes was the ſtate of the realme newly reſtored, and new Counſailers placed about the king. But he neither regarding what he had ſworne, neither weying the force of an othe, obſerued afterwards, none of thoſe things, which by his othe he had bounde himſelfe to obſerue. And no meruayle: for ſurely as it ſhoulde ſeeme by report of Thomas de la More, the Lordes wraſted hym too muche, and beyonde the boundes of reaſon, cauſing him to receyue to bee about him whome it pleaſed them to appoynt. For the yōger Spencer, who in place of the Earle of Cornewall was ordeyned to bee hys Chamberlayne, it was knowne to them well ynoughe, that the King bare no good will at all to him at the firſt, though afterwardes through the prudent policie, and diligent induſtrie of the man, he quickly crept into hys fauour, and that further than thoſe that preferred him could haue wiſhed.

Continuation of Triuet.
1313

But nowe to our purpoſe. About the ſame tyme, to witte the .xj. of May, the forſayd Robert Archbiſhop of Canterburie departed thys lyfe .xix. yeares after his fyrſt entraunce into the gouernment of that Sea. After him was Walter Biſhop of Worceſter tranſlated vnto the ſea of Cāterburie, and was the .xlix. Archbiſhop that had ruled the ſame.

Polidore.

Alſo William the Archebiſhop of Yorke deceaſſed, and one William Melton ſucceeded him the .xlij. Archbiſhoppe that had gouerned that Sea.

This Archbiſhop Melton, though he was moſte ſtudious of things perteyning to religion, beſtowing almoſte his whole time about the ſame, yet neuertheleſſe hee was not forgetfull of that which belonged to the aduauncement of the cōmon welth, and therfore being at London vpō a time, Simon the elect Biſhop of Whitherne came to Yorke that he might be cōſecrated of him: wherefore this Archb. gaue commaundement to John the Biſhop of Carleil to cōſecrate the ſaid Simon, and in his name to receyue of him hys othe of obedience, which cōmaundement the ſayd Biſhop of Carleil did duely execute.

The King & Queene this yeare in May went ouer into France, where they were preſent in Paris on Whitſunday at the coronation of Philip ſon to the French king, created that day king of Nauarre. John de Drokenſford Biſhop of Bath and Welles, was appointed warden of the realm till the kings returne.

In July the king returned backe from hys iourney into Fraunce, and landed at Sandwich the Monday before the feaſt of S. Margaret, hauing diſpatched his buſineſſe with the French K. in good and honorable maner, for his landes and Countrey of Gaſcoigne.

About this ſeaſon, Maurice Fitz Thomas, and Thomas Fitz John maried two ſiſters that were daughters to Richard Erle of Vlueſter.

1314

In this meane time, Robert Bruce recouered the moſte part of all Scotlande, winning out of the Engliſhmens handes ſuch Caſtels as they held within Scotland, chaſing al the ſouldiers which lay there in garniſon, out of the cōtry, and ſubduing ſuch of the Scottes as helde on the Engliſh part.

King Edwarde to be reuenged hereof, with a mightie armie brauely furniſhed, and gorgeouſly apparelled, more ſeemely for a triumph, thā meet to encounter with the cruel enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpoſe ſpecially to reſcue the Caſtel of Sterling, as then beſieged by the Scottiſhmen. But at his approching nere to the ſame, Robert Bruce was redie with his power to giue him battail. In the which king Edward nothing doubtful of loſſe, had ſo vnwiſely ordred his people, and confounded their rankes, that euen at the firſt ioyning, they were not onely beaten downe and ouerthrowne, by thoſe that coped with them at hande, but alſo were wounded with ſhotte a farre off, by thoſe their enimyes which ſtoode behinde to ſuccour theyr fellowes when need required, ſo that in the ende the Engliſhmen fledde to ſaue their liues, and were chaſed and ſlaine by the Scottes in great number.

The king eſcaped with a fewe aboute him, in great danger to haue beene either taken or ſlaine. Many were drowned in a little riuer called Banokeſborne, neare to the which the battayle was foughten. There were ſlain of noble men, Gilbert Erle of Gloceſter, Robert Lord Clifford, the lord Giles Argentine, the L. Pain Tiptoft, ẏ L. Wil.

Marſhall, the

The Lorde Reginalde Daincourt, the Lorde Edmond of Mauley the kings ſtewarde, with other Lordes and Barons to the number of. xlij. and of knightes and Baronets, to the number of lxvij. There were ſlaine of all ſortes vpon the Engliſh part that day, about ten thouſande men, ouer and beſide the priſoners that were taken. Amongſt the which were accounted. xxij. men of name, as the Earle of Hereforde, the Lord Iohn Segraue, William Lorde Latimer, Maurice Lorde Berkley, and other. Hee that lyſteth to heare more of this diſcomfiture, may reade thereof further at large in the Scottiſh hyſtorie.

An.reg.8.

A counſel holden at Yorke.

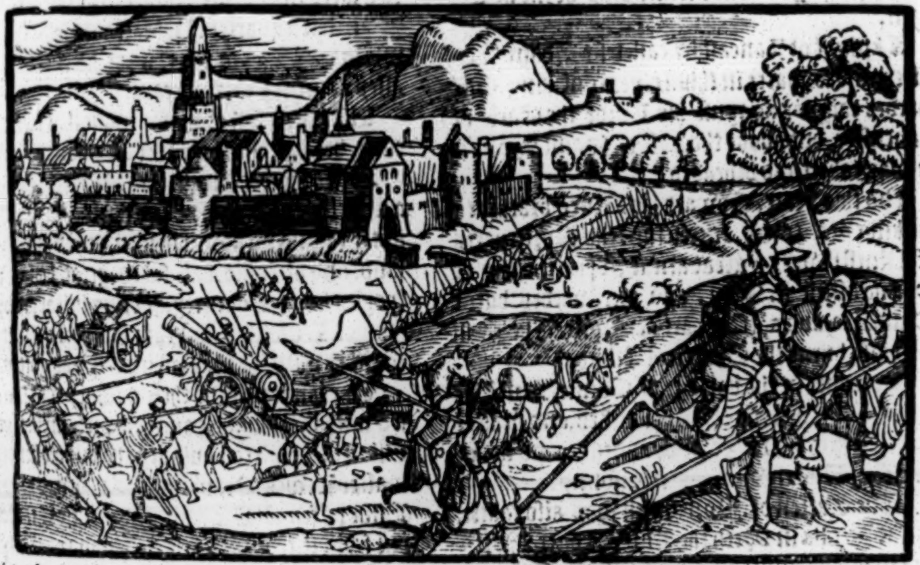
The king of Englande hauing eſcaped from this battayle, which was fought on Midſommer day in the yeare aforeſayd, came to Yorke, where he helde a Councell of his Lordes, to haue theyr aduice by what meanes he might beſt reſtore hys armie, and auenge the loſſe which he had ſuſteyned at the handes of his enimie the Bruce. And ſhortly after was ſir Peter Spalding ſent vnto Berwike, with a crew of ſouldiers to defende the towne agaynſt the ſayde Bruce, who entended ſhortly to lay ſiege to that towne, as the king had certaine vnderſtanding.

Sir Pierce Spalding.

1315

The Scottes in Irelande.

Alſo the Scottiſh men aduaunced highly in their mindes for the late gotten victorie, paſſed ouer into Ireland, vnder the conduct of Edwarde Bruce, the brother of Robert Bruce, ſore afflicting that Countrey, by ſpoyle, ſworde, and fire: the villages were robbed, the townes and caſtels which they wanne were ſacked, and after fyred, ſo vtterly to deface them.



The Iriſhmen being put in great feare herewith, aſſembled togither, and ioyned themſelues with ſuch Engliſhmen as lay there in garniſons, ouer the which the Lorde Iohn Bermingham as deputie had the chiefe charge. Thus being ioyned togither, they make earneſt reſiſtance againſt the attempts of their enimies, in defence of the Countrey. And ſo by that meanes they warre & fight one agaynſt another, with great ſlaughter on both ſides, the Scottiſhmen on their part doing their beſt to obteyne the gouernment of the Countrey, hauing alreadie obteyned no ſmall portion therof, and created Edward Bruce king there, and the Iriſhe men on the other part, enforcing their whole endeuor to beate the enimye backe, and to ridde him out of the Countrey. But at length the inuincible obſtinateneſſe of the Iriſhmen preuayled, through ayde of the Engliſh men (as after it ſhall appeare.) But in the meane while as ſome Engliſhe Chronicles make mention, there died of the Scottes in theſe warres to the number of thirtie thouſand, and aboue fifteene thouſande Iriſhmen.

Ri. Southwel.

The Scottes not onely thus inuaded Irelande, but alſo they continued theyr rage againſt Englande. For the ſame yeare about the feaſt of Peter and Paule, they enter into the Biſhopryke of Durham, and ſpoyle the Countrey vnto Hartilpoole, which towne they robbed of all the goods which they there founde, the Inhabitants being fled with theyr ſhippes to the ſea.

The Biſhoprike of Durhā ſpoyled by the Scottes.

An.reg.9.

Robert Bruce inuadeth Englande.

Carleil beſieged.

About Maudlentyde following, the King of Scottes entred Englande with a mightie armie, on the weſt borders, and comming to Carleil beſieged the Citie, remayning before it tenne dayes, but they within ſo valiantly defended themſelues and theyr walles, that the Scottes loſte more than they wanne, ſauing that during theyr abode at this ſiege, they robbed and waſted the Countreys of Allerdale, Copelande, and Weſtmerlande.

The. xj. day after theyr comming thither, when they had aſſayed all their force and pollicie to win the Citie, and ſaw themſelues nothing to preuayle, but to loſe theyr men and trauayle, they rayſed their field, & returned into Scotland with diſhonor, leauing behind them al their engines of warre. As they went their wayes, certaine Engliſhmen following them, tooke Iohn de Murrey, who in the battail of Striueling had for his part xiij. Engliſhe knights priſoners, beſide Eſquiers and other. They tooke alſo with him one Robert Berdolf a great enimie of the Engliſhmen.

The ſiege rayſed. Iohn de Murrey taken.

Great raine.

This yeare there fell exceeding greate raine, and abundaunce of wette, in the Monethes of Iuly and Auguſt, that the huſbandmen of the Countrey, could not get nor inne that ſmall crop which then ſtoode on the grounde, and that which they inned, yeelded not the hoped quantitie, as when it came to the threſſhing it well appeared. On the day of the Aſſumption of our Lady, Iohn the kings ſeconde ſonne was borne at Eltham.

Iohn of Eltham borne.

A knight of Lancaſhire called ſir Adam Baniſter, rayſed warre in this.ix.yeare of king Edwardes raigne, agaynſt his Lorde the Earle of Lancaſter, but about the feaſt of Saint Martyn he was taken and beheaded.

Alſo this yeare, Edwarde le Bruce brother to the king of Scottes, entred into the North parts of Vlneſter with a great armie, vpon the day of S. Auguſtine in May, and afterwardes burnt Dundalke, and a great part of Vrgile. The Iriſh men alſo burnt the Church of Athird.

Hen. Marle. Dundalk burnt

Moreouer in the battaile of Cometan in Vlneſter, Richard Erle of Vlneſter fled, and ſir Richard Bourgh, & ſir Iohn Mandeuile, and ſir Alane Fitz Warren were taken priſoners.

The battaile of Cometan.

The Caſtell of Norbourgh was alſo taken, and at Kenlis in Meth the Lorde Roger Mortimer was diſcomfited by the foreſayde Edwarde Bruce, and many of the ſayde Sir Rogers men were ſlaine and taken.

Alſo in this.ix.yeare of king Edwards raigne, before Chriſtmaſſe a blaſing ſtarre or comet appeared in the north part of the Element, by the ſpace of a moneth togither, and after followed dearth, and death. (as after ſhall appeare.)

A blaſing ſtar. Dearth and death.

Guy Earle of Warwike, a man of greate counſaile, and ſkilfull prouidence, departed thys life this yeare, and was buryed at the Abbey of Bordiſley.

The deceaſe of Guy Earle of Warwike. *Crokeſden.*

About Mydſommer the Scottes entred eftſoones into Englande, doing much miſchief with fire and ſworde, in like ſort as they had vſed to do before time, not ſparing (as ſome write) ſo much as thoſe houſes wherein women lay in childbed.

1316 *Rich. South.*

At their comming to Richmont, the Gentlemen of the Countrey that were got into the Caſtell to defende it, compounded with the enimies for a great ſumme of money, to ſpare the towne and countrey about it, without doing further domage thereto at that iourney.

The Scottes hauing receiued the money, turned their march towarde the weſt partes, and iorneying.lx.miles, came to Fourneys, burning all the Country there aboutes, and tooke away with them all the goodes and priſoners, both men and women which they might lay handes on, and ſo returned, reioyſing moſt of ſuch yron as they had got in that iourney, for they had great want in Scotland of that kind of metall in thoſe dayes.

The dearth by reaſon of the vnſeaſonable weather in the ſommer and harueſt laſt paſt, ſtill encreaſed, for that which with much adoe was inned, after when it came to the proufe, yeelded nothing to the value of that which in ſheafe it ſeemed to conteyne, ſo that wheat and other graine was at a ſore price before, now was it enhaunced to a farre higher rate, the ſcarcitie therof being ſo great, that a quarter of wheate was ſolde for.xl.ſ. which was a great price, if we ſhall conſider the alley of money then currant.

Alſo by reaſon of the murraine that fel among cattel, beefes & muttons wer vnreaſonably priced,

About this ſeaſon, the Lord Hērie Beaumont a man of high valiancie and noble corage, hauing gotte togither a power of men, entred into Scotland, and after hee had taken great booties and ſpoyles in the Countrey, he being intrapped by ſir Iames Dowglas, loſt the moſt part of his men, togither with the pray which they had gotten.

The diſpleaſure of theſe miſhaps was increaſed with the naughtie and bold preſumption of ſir Gilbert Middleton knight, who being offended ẏ maſter Lewes Beamont was preferred vnto the Biſhops ſea of Durham, and Henrie Stanforde put from it, that was firſt elected and after diſplaced by the kings ſute made vnto the Pope, tooke the ſayd Lewes Beaumont and his brother Herie on Wingleſdō Moore nere vnto Darington, leading the Biſhop to Morpath, and his brother the Lorde Beaumont vnto the Caſtell of Mitford, and ſo deteyned them as priſoners, till they had redeemed their libertie with great ſummes of money. And herewith the ſaide ſir Gilbert being aduaunced in pride, proclamed himſelfe Duke of Northumberlande, and ioyning in friendſhippe with the Scottiſhe king Robert Bruce, cruelly deſtroyed the Countie of Richmont.

With ſuch trayterous partes William Feltō, and Thomas Heton, being not a little ſtirred, firſt wan by force the Caſtel of Mytford, and after apprehended ſir Gilbert Middleton, with his companion Walter Selbie, and ſent them vp to London, where ſhortly after they were drawne, hanged and quartered.

Some write that the ſayde ſir Gilbert was put to death for robbing two Cardinals, to wit, Gancellino the Popes Chancellour, and Lucas de Fliſco, that were ſent frō Pope Iohn the.xxij.

to conſecrate the foreſayde Lewes Beaumont Biſhop of Durham, and to entreate a peace betwixt the Realmes of Englande and Scotlande, and alſo to make an agreement betwixt the king and the Earle of Lancaſter. The which being mette with vppon Wigilſdon More in Yorkeſhire by the ſayde Gylbert, were robbed of ſuch ſtuffe and treaſure as they brought wyth them, but yet eſcaped themſelues and came to Durham, and from thence ſente Meſſengers vnto Robert Bruce, to perſwade him to ſome agreement. But whereas he woulde not condiſcende to any reaſonable conditions of peace at that time, they determined to goe into Scotlande to talke with him themſelues: but before they came to the Borders, King Robert who iudged it not to ſtande with hys profite to haue any peace in that ſeaſon, ſent certayne of his people to forbid the Cardinalles the entrie of hys Realme.

The Cardinals being thus iniuriouſly handled, pronounced the Scottes by theyr legantine power accurſed, and enterdyted theyr whole Realme. And bycauſe they ſawe nothing leſſe than anye hope to doe good with king Robert touching any compoſition or agreement to bee had, they returned againe to the Pope wythoute any concluſion of that for the which they were ſent.

After that Edwarde Bruce hadde atchieued ſuch enterpriſes in other partes of Irelande, as in the laſt yeare ye haue heard, he went vnto Fenath, and to Skeres in Leyniſter, and there the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice Edmonde Butler roſe agaynſt hym, with the Lorde Iohn Fitz Thomas, that was after Earle of Kildare, Sir Arnolde Power, and diuerſe other, with a great armie. But by reaſon of diſcorde that chaunced amongſt them, they ſcaled theyr armie, and departed out of the fielde on the. xxvi. daye of Februarie.

Edwarde Bruce then burned the Caſtell of Leys, & after returned into Vlneſter, he beſieged the Caſtell of Knockfergus, and ſlue Thomas Maundeuile, and his brother Iohn, at a place called Down, as they came thither out of England. After this the foreſayde Edwarde returned into Scotlande.

In this ſeaſon vyttayles were ſo ſcant and deare, and wheate and other grayne brought to ſo high a price, that the poore people were conſtrayned through famine to eate the fleſhe of horſes, dogges, and other vile beaſts, which is wonderfull to beleeue, and yet for default there dyed a great multitude of people in diuerſe places of the land. Fourepence in breade of the courſer ſort would not ſuffice one man a day. Wheate was ſold at London for foure Markes the quarter and aboue. Then after this dearth and ſcarcitie of vittayles enſued a great dearth and mortalitie of people, ſo that what by warre of the Scottes, and what by this mortalitie and death, the people of the lande were wonderfully waſted & conſumed.

A ſore mortalitie of people.

Edward Bruce before the feaſt of Eaſter returned againe into Irelande, with the Earle of Murrey and other noble mẽ of Scotland, hauing with them a great armie, and beſieged the Caſtel of Knockfergus, and after they went to another Caſtell where they tooke a Baron priſoner: and there Edwarde Bruce lay for a ſeaſon. Alſo Richard erle of Vlneſter lay in Saint Maries Abbey by Dublyn, where the Maior and cõunaltie of the Citie tooke him, & put him in priſon within the Caſtel of Dublin. They alſo ſlue his men, and ſpoyled the Abbey.

After this the foreſayd Edwarde Bruce went to Limerike after the feaſt of Saint Mathew the Apoſtle, and there ſoiourned till Eaſter was paſt, and in the meane while Roger de Mortimer the kings deputie arriued at Waterford with a great armie, by reaſon whereof Edwarde le Bruce for feare departed, & got him into the vttermoſt parts of Vlneſter, and Iohn Fitz Thomas was made Erle of Kildare. Alſo Oconer of Conneigh, and many other Iriſhe men of Connagh and Meth were ſlaine neare to Aury by the Engliſhmen of thoſe parties. There was a great ſlaughter alſo made of the Iriſhmẽ neare vnto Thiſtildermote, by the Lord Edmond Butler, & an other alſo at Balitcham of Omorth by the ſame Edmonde. The Lord deputie deliuered the Erle of Vlneſter out of priſon, & after Whitſuntide baniſhed out of Meth ſir Walter Lacie, & ſir Hugh Lacie, gyuing their lãds away frõ them vnto his knights, and they went ouer into Scotlãd with Edward Bruce, who returned thither about that time.

Iohn Fitz Thomas Earle of Kildare.

1317

Crokeſden.

The death ſtill encreaſed as by ſome wryters it ſhould appeare.

In the. xj. yeare of king Edwarde the ſecond his raigne, vpon the Saterday night before Midlent Sunday, the town of Berwik was betrayed to the Scots through the treaſon of Peter Spalding. The Caſtell helde good a while, tyll for want of vittayles they within were conſtrayned to deliuer it into the Scottiſh mens hands, who wan alſo the ſame time the Caſtell of Harbotell, Werke & Medford, ſo that they poſſeſſed the more part of all Northumberland, euen vnto Newcaſtell vpon Tine, ſauing that certaine other caſtels were defẽded againſt them. In May they entred with an army further into the lãd, burning all the country afore thẽ, till they came to Ripon, which towne they ſpoiled, and tarying there three dayes, they receyued a thouſande markes of thoſe that were gotte into the Churche, and defended it againſt them for that they ſhould ſpare the town, and

An. reg. 11.

Ri. Southwel.

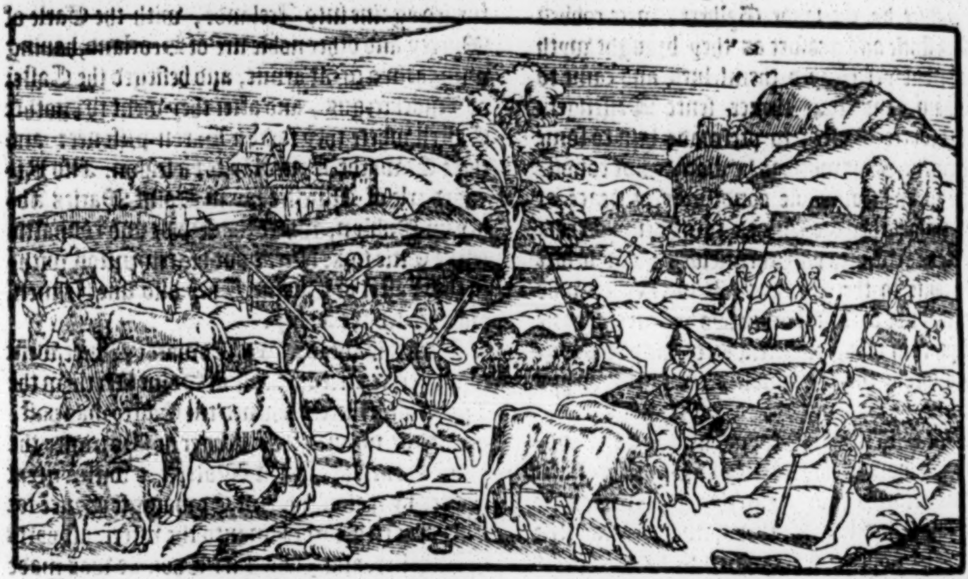
1318

Berwike betrayed to the Scottes.

Caſtels wonne by the Scots.

Northalerton, and Bourgh-bridge burnt.

and not put it to the fire, as they hadde alreadie done the townes of Northallerton and Bourghbridge as they came forwardes. In their going backe they burnt Knareſbourgh, and Skipton in Crauen, which they had firſt ſacked, and ſo paſſing through the middeſt of the Countrey burning and ſpoyling all afore them, they returne into Scotlande wyth a maruelous great multitude of Cattell, beſyde pryſoners, menne and women, and no ſmall number of poore people, which they tooke with them to helpe to driue the Cattell.



An. reg. 12.
Additions to Triuet.
The king and the Earle of Leicester made friends.

In the .xij. yeare of Edwarde the ſecondes raigne, in Auguſt the king and the Erle of Lancaſter came to talk togither in a plain beſide Leiceſter, where they were made friendes to the outward ſhew, ſo that in the yeare next following, the ſayd Erle went with the king to the ſiege of Berwike.

Robert Bruce pronounced accurſed.

About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, the two Cardinals which were yet remaining in England, ſent forth cōmaundements vnto al the prelates & prieſts within the realme, that three times in euery ſolemne Maſſe, they ſhould denoūce Robert Bruce that called himſelf king of Scotland accurſed, with all his counſailers & fautors, and on the behalfe of the Pope, they depriued him by denunciation of all honor, and put al his lands vnder interdiction, diſabling all their children to the ſecond degree that held with him, to receiue or take vpō thē any eccleſiaſtical function. They dedenounced alſo all the Prelates of Scotland and men of religion, exempt, and not exempt, excommunicate and accurſed.

Hen. Marl.

The Lord Roger Mortimer returned again into England, and Alexander Bicnor was made chiefe Juſtice of Irelande.

Tho. Walſ. Continuation of Triuet.

Also Edward Bruce, wᵗ ſir Walter, & ſir Hugh Lacie, bringing with them a great armie returned out of Scotland, and arriued at Dundalke, on the day of S. Calixt the Pope. But neare to the ſame place, ſir John Brimingham, Richarde Tute, & Miles of Verdon, with a power of 1324. men encountred them and ſlue the ſaid Edwarde le Bruce, and aboue the number of. 8200. men, or as other haue, but. 5800. The ſayd ſir John Birmingham brought the heade of Edwarde le Bruce ouer into England, and preſented it to the king. Wherevpon the king in recompence of hys ſeruice, gaue vnto him the Erledome of Louth, to hold to him & his heyres Males, & the Baronie of Athird to him and his heyres generall.

About this ſeaſon or ſomewhat before, about Midſommer (as Southwell hath) a naughtie fellow called John Poydras, (or as ſome bookes haue Ponderham) a Tanners ſonne of Exeter comming to Oxford, and there thruſting himſelf into the kings hall that ſtood without the walles, gaue forth that he was ſonne and right heyre of king Edwarde the firſt, and that by meanes of a falſe nurſe he was ſtolen out of his cradle, and this Edward the ſeconde being a Carters ſonne was brought in and layde in his place, ſo that he by reaſon thereof was afterwards hardly foſtered and brought vp in the north part of Wales.

At length being layd for, he fled to the Church of yͤ white Friers in Oxforde, truſting there to be ſafe through yͤ immunitie of the place, bicauſe K. Edward the firſt was their founder. But whē he could not keepe his tougue, but ſtill fondly vttred his folly, and ſtood in his opinion, ſo that great rumor thereof was rayſed, he was at length taken out of that Church, and caried to Northampton, where he was there arraigned, condemned, and had forth to a place in the Countrey called the copped Oke, where he was drawne, hanged and as a traytor bowelled,

At the houre of his death he cōfeſſed, that in his houſe he had a ſpirite in likeneſſe of a cat, whiche amongſt other things aſſured him that he ſhould be king of England.

In this ſeaſon, to witte, in the yeare. 1319. a great murreyne and death of cattell chaunced through the whole realme, ſpreading from place to place, but ſpecially this yeare it raigned moſte in the north, where as in the yeares before it began in the South partes.

The King deſirous to bee reuenged of the Scottes, made preparation to leuie a mightie armie, and for want of ſufficient numbers of men in other places towardes the North partes, the king cauſed muche people to come vnto him oute of the South and Eaſt partes of the realme, amongſt the which the citie of London was conſtrayned to finde at their coſtes and charges two hundred men, ſending them to Yorke, where the generall aſſembly of the armie was made. From thence after hee had receyued his menne from ſundrie Countreys and good Townes of hys Realme, he went to Berwike, and layde ſiege to the Towne. In which meane tyme the Scots being aſſembled, came to the borders, paſſed by the Engliſh hoſte, and entring into Englande, came in ſecrete wiſe downe into the marches of Yorkeſhire, and there ſlue the people and robbed them in moſt cruell wiſe. Wherefore the Archbiſhop of Yorke meaning in time of ſuch neceſſitie to doe his indeuoar in defence of hys Countrey, aſſembled ſuche power as he could gette togyther, of Clearkes, Monkes, Chanons, and other ſpirituall men of the Church, with huſbandmen and ſuche other vnapt people for the warres: and thus with a great number of menne, and fewe warrelyke or diſcreete Chieftaynes, hee togither with the Biſhop of Elie, as then Lorde Chauncellour, came forth agaynſt the Scottes, and encountred with them at a place called Mitton vpon Suale, the. xij. day of October. Here as the Engliſh men paſſed ouer the water of Suale, the Scottes ſet fire vpon certaine ſtackes of hay, the ſmoke wherof was ſo huge, that the Engliſhmen might not ſee where the Scottes lay. And when the Engliſh men were once got ouer the water, the Scots came vpon them with a wing in good order of battaile, in faſhion like to a ſhielde, egerly aſſayling their enimies, who for lacke of good gouernment, were eaſily beaten downe and diſcomfited, without ſhewing any great reſiſtance, ſo that there were ſlain to the number of two M. and the reſidue ſhamefully put to flight.

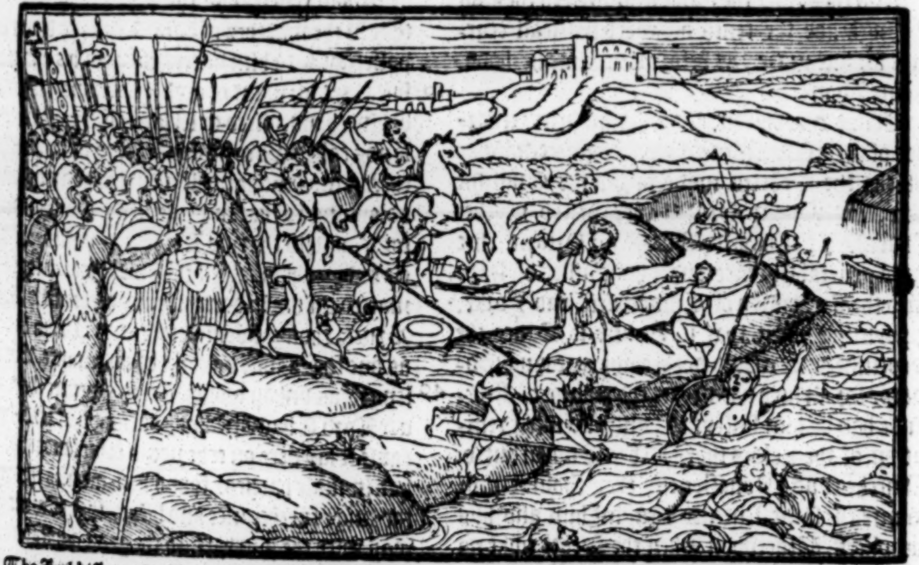
The Scottes come into the parties of Yorke.

Anesburie.

The diſcomfiture of Mittõ vpon Suale.

Caxton.

Polidor.



The Archbiſhop, the Lord Chancellor, and the Abbot of Selby with helpe of their ſwift horſes eſcaped with diuerſe other. The Maior of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming was ſlaine, ſir William Dirremin prieſt takẽ priſoner. Many were drowned by reaſon that the Scots had gotten betwixt the Engliſhmen and the bridge, ſo that the Engliſhmẽ fled betwixt that wing of the Scots and their main battail, which had compaſſed the Engliſh men about on the one ſide, as the wing did vpon the other. Bicauſe that ſo many ſpirituall men died in this battail, it was after named of many wryters the white battaile.

The king of England enformed of this ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the Northren men, he brake vp his ſiege incontinently, and returned to Yorke.

Thus all the kings exploytes by one meanes or other quailed and came but to euill ſucceſſe, ſo that the Engliſh nation began to grow in contempt by the infortunate gouernmẽt of ỹ prince, the which as one out of the right way, raſhly and with no good aduiſemẽt ordred his doings, which thing ſo grieued the noble men of the realme, that they ſtudied day and night by what meanes they might procure him to loke better to his office and

Polidor.

The enuie of the Lordes towardes the Spencers.

duetie which they iudged might well be brought to paſſe, his nature being not altogither euill, if they might finde ſhift to remoue frō him the two Spencers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the ſonne, who were gotten into ſuch fauor with him, that they onely did all things, and without them nothing was done, ſo that they were nowe had in as great hatred and indignation, both of the Lordes and cōmons, as euer in tymes paſt was Peers de Gaueſton the late Earle of Cornwall. But the Lords minded not ſo much the deſtruction of theſe Spencers, but that the king ment as much their aduauncement, ſo that Hugh the ſon was made high Chamberlain of Englande, contrarie to the mind of all the noble men, by reaſon wherof hee bare himſelfe ſo hautie and proude, that no Lorde wythin the lande myght agayne ſay that which in hys conceyte ſeemed good.

1320

Additions to Triuet.

In this .xiij. yere of his raigne, in Iune king Edwarde went ouer into Fraunce, where at Amiens he founde the Frenche king, of whome he receyued the Countie of Ponticu, which the ſaid French king vpon his comming to the Crowne had ſeaſed into his handes, bycauſe the King of Englande had not done to him his homage due for the ſame.

A tenth of the Eccleſiaſticall liuings grãted to the king.

Alſo this yeare the Pope graunted to the king of Englande the tenth of Eccleſiaſticall reuenues for one yeare, as before that time he hadde likewyſe done.

An. reg. 14.
Caxton.

Scots eftſones accurſed.

About this ſeaſon, Pope Iohn being enformed of the great deſtruction and vnmerciful war which the Scottes made vppon the Engliſhe men, and namely for that they ſpared neyther Churche nor Chapell, Abbey nor Priorie, hee ſent a general ſentence vnder his Bulles of leade vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and Yorke, appoynting them that if Robert le Bruce the Scottiſhe king would not recompence king Edwarde for all ſuch harmes as the realme of Englande had by him ſuſteyned, and alſo make reſtitution of the goodes that had beene taken out of Churches and Monaſteries, they ſhoulde pronounce the ſame ſentence agaynſt him and hys complices. Wherevpon when the Scots tooke no regard to the Popes admonition, the Archbiſhop proceeded to the pronouncing of the foreſaid ſentence, ſo that Robert Bruce, Iames Dowglas, & Thomas Randulf Erle of Murrey, and al other that kept him companie, or thē in any wiſe mainteyned, were accurſed throughout England euerie day at Maſſe three tymes. But this nothing holpe the matter, but put the king and the realme to great coſt and charge, and in the meane ſeaſon the commons of the Realme were ſore oppreſſed by ſundrie wayes and meanes, dyuerſe of them loſt theyr goodes and poſſeſſions, beeyng taken from them vpon ſurmiſed and feyned quarelles, ſo that many were vtterly vndone, and a fewe ſingular and myſordered perſones were aduaunced.

After the Epiphanie, when the truce fayled betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, an army of Scots entred England, & came into the Biſhoprike of Durham. The Earle of Murrey ſtayed at Daringtō, but Iames Dowglas and the ſteward of Scotland went forth to waſte the country, the one towards Hartilpoole & Cleueland, and the other towards Richmont: but they of the Countie of Richmont (as before they had done) gaue a great ſumme of money to ſaue their countrie from inuaſion.

The Scottes that time remayned within Englande by the the ſpace of fiftene dayes or more. The Knightes and Gentlemen of the North partes, came vnto the Earle of Lancaſter that lay the ſame tyme at Pomfret, offering to goe foorth with him to giue the enimies battaile, if hee woulde aſſyſt them: But the Earle ſeemed that he had no luſt to fyght in defence of hys Prince, that ſought to oppreſſe hym wrongfully, (as he tooke it) and therefore he diſſembled the matter, and ſo the Scots returned at their pleaſure without encounter.

About this ſeaſon, the L. William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioyed diuers faire poſſeſſions to him diſcended from his anceſtors, but through want of good gouernment was run behind hand, offred to ſel a certaine portion of his lands called Gowers lande lying in the marches there, vnto diuerſe noble men that had their lands adioyning to the ſame, as to the Earle of Herforde, and to the two Lorde Mortimers, the vncle and nephew, albeit the L. Mowbray that had maried the onely daughter and heyre of the Lord Bruce, thought verily in the ende to haue had it, as due to his wife by right of inheritance. But at length (as vnhap would) Hugh Spencer the yonger Lord Chamberlaine, coueting that land (bycauſe it lay nere on eche ſide to other lands that he had in thoſe parties) found ſuch meanes through the kings furtherance and helpe, that he went away with the purchaſe, to the great diſpleaſure of the other Lordes that had bene in hande to buie it. Hereby ſuch hartburning roſe agaynſt the Spencers, that vpon complaint made by the Earle of Herforde vnto the Earle of Lancaſter, of theyr preſumptuous dealing, by ruling all things about the King as ſeemed beſt to theyr lykings, it was thought expedient by the ſayde Earles that ſome remedie in tyme (if it were poſſible) ſhoulde be prouided. Wherevpon the ſaid Erles of Lancaſter and Herford, with the Lordes Roger Tuchet, Rog. Clifford, Goſlin Deiuille, Rog. Bernſfield, yͤ .ij. Mortimers, Rog. the vncle and Rog. yͤ nephew, W. de Sully, W. de Elmbrige, John Gifford of Brimeſfielde, & Henrie Tieys, all Barons, the which with diuerſe other Lords, Knights, and men of name, aſſembling togither at Sherborne in Elmedone, ſware eche of them to ſtande by other, till they had amended the ſtate of the realme. But yet notwythſtanding thys theyr othe, the moſte part of them afterwardes forſaking the enterpriſe, ſubmytted themſelues to the king. Neuertheleſſe, whether for that the King by a Proclamation ſette forth the .xvj. of March, had commaunded (as ſome write) that the Lords Mowbray, Clifford, and Deiuille for diſobeying to make their perſonal appearance before him, ſhould auoyd the land within ten dayes next enſuing, or for that they ment with all ſpeed to put theyr enterpriſe in execution, we finde that the Earle of Hereforde, the Lordes Mortimer, the vncle and nephew, the lord Roger Damorie, the Lorde John Mowbray, the Lorde Hugh Audley, and his ſonne named alſo Hugh, the Lorde Roger Clifforde, the Lorde John Gifford of Brimeſfielde, the Lorde Morice Berkeley, the Lord Henrie Tieys, the Lorde John Matrauers, with many other that were allied togither, hauing the conſent alſo of the Erle of Lancaſter, on the Wedneſday next after the feaſt of the inuention of the Croſſe, hauing with them to the number of .viij. C. men of armes .v. C. hoblers, & ten. M. men on foote, came with the kings Baner ſpred vnto Newport in Wenloks lãd, where they toke the caſtel that belonged vnto the Lord Chamberlain Hugh Spencer the yonger. They alſo toke Kaerdy, Kerfilly, Lantriſſane, Taluan, Lamblethian, Kenefegis, Neoth, Druſſlan, and Diuenor, part of his men which in the foreſayde places they found, they ſlue, as ſir John Iwain, & ſir Mathew de Gorges, knightes, with .xv. other of his men that were Welchmen: part they toke, & put them in priſon, as ſir Rauſe or Randulf de Gorges being ſore wounded, ſir Philip Joyce, ſir John de Friſſingfielde, ſir John de Dunſtable, William de Dunſtable, and many other, of the which the moſt part were put to their raunſome.

They toke, ſpoyled, and deſtroyed ſo much in value of his goodes as amounted vnto two thouſande pounde. They toke vp in ſuche debts as were owing to him in thoſe parties, to the ſumme of three thouſand pounds, and of his rentes to the value neare handes of a thouſande pounde. They burnt .xxiij. of his Manours which he hadde in thoſe parties of Wales, with his Barnes, and did what hurt they coulde deuiſe burning or taking away all his writings and euidences.

After they had remayned .xv. dayes there, they came into England with the like force & diſorder inuading his caſtels, manors, and poſſeſſions, ſo that the domage which they did here vnto the ſaid L. chamberlain, amounted to the value of ten. M. poundes.

The king aduertiſed of their doings, ſent vnto them the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, & the Lorde Bartholmew de Badeliſmere Lord Steward of his houſe, to requeſt them to deſiſt and leaue of from ſuch their outragious doings, and comming to the Parliament which he had alredy ſummoned, they might put in theyr complaynts & grieuances, and he would ſee that they ſhoulde haue iuſtice, according as equitie ſhould require. The lord Badeliſmere forſaking the king became one of the cõfederacie with the barons, & ſo the Archb. was glad to returne alone, leauing the ſaide Badeliſmere behinde him, who ſent the king worde by the Archb, that til they had expulſed the Spencers out of the realme, they woulde not giue ouer their enterpriſe.

The king ſendeth to the Lordes.

The Lord Badeliſmere reuolteth to the ſide of the Barons.

On S. Barnabies day they came to a manor of Hugh Spencer the father called Faſterne, in the Countie of Wiltſhire, and ſpoyled the ſame with diuerſe and many other Manors, aſwell in Wiltſhire, as elſe where, to witte, in Glouceſterſhire, Dorſetſhire, Hamſhire, Barkſhire, Oxfordſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Surrey, Cãbridgeſhire, Huntingtonſhire, Leyceſterſhire, Lincolnſhire, Cheſſhire, and Warwikeſhire, making ſuch hauoke of all ſuch goods or cattel as belonged to the ſaid Hugh Spencer the father, yͭ he was thought to be endomaged to the value of .xxx. M. pounds, burning his houſes, beating, mayming & raunſoming his men, and not contented to ſpoyle thoſe places which belonged to him, but hearing that in the Abbey of Stanley he had layde vp money, and euidence, they brake into that Abbey, & toke out thereof. M. pounds in ready coine, beſide euidences & writings, to the endomaging of him to the value of .vj. M. poundes, and likewiſe entring into the kings caſtel of Marleburgh where the ſayde Hugh Spencer the father had layde vp in woll to the number of .xxxvj. ſackes, they toke the ſame and other of his goodes, as well in plate as apparell, to the value in all of ſixe thouſande poundes. And they did not onely ſpoyle the poſſeſſions, houſes, goodes, and cattayles of the two Spencers, whereſoeuer they coulde heare that the ſame were to bee founde, but alſo they vſed the like diſorder againſt all ſuch as were knowne to bee friendes or well willers, to eyther the father or ſonne, ſending Commiſſions vnto ſuch as ſhoulde ſee the ſame executed to the moſt extremitie.

Finally, after they had ſatiſfied their deſires in ſuch riotous ſort, they rayſed the people, and conſtrayned them to ſweare to be of their accord, and ſo came forward with the like force towardes the Parliament that was ſummoned to be holde at London three weekes after Midſommer. At their comming to Saint Albons, they ſent the

The Barons rayſe the people and come in armes towardes the Parliament.

They ſend to the king.

Biſhops of London, Saliſburie, Elie, Hereford, and Chicheſter, to the King with their humble ſute in outwarde appearance, though in effect and verie deede more preſumptuous than was requiſite. Their chiefe requeſte was that it myght pleaſe his highneſſe to put from him the Spencers, whoſe counſaile they knew to be greatly agaynſt his honour, and hereof not to faile if hee tendered the quiet of his realme.

Their requeſts

They alſo required letters patents of him, conteyning a generall pardon for the indemnitie of themſelues, and all thoſe that had beene in armes with them, ſo as they ſhould not be impeached by the king for any tranſgreſſions paſt or preſent, in time hereafter to come.

The kings anſwere.

The king herevnto anſwered, that as concerning Hugh Spencer the father, he was abroade on his buſineſſe beyonde the ſeas, and that Hugh the ſonne was on the ſea for the ſafe keeping of the cinque portes, as by his office he was bounde. And that they ought not by any right or cuſtome to be baniſhed, before they haue made anſwere to the crymes obiected agaynſt them. He added further, that their requeſt wanted foundation of law and reaſon. And if it might bee proued that the Spencers had in any wiſe offended agaynſt the ſtatutes and ordinances of the land, they were alwayes readie to make their anſwere as the lawes of the realme ſhould require. Laſtly he added this with an othe, that he would not be forſworne cõtrary to that which at his coronation he had takẽ vpon him by othe, through graunting letters of peace and pardon to ſuch notorious offenders in cõtempt of his perſon, and to the trouble and diſquieting of the whole realme.

The Barons vpon knowledge had what anſwere the king had made to their requeſts, forthwith got them to armor, and with a great power of men of armes & other, came to the Parliament which the K. had ſummoned to begin at Weſtm. three weekes after midſõmer. Their retinue were apparelled in a ſute of Iakets or coates of colors demie, partie yellow and greene, with a bande of white caſt ouerthwart. By reaſon whereof that Parliament long after was called the Parliamẽt of white bands.

Fabian.
Caxton.

The order which the lord Maior of London tooke.

Then to ſee the kings peace kept within the citie, the Maior cauſed a .M. men well armed to watch dayly in diuerſe wardes, & at diuerſe gates of the Citie, which watch began at foure of the clocke in the morning, and ſo continued till ſixe at night, and then as many were appoynted to the night watch, cõtinuing the ſame till the houre of fiue in the morning. And for the more ſuretie that this night watch ſhould be wel & ſufficiently kept, two Aldermen were aſſigned nightly to ride about the citie with certaine officers of the towne, to ſee the watchmen well and diſcreetly guided. The gates were ſhut at .ix. of the clocke, and opened agayne at .vij. in the morning. Alſo euery Citizen was warned to haue his armor by him, that he might bee readie vpon any occaſion when hee ſhould be called.

But neuertheleſſe the Barons being come in forcible wiſe (as ye haue heard) vnto this Parliament, they conſtrayned the Earle of Richmont, Arundell, Warren, and Pembroke, to agree vnto their purpoſe, and likewiſe ſome of the Biſhops they compelled through feare to take an othe to ioyne with them in their purpoſe, for the expulſing of the Spencers out of the realme, and ſo comming al togither before the king, they publiſhed certain articles againſt the ſaid Spencers, both the father and ſonne, whervpon they made an awarde that they ſhoulde be diſinherited and baniſhed the land during their liues, if by the king and conſent of all the Lordes in Parliament aſſembled, they ſhould not be reſtored. They had day and place appoynted where to paſſe forth of the lande, to witte at Douer, and not elſe where, betwixt the day of his awarde made, and the feaſt of the decollatiõ of S. Iohn baptiſt, that day to be counted for one. Diuerſe articles (as before is ſayd) were layde to the charge of thoſe Spencers. Amongſt other things it was alledged, that Hugh Spẽcer the ſonne being on a time angrie and diſpleaſed with the K. ſought to allie and confederate himſelf with the Lord Gifford of Brimeſfield, & the lord Richard Gray, to haue conſtrayned and forced the King by ſtrong hand to haue followed his will & pleaſure. Moreouer it was alledged that the ſayde Spencers, as wel the father as the ſonne, had cauſed the king to ride into Glouceſterſhire to oppreſſe and deſtroy the good people of his lande, contrarie to the forme of the great Charter.

Alſo where the Erle of Hereford, and the Lord Mortimer of Wigmore had gone agaynſt one Thlewillin Bren, that had rayſed a rebellion agaynſt the king in Glamorgãſhire, whiles yͤ lãds of the erle of Glouceſter were in the kings hands, the ſame Thlewillin yeelded himſelf to the ſaid Erle, and to the Lord Mortimer, who brought him to the king, vpõ promiſe that he ſhould haue the kings pardon, and ſo the king receyued him. But after that the ſayde Erle & Lord Mortimer were out of the lande, the Spencers taking to thẽ royall power, tooke the ſayd Thlewillin and led him vnto Kardif, where after yͭ the ſaid Hugh Spẽcer the ſon had his purpartie of yͤ ſayd erle of Glouceſters lands, he cauſed the ſayd Thlewillin to be drawne, headed and quartered, to the diſcredite of the king, and of the ſayde Earle of Hereforde and Lorde Mortimer, yea and contrarie to the lawes and dignitie of the crowne.

The ſayd Spencers alſo counſelled the K. to foriudge ſir Hugh Audley, ſon to the Lord Hugh

Audley, and to take into his handes his Caſtels and poſſeſſions. They compaſſed alſo to haue atteynted the Lorde Roger Damorie, that thereby they might haue enioyed the whole Erledome of Glouceſter. Theſe and other Articles of miſdemeanour in the Spencers were exhibited to perſwade the king and others, that they were vnprofitable members in the common wealth, and not worthie of thoſe places they occupied.

After that their diſinheriting and baniſhment was concluded in maner as before is ſayde, the Erle of Hereforde and other the Lordes that had proſecuted the quarell agaynſt them, came before the king and humbly on their knees beſought him of pardon of all things which they had committed agaynſt him or agaynſt his lawes or agaynſt any other perſon in the purſute of the ſayd Spencers. The king being brought into a ſtrayte, durſt not but graunt to all that which they requeſted, eſtabliſhing the ſame by ſtatute.

The Parliament being thus ended, the king and Queene went to Canterburie, there to viſite the ſhrine of Thomas Becket ſometyme Archbiſhop there.

The king from thence went to the Ile of Tenet, that he might there meete with his deare and welbeloued counſaylour Hugh Spencer the yonger, whome he hadde of late ſent in Ambaſſade to the French king, and nowe being returned by Sea into thoſe partyes, he was deſyrous to ſee hym, that hee myght haue conference with him: and ſo comming togither, they ſpent certayne dayes in commoning of ſuch matters as they thought good.

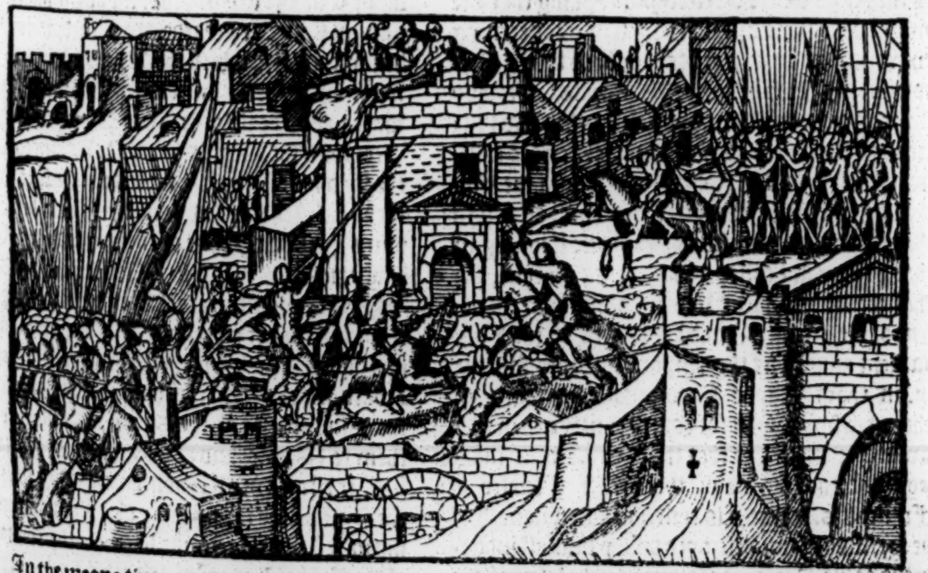
The king calling to him the Mariners of the cinque portes, committed to them the cuſtodie of the ſayde Hugh, who for a time kept him with them in their ſhips, and the king ſayling alongſt the coaſt to Porcheſter, conferred with him of many things.

From Porcheſter the king ment to returne vnto London, there to meete the Queene, who in hir returne from Canterburie woulde haue lodged one night in the Caſtell of Leedes, which the L. Bartholmew de Badeliſmere late Stewarde of the kings houſe had by exchaunge of the king for other landes, and now taking part with the Barons, had left his wife and children with other of his friendes and treaſure in the ſame Caſtell.

The Queene not ſuffred to lodge in the Caſtell of Leedes.

Thoſe that were put in truſt with keeping this Caſtell, would neyther permit Queene nor other to enter there without expreſſe commaundement from their Lord and maiſter, and ſo they ſignified not onely to the Queenes ſeruants that came before to make prouiſiō for hir, but alſo, declared the ſame to hirſelfe cōming thither in perſon. This chaunced verie vnluckily for the Barons: for where the Queene had euer ſought to procure peace, loue and concord betwixt the king and his Lordes, ſhee tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with this deniall made to hir for one nyghtes lodging in that Caſtel, that vpon hir grieuous complaynt ſent to the king, hee forthwith rayſed a mightie armie out of Kent and Eſſex, frō the fiue portes, and of the Londoners, and hauing with him his brethren, Thomas Earle Marſhall, and Edmond Erle of Kent. Alſo the Erles of Richmont, Pembroke, Arondle, & Athol, he haſted thither, & layd ſiege aboute the Caſtel, conſtreyning thē within by all meanes that might be deuiſed.

The king beſiegeth the caſtell of Leedes.



In the meane time, at the ſute of the Lorde Badeliſmere, the Earle of Hereforde, and other Lords of the confederacie, came with a greate power vnto Kingſton, about the feaſt of Simon and Iude, and there ſtaying certaine dayes for ſome of their companie that were to come vnto them, they ſent vnto the king the Archb. of Cant. and the B. of London with the Erle of Pēbroke, requiring him to remoue his ſiege, till by Parliament ſome order might be taken: but the king would not giue eare to their ſute, but continued his ſiege till the caſtell was yelded to him. For thoſe that were at Kingſton cowardly leauing theyr enterpriſe, came not forwarde but returned backe againe.

The caſtell of Leedes yelded

They that were within the caſtel hauing ſimply ſubmitted themſelues to the king, cauſed. xij. or. xiij. of them to ſuffer death. Amongſt other was one Walter Culpepper, reckened for the chiefe of them that defended the Caſtell agaynſte the king. The wife of the Lorde Badeliſmere, wyth his nephewe Bartholmewe de Burwaſhe was ſent to the Tower of London, but his ſiſter was ſent to Douer Caſtell, there to remaine in ſafe keeping.

Walter Culpepper executed.

The Caſtell of Leedes being thus yeelded to the king, hee entred the ſame on Alhallowen day, and ſhortly after the caſtell of Chilham was deliuered, and the caſtell of Tunbridge left voyde by them that had it in keeping.

The king thus beſturring him, came into Eſſex, and ſeaſed into his handes the landes of the Lorde Badeliſmere, and likewiſe the landes of ſuch as were his mainteyners, friends, and fauourers, of the which ſuch as he coulde meet with he put in priſon, and herewith ſummoned an armie to meete him at Cirenceſter aboute Saynt Lucies day the Virgin. And then about Saint Andrewes tide he came to London, where the Archbiſhop of Cãterburie had called a prouinciall Councell.

The lord chãberlaine yeeldeth himſelfe to the lawe.

The ſame time Hugh Spencer the ſon being lately come from the ſea, yeelded himſelfe priſoner to the kings warde, beſeeching the king that hee might haue right miniſtred to him, concerning the wrongs and iniuries to him done by the Barons in maner as before ye haue heard, ſpecially for the award which in Parliamẽt they had procured to be enacted agaynſt him, the errors committed in the proceſſe wherof he beſought the king that he might bee admytted to ſhewe: as firſt in that they made themſelues Judges: ſecondly in that he was not called to anſwere: thirdly, for that the ſame awarde was made without the aſſent of the Prelates, who are Peeres of the Parliament as well as the temporall Lordes: fourthly, in that the ſayde Barons had no recorde in theyr purſuyte, vpon the cauſes conteyned in that awarde: fifthly, in that the awarde was made agaynſt the fourme of the greate Charter of Franchiſes, wherein is conteyned that none ſhal be foriudged nor deſtroyed but by lawfull iudgement of his Peeres, according to the lawe of the lande.

Further he alledged that it was to bee conſidered, howe the ſayde Barons and great menne being ſummoned to come in due maner vnto that Parliament, they came in forcible wyſe with all theyr powers.

A like petition was likewiſe exhibited on the behalfe of Hugh Spencer the father, for redreſſe to be had of the wrongs and loſſes, which in like caſe he had ſuſteyned.

The king fauouring ynough the cauſes and petitions of the Spencers, graunted theyr requeſts, and deliuered the petitions vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie and his ſuffraganes, the which the ſame time were there aſſembled in their prouincial Councell aforeſayd, requiring to haue their aduiſe and opinions therein.

He likewiſe requeſted of the Earles and Barons that were then with him, and of the counſaylours in lawe, what they thought of thys matter.

The Prelates vpon deliberation had, declared, that in their opinion, the ſayde awarde, as touching the diſinheriting and baniſhing of the Spencers, the father and ſonne, was erroneous, and not rightly decreed, and for themſelues they denyed that they eyther dyd or coulde thinke it reaſon to conſent therevnto, and therefore they required that it might be repealed, and the kings brother Edmonde Earle of Kente, John de Brytayne Earle of Richemonte, Aymer de Valence Earle of Penbrooke, and Edmonde Earle of Arundell, then being in preſence of the king, and likewiſe of the foreſayde Prelates, affirmed that the ſayd awarde pronounced againſt the Spencers was made contrarie to lawe and right, and therefore as the Prelates requeſted, that the ſame might be repealed. And further the ſayde Earles alledged, that the aſſent which they gaue in the ſayde awarde, was for doubte of the vnlawfull force which the Barons brought vnto the ſayde Parliament when they made that awarde, and for that the ſayde Earles that nowe were with the king, had counſayled him to ſuffer the ſayd award to paſſe for feare of the ſayd force, they confeſſed they had done euill, and beſought him of pardon for their offences in ſo doing. The king thus hauing cauſed yͤ Prelates, Erles, Barõs, and lawiers there preſent to vtter their iudgements in maner aforeſayd, he iudicially reuoked and quite diſanulled the proceſſe of the ſayde award, made as wel touching the baniſhment, as the diſinheriting of the Spencers, and reſtored them to his peace and allegeaunce, and to theyr former eſtates in all conditions, as they enioyed the ſame before the making of the ſayde awarde, notwithſtanding certaine letters to the contrarie of the Erle of Lancaſter, and other Lordes of hys faction, which for the approuing & ratifying of the ſaid proceſſe they directed vnder their ſeales to the king as yet remaynyng at London.

They wrote alſo to the Prelates, Juſtices, and Barõs of the Exchequer, to induce the king to giue his aſſent to that whiche in the tenor of their letters was conteyned. The Erle of Hereford, the Lord Roger Mortimer of Chirk, and the Lord Roger Mortimer of Wignore, entring the marches of Wales, came to Glouceſter, and toke that Citie. The Caſtell was alſo deliuered vnto them by the Coneſtable thereof.

The king hauing his people comming dayly vnto him, whereby his armie was hugely increaſed, aboute the feaſt of Saint Nicholas hee ſette forth from London, and with him there wente his brother Edmonde Earle of Kent, John Erle of Richmont, Edmonde Earle of Arundell, and many other great Lordes, and Barons. The Queene with hir children he left in the Tower of London,

The Lorde John de Saint John comming to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the king, at the interceſſion of diuerſe noble men, with much ado had his pardon at length graunted him.

The king paſſing forward ſeaſed into his hãds the townes, caſtels, manors, & goods of them that were agaynſt him. But in the meane time the L. Henrie de Thies, with certaine other that were entred into Glouceſterſhire (hearing that a great multitude of people was aſſembled oute of the Country at Cirenceſter by the kings commaundement) came thither and chaſed them home to their houſes, putting them in feare of their liues, if they ſhould offer to reſiſt him.

The king comming to Crikelade after the feaſt of S. Lucie the virgin, wrote to the Erle of Lancaſter an anſwere of his letters which he had receyued from him at London, modeſtly reprouing him, for that hee had ſo grieuouſly and vndutifully reproched him, without reſpecte had to his royall eſtate, and alſo preſumed to aſſigne him day within the which he ſhould reform thoſe things which he miſliked in him, as if he were his ſubiect and vnderling: and beſide this was nowe ioined with his aduerſaries againſt him, where on his behalf ther had bin no let nor ſtay at any time, but that they might be friends & remaine in quiet togither. From Crikelade the king went to Cirenceſter, where he helde the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, the erles of Norffolk, Pembroke, Surrey, and other great Lordes cõming thither to ioyne theyr powers with his. Thither came alſo a greate ſtrength of footmen, part of the which vnder the leading of one Robert Aquarij, a right famous captain toke the caſtell of Bromfield, thoſe that had the keeping of it ſetting forth of it.

The king keepeth his Chriſtmaſſe at Crikelade.

Earles that came to the king to Crikelade.

1322

The king comming to Worceſter about New yeares tyde, cauſed the walles of the Citie to be repayred, committing the cuſtodie thereof vnto William de Longchampe.

After ỹ Epiphanie he paſſed on ỹ South ſide of Seuerne towards Shrewſburie, where at his cõming thither he was honourably receyued by the burgeſſes that came forth to meet him in armor, & ſo cõueyed him into their towne being ſtrongly fenced.

In this meane time the Scottes now that the truce was ended, entring with a ſtrong power into England, deſtroyed all the countrey to Newcaſtell vpon Tine with fire and ſworde.

The Scots inuade Northũberlande.

The Welchmen with their captaine Griffin Loitis toke ỹ caſtels in Wales which were kept by the people of the L. Mortimer the elder. They toke alſo the caſtels of Mole, Chirk, and Olono, the kepers wherof cõming vnto ỹ K. to Shrewſburie ſubmitted themſelues to him, who ſhortly after ſet thẽ to the tower of Lõdon. The L. Hugh Audley the elder, ỹ L. John de Haſtings & diuerſe other cõming in, & ſubmitting thẽſelues to the K. were likewiſe cõmitted to ward. The L. Roger Damorie entring into the citie of Worceſter deſtroied al ỹ which the K. had appointed to be done about the fortificatiõ therof. The erle of Lãcaſter lying at Pomfret, & hearing of al this buſineſſe, wrote to the erle of Hereford, & other lords ỹ were with him, that they ſhould make haſt to come to him at Pomfret, promiſing frõ thenceforth to bee their generall & leader. The Erle of Hereford reioyſing at theſe newes, togither with al thoſe that were about him, leauing Glouceſter and all other ſtrẽgthes which they held in thoſe parties, ſet forward to paſſe through the middeſt of the realme, ſpoiling by the way mens cattel & goods very diſorderly, & ſo came through to the erle of Lãcaſter.

Caſtels taken by the Welchmen.

The Earle of Lancaſter writeth to the Earle of Hereford.

The Earle of Hereford cõmeth to ioyne with the Earle of Lancaſter.

The king getting into his handes al the Caſtels of his aduerſaries in thoſe parties, went to Hereford, where he was honorably receyued of the Cleargie and Citizens. His army encreaſed dayly, many comming in vnto him, that before durſt not for feare of his aduerſaries.

The B. of Hereford was ſharply checked bycauſe he had taken part with the kings enimies.

The king ſent from hence the Lorde John Haſtings into Southwales, to take in his name the ſeyſine of the Caſtels belonging to the Erle of Herforde, the Lord Roger Dammorie, and the Lorde Hugh Spencer the yonger, which the Barõs had the laſt yere got into theyr hands: all which being now taken to the kings uſe, were furniſhed with faythfull garniſons. The K. after this comming to Gloceſter, condemned the Sherife of Herforde to be hanged, for that he had taken part againſt him with the Barons. The L. Maurice Berkley came to the king to Gloceſter, ſubmitting himſelfe to the kings pleaſure. After this the king came by Weſton under edge towards Couentree, where he had appointed aſwel ſuch as he had lately licenced to depart to theyr homes to refreſh themſelues for a tyme, as alſo diuerſe other, to aſſemble with their powers to go with him from thence agaynſt his aduerſaries. The day of this aſſemble was the Fryday next after the firſt Sunday in Lent.

The lord Berkley ſubmitteth himſelf to the king.

The arm poynted meete a ucentre.

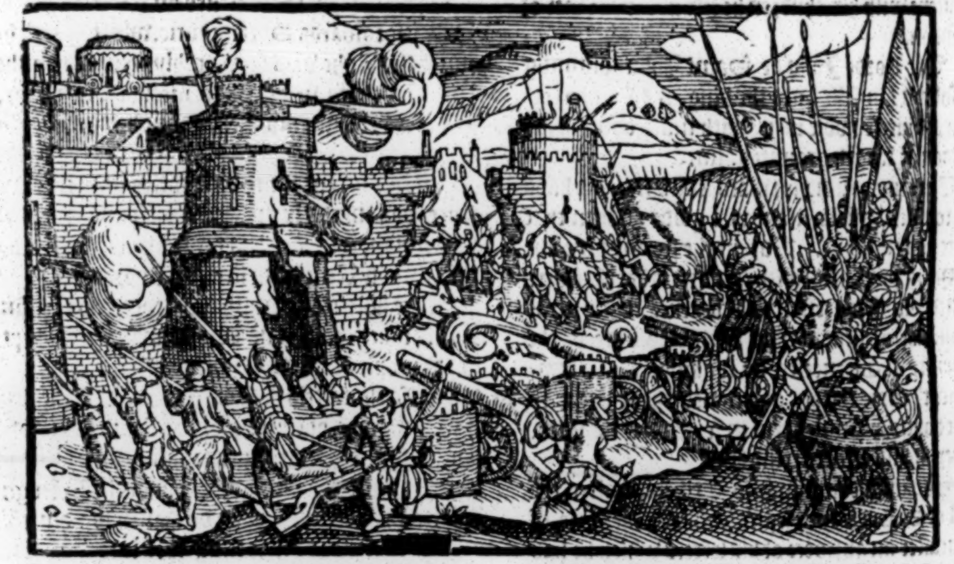
The king from Couentree went to Merual, and there lodged in the Abbey for his more eaſe, writing to William Sutton under Coneſtable of Warwike Caſtle, commaunding him to bee attendãt on the Sherife of Warwikeſhire, in helping him to watche the entryes and iſſues, to and from the Caſtell of Kenilworth that was holden agaynſt him.

Willi

Kenil holde the ki

In the meane tyme certaine of the Lords that were gone to the erle of Lãcaſter beſieged Tikehill caſtel .xv. dayes togither, but preuayled not.

Tikel beſieg



There were letters intercepted about the ſame time, which a meſſenger brought forth of Scotlande, three cloſed and three open, for there were ſixe in all. The king ſent them to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, who by his cõmaundement publiſhed thẽ in open audience at London. The firſt was cloſed with the ſeale of the Lorde Thomas Randulf Erle of Murrey, Lord of Annandale & of Man, Lieutenant to Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, which conteyned a ſafeconduct for ſir Thomas Topcliue chaplaine, & one to be aſſociate with him to come into Scotland, & to returne frõ thence in ſafetie. The ſecond was ſealed with the ſeale of ſir James Dowglas for a like ſafecõduct for the ſame perſons. The third was cloſed with the ſeale of the ſayd Erle of Murrey for the ſafeconduct of the Lord John de Mowbray, & the Lord John de Clifford, and .xl. horſes with their pages for their ſafe comming unto the ſaid Earle into Scotlande, and for their abiding there & returning backe. The fourth was cloſed with the ſeal of James Dowgles, directed to king Arthure. The fifth was cloſed with the ſeale of James Dowglas directed to the lord Rauf Neuill. The ſixt had no direction, but yͤ tenor therof was this: You ſhall underſtand my Lord, that the cõmunication before hãd had is now brought to effect: for the Earle of Herford, the Lordes Roger Damorie, Hugh de Audley the yonger, Bartholmew de Badeliſmer, Roger de Clifforde, John Gifford, Henry Teys, Thomas Manduit, John de Willington, & all other are come to Pomfret, and are readie to make you good aſſurance, ſo that you wil performe couenant with them, to wit for your cõming to ayde us, & go wͭ us into England & Wales, to liue and die with us in our quarel. We therfore beſech you to aſſigne us day and place, where we may meet, & we will be readie to accompliſh fully our buſineſſe: and we beſeeche you to make us a ſafeconduct for .xxx. horſes, that we may in ſafetie come to your parties.

Letters intercepted.

King Arthure a name feyned of purpoſe.

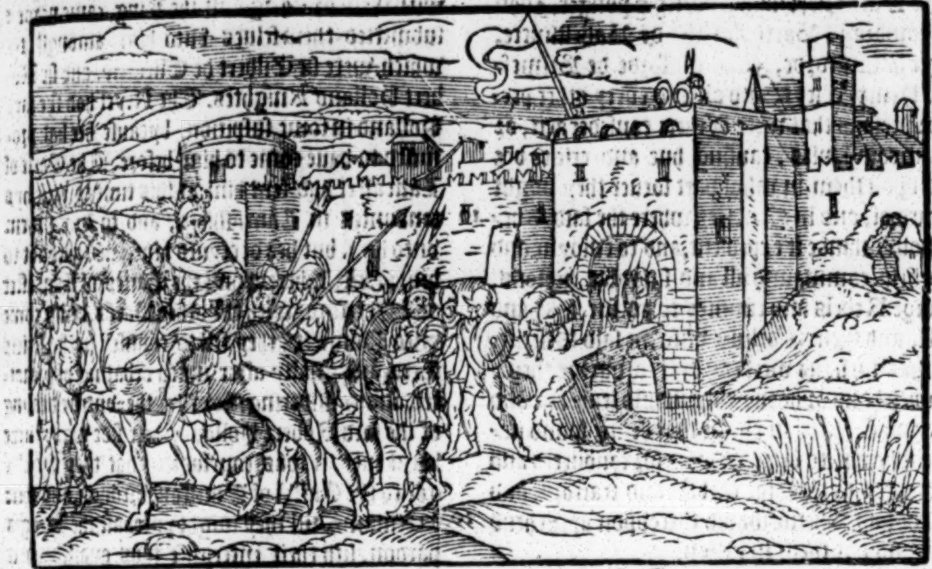
The one lette

The king when ſuch Erles and Lordes as he had licenced for a time were returned (his brother the Earle of Norffolke excepted) & that the moſt part of thoſe mẽ of war were aſſẽbled yͭ had ſummonce, although diuerſe came not at all, about yͤ

Rec

firſt Sundaye in Lent, he ſet forwarde towardes his enemies, hauing with hym to the number of ſixtene hundred men of armes on horſebacke, and footemen innumerable, wyth this power paſſing

The K. ſetteth forward towards his enimies.



forth towardes his aduerſaries, he cauſed proclamation to bee made, that he was readie to receiue all men to his peace, that woulde come and ſubmit themſelues, thoſe excepted whiche had bene at the ſiege of Tickhill Caſtell, or at the taking of the citie of Glouceſter, or at the inuaſion made vppon his men at Brigenorthe.

At his comming to a litle village called Caldwell, he ſent afore him certaine bandes to Burton vpon Trent, where he ment to haue lodged: but the Earles of Lancaſter and Herford, the Lordes Roger Damorie, Hughe Audeley the yonger, John de Moubraye, Barthlomewe de Badeliſmere, Roger de Cliffforde, John Gifford de Bremelſfielde, Henry Tyes, and many other, being gotten thither before, kept the Bridge, and aſſailing the Kynges people whiche hee had thus ſent before, ſome of them they ſlewe, and ſome they wounded, ſo defending the bridge, that none coulde paſſe, and by reaſon that the waters, and ſpecially the riuer of Trent through abundaunce of raine that was lately fallen, were reyſed, there was no meane to paſſe by the fourdes, wherupon the Kyng was conſtreyned to ſtaye the ſpace of three dayes, in whiche meane time, the Earles and theyr complices fortified the bridge at Burton, wyth barriers and ſuche like defences, after the maner of warre, but the kyng at length vpon deliberate aduiſe taken how to paſſe the riuer, ordeyned, that the Earle of Surrey wyth certaine armed men, ſhulde goe ouer by a bridge that was a three miles diſtant from Burton, that he might come vppon the backes of the enemies, as they were fighting with thoſe that ſhulde aſſaile them a frounte. The Erles of Richemonde and Penbroke were appoynted to paſſe by a fourde, which they had got knowledge of, wyth three hundreth horſemen in complete armour, and the Kyng wyth his brother the Earle of Kent ſhoulde followe them, wyth the reſidue of the army, ſauing that Robert Aquarie or Waters, wyth certayne bandes of footemen was commaunded to aſſaile the bridge, whiche hee did very manfully, cauſing the archers and croſſebowes to annoy them that kept it, ſo as hee might drawe the whole power of the enemies that wayes, till the Kyng and the Earles were paſſed by the fourde: But after that the Earles of Lancaſter and Herforde wyth theyr complices, hearde that the King was paſſed with his army, they came forth with theyr people into the fieldes, and put them in order of battaile: but perceyuing the greate puiſſaunce whiche the Kyng had there readie to encounter them, wythout more a doe they fledde, ſetting fyre in the towne, and leauing all theyr victuals and other thynges behinde them. The Kynges people comming ſpeedely forwarde, and entring the towne, quenched the fyre, and fell to the ſpoyle of ſuche thynges as the enimies for haſt had lefte behinde them. The Kyng kept nothing to hymſelfe, but onely a fayre cup that belonged to the Earle of Lancaſter, a peece eſteemed to be of ſome greate valewe.

Robert Aquarie.

The K. paſſeth by a fourde.

The Earles of Lancaſter and Herford flee, and ſet fire in the Towne.

The ſame night beeyng Wedneſday, the K. came to Tutbury, and lodged in the Caſtel, ſending forth the next day with all ſpeede, letters to the Sherif of Derbiſhire and Nottinghamſhire, aduertiſing him, both of the ſucceſſe hee hadde againſt his enimies, and withall, pronouncing thẽ and all their adherents, Rebels and Traitors to hym and hys Realme, and that for ſuche they ſhould be reputed, taken, and vſed. And therefore hee commanded in the ſame letters or writtes, vpon forfeiture of all that the ſaid Sherife might

The K. commeth to Tutburie.

forfeite,

forfeit, he ſhoulde purſue the ſaid Rebels, that is, the Earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, the Lords Roger Damorie, Hugh Audeley yͤ yonger, John de Mowbray, Bartholmewe de Badeliſmere, Roger de Clifforde, John Gifforde de Brimesfield, Henry Tieys, and all and euery other perſon or perſons that were of their confederacie, or in their companies, cauſing hue and crie to bee reiſed vpon them, in what part ſoeuer they might be heard of, and in all places where the ſaid Sherife ſhould thinke it expedient, and to enioyne and ſtraightly commaund all and ſingular perſons, the ſaide Rebels and enimies to purſue, take and arreſt, and them to deliuer vnto the ſaid Sherife, and that ſuche as were not able to purſue them, yet with hand or horne, they ſhould leuie hue and crie againſt them, in payne that being found negligent herein, to be accompted for fauourers and adherentes to the ſaide Rebels and traitors, and that the ſaid Sherife ſhould thereupon apprehend them, and put them in priſon.

Hue and crie.

The writte was dated at Tutburie the eleuenth of March, and the like writtes were directed, and ſente forth to all other Sherifes through the Realme, and likewiſe to the Biſhop of Durham, and to the Juſtice of Cheſter.

Beſide this, hee directed alſo other writtes to yͤ ſaid Sherifes and others, that although he hadde bin conſtreyned to paſſe in forcible wiſe through diuers parties of his Realme, and the marches of Wales, to ſuppreſſe the malitious Rebellion of diuers his ſubiects; and that as yet, hee was conſtreyned to continue his iourney in ſuche forcible wiſe, neuertheleſſe, his pleaſure was, that yͤ peace ſhould be maynteyned, and kept throughout hys Realme, with the ſtatutes, lawes, and cuſtomes inuiolated, and therfore he commaunded the ſayd Sherifes, that they ſhoulde cauſe the ſame to bee proclaymed in places where was thoughte moſt expedient, as wel within liberties as without, inhibiting that any maner of perſon, of what ſtate or condition ſoeuer he was, vpon pain that might fall thereon, to attēpt any thing to the breache of peace but that euery mā ſhuld ſeeke to maintaine & preſerue yͤ peace and tranquilitie of the people, with the ſtatutes, lawes & good cuſtomes of the land, to the vttermoſt of his power: this alwayes obſerued, that yͤ Rebels whereſoeuer they myght be found, ſhoulde be arreſted, and cōmitted to ſafe cuſtody. The date of this writte was at Tutburie aforeſaid yͤ twelfth of March. The L. Roger Damorie lay ſicke in his bed yͤ ſame time in the priorie of Tutburie, who after he had heard what iudgement yͤ K. had pronounced againſt him, departed this life within two dayes after. But the Erles of Lancaſter and Herforde, with other in their cōpany that fled frō yͤ diſcomfiture at Burton, loſt many men and horſes in their fleeing away, by reaſon of ſuch purſute as was made after them. Diuers of them that had taken parte with the Lordes againſt the King, came nowe & ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, amongſt the which, were ſir Gilbert de Elleſfield, and ſir Robert Holland Knightes. The K. yet had the ſayd Holland in ſome ſuſpition, bycauſe hee hat promiſed to haue come to him before. The Earle of Lancaſter had ſent him at this time to raiſe hys tenauntes in Lancaſhiere, and to bring them vnto him, but hee deceyued him, and came not to him at all, whereupon, the Earles of Lancaſter and Hereford, with the other Barōs, being come vnto Pomfret, they fell to counſell in the Friers there, and finally after much debating of yͤ matter, and conſidering, how by the vntrue dealing of the ſaid Robert Holland, their ſide was muche weakened, it was concluded, that they ſhoulde goe to the Caſtel of Dunſtanborough, and there to remaine, till they might purchaſe the Kynges pardon, ſith their enterpriſe thus quailed vnder their hands: and herewith ſetting forwarde that way forth, they came to Borough bridge, wher Sir Andrewe de Herclev with the power of the Counties of Cumberlande and Weſtmerlande had forelayde the paſſage, and there on a Tewſday being the ſixtenth of March, hee ſetting vpon the Barons, in the ende diſcomfited them, and chaſed their people.

Proclamatiōs made for the peace to bee kepte.

The Lorde Damorie departed this life.

In this fight was ſlayne, the Earle of Hereford, the Lord William de Sulley, with ſir Roger de Bourghfield, and diuers others. And there were taken, Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, the Lorde Roger Clifford, ſonne to that Lord Roger which dyed in yͤ battell of Bannockeſborne in Scotland, the Lord Gilbert Talbot, the Lord John Moubray, the Lorde Hugh de Willingtō, the Lord Thomas Manduit, the Lord Warine de Liſle, the Lorde Phillippe Darcy, the Lorde Thomas Wither, the Lorde Henry de Willington, the Lorde Hugh de Knouill, the Lorde Phillippe de Beche, the Lorde Henry de Leiborne, the Lorde Henry de Bradborne, the Lord John de Beckes, the Lorde Thomas Louell, the Lorde William Fitz William, Robert de Wateuille, John de Strikelande, Donel Heron, Walter Paueley of Stretton, and a greate number of other Eſquires, and Gentlemen.

This battell was foughte the fifteenth daye of Marche, in the yeare 1322. after the accompt of them that beginne the yeare at the circumciſion, whiche was in the ſayde fifteenth yeare of thys Kings raigne.

The body of the Earle of Herforde was ſente to Yorke, two Friers of the order of Preachers, being appoynted to looke to it, till the King tooke order for the burying of it.

The Lorde Cliforde alſo, bycauſe hee was wounded with an arrowe, was ſente vnto Yorke.

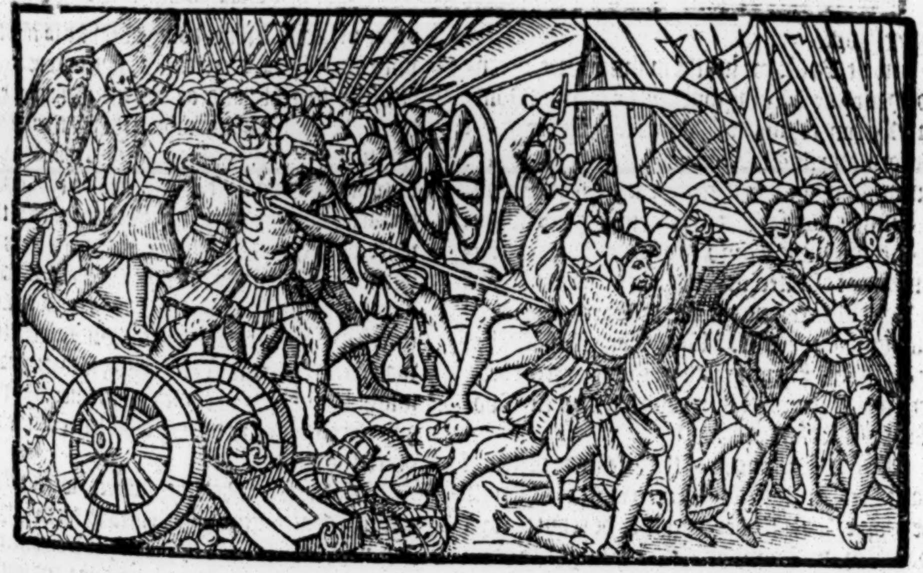
The ſame time, the Lorde Henry Percy tooke the Lorde Henry Tycis, and John de Goldington Knighte, with two Eſquires, and within a fewe dayes after, Donald de Mar tooke the Lord Bartholmewe de Badeliſmere, the Lorde Hugh Audeley the yonger, the Lorde John Gifford, the Lord William Tuchet, and in manner, al thoſe which eſcaped by flighte from this battell, were taken in one place or other, by ſuche of the Kynges ſeruauntes and friendes as purſued them.

The one and twentith of Marche, came Sir Andrew de Harkley vnto Põfret, bringing with him the Earle of Lancaſter and other priſoners. The Kyng was come thither a fewe dayes before, and hadde the Caſtell yeelded to him by the Conneſtable, that not many dayes paſt was appointed to the keeping thereof by the Earle, whiche Earle nowe beeing brought thither captiue, was mocked, ſcorned, and in deriſion called king Arthur.

On the morrowe after beeing Monday, the two and twentith of March, he was brought before theſe noble men, Edmonde Earle of Kente, John Earle of Richmond, Aymer Erle of Pembroke, John Earle of Surrey, Edmond Earle of Arundell, Dauid Earle of Atholl, Robert Earle of Angus, the Lorde Hugh Spencer the father, the Lord Robert de Malmeſthorp Juſtice, and others with them aſſociate, before whom he was arreigned of high treaſon, for that he hadde reyſed warre againſt the king, and defended the paſſage of Burton bridge, for the ſpace of three dayes togither againſte him, and after when it was perceiued that the King had paſſed the riuer, he with Humfrey de Bohun Erle of Hereford, and other their complices like Traitors, ſet fire in the ſayde Towne, and cruelly brent part of the houſes, and men of the ſame Towne, and after, the ſaid Erle of Lancaſter with his complices, arraunged him ſelfe in fielde with his army and banners diſplaid ready to fight againſt the King, till that perceyuing the Kings power to be ouerſtrong for hym and his partakers to reſiſt, hee togither with them fled, committing by the way diuers felonies and robberies, till they came to Burrough bridge, where finding certaine of the kings faithfull ſubiects ready to reſiſt them, they aſſayled the ſayde faythfull ſubiectes with force of armes and banners diſplayed, ſlaying diuers of them, till finally, the ſaide Earle of Lancaſter was taken, and other of his complices, ſome taken, ſome ſlayne, and the reſidue put to flighte, ſo that there wanted no good will in the ſayde Earle of Lancaſter and others, why the Kyng ſhoulde not haue bin vanquiſhed, whiche treaſons, murthers, brenning of houſes, deſtroying of the Kings people, beeing playnely and manifeſtly knowen to the Earles, Barons, Lords, and other people of the lande, the ſayde Earle of Lancaſter was therevpon adiudged to die, according to the lawe in ſuche caſes prouided, that is, to bee drawen, hanged, and headed: but bycauſe hee was the Queenes vncle, and ſonne to the Kinges vncle, hee was pardoned of all but the heading, and ſo accordingly therevnto, hee ſuffered at Pountfret the two and twentith of Marche.

The Earle of Lancaſter arreigned.

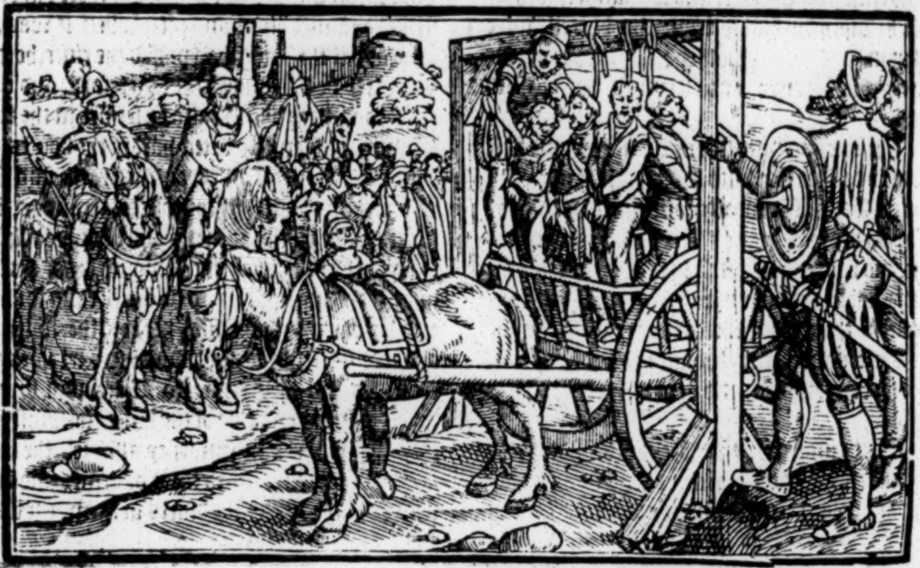
He is beheaded.



Thus the King ſeemed to be reuenged of the diſpleaſure done to hym by the Earle of Lancaſter, for the beheading of Peeres de Gauaſton Earle of Cornewall, whome hee ſo deerely loued, and bycauſe the Earle of Lancaſter was the Chiefe occaſioner of his deathe, the King neuer loued hym entierly after.

And ſo this mighty Earle of Lancaſter came to his end, being the greateſt Pere in the Realm, and one of the mightieſt Erles in Chriſtendome: for when he began to leuie warre againſt the K. he was poſſeſſed of fiue Earledomes, Lancaſter, Lincolne, Saliſburie, Leiceſter, and Derby, beſide other ſeigniories, lands, and poſſeſſiōs, great to his aduauncement in honor and puiſſance.

The ſame day, the Lorde William Tuchet, the Lord William Fitz Willi. the Lord Warr de Liſle, the Lord Henry Bradborne, and the L. William Chenie Barons, with John Page an Eſquire, were drawen and hanged at Pomfret aforeſaide, and then ſhortly after, Roger Lorde Clifford, John Lord Moubray, and Sir Goſſein d'Euill Barons, were drawen and hanged at Yorke.



And at Briſtowe in like manner were executed, Henry de Willington, and ſir Henry Montford Baronets, and at Glouceſter, yͤ Lorde John Gifford, and ſir William Elmebridge Knighte: and at London, the Lord Henry Tyes Baron, at Winchelſie, ſir Thomas Culpepper Knight, at Windſor, the Lord Francis de Aldham Baron, and at Canterbury, the Lord Bartholmewe de Badeliſmere, and the Lorde Bartholmewe de Aſhbornham Barōs. Alſo at Cardeif in Wales, ſir William Fleming Knight was executed: diuers wer executed in their countreys, as ſir Thomas Mandit and others.

Auesburie.
Nic. Triuet.

But nowe touching the foreſayde Earle of Lancaſter, great ſtrife roſe afterwards amongſt the people, whether hee oughte to be reputed for a Sainct or no. Some held, that he ought to be no leſſe eſteemed, for that he did many almes deedes in his life time, honored men of Religion, and maynteyned a true quarrell til his liues ende. Alſo, his enimies continued not long after, but came to euill ende.

Scant Saint-like partes.

Others conceyued an other opinion of hym, alledging, that hee fauoured not his wife, but lyued in ſpouſe breache, defiling a greate number of damoſels & Gentlewomen. If any offended him, he ſlew him ſhortly after in his wrathfull moode. Apoſtataes and other euill doers he mainteyned, and would not ſuffer them to be puniſhed by due order of lawe. All his doings hee vſed to cōmitte vnto one of his Secretaries, and tooke no heede himſelfe thereof: and as for the manner of his death, he fledde ſhamefully in the fight, and was taken and put to death againſt his will, bycauſe he could not auoide it: yet by reaſon of certayne miracles whiche were ſaid to be done, neere to the place, both where he ſuffered, and where hee was buried, cauſed many to thinke he was a Sainct, howbeit, at length, by the Kings commaundement, the Church dores of the Priory where hee was buried, were ſhut and cloſed, ſo that no man might be ſuffered to come to the tombe to bring any offerings, or to do any other kinde of deuotion to the ſame.

Alſo, the hill where hee ſuffered, was kept by certaine Gaſcoignes, appoynted by the L. Hugh Spencer the ſonne, as then lying at Pounfret, to the ende that no people ſhoulde come and make their prayers there in worſhip of the ſaid Earle, whome they tooke verily for a Martir.

When the King had ſubdued the Barons, ſhortly after, aboute the feaſt of the Aſcention of our Lord, he held a Parliamēt at Yorke, in whiche Parliament, the record and whole proceſſe of the decree or iudgement concerning the diſinheriting of the Spencers, ordeined by the Lordes in Parliament aſſembled at London, the laſt ſommer, was now throughly examined, and for their errors therein found, the ſame recorde and proceſſe was clerely adnihillated and reuerſed, and the ſayd Spencers were reſtored to al their lands and offices, as before. And in the ſame Parliamēt the Lorde Hugh Spencer the father was made Earle of Wincheſter, and the Lorde Andrew de Herkley Earle of Carleill.

Moreouer, in the ſame Parliamente, all ſuche were diſinherited as had taken part with yͤ Erles of Lancaſter & Hereford, except the Lorde Hugh Audeley the yonger, and a few other, the whyche Lord Hugh was pardoned, bycauſe he had married the Kings neece, that was ſiſter to Gilberte de Clare Earle of Glouceſter, which was ſlayne in Scotlande, at the battell of Bannockeſborne as before is mentioned.

Alſo, maſter Robert Baldocke, a man euil beloued in the Realme, is made Lord Chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great fauourers of yͤ Spēcers, and ſo likewiſe was the Earle of Arundell, and thereby it may be thought, that the Spencers did help to aduance them into the Kings fauour, ſo that they bare no ſmall rule in the Realme, during the time that the ſame Spencers continued in proſperitie, which for yͤ tearme of fiue yeres after that the foreſaide Barons (as before is expreſſed) were brought to confuſion, did wonderfully encreaſe, and the Queene for that ſhe gaue good ~~and faithfull~~ counſaile, was nothing regarded, but by the Spencers meanes, cleerely worne out of the Kings fauour.

Moreouer, we finde, that in this Parliament holden at Yorke, the Kings eldeſt ſonne Edward was made Prince of Wales, and Duke of Aquitaine.

Alſo, the King cauſed the ordinances made by the Earles and Barons to be examined by men of greate knowledge and ſkill, and ſuche as were thought neceſſary to be eſtabliſhed, he commaunded that the ſame ſhoulde be called ſtatutes, and not ordinances. Beſide a great ſubſedie graunted to the King by the Temporaltie, the Cleargie of the prouince of Caunterburie graunted fiue pēce of euery marke, and they of yͤ prouince of Yorke four pence.

Statutes.

A ſubſedie.

Aymer Earle of Pembroke, beeing returned home from this Parliamente holden at Yorke, was arreſted by certaine Knightes, ſent with authoritie thereto from the King, who brought him backe to Yorke, ~~where at length~~, through ſute of certayne noble men, hee was vpon his oth taken to be a faithfull ſubiect, and in conſideration of a fine whiche hee payed to the King, ſet at libertie.

Addition to Triuet.
The Earle of Pembroke arreſted.

The occaſion of his empriſonmente came, for that he was accuſed and detected to bee a ſecrete fauourer of the Barons cauſe againſt the Spencers in time of the late troubles.

Moreouer, ſhortly after, the King gathered the ſixth peny of the temporall mens goodes thorough Englande, Irelande and Wales, whyche had bin graunted to him at the foreſaide Parliament holden at Yorke, towards the defending of the Realme againſt the Scottes.

Fabian.

This taxe was not gathered withoute greate murmure and grudge, the Realme beeing in ſuch euill and miſerable ſtate as it then was.

This yeare alſo, the ſunne appeared to mans ſighte in coulour like to bloud, and ſo continued ſixe houres, that is to witte, from ſeuen of the clocke in yͤ morning of yͤ laſt day of October, vnto one of yͤ clocke in the after none of yͤ ſame day.

Here is to bee noted, that during the tyme whileſt the ciuill warre was in hande betwixt K. Edward and his Barons, the Scottes & Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scottes waſted and deſtroyed the countrey of yͤ Biſhopricke of Durhā (as before ye haue partly heard) and yͤ Frēchmē made roades and incurſions into the borders

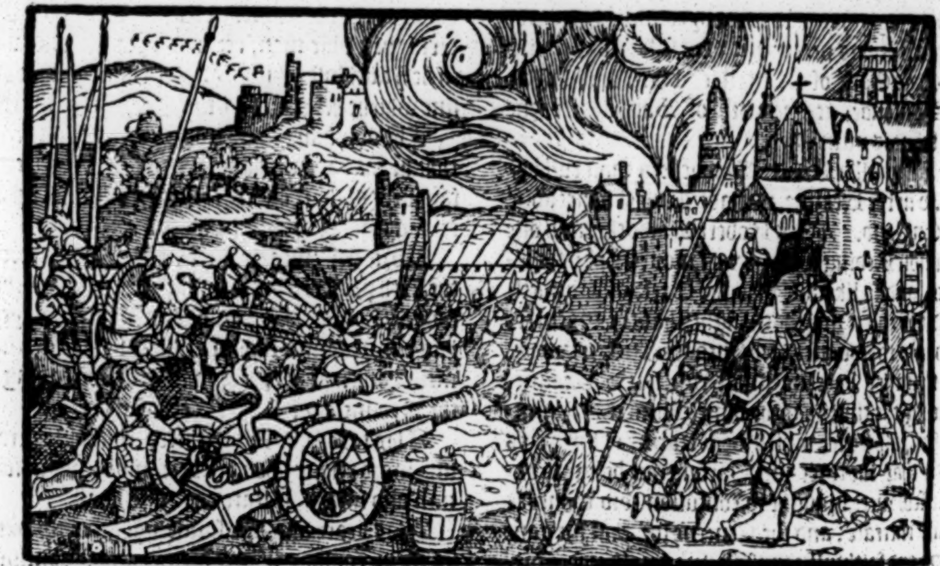
Polidor.

The Scottes inuade the Biſhopricke of Durham.

of Guienne,

of Guyenne, alledging, that they did it vpon good and ſufficiente occaſion, for that King Edwarde had not done his homage vnto the Kyng of Fraunce, as he ought to haue done, for yͤ Duchie of Aquitaine, and yͤ countie of Pontieu. But the true occaſiō that moued them to attempt the warres at that preſent, was, for that they were in hope to recouer all the lands which the Kyng of Englande helde within Fraunce, cleerely out of his hands, for ſo much as they vnderſtood the diſcord betwixt him and his Barons, and how infortunately hee had ſpedde againſt the Scottes, by reaſon whereof, they iudged the time to ſerue moſt fitly now for their purpoſe.

In the octaues of the natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt, Roberte Bruce entring into Englande by Carleill, kept on his way through Cumberland, Coupland, Kendall, and ſo into Lancaſhire till he came to Preſto in Andernes, which Towne hee brente, as hee had done others in the countreys through whiche he had paſſed. There were ſome of the Scottes that forreyd the countrey fyue miles on this ſide Preſton Southwardes, and thus beeing fourescore long myles within Englande, they returned homewardes, and entred againe into Scotlande without encounter, after they had bin at this time within Englande the ſpace of three weekes and three dayes.



See more hereof in Scotlande page 323. and 324.

Kyng Edwarde being thus beſette with two miſchiefes both at one time, thought good firſt to prouide remedie againſte the nerer daunger, whiche by the Scottes was ſtill at hande, and therefore he meant to goe againſt them hymſelfe, and to ſend his brother Edmond Earle of Kent into Guyenne, to defende that countrey from the Frenchmen.

An. reg. 16.

The King goeth into Scotlande with an army.
Rich. South.
Merimouth.

Heerevppon nowe in the ſixteenth yeare of hys raigne, after that yͤ Scottes were returned home with a great bootie and rich ſpoyle, he gote togyther a wonderfull greate army of men, and entring into Scotland, paſſed far within the Cōtrey, not finding any reſiſtance at all as the moſt parte of oure writers doe agree, but at length, through famine and diſeaſes of the flixe and other maladies that fell amongſt the Engliſhmen in the army, hee was conſtreyned to come backe, and in his way, beſieged the Caſtell of Norham, whiche fortreſſe hee wanne within tenne dayes after he had begun to aſſault it.

Robert Bruce immediately after the Engliſh army was retired home, reyſed a power, and entring into England by Sulway ſands, lay at a place called Bequmond, not paſt three myles from Carleill by the ſpace of fiue dayes, ſending in the meane time the moſt parte of his army abroade to ſpoyle and harrie the countrey on euery ſide, and afterwardes remouing from thence, hee paſſeth towardes Blackamore, hauing knowledge by diligente eſpials, that King Edwarde was in thoſe parties, giuing hymſelfe more to paſtime in hunting there within the woddes about Blackamore, than to the good ordering of his people which he had then about him. Whereuppon, the Scottiſhe King Bruce, entring into that wilde and mooriſh countrey, where he hadde not bin afore, conueyed his enterprice ſo warely, and with ſuche diligente induſtrie, that on Saint Lukes day, comming vppon the Engliſh army at vnwares, he put the ſame to flight, ſo that the King himſelfe was in great daunger to haue bin taken priſoner. For as ſome authors write, the Scottes had almoſt taken him at dynner in the Abbey of Beighland.

Sir John Britaigne Earle of Richmonde was taken at this battell, and the Kinges treaſor was ſpoyled and carried away, with the prouiſion and ordinaunce that belonged to the hoſt.

The King eſcaping away, got to Yorke, and the Scottes hauing thus the vpper hande, after they had ſpoyled the Monaſterie of Riuale, and taken their pleaſure there, they paſſed forthe into Yorkeſwolde, deſtroying that countrey euen almoſt vnto Beuerley, whiche Towne they raunſomed, receyuing a ſumme of money for ſparing it, leaſt they ſhoulde haue brent it, as they did other.

The Earle of Carleill beeing commaunded by the King to raiſe the powers of Cumberland, Weſtmerland, & Lancaſhire, did ſo, & according to that hee hadde in commaundemente, bringing them belowe the countreys vnto Yorke, founde the Kyng there in no plighte to giue battell to his enimies, all things beeing broughte about him into great confuſion: whereupon, he licenſed his people to depart to their homes again, and yͤ Scottes ſo returned without battell home into their countreys, entring into Scotlande the morrow after Alhallowen day, after they hadde remayned in Englande at this time, one whole moneth and four dayes.

Some write, that in their returne, they ſpoyled Northallerton, and dyuers other Townes and places as they paſſed.

The ſame yeare, there was a great conſpiracie practiſed by certayne perſons that had taken part with the Barons in the late warres, purpoſing to ſet at libertie in one ſelfe nighte, all thoſe noble men and other, that were by the King kept in priſon for that quarrell. Certayne therefore of thoſe conſpiratours, came to the Caſtell of Walingford, within the whiche, the Lorde Maurice Berkley, and the Lord Hugh Audeley remained as priſoners. The conſpiratours found ſhift to enter the Caſtell by a poſterne gate towardes the Thaimes ſide, but yet, not ſo ſecretely, but that yͤ towneſmē hauing knowledge thereof, aſſembled togither, and beſieged them that were ſo entred the Caſtell, til the Earles of Kent and Wincheſter came with a great power to reenforſe yͤ ſiege, ſo that in the ende, they that had made this attēpt fled into the Chappel of the Caſtel, in hope to bee ſaued through ſanctuarie of the place, but they were (againſt yͤ willes of yͤ Deane & Prieſts of yͤ colledge there that ſought to defende them) taken forthe by force, ſo that Sir John de Goldington knight, ſir Edmond of the Bech Chaplayne, and an Eſquire called Roger Walton, were ſent to Pomfret, & there put in priſon, the Eſquire was after ſent to Yorke, and there drawen and hāged. This enterpriſe cauſed all other priſoners to bee more ſtraightly loked to.

This yeare, was begun a wicked practiſe of treaſon vpon this occaſion. When K. Edwarde hauing aſſaied fortune ſo froward towardes him in chance of war againſt the Scottes at ſundry times, was therby taught to doubt the trial therof any further, and rather to ſeeke for peace, he appointed Andrewe Herkley Earle of Carleill, to ſeeke ſome meanes, whereby a peace myghte bee concluded betwixt him and King Robert.

Polidor.

The Erle by the Kings cōmandement, going into Scotlād, & cōming vnto K. Robert, whome he found at Loghmaban, entreated with hym of warre, and not of peace, for whether it were ſo that he deſpaired of yͤ ſtate of K. Edwards buſineſſe, the which proſpered neither at home nor abroade, chiefly, by reaſon of his owne wilfull negligence (as ſome write:) or whether of his owne nature, this Earle delited in nothing ſo muche, as in deceipt, craft, and treaſon: he concluded vpon pointes with the Scottiſh King, how, whē, and where Kyng Edwarde ſhoulde be betrayed, and to the ende that couenaunted faith on eyther ſide might be the more ſurely kept and obſerued, the ſiſter of King Robert was fiaunced vnto the ſaid Earle of Carleill, a righte beautifull Lady and a comely as was any where to be founde.

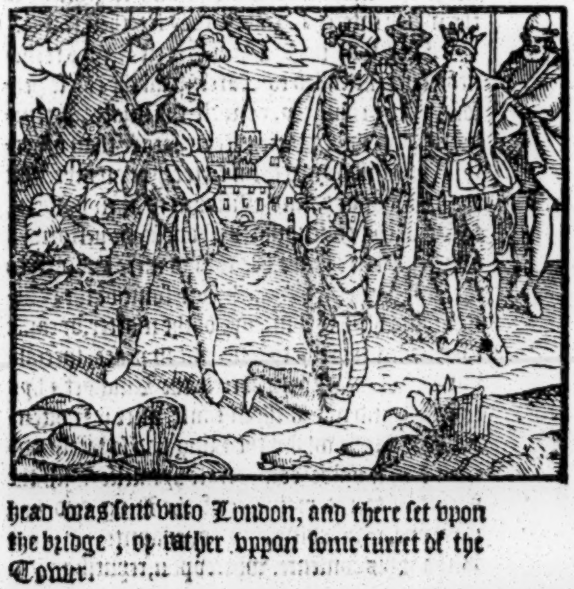
R. Southwell
Polidor.

This practiſe beeyng thus contriued, ſhortly after the Kyng got knowledge thereof, though by whom it was not certainely knowne, ſo hard a thyng it is for manne to conceale and keepe ſecret that thing whyche hee goeth about, though hee ſtudie neuer ſo muche ſo to doe, namely in matters of treaſon, whyche hathe a thouſande feete to creepe abroade, and whyche way ſoeuer it goeth, it leaueth a thouſand printes of the foteſteppes behynde it, by the which it may be diſcouered to the worlde.

Treaſon will euer come to light by one meane or other.

When therefore the Earle came backe agayne to Carleill, hee was arreſted by commaundemente from the Kyng, and ſtraightwayes beeyng arreigned of the treaſon, hee was therof condemned and put to execution. Hys head was ſent vnto London, and there ſet vpon the bridge, or rather vppon ſome turret of the Tower.

1323
The Earle of Carleile put to death.



This was the ende of ſir Andrewe Herkeley, worthily ſuffering for his wicked offences, (as ſome haue recorded) but there be that write otherwiſe (as it may well be) thus, That this Earle of Carleill, perceyuing the miſerie of his countrey, without conſent of the King of Englande, made peace with the king of Scottes, vnder this forme as by Richard Southwell we finde recorded.

R. Southwell.

Firſte, the Earle promiſed faithfully for hym and his heires, that they ſhuld with all their force and meanes poſſible, ſeeke to mainteyne the ſayde King of Scottes, his heires and ſucceſſors, in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Kingdome of Scotland, and that to their powers, they ſhould fighte againſt all thoſe that woulde not agree vnto that couenaunt, as againſt them that ſhould ſeeme to be enimies vnto the common wealth of both the Realmes of Englande and Scotlande. The King of Scottes promiſed faithfully for hys part, to defende the ſayde Earle, his heires, and adherents in the ſaid couenant or pactiõ, and not onely to keepe peace with Englande, but alſo to buyld a Monaſterie within Scotland, aſſigning reuenewes thereto, to the valewe of fiue hundred markes, to celebrate deuine ſeruice, and to pray cõtinually for the ſoules of them that were dead, by occaſion of the paſſed warres betwixte England and Scotland, and further, that he ſhoulde giue to the Kyng of England within ten yeares, fortie thouſande poundes of ſiluer, and that the King of Englande ſhoulde haue the Kyng of Scottes eldeſt ſonne to marrie hym vnto ſome Lady of his bloud as he ſhould thinke expediente. To the performance of all whiche couenauntes well and truely to bee obſerued, Thomas Randulfe Earle of Murrey ſware on the behalfe of the King of Scottes, and the Earle of Carleill ſware for him ſelfe, and heerewith, certaine writings indented were drawen and engroſſed, to the which interchangeably they ſet their ſeales.

After that the Earle of Carleill was returned home, he called to Carleill all the chiefe perſons of the countrey, as well ſpirituall as temporall, and there rather through feare than otherwiſe, he conſtreyned them to receyue an othe, that they ſhoulde ayde and aſſiſt him to their powers, to ſee all the couenauntes aboueſayde performed and kept. After that theſe things were knowen to the King and Realm, although ſome of the communaltie liked wel inough of the matter, bycauſe they hoped thereby to remayne in peace, ſpecially thoſe of the North partes, the King yet & hys counſell (and not without cauſe) were ſore offended, for that he whom the King had ſo lately aduaunced, ſhoulde confederate hymſelfe with the Scottes, to the preiudice of the King and hys Crowne, concluding any couenauntes of peace without his conſente, whervpon, reputing hym for a ranke Traytor, the K. ſent vnto the Lorde Antony Lucy, to apprehende the ſayde Earle by ſome meanes if he might, and for his paynes, hee ſhould not faile to be well rewarded.

The Lucy.

The Lord Lucy watching his time when the Earles men were gone ſome whither abroade, and but fewe left about him, the morrow after the feaſt of S. Mathew the Apoſtle, he entred yͤ Caſtell of Carleil, as it were, to talke with the Erle of ſome buſines, as his maner was at other times to doe. He had with him ſir Hugh Lowther, Sir Richard Dẽton, & ſir Hugh Moriceby knights, and four Eſquires, beſide other priuily armed, ſo that leauing ſome at euery gate and dore as hee entred, hee came into the hall, and there finding yͤ Earle enditing letters, arreſted him. Heerewith, when certayne of the Earles ſeruauntes made a noiſe, and cried treaſon, treaſon, the porter of the inner gate would haue ſhut it vppon them that were thus entred, but ſir Richard Denton ſlewe that porter with his owne handes, and there was not one more ſlaine by them in yͤ apprehẽſion of the Earle, for all other his ſeruaunts yelded them ſelues and the houſe vnto the ſaide Lorde Lucy, withoute more reſiſtance: one of his ſeruauntes yet that ſawe theſe doings, got away, and with all ſpeede, ranne to the peele of Heyhead, and ſhewed vnto the Earles brother Mighell Herkeley what was chanced to the Earle, whervpon, the ſayd Mighell forthwith fledde into Scotlãd, and with him ſir William Blount Knighte, a Scottiſhman, and diuers other that were of the Earles priuie counſell. The Lord Lucy ſtraightwayes ſent a meſſenger to yͤ King vnto Yorke, aduertiſing him how he had taken the Earle, and therefore required to vnderſtande further of the Kings pleaſure. The King forthwith ſente the Lorde Geffrey Scrowbe Iuſtice, with a number of armed men vnto Carleill, the whiche came thither on Saint Chaddes day, and the morrow after, being the thirde of Marche, hee ſet in iudgement vpon the ſaid Earle, in yͤ Caſtell of Carleill, and there (as out of the Kings mouth) hee pronounced ſentence againſte him in this wiſe, firſt, that he ſhould be diſgraded of his Erledome, by the taking away from him the ſworde whiche the King had gird him with, and likewiſe of hys Knighthood, by cutting off his ſpurres from hys heeles, and that after this, hee ſhoulde bee drawen from the Caſtell through the Citie vnto yͤ place of execution, where felons were accuſtomed to ſuffer, and there to bee hanged, an after headed, and his head to be ſent vnto London, there to bee ſet aloft vppon one of the turrets of the Tower, and his quarters to be deuided. one to be ſet vp at Carleill, an other at New caſtell vpon Tyne, the third at Briſtow, and the fourth at Douer.

When he had heard this iudgement, he ſaid, you haue deuided my body at your pleaſure, and I committe my ſoule to God, and being according to the iudgement drawen to the place where hee ſuffered, hee neuer ſhranke at the matter, but boldly behaued himſelfe, declaring at the very houre of his deathe, that his intention in concluding the agreement with the Scottes was good, and proceeding not of any euill meaning, but tẽding onely to the wealthe and quietneſſe of the Realme. Neyther coulde ſuch Friers as were permitted to come to him before his arreignemẽt to heare his confeſſiõ, get any thing more of him, but that his meaning was good, and that whych he had concluded with the K. of Scots, was not done vpon any euill purpoſe, whereby any hurte mighte enſue, eyther to the K. or to the Realme.

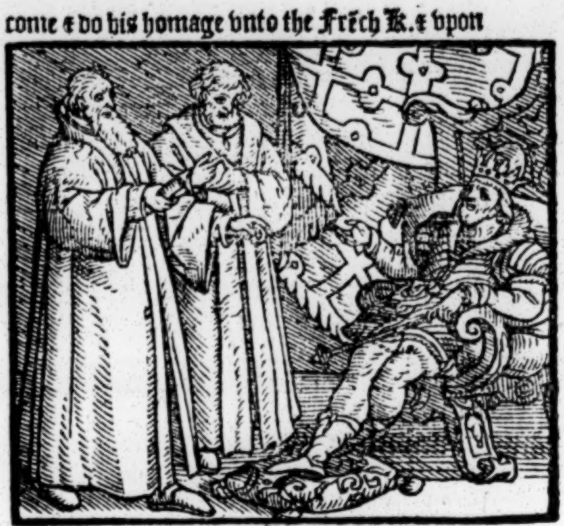
Thus haue wee thoughte good, to ſhewe the cauſe of this Earles death, as by ſome writers it hath bin regiſtred, although there bee that write, that the ouerthrowe at Beighland chaunced thorough his fault, by miſleading a great part of the Kings hoſt, and that therefore the King beeyng offended with him, cauſed him to be put to death, albeit as I thinke, no ſuche matter was alledged againſt him at the time of his arreignement.

About this ſeaſon, was yͤ fundation begun of S. Michaels colledge in Cambridge, by one ſir Henry Stanton knight, Chãcellor of yͤ Eſcheker

About the feaſt of the Aſcention, there came as commiſſioners from the King of England, vnto Newcaſtell, Aymeric Earle of Pembroke, and the Lord Chamberlain, Hugh Spenſer the yonger, and other four perſonages of good accompte.

And from the King of Scottes, there came yͤ B. of S. Andrewes, Thomas Randolfe Earle of Murrey, ⁊ other four of good credite to treate of peace, or at the leaſt wiſe of ſome long truce, ⁊ through yͤ good wil and pleſure of God, yͤ author of al peace and quietneſſe, they concluded vpon a truce, to endure for thirtene yeres, and ſo about yͤ feaſt of S. Barnabe the Apoſtle, it was proclaymed in both Realmes, but ſo yet, that they might not traffike togither, bycauſe of the excommunication, wherewith the Scottes were as yet entangled, although as ſome write, about the ſame time, the interdict wherein the Realme of Scotlande ſtoode bounde, was by Pope Iohn releſſed.

The Frenche King beeing lately come to the crowne, ſent certaine Ambaſſadors vnto K. Edward, to wit, yͤ L. Beouille, and one Andreas de Florentia a notarie, to giue ſummonance to him frõ yͤ french K. to come ⁊ do homage for yͤ landes which he held in France, as for the Duchie of Aquitaine, ⁊ the countie of Pontieu, and although yͤ L. Chamberlaine, Hugh Spenſer the ſon, and the L. Chancellor, Roberte Baldocke, did what they coulde, to procure theſe Ambaſſadors not to declare the cauſe of their cõming to the king, yet whẽ they ſhould depart, they admoniſhed yͤ K. to come ⁊ do his homage vnto the Frẽch K. ⁊ vpon this admonitiõ, the ſayde Andreas framed a publike inſtrumẽt, by vertue wherof, yͤ frẽch K. made proceſſe againſt the K. of England, ⁊ ſeaſed into his hands diuers townes ⁊ Caſtels in Aquitaine, alledging, yͭ he did it for yͤ contumacie ſhewed by yͤ K. of Englãd, in refuſing to come to do his homage, being lawfully ſummoned, although yͤ K. was throughly informed, yͭ the ſummonãce was neither lawful nor touched him any thing at all.



The Lordo Mortimer breketh out of the tower.

About the ſame time, the L. Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giuing his kepers a drink yͭ brought thẽ into a ſound and heauie ſleepe, eſcaped out of the Tower of London where he was priſoner.

This eſcape of the L. Mortimer, greatly troubled yͤ K. ſo yͭ immediately vpon the firſt newes, he wrote to all the Shrifes of the Realm, that if hee chanced to come within their roumthes, they ſhuld cauſe hue ⁊ crie to be reiſed, ſo as hee mighte be ſtaied and arreſted, but he made ſuch ſhift, that he gote ouer into France, where he was receyued by a L. of Picardie, named Mounſier Iohn de Ficules, who had faire lands in England, ⁊ therfore the K. wrote to him, reprouing him of vnthankfulneſſe, cõſidering he had bin euer ready to pleaſure him, and to aduance his profites ⁊ commodities, ⁊ yet notwithſtanding, he did ſuccoure the ſaid Lord Mortimer, and other Rebels that were fled out of his Realme. In Lent this yere, a Parliament was holdẽ at Londõ, in yͤ which, diuers things were entreated, amõgſt other, yͤ chiefeſt was, to determine for yͤ ſending of ſome honorable Ambaſſage vnto yͤ french K. to excuſe yͤ K. for not cõming to him to do his homage, according to yͤ pretẽded ſommonance. In the ſame Parliamẽt, Adam B. of Hereford was arreſted, ⁊ examined vpon points of treaſon, for aiding ſuccouring ⁊ mainteining yͤ Mortimers, ⁊ other of the rebels. This B. was rekoned to be wiſe, ſubtill, and learned, but otherwiſe, wilfull, preſumptuous, ⁊ giuen to mainteine factiõs. At yͤ firſt, he diſdeined to make any aunſwere at all, ⁊ finally, when he was in maner forced therto, hee flatly

1324

A parliament.

The biſhop of Hereforde arreſted.

Tho. de la More.

Tho. VValſ.

tolde the king, that he mighte not make any aunſwere to ſuche matters as hee was charged with, except by the licence and conſent of his Metropolitane yͤ Archb. of Canterbury, & other his peeres. Herevpõ, the ſaid Archb. and other Biſhops made ſuch ſute, that hee was committed to the keeping of the ſaid Archb. with him to remaine, till the K. had taken order for his further aunſwere.

The preſumptuous demeanor of Prelates.

Within fewe dayes after, when the K. called him againe before his preſence to make aunſwere to the matters layde againſt him, the Archbiſhops of Cãterbury, Yorke, Dublin, and x. other biſhops came with their Croſſes afore them, and vnder a colour of the priuiledge & liberties of the Churche, tooke him away before he had made any anſwere, forbidding al men on paine of excommunication, to lay any hands vpon him.

The K. greatly offended with this bolde proceeding of the Prelates, cauſed yet an inqueſt to be empanelled, to enquire of the B. of Herefordes treaſons, and vpon yͤ finding of him giltie, he ceaſed into his hands al the temporalties that belonged to his Biſhopricke, and ſpoyled his manors and houſes moſt violently, in reuenge of his diſloyall dealings.

Record. Tur.
Landes belonging to the Templers.

[illegible]

Moreouer, in this Parliament, the landes and poſſeſſions that belonged ſometime to the Templers, (and had bin deliuered vnto the Knightes Hoſpitalers, otherwiſe called knightes of yͤ Rodes by yͤ K. in the ſeuenth yeare of his raigne (according to the decree of the counſell of Vienna) were by authoritie of this Parliament, aſſured vnto the ſaide knightes, to enioy to them and their ſucceſſors for euer.

Alſo it was concluded, that the Earle of Kẽt, and the Archb. of Dublin ſhould goe ouer as Ambaſſadors into Fraunce, to excuſe the King for his not cõming in perſon to the French K. to do hys homage for the lands he held in Fraunce.

Licence to burie the bodyes of the rebels.
Rec. Tur.

Moreouer in the ſame Parliament, the Kyng graunted, that all the dead bodies of his enimies & Rebels that had ſuffered and hanged ſtill on the gallowes, ſhould be taken downe, and buried in yͤ Churchyards nexte to the places where the ſame bodies were hanging, and not elſe where, by ſuche as would take paine to bury thẽ, as by his writtes directed to the Sherifes of London, and of the counties of Middleſex, Kẽt, Glouceſter, Yorke, & Buckingham it appeared. And not only this libertie was granted at yͤ time for the taking downe of thoſe bodies, but as ſome write, it was decreed by authoritie in yͤ ſame Parliament, that the bodies of all thoſe that from thenceforth ſhould be hãged for felonies, ſhould incontinently be buried, which ordinance hath bin euer ſithence obſerued.

Polidor.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Fraunce.

The Earle of Kente, and the Archb. of Dublin going ouer into France, could not light vpon any good concluſion for the matter about the whyche they were ſente, bycauſe the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, the L. Rauſe Baſſet of Draitõ, being the kings Seneſhall in Guienne, had ouerthrowen a certayne Towne, newly fortified by yͤ Frenchmen on the frontiers, for that the inhabitants, truſting on the Frenche kings fauour and maintenance, refuſed to obey the lawes and ordinances of the cõtrey of Aquitaine, and ſeemed to deſpiſe and ſet at naught the authoritie of yͤ ſayde L. Baſſet in that countrey, contrary to all righte, good order or reaſon. Neuertheleſſe, the Frenche K. tooke the matter ſo greeuouſly, that except the L. Baſſet might be cõſtreyned to come vnto Paris, & there make aunſwer to his offence, he would not hearken to any other ſatiſfactiõ. And therevpõ, whẽ the Ambaſſadors were returned, he ſente hys vncle the Lord Charles de Valoys Erle of Aniou with a mighty army againſt the Engliſh ſubiects into Guyenne, where entring into Agenois, hee tooke and ſeyſed all that countrey into the French kings hands. The Erle of Kent being now gotten into thoſe parties, with a greate number of other captaines and men of war, ſent thither by the K. of England, reſiſted the enimies very manfully, in ſo much, yͭ vpon their approch to yͤ Ryolle, a ſtrõg towne in thoſe parties, the Erle of Kẽt as then being within it, did iſſue forth, & giuing them battell, ſlew as ſome write, 14. C. of their men, ſo that they wer gladde to lodge at the firſt, ſomewhat further off the Towne.

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Whileſt this ſiege remayned before yͤ Towne of the Ryoll, the K. of England wrote his letters to the Duke of Britaine, as one of the Peeres of France, declaring yͤ iniurious dealing of yͤ Frẽche K. who hadde ſente his vncle the Earle of Aniou with an army againſte his people in Agenois, where he had taken many Townes, deſtroyed his people, and now had beſieged his nephew Edmõd Erle of Kent, within the town of the Ryolle, enforſing his whole puiſſance wrongfully to bereue him of all the Duchie of Guyenne, and agaynſte all reaſon, and the prerogatiue of the peeres of France,

France, to an euill preſidẽt or enſample in time to come, of yͤ perpetuall ſeruitude of the ſaid Peeres, and although ſaith the K. of Englande, that the Frẽch alledge that we haue bin lawfully ſummoned to come ⁊ do homage, ⁊ haue refuſed ſo to doe, that is not ſo, for wee were neuer in due order required as was cõuenient, neither could we do homage, by reaſon of yͤ great iniuries and hard dealings practiſed againſt vs, frõ the feaſt of Eaſter laſt, till yͤ date of thoſe his preſent letters (whyche was the ſixth of October, in this 18. yeare of hys raigne,) and yet ſaith he, ther was neuer any lawfull proceſſe had againſt vs before our peeres, in yͤ great chamber at Paris, as had bin requiſit. Hereupõ doth he requeſt yͤ Duke of Britaine, that for yͤ preſeruation ⁊ maintenance of the honorable eſtate of yͤ Peeres of France, ⁊ for iuſtice ſake, hee wil help to aide him, either by way of requeſt, or other cõuenient meanes ſo as the ſaid ſtraite dealings ⁊ iniurious wrongs, may ceaſſe, ⁊ the eſtate of yͤ peereſhip may be mainteined as was requiſite. Hee wrote likewiſe to yͤ L. Iohn the infante, yͤ L. of Biſkey, and to yͤ Lady Mary of Biſkey, gouernereſſe of yͤ K. of Caſtile and Leon, and to Iames K. of Aragon, requeſting them to aid him with men of warre, as well horſemẽ as footemen againſt his aduerſarie yͤ Frẽch K. that moſt vniuſtly went about to depriue him of his inheritãce. But howſoeuer yͤ matter went, no aide came to yͤ Erle of Kente from any parte, till at length, the Frenchmen ſo reenforced yͤ ſiege, that the Towne was deliuered to yͤ Erle of Aniou, and a truce taken vppon certaine conditions, that further talke might be had, for the concluſion of ſome peace.

Then were ſent ouer other Imbaſſadors, as yͤ Lorde Iohn de Sully a Frenchman borne, ⁊ one maſter Iohn de Shordich, but the L. Sully had ſo ſtrange entertainemente for ſome diſpleaſure which yͤ French K. conceiued againſt him, that if yͤ French Q. had not the better intreated for him, he had loſt his head, and as for the other, he had alſo returned home, withoute bringing any thyng to paſſe, of that for the which he was ſent.

After this, the Pope ſent the Archb. of Vienne, and the B. of Orange, to the Princes of eyther Realme, to exhorte them to ſome agreement, but they could do no good, and ſo taking money of the Cleargie for their expenſes, they returned.

After this, about the twentith day after Chriſtmas, there was a Parliament called at London, in the which, the K. required to haue the aduice of yͤ Lords, how he might worke for the ſauing of yͤ Duchie of Guienne, ſore moleſted by the Frenchmen. Hereuppon it was concluded, that the Byſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich, and Iohn de Britaine Earle of Richmonde, ſhoulde goe ouer as Imbaſſadors to yͤ French K. who cõming into France, after many argumentatiõs, allegatiõs, and excuſes, made on both parties, at length, receyued a certaine forme of pacification at yͤ Frẽch kings hands, with the which, the B. of Wincheſter was ſent backe into Englãd, the B. of Norwich, and the Erle of Richmond remaining there til it might be knowen, how the King of Englãd would like thereof. Finally it was thought good, that the Quene ſhould goe ouer to hir brother the Frẽch K. to confirme yͤ treatie of peace vpõ ſome reaſonable conditiõs. She willingly tooke vppon hir the charge, and ſo with yͤ L. Iohn Crumwell and other four knightes, without any other greate traine, taking the ſea, landed in France, where of yͤ K. hir brother ſhe was ioyfully receiued, and finally, ſhee being the mediatrix, it was finally accorded, that yͤ K of England ſhuld giue to his eldeſt ſon yͤ Duchie of Aquitaine, and the Countie of Pontieu, ⁊ that yͤ Frẽch K. receyuing homage of him for the ſame, he ſhuld reſtore into his hands the ſayd Countie, and the lands in Guyenne, for the whiche they were at variance, and for thoſe countreys which had bin forrayed, and ſpoyled, the Earle of Aniou ſhoulde fully ſee him ſatiſfied, as right did require. Vpon all which couenauntes the French King wrote his letters patentes into Englande, and other letters alſo of ſafeconduite, as well for the ſonne, as for the Kyng hymſelfe, if it ſhoulde pleaſe hym to come ouer hymſelfe in perſon. Vpon whiche choiſe, greate deliberation was hadde, as well at Langdon, as at Douer, dyuers thinkyng it beſt, that the Kyng ſhoulde goe ouer hymſelfe: but the Earle of Wincheſter and hys ſonne the Lord Chamberlayne, that neyther durſt goe ouer themſelues with the Kyng, nor abyde at home in his abſence, gaue contrary coũſell, and at length, preuayled ſo, that it was fully determined that the Kyngs eldeſt ſonne Edwarde ſhoulde goe ouer, whiche turned to theyr deſtruction as it appeared afterward.

The Queene is ſent ouer into France to talke with hir brother the Frenche King.

A peace and concorde agreed vpon.

An.reg.19.

Heereupon, the Kyng made a charter of grant vnto his ſonne, of the Duchie of Guyenne, and Countie of Pontieu, to haue and hold to him and hys heires Kyngs of Englande, with condition, that if hee chaunced to depart this life whyleſt hys father lyued, thoſe landes ſhoulde returne vnto hys father agayne, ſo as the Frenche Kyng myghte not marrie the Kings ſonne at his pleaſure, nor appoynte to him any gardians or gouernoures.

Thys ordinance was made at Douer by the Kynges Charter, with conſente of the Prelates and other noble men of the Realme there preſent, the morrowe after the Natiuitie of our Lady, and on the Thurſdaye following, the Kinges ſonne tooke the Sea, and with hym Walter Byſhoppe of Exceſter and others in competent number, and aboute the feaſt of Saint Mathewe the Apoſtle, hee did homage to hys Vncle

The Prince of Wales is ſent into France.

the French King, at *Bois de Vincennes*, vnder certaine proteſtations made, as well on the one part as the other.

A drye Sommer.

The ſommer this yeare prooued exceeding hote and drie, ſo that ſprings and riuers failed to yeeld their accuſtomed courſe of waters, by reaſon whereof, greate numbers of cattell and beaſtes, both wilde and tame dyed through lacke of conuenient licor to aſwage theyr vehemente thirſt.

Cattel dyed.

The king ſendeth for his wyfe and ſon to retourne home.

In the beginning of the nexte ſpring, Kyng Edwarde ſente into Fraunce vnto his wife and ſonne, commaunding them, now that they hadde made an ende of their buſineſſe, to returne home with all conuenient ſpeede.

The Queene receyuing the meſſage from hir huſband, whether it was ſo that ſhe was ſtaied by hir brother, vnto whome belike ſhee had complayned after what manner ſhee was vſed at hir huſbandes handes, being had in no regard with him: or for that ſhe had no minde to returne home, bycauſe ſhee was loth to ſee all things ordred out of frame by the counſell of the Spencers, whereof to heare ſhe was weery: or whether as the manner of women is, ſhee was long about to prepare hir ſelfe forwarde, ſhee ſlacked all the Sommer, and ſente letters euer to excuſe hir tarriance. But yet bycauſe ſhee woulde not runne in any ſuſpition with hir huſbande, ſhee ſente dyuers of hir folkes before hir into Englande by ſoft iorneys.

The womans diſsimulation

King Edwarde not alittle offended with king Charles, by whoſe meanes hee knewe that the woman thus lingered abroade, he procured Pope Iohn to write hys letters vnto the French king, admoniſhing him to ſende home his ſiſter, and hir ſonne vnto hir huſbande. But when this nothyng auayled, a proclamation was made in the moneth of December, this nineteenth yeare of thys Kyngs raigne, that if the Queene and hir ſonne entred not the lande by the octaues of the Epiphany next enſuing in peaceable wiſe, they ſhould be taken for enimies to the Realme and Crowne of England.

A proclamation.
Fabian.

Polidore.

Heere authors varie, for ſome write, that vpon knowledge had of this proclamation, the Queene determined to returne into Englande forthwith, that ſhe myghte bee reconciled to hir huſbande agayne.

Other write, and that more truely, how ſhee being highly diſpleaſed, both with the Spencers, and the Kyng hir huſbande, that ſuffered himſelfe to be miſled by their counſels, did appoynt indeede to returne into Englande, not to bee reconciled, but to ſtirre the people to ſome Rebellion, whereby ſhe might reuenge hir manifolde iniuries: which as the proofe of the thing ſhewed, ſeemeth to bee moſt true, for ſhee being a wiſe woman, conſidering that ſith the Spencers had excluded, put out, and remoued all good men, from and beſide the Kyngs counſell, and placed in their roomthes ſuche of their clientes, ſeruauntes and friendes as pleaſed them, ſhee mighte well thinke, that there was ſmall hope to bee had in hir huſbande, who hearde no man but the ſayde Spencers, whyche ſhe knewe hated hir deadly. Whereuppon, after that the tearme prefixed in the proclamation was expired, the King cauſed to bee ſeaſed into hys handes, all ſuche landes, as belonged eyther to his ſonne, or to his wife.

About the ſame time, one Sir Robert Walkefare Knight, a right hardy man of his handes, but craftie and ſubtill (who being taken in the warres whyche the Lords reyſed agaynſt the Kyng, had bin committed to priſon in the Caſtel of Corfe,) founde meanes nowe to kill the Conneſtable of that Caſtell moſt cruelly, and eſcaping away, gote ouer to the Queene into Fraunce, and ſo the number of them that ranne out of the Realm vnto hir dayly encreaſed.

This Sir Robert Walkfare was a great procurer of the diſcord betwixt yͤ King and yͤ Lords, and a chiefe leader, or rather ſeducer of that noble man Humfrey de Boun Earle of Hereford: and whileſt other gaue themſelues to ſeeke a reformation in the decayed ſtate of the common wealthe, he ſet his minde vpon murders and robberies.

Diuers other aboute the ſame time fledde out of the Realme vnto the Queene, and vnto hir ſonne the Earle of Cheſter. But in the meane tyme, Walter Stapleton Byſhoppe of Exceſter, whiche hitherto had remayned with the Queene in Fraunce, ſtale nowe from hir, and gote ouer into England, opening to the Kyng, all the counſayle and whole mynde of the Queene: whyche thyng turned firſt of all vnto his owne deſtruction as ſhall after appeare.

About the ſame time, one Sir Oliuer de Ingham, a yong, luſty, and valiant Knighte, was by the Kings ſonne the Duke of Aquitayne (not withoute his fathers conſente) eſtabliſhed Lorde Warden of the marches of Guyenne, the whiche ſir Oliuer gathering an army of hired Souldiers, Spanyardes, Aragonoys, and Gaſcoignes, inuaded the countrey of Agenoys (whyche the Frenche Kyng helde yet in his handes contrary to couenaunte) and recouering it from the Frẽch, cleerely reduced it to the Engliſhe dominion.

Moreouer, Sir Iohn Oturum, Sir Nicholas Kiriell, and ſir Iohn Felton, Admirals by the Kyngs appoyntmente, with the fleetes of the Eaſt, South, and Weſt partes, went to the Sea to apprehende ſuche Frenchmenne as they might meete with. They according to their commiſſion beſtirred themſelues ſo, that within fewe dayes they toke ſixe ſcore ſaile of Normans, and broughte them into Englande, whereuppon, the diſpleaſure fore encreſed betwixt yͤ two Realmes.

The King of Englande ſtode not onely in doubt of the Frenchmen, but more of his owne people that remayned in Fraunce, leaſt they thorough help of the French ſhould inuade the lande, and therefore hee commaunded the hauens and portes to be ſurely watched, leaſt ſome ſuddayne inuaſion might happely be attempted, for it was well vnderſtode, that the Queene meant not to returne, till ſhee mighte bring with hir the Lorde Mortimer, and the other baniſhed men, who in no wiſe could obteyne any fauour at the Kynges handes, ſo long as the Spencers bare rule.

The Pope lamenting this matter, ſente two Byſhoppes into England, to reconcile the Kyng and Queene, and alſo to agree the two Kynges. Theſe Byſhoppes were reuerently receyued, but more than reuerence here they obteyned not, and ſo departed as they came.

King Edward vnderſtanding all the Quenes driſt, at length ſought the French Kings fauour, and did ſo much by letters and promiſe of bribes with him and his counſaile, that Queene Iſabell was deſtitute in manner of all helpe there, ſo that ſhe was glad to withdraw into Haynault, by the comfort of Iohn the Lord Beaumont, the Earle of Heynault his brother, who beeing then in the Court of Fraunce, and lamenting Queene Iſabels caſe, imagined with himſelfe of ſome marriage that mighte be had betwixt the yong Prince of Wales, and ſome of the daughters of his brother the Earle of Heynault, and therevpon required hir to goe into Heynault, and hee would bee glad to attende hir. She gladly conſenting hereto wẽt thither with him, wher ſhe was moſt ioyfully receyued wͭ hir ſon, & all other of hir trayne.

The Spencers (ſome write) procured hir baniſhment out of Fraunce, and that ſhee was aduiſed by the Earle of Arthoys, chiefly to repaire into Heynault.

Alſo I finde, that the Spencers deliuered fiue barrels of ſiluer, the ſumme amounting vnto fiue thouſande markes, vnto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appoynting him to conuey it ouer into Fraunce, to beſtowe it vpon ſuch friendes as they had there of the French Kings counſaile, by whoſe meanes, the King of Fraunce did baniſhe his ſiſter out of his Realme. But this money was met with vpon the Sea by certaine Zelanders, and taken, togither with the ſayd Arnold, and preſented to the Earle of Heynaulte, vnder whoſe dominion, the Zelanders in thoſe dayes remayned, of which good happe, the Earle and Queene Iſabell greatly reioyced.

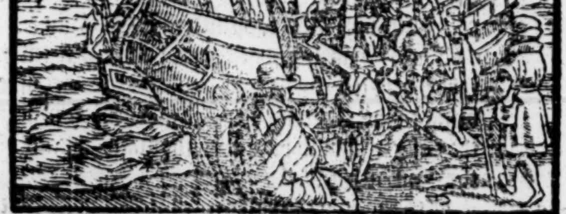
In the time that the Queene and hir ſonne laye in the Courte of the Earle of Heynaulte, a marriage was concluded betwixte the Prince of Wales, and the Lady Phillippe, daughter to the ſaid Earle, vppon certayne conditions, whereof one was, that the ſaid Earle, ſhould at his proper coſtes ſet ouer into England the ſaide Prince of Wales, with a crue of four C. men of armes, but whether there was any ſuch marriage as thẽ concluded, and that in conſideratiõ therof, the Earle of Heynaulte aided Quene Iſabel and hir ſonne, it may be doubted, bycauſe other writers make no ſuch report. Neuertheleſſe, certayne it is, that the Earles brother ſir Iohn de Heynault L. Beaumond, was appointed with certain bands of men of armes, to the number of four C. or fiue hũdred, to paſſe ouer with the ſaid Queene and hir ſonne into Englande, and ſo therevpon began to make his purueyance for yͤ iourney, which thing whẽ it came to the knowledge of king Edward and the Spẽcers, they cauſed muſters to be taken through the Realme, and ordeyned beacons to be ſet vp, kept and watched, as wel in the valleys by the ſea ſide, as within the countreys vpõ hilles and hygh groundes, yͭ the ſame vpon occaſiõ of the enimies arriuall, mighte be ſet on fire, to warne the countreis adioyning, to aſſemble to reſiſt them. But Q. Iſabell and hir ſon, with ſuch others as were with hir in Heynault, ſtayed not their iourney for doubt of all their aduerſaries prouiſiõ, but immediately after yͭ they had once made their purueyances, & wer ready to depart, they toke the ſea, as yͤ foreſaid Q. hir ſon, Edmond of Wodſtocke Erle of Kent, ſir Iohn de Heynault aforeſaid, & the L. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experiẽce in yͤ warres, and diuers others, hãuing with thẽ a ſmall cõpany of Engliſhmẽ, with a crue of Heynewyers & Almains, to yͤ number of 2757. armed mẽ, the which ſailing forth towards England, lãded at lẽgth in Suffolk, at an Hauen called Orwell beſides Harwiche, the .25. daye of September.

Caxton.

Prouiſion made in England to reſiſt the Queene.

Tho. VValſ.

The Queene with hir ſonne land in Suffolke.



Immediately after that the Q. and hir ſonne wer come to land, it was wonder to ſee how faſt yͤ people reſorted vnto thẽ, and firſt of all, the Erle Marſhall, in whoſe lands ſhe firſt came on ſhore, repared to hir, ſo did the Erle of Leiceſter, & diuers

Tho. VValſ.

The Earles Marſhall and of Leyceſter with others come to the Queene.

The redineſſe of the Prelates to aſſiſt the Queene.

Barons and Knightes of thoſe parties, with all the Prelates in manner of the lande, as the Byſhops of Lincolne, Hereforde, Dublin, and Elie, the which being ioyned with the Queene, made a great army. The Archbyſhop of Caunterburie and other, ayded hir with money.

After that ſhe had refreſhed hir people a little ſpace at Sainte Edmondes bury, ſhe marched forthe to ſeeke the aduerſaries of hir and of the Realme as ſhe bruted it, but they ſtill keepyng themſelues neere to the Kings perſon, that vnder the ſhadowe of the wings of his protection, they might remayne in more ſafegarde, durſt not depart from his preſence. At the time of yͤ Queenes landing he was at London, and being ſore amaſed with the newes, he required ayde of the Londoners.

The aunſwere of the Londoners to the Kyng.

They aunſwered, that they would do all the honor they might vnto the Kyng, yͤ Queene, and to their ſonne the lawfull heire of the lande: but as for Straungers and traitors to yͤ Realm, they woulde keepe them out of their gates, and reſiſt them with all their forces: but to goe forthe of the Citie further than that they myghte returne before Sunne ſetting, they refuſed, pretending certayne liberties in that behalfe to them graunted in times paſt as they alleged.

The king forſaketh London, and goeth towardes the marches of Wales.

The King not greatly liking of this aunſwere, fortified the Tower, and leauing within it his yonger ſonne Iohn of Eltham, and the wife of the Lorde Chamberlayne Hugh Spencer the yonger that was his neece, he departed towardes the marches of Wales, there to reyſe an army againſt the Queene.

A proclamation ſette forth by the Kyng.

Before his departure from London, he ſet forth a Proclamation, that euery man vnder payne of forfeyting life and goodes, ſhould reſiſt them that were thus landed, aſſayle, and kill them, the Queene, his ſonne Edwarde, and his brother the Earle of Kent only excepted, and whoſoeuer could bring yͤ head or dead corps of the Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, ſhuld haue for his labor a thouſand markes.

The Queenes proclamation.

The Queenes proclamations on the other part, willed all men to hope for peace, the Spencers publike enimies of the Realme, and yͤ Lorde Chancellour Roberte Baldocke, with their aſſiſters onely excepted, through whoſe meanes, the preſent trouble was happened to the Realme.

And it was forbidden, that no man ſhoulde take ought frõ any perſon, and who ſoeuer coulde bring to the Queene the head of Hugh Spencer the yonger, ſhould haue two thouſand poundes of the Queenes gift.

The Byſhop of Exeter left in charge with the Citie of London.

The K. at his departure from London, lefte maſter Walter Stapleton the B. of Exeter behinde him to haue the rule of the Citie of Londõ. Then ſhortly after, the Q. with hir ſon, making towardes London, wrote a letter to the Maior, & to the Citizens, requiring to haue aſſiſtance for the putting downe of the Spencers, not onely knowen enimies of theirs, but alſo common enimies to all the Realme of England.

To this letter, no aunſwere at the firſte was made, wherfore an other was ſent, dated at Baldocke the ſixth day of October, vnder the names of Iſabell by the grace of God Queene of England, Lady of Irelande, and Counteſſe of Pontiew, and of Edwarde eldeſt ſonne to the Kyng of England, Duke of Guienne, Erle of Cheſter, of Pontiew and of Muttrell. This letter beeyng directed to the Mayor and communaltie of Londõ, conteyning in effect, that the cauſe of theyr landing and entring into the Realme at that time, was onely for the honor of the Kyng and wealth of the Realme, meaning hurt to no maner of perſon, but to the Spencers, was faſtned vpon the Croſſe in Cheape, then called the newe Croſſe in Cheape, on the nighte before the ninth day of October. Dyuers copies of the ſame letter were ſet vppe, and faſtned vppon windowes and dores in other places of the Citie, and one of the ſame copies was tacked vpon the Lord Mayors gates.

After which letter thus publiſhed in the Citie, a greate number of artificers, and other that loued not to ſit in reſt vppon ſuche occaſion of diſcord offered, nowe that things were in broyle in other partes of the Realme, aſſembled togyther in greate numbers, and with weapon in hande, came to the Lorde Maior of the Citie, whome they knew to fauour the Kings parte, and therefore they forced him through feare of ſome iniurious violence, to receyue an oth to ſtand to their ordinance, whiche was to put to deathe all thoſe that were aduerſaries to the Queene, or had by any meanes procured the hinderance of the Cities liberties, vnder pretext of whiche othe, they ranne, and tooke one of the Citizens, called Iohn Marſhall, & bycauſe hee was very familiar with the Earle of Glouceſter, and therefore ſuſpected to haue accuſed the Citizens, they ſtroke off hys head, and ſpoyled all his goodes. The ſame daye, being the fourtenth of October, continuing their rage, they ranne to the houſe of the Byſhoppe of Exeter, Walter de Stapleton, and ſetting fire on the gates, they entred and ſpoyled him of all hys plate, iewels, money and goodes. And as it chanced in an infortunate houre for him, the Biſhoppe beeing the ſame time returning from the fieldes, woulde not ſeeme to ſhrinke, although hee was admoniſhed of theſe outrageous attemptes of the people, but ſitting on horſebacke, came to the North dore of Saint Paule, where forthwith the furious people layde violente handes on him, threw him downe, and drew him moſt outrageouſly into Cheape ſide, where they proclaymed him an open traytor, a ſeducer of the Kyng, and a deſtroyer of their liberties. The Byſhoppe had vpon him a certayne coate of defence, whiche was called an Aketon, the ſame therefore beeing plucked beſide his backe as all other his garments, they ſhore his head from his ſhoulders, and to the lyke deathe they put two of his ſeruauntes, the one an Eſquire, and the other a yeoman.

The Byſhoppes head was ſet on a pole for a ſpectacle, that the remembraunce of his deathe, and the cauſe thereof might continue.

His body was buryed in an olde Churchyarde of the pied Friers, without any manner of exequies or funerall ſeruice done for him.

The chiefeſt cauſe of the enmitie whiche the Londoners bare toward this Biſhop, roſe hereof. He being Lord Treaſorer, procured that the Juſtices *Itinerantes* did ſit in the Citie of London, and where many of the Citizens were found offendors, and iuſtly puniſhed, as well by loſing their freedomes, as paying their fines, and ſuffering corporall puniſhmentes, they conceyued a great diſpleaſure towardes him.

Moreouer it was ſayde, that hee had rayſed a great multitude of armed menne againſte the Queene, and hir ſonne the Duke of Aquitayne, and therefore did the Londoners as they affirmed, ſeeke to preuent his proceedings.

The morrowe after that they had thus beheaded the Biſhop of Exeter, they tooke by chaunce Sir John Weſton, Conneſtable of the Tower, and from him they tooke the keyes of the ſame Tower, and ſo entring the Tower, they ſet all the priſoners at libertie, and in like caſe, all thoſe that were impriſoned in manner through yͤ land, were permitted to goe at large, and all the baniſhed men and outlawes were likewiſe reſtored home.

The Londoners hauing the Tower thus at their commaundemente, remoued all the officers therein placed by the King, and put other in their roomthes, in the name of the Lorde John de Eltham the Kings ſonne, whom they named warden of yͤ Citie and land. And yet they ceaſſed not to committe many robberies, and other outragious and moſt inſolent partes.

In the meane time, the King being come to Briſtow, left that Citie in the keeping of yͤ Earle of Wincheſter, and with the Earles of Glouceſter and Arundell, and the Lord Chancellor, Sir Roberte Baldocke, hee ſailed ouer into Wales, there to rayſe a power of Welſhmen in defence of himſelfe againſt the Queene and hir adherẽts, which hee had good hope to finde amongeſt the Welchmen, bycauſe he had euer vſed them gentlely, and ſhewed no rigor towardes them for their riottous miſgouernance.

Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, hee mighte eaſily eſcape ouer into Ireland, and get into ſome mountaine countrey, marſhe ground, or other ſtreit, where his enimies ſhould not come at him.

But nowe to ſpeake of the Queene, yee muſt vnderſtand, that after ſhee hadde receyued knowledge from the Londoners, that they were wholly at hir deuotion, ſhee being glad thereof, turned hir iorney towarde Wales to followe the Kyng, and comming to Oxforde, ſtayed there a whyle, and ſtill came people to hir from all ſides.

The Queene following the King cometh to Oxforde.

Tho. de la More.

Peeter Adam de Torleton the Byſhoppe of Herforde whych lately before had bin ſore fined by the King, for that he was accuſed to ſtirre the people to Rebellion, and to ayde the Barons (as yee haue hearde,) made a pithie Oration to the army, declaring that the Queene and hir ſonne were returned only into England, to the intente to perſecute the Spencers, to reforme the ſtate of the Realme: and ſith then that they nowe were come in maner to an ende of the tirannie of moſt naughty men, and of the daunger that myghte growe dayly thereof, hee exhorted them with patient mindes to beare the ſmall trauaile that remained in purſute of the enimies, and as for reward, they might looke for all things by the victory, and the Queenes liberalitie, whoſe loue was ſuch towardes the common wealth, as ſhee onely applyed all hir endeuoures and doyngs to the aduauncement thereof.

The Byſhoppe of Herefotde maketh an Oration to the Queenes army.

These wordes ſpoken, the Queene accompanyed with a greate power, departed from Oxforde, and wente ſtraight vnto Glouceſter, and ſent before hir vnto Briſtow the Erle of Kent, the Kings brother, ſir John of Hennegew, with other, to take the Earle of Wincheſter. They did theyr endeuour with ſuche diligence, that the Townesmen compoundyng to be ſaued harmeleſſe in body and goodes, deliuered the Towne and Caſtell vnto the Queene, and to hir ſonne the Prince.

The Queene goeth to Glouceſter.

In the meane tyme, there came to the Quene at Glouceſter, the Lorde Percy, the Lorde Wake, and dyuers other, as well from the North parts, as forth of the marches of Wales, ſo that hir army hugely encreaſſed.

From Glouceſter ſhee paſſed by Berkley, and reſtored the Caſtell of Berkeley (whyche the Earle of Glouceſter, Hugh Spencer the yonger hadde helde) vnto the Lorde Thomas Berkeley, heyre to the Lorde Maurice Berkeley lately before deceaſſed in priſon, within the Caſtell of Walingforde, togither with all the appurtenances to the honor of Berkeley belonging.

The Lorde Berkeley.

The Queene commeth to Briſtow.

From thence ſhe wente to Briſtowe, and the morrowe after hir thither comming, beeing the euen of the Apoſtles Simon and Iude, through the inſtant calling vppon of the people, the Earle of Wincheſter was drawen forthe in his coate armoure vnto the common gallowes, and there hanged. His head was after cutte off, and ſent to Wincheſter, whereof he was Earle.

The Earle of Wincheſter executed.

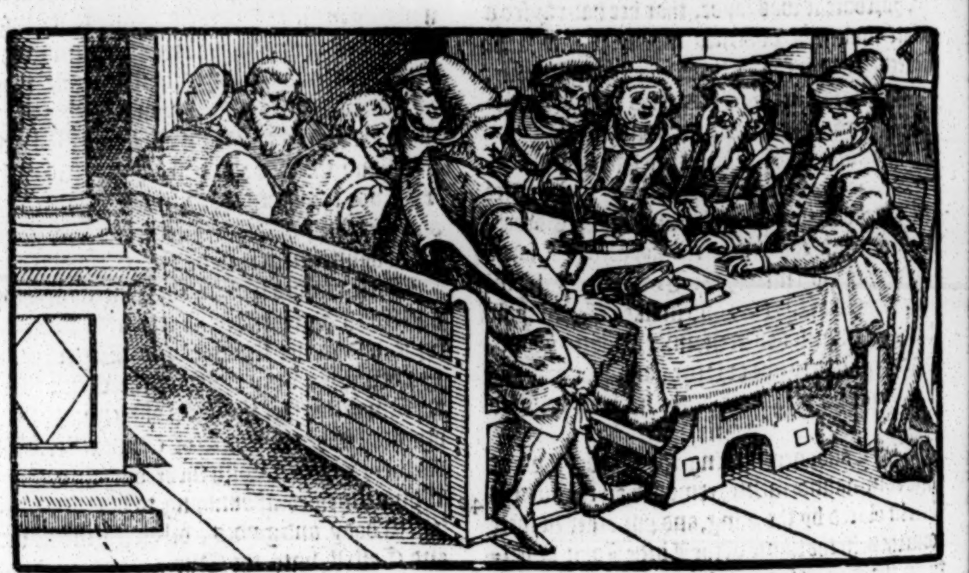
The King in this meane time kept not in one place, but ſhifting hither and thither, remayned in great care. Wherevppon, Sir Thomas Blunt an auntient Knight, and Lord Steward of the Kinges houſe, tooke his ſeruauntes, with victuals, horſes, and armoure in greate plentie, and came to the Queene, of whome, and lykewiſe of hir ſonne hee was ioyfully receyued, and diuers of them which hee brought with him were reteyned, and the other had letters of protection, and were ſent away in louing manner.

Sir Thomas Blunt, Lorde Steward to the Kyng, reuolteth to the Queene.

The King with the Earle of Glouceſter, and the Lord Chauncellor, taking the Sea, meante to haue gone eyther into the Ile of Lunday, or elſe into Irelande, but beyng toſſed with contrary windes for the ſpace of a weeke togither, at length, he landed in Glamorgan ſhire, and gote him to the Abbey and Caſtell of Neith, there ſecretely remaining vppon truſt of the Welchmēs promiſes.

Hugoline Spencer, the ſonne of the Earle of Glouceſter, defended the Caſtell of Kerſily, agaynſt the power of the Queene and of hir ſonne till Eaſter following, and then compoundyng for the ſafetie of hys owne lyfe, and all theyrs within that Caſtell, and lykewiſe for the enioying of their goodes, hee yeelded it to the handes of the menne of warre that helde ſiege afore it, in the Queenes name, and of hir ſonne.

But nowe touching the Kyng, whyleſt hee was thus abroade, and no manne wiſte where hee was become, proclamations were made in the Queenes army dayly, in the whyche, he was ſummoned to returne, and to take the rule of the Realme into his handes, if hee woulde bee conformable to the myndes of hys true liege men, but when hee appeared not, the Lordes of the lande aſſembled in counſell at Hereforde, whether the Queene was come from Briſtowe, and there was the Lorde Edwarde Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, made warden of Englande, by common decree, vnto whome, all men, as to the Lorde warden of the Realme, made fealtie, in receyuing an othe of allegeance, to bee faithfull and loyall to him.



The Prince of Wales made Lorde warden of the Realme.

After this, they made the Byſhoppe of Norwiche Lorde Chancellor, and the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter Lord Treaſorer.

A newe chancellor and Treaſorer.

The Queene remayned aboute a monethes ſpace at Hereforde, and in the meane while, ſente the Lorde Henry Earle of Leyceſter, and the Lorde William la Zouche, and one Rice ap Howell, that was lately deliuered out of the Tower where hee was priſoner, into Wales, to ſee if they myghte finde meanes to apprehende the Kyng by helpe of their acquaintance in thoſe parties, all three of them hauing landes thereaboutes where it was knowen the Kyng for the more parte kepte. They vſed ſuche diligence in that charge, that finally with large giftes beſtowed on the Welchmenne, they came to vnderſtande where the King was, and ſo on the daye of Saint Edmonde the Archbyſhoppe, beeyng the ſixteenth of Nouember, they tooke hym in the Monaſterie of Neith, neere to the Caſtell of Laturſſan, togyther with Hugh Spencer the ſonne called Earle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Chauncellour Robert de Baldocke,

docke, and Simon de Reding the kings Marſhall, not caring for other of the kings ſeruants, whom they ſuffred to eſcape.

The king was deliuered to the Earle of Leyceſter, who conueyed him by Monmouth and Ledburie, vnto Kenilworth caſtell, where he remayned the whole winter. The Earle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Chauncellour, and Simon de Reding, were brought to Herforde, and there preſented to the Queene, where on the .xxiiij. of Nouember, the ſayde Earle was drawne and hanged on a payre of Gallowes of fiftie foote in heigth. Then was his heade ſtriken off, his bowels taken out of his bodie and burnt, and hys bodie deuided in quarters. His head was ſent to London, and ſet vpon the bridge with other, and his quarters were ſent to foure ſeuerall partes of the Realme, and there pight vpon polles, to bee ſeene of the people. He was drawne in his owne coate armour, about the which there were letters embrodered plaine to bee read, conteyning a parcell of the Pſalme, *Quid gloriaris in malicia,* vnto the verſe, *Ego autem vt Oliua &c.*

The ſame day was Simō de Reding drawne and hanged on the ſame Gallowes, but ten foote lower than the other.

This Reding being Marſhall of the kings houſe, had vſed the Queene verie vncurteouſly, giuing hir many reprochfull wordes, which now were remembred, and therefore may ſerue for an example, how daungerous a thing it is to ſpeake euill of the higher powers.

The cōmon fame went, that after this Hugh Spencer the ſonne was taken, he woulde receyue no ſuſtenaunce, wherefore he was the ſooner put to death, or elſe had he beene conueyed to London, there to haue ſuffred.

Iohn Earle of Arundell was taken on Saint Hughes day, in the parties about Shrewesburie, and the ſame day ſeuennight before the execution of the Earle of Glouceſter Hugh Spencer the yonger, as well the ſayde Earle, who had beene euer a great friend to both the Spencers, as alſo Iohn Daniell, and Thomas de Micheldeure, were put to death at Herforde, by procurement of the Lorde Mortimer of Wignore, that hated them extremely, by reaſon whereof they were not like to ſpeede much better, for what he willed the ſame was done, and without him the Queene in all theſe matters did nothing.

The Chancellor Robert de Baldocke being committed to the cuſtodie of Adam de Torleton Biſhop of Herforde, remayned at Herforde in ſafe keeping till Candlemaſſe next, and then the Biſhop being at London, appoynted him to bee brought vp, where not without the Biſhops conſent (as was thought) he was taken out of hys houſe by violence, and layde in Newgate, where ſhortly after through inward ſorow and extreme griefe of minde he ended his life.

Robert Baldoc ended his life.

Thus the Queene and hir companie hauing compaſſed their buſineſſe, in ſo happie maner as they could wiſh, ſhe with hir ſonne and a greate companie of Lordes and Gentlemen, repayred to Wallingford, where they kept Chriſtmaſſe togither with great ioy and triumph, the king in the meane while remayning (as ye haue hearde) at Kenilworth, in a kinde of honourable eſtate, although he was priſoner.

1327

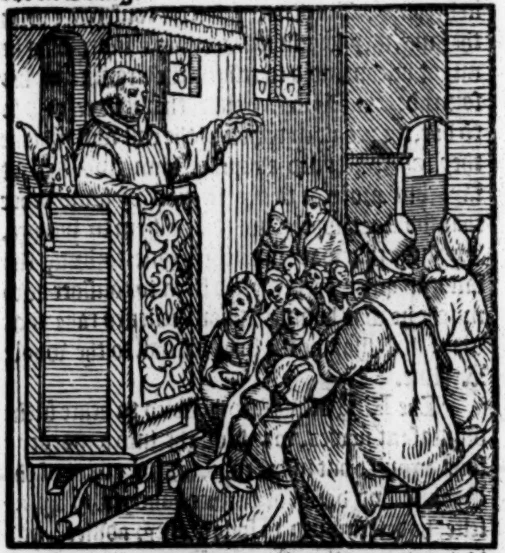
After Chriſtmaſſe, the Queene with hir ſonne and ſuch Lordes as were then with them, remoued to London, where at their comming thither, which was before the feaſt of the Epiphanie, they were receyued with great ioy, triumph, and large giftes, and ſo brought to Weſtminſter, where the morrow after the ſame feaſt, the Parliament which before hand had bene ſummoned began, in which it was concluded and fully agreed by al the eſtates (for none durſt ſpeake to the contrarie) that for diuerſe articles which were put vp agaynſt the king, he was not worthie longer to raigne, and therefore ſhould be depoſed, and withall they willed to haue his ſonne Edwarde duke of Aquitain to raigne in his place.

A Parliament.

This ordinance was openly pronounced in the great hall at Weſtminſter by one of the lordes, on the feaſt day of S. Hillarie being Tueſday, to the which all the people conſented. The Archbiſhop of Canterburie taking his theme, *Vox populi, vox dei,* made a Sermon, exhorting the people to pray to God to beſtow of his grace vppon the new king.

The king is depoſed by act of Parliament.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie preacheth.



And ſo when the Sermon was ended euery man departed to his lodging. But the Duke of Aquitaine when hee perceyued that his mother tooke the matter heauily in appearance, for that hir huſband ſhould be thus depriued of the crowne, he proteſted that he would neuer take it vpō him, without his fathers conſent, and ſo thereupon it was concluded, that certaine ſolemne Meſſengers ſhoulde goe to Kenilworth to moue the king to make reſignation of his Crowne and tytle to the kingdome vnto his ſonne.

Thom. de la More.
Tho. VValſ.

There were ſent on this meſſage (as ſome write) three, (or as other haue) but two Biſhops, two Erles, two Abbots, two or as de la More, & Walſingham haue) foure Barons, and for euerie Countie, Citie, & Burrough, and likewiſe for the cinque portes, certain knights and burgeſſes. The Biſhops that were ſent were theſe, as de la More noteth. John de Stratford Biſhop of Wincheſter, Adam de Torleton Biſhop of Hereford, and Henrie Biſhop of Lyncolne. The two Earles (as Southwell hath) were Lancaſter and Warwike: the two Barons, Roſe and Courtney: beſide theſe as he ſayth there were two Abbots, two Priors, two Juſtices, two Friers of the order of Preachers, two of the Carmelites, two knights, for the Commons on the North ſyde of Trent, and two for the other on the South ſyde of the ſame Ryuer: two Citizens for London, two Burgeſſes for the cinque Portes, ſo as in all there were that went of this meſſage (as Southwell hath) xxiij. or rather. xxiiij. perſones of one degree and other. None of the Frier Minors went, bycauſe they woulde not bee the bringers of ſo heauie tydings, ſithe he had euer borne them great good will.

The Biſhoppes Wincheſter, and Lyncolne, went before, and comming to Kenilworth, aſſociated with them the Earle of Leyceſter, of ſome called the Earle of Lancaſter, that had the King in keeping. And hauing ſecrete conference with the king, they ſought to frame his minde, ſo as he might be contented to reſigne the crowne to his ſonne, bearing hym in hande, that if he refuſed ſo to doe, the people in reſpect of the euill will whiche they had conceyued agaynſte hym, woulde not fayle but proceede to the election of ſome other that ſhoulde happely not touche hym in lynage. And ſithe this was the onely meane to bring the lande in quiet, they wylled hym to conſider howe muche he was bounde in conſcience to take that way, that ſhoulde bee ſo beneficiall to the whole Realme.

The King being ſore troubled to heare ſuche diſpleaſant newes, was brought into a marueylous agonie: but in the ende, for the quyet of the Realme and doubt of further daunger to hymſelfe, he determyned to followe theyr aduice, and ſo when the other Commiſſioners were come, and that the Biſhop of Hereford had declared the cauſe wherefore they were ſent, the King in preſence of them all, (notwithſtanding his outward countenaunce diſcouered howe muche it inwardly grieued him) yet after he was come to himſelf, he anſwered that he knew that he was fallen into this miſerie through hys owne offences, and therefore he was contented paciently to ſuffer it, but yet it coulde not (hee ſayde) but grieue hym, that he had in ſuch wiſe runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithſtanding he gaue the lords moſte heartie thankes, that they had ſo forgotten theyr receyued iniuryes, and ceaſſed not to beare ſo muche good wyll towardes hys ſonne Edwarde; as to wiſhe that hee myght raigne ouer them. Therefore to ſatiſfie them, ſithe otherwiſe it might not be, hee vtterly renounced hys right to the Kingdome, and to the whole adminiſtration thereof. And laſtlye beſought the Lordes nowe in his miſerie to forgiue him ſuch offences as he had committed agaynſt them.

The Ambaſſadours with this anſwere returning to London, declared the ſame vnto all the eſtates in order as they had receyued it, whervpon great ioy was made of all men, to conſider that they myght nowe by courſe of lawe proceed to the chooſing of a newe King. And ſo thervpon the. xxix. day of Januarie in Seſſion of Parliament then at Weſtminſter aſſembled, was the thirde king Edward, ſonne to king Edward the ſeconde choſen and elected king of Englande, by the authoritie of the ſame Parliament firſt as before is ſayde, confyrmed by hys fathers reſignation: and the firſt day of his raigne they agreed to be the. xxv. of Januarie, in the yeare. 1326. after the account of the Church of Englande, beginning the yeare the. xxv. day of Marche, but by the common account of wryters, it was in the yeare. 1327.

The ſame day Sir William Truſſell Procurator for the whole Parliament did renounce the old king in name of the whole Parliamẽt, wͭ all homages and fealties due to him, ſo that the ſame. xxv. daye of Januarie hath beene reputed and taken for the fyrſt daye of the begynning of King Edwarde the thirde hys raigne, ſo that whatſoeuer chaunced before that daye is aſcrybed to bee done duryng the raygne of hys father.

But now to make an ende of the life, aſwel as of the raigne of K. Edward the ſecõd. I find that after he was depoſed of his kingly honour and title, hee remayned for a tyme at Kenilworth, in cuſtodye of the Earle of Leyceſter. But within a while the Queene was informed by the biſhop of Herefordе, (whoſe hatred towardes hym had no ende) that the Earle of Leyceſter fauoured hir huſband to much, and more than ſtood with the ſuretie of hir ſonnes eſtate, wherevpon he was appointed to the keping of two other lords, Tho. Berkeley, and John Matreuers, who receyuing him of the Earle of Leyceſter the third of Aprill, conueyed him from Kenilworth vnto the caſtell of Berkley, ſituate not farre from the Seuerne, almoſt in the mid way betwixt Glouceſter and Briſtow. But forſomuch as the Lord Berkeley vſed him more curteouſlye than his aduerſaries wiſhed him to doe, hee was diſcharged of that office, and ſir Thomas Gourney appoynted in his ſtead, who togither with the Lorde Matreuers conueyed him ſecretly (for feare leaſt he ſhould be taken frō them by force,) from one ſtrong place to another, as to the caſtell of Corfe, and ſuche like, ſtill remouing with him in the night ſeaſon, till at length they thought it ſhould not be knowen whither they had cōueyed him. And ſo at length they brought him backe againe in ſecrete maner vnto the Caſtell of Berkley, where whileſt he remayned (as ſome write) the Queene woulde ſend vnto him courteous and louing letters with apparell and other ſuch things, but ſhe would not once come nere to viſite him, bearing him in hand that ſhee durſt not, for feare of the peoples diſpleaſure, who hated him ſo extremely. But as he thus cōtinued in priſon, cloſely kept, ſo that none of hys friends might haue acceſſe vnto him, as in ſuche caſes it often happeneth, when men be in miſerie, ſome will euer pitie their ſtate, there were diuerſe of the nobilitie (of whom the Earle of Kent was chiefe) began to deuiſe meanes by ſecrete conference had togithers, how they might reſtore hym to libertie, diſcommending greatly both Queene Iſabell, and ſuch other as were appointed gouernours to the yong king, for his fathers ſtrayte impriſonment. The Queene & other the gouernours vnderſtāding this cōſpiracie of the erle of Kent, & of his brother, durſt not yet in that new & greene world go about to puniſhe it, but rather thought good to take away frō thē the occaſion of accompliſhing their purpoſe. And herevpon the Queene and the Biſhop of Herforde, wrote ſharpe letters vnto his keepers, blaming them greatly, for that they dealt ſo gently with him, and kept him no ſtraytlier, but ſuffered him to haue ſuch libertie, that he aduertiſed ſome of his friends abrode how and in what maner he was vſed, and withall the Biſhop of Hereforde vnder a ſophiſticall forme of wordes ſignified to them by his letters, that they ſhoulde diſpatch him out of the way, as thus: *Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt:* To kill Edwarde will not to feare it is good. Whiche riddle or doubtfull kinde of ſpeech, as it might bee taken in two contrarie ſenſes, onely by placing the poynt in Ortographie called *comma*, they interpreted it in yͤ worſe ſenſe, putting yͤ *cōma* after *timere*, and ſo preſuming of this cōmaundement as they tooke it, frō the B. they lodge the miſerable priſoner in a chāber ouer a foule filthie dūgeon, ful of deade cation, truſting ſo to make an ende of him, wyth the abhominable ſtinche thereof: but he bearing it out ſtrongly, as a man of a tough nature, cōtinued ſtill in life, ſo as it ſeemed he was verie like to ſcape that daunger, as he had by purging eyther vp or downe, auoyded the force of ſuch poyſon as had beene miniſtred to him ſundrie tymes before, of purpoſe ſo to ridde him. Wherevpon when they ſawe that ſuch practiſes woulde not ſerue their turne, they came ſodenly one night into the chamber where hee lay in bed faſt aſleepe, and with heauie feather beddes, (or a table as ſome write) being caſt vpon him, they kept him downe, and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the ſame they thruſt vp into his bodie a hote ſpitte, (or as other haue through the pype of a Trumpet, a Plumbers inſtrument of yron made verie hote) the which paſſing vp into his intrayles, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the ſame, but ſo as no appearāce of any wounde or hurt outwardly might bee once perceyued. His crie did moue many within the caſtell and towne of Berkley to compaſſion, plainly hearing him vtter a wailefull noyſe, as the tormentors were about to murther him, ſo that dyuerſe being awakened therwith (as they themſelues confeſſed) prayed heartily to God to receyue his ſoule, when they vnderſtoode by his crie what the matter ment.

Tho. VValſ.

Tho. de la More.

King Edwarde the ſeconde murthered.

The Queene, the Biſhop, and other, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and baniſhed the Lorde Matreuers, and Thomas Gourney, who fleing vnto Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken and brought toward Englande, was beheaded on the ſea, leaſt hee ſhoulde accuſe the chiefe doers, as the Biſhop and other. John Matreuers, repenting himſelfe, lay long hidden in Germanie, and in the ende died penitently.

Thus was king Edwarde murthered, in the yeare. 1327. on the. xxij. of September.

The fame went that by this Edwarde the ſeconde, after his death manye myracles were wrought. So that the like opinion of him was conceyued as before had beene of Earle Thomas of Lancaſter, namely amongſt the common people. He was knowne to bee of a good and curteous nature, though not of moſte pregnant wit. And albeit in his youth he fell into certaine light crymes, and after by the companie and counſaile of euill men, was induced vnto more heynous vices, yet was it thought that he purged the ſame by repentance, and patiently ſuffered many reprouſes, and finally death it ſelfe (as before yee haue hearde) after a moſt cruell maner. Hee had ſurely good cauſe to repent his former trade of lyuing, for by his vndiſcreete and wanton miſgouernance, there were headed and put to death during his raigne (by iudgement of law) to the nūber of. xxviij. barons and knights, ouer and beſide ſuch as were ſlaine in Scotlande by hys infortunate

The fond opinion of the ignorāt people

The nature & diſpoſition of king Edwarde the ſeconde.

tunate conduct. And all theſe miſchiefes and many mo happened not only to him, but alſo to the whole ſtate of the realm, in that he wanted iudgement and prudent diſcretion to make choyſe of ſage and diſcrete counſaylers, receyuing thoſe into his fauour, that abuſed the ſame to their pryuate gaine and aduantage, not reſpecting the aduancement of the common wealth, ſo they themſelues might attaine to riches and honour, for which they onely ſought, inſomuch that by theyr couetous rapine, ſpoyle, and immoderate ambition, the heartes of the common people and nobilitie were quite eſtraunged from the dutifull loue and obedience which they ought to haue ſhewed to their ſoueraigne, going about by force to wreſt him to follow theyr willes, and to ſeeke the deſtruction of them whom he commonly fauoured, wherein ſurely they were worthie of blame, and to taſte (as manye of them did) the deſerued puniſhment for theyr diſobedient and diſloyall demeanors. For it was not the way whiche they tooke to helpe the diſfigured ſtate of the common wealth, but rather the readie meane to ouerthrow all, as if Gods goodneſſe had not beene the greater it muſt needs haue come to paſſe, as to thoſe that ſhall well conſider the pitifull tragedie of this kings tyme it may well appeare.

His iſſue.

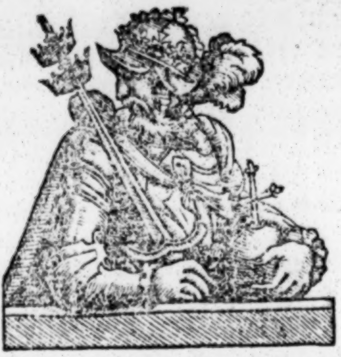
But now to proceed with that which remaineth touching this infortunate Prince. Hee had iſſue by his wife Queene Iſabell, two ſonnes, Edward which was made king, whileſt he was yet aliue, and Iohn whiche dyed yong: alſo two daughters, Eleanore, which died before ſhe came to yeares able for mariage, and Ioan, which was after giuē in mariage vnto Dauid king of Scotlande. He was indifferently tall of ſtature, ſtrong of bodie, and healthfull, neither wanted there in him ſtoutneſſe of ſtomake, if his euill counſaylers had bene remoued, that he might haue ſhewed it in honourable exploytes, which being kept backe by them, he coulde not doe: ſo that thereby it appeareth of what importance it is to be trayned vp in youth with good and honeſt companie.

It is ſayd that he was learned, inſomuch that there remaine verſes, which (as ſome haue written) he made whileſt he was in priſon. Certaine it is he fauoured learning, as by the erection of Oriall Colledge in Oxford, and S. Maries Hall, which were of his foundation, it may well bee gathered.

Oryall and S. Marie hall in Oxford.

Ex centuria 4. Bale.

Learned men we finde recorded by Bale, to liue in this kings time theſe as follow. Iohn Duns, that ſubtill Logitian, borne (as Lelande hath gathered) in a village in Northumberlande called Emyldun, three myles diſtant from Alnwike, although other hold the cōtrarie, the Scots clayming him for theyr countreyman, and the Iriſhe men for theirs: Robert Walſingham, a Carmelite Frier that writ diuerſe treatiſes: Iohn Wilton an Auguſtine Frier: Walter Winterborne: Rauſe Lockſley: Nicholas Stanforde: William Whitley: Thomas Ioyce: Walter Ioyce: William Gayneſburg: Robert Baſton borne not farre from Notingham, a Carmelite Frier of Scarbourgh, the ſame whome king Edwarde tooke with him into Scotlande to write ſome remēbrances of his victories, although being taken by the Scottes, he was conſtrayned by Robert Bruce to frame a dittie to a contrarye tune: Iohn Horminger a Suffolke man borne: William Riſhanger a Monke of S. Albons, an Hiſtoriographer: Rauſe Baldocke Biſhoppe of London wrote alſo an Hiſtorie, which was intituled *Hiſtoria Anglica*: Richard Bliton a Lincolnſhire man borne, a Carmelite Frier: Iohn Walſingham, borne either in Walſingham, or Brunham (as Bale ſuppoſeth) a Carmelite frier alſo, and wrote diuerſe treatiſes. Thomas Chabham a Canon of Saliſburie, and a doctor of diuinitie: Robert Plimpton, borne in Deuonſhire a regular Chanon: Thomas Caſtleford a Monk of Pontfret: William Manſfield: Iohn Canō: Robert Grinne: William Aſkettle of Beuerley: Geffrey of Cornwal: Iohn Gatiſdene: Theobald Anglicus: Stephē Eyton or Edon: Iohn Goldſtone borne in Yorkeſhire: Iohn Winchelſey: Nicholas de Lira, a Iewe by byrth of thoſe that had their habitatiōs in England, who wrote verie many treatiſes, to his great commēdation for his ſinguler knowlege and zeale, which he ſhewed in diſproouing the Rabines that ſtyll ſought to keepe the Iewiſh nation in blindneſſe and vaine hope, in looking for another Meſſias: Rauf Acton an excellent diuine: Iohn Dumbleton a Logitian: Thomas Langford borne in Malden in Eſſex: Oſbert Pyckenam a Carmelite Frier of Lyn in Norffolke: Nicholas Okeham a gray Frier: William Ockam a Frier Minor, that wrote diuerſe treatiſes; & namely againſt Iohn Duns, and likewiſe againſt Iohn the. 22. Pope of that name, in fauour of the Emperour Lewes of Bauier: Richard Walingford: Thomas Haſelwood a Canō of Leedes in Kent, wrote a Chronicle called *Chronicon Compendiariū*. Robert Karew: Robert Perſcrutator borne in Yorkeſhire a black Frier, & a Philoſopher or rather a Magitiā: Richarde Belgraue a Carmelite: Brinkley a minorite, and others.



EDwarde the thirde of that name, the ſonne of Edwarde the ſeconde, and of Iſabell the onelye daughter of Philip le Beau, and ſiſter to Charles the fifth, king of Fraunce, began his raigne as king of England, his father yet liuing, the .xxv. day of Ianuarie, after the creation. 5292. in the yeare of our Lorde. 1327. after the account of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe, 867. after the comming of the Saxons, 261. after the conqueſt, the. 13. yeare of the raigne of Lewes the fourth then Emperor, the ſeuenth of Charles the fift king of Fraunce, the ſecōd of Andronicus Iunior Emperor of the Eaſt almoſt ended, and about the end of the. 22. of Robert le Bruce king of Scotland, as Wil. Hariſon in his Chronologie hath diligently recorded.

He was crowned at Weſtminſter on the day of the Purification of our Ladie next enſuing, by the handes of Walter the Archbiſhop of Canterburie. And bycauſe he was but. xiiij. yeres of age, ſo that to gouerne of himſelfe he was not ſufficient, it was decreed that. xij. of the greateſt lordes within the realme ſhoulde haue the rule and gouernment till he came to more perfite yeares.

The names of which lords were as followeth. The Archbiſhop of Cãterburie, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhops of Wincheſter & of Hereford, Henrie Erle of Lancaſter, Thomas Brotherton Erle Marſhal, Edmond of Woodſtocke Erle of Kent, Iohn Erle of Warren, the Lord Thomas Wake, the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Oliuer de Ingham, and the Lorde Iohn Ros. These were ſworne of the kings counſaile, and charged with the gouernment as they woulde make anſwer. But this ordinance continued not long: for the Queene, & the Lorde Roger Mortimer tooke the whole rule ſo into their handes, that both the king and his ſayde Counſaylours were gouerned only by them in all matters both high and lowe.

He confirmed the liberties and franchiſes of the citie of London, and graunted that the Maior of the ſame Citie for the time being might ſit in all places of iudgement within the liberties therof for chief Iuſtice, aboue all other, the kings perſon only excepted, and that euery Alderman that had bin Maior ſhoulde be Iuſtice of peace through all the Citie of London and countie of Middleſex, and euery Alderman that had not bene Maior, ſhould be Iuſtice of peace within his owne warde. He graunted alſo to the Citizens, that they ſhoulde not be conſtrayned to go forth of the Citie to any warres in defence of the lande, and that the franchiſes of the Citie ſhould not be ſeaſed frō thenceforth into the kings hands, for any cauſe, but only for treaſon and rebellion ſhewed by the whole Citie. Alſo Southwarke was appoynted to bee vnder the rule of the Citie, and the Maior of Lōdon to bee Baylife of Southwarke, and to ordaine ſuch a ſubſtitute in the ſame Borough as pleaſed him.

The franchiſes of the Citie of London confirmed.

In the firſt yeare of this kings raigne, wee finde in the Recordes belonging to the Abbey of S. Edmondſburie in Suffolke, that the Inhabitants of that towne rayſed a ſore commotion agaynſt the Abbot and Monkes of the ſame Abbey, and that at ſeuerall tymes, as firſt on the Wedneſday next after the feaſt of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in the ſayde firſt yeare of thys Kings raigne, one Robert Forton, Rycharde Drayton, and a great number of other, aſſembling themſelues togither in warlike order and array, aſſaulted the ſayd Abbey, brake downe the Gates, Wyndowes, and Doores, entered the houſe by force, and aſſayling certain Monks and ſeruaunts that belonged to the Abbot, did beate, wounde, and euill entreate them, brake open a number of Cheſts, Coffers, and forcers, tooke out Chalices of golde and ſiluer, bookes, Veſtments, and other ornaments of the church, beſide a great quantitie of riche plate, and other furniture of houſeholde, apparel, armour, and other things, beſide fiue hundred pounds in readie coyne, and alſo three thouſand Florens of gold. All which things they tooke and caried away, togither with diuerſe Charters, wrytings, and miniments, as three Charters of Knute ſomtyme king of Englande, foure Charters of king Hardiknute, one Charter of king Edwarde the Confeſſour, two Charters of king Henrie the firſt, other two Charters of king Henrie the thirde, which Charters concerned as wel the foundation of the ſame Abbey, as the grauntes and confirmations of the poſſeſſions and liberties belonging thereto. Alſo they tooke away certaine writings obligatorie, in the whiche diuerſe perſons were bounde for the payment of great ſummes of money, and deliuerie of certaine wines vnto the hands of the ſayd Abbot. Moreouer they tooke away with them ten ſeueral bulles, conteyning certaine exemptions & immunities

Recordes of Burie.

nities graunted to the Abbots and Monkes of Burie by ſundrie Biſhops of Rome. And not herewith contented, they tooke Peter Clopton Prior of the ſaid Abbey, and other Monkes forth of the houſe, and leading them vnto a place called the Leaden hall, there impriſoned them, till the Thurſday next before the feaſt of the Purificatiõ of our Ladie, and that day bringing them backe againe into the chapter houſe, deteyned them ſtill as priſoners, till they had ſealed a writing, cõteyning that the Abbot and conuent were bound in ten. M. pound to be payd to Oliuer Kemp and others by them named. And further, they were cõſtreyned to ſeale a letter of releaſe for all actions, quarels, debts, tranſgreſſions, ſuites & demaũds, which the Abbot might in any wiſe clayme or proſecute againſt the ſayd Oliuer Kempe and others in the ſame letters named. For theſe wrõgs and other, as for that they would not permit the Abbots, Baylifes, and officers to kepe their ordinarie courtes as they were accuſtomed to doe, as well three dayes in the weeke for the Market, to wit, Monday, Wedneſday and Fryday, as the Portman mote euery Tueſday three weekes, and further prohibit them from gathering ſuch tolles, cuſtomes, and yearely rentes, as were due to the Abbot for certain tenements in the towne, which were let to ferme, the Abbot brought his action againſt the ſaid Forton, Drayton & others, & hauing it tried by an inqueſt, on the Friday next after the feaſt of S. Lucie the virgin, in a Seſſions holden at Burie by Iohn Stonore, Walter Friſkney, Robert Maberthorp, and Iohn Bouſſer, by vertue of the kings writ of Oyer and Determiner to them directed, the offenders were cõdemned in. 40000. pounds, ſo that the ſayde Richard Drayton, and others there preſent in the Court, were committed to priſon in cuſtodie of the Sherife Robert Walkefare, who was commaunded alſo to apprehende the other that were not yet arreſted, if within his Bayliwike they might be founde, and to haue their bodies before the ſayd Iuſtices at Burie aforeſayd, on Thurſday in Whitſonweeke next enſuing.

The ſeconde ryot.

Beſide this, there was an other inditement and action of treſpaſſe founde there the ſame day agaynſt the ſayde Richard Drayton and others, for a lyke diſorder and ryot by them committed, on the Thurſday next after the feaſt of the Purification of our Ladie, in the ſame firſt yeare of this king, at what time they did not onely breake into the Abbey, and beate the Abbottes menne, but alſo tooke the Abbot hymſelfe, beeyng then at home, wyth certayne of hys Monkes, keeping both him and them as priſoners, til the next day that they were conſtreyned to ſeale certayne wrytings. And amongeſt other, a Charter, in which it was conteyned, that the Abbot and his Conuent, did graunt vnto the Inhabitaunts of the towne of Burie, to be a corporation of themſelues, and to haue a common ſeale wyth a gylde of Marchants and Aldermen: alſo they were cõpelled to ſeale another Charter, wherein was cõteyned a graunt to the ſayde Inhabitaunts, that they ſhould haue the cuſtodie of the towne gates, and likewiſe the wardſhip of all Pupils and Orphanes wythin the ſame towne, beſide diuerſe other liberties. Moreouer they were in like maner conſtreyned to ſeale three ſeuerall obligations, in which the Abbot and Conuent were bound to the ſayde Inhabitantes, as to a communaltie of a corporation in. vij. M. pounds, as in two. M. by one obligation, and in two. M. by another, and in three. M. by the thirde obligation, and further they were driuen to ſeale a letter of releaſe of all treſpaſſes, and other things that myght bee demaunded agaynſte the ſayde Inhabitauntes, with a generall acquittaunce of all debts.

Beſide this, the ſayde riotous perſons tooke the ſame tyme forth of the Abbey great ryches, as well in plate, Armor, Bookes, apparell, as in other things. They alſo brake downe two houſes or Meſſuages, that belonged to the Abbey, and ſituate within the towne of Burie: they alſo deſtroyed his fiſh pondes, and tooke out ſuch ſtore of fiſh as they found in the ſame: they cut downe alſo .lx. Aſhes there growing, on the ſoyle that belonged to the ſayde Abbot, and did many other great outrages and enormities, ſo that it was founde by the inqueſt, that the Abbot was damnifyed to the value of other fortye thouſande poundes.

Theſe ryottes may ſeeme grieuous and verie ſtraunge, but yet the ſame were not ſo heynouſly taken, as an other whiche the ſayde Inhabitants of Burie attempted agaynſt the ſayde Abbey in maner of a plaine commotion, vpon S. Lukes day in the ſame yeare, at what time (as by the Recordes of that Abbey it ſhoulde appeare) both the Abbot and his houſe were in the kinges ſpeciall protection, and the ſayde Inhabitantes prohibited by his letters to attempt any iniurie agaynſt hym or hys Conuent. But neuertheleſſe we fynde that not onely the Inhabitants of Burie, but alſo a great number of other miſgouerned perſons, that reſorted to them from places there about, arrayed and furniſhed with horſe, armour and weapon, after the maner of warre, came and aſſaulted the Abbey Gates, ſette fyre on them, and burned them wyth dyuerſe other Houſes neare adioyning, that belonged to the Abbay, and continued in that theyr ryotous enterpryſe all that daye and nyght following.

The ſame night alſo they burnt a Manor of yͤ Abbots called Holdernes barn, wᵗ.ij. other manors called the Aumeners berne, and Haberdone alſo the Granges, that ſtoode withoute the South gate, and the Manour of Weſtley, in which places they burned in corne and graine, to the value of a thouſande pounde.

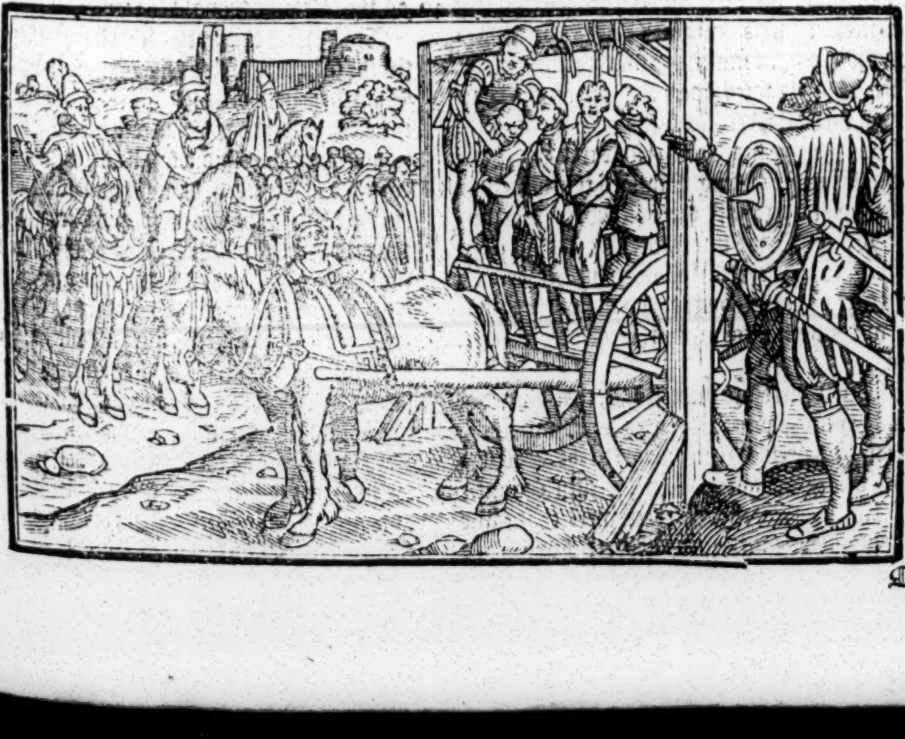
The nexte day they entered into the Abbey Court, and burnt all the houſes on the north ſide, as ſtables, Brewhouſes, Bakehouſes, Grayners, and other ſuch houſes of offices, and on the other ſide the Court, they burnt certaine houſes belonging to the Aumenerie.

On the next day they burned the Mote hall, and Bradford hall, with the new hall, and diuerſe chambers and ſollers to the ſame halles annexed, with the Chapell of S. Laurence at the ende of the hoſpitall hall. Alſo the Manor of Eldhall, the Maner of Horninger, with all the corne & grain within and about the ſame. The next day they burnt the ſoller of yͤ Sollerer, with a chapel there: alſo the kytchen, the larder, and a part of the Farmarie. On the Thurſday they burnt the reſidue of the Farmarie, and the lodging called the blacke lodging, with a Chapell of S. Andrew therein.

In executing of all theſe riotous diſorders, one Geffrey Morman was an ayder, who wyth diuerſe other perſons vnknowne, departed forth of the towne of Burie, & by the aſſent of the other his complices he burnt the Manor of Fornham.

The ſame day alſo other of their companie, as William the ſonne of James Neketon, Rauſe Grubbe, Richard Rery, and a great number of other perſones vnknowne, by the aſſent and abbetment of the other that committed the ſayd diſorders, burnt two Manors belonging alſo to the ſayde Abbey in great Berton, with all the corne and graine there founde.

Vpon knowledge had of theſe great riots, and perillous commotions, there was a commiſſion directed from the king, vnto Thomas Earle of Norffolk high Marſhall of Englãd, to Thomas Bardulf, Robert Morley, Peter Wedall, John Howard, and John Walkfare, authoriſing them with yͤ power of the counties of Suffolk & Norfolke, to apprehend, trie and puniſh, ſuch lewde diſordred perſons, & rebellious malefactors, which had committed ſuch felonious enterprices, to the breach of the kings peace, & daungerous diſquieting of his ſubiects: but the ſaid Commiſſioners proceded not according to the effect of their Cõmiſſion in triall of any felonies by the ſame perſons committed and done, but onely cauſed them to be indited of treſpas: albeit Robert Walkfare, and John Clauer, with their aſſociates Juſtices of peace, in their Seſſions holden at Eluedon the Tueſday next after the feaſt of the Apoſtles Simon and Jude, in the ſayd firſt yeare of this king Edward the third, proceeded in ſuch wiſe againſt the ſayd Malefactors, yͭ John de Berton Cordwayner, Robert Forton, and a great number of other were indyted of felonie, for the myſdemeanours afore mentioned, and the Indytements ſo founde were after ſent and preſented vnto John Stonore, Walter de Friſkeney, Robert Malberthorpe, and John Bouſſer, who by vertue of the kings Commiſſion of Oier & Determiner to thẽ directed, ſat at S. Edmundſbury the Wedneſday next after the feaſt of Saint Lucie the virgin, and then and there ſent forth precepts to the Sherife, commaunding him to apprehende the ſayd Berton, Forton, and others, that were indyted of the foreſayde felonies, and alſo to returne a ſufficient Jurie to trie vpon theyr arraignment the ſayde Malefactors by order of law, the Fryday next after the ſayde feaſt of Saint Lucie. Hereupon Alane de Latoner, and Robert Dalling, with .xvij. others, being arraigned, were founde guiltie, and ſuffered death according to the order appoynted for felons.



One Adam Miniot ſtode muet, and refuſed to be tryed by his countrey, and ſo was preſſed to death,as the law in ſuch caſe appoynteth.

Diuerſe other were ſaued by their bookes, according to the order of Clerkes conuict, as Alexander Brid perſon of Hogeſete, John Rugham perſon of little Welnetham, John Berton Cordwayner,and diuers other.

Some were repriued, as one woman named Julian Barbor,who being big bellied was reſpited,till ſhe were deliuered of child. Benedict Sio, and Robert Ruſſell were repriued, and committed to the ſafe keeping of the Sherife, as triers or appeachers(as we terme them)of other offenders: and bycauſe there was not anye as yet attached by theyr appeales, they were commaunded againe to priſon.

One Robert de Creſwell was ſaued by the kings letters of ſpecial pardon,which he had there readie to ſhew. As for Robert Foxton, Adam Cokefielde,and a great number of other, whome the Sherife was commaunded to apprehende,hee returned that he coulde not heare of them within the precinct of his Baylifewike, whereupon exigentes were awarded agaynſt them,& the Sherif was cõmaunded, that if he might come to attach them,he ſhould not fayle but ſo to do,and to haue theyr bodies there at Burie before the ſayde Juſtices, the Thurſday in Whitſunweeke next enſuing.

Diuerſe alſo were arraigned the ſame time of the ſayd felonies, and therof acquited,as Michael Seabaille,Raufe Smeremonger,and others. In deed thoſe that were founde guiltie, and ſuffred, were the chiefe authours,and procurors of the cõmotion,bearing others in hande, that the Abbot had in his cuſtodie a certaine Charter,wherin the king ſhould grant to the inhabitants of the town of Burie,certaine liberties, whereby it might appeare that they were free,and diſcharged from the payment of dyuerſe cuſtomes & exactions:whervpon the ignorant multitude eaſily giuing credit to ſuch ſurmiſed tales, were the ſooner induced to attempt ſuch diſorders as before are mentioned.

The commen people often deceyued by lewde informations.

Thus haue ye heard all in effect that was done in this firſt yeare of king Edward the thirde hys raigne, by and agaynſt thoſe offenders. But bycauſe wee will not interrupt matters of other yeares with that which followed further of this buſineſſe, we haue thought good to put the whole that wee intende to write thereof here in thys place.

Ye ſhall therefore vnderſtand, that diuerſe of thoſe agaynſt whome exigentes were awarded, came in,and yeelded their bodies to the Sherifes priſon, before they were called the fifth Countie day. Albeit a great meinie there were that came not, and ſo were outlawed. Robert Foxton got the kings pardon, and ſo purchaſing forth a ſuperſedias, the ſute therevpon agaynſt him was ſtayed.

Robert pardone

The Sherife therefore in Whitſunweeke in the ſeconde yeare of this kings raigne, made hys returne touching Benedict Sio, Robert Ruſſell, and Julian Barbor, that hee delyuered them vnto the Baylifes of the libertie of the Abbot of Burie, by reaſon of an auncient priuiledge, which the Abbot claymed to belong to hys houſe. The Baylifes confeſſed they had receyued the ſayde priſoners, but forſomuch as they had bene arraigned at a Portmane mote, which was vſed to be kept euery three weekes,and vpon their arraignment were found guiltie of certaine other fellonies, by them committed, within the towne of Burie, and therevpon were put to execution, Adam Finchmã the kings Attourney there, tooke it verie euill,and layde it grieuouſly to the charge of the Abbots officers, for their haſtie & preſumptuous proceeding agaynſt the ſayde priſoners, namely bycauſe the ſayde Sio, and Ruſſell were repriued,to the ende that by their vtterance,many heynous offences might haue beene brought to light. The ſame day that is to wit,Thurſday in Whitſunweeke, the foreſayde Robert Foxton, & diuerſe other came in, and were attached by the Sherif to anſwere the Abbot to his action of treſpaſſe, which he brought againſt thē, and putting the matter to the triall of an Inqueſt, they were condemned in.lx.M.pounds to be leuied of theyr goods and cattalles to the vſe of the Abbot,and in the meane time they were committed to priſon, but firſte they made ſute that they might bee put to their fines, for their offences committed agaynſt the kings peace, & their requeſt in that behalf was graunted,ſo that vpon putting in ſufficient ſureties for their good abearing, their fines were aſſeſſed, as ſome at more and ſome at leſſe, as the caſe was thought to require.

A priui

Portm

The A officer med.

A co tio

Thus reſted the matter for a long ſeaſon after, till the fifth yere of this kings raigne,in which the Thurſday next after the feaſt of the bleſſed Trinitie,the king being himſelfe in perſon at S.Edmondſburie aforeſaid,a finall agreement and cõcord was concluded, betwixt the ſaid Abbot and his conuent on the one party,and Richard Drayton and other the Inhabitants of that towne on the other party,before the right reuerend father in God John Biſhop of Wincheſter and Chancellor of England, and the kings Juſtices, John Stonore,and John Cantbridge ſitting there the ſame time, by the kings commaundement. The effect of which agreement was as followeth.

A

Firſt where as the ſayd Abbot had recouered by iudgement before the ſayde John Stonore and other his aſſociates iuſtices of Oier and Determiner in the ſaid towne of Bury the ſumme of

vii.

vij.ſcore thouſand poundes for treſpaſſes to him and his houſe cōmitted and done, by the ſaid Richard Drayton, and other the inhabitāts of Burye: nowe at the deſyre of the ſayde Kyng, and for other good reſpectes hym mouyng, hee pardoned and releaſed vnto the ſayde Rycharde Drayton, and to other the inhabitantes of Burie, to their heires, executours, and aſſignees the ſum of .122333. pounds .viij. ſ. 8. d. of the ſaide total ſum of .140000. pounds. And further the ſaid Abbotte and Conuent graunted and agreed for them and theyr ſucceſſours, that if the ſayd Richarde Drayton, and other the inhabitantes of the ſayd towne of Bury, or any of them, their heyres, executours, or aſſignees, ſhould paye to the ſayd Abbot and Conuent, or their ſucceſſors within twentie yeares next enſuyng the date of that preſent agreement, two thouſande markes, that is to ſaye, one hundred markes yearely at the feaſtes of Sainct Michaell and Eaſter, by euen portions: that then the ſayde Richarde and other the inhabitauntes of the Towne of Bury ſhoulde bee acquited and diſcharged of foure thouſand markes parcell of .17666. pounds .xiij. ſ. iiij. d. reſidue behynde for euer.

Moreouer, wheras the ſaid Abbot & conuent, and the ſaid Abbot by himſelf, ſith the .xix. yeare of the reigne of king Edwarde the ſeconde vnto that preſent tyme, had ſealed certayne charters, deedes, and writinges, as well with the proper ſeale of the Abbot, as with the common ſeale of the Abbot and conuent, if the ſayd Richard & the inhabitants of the ſaid town of Bury did reſtore vnto the ſaid abbot & conuent all the ſame writings, or take ſuche order, that neither the Abbotte nor conuent be impleaded, or in any wyſe hindred, endamaged nor moleſted by force of the ſame: & further if neither the ſaid Richard, nor any the inhabitantes of the ſayde towne, nor their heires, executors nor aſſignes, ſhall goe about to reuerſe the iudgemēnts againſt them, at the ſuite of the ſaid Abbot, nor ſhall ſeeke to impeache the executions of the ſame iudgements by any falſe or forged acquitāces or releaſes, nor implead nor moleſt any of the Iurie, by whome they wer cōuict, yͭ then they & their heires, executors & aſſigns ſhal be acquited & diſcharged of .x. M. li. parcel of the ſaid .17666. li. xiij. ſ. iiij. d. And furthermore if yͤ ſaid Richard & other the inhabitāts of yͤ ſaid towne of Bury, do not hereafter maliciouſly riſe againſt the ſaid Abbot or conuente, nor ſeeke to vexe them by any conſpiracie, confederacie, or by ſome other ſecrete vniuſt cauſe, nor lykewyſe will intreate any man by reaſon of the inditemente founde agaynſt them, nor yet clayme to haue any Corporation of themſelues, within that towne, that then the ſayde Richarde, and the ſayde Inhabitauntes, theyr heyres, ſucceſſours, and aſſignees, ſhall remayne acquyted and diſcharged of al the reſidue of the ſaid .17666. poundes thirteene ſhillings foure pens for euer: and the ſayde Abbot and conuent do graunt for them and their ſucceſſours, that their intention is not, that if any ſingular perſon of his owne priuate malice, ſhall ryſe agaynſte the ſayd Abbot and conuent, their ſucceſſoures, Monkes, Baylyffes, or ſeruauntes, to do them, or any of them iniurie or diſpleſure, that thoſe which be not partakers of the offence, ſhall bee in anye wyſe puniſhed for the ſame, ſo that the offenders bee not maynteyned by any of the ſame towne, but that the inhabitauntes there, doe aſſiſt the Abbot and conuent their ſucceſſoures, Bayliffes, ſeruauntes and officers, that the ſame offenders, may be puniſhed, according to theyr demerites as reaſon and lawe ſhall allowe.

Thys was the effecte of the agreemente at lengthe had and made betwixte the Abbot and Monkes of Burye on the one parte, and the inhabitauntes of that towne on the other parte, and for the more confirmation thereof it pleaſed the King to put his Seale to the charter conteyning the ſame agreement. But howe ſoeuer it chaunced it ſhoulde appeare by ſuche recordes as came to the hands of maſter Foxe as he alledgeth in the firſte thome of his booke of actes and monumentes, this agreement was but ſorilye kept: for diuers of the former offenders bearing grudge towardes the abbot for breaking promiſſe with them at London, did confederate themſelues togither, and priuily in the night comming to the Mannor of Chennington where the abbot then did lye, braſte open the gates, and entring by force, firſt bounde all his ſeruants, and after they had robbed the houſe, they took the abbot, and ſhauing hym, ſecretely conueyed him to London, and there remouing hym from ſtreete to ſtreete vnknowne, hadde hym ouer the Thames into Kent, and at lengthe tranſported hym ouer vnto Diſte in Brabant, wher they kept him for a time in much penurie thraldome and miſerie, vntill at length the matter being vnderſtood, they were al excōmunicate, firſt by the Archb. and after by the Pope. At the laſt his frendes hauing knowledge where he was, they found meanes to deliuer him out of the hāds of thoſe theues, & finally brought him home with proceſſion, & ſo he was reſtored to his houſe again. Thus muche touching thoſe troubles betwixt the townſmē of Bury & the abbot & Monks there, & now we wil return to other general matters touching the publike ſtate of the realme. And firſt you ſhal vnderſtād yͭ in the beginning of this kings raign the land truly ſemed to be bleſſed of God: for the earth became fruitful, the aire temperate, & the ſea calme & quiet. This king though he was as yet vnder yͤ gouernmēt of other, neuertheles he begā within a ſhort time to ſhew tokēs of grit towardnes, framing his mind

This mighte come to paſſe before the agreement vvas made in the .v. yeare of the Kyngs raigne as aboue is mentioned, and ſo there vppon he mighte be reſtored.

to graue deuices, and fyrſt he prepared to make a iorney agaynſt the Scottiſhemen, the whiche in his fathers tyme had done ſo many diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen, and nowe vpon confidence of his minoritie, ceaſſed not to inuade the borders of his realme, & namely the verie ſelfe nyght that folowed the day of this kinges coronation, they had thoughte by ſkalyng to haue ſtolne the Caſtell of Norham: but Robert Maners Captayne of that place, vnderſtandyng of their enterpriſe aforehand by a Scottiſhman of the garniſon there, ſo well prouided for their comming, that where a ſixteene of them boldely entred vpon the wall, he ſlew nyne or ten of them, and toke fiue.

R. Southwell.

Robert Manners capitayne of Norham caſtell.

This was thoughte an euill token, that they ſhuld ſtill be put to the worſe in this kyngs time, ſith they had ſo badde ſucceſſe in the verie beginning of his reigne: but they continuing in their malicious purpoſes, about Sainte Margaretes tyde inuaded the lande with three armies, the Earle of Murrey hauyng the leading of one of the ſame armies, and James Douglas of another, the third was guyded by the Earle of Mar.

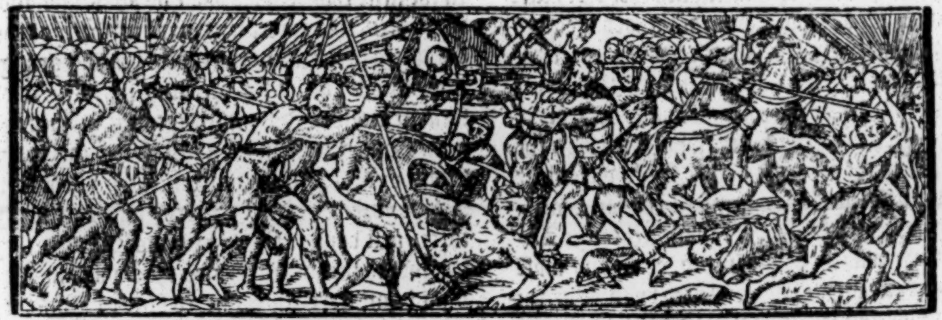
The Scots inuade Englande.

Kyng Edwarde aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled not onely a great power of Engliſhmen, but alſo required John Lorde Beaumonte of Heynault, whome he had lately ſente home ryghte honourably rewarded for his good aſſiſtaunce, to come againe into Englande, wyth certayn bandes of men at armes, and he ſhould receyue wages and good entertainement for them.

The Lorde Beaumount, as one that loued deedes of armes, was glad to accompliſhe kyng Edwardes requeſte: and ſo therupon with ſeuen hundred menne at armes, or fyue hundred, (as Froiſſart hath) came ouer into England agayn, to ſerue agaynſt the Scottes.

The generall aſſemble of the armie was appoynted to bee at Yorke, and thyther came the ſayd lorde Beaumont with his people, and was ioyfully receyued of the Kyng and his Lordes.

Here whyleſt not onely the Scottiſhe ambaſſadours, (whiche had bin ſente to treat of peace, were hearde to tell their meſſage) but alſo whyleſt the Counſell tooke ſome leyſure in debatyng the matter howe to guyde theyr enterpryſe, whiche they had now in hand: vpon Trinitie Sunday, it chanced that there aroſe contention within the Citie of Yorke, betwixte the Engliſhe archers, and the Straungers, whiche the Lorde Beaumount of Haynnault had broughte wyth hym, in ſo muche that fighting togyther there were ſlayne to the number of foure ſcore perſons of thoſe archers, whiche were buried within the Churche of Saint Clement in Foſgate.



An affraye betwixt the Engliſhe archers and the Henuyers.

Caxton.

Some write, that ther wer ſlayn to the number of three hundreth Engliſhemenne: yet bycauſe the Haynuyers came to ayde the Kyng, their peace was cried vppon paine of life. And further, it was founde by an enqueſt of the citie, that the quarrell was begunne by the Engliſhemen, the which as ſome write were of the Lincolneſhire men, of thoſe that ſometyme belonged to the Spencers, and to the Earle of Arundell. ſo that there was cauſe, why they bare euill will to the Haynnuyers whych had aided (as ye haue heard, to bring the ſaide Earle and Spencers to their confuſion.

Froiſſart.

Caxton.

Froiſſart.

In this meane time the Scottes beyng entred into Englande, hadde done muche hurt, and were come as farre as Stannop Parke in Wyredale: and though they hadde ſent theyr Ambaſſadours to treate wyth the Kyng and hys counſell for peace, yet no concluſyon followed of their talke.

Stanhop parke.

Caxton.

At the ſame tyme, bycauſe the Engliſh ſouldiours of this armie were cloathed all in coates and hoodes embroudred with Floures and braunches verye ſeemely, and vſed to nouriſhe theyr beardes: the Scottes in deriſion thereof, made a ryme, whiche they faſtned vppon the Churche dores of Sainct Peter towarde Stangate, conteyning as followeth.

Long beardes, hartleſſe,
Paynted hoodes, wytleſſe,
Gaye coates, graceleſſe,
Make Englande thriftleſſe.

The Kyng when he ſawe it was but a vaine thing to ſtay any longer in cōmunication with the Ambaſſadors about peace, departed frō Yorke with his puiſſant armie, and getting knowledge how the Scots were cloſely lodged in the woods of Stanop parke, he cōmeth & ſtoppeth all the paſſages, ſo it was thought that he ſhould haue had them at his pleaſure, but through treaſon (as was after reported) of the Lord Roger Mortymer, after that the Scottes had bin kepte within their lodgings for the ſpace of fifteene dayes, till they were almoſte famiſhed, they did not onely fynd a way out, but about two hundred of them vnder the leading of the Lorde William Douglas, aſſayling that part of the Engliſh campe where the kings Tent ſtode, in the night ſeaſon, miſſed not muche of eyther taking the King or ſleaying hym: And hauing done hurte ynough otherwayes, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle is alſo touched, they followed their companye, and with them retourned into Scotlande wythoute impeachement.

It is ſayde, that Henry Earle of Lancaſter, and John the lord Beaumount of Heynalt wold gladly haue paſſed ouer the water of Wyre, to haue aſſayled the Scots, but the Erle of March through counſell of the Lord Mortimer pretending to haue right to the leading of the forward and to the giuyng the of onſetfirſte, woulde not ſuffer them.

Howe ſoeuer it was, the Kyng miſſed hys purpoſe, and right penſiue therfore, brake vp his fielde, and retourned vnto London.

Walter Biſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe in Nouember, and then Simon Mepham was aduaunced to the gouernemente of that ſea.

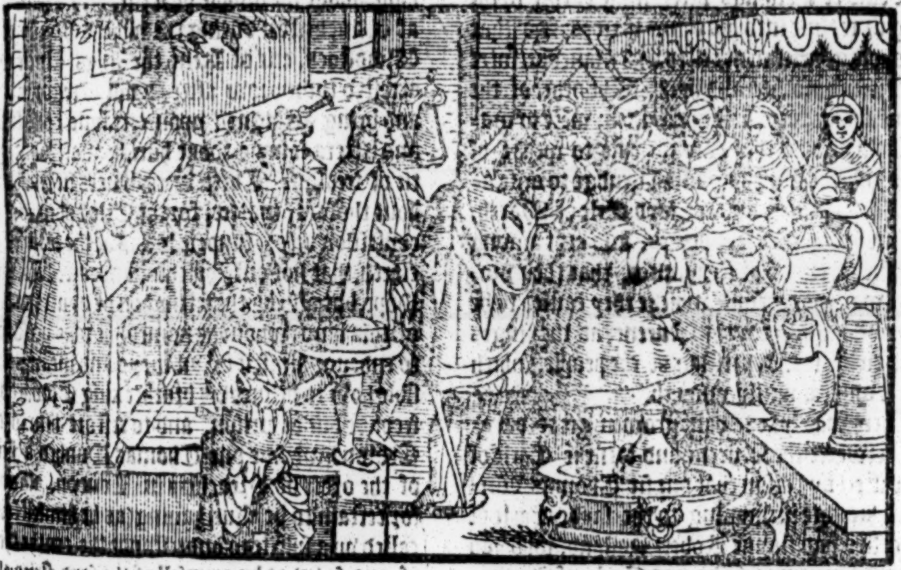
The Lorde Beaumont returned home.

Polidore.

The Lorde Beaumount of Heynalt was honorably rewarded for his paynes and trauayle, and then licenced to returne into his countreye, where he had not bene long, but that through his meanes, (then as ſome wryte) the mariage was concluded betwene king Edward, and the Lady Philip daughter to William Earle of Haynault and neece to the ſayde Lorde Beaumount, who had the charge to ſee hir brought ouer hither into Englande about Chriſtmaſſe. Where in the citie of Yorke vpon the euen of the Conuerſion of Saint Paule, being Sunday, in the latter ende of the firſt yeare of his raigne, Kyng Edward ſolemnely maryed hir.

Fabian.

1328



In the ſeconde yeare of his reigne aboute the feaſt of Pentecoſt, king Edward helde a parliament at Northampton, at the which parliament by euill and naughtie counſeil, (whereof the Lord Roger Mortimer and the Queene mother bare the blame) the Kyng concluded with the Scottiſhe King both an vnprofitable and a diſhonorable peace.

For firſte, hee releaſſed to the Scottes their fealtie and homage. Alſo hee deliuered vnto them certayne olde auncient writings, ſealed with the ſeales of the Kyng of Scottes, and of the Lordes of the lande both Spirituall and Temporall. Amongeſt the which, was that Indenture, which they called Ragman, with many other Charters and patents, by the which the kinges of Scotlande were bounde as feodaries vnto the Crowne of Englande, at whiche ſeaſon alſo were deliuered certain Jewels, which before tyme had beene wonne from the Scottes by Kynges of Englande, and among other, the blacke Croſier or Roode is ſpecially named.

R. Fabian.

Caxton.

The blacke Croſſe.

And not onely the King by his ſiniſter counſell loſte ſuche ryghte and title as he had to the realme of Scotlande, ſo farre as by the ſame Counſell myght bee deuyſed, but alſo the Lordes and Barons, and other menne of Englande that had any landes or rentes within Scotlande, loſte theyr ryghte in lyke manner, except they woulde dwell vppon the ſame landes, and become liege menne to the Kyng of Scotlande. Herevpon was there alſo a marryage concluded betwyxte Dauid Bruce the ſonne of

A marriage concluded.

Robert Bruce king of Scotland, and the Ladie Jane ſiſter to king Edwarde, whiche of diuers writers is ſurnamed Joan of the Tower, and the Scots ſurnamed hir halfe in deriſion, Joan make peace.

Ione make peace.

This marriage was ſolemniſed at Berwike vpon the day of Mary Magdalen. The Queene with the Biſhops of Elye, & Norwich, the Erle Warreyn, the Lorde Mortimer, and diuers other Barons of the lande, and a great multitude of other people were preſente at that marriage, whyche was celebrate wyth all honoure that might bee.

R. Southwell.

After the Quindene of Saincte Michael, K. Edwarde helde a parliamente at Saliſbury, in whiche the Lorde Roger Mortymer was created Earle of Marche, the Lorde John of Eltham the kings brother, was made erle of Cornwall, and the Lorde James Butler of Ireland, Erle of Ormonde, who aboute the ſame tyme had marryed the Earle of Herefordes daughter.

Tho VValſ.
Adam Merimouth.
Polidore.
Creations of Earles.

But the Earle of March tooke the moſt part of the rule of all things perteyning eyther to the King or realme into his owne handes: So that the whole gouernment reſted in a maner betwixt the Queene mother and hym. The other of the Counſell that were firſt appoynted, were in maner diſplaced: for they bare no rule to ſpeake of at all, whiche cauſed no ſmall grudge to ariſe againſt the Queene and the ſayd Erle of March, who mayntеyned ſuche portes, and kept among them ſuche retinue of ſeruauntes, that their prouiſion was wonderfull, whiche they cauſed to be taken vp, namely for the Queene, at the kinges price, to the ſore oppreſſion of the people, which tooke it diſpleaſauntly ynough.

The Earle of Marche ruleth all thinges at his pleaſure.

Caxton.

There was lyke to haue growen great varyance betwixte the Queene and Henrye Earle of Lancaſter, by reaſon that one ſir Thomas Wither, a knighte pertayning to the ſayde Earle of Lancaſter, had ſlayne Robert Holland, who had betrayed ſometyme Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, and was after committed to pryſon by Earle Henries meães, but the Quene had cauſed hym to be ſet at libertie, and admitted him as one of hir counſell. The Queene would haue had ſir Thomas Wither puniſhed for the murther, but Erle Henry cauſed him to bee kepte out of the way, ſo that for theſe cauſes and other, the Earle Henry of Lancaſter went about to make a rebellion, and the Queene hauing knowledge thereof, ſought to apprehende hym: but by the mediation of the Earles Marſhall and Kent, the matter was taken vp, and Erle Henry hadde the kings peace graunted him for the ſumme of xi. M. pound, which he ſhould haue payde, but he neuer payde that fine, though it was ſo aſſeſſed at the time of the agreemente. There were diuers lordes and great men that were confederated with hym, the lord Thomas Wake, the lorde Henry Beaumount, the Lorde Foulke Fitz Warreyn, Sir Thomas Roſſelyn, Sir William Truſſell, and other, to the number of an hundred Knightes.

The Earle of Lancaſter.

Robert Hollande ſlayne.

The Archbiſh. of Canterburye vvas the chiefe procurer of the agreement and reconciliation of the erle, (as Merimouth hath.)

In the third yeare of his reigne, about the Aſcention tyde, King Edwarde wente ouer into Fraunce, and comming to the Frenche Kyng Philyp de Valoys, as then being at Amyens, did there his homage vnto him for yͤ duchie of Guyenne (as in the Frenche hiſtorie appeareth.)

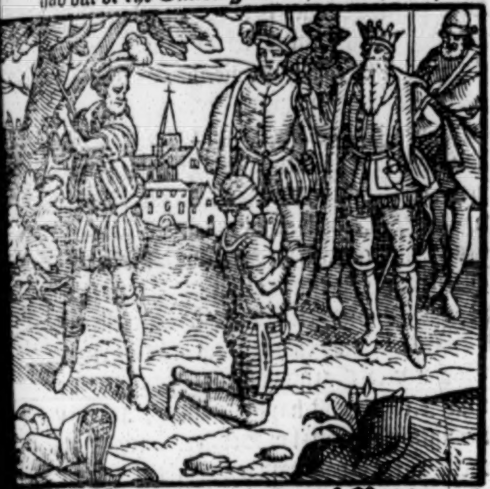
The ſame yeare Simon the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie held a Synode at London, wherin all thoſe were excommunicated that were guyltie to the death of Walter Stapleton Biſhop of Exceſter, that had bin put to deth by the Londoners, as in the laſt kings tyme ye haue heard.

This Biſhop of Exceſter founded Exceſter colledge in Oxford, and Harts hall. But nowe to the purpoſe.

The king aboute the beginning, or as other haue, about the middle of Lent, held a parliamẽt at Wincheſter, during the whiche Edmunde of Woodſtock, erle of Kent, the kings Vncle was arreſted the morow after Saint Gregories day, and being arraigned vpon certayne confeſſions and letters founde about him, he was found giltie of treaſon. There were dyuers in trouble about the ſame matter, for the Erle vpon his open confeſſion before ſundrie lordes of the realme, declared, that not only by cõmaundement from the Pope, but alſo by the ſetting on of dyuers nobles of this land (whom he named) he was perſuaded to endeuor himſelf by all ways and meanes poſſible how to deliuer his brother king Edward the ſeconde out of priſon, and to reſtore him to the Crowne, whome one Thomas Dunhed, a Frier of the order of Preachers in London, affirmed for certain to be aliue, hauing (as he himſelf ſaid) called vp a ſpirite to vnderſtande the truthe therof, and ſo what by counſell of the ſayd Frier, and of three other Friers of the ſame order, he hadde purpoſed to worke ſome meane howe to delyuer hym, and to reſtore hym agayne to the kingdome

Among the letters that were found about him diſcloſing a greate part of his practiſe, ſome there were, whiche he had written, and directed vnto his brother the ſayd king Edwarde, as by ſome writers it ſhoulde appeare.

The Biſhop of London and certayne other great perſonages, whome he hadde accuſed, were permitted to go at libertie, vnder ſureties taken for their good demeanour and forth commyng. But Roberte de Touton, and the Frier that hadde rayſed the Spirite for to knowe whether the Kynges father were lyuyng or not, were committed to priſon, wherein the Fryer remayned tyll he dyed. The Earle hymſelfe was had out of the Caſtell gate at Wincheſter, and



there loſt his head the .xix. day of Marche, chiefly (as was thought) through the malice of the Queene mother, and of the Earle of Marche: whoſe pride and hygh preſumption the ſayd Erle of Kente myght not well abyde.

His death in deede was the leſſe lamented bycauſe of the preſumptuous gouernement of hys ſeruantes and retinue, whiche he kept about him, for that they riding abrode, woulde take vp thinges at their pleaſure, not paying nor agreeyng with the partie to whome ſuche things belonged.

The yong Queene Philippe was brought to bedde at Woodſtocke the .xv. day of Iune of hir firſte ſonne, the whyche at the Fontſtone was named Edwarde, and in proceſſe of tyme came to greate proofe of famous chieualrye, as in this booke ſhall more playnely appeare. He was commonly named when hee came to rype yeares, Prynce Edwarde, and alſo ſurnamed the blacke Prince.

The ſixteenth day of Iuly chaunced a great Eclipſe of the Sunne, and for the ſpace of two Moneths before, and three monethes after, there fell exceding greate rayne, ſo that thorough the greate intemperancie of wether, corne could not rypen, by reaſon whereof, in many places they beganne not harueſt tyll Michaelmaſſe, and in ſome place, they inned not their wheate tyll Allhallontyde, nor their peaſe tyl S. Andrews tyde.

Croxden. An Eclipſe.

A late harueſt.

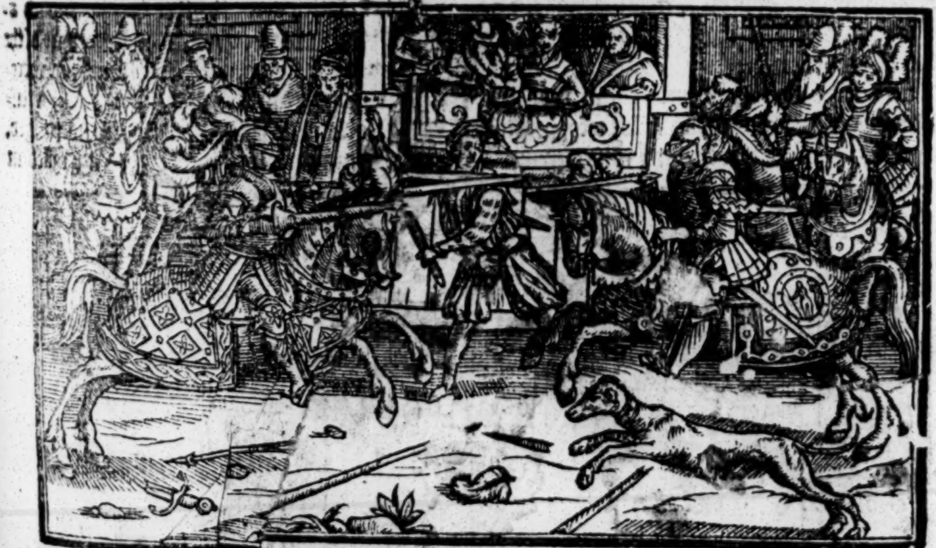
On Chriſtmaſſe euen, aboute the breake of dy, a meruaylous ſore and terrible wynd came, forthe of the weſte, whyche ouerthrewe houſes and buyldings, ouertourned trees by the rootes, and did muche hurte in diuers places.

A mightye vvinde.

This yeare ſhortely after Eaſter, the Kyng wyth the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, and the lord Willyam Montacute hauing not paſte fifteene horſes in their company paſſed the ſea, apparelled in clokes like to marchantes, he lefte his brother the Earle of Cornewall his deputie, and gardian of the realme till his retourne.

Moreouer, he cauſed it to bee proclaymed in London, that he went ouer on pilgrimage, and for none other purpoſe. He retourned before the later ende of Aprill, and then was there holden a Tourney at Dertfort.

The Monday after Saint Mathewes day in



September the Kyng helde a ſolemne Iuſtes in Cheape ſyde, betwixt the great Croſſe and Soper lane, he with .xij. as chalengers, anſwering all defendants that came. This ſolemne Iuſtes and tourney continued .iij. dayes.

The Queene with many Ladies beeing preſente at the ſame, fell beſyde a ſtage, but yet as good happe would, they had no hurte by that fall, to the reioycing of many that ſaw them in ſuche danger, & yet ſo luckily to eſcape without harme.

Alſo in a Parliament holden at Notingham, aboute Saincte Lukes tyde, Syr Roger Mortymer the Earle of Marche was apprehended the ſeuententh daye of October within the Caſtell of Notyngham, where the Kyng with the two Queenes, his mother and his wife, and diuers other were as then lodged: and thoughe the keyes of the Caſtell were dayly and nightly in the cuſtodie of the ſayd Earle of March, and that his power was ſuche, as it was doubted howe he myght be arreſted: for he hadde as ſome writers affirme at that preſente in retinue nyne ſcore knights, beſyde Eſquires, Gentlemen and yeomen: yet at lengthe by the kings healpe, the Lorde William Montacute, the Lorde Humfreye de Bohun, and his brother ſir William, the Lorde Raufe Staffforde, the Lorde Robert Ufforde, the Lorde William Clinton, the Lorde John Neuill of Hornbie, and diuers other, whiche had accuſed the ſayd Earle of March for the murder of Kyng Edwarde the ſeconde, founde meanes by intelligence had with ſir William de Elande Conneſtable of the Caſtell of Notingham, to take the ſayd Earle of March wyth his ſonne the Lorde Roger or Geffreye Mortimer, and ſir Simon Bereſorde, with other.

Additions to [illegible]

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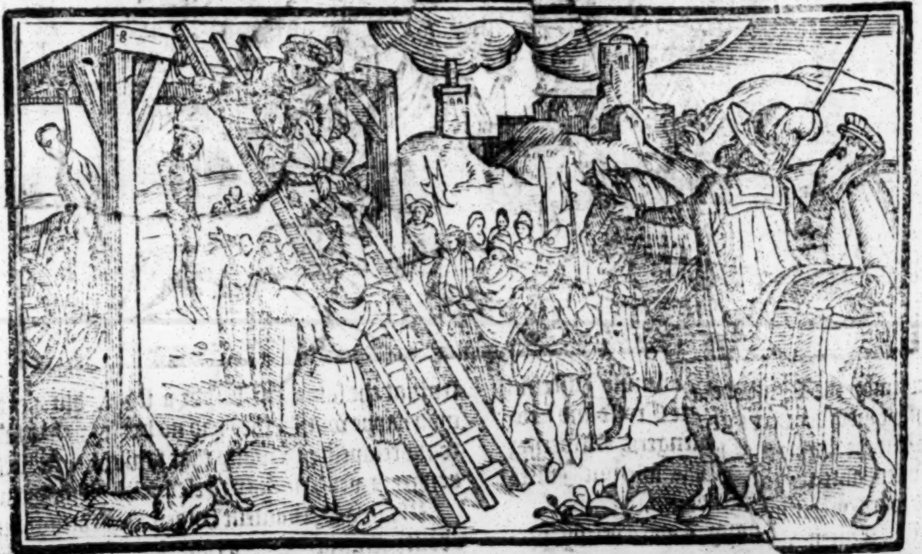
But who ſoeuer was glad or ſory for the trouble of the ſayd Earle, ſurely the Queene mother tooke it moſte heauyly aboue all other, (as ſhee that loued him more (as the ſame write) than ſtoode well with hir honour. For as ſome write, ſhe was founde to be with chylde by him. They kepte as it were houſe togither, for the Earle to haue hys prouiſion the better Cheape, layde hys penye with hirs, ſo that hir takers ſerued him as well as they did hir bothe of victualles and cariages. But nowe in this Parliamente holden at Weſtminſter hee was attainted of highe treaſon expreſſed in fiue articles, as in effecte followeth.

First, he was charged that he hadde procured Edwarde of Carneruan the kings father to bee murthered in moſt haynous and tyrannous maner within the caſtel of Berkley. Secondly, that the Scottes at Stanhope Parke throughe his meanes eſcaped. Thirdy, that he receiued at the handes of the lord James Douglas, at that time generall of the Scottes, great ſummes of money to execute that treaſon, and further to conclude the peace vppon ſuche diſhonorable conditions as was accorded with the Scottes at the parliament of Northampton. Fourthely, that hee had gotte into his handes a greate parte of the Kyngs treaſure, and waſted it. Fyftly, that hee hadde impropried vnto hym dyuers wardes that belonged vnto the Kyng: and had bin more priuie wyth Queene Iſabell the Kyngs mother, than ſtood eyther with Gods law, or the kynges pleaſure.

These articles wyth other beeyng proued agaynſt him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the Parliament to ſuffer death, and according therevnto vppon Saincte Andrewes euen nexte enſuing, he was at London drawen and hanged, at the common place of Execution, called in

The Mar[illegible]



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After that the Earle of Marche was executed (as ye haue hearde) dyuers noble men that were departed the Realme, bycauſe they coulde not abyde the pride and preſumption of the ſayd Earle, nowe returned: As the ſonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundell, the Lorde Thomas Wake, the Lorde Henry Beaumont, ſir Thomas de Roſſelyn, Sir Foulke Fitz Waryne, Sir Gryffyn de la Poole, and dyuers other.

In the fifth yeare of King Edwardes reygne Edward Balliolle came forth of Fraunce in Englande, and obteyned ſuche fauour through the aſſiſtance of the Lorde Henrye Beaumont, the Lord Dauid of Strabogy Earle of Athol, the Lorde Geffrey de Mowbray, the lord Walter Cumyn, and other, that king Edward graunted hym licence to make his prouiſions [illegible] of [illegible] lande to paſſe into Scotlande wyth [illegible] men to attempte the recouerie of his [illegible] that if he crowne of Scotlande, with condition that if he recouered it, he ſhoulde acknowledge [illegible] Lorde of of the kyng of Englande as ſupe[illegible] Scotlande.

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The Lorde Beaumont.

1332.

An. reg. 6.

Croxden.

The Earle of Gelderlande.

In the ſixte yeare of King Edwards raigne Reignolde Earle of Gelderland maried the Ladie Eleanor ſiſter to this King Edwarde the thirde, who gaue vnto the ſayde Earle wyth hir for hir portion, fiftene thouſande poundes ſterlyng.

Iſabell the kinges daughter was borne alſo this yeare at Wodſtocke. After that Edwarde Balliol had prepared and made readie his purueyances for his iourney, and that his men of warre wer aſſembled & come togither, being in al not paſſe fiue hundreth men of armes, and about two thouſande archers and other footemen hee toke the ſea at Rauenſpurgh in Yorkeſhire, and from thence directing his courſe Northewarde he arriued at lengthe in Scotland, wher he atchieuing great victories (as in the Scottiſh chronicle yee may reade more at large) was finally crowned king of that Realme. It may ſeeme a wonder to many, that the king of Englande woulde permit Edwarde Balliol to make his prouiſion thus in Englande and to ſuffer his people to ayde him againſte his brother in lawe Kyng Dauid that had married his ſiſter (as before yee haue heard.) In deede at the firſte hee was not but [illegible] readie to graunt theyr ſute that moued it, [illegible] lengthe hee was contented to diſſemble [illegible] in hope, that if Edwarde Balliol had [illegible] hee ſhoulde then recouer that againe, whiche by the conclusion of peace during his minoritie, hee had throughe euill counſel, reſigned out of [illegible] handes.

Edvvard Balioll crovvned K. of Scotland.

The cauſe that moved K. Edvvarde to ayd the Balioll.

The Scots [illegible] ſed theyr newe Kyng, Edw[illegible] out of Scotlande, ſo that hee was faine to retire into Englande, and celebrated the feaſte of the Natiuitie at Carleil, in the houſe of the Friers minors, and the morrowe after, beeing Sainct Stephens daye, hee wente into Weſtmerlande, where of the lorde Clifforde hee was right honorably receyued, to whome hee then graunted Douglas Dale in Scotlande, whiche had bene graunted to the ſaide lord Cliffords graundfather in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde the firſt, if hee might at any time recouer the Realme of Scotlande out of his aduerſaries handes.

Ro. Southwell

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1333

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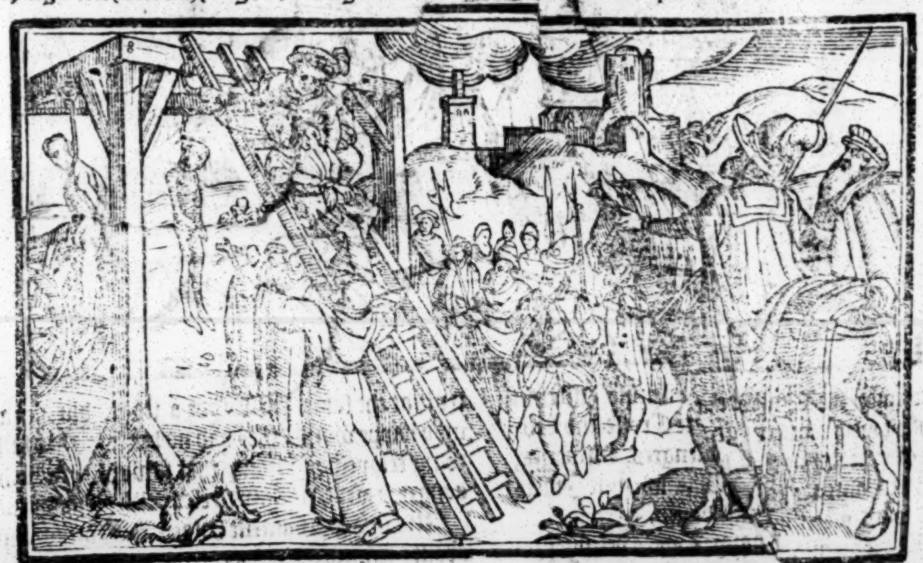
These articles wyth other beyng proued agaynſt him, he was adiudged by authoritie of the Parliament to ſuffer death, and according thereunto vppon Sainct Andrewes euen next enſuing, he was at London drawen and hanged, at the common place of Execution, called in



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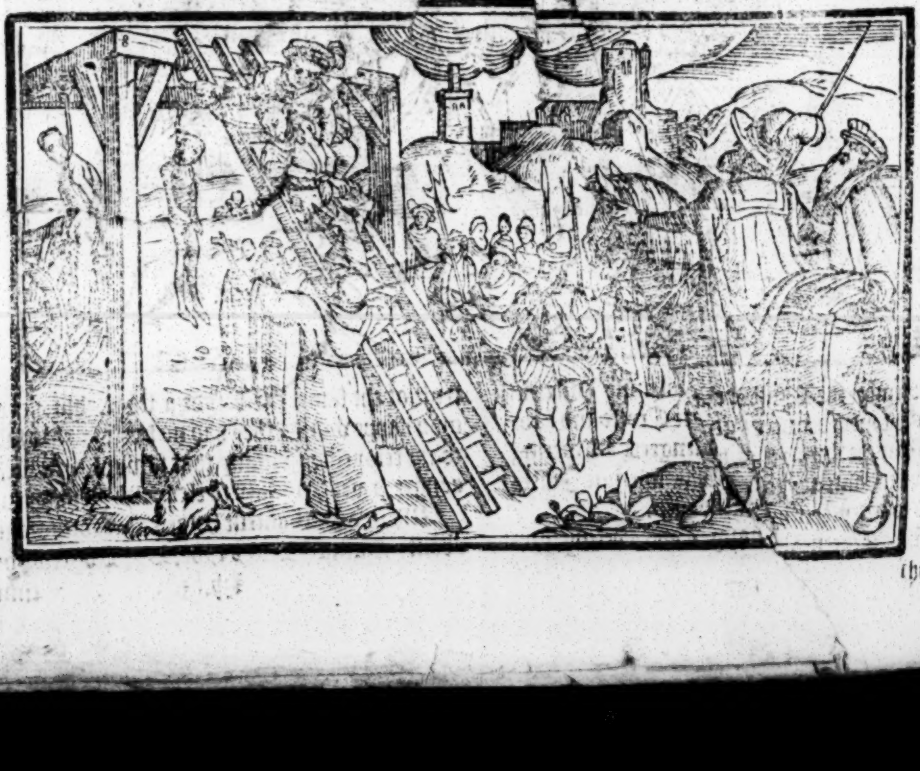


thoſe dayes the Elmes, and nowe Tyborne, as in ſome bookes we fynde. His bodie remayned two dayes and two nightes on the Gallowes, and after taken downe was deliuered to the Friers Minors, who buryed him in their church the morrowe after he was deliuered to them, wyth greate pompe and funerall exequies, althoughe afterwardes, hee was taken vp and carried vnto Wigmore, whereof he was lorde. He came not to his anſwere in iudgement, no more than any other of the nobilitie had done, ſince the death of Thomas Earle of Lancaſter.

Syr Symon de Bereford knyghte that had bene one of the kings Juſtices, was drawne alſo and hanged at London, vpon S. Lucies day.

In this parliament holden at Weſtminſter the Kyng toke into his hande by aduice of the eſtates there aſſembled, all the poſſeſſions, landes and reuenues that belonged to the Queene his mother, ſhe hauing aſſigned to hir a thouſande poundes by yeare, for the maintenaunce of hir eſtate, being appointed to remayne in a certayne place, and not to goe elſe where abroade: yet the King to comforte hir, woulde lyghtely euerye yere once come to viſite hir.

After that the Earle of Marche was executed (as ye haue hearde) dyuers noble men that were departed the Realme, bycauſe they coulde not abyde the pride and preſumption of the ſayd Earle, nowe returned: As the ſonne and heyre of the Earle of Arundell, the Lorde Thomas Wake, the Lorde Henry Beaumont, ſir Thomas de Roſſelyn, Sir Foulke Fitz Warryne, Sir Gryffyn de la Poole, and dyuers other.

In the fifth yeare of King Edwardes reygne Edward Balioll came forth of Fraunce into Englande, and obteyned ſuche fauour through the aſſiſtance of the Lorde Henrye Beaumont, the Lord Dauid of Strabogy Earle of Athol, the Lorde Geffrey de Mowbray, the lord Walter Cumyn, and other, that king Edward graunted hym licence to make his prouiſion [illegible] lande to paſſe into Scotlande wyth [illegible] men to attempte the recouerie of his [illegible] that if he [illegible] crowne of Scotlande, with condition [illegible] if [he] recouered it, he ſhoulde acknowledge [illegible] Lorde of [illegible] of the kyng of Englande as ſupe[illegible] Scotlande.

The commyng awaye of Edwarde Balliolle oute of Fraunce is dyuerſly reported by the writers: ſome ſaye, that hee [illegible] French king, whoſe ſiſter he [illegible] maryed: and o[illegible] ther ſaye, that he being in [illegible] ſon in Fraunce, for the eſcape of an Engliſh [illegible] one John Barnabie Eſquier, which ha[illegible] chance of quarellyng [illegible] ſlaine a Frenchman by the towne of Dampierre, where the ſame Barnabie dwelled with the ſaide Edwarde Balliol, it ſo came to paſſe that the Lord Henrie Beaumont hauing occaſion of buſyneſſe wyth the Frenche Kyng, that fauoured him well came ouer into Fraunce, and there vnderſtanding of Balliols impriſonement, procured his deliueraunce, and brought him ouer into Englande, and cauſed him to remayne in ſecrete wiſe at the Manor of Sandall vppon Ouſe in Yorkeſhire, with the Ladie Veſcie, till hee had purchaſed the Kinges graunt for him to make his prouiſion of men of warre and ſhips within the Engliſhe dominions.

The Lorde Beaumont.

In the ſixte yeare of King Edwards raigne Reignolde Earle of Gelderland maried the Ladie Eleanor ſiſter to this King Edwarde the thirde, who gaue vnto the ſayde Earle wyth hir for hir portion, fiftene thouſande poundes ſterlyng.

1332.

An. reg. 6.

Croxden.

The Earle of Gelderlande.

Iſabell the kinges daughter was borne alſo this yeare at Woodſtocke. After that Edwarde Balliol had prepared and made readie his purueyances for his iourney, and that his men of warre wer aſſembled & come togither, being in al not paſſe fiue hundred men of armes, and about two thouſande archers and other footemen hee toke the ſea at Rauenſpurgh in Yorkeſhire, and from thence directing his courſe Northewarde he arriued at lengthe in Scotland, wher he atchieuing great victories (as in the Scottiſh chronicle yee may reade more at large) was finally crowned king of that Realme. It may ſeeme a wonder to many, that the king of Englande woulde permit Edwarde Balliol to make his prouiſion thus in Englande and to ſuffer his people to aide him againſte his brother in lawe Kyng Dauid that had married his ſiſter (as before yee haue heard.) In deede at the firſte hee was not but [illegible] readie to graunt theyr ſute that moued it, [illegible] lengthe hee was contented to diſſemble [illegible] matter, in hope that if Edwarde Balliol had gained, whiche [illegible] hee ſhoulde then recouer that [illegible] ring his minoritie by the concluſion of peace hee had throughe euill counſel, reſigned out of [illegible] handes.

Edvvard Balioll crovvned K. of Scotland.

The cauſe that moued K. Edvvarde to ayd the Balioll.

The Scots neu[illegible] [cha]ſed theyr newe Kyng, Edwarde [illegible] out of Scotlande, ſo that hee was faine to retire into Englande, and celebrated the feaſte of the Natiuitie at Carleil, in the houſe of the Friers minors, and the morrowe after, beeing Saint Stephens daye, hee wente into Weſtmerlande, where of the lorde Clifforde hee was right honorably receyued, to whome hee then graunted Douglas Dale in Scotlande, whiche had bene graunted to the ſaide lord Cliffordes grandfather in the dayes of Kyng Edwarde the firſt, if hee might at any time recouer the Realme of Scotlande out of his aduerſaries handes.

Ro. Southwell

Edvvard Balioll chaſed out of Scotlande.

1333

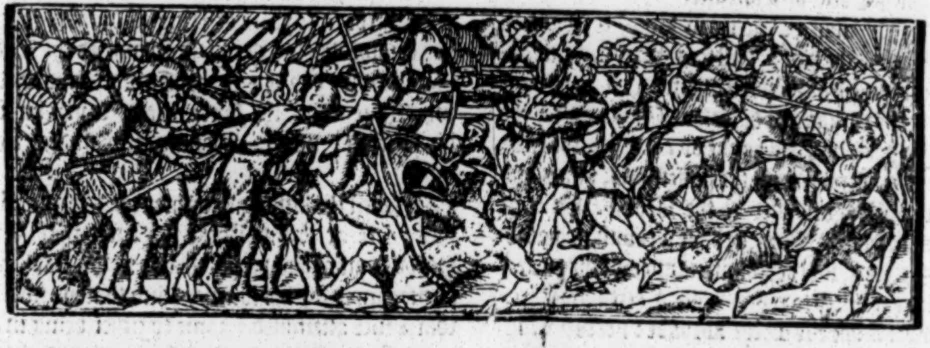
An. reg. 7.

After thys, he went and lay a tyme with the Ladie of Gynes, that was his kinſewoman. Finally about the .x. day of Marche, hauing aſſembled a power of Engliſhemen and Scottiſhmen he entred Scotlande, and beſieged the towne of Berwike, duryng the whyche ſiege, many enterpriſes were attempted by the parties: and amongeſt other, the Scottes entred Englande by Carleile, doing muche miſchiefe in Gilleſlande, by brennyng, killyng, robbing, and ſpoylyng.

Berwike beſieged.

The king aduertiſed herof, thought himſelfe diſcharged of the agreement concluded betwixte him and Dauid Bruce, the ſonne of Rob. Bruce that had married hys ſyſter, and therfore tooke it to be lawfull for hym to ayde his couſin Edw. Balliol, the lawfull king of Scottes.

And herewyth aſſembling an armie, came to the ſiege of Berwike, together with his brother John of Eltham, Earle of Cornewall, and other noble menne, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible howe to winne the Towne: and finally diſcomfited an armie of Scots, whiche came to the reſkue therof vpon Halidon hill, in ſleaing of them what in the fighte and chaſe, ſeuen Earles, nine hundred knightes and baronnettes, foure hundred Eſquiers, and vpon .xxxij. thouſande of the common people: and of Engliſhmen were ſlain but .xv. perſons, as our Engliſh wryters make mention.



The Scottiſh writers confeſſe, that the Scottiſhemen loſt to the number of .xiiij. thouſande.

Berwike deliuered.

On the morrowe folowing, being S. Margarets day, the towne of Berwike was rendred vnto king Edward, with the Caſtell, as in the Scottiſhe Chronicle ye maye reade, with mor matter touchyng the ſiege and battaile afore ſſe ſayde, and therefore here in fewe words, I p it ouer. buſines

The lord Richard Talbot.

King Edward hauing thus ſped his liole, vn- left a power of men with Edward Ba albot, and der the conduct of the lord Richar glande, appoyn- returned himſelfe backe into E gouernoure of the ting the Lorde Percye to bee ſir Thomas Greye Towne of Berwike, and rcy, lorde chiefe Juſtice of Ireland, leauyng the Lord Thomas Burgh his deputie in that countrey, paſſed ouer wyth an armye into Scotlande, to ayde the Kyng, who (as ye haue hearde) was there the ſame tyme in perſon. And ſo by the kyng on one ſyde, and by the Iriſhmenne on an other, Scotlande was ſubdued, and reſtored vnto Balliole, who the morrowe after the Octaues of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, helde a Parliament at Sainct Johns towne, in the whiche he reuoked & made voyde all actes, whyche the late King of Scots Roberte Bruce hadde enacted or made: and further ordeyned, that all ſuche landes and poſſeſſions as the ſayde Bruce hadde giuen to any manner of perſon, ſhould bee taken from them, and reſtored to the former and true inherytoure.

The Lorde Juſtice of Ireland commeth into Scotlande.

Thys yere about the twelfth of October, Simon Mepham Archbiſh. of Canterbury, departe thi e, in whoſe place ſucceded John Stret being remoued from the ſea of Wynche- whereof hee was Biſhoppe, before that hee hus called to the ſea of Canterbury.

ter Candelmaſſe, the Kyng of Englande haſted towardes Yorke, there to holde a parliment, to the whiche (beginnyng the Monday e ſeconde weeke in Lent,) when Edwarde ol doubting to be ſurpriſed by his aduerſa- heroulde not come, hee ſente yet the Lorde de Beaumont, and the Lorde William Thacute, to make excuſe for him.

the Kyng of Englande, paſſing further into Newe (partes, helde hys Whitſontyde at tie: And ell vpon Tyne, with greate royal- of Scott tly after, Edward Balliol Kyng daye of Junie thither, and vpon the ninteenth of Englan, made his homage vnto the king preſence of and ſware vnto him fealtie in the Gentlemen great number of Nobles and and chiefe Lor aſſembled, as to his ſuperiour byndyng hymſel of the Realme of Scotlande, realme of the king that othe, to holde the ſame ſucceſſors for euer. Englande, his heires and K. of England at ye alſo gaue & grãted vnto ye ning vnto ye borders of E v. counties next adioy- lād, as Berwik and

Rockſburgh, Peplis, and Dunfres, the townes of Hadington and Gedworthe, with the caſtell, the forreſtes of Silkirke, Etherike, and Gedworth, ſo as all theſe portions ſhould be clerely ſeparated from the crowne of Scotland, and annexed vnto the crowne of England for euer. And theſe thinges were confirmed and roborated with othe, ſcepter, and witneſſe ſufficient.

Whiche thinges done in due order as was requiſite, the Kyng of Englande retourned home, and the Kyngs wente backe into Scotlande. And then were all ſuche lordes reſtored againe to their landes and poſſeſſions in Scotlande, whiche in the dayes of Edwarde the ſeconde had bene expulſed from the ſame: and nowe they did theyr homage vnto the King of Scotlande for thoſe landes as apperteyned.

Immediatly after, the Kyng of Englande called a counſell of his Lordes ſpirituall and temporall at Notingham, commaundyng them to meete hym there aboute the thirteenthe daye of July, there to conſult wyth hym of weightie cauſes concerning the ſtate of the realme.

This yeare on Sainct Clementes daye at night whiche falleth on the three and twentieth of Nouember, throughe a maruellouſe inundation and riſing of the ſea all alongeſt by the coaſtes of this realme, but eſpecially about the Thames, the ſea bankes or walles were broken and borne downe with violence of the water, and infinite numbers of beaſtes and cattaile drowned, fruitfull groundes and paſtures were made ſalte marſhes ſo as there was no hope that in long time they ſhoulde recouer againe theyr former fruitfulneſſe.

In this meane time the Frenche Kyng was appoynted to haue made a viage againſte the Sarazins, enemies of our faith, and had ſente to the Kyng of England, requiring him of his companie in that iourney. But the King of Englande beeing otherwiſe occupied wyth the affaires of Scotlande, made no direct aunſwere therevnto, ſo that the Frenche kyng perceyuing that the kyng of Englande was not in all things well pleaſed with him, thought good before hee ſet forewarde on that iourney to vnderſtande his meaning, and thereuppon ſente eftſoones vnto him other ambaſſadours. Theſe ambaſſadours arriued here in Englande and had audience, but nothing they concluded in effect, ſaue that the kyng promiſed to ſende his ambaſſadours ouer into Fraunce to haue further communication in the matter touching ſuche pointes of variaunce as depended betwixt them.

Although Edward Balliol by the puiſſance of the king of Englandes aſſiſtaunce had gotte the moſte parte of the Realme of Scotland into his handes, yet diuers caſtels were holden againſte him, and the Scots dayly ſlipped from him, and by open rebellion moleſted him dyuers wayes.

R. Southwell.

A parliamente at London.

The king of England aduertiſed therof called a parliament at London, wherin hee tooke order for his iourney into Scotland, had a tenth and a fifteenth graunted hym, and ſo aboute Allhallontide hee came to Newecaſtell vppon Tine, with his army, and remained there till the feaſt of Saint Katherin, and then entring into Scotlande, came to Rockeſburgh, where he repared the Caſtell which had ben aforetime deſtroyed. After the thirde daye of Chriſtmaſſe was paſte, the kyng of Englande entred into Ethricke foreſt, beating it vp and downe, but the Scottes would not come within his reach: whereupon he ſent the Kyng of Scottes that was there preſent with him, and the Earles of Warwicke and Oxforde and certen other barons and knyghtes wyth theyr retinues vnto Carleil to keepe and defende thoſe Weſt partes of the realme from the Scottes.

The king entreth into Scotland vvith an armie.

1335.

In their iourney thitherwardes, they went by Peplis to apprehend certaine Scots, whome they heard to be lodged & abiding therabouts, but when they founde them not, they waſted the countrey, and tourned ſtreight to Carleil, where after the Epiphanie there aſſembled an armie forthe of the Counties of Lancaſter, Weſtmerland and Cumberland by the kinges appointement, whiche army togither with the kyng of Scottes and the other Lordes there founde, entred Scotland, and did muche hurte in the countrey of Galloway, deſtroying towns and all that they found abroade, but the people were fled and withdrawen out of theyr way. And when they had taken their pleaſure, the Kyng of Scottes retourned backe to Carleil.

Marl.

A dearth and death of cattel.

This yeare there fell greate abundaunce of raine, and thereuppon enſued morraine of beaſtes: alſo corne ſo failed this yeare, that a quarter of wheate was ſolde at fortie ſhillings.

An.reg.9.

Ambaſſadours ſent into Frãce

Finally when the kyng had finiſhed his buſineſſe in Scotlande, as to his ſeeming ſtoode with his pleaſure, he retourned into England, and ſhortely after hee ſente the Archbyſhoppe of Canterburye, ſir Phillippe de Montacute, and Geffrey Scrope vnto the Frenche king to conclude a firme amitie and league with him.

Theſe Lordes comming into France, were not at the firſte admitted to the Frenche Kings preſence, till they ſhewed themſelues halfe greeued with that ſtraunge dealing: for then finally were they brought vnto hym, who gently receyued them, and cauſed the matter to bee entreated of aboute the whiche they were ſente, in furthering whereof, ſuche diligence was vſed that finally a concluſion of peace and concord was agreed and ſo farre paſſed, that proclamation thereof ſhoulde haue bene made in Paris, and in the countrey thereabout the next day: but vnneth were the engliſh Ambaſſadors returned vnto theyr lodgings when they were ſent for back againe, and further enformed that the Frenche King minded to haue Dauid king of Scotlande compriſed in the ſame league, ſo that hee might be reſtored vnto his kingdome, and the Balliol put out. The Engliſhe Ambaſſadors anſwered, that their commiſſion extended not ſo farre, and therefore they coulde not conclude any thing therin. Hereuppon all the former communication was reuoked, and clerely made voide, ſo that the engliſhe ambaſſadors retourned home into Englande without anything concluded.

R. Southwell.
A parliament.

Aboute the feaſte of the Aſcention, the king helde a parliament at Yorke, ordeining for his iourney into Scotlande, and alſo deuiſing by authoritie therof dyuers profitable ſtatutes for the common wealthe. Aboute Midſommer, he came with his army vnto Newcaſtell vppon Tine, whether came to him from Carleil the king of Scots, and there order was taken that the Kyng of Englande and his brother the erle of Cornwall, the Earles of Warwike, Lancaſter, Lincolne, and Herefordе, with all theyr retinues, and the Earle of Gulickerlande, that had married the Kings ſiſter, and with a faire companie was come to ſerue the Kyng in theſe warres ſhuld paſſe to Carleile, and on the .xij. of July enter Scotland. The king of Scots, the Erles of Surry, and Arundell, and the lord Henry Percy a baron of greate might and power, beeyng all of kin to the king of Scottes, with their retinues ſhoulde goe to Berwicke, and there enter the ſame daye aboue mentioned, and as it was appointed, ſo it was put in practiſe: for bothe the kings the ſame day entring Scotlande in ſeuerall partes, they paſſed forward without reſiſtance at theyr pleaſures, waſting and brenning all the countreys, both on this ſide, and beyonde the Scottiſh ſea. The Welchemen ſpared neyther religious perſons nor their houſes, making no more accompt of them thã of others: the mariners of Newcaſtel alſo brent a great parte of the towne of Dundee. The Earle of Namure aboute the ſame tyme comming into Englande to ſerue the king in his warres, toke vpon him to paſſe into Scotlande wyth a bande of an hundreth men of armes, beſide ſeuen or eighte Knightes whiche he brought ouer with him, and certaine Engliſhemen to be his guides from Barwike, but hee was aſſailed before he coulde get to Edinburgh by the Erles of Murrey and Dunbarre, and the Lord William Douglas, ſo that notwithſtandyng the ſtraungers bare themſelues verie manfully, yet oppreſſed with multitude, they were forced to giue place, but yet ſtill fighting and defending themſelus till they came to Edinburgh, and there taking the hill where the ruynes of the caſtell ſtode, kept the ſame all the night following, but the nexte day they diſpairing of all ſuccours, and hauing neither meate nor drinke, at length yelded themſelues, whom the Earle of Murrey receyuing right curteouſly, ſhewed them ſuch fauour, that without raunſome he was contẽted they ſhould return into their countreys: and for more ſuertie, he conueyed the ſaid erle of Namur (whom the Scotiſhe bookes call Earle of Gelderlande) and his companie backe to the borders, but in his retourne or ſhortely after, the ſame Earle of Murrey that toke himſelfe for gouernour of Scotland was encountred by the Engliſhmen that lay in garniſon within Rockeſburgh, and by them taken priſoner.

The VVelchemen.

Dundee brent.
The Earle of Namure.

Fourdon.

The E
Murrey
R. So

Fourd

The Lorde William Douglas being there alſo with him eſcaped, but James Douglas brother to the ſaide Lorde William Douglas was at that bickering ſlain with diuers other.

Scottes
them to
King o
lande.

Aboute the feaſte of the Aſſumption of our Lady, diuers of the Scottiſhe nobilitie came and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, namely the Earle of Atholl and other, but Earle Patrike of Dunbarre, and the Earle of Roſſe, the Lorde Andrew de Murrey, the lord William Douglas, and the lorde William de Keth, and many other woulde not come in, but aſſembling themſelues togither, did all the miſchiefe they coulde vnto thoſe that had receyued the Kynges peace. The Earle of Atholl in the winter ſeaſon beeſieging the Caſtell of Kildrummy beyond the Scottiſh ſea was ſet vpon by the Earles of Dunbarre and Roſſe, ſo that they ſlewe him there in fielde, for his men fled from him (through ſome traiterous practiſe as was thought) and lefte him and a fewe other in all the daunger.

The
Kildru

The E
Atholl

The King of Englande being retourned forth of Scotlande remayned for the moſte parte of the winter in the Northe partes and held his Chriſtmas at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and after the Epiphanie hauing aſſembled an army readie to paſſe into Scotland to reuenge the Earle of Atholles deathe, whiche hee toke very diſpleaſauntly, there came in the meane time Ambaſſadours bothe from the Pope and the Frenche Kyng, and founde the Kyng of Englande at Berwicke readie with his armie to ſet forewarde into Scotlande.

13

An. r

But theſe ambaſſadors did ſo muche by entreatie with the two kings of Englande and

Scotlande, that aboute the feaſte of the Purification, a truce was agreed vpon to endure till Midlent. And then ſhould a parliament be holden at London, and herewith articles were drawn, & certaine petitions put forth, vpon the whiche if the parties in the meane time coulde agree, the peace accordingly might be eſtabliſhed, if not, then the warre to be proſecuted as before. The chiefeſt article and petition which the Scots proponed, as deſirous to be therein reſolued, was to vnderſtande which of the two that claimed the crowne of Scotland, to witte Edward Balliol, and Dauid Bruce, had moſt righte thereto. But when in the parliament time the lorde Maurice de Murrey ſlewe Sir Geffrey de Roſſe, a Scottiſh Knight, that was Sheriffe of Ayre, and Lenarke, beeing of the Balliolles ſide, for that in time of open warre the ſame ſir Geffrey had ſlaine his brother, vpon reſpite of this preſumptuous parte, and by reaſon of ſuch ſtoutneſſe as the Scottes otherwiſe ſhewed, no concluſion of peace could be brought to effect. Before the feaſte of the Aſcention the king of Englande ſente forwarde the king of Scottes the Earles of Lancaſter, Warwike, Oxforde, and Anegos, and diuers lordes and capitaines with an armye, the whiche after Whitſontide, entring into Scotlande, paſſed ouer the Scottiſhe ſea, and comming to Saint Johns towne (whiche the Scottes had brent diſpairing to defende it againſt the Engliſhe power) they ſet in hande to fortifie it, compaſſing it with deepe ditches and a ſtrong rampier of earthe. Aboute the ſame tyme the Kyng called a parliament at Northampton, where hauing the prelates, and other to treate of ſuche matters as were proponed, he himſelfe rode Northewardes, and comming to Berwike, toke with him a ſmall band of men of armes, and ſetting forwardes, paſſed forth till he came to Saint Johns towne, where he founde the king of Scottes, and other his nobles, greatly wondering of his comming thither ſo vnlooked for. After hee had reſted there a little hee tooke with him parte of the armie, and paſſing forwarde ouer the mountaines of Scotlande euen vnto Elgen in Murrey, and Inuernes, further by many miles than euer his grandfather had gone: In his retourne hee brent the towne of Aberden in reuenge of the deathe of a right valiant knight called ſir Thomas Roſſelin, that comming thither by ſea tooke land there, and was ſlaine by ye enemies: he brẽt diuers other townes and places in this voyage, ſpoyling and waſting the countreys where he came, not finding any to reſiſte him. Aboute Lammas the Earle of Cornewall with the power of Yorkeſhire and Northumberlande, and the lorde Anthony Lucy with the Cumberlande and Weſtmerlande men entred Scotlande, and deſtroyed the Weſt partes, as Carrike, and other whiche obeyed not the Balioll. The lorde William Douglas ſtill coaſted the Engliſhemen, doing to them what domage he might. At lengthe this armie loden with praies, and ſpoile returned home but the Erle of Cornewall with his owne retinue came throughe to Sainct Johns towne, where he founde the king being returned thither frõ his iourney which he had made beyonde the mountains. The king ſtayed not long there, but leauing the king of Scottes with his companie in that towne, he went to Striueling, where on the plat of grounde vpon which the deſtroyed caſtell had ſtoode, hee built an other fortreſſe, called a Pile. And now bicauſe he had ſpent a great deale of treaſure in thoſe warres of Scotlande, hee ſummoned a parliament to be holden at Notingham, in which there was graunted to him a .x. of the clergie, and likewiſe of the citizens, and burgeſſes of good townes, and a .xv. of other that dwelte forth of cities and boroughes.

The Lorde Douglas

Strinelyn Caſtell buylt, or rather repared.

Aboute the latter end of October John of Eltham Earle of Cornwall the kings brother, departed this life at ſaint Johns towne in Scotlande: his bodie was afterwardes conueyed to Weſtminſter and there buried with all ſolẽpne funeralles. The Scottiſh writers affirme that he was ſlaine by his brother king Edward for the crueltie he had vſed in the Weſte partes of Scotlande, in ſleaing ſuche as for ſafegarde of their liues fledde into churches. Moreouer in December there deceaſed at ſaint Johns town aforeſaid, Hugh de Freſnes that in right of the counteſſe of Lincolne was entitled Earle of Lincolne. He died of the fiuer, or as was ſaid, throughe exceſſiue colde, whiche in thoſe quarters in that cold time of the yeare, ſore afflicted the engliſhe people. In the meane time aboute the feaſte of ſaint Luke the Euangeliſte the K. went with an armie into Scotlande towarde the caſtell of Bothuille, and comming thither repaired the ſame, whiche by the Scottes had lately before bin deſtroied. The baron Stafford the ſame time coming towardes the king with a power of men, took Douglas Dale in his way, taking in the ſame a greate praye of cattell and other thinges. Before Chriſtmaſſe the king returned into England, but the king of Scottes remained all the winter in ſaint Johns town, with a ſober cõpanie. When the king had ſetled the ſtate of Scotlande vnder the gouernement of the Balliol, thoſe Scottiſhmen which toke part with the Balioll, ordeyned as it wer in recompence of king Edwardes frindeſhippe a ſtatute, wherby they bounde themſelues to the

The deceſſe of the Earle of Cornevvall.

The deceſſe of Hughe de Freſnes Earle of Lincolne.

VValter Giſburgh.

Tho. VValſ.

The lord Stafforde.

A ſtatute ordeined by the Scots in fauour of the king of England.

ſaide King Edwarde and his heyres kinges of Englande, that they ſhould aide and aſſiſt him againſte all other princes: and whenſoeuer it chanced that either he or any king of England being rightfull inheritor, had any warrs againſt any prince, either within the lande or without, the Scottiſhemen of their owne proper coſtes and expences ſhoulde finde. iij. C. horſemen, and a M. footemen well and ſufficientely armed for the warre, the which xiij. C. men, the Scottes ſhoulde wage for a whole yeare: and if the king of Englande ended not his warres within the yeare, then he to giue wages to the ſaide number of. xiij. C. Scots as he dothe to other of his ſouldiors and men of warre. There be that write, that the king of England ſhould not only fortifie ſaint Johns towne about this time, as before is mencioned, but alſo ſaint Andrewes, Cowper, Aberdine, Dunfermeling, with certen other caſtels, leauing garniſons of men in the ſame. But for ſo muche as yee may read ſufficiently of thoſe troubles in Scotland, and of the returne of K. Dauid forth of Frãce, and how his realme was recouered out of the Balliols hands in the Scottiſh chronicles, we neede not here to make any long diſcourſe thereof. The Queene was deliuered of hir ſeconde ſonne at Hatfield, who was therfore named Williã of Hatfield, who liued but a ſhort tyme, departing this worlde when he was but yong.

Polidore.

Townes fortified by King Edward in Scotlande.

Tho. Walſ.

Croxden.

6

The king being returned home forthe of Scotlande, ſeeketh all wayes poſſible howe to recouer money, bothe to ſupplie his charges for the Scottiſhe warres, and alſo to furniſhe the other warres whiche he ment to take in hande againſte the French king: he got ſo muche into his handes (as it is reported by writers, that it was very ſcant & harde to come by: throughout the whole realme: by reaſon of which ſcarcitie and want of money, or vpon ſome other neceſſarie cauſe, victuall, and other chaffer, and merchãdiſes were exceeding cheape: for at London a quarter of wheate was ſolde for. ij. s. a fat oxe for. vj. s. viij. d. a fat ſheepe for. vj. d. or. viij. d. halfe a doſen pigeons for. j. d. a fatte gooſe for. ij d. a pig for. j. d. and ſo all other victualles after the like rate.

Greate cheapnes of vvares and ſcarcitie of money

This yeare was the warre proclaimed betwixte Englande, and Fraunce, chiefly by the procurement of the Lord Roberte Dartois, a frenchmã, as then baniſhed out of France, vpon occaſion of a claime by him made vnto the erledome of Artois. This lorde Roberte after he was baniſhed Fraunce, fledde ouer vnto K. Edward, who gladly receiued him, and made him Earle of Richmont. All the goodes of the Italians were by the kings commaundement this yeare confiſcate to his vſe, and ſo likewiſe were the goodes of the Monkes of the Clugniacke, and Ciſterciaux orders. This yeare alſo a comete or blaſing ſtarre appeared, with long and terrible ſtreames paſſing from it.

In this. xj. yeare of his raigne, the Kyng helde a parliament at Weſtminſter, about the time of Lent, during the whiche, of the Earledome of Cornwall he made a duchie, and gaue it vnto his eldeſt ſon Edwarde, that was then Earle of Cheſter, whom alſo as ſome write, he created at the ſame time prince of Wales.

Moreouer in rewarde of ſeruice, there were vj. noble men at this Parliament aduaunced to the honour and title of Earles, as the lorde Henry ſonne to the Earle of Lancaſter, was created Earle of Derbie, or after ſome writers, Earle of Leiceſter: William Bohun was created Earle of Northampton: William Montacute, Earle of Saliſburie: Hughe Audeley Earle of Glouceſter: William Clinton Earle of Huntingdon: and Roberte Vfford Erle of Suffolke. This creation was on the ſeconde Sunday in Lente, and the ſame day were. xx. Knights made, whoſe names for breefeneſſe we doe here omitte. In this parliament it was enacted, that no man ſhoulde weare any maner of ſilke in gown, cote, or doublet, except he might diſpende of good and ſufficient rent an hundred poundes by yeare, whiche acte was not long obſerued. It was alſo ordeined by the aduice of this parliament, that Henry of Lancaſter newly created Earle of Derbie ſhoulde goe ouer into Gaſcoigne, there to remaine as the kinges lieutenant.

But Richarde Southwell ſayth, that the Earle of Saliſburie, and not the Earle of Derbie was appointed to goe into Gaſcoigne at that time, and the erle of Warwike into Scotlande. Moreouer in this parliament it was enacted that no wooll of the engliſhe growthe ſhoulde goe forthe of the lande, but bee here wrought and made in clothe: and further an acte was ordeined for receyuing of ſtraungers that were Clotheworkers, and order taken that fitte, and conuenient places ſhoulde bee aſſigned forth to them where to inhabite, with many priuiledges, and liberties, and that they ſhoulde haue wages and ſtipends allowed thẽ, till they were ſo ſetled as they might gaine cõmodiouſlie by their occupation and ſcience: but now to return to other maters. The Scots this yeare tooke the caſtell of Bothuile by ſurrender, ſo as the engliſhemen that were within it, departed with their liues, and goods ſaued. Diuers other caſtels and fortreſſes were taken by the Scots in Fife, and in other parties, but the countrey of Galloway was by them ſpeci-

An.

Tho.

Ran.

Polid.

Fabia

Creati noble

R.So

The Both

ally ſore afflicted, bicauſe the people there helde with theyr lord Edwarde Balioll. Hereupon it was agreed in this laſte parliament, that the earle of Warwike beeyng appoynted to go thither, ſhoulde haue with him the power beyonde Trent Northwards. But when about the Aſcention tide the Scotts had beſieged the caſtell of Striuelin, the king of Englande in perſon haſted thitherwards, of whoſe approch the Scots no ſoner vnderſtood, but that ſtreight wayes they brake vp their ſiege, and departed thence: the king therefore returned backe into the Southe partes. Aboute the ſame time Sir Euſtace de Maxwell knighte, Lorde of Carlauerocke, reuolted from Edwarde Balliol vnto Dauid le Bruis his ſide, and ſo that parte daily encreaſed, and the warre continued, with damage inoughe to bothe partes. In the beginning of September the erle of Warwike with an army entred Scotlande by Berwike, and the lorde Thomas de Wake, and the Lorde Clifforde with the biſhoppe of Carleil accompanied with the Weſtmerlande, and Cumberlande men entred by Carleil, and within twoo dayes after mette with the Earle of Warwike as before it was appointed, and ſo ioyning togyther, they paſſed forwarde, ſpoyling, and waſting Teuidale, Moſeteidale, & Nideſdale. The lorde Anthony Lucie with a parte of the armie entred into Galloway, and after he had waſted that countrey, he returned to the army, which by reaſon of the exceeding great weat yͭ fel in yͤ ſeaſon, they could not kepe on their iorney into Douglaſdale, and to Ayre, as they had appointed: but hauing remained in Scotland a twelue dayes, they returned altogither vnto Carleil. Edwarde Balliol was not with them in thys iourneye, but remayned ſtill in England.

The Scots in reuenge hereof made dyuers rodes into Englande, withdrawing ſtill with theyr pray and booties, before the engliſhe power coulde aſſemble to giue them battaile.

Aboute Alhallontide, the Scotts beſieged the caſtell of Edenburgh, but the Byſhoppe of Carleil, the lorde Randoll Dacres of Gilleſlande, with the power of the counties of Cumberlande, and Weſtmerlande, and the King of Scotts Edwarde Balliol, with the Lorde Anthony Lucie, and ſuche companie as they brought from Berwicke, meeting at Rockeſburghe, marched forthe vnto Edenburghe and chaſing the Scots from the ſiege, tooke order for the ſafe keeping of the caſtell from thenceforth, and returned into Englande.

In this meane time things happened ſo well to the purpoſe of King Edwarde, that by practiſe he alienated the hartes of the Flemings from the obedience of their Earle, being altogither an earneſt friende to the Frenche king. He therefore vnderſtanding the mindes of his people, ſought to winne them by ſome gentle treatie, and ſo did euen at the firſt, concluding an agreement with them of Gaunt, which were fully at a point to haue entred into league with the king of Englãd, as with him whoſe frendſhippe by reaſon of the Trafficke of merchandize, (and namely of the engliſh woolles,) they knewe to bee more neceſſarie for their countrey than the Frenche kings. Althoughe by the helpe of the Biſhoppe of Turney the earle of Flaunders cauſed them to ſtaye from concluding or ioyning in any ſuche bondes of amitie with the king of Englande for that time, he yet doubted the arriuall of ſome power out of Englande, and thereuppon appointed his baſtarde brother Guy of Riſckenburgh, and certayn other noble men and captains, with a crue of men of warre to lie in the Iſle of Cadſant to defende the paſſage there, and to ſee that no Engliſh ſhippes ſhoulde come or goe that way by the ſeas: whereof the king of Englande beeing aduertiſed, ſent thither the Earle of Darbie, the lorde Lewes Beauchampe, the lorde Reginalde Cobham, alſo the lorde William ſonne to the earle of Warwike, the lord Walter de Manny an Hanneuyer, and other lordes, knightes and capitaines, with a power of fiue hundreth men of armes, and two thouſande archers, the whiche comming to the foreſaide Iſle of Cadſant, founde the Flemmings about fiue thouſande in number, redie arranged on the towne dikes and ſandes, in purpoſe to defende the entrie, which they did a certaine ſpace right valiantly: but in the ende they were diſcomfited, and three thouſande of them ſlain in the ſtretes, hauen, & houſes. Sir Guy the baſtard of Flaũders was taken with diuers other knightes and Gentlemen, the Towne was brent, and the goodes with the priſoners were carryed into Englande.

The Biſhop of Turney.

Iames Mair.

The Iſle of Cadſant.

An armie ſente by ſea into Flaunders.

Foure thouſand ſaith Iac. Meir.

Froiſſart.

This chaunced on a Sunday the day before the feaſte of Saincte Martin in Nouember. Where the Lorde Walter de Manny might haue hadde .xj. thouſande pounde ſterling for the raunſome of the ſaide Sir Guy, and other priſoners, the king bought them of him in the fourteenthe yere of his raygne for eighte thouſande pounde ſterling, as by recordes in the Tower it appeareth.

Tvvo Cardinalles come into Englande.

Aboute the feaſte of Sainct Martine in winter, there came vnto London two Cardinals, ſente by the Pope to treate for a peace betwixte the kings of Englande, and Fraunce.

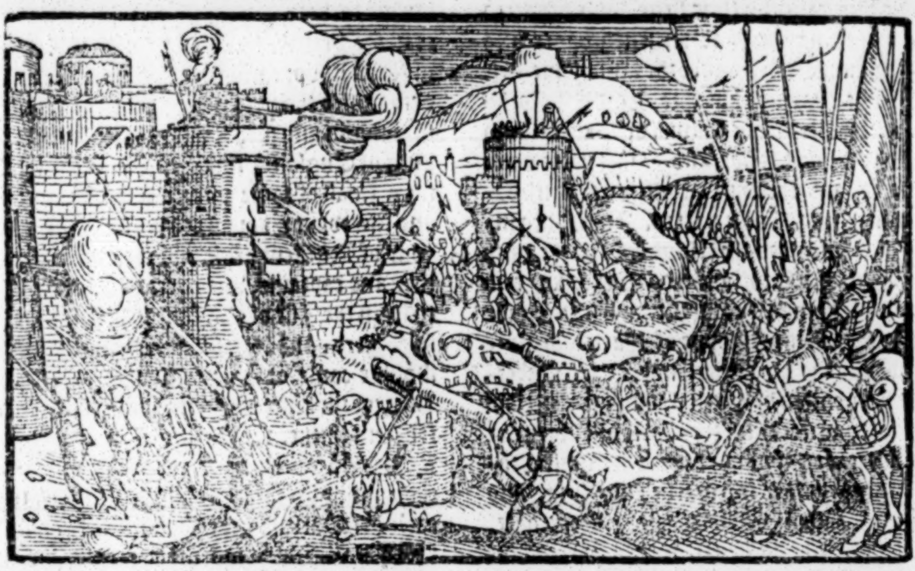
The Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, with the Byſhops of Wincheſter, Elie, Chiceſter,
Couentrie

Additions to Meri.

Couentrie, & the cōmeners of the citie of Lodon met them on Shoters hill. The duke of Cornwall with the earle of Surrey, and many other of the nobilitie receyued them a mile without the Citie. The Kyng himſelfe receiued them at the leſſer Hall dore of his Pallace at Weſtminſter, and brought them into the paynted chamber, where they declared theyr meſſage: whereuppon the king cauſed a Parliament to be ſummoned at London, to beginne the morowe after Candelmas daye.

The King helde his Chriſtemaſſe at Gildforde, and within the Octaues of the ſame feaſt hee tooke his iourney towardes Scotlande, or rather as other haue, he ſente thither the Earles of Salliſburie: Glouceſter: Derbie: and Anegos, with three Barons, the lords Percy, Neuill, and Stafforde, the whiche with .xx. thouſande men beſieged the Caſtell of Dunbarre.

This ſiege beganne euen in the beginning of the twelfth yeare of king Edwardes raigne and continued for the ſpace of nintene wecks, with ſmall gaine, and leſſe honour to the engliſhemen, in ſo muche that the ſame brake vp vnder a colour of a truce when there was no hope of winning the place, and that the noble men that lay there at ſiege, haſted to make an ende, that they might attende the King in his iourney ouer into Brabante.



A parliament.

The morowe after Candelmaſſe daye, the parliament began, in whiche there was a graunte made to the king by the Laitie of the one halfe of their wolles through the whole realme for the nexte ſommer, whiche he receiued, and likewiſe he leuied of the Clergie the whole, cauſing them to paye nine markes of euery ſacke of the beſte wooll. But after the rate of the one halfe he tooke in whoſe handes ſo euer it was founde, aſwell merchauntes as other.

Croxden.
A ſubſidie.

After this, hee tooke a fifteenthe of all the communaltie of his realme in wooll, the price of euery ſtone conteyning fourteen pounde rated at two ſhillings.

The Cardinals retourne.

The one & twentith of March the two Cardinals tooke the ſea at Douer, and in their companie went ouer the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and the biſhoppe of Durham to treate of a peace, if by any good meanes the two kings might bee made friendes, but as it appeared theyr trauayle was in vayne, for although they abode togither for a time on the Frōters doing their beſte endeuour, yet their trauaile nothing auailed, as by that whiche followethe is moſte manifeſte.

The Flemings that fauoured Kyng Edwarde, were put in ſuche comfort, by the late victorie obteined by the Engliſhemen in the Iſle of Cadſant, that fallyng to their former practiſe, one Iaques or Iacob van Arteueld an honymaker of the town of Gaunt, was choſen amongſt them to bee as it were the defender of the people, and namely of the weauers, and other clothworkers. Finally, his authoritie grewe ſo hugely amongeſt all the whole number of the commons in Flaunders, that hee might doe more with them than their Earle, and yet the Earle to reconcile the people to his fauour, ceaſſed not to vſe all curteous meanes towardes them that he coulde deuiſe, as releaſing cuſtomes, and dueties of mony, pardoning offencers, forfeitures, and other ſuche like, but all woulde not auaile him. The king of England had ſo wonne them by the meanes of the ſaide Iaques van Arteuelde, that in the ende Iohn Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, and Richarde the Biſhoppe of Durham, came into Flaunders as ambaſſadours from king Edwarde, and trauailed ſo earneſtly to drawe the Flemings vnto an amitie with their maſter king Edwarde, that finally a league was concluded betwixt the countrey of Flaunders, and the ſaide King at Gaunt, in the preſence of the Erle of Gelderlande, as then beeing there. The chiefe aucthours of this league were the ſaid Iaques van Arteveld, and a noble man of Flaunders, called Siger de Curtrey.

But this Siger being immediatly after apprehended by the Earle of Flaunders, was put to death. Which act procured the earle ſo much hatred of the people, that ſhortely after comming to Bruges, and attempting to force the towne to his will, hee was forced himſelfe to flee from thence, for otherwiſe hee had bene either taken or ſlaine: The cōmons of the towne and namely the Fullers, of whom he had ſlain ſome there in the ſtreetes, roſe ſo faſte vppon him. Herevppon fleeing home to his houſe, he toke his wife, and a ſonne whiche hee hadde, and fledde with them into Fraunce, ſo forſaking his countrey whiche was nowe gouerned by Iaques van Arteveld, as though he had bin immediate lorde thereof. After this, the Earle retourned home againe, as it were with the Frenche Kinges commiſſion, to perſwade the Flemings to renounce the league concluded with the King of Englande: but hee coulde bring nothing to paſſe, but was ſtill in danger to haue bene arreſted and ſtayed of his owne ſubiectes, bothe at Gaunt and in other places, but namelie at Dirmeu, where if hee had not made the more haſte away, hee had bene taken by them of Bruges.

Amongeſt other of his ſtuffe whiche hee left behinde him in that haſtie departure, his ſignet was forgotten, and not miſſed till hee came to Sainct Omers, whether hee fledde for his ſafegarde. Thus yee maye perceiue that Flaunders reſted wholy at King Edwardes commaundement, who to eſtabliſhe amitie alſo with the Duke of Brabant, and other Princes of the Empire, about the middeſt of Iuly ſailed ouer vnto Antwerp, with his wife queene Philip, his ſonne the prince of Wales, and a greate number of other of the peers and Barons of his realme, where hee was moſte ioyfully receiued of the duke of Brabant, and other lordes of the empire. Ther was ſent vnto the Emperour to procure his friendſhip from the king of Englād, the Marques of Gulik with certain noble men of Englande, and alſo certen of the duke of Gelderlād his counſel, the which Marques was made at yͤ time an erle, & the erle of Gelderlād was made duke. This duke of Gelderland named Reginald had maried the ladie Iſabell ſiſter of K. Edward, and therfore in fauour of the king his brother in law, trauailed moſt earneſtly to procure him all the friendes within the Empire that he coulde make. The princes and lordes then, with whome king Edwarde was alied and confederated at that time, I finde to bee theſe, the Dukes of Brabant, and Gelderlande, the Archb. of Colen, the marques of Gulike, ſir Arnold de Baquehen, & the lorde of Walkenburghe, who all promiſed to defie the Frenche K. in the king of Englands quarrel, & to ſerue him with notable numbers of men, where and whenſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe him to appoint. The alliaunce of the erle of Haynaulte, firſt procured the king of England all theſe friendes, vnto the whiche erle he had ſent ouer the biſhop of Lincolne and other in ambaſſade immediatly after that he had reſolued to make warres againſt Fraunce, by the counſell, and aduice of ſir Roberte Dartois, as in the Frenche hiſtorie more plainelie appeareth.

King Edvvardes confederates.

In this meane ſeaſon was Queene Phillip brought to bed at Antwarpe of hir third ſonne, whiche was named Lionell. The K. of England earneſtlie followed his buſines, and had many treaties with his friendes and confederates, til at length he made ſure to him yͤ frendſhip of all thoſe townes and countreys, whiche lie betwixt Fraūce and the riuer of Rhein: only the cities of Tourney and Cambray held of the frenche kings parte, thoughe Cambray belonged to the Empire.

Lionell that vvas after duke of Clarence borne.

Additions to *Adam Merimuth.*

In this .xij. yeare of K. Edwards raigne at a counſell holden at Northampton by the duke of Cornewall, lorde Wardein of Englād in abſence of the king his brother, and by many of the prelates and barons of the realme, there was graunted to the king a ſubſidie in wooll to the great burden of the cōmons: but for ſo much as the Clergie of the land was not preſent at that counſell, it was ordeined that they ſhoulde be called, and ſo they aſſembled in a conuocation at London the firſte day of October, in which the clergie graunted to the king a .x. for the thirde yere then to come, ouer and beſide the ij. tenthes before graunted, and that the .x. of this preſent yeare ſhoulde be paide in ſhorter time than it was appointed: but they flatly denyed to graunt their woolles, whiche neuertheleſſe the laitie paid, and that to their great hindrance, for it roſe double to a Fifteene. From the begynnyng of October, vnto the beginning of December this yeare, fell ſuche abundaunce of of raine, that it hindered greatly the huſbandemen in ſowing of their winter corne: and in the beegynnyng of December came ſuche a vehement froſte continuing the ſpace of .xij. weeks, that it deſtroyed vp all the ſeede almoſt that was ſowen, by reaſon whereof ſmall ſtore of winter corne came to proofe in the ſom-

A parliament at Northampton.

A Subſidie vpon vvooll.

The Clergie graunteth a tenthe.

Greate raine

mer

1339

An.reg. 13.

mer folowing: but though there was no plẽtie, yet all kindes of graine were ſolde at a reaſonable price, though want of money.

The frenchmẽ inuade the coaſtes of this lande.

Plimmouthe brente.

The Earle of Deuonshire.

R. Southwell

VVilliam Douglas.

Hect. Boetius

A floude.

The Frenchemen by ſea ſore infeſted the ſea coaſt of this realm, ſpecially where the Champion contreis ſtretch towards the ſeacoaſtes. At Haſtings in the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, they brent certayne fiſhermens houſes, and ſlewe ſome of the inhabitantes. Alſo in the hauens aboute Deuonſhire, and Cornewall, and towards Briſtowe, they tooke and brent certaine ſhippes, killing the marriners that came into their handes, and in the Whitſon weeke they landed at Plimmouth, and brente the more part of the towne: but Hugh Courtney earle of Deuonſhire, a man almoſte .lxxx. yeres of age, and other knightes and men of the countrey came againſte theſe Frenchmen, ſleaing ſuch as came into their hands to the number of .v.C. as was eſteemed, & chaſed the reſidue. The Scots alſo aboute the ſame time did muche hurt to yͤ engliſhmen both by ſea & lande. In the beginning of Iuly the lord Will. Douglas with a nũber of men of warre returned frõ Fraũce home into England, & to him vpon his return, yͤ caſtell of Cowper was deliuered with al the country there abouts. After this, cõming to the ſiege of S. Iohns towne, which the gouernor the erle of Murrey, the erle of March, Patrik de Dunbarre and other of the Scottiſhe lords had beſieged, at length it was ſurrendred by ſir Thomas Vthred capitaine there of the engliſh gariſon, departing in ſafetie home into England. Three dayes before the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, there chaunced in the night ſeaſon ſuche a mightie and ſoden inundation of water at Newcaſtell vpon Tine, that it bare downe a peece of the towne wall a .vj. perches in lẽgth neare to a place caled Walknow, where a .C. and .xx. temporall men with diuers prieſts and many women were drowned.

Commiſſihners ſente to treate of peace.

They cannot agree.

Cambray beſieged.

Ia.M

The K feth hi and e into Fr Flam

But nowe to returne to the K. which al this while remained in Brabant. Ye haue hearde howe yͤ citie of Cambray held with the French king: wherefore the king of Englande aſſembling togither a mightie ſtrong army aſwell of engliſhmẽ as of the low countreys of Teutchlande, ment to beſiege it, but firſte he ſente the archebiſhoppe of Canterburie with the biſhops of Lincolne and Durham vnto Arras, as commiſſioners from him to meete there with the Archebiſhoppe of Roven, and the biſhoppes of Langres, and Beauvais, appointed to come thither as commiſſioners from the French king, to treate with the engliſhmen of a peace, but they coulde not agree vppon any concluſion, whereuppon King Edwarde comming forewarde with hys power, approched to Cambray and planted his ſiege rounde about it. But the biſhoppe meaning not to deliuer the citie vnto king Edwarde nor to any other that ſhoulde demaund it to the behoofe of the emperor Ludouik of Bauiere, as then excommunicated of the Pope, had receiued into the towne .v.M. Frenchmen with the french kings eldeſt ſonne, the Duke of Normandie lately retourned out of Guyenne, and the lorde Theobald Maruile with certaine companies of Sauoiſins, ſo that the citie was ſo defẽded, that the king of Englande perceiuyng he ſhould but loſe time, leuied his ſiege, and entred into Fraunce, pitchyng his fielde at a place called Flaminguerie.

Fabia

Vh.F

South brent.

In the meane time had the French king not onely made himſelfe ſtrong by lande, but alſo by ſea, hauing ſente foorthe a ſtrong nauie of ſhips and galleys towards the coaſtes of Englande, whiche arriuing at Southampton the Monday after Michaelmaſſe day, took and ſpoiled the town, & the morow after ſet fier vpon it in .v. places, ſo that a great part of it was brẽt.

Tvvo shipp

The F Kings

Ia.M

Tovv by th men i

The Guiſe

The B Hayn

Alſo .xiij. ſayles of the French fleete mette with .v. engliſhe ſhips, & after ſore fight whiche continued .ix. houres, tooke two of thoſe .v. being tall and goodlye ſhyppes, the one called the Edwarde, and the other the Chriſtofer, the other .iij. being ſmaller veſſells, as two of them Barks and the other a Caruell eſcaped by their ſwiftneſſe of ſailing. There was ſlaine in tha fight vpon bothe partes aboue the number of .vj.C. men. The Frenche king himſelfe hearing that the king of England woulde inuade his realme, made his generall aſſemble of hys army at Peronne, and when he hearde that he was entred France, he remoued towards hym with his whole power beeing at the poinct of .C. thouſande men as in the frenche Chronicle ye may reade more at large. The K. of Englande had not paſſe .lx.M. in his armie at the moſte: but whileſte he lieth there vpon the borders of Fraũce, his people did much hurt making roads abrode beyond the water of Some, brenning and ſpoiling abbeis towns and villages, as Orignie ſaint Benoit, Ribemont in Thieraſſe, ſaint Gouan, Marle, and Creſſye. Alſo the lorde Beamont of Heynnaulte brente the towne of Guyſe, though his daughter was as then within the ſame towne wife to Lewes Erle of Blois: his brother Williã erle of Heynault was lately before deceſſed leauing yͤ erledom to his ſon named alſo Will. who continued with yͤ K. of Englãde ſo long as he lay before Cambray, & kept him within the bondes of the empire, as though his allegiaũce had boũde him to no leſſe, but after the ſaid K. was paſſed the Ryuer of Leſcault, otherwiſe called the Skell, and in latine *scaldis*, whiche deuideth the empire from the kingdome of Fraunce, hee woulde no longer ſerue the king of England, but departed from hym for feare to offende the French king, accounting that the matter perteyned not nowe to the Empyre, but to the priuate quarell and buſineſſe of the king of Englande: notwithſtanding his vncle the ſayde ſir Iohn like a faythfull gentleman continued ſtill in king Edward his ſeruice.

The two armies of England and Fraunce approched within foure myles togyther, ſo that euery man thought that there woulde ſure haue beene battaile betwixt them, as there had bene in deede, if the Frenche king had beene willing, yet ſome ſaye, that hee of himſelfe was diſpoſed thereto, but hys Counſaylours aduyſed hym to the contrarie, by reaſon of certayne ſignes and tokens whiche they myſlyked, as the ſtarting of an Hare amongſt them, and ſuch like.

Alſo it was ſayde that Robert King of Naples beeing then come into France, whoſe knowledge in Aſtronomie was knowne to bee greate, diſſwaded the Frenche King by hys letters, that in no wyſe hee ſhoulde fight wyth the King of Englande, for hee hadde vnderſtanding by arte of the heauenly influences and diſpoſition of the bodies aboue, that if the Frenche King fought wyth thys Edwarde King of Englande, hee ſhoulde aſſuredly bee put to the worſe: whether this was the cauſe, or any other: ſure it is that the French men had no mynde to fight, ſo that theſe two mightie armies departed in ſunder without battaile, and the king of Englande returned into Flaunders, ſorie in deede that he had not fought, for though he had not with him halfe the number that the French king had, yet in truſt of the valiancie of his ſouldiers, choſen out of the pykeſt men through Englande and all the lowe Countreyes on this ſyde the Rhine, he ment verily to haue encountered his enimyes, if they had come forwarde.

At his comming back into Brabant, there was a Councell called at Bruſſels, where were preſent all thoſe Lordes of the Empyre whiche had beene with him in that iourney, as the Dukes of Brabant, Guelderlande, and Gulicke, the Marques of Blankbourgh, the Earle of Bergen, the lord Beaumont of Heynault, otherwiſe called ſir Iohn de Heynault, the Lord of Walkēbourgh, and many others. Thither came alſo Iaques Arteueld chiefe gouernor of Flaunders.

Here in counſail taken how the king of Englande might beſt maintaine the warres which he had begonne thus agaynſt the Frenche king, hee was aduyſed that he ſhoulde in any wyſe require them of Flaunders to ayde hym, and in hys quarell to defie the Frenche King, and to go with him agaynſt the ſayde Frenche King, and if they woulde thus doe, then ſhoulde hee promiſe them to recouer and delyuer into theyr handes the townes of Lyſle, Doway, and Bethon. The king of England according to this aduiſe to him giuen, made ſuch requeſt to the Flemings, who thereupon deſired tyme to conſult togither, what they might doe therein, and finally they declare for anſwere, that they woulde gladly ſo doe, but yet whereas they were bounde by faithe and othe and in the ſumme of two millions of Florens in the Popes chamber, not to make nor moue any warre againſt the King of Fraunce, whoſoeuer he were, on paine to loſe that ſumme, and beſyde to runne in the ſentence of curſing, they beſought hym that it myght ſtande wyth hys pleaſure, to take vppon hym the tytle and armes of France, as the ſame apperteyned to hym of ryght, and then woulde they obey him as righfull King of Fraunce, and requyre of hym acquittaunces in diſcharge of theyr bondes, and he to pardon them thereof, as rightfull king of Fraunce.

The motiō of the Flemings to haue the K. of England to take vpon him the title to the crowne of Fraunce.

The King of Englande, though he hadde iuſt cauſe to clayme the Crowne of Fraunce, in ryght of hys mother Queene Iſabell, yet to take vppon hym the name and Armes of that Realme, before hee hadde made conqueſt of any part thereof, hee thought it ſtoode not with much reaſon: but yet after he hadde cauſed the matter to bee throughly debated, amongeſt them of hys Counſayle, as well to ſatiſfie the Flemings as for other reſpects, hee ſawe it ſhoulde bee the beſt way that might bee taken to the aduauncement of his purpoſe.

Then hee aunſwered the Flemings, that if they woulde ſweare, and ſeale to thys accorde, and promiſe to mainteine his warre, he would be contented to fulfill theyr deſyre, and alſo hee promyſed to get for them againe the townes of Liſle, Doway, and Bethune.

The kings anſwere to the Flemings.

Theſe townes had beene engaged to the king of France for money.

Hereupon was a day aſſigned to meete at Gaunt: the King came thither, and the moſte parte of the ſayde Lordes, and all the Counſaylers of the good Townes and places in Flaunders were there aſſembled, and ſo all the foreſayde matters were rehearſed, ſworne, and ſealed, and the armes of Fraunce were then quartered with thoſe of Englande, and from thenceforth he tooke vppon hym the name of King of Fraunce, in all his wrytings, proclamations, and commaundements.

The quartering of the armes of England & France.

Sith then that we bee come to this place, it ſhall not bee muche amyſſe to rehearſe ſomewhat of the ryght and tytle whereby king Edwarde did thus clayme the Crowne of Fraunce, hauing of purpoſe omitted to ſpeake thereof, tyll nowe that he entituled himſelfe wyth the name, and tooke vppon him to beare the armes alſo of Fraunce, vpō occaſion before expreſſed. It is wel

Polidor.

The iſſue of Philip le Beau.

knowne that Philip le Beau King of Fraunce hadde iſſue by hys wyfe Queene Ioane three ſonnes, Lewes ſurnamed Hutine, Philippe le Long, and Charles le Beau: Alſo two daughters, the one dying in hir infancie, and the other named Iſabell lyued, and was maryed vnto Edwarde the ſeconde of that name King of Englande, who begotte of hir this Edward the thirde, that made this clayme.

Lowes Autine.

The three ſonnes of the foreſayde Philip le Beau reigned eche after other, as Kinges of Fraunce. Firſt after Philip the father, ſucceeded his eldeſt ſonne Lewes Hutine, who had iſſue by his firſte wife Margaret, daughter to Robert Duke of Burgoigne, a daughter named Ioane, the whiche was anone gyuen in maryage vnto Lewes Erle of Eureux: but ſhe liuing not long, dyed without iſſue. Hir father the ſayde Lewes Hutine, maryed after the deceaſſe of his firſt wife, an other wyfe named Clemence, daughter to Charles Martell, the father of Robert King of Scicill, whome hee left great wyth childe when he dyed.

Philip le Long.

Charles le Beau.

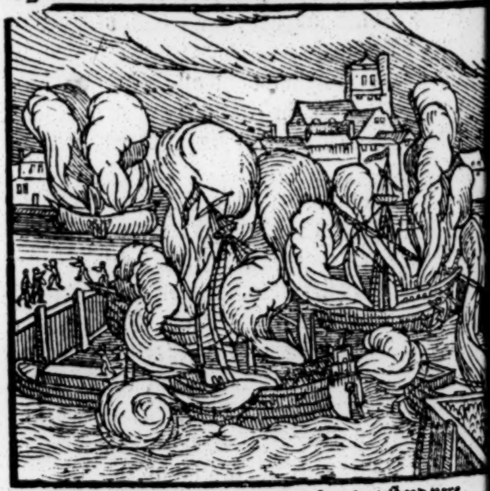
The childe beeing borne proued a ſonne, and was named Iohn, but liued not many dayes after. Then Philip the Long was admitted to the Crowne of Fraunce, though many ſtoode in opinion that Ione the daughter of Lewes Hutine, whiche yet was aliue, ought to haue inherited the kingdome after hir father: and namely Odo Duke of Burgoigne, Uncle to the ſaid Ione, was moſt earneſt in that matter in fauour of his Nece. But myght ouercame ryght, ſo that hee was conſtrayned to bee quiet. Philip le Long, after he hadde raigned fiue yeares dyed alſo, and left no iſſue behinde hym. Then laſtly Charles le Beau tooke vpon hym the kingdome, and the ſeuenth yeare after dyed, his wyfe bigge bellyed, which ſhortly after brought forth a Mayden named Blaunche, that ſtreight wayes haſting to followe hir Father, lyued no whyle in thys worlde.

By this meanes then the bloud royall in the heyres Male of Philippe le Beau was extinguiſhed in hys Sonne the foreſayd Charles le Beau, whereof the contention tooke begynning aboute the right to the Crowne of Fraunce, betwyxte the Frenche menne and Engliſhe menne, whiche hangeth as yet vndecyded tyll theſe our dayes. For King Edwarde auerred that the kingdome of Fraunce apperteyned vnto hym as lawfull heyre, bycauſe that hee alone was remayning of the kings ſtocke, and touched hys Mothers father Philip le Beau, in the next degree of conſanguinitie, as hee that was borne of his daughter Iſabell.

Therefore immediately after the deceaſſe of the ſayd Charles le Beau, by Ambaſſadours ſent vnto the Peeres of Fraunce, hee publiſhed to them hys right, requyring that they woulde admitte hym king according thereunto: but hys Ambaſſadours coulde neuer bee quietly hearde, and therefore returned home wythout anye towardly anſwere, whiche moued him in the ende to attempt the recouerie of hys lawfull inheritaunce, by force, ſithe by lawe hee coulde not preuayle, and now by aduice of hys friendes to take vpon him both the tytle and Armes of Fraunce, to ſignifie to the Worlde what right he hadde to the ſame.

After that this league therefore was concluded with them of Flaunders, and that king Edwarde had taken vppon him the name of king of Fraunce with the Armes, the Duke of Guelderland, and Iaques van Arteueld, went vnto al the good townes and iuriſdictions of Flaunders to receyue theyr othes of fidelitie vnto king Edwarde, perſwading with the people, that the ſupreme rule belonged vnto hym, ſauing to the townes their auncient lawes and liberties, and to their Earle his right of proprietie.

About the latter ende of this.xiij. yere of king Edwardes raigne, the mariners and Sea men of the cinque Portes, getting them abourde into a number of ſmall ſhippes and Balingers, well trimmed and appoynted for the purpoſe, paſſed ouer to Bullongne, where they tooke lande one day in a thicke foggie weather, and ſetting on the Baſe towne, they burnt.xix. Gallies, foure great ſhippes, and to the number of.xx. ſmaller veſſels, togither with their tackle and furniture.



They ſet fire alſo on the houſes that ſtood nere to the water ſide, & namely they burnt one great houſe, wherein lay ſuch a number of oares, ſayles, armor & croſſebows, as might haue ſufficed to furniſh ſo many men as could be wel abourd in.xix. Galleys. There were many ſlaine on both partes in atchieuing this enterpriſe, but more of the Frenchmen than of the Engliſhmen.

About the ſame time the Queene of England was deliuered of hir fourth ſonne in the towne of Gaunt, the which was named Iohn, firſt created Erle of Richmond, and after Duke of Lancaſter. He was borne about Chriſtmaſſe in this .xiij. yeare of king Edwards raigne.

When king Edward had finiſhed his buſineſſe with the Flemings at Gaunt, he left his wife Q. Philip there ſtil in that towne, and returned himſelfe vnto Andwarpe, and ſhortly after about the feaſt of Candlemaſſe, tooke the Sea, and came backe into Englande, to prouide for money to maintayn his begon warres. And herevpon about the time of Lent following, hee called his highe court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which he aſked of his commons towardes hys charges for the recouerie of his right in Fraunce the fifth parte of theyr moueable goodes, the cuſtomes of woolles for two yeares, to be payde aforehand, and the .ix. ſheafe of euery mans corne. At length it was agreed, that the king ſhoulde haue for cuſtome of euerie ſacke of wooll fortye ſhillings, for euery three hundred wool felles forty ſhillings, and for euerie laſt of leader .xl. ſhillings, and for other marchandice after the rate, to begin at the feaſt of Eaſter, in this .xiiij. yeare of the kings raigne, & to endure till the feaſt of Pẽtecoſt then next folowing, & frõ that feaſt, till the feaſt of pẽtecoſt thẽ next enſuing into one yere, for which the king graunted that from the feaſt of Pentecoſt which was then to come into one yeare, hee nor his heyres ſhould not demaunde aſſeſſe, nor take, nor ſuffer to bee aſſeſſed or taken, more cuſtome of a ſacke of wooll of any Engliſhman, but halfe a marke, and vpon the wooll felles & leader the olde former cuſtome.

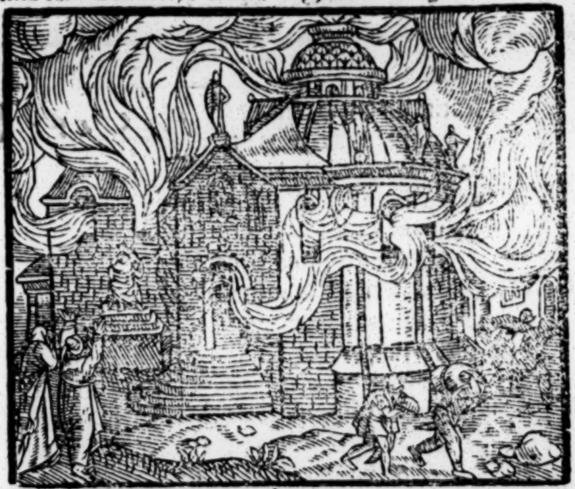
Beſide this, the Citizens and Burgeſſes of cities and good townes, graunted to giue the ninth part of all their goods, & the forrain marchants & other not liuing of gaine, nor of breeding cattell, nor of ſheepe, ſhoulde giue the .xv. part of all theyr goods lawfully to the value: for the which he grãted that aſwell now in time of warre as of peace, all marchants denizens, & forreyners, (thoſe except that were of the enimies countreys) might without let, ſafely come into the realme of Englande with their goods & marchandices, and ſafely tarie, and likewiſe returne, paying the cuſtomes, ſubſidies, & profites reaſonable thereof due, ſo alwayes that the franchiſes, and free cuſtomes granted by him or his predeceſſors reaſonably to the citie of Lõdon, and other cities, burroughes, and townes might alwayes to them be ſaued. Moreouer there was granted vnto him the .ix. ſheafe, the .ix. fleeſe, and .ix. lambe, to be taken by two yeares next cõming. And for the leuying therof, the Lords of euerie ſhire through the lande, were appoynted to anſwer him, euery one for the circuite within the which he dwelled. And bycauſe the K. muſt needs occupie much money ere the receyt of this ſubſidie could come to his hands, he borowed in yͤ meane time many notable ſummes of diuerſe cities, and particular perſons of this land, amõgſt the which he borrowed of the citie of Lõdon. 20000. marks. to be payed againe of the money comming of the foreſayde ſubſedie.

The Citie of London lendeth the king money.

In the meane while, now that king Edwarde was come backe into England, the warres were hotely purſued agaynſt his friends, that had their landes neare to the borders of France, and namely agaynſt ſir Iohn de Heynault Lorde Beaumont, for the Frenchmen burned all his lands of Chymay, except the fortreſſes, and tooke from thence a great pray. All the frontiers were full of men of war, lodged within townes in garniſon, as at Tourney, Mortaign, S. Amond, Doway, Cambray, and in other ſmaller fortreſſes.

The Frontiers of France full of men of war.

These men of warre lay not ydle, but were doing oftentymes in Flaunders, and ſometyme otherwhere, neyther was the Countrey of Heynault ſpared, though the Earle (as ye haue heard) did not onelye refuſe to ſerue the king of Englande, agaynſt Fraunce, but alſo when the ſame king entred Fraunce, hee reſorted to the Frenche king, and ſerued him, yet by the ſuggeſtion of the Biſhoppe of Cambray, who complayned of the Haynuyers, for the domages which they hadde done him, the French garniſons of the Frontiers there about, were commaunded to make a roade into that Countrey, which they did burning the town of Aſpere, & brought frõ thẽce a great bootie.



The towne of Aſpere burnt.

The Earle of Heynault ſore moued therewith to haue his landes ſo ſpoyled and burnt, defied the French king, and ioyning with his vncle the Lorde Beaumont, entred with an armie into Thieraſſe, tooke and deſtroyed Aubenton wyth Mawbert Fontaine, Maubeuille, & diuerſe other.

The Earle of Heynault defieth the frẽch king.

Townes burnt in Thieraſſe.

In this meane tyme the Frenche king procured the Pope to pronounce hys Curſſe agaynſt the Flemings for theyr Rebellion, and to ſuſpende all diuine Seruice that oughte to

Flaunders interdicted.

be ſayde in any hallowed place, ſo that there were no Prieſtes to be founde that woulde take vpon them to ſaye any diuine ſeruice: wherevpon the Flemings ſent ouer into Englãd certaine Meſſengers to giue notice to King Edwarde howe they were entreated, but hee ſent them worde that he woulde bring at his comming ouer vnto them, Prieſtes that ſhould ſay Maſſes, and other ſeruice whether the Pope would or not, for hee had priuiledge ſo to do.

In Aprill William Melton Archebiſhop of Yorke departed this lyfe, after whome variaunce roſe in the election of a newe Gouernour to that Churche, ſo that two were elected, William la Zouche, and William Killeſby: but at length William la Zouche tooke place, being the .xliij. Archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſeate.

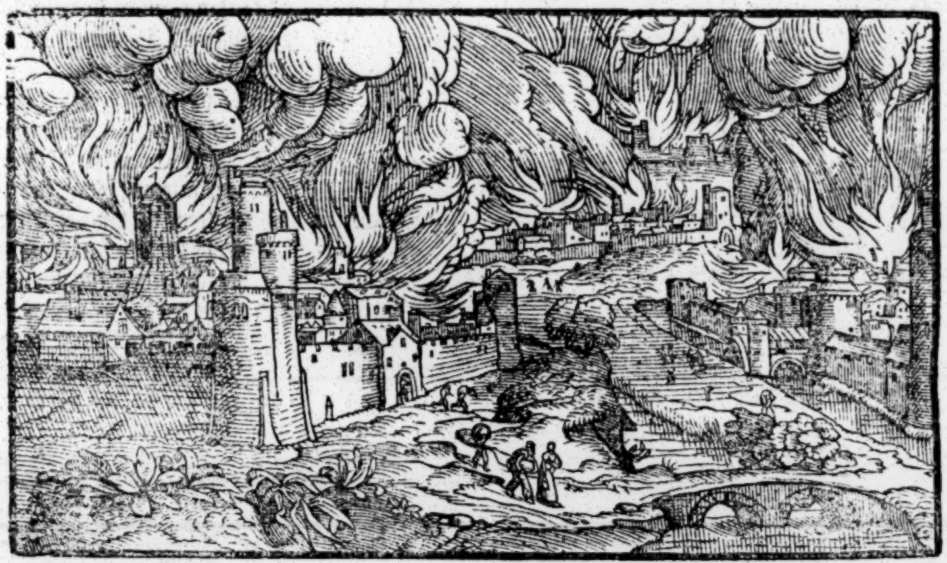
Mer

The Earles of Saliſburie and Suffolke, whiche were left in Flaunders by King Edwarde to helpe the Flemings, ſhortly after Eaſter, or (as other haue) in the tyme of Lent, were diſcomfited by the garniſon of Lyſle, and taken priſoners as they woulde haue paſſed by that Towne, to haue ioyned with Iaques Arteueld, meaning to beſiege Tourney, but nowe by the taking of thoſe two Earles that enterpriſe was broken.

Mer
Lame
The Saliſ Suff

The Duke of Normandie with a greate armye entered into Heynault, burning and waſting the Countrey, euen to the Gates of Valenciennes, and Queſnoy. le ne ienn

The of He inua



And thus were they occupied in thoſe partyes, whileſt the king of Englande prepareth hymſelfe wyth all diligence to returne into Flaunders.

Gaguin.
A great nauie prepared by the French K.

The French king being aduertiſed, that the king of Englande ment ſhortly to returne into Flaunders wyth a greate power, in purpoſe to inuade the Realme of Fraunce on that ſyde, aſſembled a nauie of foure hundred ſhips vnder the leading of three expert Captaynes of the warres by Sea, as Sir Hugh Kiriell, Sir Peter Bahuchet, and a Geneweis named Barbe Noir, appoynting them to the coaſtes of Flaunders to defende the King of Englande from landing there, if by any meanes they might.

These three Captaynes or Admirals came and lay with their Shippes wythin the hauen of Sluiſe, for that it was ſuppoſed the King of Englande woulde arriue there, as his meaning was in deede, wherevpon when his meinie, Shippes, and prouiſions were once readie in the Moneth of Iune, hee tooke the Sea with two hundred ſayle, and directing hys courſe towardes Flaunders, there came vnto hym the Lorde Robert Morley, wyth the North Nauye of Englande, ſo that then hee hadde in all aboute three hundred ſayle, or as other ſay, two hundred and three ſcore.

The Engl keth

Poli
Lam

The French nauie lay betwixt Sluiſe and Blancberg, ſo that when the King of Englande approched, eyther part diſcryed other, and therewith prepared them to battayle. The king of Englande ſtayed till the Sunne whiche at the firſt was in hys face, came ſomwhat Weſtward, and ſo had it vpon his backe, that it ſhoulde not hynder the ſight of his people, and ſo therewyth ſetteth vppon hys enimyes wyth great manhood, who lykewyſe verye ſtoutely encountered hym, by reaſon whereof, enſued a ſore and deadlye fight betwyxt them. The Nauies on both ſides were deuided into three battayles. On the Engliſhe parte, the Erles of Glouceſter, Northampton and Huntingdon, who was Admirall of the Fleete that belonged to the cinque Portes, and the Lorde Robert Morley Admirall of the Northren Nauie hadde the guyding of the forewarde, bearing themſelues right valiauntly, ſo

The Engl teth enim

Addi Inu

that at length the Engliſhe men hauing the aduauntage, not onely of the Sunne, but alſo of the wynde and tyde, ſo fortunately, that the Frenche Fleete was dryuen into the ſtreyghts of the hauen, in ſuche wyſe that neyther the Souldiours, nor Mariners, coulde helpe themſelues, inſomuche that bothe heauen, the Sea, and Winde, ſeemed to haue conſpyred agaynſte the Frenche menne. And herewith many ſhippes of Flaunders ioyning themſelues wyth the Engliſhe Fleete, in the ende the Frenche menne were vanquiſhed, ſlaine, and taken, theyr ſhippes beeing alſo eyther taken, bowged, or broken.

When night was come vppon them, there were thirtie Frenche ſhippes, that yet had not entred the battayle, the whiche ſought by couert of the nyght to haue ſtolen away, and one of them being a mightie great Veſſell, called the Iames of Deepe, woulde haue taken away with hyr a Shippe of Sandwiche that belonged to the Prior of Caunterburie: but by the helpe of the Earle of Huntington, after they had fought all the night tyll the nexte morning, the Engliſhe men at length preuayled, and taking that great huge ſhippe of Deepe, founde in hir aboue foure hundred dead bodies.

To conclude, verie fewe of the French ſhips eſcaped, except ſome of theyr ſmaller Veſſelles, and certaine Gallies with their Admirall Barbenoir, who in the beginning of the battayle got forth of the hauen, aduiſing the other Captaynes to doe the lyke, thereby to auoyde the daunger, which they wylfully embraced.

There dyed in this battayle fought (as ſome write) on mydſommer day in the yeare aforeſayd, of Frenche menne to the number of thirtie thouſande, of Engliſhe menne about foure thouſande, (or as other haue that liued in thoſe dayes, not paſſe foure hundred:) amongeſt whome there were foure Knightes of great Nobilitie, as Sir Thomas Monhermere, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir Iohn Boteler and Sir Thomas Poynings.

It is ſayd alſo, that the king himſelf was hurt in the thigh. The two Engliſh ſhippes that had bene taken the yeare before, the Edward, and the Chriſtopher, were recouered at this time, amōgſt other of the French ſhips that were taken there. Sir Peter Bahuchet was hanged vpon a Croſſe poale faſtened to a Maſte of one of the ſhippes.

Through the wilfulneſſe of this man, the French menne receyued this loſſe (as the Frenche Chronicles report) bycauſe he kept the nauie ſo long within the hauen, tyll they were ſo encloſed by the Engliſhe men, that a great number of the Frenchmen could neuer come to ſtrike ſtroke, nor to vſe the ſhotte of theyr Artillarie, but to the hurt of their fellowes. Howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhe menne gotte a famous victorie, to the great comfort of themſelues, and diſcomfort of their aduerſaries.

The king of England after he had thus vanquiſhed his enimies, remayned on the Sea by the ſpace of three dayes, and then comming on lande, went to Gaunt, where he was receyued of the Queene wyth great ioy and gladneſſe.

Southwell.
The king goeth to Gaunt.
Froiſſard.

In thys meane whyle hadde the Duke of Normandye beſieged the Caſtell of Thuyne Leueſques, neare to Cambray, which was taken by Sir Walter of Manny, a Lorde of Heynault at the firſt begynning of the warres, and euer ſince till that tyme, kept to the king of Englande his vſe.

The Earle of Heynault who had beene of late both in Englande with king Edwarde, and alſo in Almaine with the Emperour to purchaſe theyr aſſyſtaunce for the defence of his Countrey agaynſte the inuaſions of the Frenche menne, was nowe returned home, and meaning to reſcue ſuch as were beſieged in Thuyne, ſente for ſuccours into Flaunders, and into Almaigne, and in the meane tyme leuying ſuche power, as hee coulde make within hys owne Countrey, came therewyth vnto Valenciennes, whither forthwyth reſorted vnto hym the Earle of Namure, wyth two hundred Speares, the Duke of Brabant wyth ſixe hundred, the Duke of Guelderlande, the Earle of Bergen, the Lord of Valkenbergh, and dyuerſe other, the which togither, with the Earle of Heynault, went and lodged alōg by the riuer of Leſtault ouer againſt the Frenche hoſt whiche kept ſiege (as yee haue hearde) vnder the conduct of the Duke of Normandie before Thuyne Leueſche, that is ſituate vpon the ſame ryuer.

The ryuer of Leſtault, or the Scelle.

The Flemings

There came alſo to the ayde of the Earle of Heynault, Iaques Arteuelde, with three ſcore thouſand Flemings. It was thought that they would haue fought ere they had departed in ſunder, but they did not. For after it was knowne how the king of Englande was arriued in Flanders, and had diſcomfited the French Fleete, the Duke of Brabant and other, thoughte good to breake vp theyr enterprice for that tyme, and to reſorte vnto the King of Englande, to vnderſtande what hys purpoſe was to doe.

Neyther were the French men haſtie to giue battaile, ſo that after the Captaynes of Thuyne Leueſche, Sir Richarde Lymoſyn Knyght an Engliſhe manne, and two Eſquiers, brethren to the Earle of Namure, Iohn, and Thierry, had left theyr Fortreſſe voyde, and were come ouer the Ryuer by Boates vnto the Earle of Heynaultes Campe, the armyes on both ſides brake vppe and departed, the Frenche menne into

Sir Richard Lymoſin.

The armies breake vp.

Fraunce, and the other to Valenciennes, and from thence the Princes and great Lordes drew vnto Gaunt, to welcome the king of Englande into the Countrey, of whome they were ryghte ioyfully receyued: and after they had communed togither of theyr affayres, it was appoynted by the King, that they ſhoulde meete hym at Villefort in Brabant at a daye prefixed, where he woulde be readie to conſult with them aboute his proceedings in his warres againſt his aduerſaries the Frenchmen.

The aſſemble of the Princes at Villeforde.

At the day appoynted, there came to Villefort the Dukes of Brabant, and Guelderlande, the Erle of Heynault, Gulicke, Namure, Blackenheym, Bergen, ſir Robert Dartois Earle of Richmont, the Erle of Valkenburg, and Jaques Arteueld, with the other rulers of Flaunders and many others.

The couenants betwixt the K. of England & his cōfederates.

Here it was ordayned, that the Countreys of Flaunders, Brabant, and Heynault, ſhoulde be ſo vnited and knitte in one corporation, that nothing ſhoulde bee done amongeſt them in publike affayres, but by common conſent, and if any warres were moued agaynſt any of them, then ſhoulde the other be readie to ayde them, agaynſt whome any ſuch warre was moued: and if vpon any occaſion anye diſcorde roſe betwixt them for anye matter, they ſhoulde make an ende of it amongeſt themſelues, and if they coulde not, then ſhoulde they ſtande to the iudgement and arbitrement of the king of Englande, vnto whome they bounde themſelues by othe to keepe this ordinance and agreement.

Froiſſ

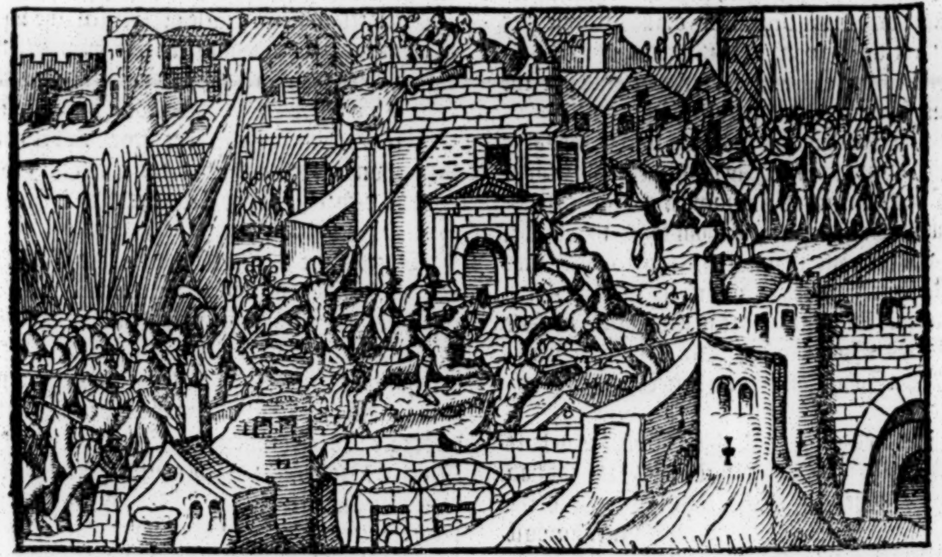
Tourne niſhed ſtrong of me

The French king being enfourmed that the king of Englande ment to lay ſiege vnto Tourney, as it was in deede deuiſed at this counſaile holden at Villefort, tooke order for the furniſhing therof with men, munition, and vittayles in moſt defencible wiſe.

There were ſent to that towne the beſt men of warre in all Fraunce, as the Earle of Ewe Coneſtable of Fraunce, the yong Erle of Guines his ſonne, the Earle of Foiz and his brethren, the Earle Americ de Narbon, with many other, hauing with them foure thouſande Souldiers. Sir Godmar du Foy was there before as Captaine of the towne, ſo that it was prouided of all things neceſſarie.

Tour ſiege

The king of Englande yet according as it was appoynted at the Counſaile holden at Villefort, about the feaſt of Marie Magdalen, departed from Gaunt, and came to Tourney, hauing wyth hym ſeuen Earles of hys owne Countrey, as Darbie, Pembroke, Hereforde, Huntingdon, Northampton, Glouceſter, and Arundell, eyght Prelates. xxviij. Baronettes, two hundred Knightes, foure thouſande men of Armes, and nine thouſande Archers, beſide other footemen. Hee lodged at the Gate called Saint Martyn, the way towarde Liſle and Doway. Anon after came the Dukes of Brabante and Gelderlande, the Erle of Gulick, the Marques of Blanqueburg, the Marques of Muſſe, the Erles of Bergen, Sauines, and Heynault: alſo Jaques Arteueld, who brought with him aboue fortie thouſande Flemings. So that there was at thys ſiege to the number of ſixe ſcore thouſande men as ſome wryters doe affyrme. There was alſo an other armie of Flemings, as of the townes of Ipre, Poppingue, Furnes, Caſſell, and of the Chatelcynye, of Berges beeing to the number of fortie thouſand, appoynted to make warre agaynſte the Frenche menne that kept Saint Omers, and other townes there on the Frontiers of Arthoys, whiche armie was ledde by the Earle of Richmond, otherwyſe called the Lord Robert Dartois, & by ſir Henrie de Flanders, the which approching one day to ſaint Omers, were



The great nū ber of people at the ſiege of Tourney.

Iames Mair.

The Rich

ſharpely fought with, for within Saint Omers at that tyme lay a ſtrong power of Frenchemen, with the Duke of Burgoyne, the Earle of Arminacke and others.

The Flemings were not willing to ſerue, for neyther had they any truſt in their Captaine the ſayde Earle of Richmonde, neyther would they wyllingly haue paſſed oute of their owne confines, but onely to defend the ſame from the inuaſion of theyr enimyes, yet through much perſwaſion, forwarde they goe, deuided into ſundrie battayles contrarie to theyr manner. The enimyes perceyuing ſome aduantage, iſſue forth vpon them, and aſſayle them very ſtoutely, inſomuch that the Earle of Arminacke ſetting vpon them of Yppres, ouerthrewe them, and chaſed them vnto a towne called Arques, whiche they had a little before ſet on fire and burned.

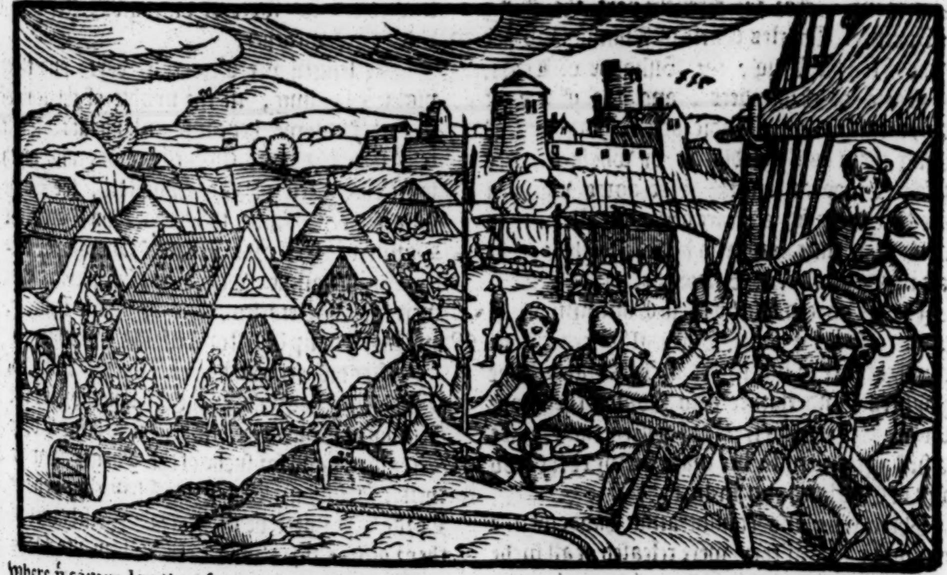
An other companie of Frenche men, ſkirmiſhing with them of Frankes, Furnes, and Bergis, put them alſo to the worſe. Contrarily, thoſe Frenche men that encountered with the Lorde Robert Dartois, and them of Bruges whom he ledde, ſuſteyned great loſſe, and were beaten backe into the Citie: the Duke of Burgoyne hymſelfe being in no ſmall daunger for a time, ſo ſharpe the bickering was betwixt them.

There be that write, that this fight continuing from three of the clocke till euentide, and that the Earle of Richmond was twiſe put to flight, for his people did leaue hym in the plaine fielde: but at length by the aduice of ſir Thomas Vthred, whom the king of Englande had appoynted to attende the ſayde Earle, wyth manye Engliſh menne and Archers, hee aſſembled his people eftſoones togyther agayne, and ſetting on his enimies, nowe when it was almoſt night, neare to the Gates of Saint Omers, he finally ouercame them, where were ſlaine of the French part. xv. Barons, and. lxxx. knightes, beſide a great number of other people.

Sir Thomas Vthred.

Diuerſe alſo were ſlaine on the Earle of Richmonds part at this laſt encounter, & among other an Engliſh knight, that bare armes eſchecked ſiluer and gules.

Finally as the Erle of Richmont returned towardes his campe, which lay in the vale of Caſſell, he met with certaine Arteſines & Frenchmē, which had bene chaſing the other Flemings, and though it was late in the euening, that one could not take good view of an other, yet here they fought againe, and ſo diuerſe of the Frenchmen were taken and killed; and amongeſt other that were taken, was a knight of Burgoin, named ſir Wil. de Nilly. But when the Erle of Richmond and thoſe that were with him came to the place where ẏ campe, lay they found that all the reſidue of the Flemings were fled and gone, and when the ſayde Earle came to Caſſeli, the people were readie to haue ſlaine him, their former malice towards him being nowe much encreaſed with the euill ſucceſſe of thys paſſed enterpryſe, ſo that hee was glad to gette hym thence, and to repayre vnto king Edwarde, that lay yet at the ſiege before Tourney, during whiche ſiege many proper feates of armes were done betwixte thoſe within, and them without: for fewe dayes paſſed without the atchieuing of ſome enterpriſe.



Alſo the Frenche King hauing made hys aſſemble at Arras, and gotte togyther a mightie hoſt, as well out of the Empyre as of hys owne ſubiectes, came and lodged at the bridge of Bouines, three Leages from Tourney. There were wyth hym the King of Bohem, the Duke of Lorraine, the Biſhoppe of Metz, the Erles of Bar, Mount Belliard, and Sauoy, alſo the Dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, with a great number of other Erles and Lordes,

The great army rayled by the French K.

ſo that the greateſt puyſſance of all Fraunce was iudged to be there with the king.

Whyleſt hee laye encamped thus at Bouuins, and the King of Englande at Tourney, manye exploytes were atchieued betwyxt theyr people, who laye not ydle, but ſtill were ryding abroade, and oftentymes mette, and then that parte that was weakeſt payed for the others charges, ſo that many were ſlaine and taken on both ſydes as well of the Nobilitie as other.

Alſo dyuerſe Townes were ſacked and burned on the Frontiers of Fraunce, duryng thys ſiege at Tourney, namely at the purſuyte of the Earle of Heynault, as Seclyn, S. Amond, Orchies, Landas, and other.

The Lady Iane de Valois treateth for a peace.

At length at the ſuyte of the Ladie Jane de Valois, ſiſter to the Frenche King, and mother to the Earle of Heynault, trauayling ſtyll betwixte the partyes to bring them vnto ſome accorde, it was graunted that eyther partie ſhoulde ſende certayne ſufficient perſones to entreate of the matter, whiche ſhoulde meete at a lyttle Chappell, ſtanding in the fieldes called Eſplotyn, and hereto alſo was a truce graunted for three dayes. For the Engliſhe parte were appoynted the Duke of Brabant, the Biſhop of Lyncolne, the Duke of Gelderlande, the Earle of Gulicke, and Sir John de Heynault Lorde Beaumont. For the Frenche part, the King of Boheme, Charles Earle of Alanſon brother to the Frenche King, the Biſhoppe of Liege, the Earle of Flaunders, and the Earle of Armynacke: and the Ladie of Valois was ſtill among them as a Mediatrix, by whoſe meanes chiefelye, they at length didde agree vppon a truce to endure for a yeare betweene all partyes and theyr menne, and alſo betweene them that were in Scotland, in Gaſcoigne, and Poictou.

A truce accorded.

It was agreed alſo by theſe Commiſſioners, that there ſhoulde other Commiſſioners of eyther parte foure or fiue meete at Arras at a daye appoynted, and thither alſo ſhoulde the Pope ſende his Legates, to treate of a perpetuall peace and full agreement to bee made betwyxt the two kings of England and France.

The Flemings releaſed of debts, and of the interdiction.

There was alſo conſideration hadde of the Flemings, ſo that they were releaſed of all ſuche ſummes of money as they were by any bondes endaungered to paye by forfeyture, or otherwyſe, for anye matter before that time vnto the crowne of Fraunce.

Alſo they were releaſed of the Interdiction and Curſe of the Churche, and then alſo was theyr Earle reſtored home.

Polidor.

Reſtitution of townes to the king of England.

Gaguin.

It was further accorded, that the French king ſhoulde reſtore vnto the King of England certayne Townes and places in Guienne, whiche in the begynning of theſe warres the Earle of Alanſon had taken from the Engliſhe men; as Prune in Xaintoys, and others.

Alſo whereas the French king had ſeaſed the Countie of Pontieu into hys handes, whiche was the dower of Queene Iſabell, the mother of King Edwarde; hee ſhoulde alſo reſtore the ſame vnto King Edwarde, to holde it as hee did before.

Herevpon was the ſiege rayſed from Tourney, after it had continued there the ſpace of tenne Weekes and foure dayes. They within ſtode in great daunger for lacke of vytayles to haue bene conſtrayned to the ſurrendring of the Towne, if thys truce had not beene concluded, whiche cauſed the Frenche King the ſooner to agree, in lyke caſe as the lacke of money cauſed the King of Englande to take thys truce, which otherwiſe as was thought he would not haue done.

After he had raiſed his ſiege, he went to Gaunt and thither came alſo the Earle of Flaunders being nowe reſtored home to his Countrey, and made the King of Englande great cheare, feaſting and banquetting him right princely togyther with the Queene.

Finally, after that king Edwarde had refreſhed himſelfe a while at Gaunt, he tooke a verie few with him, and came into Zealande, and there taking the ſeas to paſſe ouer into Englād, he was ſore toſſed by force of outragious ſtormes of windes and weather.

At length yet after three dayes and three nightes ſayling, in the nyghte of the feaſt of Saint Andrewe, hee came on lande at the tower of London aboute Cockes crowe, and wyth hym the Earle of Northampton, the Lorde Walter de Mannie, the Lord John Darcie, the Sonne of the Lorde John Beauchampe, Giles Beauchampe, with two Chapleynes that were his Secretaries, Sir William Killeſby, and Sir Philip Weſton, beſides a few other.

After his arriuall hee ſente for the Biſhop of Chicheſter that was Lorde Chauncellor, for the Biſhop of Couentree and Lichfield being Lorde Treaſorer, and for ſuche of the Judges as were then in London. The Lord Chancellor and the Lorde Treaſorer he ſtreightwayes diſcharged of theyr offices, threatning to ſende them into Flanders there to remaine as pledges for money that he there ought, or if they refuſed to go thither, then to keepe them priſoners in the towne. But when the Biſhop of Chicheſter declared to him the daunger of the Canon eſtabliſhed agaynſt ſuch as impryſoned Byſhoppes, hee ſuffered them to departe: but the Judges, to witte John de Stonore, Richard de Willoughby, Wil. de Shareſhull, and alſo Nicholas (or as other haue) Math. de la Beche, which was before gardian of his ſon, & lieutenant of the tower: alſo John de Pulteney, & William

Willyam de Pole Merchants, and the chiefe Clearkes of yͤ Chauncerie, Iohn de Saint Paule, Michaell de Wath, Henry de Stretforde, and Robert de Chikewel, and of the Eſchecker, Iohn de Thorpe, and many other, were committed to diuers priſons, but yet bycauſe they were committed but only vppon commaundemente, they were within a while after deliuered.

The Lorde Wake was alſo committed, but ſhortly after, he was deliuered to his great honor, as Walſingham writeth: Robert de Bourchier was made Lorde Chancellor, and Richarde de Sadington Lorde Treaſorer: all the Sherifes of Shires, and other officers alſo, were remoued, and other putte in their places, and Iuſtices appoynted in euery Shire, to enquire vppon the defaultes of collectors, and other officers, ſo that few or none eſcaped vnpuniſhed, howſoeuer they had demeaned themſelues, ſo ſtraitely thoſe iuſtices proceeded in their commiſſions.

The King indeede was ſore offended with thoſe whome he had put in truſt to leuie money, and to ſee it conueyd ouer to him into the lowe countrey, bycauſe that for want thereof in tyme of neede, hee was conſtreyned to take truce with his aduerſarie the French King, and leaue off his enterpriſe, which he was in good forwardneſſe to haue gone through with, if he had not bin diſappoynted of treaſure whiche he had commaunded to be ſente ouer vnto him, whiche was not done, but kepte backe, in whomſoeuer the fault reſted. There were ſome of his Secretaries, namely, ſir William Killeſby, which ſtirred him to take no ſmall diſpleaſure againſt the Archbiſhop of Canterbury Iohn Stratford, who thereuppon withdrewe him into the Priorie of Chriſtes Churche at Caunterbury, and there remayning for a ſeaſon, wrote his mind to the King, exhorting hym not to giue too light credite vnto ſuche as ſhoulde counſell him to haue thoſe in contempt that were faithful and true to him, for in ſo doing, he might happely loſe the loue and good will of his people. Neuertheleſſe, hee wiſhed, that he ſhould trie out in whoſe hands the wolles and money remained, which was taken vp to his vſe, and that vppon a iuſt accomptes had at their handes, it mighte appeare, who were in faulte, that he had not money broughte to hym, whyleſt hee lay at ſiege before Tourney, as he had appoynted, and that when the trueth was knowen, they that were in faulte might be worthely puniſhed. And as for his own cauſe, he ſignified, that hee was ready to be tryed by his peeres, ſauing alwayes the eſtate of holye Churche, and of his order. &c.

Further, he beſought the King, not to thynke euill of him, and of other good men, till the trueth might be tried, for otherwiſe, if iudgement ſhould be pronounced, without admitting the partie to come to his aunſwere, as well the giltleſſe as the giltie might be condemned.

An. reg. 15.

A letter ſent to the Deane of Paules.

The King neuertheleſſe ſtill offended towards the Archbiſhoppe, cauſed Adam Biſhop of Wincheſter to endite a letter agaynſte him, directed frõ the King, to the Deane and Chapiter of Paules, openly to be publiſhed by them: the effect whereof was, to burden the Archbyſhoppe with vnthankfulneſſe, and forgetting of his bounden duetie towards his ſoueraigne Lorde and louing maſter, namely, in that where he promiſed the Kyng to ſee him throughly furniſhed with money, towardes the maintenance of his warres: when it came to paſſe, none woulde be had, which turned not onely to the hinderance of the Kings whole proceedings, but alſo to his great diſcredite, and cauſing him to runne greatly in debt by intereſt, through borrowing of money, for the paymente of the wages of his men of warre, when through the Archbyſhops negligence, who had the chiefe rule of the lande, the collectors and other officers ſlacked their duetie, wherby there was no money ſent ouer according to that was appoynted: and whereas now, ſith his comming ouer, he had ſent to the Archbiſhop to come vnto him, that by hys information, he might the better learne, who they were that had neglected their duety, hee diſobediently refuſed to come, pretending ſome feare of bodily harme, through the malice of ſome yͭ were about the King. Whereupon, when Rauſe Lord Staffordе, Lord Stewarde of the Kings houſe, was ſente with a ſafeconduit, for him to come in all ſafetie to the Court, he flatly made aunſwere, that hee woulde not come, except in full Parliament. Many other miſdemeanors was the Archbyſhop charged with towardes the King in that letter, as malitiouſly ſlaundering the King for vniuſt oppreſſion of the people, confounding the Cleargie, and greeuing the Church with exactions, leuies of money, tolles and tallages: therefore, ſith he went about ſo to ſlaunder the Kyngs royall authoritie, to defame hys ſeruauntes, to ſtirre Rebellion among the people, and to withdraw the deuotion and loue of the Erles, Lords, and greate men of the lande from the Kyng: hys highneſſe declared, that hee meante to prouide for the integritie, and preſeruation of his good name, and to meete with the Archbyſhops malice, and heerewith, diuers things were reherſed to yͤ Archbiſhops reproche, which he ſhould do, procure, and ſuffer to be done, by his euill and ſiniſter counſell, whileſt hee hadde the rule of the Realme in hys handes vnder the Kyng: wherein he had ſhewed hymſelfe not only an acceptor of giftes, but alſo of perſons, in gratifying dyuers that nothing had deſerued ſundry wayes forthe, and preſuming to doe raſhly many other things to the detrimente of the Kynges royall ſtate, and hurte of hys

The Archebiſhop refuſeth to come to the courte.

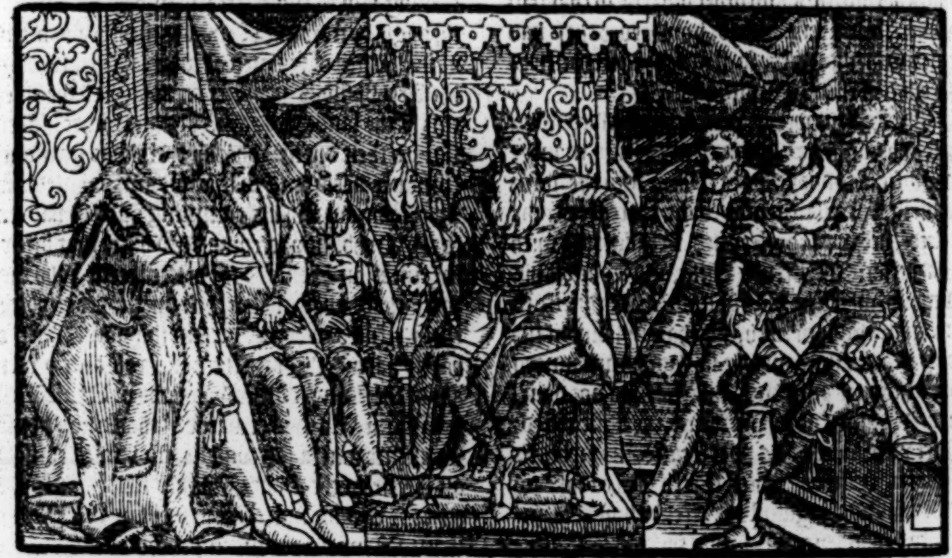
regall dignitie, and to no ſmall damage of the people, abuſing the authoritie and office to hym committed, ſo that if hee perſiſted in his obſtinate wilfulneſſe, and rebellious contumacie, the King by thoſe his letters ſignifyed, that he meant to declare it more apparantly in due time and place; and therefore commaunded the ſayd Deane and Chapiter of Paules, to publiſhe all thoſe thynges openly, in places where they thought conuenient, according to their wiſedome giuen to them by God, ſo as hee mighte haue cauſe to commende therein their carefull diligence.

This letter was dated at Weſtminſter the tenth of February, in the fifteenth yeare of hys raigne ouer Englande, and ſeconde ouer France.

Where the Londoners would not permitte the Kinges Iuſtices to ſitte within the Citie of London, contrary to their liberties, the King appoynted them to ſitte in the Tower, and when they would not make any aunſwer there, a great tumulte was reyſed by the commons of the Citie, ſo that the Iuſtices beeing in ſome perill as they thoughte, feygned themſelues to ſitte there till towardes Eaſter. Whereupon, when the K. coulde not get the names of them that reyſed the tumult, no otherwiſe but that they were certaine light perſons of the common people, he at length pardoned the offence. After this, thoſe Iuſtices neyther ſate in the Tower, nor elſe where, of all that yeare.

A Pa

In the quindene of Eaſter, the Kyng helde a Parliamente at London, in the which, yͤ Prelates, Earles, Barons and commons, preſented many petitions, as to haue the great Charter of liberties, and the Charter of Forreſtes duely obſerued, and that they which brake the ſame, ſhuld be diſcharged of their offices, if they were yͤ kings officers, and that the high officers of the Kyng, ſhuld be elected and choſen by their peeres in Parliament. The Kyng withſtoode theſe petitions a certayne time, at length yet he graunted to ſome of them, but as concerning the election of his officers, hee in no wiſe woulde conſente, but yet hee was contented, that they ſhould receyue an othe in Parliamente, to doe iuſtice to all men in theyr offices, ⁊c. Uppon whyche Article and others, a ſtatute was made and confirmed with yͤ Kyngs Seale.



Merimouth.

The Emperor won from the King of Englands friendſhippe.

In the meane whyle, the French King had with bribes wonne Lewes of Bauaria, that named himſelfe Emperour, from further fauouring the King of Englande, in ſo muche, that vnder a colourable pretence of finding him ſelfe greeued, for that the King of England had without his knowledge takē truce with the French king, he reuoked the dignitie of being vicar in the Empire, from the King of England, but yet ſignified to him, that where the Frenche Kyng had at hys requeſt put the matter in controuerſie betwixte him and the Kyng of England into his handes, to make an ende thereof, if it ſo pleaſed the Kyng of England, that hee ſhould treate as an indifferent arbitrator betwixt them, he promiſed to doe his endeuor, ſo as he doubted not, but that by hys meanes he ſhoulde come to a good agreement in his cauſe, if he wold follow his aduice, and to receyue aunſwere herof, he ſente his Letters by a chaplayne of his, one Eberhard, the reader of the Friers hermites of Saint Auguſtines order, requeſting the King of England to aduertiſe hym by the ſame meſſenger, of his whole minde in that behalfe. The Kyng for aunſwere, ſignifyed againe by his letters vnto the Emperoure, that for the zeale whiche he hadde, to make an accorde betwixt him and his aduerſarie Phillippe de Ualoys, that named himſelfe French King, he could not but muche commend him, and for his parte, hee had euer wiſhed, that ſome reaſonable agreement

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mente mighte bee had betwixt them: but ſith hys right to the Realme of France was cleere & manifeſt inough, hee purpoſed not to committe it by writing vnto the doubtful iudgement, or arbitrement of anye: and as concerning the agreemente which the Emperor had made with the Frenche Kyng, bycauſe as he alledged, it was lawfull for him ſo to do, ſith without the Emperors knowledge, hee had taken truce with the ſame Frenche King, he ſaid, if the circumſtances were wel conſidered, that matter could not miniſter any cauſe to moue him to ſuch agreement: for if the Emperor remembred, he had giuen to him libertie at all times to treate of peace, without making yͤ Emperor priuie thereto (ſo that without his aſſent, he concluded not vppon any finall peace) which hee proteſted, that he neuer meant to do, till he might haue his prouidente aduice, counſell, and aſſente therevnto. And as concerning the reuoking of the vicarſhippe of the Empire from him, hee tooke it done out of tyme, for it was promiſed, that no ſuch reuocation ſhould be made, till he had obteyned the whole Realme of France, or at the leaſt, the more part thereof.

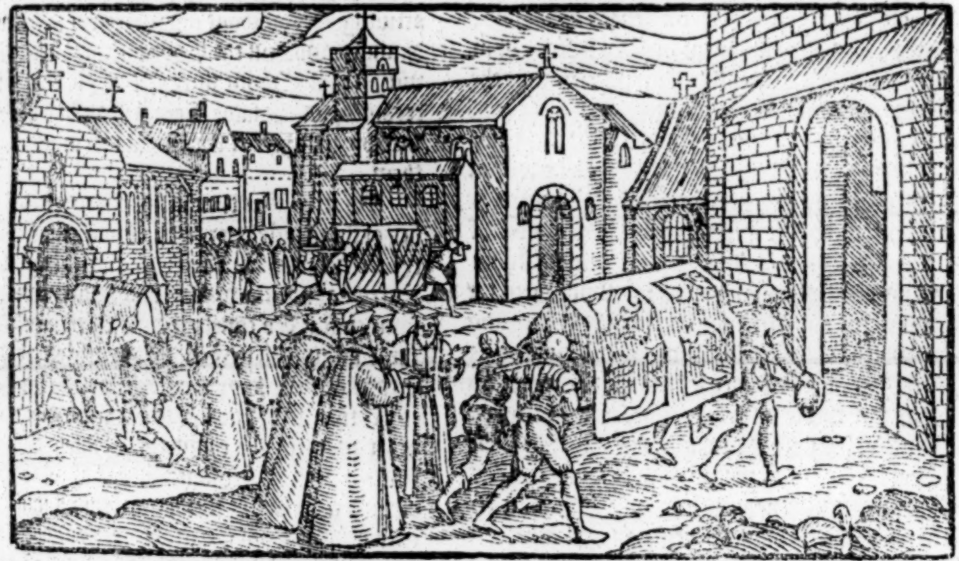
Theſe in effect were the poyntes of the Kyngs letters of aunſwere vnto the Emperor. Dated at London the thirtenth of July, in the ſecond yeare of his raigne ouer Fraunce, and fifteenth ouer England.

The deceaſſe of the Lorde Geffrey de Scrope, and of the Byſhop of Lincolne.

This yeare, about Midſommer, or ſomewhat before, at Gant in Flanders, dyed the Lorde Geffrey Scrope the Kings Juſtice, and Henry Byſhoppe of Lincolne, two chiefe counſellors to the King.

The Queene brought to bedde.

The Queene after hir returne into Englãd, was this yeare brought to bed in the Tower of London, of a daughter named Blanch, that dyed yong, and was buried at Weſtminſter.



In this meane while, during the warres betwixt France and Englande, the Frenche Kyng in fauour of Dauid, king of Scotland, had ſente menne of warre into Scotlande, vnder the conduit of Sir Arnold Dãdreghen, who was after one of the Marſhals of France, and the Lorde of Garentiers, with other, by whoſe comfort & help, the Scottes that tooke parte with King Dauid, did endeuor themſelues to recouer out of yͤ Engliſh mens handes, ſuche Caſtels and fortreſſes as they helde within Scotland, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye ſhall finde mentioned, and how aboute this time, their King the foreſaide Dauid, returned forth of France into Scotland by the french kings help, who hauing long before concluded a league with him, thought by his friendſhippe to trouble the King of England ſo at home, that he ſhoulde not bee at great leyſure to inuade hym in France.

The commiſſioners that met at Arras.

But now to tell you what chanced of the meeting appoynted at Arras, for the commiſſioners that ſhould there treate of the peace, when the day aſſigned of their meeting was come, there arriued for the King of Englãd the Biſhop of Lincolne, the Biſhop of Dureſme, the Earle of Warwike, the Earle of Richmond, Sir Robert Dartois, ſir John of Heynault, otherwiſe called Lord Beaumont, and ſir Henry of Flaunders.

For the french King, there came the Earle of Alaunſon, the Duke of Burbon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Archbyſhoppe of Sens, the Biſhop of Beauuoys, and the Byſhop of Auxerre.

The Pope ſente thither two Cardinals, Naples and Cleremont, theſe commiſſioners were in treatie fifteene dayes, during the which, many matters were putte forth, and argued, but none concluded: for the Engliſhmen demanded largely, and the Frenchmen woulde departe with nothing, ſauing with the Countie of Ponticu, the which was giuen with Queene Iſabell in marriage to the King of Englande. So the treatie brake, the commiſſioners departed, and nothyng done, but onely that the truce was prolonged for two yeres further.

This truce was prolonged about the feaſt of the decollation of Saint Iohn, to endure til Midſomer then next following, as the addition to Adam Merimouth hath.

The occaſion of the warres of Britaine.

Thus were ẏ warres partly appeaſed in ſome part of Fraunce, but yet was the truce but ſlenderly kept in other partes, by reaſon of the deathe of the Duke of Britaine. For whereas contentiō roſe betwixte one Charles de Blois, and Iohn Earle of Mountfort, about the right to the Duchie of Britaine, as in the hiſtorie of Fraunce it may more plainely appeare. The Erle of Moūtfort, thinking that he had wrong offered him at the French Kings hands, who fauoured his aduerſarie Charles de Blois, alyed himſelfe with the King of Englande. And as ſome write, after he had wonne diuers Cities and Townes within Britaine, he came ouer into England, and by doing homage to King Edward, acknowledged to holde it of hym, as of the ſoueraigne Lorde thereof, ſo that he would promiſe to defende hym and that Duchie againſt his aduerſaries, whyche the Kyng promiſed him to do.

After this, the French K. made ſuch warres againſt this Earle of Mountfort, that he was at lēgth taken priſoner in the towne of Nauntes, & committed to ſafe keeping within the Caſtell of the Lovre at Paris: but his wife being a ſtoute woman, and of a manly courage, ſtoode vp in the quarrell of hir huſbande, and preſented a yong ſon which ſhe had by him, vnto ſuch Captaines & men of warre as ſerued hir huſbande, requiring them not to bee diſmayd, with the infortunate chance of hir huſbādes taking, but rather lyke mē of good ſtomackes, to ſtād in defence of his right, ſith whatſoeuer happened to hym, the ſame remayned in that yong Gentleman his ſonne.

Ia. Meir.

This Counteſſe of Mountfort, was ſiſter vnto Lewes Earle of Flaunders, and named Margaret, and not Claudia as ſome write. She was very diligente in hir buſineſſe, and ſpared no trauaile to aduaunce hir cauſe, ſo that ſhe wanne not only the heartes of the men of warre, but alſo of the people of Britaine, the whiche fauoured hir huſband, and lamented the miſhap of his taking.

Froiſſard.

She firſte furniſhed ſuche Cities, Townes, Caſtels, and fortreſſes as hir huſband had in poſſeſſion, with men, munition & vittayles, as Renes, Dynaunt, Guerand, Hanibout and others. This done, ſhe ſente ouer into England, ſir Emerie de Cliſſon, a noble man of Britaine, to require the King of Englande of ſuccours, with condition, that if it pleaſed him, hir ſonne Iohn ſhould marrie one of his daughters. The King of Englande glad to haue ſuche an entrie into Fraunce, as by Britaine, thought not to refuſe the offer, & thereupon, graunted to ayde the Counteſſe: & forthwith reyſing a power, ſente the ſame ouer into Britaine, vnder the conduct of the Lord Walter of Manny and others: the which at length, after they had continued long vpon the ſea, by reaſon of contrary windes, arriued in Britaine, in whiche meane time, a great army of Frenchmē were entred into Britaine, and had beſieged the Citie of Renes, and finally wonne it by ſurrender, and were nowe before the Towne of Hanibout, whiche with ſtraite ſiege, and ſore bruſing of the walles, they were neere at poynt to haue taken, and the Counteſſe of Mountfort within it, if the ſuccours of England had not arriued there, euen at ſuche time, as the Frenchmenne were in talke with them within, about the ſurrender. But after that the Engliſh fleete was ſeene to approch, the treatie was ſoone broken off, for they within had no luſt, then to talke any further of the matter.

The Lorde of Manny, and the Engliſhmen arriuing at Hanibout thus in time of imminent daunger, wherein the Counteſſe, and the other within that Towne were preſently beſet, greatly recomforted the ſaide Counteſſe as ſhe well ſhewed by hir cheerefull countenance in receyuing them.

Shortly after their arriuall, a certaine number of the Engliſhe archers, iſſuing forthe, beate the Frenchmen from an engine which they hadde reared againſt the walles, and ſet fire vppon the ſame engin. To conclude, the Frenchemen lyked the Engliſhmen ſo well, that ſhortly after being wearie of their companie, they rayſed their ſiege to get themſelues further from them: and in an other parte of the countrey endeuoured themſelues to winne Townes and Caſtels as they did indeede, hauing their army deuided into two partes, the Lord Charles de Bloys gouerning the one parte, and a Spanyarde called the Lorde Lewes de Spaine the other (which was the ſame that thus departed from the ſiege of Hanibout, after the arriuall of the Engliſhmenne) and then winning the townes of Dinant and Guerand, paſſed into the countrey of Britaine, Britonaūt, and there not farre from Quinpercorentine, were diſcomfited by the Engliſhmenne, who followed them thither.

Of ſixe thouſande Genewaies, Spanyardes, and Frenchmenne whiche the Lorde Lewes of Spayne had there with him, there eſcaped but a few away. A nephewe which he hadde there with him named Alfons was ſlaine, howbeit he himſelfe eſcaped, though not without ſore hurtes.

This yeare, the fifth of Iune Queene Phillip was deliuered of a ſonne at the towne of Langley, the which was named Edmond, and ſurnamed Langley, of the place where hee was thus borne.

Alſo about the ſame time, was a great iuſtes kept by King Edwarde, at the Towne of Dunſtable, with other counterfeyted feates of warre, at the requeſt of diuers yong Lords and Gentlemen, whereat, both the King and Queene were preſente, with the more parte of the Lordes and Ladies of the lande.

The Lorde Charles de Blois, hauing in the meane time wonne Vannes, and other townes, brought his army backe vnto Hanibout, and eftſoones beſieged the ſame, and the Counteſſe of Mountfort wᵗin it: but for ſomuch as it was wel fortifyed, & prouided of all things neceſſarie to defend a ſiege, the Engliſhemen being returned thyther agayne after the ouerthrowe of the Lord Lewes de Spayne, it could not be eaſily wonne. At length, by the labor of certayne Lords of Britaine, a truce was taken for a tyme, during the whiche, the Counteſſe of Richmond came ouer into England, to cõmune with King Edward, touching the affaires of Britaine, who appoynted ſir Robert Dartois Earle of Richmond, the Earles of Saliſburie, Pembroke, and Suffolke, the Lordes Stafford, Spencer; and Bourchier, with other, to goe with hir ouer into Britaine, who made their prouiſion, ſo that they mighte take the ſea, to come thither againſt the time that the truce betwixte the Counteſſe, and the Lorde Charles de Bloys ſhould expire.

There bee that write, how the Lord Walter de Manny, tooke a truce indeede with the Lorde Charles de Bloys, to endure till Alhallowntide next enſuing, but with condition, that if the king of Englande were contented therewith, then the ſame to be firme and fully ratified, otherwiſe not. Wherevpon, when about the beginning of July, the ſayd Lord Walter came ouer into England, bringing with him the Lord of Lions, and other ſuch priſoners as he had taken, and ſignified to King Edward, what he had cõcluded touching the truce, the King liked not thereof, and ſo ſente ouer the Earles of Northampton and Deuonſhire, the Lord Stafford, and ſir William de Killeſby his Chaplayne, and one of his Secretaries, with fiue hundred men of armes, and a thouſand archers, whiche taking Shippe, the vigill of the Aſſumption of our Lady, ſayled forthe towards Britaine.

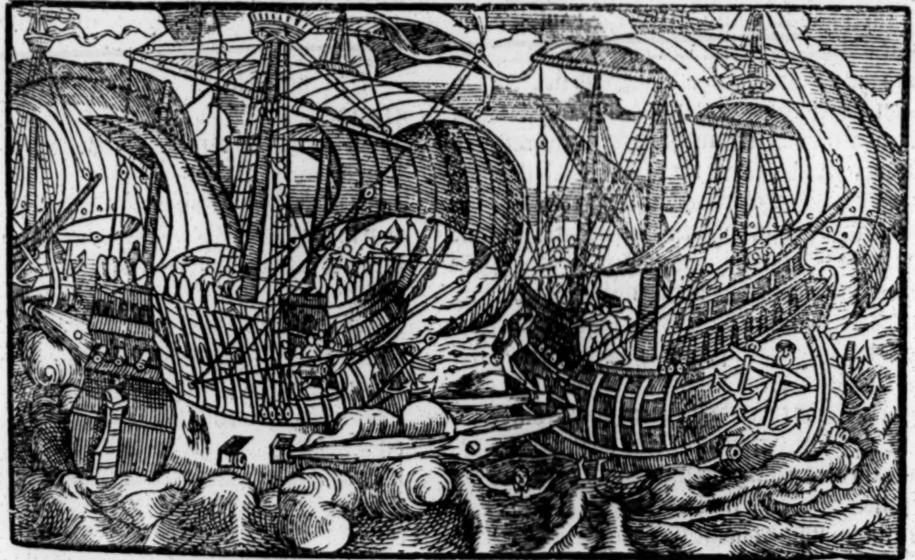
The Earle of Northampton and Deuonſhire.

The frenchmen therefore vnderſtanding that this ſuccour was comming, appointed the Lord Lewes of Spaine, ſir Charles Grimaldo, and ſir Antony Doria, with three thouſand Genewes, and a thouſande menne of armes, embarqued in two and thirtie great Shippes, to lie on the ſea in awayte, to encounter the Engliſhe fleete, as the ſame ſhould approch towards Britaine.

Genewes reteined in the French kings wages.

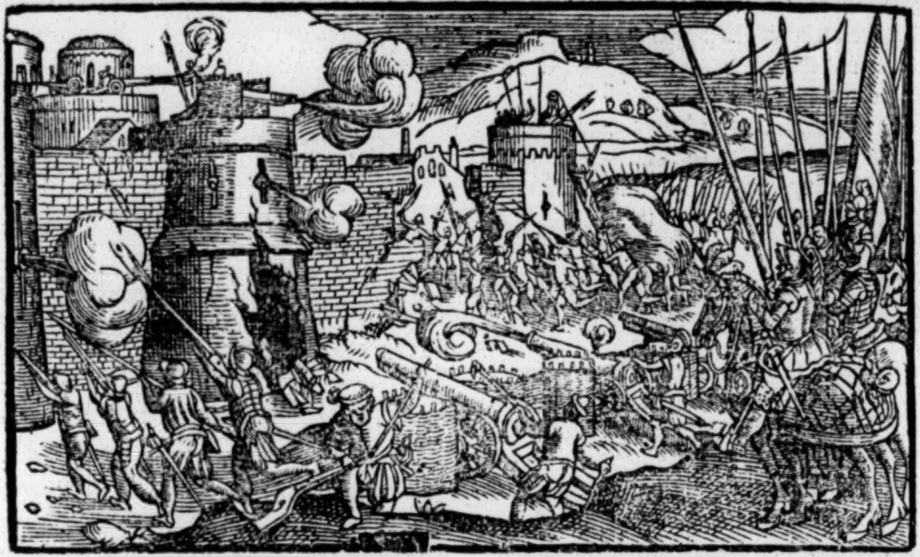
About Eaſter, the Counteſſe of Mountforde with the Engliſh army, appoynted to attend hir, tooke the Sea at Southhampton, and at length, mette with the Lord Lewes of Spayne, and his fleete, where betwixt thẽ was fought a ſore battaile. The Engliſhmen were a ſixe and fortie veſſels, but the Lorde Lewes of Spayne, hadde nine great Shippes, and of more force, than any of thoſe which the Engliſhmen had, and alſo he had three Galleys.

The Engliſhmen and Genewayes mete and fight on the Seas.



They began to fighte about euenſong tyme, and continued till that nighte parted them, and had gone togither againe in the morning, if by a tempeſt that roſe about midnighte, the ſame night, they had not bin ſcattered in ſunder.

The Spanyardes and Genewayes tooke away with them foure Engliſh Shippes, whyche being vittellers, were left behinde, and bycauſe the ſame Spanyardes and Genewaies were able to abide the Sea better than the Engliſhmenne, by reaſon of their great ſhippes, they kept the maine Sea, but the Engliſhmen were aduiſed by theyr marri-



marriners to drawe vnto the lande, and ſo they did, arriuing at a little hauen, not farre from Vānes, where comming a land, they ſtreight ways made towardes that Citie, and beſieged it, not ceaſſing to aſſaulte it both day and night, till at lengthe they wanne it, by giuyng the aſſault in two places at once, whyleſt an other number of them ſette vpon in a thirde place, where was no ſuſpition, and ſo entred. After this, the moſte part of the Engliſhmen departed from Vannes, as ſome with the Counteſſe, to bryng hir vnto Hanibout, and ſome with the Earles of Saliſbury, Suffolke, and Cornewall, who wente and laide ſiege to Rennes, ſo that the Earle of Richmont remayned in Vannes, with the Lordes Spencer and Stafford, to keepe it, hauing a certaine number of Archers and other men of warre with them. The Lord Cliſſon, and ſir Henry de Leon, whiche were within Vannes when it was taken by the Engliſhmen, and founde meanes to eſcape, were abaſhed at the matter, that they had ſo loſt the Citie, wherevpon, they ſecretly aſſembled a greate power of men thereaboutes, & came againe vnto Vannes, and ſo fiercely aſſailed the gates and walles, that in the ende, they entred by fine force. The Earle of Richmont was ſore hurt, but yet hee eſcaped out at a poſterne gate, and the Lord Stafford with him, but the Lorde Spencer was taken by ſir Henry de Leon.

Vann

Additions to Triuet.

Other write otherwiſe, both of the landyng, and alſo concerning the miſfortune of the Lorde Spencer, alledging letters ſent from the Earle of Northampton (whome the ſame authors repute as generall of that army into Britaine) directed to the Kyng, in whiche was ſignified, howe that within the octaues of the aſſumption of our Lady, they arriued on the coaſt of Britaine, neere to the Towne and Caſtell of Breſt, in the whyche, the Ducheſſe of Britaine, with hir children were of the enimies beſieged, both by ſea and lande, by ſea with thirteene greate galleys, by lande by the Lorde Charles de Bloys, the Earles of Sauoy and Foiz. But the galleys perceyuing the Engliſhe fleete to bee approched vpon them, ere they were aware, ſo that they were compaſſed in, to their great danger, three of the ſame galleys fled, and ſo eſcaped, the reſidue got vp into a riuer of the ſame hauen, where they that were aborde, left their veſſels, and fledde to the lande, and as wel they, as the other that held ſiege before Breſt and ſuche as kept a Caſtell there, not farre off, called Goule Forreſt, packed away without any more ado.

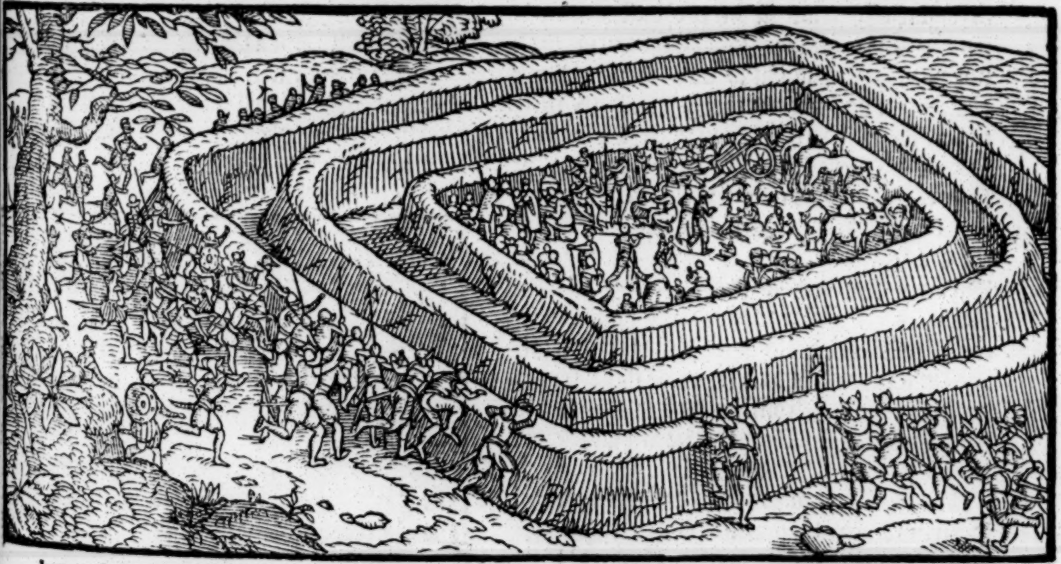
The engliſh marriners following the galleies (that were withdrawen vp the riuer) with theyr ſmall boates and barges, ſet fire on the ſame galleys, and ſo brent them. Thus all the Engliſhmē came a lande, and leauing the Lorde Say Captain in the ſaid Caſtel of Gouleforreſt, they paſſe forward into ẏ countrey, & comming to a Caſtel comonly called Monſieur Relix, gaue an aſſault thereto, where many of their men of warre were woūded, and ſir James Louel ſlaine. After this, ſtaying a time for ẏ cōming of their cōfederates, whiche after a fortnightes ſpace, came to them, on ẏ monday, being the morow after Michaelmas day, they hearde that the Lorde Charles de Blois was comming in al haſt, with a power of three M. mē of armes, twelue C. Genewayes, & a greate multitude of cōmons to reyſe the ſiege. Wherevpō, ẏ Erle of Northamptō with his army marched ſoftly towards thē, & choſing a plot of ground conueniēt for his purpoſe, fought with his enimie, ſlew and tooke of them at ẏ leaſt, three hundred men of armes. The Erle of Northampton loſt not any noble man in this fight, excepted onely the Lord Edwarde Spencer.

But nowe as touching the Earle of Richmont, Froiſſart ſayth, yͭ he cõming to Hanibout, after he had thus loſt Vannes, tooke the Sea, and ſailed into England: but by reaſon of beeing toſſed on the ſeas, his woundes rancled ſo, that ſhortly after his comming to London hee dyed, and was buried in the Church of Saint Paule. The King of Englande was ſore diſpleaſed with hys deathe, and immediatly after, paſſed ouer hymſelfe into Britaine with a greate army: and landing there the nine and twentith of Nouember, at the ſame place where the Earle of Richmont did land at his arriuall there, not farre from Vãnes, he went ſtraight, and beſieged Vannes, but perceyuing that it woulde not bee wonne but by long ſiege, he left the Erle of Arundell, and yͤ lord Stafford to continue the ſiege, whileſt he wente to Rennes to aide his people, which ſtill lay at the ſiege thereof. Before the kings arriual in Britain, thoſe yͭ were there vnder the Erle of Northampton, as the Lord Hugh Spencer, & the L. Richard Talbot, with their retinewes, foughte with the Frenchmen neere to Morleis, where a few Engliſhmen, vnneth fiue hũdred, diſcomfited a mighty power of Frenchmen, eſteemed to be aboue fiftie thouſand, of whome, ſome they ſlewe, & ſome they tooke. Among other, was taken the L. Geffrey de Charny, accompted for one of the beſt and ſageſt Knightes in Fraunce, whome the Lorde Richard Talbot tooke, and ſent into Englande. But nowe as touching the Kings doings, wee finde, that whileſt hee remayned for this winter ſeaſon in Britaine, his people forreyed yͤ Countrey a four dayes iorney in length, and two days iorney in bredth. After his comming to Rennes, hee ſtayed not paſt fiue dayes, but leauing them whome he found there to continue the ſiege, hee went himſelfe to Nauntes, where he had knowledge, that the Lorde Charles de Blois was. At his comming thither, hee enuironed the Citie about with a ſtrong ſiege, and made many fierce aſſaultes to walles and gates, but could not preuayle, then leauing certaine of his Lords there to continue the ſiege, hee rayſed with the reſidue, and went to Dinan, whiche Towne, with ſore and fierce aſſaultes, hee laſtly wonne, and after that, drew againe towardes Vannes, for that he was enformed, howe the Duke of Normandy was comming downe towardes him, with an army of fortie thouſand men.

Nauntes beſieged.

Heerevpon, he ſent for them that lay at ſiege before Nauntes to come vnto him, and ſuffered them at Rennes to keepe their ſiege ſtil, till they heard other word from him. The Duke of Normandy with four thouſande men of armes, and thirtie thouſande other men of warre, comming into Britaine to ayde yͤ Lord Charles of Blois, was aduertiſed, that the King of England was with the moſt part of all his power withdrawen to Vannes, and there lay at ſiege, ſore conſtreyning them within: wherefore he alſo drewe thitherwards, and approching to the place, encamped with his army ouer againſt yͤ King of England, encloſing his field with a great trench.

The duke of Normandie cõmeth downe into Britayne.



The King of England ſuppoſing he ſhoulde haue battell, ſente vnto thoſe whiche lay at ſiege before Rennes, commanding them to come from thence vnto him: ſo that by this meanes, all the powers, both of the King of Englande, and of the Duke of Normandie, generall to his father the Frenche Kyng in thoſe warres of Brytaine, beeing aſſembled before Vannes, hadde foughten ſome great and bloudy battell as was ſuppoſed, for the whole triall of the right of Britaine, if the Cardinals of Cleremount and Preneſti, as Legates from Pope Clement the ſixth, hadde not taken vp the matter, by concluding a truce betwixte them, for the tearme of three yeares.

Commiſ-

Additions to Triuet.

Commiſsioners for the King of Englande.

Commiſſioners appoynted to treate with theſe Cardinals, on the behalfe of the Kyng of Englande were theſe, Henry of Lancaſter Earle of Derby, William Bohun Earle of Northampton, William Mountagew Earle of Saliſburie, Raufe Lord Stafford, Bartholmewe Lorde Burgherſe, Nicholas Lorde Cantelow, Reginald Lorde Cobham, Walter Lord of Manny, Maurice Lord Berkeley, and Maſter John Vfford Archdeacon of Elie.

Commiſsioners for the french king.

For the Frenche King, Odo Duke of Burgoigne, and Piers Duke of Burbon were deputed Commiſſioners: and ſuch diligence was vſed by the parties, that finally they agreed vpon thys truce of three yeares, with certayne articles for meane to conclude ſome final peace, as that there ſhould be ſent from eyther Kyng, ſome perſonages of their bloud and others, vnto the Courte of Rome, with ſufficient authoritie, to agree, confirme, and eſtabliſhe vpon all controuerſies and diſſentions betwixt the ſayde Kings, accordyng to the agreement of the Pope, and ſuch as ſhould be ſo ſent to treate thereof.

1343

A truce for three yeares.

It was further agreed, that they ſhould haue libertie to declare and pronounce their argumẽts and reaſons before the Pope, but not to haue power to decide and giue ſentence, but only by way of ſome better treatie and order of agreemente to be made. And theſe commiſſioners were appointed to appeare before the Pope, afore the feaſt of Saint John Baptiſt next enſuing, and the Pope to diſpatche the buſineſſe before Chriſtmas after, if by conſent of the ſayde nobles, the tearme were not proroged. And if it ſo were that the Pope could make no agreemente, yet ſhoulde the truce endure the prefixed tearme, to witte, till the feaſt of Saint Michaell the Archangell, and for the ſpace of three yeares then next enſuing, betwixte the Kings of Fraunce, England and Scotland, the Earle of Heynaulte and their alies, as the Dukes of Brabant, and of Gelderlande, alſo, the Marques of Guilickerland, the Lorde Beaumont, otherwiſe called Sir John de Heynault, and the people of Flaunders, in all theyr landes and dominions, from the date of the charter made heereof, by all the ſayde tearme aforeſaide, to be obſerued, holden and kept.

The conditions of the truce.

Alſo, the Kyng of Scottes and the Earle of Heynaulte were appointed to ſende certaine perſons, as commiſſioners for them, vnto the ſayde Court of Rome.

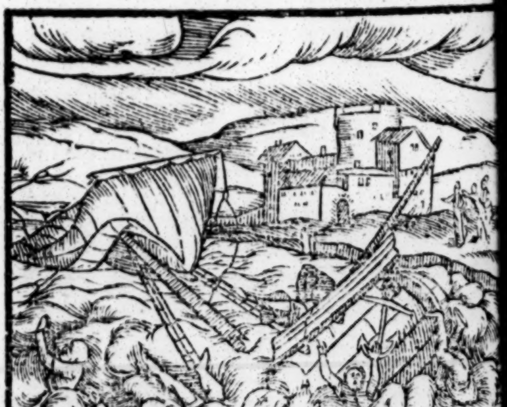
Thys truce was alſo accorded to bee kepte in Britayne, betwixt the ſayde Kyngs and their adherentes, in whyche Countrey, as well as in Guyenne, and other places, euery man ſhoulde remayne in poſſeſſion of that whiche hee helde at the tyme of concluding this truce, ſaue that the Citie of Vannes ſhoulde bee deliuered into the handes of the Cardinall, to bee kepte by them in the Popes name, during the truce, and then to dyſpoſe thereof, as ſhoulde ſeeme to them good.

Many other articles were compriſed in the Charter of thys truce, too long heere to rehearſe, all the whyche were confirmed with the othes of the ſayd Dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, on the French Kinges behalfe, and of the Earles of Derby, Northampton, and Saliſbury, the Lorde Burgherſts, and the Lorde of Manny, for the Kyng of England. In witneſſe whereof, the ſayde Cardinals cauſed the charter to bee made, putting thereunto their ſeales, the nineteenth daye of January, in the yeare 1343. in preſence of dyuers Prelates, and of the Earles of Bolongne, Auſſerre, Sancerre, Juigny, and Porcien, the Lorde Miles de Nohers, the Lorde Ingram de Coucy, and the foreſayde Lordes, Cantelowe, Cobeham, and Berkeley, with manye other, Lordes, Barons, Nobles, and Gentlemenne.

When thys truce was thus confirmed, manye of the Engliſhe armye returned home thorough Fraunce, ſo to paſſe ouer by the narrowe Seas into Englande, but the Kyng hymſelfe, with a fewe other, taking theyr Shippes to paſſe by long Seas, were marueilouſly tormented by tempeſt, ſo that their Shippes were ſcattered, and dryuen to take lande at dyuers hauens.

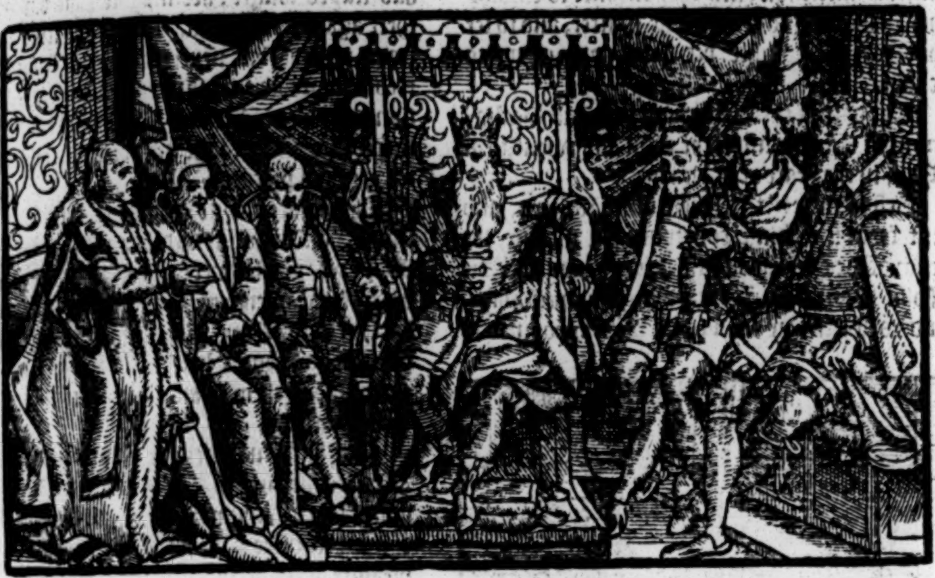
The Ducheſſe of Britaigne, with hir ſonne and daughter, came a lande in Deuonſhire.

Sir Peers de Veel, and his ſonne Sir Henry Veel, and Sir John Rayne Knyghtes, were drowned, togyther with the Shippe in whyche they paſſed.



The Kyng eſcaping very hardly, landed at Weymouth, and the fifth day of March came to London to the Queene.

In the Quindene of Eaſter, he helde a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in which, he created hys eldeſt ſonne Edward Prince of Wales.



In this Parliamente, were diuers matters talked of, and ſpecially concerning woolles, and of the aſſeſſemente of a certayne price of them, more and leſſe, according to the ſeuerall parties of the Realme, and of the cuſtomes to bee made of them, to witte, three markes and an halfe, for euery ſacke to be tranſported forth of the Realm.

Alſo in the ſame Parliament, were Ambaſſadors appoynted forth, ſuche as ſhoulde goe to the Pope to treate of peace, (as in the Charter of the truce among other articles it was conteyned,) whoſe names followe, John Byſhop of Exeter, Henry de Lancaſter Earle of Derby, Hugh le Diſpenſer Lord of Glamorgan, Couſins to the King: Raufe Lord Stafford, William de Norwiche Deane of Lincolne, William Truſſell Knighte, and maſter Andrewe de Vfford a Ciuilian. Theſe perſons were ſent with commiſſion to yͤ Pope, to treate with him, not as Pope, nor as iudge, but as a priuate perſon, and a common friende to both parties, to be a meane or mediator, to fynde out ſome indifferente ende of all controuerſies betwixt the parties.

The date of their commiſſion was at Weſtminſter, the foure and twentith of May, in thys ſeuenteenth yeare of the Kings raigne.

Moreouer in thys Parliamente, a greeuous complaynte was exhibited, by the Earles, Barons, Knightes, burgeſſes, and other of the commons, for that ſtraungers, by vertue of reſeruations and prouiſions Apoſtolike, gote the beſt benefices of this lande into their hands, and neuer came at them, nor bare any charges due for the ſame, but deminiſhing the treaſure of the Realm, and conueying it forthe, ſore endomaged the whole ſtate.

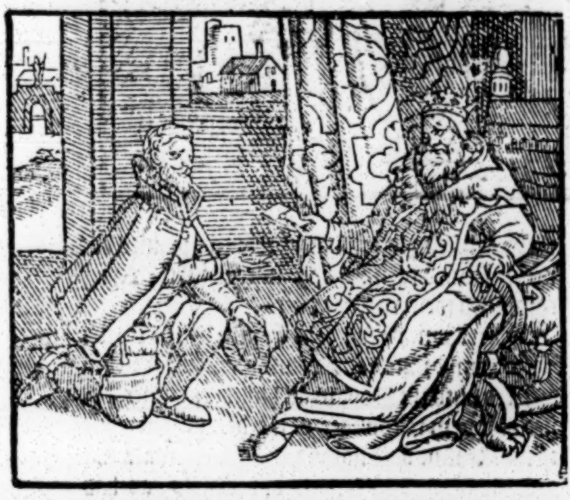
The Byſhops durſt not, or woulde not gyue theyr conſents in exhibiting this complainte, but rather ſeemed to ſtande againſte it, till the Kyng compelled them to gyue ouer.

Heerevpon, a letter was framed by the Lords of the temporaltie and commons, whiche they directed vnto the Pope in all humble manner, beſieching hym to conſider of the derogation done to the Realme of England, by ſuch reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations of benefices, as had bin practiſed heere in Englande, and therefore, ſith the Churches of Englande had bin founded and endowed by noble and worthy men in times paſt, to the ende the people might be inſtructed by ſuche as were of their owne language, and that hee beeyng ſo farre off, and not vnderſtandyng the defaultes had (lyke as ſome of his predeceſſors more than in times paſt hadde bin accuſtomed) graunted by dyuers reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, the Churches and ſpirituall promotions of this lande, vnto diuers perſons, ſome ſtraungers, yea, and enimies to yͤ Realme, whereby the money and profites were carried forthe, the cures not prouided for, almes withdrawen, hoſpitalitie decayed, the Temples and other buyldings belonging to the Churches, ruinated and fallen downe, the charitie and deuotion of the people ſore deminiſhed, and dyuers other greeuous enormities thereby growen cleane contrary to the founders mindes: wherefore, vpon due conſideration thereof hadde, they ſignifyed to him, that they could not ſuffer ſuche enormities any longer, and therefore beſoughte hym wholly to reuoke ſuche reſeruations, prouiſions, and collations, to auoide ſuche ſlaunders, miſchiefes, and harmes as myghte enſue, and that the cures myghte therewith be committed to perſons meete for the exerciſe of the ſame: further alſo, beſeeching him without delay, to ſignifie his intention, ſith they meante to employ theyr diligence to remedie the matter, and to ſee that redreſſe myghte bee hadde accordyng to reaſon.

The date of theſe letters was in full Parliament at Weſtminſter, the eight and twentith of May, in the yeare of grace. 1343.

Sir Iohn Shordiche ſent to the Pope.

Beſide theſe letters, were other written, and ſent from the King, conteyning in ſumme, the tenor of the other aboue mentioned, and one Sir John Shordiche Knighte a graue perſonage, and well ſeene in the lawe, was appoynted to goe with the ſame, who comming to Auignion, and there preſenting his letters in the Popes priuie chamber, where the Pope ſate, with all hys Cardinals about him, receyued no greate curteous welcome, after hys letters were once redde: and when the Knight made aunſwere vnto ſuch wordes as hee hearde the Pope vtter, and charged hym, with giuing the Deanrie of Yorke, vnto one that was reputed the Kynges enimie, the Pope ſayde, well, It is not vnknowen to vs who made and endited theſe letters, and wee knowe that thou madeſt them not, but there is one that pincheth at vs, and wee ſhall puniſhe him well ynough: we knowe all.



The Popes wordes to ſir Iohn Shordich.

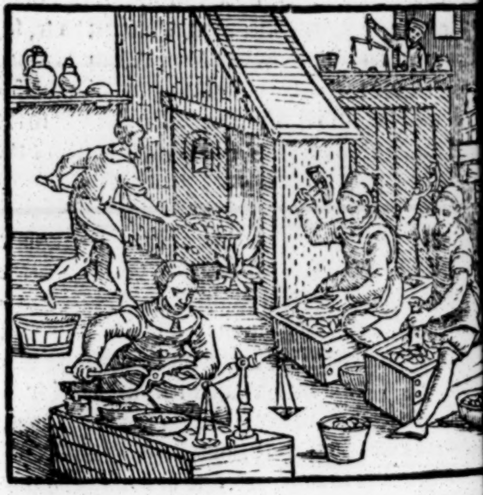
Heerevnto, hee added this muche more, that there was a Knighte that ſpake defamous words of him, & the Church of Rome, wherwith hee ſeemed highly offended. To conclude, hee ſayd, that he woulde aunſwere the letters of the Kyng and commons, as touching the poyntes conteyned in the ſame.

The Cardinals, after they hadde hearde theſe thynges, departed, as if they hadde bin ſore offended and troubled therewith: and the Knyghte taking hys leaue of the Pope, departed alſo forth of the chamber, and without anye longer abode, got him away towardes Burdeaux, aboute other of the Kyngs buſineſſe, doubting leaſt if he had ſtayed longer, hee myghte haue bin kepte there agaynſte his will. The Pope ſente anſwere indeede, but neuertheleſſe, the King proceeded in prohibiting ſuch prouiſions, and collations within his Realme, on payne of empriſonmente and death to the intruders thereby, as after yee ſhall perceyue.

This yeare aboute Midſomer, there were ſolemne Juſtes proclaymed by the Lorde Roberte Morley, whiche were holden in Smithfielde, where for challengers, came forthe one apparelled lyke to the Pope, bringing with hym twelue other in garmentes lyke to Cardinals, whyche toke vppon them to aunſwere all commers, for three courſes.

On the defendantes ſide, ranne the Prince of Wales, with many Earles, Barons, Knyghtes and Eſquires innumerable, ſo that thoſe Juſtes continued three dayes togither, to the greate pleaſure of the beholders.

This yeare, King Edwarde ordeyned a certayne newe coigne of golde, whyche hee named the Florene, that is, the peny of ſixe ſhillings eight pence, the halfe peny of the valewe of three ſhillings foure pence, and the farthing of the valewe of twentie pence.



Thys coigne was ordeyned for hys warres in Fraunce, the golde whereof was not ſo fine, as the Noble, whiche in the fourteenth yeare of hys raigne, hee hadde cauſed for to bee coigned.

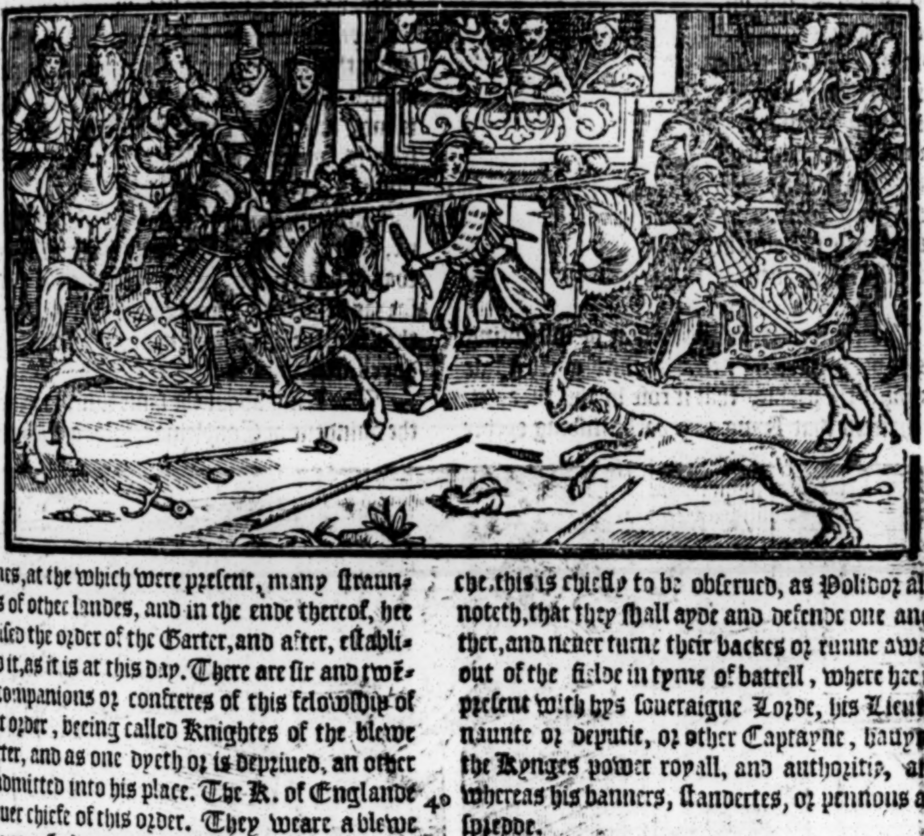
This yeare, the King cauſed a great number of artificers and labourers to be taken vp, whome hee ſet in hande to buylde a chamber in the Caſtell of Windeſor, whiche was called the rounde table, the floore whereof, from the center or middle poynte, vnto the compaſſe thoroughout, the one halfe, was (as Walſ. writeth) an hundred foote, and ſo the diametre, or compaſſe rounde about, was two hundred foote. The expenſes of this worke, amounted by the weeke, firſt vnto an hundred pounde, but afterwardes, by reaſon of the warres that followed, the charges was deminiſhed vnto two and twentie pounde the weeke, as Thomas Walſingham writeth in his larger booke, entituled, the Hiſtory of Englande, or as ſome Copies haue, vnto nyne poundes.

This yeare alſo, William Montagew Earle of Saliſbury, conquered the Iſle of Man, out of the handes of the Scottes, whiche Iſle, the Kyng gaue vnto the ſayd Earle, and cauſed him to bee entituled, and crowned King of Man.

This Iſle as Robert Southwell noteth, was wonne by the Scottes, about the ſecond yeare of Edwarde the ſecond his raigne, who in the yeare before, to witte, Anno Chriſti. 307. had giuē the ſame Iſle vnto Peers de Gauaſton, whome hee had alſo made Earle of Cornewall.

Iuſtes and torneys holden at Windſore.

Moreouer, about the beginning of this eyghteenth yeare of his raigne, King Edwarde held a ſolemne feaſt at his Caſtell of Windſor, where betwixt Candlemas and Lente, were atchieued many martiall feates, as Iuſtes, tournamentes, and dyuers other the like warlike paſtimes, at the which were preſent, many ſtraungers of other landes, and in the ende thereof, hee deuiſed the order of the Garter, and after, eſtabliſhed it, as it is at this day. There are ſix and twentie companions or confreres of this felowſhip of that order, beeing called Knightes of the blewe garter, and as one dyeth or is depriued, an other is admitted into his place. The K. of Englande is euer chiefe of this order. They weare a blewe robe or mātel, and a garter about their left legge, richly wrought with golde and precious ſtones, hauing this inſcription in Frenche vpon it, *Honi ſoit, qui mal y penſe*, Shame come to hym yͭ euill thinketh.



This order is dedicated vnto Sainct George, as chiefe patrone of menne of warre, and therefore euery yeare do the knightes of this order kepe ſolemne his feaſt, with many noble ceremonies, at the Caſtell of Windeſor, where King Edwarde founded a Colledge of Canons, or rather augmenting the ſame, ordeyned therein a Deane with twelue Canons Seculars, eight peticanōs, and thirteene vicars, thirteene Clearkes, and thirteene Choriſters.

The Knightes haue certayne lawes and rules apperteyning to their order, amōgſt the whiche, this is chiefly to be obſerued, as Polidor alſo noteth, that they ſhall ayde and defende one another, and neuer turne their backes or runne away out of the fielde in tyme of battell, where hee is preſent with hys ſoueraigne Lorde, his Lieutenaunte or deputie, or other Captayne, hauyng the Kynges power royall, and authoritie, and whereas his banners, ſtandertes, or pennons are ſpreade.

The reſidue of the lawes and rules apperteyning vnto this noble order, I doe heere purpoſely omitte, for that the ſame in other place conuenient by others maye bee expreſſed, ſo farre as ſhall bee thoughte expediente. But nowe touching theſe ſixe and twentie noble menne and Knightes whyche were firſte choſen and admitted into the ſame order, by the fyrſte Soueraigne and founder thereof, thys Kyng Edwarde the thyrde, theyr names are as followe.

Firſte, the ſayde noble Prince, King Edwarde the thirde.
The Prince of Wales Duke of Cornewalle, and Earle of Cheſter hys eldeſt ſonne.
Henry Duke of Lancaſter.

The Earle of Warwike.
The Captall de Beuch, alias Buz or Beuke.
Rauke Earle of Staffordе.
William Montacute Earle of Saliſbury.
Roger Lord Mortimer.
John Lord Liſle.
Bartholmew Lord Burwaſch, or Berghelſch.
The Lord John Beauchampe.
The Lord de Mahun.
Hugh Lord Courtney.
Thomas Lord Holand.
John Lord Gray.
Richard Lord Fitz Simon.
Sir Miles Stapleton.
Sir Thomas Walle.
Sir Hugh Wrotteſley.
Sir Neele Loringe.
Sir John Chandos.
James Lord Audeley.
Sir Otes Holand.
Sir Henry Eme.
Sir Sanchet Dabrichcourt.
Sir Walter Panell.

The occaſion that moued King Edward to inſtitute the order of the garter.

The cauſe and firſte occaſion of inſtituting this order is vncertayne. But there goeth a tale amongſt the people, that it roſe by this meanes, It chanced that Kyng Edwarde finding eyther the garter of the Queene, or of ſome Lady, with whome hee was in loue, beeing fallen from hir legge, ſtouped downe, and tooke it vp, whereat, diuers of his nobles founde matter to ieſt, and to talke their fancies merily, touching the Kyngs affection towards the woman, vnto whome hee ſayde, that if hee liued, it ſhoulde come to paſſe, that moſt high honor ſhould be giuen vnto them for the garters ſake: and therevpon ſhortly after, he deuiſed and ordeyned this order of the garter, with ſuch a poſey, whereby he ſignified, that hys Nobles iudged otherwiſe of him than the trouth was. Though ſome may thinke, that ſo noble an order, had but a meane beginning, if this tale bee true, yet many honorable degrees of eſtates haue hadde their beginnings of more baſe and meane things, than of loue, whiche beeing orderly vſed, is moſt noble and commendable, ſith nobilitie it ſelfe is couered vnder loue, as the Poet Ouid ſayth, *Nobilitas ſub amore iacet.*

The C
of Sali

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William de Montagewe Earle of Saliſburie, King of Man, and Marſhall of Englande, was ſo bruſed at yͤ Iuſtes holdē heere at Windſor (as before yee haue hearde) that hee departed thys life, the more was the pitie, within eyghte dayes after.

The King about the ſame time, to witte, in the quindene of Candlemas, helde a Councell at London, in the whiche, with good aduice, and ſound deliberation had vppon the complaynt of the commons to hym before time made, hee gaue out ſtraight commaundemente, that no man, on payne of empriſonmente and deathe, ſhoulde in time to come, preſente or induct anye ſuch perſon or perſons, that were ſo by the Pope promoted, without the Kinges agreemente, in preiudice of his royall prerogatiue. Heere vppon, he directed alſo writtes to all Archbyſhops, Byſhoppes, Abbots, Priors, Deanes, Archdeacons, Officials, and other eccleſiaſticall perſons, to whome it apperteyned, inhibiting them in no wiſe to attempte anye thing in preiudice of that ordinance, vnder pretext of any Bulles, or other writings, for ſuche manner of prouiſions, to come from the Courte of Rome. Other writtes were alſo directed to hys ſonne the Prince of Wales, and to all the Sheriffes within yͤ realme, for to arreſt all ſuche as broughte into the lande any ſuch Bulles or writings, and to bring them before the Kings counſell or his Iuſtices, where they

they mighte bee puniſhed, according to the treſpaſſe by them committed.

About the ſame time, the Kyng ordeyned a certayne coigne of fine golde, and named it the Florene, which coigne was deuiſed for his warres in Fraunce, for the golde thereof was not ſo fine as was the Noble, which in the fourteenth yeare he had cauſed to be coigned: but this coigne continued not long.

After the feaſt of the holy Trinitie, the Kyng helde a Parliament at London, in the whych, hee aſked a tenth of the Cleargie, and a fifteenth of the laytie, about which demaunde, there was no ſmall altercation, but at length he had it graunted for one yeare.

The ſame time, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury helde a conuocation of all the Cleargie at London, in the which, many things were in talke about the honeſt demeanor of Churchmen, whiche ſeldome is obſerued, as the addition to Nicholas Triuet ſaith.

About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Lady, the King diſanulled the Florens, to yͤ greate commoditie of his Kingdome, ordeyning a greater Florene of halfe a marke, and a leſſer of three ſhillings four pence, and the leaſt of all, of twentie pence, and theſe were called Nobles, and not without cauſe, for they were a noble coigne, faire and fine golde.

This yeare, the ſeuenteenth day of Nouember, the Pope in Auinion created the Lord Lewes de Spaine, Ambaſſador for the Frenche K. Prince of the Iſles called *Fortunatæ*, for what purpoſe it was not knowen, but it was doubted, not to be for any good meaning towardes the kingdome of Englande, the proſperitie whereof, the ſame Pope was ſuſpected not greatly to wiſh.

About the beginning of Lent the ſame yeare, the ſayde Pope had ſente an Archbyſhoppe and a Byſhoppe, Ambaſſadors to the King, who mette them at Oſpring in Kente, and to the ende they ſhoulde not linger long within the Realme, hee quickly diſpatched them withoute effect of theyr meſſage.

This yeare, ſhortly after Eaſter, the Duke of Britaine, that had bin deteyned priſoner by the Frenche King, and eſcaped out of priſon, came ouer into England. And about the ſame time, the King ordeyned the exchange of moneys at London, Caunterbury, and Yorke, to yͤ greate commoditie of his people.

About Midſomer, or as other haue Michaelmas, the Erle of Derby, with the Erle of Pembroke, the Lorde Rauſe Stafford, the L. Walter de Manny, the L. Iohn Grey of Codnore, and diuers other Lords, Knightes, and Eſquires, to the number of fiue or ſixe hundred men of armes, and as many archers, ſailed ouer into Gaſcoigne, to aſſiſt the Kinges ſubiectes there agaynſte the Frenchmen. This Earle of Derby, being generall of the army, after hys arriuall in Gaſcoigne, about the beginning of December, wanne the Towne of Bergerat by force, hauing putte to flight the Erle of Liſle, as then the French kings Lieutenant in Gaſcoigne, who lay there with a great power, to defende the paſſage: but beeyng driuen into the Towne, and hauing loſt the Suburbes to the Engliſhmen, hee fledde out in the night, and ſo left the Towne, withoute anye Souldiers to defende it, ſo that the Towneſmen yelded it vnto the Earle of Derby, and ſware themſelues to be true liege men vnto the Kyng of Englande.

and two thouſand archers hath Froiſſart

Bergerat won.

Froiſſart.

After this, the Earle of Derby paſſed further into the Countrey, and wanne diuers Caſtels and Townes, as Lango, le Lacke, Moundurāt, Monguiſe, Punach, Laliew, Forſath, Pondair, Beaumount in Layllois, Bonall, Abberoch and Liborne, part of them by aſſaulte, and the reſidue by ſurrender.

This done, he returned to Burdeaux, hauing left Captaines and Souldiers in ſuche places as he had wonne.

This yeare, the King ſent forth a commiſſion vnto certaine perſons in euery countie within this Realme, to enquire, what landes and tenementes euery man, aboue fiue poundes of yeerely reuenewes, being of the lay fee myght diſpend, bycauſe he had giuen order, that euery man whiche myghte diſpende fiue poundes and aboue, vnto tenne pounde of ſuche yeerely reuenewes in lande of the ley fee, ſhoulde furniſhe hymſelfe, or finde an archer on horſebacke, furniſhed with armour and weapon accordingly.

Hee that might diſpende tenne pounde, ſhould furniſhe hymſelfe, or fynde a demilaunce or a light horſeman if I ſhall ſo tearme hym, beeyng then called an Hobeler with a launce. And hee that myghte diſpende fiue and twentie pounde, ſhoulde furniſhe hymſelfe, or finde a man at armes. And hee that myghte diſpende fiftie poundes, ſhoulde furniſhe two men at armes. And hee that myghte dyſpende an hundred poundes, ſhoulde fynde three men at armes, that is, hymſelfe, or one in his ſteede, with two other.

And ſuche as myght diſpende aboue an hundred poundes, were appoynted to fynde more in number of menne at armes, accordingly as they ſhoulde bee aſſeſſed, after the rate of theyr landes, whyche they myghte yearely diſpende, beeyng of the lay fee, and not belonging to the Church.

About this ſeaſon, the Duke of Britayne, hauing wͭ him the erles of Northāpton & Oxford,

Additions to Triuet.

Sir William de Killeſby one of the Kings ſecretaries, and many other Barons and knightes, with a greate number of men of armes, paſſed ouer into Britaine, againſte the Lord Charles de Bloys, where they tarried a long time, and dyd little good to make anye accompte of, by reaſon that the Duke, in whoſe quarrell they came into thoſe parties, ſhortly after his arriuall there, departed this life, and ſo they returned home into England. But after their comming from thēce, Sir Thomas Dagworth Knighte, that hadde bin before, and nowe after the departure of thoſe Lordes and Nobles, ſtill remayned the Kyngs Lieutenant there, ſo behaued himſelfe againſte both Frenchmen and Britaines, that the memorie of his worthy doings, deſerueth perpetual cōmendation.

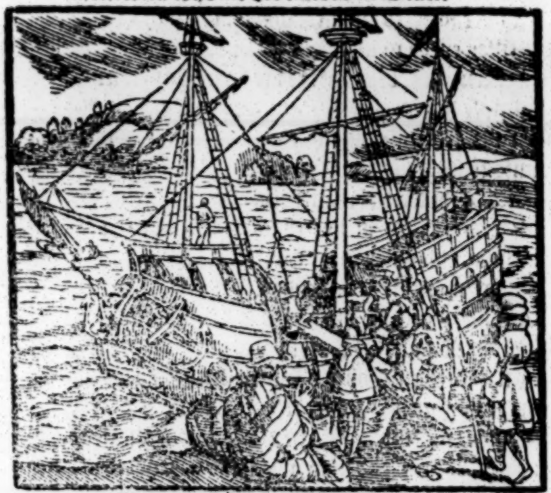
The Duke of Britayne departed this life

Sir John de Heynault Lorde Beaumont, about the ſame time, changed his coate, and leauing the King of Englandes ſeruice, was reteyned by the French Kyng.

The Lorde Beaumount of Heynault forſaketh the K. of England his ſeruice.

In this nineteenth yeare of King Edwarde I finde, that about the feaſt of the Natiuitie of Saint John Baptiſt, he ſayled ouer into Flaunders, leauing his ſonne the Lord Lionell, warden of the Realme in his abſence. He tooke with him a great number of Lords, Knightes, and Gētlemen, with whome hee landed at Sluſe.

The king goeth ouer into Flaunders.



The cauſe of his going ouer was, to further a practiſe whiche he hadde in hande with them of Flaunders, the which by the labor of Jaques Arteueld, meant to cauſe their Earle Lewes, eyther to do homage vnto Kyng Edward, or elſe if hee refuſed, then to diſinherite him, and to receyue Edwarde Prince of Wales for theyr Lorde, the eldeſt ſonne of King Edwarde.

Ia. Meir.

King Edwarde promiſing to make a Dukedome of the Countie of Flaunders, for an augmentation of honor to the countrey, there came vnto Sluſe to the King, Jaques van Arteueld, and a great nūber of other, appointed as counſellors for their chiefeſt Townes.

Froiſſart.

The King with all his nauie, lay in the Hauen of Sluſe, where in his great Shyppe called the Catherine, a Counſell was holden vpon thys foreſaid purpoſe: but at length, thoſe of the Counſels of the chiefeſt Townes, miſliked the matter ſo much, that they would conclude nothing, but required reſpite for a moneth, to conſult with all the communaltie of the Countreys and townes, and as the more part ſhould be enclined, ſo ſhuld the King receyue aunſwere. The King, and Jaques Arteueld would fayne haue had a ſhorter daye, and a more towardly aunſwere, but none other could be gotten.

A coun
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Hereuppon, the Councell brake vp, and Jaques Arteueld tarying with the King a certaine ſpace after the other were departed, promiſed hym to perſwade the Countrey well ynough to hys purpoſe, and ſurely, hee hadde a great gift of eloquence, and hadde thereby induced the Countrey wonderfully, to conſent to many things, as well in fauour of King Edward, as to his owne aduauncement: but this ſute whiche he went nowe about to bring to paſſe, was ſo odious vnto all the Flemings, that in no wiſe they thoughte it reaſon to conſente vnto the diſinheriting of the Earle.

At length, when Jaques Arteuelde ſhoulde returne vnto Gaunt, Kyng Edwarde appointed fiue hundred Welchmen to attende hym as a garde, for the preſeruation of his perſon, bycauſe he ſayde, that one Gerarde Deniſe, Dean of the wayuors, an vnquiet man, malitiouſly purpoſed his deſtruction.

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Captaynes of theſe Welchmen, were John Matreuerſe, and William Sturine, or Sturrie, and ſo with this crewe of Souldiers, Arteuelde returned to Gaunte, and earneſtly goeth in hand with hys ſute in Kyng Edwardes behalfe, that eyther the Earle ſhoulde doe hys homage to the Kyng of Englande, to whome it was due, or elſe to forfeyte hys Earledome. Then the foreſayde Gerard, as well of his owne mynde, as procured thereto by the authoritie of Earle Lewes, ſtirred the whole Citie againſte the ſayde Arteuelde, and gathering a greate power vnto hym, came and beſette Arteueldes houſe rounde about vpon eache ſide, the furie of the people being wonderfully bente agaynſte hym, crying, kill hym, kill hym, that hathe robbed the treaſure of the countrey, and nowe goeth aboute to diſinherite our noble Earle.

Iac
ueld
bele

Jaques van Arteuelde perceyuing in what danger he was, came to a window, and ſpake to that enraged multitude, in hope with faire and curteous wordes to appeaſe them, but it coulde not bee: whereuppon, hee ſoughte to haue fledde out of hys houſe, but the ſame was broken vp, and ſo manye entred vppon hym, that hee was founde out, and ſlayne by one Thomas Deniſe (as ſome wryte.) But other affirme, that a Cobler, whoſe father this Jaques van Arteueld had ſometime ſlayne, followed him, as he was fleeing into a ſtable where hys horſes ſtoode, and there with an axe claue his head in ſunder, ſo that hee fell downe ſtarke dead on the grounde. And thys was the ende of the foreſaide Jaques van Arteueld, who by hys wiſedome and policie had obteyned the whole gouernemente of all Flaunders.

He was thus ſlayne vpõ a Sunday in ẏ afternoone, being the ſeuententh of July. There were ſlayne alſo tenne other perſons that were of hys counſell, and dyuers of the Welchmen in lyke manner, but the other eſcaped, and got away vnto King Edwarde, as yet remayning at Sluſe, vnto whome thoſe of Bruges, Caſſell, Curtrick, Ypres, Aldenard, and other Townes, dyd afterwards ſende their orators to excuſe thẽſelues, as nothing giltie nor priuie to the deathe of hys friende, and their worthy gouernour Jaques van Arteueld, requiring him not to impute the faulte vnto the whole countrey, which the raſh and vnaduiſed Gauntiners had committed, ſith ẏ Countrey of Flaunders was as ready now to do hym ſeruice and pleaſure as before, ſauing that to the diſinheriting of their Earle, they could not be agreeable, but they doubted not to perſwade hym to doe his homage vnto the King of Englande, and till then, they promiſed not to receyue him.

They put the King alſo in hope of a marriage to be had, betwixte the ſonne of their Earle, and ſome one of the Kings daughters. Herewith the King of England (who was departed frõ Sluſe, in greate diſpleaſure with the Flemings) became ſomewhat pacified in hys moode, and ſo renued the league eftſoones with the Countrey of Flanders: but the Earle woulde neuer conſent to doe homage vnto the Kyng of Englande, but ſtill ſticked to the French Kings part, which purchaſed him muche trouble, and in the ende coſt hym his life, as after ſhall appeare.

But now to returne vnto the Earle of Derby, whome wee left in Gaſcoigne. Yee ſhall vnderſtand, that ſhortly after he was come backe to Burdeaux, from the conqueſt whiche hee hadde made of Bergerat, & other townes thereabouts, The Earle of Liſle, who (as ye haue hearde) was the French Kings Lieutenant in that countrey, aſſembled an army of twelue thouſand men, and comming before Auberoche, a Towne in Gaſcoigne, beſieged it, ſore oppreſſing them within ſo muche, that they were in greate daunger to haue bin taken, if the Earle of Derby, hauing knowledge in what caſe they ſtoode, hadde not come to their reſkewe, who with three hundred ſpeares, or men of armes as we may call them, and a ſixe hundred archers, approching neere to the ſiege, layde hymſelfe cloſely within a wodde, till the Frenchmenne in the euening were at ſupper, and then he ſuddainely ſet vpon them in their campe, and diſcomfited them, ſo that the Earle of Liſle was taken in his owne tente, and ſore hurte.

The Frenche armie diſtreſſed, and he Earle of Liſle taken.

There were alſo taken, the Earle of Valentinois, and other Earles, Vicontes, and Lordes of greate accompte, to the number of nyne, beſide thoſe that were ſlayne. The reſidue were putte to flight and chaſed, ſo that the Engliſhmenne hadde a fayre iourney, and wanne greate riches by priſoners and ſpoyle of the enimies Campe.

After thys, the Earle of Derby, beyng returned to Burdeaux, and hauing put the Captiues in ſafekeeppyng, aſſembled his power, and marching forthe into the Countrey, towardes the Ryolle, (a Towne in thoſe parties whyche hee meante to beſiege) he wanne dyuers townes and Caſtels by the way, as Saint Baſill, Roche Millon, Montſegure, Aguillon, and Segart.

Townes won by the Earle of Derby.

At length, he came to the Towne of the Ryolle, whiche hee beſieged, and lay about it nyne weekes, ere hee coulde winne it, and then was the ſame towne ſurrendred into his handes, but the Caſtell was ſtill defended agaynſte hym for the ſpace of eleuen weekes, at whyche tyme, beeyng ſore oppreſſed, and vndermyned, it was yeelded by them within, conditionally, that they ſhoulde departe only with theyr armoure.

After thys, the Erle of Derby wanne Montpeſance, Mauleon, Ville-Franche in Agenois, Miremont, Thomines, the Caſtell of Damaſſen, and at length, came before the Citie of Angoleſme, the whyche made appoyntmente with the Earle, that if no ſuccoures came from the Frenche Kyng, within the ſpace of a moneth, that then the Citie ſhoulde bee ſurrendred to the Kyng of Englandes vſe: and to aſſure thys appoyntmente, they deliuered to the Earle foure and twentie of their chiefe Citizens as hoſtages.

Angoleſme.

In the meane tyme, the Earle layde ſiege to Blaues, but coulde not winne it.

Blaues.

Hys men rode abroade into the Countrey, to Mortaigne, Mirabeau, and Aunay, but wanne little, and ſo retourned agayne to the ſiege of Blaues.

When the moneth was expired, that they of Angoleſme ſhoulde yeelde, the Earle ſente hys two Marſhals thither, who receyued the homage and fealtie of the Citizens, in the King of Englands name, and ſo they were in peace, and receiued againe their hoſtages.

At length, when the Earle of Derby ſawe, that he did but loſe his time in the beſieging of Blaues, whiche ſir Guiſchart Dangle, and Sir Guilliaume de Rochfort, being Captains within, did ſo valiantly defende, that he could obteyne no aduantage of them, hee reyſed hys ſiege, and returned vnto Burdeaux, hauing furniſhed ſuche Townes as hee hadde wonne in that iourneye wyth conueniente garniſons of men to defende them agaynſte the enimyes, and to keepe frontier warre as they ſhoulde ſee cauſe.

Froyſſart ſaith they were an hūdred thouſand. Gio. Villani writeth, that they were a ſixe thouſand horſemen, and fiftie thouſande footemen, of Frenchmen, Gaſcoignes, Geneways, & Lombardes.

The Frenche Kyng being ſore moued at the conqueſts thus atchieued by the Earle of Derby, rayſed a mightie army, and ſent the ſame forth, vnder the leading of his ſonne the Duke of Normandy, into Gaſcoigne, to reſiſt the ſaide Earle, and to recouer agayne thoſe Townes which hee had wonne in thoſe partes.

Annales de Burgoigne.

1346

An. reg. 20.

The Duke of Normādy being come to Thoulouz, where his general aſſembly was appoynted, ſet forwarde with his army, and winning by the way Miremoūt, and Ville Franche in Agenois, at length came to the Citie of Angoleſme, whych hee enuironed about with a ſtrong ſiege, continuing the ſame, till finally, the Captayne, named John Normell, required a truce to endure for one daye, which was graunted, and the ſame was the daye of the purification of oure Ladye, on the which, the ſame Captayne, with the ſouldiers of the garriſon departed, and lefte the Citie in the Citizens handes.

Angouliſme recouered by the frenchmē.

The Frenchmen, bycauſe they had graunted the truce to endure for that day withoute exception, permitted them to goe theyr wayes without lette or vexation. The Citizens in the morning yeelded the Citie to the Duke.

Damaſ
Thoni

After this, he wanne the Caſtell of Damaſſen, Thonins, and Port S. Mary, Thonins by ſurrēder, & the other two by force of aſſaultes.

Aiguill
beſiege

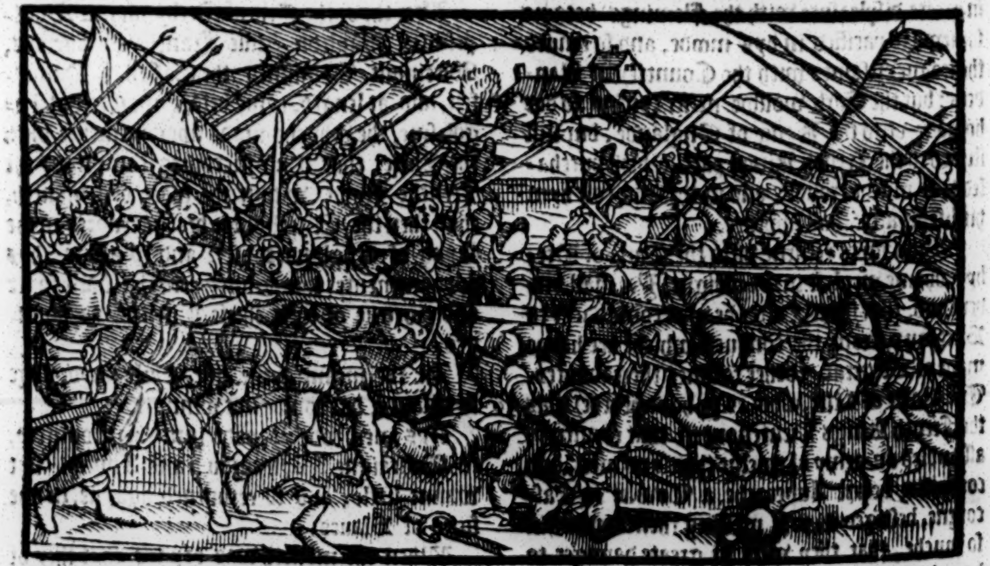
Then hee came to the ſtrong Caſtell of Aiguillone, which he beſieged, and lay thereat a long ſeaſon. Within was the Earle of Pembroke, the Lorde Walter de Manny, Sir Frāke de Halle, and dyuers Knightes and Captaines, which defended themſelues, and the place ſo ſtoutely, that the Frenchmenne coulde winne little aduauntage at theyr handes.

Gio. Villani

The Ar
con D

French
diſco

Whileſt the ſiege continued before thys fortreſſe, the Seneſhall of Guyenne departed from the Campe, with an eyght hundred horſemen, and foure thouſand fotemen, purpoſing to winne a Caſtell, belonging to a nephewe of the Cardinall Della Motte, a twelue leagues diſtant from Aiguillone. The Archdeacon of Unfort, owner of that Caſtell, went to the Ryoll, where the Earle of Derby with his army as then was lodged, to whome he made ſute, to haue ſome power of mē to reſcue his Caſtel. The Erle appoynted to hym a ſufficiēt nūber, both of horſemē, & alſo of Engliſh archers, with whome, ẏ ſaid Archdeacon rode all the night, & the next morning betimes, beyng the 31. of July, they came to the Caſtell, where the Frenchmen were arriued the day before, and had fiercely aſſayled the Caſtell, doyng their beſt to winne it by force. But the Engliſhmenne without any delay, immediatly vpon their comming, ſet vpon the Frenchmen, and gaue them ſo ſharp and fierce battaile, that in the ende, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited: the Seneſhal with many other Gentlemen, were taken priſoners, beſide thoſe that were ſlayne. To conclude, the number of them that were ſlaine, and taken priſoners in the whole, amounted to foure hundred horſemen, and two thouſand footemen.

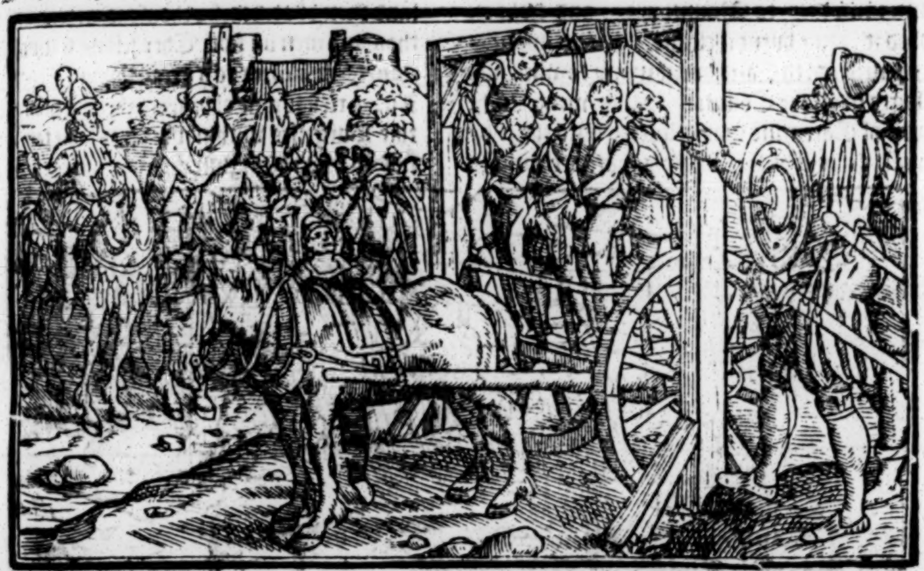


Sir Godfrey de Harcourt being conſtreyned to flee out of France to auoyde the French kings diſpleaſure, came ouer vnto the king of England, who receyued him right ioyfully, for hee was knowne to bee a right valiaunt and a wiſe perſonage. He was brother to the Earle of Harecourt, Lorde of Saint Sauiour le Vicount, and of dyuerſe other townes in Normandie.

A little before that hee fell into the Frenche kings diſpleaſure, he might haue done wyth the king of France, more than any other Lord within that Realme.

In this .xx. yeare of his raigne, king Edward vpon complaint of the people made agaynſt purueyours of vittayles for his houſholde (the which vnder colour of their Commiſſions, abuſed the ſame, in taking vp among the commons all maner of things that lyked them, without making payment for the ſame, further than the ſayd commiſſions did allow them) he cauſed inquirie to be made of theyr miſdemeanors, and ſuche as were founde to haue offended, of whome there was no ſmall number, ſome of them were put to death on the Gallowes, and other were fined, ſo to teache the reſt to deale more warely in theyr buſineſſe from thenceforth.

Purueyers puniſhed.



About the ſame time, he cauſed all the Iuſtices within his dominions to renounce and giue ouer all their Pencions, fees, and other brybing benefites or rewardes, which they vſed to receiue of the Lordes and great men of the lande, as well prelates, as of them of the temporaltie, to the end that their handes beeing free from gyftes, Iuſtice might more freely haue courſe, and bee of them duly and vprightly miniſtred.

Alſo this yeare in the lent ſeaſon, the King helde a Parliament at Weſtminſter, and toke into his handes all the profites, reuenues, and emolumentes, which the Cardinals helde within thys land: for he thought it not reaſon, that they which fauoured the Pope and Frenche king beeing hys aduerſaries, ſhould enioy ſuch cōmodities within his realme.

After this, in the Moneth of Iuly following, he toke ſhipping and ſayled into Normandie, hauing eſtabliſhed the Lord Percie, and the Lord Neuile, to be wardens of his realme in hys abſence, with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of Lyncolne, and the Biſhop of Dureſme.

The army which he had ouer with him, was to the number of foure thouſande men of armes, and ten thouſande archers, beſide Iriſh men, and Welchmen, that followed the hoſt afoote. The chiefeſt Captains that went ouer with him were theſe. Firſt his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde Prince of Wales, being as then about the age of .xiij. yeres, the Earles of Hereford, Northampton, Arundel, Cornwal, Huntingdon, Warwike, Suffolk, and Oxforde, of Barons the Lorde Mortimer, who was after Earle of Marche, the Lordes, Iohn, Lewes, and Roger Beauchamp, alſo the Lords Cobham, Moumbray, Lucy, Baſſet, Barkeley, & Wylloughbie, with diuerſe other Lordes, beſides a greate number of knightes and other worthie Captaynes. They landed by the aduice of the Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, in the Iſle of Conſtantine, at the port of Hague Saint Waſt, nere to Saint Sauiour le Vicount. The Earle of Huntingdon was appoynted to be gouernour of the fleet by Sea, hauing with him a hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers.

30000. footmē and archers, that paſſed ouer with the king. But whē he commeth to ſpeake of the battail, he ſeemeth to encreaſe the number.

After that the whole armie was landed, the king appoynted two Marſhals, the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, and the Earle of Warwike, and the Erle of Arundell was made Coneſtable. There were ordeyned three battayles, one to goe on his right hande, following by the coaſt of the Sea, and another to March on his left hande, vnder the conduct of the Marſhals, ſo that hee him-

The ordering of the kings armie.

ſelfe went in the middeſt with the maine armie, and in this order forwarde they paſſed towardes Caen, lodging euerie night togither in one fielde. They that went by the Sea, tooke all the ſhippes they founde in theyr way, and as they marched forth thus, what by water, and lande, at length they came to a towne called Harflewe, whiche was giuẽ vp, but yet neuertheleſſe it was robbed, and much goodes found in it.

Harflew.

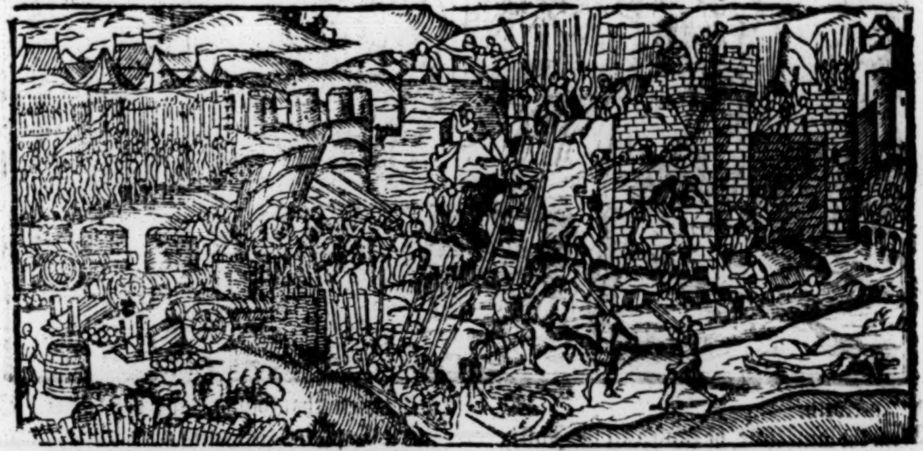
Chierburg.

After this they came to Chierburg, whiche towne they wanne by force, robbed it, and burnt part of it, but the Caſtle they coulde not winne. Then came they to Mountburge, and tooke it, robbed it, and burnt it cleane. In this manner they paſſed forth, and burnt many townes and villages in all the Countrey as they went. The towne of Carentine was deliuered vnto them agaynſt the will of the ſouldiers that were within it. The ſouldiers defended the Caſtel two dayes, and then yeelded it vppe into the Engliſh mens handes, who burnt the ſame, and cauſed the Burgeſſes to enter into theyr Shippes. All this was done by the battaile that went by the Sea ſyde, and by them on the ſea togither.

Mountburge.

Carentine.

On the other ſyde, the Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, with the battayle on the right hande of the King, roade forth ſixe or ſeuen leagues from the kings battayle, in burning and exilyng the Countrey. The King had with him (beſide thoſe that were with the Marſhals) three thouſand men of armes ſix thouſand archers, and ten thouſand men on foote. They left the Citie of Cõſtance, and came to a great towne called Saint Lo, a rich towne of draperie, hauing many welthie Burgeſſes within it: it was ſoone taken and robbed by the Engliſh men vpon theyr fyrſt approch.



From thence the king marched ſtreight to Caen, wherein were Captaines, Rauſe Earle of Ewe and Guines Coneſtable of France, and the the Erle of Tankeruile. Theſe noble men ment to haue kept their defences on the walles, gate, bridge, and riuer, and to haue left the Suburbes voyde, bycauſe they were not cloſed, but onely with the Riuer: but they of the towne ſaid they would iſſue forth, for they were ſtrong ynough to fight with the king of England. When the Coneſtable ſaw their good willes, he was contented to followe their deſire, and ſo forth they went in good order, and made good face to put their lyues in hazard: but when they ſawe the Engliſh men approch in good order deuided into three battails, & the archers readie to ſhoote, whiche they of Caen had not ſeene before, they were ſore afrayde and fled away towarde the towne without any order or array, for all that the Coneſtable coulde doe to ſtay them. The Engliſhe men followed, and in the chaſe ſlue many, and entred the towne with their enimies. The Coneſtable, and the Earle of Tankeruile tooke a Tower at the bridge foote, thinking there to ſaue themſelues, but perceyuing the place to be of no force, nor able long to holde out, they ſubmitted themſelues vnto ſir Thomas Hollande.

There were ſlaine in all without and within the towne. 5000. men, as Gio. Villani writeth.

But here whatſoeuer Froiſſart doth report of the taking of this tower, and of the yeelding of theſe two noble men, it is to be proued yͤ the ſayde Earle of Tankeruille was taken by one Legh, auncetor to ſir Peter Legh nowe liuing, whether in the fight or within the Tower I haue not to ſay: but for the taking of the ſayde Earle, and for his other manlike prowes ſhewed here and elſe where in this iourney, king Edwarde in recompence of his agreeable ſeruice, gaue to him a Lordſhip in the countie of Cheſter, called Hanley, which the ſayde ſir Peter Ligh nowe liuing doth enioy and poſſeſſe, as ſucceſſor and heyre to his aunceſter the foreſayd Ligh, to whome it was ſo firſt giuen.

But to returne nowe to the matter where we left. The Frenchmen being entred into theyr houſes, caſt downe vpon the Engliſh men below in the ſtreetes, ſtones, tymber, hote water, and barres of yron, ſo that they hurt and ſlue more than fiue hundred perſons. The king was ſo moued therwith, that if the L. God. of Harecourt had not aſſwaged his mood, the towne had bin burnt, and the people put to the edge of the ſworde: but by the treatie of the ſayd Lorde Godfray, proclamation was made, that no man ſhoulde put fire into any houſe, nor ſlea any perſon, nor force any woman, and then did the towneſmen and ſouldiers ſubmit themſelues, and receyued the Engliſhe men into theyr houſes. There was greate ſtore of riches gotten in this towne, and the moſt part thereof ſent into Englande, with the fleete which the king ſent home with the priſoners, vnder the guiding of the Earle of Huntingdon, accompanied with two hundred men of armes, and foure hundred Archers.

When all things were ordred in Caen as the king could deſire, he marched from thence in the ſame order as he had kept before, burning and exiling the Countrey. He paſſed by Eureux, and came to Louiers, which the Engliſhe men ſoone entred, and ſacked with out mercie. Then went they forth and left Roane, and came to Gyſors, the towne they burnt, but the Caſtell they coulde not get: they brent alſo Vernon, and at Poyſſy they repared the bridge whiche was broken, and ſo there they paſſed ouer the riuer of Saine. The power of the Engliſhe men encreaſed dayly, by ſuche numbers as came ouer forth of Englande in hope to winne by pyllage. Alſo many gentlemen of Normandie, and other of the Frenche Nation, which loued not the French king, came to the king of Englande, offring to ſerue him, ſo that there were in his armie foure thouſand horſmen, and fiftie thouſand footemen with the Normans, and of this number there were .xxx. thouſande Engliſhe Archers, as Giouan Villani wryteth.

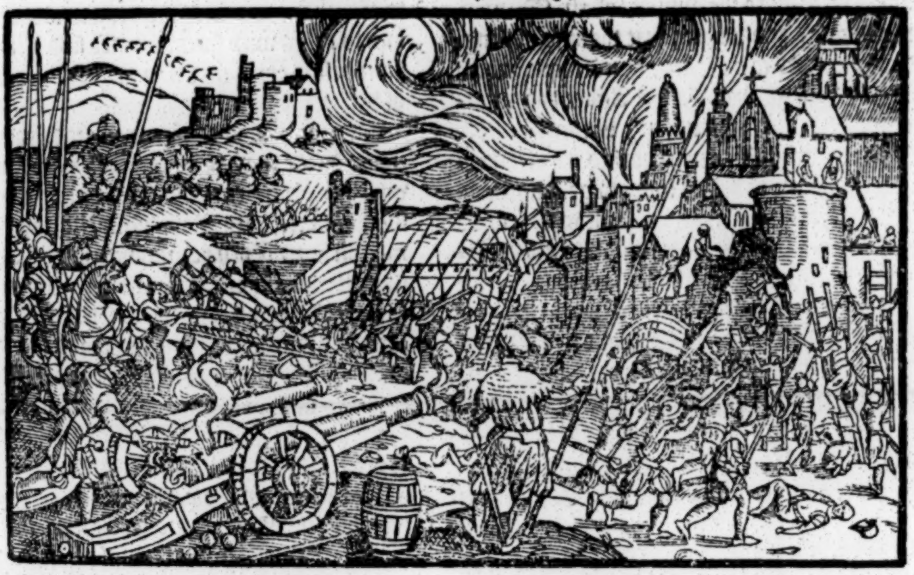
Giſors.

Vernon.

Gio. Villani.

The Engliſh Marſhals ranne abrode iuſt to Paris, and burnt Saint Germains in Lay: alſo Mountioy, and Saint Clowde, and petie Bollongne by Paris, and the Queenes Burge.

S. Germains in Lay.
S. Claude.



In the meane time had the French king aſſembled a mightie army vpon purpoſe to fyght with the Engliſh men. The Lorde Godfrey of Harecourt, as hee rode forth with fiue hundred men of armes, and .xiij. hundred archers by aduenture encountered with a great number of the Burgeſſes of Amiens on horſebacke, who were ryding by the kings commaundement to Paris. They were quickly aſſayled, and though they defended themſelues manfully for a while, yet at length they were ouercome, and .xj. hundred of them ſlaine in the fielde, beſide thoſe that were taken. The Engliſhe men had all their caryage and armour.

Thus paſſed forth the king of England, and came into Beauvoiſyn, and lodged neare vnto the citie of Beauvois one night in an Abbey called Meſſene, and for that after he was diſlodged, there were that ſet fire in the ſame Abbey, without any commaundement giuen by him: he cauſed .xx. of them to be hanged that were the firſte procurers of that fyre.

Burners executed.

So long the king of England paſſed forward, that finally hee approched neare to the water of Some, the which was large and deepe, and al the bridges broken, and the paſſages well kept, wherupon he cauſed his two Marſhals with a thouſande men of Armes, and two thouſand archers, to go along the riuer, to the ende to finde ſome paſſage. The Marſhals aſſayed dyuerſe places, as at Piqueney, and other where, but they could not finde any paſſage vncloſed, Captaynes with men of warre being ſet to defende the ſame, inſomuch that the marſhals returned to the king, and declared what they had ſeene and founde.

Piquency.

The ſame inſtant time was the French king come to Amiens, with moe than a hundred thouſande men, and thought to encloſe the King of Englande, that he ſhoulde no way eſcape, but bee

The French kings armie.

conſtrayned to receyue battaile in ſome place greatly to his diſaduauntage.

The king of England well perceyuing himſelfe in daunger, remoued from the place where he was encamped, and marched forwarde through the Countries of Ponthiew and Vimew, approching to the good towne of Abuile, and at length by one of the priſoners named Gobyn de Grace, he was told where he might paſſe with his army ouer the riuer of Some, at a fourd in the ſame ryuir, being hard in the bottom, and very ſhallow at an ebbe water. The French king vnderſtanding that the king of England ſought to paſſe the riuer of Some, ſent a great baron of Normandie, one ſir Godmare du Foy, to defend the paſſage of the ſame riuer, with a thouſand men of armes, & ſix thouſand on foote with the Genewais. Thys ſir Godmar had with him alſo a great number of them of Mutterell and others of the Countrey, ſo that he had in all to the number of .xij. M. men, one and other, and hearing that the king of Englãd was minded to paſſe at Blanchetaque (which was the paſſage that Gobyn Agace had informed the king of Englande of) he came thither. When the Engliſh men approched, he arranged all his companie to defend the paſſage. And ſurely when the Engliſh men at the lowe water entred the fourde to paſſe ouer, there was a ſharpe bickering, for diuerſe of the Frenchmen encountred the Engliſhmen on horſebacke in the water, and the Genewais did them much hurt, and troubled thẽ ſore with their croſbows: but on the other ſide, the Engliſh archers ſhot ſo wholy togither, that the French men were faine to giue place to the Engliſh men, ſo that they got the paſſage and came ouer, aſſembling themſelues in the field, and then the Frenchmen fled, ſome to Abuile, ſome to S. Riquier. They ỹ were on foot could not eſcape ſo wel as theſe on horſeback, inſomuch that a great number of them of Abuile, Muttrel, Arras, and of S. Riquier were ſlaine and taken, for the chaſe endured more than a great league. There were ſlaine in all to the number of two thouſande.

Sir Godmare du Foy.

Gobin Agace

The Engliſh men wan the paſſage ouer the water of Some.

Caxton.
The number ſlaine
Froiſſart.

When the king of Englande had thus paſſed the riuer, hee acquit Gobin Agace, and all hys companie of their raunſoms, and gaue to ỹ ſame Gobin an hundred nobles, and a good horſe, and ſo the king roade forth as he did before. His marſhals roade to Crotay by the Sea ſide, and burnt the towne, and tooke all ſuch wines and goodes as were in the Shippes and Barkes which lay there in the hauen.

Crotay burnt.

One of the Marſhals road to the gates of Abuile, and from thence to S. Richier, and after to the towne of Rue ſaint Eſperite. This was on a Fryday, and both the Marſhals returned to the kings hoſt about noone, and ſo lodged all togither about Creſſy in Ponthieu, where hauing knowledge that the French king folowed to giue hym battaile, he commaunded his marſhals to chooſe a plot of grounde ſomewhat to his aduantage, that he might there abide his aduerſaries. In the mean time the French king being come with al his puiſſance vnto Abuile, and hearing how the king of Englãd was paſſed ouer the riuer of Some, and diſcomfited ſir Godmar du Foy, he was ſore diſpleaſed in his minde: but when he vnderſtood that his enimies were lodged at Creſſy, and ment ther to abyde him, he cauſed all his people to iſſue out of Abuile, and early on the Saterday in the morning, anon after Sunne ryſing he departed oute of the towne himſelfe, and marched towards his enimies. The king of England vnderſtanding that his aduerſarie king Philip ſtil followed him, to giue him battaile, and ſuppoſing that the ſame Saterday he would come to offer it, roſe betimes in the morning, and cõmaunded euery man firſt to call vpon God for his ayde, then to be armed, and to draw with ſpeede into the field, that in the place before appoynted they might be ſet in order of battail.

Beſide this, he cauſed a parke to be made and cloſed by the woodde ſide behinde his hoſt, in the which he ordeyned that all the Cartes & cariages ſhoulde be ſet, with all the horſes, (for euery man was on foot.) Then he ordeyned three battails: in the firſt was the prince of Wales, & with him the Earle of Warwike, the Lord Godfrey of Harecourt, the Lord Stafforde, the Lord de la Ware, the Lord Bourchier, the lord Thomas Clifford, the Lord Reginald Cobham, the Lord Thomas Hollande, ſir John Chandos, ſir Bartilmew de Browaſh, ſir Rob. Neuil. They were an .viij. C. men of armes, and two. M. archers, & a. M. of other with the Welchmen. In the ſecond battaile was the Erle of Northanton, the Erle of Arundell, the Lords, Ros, and Willowbie, Baſſet, S. Albine, Multon, and other. The third battaile the king led himſelfe, hauing with him .vij. C. men of armes, and two thouſande Archers: and in the other battayle were to the number of eight hundred men of Armes, and twelue hundred Archers.

Thus was the Engliſh armie marſhalled according to the report of Froiſſart.

When euery man was gotten into order of battaile, the king leapt vpon a white Hobbie, and rode from ranke to ranke to viewe them, the one Marſhall on hys ryght hande, and the other on hys lefte, deſiring euerie manne that daye to haue regarde to hys ryght and honour. Hee ſpake it ſo courteouſly, and wyth ſo good a countenaunce, that euen they whiche before were diſcomforted, tooke courage in hearing him ſpeake ſuche ſweete and louing wordes amongeſt them. It was nine of the clocke or euer he had thus viſited all his battayles, and therupon he cauſed euerie man to eate and drinke a little which they did at theyr leyſure.

The French king before hee approched neare to his enimies, ſent forth foure ſkilfull knightes to viewe the demeanor of his enimies, the whiche returning againe, made report as they had ſeene, and that forſomuch as they could geſſe, the Engliſhmẽ mẽt to abide him, being deuided into three battayles, readie to receiue him and his puiſſance, if hee wente forwarde in purpoſe to aſſayle them. Here was the French king counſailed to ſtay and not to giue battayle that day, but to aduiſe all things with good deliberation and regard, to conſider well how and what way he might beſt aſſayle them. Then by the Marſhals were all men commaunded to ſtay, and not to goe any further, they that were formoſt and next to the enimies taryed, but they that were behinde, would not abide but rode forth, and ſayd they would not ſtay till they were as farre as the formoſt: and when they before ſaw them behind come forward, then they marched on alſo againe, ſo that neyther the king nor his marſhals could rule them, but that they paſſed forward ſtill wͭout order, or any good array, till they came in ſight of their enimies: & as ſoone as the formoſt ſaw their enimies, then they reculed back, wherof they behinde had maruaile, & were abaſhed, ſuppoſing that the formoſt cõpanie had bin fighting. Thẽ they might haue had roome to haue gone forward, if they had beene minded. The cõmons of whõ all the wayes betwixt Abuile & Creſſy were ful, when they ſaw yͭ they were nere their enimies, they tooke their ſwords & cried downe with them, let vs ſlea thẽ all. There was no mã though he were preſent at the iorney could imagine & ſhew the truth of the euill order yͭ was amõgſt the French partie, & yet they were a maruellous great number. The Engliſhmen which beheld their enimies thus approching towardes thẽ, prepared thẽſelues at leyſure for the battaile, which they ſaw to be at hand: The firſt battaile wherof the prince was ruler, had the archers ſtãding in maner of an herſe, & the men of armes in the bottom of the battaile. The Erle of Northãp. and the Erle of Arundell, with the ſecond battail, were on a wing in good order redy to comfort the princes battail, if need were. The lords & knights of Fraunce came not to the aſſemble togither, for ſome came before, & ſome came after, in ſuch haſt and euil order, that one of them troubled another. There were of the Genewaies Croſbowes to the number of .xij. or .xv. M. the which were cõmaũded to go on before, & with their ſhot to begin the battail, but they were ſo werie with going on foot that morning .vj. leagues armed, with their croſbowes, that they ſaid to their Conneſtables, we bee not wel vſed, in that we are cõmaunded to fight this day, for we bee not in caſe to doe any great feat of armes, we haue more need of reſt. Theſe words came to the hearing of the Erle of Alanſõ, who ſaid: A man is wel at eaſe to be charged with ſuch a ſort of raſcals, that faint and faile now at moſt need. Alſo at the ſame inſtant there fell a great rain, & an eclipſe with a terrible thũder, and before the raine, there came flying ouer both armies a great number of Crowes, for feare of the tempeſt cõming: then anon the aire began to wax cleare, & the ſunne to ſhine faire & bright, whiche was right in the Frẽch mens eies, & on the Engliſh mens backs. Whẽ the Genewais were aſſembled togither, and began to approch, they made a great leape & crie, to abaſhe the Engliſhmen, but they ſtood ſtil & ſtirred not at all for that noiſe: thẽ the Genewaies the ſecõd time made an other leap and huge crie, & ſtepped forward a little, and the Engliſhmen remoued not a foot: the third time againe the Genewais leapt, & yelled and went forth til they came within ſhot, & fiercely therewith diſcharged their croſbowes. Then yͤ Engliſh archers

Charles Grimaldi & Anthony or Othone Doria were captains of theſe Genewaies, which were not paſt ſix thouſand, as Gio. Villani hath.

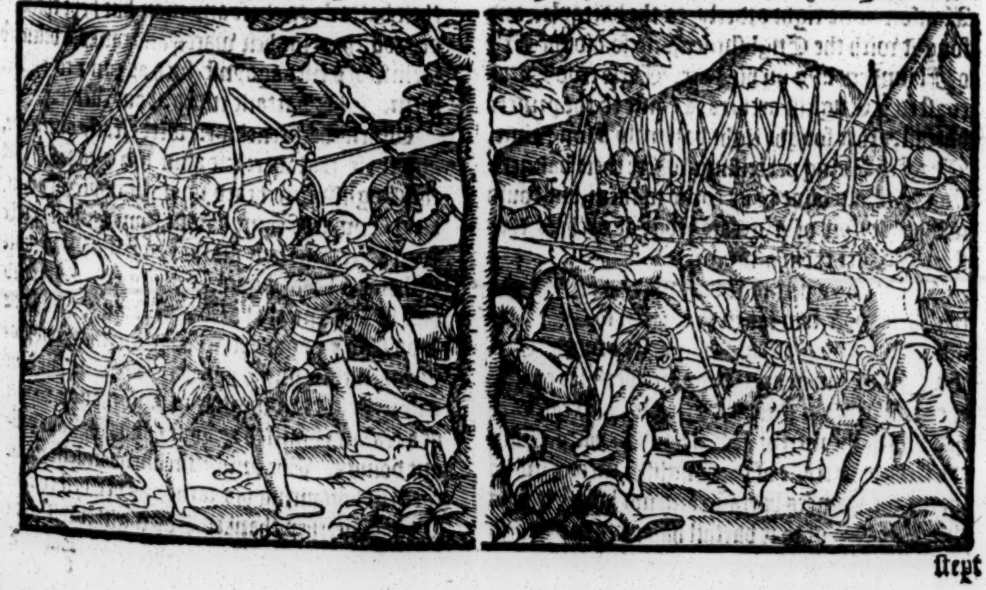
Polidor.

Froiſſart.

The Earle of Alanſon.

Rain & thunder with an eclipſe.

The Genewais



ſtept

The battaile is begon.

The king of Boheme.

The Earle of Alanſon.

ſtept forth one pace, and let flie their arrowes ſo wholy and ſo thicke togither, that it ſeemed to ſnowe. Whẽ the Genewais felt the arrowes piercing through heads, armes and breaſtes, many of them caſt downe their Croſbowes, and cutte the ſtrings and returned diſcomfited. When the French king ſawe them flee away, he ſayde: ſlea theſe raſcalles, for they ſhall let and trouble vs without reaſon. Then yee might haue ſeene the men of armes haue daſht in amongſt them, and killed a great number of them, and euer the Engliſh men ſhot where they ſaw the thickeſt preaſe: the ſharpe arrowes ranne into the men of armes, and into their horſes, and many fell horſe and manne amongeſt the Genewais, and ſtyll the Engliſhe menne ſhotte where they ſawe the thickeſt preaſe, and when they were once downe they coulde not recouer againe: the throng was ſuche that one ouerthrew another, and alſo among the Engliſh men, there were certaine of the footemen with great kniues, that went in among the men of armes, and killed many of them as they lay on the ground, both Erles, Barons, knights, and eſquires. The valiant king of Bohem being almoſt blinde, cauſed his men to faſten all the reynes of the brydles of their horſes eche to other, and ſo hee being himſelfe amongſt them in the formoſt rank they ranne on their enimies. The Lord Charles of Boheme, ſonne to the ſame king, and late elected Emperour, came in good order to the battaile, but when he ſaw how the matter went awrie on theyr part, he departed, and ſaued hymſelfe. His father by the meane aforeſayde went ſo farre forward, that ioyning with his enimies, he fought right valiantly, and ſo did all his companie: but finally being entred within the preaſe of their enimyes, they were of them encloſed and ſlaine, togither with the king theyr maiſter, and the next day founde deade lying about him, and their horſes all tyed eche to other. The Earle of Alanſon came right orderly to the battayle, and fought with the Engliſhmen, and ſo did the Erle of Flaunders alſo on his part. Theſe two Lords coaſted yͤ Engliſh archers, & came to the princes battail, & ther fought right valiantly a long time. The Frẽch king perceiuing where their banners ſtoode, would faine haue come to them, but could not by reaſon of a greate hedge of archers that ſtood betwixt them and him.

The princes battail pierced

This was a perillous battaile and ſore foughten: there were few taken to mercie, for the Engliſh men had ſo determined in the morning. Certaine French men and Almaines perforce opened the archers of the Princes battaile, and came to fight with the men of armes hand to hand. Then the ſeconde battaile of the Engliſhe men came to ſuccor the Princes battaile, and not before it was time, for they of that battail had as then ynough to do, inſomuch that ſome which were about him, as the Erle of Northampton, and others, ſent to the king, where he ſtood aloft on a Windmil hill, requiring him to aduaunce forward, and come to their ayde, they being as then ſore layde to of their enimies. The king herevpõ demaunded if his ſon were ſlaine, hurt, or felled to the earth? No ſayde the knight that brought the meſſage, but he is ſore matched: well (ſayd the king) returne to him and them that ſent you, and ſay to them that they ſend no more to me for any aduenture that falleth, ſo long as my ſonne is aliue, for I will that this iourney be his, with the honor thereof. With this anſwere the knight returned, which greatly encouraged them to do their beſt for to win theyr ſpurres, beeing halfe abaſhed in that they had ſo ſent to the king for ayde. At length when it drew toward euening, & that the Frenchmen were beaten downe & ſlain on eche hand, king Philip as it were by cõſtraint departed out of the field, not hauing as then paſt .lx. perſons about him, of whõ the L. John of Heynault was one, by whoſe perſwaſion he chiefly conſented to ride his way for his owne ſafegarde, when hee ſawe the loſſe was ſuch as on that day it could not be recouered.

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The ſlaughter of the Frenchmen was great and lamentable, namely for the loſſe of ſo many noble menne, as were ſlaine at the ſame battaile, fought betwene Creſſy & Broy on that Saterday next following the feaſt of S. Bartholmew being (as that yeare fell) the .xxvj. of Auguſt.

Among other which died that day, theſe I find regiſtred by name as chiefeſt, John king of Boheme, Rauſe Duke of Lorraine, Charles of Alanſo brother germaine to king Philip, Charles Erle of Bloys, Lewes Erle of Flanders, alſo the Earle of Harcourt, brother to the Lord Geffray of Harecourt with the Earles of Auſſerre, Aumarle, and Saint Poule, beſide diuers other of the nobilitie. The Engliſh men neuer brake out of their battails to chaſe any man, but kept themſelues togithers in their wardes and rankes, & defended themſelues euer agaynſt ſuch as came to aſſayle them. This battaile ended about euening.

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When the Frenchmen were clearly ouercome, and thoſe that were left aliue fled & gone, ſo that the Engliſhmen heard no more noyſe of them, king Edwarde came downe from the hyll (on the which hee had ſtood all that day with his helmet ſtill on his head) & going to the prince, embraced him in his armes, & kiſſed him, ſaying, faire ſonne God ſend you good perſeuerance in this your proſperous beginning, you haue nobly acquit your ſelfe, you are wel worthie to haue the gouernance of a realme cõmitted to your hands for your valiant doings. The prince inclined himſelfe to the earth in honouring his father as hee beſt coulde. This done, they thanked God togither with their ſouldiers for their good aduenture: for ſo the king commaunded, and willed no man to make anye boaſt of his owne power, but to aſcribe all the prayſe to almightie God for ſuch a noble victorie.

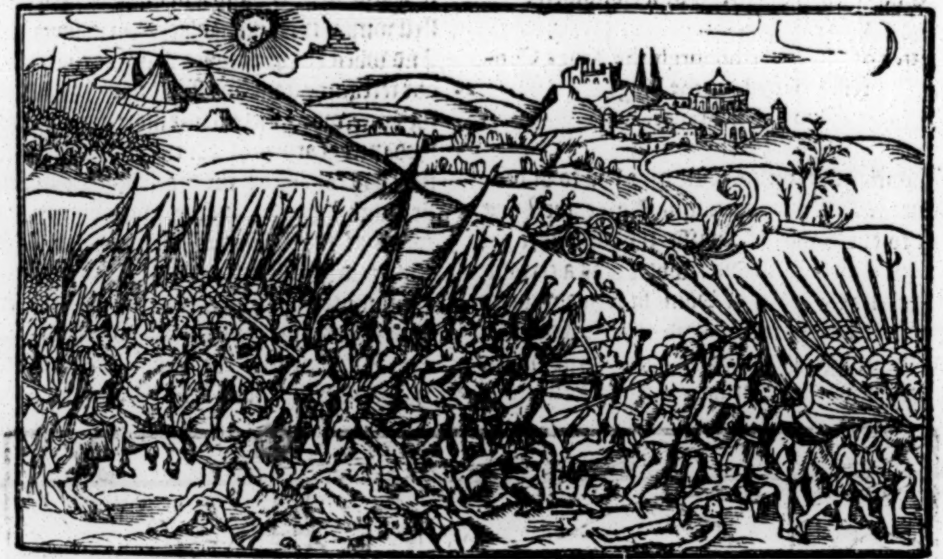
On the Sunday in the morning, there was ſuche a myſt that a man could not ſee an Acre breadth before him. Then by the kings commaundement there departed from the hoſt fiue hundred Speares, and two thouſand archers, to trie if they might heare of any French men gathered togither in any place neare vnto them.

The ſame morning there were departed out of Abuile and S. Requier in Ponthieu, the cõmons of Roan, and Beauvais, with other that knewe nothing of the diſcomfiture the day before. Theſe met with the Engliſh men, ſuppoſing they hadde but Frenchmen, & being fiercely aſſayled of them, after ſore fight, and great ſlaughter, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited and fled, of whõ were ſlain in the hedges and buſſhes, mo than. vij. M. men.

Frenchmen ſlaine the day after the battaile.

The Archbiſhop of Roan, and the Graund Prior of Fraunce, ignorant alſo of the diſcomfiture the day before, and ſuppoſing (as they were enformed) the French ſhoulde not haue foughten till that Sunday, were likewiſe encountred (as they came thitherwarde) by the Engliſh men, with whom they fought a ſore battaile, for they were a great number, but yet at length they were not able to ſuſteine the puiſſant force of the Engliſh men, and ſo the moſt part of them were ſlain, with the ſayd Archbiſhop and grand Prior, and few there were that eſcaped.

The Archbiſhop of Rouẽ, and the Lorde grand Prior of France ſlain



That Sunday morning the Engliſhe men mette with diuerſe French men, that hadde loſte theyr way on the Saterday, and wyſt not where the King nor theyr Captaynes were become. They were all ſlaine in manner, ſo many as the Engliſhe menne coulde meete with, inſomuch that of the Commons and footemen of the Cities and good townes of Fraunce, (as was thought) there were ſlaine this Sunday foure tymes as many as were ſlaine the Saterday in the great battaile.

When thoſe Engliſhmen that were ſent abrode thus to view the Countrey, were returned againe, and ſignified to the king what they had ſeene and done, and how there was no more aparance of the enimies, the K. ſent to ſearch what the number was of them that were ſlaine, and vpon the view taken, it was reported vnto him, that there were found dead. xj. princes, foure ſcore baronets. xij. C. knights, and mo than. xxx. M. other of the meaner ſort.

Thus was the whole puiſſance of France vãquiſhed, and that chiefly by force of ſuch as were of no reputation amongſt them, that is to ſay, the Engliſh archers, by whoſe ſharp and violent ſhot the victorie was atchieued, to the great cõfuſion of the French nation. Of ſuch price were the Engliſh bowes in that ſeaſon, that nothing was able to withſtand them, whereas now our archers couet not to draw long and ſtrong bowes, but rather to ſhoote compaſſe, which are not meete for the warres, nor greatly to be feared, though they come into the field. The K. of Englãd with his army kept ſtil his field, vntill Mõday in the morning, and then diſlodged & came before Mõtureil by the ſea, and his Marſhals ran toward Hedyn. The next day they road toward Bolougne, and at Wyſam the king and the prince encãped, and taried a whole day to refreſh their people, & on the Wedneſday being the. 30. day of Auguſt, he came before the ſtrong towne of Calice, & there planted his ſiege, and erected baſtides betwene the town & the riuer, & cauſed carpẽters to make houſes & lodgings of great timber, which were couered wͭ reed & broom, ſo many & in ſuch order, yͭ it ſemed a new town, & in it was a market place apointed of purpoſe, in

Calice beſieged.

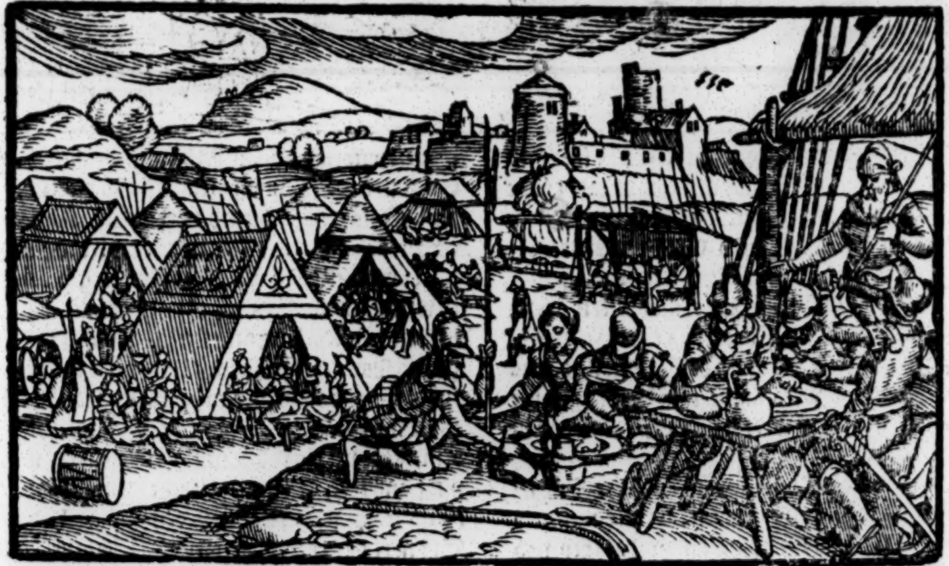
in the which the Market was dayly kept of vittayle, and all other neceſſarie things euery Tueſday and Saterday, ſo that a man myght haue bought what he woulde of things brought thither out of Englande and Flaunders.

But nowe forſomuch as we haue ſpoken of this iorney and inuaſion made by king Edwarde into Fraunce, in this .xix. yeare of his raigne, accordingly as wee haue gathered out of Froiſſart and diuerſe other authours, I haue thought good to make the reader partaker of the contentes of a letter written by a Chapleyn of the ſayd King, and attendaunt about him in the ſame iourney, conteyning the ſucceſſe of his proceedings after his departure from Poiſſie, which letter is inſerted with others in the hiſtorie of Robert de Aueſburie and Engliſhed by maiſter Fox as followeth.

A Letter of VV. Northbourgh the kings Confeſſor deſcribing the kings voiage in France.

Actes and Monuments Pag.482.

SAlutations premiſed. We giue you to vnderſtande, that our ſoueraigne Lorde the King came to the towne of Poiſſie the day before the Aſſumption of our Ladie, where was a certaine bridge ouer the water of Saine broken downe by the enimie, but the king taryed there ſo long tyll that the bridge was made againe. And whiles the bridge was in reparing, there came a greate number of men at armes, and other ſouldiers wel armed, to hinder the ſame. But the Erle of Northampton iſſued oute agaynſt them, and ſlue of them more than a thouſande, the reſt fled away: thankes bee to God. And at another time, oure men paſſed the water (although with muche trauaile) and ſlue a greate number of the common ſouldiers of Fraunce, about the Citie of Paris, and countrey adioyning, being part of the French kings armie, and throughly well appoynted: ſo that oure people haue now made other good bridges vpon our enimies, God be thanked, withoute any loſſe and damage to vs. And on the morrow after the Aſſumption of our Ladie, the king paſſed the water of Sayne, and marched toward Poiſſie, which is a towne of great defence, and ſtrongly walled, and a maruellous ſtrong Caſtell within the ſame, whiche our enimies kept. And when our vauntgard was paſſed the towne, our reregarde gaue an aſſault therevnto, and toke the ſame, where were ſlaine more than three hundred men at armes of our enimies part. And the next day following, the Earle of Suffolke, and ſir Hugh Spencer, marched forth vpon the commons of the Countrey aſſembled and well armed, and in fine diſcomfited them, and ſlue of them more than two hundred, and tooke three ſcore Gentlemen priſoners beſyde others.



And after that the King marched towarde graund Vylliers, and while he was there encamped, the kings vauntgarde was diſcried by the men at armes of the king of Boheme: wherevpon our men iſſued out in great haſt, and ioyned battail with them, but were enforced to retyre. Notwithſtanding, thankes be vnto God, the Erle of Northampton iſſued out, and reſcued the horſemen with the other ſouldiers: ſo that fewe or none of them were either taken or ſlaine, ſauing only Thomas Talbot, but had again the enimie in chaſe within two leagues of Amiens: of whō we tooke .viij. and ſlue .xij. of their beſt men at armes: the reſt being well horſed, tooke the towne of Ampens.

After this the king of England marched towarde Pountife, vpon Bartholmew day, and came to the water of Some, where the Frenche king had layde fiue hundred men at armes, and three thouſande footemen, purpoſing to haue kept and ſtopped our paſſage: but thanks be to God, the king of Englande and his hoſte entred the ſame water of Some, where neuer man paſſed before, withoute loſſe of any of our men: and after that encountered wyth the enimie, and ſlue of them more than two thouſande, the reſt fledde to Abuile, in whiche chaſe was taken many knightes, Eſquiers, and men at armes.

The ſame daye Sir Hugh Spencer tooke the towne of Crotay, where he and hys Souldiers ſlue foure hundred men at armes, and kepte the Towne, where they founde great ſtore of vittayles.

The ſame night encamped the king of Englande in the Forreſt of Creſſy vpon the ſame water, for that the French kings hoſt came on the other ſide of the towne, neare vnto our paſſage: but he woulde not take the water of vs, and ſo marched towarde Abuile. And vppon the Frydaye next following, the King beeing ſtill encamped in the ſayde Forreſt, our Scuriers deſcryed the French King which marched toward vs in foure great battayles: And hauing then vnderſtanding of our enimies, (as Gods will was) a little before the euening tyde, we drewe to the plaine fielde, and ſet our battailes in array: and immediately the fight beganne, whiche was ſore and cruell, and endured long, for our enimies behaued themſelues right nobly: but thanks be giuen vnto God, the victorie fell on our ſide, and the king our aduerſarie was diſcomfited with all his hoſte, and put to flight: where alſo was ſlaine the king of Boheme, the Duke of Loraine, the Earle of Alanſon, the Earle of Flaunders, the Earle of Blois, the Earle of Harcourt, wyth hys two ſonnes, the Earle of Daumarle, the Earle de Neuers, and his brother the Lorde of Tronarde, the Archbiſhop of Niſmes, the Archbi. of Seins, the high Prior of Fraunce, the Earle of Sauoy, the Lorde of Morles, the Lorde de Guis, le ſeigneur de S. Nouant, le ſeigneur de Roſingburgh, with ſixe Earles of Almaigne, and diuerſe other Earles, Barons, knightes, and Eſquiers, whoſe names are vnknowne. And Philippe de Valois hymſelfe, with an other Marques, which was called Lord Elector among the Romaines, eſcaped from the battaile.

The number of the menne at armes whiche were founde deade in the fielde, beſide the common Souldiers and footemen, were a thouſande, fiue hundred, fortie and two: and all that nyght the King of Englande wyth hys hoſte aboade armed in the fielde, where the battayle was fought.

On the nexte morrowe before the Sunne roſe, there marched towardes vs another greate hoſte, mightie and ſtrong, of the French menne: But the Earle of Northampton, and the Erle of Norffolke iſſued out agaynſt them in three battayles, and after long and terryble fight, them in likewyſe they diſcomfited by Gods greate helpe and grace (for otherwyſe it coulde neuer haue beene) where they tooke of Knightes, and Eſquiers a greate number, and ſlue aboue two thouſande, purſuyng the chaſe three Leagues from the place where the battaile was fought.

The ſame nyghte alſo the King encamped himſelfe agayne in the Forreſt of Creſſye, and on the morrowe marched towarde Bolongne, and by the waye hee tooke the Towne of Staples: and from thence hee marched towarde Calays, where he intendeth to plante hys ſiege, and lay his batterie to the ſame.

And therefore our ſoueraigne Lorde the King willeth and commaundeth you, in all that euer you maye, to ſende to the ſayde ſiege vittayles conuenient. For after the tyme of oure departing from Caen, wee haue trauayled through the Countrey wyth greate peryll and daunger of our people, but yet alwayes hadde of vittayle plentie, thankes bee to God therefore. But nowe (as the caſe ſtandeth) wee partlye neede youre helpe to bee refreſhed wyth vittayles. Thus fare yee well. Written at the Siege before the Towne of Calays, the fourtenth daye of September.

But nowe touching the ſiege of Calays, and to returne where wee lefte, yee ſhall vnderſtande that (as yee haue hearde) the Engliſhe campe was furniſhed wyth ſufficient prouiſions of meate, drynke, apparell, munition, and all other things neceſſarie: and oftentymes alſo the Souldiours made roades and forrayes into the borders of Fraunce nexte adioyning, as towardes Guines, and Saint Omer, yea euen to the gates of that Towne, and ſometyme to Bolongne.

Iames Mair.

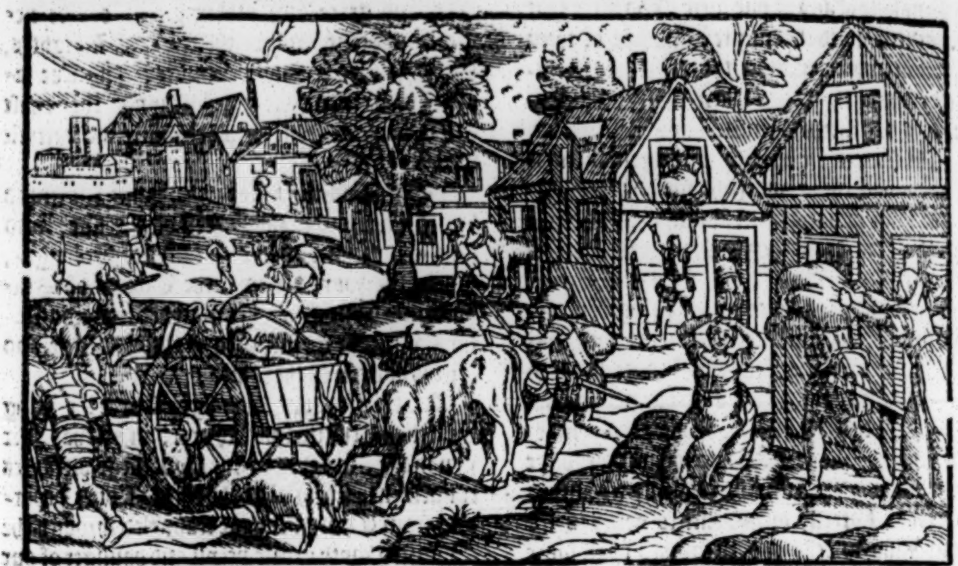
Terrouan.

Alſo the Earle of Northampton fetched a bootie out of Arthoys, and as he returned toward the hoſte, he came to Terrouane, which Towne the Biſhoppe had fortifyed and manned, deliuering the cuſtodie thereof vnto Sir Arnold Dandrehen: for when he hearde the Engliſh men approched, he durſt not tarrie wythin the citie himſelfe, but got hym to Saint Omers.

Terrouan won by force.

Sir Arnolde ſtoode valiantly to his defence, and would not yeeld, vntil by fine force the Engliſhe men entred the Citie, ſlue the Souldiours, and tooke theyr Captaine the ſayde Sir Arnolde priſoner. The Citie was put to the ſacke, and after ſet on fyre.

And when the Engliſhe menne were departed, there came a number of Flemings from the ſiege which they had layd before Saint Omers, and beganne a newe ſpoyle, and fyred ſuche houſes belonging to the Canons & other, which the Engliſh men had ſpared. Thus were thoſe confines in moſt miſerable caſe, for no houſe nor other thing was in ſafegarde, but ſuche as were conteyned within the cloyſure of ſtrong townes and fortreſſes.



Froiſſart.

The king of Englande would not aſſayle the towne of Calais by giuing any aſſault to it, for he knewe he ſhould but loſe his labor, and waſte his people, it was ſo ſtrong of it ſelfe, and ſo well furniſhed with men of war. Captain therof alſo was one ſir John de Vienne, a valiant knight of Burgoigne, hauing with him diuerſe other right hardie and expert Captaynes, Knights, and Eſquiers. When the ſayd ſir John de Vienne ſaw the maner of the Engliſh hoſt, & what the kings intention was, he conſtrayned all the poore and meane people to depart out of the towne. The king of England perceyuing that this was done of purpoſe to ſpare vittail, would not driue them backe againe to helpe to conſume the ſame, but rather pitied them, and therfore did not only ſhew them ſo much grace to ſuffer thẽ to paſſe through his hoſt, but alſo gaue them meate & drink to dinner, and moreouer two pens ſterling to euery perſon, which charitable deed wan him much praiſe, and cauſed manye of his enimies to praye right hartily for his good ſucceſſe and proſperitie.

Sir John de Vienne Captain of Calais.

The king of Englands pitie towards to poore.

The French K. meaning to rayſe the ſiege frõ Calais which the king of Englande kept there, ſent for his ſonne the Duke of Normandie, which had lien long at the ſiege of Ayguilon, & now by commaundement of his father left it ſore againſt his will. In this meane while, the Erle of Darbie remayned in the Citie of Burdeaux, and there had held him during all the time that the ſiege lay before Aiguilon. When he once vnderſtood that the ſiege was raiſed, & that the duke of Normãdie had broken vp his campe, he ſent into Gaſgoigne for all knights and eſquiers that held of the Engliſh partie. Then came to Burdeaux the L. Dalbret, the lord de Leſpare, the lord de Roſem, the lord of Muſidẽt, the lord of Pumiers, and a great ſort mo of the lordes and nobles of Gaſcoigne, ſo that the Erle had .xij. C. men of armes, two. M. archers, and three. M other footmen. They paſſed the riuer of Garonne, betwixt Burdeaux & Blay, and tooke their way into Xanctonge, ſo to go vnto Poictiers, and tooke by the way the towne of Mirabel by aſſault: they wan alſo the towne and caſtell of Aunay, Surgieres and Benon. Alſo they tooke Maraunt in Poictow by fine force, they burnt alſo the towne of Luſignen, but the Caſtell they could not win. Moreouer they wã ỹ bridge, towne, & caſtel of Tailburg, and ſlue al that were found within it, bycauſe a knight of the Engliſh part was ſlain in the aſſaulting. From thence the Erle of Darby went & layd ſiege to Saint John Dangely, which was yeelded to him by cõpoſition. At Niort he made three aſſaultes, but coulde not win it, & ſo frõ thence he came to Bourg S. Maximen the which was won by force, & al that were within it ſlain, & in like maner the towne of Montreull Bonnin was won, & the moſt part of thẽ within ſlain, ỹ toke vpõ thẽ to defend it, which were .200. coyners of money that wrought in the mint, which the French K. kept there. Frõ thence he paſſed forward with his hoſt, and finally came before the Citie of Poictiers, whiche was great & large, ſo that he coulde not beſiege it but on the one ſide. The thirde day after his coming thither, he cauſed the citie to be aſſaulted in three places, & the greateſt number were appointed to aſſaile the weakeſt part of ỹ citie. As thẽ ther were no expert men of warre within Poictiers, but a great multitude of people, vnſkilfull and not vſed to anye feates of warre, by reaſon wherof the Engliſhe men entered in at the weakeſt place. When they

The Duke of Normandie ſent for.

The Erle of Darbie aſſembleth an army.

within ſawe the Citie wonne, they fledde out at other gates, but yet there were ſlaine to the number of ſeuen hundred perſons: for all that came in the Engliſh mens way were put to the ſworde, men, women and children. The Citie was ſacked and rifled, ſo that greate ſtore of ryches was gotten there, as well of the inhabitauntes as other that had brought their goods thither for ſauegard of the ſame. The Earle of Darbie lay there ten or twelue dayes, and longer myght haue layen, if his pleaſure had ſo beene, for there was none that durſt go about to diſquiet him, all the Countrey trembled ſo at his preſence.

At his departure from Poictiers he left the Citie voyde, for it was to great to be kept: his ſouldiers and men of warre were ſo peſtered with ryches, that they wyſt not what to doe therewith, they eſteemed nothing but golde and ſiluer, and feathers for men of warre. The Erle viſited by the way as he returned homewardes to Burdeaux the towne of Saint John Dangeli, and the other fortreſſes which he had wonne in going toward Poictiers, and hauing furniſhed them with men, munition, and vittayles neceſſarie, at hys comming to Burdeaux he brake vp his hoſt, and licencing his people to depart, thanked them for theyr paynes and good ſeruice. All this while the ſiege continued ſtill before Calais, & the French K. among other deuiſes which he imagined how to raiſe the king of England from it, procured the Scots to make warre into England, inſomuch yͤ Dauid K. of Scotland, notwithſtãding the truce which yet endured betwixt him & the K. of England, vpon hope now to do ſome great exploite, by reaſon of yͤ abſence of K. Edward entãgled thus with the beſieging of Calais, he aſſẽbled yͤ whole puiſſance of his realme, to the nũber of .xl. or .lx. M. fighting mẽ (as ſome write) & with thẽ entred into Englande, burning, ſpoyling, & waſting the country, til he came as far as Durhã. The lordes of England that were left at home with the Q. for the ſure keeping & defence of the realm, perceiuing the K. of Scottes thus boldly to inuade the land, & in hope of ſpoil to ſend forth his light horſmen to harry the country on eche ſide him, aſſembled an hoſt of al ſuch people as were able to beare armor, both prieſts & other. Their general aſſẽble was appointed at Newcaſtell, & when they were al togither, they were to the nũber of .1200. men of armes, three .M. archers, & .vij. M. other, with the Welchmen: & iſſuing out of the town, they found the Scots redy to come forward to incoũter thẽ. Thẽ euery man was ſet in order of battel, & there were foure battels ordeined, one to ayde another. The firſt was led by the B. of Durh. Gilbert de Vmfreuile Erle of Anegos, Henry L. Percy, and the L. Henry Scrope: the ſeconde by the Archb. of York, & the L. Rauf Neuil: the third by the B. of Lincoln, John L. Mounbray, & the L. Thom. de Rokeby: the fourth was gouerned by the L. Edward Baillol captain of Berwicke, the Archb. of Cant. & the L. Ros: beſide theſe were ther W. L. D'Eincourt, Rob. de Ogle, & other. The Q. was there in perſon, & went from rank to rank, and encouraged hir people in the beſt maner ſhe could, & that done ſhe departed, cõmitting thẽ & their cauſe to God the giuer of all victory. Shortly hereupon the Scots ſet forward to begin the battail, & likewiſe did the Engliſhmen, & therewith the archers on both partes begã to ſhoot: the ſhot of the Scots did little hurt, but the archers of Englande ſore galled yͤ Scots, ſo that there was an hard battel. They began at .ix. of the clock, & continued ſtill in fight till noone. The Scots had ſharpe and heauie Axes, and gaue with the ſame great and mightie ſtrokes, howbeit finally the Engliſh men by the helpe of God obteyned the victorie, although they loſt many of theyr men.

The Engliſhe lords aſſemble a power to fight with the Scottes

Froiſſart.

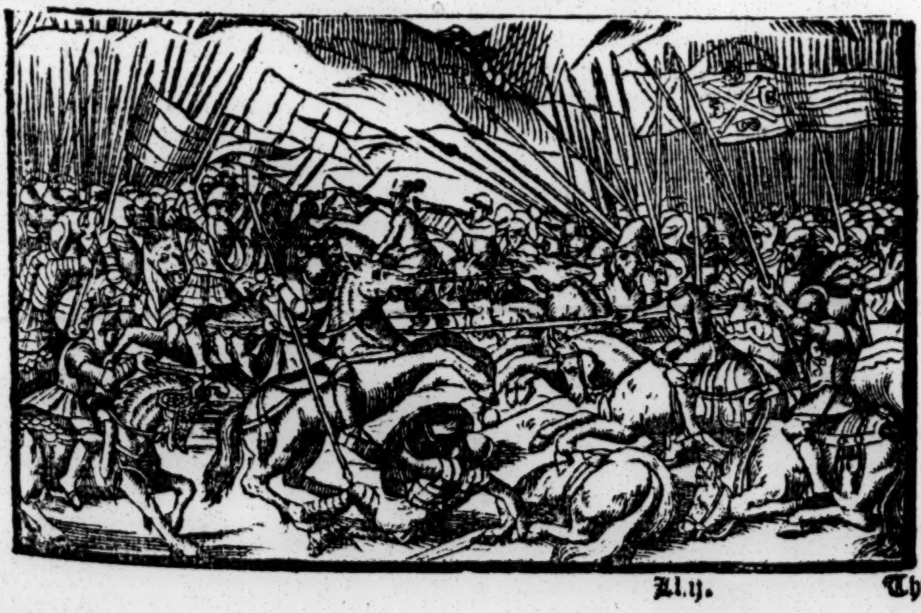
R. Southwel.

Thom Walſ.

Froiſſart.

The Queenes diligence.

The Scottes fight with Axes.



The Engliſh men obteyne the victorie. The king of Scots taken.

Hec. Boetius. Southwell: Fabian. Froiſſart.

Neuils croſſe.

See in Scotlād. Pag. 350. & 351

There were diuerſe of the nobles of Scotland ſlaine, to the number of ſeuen Erles, beſide lords. The king was taken in the fielde ſore wounded, for he fought valiantly. He was priſoner to an Eſquier of Northumberland called Iohn Copelande, who as ſoone as he had taken him, rode out of the fielde with him, accompanied onely wyth viij. of his ſeruaunts, and reſted not till he came to his owne Caſtell where he dwelled, being. xxx. mile diſtant from the place of the battaile. There was taken alſo beſide him, the Erles of Fife, Sutherlande, Wighton, and Menteth, the Lorde William Dowglas, the Lord Veſcie, the Archb. of S. Andrewes, and another Biſhop, wyth Sir Thomelyn Fowkes, and diuerſe other men of name. There were ſlaine of one and other to the number of. xv. M. This battaile was fought beſide the citie of Durham, at a place called Neuils croſſe, vpon a Saterday next after the feaſt of S. Michaell, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1346. He that will ſee more of this battaile, may finde the ſame alſo ſet forth in the Scottiſhe hyſtorie, as theyr writers haue written thereof. And forſomuch as by the circumſtances of their writings it ſhoulde ſeeme, they kept the remembraunce of the ſame battaile perfitely regiſtred, wee haue in this place onely ſhewed what other wryters haue recorded of that matter, and left that which the Scottiſhe Chronicles write, to be ſeene in the life of king Dauid, without much abridging thereof.

Hec. Boetius. Countreys of Scotland ſubdued by the Engliſhmen. Froiſſart.

The Engliſh men after this victorie thus obteyned, tooke the Caſtels of Roxburgh, and Hermitage, and alſo without any reſiſtance ſubdued the Countreys of Annandale, Galloway, Mers, Tiuidale, and Ethrike Foreſt, extending theyr marches forth at yͤ time vnto Cokburnes Peth, and Sowtray hedge, and after vnto Trarlinlips, and croſſe Caue.

Iohn Copland refuſeth to deliuer the king of Scottes.

The Queene of England being certainly enformed that the king of Scottes was taken, and that Iohn Copland had conueyed him out of the field, no man vnderſtood to what place, ſhe incōtinently wrote to him, commaunding him forthwith to bring his priſoner king Dauid vnto hir preſence: but Iohn Copland wrote to hir againe for a determinate anſwere, that he would not deliuer his priſoner the ſayde king Dauid vnto any perſon liuing, man or woman, except onely to the king of England, his ſoueraigne Lord & maiſter. Herevpon the Queene wrote letters to the king, ſignifying to him both of the happie victorie chaunced to his people againſt the Scots, & alſo of the demeanor of Iohn Coplande, in deteyning the Scottiſh king. King Edwarde immediatly by letters commaunded Iohn Coplande to repaire vnto him where hee laye at ſiege before Calais, which with all conuenient ſpeede he did, and there ſo excuſed himſelfe of that which the Queene had found hirſelfe grieued with him, for deteyning the king of Scots from hir, that the king did not only pardon him, but alſo gaue to him. v. C. poundes ſterling of yearely rent to him and to his heyres for euer, in reward of his good ſeruice and valiant prowes, and made him Eſquier for his bodie, cōmanding him yet vpō his returne into England to deliuer king Dauid vnto the Queene, whiche he did, and ſo excuſed himſelfe alſo vnto hir, that ſhe was therwith ſatiſfied and content.

Iohn C
reward

The Queene then, after ſhe had taken order for the ſafe keping of the king of Scots, and good gouernment of the realme, toke the ſea and ſayled ouer to the K. hir huſband ſtil lying before Calais.

Whileſt Calais was thus beſieged by the king of Englande, the Flemings which had lately before beſieged Betwine, & had rayſed from thence about the ſame time, that the battaile was fought at Creſſy, nowe aſſemble togither againe, and doing what domage they mighte agaynſte the Frenche men on the borders, they lay ſiege vnto the towne of Ayre.

Iame
The

Froiſ
1
An

Moreouer, they wrought ſo for the king of England (earneſtly requiring their friendſhip in that behalfe) that their ſoueraigne Lorde Lewes, Earle of Flaunders, being as then about fiftene yeares of age, fianced the Ladie Iſabel, daughter to the king of England, more by cōſtraint in deed of his ſubiects, than for any good wil he bare to the king of England: for he would often ſay, that he would neuer mary hir whoſe father had ſlain his: but there was no remedie: for the Flemings kept him in maner as a priſoner, till he graunted to folow their aduice. But the ſame weeke that the mariage was appoynted to bee ſolemnized, the Earle as he was abroode in hawking at the Hearon, ſtale away and fled into France, not ſtaying to ride his horſe vpon the ſpurres, till he came into Arthois, and ſo diſhonourably diſappoynted both the king of England, and his owne naturall ſubiects the Flemings, to their high diſpleaſure.

The
Flan
ſtray
prom
riage
king
lāds

While the king lay thus at ſiege before Calais, diuerſe Lords and knights came to ſee him out of Flaunders, Brabant, Heynault, and Almaigne. Amongſt other came the Lorde Robert of Namur, and was reteyned with the king as his ſeruaunt, the king giuing him three. C. pounde ſterling of yearly penſion out of his Coffers to bee payd at Bruges. During the time that the ſiege thus continued before Calais, the Lord Charles du Blois, that named himſelfe Duke of Britain, was taken before a Caſtell in Britaine, called la Roche Darien, and his armie diſcomfited, chiefly by the ayde of that valiaunt Engliſhe knight ſir Thomas Dagworth, who had bin ſent from the ſiege of Calais by king Edwarde to aſſyſt the Coūteſſe of Montfort & other his friends againſt the ſayd Charles de Bloys, that with a great army

The
Char
Blois
priſo

Sir T
Dag
Froi

nie of Frenchmen and Brytaynes, had the ſame tyme beſieged the ſayd Caſtel of Roche Darien, conſtrayning them within in ſuch forceable maner, that they ſtoode in great neede of preſent ſuccors. The ſayd ſir Thomas Dagworth aduertiſed hereof, with three. C. men of armes, and foure C. archers of his owne retinues, beſide certayne Brytaynes, approched to the ſiege, and on the xx. of Iune earely in the morning, a quarter of an houre before day, ſodainly ſet vpon the enimies, who hauing knowledge of his comming, were readie to receyue him all the day before, but beeing now ſurpriſed thus on the ſodaine, they were greatly amazed: for they that were within Roch Darien, as ſoone as the apperance of day had diſcouered the matter vnto them, ſo that they might know their friends from their enimies, they iſſued forth, and holpe not a litle to the atchieuing of the victorie, whiche was clearely obteyned before Sunne ryſing, and the Frenche armie quite diſcomfited; greatlye to the prayſe of the ſayde Sir Thomas Dagworth and his companie, conſidering theyr ſmall number, in compariſon of their aduerſaries, who were reckened to bee twelue hundred good men of Armes, Knightes, and Eſquires, beſide ſixe hundred other armed men, two thouſande Croſbowes, ſixe hundred archers of the Countrey of Brytayne, and footemen of commons innumerable.

There were taken beſide, the Lorde Charles de Bloys, naming himſelfe Duke of Brytayne, diuerſe other Lordes and men of name, as Monſieur Guy de la Vaal, ſonne and heyre to the Lorde la Vaal, which dyed in the battayle, the Lord of Rochefford, the Lorde de Beaumanoir, the Lord of Loyack, with other Lordes, knights and Eſquiers, in great numbers.

There were ſlaine the ſayde Lorde de la Vaall, the Vicounte of Rohan, the Lorde of Chaſteau Brian, the Lorde de Mailеſtreite, the Lorde de Quintin, the Lord de Rouge, the Lord of Derruall and his ſonne, Sir Rauſe de Montfort, and many other worthie men of armes, Knightes, and Eſquiers, to the number betwixt ſixe and ſeuen hundred, as by a letter wrytten by the ſayde ſir Thomas Dagworth, and regyſtred in the Hyſtorie of Robert de Aueſburie it doeth appeare.

In this meane while, King Philip hauing daylye worde howe the power of his enimie king Edwarde, dyd encreaſe by ayde of the Eaſterlings and other nations, whiche were to him alyed, and that his menne within Calais were brought to ſuch an extreame poynt, that wythout ſpeedie reſkue they coulde not long keepe the Towne, but muſte of force render it ouer into the handes of hys ſayde enimye, to the great preiudice of all the Realme of Fraunce; after greate deliberation taken vpon this ſo weightie a matter, hee commaunded euerie man to meete hym in theyr beſt array for the warre, at the feaſt of Pentecoſt in the Citie of Amiens, or in thoſe marches.

Fabian.

The French king aſſembleth an army.

Froiſſart.

At the day and place thus appoynted, there came to him Odes Duke of Burgoigne, and the Duke of Normandie eldeſt ſonne to the King, the Duke of Orleaunce his yongeſt ſonne, the Duke of Burbon, the Earle of Fois, the Lorde Lois de Sauoy, the Lorde Iohn of Heynault, the Erle of Arminacke, the Earle of Forreſt, and the Erle Valentinois, with many other.

These noble men being thus aſſembled, they tooke counſayle which way they myght paſſe to gyue battayle to the Engliſhe menne: It was thought the beſt way had beene through Flaunders, but the Flemings in fauour of the king of Englande denyed, not onely to open theyr paſſages to the Frenche menne, but alſo hadde

The Flemings beſiege Ayre.

James Mair.

leuied an armie of an hundred thouſande men of one and other, and layde ſiege to Ayre, and burnt the Countrey all aboute. Whervpon there were many ſharpe bickerings, and ſore encounters, betwixt the Flemings, and ſuch French menne as king Philip ſent forth agaynſt them both: nowe whileſt the French armie lay about Amiens, and alſo before, during all the time that the ſiege lay at Calais. For all the French townes vpon the Frontiers were ſtuffed with ſtrong garniſons of Souldiours, as Lyſle, Saint Omers, Arras, Bolongne, Ayre, and Montreuil: and thoſe men of warre were euer redie vpō occaſion to attempt ſundrie exploytes.

The French king commeth towarde Calais.

After this, when the armie of the Flemings was broken vp, and returned home, or rather deuided into partes, and lodged along on the frontiers, the French king with two thouſande men one and other came forwarde, taking his waye through the Countrey, called la Beline, and ſo by the Countrey of Frankeberg, came ſtraight to the hil of Sangate betwixt Calais & Wiſant.

The preparation made by the king of England to resiſt the French king.

The king of England had cauſed a ſtrong caſtell to be made betwene the towne of Calais and the ſea, to cloſe vp that paſſage, and had placed therein .xl. men of armes, and two hundred Archers which kept the hauen in ſuch ſort that nothing could come in nor out.

Alſo conſidering that his enimies could come neyther to ſuccour the towne, nor to annoy hys hoſte, except eyther by the Downes alongſt the Sea ſyde, or elſe aboue by the high way, he cauſed all his nauie to drawe alongſt by the coaſt of the Downes, to ſtop that the French men ſhould not approche that way. Alſo the Earle of Darbie being come thither out of Guyenne, was appoynted to keepe Newlande bridge, with a great number of men of armes and archers, ſo that the Frenchmen coulde not approch any way, vnleſſe they woulde haue come through the mariſhes, which to do was not poſſible.

The Earle of Darbie.

Fiftene hundred of the Commons of Tourney wan a Tower which the Engliſh men had made and kept for the impeaching of the French mens paſſage by the Downes, but that notwithſtanding, when the Marſhals of France had well viewed all the paſſages and ſtraites through the whiche their armie muſt paſſe, if they ment to fight with the Engliſhmen, they well perceyued that they coulde not come to the Engliſh men to giue them battaile, without the king woulde loſe his people, wherupon (as Froiſſart hath) ẏ French king ſent the Lord Geffrey de Charny, the Lord Euſtace de Ribaumont Guy de Nele, & the Lord de Beauiewe, vnto the king of Englande, which required him on their maiſters behalfe to appoint certaine of his Counſaile, as he woulde likewyſe appoynt certaine of his, which by cōmon conſent might aduiſe betweene them an indifferent place for them to trie the battaile vpon: whervnto the king of Englande anſwered, that there hee was, and had beene almoſte a whole yeare, whiche coulde not bee vnknowne to hys aduerſarie there maiſter, ſo that he might haue come ſooner if hee woulde: but nowe ſithe hee hadde ſuffered hym there to remaine ſo long, without offer of battayle, he ment not to accompliſhe his deſire, nor to depart from that, whiche to his great coſt hee had brought at length to that poynt now, that he might eaſily winne it. Wherefore if the French king nor his hoſte coulde not paſſe thoſe wayes which were cloſed by the Engliſhe power, let them ſeke ſome other paſſage (ſayd he) if they think to come hither.

The requeſt of the Frenche Lords to the king of Englande.

In this meane while, came two Cardinals from Pope Clement, to treate a peace betwyxte the two kings, wherevpon Commiſſioners were appoynted, as the Dukes of Burgoigne, and Burbone, the Lorde Lewes de Sauoy, and the Lord Iohn de Heynault, otherwiſe called Lorde Beaumont, on the French part: and the Erles of Derbie and Northampton, the Lord Reginalde Cobham, and the Lorde Walter de Manny, on the Engliſh part. Theſe commiſſioners and the Legates (as intreaters betwene the parties) met & cōmuned three dayes togither, but agreed not vpon any concluſion, and ſo the cardinals departed: and the French king perceyuing he could not haue his purpoſe, brake vp his hoſt and returned into Fraunce, bidding Calais farewell.

After that the French king with his hoſt was once departed from Sangate, without miniſtring any ſuccour to them within the Towne, they began to ſue for a parlee, which being graunted, in the ende they were contented to yelde, and the king graunted to receyue them and the towne on theſe conditions: that ſixe of the chiefe burgeſſes of the towne ſhould come forth bare headed, bare footed, and bare legged, & in their ſhirtes, with halters about their neckes, with the keyes of the towne and Caſtell in their handes, to ſubmit themſelues ſymply to the kings will, and the reſidue he was contented to take to mercie. This determinate reſolution of king Edward being intimated to the commons of the towne aſſembled in the market place by the ſound of the common bel, afore the captaine, cauſed many a weeping eie amongeſt them: but in the ende, when it was perceyued that no other grace would be obteined, vi. of the moſt wealthieſt burgeſſes of all the towne agreed to hazard their liues for the ſafegard of the reſidue, and ſo according to the preſcript order deuyſed by the King, they wente forth of the Gates, and were preſented by the Lorde Walter de Manny to the King, before whome they kneeled down, offred to him the keyes of ẏ town, and beſought him to haue mercie vpon them: but the king regarding them with a fell countenance, commaunded ſtreight that theyr heades ſhoulde be ſtriken off. And although manye of the noble men did make greate intreatance for them, yet woulde no grace bee ſhewed, vntill the Queene being great with childe, came and kneeled downe before the King hir huſbande, and with lamentable cheare and weeping eyes, entreated ſo much for them, that finally the kings diſpleaſure was aſwaged, and hys rygour turned to mercie, ſo that he gaue the priſoners vnto hir to do hir pleaſure with them.

Then the Queene commaunded them to be brought into hir Chamber, and cauſed the halters to be takẽ from their necks, clothed them of new, gaue them their dinner, and beſtowing vpon eche of them ſixe nobles, appoynted them to bee conueyed out of the hoſt in ſafegarde, and ſette at libertie.

Thus was the ſtrong towne of Calais yeelded vp into the handes of king Edward, the third of Auguſt, in the yeare. 1347. The Captaine the Lorde John de Vienne, and al the other captains and menne of name, were ſtayed as pryſoners, and the common ſouldiers and other meane people of the Towne were licenced to depart, and voyde theyr houſes, leauing all their armor and ryches behinde them.

The king would not haue any of the olde inhabitantes to remaine in the towne, ſaue onely a Prieſt, and two other auncient perſonages, ſuch as beſt knew the cuſtomes, lawes, and ordinaunces of the towne.

He appoynted to ſende ouer thither amongeſt other Engliſh men there to inhabite. xxxvj. Burgeſſes of London, and thoſe of the wealthieſt ſort, for he ment to people the towne only with Engliſhe men, for the better and more ſure defence thereof. The King and the Queene were lodged in the Caſtell, and continued there tyll the Queene was deliuered of a daughter named Margaret.

The Cardinals of whom ye heard before being come as Legates from Pope Clement, to moue communication of peace, did ſo much in the matter, that a truce was graunted betwixte the realme of England and Fraunce, for the tearme of. xij. monethes, or two yeares, as Froiſſart hath. But the Engliſh Chronicle, and Jacobus Meir ſeeme to agree, that this truce was taken but for nine monethes, though afterwards the ſame was prolonged. To the which truce all parties agreed Brytayne excepted, for the two women there would not be quieted, but ſtill purſued the warre the one agaynſt the other.

After that this truce was accorded, the king with the Queene hys wyfe returned into Englande, and lefte for Captayne wythin Calais, one Sir Americ of Pauie an Italian Knight, or as other Bookes haue, he was but Captayne of the Caſtell, or of ſome one of the Towers of that towne, whiche ſeemeth more lyke to be true, than that the king ſhoulde commyt the whole charge of the Towne vnto hys gouernment, beeing a ſtraunger borne, and therefore Jacobus Meir is the more to be credited, that writeth how ſir Americ of Pauie was left but in charge with the Caſtell onely, and that the towne was committed to the keeping of the Lorde John Beauchampe, and Lewes his brother.

Sir Americ de Pauie.

1348
Thom. VValſ.

But now that there was a peace thus concluded betwixt the two kings, it ſeemed to the Engliſhe people that the Sunne brake forth after a long clowdie ſeaſon, by reaſon both of the greate plentie of all things, and remembraunce of the late glorious victories: for there were fewe women that were houſekeepers within this lande, but they had ſome furniture of houſehold that had beene brought to them out of Fraunce, as part of the ſpoyle got in Caen, Calais, Carẽten, or ſome other good towne. And beſide houſeholde ſtuffe, the Engliſh Maydes and Matrones were bedecked and trymmed vppe in Frenche womens Jewels and apparell, ſo that as the French women lamented for the loſſe of thoſe things, ſo our women reioyſed of the gaine.

An. Reg. 22.
Great raine.

In this. xxij. yeare, from mydſommer vnto Chriſtmaſſe for the more part it continually rained, ſo that there was not one day and night drie togither, by reaſon whereof great flouds enſued, and the ground therwith was ſore corrupted, and many inconueniences enſued, as great ſickneſſe, and other, inſomuch that in the yeare following in Fraunce the people dyed wonderfully in dyuerſe places. In Italy alſo, and in many other Countreys, as well in the landes of the Infidels, as in Chriſtẽdom, this grieuous mortalitie raigned to the great deſtruction of people.

1349
An. reg. 23.
A great mortalitie.

About the ende of Auguſt, the like death beganne in dyuerſe places of Englande, and eſpecially in London, continuing ſo for the ſpace of a tweluemonth following. And vpon that enſued great barrenneſſe, as well of the ſea, as the lande, neyther of them yeelding ſuch plentie of things as before they had done. Whereupon vittaile and corne became ſcant, and hard to come by.

Dearth.

Aboute the ſame time died John Stretforde Archbiſhop of Canterburie, after whome ſucceeded John Vfforde, and liued not in that dignitie paſt ten monethes, and then followed Thomas Bredwardin, who deceaſſed within one yere after his cõſecration, ſo ỹ then Simõ Iſlep was cõſecrated Archb. by Pope Clem. ỹ. vj. being. the. liij. archb. ỹ had ſit in that ſeat. Within a while after W. Archb. of Yorke died: in whoſe place ſucceeded

John Torſby being the. xliiij. Archbiſhop that had gouerned that Church.

A practice to betray Calice.

Diuerſitie in writers.

Fabian.

Froiſſart.

The king ſecretly paſſeth ouer to Calice

The L. Geffrey de Charney.

1350

Sir Edward de Reoty.

Moreouer in this. xxiij. yere of king Edwards raigne, the great mortalitie in England ſtill continuing, there was a practiſe in hand for the recouering againe of Calice to the French kings poſſeſſion. The Lorde Geffray of Charnye lying in the towne of S. Omers, did practiſe with ſir Amerie de Pauie, to be receyued into the towne of Calice by the Caſtell ſecretly in the night ſeaſon. The Italian gaue eare to the Lord Geffrey hys ſute, and to make few wordes, couenanted for the ſumme of. xx. M. crownes to betray the towne vnto him, in ſuch ſort as he coulde beſt deuiſe. Here writers varie: for Froiſſart ſayth that king Edwarde had information thereof before that ſir Amerie de Pauie vttered the thing himſelfe, but the French Chronicles, and alſo other writers affirme, that the Italian aduertiſed the king of all the drift and matter betwixt him and the Lorde Geffrey of Charny before he wente through with the bargaine. But whether by him or by other, truth it is the king was made priuie to the matter at Hauering Bower in Eſſex (where hee kept the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe) and therevpon departing from thence, he came to Douer, and the day before the night of the appoyntment made for the deliuerie of the Caſtell of Calice (hauing ſecretely made his prouiſion) he tooke ſhipping and landed the ſame night at Calice, in ſo ſecrete maner that few of the towne vnderſtoode of his arriuall, hee brought with him out of England three hundred men of armes, and ſix hundred archers, whom hee layde in Chambers and towers within the caſtel, ſo cloſely that fewe or none perceyued it, the maner he knewe by ſir Amerie de Pauie his aduertiſements (accordingly as it was agreed betwixt them) that the Lorde Geffrey of Charny was appoynted to come and enter the towne that nyght, for the king had commaunded ſir Amerie to proceede in marchandiſing with the ſayd Lord Charny, and onely to make him priuie of the day and houre in the which the feate ſhoulde bee wrought. The Lorde Geffrey de Charny being couenanted that he ſhoulde bee receyued into Calice the firſt night of the newe yeare, departed from Saint Omers, where hee hadde aſſembled fiue hundred Speares, the laſt day of December towarde night, and ſo in ſecrete wiſe hee paſſed forth, till aboute the middeſt of the nexte night after, he approched neare to Calice, and ſending an hundred men of armes to take poſſeſſion of the Caſtell, & to pay ẏ Italian his. xx. M. crownes, came to the poſterne of the Caſtell, where ſir Amerie de Pauie hauing let downe the Poſterne Bridge, was readie to bring them in by the ſame Poſterne, and ſo the hundred men of armes entred, and ſir Edwarde de Rentie deliuered to the Italian his twentie thouſand crownes in a bag, who when he had caſt the crownes into a Coffer (for he had no leyſure to tell them) he brought the Frenchmen into the dungeon of the Caſtell, as it were to poſſeſſe them of the chiefeſt ſtrength of the fortreſſe. Within this dungeon or tower was the king of England cloſely layd with two. C. men of armes, who iſſued out with their ſwordes and axes in their handes, crying Manny to the reſcue, for the king had ſo ordeyned, that both he and his ſon ſhould fight vnder the bāner of the L. Walter de Manny, as chief of that enterpriſe. Then were the Frenchmen greatly abaſhed, in ſuch wiſe, that perceyuing how no defence might aduaunce thē, they yeelded themſelues without any great ſhewe of reſiſtance. Herewith the Engliſh mē iſſued out of the caſtel into the town, and mounted on horſebacke, for they had the French priſoners horſes, & then the archers road to Bollongne gate, where the Lorde Geffray was with his banner before him of Gewels three ſkutchēs ſiluer. He had great deſire to be the firſt that ſhoulde enter the towne: But ſhortly the king of England with the prince his ſonne was readie at the gate, vnder the Banner of the Lorde Walter de Manny to aſſayle him. There were alſo other banners as the Erles of Stafford, and Suffolke, the Lord John Montague, brother to the Erle of Saliſburie, the lord Beauchampe, the L. Berkley, and the Lord de la Ware. Then the great gate was ſet open and all they iſſued forth crying Manny to the reſcue.

The French men perceyuing that they were betrayed, alighted from their horſes, and put thēſelues in order of battayle on foote, determining to fight it out lyke valiant men of warre. The King perceyuing thys, cauſed his people lykewyſe to be ſet in order of battayle, and ſent three hundred archers to Newlande bridge to diſtreſſe thoſe French menne, whiche he heard ſhoulde be there.

This was earely in the morning, but incontinently it was day: the Frenche menne kepte theyr grounde a whyle, and manye feates of Armes were done of bothe partes, but the Engliſhe menne euer encreaſed oute of Calice, and the French menne diminiſhed, ſo that finally they were ouercome, as well in the one place, as in the other.

It chaunced that in the hoteſt of the fight, the king was matched with ſir Euſtace de Ribaumont, a right ſtrong and hardie knight. There was a ſore encounter betwixt him and the king, that maruaile it was to behold them. At length they were put aſunder, for a greate companie of both partes came that way, & there fought fiercely togither.

The Frenche menne did behaue themſelues ryght valyauntly, and eſpecially Sir Euſtace de

Ribaumont:

Ribaumount: he ſtrake the King that daye twice vppon his knees, but finally, he was taken priſoner by the King hymſelfe.

The Lorde Geoffrey of Charnye was alſo taken priſoner, & woũded right ſore, but the king of his noble courteſie, cauſed him to bee dreſſed by ſurgeons, and tenderly looked vnto.

There were ſlayne, Sir Henry de Blois, and Sir Pepin de la ware, with other, to the number of ſixe hundred. Monſieur de Memorancie eſcaped with great daunger. Froyſſart ſayeth, that this battell was fought in the yeare 1348. vpon yͤ laſt of December, towards yͤ next morning being Newyeres daye, but as Aueſburie & Walſingham haue, that begin the yeare at our Lady day, this enterpriſe chanced 1349. and ſo conſequently, in the 23. yeare of this Kings raigne.

All the priſoners were brought to the Caſtell of Calleis, where the King the next night gaue them a ſupper, and made thẽ right hartie cheare, and gaue to Sir Euſtace de Ribaumont a riche chaplet of pearles, whiche hee then did weare on his owne head, in token that he had beſt deſerued it for his manfull prowes ſhewed in the fighte, and beſide that, in fauour of his tried valiancie, he acquit him of his raunſome, & ſet him at libertie.

About the ende of Auguſt, the deathe in London ceaſſed, which had bin ſo great and vehement within that Citie, that ouer and beſide the bodyes buried in other accuſtomed burying places, there were buried that yeare dayly, from Cadlemas til Eaſter, in yͤ Charter houſe yard of Lõdon, more than two hundred dead corpſes.

Commiſsioners meete to talk of peace.

Alſo this yeare, by the earneſt ſute of the two Cardinals which were ſent (as yee haue hearde) from Pope Clement the ſixth, a peace was concluded for one yeare. There met neere vnto Caleis for the treatie of this peace, the foreſaide two Cardinals, as mediators, and for the King of England, the Byſhop of Norwich Treaſorer, and high Chancellor of the Realme, with others, came thither as commiſſioners. And in like manner for the French King, there appeared the Biſhoppe of Lion, and the Abbot of S. Deniſe.

Men borne with fewer teeth than in tymes paſt.

Caxton.

Tho. Walſ.

Polichron.

This yeare in Auguſt dyed Phillippe de Valois the French King. Heere is to bee noted, that all thoſe that were borne, after the beginning of that great mortalitie whereof ye haue heard, wãted four cheeke teeth, (when they came to yͤ tyme of grouth of thoſe 32. which the people before that time commonly vſed to haue, ſo that they hadde but 28.

A combat.

In this 24. yeare of this Kings raigne, there was a combate fought in Liſtes within yͤ kyngs palace of Weſtminſter, betwixt the Lord John, baſtard ſonne to Phillip King of Fraunce, and a Knight of the Towne of Ipres in Flaunders, but the baſtard had the vpper hand, and vanquiſhed his aduerſarie.

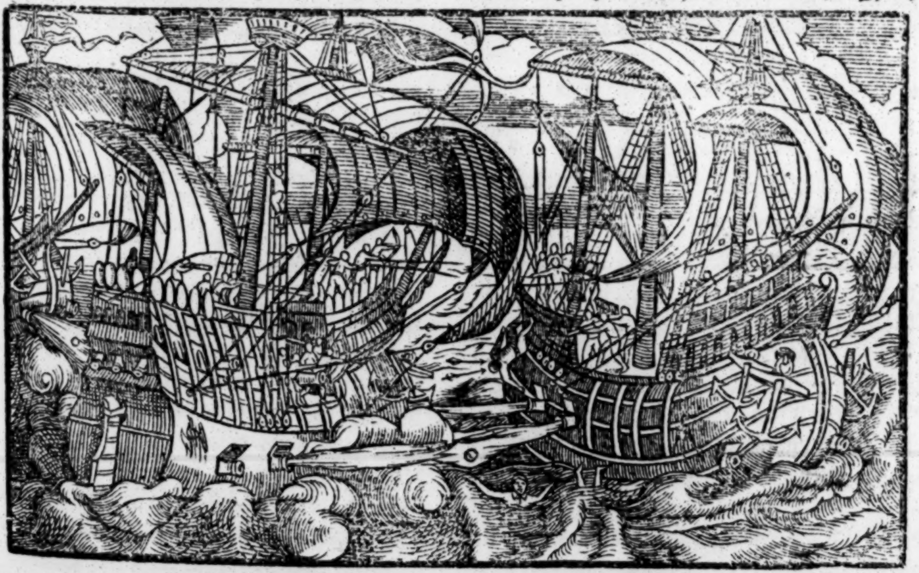
Aueſburie.

Tho. Walſ.

A Spanyſhe fleete.

Spanyardes vanquiſhed by the king of England by ſea.

About the feaſt of the decollation of Saint John Baptiſt, King Edwarde aduertiſed of a fleete of Spanyardes returning forth of Flaunders, that was laden with clothes and other riches, aſſembled a conueniente power of men of armes, and archers, and at Sandwiche tooke the Sea with them, ſayling forth, till vpon the coaſt of Winchelſee hee mette with the Spanyardes, and there aſſayled them, ſo that betwixt hym and thoſe Spanyardes, there was a ſore fighte, and long continued, to the greate loſſe of people on both partes, but in the ende, the bright beame of victory ſhone vpon the Engliſh ſailes, ſo that all the Spanyardes were ſlayne, for they were ſo proude and obſtinate (as Walſingham affirmeth) that they woulde not yeelde, but rather choſe to die, and ſo they did indeede, either vpon the Engliſhe mennes weapon pointes, or elſe were they



Walſ.

Aueſburie.

drowned there in the Sea, ſixe and twentie of their ſhippes were taken, in the which was found greate ſtore of good ware and riches. And ſo the Kyng thoughte hym ſelfe well reuenged of the Spanyardes, whiche in the laſt yeare, about Alhallontide, hadde entred into the riuer of Garons, as it runneth vp towards Burdeaux, and there finding many ſhippes fraught with wines, ſlewe all the Engliſhmen they founde aborde, and tooke away the Shippes with them: whyche iniurie moued the King to enterpriſe thys exployte now at this time againſt them.

Froiſſart.

Sir Thomas Dagworth ſlayne.

About the beginning of Auguſt, Sir Raoull de Cahors, and dyuers other Knightes and Eſquires, to the number of ſixe ſcore menne of armes, foughte before a Caſtell called Auleon, with ſir Thomas Dagworth, and there ſlewe the ſame Sir Thomas, and to the number of one hundred men of armes with him.

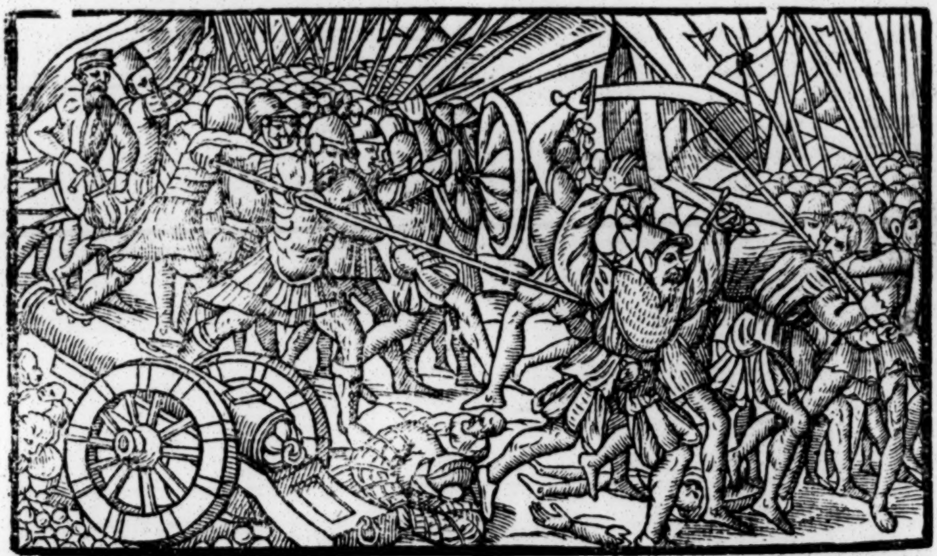
Ambaſſadors ſent to the Pope.

There were ſente ſolemne meſſengers thys yeare vnto Auignion, for the eſtabliſhing of a peace, mentioned betwixt the King of Englande and Fraunce, at the ſute of the Pope, ſo that K. Edwarde ſhoulde haue reſigned hys title and clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce, and yͤ Frēch King ſhould haue giuen ouer vnto him yͤ whole Duchie of Guyenne, to holde the ſame freely, without knowledging of reſort or ſuperioritie, or doing any manner of homage for the ſame: but ſuche delayes were made, and the ſute ſo prolonged by the Pope, that the Earle of Derby, whiche with others were ſente to him aboute thys matter, returned withoute ſpeede of his purpoſe, for the whych he went.

An. 13

In the fiue and twentith yeare of King Edwardes raigne, the Frenchmenne, hauing layde ſiege vnto the Towne of Saint John Dangeli, the Lorde Dalbrettes ſonne, hauing aſſembled ſixe hundred men of armes, Gaſcoignes & Engliſhmen, meant to worke ſome feate, for reliefe of them within, wherevppon, as hee was marching through the countrey of Xainctonge neere vnto Xainctes the eigth of Aprill, or as other haue, the firſte, hee was encountred by the Lord Guy de Neell, one of the Marſhals of Fraunce, and other French Lordes, where at length, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, many ſlayne, and dyuers taken priſoners, of which number was the ſayde Marſhall, with his brother the Lorde William, and ſir Arnolde de Dandrehen, beſide others, to the number of three hundred men of armes, but yet the ſiege remayned, till for want of vittayles, the Towne was rendred to the Frenchmen.

Froiſ



The ſame yeare in October, an Engliſhe archer of the garriſon of Caleis, named John of Dancaſter, by licence of the Lord deputie of Caleis, tooke with him threeſcore perſons menne of armes and archers, and in the nighte that goeth before the feaſt day of Saint Vincent, in the laſt quarter of the ſame nighte, hee commyng to the Caſtell of Guynes, founde as well the watch as other faſt aſleepe, wherevpon, hee paſſed a water that adioyned to the Caſtell, wading vp to the girdell, and ſo came to the wall, where he and hys company rearing vp ladders, mounted by yͤ ſame ſo ſecretely, that ſlaying the watche, beeing not paſt three or four perſons that were on yͤ walles, they entred the Caſtell, and finding the Frenchmen aſleepe, ſlewe thoſe that vppon their wakening made anye defence, and tooke the reſidue, whome they ſuffered to departe: and by thys meanes they wanne the Caſtell, finding greate ſtore of vittayles within, and ſo as they founde it, they kepte it to the Kyng of Englandes vſe.

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The French hiſtories declare, that one Guilliā de Beauconroy, that was Captayne of this Caſtell, betrayed yͤ place to yͤ engliſhmē, for a ſumme of money, and when the Frenche King required reſtitution, bycauſe the truce was not yet expired, he was ſhifted off with this forged anſwer, yͭ nothing was excepted by the aſſurance of the truce, concerning things that ſhoulde be bought and ſolde. The Frenchman that betrayed it, was ſhortly after put to execution at Amiens.

In this yeare were the firſt peeces of ſiluer called groates and halfe groates of foure pence and two pence the peece ſtamped, by the Kinges appoyntment, through the counſell of William de Edington Byſhop of Wincheſter Lorde Treaſorer. Before that time, there were no other coignes, but the Noble, halfe noble, and quarter noble, with the peeces of ſiluer called ſterlings. Bycauſe theſe newe peeces wanted of the weight of the olde ſterling coigne, the prices as well of vittayles as of other wares, did dayly riſe, and ſeruauntes and workemen waxing more craftie than beforetime they had bin, demaunded greater wages.

1352
An.reg.26.

This yeare, vpon the euen of the Aſſumption of our Lady, Sir John Bentley Knight, as the Lord warden of Britaigne, fought with the L. Guy de Nealle, Marſhall of Fraunce, (lately ranſomed out of captiuitie) in the parties of Britaine, neere to a place called Mouron, betwixte Rennes and Plurenell, where the ſayd Marſhal was ſlayne, togither with the Lorde of Briquebeke the Chateline of Beauvais, and dyuers other, both Britons and Frenchmen.

Movron.

In the ſeuen and twentith yeare of his raigne, King Edwarde helde a Parliamente at Weſtminſter, after the feaſt of Eaſter, in which, an ordinance was deuiſed, what wages ſeruauntes and labourers ſhould be allowed, prohibiting thẽ to receyue aboue the rate whiche they were accuſtomed to take before the yeare of the great mortalitie. Seruantes and labourers were in deede growen to bee more ſubtill than before time they had bin, but by reaſon that the prices of thinges were enhaunced: it is like they demaunded greater wages than they hadde done before time, and one cauſe of the dearth was imputed to the newe coigne of money, beeing of leſſe weight in the alley thereof, than before it had bin, ſo that the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, being Lord Treaſorer, who hadde counſelled the king to ordeine thoſe groates and halfe groates, was euill ſpoken of amongeſt the people. In this Parliament there were ſtatutes alſo made, that clothes ſhould in length and breadth through the Realme, beare the ſame aſſiſe, as was ordeined in the Parliamẽt holden at Northampton. Alſo, that all weares, milles, and other lettes, ſhould be remoued forth of riuers, that might be any hinderance for ſhips, botes, or lighters, to paſſe vp and downe the ſame. But theſe good ordinaunces tooke little or none effect, by reaſon of bribes that walked abroad, and friendſhippe of Lordes and greate men, that ſought rather their owne commodities, than the common wealthes.

Creations of noble men.

Shortely after the feaſte of Pentecoſte, the Earle of Derbie, and Lancaſter, was made Duke of Lancaſter, and Raufe Lord Stafforde, was created Earle of Stafforde. Whereas there had bin a treatie betwixte the lordes of Britaine, and the king of Englande, not onely for the deliueraunce of the lorde Charles of Bloys, but alſo for the matching of his eldeſt ſonne in marriage with one of king Edwards daughters, and ſo to enioy the Dukedome in peace. This matter was ſo farre forewardes, that in the yeare laſt paſſed, the ſaid lorde Charles, leauing two of his ſonnes and a daughter in pledge for the paymẽt of xl. M. florens, agreed vpon for his raunſome: hee was permitted to retourne into Britaine, to prouide that money: and withall, to procure a diſpenſation, that his eldeſt ſonne might marrie with one of king Edwards daughters, notwithſtanding that otherwiſe they were within the degrees of cõſanguinitie, prohibiting them to marrie. Hereupon this yeare about Michaelmas, hee retourned into Englande, with the ſame diſpenſation: but bycauſe aboute the ſame time the

The Lorde Charles of Blois.

Britons had taken by ſtelth an Ilande, wyth a Caſtell therein, that the Engliſhmen had kepte, and put all thoſe whiche they founde therein, to the ſworde, the ſaide Lorde Charles, otherwiſe Duke of Britaine, loſt the Kings fauour, ſo that he woulde heare no more of any ſuche aliance, by way of marriage, as had bin communed of before: by reaſon wherof, the Brittiſh lords, that were in great number come ouer with the lorde Charles de Blois, were cōſtreined to returne home, without atchieuing any part of their purpoſe, leauing the ſaide lorde Charles, and his children behinde them ſtill here in Englande.

Debate betwixt the Dukes of Brunſwike & Lancaſter.

The fourth daye of September, the Duke of Brunſwicke, and the Duke of Lancaſter, ſhould haue fought a combate in Paris, about certayne wordes that the Duke of Lancaſter ſhoulde ſpeake, in derogatiō of the Duke of Brunſwikes honor, for the which, the ſayd Duke had appealed him in the Court of Fraunce: but when they were ready to haue tryed it, and were on horſebacke, with their ſpeares in hand within yͤ liſtes, at poynte to haue runne togither, the Frenche King cauſed them to ſtay, and taking on hym the matter, made them friendes, and agreed them.

Aueſburie. Tho. Walſ. affirmeth, that this remouing of the ſtaple of woolles, was the 28. yeare of King Edwards raigne.

This yeare the King by aduice of his counſell remoued the marte or ſtaple of Woolles from the Townes in Flaunders, and cauſed the ſame to be kept at Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, Lincolne, Briſtowe, Canterbury and Hulle.

Fabian.

This was done in deſpite of the Flemings, bycauſe they helde not the couenauntes and agreementes which they had made with the king, in the life time of Jaques Arteuelde, by whoſe prouiſion, the ſayde mart or ſtaple had bin kept in ſundry townes in Flaunders, to their greate aduauntage and commoditie.

Sir Walter Bentley committed to the Tower.

Sir Walter Bentley, vppon his comming ouer forthe of Britaine, where he hadde bene the Kings Lieutenant, was committed to the Tower, where he remayned priſoner for the ſpace of twelue monethes, bycauſe hee refuſed to deliuer vp the Caſtels within his gouernemente, vnto ſir John Auenell Knighte, being appoynted to receyue the ſame, to the vſe of the Lord Charles de Bloys, at the ſame time when the treatie of agreement was in hande, betwixte the Kyng, and the ſayd Lord Charles. But after, when it was perceyued what damage mighte haue enſued by deliuery of thoſe Caſtels, Sir Walter was ſet at libertie vpon ſureties yet, that were bound for his forth comming, and that he ſhoulde not departe the Realme: at length, he was receyued agayne into the Kings fauoure.

A greate drought.

In the Sommer of this. 27. yeare, was ſo great a drought, that frō the latter end of March, fell little raine, till the latter ende of Julye, by reaſon whereof, manye inconueniences enſued: and one thing is ſpecially to be noted, that corne the yeare following waxed ſcant, and the price began this yeare to be greatly enhaunced.

A dea

Alſo beeues and muttons waxed deere, for the want of graſſe, and this chaunced both in Englande and Fraunce, ſo that this was called the deare ſommer.

Caxt
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The Lorde William Duke of Bauiere or Bauarie, and Earle of Zelande, broughte many Shippes vnto London, fraught with Rie, for reliefe of the people.

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In the eight and twentith yeare of King Edwards raigne, vpon a treatie that was holden by commiſſioners, appoynted by the two Kings of Englande and Fraunce after Eaſter, they were in manner fully agreed vpon a peace, ſo that nothing wanted, but putting vnto their ſeales. In the articles whereof, it was conteyned, that the King of England ſhould enioy all his landes of his Duchie of Aquitaine, withoute holding the ſame of any by homage, or reſort, and in conſideration thereof, he ſhould reſigne all his clayme to the Crowne of Fraunce.

A tru
twix
Lond
Frau

Herevpon were Imbaſſadors ſent from eyther King, vnto the Pope, and a truce taken, to endure till the feaſt of Sainte John Baptiſt in the yeare next following.

Amb
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Imbaſſadors for the King of England were theſe: Henry Duke of Lancaſter, John Earle of Arundell, the Byſhoppes of Norwich, and London, and the Lorde Guy de Brian.

For the Frenche King, the Archbyſhoppe of Rouen, Lord Chancellor of Fraunce, the Duke of Burbon, and others: but when the matter came to be heard before the Pope about Chriſtmas, all went into ſmoke that had bin talked of: for the Frenchmen denyed that the articles were drawen, according to the meaning of their commiſſioners; and the Pope alſo winked at yͤ matter, ſo that the Engliſhe Imbaſſadors, (when they ſawe that nothing would be concluded) returned home all of them, the Biſhoppe of Norwich excepted (who departed this life there,) and ſo their iourney came to none effect.

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An.
Debat
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forde.

This yeare, the tenth of February, there roſe a ſore debate, betwixt the Scholers and Townesmen of Oxforde. The occaſion roſe by reaſon of the falling out of a Scholler, with one that ſolde wine, for the Scholler perceyuing hymſelfe euill vſed, poured the wine on the drawers head, knocking the potte about hys pate, ſo as the bloud ranne downe by his eares.

Herevppon beganne a ſore fray, betwixte the Schollers and Townesmenne, whych continued for the moſt part of two dayes togyther.

There were ſlayne a twentie Townesmenne, beſyde thoſe that were hurte: but at length, there came a greate number of countreymen forth of the villages next adioyning, to ayde the Towneſmenne, entring the Towne with a blacke banner, and ſo fiercely aſſayled the Scholers, that they were conſtreyned to flee to theyr houſes and hoſtelles, but their enimies purſuing them, brake vp theyr dores, entred their chambers, ſlewe dyuers of them, and threwe them into priuies, tare their bookes, and bare away theyr goodes.

The Scholers herewith tooke ſuche diſpleaſure, that they departed the Vniuerſitie: thoſe of Merton colledge, and other the like colledges onely excepted.

The Byſhoppe of Lincolne inhibited Prieſts to celebrate diuine ſeruice in preſence of anye lay man within that Towne of Oxforde, and the King ſending his Iuſtices thither, to take knowledge of this diſorderly riot, there were diuers, both of the Towneſmen and Scholers endited, and certayne of the burgeſſes cõmitted to warde.

This yeare, the firſte Sunday in Lente, the King helde a royall Iuſtes at Woodſtocke, for ioy of the Queenes purifying, after the birthe of hir ſixth ſonne, the Lorde Thomas, whome the Biſhoppe of Durham named Thomas, helde at the fontſtone. Hee was borne the ſeuenth of Ianuary laſt paſt.

In the Parliamente holden at Weſtminſter this yeare after Eaſter, the Kyng tooke vppon him to make an ende of the quarrell betwixte the Schollers, and Towneſmen of Oxforde, and ſauing to euery man his right, pardoned yͤ Scholers of all tranſgreſſions: and this he ſignifyed into euery ſhire, by writtes directed to the Sherifs, they to proclayme the ſame, for more notice of the thing. And ſo in the ſommer following, the Vniuerſitie began agayne to flouriſhe, ſtudentes reſorting thither from each ſide.

In this Parliamente, the proceſſe of yͤ iudgement had and made againſt Roger Mortimer, late Earle of Marche, was reuoked, adnichilate, and made voyd, ſo that the Lord Roger Mortimer was reſtored to the title and poſſeſſions of the Earledome of Marche, as couſin and heire to his grandfather the ſayd Earle of Marche.

Moreouer to this Parliament, came the Byſhop of Carpentras, and the Abbot of Clugny, beeing ſente from Pope Innocente the ſixth, to make ſute to haue the truce proroged betwixte the two Kinges, of Englande, and Fraunce, to whome the King himſelfe in perſon, made this reſolute anſwere, that he would not agree to any longer truce, for that when diuers times, at the Frenchmens ſute, he had conſented to haue truce by mediation of two Cardinals, ſent to hym about the ſame matter, his aduerſaries in yͤ meane time, whileſt ſuche truces endured, haue done much harme and damage by ſubtill practiſes to perſons, and places beyond the ſea, that were vnder his rule and gouernemente, yet he ſaide, hee would deliberate hereof with his counſell, and after intimate his pleaſure to the Pope, and to them of Fraunce by meſſengers which he woulde ſende out for that purpoſe: and ſo theſe Ambaſſadors within foure dayes after their commyng, were thus diſpatched with aunſwere.

Herewith in this Parliament it was ordeyned, that the Prince of Wales, beeing as then about foure and twentie yeares of age, ſhoulde paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, and haue with him a thouſande men of armes, and two thouſande archers, with a great number of Welchmen.

R. Aueſb.

A nauie prepared.

Aboute the ſame time, the K. cauſed 40. ſhips to be prouided, rigged, and made ready at Rutherhide, furniſhed with vittailes for one quarter of a yere, and euery of yͤ ſayd ſhips had principall ſtreamers of the Duke of Lãcaſters armes, who was appoynted with a greate power of choſen men of armes and archers to paſſe to the Sea wͭ the ſame Shippes, but fewe or none of his company knewe whither, horſes they hadde none. He had with him two of the Kings ſonnes, Lionell of Andwerpe, and Iohn of Gant, the elder of thẽ being about 16. yeares of age. Alſo, there wente with him the Earles of Northampton, March, & Stafford, beſide many lordes, Barõs, & knightes. The 10. of Iuly, he made ſayle to Greenewich, & there and at Sandwich he ſtayed, till yͤ Aſſumption of our Lady, yͤ winde for yͤ moſt parte, continuing al that while at Weſt and South, contrary to his iourney as it mighte appeare. At length with muche difficultie, he came to Winchelſee, and after to the wight. It was thought, that the Dukes purpoſe was to paſſe into Normandy, to ioine with yͤ K. of Nauarre, who was at variance with the frenche K. But after it was knowen by eſpials that they were made friendes, the Duke of Lancaſter doubting crooked meaſures, & hauing with him no horſemen, returned home

The Duke of Lancaſter.

home, without farther attempt.

Record. Twr.

On S. Kenelmes day beeing friday, and the 17. of July, maſter Humfrey Cherleton, profeſſor of Diuinitie, and John Carleton ẏ yonger, doctor of the lawes, on the behalfe of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and John Saint Frideſwide Maior, John Bedeford, and John Norton, burgeſſes of the ſayde towne of Oxforde, on the behalfe of the communaltie of the ſame towne, came before the Kinges counſell at Weſtminſter in the counſell chamber there, neere to the Eſchecker, where the allegations on both parties being hearde, and vppon requeſt made, that it might pleaſe his maieſties counſell, according to the ſubmiſſions by bothe parties made, vnto the King, and to hys counſell, to take order in the matter in controuerſie betwixt them, concerning the late tumulte and buſineſſe whiche hadde chanced in the ſayde towne, by the diſorder of the communaltie of the ſame, in breaking downe, and brenning vppe of houſes, in taking and bearing away the bookes and other goodes of the ſaide maſters and Schollers, and in committing other tranſgreſſions, the counſell hauing conſideration thereof, to auoyd the decaye that mighte haue enſued to the ſayde towne, made thys ende betwixte them, that the communaltie of the ſayde Towne (John Bereforde, beeing in the Kinges priſon, and Roberte Lardiner only excepted) ſhould be bound to pay vnto the ſaid maſters and Scholers, dampnified in the ſayde tumulte and buſineſſe, for amendes, and reformation of iniuries and loſſes ſuſteyned (death and Mayheme excepted) two hundred and fiftie poundes, beſide the goodes taken and borne away, to bee reſtored againe, and this money to bee payde to the ſayde Chancellor, maſters and Scholers, on that ſide ẏ monday next before the feaſt of Saint James, or elſe ſufficiente ſureties put in for the paymēt thereof, at certain tearmes, as the parties ſhoulde agree vpon: and in reſpecte thereof, the ſaid John Bedeford, and John Norton, ſhall bee releaſſed out of priſon of the Marſhalſea, at the baile of the ſaid Maior, and of Roberte de Menkes, and John Dimmoks, till the next ſeſſions of gaole deliuerie, with condition, that the ſaid ſummes of money be paide, or ſuretie putte in for the paymente thereof, as before is ſaid, or elſe the bodies of the ſaid John Bedeford, and John de Norton, ſhall bee returned to the ſayd priſon, within three dayes after the feaſt of *Peter ad Vincula*, there to remayne in manner as before they did.

The ende and awarde made of the quarrell betwixt the Vniuerſitie and towneſmen of Oxforde.

It was alſo ordeyned by the counſel, with the aſſent of the ſaid Humfrey, and John Carleton, that all and euery manner of perſons of the ſayde Towne of Oxforde, and the Suburbes of the ſame, indited and arreigned of the felonies and tranſgreſſions before mentioned, that ſhoulde yeelde themſelues to the Kings priſon, to be tried by lawe, and alſo all other that were at that preſent in priſon, whiche the ſayd Humfrey, and John de Carleton ſhould name (John de Bereford and Robert Lardiner excepted) mighte bee let to baile, vppon ſufficient ſureties, that ſhoulde vndertake for them, bodyes for bodies, to appeare at the next ſeſſions of gaole deliuerie, there to bee tried, according to the order of lawe.

And further it was ordred, that all ſuch goodes and cattels as were taken and carried away frō the ſaide maſters and Schollers in the ſayde tumulte and buſineſſe, by the menne of the ſayde Towne and ſuburbes, in whoſe handes, and in what places ſoeuer within the ſaide Towne and ſuburbes, by inquiſitions, informations, or other meanes, they ſhoulde or mighte be found, ſhould bee deliuered vnto the ſayde Chauncellor, and procurators of the ſayde Vniuerſitie, to bee by them reſtored vnto thoſe perſons, to whome they belonged.

This was the effect of the order taken at that day and place, before the reuerende fathers, John Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, primate and Chancellor of Englande, William Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, Lorde Treaſorer, Thomas de Brembre, Lorde keeper of the priuie ſeale, and Dauid de Wollore, maſter of the rolles, Henry de Ingelby Clearke, and other of the Kings counſell then there preſente.

The Prince of Wales (as yee haue hearde,) beeing appoynted to paſſe ouer into Gaſcoigne, ſette forwarde from London the laſt daye of June, and comming to Plimmouth where hys nauie was appoynted to be made ready, he ſtayed there, for want of conuenient winde and weather a long time after.

Finally, hauing with him the Erles of Warwike, Suffolke, Saliſbury and Oxforde, alſo, the Lord John Chandos, Sir Robert Knolles, ſir Franke de Halle, the L. James Audeley, with diuers other of the nobilitie, and of men of armes and archers, a greater number, than in Parliamente was firſte to hym aſſigned, hee ſette from Plimmouth on the daye of the natiuitie of oure Lady.

They were in all three hundred ſayle, and finding the winde proſperous, they paſſed ouer into Gaſcoigne, where of the Gaſcoignes they were ioyfully receyued.

In Auguſt, the Engliſhmen that were in Britaine, warring agaynſte the Frenchmenne, that tooke parte with the Lorde Charles de Bloys, ſlewe many of them, and tooke the Lorde of Beaumanor, the vicount of Roan, and dyuers other.

This yeare alſo, aboute Michaelmas the King hauing ſommoned an army to be ready at

Sandwich, paſſed ouer to Caleis with the ſame.

There wente ouer with him his two ſonnes, Lionell of Andwerp Earle of Vlſter, and John of Gant Earle of Richmont.

He found at Caleis a thouſand men of armes that came to ſerue hym for wages, forthe of Flaunders, Brabant, and Almaigne, ſo that hee had about three thouſand men of armes, and two thouſand archers on horſebacke, beſide archers on foote in great number.

The Citie of London had ſente to hym fiue and twentie men of armes, and fiue hundred archers, all in one ſute or liuerie, at their owne coſtes and charges.

The ſecond of Nouember, he ſet from Caleis, marching forthe towardes Saint Omers, waſting the Countrey by the way as he paſſed.

The Frenche Kyng beeyng the ſame tyme within the Towne of Sainte Omers, ſente the Lord Bouſicaut vnto the Kyng of Englande, that vnder colour of communication, hee might viewe the Kyngs power, who made ſuch reporte thereof, vppon hys returne backe to the Frenche Kyng, that he determined not to fighte with the King of Englande, but rather to paſſe before hym, and ſo to deſtroy vittayles, that for wante thereof, the Kyng of Englande ſhoulde bee conſtreyned to returne. And as he determined ſo it came to paſſe, for the vittayles were ſo cutte off, that the Engliſhmenne for three dayes togither, dranke nothing but water.

When therefore Kyng Edwarde had followed his enimies ſo farre as Heyden, where hee brake the Parke, and brente the houſes within and about the Parke, although he entred not into the Towne nor Caſtell, at length, for defaulte of vittayles, he returned backe, and came agayne to Caleis on Saint Martins day, being the tenth after his ſetting forth from thence.

The morrow after beeing Thurſday, and the twelfth of Nouember, the Cõneſtable of Frãce, and other Frenchmenne, came to the ende of the cauſey of Caleis, with letters of credence, offering battaile the tweſday nexte following, vnto the King of Englande, in preſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, the Earles of Northampton, and the Lord Walter de Manny, who in the Kings behalfe, declared to the Conneſtable, that the King of Englande, to eſchew ſhedding of bloud, woulde fight with the French King body to body, ſo to trie their right, and if he liked not of that matche, then if hee woulde chooſe three or foure Knightes to him that were neereſt to hym in bloud, hee ſhoulde chooſe the like number: but when this offer would not be accepted, the Engliſh Lordes offered battell the next day, beeyng Fridaye, or elſe on Saterday following, at the Frenchmennes choyce, but the Conneſtable of Fraunce and his company, continuing in theyr firſt offer, refuſed both thoſe dayes. Then the Engliſhe Lordes accepted the daye by them aſſigned, with condition, that if they broughte not King Edwarde to giue battayle that daye, they woulde yeelde themſelues priſoners, ſo that the Frenchmenne woulde lykewiſe vndertake for theyr King.

The Conneſtable hauing no aunſwere ready, ſtayed a while, and after flatly refuſed to make any ſuch couenaunt.

Finally, when the Engliſh Lordes perceyued their aduerſaries, not to meane battayle, as theyr wordes at the firſt pretended, they brake off, and both parties returned home.

The King of Englande ſtayed till the tweſday, and payd the ſtraungers their wages, and ſo came backe into England.

The ſixth of Nouember, whileſt the Kyng was thus abroade in Picardy, the Scottes very earely in the morning of that daye, came priuily to Berwike, entred by ſtelth into the towne, and ſleaing three or foure Engliſhmenne, tooke it, with all the goodes and perſons within it, thoſe excepted, which got to the Caſtell.

Berwike taken by Scottes.

In a Parliamente ſummoned this yeare, the Monday after the feaſt of Saint Edmonde the King, the Lords and commons graunted to K. Edward 50.ß. of euery ſacke of woolle, that ſhuld be carried ouer the ſea, for the ſpace of ſixe yeares next enſuing. By this grant it was thoughte, yͭ the K. might diſpẽd a M. markes ſterling a day, ſuch vent of woolles had the Engliſh merchants in that ſeaſon. The Parliament being ended, the K. about S. Andrews tide, ſet forward towardes Scotland, & held his Chriſtmas at new Caſtell. About which time, by letters ſent frõ yͤ Prince, yͤ K. was aduertiſed of his proceedings after hys arriuall in Gaſcoigne, wher being ioyfully receiued of the nobles, & other yͤ people of that cõtrey, (as before ye haue heard,) he declared to them the cauſe of his thither cõming, & tooke aduice with them how to proceede in his buſineſſe, and forabout yͤ tenth of October, he ſet forward to paſſe againſt his enimies, firſt entring into a countrey called Juliake, which togither with the fortreſſes, yeelded to him, without any great reſiſtãce. Thẽ he rode through yͤ countie Armignac, waſting & ſpoiling the countrey, and ſo paſſed through the landes of the vicountes de la Riuiere, and after entred into the countie de l'Eſtrac, and paſſing through yͤ ſame, came into the countie of Commynges, finding the Towne of Saint Matan voyde, being a good towne, and one of the beſt in that countrey.

A parliament.

The proceedinges of the prince of Wales in Aquitayne.

After this, he paſſed by the lande of the Earle of Liſle, till hee came within a league of Tholouſe, where the Earle of Armignac, beeyng the French Kings Lieutenaunt in thoſe parties, and other great Lordes and nobles were aſſẽbled.

The Prince with his army tarried there a two dayes, and after paſſed ouer the riuer of Garonne, & after ouer an other riuer thereaboutes, a league aboue Tholouſe, lodging that nighte, a league on the other ſide of Tholouſe: and ſo they paſſed through Tholouzaine, taking daylye Townes and Caſtels, wherein they found great riches, for the countrey was very plentifull.

Carcaſſon.

Narbonne.

Two Biſhops ſente from the Pope to the Prince of Wales.

Upon Alhallowen euen, they came to Caſtell Naudarie, and from thence they tooke the way to Carcaſſon, into the whiche, a greate number of men of armes and commons were withdrawen. But vpon the approch of the Engliſhmen, they ſlipt away, and got them to a ſtrong Caſtell that ſtoode neere at hand. The thirde daye after, the Engliſhmen brente the Towne, and paſſing forth, trauerſed all the countrey of Carcaſſonois, till they came to the Towne of Narbonne. The people there were fledde into the Caſtell, in which the Vicount of Narbõne was encloſed, with fiue hundred men of armes. The Prince ſtayed there two dayes. The Pope ſent two Biſhoppes towardes the Prince, to treate with him of peace, but bycauſe the Prince would not hearken to any treatie, without commiſſion from his father, they could not get any ſaufe conduit to approche neerer.

The Prince hauing aduertiſementes heere, that his enimies were aſſembled, and followed him, he turned backe to meete them, but they had no will to abide him: for although the Earle of Armignac, the Conneſtable of Fraunce, the marſhall Clerermont, and the Prince of Orange, with diuers other, neere to Tholouſe, made ſome ſhewe to impeache the Prince his paſſage, yet in the ende, they withdrew, not without ſome loſſe, for the Lorde Batholmewe de Burwaſch, alias Burgherſch, Sir John Chandos, the L. James Audeley, and Sir Thomas Felton, being ſente forth to view them, ſkirmiſhed with two hundred of their men of armes, and tooke of thẽ fyue and thirtie. After this, they had no mind to abyde the Engliſhe power, but ſtill ſhranke away, as the Prince was ready to followe them, and ſo hee perceyuing that the Frenchmen would not gyue him battell, he withdrew towardes Burdeaux, after he had ſpente eight weekes in that his iourney, and ſo comming thither, he wintered there, whileſt his Captaines in the meane time tooke dyuers Townes and Caſtels abroade in the Countrey. And nowe to the ende yee maye haue more playne information of yͤ Princes doings in thoſe parties, I haue thought good to make you partakers of a letter or two, written by Sir John Wingfelde Knighte, attendante on the Prince there in Gaſcoigne.

The co Sir Io Wink lette

MY Lorde, as touching the newes in theſe parties, maye it pleaſe you to vnderſtande, that all the Earles, Barons, Banerets, knightes and Eſquiers, were in health at the making hereof, and my Lord hath not loſt either Knighte or Eſquier in this voyage, excepte the Lorde John Liſle, who was ſlayne after a ſtraunge manner with a quarrel, the third day after we were entred into our enimies countreys, he dyed the fifteenth of October. And pleaſe it you to vnderſtand, that my Lorde hathe ridden through the countrey of Arminac, and hathe taken many cloſed townes, and brente and deſtroyed them, except certayne which he hath fortified.

After this, hee marched into the vicontie of Rouergue, where hee tooke a good Towne named Pleaſance, the chiefeſt Towne of that countrey, which he hath brent and deſtroyed, with the countrey round about the ſame.

This done, he went into yͤ County d'Aſtrike, wherein he tooke many Townes, waſted and deſtroyed all the countrey.

After this, hee entred into the countie of Cominge, and tooke many townes there, whiche hee cauſed to bee deſtroyed and brent, togither with all the countrey abroade. He tooke alſo yͤ town of S. Matan, which is the chiefeſt Towne of that countrey, being as large in cõpaſſe as Norwich.

And after, he entred into yͤ countie of Liſle, and tooke the moſt part of the cloſed townes therein, cauſing diuers of them to be brent and deſtroyed as he paſſed. And after entring into the Lordſhip of Tholouſe, we paſſed the riuer of Girond, & an other, a league aboue Tholouſe, whiche is very great, for our enimies had brent all yͤ bridges, as well on the one ſide of Tholouſe, as the other, excepte the bridges within Tholouſe, for the ryuer runneth through the towne. And yͤ Conneſtable, of Fraunce, yͤ merſhal Clerermont, & the Earle of Arminac, were with a greate power within the towne the ſame time. And Tholouſe is a greate Towne, ſtrong, faire, and well walled, and there was none in our hoſt that knew the fourde there, but yet by the grace and goodneſſe of God, wee found it. So then we marched through the ſeigneurie of Tholouſe, & tooke many good Townes encloſed, and brent and deſtroyed them, and all yͤ countrey about. And after, wee entred into the ſeigneurie of Carcaſon, and we tooke many good Townes, before we came to Carcaſon, whyche towne we alſo tooke, which is greater, ſtronger, & fairer than Yorke. And as well this towne as all other townes in the countrey were brent and deſtroyed. And after we had paſſed by many iourneys through the coũtrey of Carcaſſon, we came into yͤ ſeigneurie of Narbonne, & we toke many townes, and waſted them, till we came to Narbon, which towne was holden againſt vs. but it was won by force, and the ſayde towne is little leſſe than London, and is ſituate vpon the Greekes ſea, for that the diſtance from the ſayd town vnto the Greekiſh ſea is not paſt .ij. leagues, and there is an hauen & a place to arriue at, frō whēce yͤ water cōmeth vp to Narbōne. And Narbōne is not but .xj. leagues diſtant from Mountpellier and .18. from Eguemortz, and .30. frō Auignion. And may it pleaſe you to vnderſtande, that the holy Father ſent his meſſengers to my lord, that were not paſt .vij. leagues frō him, and they ſent a Sergeaunt at armes, that was Sergeaunt at armes attendant on the dore of our holy fathers chamber, with their letters to my Lord, praying him to haue a ſafeconducte to come to declare to his highneſſe their meſſage from the holy father, which was to treat betwixt my L. & his aduerſaries of France: & the ſaid ſergeant was .ij. days in yͤ hoſt before my lord wold ſee him, or receiue his letters. And the reſon was, bicauſe he had vnderſtanding, that the power of Fraunce was come forth of Tolouze toward Carcaſſon, ſo that my L. was driuē to turn back towards them ſodeinly, and ſo did. And the third day when we ſhould haue come vpon them, they had knowlege giuen before day, and ſo retiring, got them to the mountayns, haſting faſte towardes Tolouze, and the countrey people that were theyr guydes to leade them that waye, were taken as they ſhould haue paſſed the water. And bicauſe the Popes ſergeant at armes was in my keeping. I cauſed him to examine the guides that were ſo taken: and for that the guide which was thus examined, was yͤ Conneſtables guide, & his countreyman, he might wel ſee and know the countenance of the French men vpon this examining him. And I ſayde to the ſame ſergeant, that he might well declare to the Pope and to al them of Auignion that which he had heard or ſeene. And as touching the anſwere which my lorde made to them that were ſent to treat with hym, you would be wel apayd, if you vnderſtode al the maner: for he would not ſuffer in any wiſe that they ſhoulde come neerer vnto him. But if they came to treat of any matter, he would that they ſhould ſende to the king his father: for my lord himſelfe woulde not doe any thing therein, excepte by commaundemente from my Lord his father. And of my Lords turning back to follow after his enimies, and of the paſſage of the riuer of Garonne, and of the taking of Caſtels and townes in this iourney and of other things whiche he hath done againſt his enimies in purſute of them in this iourney, beeyng things right worthie and honourable as manye know very wel, in like maner as ſir Ric. Stafforde, and Sir Williā Burton can more plainly declare than I to you can write, for it were to muche to put in writing. And my Lord rode thus abroade in the countrey of his enimies .viij. whole weekes, and reſted not paſt eleuen dayes in all thoſe places where he came. And knowe it for certayne, that ſith this warre began agaynſt the Frenche Kyng, he had neuer ſuche loſſe or deſtruction as hee hath had in this iourney: For the countreyes and good townes whyche were waſted at thys iourney, founde to the Kyng of Fraunce euery yeare more to the mayntenaunce of his warre than halfe his realme hath doon beſyde, excepte the exchaunge of his money whiche he maketh euery yeare, and the aduauntage and cuſtome whiche he taketh of them of Poictow, as I can ſhewe you by good remembrance, whiche were founde in dyuers townes in the receyuers houſes: for Carcaſſon and Le Moignes, whiche is as greate as Carcaſſon, and two other Townes in the coaſtes of Carcaſſon, founde to the King of France yerely wages for a thouſand men of armes: & beſide that .C. M. of old crownes to mainteyn the warre. And know you, that by the remembrances whiche we found, that the townes in Tholouzein which are deſtroyed, and the towns in the countrey of Carcaſſon, and the town of Nerbonne & Narbonnoys did find euery yere with the ſums aforſaid, in aid of his war .iiij. C. M. old crowns, as the burgeſes of yͤ great townes and other people of the countrey whiche ought to know it, haue told vs. And ſo by Gods aſſiſtance if my L. had wherwith to maintayne this warre, and to make the kings profit and his own honor, he ſhuld enlarge wel the engliſh marches, & gain many fair places: for our enimies are greatly aſtonied. And at the making heereof, my L. hath apointed to ſend al the Erles, & al the banerets to abide vpon certaine places on the marches, to make roads, & to anoy his aduerſaries.

My lorde, at this preſent I know none other newes to ſend, but you may by your Letters cōmande me as yours to my power. My right honorable lord, God graunt you good life, ioy, and health, long to continue. Written at Burdeaux, the Tuiſday next before Chriſtmaſſe.

The tenor of an other letter written by Sir Iohn Wyngfield, directed to ſir Richard Stafford knight vvho had bin in Gaſcoyne, and there leauyng his familie, vvas novv returned into England.

The copie of an other letter.

RIght deare ſir, and right louing frende, touching newes after your departure, you maye vnderſtande, that there be taken and yelded fiue Townes incloſed, to witte, Port Saint Mary, Cleyrac, Tonyngs, Burgh Sainct Pierre, Chaſtiel Sacret or Satrat, and Braſſack. Alſo ſeuentene Caſtelles, to wit, Coiller, Buſet, Lemnak, two caſtels called Boloynes, whiche ioyne the one nere to the other, Mounioy, Ulreſch, Frechenet, Mountender, Pudeſchales, Mounpoun, Montanak, Valeclare, Cenamont, Leyſtrake, Plaſſake, Cont Deſtabliſon, and Mounriuell. And will it pleaſe you to knowe that my Lorde John Chandos, my lord James Audley, & your men that are with them, and the other Gaſcoins that are in their companie, and my Lord Baldwyn Buttetort and that company, and my lord Reynolde Cobham, tooke the ſaid towne, which is called Chaſtiel Sacret, or Satrat, by aſſault: and the baſtarde of Liſle whiche was captaine of the ſayd towne was alſo ſlaine there, as they aſſaulted it, being ſtriken with an arrow through the head: and my Lorde Reynolde is retourned backe toward Languedock: and my lord Baldwin towards Braſſack, with their companies: and yͤ lords John & James, and thoſe of their cõpany remain in Chaſtiel Satrat, & haue victuals plentie of al ſorts to ſerue them betwene this and Midſomer, except of freſhe fiſhe, and cabages as they haue aduertiſed vs by letters, wherupon ye need not to take thought for your mẽ. And there be in that towne more than. iij. C. glaiues, and iij. C. yeomen, & an. Cl. archers. And they haue ridde before Agen, & brent and deſtroyed all their Milnes, and haue brente and broken downe all their bridges that lye ouer Garon, and haue takẽ a Caſtell without the ſame towne, and haue fortified it. And Monſier John Darminak, and the Seneſhal of Agenois, which were in the town of Agen, wold not once put forth their hed, nor any of their people, and yet haue they bin twice before that towne. And Monſ. Buſgaud was come, & Monſieur Ernald de Spayne, and Grimoton de Chambule, with. iij. C. glaiues, &. iij. ſergeantes Lombards: & they are in the town of Muſchack, which is in Creſſy, & it is but a myle from Chaſtiel Satrat or Sacret, & a league from Breſſak, and ye may well thinke that there will bee good companie to taſte one another. And further may it pleſe you to know, that Monſ. Bartholomew is at Coniack with. vj. ſcore men of armes of my lords houſe, & ſix ſcore archers, and the captau de Buche or Beuf, the lorde Montferrant, and the lorde of Crotony, which haue with them. iij. C. glaiues, and. vj. ſcore archers, &. ij. C. ſergeantes, beſide them which are in Tailbourgh, Tanney, and Rochford, ſo that when they are togyther, they may be well. vj. C. glaiues, and at the making hereof, they were vpon a iourney towardes Aniou and Poictou, and the Earles of Suffolke, Oxford, & Saliſbury, the lord of Muſeden, Mõſieur Ellis de Pomiers, and other Gaſcoygnes, with the whiche are well more than. v. C. glaynes, and. ij. C. ſergeantes, and. iij. hundred Archers, and they wer at the making hereof toward the parties of Noſtre Dame de Rochemade, & haue bin forth aboue twelue days, and wer not returned at the ſending of theſe preſentes. My Lorde John Chandois, my lorde James, & my lorde Baldwin, and thoſe which be in their companie are alſo forth vpon a iourney toward their parties: My Lorde Reinolde and thoſe of the houſhold, with the Gaſcoyns whiche be in theyr companie, are alſo forth vpon a iorney towards their parties. The Erle of Warwick hath bene at Tonings and at Clerak, to take thoſe towns, and at the making heereof was gone towardes Mermande to deſtroye their Vynes, and all other things which he can deſtroy of theyrs. My Lord is at Leyborn, and the lord of Pomiers at Fronſak, which is but a quarter of a league frõ Leyborne: and my lordes people lye as well at Sainct Milion, as at Leyborne, and Monſieur Berard de Bret is there with hym, and my lord looketh for newes whyche he ſhoulde haue, and accordyng to the newes that he ſhal haue, he will behaue hymſelfe: for as it ſeemeth, he ſtandeth muche on hys honour. At the makyng heereof, the Earle of Arminacke was at Auignion, and the Kyng of Arragon is there alſo: and of all other parleys whyche haue bin in diuers places, (wherof you know) I can not certifie you at the makyng hereof. Ryght deare Syr, other thing I can not ſende vnto you, but that you remember your ſelfe to ſend newes to my lord Prince as ſoone as in anye wyſe you maye, and ſo the Lorde graunte you good lyfe and long. Written at Leyborne the one and twentieth of Januarye.

Buſcicault.

The captal de Buz.

These Letters haue I thought good to make the reader partaker of, as I fynde them in the Chronicle of Roberte Aueſburye, to the ende ye may perceiue how other writers agree therwith, ſith the ſame Letters may ſerue as a toucheſtone to trie the truthe of the matter. And ſo nowe I wil returne to ſpeake of the kings doyngs in the north parte where we lefte hym.

The fourteenth of Januarie Kyng Edward hauyng hys armye lodged neere the Towne of Berwycke, and hys Nauye ready in the hauen to aſſayle the Scottes that were wythin the Towne, hee entred the Caſtell whiche the Engliſhemenne hadde in theyr handes, the Lorde Walter de Manny being theyr Capitayn, who hadde gotte certayne Myners thyther from the Forreſt of Deane, and other parts of the realme, whyche were buſye to make paſſage vnder the grounde by a moyne throughe whyche the Engliſhmen might enter into the towne.

Herevpon, when the Scottes perceyued in what daunger they ſtoode, and knewe that they coulde not long defend the Towne againſt him, they ſurrendred it into hys handes without further reſiſtance.

In the Scottyſhe Hiſtoryes it is recorded, that when thoſe whiche were wythin the towne of Berwycke hearde howe that an armye of Engliſhe

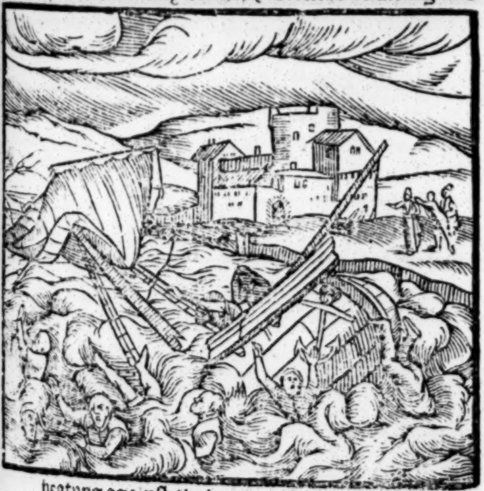
Hec. Bo

Engliſhmen came to the ſuccours of the caſtell, they raſed the walles and brente the houſes of the Towne, and ſo departed wyth all the ſpoyle whych they had gotten there.

But howe ſo euer it was, kyng Edward being againe poſſeſſed of the towne, he ſet men a worke to repare it, and paſſyng forth to Roxburg, there met with hym the ryghtfull King of Scots Edwarde Balliol, who tranſferred and reſigned all the right, title and intereſt, which he had or myght haue to the Crowne and Realme of Scotland into king Edwards handes: which reſignation he confirmed by his Letters patentes therof made and giuen vnder his hand and ſeale, dated the .xxv. of January. 1356. requiring K. Edwarde to perſeuer in purſute of his title to the vttermoſte.

King Edwarde hauing thus receyued the reſignation and releaſe of the Crowne of Scotlande, of Edwarde Balliol, marched forthe wyth hys armye tyll hee came to Hadington, brenning and deſtroying the countrey on eche ſide round aboute him, as he paſſed. And whyleſt he laye there, abyding for his ſhippes, his men of warre were not ydle, but raunged abroade in the countrey, and did all the damage to their enimies that they coulde deuiſe.

At length his armie whiche he had the ſame tyme on the ſea, arriued on that coaſte, and landyng, ſpoyled a Churche of our Lady, called the White kirke: but being retourned to their ſhips, there roſe ſuche a tempeſt and vehement Northwynde, that many of theyr Veſſels ruſhyng and beatyng againſt the banks ⁊ ſandes, were drowned togither with the men that were within thẽ, for diſpleaſure wherof, Kyng Edwarde fell to the ſpoyle of the countrey agayn; not ſparing one place more than an other: by reaſon wherof, as well abbeys as all other Churches and religions houſes both in Hadington, in Edinborough, and through all other the parties of Louthian, where ſoeuer he came, were defaced, and put to ſacke.



At length when he had accompliſhed his will, and ſo ſette things in order, he returned back into Englande with the forſayde Edwarde Balyoll in hys companie, whom he kept with him, for doubte leaſt hee ſhoulde reuolte, and procure ſome newe trouble.

In the moneth of July the Duke of Lancaſter being ſente to the ayde of the King of Nauarre, came into Conſtantine, whiche is a portion of Normandie, and there ioyned with the Lorde Philippe of Nauarre, brother to the king of Nauarre, and with the Lord Godfrey de Harcourt, the whiche beyng returned into Fraunce, and reſtored to the Frenche kyngs fauour, was lately agayne reuolted vppon diſpleaſure taken for the death of his nephewe the Lorde John de Harcourte, as in the Frenche hiſtories ye maye reade more at large.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſent to ayde the K. of Nauerre.

Paulus Aemilius.

They were in all aboute the number of foure thouſande fightyng men, and beeyng aſſembled togyther, they wente to Lyſeux, to Orbec, to Ponteau, and reſkued the Caſtell there, whiche had bene beſieged by the Lord Roberte de Hotetot, maiſter of the Croſſebowes in France, more than two monethes: But nowe hearyng that the Engliſhemen and Nauarroys approched, he departed from thence, leauing behynde hym, for haſte, his engins and artillerie.

Froiſſart.

The Caſtell of Orbec reſkued

The duke of Lancaſter paſſed forwarde vnto Bretuiel, which he cauſed to be relieued and furniſhed with neceſſarie things as was conueniẽt. And then leauing the Citie of Eureux, whiche was as then in the Frenchmẽs hands lately yelded to them after a long ſiege, he went forwarde with the Lorde Philip de Nauarre in hys companye tyll they came to Verneuil in Perch, and there took both the Towne and Caſtel, and robbed the towne and brent a great part therof.

The citie of Evreux yelded to the Frenchmen.

Vernuil.

The Frenche Kyng who hadde aſſembled a myghtie armye, beyng aduertiſed of theſe matters, haſted forward towarde the Duke of Lancaſter, fully purpoſyng to giue him battayle.

The French K. cometh to giue the Duke of Lancaſter battayle.

The Duke and the lorde Philip de Nauarre hauyng knowleage that the French kyng followed them, withdrewe towardes the Towne of the Egle, and the King ſtill wente after them, tyll he came to Tuebeuf two leagues from the towne of the Egle, and there it was ſhewed to hym that he coulde not followe his enimies any further by reaſon of the thicke foreſts, which he coulde not paſſe without greate daunger of hys perſone and loſſe of his people. Then returned he wyth all his hoſte, and toke from the Nauarroys the Caſtel of Thylliers, and alſo the caſtel of Bretueil, whiche was yelded to him after two monethes ſiege.

Aboute the ſame tyme, that is to ſaye, in Julye, the Prince of Wales, hauyng aſſembled

Froiſſart.

The Prince of VVales inuadeth the french dominions.

an armye of menne of warre, to the number of eyght thouſand, entred into the frenche dominions, and fyrſte paſſyng thorough Auvergne, at length hee came into the countreye of Berrye, waſtyng and brennyng the Townes and vyllages as hee wente, takyng eaſye iourneyes for the better reliefe of his people, and deſtruction of his enimyes: for when hee was entred into anye Towne that was ſufficientely ſtored of things neceſſary, he wold tary there two or three dayes to refreſhe his Souldiours and menne of warre, and when they diſlodged, they woulde ſtryke out the heades of the wyne veſſelles, and brenne the wheate, oates and barley, and all other thynges whyche they coulde not take with them, to the intente theyr enimyes ſhoulde not therwith bee ſuſteyned.

The citie of Burges.

Iſſoldune aſſaulted.

After this, they came before the citie of Burges, and there made a greate ſkirmiſhe at one of the gates, and there were manye feates of armes done. The hoſte departed from thence, without any more doyng, and commyng to a ſtrong caſtell called Iſſoldon, they fiercely aſſayled it, but coulde not winne it: The Gentlemenne within defended the walles and gates ſo manfully.

Vierzon vvonne.

Then paſſed they forewarde, and came to Vierzon, a greate towne and a good Caſtell, but it was nothyng ſtrongly fortifyed, and therfore was it wonne perforce, the people wythin it beyng not ſufficient to reſiſt the valyant puiſſance of the Engliſhemen.

The paſſages ſtopped.

Heere they founde wyne and other victuals in great plentie, and thereupon they taryed there three dayes to refreſhe themſelues at eaſe. But before they departed, the Prince had aduertiſement gyuen hym that the Frenche Kyng was come to Chartres, wyth an huge aſſemble of menne of warre, and that all the Townes and paſſages aboue the ryuer of Loire were cloſed and keple. Then was the Prince counſayled to retourne and paſſe by Touraynne ⁊ Poictou, and ſo that waye to Burdeaux.

The Prynce returneth.

The Prince followyng theyr aduice that thus counſelled hym, ſette forwarde towarde Remorentine. The Frenche Kyng hadde ſente into that Countrey to keepe the Frontiers there, the Lord of Craon, the Lord Bouciquault, and the Hermyte of Chaumount, the which with three hundred men of armes had followed the Engliſhemenne ſixe dayes togyther, and coulde neuer fynde any conuenient occaſion to ſette vpon them: for the Engliſhemen gouerned themſelues ſo ſagely, that theyr enimyes coulde not lightly aſſaile them, but to theyr owne diſaduantage. One daye the Frenchemen layde themſelues cloſely in an ambuſh neere to the Towne of Remorentin, at a meruaylous ſtrayte paſſage, by the whyche the Engliſhemenne muſte needes paſſe.

The ſame daye there were departed from the Princes battaile, by licence of the Marſhals, certayne Capitaynes, Engliſhemen, and Gaſcoignes, as the Lorde Bartholomew de Burgherſce, or Burwaſche (as ſome wryte hym) the Lorde of Mucident Gaſcongne, Monſieur Petiton de Courton, the Lorde de la Ware, the Lord Baſſet, ſir Danel Paſſelew, ſir Richarde Ponchardō, ſir Noel Loring, yͤ yong lord Spẽcer, and two of the Daubreticourtes, Sir Edwarde, and an other, who hauyng wyth them two hundred men of armes, wente forthe to renne beefore Remorentin, that they myghte viewe the place.

Remo

They paſſed forth alongeſt by the Frenchemen whyche lay in embuſhe, as ye haue hearde, and they wer not aduiſed of them, and they were no ſooner paſſed, but that the Frenchemen brake out, and gallopped after the Engliſhmen with greate randon, hauyng theyr ſpeares in theyr reſtes. The Engliſhemen and the Gaſcoyns hearyng horſſes to come gallopping after them, tourned, and perceyuyng them to bee their enimies, ſtoode ſtyll to abyde them. The Frenchemen couragiouſly gaue the charge, and the Engliſhemen as valyantly defended them, ſo that there enſewed a great ſkirmiſhe, whyche continued a long whyle, ſo that it coulde not be eaſyly iudged who had the better, tyll that the battayle of the Engliſh Marſhalles approched, the whyche when the Frenchemen ſawe commyng by a wood ſyde, they fledde ſtreyghte wayes towardes Remorentine, and the Engliſhmen folowed in chaſe ſo faſte as their horſſes myghte beare them, and entred the towne with the frenchemen: but the frenche Lordes and the one half of their companye gotte into the Caſtell, and ſo ſaued themſelues.

Askir

The Fr
menue

The P
lodget
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moren

The Prince hearing what had hapned, came into the Towne, and there lodged that nyghte, ſendyng Sir Iohn Chandos to talke wyth the Capitaynes of the Caſtell, to knowe if they woulde yeld: and bycauſe they refuſed ſo to do, on the nexte morrowe hee cauſed his people to giue an aſſaulte to the place, whiche continued the moſte parte of the day, but yet miſſyng their purpoſe, he commanded that they ſhould draw to their lodgyngs, and reſt them for that night. In the morning as ſoone as the Sunne was vp, the Marſhalles cauſed the Trumpets to ſounde, and thoſe that were appoynted to gyue the aſſaulte agayn, prepared themſelues to it.

The C
Remor
aſſaulte

The Prince himſelfe was preſente perſonally at thys aſſaulte, ſo that the ſame was enforced to the vttermoſte: But when they ſawe that by aſſaultes they coulde not wynne the Caſtell, they deuiſed engines wherewith they caſt wylde

It is ſet
fier.

fyre into the baſe Courte, and ſo ſette it on fyre, whiche encreaſed in ſuche vehemente ſorte, that it toke into the couerying of a great tower, which was couered with reede: and then they wythin perceyuyng they muſt eyther yelde or periſhe with fyre, came down & ſubmitted themſelues to the Prince, who as pryſoners receyued them.

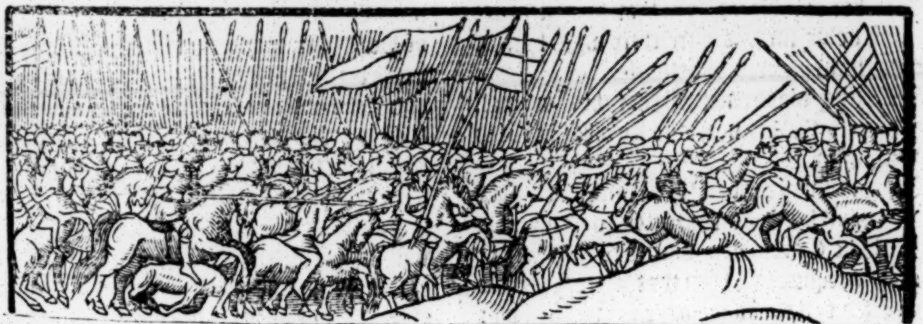
The Caſtell of Remorentine beeyng thus wonne and defaced with fyre, the Prince lefte it voyde, and marched forthe wyth his armye as before, deſtroying the countrey, and approched to Aniou and Touraine.

The Frenche King came forwarde towarde the Prince, and at Ambois heard how the Prince was in Tourayne, meanyng to returne through Poictow. He was dayly aduertiſed of the Princes doings by ſuch as were appoynted to coaſte hym euer in his iourney.

Then came the king to Hay in Tourain, and his people were paſſed the ryuer of Loire at ſundrye paſſages, where moſte conueniently they myghte. They were in number twentie thouſande men of armes: of noble menne there were ſixe and twentie Dukes and Earles, beſyde a greate number of other Lordes and Barons: the foure ſonnes of the Kyng were there, as the Lorde Charles Duke of Normandie, the Lord Lewes after Duke of Aniou, the Lorde John after duke of Berry, and the Lorde Philip whiche was after Duke of Burgongne.

The Frenche king doubtyng leaſt the Prince ſhoulde eſcape by ſpeedye iourneyes oute of his countrey, before he coulde come to giue him battayle, remoued to Chaunignie, and there paſſed the ryuer of Creuſe by the bridge, ſuppoſing that the Engliſhmen hadde bene before hym, but they were not. Some of the Frenchemen taryed behynde at Chaunignie for one nighte, and in the morning followed the king. They were aboute two hundred menne of armes vnder the leading of the Lorde Craon, the Lorde Raoull de Coucye, and the Earle of Joigny. They chaunced to encounter with certain of the auaunt currours of the Engliſhe armie, which remoued that day from a little village faſt by. Thoſe Engliſhmen were not paſt threeſcore men of armes, but well horſed, and therefore perceyuing the greate number of the Frenchemen, they fledde towarde the Princes battayle, whiche they knewe was not farre off. Capitaines of the Engliſhemen were two knyghtes of Heynault, the Lorde Euſtace Dambreticourt, & the Lord John of Guiſtelles.

Chasnignie.



The Frenchemen beholding them in this wiſe to flee, rode after a mayne, and as they folowed in chaſe, they came on the Princes battayle before they were aware. The Lorde Raoull of Coucy wente ſo farre forewarde with his banner, that hee entred vnder the Princes banner, and fought right valyantly, but yet he was there taken, and the Earle of Joignie, alſo the Vicount of Bruce, the Lorde Chaunignie and dyuers other, ſo that the moſte parte of thoſe Frenchemen were eyther taken or ſlayne, and very fewe eſcaped. The Prince vnderſtode by the Priſoners, that the Frenche king was ſo farre aduanced forwarde in purſute of hym, that hee coulde not auoyde the batayle. Then he aſſembled hys men togither, and cōmaunded them to kepe order, and ſo rode that day beeing Saterdaye from morning till it was towarde night, & then came within two leagues of Poictiers: and herewyth ſending forth certain captaynes to ſearch if they could heare where the kyng was, hee encamped hymſelfe that nyght in a ſtrong place amongeſt hedges, vines, and buſhes. They that were ſent to diſcouer the countrey, rode ſo far, that they ſawe where the French king with his great battayle, was marching, and ſetting vpon the tayle of the Frenchemen, cauſed al the hoſte to ſtirre: whereof knowledge being giuen to the king, the which as then was entring into Poictiers, hee returned again, and made all his hoſte to do the like, ſo that it was very late ere he and his people wer beſtowed in their lodgings that nyght.

The Engliſhe currours retournyng to the Prince, declared what they had ſeene and done. So, that nyghte, the two armyes beeing lodged wythin a ſmall diſtaunce eyther of other, kepte ſtrong and ſure watche aboute theyr campes.

On the morrowe after, beeing Sundaye, and the eyghteenth daye of September the Frenche Kyng cauſed hys hoſte to be deuided into three battayls or wards, and in eche of them were ſixtene thouſande armed men, al muſtered and paſ-

The ordering of the Frenche battell.

ſed for armed men. The firſt battayle was gouerned by the Duke of Orliance, wherein were ſixe and thirtie banners, and twice as many penons. The ſeconde was ledde by the Duke of Normandie and hys brethren, the Lord Lewes and the Lorde John. The thirde the French K. hymſelfe conducted. And whyle theſe battayles were a ſettyng in arraye, the Kyng cauſed the Lorde Euſtace de Ribaumount, and two other noble menne to ryde on before, to ſee the dealing of the Engliſhemenne, and to aduiſe of what number they were.

Thoſe that were thus ſente, rode forth, and behelde the order of the Engliſhemenne at good leyſure: and retournyng, enfourmed the Kyng, that as they coulde iudge, the enimyes were aboute two thouſande menne of armes, foure thouſande Archers, and fifteene hundred of others, and that they were lodged in ſuch a ſtrong place, and ſo well fenced wyth ditches and hedges, that it wold be hard aſſaultng them therin.

The Cardinall of Piergoite.

The Cardinall of Piergort the Popes Legate, as then lying in the Citie of Poictiers, came that mornyng to the Kyng, and required hym to abſtayne from battayle, til he might vnderſtande whether the Prince woulde condeſcende vnto ſuche conditions of peace as he him ſelfe ſhoulde thynke reaſonable, whyche if it myghte be broughte to paſſe, the ſame ſhoulde be more honourable for hym than to aduenture ſo many noble men as were there wyth hym at that preſent in hazarde of battayle.

The King was contented that the Cardinall ſhould goe to the Prince, and ſee what he could doe with hym.

The Prince of VVales contented to come to a treatie.

The Cardinall rode to the Prince, and talked with him tyll hee was contented to come to a treatie. The Cardinall retourned to the Frenche kyng, and required of hym that a truce mighte be graunted tyll the nexte daye Sunne ryſing: whyche truce obteyned, hee ſpente that daye in ryding to and fro betwixt them.

The offer of the Prince of VVales.

The Prince offred, to render into the Kyngs handes, all that he hadde wonne in that voyage, as well Townes as Caſtelles, and alſo to releaſe all the Priſoners, whiche he, or any of his men had taken in that iorney: and further he was contented to haue bene ſworne not to beare armour agaynſt the French king, within the terme of. vij. yeres next folowing. But the French K. woulde not agree thereto: The vttermoſt that hee would agree vnto, was this, that the Prince and an hundred of hys Knyghtes, ſhould yeld them ſelues as Priſoners vnto hym: otherwyſe hee woulde not haue the matter taken vp.

The Frenche Kinges preſumptuous demaunde.

The Prince in no wyſe coulde be broughte to anye ſuche vnreaſonable conditions, and ſo the Cardinall coulde not make them freendes, although hee trauayled earneſtly betwixt them all that daye. When it drew towardes nyght, he retourned towarde Poictiers.

The Engliſhmen were not ydle, whyleſt the Cardinall thus was in hande to bring the parties to ſome good agreemente but caſte greate ditches, and made hedges, and other fortifications aboute the place, where theyr Archers ſtoode, and on the nexte mornyng, beyng Mondaye, the Prynce and hys people prepared them ſelues to receyue battayle, as they had done before, hauyng paſſed the daye before and that nyghte in greate defaulte of neceſſarie thynges, for they coulde not ſtirre abroade to fetche forrage or other prouiſions wythout daunger to be ſurpriſed of theyr enimyes.

The Cardinall came agayne early in the morning to the Frenche Kyng, and founde the Frenche army ready in order of battayle by that tyme the Sunne was vp, and though hee eftſoones fell in hande to exhorte the Kyng to an agreemente, yet it would not be: and ſo he went to the Prince, and declared to hym howe he coulde doe no good in the matter, and therfore he muſte abyde the hazarde of battayle for ought that he coulde ſee: wherewith the Prince was contente, and ſo the Cardinall retourned vnto Poictiers.

Here is to be remembred, that when (as Thomas Walſingham wryteth) thys Cardinall of Perigourt was ſente from the Pope to trauayle betwixte the parties for a peace to bee had, and that the Pope exhorted hym verie earneſtly to ſhewe his vttermoſte diligence and endeuor therin: at his ſetting forth to goe on that meſſage, the ſayde Cardinall (as was ſayde) made this anſwere: Moſt bleſſed father, ſayd he, either will we perſwade them to peace and quietneſſe, eyther elſe ſhall the verie Flint ſtones crye oute of it. But this hee ſpake not of hymſelfe, as it was ſuppoſed, but being a Prelate in that time, he propheſied what ſhould follow: for when the Engliſh Archers had beſtowed all their arrows vppon their enimies, they tooke vp pebles from the place where they ſtoode, beeyng full of thoſe kind of ſtones, and approchyng to their enimies, they threw the ſame with ſuch violẽce on them, that lighting againſt their helmets, armour, and targets, they made a great ringing noyſe, ſo that the Cardinals propheſie was fulfilled, that hee would either perſuade a peace, or elſe the ſtones ſhoulde crye out therof.

The worthye Prince lyke a coragious chieftaine, when he ſaw that he muſt needes fyghte, required his people not to bee abaſhed of the greate number of theyr enemyes, ſith the victorie did not conſiſt in the multitude of menne, but where God would ſende it: and if it fortuned

ned that the iourney myghte bee theirs and his, they ſhoulde be the moſte honored people of the world: and if they ſhould dye in that rightuous quarell, he had the Kyng his father, and alſo hys brethren, in lyke caſe as they hadde freendes and kynſemenne, that woulde ſeeke their reuenge. And therfore he deſyred them that day to ſhewe themſelues lyke valyant men of warre: and for his parte hee truſted in God and Sainct George, they ſhoulde ſee in hys perſone no defaulte.

These or the lyke wordes dydde thys moſte gentle Prince ſpeake, whiche greatly comforted all hys people. There were wyth hym of Earles, Warwicke, Suffolke, Saleſburye, Stafforde: of Lordes Cobham, Spencer, Audeley, Berckley, Baſſette, Wareyn, de la Ware, Bradeſton, Burwaſch, Felton, Mallowe and dyuers other: alſo Sir Iohn Chandos, by whome hee was muche counſayled, Sir Richard Stafforde, Syr Richarde of Penbruche, and manye other Knyghtes and valyaunt Eſquyres of Englande.

Moreouer, there was of Gaſcoyne, the Capitall of Buz or Boef, the Lordes of Prumes, Burguehrye, Chaumount, de Leſpare, Roſen, Monſerrant, Lāduras, the Souldich of Leſtrade, or Leſcarde, and other: and of Heynault, ſir Euſtace Daubreticourt, ſir Iohn de Guiſtelles, and other ſtraungers.

Al the Princes company paſſed not the number of eight thouſande men one and other, of the whiche (as Iacobus Meire hath) three thouſand were Archers: thoughe Froiſſart, as I haue reherſed before, reporteth the number of Archers to be more, as in one place ſixe thouſande, and in an other place foure thouſande.

The Frenche kyng hauyng in his armie three ſcore thouſande fighting men, wherof there were more than three thouſande Knyghtes, made ſo ſure accompte of victorie, as anye man mighte of a thyng not yet hadde, conſideryng his great puiſſaunce, in regarde to the ſmall number of his aduerſaries: and therfore immediatly after that the Cardinall was departed, hee cauſed hys battayles to marche forwarde, and approchyng to the place where the Engliſhemen ſtoode readye to receyue their enimyes, cauſed the onſette to be gyuen. There were certayne French horſmenne to the number of three hundred, wyth the Almayns alſo on horſebacke appoynted to breake the arraye of the Engliſhe Archers, but the Archers were ſo defended and compaſſed aboute with hedges and ditches that the horſemen of the Frenche parte, coulde not enter to doe their feate, and beeing galled wyth the ſharpe ſhotte of the Engliſhe bowes, they were ouerthrowne horſe and man, ſo that the vawarde of the Frenchemenne, wherein was the Duke of Athens, with the Marſhalles of Fraunce, the Lorde Iohn de Clermount, and the Lorde Arnolde Dandrehen or Odenhem beganne to diſorder wythin a whyle, by reaſon of the ſhotte of the Archers, together wyth the helpe of the men of armes, amongſt whome in the forefronte was the Lorde Iames Audeley, to perfourme a vowe which the had made, to be one of the firſt ſetters on. There was the Lorde Arnolde Dandrehen taken pryſoner, and the Lord Iohn de Clermont ſlayne, ſo that the noble prowes of the ſayde Lorde Iames Audeley, breaking through the Frenchmens battayle wyth the ſlaughter of manye enimies, was that day moſt apparant. The loyall conſtancie of the Noble Earles of Warwyke and Suffolke, that foughte ſo ſtoutly, ſo earneſtly, and ſo fiercely, was ryghte manyfeſte: and the Prince hymſelfe dyd not only fulfyll the office of a noble chieftayne, but alſo of a ryght valyant and experte ſouldioure, attempting what ſo euer any other hardye warriour woulde in ſuch caſes haue done.

The Lorde Iames Audely.

Tho. VVals.
The Earles of VVarvvicke and Suffolke.

Neyther was thys battayle quickely diſpatched, nor eaſyly broughte to ende, but it was foughte oute wyth ſuche obſtinate earneſtneſſe, that three tymes that daye were the Englyſhemen dryuen to renewe the fyghte, thorough the multitude of enimies that encreaſſed and came ſtill vppon them.

Fynally, the Marſhalles battayle was quite diſcomfited: for the Frenchemen and Almayns fell one vpon an other, and could not paſſe forth, and thoſe that were behynde, and coulde not get forewarde, reculed backe: and whileſt the Marſhalles battayle beyng on horſebacke thus aſſayled the Engliſh armie with great diſaduantage, and was in the ende beaten backe, the two battayles of the Dukes of Normandie and Orleaunce came forwarde, and lykewiſe aſſayled the Engliſhmenne, but coulde not preuayle, the Archers ſhotte ſo fiercelye, that to conclude, the Frenchemen behynd vnderſtanding the diſcomfyture of the Marſhalles battayle, and howe theyr fellowes before coulde not enter vppon theyr enimies, they opened and ranne to theyr horſſes, in whome they dydde put more truſte for theyr ſafeguarde by galloppyng on them awaye, than in theyr manlyke handes, for all theyr late brauerye and greate boaſtes. One thyng ſore diſcouraged the Frenchemen, and that was this: beſyde thoſe Engliſhmenne that were within the cloſure of their campe, there were certayn men of armes on horſebacke, with a number of Archers alſo on horſebacke, appointed to coaſt vnder the couerte of a Mountayne, adioynyng to the place, where they thought to ſtryke into a ſyde of the Duke of Normandies

The Marshalls battell put to the vvorse.

The Frenchemen ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight.

Polidor.

battayle, ſo that wyth the terroure heereof, and wyth the continuall ſhotte of the Engliſhe Archers, the Frenchemenne not knowyng where to tourne themſelues, ſoughte to ſaue their lyues by flighte.

The Prince of Wales, perceyuing how hys enimies (for the more part of them) were fleyng away, as men diſcomfited, ſent out his horſmen as well on the one hande as on the other, and he hymſelfe wyth hys whole power of footemen ruſhed forth, and manfully aſſayled the mayne battayle of the Frenchemenne, where the King hymſelfe was, who lyke a valyant Prince wold not flee, but fought ryghte manfully: ſo that yf the fourthe parte of his men had done halfe their partes as he didde hys, the victorie by lykelyhod had reſted (as Froiſſart ſayeth) on his ſyde: but he was forſaken of his three ſonnes, and of hys brother the Duke of Orleaunce, whych fledde out of the battayle wyth cleare handes. Finally after huge ſlaughter made of thoſe noble men, and other whiche aboade with hym euen to the ende, he was taken, and ſo lykewyſe was hys yongeſt ſonne Phillippe, and bothe put in greate daunger to haue bin murthered after they were taken by the Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes, ſtriuyng who ſhould haue the kyng to his priſoner, where in deede a knyght of Flaunders, or rather Artoys, borne in Saint Omers, called Sir Denyſe Morbecke, tooke him, but he was ſtrayghte wayes taken from the ſame ſir Denyſe by other that came in the meane ſeaſon.

Froiſſart.

The valiancye of the Frenche king.

The Frenche king taken.

James Mair.

Syr Denyſe Morbecke.

Froiſ

There were ſlayne in this battayle of noble men, the Dukes of Burbon, and Athenes, the Marſhall Cleremount, ſir Geoffreye Charnye, that bare the chiefe ſtandert of Fraunce, the Biſhop of Chaalons, ſir Euſtace de Ribaumount with diuers other to the number of an eight hundred Lordes, knyghts and Gentlemen of name.

Noble ſlayne.

Ia.M

In all there dyed of the Frenche parte ſixe thouſande of one and other. The chaſe was continued euen to the gates of Poictiers, and manye ſlayne and beaten downe in the ſtreete before the gates, whiche the Citizens hadde cloſed for doubt leaſt the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde enter with them that fled thyther for ſafegard.

Polid

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There were taken beſide the Kyng and his ſonne, the Lorde Iaques de Burbon, Earle of Ponthieu, brother to the duke of Burbon, that was ſlayne there, the Earle of Ew, the Lorde Charles his brother Erle of Longvile, the Archbiſhoppe of Sens, the Earles of Vandoſme, Salesbruche, Ventadore, Tankerville, Eſtampes, and Dampmartine: alſo Archembalde Dowglas a noble manne of Scotlande, ſonne to the Lorde William Douglas that was killed in Spayne, the Marſhall Dandrehen or Odehem (as Iacobus Meire hath) with other to the number of .xvij. hundred Earles, Lords, Knightes, and Gentlemen, beſyde thoſe of the meaner ſorte, ſo that the Engliſhemen had twice as manye Priſoners as they themſelues were in number: And therefore it was deuiſed amongeſt them, to put the moſte parte of theyr Priſoners to raunſome there in the fielde, and ſo they dyd for doubt of further daunger, the multitude beyng ſo greate as it was.

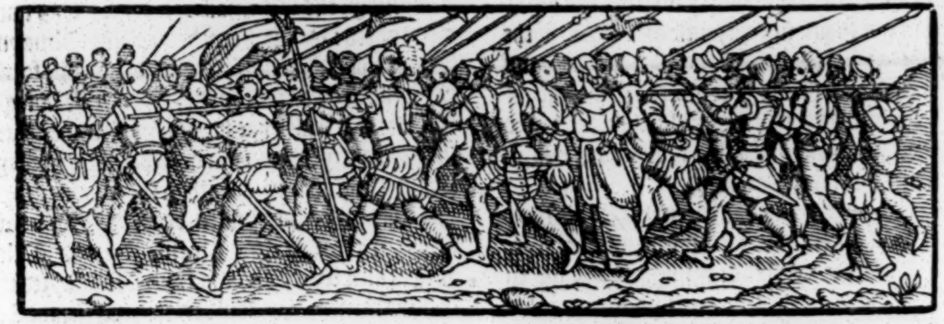
Froiſ

Ann

Archa Dougl

Iac.M

Priſon



Thus was the Prince of Wales victor in that notable battayle foughte in the fieldes of Beauvoir and Malpertuſe, two leagues from Poictiers, the nineteenth daye of September beyng Mondaye, in the yeare a thouſande, three hundred, fiftie and ſixe: it began in the morning and ended at noone. But bycauſe the Engliſhemen were ſcattered abroade in chaſe of theyr enimyes, the Princes banner was ſette vp in a buſhe, to drawe all his menne togyther. It was almoſte nyght ere they were all retourned from the chaſe.

The battayle of Poictiers when it was.

The Prince made a greate ſupper in his lodging that nyght to the Frenche Kyng, and to the moſte parte of his nobles, that were taken priſoners, and did all the honour that he coulde deuyſe to the Kyng: and where hee perceyued by hys cheere and countenaunce, that hys heart was full of penſiue griefe, carefull thought and heauyneſſe, he comforted hym in the beſte maner that hee myght, and ſayd to him:

The Pri ſuppeth priſone

Moſte noble King, there is no cauſe wherefore your grace ſhoulde be penſiue, though God this daye didde not conſente to followe youre will. For your noble prowes and dignitie royall, wyth the ſupreme type of youre Kyngly Maieſtye, remayneth whole and inuiolate and

The Pri cheereth French k

what

whatſoeuer maye rightly bee called yours, ſo that no violente force of time ſhall blotte out or diminiſhe the ſame: the Almightie God hath determined that the chaunce of warre ſhall reſt in his diſpoſition and will, as all other things. Your elders haue atchieued bothe by lande and ſea many noble enterprices. The whole compaſſe of Europe, al the Eaſt parts of the worlde, all places and countreys, bothe farre and neare are full of monumentes, witneſſing the noble victories attained by the Frenche people. The cauſe of godlie liuing and religion, the dignity and preheminence of Chriſtianitie hathe bene defended and augmented by you, againſte the moſte mightie and puiſſaunt capitaines of the infidels, enemies to the ſaid Chriſtian religion. All ages ſhall make mention of your worthie praiſes, no nation there is but ſhall confeſſe it ſelfe bounden at one time or other for benefites receiued at your handes, neyther is there any people but ſuche as hope to be hereafter bounden to you for reliefe and benefites, to proceede from you in time to come: one or twoo batails haplye haue chaunced amongeſt ſo many triumphs otherwiſe than you wold haue wiſhed. Chaunce woulde it ſhoulde be ſo, whiche maye enfeeble and make weake the power of horſes, armor, and weapon: your inuincible courage and royall magnanimitie lyeth in your power to reteyne: neyther ſhall this day take any thing from you or yours. And this realme of Fraunce whiche hathe procreate and brought forth & noriſhed ſo many of my noble progenitors, ſhall perceyue my good meanyng towardes hir, and not forgetfull of myne elders, and towarde your maieſtie, (if you will vouchſafe that I ſhoulde glorye of that name) a moſt humble kinſman. There are manye occaſions of loue and freendſhippe betwixte you and my father, whiche I truſte ſhall take place, for I knowe all his thoughtes and inwarde meanings: you ſhall agree and come to an attonement right eaſily togither, and I pray God he neuer take me for his ſonne, except I haue you in the ſame degree of honour, reuerence, and faithfull loue, whiche I owe towardes hym.

The king as reaſon wold, acknowleged this to proceede of great curteſie, ſhewed towardes him in the prince, and thanked him accordingly. And the Prince performing in deede that whiche hee ſpake with worde, ceaſed from further vſing of fire, or other endomaging of the Frenche dominions, & taking his way through the countreys of Poictow, and Xaintonge, by eaſie iourneys, he and his people came to Blay, and ſo paſſed ouer the water to Burdeaux in good ſafetie with all their riches and priſoners. The Prince gaue to the lorde Iames Audeley (who hadde receiued in the battaile many ſore woundes) v. C. markes of yearely reuenues aſſigned forth of his landes in Englande, the whiche gifte the knight graunted as freelye as he hadde receiued it vnto foure of his Eſquiers whyche in the battaile hadde bene euer attendaunt aboute his perſon, without whoſe ayde and valiant ſupport, he knewe well that he had bene ſlaine ſundrie times in the ſame battaile by his enimies. When the Prince hearde that he hadde ſo done, hee marueiled what his meaning was therby, and cauſed him to be brought beefore his preſence, and demaunded of hym wherefore he hadde ſo lightlie giuen away that rewarde whiche hee had beſtowed vpon hym, and whether hee thought that gifte to meane for him or not.

The lord Audley revvarded

The Lorde Audeley ſo excuſed himſelfe in extolling the good ſeruice done to him by his Eſquiers, through whome he hadde ſo many times eſcaped the daungers of deathe, that the Prince did not onelie confirme the reſignation of the fiue hundred marks giuen to the eſquiers, but alſo rewarded the lord Audley wyth vj. C. markes more of like yearely reuenues, in maner and forme as hee had receiued the other.

When the newes of this greate victorie came into Englande of the ouerthrowe of the Frenchemen, and taking of the Frenche king, yee may bee ſure there was greate ioy ſhewed by outwarde tokens, as bonfiers made, feaſtes and banquets kept, throughe the whole realme: likewiſe the Gaſcoignes and engliſhemen beeing come to Burdeaux, made greate reuell and paſtime there, ſpending freely that gold & ſiluer which they had won in the battell of Poictiers, and elſe where in that iourney.

Bonfiers.

This yeare in Aprill the Prince of Wales tooke ſhipping with his priſoners at Burdeaux and the fifthe of Maye arriued at Plimmouth.

1357

An. reg. 31.

The foure and twentieth day of May hee was with greate honour ioyfully receiued of the citizens into the citie of London, and ſo conueyed to the pallace of Weſtminſter, where the Kyng ſitting in Weſtminſter hall, receyued the Frenche king, and after conueyed hym to a lodging appointed for him, where he laye a ſeaſon, but after hee was remoued to the Sauoy, whiche was at that time a goodly houſe, apperteining to the Duke of Lancaſter, though afterwardes it was brent and deſtroyed by Wat Tyler, and Iacke Strawe, and theyr companie.

Ad. to Merimouth.

The prince bringeth the Frenche King ouer into Englande.

In this place the Frenche Kyng laye, and kept houſe a long time after.

In the Winter followyng were royall Iuſtes holden in Smithfielde, at the whiche were preſente the Kings of England, Fraunce

A Iuſtes holdeu Smithfielde.

and Scotland, with many greate eſtates of all their thre kingdomes, of the whiche the more parte of the ſtraungers were as then priſoners.

The Frenche King ſorvvfull.

It was reported, that the French kyng could not ſo diſſemble nor cloke his inwarde thought, but that there appeared ſome tokens of griefe in his countenaunce, whileſt hee behelde theſe warlike paſtimes: and when the king of Englande, and his ſonne Prince Edwarde with comfortable wordes required hym after ſupper to put all penſiue cares out of his fantaſie, and to bee merrie and ſing as other did, he ſhoulde make this aunſwere with a ſmyling countenaunce, *Quomodo cantabimus canticum in terra aliena?*

Tho. VValſ.
Froiſſart.

Cardinalles ſente into Englande.

Aboute the ſame time there came ouer into Englande two Cardinalles, the one called Talirande, beyng biſhoppe of Alba, and commonly named the Cardinall of Pierregort, and the other hight Nicholas intitled Cardinall of Saint Vitale (or as Froſſart hath) of Dargell, they were ſente from Pope Innocent the ſixte, to entreate for a peace betwixte the Kinges of Englande and Fraunce: but they coulde not bring their purpoſe to any perfect concluſion, (althoughe they remained here for the ſpace of two yeares) but only by good meanes yet they procured a truce betweene the ſaide kings, and all their aſſiſtauntes, to endure from the time of the publication thereof, vnto the feaſte of Sainct John Baptiſte, whiche ſhoulde bee in the yeare. 1359. out of the whiche truce was excepted the lorde Phillippe of Nauarre, and his alies, the Counteſſe of Mountfort, and the whole Dutchie of Britaine.

A truce for tvvo yeares.

The Frenche King remoued to VVinſor.

Anone after, the Frenche King was remoued from the Sauoy vnto the caſtell of Winſor with all his houſholde, and then hee wente on huntyng and hauking there aboute at his pleaſure, and the lorde Phillip his ſonne wyth hym, all the reſidue of the priſoners abode ſtill at London, but were ſuffred to goe vp and downe, and to come to the Court when they woulde.

Rennes beeſieged.

The ſame yeare the Duke of Lancaſter beſieged the Citie of Rennes in Britayne in the title of the Counteſſe of Richemounte, and hir yong ſonne John of Mountfort, that claimed to bee Duke of Britaine. Thoſe that were within the Citie, as the Vicount of Rohan, and Berthram de Clayquine, (who as then was a luſtie yong bacheler) and others defended themſelues manfullie for a time, but yet at lengthe they were compelled to render the citie into their enemies handes.

Th. VValſ.

Aboute the ſame tyme two Franciſcane Friers wer brent at London, for matters of religion. Moreouer Quene Iſabel mother vnto king Edwarde the thirde, departed this life the ſeuen and twentith day of Auguſte, and was buried the ſeuen and twentieth daye of Nouember, in the Church of the Friers Minors at London, not yet dedicated. Dauid King of Scotlande, ſhortely after the truce was concluded betwixte Englande and Fraunce, was ſette at libertie, paying for his raunſome the ſumme of one hundrethe thouſande markes (as Fourdon ſayeth,) but whether hee meaneth Scottiſhe or ſterling money, I cannot ſaye: He alſo was bounde by couenaunt nowe vpon his deliueraunce, to cauſe the Caſtelles in Nideſdale to be raiſed, which were knowen to be euill neighbours to the Engliſhe borderers, as Dunfriſe, Dalſwinton, Morton, Dunſdere, & other nine. His wife Quene Joan made ſuche earneſte ſute to hir brother King Edwarde for hir husbandes deliuerance, that king Edward was contented to releaſe him vpon the paiment of ſo ſmall a portion of mony, and performance of the couenauntes, for the raſing of thoſe caſtells, (although Froiſſart ſayth) that hee was couenaunted to pay for his deliueraunce within the terme of tenne yeares fiue hundrethe thouſande nobles, and for ſuretie of that payment to ſende into Englande ſufficient hoſtages, as the earles of Douglas, Murrey, Mar, Sutherlande, and Fiffe, the baron of Veſcye, and ſir William Camoiſe. Alſo he couenaunted neuer to weare armour agaynſte Kyng Edwarde, within his Realme of Englande, nor conſent that his ſubiectes ſhoulde ſo doe. And further ſhoulde vpon his retourne home, doe the beſte hee coulde to cauſe the Scottes to agree that their Countreye ſhoulde holde of hym in fee, and that hee and his ſucceſſoures, kings of Scotlande, ſhoulde doe homage to the King of Englande, and his ſucceſſors for the Realme of Scotlande.

In this two and thirtie yeare as witneſſeth the frenche Chronicles, Sir Roberte Knolles, James Pipe, and one Thomlin Foulke, with other capitaines and men of warre as ſouldiours to the king of Nauarre vppon the tenthe daye of Marche earely in the morning ſcaled the walles of the citie of Auxerre, and behaued them ſo manfully, that they were maſters of the Towne before the Sunne was vp. They got exceeding muche by the ſpoile of that citie, and by raunſoming the priſoners whiche they toke there.

At lengthe after they hadde remained eighte dayes in that Citie, and taken their pleaſure of all thinges within it, they wrought ſo with the Citizens, that to haue poſſeſſion of their Citie againe, and to haue it ſaued from fyre, they agreed to giue to ſir Roberte Knolles, and to his companie, fiftie thouſand motons of golde, whiche amounted to the ſumme of twelue thouſande and fiue hundreth pounde ſterling or there aboute, and yet was it agreed, that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde brenne the gates, and throwe downe the walles in diuers places.

In Aprill nexte enſuing, the Towne of Daubignie ſur le Metre was likewiſe wonne by the Engliſhemenne, and the ſeconde daye of Maye Chaſtelon ſur Loigne was taken by the ſayde Sir Roberte Knolles, and put to ſacke as the other were. From thence they went to Newcaſtell vppon Loyre. And thus did the Engliſhemenne, and other in title of the Kyng of Nauarre, greately endomage the Realme of Fraunce, dayly winning townes and Caſtelles, raunſomyng the people, and waſting the countreys in moſt miſerable wiſe, as in the hiſtorie of Fraunce you may reade more at large.

In this meane while there was talke of peace betwixte the Kyng of Englande, and the Kyng of Fraunce, and articles thereof drawn in this forme, That the whole countreis of Gaſcoigne, Guyenne, Poictow, Touraine, Xainctonge, Piergourd, Quercie, Limoſin, Engoliſmois, Calais, Guynes, Bolongne, and Ponthieu, ſhoulde remayne to the Kyng of Englande wholy, withoute doyng homage or paying any reliefe for the ſame; but on the other parte, he ſhoulde renounce all his righte, whiche hee mighte by any manner of meane claime to the countreys of Normandie, Aniou, or Mayne. And further, that the Frenche King ſhoulde pay a certaine ſumme of money for his raunſome, and delyuer ſufficient pledges for the ſame, and ſo departe into Fraunce.

Theſe articles were ſent ouer into Fraūce, that the three eſtates there might confirm them, whiche they refuſed to doe. Whereupon when the truce ended, the warres were agayne reuiued.

The Kyng helde this yeare the feaſte of Sainct George at Windſor, in more ſumptuous manner than euer it hadde bene kepte before.

The ſame yeare alſo, Frier Iohn Liſle Byſhoppe of Elie beyng (as he tooke it) ſomewhat wronged by the Ladye Blaunche de Wake, and other that were of hir counſell, went the laſte yeare againſte the Kynges will vnto the Popes Courte, where exhibiting his complaint, he cauſed the Pope to excommunicate all hys aduerſaries, ſending to the Biſhoppe of Lincolne and other of the Clergie, that if they knewe any of them ſo excommunicated to bee deade and buried, they ſhoulde drawe them out of their graues: whiche was done: and bycauſe ſome of thoſe that were excommunicated were of the Kinges counſell, the King tooke ſuche diſpleaſure therewith, that hee greeuouſlye diſquieted the Prelates. Whereupon there were ſente from the Courte of Rome on the behalfe of the Biſhoppe of Elie, certaine perſons, whiche being armed mette the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter Lorde Treſourer, deliueryng to hym Letters from the Pope, the contentes of the whiche were not knowen, and forthwith they ſhranke awaye: but the Kinges ſeruauntes made ſuche purſute after them, that ſome of them they tooke, and bringing them before the Kynges Iuſtices, vppon their arreignement they were condempned and ſuffred deathe on the gallowes.

Excommunication.

Suche as deliuered the Popes letters hanged.

Great diſcorde roſe alſo aboute thys time, or rather afore, betwixte the Clergie, and the foure orders of Friers, as in the booke of Actes and Monumentes ſette forthe by maſter Foxe yee maye reade more at large.

Dyſcorde betvvixt Prieſtes and Friers.

In this yeare Iohn of Gaunt Earle of Richemont, ſonne to the Kyng, the nineteenth daye of Maye married the Ladie Blaunche daughter to Henrye Duke of Lancaſter at Reading, and bicauſe they were couſins within the degrees of conſanguinitie, forbidden by the Churche Lawes to marrie, a diſpenſation was procured of the Pope to remoue that obſtacle and lette.

Tho. VValſ.

Iohn fo Gaunt married.

1359

An. reg. 33.

This yeare the Kyng ſette workemenne in hande to take downe muche olde buildings belonging to the Caſtel of Windſor, and cauſed diuers other faire and ſumptuous workes to bee erected and ſette vp, in and aboute the ſame Caſtell, ſo that almoſte all the Maſons and Carpenters that were of any accompte within this lande, were ſente for and employed aboute the ſame workes, the ouerſeer wherof was Wyllyam Wickham the Kyngs Chaplein, by whoſe aduice the Kyng tooke in hande to repaire that place, the rather in deede bycauſe hee was borne there, and therefore hee tooke greate pleaſure to beſtowe coſte in beautifying it with ſuche buildings as maye appeare euen vnto this daye.

VVinſor caſtel repared.

Additions to Triuet.

Moreouer, this yeare in the Rogation weeke was a ſolempne Iuſtes enterpriſed at London, for the Maior, and his four and twentie brethren as chalengers did appoint to aunſwere all cōmers, in whoſe name and ſteede the Kyng wyth hys four ſonnes, Edwarde, Lionell, Iohn, and Edmunde, and nineteene other greate Lordes, in ſecrete manner came and helde the fielde with honour, to the great pleaſure of the citizens that beheld the ſame.

A ſolempne Iuſtes at London.

Caxton.

The king vvith his four ſonnes are of the chalengers parte.

Yee haue hearde howe the Frenchemen refuſed the peace whiche was accorded betwixte King Edwarde, and theyr King as then priſoner here in Englande. Whereuppon King Edwarde determined to make ſuche warre againſte the Realme of Fraunce, that the Frenchemen ſhoulde bee gladde to condiſcende and agree to reaſon: and firſte hee commaunded all manner of Frenchemenne (other than ſuche as were priſoners) to auoide out of Englande. Hee alſo appointed the Frenche King to bee remoued from the Caſtell of Hertforde, where hee then remained vnto the Caſtell of Somerton in Lincolneſhire, vnder the garde and conduct of the lord William Deincourte, beeyng allowed fourtie ſhillyngs the daye for the wages of twoo and twentie men at armes, twentie archers, and twoo watchemenne: as thus, for himſelfe and Sir John Kirketon Banerettes, eyther of them foure ſhillings the daye, for three Knightes, Sir Wyllyam Collevill (in place of the Lorde Roberte Collevill, that coulde not trauayle hymſelfe by reaſon of ſickeneſſe) Sir John Deincourte, and Syr Sacr de Rochefortè, eche of them twoo ſhillings the daye, ſeuenteene Eſquiers eche of them twelue pence the daye, eight archers on horſe backe euery of them ſixe pence the daye, and twelue archers on foote three pence, and the twoo watchemen eyther of them ſixe pence the daye, whiche amounteth in the whole vnto nyne and thirtie ſhillings the daye, and the odde twelue pence was allowed to the ſaide Lorde Deincourte to make vp the ſumme of fortie ſhillings.

The Frenche King remoued. He departed from Hertfourt the .xxix. of Iulie.

Polidore.

This haue I noted the rather to giue a lighte to the reader to conſider howe chargeable the reteining of men of warre is in theſe dayes in reſpect of the former times. But now to our purpoſe. The King meanyng to paſſe ouer hymſelfe in perſon into Fraunce, he cauſed a mightie army to bee muſtered and put in a redineſſe, and ſente beefore hym the Duke of Lancaſter ouer to Callais with foure hundreth ſpeares, and twoo thouſande Archers, where the ſaide Duke ioyned with ſuche ſtrangers as were alreadye comme to Callais in greate numbers, and togyther with them entred into the Frenche dominions, and paſſing by Saincte Omers and Bethune, came to Mount ſainct Eloy, a goodly Abbey and a rich, a two leagues diſtant from Arras, and there the hoſte tarried foure dayes, and when they hadde robbed & waſted all the Countrey thereaboute, they rode to Bray, and there made a great aſſaulte, at the which a Baneret of England was ſlain with diuers other. When the Engliſhemenne ſawe they coulde winne nothing there, they departed, and followyng the water of Some, came to a town called Cherſye, where they paſſed the riuer, and there tarried Allhallowen daye, and the night following.

The King prepareth to make a iourney into Fraunce.

Froiſſart.

The Duke of Lancaſter.

Bray aſſaulted.

The ſame daye the Duke of Lancaſter was aduertiſed, that the Kyng was arriued at Callais, the ſeuenteenth daye of October, commaunding hym by letters to drawe towardes him with all his companye.

The Duke according to the Kings commaundement obeyed, and ſo retourned towarde Callais.

The
arriu
Calla

Froiſ

The King beeyng there arriued with all his power, tooke counſell whiche way he ſhulde take. Some aduiſed him firſt to inuade Flaunders, and to reuenge the iniurious dealing of the Earle and the Flemings: but hee woulde not agree to that motion, for hee purpoſed fully eyther by plaine force to make a conqueſte of Fraunce, or elſe vtterlye to deſtroye and waſte the countrey throughoute with fire and ſworde.

Polid

Hereuppon hee ſette forewarde the fourthe of Nouember, and paſſing throughe the countreys of Arthois, and Vermendois, hee came before the Citie of Reimes.

There wente ouer with him in this iourney, and with the Duke of Lancaſter, his foure ſonnes, Edwarde Prince of Wales, Lionell Earle of Vlſter, John Earle of Richemond, and the Lorde Edmunde his yongeſt ſonne. Alſo ther was Hēry yͤ ſaid Duke of Lancaſter, with the Earles of Marche, Warwike, Suffolke, Herford, who alſo was Earle of Northampton, Saliſcurie, Stafford, and Oxford, the Byſhoppes of Lincolne, and Durham, & the Lords Percie, Nevyll, Spẽcer, Kirdiſtõ, Roſſe, Manny, Cobhã, Moubrey de la Ware, Willoughbie, Felton, Baſſet, Fitz Water, Charleton, Audeley, Burwaſche, and others, beſide Knyghtes and Eſquiers, as Sir John Chandos, Sir Stephan Gouſſanton, Sir Nowell Loring, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir John Liſle, Sir Richarde Pembrugе, and others.

Froiſ

The ſiege was layde before Reimes aboute Sainct Andrewes tide, and continued more than ſeuen weekes: but the Citie was ſo well defended by the Biſhop and the earle of Porcien, and other capitaines within it, that the Engliſhemenne coulde not obtaine their purpoſe, and ſo at lengthe when they coulde not haue fourrage nor other neceſſarie thinges abroade in the countrey for to ſerue their turne, the King rayſed his fielde, and departed with his armie in good order of battaile, taking the way throughe Champaigne and ſo paſſed by Chaalons, and after to Merie on the ryuer of

Reimes ſieged.

Seyne. From Mery he departed and came vnto Tonnere, which towne aboute the beginning of the foure and thyrtie yere of his reigne was wonne by aſſaulte, but the Caſtell coulde not bee wonne, for there was within it the Lord Fyennes Coneſtable of Fraunce, and a greate number of other good men of warre, whiche defended it valiantly. After the Kyng hadde reſted there fiue dayes, and that his men were well refreſhed with the wines and other ſuch things, which they found in that towne in good plentie, hee remoued and drewe towardes Burgongne, cõming to a towne called Guillon or Aguyllon, where he laye from Aſhwedneſdaye vnto Midlente, hauyng good prouiſion of all maner of victualles by the meanes of an Eſquier of hys called John Alanſon, whiche hadde taken the Towne of Flauignie not farre thence, wherein was greate ſtore of bread and wine and other victualles: and ſtill the Marſhalls roade forth, and oftentimes refreſhed the hoſte with newe prouiſion.

The Engliſhmen had with them in their carriages, Tents, Pauillions, Milles, Ouens, and Forges: alſo boates of leather cunningly made and deuiſed able to receyue three men a peece, and to paſſe them ouer waters and Riuers. They hadde at the leaſte ſixe thouſande cartes with them, and for euerie carte foure horſes whiche they hadde out of England.

In this meane while, the Frenchemenne made certaine veſſelles forthe to the ſea vnder the gouernaunce of the Earle of Sainct Paule the whiche vppon the fifteenth daye of Marche landed earlye in the morning at Winchelſie, and beefore Sunne riſing entred the Towne, and findyng the inhabitantes vnprouided to make any greate reſiſtaunce, fell to and ſacked the houſes, ſlewe many men, women and alſo children, and after ſet fier on the Towne, and vppon knowledge hadde that the people of the countrey nexte adioynyng were aſſembled, and comming to the reſcue, hee cauſed his men to drawe to their ſhippes, and ſo they taking their pillage and ſpoile with them, gotte them aboorde, not without ſome loſſe of their companie, whiche were ſlaine in the towne by ſuch as reſiſted their violence. Whileſte the Kyng laye at Aguillon, there came to hym Anſeaume de Salilans Chauncellor of Burgoigne, Jaques de Vienne, and other lordes of the coũtrey, beeyng ſente from theyr Duke to agree wyth the Kyng for the ſparyng of the landes and ſeignories apperteining to the duchie of Burgongne.

The Chancellor, and the other Burgoinion Lordes founde the Kyng ſo agreeable to theyr requeſt, that a compoſition was made betwixt hym and the countrey of Burgoine, ſo that hee ſhoulde make to them an aſſuraunce for hym, and all his people, not to ouerrunne or endomage that countrey during the ſpace of three yeares, and hee to haue in readie money the ſumme of twoo hundreth thouſande florens of golde whiche of ſterling money amounted to the ſumme of fiue and thirtie thouſand poundes. When this agremẽt was engroſſed vp in writing and ſealed, the Kyng diſlodged and all his hoſte taking the right way to Paris, & paſſing yͤ riuer of Yonne, entred into Gaſtynois and at length by eaſie iourneys, vppon a Tuiſdaye beeyng the laſte of Marche in the weeke beefore Eaſter, hee came and lodged beetweene Mont le Herie, and Chartres, and his people in the countrey there aboute.

Frankes hathe Paradin, in *Les Annales de Burgoigne.*

Froiſſart.

The Kyng of England draweth towards Paris.

Here the Duke of Normandy made meane for a treatie of peace, whiche was laboured by a Frier called Simon de Langres prouinciall of the Friers Jacobins and the Popes legate: hee did ſo muche, that a treatie was appointed to bee holden on good Fridaye in the Maladerie of Longegimew, where there appeared for the Kyng of Englande the Duke of Lancaſter, the Earles of Warwike and Northampton, with Sir John Chandos, Sir Walter de Manny, and Sir William Cheynie knightes: and for the frenche Kyng thither came the Erle of Eu Conneſtable of Fraunce, and the Marſhall Boucyquaut with other, but their treatie came to none effect: Wherfore the Kyng vppon the Tuiſday in the Eaſter weeke remoued nearer vnto Paris, and vppon the Fridaye following, beeyng the tenth of April, by procurement of the Abbot of Clugny newly come from Pope Innocent the ſixte, the foreſaide Commiſſioners eftſoones did meete to treate of an agreement, but nothing they coulde conclude, the parties in their offers and demaundes were ſo farre at oddes.

A treatie.

Vppon the Sunday nexte following, a part of the Kynges hoſte came beefore the Citie of Paris, and embattailed themſelues in a fielde faſte by Sainct Marcilles, abiding there from morning till three of the clocke in the after noone, to ſee if the frenchemenne woulde come forthe to giue battaile: but the frenchemenne woulde not taſte of that veſſell. For the Duke of Normandie well conſidering what loſſe had enſued within few yeares paſte vnto the realme of Fraunce, by giuing battaile to the Engliſhmenne, hee woulde not ſuffer any of his people to iſſue forthe of the gates, but commaunded them to bee readye onelie to defende the walles and gates, althoughe hee hadde a greate power of men of war within the citie, beſide the huge multitude of the inhabitantes. The Engliſhmenne

The Engliſhemenne before Paris.

Polidore.

P lidore.

The ſuburbs of Paris brent.

Froiſſart.

The Bishoppe of Beauvois.

A nevv tretie.

menne to prouoke their enimies the ſooner to ſaillie forthe, brent diuers partes of the Suburbs, and roade euen to the gates of the Citie. When they perceyued that the Frenchemenne woulde not come forthe, aboute three of the clocke in the after noone they departed out of the fielde, and withdrewe to theyr Campe, and then the Kyng and all the Engliſhe hoſte remoued towardes Chartres, and was lodged at a place called Dones. Thither came to hym the Byſhoppe of Beauuois then Chauncellor of Normandie, with other, and ſo handled the matter with hym, that a newe daye of treatie was appoynted to bee holden at Bretignie, whiche is little more than a mile diſtant from Chartres, vppon the firſte daye of Maye nexte enſuing. In whiche day and place appointed, the foreſaide Duke of Lancaſter, and the ſaide Earles and other commiſſioners mette wyth the ſaide Byſhoppe, and other frenche Lordes and Spirituall men to hym aſſociate, on the behalfe of the Duke of Normandie then regent of Fraunce, to renue the former communication of peace, in full hope to bring it to a good concluſion, bycauſe Kyng Edwarde beganne to frame his imaginatiō more to accorde with his aduerſaries, than he had done of late, chiefly for that the Duke of Lancaſter with courteous wordes and ſage perſwaſions, aduiſed him not to forſake ſuche reaſonable conditions as the frenchemenne were contented nowe to agree vnto, ſith that by making ſuche manner of warre as hee hadde attempted, hys ſouldiours only gained, and hee hymſelfe loſte but time and conſumed his treaſoure: and further hee might warre in this ſorte all the dayes of his life before hee coulde attaine to his entent, and leeſe perhaps in one day more than he had gained in twentie yeares.

The Duke of Lancaſter perſvvadeth the King to agree.

An hideous ſtorme and tempeſt of vvether

Suche wordes ſpoken for the welthe of the K. and his ſubiects, conuerted the kings minde to fancie peace, namely by the grace of the holy Ghoſt chief worker in this caſe: for it chaunced one daye as hee was marching not farre from Chartres, there came ſuche a ſtorme and tempeſt of thunder, lightning, hayle and raine, as the like had neuer bene ſeene by any of the Engliſhe people. This ſtorme fell ſo hideous in the kinges hoſte, that it ſeemed the worlde ſhoulde haue ended: for ſuche vnreaſonable great ſtones of haile fell from the ſkie, that men and horſes were ſlayne therewyth, ſo that the moſte hardyeſt were abaſhed. There periſhed thouſandes therby, as ſome haue written.

The Kyng then remembring what reaſonable offers of agreement hee hadde refuſed, vppon a remorſe in conſcience, as by ſome writers it ſhoulde appeare, aſked forgiueneſſe of the damage done by ſworde and fier in thoſe partes, and fully determined to graunte vnto indifferent articles of peace, for reliefe of the chriſtian inhabitants of that land: and ſo ſhortlie after, by the good diligence of the commiſſioners on bothe partes, an vnitie, and finall peace was accorded, the articles whereof were compriſed in fortye and one articles, the chiefe whereof in effect were theſe.

Firſte that the Kyng of Englande ſhoulde haue and enioye (ouer and beſide that whiche hee helde alreadie in Gaſcoigne and Guyenne) the Caſtell, Citie, and Countie of Poictiers, and all the landes and countrey of Poyctow, with the fee of Touars and the lands of Belleuille: the Citie and Caſtell of Xainctes, and all the lands and countrey of Xainctonge on both ſides the riuer of Charent, wyth the towne and fortreſſe of Rochell, wyth theyr appurtenaunces: The Citie & caſtel of Agent, and the countrey of Agenois: The Citie and Caſtell of Piergort, and all the land and countrey of Perigueux. The Citie and Caſtell of Limoges, and all the landes and countrey of Limoſin: The Citie and Caſtell of Cahors, and the lordeſhippe of Cahorſin: the caſtell and countrey of Tarbe: the landes countrey and countie of Bigorre: The countie, countrey, and landes of Gaure: The citie and caſtell of Angoleſme: and the countie, land and countrey of Angoleſmois: The citie, Towne and caſtell of Rodaix: And all the countie, & countrey of Rouergue: And if there were in the Duchy of Guyenne any Lords, as the Earles of Foiz, Arminacke, Liſle, and Perigueux, the Vicountes of Carmain, and Limoges, or other holding any landes within the forſaid boundes, it was accorded that they ſhoulde doe homage and other cuſtomarie ſeruices due for the ſame vnto the King of Englande. It was alſo agreed, that Callais and Guiſnes, wyth the appurtenances, the landes of Mōtreull on the ſea with the Countie of Ponthieu, wholy and entirelye ſhould remaine vnto the king of Englande. All the whiche countries, cities, towns, and caſtelles, with the other landes and Seigniories, the ſame King ſhould haue and holde to him & his heires for euer, euen as they were in demaine or fee, immediatly of God, and free without recognizing any maner of Soueraintie in any earthelie man.

In conſideration whereof, King Edward renounced all ſuche claimes, titles and intereſt as hee pretended vnto any parte of Fraunce, other than ſuche as were compriſed within the charter of couenauntes of this peace firſte agreed vppon at Bretigny aforeſayde, and after confirmed at Callais, as appeareth by the ſame charter dated there the four & twenty day of October in the yeare of our Lorde. 1360.

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It was alſo couenanted, that the Frenche King ſhoulde pay vnto the Kyng of England thyrtie hundreth. M. crownes in name of his ranſome: For aſſurance of whiche payment, and performaunce of all the couenauntes afore mentioned, and other agreed vppon by this peace, the Dukes of Orleaunce, Aniou, Berry, and Burbon, with diuers other honorable perſonages, as Earles, Lordes, and Burgeſſes of euerie good Towne, ſome were appointed to be ſente ouer hither into Englande to remaine as hoſtages.

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It was further agreed, that neyther the frenche Kyng nor his ſucceſſours ſhoulde aide the Scottes againſte the King of Englande or his ſucceſſors, nor that King Edwarde nor his heyres, Kings of Englande, ſhoulde ayde the Flemmings againſt the crown of France: And as for the title or right of the Duchie of Britaine, whiche was in queſtion betweene the Earles of Bloys and Mountfort, it was accorded, that both Kinges beeing at Callais, the parties ſhoulde bee called beefore them, and if the two kyngs could not make them frends, then ſhulde they aſſigne certain indifferent perſons to agree them, and they to haue halfe a yeares reſpite for to ende the matter: and if within that terme, thoſe that ſhould bee ſo appointed to agree them, coulde not take vp the matter betwixte the ſaide Earles, then eyther of them might make the beſt purchaſe for hym ſelfe, that hee coulde, by helpe of friendes, or otherwiſe, but alwayes prouided, that neither of the Kinges nor their ſonnes ſhoulde ſo aide the ſaide Earles, whereby the peace accorded betwixte Englande and Fraunce, myght by any meanes bee broken or infringed.

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Alſo, to whether of the ſaide Earles the Duchie of Britaine in the ende chaunced to fall by ſentence of Iudges, or otherwiſe, the homage ſhoulde bee done for the ſame vnto the Frenche King.

All theſe ordinaunces, articles and agreementes with many mo (whiche here woulde bee to long to rehearſe) were accorded and ratified by the inſtrumentes and ſeales of the Prince of Wales on the one parte, and of the Duke of Normandie Regent of Fraunce on the other parte, as by their letters patentes then ſealed further appeared, bearing date, the one at Loures in Normandie the ſixtenth day of Maye in the yeare of Grace. 1360. and the other at Paris the tenthe daye of the ſame monethe, and in the yeare aforeſaide, and ouer and beſide this, both the ſaide Princes tooke on them a ſolempne othe to ſee all the ſame articles and couenauntes of agreement throughlye kept, mainteined and performed.

This done, Kyng Edwarde embarqued hymſelfe with his foure ſonnes and the moſte part of his nobles at Hunfleu the twentith day of May, and ſo ſailed into Englande, leauing behinde hym the Earle of Warwicke to haue the gouernment of all the men of warre which hee left beehinde hym, eyther in Guyenne or in any other place on that ſide the ſea.

The king of Englande returneth home.
The Earle of VVarvvicke.

There dyed in this iourney diuers noble men of this lande, as the Earles of Marche and Oxforde, the Lorde Iohn Gray then Stewarde of Englande, and the Lorde Geffrey de Say, with diuers other. The eigthe of Iulie nexte enſuyng, the Frenche Kyng hauing licence to departe, landed at Callais, and was lodged in the Caſtel there, abiding till the king of Englande came thither, whiche was not till the ninthe daye of October nexte after.

Tho. VValſ.
The Frenche king goeth ouer to Callais.

On the foure and twentith day of October bothe the Kings beeyng in two trauerſes and one Chappell at Calais, a Maſſe was ſaid before them, and when they ſhuld haue kiſſed the paxe, eyther of them in ſigne of greater friendſhippe kiſſed the other, and there they were ſolemnelye ſworne to maynteyne the articles of the ſame peace, and for more aſſuraunce therof, manye Lordes of bothe partes were lykewiſe ſworne to mainteine the ſame articles to the vttermoſt of their powers. Whileſt theſe kings lay thus at Callais, there was greate banquetting and cheare made betwixt them.

The Kings receiue a ſolempne othe to ſee the peace performed.

Alſo the Duke of Normandie came from Bolongne to Calais, to viſite his father and to ſee the King of Englande, in which meane time two of King Edwardes ſonnes were at Bolongne. Finally, when theſe two Kinges hadde finiſhed all matters in ſo good order and forme that the ſame coulde not be amended nor corrected, and that the Frenche King had deliuered his hoſtages to the Kyng of England, that is to ſay, ſix Dukes, beſide Erles, Lords, and other honorable perſonages, in all to the number of eight and thirtie: On the morrowe after the taking of their othes, that is to ſay on the fiue and twentith day of October, beeyng Sonday, the French King was freely deliuered, and the ſame daye before noone hee departed from Calais, and rode to Bologne. The Kyng of Englande brought hym a mile forewarde on his way, and then tooke leaue of hym in moſte louing manner.

The Duke of Normandie.

The number of the Frenche hoſtages.

The Prince attended hym to Bolloigne, where bothe hee and the Duke of Normandie wyth other were eſtſones ſworne to holde and mainteine the forſaid peace without all fraude or colorable deceit: And this done, the Prince retourned

The Frenche King ſette at libertie.

retourned to Callais. Thus was the frenche King ſette at libertie, after hee hadde bin priſoner here in England the ſpace of foure yeres, and as muche as from the nineteenthe daye of September, vnto the fiue and twenty of October. When the King of Englande hadde finiſhed his buſineſſe at Callais, according to his minde, he retourned into Englande, and came to London the ninth daye of Nouember.

Strange vvonders.

In this foure and thirtieth yeare of Kyng Edwarde, men and cattell were deſtroyed in diuers places of this Realme, by lightening and tempeſt: alſo houſes were ſette on fier and brente, and manye ſtraunge and wonderfull ſights ſene. The ſame yeare Edward prince of Wales maried the counteſſe of Kente, whiche before was wyfe vnto the Lorde Thomas Hollande: and before that, ſhe was alſo wife vnto the Earle of Saliſburie, and deuorſed from hym, and wedded vnto the ſame Lorde Holland. Shee was daughter vnto Edmund Earle of Kent, brother to Kyng Edwarde the ſecond, that was beheaded in the beginning of this Kings raigne, as before yee haue heard. And bicauſe the Prince and ſhee were within degrees of conſanguinitie forbidden to marry, a diſpenſation was gotten from the Pope to remoue that lette.

A greate death.

In this yeare alſo was a greate deathe of people (namely of men, for weomen were not ſo muche ſubiect thereto.) This was called the ſeconde mortalitie, bycauſe it was the ſeconde that fell in this Kings dayes.

Hen: Marl.

The Primate of Ardmache departed this life.

This yeare alſo by the deathe of Richard Fitz Rauſe Primate of Ardmache, that departed this life in the Courte of Rome: and alſo of Richard Kilminton, deceaſſed here in Englande, the diſcorde that hadde continued for the ſpace of three or foure yeares betwixte them of the Clergie on the one parte, and the foure orders of Friers on the other parte, was nowe quieted and brought to ende.

1356

Additions to Triuet. and Merimouth.

A ſtrange ſight in the ayre.

Moreouer, this yeare appeared two Caſtelles in the aire, of the whiche the one appeared in the Southeaſte, and the other in the Southweſte, out of whiche Caſtelles aboute the houre of noone ſundry times were ſene hoſts of armed men (as appeared to mannes ſight) iſſuing forthe, and that hoſte whiche ſallyed out of that caſtell in the Southeaſte ſeemed white, & the other black. They appered as they ſhoulde haue fought eyther agaynſte other, and firſte the white had the vpper hand, and after was ouercome, & ſo they vaniſhed out of ſight.

Souldiours called the companions did much hurte in Fraunce.

Froiſſart.

About the ſame time the ſouldiors whiche were diſcharged in Fraũce and out of wages, by the breaking vp of the warres, aſſembled togyther, and did muche hurte in that Realme, as in the frenche hiſtories ye may reade. Their chiefleaders were Engliſhmen and Gaſcoins ſubiects to the king of England. The King aſſembled the eſtats of his realme in parliamẽt at Weſtminſter in the feaſte of the conuerſion of ſainct Paule, and there was declared vnto them the tenor & whole effect of the peace concluded betwixte England and Fraunce, wherewith they were greatly pleaſed, and herevpon the nobles of the realme and ſuche frenchemen as were hoſtages came togither at Weſtminſter church on the firſt Sunday of Lent nexte following, and there ſuche as were not alredy ſworne, receiued the othe for performaunce of the ſame peace, in a right ſolemne manner, hauyng the tenour of their othes written in certaine ſcroles: and after they had taken their othes vpon the Sacramẽt and maſſe booke, they delyuered the ſame ſcrols vnto certain notaries, apointed to receiue and regiſter the ſame. The mortalitie yet during, that noble Duke Henry of Lancaſter departed this life on the euen of the Annuntiation of our Ladie, and was buryed at Leyceſter. Iohn of Gaunt fourth ſon to the king, who had maried his daughter the Lady Blanche, as before yee haue hearde, ſucceeded him in that Duchie as his heire in right of the ſaid Lady. The ſame yere alſo died the lord Reignold Cobham, the lord Walter Fitz Warein, and three Biſhops, Worceter, London, and Elie.

This yeare vpon the .xv. day of Ianuarie there roſe ſuche a paſſing winde that the like had not bin heard off in many yeres before. It beganne about euenſong time in the South, and that with ſuche force, that it ouerthrewe & blew down ſtrong and mighty buildings, as towers, ſteeples, houſes and chimneis. This outrageous winde continued thus for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeuen days, whereby euen thoſe buildyngs that were not ouerthrowen and broken downe, were ſo ſhaken yet, that they without repairing, were not able long to ſtande.

After this, followed a very wette ſeaſon, namely in the Sommer time and harueſt, ſo that muche corne and hay was loſte, for want of ſeaſonable weather to gather the ſame. The Lorde Lionell the Kynges ſonne went ouer into Irelande, to be deputie to his father there, and was created Duke of Clarence, and his brother Eadmunde was created Erle of Cambridge: Alſo Edwarde Prince of Wales was by his father Kyng Edwarde inueſted Duke of Guyenne, and did homage vnto his father for the ſame, in lyke maner and forme as his father and other Kynges of Englande were accuſtomed to doe for the ſaide Duchie vnto the Kynges of Fraunce. And afterwardes about the feaſte of Candlemaſſe nexte enſuing, the ſaid Prince ſayled into Gaſcoigne, and arriued at Burdeaux, taking vpon him the gouernement and rule of the countrey.

Moreouer this yeare, the fiue firſte dayes of May, were kept royall Iuſtes in Smithfielde by London, the King and Queene beeing preſente, with a great multitude of the nobles and Gētlemen of both the Realmes of England & Fraunce: at whiche time came hither Spanyardes, Cipriottes, and Armenians, requiring ayde of the K. againſt the Infidels, that ſore moleſted theyr cōfynes. The ſtaple of woolles was this yeare remoued to Calais.

Alſo the ſixteene of October, a Parliament began, that was called at Weſtminſter, whych cōtinued til yͤ feaſt day of S. Brice, on which day, the K. that time fiftie yeres then paſt, was borne, wherevpon, as it were in the yeare of his Iubilei, he ſhewed himſelfe the more gracious to his people, granting pardon to offendors, releaſſing priſoners, and reuoking outlawes.

Moreouer, it was ordeined in this Parliamēt, that no maner of perſon, of what eſtate or degree ſo euer hee was, the K. the Q. and Dukes onely excepted, ſhould haue any purueyers of vittailes, nor ſhould take vp any thing, without ready paiment, and thoſe that from thenceforth did contrary to this ordinance, ſhould bee extremely puniſhed. There was granted to the K. in this Parliament. 26.ſ. eight d. of euery ſacke of woolle yͭ was to be tranſported ouer to the Sea, for three yeres next enſuing.

Furthermore, at the ſute of the commons it was ordeyned and eſtabliſhed by an acte in thys Parliament deuiſed, that mē of law ſhuld pleade their cauſes, and write their actions and plaintes in the Engliſhe tong, and not in the Frenche, as they had bin accuſtomed to doe, euer ſince the cōquerors time. It was ordeined alſo, that Scholemaiſters ſhould teache their ſcholers to conſtrue their leſſons in Engliſh, and not in french, as before they had bin vſed. The king ſhewed ſo much courteſie to the french hoſtages, that he permitted them to goe ouer to Calais, and there being nere home, to purchaſe friendſhippe, by oft calling on their friends for their deliuerance. They were ſuffered to ryde too and fro about the marches of Calais, for the ſpace of foure dayes togyther, ſo that on the fourth day before ſunne ſetting, they returned into Calais againe. The Duke of Aniou turning this libertie to ſerue his owne turne, departed from thence, & went home into France, wout making his felowes priuie to his purpoſe.

This yeare, a Parliamente was called by the Kyng, whiche began the ninth of October, from the whiche, none of the noble men could obteyne licence to be abſent.

Addi. to Adam Merimuth.

A ſtatute of array agaynſte coſtly apparel.

In this Parliament, all riche ornamentes of golde and ſiluer vſed to be worne in knyues, girdles, ouches, rings, or otherwiſe, to the ſettyng forth of the body, were prohibited, except to ſuche as might diſpende tenne pound by yeare.

Moreouer, that none ſhould weare any ryche clothes or furres, except they myght diſpende an hundred pound by yeare.

Moreouer it was enacted, that labourers and huſbandmē ſhould not vſe any dayntie diſhes, or coſtly drinkes at their tables. But theſe, & ſuche other actes as were deuiſed & eſtabliſhed at this Parliament, toke none effect, as after it appeared.

Three kinges come into England aboute buſineſſe with K. Edward.

In this yeare, there came into Englande to ſpeake with Kyng Edwarde concerning theyr waightie affaires, three Kyngs, that is to witte, the Kyng of Fraunce, the Kyng of Scotlande, and the Kyng of Cypres: They were honorably receiued, and highly feaſted. The K. of Scotlande, and the K. of Cypres after they had diſpatched theyr buſineſſe for the which they came, returned backe againe, but the Frenche Kyng fell ſicke, and remayned heere till hee dyed, as in the nexte yeare yee ſhall heare. He arriued here in Englande, about the latter ende of this yeare, and came to Eltham (where King Edward as then lay) on the four and twentith day of Ianuary, and there dyned.

1364

After dyner, hee toke his horſe, and rode towarde London, and vppon blacke heath, the Citizens of London cladde in one kynde of liuerie, and very well horſed, met him, and conueid him from thence thorough London, vnto the Sauoy, where his lodging was prepared.

An. reg. 38.

The death of the French K.

Fabian.

About the beginning of Marche, in this eight and thirtith yeare, the forenamed Frenche Kyng fell into a greuous ſickneſſe, of the whiche he dyed the eight day of Aprill folowing. His corps was conueyed into Fraunce, and there buryed at S. Denice: his exequies were kepte heere in Englande in diuers places right ſolemnely, by Kyng Edwards appoyntment.

This yere, by reaſon of an extreme ſore froſt, continuing from the ſeauen and twentith daye of September laſt paſſed, vnto the beginning of Aprill, in this eight and thirtith yeare (or rather from the ſeauenth day of December, till yͤ nineteenth day of Marche, as Walſingham, and other olde writers do write,) the ground lay vntilde, to the greate hinderaunce and loſſe of all growing things on the earth.

The battayle of Aulroy.

Froiſſart.

This yeare on Michaelmas day, before yͤ Caſtel of Aulroy, not farre diſtant from the Citie of Vannes in Britaine, a ſore battell was foughte betwixt yͤ Lord Charles de Blois, and the Lord Iohn of Mountford. For when there coulde bee no ende made betwixt theſe two Lords, touching their title vnto the Duchie of Britaine, they renued the warres right hotely in that countrey, and procured all the ayde they might from eache ſide. The King of Fraunce ſent to the ayde of his Couſin Charles de Blois a thouſande ſpeares, and the Erle of Mountford ſent into Gaſcoigne, requiring ſir Iohn Chandos, and other Engliſhmen there to come to his ſuccour. Sir Iohn Chandos gladly conſented to this requeſt, and therevppon got licence of the Prince, and came into Britaine, wher he found the Erle of Moūtforde at the ſiege of the foreſaide Caſtell of Aulray. In the meane time, the Lord Charles de Blois, being prouided of men, and all things neceſſary for to giue battaile, came and lodged faſt by his enimies. The Earle of Mountford, aduertiſed of his approche, by the aduice of ſir Iohn Chandos, and other of his Captaines, had choſen out a plotte of grounde to lodge in, and meant there to abide their enimies. With yͤ lord Charles of Blois, was that valiant Knight ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, or Gueſclin, as ſome wryte him, by whoſe aduice, there wer ordeined three battailes, and a reregard, and in eche battaile were appointed a M. of good fighting mē. On the other part, the Erle of Mountford deuided his men likewiſe into three battailes, and a reregarde. The firſte was led by ſir Roberte Knolles, ſir Walter Hewet, and Sir Richarde Brulle, or Burley. The ſeconde by Sir Oliuer de Cliſſon, Sir Euſtace Daubreticourt, and ſir Mathew Gourney. The thirde the Earle of Mountforde hymſelfe guided, and with hym was ſir Iohn Chandos aſſociate, by whome he was muche ruled, for the King of England, whoſe daughter the Earle of Mountforde ſhoulde marrie, hadde written to Sir Iohn Chandos, that he ſhoulde take good heede to the buſines of the ſaide Earle, and order the ſame as ſagelie as he might deuiſe.

Three thouſand and ſixe hundred fighting men, as Walſ. hath.

In eche of theſe three armies were fiue hundreth armed menne, and foure hundreth archers. In the arreregard, were appointed a fiue hundred men of warre, vnder the gouernaunce of ſir Hugh Calverley. Beſide ſir Iohn Chandos, and other Engliſhmenne recited by Froiſſarte, there was the Lorde William Latimer, as one of the chiefe on the Earle of Mountfordes ſide. They were not paſt ſixteene hundreth good fighting men on that ſide, as Thomas Walſingham writeth.

When the hoſtes were ordered on bothe ſides (as before we haue ſaide) they approched togither, the Frenchmenne came cloſe in theyr order of battaile, and were to the number of fiue and twētie hundreth men of armes, after the manner of that age, beſide others. Euery man hadde cutte his ſpeare (as then they vſed, at what time they ſhoulde ioyne in battaile) to the lengthe of fiue foote, and a ſhort axe, hanging at his ſide. At the firſte encounter, there was a ſore battaile, and truelie, the archers ſhotte right fiercelie, howbeit, their ſhotte did litle hurte to the Frenchemenne, they were ſo well armed and paueſſhed: the archers perceiuing that (being bigge men and light) caſt away their bowes, and entred in amongſt the Frenchemenne that bare the axes, and plucked them out of theyr handes, wherewith they fought after right hardely. There was don many a noble feate of armes, many taken, and reſcued againe. Againſte the Earle of Mountfords battaile, fought the battaile which the Lord Charles de Blois ruled, and at the firſte, the Earle of Mountfords part was ſore oppreſſed, & brought out of order in ſuche ſorte, that if ſir Hugh Calverley hadde not in time relieued them, the loſſe hadde runne on that ſide, but finallie ſo long they fought, that all the battailes aſſembled and ioyned eache to other, except the reregarde of the Engliſhmen, whereof (as is ſaid) Sir Hugh Caluerley was chiefe. He kepte alwayes his battayle on a wing, and euer ſuccoured where hee ſawe neede. At length, the Frenchmen not able to endure the valiant doings of their aduerſaries, began to breake. Firſte the Earle of Auxerres battaile was diſcomfited, and put to flighte, and the ſaide Earle ſore wounded, and taken priſoner, but the battaile of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin as yet ſtoode manfully at defence, howbeit, at lēgth, the Engliſhmen perforce opened it, and then was the ſaid Sir Berthram taken priſoner, vnder the banner of ſir Iohn Chandos. Heerewith alſo, all the other battailes of the Frenchmen and Britaines, on the part of the Lord Charles de Blois, were cleane diſcomfited, and put out of array, ſo that ſuche as reſiſted, and ſtoode at defence, were ſlayne and beaten downe, and amongſt others, the Lord Charles was there ſlaine himſelfe, and all other, either taken or ſlayne, except thoſe that eſcaped by flight, amongſt the which, there were not many of yͤ nobilitie. For as Thomas Walſingham ſaith, there were ſlaine about a thouſand men of armes, and there were taken two Earles, ſeuen and twentie Lordes, and fifteene hundred men of armes.

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The chaſe was followed to the Citie of Raynes, an eight greate leagues from the place where the battaile began.

After this victory, the Earle of Mountforde conquered many Townes and Caſtels in Britayne, whereof the French Kyng being aduertiſed, ſente hys brother the Duke of Aniou, vnto the wife of the Lord Charles of Bloys now deceaſſed, to comfort hir in ſuch an heauie caſe, and to take order for things as ſhoulde bee thoughte expediente, till further prouiſion might be made.

Alſo ſhortly after, there were ſent vnto the Earle of Mountforde, the Archebyſhoppe of Reimes, the Marſhall Bouciquault, and the Lord of Cran, as cōmiſſioners, to cōmune with him

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him of a finall agreement. Wherupon, after hee had ſignifyed the matter vnto the King of England, and vnderſtoode his pleaſure therein, thys treatie was ſo handled, that peace thereof folowed, and the parties were agreed in the moneth of Aprill next enſuing.

This yere as ſome haue written, K. Edwarde finiſhed his warres vpon S. Stephensday, & began the foundation of S. Stephens chappell at Weſtminſter in memorie thereof, which Chappell was afterwards finiſhed by King Richarde the ſecond that ſucceeded him.

In the. 39. yere of K. Edwards raigne, and in the moneth of Februarie, in the Citie of Angoleſme, was borne the firſte ſonne of Prince Edward, and was named after his father, but he departed this life in the ſeuenth yeare of his age.

Alſo this yeare, the 27. of July, Ingeram de Guynes Lord de Coucy a Frenchman, married yͤ Lady Iſabel, daughter to King Edward. The ſolemnization of the marriage feaſt, was kept at Windſor in moſt royall and triumphant wiſe.

The ſaid Lord Coucy was created Earle of Bedford with an yeerely annuitie of 30. markes, going forthe of the iſſues and profites of that countie, ouer and beſide a M. markes by yeare, aſſigned to him and to his ſaide wife, and to the heires males of their bodyes begotten, to be payde forth of the Eſchecker.

About this time, there was a treatie alſo for a mariage to be had, betwixt the L. Edmond Erle of Cambridge, and yͤ Lady Margaret, daughter and heire to the Earle of Flanders, whiche treatie went ſo farre, that the Erle came ouer to Douer, where the King was ready to receiue him, & there the Erle promiſed by words of affiance, to gyue his ſaid daughter vnto yͤ ſaid L. Edmōd in mariage: and after that the Erle had bin at Douer, the ſpace of three dayes, paſſing yͤ time in greate ſolace & banquetting, whē he had finiſhed his buſines, he returned backe againe into his countrey.

Whileſt the K. was thus at Douer with the Erle of Flanders, the L. Latimer came from the L. John de Mountfort, to vnderſtande his pleaſure, touching yͤ offers that were made for peace, vppon whoſe returne with aunſwere, the peace was concluded as before ye haue heard.

This yere was Peter K. of Caſtile chaſed out of his Realme, by his baſtard brother Hēry, whiche was ayded in that enterprice, by ſir Berthrā de Cleaquin, lately deliuered, and other Frenchmen, ſo that the ſaid Hēry was crowned at Burgus, vpon Eaſter day, wherefore the ſaide Peter was cōſtreined to flee, & ſo came to Burdeaux to ſue for aid at the hands of the Prince of Wales.

This yere by yͤ kings cōmandemēt, a reſtraint was ordeined, that Peter pence ſhould not be frō thenceforth any more gathered within his realm, nor any ſuch paymente made at Rome, whyche had bin vſed to be paid there, euer ſith the dayes of Ine, King of Weſt Saxons, which ordeyned this paymente, towarde the maintenaunce of a Schole for Engliſhe Schollers: but howſoeuer this payment was abrogated at this time by K. Edwarde, it was after renued againe, and yͤ money gathered in certayne Shires of this realme, till the dayes of King Henry the eight.

Peter pens. Ine king of Weſtſaxons.

In this yeare, fell greate abundance of rayne in the time of hay harueſt, ſo that much corne and hay was loſt.

A raynye harueſt. *Caxton.*

There was alſo ſuch fighting amongſt ſparrowes in that ſeaſon, that they were founde dead on the ground in great numbers.

Alſo, there followed greate mortalitie of people, the ſickneſſe being ſo ſharp and vehemēt, that many beeing in perfecte health ouer night when they went to bed, wer found dead in yͤ morning.

Death.

Alſo, many dyed of the ſmall pockes, both mē, women and children.

Moreouer this yeare, Simon Iſley, Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, departed this life, and Simon Langham Byſhop of Elie ſucceeded in his place.

This yeare at Burdeaux, was borne the ſecond ſonne of Prince Edward named Richard, on yͤ third day of Aprill, his Godfather at yͤ fount ſtone was Iamys K. of Maiorke. Peter Kyng of Spayne, whiche as ye haue heard, was expulſed out of his realme by his baſtard brother, made ſuche earneſt ſute vnto the Prince of Wales for aide to be reſtored home, that finally the Prince aduertiſing his father K. Edwarde of the whole matter, by aduice from him, determined to bring home the ſaide K. Peter, & to reſtore him agayne to his kingdome, by force of armes, in deſpite of al his aduerſaries. The Prince indeede was very deſirous to take this enterprice vpon him, both of a certain pitiful affection to relieue the miſerable ſtate of K. Peter, & alſo of an ardent deſire which he had to purchaſe a glorious fame through martiall deedes, and noble actes of chiualrie. Therefore, hauing this occaſion to employ his time in ſuch exerciſes, and now cōmanded thereto of his father, he was exceedingly glad in his mind, and wͭ all ſpeede yͭ might be, made his prouiſion both of a ſufficient army of mē of war, & alſo of all other things neceſſary for the furniture of ſuch an enterpriſe: but firſt, he tooke good aſſurāce of king Peter, for yͤ paimēt of yͤ ſouldiers wages, ſo yͭ K. Peter left at Baiōne three of his daughters, Beatrice, Cōſtance, & Iſabell as pledges, for performāce of al yͤ couenants agreed betwixt him & the Prince. Thus whē yͤ Prince, by yͤ aduice & coūſaile of ſir John Chandos, & ſir Robert Knolles (by whome he was much ruled) had takē directiō in his buſines, for that his iourney into Spayne,

King Richard the ſeconde, borne.

Froiſſart.

1367.

An.reg. 41.

The prince ſetteth foreward towardes Spayne.

He entreth into Nauarre.

The king of Nauarre taken by the French men.

Sir Martin de Care.

Saint Muchaule.

The king of Spayn ſendeth to the prince.

Victoria Viana.

Polidore.

in each condition, as was thought behoofefull, he with the K. of Spaine in his company, paſſed forth, with a right puiſſance army, and came to yͤ ſtreightes of Roncenalle, at the entrie into Nauerre, and obteyning ſo muche friendſhip of the King of Nauerre, as to haue the paſſages of hys countrey opened, they entred into his realme through the ſame, as friendes, without finding any reſiſtance. In this meane time, Henry Kyng of Spaine hauing knowledge that the Prince of Wales was thus comming againſte him, to reſtore his brother King Peter to his former degree, by aduice of ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, gote a great number of ſouldiers out of Fraunce, by whoſe aide, he might the better defend himſelfe againſt his enimies. It chanced, that whileſt the Prince of Wales was paſſing thorough Nauarre, towarde the entrie of Spaine, certaine of thoſe Frenchmenne, vnder the leading of ſir Oliuer Manny, tooke the King of Nauarre priſoner, as he was riding from one Towne to an other, many maruelled of that chance, and ſome there were that thought, he ſuffered himſelfe to be taken for a cautele, bycauſe hee woulde not ayde the Prince of Wales anye further, nor conduct him through his Realme, as hee had promiſed to doe. But the Prince nothing diſmaid herewith, paſſed forwarde, by the guyding of a Knighte of Nauarre, called ſir Martin de Kare, and finally, came to the confynes of Spayne, and lodged at Victoria, not farre from his enimies. For Kyng Henry of Spayne, vnderſtanding whiche way the Prince drewe, came forwarde to encounter him, and pight downe his fielde, not farre frō the borders of his Realme, at a place called Saint Muchable: and thus were both the hoſtes lodged within a ſmall diſtance, the one againſte the other. King Henry had ſent to the Prince an Herault of armes with a letter, requiring to knowe of him for what cauſe he moued warre agaynſte him, ſith he had neuer offended him. The Prince taking deliberation for aunſwere of this letter, kept the meſſenger with him, and perceiuing that King Henry came not forward, but lay ſtill at Saint Muchable, ſtrongly encamped, he remoued from Victoria, and came to a Towne called Viana, where he ſtayed two dayes to refreſh hys people, and after went forward, and paſſed the riuer, which deuideth the Realmes of Caſtile and Nauarre, at the bridge of Groigne. King Henry aduertiſed heereof, departed from Sainte Muchable, and came before the Towne of Nauarret, ſcituate on the ſame riuer. Not many dayes before the Prince paſſed the riuer at Eroigne, King Henry had ſent forth two of his brethren, the Earle Dom Teille, and the Lord Sanches, with ſixe hundred horſemen, to view the Princes hoſt. They chanced to encounter two hundred Engliſh horſemen, whome after long and ſharpe fight, they diſtreſſed, and ſlew ſir Wil. Felto, one of the chiefe leaders of thoſe Engliſhmen, and tooke ſir Thomas Felton his brother, ſir Hugh Haſtings, and diuers other, both Knightes and Eſquiers. Whether that King Hēry was greatly encouraged by this good lucke in yͤ beginning, or that he truſted through the great multitude of his people, whiche he had there with him, to haue the vpper hand of his enimies, true it is, that hee coueted ſore to giue them battaile, and although he might haue weeried the Prince, and conſtreyned him for want of vittailes to haue returned, or to haue fought with him at ſome greate aduauntage, if he had deferred the battayle, as the Marſhall of Fraunce Dandrehen gaue counſaile, yet hee woulde needes fight in all the haſt, and therefore did thus approch his enimies. The Prince perceyuing that his aduerſarie came forward to encounter him, diſpatched the Heraulte with an aunſwer to the letter which he hadde of him receiued, conteyning in effect, that for greate conſiderations, he hadde taken vpon him to ayde the rightfull King of Spaine, chaſed out of hys realme by violent wrong, and that if it might be, hee would gladly make an agreemente betwixte them, but ſo algates, that K. Henry of neceſſitie muſt then forſake the adminiſtration, and all the title of the Kingdome of Spaine, whiche by no rightfull meane he could enioy, and therfore if he refuſed thus to doe, hee was for his part reſolued how to procede. The Herault departed with this aunſwere, and came therewith vnto Kyng Henry, and deliuered it vnto him, as then lodged with his puiſſant army at Nauarret, ſo that thē both parties prepared themſelues to battayle.

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The Prince hauing with him thirtie M. men of Engliſhmen, Gaſcoignes, and other ſtraungers, ordeyned three battailes, of the which, the firſt was led by the Duke of Lancaſter, & with him was ſir Iohn Chādos, Cōneſtable of Guyen, ſir Willi. Beauchamp, ſonne to the Earle of Warwike, the Lord Dalbret, ſir Richard Dangle, and Sir Stephen Couſenton, Marſhals of Guyēne, and diuers other. The midle ward was gouerned by the Prince, and with him was the foreſaide Peter K. of Spaine, and diuers other Lords and Knightes of England, Poictow, and other countreys, as the vicountes of Chatclareault, and Rochcort, the Lords of Partney, Pynan, Taneboton, and others, ſir Richard Pontchardon, ſir Thomas Spencer, ſir Iohn Grendon, and a great ſort moe, whoſe names it ſhould be too long to rehearſe. The rereward was vnder the gouernaunce of the King of Malorques, and with him were aſſociate the Earles of Arnuacke, Dalbreth, Piergort, Cominges, the Capitall of Bucz, ſir Roberte Knolles, and manye other valiant lords, knightes and eſquiers. On the ſecond day of Aprill, the Prince with his battell thus ordred, remoued from Groigne, ⁊ marching that daye two leagues forwarde, came before Nauerret, and there toke his lodging, within a ſmall diſtance frō his enimies, ſo ẏ both partes prepared to giue battaile the next day in the morning, commaunding that euery man, at the ſounding of the firſte trumpet, ſhould apparell themſelues, that they mighte bee ready vpon the nexte ſound, to be ſet in order of battayle, and to goe againſt their enimies. The Spanyards very erely in the morning, drew into the field, and ordeyned their battailes in this wiſe. The firſt was led by ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, wherein were all the Frenchmen, and other ſtraungers, to the nūber of four M. knights and eſquires, well armed ⁊ appointed, after the manner of France. In the ſecōd battaile was the Erle Dom Tielle, with his brother the L. Sanres, hauing with them a ſixtene M. men on fote, and on horſeback. The third battaile, and the greateſt of all, was gouerned by K. Henry himſelfe, hauing in that battaile ſeauen M. horſemen, and threeſcore M. fotemen, with croſſebowes, dartes, ſpeares, launces, and other abillements of warre: ſo in all three battailes, hee had a fourescore and ſixe M. men on horſebacke and on foote. The Prince of Wales at the breaking of the day, was ready in the field with hys people, arranged in order of battaile, and aduanced forwarde with them towarde his enimies, an hoſting pace, and as they paſſed a little hill, they might ſee as they were deſcēding downe ẏ ſame, their enimies comming likewiſe towardes them, in good order of battaile. When they were approched neere togither, and ready to ioyne, the Duke of Lancaſters battaile encountred with the battaile of ſir Berthram de Cleaquine, whiche two battailes right egrely aſſayled each other, ſo that there was betwixt them a ſore conflict, and well continued. The Erle Dom Tielle, ⁊ his brother the Lord Sanres, vppon the firſte approch of the Princes battaile towards them, fledde out of the fielde, and with them two M. ſpeares, ſo that the reſidue of their battell were ſhortly after diſcomfited, for ẏ Capital of Buz, otherwiſe Beuf, and the Lord Cliſſon, came vpon them on foote, and ſlewe and hurte manye of them, ſo that they brake their array, and fled to ſaue themſelues.

This chance diſcomforted the heartes of the Spanyards right ſore, but yet K. Henry lyke a valiant Gentleman came forward, and encouraged his men in all that he might, ſo ẏ there was a cruell battel, ⁊ well foughten a long time, for the Spanyards with ſlings caſt ſtones in ſuche fierce maner, ẏ they claue therewith many an helmet ⁊ baſſenet, hurt many, and ouerthrew them to the earth. On the other part, the Engliſh archers ſhot freſhly at their enimies, galled ⁊ ſlew the Spanyards, ⁊ brought them to great cōfuſion: yet king Hēry nothing abaſhed herewith, wherſoeuer hee perceiueth his men to ſhrinke, thither he reſorteth, calling vpon them, ⁊ exhorting thē to remember their eſtimations ⁊ dueties, ſo ẏ by his diligēce ⁊ māfull encouragemēt, thrice ẏ day did he ſtay his people, being at point to giue ouer, ⁊ ſet them in ẏ faces of his enimies again. Neither did ẏ ſouldiers māfully with their hāds behaue them, but the captaines thēſelues alſo ſtoutly laid about them.

King Peter.

K. Peter like a Lion preaſſed forwarde, coueting to meete with his brother Henry, that he myghte ſeeke his reuenge on him with his owne handes. Cruell was ẏ fight, ⁊ tried throughly, with moſt egre ⁊ fierce mindes. At length, when the Spanyards were no lōger able to ſuſteine the force and violēce of ẏ engliſhmē, Gaſcoignes, ⁊ other whiche were there againſt thē, they brake their aray, ⁊ fled, ſo ẏ neither ẏ auctoritie, nor bold exhortatiō of K. Henry, could cauſe thē to tarry any longer: wherevpō, when he ſaw himſelfe forſaken of hys people, ⁊ that fewe abode with him to reſiſt his enimies, he alſo to ſaue himſelfe fled out of ẏ field, being fully perſwaded, ẏ if hee had bin taken, no raunſome ſhould haue ſaued his life.

The Spanyards put to flighte.

The battaile that was beſt fought, ⁊ longeſt held togither, was that of the ſtraungers, whiche ſir Berthram de Cleaquin led: for if ẏ Spanyardes had done halfe their partes as well as the Frenchmen, and other in this battaile, the matter had gone harder againſt the Engliſhmen than it did: yet finally, by the noble courage of the Duke of Lancaſter, ⁊ the valiant prowesse of ſir John Chandos, Sir Hugh Caluerly, and others, the frenchmē were put to flight, and their battaile quite diſcomfited. The ſlaughter in this battaile was great, both of thē that were ſlaine in ẏ field, ⁊ of thoſe that were drowned in ẏ riuer that runneth by ẏ Towne of Nauerret. After that ẏ battaile was ended, and that ſuch as had followed ẏ chaſe were returned, ẏ Prince cauſed ẏ fields to be ſearched, to vnderſtād what nūber had bin ſlain in ẏ battaile: they ẏ were appoynted to take the view, vpon their returne reported, ẏ there was dead of mē of armes fiue C. and. lx. ⁊ of commons, about ſeuen M. ⁊ fiue C. of ẏ engliſh part: there were ſlain of mē of name, but 4. knightes, two Gaſcoignes, one Almaigne, ⁊ the fourth an engliſhman, and of other meane ſouldiers, not paſt. 40. as Froiſſart hath. But other affirme, ẏ there were ſlaine of ẏ Princes part about a xvj. C. which ſhould ſeeme to be more like to a trouth, if ẏ battaile was fought ſo ſore and fiercely, as Froiſſart himſelfe doth make report. Howbeit, ther be that write, how ẏ Duke of Lancaſter wan ẏ field by great fortune ⁊ valiancie, ere ẏ prince came nere to his enimies. But howſoeuer it was, the Engliſhmen obteyned the

The number ſlayne at thys battell at Nauaret.

Fabian.

Caxton.

Froiſſart.

victory in this battayle, fought vppon a Saterday the third of Aprill, in the yeare. 1367.

Caxton.

There were taken priſoners, to the number of two thouſande, and amongſt them the Earle of Dene, Sir Berthram de Cleaquin, the marſhall Dandrehen, or Daudenhem, and many other mẽ of name.

Froiſſart.

After the battaile, Kyng Peter went to Burgus, and was receyued into the Citie, and ſhortly after, that is to ſay, on the wedneſday following, the Prince came thither, and there helde his Eaſter with King Peter, and tarried there aboue three weekes. In the meane time, they of Aſturgus, Toledo, Liſbone, Cordoua, Galice, Ciuille, & of all other places of the Kingdome of Spaine, came in, and did homage vnto King Peter, promiſing him to be true to him euer after: for they ſawe that reſiſtance would not auayle, ſo long as the Prince ſhould be in the Cuntrey. After thys, the Prince was in hand with Kyng Peter, for the ſouldiers wages, by whoſe ayde, he was thus reſtored into his former eſtate. King Peter went vnto Siuille, to make ſhift for money accordingly, promiſing to returne agayne, within a fewe weekes, and to ſee euery man payd, according as he had couenaunted. For when he was driuen out of his Realme, and came to Burdeaux, to craue aid of the Prince, he promiſed, that ſo ſoone as he ſhuld be reſtored to his kingdome, he would ſee the Souldiers contented of their wages, and bound himſelfe there to, both by his oth and writing yeuen vnder his ſeale. The Prince tarried for the returne of King Peter, both weekes and monethes, but coulde not heare anye tidings of him. He therefore ſente vnto him, to vnderſtande the cauſe of the ſtay: his aunſwere was, that hee had prouided money, and ſente it by certayne of his men toward the Prince, but the companions that ſerued vnder the Prince, had met with it by the way, and taken it from them that had yͤ conueyance of it: he therefore required the Prince, to ridde the Realme of thoſe Snappehaunſes, and to leaue behinde him ſome of his officers, to whõe in name of him, he would make payment of ſuch money as was due.

King Peters diſſimulation

This aunſwere pleaſed not the Prince, but there was no remedie, for other at that preſent he could not haue, for any lykelyhoode he ſawe: and therefore, taking order with King Peter howe the payment ſhould be made, hee prepared to returne into Gaſcoigne. The order therefore taken betwixt them, was this. Within foure monethes nexte enſuing, King Peter ſhoulde paye the one halfe of the wages due to the Souldiers for thys iourney, vnto ſuche as the Prince ſhoulde leaue behinde hym to receyue the ſame, and the other halfe within one yeare. The Prince was compelled to breake his plate, and to make money thereof, to pay his ſouldiers, namely, the companions, which he had called forthe of Fraunce, ſo that hee lefte himſelfe bare of all riches, to keepe touch with them, although K. Dampeter fayled in his promiſe each way forth. For where the Prince ſhould haue had in recompence towardes his charges, the countie of Algezara, and other lands, by the ſayde Dampeters aſſignemente, ſo that he ſente one of his Knightes, to take ſeaſine of the ſame lãds, he was neuertheleſſe diſappointed, for hee could not come by any peaceable poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, and ſo returned greatly empoueriſhed, hauing ſpente in this iourney al that he could make.

Tho. VValſ.

In the meane time, the baſtard Henry, hauing eſcaped out of the fielde by flighte, got him into Fraunce, and there through fauour of the Duke of Aniou, ſo purchaſed for him ſelfe, that hee got togither a certayne number of Britaines and other Souldiers, and comming to the Frounters of the Princes land in Gaſcoigne, got a Towne in Bigore, called Bãnieres, and made warre vppon the Princes ſubiects. The Prince obteyning paſſage for himſelfe and his men, of the Kings of Aragone and Nauarre, returned to Burdeaux, and then did the baſtard Henry forſake his garriſon at Bannieres, and wente into Arragon, and there got the King of Arragons aſſiſtance: And finally, in the yeare. 1369. returned into Spayne, recouered the kingdome, and ſlew his brother K. Peter, as in yͤ hiſtory of Spayne it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this hiſtorie of England, I do heere paſſe ouer.

This yeare, in the moneth of Marche, appeared a blaſing ſtarre, betwixte the North & Weſt, whoſe beames ſtretched towards France as was then marked, threatning as might be thoughte, yͭ within a ſmall time after it ſhoulde againe bee wrapped and ſet on fire with newe troubles of warre, and euen then, that countrey was not in quiet, but harried in diuers partes, by ſuch ſouldiers as had bin with the Prince in Spaine, & were now out of wages. The leaders of which people, were for the more part Engliſhmenne and Gaſcoignes, as ſir Roberte Briquet, ſir John Treſnielle, Roberte Ceny, Sir Gaollard Vigier, the Bourg of Bertveill, the bourg Camoys, or Cominges, as Denice Sauage thinketh, the bourge of Leſpare, Nandon or Nawdon of Bargerant, Bernard de la Salle, Ortigo, Lamut, and many other. In this. 42. yeare of K. Edwards raigne, his ſecond ſonne the Lorde Lionell Duke of Clarence and Earle of Vlſter, paſſed the Sea with a noble company of Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen, and wente through Fraunce into Lombardie, there to marrie the Lady Violante, daughter to the Duke of Millane. He was honorably receiued in all places where hee came, and ſpecially at Paris, by the Dukes of Berry, and Burgoigne, the Lord Coucy, and other, the which brought him to the Court, where hee dyned and ſupped with the King, and lodged within yͤ pallace. On yͤ next day, he was had to a place, where yͤ Q. lodged, and dined with hir, and after was conueyed to yͤ court again, & ſupped yͤ night with yͤ K. and on the morrow following, he toke his leaue of the K. and Q. the which gaue to him great gifts, & likewiſe to yͤ noble mē of England, yͭ came ouer with him, to yͤ valew of .xx. M. florens, & aboue: he was conueyed frō place to place, with certaine of yͤ french nobilitie, till he came to yͤ borders of the Realme, and then entring into Sauoy, he came to Chamberie, where yͤ Earle of Sauoy was ready to receiue him, and there he remained four days, being highly feaſted amongſt the Ladies & damoſels: & then he departed, and yͤ Earle of Sauoy brought him to Millane, to doe him the more honor, for his ſiſter was mother to yͤ bride, which yͤ Duke ſhould marrie. To ſpeake of yͤ honorable receyuing of him into the Citie of Millane, and of the great feaſt, triumph and bāquetting, & what an aſſemble there was in Millane of high eſtates, at the ſolemniſing of yͤ marriage, betwixt him, and the ſaid Lady Violant, it were two long a proceſſe to remember. The gifts that the father of the bride, the Lord Galeas gaue vnto ſuche honorable perſonages, as were there preſente, amounted in valewe, to an ineſtimable ſumme. The writers of the Mylaneſe hiſtories affirme, that this marriage was celebrate on the fifteenth day of June, in the yere. 1367. which being true, the ſame chanced in the. 41. yere of thys kings raigne, and not in this. 42. yere, though other authors agree, that it was in the yere. 1368. But to returne to other doings where we left. Ye haue heard how the Prince of Wales coulde get no money of the K. of Spaine, for the wages of his men of warre, which he had reteined to ſerue him in the reducing of the ſaide King home into his countrey: wherfore the Prince, hauing bin at great charges in that iourney, was neyther able to ſatiſfie them, nor mainteine his owne eſtate, without ſome great aide of his ſubiectes, & therefore he was counſailed to reiſe a ſubſedie called a fowage, through al the countrey of Aquitayne, to runne only for the ſpace of fiue yeares. To thys payment, euery chimney or fier muſt haue bene contributorie, paying yerely one frank, the rich to haue borne out the pore. And to haue this paimēt granted, al the eſtates of the countrey were called togither at Niort: the Poictouins, and they of Sainctonge, Limoſin, Rouergue, and of Rochel, agreed to the Princes requeſte, with condition, that he ſhould keepe the courſe of his coigne ſtable, for the tearme of ſeauen yeares: but dyuers of yͤ other parties of Guyēne refuſed that ordinãce, as the Earles of Arminacke, and Cominges, the Vicount of Carmaigne, the Lords Dalbret, de la Barde, Cande, Pincornet, and diuers other great Barons, but yet to depart quietly from the aſſemble, they required a time to take better aduice, and ſo they repaired into their countreys, determining neither to returne againe accordyng to their promiſes, nor to ſuffer anye fowage to runne amongeſt them at all, and were ſo muche offended with the motion, that they ſoughte occaſions forthwith to reuolt from the Engliſh obeyſance. And therefore dyuers Lordes of them went to the French king, and there exhibited into the chamber of the Peares of France, their complaynts of the greeuous impoſitions, and wronges, which the Prince went aboute to laye vpon them, affirming that their reſorte ought to be to the crowne of Fraunce, and to the kyng there, as to their Lord Peramount.

The demaund of this fowage the cauſe of the Gaſcoynes reuolting to the French K.

The Frenche kyng who woulde not ſeeme to breake the peace betwene him and the king of England, diſſimuled the matter, and told them that hee woulde perviſe the tenor of the Charters and letters of the peace, and ſo farreforth as he might by permiſſion of the ſame, he would be glad to do them good. The Erles of Arminack, Perigourd, Cominges, and the Lorde Dalbret, with other that were come thither about this matter, were contented with this aunſwere, and ſo ſtayed in Fraunce, till they might vnderſtand further, both of the french kings mind, & of yͤ Princes doings.

This yeare in October, was Simon Langham Archb. of Canterbury elected to the dignitie of a Cardinall, and then William Witleſey, Byſhoppe of Worceter, was remoued vnto the Sea of Canterbury.

Aboute the ſame time, the Earle of Sainct Paule, one of the hoſtages in Englande, ſtale frō hence, without taking anye leaue, or ſaying farewell. At his comming into Fraunce, he greatly furthered the ſute of the Lordes of Gaſcoigne, and finally, ſo muche was done on theyr behalfe, that the Frenche Kyng was contented that the Prince of Wales ſhoulde be appealed, and ſommoned to appeare before the Frenche K. as Judge in that poynt, for reformation of the wrongs which he offered to them that had made their reſort vnto him, as reaſon was they ſhould. This appeale was written, and duelie examined, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

The Earle of Saint Paule.

1369.

The prince of Wales appealed to appeare

Charles by the grace of God king of Fraunce, to our nephue yͤ prince of Wales & Aquitain ſende greeting. So it is, yͭ diuers Prelates, Barons, knightes, Uniuerſities, communalties, and Colledges of yͤ marches and limittes of yͤ countrey of Gaſcoigne, and the dwellers and inhabitants in the bounds of our Realm, beſides diuers other of the Duchie of Aquitaine, are reſorted, and come to our Court; to haue right of certayne grieues, and vnlawfull troubles, whyche you, by vnaduiſed counſayle, and ſimple information, haue purpoſed to do vnto them, wherof we greatly maruell. Therefore, to withſtande, and to redreſſe ſuche things, we are ſo conioyned to them, that we haue thought good, by our royall power, to commaund you to repaire to our Citie of Paris, in proper perſon and there to ſhewe and preſente youre ſelfe before vs, in the chamber of oure peeres, that you may bee conſtreyned to do righte to youre people, concerning the greyfes whyche they alledge that you are about to oppreſſe them with, who claymeth to haue their reſort into oure Courte: and that you fayle not thus to doe, in as ſpeedy manner as yee can, immediately vppon the ſighte and hearing of theſe preſent letters. In witneſſe whereof, we haue to the ſame ſette oure ſeale. Yeuen at Paris, the fiue and twentith day of Januarie.

An. reg. 43.

Theſe letters were giuen to a Knighte and a Clearke, to beare and preſente to the Prince, which according to that they had in charge, wẽt to Burdeaux, and there getting licence to come before the Princes preſence, they redde the letters, wherewith he was not a little chafed, and openly tolde them for a playne aunſwere, that he meant to accompliſhe the French Kings requeſt, for hys comming to Paris, but that ſhoulde bee with hys helmet on his head, and threeſcore thouſande armed men, to beare witneſſe of his appearaunce.

The Princes anſwer to the meſſenger.

The meſſengers perceyuing the Prince to bee ſore offended with theyr meſſage, got them away, without taking their leaue: but before they were paſſed the limittes of the Engliſhe dominion, they were ſtayed by commaundemente of the Prince, and committed to priſon, within the Citie of Agen.

The duke of Berry.

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Berry returned into Fraunce, hauing licence of Kyng Edwarde for an whole yeare, but hee bare hymſelfe ſo wiſely, that he returned not againe at all, for hee excuſed himſelfe, till time that the warre was open.

In like manner, the more parte of all the other hoſtages, by one meane or other, were returned into Fraunce, and ſome indeede were deliuered vpon their raunſomes, or other conſiderations, ſo that the Frenche King beeing deliuered of that obſtacle, was the more ready to breake with the King of Englande, and therefore vppon knowledge had of the Princes aunſwere, to thoſe that hee ſente with the appeale, by ſuche of the meſſengers ſeruauntes as were returned, and declared howe their maſters were dealte with, he couertly prepared for the warre.

The Lorde Chandos.

The Lorde John Chandos, and other of the Princes counſayle foreſawe what would enſue of the leauing of the fowage, and therefore counſayled the Prince, not to proceede any further in it, but he hauing only regard to the reliefe of hys ſouldiers and men of warre, woulde needes goe forward with it. Indeede, if he might haue brought it to paſſe as it was denied, that euery houſholder ſhould haue payde a franke, for chimniage the ſumme would haue growen to twelue hundred thouſand Frankes by the yeare, whiche had bin a greate reliefe, and that made hym the more earneſt, bycauſe he might haue bin able ſo to haue payd his debtes. When it was perceyued certainly that open Rebellion would thereof enſue, and that King Edwarde was certified of the whole ſtate of the matter, and how dyuers of the Lords of Aquitayne were withdrawen vnto the Court of Fraunce, in manner as before ye haue hearde, he deuiſed a letter, whiche hee cauſed to be publiſhed through all the parties of Aquitayne, the effect whereof was this, that where the people of that countrey found themſelues greeued for ſuche exactions as were demaunded of them, he meant therefore vppon examination of their iuſt complaints, to ſee their wrongs redreſſed. And further, he was contented to pardon al ſuch as were withdrawen to the Frenche K. ſo that within a monethes ſpace, they would returne home, requiring them, that in no wiſe they ſhould ſtirre anye ſeditious tumult, but to remember their othes of allegiance, and to cõtinue in the ſame, according to their bounde dueties, and as for him, he would be ready to ſee them eaſed, that woulde ſhewe by plaine proofe, how they had bin otherwiſe greeued than reaſon might beare. This was his meaning, and this was the aduice of all his counſaylours.

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But this courteous Letter little auayled, for dayly the Gaſcoignes reuolted from the Prince, and turned to the Frenche part. Moreouer, another occaſion of grudge chanced, to renue the malice betwixt the king of England, and the french King. For whereas ye haue heard, that the Earle of Flaunders had fianced his daughter and heire to the Lorde Edmonde of Langley, Earle of Cambridge, there was ſhift made, namely by the Earles mother, the Counteſſe of Arthois, who was all French, that notwithſtanding the ſame affiance, ſhee was married vnto Phillip Duke of Burgoigne, ſurnamed the hardie: he gote that ſurname of hardie by this occaſion, as Jacobus Meir hath. It chaunced, that whileſt hee was priſoner in England with his father, he was vpõ a time appointed to waite at the table, where his father and the King of England ſate togither at meate, and bycauſe a noble man of Englande that was appoynted likewiſe to attende at the ſame table, ſerued firſt the King of England before the King of Fraunce, this Phillip vp with his

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his fyſt, and tooke the Engliſh Lorde a blow on the eare, ſaying, wilt thou ſerue the king of Englande firſt, where the Frenche king ſitteth at the ſame table? The Engliſh man out with his dagger, and would haue ſtriken the ſayd Philip, but the king of Englande ſtraytly charged him to the contrary, and prayſing the deed of the yong ſtripling, ſayde vnto him, *Vous eſtes Philippe le hardie.* Thou art (ſayd he) the hardie Philip. And ſo from that day he bare that name euer after.

There bee other that ſay, howe he tooke that ſurname, bycauſe in the battaile of Poictiers he abode ſtill with his father till the ende of the battail, without ſhewing any token of feare, or faintneſſe of courage.

The Erles of Arminacke, and Perigord, with the other Lordes of Gaſgoigne, that had made theyr appeale (as ye haue heard) to the Chamber of the Peeres of Fraunce, when they vnderſtoode that the Prince had impriſoned the Meſſengers, that brought to him the French kings letters, beganne to make warre on the Princes lands. The firſt enterprice they made, was the diſcomfiting of the Lorde Thomas Wake, Seneſchall of Rouergue, as he was ryding from Agen, vnto the Citie of Rodais, with threeſcore Speares, and two hundred Archers in his companie.

Alſo the Frenche King being nowe prouided for the warre, and vnderſtanding the minds of the people within certaine townes vnder the dominion of the Engliſh men, in his high court of Parliamẽt holdẽ at Paris, proceeded in iudgement vpon the appellation before made by the Earles of Arminacke, Perigord, and others, agaynſt Prince Edwarde. And moreouer he ſent ouer into Englande the Erle of Saliſbruche, and a knight called ſir William Dormon, to ſignifie to the king of England, how he thought himſelfe not honourably vſed, and that the king of Englande did but ſlenderly keepe the couenants of the peace, conſidering that hee did not finde meanes to reforme ſuch of his ſubiects Engliſhmen and Gaſgoignes, as daylye robbed and waſted the Countreys and landes belonging to the Crowne of Fraunce.

These Ambaſſadours were ſtayed for the ſpace of two Monethes, and ſtill they complayned of the wrongs that the Engliſhmẽ had done, contrary to the couenantes of the peace, but the king made ſmall account thereof, bycauſe hee perceyued it was forged matter that they alledged, and ſo in the ende he ſent them away.

At Douer being vpon their returne, there met them a Brytayn that was comming with letters of defiaunce to the king of Englande from the French king, and as he had in commaundement, he declared to thẽ the effect of his meſſage, whereupon with al ſpeed they paſſed ouer to Bolongne, and were glad they had ſo eſcaped.

The French king ſent to defie the king of England.

The Brytaine came to the Court and delyuered the defiance to the king, according to the inſtructions which he had receyued. When the king had heard the letters read, and perceyued by good viewe taken of the ſeale and ſignet, that the ſame were of authoritie, hee licenced the meſſenger to depart, and fel in counſaile with the Peeres of his realme, what he ſhould do in ſo weightie a matter. Wherevpon it was thought neceſſarie by them, that he ſhoulde aſſemble his court of Parliament, and ſo he did. In the which vpon declaration made, how iniuriouſly the Frenche king after many wrongfull dealings, had nowe broken the peace, and ſent his defiance vnto the king in ſo deſpiteful wiſe as might be, there was granted towardes the maintenance of the warre thus begon, three fiftenes of the temporaltie, and three diſmes of the ſpiritualtie, to bee payed in three yeares.

Polidor.

A Parliament aſſembled.

Three fiftenes and three tenthes grãted

Fabian.

Froiſſart.

At the ſelfe ſame tyme that the defiance was made to the king here in Englande, the Earle of Saint Poll, and Guy de Chatyllon mayſter of the Croſbowes in Fraunce, entred into the countie of Ponthiew, tooke Abuile, and an Engliſhe knight called ſir Nicholas Louaigne Seneſhall of that Countrey vnder the king of Englande, as then being within it. They tooke alſo Saint Valerie, Crotoy, Rue, Pont Saint Reny, and to be ſhort, reduced the whole Countrey of Ponthiew vnder the French obeyſance, which hadde remayned in poſſeſſion of the Engliſhe men for the ſpace of. Cxij. yeares, euer ſith Edwarde the firſt had the ſame aſſigned to him in name of a dower, with his wife Queene Eleanore, ſiſter to Alfonſe king of Caſtil: and yet were the people of that Country readie now to reuolt to the French dominion, notwithſtanding their former long continued obeyſaunce to the Engliſh men: for otherwiſe coulde not the French men, ſo eaſilye haue come to their purpoſe, but that the people were couenanted before to receyue them, and betray thoſe fewe Engliſhmen that were amongeſt them.

Sir Nicholas Louaigne taken.

The Countie of Ponthiew taken by the French king.

About the ſame time alſo, it fell ſo yll for the Engliſhe men, that the Prince of Wales was troubled with a ſore ſickneſſe, that had continued long with him, euer ſith his being in Spaine, by reaſon whereof his enimies were the more bolde to make attempts agaynſt him, and dayly went about to allure and intice his ſubiects of the marches of Guienne to reuolt from him, inſomuche that the citie of Cahors, and diuerſe other townes thereabout turned to the French part. And thus was the peace which had beene ſo ſurely made, and with ſo many ſolemne othes confirmed, violated and broken, and the parties fallen togither by the eares againe in ſundrie places, and namely

The prince of Wales diſeaſed with ſickneſſe.

The Citie of Cahors reuolteth.

in Aquitain, where ſundrie armies were abroade in the fieldes, diuerſe ſieges layde, many townes taken, often encounters and ſkirmiſhes made, ſomtime to the loſſe of the one part, & ſomtyme of the other, and the Countreys in the meane time harried and ſpoyled, that maruayle it is to conſider, and too long a proceſſe it ſhould be to rehearſe the tenth part of ſuche chaunces as dayly happened amongſt them.

Succors ſent into Gaſcoign

King Edwarde ſent ouer into Gaſcoigne the Earles of Cambridge, and Pembroke, with a certaine number of men of armes and archers, the which arriuing in Brytayne paſſed through that Countrey by licence of the Duke, and came to the prince as thē lying at Angoleſme in Poictou, by whome they were ſent to ouerrunne the Earle of Perigordes landes, and ſo they did, and after layde ſiege to Burdille, hauing with them aboute three thouſande men one and other.

Burdille beſieged.

There came with them forth of England four hundred men of armes, and foure hundred archers (as Froiſſart hath) and of their Captaines beſide, the Earles he nameth theſe, the Lorde of Tabeſtonne (or rather Bradſtone, as I take it) ſir Brian Stapleton, ſir Thomas Balaſter, and Sir Iohn Triuet.

Sir Hugh Caluerley.

Sir Iohn Chandos

Whyleſt the ſayd Earles went thus to make warre agaynſt the Earle of Perigord, Sir Hugh Caluerley with two thouſand men of warre was ſente alſo to ouerrunne the landes of the Earle of Armynacke, and of the Lorde Dalbret, Sir Iohn Chandos lay in the marches of Tholouſe at Mountaubon, and afterwardes beſieged Terrieres, and in the end wanne it, and ſo likewyſe did the Earles of Cambridge, and Pembroke, wynne Burdille, by reaſon of a ſailly that they wythin made forth, and paſſed ſo farre from their Fortreſſe, that the Engliſh men got betwixt thē and home.

Burdille won.

Sir Robert Knolles.

Sir Robert Knolles came from ſuch landes as he had in Brytaine, to ſerue the Prince now in theſe warres of Gaſcoigne, and was by him made chiefe gouernor of all his men of warre, who bare himſelfe right worthily in that charge.

The firſt iourney which he made at that time, was into Quercy, hauing with hym beſide hys owne bandes, certayne Knightes of the Princes retinue, as ſir Richard Ponchardon, ſir Stephen Gouſenton, ſir Noel Loring, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Iohn Triuet, ſir Thomas Spencer, ſir Thomas Balaſter, ſir Nicholas Bonde, ſir William le Moine Seneſchall of Aigenois, ſir Baldwin de Freyuille, and others.

At their comming into Quercy, they beſieged a ſtrong Fortreſſe called Durmell, within the which were diuerſe captaynes of the companions as Aymon d' Ortigo, the little Mechin, Iaques de Bray, Perot de Sauoy, and Arnaudon de Pons, the which ſo valiantly defended the place, that although the Lorde Chandos, accompanied with ſir Thomas Felton, the Captall of Beufe, ſir Iohn de Pommiers, ſir Thomas Percy, Sir Euſtace Daubreticourt, and others come wyth theyr retinues from Montaubon, to reenforce that ſiege, yet coulde they not obteyne their purpoſe, but rayſing from thence after fiue Weekes ſiege, (conſtrayned thereto through want of vittayles,) they marched ſtreyght to a towne called Domme, which they beſieged, hauing in theyr armie fiftene hundred men at armes, beſide two thouſand archers, and Brigans, ſo called in thoſe dayes, of an armor which they ware named Brigandines, vſed then by footemen, that bare alſo Targettes, or Pauoiſes, & certaine Dartes or Iauelynes to throw at their enimies.

The Towne and Caſtell of Domme were ſo ſtrong of themſelues, and ſo well prouided of men of Warre that were appoynted to the garde of the ſame, with the Lorde thereof called ſir Robert de Domme, that after the Engliſh captains perceyued they ſhoulde but loſe tyme to lynger about the wynning of that Towne, they rayſed theyr ſiege, and marching further into the countrey, wanne Gauaches, Freins, Rochmador, and Ville Franche, vpon the Marches of Toulouzain, greatlye to the diſpleaſure of the Duke of Aniou that lay the ſame time in the citie of Toulouze, and coulde not remedie the matter.

But to recyte euery particular enterprice, as the ſame was atchieued by the Engliſhe Captaynes and menne of warre in that ſeaſon, it ſhoulde bee more than the purpoſe of thys volume might permytte, and therefore I paſſe ouer dyuerſe things, whiche I fynde regiſtred by Froiſſart and other wryters, onely aduertiſing you that as the Engliſh menne thus made ſore warres agaynſte theyr aduerſaryes abroade in thoſe quarters: ſo the French men on the other parte had aſſembled greate numbers of menne of warre, not onely to defende theyr Frontyers, but alſo by inuaſions to winne from the Engliſhmē townes and Caſtels, and to waſt ſuch countreys as would not turne to their ſide. Thus were all thoſe Countreys in troubles of warre.

The two Kinges alſo of Englande, and Fraunce, ſignifyed to theyr neyghbours the cauſes of this warre, laying the fault eyther to other, and excuſing themſelues as cleare and innocent therein.

Edward duke of Guelderland, nephew to the king of Englande, as ſonne to his ſiſter, and the duke of Gulick coſin to the kings childrē by their mother that was daughter to yͤ erle of Heinault, tooke great diſpite yͭ the French K. had broken the peace, as they wer throughly perſwaded, & that he had defied K. Edward (as before ye haue heard.)

Wherevpon they ſent their defiaunce vnto the French king, threatning to be reuenged on him to the vttermoſte of their powers. Duke Albert of Bauier, was once minded alſo to haue aided king Edward in this warre: but afterwards ſuch perſwaſions were vſed on the French kings parte, that he choſe to remaine as neutre betwixt them both, refuſing to take any part.

Among the ſouldiers alſo called companions which ſerued the Prince in this ſeaſon, there were three Captaines, right hardie and verie expert men of warre, Ortigo, Bernard de Wiſke, and Bernard de la Sale. Theſe three remayning as then in Lymoſin, hearing that the Duke of Burbons mother, which was alſo mother to ỹ Frēch Queene, lay within the Caſtell of Belleperche in Burbonnois, with a ſmall companie aboute hir, road thither in one day and a night, ſo that in the morning they approched the Caſtel, ſcaled it, and toke it, with the Ladie within it: and though they were after beſieged in the ſame Caſtell by the Duke of Burbon and other French men, yet they defended it, till the Earles of Cambridge, and Pembroke with .xv. hundred Speares, and three thouſand of other men of warre, came & offred the french mē battail, lodging afore them .xv. dayes, and when they perceyued that the French menne would not iſſue out of the Baſtide (in which they lay) to giue battaile, the Earles of Cambridge & Pembroke cauſed all them within the Caſtell to come forth, and to bring with them the Duches of Burbon, whom they led away in ſight of hir ſonne, leauing the Caſtell voyde and free for him to enioy.

The French king prouided a great number of ſhips to aſſemble togither at Harflew, and leuied a great power of men, minding to beſtow them abourde in the ſame ſhippes, that they myghte ſayle into Englande, and make warre agaynſt king Edward in his owne Countrey. Chieftain of this army ſhoulde haue beene his brother the Duke of Burbon, but this iourney was broken, for the Frenche men were eaſed of the paine to come to ſeeke the Engliſh men at home in Englande, they comming ouer into France, and proffering them battaile euen at theyr owne doores. For the king of Englande hauing leuied a power of Archers, and other men of warre, ſent them ouer vnder the leading of his ſonne the Duke of Lancaſter.

There went with him in this iourney, the Earles of Hereforde and Saliſburie, the Lorde Ros, the Lorde Baſſet, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lorde de la Ware, the Lorde de la Pole, the Lorde Walter of Manny, the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Thomas Granſton, ſir Alain Burhul, ſir Richard Sturry, and diuerſe other. They went ouer about mydſommer, and after they had reſted them a little, the Duke ſet forwarde and roaded forth into the Countrey, ſpoyling and harrying the ſame, and when he ſaw time, returned againe to Calais,

The French K. being at Roan, heard of the arriual of this army at Calais, and that his Countrey of Picardie was in great daunger: he chaunged his purpoſe therefore of ſending an army into England, and with all ſpeede appoynted that his power ſhould with his brother the Duke of Burgoigne turne toward Calais, to reſyſt the Duke of Lancaſter.

Hereupon when the Duke of Lancaſter heard that the duke of Burgoigne was thus cōming toward him, he iſſued forth of Calais, and cōming into the valley beneath the hil of Turneham, there toke his fielde, and fortified the place with ſtrong hedges and rampiers, the better to be able to reſiſt his enimies if they woulde aſſayle hym.

The Duke of Lancaſter fortifieth his campe.

The Duke of Burgoigne.

Fabian.

Froiſſart.

The Duke of Burgoigne came ſtill forward, till he approched verie neare to the Duke of Lancaſters campe, and pight downe his fielde alofte vpon the hill of Turneham, ſo that the frontes of both hoſtes were within leſſe than a mile eyther of other.

Sir Robert de Namur.

There was come to the Duke of Lancaſter a knight of the marches of Almaine, called Sir Robert de Namur, with an hundred Speares: but yet the Duke of Lancaſters hoſt was but an handfull of men, in reſpect of the huge number of the Frenche armie, wherein were (as Froiſſart writeth) foure thouſande knightes, beſide other. But yet for all his great puiſſance and number of men, he would not aduenture to aſſayle the Engliſh men in their lodgings, as it was thought hee would haue done, but kept himſelfe and his men vpon the hill, from the .xxiiij. of Auguſt, vnto the .xij. of September, and then diſlodged not muche to his honour, howſoeuer writers doe excuſe it, declaring how his brother had giuen him ſtraight commaundement, that in no wiſe he ſhould fight with the Engliſhmen: and that when he had ſent to his brother for commiſſion eyther to fight, or to remoue, he was commaunded to turne wyth all ſpeede vnto Paris, and to breake vp his armie for that time.

Caxton.

The Earle of Warwike.

Some there be that write, how that after both theſe hoſtes had layen the one agaynſt the other a long ſpace, to the reproufe of both the Chieftains, it chaunced that the Lorde Thomas Beauchampe Erle of Warwike came thitherward by ſea, to be at the battaile, which he heard woulde ſhortly follow betweene the two armies: but ere he was come to land, the French men for feare durſt no longer abide, but ſecretely in the night departed and fled towards Heſdyn, and ſo to Paris, for the which their flight, the Duke of Burgoigne was after blamed of his brother the French king.

Froiſſart.
The Queene of England departeth this life.
Hir three petitions to the king.
The firſt requeſt.
The ſecond.
The thirde.

In this meane while, that is to ſay, on the Euen of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, died that noble Princeſſe, the Lady Philip Queene of England. It is ſayd that when ſhe perceyued that ſhe muſt needes depart out of this tranſitorie life, ſhee deſired to ſpeake with the king hir huſbande, and when he was come to hir, with a ſorowfull heart to ſee hir in that ſtate, ſhee tooke him by the hand, and after courteous wordes of induction, ſhe required of him to graunt hir three requeſtes: one, that all ſuche Merchantes and other men, wyth whome ſhee hadde bargayned in any condition, myght bee aunſwered of all ſuch debtes as ſhee ought to them, whether they dwelled on this ſide the ſea or beyonde. An other was, that all ſuch ordinances and promiſes, as ſhe hadde made to Churches, as well wythin this Realme, as in the parties of the further ſyde the Sea, myght bee performed. And the thirde was, that it myght pleaſe him to chooſe oute none other Sepulchre when God ſhoulde call him oute of this worlde, but beſide hir at Weſtminſter.

The prayſe of Queene Iſabel
The Queenes Colledge.

This Queene to traine the Engliſhe youth vnto vertuous conuerſation, and to giue occaſion that they might be brought vp in learning and good inſtructions, founded a College at Oxford, furniſhing it with goodly buildings, and a church that they might both ſerue God, and profite in theyr ſtudies, whereupon it is called the Queenes Colledge euen to this day.

The Duke of Lancaſter maketh a iourney into Fraunce.
Saint Riquier

But now to returne to the Duke of Lancaſter, ye ſhall vnderſtande that after the departure of the French armie beſide the hill of Turneham, the ſayde Duke returned to Calais, and there refreſhed himſelfe and his people the ſpace of three dayes. And then he ſet forward againe, and with him as Marſhals of the hoſt, was the Earle of Warwike, and the Lorde Roger Beauchampe, with the Lordes and knightes before remembred. They tooke theyr iourney to Saint Omers, and by Turwin, and then through the Countie of S. Paule, ſtill burning the Countrey as they went. They rode not paſt three or foure leagues a day, and keeping on their way, they came by S. Riquier, and at the planches vnder Abuile paſſed the riuer of Some, & then entred into the countrey of Vimew, in purpoſe to go vnto Harflew, and there to burne the French kings nauie.

Thus paſſing forward through Vimew, and the Countie of Ewe, they entred into the Archbiſhoprike of Roan, and marching forth by Deepe, came vnto Harflew: but the Earle of S. Poule, and the Lorde of Fiennes Conſtable of Fraunce which had coaſted the Engliſh armie in all this iourney, with a great power of men, was gotten before them, and entred into this towne, ſo that they knew how they ſhoulde but loſe theyr paine, if they did aſſayle it, and ſo therfore after they had lyen before it three dayes, on the fourth day they diſlodged, and returned againe towards Calais, returning through the Countrey of Ponthieu, & before Abuile chaunced to encounter a number of French men, which gaue to the Duke battail. In the which was taken ſir Hugh de Chatellon, maſter of the Croſbowes of Fraunce, wyth other Knightes, Eſquiers, and Burgeſſes of that towne, and ſlaine about. xvj. ſcore of the French parte.

There be that write otherwiſe hereof, ſhewing how the ſayde ſir Hugh de Chaſtellon was taken by an ambuſh layd by ſir Nicholas Louaigne, as the ſame ſir Hugh was come forth of the towne, with not paſt ten or twelue with him, to ſee how the paſſage of Rowray was kept by them that had charge thereof: howe ſoeuer it came to paſſe, taken he was, and brought to the Duke of Lancaſter, that reioyſed greatly of that good happe: and ſo marching forwarde, he paſſed the Riuer at Blanchetaque, and drew towardes the towne of Rew on the ſea ſide, and ſo to Montreull, and finally to Calais.

Then were the ſtraungers lycenced to depart: and bycauſe it was farre in the Winter, as aboute Sainte Martyns tyde, the Duke and the moſt parte of hys armye returned into Englande.

In this yeare chaunced the third mortalitie, which was exceeding great both of men and beaſtes, that the like had not bene heard of. And amongſt other people that periſhed of that peſtilenciall ſickneſſe, that worthie knight and noble captaine the Earle of Warwike dyed at Calays in the Moneth of Ianuarie, after his returne from Harflew.

The Countrey of Aquitaine was full of trouble in thys meane tyme, eyther parte ſeeking to grieue other to the vttermoſte of theyr powers.

Iohn Haſtings Earle of Pembroke, hauing with him certaine bandes of men of warre, recouered dyuerſe Townes and Caſtelles in thoſe partyes: but when he perceyued how the enimies that were not farre from the place where he was lodged, ſhewed manifeſt tokens of feare, in marching one while vncertainly forward, and an other while fetching great compaſſes aboute, hee ſomewhat vnwarely ſetting vpon them in theyr campe, was diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that getting hym into a place of the Templers, that was cloſed aboute wyth a Wall, hee remayned there in great daunger to be taken pryſoner of hys enimyes that aſſayled hym, if the Lorde Iohn Chandos Seneſchall of Poictow hadde not come to the reſkue, and pledged hym forth.

VValſ. But ſhortly after the ſayde Lorde Chandos was ſlaine by the enimies (whome firſt hee had ouercome) whileſt without good aduiſe, he put of his helmet, and ſo receyuing a ſtroke with a glayue that entred into his head, betwixt his noſe and his forheade, he neuer after ſpake worde, not liuing paſt a day and a night after he was hurt.

The death of this right famous, wiſe, and valiant knight, was bewayled as wel of the French men as Engliſh men. The French king himſelf when he heard that he was ſlaine, greatly lamented the miſhappe, affirming that nowe he beeing dead, there was not any left aliue able to agree the kings and realmes of England and Fraunce: ſo much was he feared, eſteemed, and beloued of all men.

After he was thus ſlaine, ſir Thomas Percy was made Seneſchall of Poictou.

By reaſon of the great weete and raine that fell this yeare in more abundance than had beene accuſtomed, muche corne was loſt, ſo that the price thereof was ſore enhaunced, inſomuche that wheate was ſolde at three ſhillings foure pence the Buſhell. But as concerning the death, the weſt partes of the realme was ſoreſt afflicted with this mortalitie, and namely at Oxforde there dyed a great number of ſcholers.

Somwhat before this time, the Lady Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaſter, departed this life, and was buried on the north ſide of the high aulter in the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule within the citie of London, where hir huſbande John of Gaunt was after alſo interred. She ordeyned for hir huſbande, and for hir ſelfe, a ſolemne obite to be kept yearely in that Churche, where the Maior being preſent with the Sherifs, Chamberlaine, and Swordbearer, ſhoulde offer eche of them a pennie, and the Maior to take vp a pounde, the Sherifes eyther of them a Marke, the Chamberlaine ten ſhillings, and the Swordbearer .vj. ſhillings .viij. pence, and euery other of the Maiors officers .xxij. pens, and the number of viij. officers belonging to the Sherifes, (and by them to be appoynted) .viij. pens the peece.

This yeare was graunted to the king in Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter of the ſpirituall mennes liuings a tenth for the ſpace of three yeares, and a fifteenth of the temporalty during the ſame tearme.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten togither a great ſumme of money, as well by borowing of the Clergie as of the Laitie, he leuied an armie, and ſent the ſame ouer to Calais aboute Mydſommer, vnder the gouernance of that worthie Chieftaine ſir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the Lorde Fitz Walter, the Lorde Granſon, ſir Alain Burxhull, ſir John Bourchier, ſir William Neuille, ſir Geffrey Wourſeley, and diuerſe other noble men, knightes, and wo Captaynes.

About the ſame time, the king of Eng concluded an abſtinence of warre with the S for the tearme of .ix. yeares, ſo that the Sco yet might arme themſelues, and at theyr pleaſ ſerue and take wages, either of the Engliſhe French, by reaſon wherof, ſir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred ſpeares of the realme of Scotlande.

When this armie had ſpent and reſted in Calais aboute the ſpace of .vij. dayes, Sir Robert Knolles cauſed euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the firſt day nere to the Caſtell of Fiennes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboue .xij. thouſande men. Froiſſart ſayth they were but fiftene hundred ſpeares, and foure thouſand archers.

Iames Mair.
The number of men of war in this armie.
Froiſſart.

Within the Caſtell of Fiennes was the Coneſtable of Fraunce, that was Lord thereof, with ſuch a number of ſouldiers and men of warre, that the Engliſhe men thought they ſhoulde but loſe theyr labour to aſſaile it. And ſo they paſſed forth by Turrouane, & towardes Arras, riding not paſt foure leagues a daye, bycauſe of theyr cariages and footemen. They tooke theyr lodging euer about noone, and lay neare vnto great villages.

The French king had furniſhed all his townes and fortreſſes in Picardie with ſtrong garniſons of ſouldiers, to defende the ſame agaynſt al chaunces, that might happen eyther by ſiege or ſodaine aſſault.

The Engliſh men therefore thought not good to lynger about the wynning of any of the ſtrong townes, but paſſed by them, waſting or raunſoming the Countreys.

At Arras they ſhewed themſelues before the barriers, and when none would iſſue to ſkirmiſh with them, they ſet fire on the Suburbes, and departed.

The ſuburbes of Arras burnt

From thence they tooke the way by Baupalmes, and ſo came into Vermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Ham in Vermendois, into the which all the people of the Countrey were withdrawen, with ſuch goods as they might carie with them. And in like maner had thoſe done which inhabited about S. Quintin, Peronne, and other ſtrong townes, ſo that the Engliſhe men founde little abroade, ſauing the Barnes full of corne, for it was after harueſt. So they roade faire and eaſily, two or three leagues a day, and ſometime to recouer money of theyr enimies, they would compounde with them within ſtrong townes, to ſpare the Countrey from burning and deſtruction, for ſuch a ſumme as they agreed vpō, by which meanes ſir Robert Knolles got in that voyage aboue the ſumme of an hundred

The towne of Roy burnt.

The French men withdraw into their fortreſſes & ſtrōg townes.

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There be that write otherwiſe hereof, ſhewing how the ſayde ſir Hugh de Chaſtellon was taken by an ambuſh layd by ſir Nicholas Louaigne, as the ſame ſir Hugh was come forth of the towne, with not paſt ten or twelue with him, to ſee how the paſſage of Rowray was kept by them that had charge thereof: howe ſoeuer it came to paſſe, taken he was, and brought to the Duke of Lancaſter, that reioyſed greatly of that good happe: and ſo marching forwarde, he paſſed the Riuer at Blanchetaque, and drew towardes the towne of Rew on the ſea ſide, and ſo to Montreull, and finally to Calais.

Froiſ

Then were the ſtraungers lycenced to depart: and bycauſe it was farre in the Winter, as aboute Sainte Martyns tyde, the Duke and the moſt parte of hys armye returned into Englande.

In this yeare chaunced the third mortalitie, which was exceeding great both of men and beaſtes, that the like had not bene heard of. And amongſt other people that periſhed of that peſtilenciall ſickneſſe, that worthie knight and noble captaine the Earle of Warwike dyed at Calays in the Moneth of Januarie, after his returne from Harflew.

The
morta
Caſte
Polid
The E
War
parte
life.

The Countrey of Aquitaine was full of trouble in thys meane tyme, eyther parte ſeeking to grieue other to the vttermoſte of theyr powers.

John Haſtings Earle of Pembroke, hauing with him certaine bandes of men of warre, recouered dyuerſe Townes and Caſtelles in thoſe partyes: but when he perceyued how the enimies that were not farre from the place where he was lodged, ſhewed manifeſt tokens of feare, in marching one while vncertainly forward, and an other while fetching great compaſſes aboute, hee ſomewhat vnwarely ſetting vpon them in theyr campe, was diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that getting hym into a place of the Templers, that was cloſed aboute wyth a Wall, hee remayned there in great daunger to be taken pryſoner of hys enimyes that aſſayled hym, if the Lorde John Chandos Seneſchall of Poictow hadde not come to the reſkue, and pledged hym forth.

Polid
Froiſſ

But ſhortly after the ſayde Lorde Chandos was ſlaine by the enimies (whome firſt hee had ouercome) whileſt without good aduiſe, he put of his helmet, and ſo receyuing a ſtroke with a glayue that entred into his head, betwixt his noſe and his forheade, he neuer after ſpake worde, not liuing paſt a day and a night after he was hurt.

The death of this right famous, wiſe, and valiant knight, was bewayled as wel of the French men as Engliſh men. The French king himſelf when he heard that he was ſlaine, greatly lamented the miſhappe, affirming that nowe he beeing dead, there was not any left aliue able to agree the kings and realmes of England and Fraunce: ſo much was he feared, eſteemed, and beloued of all men.

After he was thus ſlaine, ſir Thomas Percy was made Seneſchall of Poictou.

By reaſon of the great weete and raine that fell this yeare in more abundance than had beene accuſtomed, muche corne was loſt, ſo that the price thereof was ſore enhaunced, inſomuche that wheate was ſolde at three ſhillings foure pence the Buſhell. But as concerning the death, the weſt parts of the realme was soreſt afflicted with this mortalitie, and namely at Oxforde there dyed a great number of ſcholers.

Somwhat before this time, the Lady Blanch daughter to Henrie duke of Lancaſter, departed this life, and was buried on the north ſide of the high aulter in the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule within the citie of London, where hir huſbande John of Gaunt was after alſo interred. She ordeyned for hir huſbande, and for hir ſelfe, a ſolemne obite to be kept yearely in that Churche, where the Maior being preſent with the Sherifs, Chamberlaine, and Swordbearer, ſhoulde offer eche of them a pennie, and the Maior to take vp a pounde, the Sherifes eyther of them a Marke, the Chamberlaine ten ſhillings, and the Swordbearer .vj. ſhillings .viij. pence, and euery other of the Maiors officers .xxij. pens, and the number of viij. officers belonging to the Sherifes, (and by them to be appoynted) .viij. pens the peece.

This yeare was graunted to the king in Parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter of the ſpirituall mennes liuings a tenth for the ſpace of three yeares, and a fifteenth of the temporalty during the ſame tearme.

This yeare, after that the king had gotten togither a great ſumme of money, as well by borowing of the Clergie as of the Laitie, he leuied an armie, and ſent the ſame ouer to Calais aboute Mydſommer, vnder the gouernance of that worthie Chieftaine ſir Robert Knolles, accompanied with the Lorde Fitz Walter, the Lorde Granſon, ſir Alain Buxhull, ſir John Bourchier, ſir William Neuille, ſir Geffrey Wourſeley, and diuerſe other noble men, knightes, and w Captaynes.

About the ſame time, the king of Eng concluded an abſtinence of warre with the for the tearme of .ix. yeares, ſo that the Sco yet might arme themſelues, and at theyr pleaſ ſerue and take wages, either of the Engliſhe French, by reaſon wherof, ſir Robert Knolles had in his companie an hundred ſpeares of the realme of Scotlande.

When this armie had ſpent and reſted in Calais aboute the ſpace of .vij. dayes, Sir Robert Knolles cauſed euerie man to depart the towne, and to take the fields, marching the firſt day nere to the Caſtell of Fiennes, and there lodged for that night. The whole number of this armie was not aboue .xij. thouſand men. Froiſſart ſayth they were but fiftene hundred ſpeares, and foure thouſand archers.

Iames Mair.

The number of men of war in this armie.

Froiſſart.

Within the Caſtell of Fiennes was the Coneſtable of Fraunce, that was Lord thereof, with ſuch a number of ſouldiers and men of warre, that the Engliſhe men thought they ſhoulde but loſe theyr labour to aſſaile it. And ſo they paſſed forth by Turrouane, & towards Arras, riding not paſt foure leagues a daye, bycauſe of theyr cariages and footemen. They tooke theyr lodging euer about noone, and lay neare vnto great villages.

The French king had furniſhed all his townes and fortreſſes in Picardie with ſtrong garniſons of ſouldiers, to defende the ſame agaynſt al chaunces, that might happen eyther by ſiege or ſodaine aſſault.

The Engliſh men therefore thought not good to lynger about the wynning of any of the ſtrong townes, but paſſed by them, waſting or raunſoming the Countreys.

At Arras they ſhewed themſelues before the barriers, and when none would iſſue to ſkirmiſh with them, they ſet fire on the Suburbes, and departed.

The ſuburbes of Arras burnt

From thence they tooke the way by Baupalmes, and ſo came into Vermendois, and burnt the towne of Roy. Then went they to Han in Vermendois, into the which all the people of the Countrey were withdrawen, with ſuch goods as they might carie with them. And in like maner had thoſe done which inhabited about S. Quintin, Peronne, and other ſtrong townes, ſo that the Engliſhe men founde little abroade, ſauing the Barnes full of corne, for it was after harueſt. So they roade faire and eaſily, two or three leagues a day, and ſometime to recouer money of theyr enimies, they would compounde with them within ſtrong townes, to ſpare the Countrey from burning and deſtruction, for ſuch a ſumme as they agreed vpõ, by which meanes ſir Robert Knolles got in that voyage aboue the ſumme of an hundred

The towne of Roy burnt.

The French men withdraw into their fortreſſes & ſtrõg townes.

d thouſand frankes; For the which he was accuſed to the king of Englande, as one that not delt iuſtly in ſo doing.

iſh
efore
aris.

hus they paſſed the Countrey, and came be- Noyon, and after they had reſted a while be- e the towne, they went forth waſting and burning the Countrey, and finally paſſed the ryuer of Marne, and ſo entred into Champaigne, and paſſed the Riuer of Aube, and alſo dyuerſe times they paſſed to and fro ouer the riuer of Saine: at length drawing towards Paris, and comming before that Citie, they lodged there in the fielde a day and two nightes, and ſhewed themſelues in order of battaile before the Citie. This was on the .xxiiij. of September.

The French king was at the ſame time within the Citie, and might behold out of his lodging of S. Poule, the fiers & ſmokes, that were made in Gaſtenois, through burning the townes and villages there by the Engliſhmē, but yet he wold ſuffer none of his people to go forth of the citie, although there was a great power of men of warre within the Citie, both of ſuch as had coaſted the Engliſh army in all this iourney, and alſo of other which were come thither by the kings commaundement, beſide the Burgeſſes, & inhabitants of the Citie. When ſir Robert Knolles perceyued that hee ſhoulde haue no battaile, he departed and drewe towardes Aniou, where they wanne by ſtrēgth the townes of Vaas and Ruelly. But now in the beginning of winter, there fell ſuche diſcorde amongſt the Engliſh captaines, through couetouſneſſe and enuie, that finally they deuided themſelues in ſunder, greatly to the diſpleaſure of ſir Robert Knolles theyr General, who could not rule them.

Tho. VValſ.
Sir Simon Minſterworth

There was a knight among them named ſir John Menſterworth, that had the leading of one wing of this army, a good man of his handes, as we call him, but peruers of mind, & verie deceitful and to ſir Robert Knolles to whō he was muche beholden, moſt vnfaythful.

This knight perceyuing the wilfull minds of certaine yong Lords and knights there in the army, that repined at the gouernment of ſir Robert Knolles, as the Romains did ſomtime at the gouernance of Camillus. The chiefe of them were theſe, the Lorde Grantſon, the Lord FitzWater, and others: hee did his beſt to pricke them forwarde, ſounding them in the eare, that it was a great reproche for them being of noble Parentage to ſerue vnder ſuch an olde raſcall as he was, eche of them being able to guyde theyr enterprice of themſelues, wythout his counſayle. In deede this ſir Robert Knolles was not diſcended of any high lynage, but borne in the Countie of Cheſter of meane offſpring, neuertheleſſe through his valiant prowes, and good ſeruice in warre, growne to ſuch eſtimation, as he was reputed worthie of all honour due to a noble and ſkilfull warriour, ſo that it was thought the King coulde not haue made his choyſe of one more able or ſufficient to ſupplie the roumth of a chieftaine, than of hym: but yet, although this was moſte true, his aduice could not be hearde, nor the authoritie appoynted hym by the King beare any ſway: for where he counſayled that they ſhoulde nowe vpon the approching of Winter drawe forth of Fraunce into Brytayne, and there remayne for the Wynter ſeaſon, they would not ſo agree, nor obey his will.

Bermondſey.

Sir Robert Knolles borne in Cheſhire.

Whervpon it came to paſſe, that ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, at that time newly made Coneſtable of Fraunce, vnderſtanding this diuiſion to grow amongſt the Engliſhmen, and that they were deuided into parts, he ſet vpon them ſo much to their diſaduantage, that he diſtreſſed thē, and tooke or ſlue the more part of them: but ſir Robert Knolles with the flower of the archers and men of warre went into Brytaine, and there ſaued himſelfe, and thoſe that followed him.

Here may you ſee, how thoſe yͤ before through amitie and good agreement were of ſuch force as their enimies durſt not once aſſay to annoy them, now by ſtrife and diſſention amongſt themſelues were ſlain or taken by the ſame enimies, and brought to confuſion.

In this meane time that ſir Robert Knolles made thys voyage throughe the Realme of Fraunce, the Prince of Wales layde ſiege to the Citie of Lymoges, whiche was reuolted to the Frenchmen.

There were with hym at the laying of thys ſiege, his brethren, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Cambridge, ſir Guiſchard Dangle, ſir Loys de Harecourt, the Lorde of Pons, the Lorde of Partenay, the Lorde of Pinane, the Lorde of Tannaybouton, ſir Perciuall de Coulongne, ſir Geffray de Argenton, Poictouyns: and of Gaſcoignes, the Lorde of Mountferrant, the Lorde de Chaumount, the Lorde de Longueren, ſir Amerie de Tharſe, the Lordes of Pommiers, Mucident, de l'Eſparre, the Souldiche de Leſtrade, the Lorde of Geronde, and many other: of Engliſhe menne there were, ſir Thomas Percye, the Lorde Ros, the Lorde William Beauchampe, ſir Michaell de la Pole, ſir Stephen Gouſſenton, ſir Richarde Pontchardon, ſir Baldwyn Freuille, ſir Simon Burley, ſir Dangouſſe, Sir John Deuereux, Sir William Menille, (or as ſome Copyes haue) Neuille, and many other.

There was alſo Sir Euſtace Dambrethicourt, and of the Companions, ſir Perducas Dalbreth, who in the begynning of theſe warres beeing turned Frenche, was by the perſwaſion of Sir Robert Knolles procured to returne agayne to the Princes ſeruice before the ſiege of Durmelle.

The Prince beeing thus accompanied wyth theſe worthie Captaynes and men of armes, to the number of .xij. hundred, beſide a thouſand archers and other footmen, endeuoured by al wayes he could deuice to endomage them within. In the ende he cauſed the walles to be vndermined, and quite reuerſed into the ditch, and then giuing aſſault, entred by yͤ breach, & made an huge ſlaughter of them within, inſomuche that of men women, and children (for none were ſpared in reſpect of age or ſexe) there were ſlain and behedded that day aboue three thouſand.

The Biſhop with certaine knightes and captaynes were taken, and had their liues graunted, though the Biſhop was in great daunger to haue loſt his head bycauſe he was a chiefe doer in yeelding the Citie before vnto the Frenchmen.

Whileſt the Prince lay at ſiege before Lymoges (a little before he wanne it) thither came to hym his brethren, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Cambridge, the Lorde Ros, ſir Michaell de la Poole, ſir Robert Roux, ſir John Saintlo, & ſir William Beauchampe, wyth a faire number of men of warre, ſpeares, & archers.

The Prince then after he had wonne Lymoges, and executed ſome crueltie there to the terrour of other. His maladie which ſtill continued vpō him, rather encreaſed than diminiſhed, ſo that hee was aduiſed by Phiſitions to returne into England, in hope that chaunge of aire ſhould reſtore him to health. For the which conſideration and other cauſes of buſineſſe which he had to doe with his father, touching certain weighty affaires he tooke the ſea, & came ouer into Englād, leauing the gouernment of Aquitain vnto his brother the duke of Lancaſter, as his lieutenant there: he landed at Plimmouth in the beginning of January.

Moreouer in this .xliiij. yeare of king Edward, the king of Nauarre came ouer into England, and at Claringdon found the king, and ther talked with him of ſuche matters as they had to conclude betwixt them two. But for that the K. of Nauarre could not aſſure the king of ſuch couenants as ſhould haue paſſed betwixt them two, it was not thought meete by the kings counſayle to worke to farre vpon his bare worde, that had before time ſhewed apparaunt proufes of his inconſtant dealing. And ſurely this doubt roſe not wythout cauſe, as his doings ſhortly after declared: for although he ſeemed nowe at thys preſent to be a very enimie to the French King, yet ſhortly after hee was reconciled to him agayne, and became his great friend for the time it laſted.

Caxton.

A Subſidie.

This yeare in the moneth of Februarie was a Parliament called, in the which there was demaunded of the ſpiritualtie a ſubſidie of fiftie M. poundes, and as much of the Laitie. The temporall men ſoone agreed to that payment, but the Cleargie excuſed themſelues with fayre wordes and ſhyfting anſweres. Inſomuch that the king tooke diſpleaſure with them and depoſed certaine ſpirituall men from their offices of dignitie, as the Chancellour, the Priuie ſeale, the Treaſorer and ſuch other, in whoſe rowmes he placed temporal men.

Spirituall men depoſed.

Cardinals appoynted to treate of peace

The Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Biſhop of Beauuoys being both Cardinalles were put in commiſſion by Pope Gregorie the .xj. to treate betwixt the kings of England and France for a peace, but howbeit they did their endeuour therein, and moued both kings to the vttermoſte of theyr powers, yet theyr mocions tooke none effect, and therefore was the warre purſued to the vttermoſt betwixt the parties, and namely in Aquitaine, where the Fortreſſes were ſo intermedled one with an other, ſome Engliſhe and ſome French, that one knew not howe to beware of an other, nor to auoyde the daunger, ſo that the Countrey of Poictow and other the marches thereabout were in great tribulation.

Polidor.

Sir Robert Knolles, ſir Thomas Spencer, ſir John Triuet, and ſir Hugh Haſtings, deuiding theyr powers in ſunder, went to recouer Townes, ſome in one quarter, and ſome in an other, and certaine they aſſayed, but preuayled not, the Inhabitantes doubting to bee puniſhed for theyr vntruthes, made ſuche ſtoute reſiſtaunce.

The feare which the enimies had of ſir Rob. Knolles.

Sir Berthram de Cleaquin.

After this, the Duke of Lancaſter appoynted ſir Robert Knolles, to repayre agayne to Calais, and by the way (if occaſion ſerued) to attempt the recouerie of Ponthieu. Sir Robert taking his iourney through Fraunce by Paris, came into the marches of Picardie: and bycauſe in compariſon to this manne, all the Engliſhe Captaines were little feared of the French men, Sir Berthram de Cleaquin the Coneſtable of Fraunce leauing the fortreſſes in the marches of Aquitaine ſufficiently ſtuffed with men of war and munition, followed ſir Robert Knolles, ſtill readie to aſſayle the hyndermoſt companies, or elſe to ſet on the ſydes of his enimies. So that there chaunced manye ſkirmiſhes betwixt them, and many men were ſlaine on both partes, but at length, whē ſir Robert Knolles ſaw no likelihood to atchieue his purpoſed entent in recouerie of the townes of Pōthieu, as Abuile and other, he drew ſtreight to Calais, & the Coneſtable retired backe into Fraunce.

1372

An. Reg. 46.

In this .xlvj. yeare. ſir Robert Aſhton was ſent into Ireland as Lord Deputie there, and in the ſame yeare, the Duke of Lancaſter being as thē a widower, maried the Lady Cōſtāce eldeſt daugh-

ter to

to Peter king of Spaine, whiche was ſlaine by his baſtarde brother Henrie (as before yee haue hearde.)

Alſo the Lorde Edmonde Earle of Cambridge, maried the Ladie Iſabell, ſiſter to the ſame Cōſtance. Their other ſiſter named Beatrice, affianced to Don Ferdinando, ſonne to Peter king of Portingale, was departed this life a little before this tyme at Bayonne, where they were all three left as hoſtages by theyr father, when the Prince went to bring him home into his Countrey, (as before ye may reade)

Froiſſart writeth, that the Duke maried the Ladie Conſtance in Gaſcoigne, and that ſhortly after he returned into Englande with his ſayde wife and hir ſiſter, leauing the Capital de Bucffz, and other Lordes of Gaſcoigne and Poictou in charge with the rule of thoſe Countreys. By reaſon of that mariage, the duke of Lancaſter as in right of his wife being the elder ſiſter, cauſed himſelfe to be intituled king of Caſtile, and his ſayde wife Queene of the ſame realme.

The Earle of Hercforde being ſent to the ſea, with certaine ſhippes of warre, was encountred by the Flemiſh fleete, before an hauen in Brytain called the Bay, where was fought a ſore battaile, and long continued for the ſpace of three houres: howbeit finally the victorie abode with the Engliſh menne, notwithſtanding that the Flemings were more in number, and better prouided for the matter.

There were taken of them .xxv. ſhippes, with theyr Admirall Iohn Peterſon. They had bene at Rochelle for wine, and now were come to the Bay for ſalt vpon theyr returne homewards, and hearing that the Engliſh men woulde come that way, ſtayed for them, and firſt gaue the onſet. For ye muſt remember, that by reaſon that the Earle of Flaunders had maried his daughter to the duke of Burgoine, whiche he had firſt promiſed to the Earle of Cambridge, there was no perfite friendſhip betwixt the Realme of Englande, and the Countreys of the ſayd Erle of Flaunders.

Sir Guiſſhard Dangle made knight of the Garter.
Polidor.
Caxton.

Sir Guichard Dangle a knight of Poictou, that was come ouer with the Duke of Lancaſter, to procure the king to ſende ſome newe ayde into Aquitaine, was for his approued valiauncie and tryed truth to the king of Englande, made knight of the Garter. And moreouer at his inſtaunce the king rigged a nauie of ſhippes, and appoynted the Earle of Pembroke as generall, to ſayle wyth the ſame into Aquitàyne, and there to remoue the ſiege which the Frenchmen had laid to Rochell.

The Erle of Pembroke ſent into Guienne.

The Earle according to his commiſſion tooke the Sea with a fleete of .xl. ſhippes prepared for him: but ere he could enter the hauen of Rochelle, he was aſſayled by an huge fleete of Spaniards, and there vanquiſhed, taken pryſoner, and ledde into Spaine.

The Spaniards had for captaines foure ſkilfull warriours, Ambroſe Bouquenegre, Cabeſſe de Vake or Vakadent, Dom Ferand du Pion, and Rodigo de la Rochelle, who had vnder their gouernment .xl. great carreuelles, and thirtene trymme Barques throughly furniſhed and appoynted with good mariners and men of warre.

The Earle of Pembroke had with him nothing the like number of ſhippes, nor men: for (as Froiſſart writeth) he had not paſt .xxij. knightes with him, or as other haue not paſt .xij. being for the more part of his owne retinue of houſholde: and yet thoſe fewe Engliſhmen and Poictouins that were there with him, bare themſelues right valiantly, and fought it out to the vttermoſt.

There were ſlaine ſir Simon Houſſagre, ſir Iohn de Mortaing, and ſir Iohn Tuchet: and there were taken priſoners, beſides the Erle himſelfe, ſir Robert Buffort, ſir Iohn Curſon, Sir Othes de Grandſon, ſir Guicharde Dangle, the Lorde of Pinane, ſir Iohn de Griueres, ſir Iaques de Surgieres, the Lorde of Tannaybouton, ſir Iohn de Hardane, and others.

The Earle had (as Froiſſard wryteth) treaſure with him, to haue waged three thouſande men of warre, which neuer did any man good, for as he was informed, the ſhippe wherein it was abourd, periſhed with diuerſe other being burnt or ſunke.

This battaile was fought on Mydſommer euen, in thys .xlvj. yeare of King Edwardes raigne.

The Engliſh wryters ſay, that it was no maruaile though this miſhappe chaunced to him, bycauſe he had in Parliament ſpoken agaynſt men of the Churche, in giuing counſayle that they myght be conſtrayned to pay grieuous ſubſidies, towardes the mainteuance of the kings warres.

By reaſon of this miſfortune thus happened to the Engliſhe fleete, the Frenchmen recouered many townes and Caſtels out of the Engliſhe mens hands, in the Countreys of Poictou, Xaintonge, Lymoſyn, and other the marches of Aquitaine.

About the ſame tyme, the French king ſente foure thouſande men to the Sea, vnder the guyding of one Yuans a baniſhed Welch gentlemā, the whiche landing in the Ile of Gerneſey was encountered by the Captaine of that Ile called ſir Edmond Rous, who had gather:d. viij.C. mē of his owne ſouldiers togither, with them of the Ile, & boldly gaue battail to the Frenchmē: but in the ende the Engliſhmen were diſcomfited, and four. C. of thē ſlain, ſo that ſir Edmōd Rous fled into the Caſtle of Cornet, and was there beſieged by the ſayd Iuan, till the French king ſent to him to come backe from thence, and ſo he did, leauing the Caſtell of Cornet, and ſir Edmonde Rous within it as he found him.

The Frenchmen this yeare recouered the Citie of Poitiers, alſo Rochelle, and the moſt parte of all Poictou, and finally layde ſiege to Touars in Poictou, wherein a great number of the Lordes of that Countrey were encloſed, the which fell to a compoſition with the French men to haue an abſtinence of warre for themſelues, and theyr landes, till the feaſt of Saint Michaell next enſuing, which ſhoulde be in the yeare 1362. And in the meane time they ſent to the king of England theyr ſoueraigne Lorde, to certifie hym what conditions they hadde agreed vnto, that if they were not ayded by hym, or by one of his ſonnes within the ſayde tearme, then they to yeelde them and theyr landes to the obeyſaunce of the French king.

Not long before this, the Captall of Buckz was taken priſoner, and Sir Thomas Percie with diuerſe other Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes before Soubiſe by ſir Iuan of Wales and other french Captaines, ſo that the Countreys of Poictou and Xaintonge were in greate daunger to bee quite loſt if ſpeedie ſuccours came not in tyme. Whereupon king Edwarde aduertiſed of that agreement which they within Touars had made, rayſed an armie, rigged his ſhippes, and in Auguſt tooke the ſea, purpoſing to come before the day aſſigned to yͤ ſuccours of that fortreſſe: but the winde continued for the ſpace of nine weekes ſo contrarie vnto his entent, that he was ſtyll dryuen backe and coulde not get forwarde towarde the coaſt of Rochelle, where he thought to haue landed, ſo that finally when the daye of reſcuing Touars came, he nor any of his ſonnes coulde appeare in thoſe parties, and ſo to hys great diſpleaſure he returned home, and lycenced all his people to depart to theyr houſes.

By this meanes was Touars delyuered to the Frenchmen, which ceaſſed not in ſuch occaſions of aduauntage to take tyme, and folow the ſteppes of proſperous fortune.

About this ſeaſon the Duke of Brytaine being ſore diſpleaſed in hys mynde, that the Engliſh men ſuſteyned dayly loſſes in the parties of Aquitaine, woulde gladly haue ayded their ſide, if he myght haue got the Nobles of his Countrey to haue ioyned wyth him, but the Lordes Clyſſon, and de la Vale, with the Vicount of Roan, and other the Lordes and Barons of Brytaigne, ſo muche fauoured the Frenche King, that hee perceyued they woulde reuolte from him, if hee attempted any thing agaynſt the French men. Hee therefore meaning by one way or other to further the king of Englande his quarell, and fearing to bee attached by hys owne Subiectes, and ſent to Paris, hee diſpatched Meſſengers to King Edwarde, requyring him to ſende ſome power of menne of warre into Brytayne, to defende him agaynſt the malice of ſuche as were altogither Frenche and enimies to Englande.

The Lord Neuil ſent into Britaine.

King Edwarde forthwith ſent ouer the lord Neuil, with foure hundred men of armes, and as many archers, the which arriuing at Saint Mathewes de fine Poterne, remayned there all the winter. Wherupon the Brytaynes being ſore offended therewith, cloſed their townes and fortreſſes agaynſt their Duke, and ſhewed muche euill will towardes him.

Engliſhmen diſcomfited by the Coneſtable of France.

Townes won by him.

The Coneſtable of Fraunce ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, laying ſiege to the towne and Caſtell of Syreth in Poictou, diſcomfited a number of Engliſhe men that came to rayſe his ſiege, by meanes whereof he got not onely Syreth, but alſo Nyort, Lucignen, and all other the townes and Fortreſſes which the Engliſh men helde tyll yͤ day within Poictou, Xaintonge, & Rochellois.

The coneſtable of France ſente into Britayne.

Shortly after this, the Coneſtable returned into Fraunce, and was appoynted by the King there to goe with an armie of men of warre into Brytaine, and there to take into his handes all ſuche townes and Fortreſſes as belonged to the Duke of Brytayne, bycauſe he had allyed himſelfe with the King of Englande, and receyued Engliſhmen into his Countrey, to the preiudice of the realme of Fraunce.

Sir Robert Knolles.

The duke being aduertiſed of the Coneſtables comming, was counſailed by ſir Robert Knolles (whom the K. of England had ſent to ayd him) that he ſhould paſſe ouer into England, & there to be a ſuter in his owne cauſe for more ayde to bee ſent into Brytayne, to reſiſt the Frenchmen that nowe ſought to bring the whole Countrey into their poſſeſſion.

The Duke of Britaine commeth ouer into Englande.

The Duke enclyning to thys aduice, went ouer into Englande, and in the meane tyme the Coneſtable came and wanne the moſte parte of all the Townes and Fortreſſes of that Duchie, except Breſt, where ſir Robert Knolles was, and certaine other.

The Earle of Salisbury.

The Earle of Saliſburie with a great nauie of Shippes, well furniſhed with men of armes and archers, lay vpon the coaſt of Brytayne, all that tyme, and greatly comforted them wythin Breſt, inſomuche that he came on lande, and offred battaile to the Coneſtable if hee woulde haue come forward and receyued it.

Polidor.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſent ouer into France with an army.

In the moneth of Iulie in this .xlvij. yeare of King Edwardes raigne, the Duke of Lancaſter was ſente ouer vnto Calays with an armie of thirtie thouſande men, (as ſome wryte) but as Froiſſart hath, they were but thirtene thouſande, as three thouſande men of armes, and ten thouſande archers.

Iames Mair.
Froiſſart.

This voyage had bin in preparing for the ſpace of three yeares, before. The Duke of Brytaine was there with them.and of the Engliſh nebility beſide the duke of Lancaſter that was their generall, there were the Erles of Warwike, Stafford and Suffolke.the L. Edward Spencer, that was Coneſtable of the hoſt, the Lordes Willoughby, de la Poole, Baſſet, & diuerſe others. Of knights, ſir Henry Percy, ſir Lewes Clifford, ſir William Beauchampe, the Chanon Robertſart, Walter Hewet, ſir Hugh Caluerley, ſir Stephē Couſington, ſir Richard Ponchardon, and many other.

Noble men that went with him in that iourney.

When they had made redie their cariages and other things neceſſarie for ſuch a iourney which they had taken in hande, that is to wit, to paſſe through yͤ realm of France vnto Burdeaux, they ſet forward, hauing their army deuided into three battayles. The Erles of Warwike and Suffolk led the fore warde: the two Dukes of Lancaſter and Brytaine, the middle warde or battaile: and the rerewarde was gouerned by the Lord Spēcer Coneſtable of the hoſt. They paſſed by S. Omers, by Turrouane, and coaſted the Countrey of Arthois, and paſſed the water of Some at Corby. They deſtroyed the Countreys as they went, and marched not paſt three leagues a day. They aſſayled none of the ſtrong townes, nor fortreſſes. For the French king had ſo ſtuffed thē with notable numbers of men of warre, that they perceyued they ſhould trauaile in vaine about the winning of them. At Roy in Vermandois, they reſted them ſeuen dayes, and at their departure ſet fire on the towne, bycauſe they could not win the church which was kept againſt them. Frō thence they drew towards Laon, & ſo marched forward, paſſing the riuers of Yſare, Marne, Saine, and Yonne. The Frenchmen coaſted them, but durſt not approch to giue them battaile.

They paſſed through the country without aſſaulting any townes.

Fabian.

Neare to Ribaumont, about .lxxx. Engliſhe men of ſir Hugh Caluerleys companie were diſtreſſed by ſix ſcore Frēchmen: and likewiſe beſide Soyſſons, ſix ſcore Engliſh ſpeares, (or as other writers) haue fiftie ſpeares, and, xx. archers) were vanquiſhed by a Burgonian knight called Sir Iohn de Vienne, that had with him three hūdred French ſpeares. Of more hurt by any encounters I read not that the Engliſh men ſuſteyned in this voyage. For the French men kept them a looſe, and ment not to fight with their enimies, but onely to keepe them from vittayles, and fetching of forrage abrode, by reaſon whereof the Engliſh men loſt many horſes, and were in deed driuen to great ſcarcitie of vitailes. When they had paſſed the riuer of Loire, and were come into the Countrey of Berry, they vnderſtoode how the French men layde themſelues in ſundrie Ambuſhes to diſtreſſe them, if they might eſpie the aduauntage: But the duke of Lancaſter placing his light horſmen, with part of the archers in the fore ward, and in the battail the whole force of his footemen with the menne at armes deuided into wings to couer that battaile, wherein he himſelfe was, the reſidue of the horſmen with the reſt of the archers he appointed to the rereward, and ſo cauſing them to keepe cloſe togither, marched forth till he came into Poictou, and then in reuenge of the Poictouins that had reuolted from the Engliſh obeyſance, he began a new ſpoyle, killing the people, waſting the Countrey, and burning the houſes and buildings euery where as hee paſſed, and ſo finally about Chriſtmaſſe came to Burdeaux.

The Frenchmē ment not to fight with the Engliſhmen

Polidor.

Whileſt the duke of Lancaſter was thus paſſing through the realm of France, Pope Gregory the .xj. ſent the Archbiſhop of Rauenna and the Biſhop of Carpentras as Legates from him, to treate for a peace betwixt the Realmes of England and France: they rode to and fro betwixt the French king and his brethren, and the Duke of Lancaſter: but the Duke and the Engliſhe men kept on their way, and ſo finally aboute Chriſtmaſſe came to Burdeaux. The Legates purſued their treatie, but the parties were ſo harde, that no reaſonable offers woulde be taken. The two Dukes, of Lancaſter, and Brytaine, lay in Burdeaux all the reſidue of the winter, and the Lent following.

The ſame yeare that the duke of Lancaſter made this iourney through Fraunce, the king of England ſent certain Ambaſſadors to the Pope, requiring him not to meddle with the reſeruations of benefices within his realme of Englande, but that thoſe which were elected biſhops mighte enioy their ſeas, & be confirmed of their metropolitane, & Archb. as of auncient time they had bin accuſtomed. The Pope woulde not at that preſent determin any thing herein, but cōmaunded them that were ſent, that they ſhould certifie him again of the kings pleaſure and further meaning, in thoſe Articles and other touching hym and his realme.

Alſo this yeare it was decreed in Parliament, that Cathedral Churches might enioy the right of their elections, and that the king ſhoulde not hinder them that were choſen, but rather helpe them to their confirmations.

In the ſame Parliament was graunted to the King a diſme of the cleargie, & a .xv. of the laitie.

Moreouer at the ſute of the Popes Legates, a reſpite of warre was granted betwixt the kings of England and Fraunce, but ſo that the Engliſh men loſt in Gaſcoigne a greate number of Caſtels and townes, by reaſon of a compoſition made before, that if they were not reſkued by the myddeſt of Auguſt, they ſhoulde then yeelde themſelues French: And bycauſe the truce was agreed vpon to endure till the laſte of Auguſt, the Engliſh men tooke no heed to the matter.

It was further agreed, that in the begynning of September, there ſhoulde meete in the marches of Picardie, the Duke of Lancaſter, and other of the Engliſhe parte, as Commiſſioners to entreat of peace. And the Duke of Aniou and other on the Frenche part, the Popes Legates to be there alſo as mediators.

When this agreement was thus accorded, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Duke of Brytayne, with the Earles of Warwicke, Suffolke, and Staffords, the Lordes Spencer, Wyloughbie, and others, tooke the Sea at Burdeaux the eight of July, & returned into Englande.

This yeare the fifth of June, died William Wittleſey Archbiſh. of Canterburie, after whoſe death the Monkes choſe to that ſea the Cardinal of Wincheſter, with which election the king was nothing contented, ſo that after muche money ſpent by the Monkes to obteyne theyr purpoſe, at length they were diſappoynted, and Doctor Symon Sudberie was admitted to that dignitie, that before was Biſhoppe of London, beeing the lvij. Archebiſhoppe that hadde ruled that See. He was choſen by the appoyntment of the king, and conſent of the Pope: for alreadye was that decree worne out of vſe, whereby the election of Biſhoppes ſhould haue reſted in the voyces of them of the Cathedrall Churche: for not onely this Simon Archbiſhop of Canterburie, but other alſo were ordeyned Biſhops from thenceforth, by the wyll and authoritie of the Popes and Kings of thys Realme, till at length it came ſo to paſſe, that onely the Kinges inſtituted Biſhoppes, and the Biſhoppes ordeyned other gouernours vnder them of meaner degrees, ſo that the Popes within a while loſt al their authoritie which they had before time within this realme in the appointing of Biſhops, & other rulers of churches, and in like maner alſo they loſt ſhortly after their authoritie of leuying tenthes of ſpirituall promotions, the which they in former times had vſed, to the great detriment of yͤ realm, which loſt nothing by this newe ordinance: for the Engliſh people were not cōpelled afterwards to departe with their money vnto ſtraungers, ſo largely as before, and ſo then they began to taſte the benefit. For this Edward the thirde was the firſt that cauſed an act to be made, that none vnder a great penaltie ſhoulde ſeeke to obteyne any ſpirituall promotions within this realme of the Pope, or bring any ſutes to his court, except by way of appeale. And that thoſe that were yͤ aiders of any ſuch offenders againſt this act ſhoulde run in daunger of the ſame paine which acte by thoſe kings that ſucceeded was not onely cōmaunded to be kept, but alſo cōfirmed with new penalties, and is called the ſtatute of Premunire.

Caxton.

1375

An.reg.49.

The cōmiſſioners meet at Bridges.

Aboute Candlemaſſe there met at Bruges as Cōmiſſioners for the king of England, the duke of Lancaſter, the Erle of Saliſburie, & the Biſhop of London. For the French king, the Dukes of Aniou, & Burgoine, the Erale of Salebruce, and the Biſhop of Amiens with others. Finally, whē they could not agree vpon no good concluſion for peace, they accorded vpon a truce to endure to the firſt of May next enſuing in al yͤ Marches of Calais, & vp to the water of Some, but yͤ other places were at libertie to be ſtil in warre: by report of other writers, the truce was agreed vpon to continue till the feaſt of all Saints next enſuing.

A truce taken betwixt England & France.

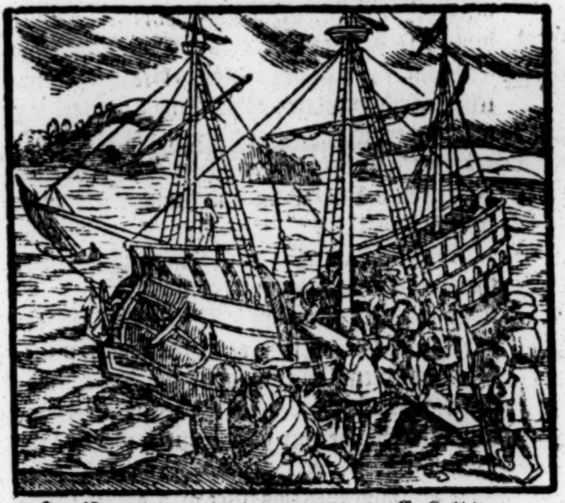
Fabian.

Froiſſart.

About the ſame time that the foreſayde Commiſſioners were at Bruges intreating of peace, the duke of Britaine did ſo much with his father in law king Edwarde, that about the beginning of April, he ſent ouer with him into Brytaine the Erles of Cābridge, Marche, Warwike, & Stafford, the L. Spencer, ſir Thomas Hollād, ſir Nicholas Camois, ſir Edw. Twiford, ſir Richard Ponchardon, Sir John Leſſelles, ſir Thomas Grandſon, ſir Hugh Haſtings, and diuerſe other worthie captains with a power of three thouſand Archers, and two thouſand men of Armes.

Thom VValſ.

An army ſent ouer into Britaine with the Duke.



Then landed at Saint Mathewes or Mahe de fine Poterne, where they tooke the Caſtell by force, and the towne by ſurrender. From thence they wente to Pole de Lion, and wanne it lykewiſe by force of aſſault, and then went to Briu de Vaux, a towne ſtrongly fenced, and well manned. In hope yet to wynne it, the Duke of Brytaine and the Engliſhe Lordes layde ſiege to it, but hearing that an Engliſhe knight, one ſir John Deureux was beſieged in a Fortreſſe whiche hee hadde newly made, by the Vicount of Roan, the Lorde Cliſſon, and other of the French part, they rayſed from Brieu de Vaux, & haſted forward to the ſuccor of ſir John Deureux erneſtly wiſhing to find their enimies in yͤ fielde,

Townes won.

Sir Iohn Deureux.

that they might giue them battaile: but the Britiſh Lordes hearing that the Duke and the Engliſh men approched, made no longer abode, but got them with all ſpeed vnto Campelly a towne of great ſtrength not farre of, and there encloſed themſelues for their more ſafetie. The Duke of Brytaine hearing that they were fledde thyther followed them, and layde ſiege rounde about the Towne, enforcing hymſelfe to obteyne the place, and ſo had done in deede by all likelihoode verye ſhortly, if at the ſame tyme by reaſon of a truce taken for a tweluemonth, he had not beene commaunded by the Duke of Lancaſter, without delay to ceaſſe his warre, and breake vp his campe. There were ſundrie meetings of the Commiſſioners for this treatie of peace, and ſtill they tooke longer time for continuance of the truce. And bycauſe that Brytayne and all the other Countreys of Fraunce (as ſhoulde ſeeme) were included in this truce, it ſeemeth that this was ſome ſeconde truce, and not the firſt truce, whiche included onelye the marches of Calais, and thoſe partes vp to the water of Some. But how ſoeuer it was, the Duke of Brytayne beeing in a great forwardneſſe to haue recouered his Duchie out of the French mennes handes, and to haue reduced his rebellious ſubiectes vnder due obeyſaunce againe. was nowe by this truce concluded oute of tyme, greatly diſappoynted, and ſo brake vp his ſiege from before Campelly, and ſent home the Engliſh armye. Hee went hymſelfe to Aulroy where hys wyfe was, and taking order for the fortifying and keeping of thoſe places, which were in his poſſeſſion, he came backe agayne into Englande, and brought hys wyfe with him.

This truce was concluded to endure frõ midſommer in this 1375 yere vnto midſomer in the yeare next enſuing
Tho. Walſ.

The Duke of Britain diſappointed by the truce.

A little before the concluding of this truce, the Engliſhe men and others wythin the Fortreſſe of Saint Sauiour le Vicount, in the Ile or rather Cloſe (as they call it) of Conſtantine, which had beene long beſieged, made a compoſition, that if they were not reſcued by a certaine day, then ſhoulde they yeelde vp the place to the Frenchmen.

Nowe bycauſe this truce was agreed before the daye appoynted for the reſcue of that place with condition that eyther parte ſhould enioye and holde that which at that preſent they hadde in poſſeſſion, during the tearme of the truce, the Engliſhe men thought that Saint Sauiour le Vicount ſhoulde be ſaued by reaſon of that treatie: but the Frenchmen to the contrarie auouched, that the firſt couenaunt ought to paſſe the laſte ordinance. So that when the day approched, the French king ſent thither ſix. M. ſpeares, knights, and eſquiers, beſide other people: and bycauſe none appeared to giue them battail, they had the towne deliuered to them.

Saint Sauiour le Vicount yelded.

In this xlix. yeare of king Edwards raigne a great death chaunced in this lande, and in dyuerſe other Countries, ſo that innumerable numbers of people dyed and periſhed of that contagious ſickneſſe.

Tho. W
Fabian

Amongſt other the Lorde Edwarde Spencer died the ſame yere, a man of great renowme and valiancie. Alſo the Erle of Pembroke hauing cõpounded for his raunſome, as hee was vpon his returne from Spaine, comming homewardes through France, he fel ſike, and being brought in an horſlitter to Arras, he died there, on the xvj. day of Aprill, leauing a ſonne behinde hym not paſt two yeares of age, begotte of the Counteſſe his wyfe called Anne, daughter vnto the Lorde Walter de Manny.

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Polidore miſtaking the matter, ſayth that the Counteſſe of Pembroke Marie that buylded Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, was wife to this Earle of Pembroke John Haſtings, where as in deede ſhe was wife to his aunceſter Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembroke (as John Stow in hys Summarie hathe truely noted.) She was daughter to Guy Earle of Saint Poule, a worthie ladie and a vertuous, tendering ſo muche the wealthfull ſtate of this lande (a greate parte whereof conſiſteth in the good bringing vppe of youth, and trayning them to the knowledge of learning) that for maintenaunce of ſtudentes ſhe beganne the foreſayde commendable foundation about the yeare of Chriſt 1343. vppon a plotte of grounde that was hir owne, hauing purchaſed lycence thereto of the King to whome ſhee was of kinne.

Iohn

During that grieuous mortalitie and cruell peſtilence before remembred, the Pope at the inſtant requeſt of the Engliſh Cardinalles graunted vnto all thoſe that dyed in Englande beeing ſhriuen and repentant of theyr ſinnes, cleane remiſſion of the ſame, by two Bulles encloſed vnder leade.

The Duke of Lancaſter about the feaſte of all Saintes, mette with the French Commiſſioners againe at Bruges. There was wyth him the Duke of Britaigne, the Earle of Saliſburie, and the Biſhop of London. For the French king there appeared the Duke of Burgoyne. the Earle of Salebruche, and the Biſhop of Amiens. And at Saint Omers laye the Duke of Aniou, the Archebiſhoppe of Rauenna, and the Biſhoppe of Carpentras tooke greate payne to goe to and fro betweene the partyes: but they were ſo farre at oddes in theyr demaundes, and as it were of ſette purpoſe on the Frenche behalfe, that no good could be done betwixt them.

Froiſ
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The Frenche king requyred to haue Calais razed, and to haue again. xiiij. C. thouſand franks which were payed for the raunſom of king John.

The king of Englande demaunded to haue all the landes reſtored to him in Gaſcoigne and Guienne clearely exempt of all reſortes. So when nothing coulde be concluded touching a finall peace, the truce was renued to endure tyll the feaſt of Saint John Baptiſt next enſuyng which ſhoulde be in the yeare 1376.

In this fiftieth yeare, King Edward aſſembled his high Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which was demaunded a ſubſidie of the commons for the defence of the kings dominions agaynſt his enimyes. Whereunto anſwere was made by the common houſe, that they might no longer beare ſuche charges, conſidering the manifolde burthens by them ſuſteyned in tyme paſt.

And further they ſayd, it was well knowne the king was riche ynoughe to wythſtande hys enimyes, if his money and treaſure were well employed: but the lande had beene of long time euill guyded by euill officers, ſo that the ſame could not bee ſtored with chaffer, marchandiſe, or other ryches.

The Commons alſo declared whome they tooke and iudged to bee the chiefe cauſers of thys myſorder, as the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Lorde Latimer Lorde Chamberlain to the king. Alſo Dame Alice Perers, whome the King had long tyme kept to his Concubine. And alſo one named Sir Rycharde Sturry, by whoſe ſiniſter meanes and euill counſayle the king was miſled, and the lande euill gouerned. Wherefore the Cōmons by the mouth of theyr ſpeaker ſir Peers de la Mere, required that thoſe perſons myght be remoued from the king, and other more diſcreete ſette in theyr roomthes about his perſon, and ſo putte in authoritie, that they might ſee to his honour and weale of the realme, more than the other had done before them.

This requeſt of the Commons by ſupport of the Prince was allowed, and graunted, ſo that the ſayde perſons and other of theyr affinitie were commaunded to departe the Court, and other (ſuche as were thought meete by the Prince, and the ſage Peeres of the Realme) were placed in theyr ſteades.

Shortly after the Commons graunted to the king his whole requeſt, ſo that he had of euery perſon, man and woman, being aboue the age of fourtene yeares, foure pence, poore people that lyued of almes onely excepted.

Lykewyſe the Cleargie graunted, that of euerie beneficed manne, the King ſhoulde haue twelue pence, and of euery Prieſt not beneficed foure pens (the foure orders of Friers onely excepted.) But ere this money coulde be leuyed, the king was conſtrayned to borrowe certayne greate ſummes in ſundry places, and therefore he ſent to the Citie of London for foure thouſand poundes. And bycauſe the Maior Adam Staple was not diligent in furthering that lone, hee was by the kings commaundement diſcharged on the .xxij. day of Marche, and Richarde Whytington Mercer choſen in his place.

The blacke prince departeth this life.

The .viij. of June being Trinitie Sunday (the Parliament yet continuing) that noble and famous Prince Edward the kings ſonne departed this life within the kings Pallaice at Weſtminſter. His body was conueyed to Canterburie with great ſolemnitie, and there honourably buried. He died in the xlvj. yeare of his age: A Prince of ſuch excellent demeanour, ſo valiant, wiſe and politique in hys doyngs, that the verie and perfite repreſentation of Knighthoode appeared moſt liuely in his perſon, whyleſt hee lyued, ſo that the loſſe of him ſtroke a generall ſorowe into the heartes of all the Engliſhe Nation. For ſuch was his towardneſſe, or rather perfectiō in princely gouernment, that if he had lyued and attayned to the crowne, euerye manne iudged that hee woulde ſurelye haue exceeded the glorious renowme of all hys aunceſters.

Polidor.
He is buryed at Canterbury

Froiſſart.

The French king kept his obſequie in moſte reuerent wiſe, in hys Chapell of hys Palais at Paris.

Sir Peers de la Mere.
Fabian.

After his death the king called to him againe the foreſayde perſons, that had beene from him remoued, and the ſayd Sir Peers de la Mere that was ſpeaker in the Parliament (as before ye haue hearde) for his eloquence ſhewed in reprouing the miſgouernment of the ſayde perſons, and namelye of the ſayde dame Alice Perers, was nowe committed to pryſon wythin the Caſtell of Notingham.

The truce prolonged.
Polidor.

Aboute the ſame time the truce was againe prolōged til the firſt day of Aprill next folowing.

Alſo king Edwarde after the deceaſſe of hys ſonne prince Edward, created the Lord Richard, ſonne to the ſayd Prince, as heyre to him, Prince of Wales, and gaue to him the Earledomes of Cheſter, and Cornwall.

Polidor.

Moreouer bycauſe the king waxed feeble and ſickly through langor (as ſome ſuppoſe) conceyued for the death of his ſonne, hee appoynted the rule of the realme to his ſonne the Duke of Lancaſter, ordeyning him as gouernour vnder hym, and ſo he continued during his fathers life.

A riot.
Caxton.

A great ryot happened betwixt the ſeruantes of the Earle of Warwike, and the tenants of the Abbot of Eueſham, ſo that many of the ſayd Abbots ſeruaunts were ſlaine and hurt. The fiſhe pondes and warrens belonging to the Abbay were broken & ſpoyled, ſo that greater hurt would haue followed thereof, if the kings letters had not bene ſent downe to the Erle, commaunding him to ſtay his men from ſuch miſdemeanours.

The Nobles ſworne to the prince of Wales

All the Nobles of the realme were cauſed to ſweare, that after the kings deceaſe they ſhoulde admit and mainteyne Richard Prince of Wales for their king and ſoueraigne Lorde. And vpon Chriſtmaſſe day the king cauſed him to ſit at his table aboue all his owne children, in high eſtate, as repreſenting the perſonage of the heyre apparant to the crowne.

1377

An. reg. 51.

Froiſſart.

Comiſsioners ſent to Bruges

This yeare beeing the.lj. and laſte of King Edwardes raigne, there were ſent again to Bruges as Commiſſioners to treate of peace on the part of king Edward, John Lorde Cobham, the Biſhop of Hereford, & the Maior of Lōdon. And for the French part thither came the erle of Salebruche, monſ. de Chatillon, & Phillibert Leſpoit. And ſtill the two Legates were preſent as mediatours betwixt the parties, mouing a maryage to be had, betwixt Richard Prince of Wales, & the lady Mary, daughter to the Frēch king. But they departed in ſunder for this time without any concluſion. But ſhortly after in Lent following, there was a ſecrete meeting appoynted to bee had at Montreul by the ſea, whither came from the king of England, ſir Richard Dangle a Poictouin, ſir Richard Stan, & Geffrey Chaucer. From the French king there appeared the Lord Coucy, and other.

Cōmiſsioners, ſent to Montreull.

Theſe Commiſſioners treated a long ſeaſon concerning the mariage, and when they had vnderſtanding and felt eche others meaning, they departed and made reporte of the ſame to theyr maiſters. The truce was againe prolonged to firſt day of May.

The trewce eftſoones prolonged.

And in the meane time, the Erle of Saliſburie, the Biſhop of Saint Dauie Lorde Chancellour of Englande, and the Biſhop of Herforde went ouer to Calais.

Sir Hugh Caluerley lieutenant of Calais.

In like caſe the Lord of Coucy, and ſir William Dorman Chauncellor of Fraunce came to Montreull. But they durſt not meete at any indifferent place on the frontiers, for the doubt that eyther partie had of the other, for anye thing that the Legates coulde ſay or do. Thus theſe Commiſſioners abode in that eſtate till the truce was expired.

And when the warre was open, then Sir Hugh Caluerley was ſent ouer to Calais, to remaine vpon the ſafe keeping of that towne, as deputie there. The Earle of Saliſburie, and the other Commiſſioners returned into Englande, and with them the Duke of Brytayne.

Tho. VValſ.

Fabian.

Sir Iohn Minſterworth beheaded.

On the.xij.day of Aprill this yeare, one Sir John Minſterworth knight, was drawn, hāged, headed and quartered at Tiburne, being firſt condemned and adiudged to ſuffer that execution before the Maior of London, and other the kings Juſtices in the Guilde hall, for treaſon by hym commytted, in defrauding Souldiers of theyr wages: for where he had receyued great ſummes of money to make payment thereof to theim, hee reteyned the ſame to his owne vſe.

Tho.

Moreouer (as in the.xliiij, yeare of this King ye haue hearde) hee was the chiefe procurer and ſetter forwarde of the diſſention that roſe in the armye whiche vnder the leading of ſir Robert Knolles was ſent into France. And when in that iourney he had loſt moſt of his men, and was eſcaped himſelfe into Englande, hee layde all the blame on ſir Robert Knolles, accuſing him to the king of heynous treaſon, ſo as the King tooke no ſmall diſpleaſure agaynſte the ſayde Sir Robert, inſomuche that hee durſte not returne into Englande, tyll he had pacified the kings wrath, with money, and that the knowne Fidelitie of the man hadde warranted him agaynſt the malicious and vntrue ſuggeſtions of hys enimies. Whereupon the ſayde Mynſterworth perceyuing hys crafte to wante the wiſhed ſucceſſe, he fledde to the Frenche King, and conſpyring with him to annoy the Realme of England by bringing the Spaniſhe nauie to inuade the ſame, at length he was taken in the towne of Pampilona in Nauarre, and brought backe into Englande, where he taſted the deſerued fruite of hys contryued treaſon (as before yee haue hearde.)

Tho.

Iohn

About this ſeaſon, there roſe in the vniuerſitie of Oxforde a learned man John Wiclife, borne in the North partes, and being a ſecular prieſt, and a ſtudent in diuinitie, began to propone certaine concluſions greatly contrary to the doctrine of the Church in thoſe dayes eſtabliſhed, ſpecially he argued agaynſt Monkes, and other men of religion that enioyed greate riches, and large poſſeſſions.

There were diuerſe that gaue good eare to him, inſomuch that ſundrie learned men of that vniuerſitie preached and ſet forth the doctrine that he taught.

The

article

ched b

liſe.

Amongſt other articles which they helde, theſe were the chiefe, that the Sacrament of the Aulter after conſecration, was not the bodie of chriſt, but a figure thereof.

Alſo that the Church of Rome, was no more heade of the vniuerſall church than any one other, nor more authoritie was giuen by Chriſt vnto Peter, than to any other of the Apoſtles, and that yͤ Pope had no power in yͤ keyes of the Churche than any other Prieſt whatſoeuer.

Alſo that temporall Lordes might both lawfully and meritoriouſly take the temporall goodes and reuenues from the Church if it offended, and if anye temporall Lorde knewe the Churche to offende, hee was bounde vnder payne of damnaytion to take from it the temporalties.

Alſo that the Goſpell is ſufficient in this life to direct by rule euery Chriſtian manne. And that all other rules of Sainctes, vnder the obſeruing whereof diuerſe religious doe liue, adde no more perfection to the Goſpel, than waſhing ouer with lyme doth the wall.

Alſo that the Pope nor any other Prelate of the Church ought to haue any priſons wherin to puniſh offenders.

Thoſe and many other opinions theſe men helde and mainteyned, and diuerſe Lordes and great men of the lande fauoured their cauſe. But when theſe concluſions were brought before the Pope, hee condemned the number of. xxiij. of thoſe articles as vaine and hereticall, directing his Bulles to the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to the Biſhop of London, that they ſhoulde cauſe the ſayde Wiclife to bee apprehended, and examined vpon the ſayde concluſions, whiche they did in preſence of the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Lorde Percy, and hearing his declaration, commaunded him to ſilence, and in no wiſe to deale with thoſe matters from thenceforth, ſo that for a tyme, both hee and hys fellowes kepte ſilence: But after at the contemplation of dyuerſe of the Temporall Lordes, they preached and ſet forth theyr doctrine agayne:

The ſame day that Wiclyfe was conuented thus at London, before the Biſhoppes and other Lordes, throughe a worde ſpoken in reproche by the Duke of Lancaſter to the Byſhoppe of London; ſtreyght wayes the Londoners gettyng them to armour, meante to haue ſlaine the Duke, and if the Byſhoppe had not ſtayed them, they hadde ſurely ſette fyre on the Dukes houſe at the Sauoy: and wyth much a doe myght the Biſhop quiet them.

Amongeſt other reprochefull partes which in deſpyte of the Duke they committed, they cauſed his armes in the publique ſtreete to be reuerſed, as if he had beene a traytour, or ſome notorious offender.

The Duke and the Lorde Henrie Percye, whome the Citizens ſought in his owne houſe to haue ſlaine him, if he hadde beene founde, hearing of this ryotous ſturre, and rebellious commotion, forſooke theyr dynner, and fledde to Kennington, where the Lorde Richarde, ſonne to the Prince togyther wyth hys mother then remayned, exhibiting before theyr preſence, a grieuous complaynte of the opprobrious iniuries done vnto them, by the wylfull outrage of the Londoners.

For thys and other cauſes, the Citizens were ſore hated of the Duke, inſomuche that hee cauſed the Maior and Aldermen that then ruled to bee diſcharged of their rowmthes, and other to be put in their places.

The king being more grieuouſly vexed wyth ſickeneſſe from day to day, eyther encreaſing by the courſe thereof, or renued by ſome newe ſurfeyte, finally this yeare departed out of this tranſitorie life at his Manour of Sheene, nowe called Richmonde, the. xxj. day of June, in the yeare of our Lord. 1377. After he had lyued. lxv. yeres, and raigned fiftie yeares foure Monethes, and xxviij. dayes.

Tho. Walſ.

The deceaſe of king Edwarde the thirde.

His iſſue.

He had iſſue by his wife Queene Philip, ſeuen ſonnes, Edwarde Prince of Wales, William of Hatfielde that dyed yong, Lionell Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, Edmonde of Langley Earle of Cambridge, and after created Duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtocke Erle of Buckingham after made duke of Glouceſter, and an other William which dyed likewiſe yong. He had alſo three daughters, Mary that was maried to John of Mountford duke of Brytayne, Iſabell wedded to the Lorde Coucie Earle of Bedford, and Margaret coupled in maryage with the Erle of Pembroke.

His praiſe.

This king, beſide other his giftes of nature, was ayded greatly by his ſeemely perſonage. Hee had a prouident wit, ſharpe to conceyue and vnderſtande: courteous and gentle hee was, doyng all things ſagely and with good conſideration, a man of great temperance and ſobrietie. Thoſe he chiefely fauoured and aduaunced to honour, and rowmes of high dignitie, whiche excelled in honeſt conuerſation, modeſtie, and innocencie of life: of bodie well made, of a conuenient ſtature, as neyther of the higheſt nor loweſt ſort: of face fayre and manlyke, eyes bright and ſhyning, and in age balde, but ſo as it was rather a ſeemelyneſſe to thoſe his auncient yeares than any diſfiguring to his viſage. In knowledge of martiall affayres verie ſkilfull, as the enterpryſes and worthye actes by hym atchieued doe ſufficiently wytneſſe.

His proportiō of body.

In what eſtimation he was had among ſtrangers it may appeare, in that hee was not onelye made Vicare of the Empyre by the Emperour Lewes of Bauiere, but alſo after the deceaſe of the ſame Emperour, dyuerſe of the electours, as Lewes Marques of Brandenbourgh, Robert or Rupert Count Palatine of the Rheyne, and the yong Duke of Saxonie, wyth Henrie Archbiſhop of Mentz, elected hym to ſucceed in place of the ſayd Emperor Lewes. Neuertheleſſe, he giuing them hartie thankes for the honour which they did to him herein, refuſed to take the charge vppon him, alledging that hee coulde not haue tyme to ſupplye the rowmeth, by reaſon of the warres that hee hadde in Fraunce, to recouer hys ryghte which hee hadde to that realme.

This is noted by Writers to bee a token

of great wiſedome in this noble king, that would not goe about to catche more than he might well gripe. Examples of bounteous liberalitie, and great clemencie he ſhewed many, & the ſame verie notable, ſo that in maner he alone amongſt al other kings was founde to be one, ſubiect to none, or at the leaſt, to very lyght and ſmall faultes. But yet he was not voyde of euill happes: for where as during the tearme of fortie yeares ſpace hee raigned in high felicitie, and as one happie in all his doyngs: So in the reſt of his tyme that followed, hee felt a wonderfull chaunge in fortune, ſhewing hirſelfe frowarde and bytter towardes him in moſt part of his proceedings: for ſuche is the ſtate of this worlde, ſeldome doeth proſperitie continue, and guide the ſterne of oure worldly doyngs, as it well appeared by this noble Prince. For in the firſt yeares of his raigne, after he once beganne to gouerne of himſelfe, hee recouered that which had beene loſt in Scotland, by great victories obteyned agaynſte hys aduerſaries in that lande, and paſſed further into the ſame, than euer his Grandfather king Edwarde the firſt had done before him, ſubduing the Countrey on eche hande, so that hee placed gouernors, and beſtowed offices, landes, and lyuings in that realme at his pleaſure.

Proſperitie vnſtable.

Amongeſt other (as I remember) there is yet remaining a Charter vnder his great Seale conteyning a graunt made vnto John Eure and his heyres for hys good ſeruice done in thoſe parties, of a Manour called Ketnes in the Countie of Forfar (which lyeth in the North of Scotland) with a Market euerie Monday, and a Fayre for three dayes togyther at Michaelmaſſe, as the euen, the day and the morrowe after. Alſo hee graunted to the ſame John Eure, free warren throughout the ſame Lordſhip.

This John Eure was aunceſter to the Lorde Eure that now lyueth, who hath the ſame Charter in his poſſeſſion.

As for thys kings victoryes in Fraunce, the ſame were ſuch as might ſeeme incredible, if the conſent of all wryters in that age confyrmed not the ſame.

But as theſe victories were glorious, ſo yet they proued not ſo profitable in the ende: For where as hee had ſore burdened hys ſubiects with taſkes, and ſubſidies, at length they waxed wearie, and beganne to wythdrawe theyr forwarde myndes to helpe hym with ſuche ſummes as had beene requiſite for the mayntenaunce of the warres, which the French men prolonged of purpoſe, and refuſed to trye theyr fortune any more in pyght fieldes, whereby when he was conſtrayned to be at continuall charges in ſuch lingering warres, to defende that which he had earſt gotten by force, and couenants of the peace, the ſinewes of warre, to witte money beganne to fayle him, and ſo the enimies recouered a great part of that which before time they had loſt, both on the further ſide the ſeas and likewiſe in Scotlande.

This muſt needes bee a great griefe vnto a Prince of ſuche a ſtoute and valiaunt ſtomacke, namely ſithe he had beene ſo long tyme before accuſtomed to finde fortune ſtill ſo fauourable vnto him in all his interpriſes. But finally the thing that moſt grieued him, was the loſſe of that moſt noble Gentleman, his deare ſonne Prince Edwarde, in whome was founde all partes that might bee wiſhed for in a worthy gouernour.

But this and other myſhappes that chaunced to hym nowe in his olde yeares, myght ſeeme to come to paſſe for a reuenge of hys diſobedience ſhewed to his father in vſurping agaynſte him, although it may be ſayde, that hee dyd it by conſtraynt, and through the aduiſe of others. But whether the remorſe hereof, or of hys other offences moued hym, it maye ſeeme (as ſome wryte) that the conſideration of thys worldes mutabilitie, which he tryed to the full, cauſed him (as is thought) to haue in mynde the lyfe in the worlde to come, and therefore of a pure deuotion founded the Church and Colledge of Saint Stephen at Weſtmynſter, and another at Cambrydge called the Kinges Hall, gyuing thereunto landes and reuenewes, to the mayntenaunce of them that woulde giue themſelues to learning.

Towards the maintenance of his warres, and furniſhing forth of ſuch other charges and expences as he tooke in hande to beare out, he had ſome helpe by the ſyluer mynes in Deuonſhire and Cornewall, in like maner as his Grandfather K. Edward the firſt had. For one Mathew Crowthorne keeper of his mynes in thoſe parties, yelded diuerſe accountes of the iſſues and profites of the ſame, betweene the ſeconde and .xv. yeare of hys raigne, as well for the ſiluer as for the leade, after the ſiluer was fined from it.

Myn
and

Alſo John Moneron ſucceeding in the ſame office, accomptant of the profytes of the ſame Mynes, from Michaelmaſſe Anno. xix. of hys raigne, vnto the ſecōd of Nouember Anno. xxiij. yelded vpon his account both the ſiluer and the lead thereof remaynyng.

Moreouer hee let by indenture in the .xxxj. yeare of hys reigne, vnto John Ballancer, and Walter Goldbeater, his Mynes of Golde, Syluer, and Copper, in the Countie of Deuonſhyre, for tearme of yeares.

There is an account thereof remaynyng, and by the ſame (as it appeareth) was aunſwered for the firſt yeare. xx. markes. The ſeconde yeare the patenties dyed, and the king then diſpoſed the ſame to others.

In the eight and twentith yere of his raigne, hee committed by Indenture his ſayde mines in Deuonſhire, to one maſter Iohn Hanner, and one Herman Raynſthorp of Bohemie, Myners, yeelding to the Kyng yͤ tenth part of the Ores, as well of the gold and ſiluer, as of the leade and copper that ſhoulde bee gotten forth of the ſayde mynes.

In this Kings dayes, there liued many excellent men, both in learning, in vertue, and in martial prowes, as partly is touched in this diſcourſe of his raigne: as firſte, the ſaide noble, and moſt valiant King, the Prince of Wales his ſon, ſurnamed the blacke Prince: the Dukes of Lancaſter, Iohn of Gant, ſonne to the King, and hys father in lawe Duke Henry: Edmonde Earle of Cambridge, and after Duke of Yorke: the Erles of Warwike, Huntington, Saliſburie, Stafford, Northampton, Arundell, and others: the Lorde Reginald Cobham: the Lord Baſſet: the Lorde Thomas Holland: the Lord Walter de Manny, an Henuier: the Lord Edward Spēſer: the Lord Iohn Chandos: the Lord Iames Audeley: Sir Iohn Copland: Sir Thomas Felton: ſir Robert Knolles, who as I haue ſaid, being borne in Cheſhire of meane parētage, through his manly proweſſe, & moſt ſkilfull experience in yͤ warres, grew to be right famous: Sir Hugh Caluerley, borne in the ſame ſhire: the Capitall de Beuſe a Gaſcoigne: Sir Thomas Perry: Sir Hugh Haſtings: Sir Baldwine Freiuille: Sir Iohn Harleſton: Sir Iames Pipe: Sir Thomas Dagworth: and that valiant Engliſhe Knight Sir Iohn Hankewood, whoſe fame in the parties of Italy ſhal remaine for euer, where (as their hiſtories make mention) hee grewe to ſuch eſtimation for his valiant atchieued enterpriſes, that happie might that Prince or common wealth accompt them ſelues that mighte haue his ſeruice, and ſo liuing there in ſuch reputation, ſometimes he ſerued the Pope, ſometimes the Lordes of Millane. Now this Prince or commō wealth, now that, & other whiles none at all, but taking one towne or other, woulde keepe the ſame, till ſome likyng entertaynement were offered, and then would hee ſell ſuch towne, where he had thus remayned, to them that would giue him for it according to his mind. Bernabo Lord of Millane gaue vnto hym one of his baſe daughters in marriage, with an honorable portion for hir dower. This man was borne in Eſſex as ſome write, and at the fyrſte became a Taylor in London, and afterwardes going into the warres in Fraunce, ſerued in roomth of an archer, but at length, he became a Captayne and leader of men of warre, highly cōmended and liked of amongſt the ſouldiers, in ſo much, that when by the peace concluded at Bretigny, in the yeare 1360. great numbers of Souldiers were diſcharged out of wages, they gote themſelues togither in companies, and without commaundemente of any Prince, by whoſe authoritie they mighte make warre, they fell too of themſelues, and ſore harried and ſpoyled dyuers Countreys in the Realme of Fraunce, as partly ye haue heard: amongſt whome, this Sir Iohn Hawkewood was one of yͤ principall Captaines, and at length, went into Italy, to ſerue the Marques of Montferato, againſte the Duke of Millane: although I remember that ſome write, how hee came into that Countrey with the Duke of Clarence, but I thinke the former report be true. But it may well be, that he was ready to attende the ſayd Duke at his comming into Italie. And this muche concerning ſuch famous Captaynes as ſerued this noble King Edward the thirde, although for breefeneſſe I paſſe ouer diuers other, no leſſe famous, and worthy for their high manhood and tried valiancie to be remembred, thā theſe afore mentioned.

Of learned men, theſe we finde by Iohn Bale regiſtred in his Centuaries: Iohn Baconthorp, borne in Blackney in Northfolke, a Frier Carmelite, and prouinciall of his order, ſo excellently learned, as well in Diuinitie, as in both the ciuill and canon lawes, that he proceded Doctor in either facultie at Oxford and Paris, and wrote diuers treatiſes, to his high and ſingular commendation: William Ockam: Iohn Bloxham a Carmelite Frier: Nicholas Triuet, borne in Northfolke, ſonne to Sir Thomas Triuet Knight, and one of the Kings Iuſticiers, proued excellently learned, and wrote diuers treatiſes, and amongſt other, two hiſtories, and one booke of Annales. He was by profeſſion a blacke Frier, and departed this life about the ſeconde yeare of this King Edward the third, Anno Chriſti. 1328. William Alnewike borne in Northumberland, in the Towne whereof hee tooke name, a Frier Minor: Iohn Tanet, borne in the Iſle of Tanet, an excellēt Muſition, and a Monke in Canterbury: Hugh of Saint Neote, a Carmelite Frier in Hertfordſhire, a notable deuine, as thoſe dayes gaue: William Alton, borne in Hampſhire, a blacke Frier, and a Diuine: Richarde Stradley, borne in the marches of Wales, a Monke, and a deuine, writing certaine treatiſes of the Scripture: W. Herbert a Welchman, & a Frier Minor, wrote alſo certaine treatiſes of diuinitie: Richard Conington, a Frier, of the order of the cordeliers, a Preacher, and a writer of diuinitie: William Exeter, a Doctor of Diuinitie, and a prebendarie Canon in Exeter, whereas it is thought he was borne: Lucas Bolden a Weſterne man, and by profeſſion a Carmelite Frier: Thomas Walleis, a Dominike Frier, a great Diuine, as by ſuche bookes as hee wrote it may appeare: Thomas Pontius, a Monke of Canterbury: John Ridewalle, a grey frier: Henry Coſtelay, or Coſſey, a frier minor: Geffrey Alievant, borne in Yorkeſhire, a frier Carmelite: John Euerſden, a Monke of Bury in Suffolke, an Hiſtoriographer: Simon Burneſton, a doctor of the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and prouinciall of the friers Dominike, or blacke friers, as they called them heere in Englande: Walter Burley, a doctor of Diuinitie, who in his youth was brought vp, not onely in Martin Colledge in Oxforde, but alſo, in the Vniuerſities and Scholes abroade beyonde the Seas, in Fraunce and Germanye, and afterwardes, for hys wiſedome, good demeanor and learning, hee was reteyned with the Byſhoppe of Vlmes in Suabenlande, a Region in hyghe Germanye: Amongſt other Treatiſes whiche he compiled, being manye, and namely of naturall Phyloſophie, he wrote a commentarie of the Ethikes of Ariſtotle, and dedicated the ſame vnto the ſayde Biſhoppe, a worke whiche hath bin highly eſteemed, not only in the Vniuerſities of Italy, Germany, and Fraunce, but alſo heere, in our Vniuerſities of England. To conclude, ſuch was the fame of this Doctor Burley, that when the Lady Phillip, daughter to the Earle of Heynault ſhuld come ouer into England to be married to Kyng Edwarde, this Doctor Burley was reteyned by hir, and appoynted to bee hir Almoigner, and ſo continued in great eſtimation, in ſo muche, that after Edward Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne to King Edwarde, commonlye called the blacke Prince, was borne, and able to learne his booke, the ſaid Doctor Burley amongſt other, was cōmaunded to bee one of his inſtructors, by reaſon whereof, Sir Simon Burley, of whome I haue made ſome mention heeretofore in this Kynges life, and more intende to ſpeake, as occaſion ſerueth in the nexte King, being ſonne to Sir John Burley, neare kinſman to the ſaide Doctor Burley, was admitted among other yong Gentlemenne, to bee Scholefellowe with the ſayde Prince, by occaſion whereof, he grew into ſuche credite and fauoure with the ſayde Prince, that afterwardes when his ſonne Richard of Burdeaux, that ſucceeded Kyng Edwarde his father, was borne, the ſaide Prince for ſpeciall truſt and confidence whiche hee hadde in the ſaide Sir Simon Burley, committed the gouernaunce and education of hys ſonne the ſaide Richarde vnto him, whereby hee was euer after highly in fauoure wyth the ſayde Rycharde, and no leſſe aduaunced by hym, when afterwardes he came to enioye the crowne of this realme.

But nowe to other learned menne of that age. John Barwycke a Frier Minor, and reader to his fellowes of that order in Oxforde: William Notingham: Roger Claxton, borne in Huntingtonſhire, an Auguſtine Frier: John Poleſtede, borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite Frier in Ipſwiche or Eippeſwiche as they write it: Walter Kingham, a Frier alſo, of the order of thoſe Dominikes, whyche they called pied Friers: Roger of Cheſter, a Monke of that Citie, and an Hiſtoriographer: Thomas de Hales, a Frier Minor: Roberte Eliphat, a grey Frier: Geffrey Grandfield an Auguſtine, or blacke Frier: Hugh Wirley, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche: William Eyncourt, a blacke Frier of Boſton: Hugh Ditton, borne in Cambridge ſhire, a Frier Preacher: Adam Carthuſianus, a Doctor of Diuinitie: John Luttrell an excellente Philoſopher, and well ſeene in the mathematicalles: Walter Cotton: Thomas Eckleſton both grey Friers: John Folſham, a Carmelite Frier in Norwiche: Benet of Northfolke: William Southhampton, ſo called of the Towne where hee was borne, a blacke Frier: John Burgh a Monke, wrote an hiſtorie, and certayne homilies: Adam Nidzarde, a maiſter of arte: Edmonde Albon: Robert Counton a grey Frier: William Liſſye a Frier Minor: John Repyngale, borne in Lincolneſhire, a Carmelite, or a white Frier, as they called them: Chriſtopher Mothuſenſis a blacke Frier: Richarde Aungeruile, borne in Suffolke, that was Biſhoppe of Dureſme, and Lord Chancellor of Englande: John Manduith: Walter Henyngforde, a Chanon of Giſborne, an hiſtoriographer: John Olney, borne in Glouceſterſhire, in an Iſle ſo called, whereof hee tooke hys ſurname, a Chartreux Monke: Thomas Staueſhawe a Frier Minor in Briſtowe: Roberte of Leyceſter, taking that ſurname of the Towne where hee was borne, a Franciſcane, or grey Frier: John of Northhampton borne in that Towne, and a Carmelite Frier, an excellente Mathemetician: Roberte Worſop borne in Yorkeſhire, and a blacke Frier in Tickill: William Brunyarde, a blacke Frier: Richarde Chicheſter, a Monke of Weſtminſter, wrote an excellente Chronicle, beginning the ſame at the comming in of the Saxons, about the yeare of oure Lorde. 449. and continued it till the yeare. 1348. Richarde Rolle, alias Hampole an excellente Diuine, wrote many treatiſes: John Guent, a Welchman, a Franciſcane Frier, and prouinciall of the order: Rodulph Radiptorius a Frier Minor: Robert Holcoth, a blacke Frier, borne in Northampton, excellently learned, and wrote manye workes, both of Diuinitie, and other argumēts: William Miluerley a Logician, or rather a Sophiſt:

phiſt: John Teukeſburie: Thomas Bradwardin, borne in Hartfield, a Towne within the dioceſſe of Chicheſter, Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury ſucceeding John Offord, hee wrote againſte the Pelagians: Richard Wetherſet: William Breton a gray Frier, a Welchman borne, as Bale ſuppoſeth: John of Saint Faith, borne in Northfolke, a Carmelite Frier of Brumham: John Eodwicke, borne alſo in Northfolke, an Auguſtine Frier of Linne: William Rothwel a blacke frier: Geffrey Waterton, a Monke of Bury: Richard Fitz Rauſe, whome ſome take to be an Iriſhman, but a Student in Oxford, and Scholer to John Baconthorp profited highly, and wrote many treatiſes, hee was firſt Archdeacon of Lichfield, and after Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, and at length, Archb. of Ardmachan in Ireland: Richard Kilington, a Doctor of Diuinitie: William Griſant, a notable phiſition, ſurnamed of the countrey where he was borne Anglicus, he led the later end of his life at Marſelles in Prouance, and had a ſonne, that was Abbot of the regular Chanons in that Citie, who at lēgth was aduanced to gouerne the ſea of Rome, named Urban the fifth: John Paſchall, borne in Suffolke, a Carmelite Frier in Gippeſwich, and by K. Edwarde the third, preferred to be Biſhop of Landaph: Adam Wodham, a Frier Minor: Simon Henton, a blacke Frier: William de Pagula: of John Wicliff ye haue heard before. Geffrey Hardeby, a blacke Frier of Leiceſter: William Binham: Roger Counwey, a Welchman borne in Counwey, a grey Frier: Richard Billingham: William Doroch, a Lawyer: John Killingworth, an excellent Philoſopher, Aſtronomer, and Phiſition: William of Couentrie, a Frier Carmelite, profeſſed and borne in the ſame Citie: Ranulf Higeden, a Monke of Cheſter, and borne in thoſe parties, an hiſtoriographer: John Eaſtwood, alias Aſcbenton, an excellent philoſopher: Thomas Ratclife, borne in Leyceſter, and an Auguſtine Frier, in Leiceſter towne: Bartholmew Glanuille, diſcended of noble parētage, as of the lignage of thoſe Glanuilles, that were ſometimes Earles of Suffolke, as Bale hathe: Roberte Computiſta, a Monke of Bury: John Wilton a Monke of Weſtminſter: Simon Withingham, a Frier Carmelite of Norwich: John Deir a Northren man borne, a notable diuine: Simon Iſlep, founder of Canterbury Colledge in Oxford, wrote diuers treatiſes, he was Archb. of Caunterbury, as before ye haue heard: George Chadley: John of Tinnemouth, Vicar of that Towne, in the Biſhopricke of Durham: Peter Babion: Walter Wiborne, or Wimborne: Nicholas de Linne, borne in yͤ towne of that name, in Northfolke a Carmelite frier by profeſſiō, but as excellēt an Aſtronomer, as was in thoſe days: John Kitington, borne in Lincolneſhire, a Frier Minor in Stafford: Adam, a Monke of the Ciſteaux order: Roger Whitelpedale, a Mathematicien: Simon de Feuerſham perſon of Eirton in Kent: Mathew Weſtmonaſterienſis, who wrote the Booke called *Flores Hiſtoriarum*: John Elin, a Carmelite, borne in Northfolke, liued in theſe days, but departed this life in K. Rich. the ſecōds dais: Tho. de Sturey, an Auguſtine Frier: Sertorius Eualenſis, a Welchman borne: Simon de Tunſted a grey frier, borne in Northfolke, prouinciall of the grey friars in England: Thomas Stubbes, borne in Yorkſhire, a black Frier: Robert Langland, a ſecular Prieſt, borne in Salopſhire, in Mortimers Cliberie: Lewes Kaerleon, a Welchman, an excellent Aſtronomer, & Mathematicien: John Garanſon: Nicolas Durham a Carmelite frier of Newcaſtell: Willi. Fleete an Hermite, wrote ſundry treatiſes, exhorting hys countreymen of Englande to repentaunce, to auoide the vengeaunce elſe likely to come: John Stafforde, a frier Minor, borne in Stafforde, whereof he tooke name: Thomas Rugſteed, a blacke frier: Rauſe Stride, an excellente Legitian: Will. de Sancta Fide, or of S. Faith ſo called of the towne in Northfolke, where hee was borne, a carmelite frier: John Mandeuille knight, that great traueller, liued in theſe dayes, and departed this life at Liege, the ſeuententh of Nouēber, in the yere. 1372. Thomas of Douer a Monke of the Abbey there: Henry Knighton wrote an Hiſtorie, entituled *de geſtis Anglorum*: John Stokes, borne in Suffolke, an Auguſtine frier: John Horneby, a frier carmelite of Boſton: Henry Bederike, or as other rather will, of Bury, an Auguſtine frier: Simon Alcocke a Diuine: Vtred Balton, borne in the marches of Wales, a Monke of Durham: William Jordan an Auguſtine frier: John Hilton, a frier Minor: William de Lincolne, a carmelite, borne and profeſſed in that citie, whereof hee tooke his ſurname: Adam Saxlingham a frier of the ſame order, but borne in Northfolke: Simon Mepham, a Prebend of Chicheſter, and a greate diuine: John Bampton, a carmelite, and ſtudente in Cambridge: John Wichingham a grey frier, and dyuers other, whiche for that we are not certaine in what age they liued, we here paſſe ouer.

Rich. the ſeconde.

An.reg.1. 1377

Fabian.

Tho.VValſ.

The Londoners ſent to K. Richard, commēding them ſelues to his fauour, before the death of king Edward.

RIchard, the ſecond of that name, and ſon to Prince Edward, called the blacke Prince, the ſonne of K. Edward yͤ third, a child of the age of eleuen yeares, beganne to raigne ouer the realme of England, the.22. day of Iune, in the yere of the world.5344. of our Lord 1377. after the conqueſt.310. about the.32. yere of yͤ Emperour Charles the fourth, and in the fouretenth yere of Charles the fifth K. of France, and about the ſeuenth yere of yͤ raigne of Roberte the ſecond K. of Scotland: he was named Richarde of Burdeaux, bycauſe hee was borne at Burdeaux in Gaſcoigne, whileſt his father ruled there. The day before it was vnderſtod, that his grandfather K. Edward was departed this life, beeing the.21. of Iune (on which day neuertheleſſe he deceaſſed) the Citizens of London hauing certayne knowledge that he could not eſcape his ſickneſſe, ſente certayne Aldermen vnto Kingſton, where the Prince with his mother the Princeſſe then lay, to declare vnto the ſaide Prince, their readye good willes, to accept him for their lawfull kyng and gouernour, immediately after it ſhould pleaſe God to call to his mercy his grandfather, beeyng now paſt hope of recouerye to healthe: wherefore they beſought him, to haue their Citie recommended vnto his good grace, and that it would pleaſe him to viſit yͤ ſame wͭ his preſence, ſith they were ready in all ſorts to honor & obey hym, & to ſpend both liues & goodes in his cauſe, if neede required.

Iohn Philpot.

Moreouer, they beſought him, that it myghte pleaſe his grace to make an ende of the diſcorde betwixt the Citizēs, and the Duke of Lancaſter, which through the malice of ſome, had bin rayſed, to the commoditie of none, but to the diſcommoditie of diuers. When Iohn Philpot, one of yͤ foreſaid Aldermen, that had the words in al their names, had ended his oration, he was aunſwered by the Prince and his counſell, that he would endeuoure hymſelfe in all things, to ſatiſfie their requeſts, and ſo were they ſent home to bring a ioyfull anſwere of their meſſage to the Citie. The morrow after, there were ſent to London frō the K. yͤ Lord Latimer, ſir Nicholas Bond, ſir Simon Burley, & ſir Richard Adderbury knightes, to bring thē ſorowful newes of the aſſured death of K. Edwarde, who as we haue ſaid, deceaſſed yͤ day before, but comfortable newes againe, of the gret towardlineſſe & good meaning of yͤ yong K. who promiſed to loue them and their Citie, & to come to the ſame citie, as they had deſired him to doe. And further, that he had ſpoken to yͤ Duke of Lācaſter in their behalfe, and yͭ the Duke hadde ſubmitted himſelfe to him in all things touching yͤ cauſe, wherevpō the kings pleaſure was, yͭ they ſhuld likewiſe ſubmitte thēſelues, & he would doe his endeuour, that an agreemēt might be had to yͤ honor of yͤ Citizens, and profite of the Citie. The Citizens liked not of this forme of proceeding in the Dukes matter, bycauſe the K. was yong, and coulde not giue order therein, but by ſubſtitutes: yet at lēgth, with muche adoe, they were cōtented to ſubmit themſelues, as the Duke had done before, though not, til yͭ the knights had vndertakē vpon their oth of fidelitie and knighthood, that their ſubmiſſiō ſhuld not redound to yͤ temporall or bodily harme of any of thē, cōſenting to the kings will in this pointe. And ſo with this caution they toke their iourney towardes Shene, where they found yͤ new K. with his mother, yͤ duke of Lancaſter, & his brethren, vncles to yͤ K. and diuers biſhops, about yͤ body of the deceſſed K. When it was knowen that yͤ Londoners were come, they were called before yͤ K. by whom the matter was ſo handled, yͭ the duke and they were made frēds. After this, when yͤ K. ſhuld ride through the Citie towards the coronation, the ſaid Duke and yͤ L. Percy riding on greate horſes before him, as by vertue of their offices appointed to make way before, vſed thēſelues ſo courteouſly, modeſtly, & pleaſantly, that where before they two wer greatly ſuſpected to yͤ cōmon people, by reaſon of their great puiſſance in the Realm, & huge route of reteiners, they ordred the matter ſo, that neither this day, nor yͤ morrow after, being yͤ day of the kings coronatiō, they offended any maner of perſon, but rather by gentle & ſweete demeanor, they reclaimed yͤ harts of many, to whom before they were greatly had in ſuſpition, & thought euill of. But now ſith we are entred into yͤ mater of this kings coronatiō, we haue thought good brefely to touch ſome perticular point thereof, as in Tho. Walſ. we find it, though nothing ſo largely heere, as the author himſelfe ſetteth it forth, bycauſe yͤ purpoſe of this worke wil not ſo permit. The K. in riding through yͤ citie towards Weſtminſter, on the 15. of Iuly being Wedneſday, was accōpanyed wͭ ſuch a traine of yͤ nobilitie & others, as in ſuch caſe was requiſite: ſir Simon Burley bare the ſworde before him, and Sir Nicholas Bonde ledde the Kings horſe by the bridle on foote. The noiſe of trumpets & other inſtrumēts was maruellous, ſo that this ſeemed a day of ioy & mirth, a day yͭ had bin long loked for, bycauſe it was hoped, yͭ now yͤ quiet orders & good lawes of the land, which thorough yͤ ſlouthfulnes of yͤ aged K. deceaſſed, & co-

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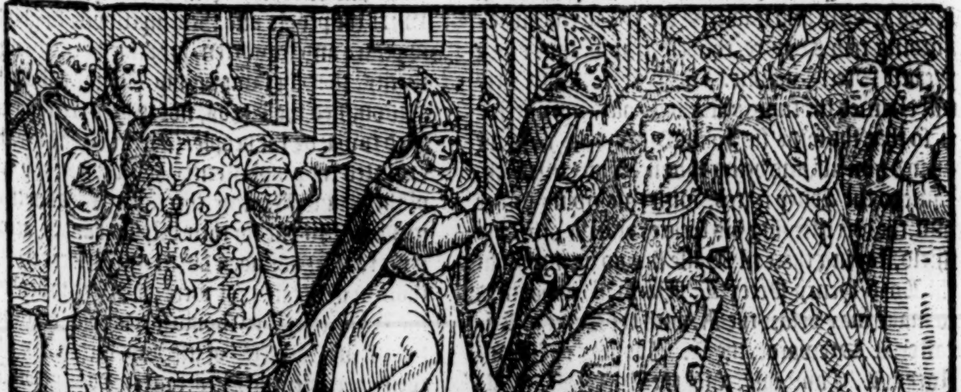
uetouſneſſe of thoſe yͭ ruled about him had bin lõg baniſhed, ſhould now be renued, & brought againe in vſe. The Citie was adorned in all ſortes moſt richly. The water conduites ran wͭ wine, for the ſpace of three houres togither. In the vpper end of Cheape, was a certain Caſtell made with foure towers, out of yͤ which Caſtel, on two ſides of it, there ran forth wine abundantly. In the towers wer placed four beautiful virgins, of ſtature & age like to yͤ K. apparelled in white veſtures, in euery tower one, yͤ which blew in yͤ kings face, at his aproching nere to thē, leaues of gold, and as he approched alſo, they threwe on him and his horſe florens of golde counterfeit. When he was come before yͤ Caſtell, they toke cuppes of gold, & filling thē with wine at yͤ ſpoutes of the Caſtel, preſented the ſame to the K. & to his nobles. On the top of yͤ Caſtel, betwixt the four towers, ſtoode a goldē Angel, holding a crowne in his hands, whych was ſo cõtriued, that whē the K. came, he bowed downe, & offered to him yͤ Crowne. But to ſpeake of al yͤ Pageants & ſhewes which yͤ Citizens had cauſed to be made and ſet forth in honor of their newe K. it were ſuperfluous, euery one in theyr quarters ſtriuing to ſurmounte other. & ſo with great triumphing of Citizēs, & ioy of yͤ lords and noble menne, hee was conueyed vnto his palace at Weſtminſter, where he reſted for yͤ night. The morowe after, being Thurſday, & the 16. of July, he was fetched to yͤ Church with proceſſion of yͤ biſhops and Monkes, & comming before the high aulter, where the pauemēt was couered with rich clothes of Tapiſtrie, he there kneeled downe, and made his praiers, whileſt two biſhops ſong yͤ Letany, which being finiſhed, the K. was brought to his ſeate, yͤ queare ſinging an Antheme, beginning *Firmetur manus tua.* That done, there was a ſermon preached by a B. touching the dutie of a K. how he ought to behaue himſelfe towards the people, & how yͤ people ought to be obedient vnto him. The ſermon being ended, the K. receiued his othe before yͤ Archb. and Nobles: which done, the Archb. hauing the L. Henry Percy L. Marſhall going before him, turneth him to euery quarter of yͤ church, declaring to yͤ people yͤ kings othe, and demanding of thē, if they would ſubmit thēſelues to ſuch a prince & gouernour, & obey his cõmādemēts: & whē the people with a loude voice had anſwered, yͭ they would obey him, yͤ Archb. vſing certain prayers, bleſſed yͤ K. which ended, yͤ Arch. cõmeth vnto him, & tearing his garmēts from the higheſt part to yͤ loweſt, ſtrippeth him to his ſhirt Then was brought by Erles, a certain couerture of cloth of gold, vnder yͤ which, he remained, whileſt he was anointed. The Arch. as we haue ſaid, hauing ſtripped him, firſt anointed his hãds, after his head, breſt, ſhoulders, & the ioints of his armes with yͤ ſacred oile, ſaying certain prayers, & in the meane time, did the quier ſing yͤ antheme, beginning *Vnxerũt regem Salamonē. &c.* And yͤ Arch. added another praier *Deus dei filius &c* which ended, he with the other byſhops ſong the Himpne, *Veni creator ſpiritus*, the K. kneeling in a lõg veſture, yͤ Archb. with his Suffraganes about him. Whē yͤ Himne was ended, he was lift vp by the Archb. and clad firſt with yͤ coate of S. Edward, and after with his mantell, a ſtoale being caſt about his necke, yͤ Archb. in yͤ meane time, ſaying certain praiers apointed for yͤ purpoſe. After this, the Archb. and biſhops deliuered to him yͤ ſword, ſaying *Accipe gladium. &c.* And when yͤ prayer was ended, two Erles girded him wͭ the ſword; which done, the Archb. gaue to him bracelettes ſaying, *Accipe armillas. &c.* After this, yͤ Archb. putteth vpon him an vppermoſt veſture, called a Palle ſaying, *Accipe Pallium. &c.* In the meane time, whileſt yͤ Archb. bleſſeth the kings crowne, he to whoſe office it appertained, did put ſpurres on his heeles. After the Crowne was bleſſed, the Archbyſhop ſet it on his head, ſaying. *Coronet te*



deus. &c.

dem. &c. then did the Archb. deliuer to hym a ring, with theſe wordes, *Accipe annulum. &c.* Immediately herewith, came the Lord Furniual by vertue of his office, offering to him a red gloue, which the Archb. bleſſed, & putting it on his hand, gaue to him the ſcepter, with theſe words, *Accipe ſceptrum. &c.* then did the Archb. deliuer to him in his other hand a rodde, in the top wherof ſtoode a doue, with theſe words, *Accipe virgam virtutu. &c.* after this, the Archb. bleſſed the K. ſaying, *Benedicat de dem. &c.* Theſe things done, the K. kiſſed the biſhops and Abbots, by whome he was led afterwards vnto his ſeate, the biſhops beginning to ſing (*Te deum,*) which ended, the Archbiſhop ſaid to him, *Sta et retine amodo locum. &c.* Whẽ theſe things wer finiſhed, they begã Maſſe, the biſhop of Worceter redde the Epiſtle, and the B. of Elie the Goſpel. At the offertorie, the King roſe from his ſeate, and was brought to offer. He therfore offered firſt his ſword, and after ſo much golde as he would, but not leſſe than a marke, by reaſon of the cuſtome, for more he might offer to God, and S. Peter, but leſſe he could not. After this, he offered bread and wine, with which, he & the Archb. did after cõmunicate. This done, the Erle, to whom it apperteined to beare the ſworde before the K. redeemed the ſword which the kyng had offered with money, & receyuing yͤ ſame, bare it afore the K. When the Maſſe ſhould be ſong, the K. was brought againe to the Altare, & there kneeling down, and ſaying *Confiteor* to the Archbiſhop, did communicate, & ſo was brought backe to his ſeate. The Wardens of the fiue portes by their office, as well in time of the proceſſion, as when he was annointed alſo at Maſſe time, and as he returned from the Churche to the palace to dinner, held ouer him a large canapie of blew veluet, faſtned vnto four ſtaues at the foure corners.

In the meane time, ſir John Dimocke, that claimed to be the kings champion, had bin at the kings armory and ſtable, where he had choſen according to his tenure, the beſt armour ſaue one, & the beſt Steed ſaue one. Albeit, ſir Balwin Freuill claimed the ſame office, but could not obteine it, ſo that the ſaide ſir John Dimmocke hauyng armed himſelf, and being mounted on horſeback, came to the Abbey gates, with two riding before him, the one carrying his ſpeare, and the other his ſhield, ſtaying there til Maſſe ſhould be ended: but the Lord Henry Percy L. Marſhall, appoynted to make way before the K. with the Duke of Lãcaſter, L. Stewarde, the L. Thomas of Wodſtocke, L. Conſtable, and the Lorde Marſhals brother, ſir Thomas Percy, beeing all mounted on great horſes, came to the knight, and told him, that he ought not come at that time, but whẽ the K. was at dinner, and therefore it ſhould be good for him to vnarme himſelfe for a while, and take his eaſe, till the appointed time were come. The knight did as the Lord Marſhall willed him, and ſo after his departure, the K. hauing thoſe Lords riding afore him, was borne on knightes ſhoulders vnto his palace, and ſo had to his chamber, where he reſted a while, beeing ſomewhat faynte with trauell, and toke a ſmall refectiõ. After this, cõming into the halle, he created four new Erles, before he ſate downe to meate, to witte, his vncle the L. Thomas de Wodſtocke, Earle of Buckingham, to whom he gaue a thouſand markes a yere out of his treaſure, til he prouided him of lãds to the like value, the Lorde Guiſchard de Engoleſme, that had bin his tutor, was created Earle of Huntington, to whome hee gaue likewiſe a thouſand markes annuitie, till he were prouided of lands of the ſame valewe. The Lorde Mowbray was created Earle of Nottingham, and the L. Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland. He made alſo nine knightes the ſame day. To ſhewe what royall ſeruice was at this feaſt, it paſſeth our vnderſtanding to diſcriue, but to conclude, yͤ fare was exceeding ſumptuous, and the furniture princely in all things, that if the ſame ſhoulde bee rehearſed, the reader would perhappes doubt of yͤ trueth thereof. In the middes of the Kinges palace was a marble piller reyſed hollowe vppon ſteppes, on the toppe wherof was a greate gilte Egle placed, vnder whoſe feete in the Chapiter of the piller, diuers kindes of wine came guſſhing forth, at four ſeuerall places, all the day long neither was any forbidden to receiue the ſame, were he neuer ſo poore or abiect. The morrow after the Coronation, there was a generall proceſſion of yͤ Archb. Biſhop, and Abbots, then preſent, with yͤ lords, and a great multitude of people, to pray for the K. and the peace of the kingdome: At the going forth of which proceſſion, the Biſhop of Rocheſter preached, exhorting them, that the diſſentions and diſcords which had long continued betwixt the people and their ſuperiours, mighte bee appeaſed and forgotten, prouing by many arguments, that the ſame highly diſpleaſed God: hee admoniſhed the Lords, not to be ſo extreame and hard towards the people. On the other parte, hee exhorted the people in neceſſary cauſes, for yͤ ayde of the K. and Realme, cheerfully, & that without grudging, to put too their helping handes, according to their bounden dueties: he further exhorted thoſe in generall that were appointed to be about the King, that they ſhould forſake vice, and ſtudy to liue in cleanneſſe of life and vertue. For if by their example, the K. were trayned to goodneſſe, all ſhould be well, but if he declined through their ſufferance from the right way, the people & kyngdome were like to fall in daunger to periſhe. After that the ſermon and proceſſion were ended, the Lords and Prelates went to their lodgings: but

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now bycauſe the Engliſhmen ſhould haue theyr ioyes mingled with ſome ſorrowes, it chaunced that the Frenchmen (whiche about the ſame time that the kings grandfather departed this life, wer wafting on the Seas) within a ſixe or ſeauen dayes after his deceſſe, brent the Towne of Rye, whervpon immediately after the Coronation, the Earles of Cambridge & Buckingham, were ſent with a power vnto Douer, and the Earle of Saliſbury, vnto Southhamptõ: but in the meane time, to wit, the .21. of Auguſt, the Frenchmẽ entring the Ile of Wight, brente diuers townes in the ſame, and although they were repulſed from the Caſtell, by the valiante manhood of ſir Hugh Tirrell Captaine thereof, who laid no ſmall nũber of them on the ground, yet they conſtreyned yͤ men of the Ile to giue them a thouſand markes of ſiluer to ſaue the reſidue of their houſes & goods, and ſo they departed from thence, ſayling ſtill alongſt the coſtes, and where they ſawe aduauntage ſet a lande, brenning ſundry townes neere to the ſhore, as Porteſmouth, Dartmouth, and Plimmouth: they made countenance alſo to haue ſet vppon Southhampton, if ſir Iohn Arundell, brother to the Earle of Arundell had not bin ready there, with a number of men of armes & archers, by whom the towne was defended, and the enimies chaſed to their Shippes. From thence yͤ frenchmen departed, and ſayling towards Douer, brent Haſtings, but Winchelſey they could not winne, being valiantly defended by the Abbot of Batell and others. After this, they landed one day not farre from the Abbey of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the Prior of Lewes, and two Knightes, the one named Sir Thomas Cheyney, and the other Sir Iohn Falleſley, hauing aſſembled a number of yͤ countrey people, encountred the frenchmen, but were ouerthrowen, ſo that there were ſlayne about an hundred Engliſhmenne, and the Prior with the two knightes, and an Eſquier called Iohn Brokas, were taken priſoners, but yet the Frenchmen loſt a greate number of their owne men at thys conflict, and ſo with theyr priſoners retired to their Shippes and galleys, and after returned into Fraunce. But now touching the doings about the new King. You ſhal vnderſtand, that by reaſon of his yong yeres, as yet hee was not able to gouerne himſelfe, and therfore Iohn Duke of Lancaſter, and Edmond Earle of Cambridge, with other peeres of the Realme, were appointed to haue the adminiſtratiõ. He was of good diſpoſition and towardneſſe, but his age being redy to encline which way ſoeuer a mã ſhuld bẽd it, thoſe that were appointed to haue the gouernemente of his perſon, did what lay in them now at the firſt, to keepe him from all maner of lighte demeanor. But afterwards, when euery one began to ſtudy more for his owne priuate commoditie, than for the aduauncement of the common wealthe, they ſet open the gates to other, which being ready to corrupt his good nature, by little and little grewe familiar with him, and dimming the brightneſſe of true honor, with the counterfeite ſhine of the contrary, ſo maſkered his vnderſtanding, that in the ende, they brought him to tract the ſteppes of lewde demeanor, and ſo were cauſers, both of hys and their owne deſtruction. The Frenchmen not ignoraunte of ſuche miſchiefes as were like to growe in Englande, ſuffered no time to paſſe, but toke occaſiõs of aduantage when they were offered.

Froiſſart.

Among other enterpriſes I finde, that ſhortly after the deceſſe of King Edwarde, the Duke of Burgoigne wanne Arde, and two or three other fortreſſes in thoſe marches.

Froiſſart.

Barwik caſtell won by the Scottes.

The Scottes this yeare alſo wanne the Caſtell of Barwike by ſtelthe one morning, but ſhortly vpon knowledge had, the Earles of Northumberland and Notingham, the Lordes Neuile, Lucy, Grayſtocke, and Stafford, with other Lords Knightes, and Eſquiers, came with their powers in all haſt thither, and entring yͤ towne, beſieged the Caſtell, and finally, aſſaulting them that kept it, wanne it of them by force, and ſlewe all thoſe Scottiſhmen whych they found within it, excepte Alexander Ramſey theyr Capitayne.

Barvvik caſtell recouered by the Engliſhmen.

When the Engliſhmen had thus recouered the Caſtell, they entred into Scotland, in hope to find the Scottes, and to fight with thẽ whome they knew to be aſſembled. The Engliſhe hoſt was three thouſande men of armes, and ſeauen thouſand archers, but they ſent forth Sir Thomas Muſgraue, with three hundred Speares, and three hundred archers, to Meuros, to trie if he might vnderſtand any thing of the Scottes in thoſe parties, with whome the Earle Douglas, hauing with him ſeauen hundred Speares, and two thouſand of other called yomẽ, with glaiues, and other weapons, encountred by chance, and diſtreſſed him, and his company. Sir Thomas Muſgraue himſelfe, and ſixe ſcore other, were taken priſoners, beſides thoſe that were ſlayne, the reſidue eſcaped by flighte, making the beſt ſhifte they coulde for them ſelues. The L. Neuill, Sir Thomas Triuet, ſir Wil. Scrope, and dyuers other valiant Captaines of Englande, were ſente into Gaſcoigne this yeare, whiche firſt landed at Burdeaux, on the euen of the Natiuitie of oure Lady, where after they had reſted them a while, they went and reyſed the ſiege, which the frenchmen hadde held before Mortaigne in Poictowe a long time before. Gouernour of thys ſiege at the firſte, was Yuan or Owen of Wales, but hee was murthered one morning as hee ſate alone

An ouerthrow giuen by the Scots to the engliſhmen.

The ſiege of Mortaigne rayſed.

viewing the Caſtell, and combing his head, by one of his owne Contreymen, which vnder coulour to ſerue hym, was become with him very familiar. This Owen or Yuan whether ye wil, (for all is one) was ſonne to a noble man of Wales, whome King Edward had put to death for ſome offence by him committed, where thys Yuan got him into Fraunce, being as then very yong, and was brought vp in the French Court, and proued an expert mā of warre, ſo that great lamentation was made for his deathe by the Frenchmen. But the Engliſhmenne, although they miſliked yͤ maner of his death, yet they were not greatly ſorowfull for the chaunce, ſith they were ridde thereby of an extreame enimy.

After that the Engliſhmenne hadde repulſed the Frenchmen from the ſiege of Mortagne, they returned to Burdeaux, and after recouered ſundry Caſtels and fortreſſes in the marches of Burdeloys, and about Bayōne. Alſo they ayded the K. of Nauarre, againſt the King of Caſtille, & made a roade into the confynes of Caſtille, but ſhortly after, a peace was concluded betwixte thoſe two Kings, ſo that the Lorde Charles of Nauarre ſhould marrie the daughter of the King of Caſtille, vpon certain conditions: and ſo the Engliſhmen had their wages truely paide them, and thereupon returned.

A Parliamēt.
Tho. VValſ.

About Michaelmas began a Parliamēt that was ſummoned at Weſtminſter, whiche continued til the feaſt of Saint Andrew. In this parliament the foreſayde Sir Peter de la Mere and other the Knightes that hadde bin ſo earneſt againſt Dame Alice Perers in the laſt Parliamēt holden by King Edward the third, ſo proſecuted the ſame cauſe now in this Parliament, that the ſayde Dame Alice Perers was baniſhed the Realme, and all hir goodes moueable and vnmoueable, forfeyted to the King, bycauſe cōtrary to that ſhee had promiſed by oth in the ſaide laſt Parliament, ſhe hadde preſumed to come within the Courte, and to obteyne of the King what ſo euer was to hir liking.

Two Citizens of London appointed to keepe the ſubſedie grāted by Parliament.

There was two tenthes graunted by the Cleargie to the King in this Parliament, & two fifteenes of the temporaltie, to bee paide the ſame yeare, and two Citizens of London, William Walworth, and John Philpot were appoynted to haue the keeping of that money, to the ende it might be employed to the Kings neceſſary vſes, for defence of the Realme.

Sir Hugh Caluerley a valiant Captayne.

Sir Hugh Caluerley beeing deputie of Calais, comming one morning to Bulloigne, brent certaine Shippes which lay there in the hauen, to the number of ſixe and twentie, beſides two proper barkes, beeing veſſels of no ſmall accompte: And hauing ſpoiled and brēt the moſt part of the baſe Towne, he returned to Calais, with a great rich booty of goodes and Cattell.

Alſo, where the Caſtell of Marke in abſence of the Captain, ſir Robert de Salle, that was gone ouer into England, was loſt through negligence of them that were left in charge within it, the ſame ſir Hugh Caluerley made ſuch ſpeede in the matter, that he recouered it againe the ſame daye it was, loſt by force of aſſault, taking the Frenchmen priſoners that were gotten into it, and hanging certaine picardes ſtipendary Souldiers in the ſaide Caſtell, vnder the ſaide Sir Roberte de Salle, for that whileſt the Engliſhmen were gon foorth, to ſee the ſhooting of a match which they had made amongſt themſelues, a little off from the Caſtell, thoſe Picards being left within, ſhut the gates againſte them, and receyued in the Frenchmen, with whome they had practiſed in treaſon, keeping the Engliſhmen forth, to whom the ſafekeeping of that Caſtell was committed.

This yeare, was a Bulle ſente from the Pope vnto the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde, to apprehende John Wicliffe, Parſon of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, within the dioceſſe of Lincolne.

Alſo, there were other Bulles to the ſame effect, ſent to the Archbiſhop of Caunterbury, and to the Biſhop of London.

Likewiſe to the King were letters directed frō the Pope, to require his fauour againſt the ſayde Wiclife, ſo greeuouſly was the Pope incenſed againſte him, and not withoute cauſe, for if hys concluſions in doctrine toke effect, he well perceyued his papiſticall authoritie woulde ſhortly decaye.

There went forth this yeare a greate nauie of Shippes to the Sea, vnder the guiding of the Earle of Buckingham, the Duke of Britayne, the Lord Latimer, the Lorde Fitz Water, Sir Robert Knolles, and other valyant Captaines, meaning to haue intercepted the Spaniſh fleete that was gone to Sluſe in Flaunders, but through rage of tempeſt, and contrary windes, they were driuen home, although twice they attempted their fortune: But ſir Hugh Caluerley, deputie of Calice, ſlept not his buſineſſe, doing ſtill what diſpleaſures he could to the Frenchmenne.

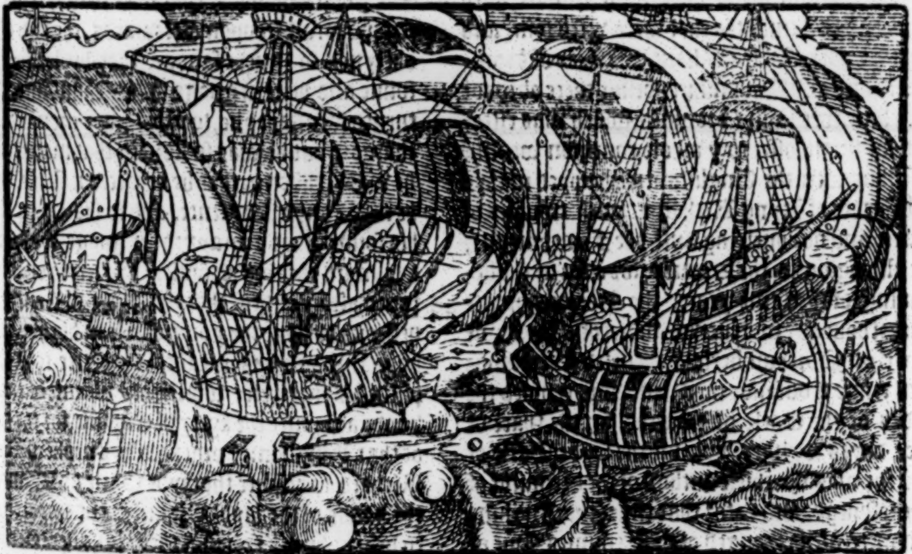
Shortly after Chriſtmas, he ſpoyled yͤ towne of Eſtaples the ſame daye the faire was kepte there, to the which, a great number of Merchāts of Bulleigne were come to make their markets, but the ſellers had quicke vtterance for that, that might eaſily be carried away, the Engliſhmenne layde hands on, and cauſed the owners to redeme the reſidue, with great ſummes of money, which they vndertooke to pay, or elſe ſir Hugh threatned to haue brent all that was left, togither with the houſes.

Ye haue hearde, how at the firſt, the Duke of Lancaſter was one of the chiefe about the yong

King in gouernement of his perſon and Realm, who prudently conſidering, that ſith there muſt needes be an alteration in the ſtate, and doubting leaſt if any thing chaunced otherwiſe than well, the fault and blame might bee chiefly imputed to hym, and thankes (howſoeuer things wente) he looked for none, he gaue therefore the ſlip, obteyning licence of the Kyng to departe, and ſo gote hym home vnto his Caſtell of Kelingworth, permitting other to haue the whole ſway: for before his departure from the Courte, there were with his conſent ordeyned ſuch as ſhould be attending on the Kings perſon, and haue the rule and ordering of matters perteyning to the ſtate, as William Courtney, then Biſhop of London (though ſhortly after remoued to the Archbyſhoppes Sea of Caunterbury) Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, and diuers other, of whome the people had conceiued a good opinion, but yet bycauſe the Byſhoppe of Saliſbury, and the Lorde Latimer were admitted amongſt the reſidue, the commōs murmured greatly agaynſt them.

The Earle of Northumberland reſigned hys office of Lorde Marſhall, in whoſe place ſucceeded Sir Iohn Arundell, brother to the Earle of Arundell.

The Duke of Lancaſter, although retired frō the Court, yet deſirous to haue the money in his handes that was graunted the laſt Parliamente, at length obteyned it, vpon promiſe to defend the Realme from inuaſion of all enimies, for one yeares ſpace: hee therefore prouided a greate nauie to goe to the Sea, hyring nine Shippes of Bayōne, to aſſiſt his enterpriſe herein, the whych in making ſayle hitherwardes, encountred with the Spaniſh fleete, and tooke fourteene veſſels laden with wines and other merchandiſe: but in the meane time, one Mercer, a Scottiſhmā, with certayne ſaile of Scottes, Frenchmen, and Spaniardes, came to Scarburgh, and there tooke certayne Shippes, and led them away to the Sea, as it were in reuenge of his fathers empriſonment, named Iohn Mercer, who before beeyng caught by certayne Shippes of the Northparts, and deliuered to the Earle of Northumberland, was committed to priſon within the Caſtell of Scarbrough.



Iohn Philpot Alderman of London, ſetteth foorth a fleete at his owne charges, to recouer certaine Engliſh Shippes taken by the Scottes.

Iohn Philpot that worſhipfull Citizen of London, lamenting the negligence of them that ſhould haue prouided againſt ſuch inconueniences, made forthe a fleete at his owne charges, ſtrongly furniſhed with men of warre and munition neceſſary: the men of warre meeting with the ſame Mercer, accompanyed with hys owne ſhippes, and fifteene other Spanyards that were newly ioyned with hym, ſet vppon them, and ſo valiantly behaued themſelues, that they tooke the ſayd Mercer, with all them that were then in his company, ſo recouering agayne the Shippes that were taken from Scarbourgh, beſides great riches which were founde aborde, as well in the fifteene Spaniſh Shippes, as the other that were of the olde retinue, belonging to the ſayd Mercer. Iohn Philpot was afterwardes blamed of the Lords, for preſuming thus farre, as to ſet forthe a nauie of men of warre, withoute the aduice of the Kings counſell: but he made his aunſwere in ſuche wiſe vnto the Earle of Stafford, and other that layde the faulte to his charge, that hee was permitted to departe, without further trouble for that matter. Before all ſuche prouiſion as the Duke of Lancaſter prepared for his iourney to the Sea coulde be ready, the Earles of Saliſburie and Arundell ſayled ouer into Normandye, where by ſuche compoſition as was taken betwixt the Kyng of Englande, and the King of Nauarre, who of new was become enimie to the French King, the Towne of Chierburg was deliuered

Chierburg deliuered to the Engliſhmen.

liuered vnto the ſayd Erles, who ſending knowledge therof backe into England, there were ſent ouer ſuch, as ſhould haue in charge the keepyng of that towne: and ſo the two Earles returned. We finde, that the Kyng of Nauarre hauing bin heere in Englande, with the King and his counſell, hadde agreed with the King, for a certayne yeerely rent, to demiſe vnto him the ſayd fortreſſe of Chierburg, whereby the Engliſhmen myghte haue free entrie into Normandye, when they would, as well to ayde the King of Nauarre in his neceſſitie, as to worke anye enterprice, that ſhould be thought expediente, to the aduauntage of the Kyng of England as occaſion ſerued, but the obteyning of the poſſeſſiō of Chierburg brought not ſo much ioy to the engliſh nation, as the miſhappe that happened at the going forth of the ſaide Earles did cauſe lamentation and heauineſſe. For vpon the firſt entring into the Sea, it fortuned, that Sir Phillip, and ſir Peter Courtney, diſcouered a certayne number of Shippes that were enimies, and vndiſcretely entring amongſt them, there ſuddaynely came vpon them the Spaniſh fleete, ſo that the Engliſhe Shippes that were in company with the ſayd Phillip, and ſir Peter, were not able to make their partie good, in ſo much, that finally, after that ſir Phillip had loſt diuers of his men that were there ſlayne, hee gote away by flight himſelfe, though greeuouſly wounded, but ſir Peter was taken priſoner, with a fewe other Knightes that were with him, and the moſt part of al the valiant Eſquiers of Sommerſetſhire and Deuonſhire, being there abroade with him, wer ſlain & drowned, which was eſteemed no ſmall loſſe, to yͤ whole common wealth.

Additions to Merimouth.

The Engliſhe nauie is ouermatched and ouercome by the Spaniſh fleete.

Thus were the Engliſhmen occupyed in thys firſte yeare of Kyng Richarde, with troubles of warre, and not onely againſt the Frenchmenne, but alſo againſte the Scottes, for euen in the beginning of the ſame yeare, the Scottes brente Rockeſbourgh, in reuenge wherof, the newe Earle of Northumberlande entred Scotlande with tenne thouſande men, and ſore ſpoyled the landes of the Earle of Marche, for the ſpace of three dayes togither, bycauſe the ſayde Earle of Marche was the chiefe author of the brenning of Rockeſburgh, and ſo for that time, the Engliſhmen were well reuenged of thoſe enimies. But at an other time, when the Northren men woulde needes make a roade into Scotlande, entring by the Weſt bordures, they were encountred by the Scottes, and putte to flight, ſo that many of thē being ſlayne, the Scottes tooke the more courage to inuade the bordures, till at length, Edmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche came at the daye of truce, and tooke an abſtinence of warre betwixte both nations for the time, though the ſame continued not long.

Rockeſburgh brent by the Scottes.

Anone after Midſomer, the Duke of Lancaſter with a ſtrong power tooke the Sea, and landing in Britaine, beſieged the Towne of Saint Mallo de Liſle, a fortreſſe of greate importance. There wēt ouer with him yͤ Erles of Buckingham, Warwike, Stafforde, and dyuers other of the Engliſhe nobilitie, the whiche made their approches, and fiercely aſſayled the Towne, but it was ſo valiantly defended, that in the ende, the Duke with his army rayſed from thence, and returned without atchieuing his purpoſe.

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About the ſame time, there was a notable and haynous murther committed within Sainte Peters Churche at Weſtminſter, by occaſion of variance betweene the Lorde Latimer and Sir Rauſe Ferrers on the one partie, and two Eſquiers, the one called Roberte Hall and the other Iohn Shakell on the other partie, aboute a priſoner whiche was taken at the battell of Nazers in Spayne, called the Erle of Deane, who as ſome write, was taken by one ſir Franke de Hall at the ſayde battell, and bycauſe hee remayned in his handes at the deathe of the ſayde Sir Franke, hee bequeathed him vnto his ſonne the ſayde Roberte Hall Eſquier. But as other write, the ſayde Earle was taken by the ſayde Roberte Hall hymſelfe, and Iohn Shakell ioyntly, and iudged to bee theyr lawfull priſoner, by the ſentence of the Prince of Wales, and Sir Iohn Shandos, that was maſter to the ſaid Eſquiers: wherevpon afterwards, the ſaid Earle obteyned ſo muche fauour, that by leauing hys ſonne and heire in guage for his raunſome, he returned into Spayne, to prouide for money to diſcharge it, but he was ſo ſlow in that matter, after he was at libertie, that he departed this life, before he made anye paymente, and ſo his lands fell to his ſonne, that remayned in guage for the money, with the two Eſquiers: wherevpon it happened afterwardes, that the Duke of Lancaſter, deſirous to haue the yong Earle in his hands (in hope through hys meanes the better to accompliſhe his enterprice whiche hee meant to take in hande agaynſte the kyng of Caſtille, for the right of that Kingdome) procured hys nephew Kyng Richard to require the ſayde Earle of Deane, at the hands of the ſayd Eſquiers, but they refuſed to deliuer him, keeping their priſoner forthe of the way, ſo that none wiſt where hee was become: the Eſquiers therefore were committed to the Tower, out of the whiche they eſcaped vnto Weſtminſter, and there regiſtred themſelues for ſanctuarie men.

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The Duke of Lancaſter was heerewith ſore offended, and their enimies the ſayde Lorde Latimer, and Sir Rauſe Ferrers tooke counſell togither, with Sir Allene Boxhull and others, howe they myghte bee reuenged of thys deſpite.

deſpite: This ſir Alane Boxhull, was Conneſtable of the Tower, and therefore it greued him not alitle, that the Eſquiers had broken frõ him, and kept themſelues thus at Weſtminſter, vnder protection of that priuiledged place. Heerevpon it was concluded, that Sir Rauſe Ferrers, and the ſayd Alane Boxhull, taking with them certayne men in armour, to the number of a fiftie perſons, ſhoulde goe and fetch them by force from Weſtminſter, vnto the Tower agayne.

The morrow therefore after Saint Laurence day, being yͤ eleuẽth of Auguſt, theſe two knights accompanyed with certayne of the Kyngs ſeruauntes and other, to the number afore mentioned, came into the Church at Weſtminſter, whileſt the ſayde Eſquiers were there hearing of the high Maſſe, which was then in celebrating, and firſt laying hands vppon Iohn Shakell, vſed the matter ſo with him, that they drewe him forthe of the Church, and ledde him ſtraight to the Tower, but when they came to Roberte Hall, and fell in reaſoning with him, hee woulde not ſuffer them to come within his reache, and perceyuing they meante to take him by force, he drew out a falcheõ or ſhort ſword which he had girt to him, and therewith layde ſo freely about him, trauerſing twice round about the Monkes quier, that til they had beſet him on eache ſyde, they coulde doe him no hurt, but at length, when they hadde got him at that aduauntage, one of them cloue hys head to the very braynes, and an other thruſt him through the body behinde, with a ſworde, and ſo they murthered him amongſt them. They ſlewe alſo one of the Monkes that woulde haue hadde them to haue ſaued the Eſquiers life. Much adoe was made aboute this matter, for the breakyng thus of the Sainctuarie, in ſo muche, that the Archbyſh. of Canterbury, and fiue other Biſhops his ſuffraganes openly pronounced all them that were preſente at this murder accurſed, and lykewiſe all ſuch as ayded or counſelled them to it chiefly, and namely ſir Alane Boxhull, and ſir Rauſe Ferreis, Captaynes and leaders of them. The king, the Queene, and the Duke of Lancaſter were yet excepted by ſpeciall names. The Biſhop of London a long time after euery Sunday, Wedneſday, and Friday, pronounced thys excommunication in the Church of Saint Paul at London.

The Duke of Lancaſter (though excepted in the ſame,) yet in behalfe of his friends, was not a little offended with the Byſhops doings, in ſo muche, that in a Counſell holden at Windeſore (to the which the Byſhop of London was called, but would not come, nor yet ceaſſe the pronouncing of the curſe, notwithſtanding the Kyng had requeſted him by his letters) the Duke ſayd openly, that the Biſhops froward dealings were not to be borne with, but (ſaith he) if the King would commaund me, I ſhould gladly goe to London, and fetch that diſobediente Prelate, in deſpite of thoſe rybauldes (for ſo he termed them) the Londoners.

These wordes procured the Duke muche euill will, as well of the Londoners, as of other: for it was commonly ſayde, that whatſoeuer had bin done at Weſtminſter concerning the murther there committed in the Churche, was done by his commaundement.

A Parliamente at Glouceſter.

About the feaſt of Saint Luke, was a Parliamente holden at Glouceſter, for the diſpleaſure as was thought, which ſome of the Counſell had conceyued againſte the Londoners, or rather as ſome tooke it, for feare of them, leaſt if any thyng were done contrary to their myndes, they ſhould be about to hinder it, if the Parliament had bene kept neere to them, for many things (as ſome iudged) were meant to haue bin put forthe and concluded in thys Parliamente, albeit fewe in effect came to paſſe of thoſe matters that were ſurmiſed, ſauing that it was enacted, that the Kyng ſhoulde haue a marke of the Merchauntes, for euery ſacke of theyr woolles, for thys preſente yeare, and for euery poundes worth of wares that was broughte in from beyonde the Seas, and heere ſolde, ſixe pence of the byers.

Alſo, certayne priuiledges were graunted in thys Parliamente, to Merchaunte ſtraungers, that they myghte buye and ſell in groſſe, or by retayle within thys Realme, as in the Printed booke of Statutes it appeareth.

The Pope ſendeth to the King for ayd.

Thys yeare came meſſengers from the newe elected Pope Vrbane, with letters, to require the Kynges aſſiſtaunce and ayde agaynſte ſuche Cardinals as hee named Sciſmatickes, that hadde elected an other Pope, whome they named Clemente, whyche Cardinalles ſente lykewiſe theyr meſſengers with letters, to beſeche the Kyng to ayde them with hys fauourable aſſiſtaunce, but through perſwaſion of the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, Vrbanes requeſt was graunted, and Clementes reiected.

Barwike Caſtel wonne by the Scottes.

About the ſame tyme, to witte, on Thurſeday before the feaſt of Saint Andrewe the Apoſtle, the Scottes by ſtealth entred by nyght into the Caſtell of Barwike, and ſlewe Sir Robert Boynton, a ryghte valiant Knighte, that was Conneſtable thereof, permitting his wife, Children, and ſeruauntes, to departe, with condition, that within three weekes next enſuing, they ſhoulde eyther paye them three thouſande markes, or elſe yeelde theyr bodyes agayne to priſon.

The morrowe after, the ſame Scottes fetched a great bootie of Cattell out of the countreys next adioyning, but immediatly after the Earle of Northumberland was aduertiſed hereof, he haſted thither with foure hundred armed men, and aſſaulting the Caſtell on eache ſide, after two houres defence, wanne it, ſlaying of the defendauntes about eight and fortie, reſeruing onely one of the whole number aliue, that he might enforme the Engliſhmen thoroughly of yͤ Scottiſh mens purpoſes. At this enterprice, was the Earle of Northumberlãds eldeſt ſonne, ſpreading there firſt his banner, & doing ſo valiantly, that hee deſerued ſingular commendation, as likewiſe dyd Sir Alane de Heton, and Sir Thomas de Ilderton, with thoſe of the ſurname of the Herons, euery of theſe hauing their quarters aſſigned to aſſault: thus was the Caſtell recouered the ninth day after the Scottes had entred the ſame, ſo that they enioyed not long that victorious exployte. Bycauſe this enterprice was taken in hande againſte the couenaunte of the truce, the Earle of Northumberlande before he attempted to recouer the Caſtell, ſente to the Earle of Marche in Scotlande, to vnderſtand if he would auow that which his countreymen had done, touching the winning of that Caſtell, who ſente him knowledge agayne, that he neyther vnderſtoode of their enterpriſe, nor woulde bee partakers with them therein, but if it ſo pleaſed the Erle of Northumberland, he would come himſelfe, and help to recouer it to the King of Englãds vſe, out of thoſe Scottiſhmens hands, whiche withoute publyke authoritie, had made that exploytе.

Alexander Ramſey was only ſaued, as Froyſ. hath.

Barwike Caſtell recouered by the Earle o. Northumberland.

Sir Roberte Rous a valiãt Captayne.

1379

This yere, ſir Roberte Rous, Captayne of Chierburgh, was called home, after hee hadde taken Sir Oliuer de Cliſſon, and atchieued manye other worthy aduentures againſt the kings enimies. In his place was ſent ſir John Herleſton, to remayne vppon the garde of that Caſtel. Alſo, ſir Hugh Caluerley, deputy of Calais, that had ſo valiantly borne himſelfe againſt the Frenchmenne, was likewiſe diſcharged, and comming home, was made Admirall, being ioyned in commiſſion in that office, with ſir Thomas Percy. Sir William Mountague Earle of Saliſbury, was ſent ouer to Calais, to bee the Kinges Lieutenaunte there, who ſhortly after his comming thither, fetched a great bootie of cattell out of the enimies countrey adioyning, ſo that Calais was furniſhed with no ſmall number of the ſame. Sir Hugh Caluerley, and ſir Thomas Percy, going to Sea, tooke ſeauen Shippes laden with merchandiſe, and one Shippe of warre. The Archbiſhop of Caſſils in Irelande, returning from Rome, broughte with him large authoritie, of binding and looſing, grãted to him by Pope Vrbane, in fauour of whome at his comming to London in a Sermon which he preached, he declared to the people, howe the Frenche King, holding with the Antipape Clemente, was denounced accurſed, and therefore now was the time for Engliſhmen to make war in France, hauing ſuch occaſion, as greater could not bee offered, ſpecially, ſith it was like that the excommunicated King ſhould haue no courage to make reſiſtance.

In a Parliamēt holden at Weſtminſter thys yeare after Eaſter, it was ordeyned, that the priuiledges and immunities of the Abbey of Weſtminſter ſhould remaine whole and inuiolate, but yet there was a prouiſo, againſt thoſe that tooke Sainctuarie, with purpoſe to defraude their creditours, that their landes and goodes ſhoulde bee aunſwerable to the diſcharging of their debtes.

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In yͤ ſame Parliament, was granted to the K. a ſubſedie, to be leuied of the great men of yͤ land. To the ende the commons might be ſpared, the Dukes of Lancaſter and Britaine paide twentie markes, euery Earle ſixe markes, Biſhoppes and Abbots with miters aſmuch, and for euery Mõke three ſhillings foure pence: alſo, euery Juſtice, Sherife, Knighte, Eſquier, Parſon, Vicar, and Chapleyne, were charged after a certayne rate, but not any of the commons that were of the laytie.

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Ye haue hearde how ſir John Harleſton was ſent to Chierburg, as Captayne of that fortreſſe, who iſſuing abroade one day, with ſuch power as he might take foorth, leauing the fortreſſe furniſhed, came to a place, where within a Church and in a mille, the frenchmē had layde vp, as in ſtorehouſes, a great quantitie of vittailes, for prouiſion, which Church and Mille the Engliſhmenne aſſaulted ſo vigorouſly, that notwithſtandyng there were within a good number of the enimies, that did their beſt to defende themſelues, yet at length they were taken, and ſir John Harleſton with his company, returned with the vittayles towarde Chierburg, but by the way they were encountred by one Sir William de Bourdes, whome the Frenche King had appoynted to lye in Mont Burg, with a ſtrong power of men of warre, to countergariſon Chierburg: here enſued a ſore cõflict, and many an hardy man was beatē to the ground. And although at the firſt it ſeemed that the Engliſhmen were ouermatched in number, yet they ſtucke to it manfully. Theyr Captayne ſir John Harleſton, fighting in the foremoſt preſſe, was felled, and lay on the groũd at his enimies feete, in great hazard of death. The Engliſhmen neuertheleſſe continue the fyghte, till at length, ſir Geffrey Worſley, with a wing of armed footemen, with axes, came to the reſcue (for to that ende hee was left behinde, of purpoſe to come to their ayde, if neede required) with whoſe comming, the Frenchmen were ſo hardly handled, that to conclude, they were broken in ſunder, beaten downe, and wholly vanquiſhed:

there were of them ſlayne aboue ſixe ſcore, and as many taken priſoners, among whiche number, was their chiefe Capitayne Sir William de Bourdes taken, and brought to Chierburg, with the reſidue, and there put in ſafekeeping. Thys exployt was archieued by the Engliſhmenne, on S. Martins day in winter, in this third yeare of King Richard his raigne: but leaſt any ioy ſhuld come to the Engliſh people in that ſeaſon, without ſome mixture of grief, one ſir Iohn Clearke, a righte vallaunt Knighte, and fellow in armes with ſir Hugh Caluerley, chaunced this yeare to lye in garriſon in a Caſtell in Britaine, where was an hauen, and diuers Engliſhe Shippes lying in the ſame, whereof the frenche galeys beeing aduertiſed, came thither, to ſet thoſe Shippes on fyre, appoynting one of their galleys firſte to attempt the feate, and if fortune ſo woulde, to trayne the Engliſhmen forthe, till they ſhoulde fall into the lappes of foure other galleys whyche they layde as it had bin in ambuſhe: and as the enimies wiſhed, ſo it came to paſſe, for the Engliſhmen perceyuing their veſſels in daunger to be brent of the enimies, ranne euery man aboorde to ſaue the Shippes and goodes within them, and amongſt the reſt, Sir Iohn Clearke their Capitayne, meaning to take ſuch part as his men did, got aboorde alſo, and ſtreight falling in purſute of the galley that withdrewe for the purpoſe aforeſayd, the Engliſhmen were ſhortly encloſed with the other galleys, before they were aware, not knowing what ſhift to make to auoyde the preſent daunger. Sir Iohn Clearke perceyuing howe the caſe ſtoode, layde about him like a Gyant, cauſing his company ſtill to drawe backe agayne, whileſt he reſiſting the enimies, did ſhewe ſuch proofe of his valiancie, that they were much aſtoniſhed therewith. To be ſhort, he ſo manfully behaued himſelfe, that the moſt parte of his company had time to recouer land, but when hee that had thus preſerued others ſhoulde leape forthe of the Shippe to ſaue him ſelfe, he was ſtriken in the thigh with an axe, that down he fell, and ſo came into the enimies hands, being not able to recouer that hurt, for his thigh was almoſt quite cut off from the body, ſo that hee dyed of that and other hurtes preſently, leauing a remembrance behinde him, of many worthy actes through his valiancie atchieued, to his high prayſe and great commendation. The Barke of Yorke was alſo loſt the ſame time, beeing a proper veſſell, and nowe taken ſuddaynely, ſanke with all that were aboorde in hir, both Engliſhmen, and the enimies alſo that were entred into hir, thinking to carrie hir away.

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Britayne returning into his countrey, vnder the conduit of Sir Thomas Percy, and Sir Hugh Caluerley, landed at a hauen not farre from Saint Malo, the fourth daye of Auguſt, beeing receyued with vnſpeakeable ioy of the Britaynes, as wel lords as commons, ſo that the louing harts which they bare towards him, might well appeare, although the loue which he bare to the Kyng of England, had cauſed his ſubiects in fauoure of Fraunce, to keepe him many yeares forth of his Dukedome, as a baniſhed Prince, but at length, they beeyng ouercome with irkeſomneſſe of his long abſence, with generall conſents, ſent for him home, ſo that there were but fewe of the Brittiſhe nobilitie that withdrew their dutifull obedience from him, and thoſe were only ſuche, as firmely linked in ſeruice with the French King, were loth to forgoe ſuche roomthes and dignities as vnder him they enioyed, namely, the Conſtable of Fraunce, ſir Berthram de Cleaquin, the Lord Cliſſon, the Lorde de Rohen, and the Lord Rochfort, and certayne others: The Lord de la Vall amõgſt other, came to him as we finde in Thomas Walſ. offering him his ſeruice as well as the reſidue. At his landing, he was likely to haue loſt all ſuch furniture, as well of vittailes, apparell, hangings, bedding, armour, and other things, which either he or hys trayne had broughte with them, for the Frenche galleys eſpying their time, immediately as hee and his company were ſet a land, before yͤ Ships in which the ſayd furniture was fraughte, coulde enter the hauen, whiche was ſomewhat ſtraighte and narrow, came vppon them, and had them at ſuch aduantage, that if ſir Hugh Caluerley with his Archers hadde not cauſed the maſter of hys Shippe euen againſt his will to returne agayne to the reſcue, the Galleys had taken and gone away with the other Shippes, but through the manfull proweſſe of ſir Hugh, the Galleys were repulſed, and the Shippes ſaued: for according to his wonted valiancy, hee would not returne, till hee ſawe all other in ſauetie, and then defendyng himſelfe ſo well as he might, withdrewe into the hauen, & landed ſafely with the reſidue. About the ſame time, was an haynous murther committed in Londou, of a Merchant Genewes, whom certayne Engliſh Merchants vpon a ſpite and enuie which they bare towards him, cauſed to bee ſlayne one euening in the ſtreete, before his owne gates. The cauſe that moued the merchaunts ſo to procure his death was, for that hee vndertooke to furniſhe this lande, hauing the ſtaple allowed hym at Southhamptõ of all ſuch wares as came forth of Leuant ſo plentifully as was to be had in any place in all theſe weſt partes of Chriſtendome. In the Sommer of this yeare, a greeuous mortalitie afflicted the Northe partes of this land, ſo that the Countrey became almoſt deſolate, and to the increaſe of that miſerie, the Scottes thynkyng the tyme to ſerue theyr

The Duke of Britayne reſtored to his Dukedome.

Sir Hugh Caluerly.

An heynous murther of a merchante ſtranger.

Great death in the North Countrey.

Great ſpoyle by the Scottes in the death time.

turne, inuaded the borders, and moſt cruelly, harried, robbed, and ſpoyled the ſame, not letting paſſe any parte, of moſt cruell murthering of the people that were left aliue, and not made away by that ſore contagious ſickneſſe. The number of Cattell was infinite which they droue out of the lande with them, not ſparing heardes of Swine which they tooke at this time, where they neuer medled with that kind of Cattell before that preſente.

Before the Scottes made this iourney into Englande, whileſt the mortalitie was moſt in force, they calling vnto certayne of the Engliſhe borderers, aſked of thē how it came to paſſe, that ſo great a death raigned amōgſt thē. The Engliſhmen, as good, playne, and ſimple meanyng men, tolde them, that truely they knewe not the cauſe, for Gods iudgements were hid from them in ſuch behalfe: but one thing they knewe, that all calamitie, deathe, and aduerſitie that chaunced vnto them, came by the ſpeciall grace of God, to the ende, that beeing puniſhed for theyr ſynnes, they myghte learne to repent and amende theyr wicked liues. The Scottes hearing this, when they ſhoulde enter this lande, vnderſtandyng lewdely what the Engliſhmen hadde tolde them concerning the diſeaſe, and the grace of God, deuiſed a bleſſing forſooth to bee ſayd euery morning, of the moſt antient perſon in euery family, as thus, *Benedicite* (ſaide hee,) *dominus* ſayde the reſidue: then began hee agayne, ſaying, God and Saint Mango, Saint Romayne and Sainct Andrewe, ſhielde vs thys daye fra Goddes grace, and the foule deathe that Engliſhmenne dyen vpon.

Thus the ſenſeleſſe men miſconſtruing thys worde the grace of God, prayed for their owne deſtruction, whiche if not in this worlde, yet for theyr brutiſhe crueltie vſed at that preſente, agaynſte the miſerable creatures, which the hand of God had ſpared, in time of that greuous mortalitie, it is to be feared, leaſt in another worlde it came to them, as the very words of their prayers imported.

About the ſame time, Iohn Schakell Eſquier was ſet at libertie, yͤ K. cōpounded with him for his priſoner, giuing fiue C. markes in ready money, & lands to the valew of a C. markes by yere. When he ſhould bring forth his priſoner, and deliuer him to the Kyng, this is to bee noted, as a thing very ſtrange and wonderfull, for when hee ſhoulde appeare, it was knowen to bee the very grome that had ſerued him in all the time of hys trouble, and would neuer vtter himſelfe what hee was, before that time, hauing ſerued hym as an hyred ſeruaunte all that while in priſon, and out of priſon, in daunger of life, when his other maiſter was murthered, where, if he would haue vttered himſelfe, hee might haue bin enterteyned in ſuche honorable ſtate, as for a priſoner of his degree hadde bin requiſite, ſo that the faithfull loue and aſſured conſtancie in this noble Gentleman, was highly commended, and no leſſe maruelled at of all men.

A notable example of a faythfull priſoner.

About the feaſt of Sainte Nicholas, in thys third yeare of King Richards raigne, there went to Sea an army of men, that ſhoulde haue paſſed ouer into Britaigne, to the ayde of the Duke there, vnder the conduit of Sir Iohn Arundell, ſir Hughe Caluerley, Sir Thomas Percye, Sir William Elmham, ſir Thomas Morrews, Sir Thomas Baneſter, and many other Knightes and Eſquiers, too long to rehearſe, a ſufficiente power vndoubtedly, to haue done a greate enterpriſe: but they were no ſooner on the Sea, but ſuddainely there aroſe ſuch an hideous tempeſt of winde and ſtormes, that they looked preſently to be all caſt away, they were ſcattered heere and there, and driuen they wiſt not whether. The Shippe wherein Sir Iohn Arundell was aborde, chaunced to be caſt on the coaſt of Irelād, and there driuen to forſake his Shippe, that was ready to be broken in peeces, by rage of waues, beating it there againſt the rockes: he was drowned before hee coulde winne to lande, in an Ile, neere to the whiche they had thruſt in, the Shippe.

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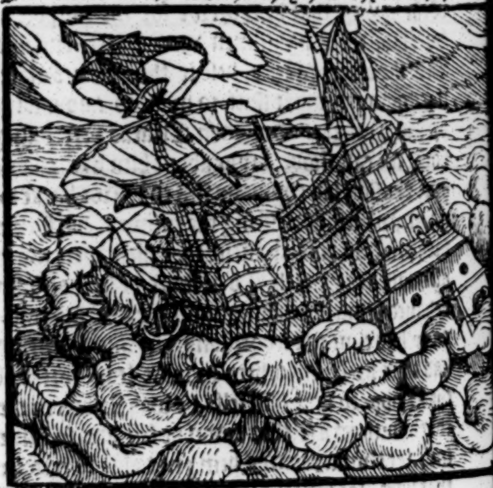


To the like ende came ſir Thomas Baneſter, ſir Nicholas Trumpington, and Sir Thomas Dale, impeaching each others, as they leapt forth of the Shippe: alſo an Eſquier one Muſarde, a moſt ſeemely perſonage and a bolde, and another Eſquier, named Denyoke, being almoſt out of daunger, were fetched away by the ſurges of the ſea, and ſo periſhed, with many other. Robert Ruſt a cunning ſea man, belonging to Blackney in Northfolke, and maſter of the Shippe wherein ſir Iohn Arundell was embarqued, was the firſt that got to lande, giuing enſample to others, how to ſhift for themſelues: but when hee ſaw his chiefe Captayne, the ſayd Sir Iohn Arundell got forth to the ſands, and as one thinking himſelfe paſt all daunger, to ſhake his wette garments about him, the ſayd Ruſt waying the daungerous ſtate wherein the ſayd Sir Iohn Arundell yet ſtoode, came downe, and raught to hym his hand, enforſing hymſelfe to plucke hym to the ſhore: but whileſt hee toke care for an other mans ſafetie, and neglected his owne, hee loſt his life, and ſo they both periſhed togither, for through a mighty billowe of the raging Seas, they were both ouerthrowen, and with returning of the waues back, drawen into the deepe, ſo that they coulde neuer recouer foteholde agayne, but were drowned.

The ſayd Ruſt was much lamented, bycauſe he was not onely knowen to be a ſkilfull maſter, but alſo counſelled the ſayd Sir Iohn Arundell in no wiſe to goe to ſea, at what time he woulde needes ſet forward, forcing the ſaid Ruſt and the Marriners to hoiſt vp ſailes, and make waye. They that eſcaped to land in that Ile, founde nothing there to relieue their miſeries, but bare ground, ſo that diuers ſtarued through cold, wãting fier and other ſuccour: the reſidue that were luſtie and wiſe withall, ranne vp and downe, and ſometime wraſtling, and otherwiſe chafing thẽſelues, remayned there in greate miſerie, from the Thurſday, till Sunday at noone next enſuing. At what time, when the Sea was appeaſed and waxen calme, the Iriſhmen that dwelled ouer againſt this Ile on the maine, came and fetched them thence, and relieued them the beſt they coulde, being almoſt dead, through trauell, hunger and colde.

The ſaide Sir Iohn Arundell loſt not onely his life, but all his furniture and apparell for hys body, which was very ſumptuous, ſo that it was thought to ſurmount the apparell of any King. For he had two and fiftie new ſutes of apparell of cloth of golde, or Tiſſewe, as was reported, all the which, togither with his horſes and geldings, amounting to ẏ valew of ten thouſand markes, was loſt in the Sea. And beſides this, there were loſt the ſame time, a fyue and twentie Shippes, with menne, Horſes, and other riches, whiche attended him in that voyage. Sir Thomas Percy yet, and ſir Hugh Caluerley, with Sir William Elmham, and certayne others, eſcaped, but cruelly tormented with vnmercifull tempeſt: and before Sir Thomas Percy could get to land after the Sea was quieted, hee was aſſaulted by a Spanyard, againſt whom he ſo defended hymſelf, ẏ in the end he toke the Spaniſh veſſel, & brought hir, with all that he found aborde in hir, vnto the nexte ſhore, and ſolde the ſame for an hundred poundes, and without long delay, toke the Sea, and paſſed ouer to Breſt, of whiche fortreſſe hee was Captaine ioyntly with Sir Hugh Caluerley, and therefore doubting leaſt ſome incõuenience mighte therto nowe in both their abſence chaunce, hee made the more haſt, not taking reſt till hee came thither, notwithſtanding his paſſed paynefull trauells.

Sir Hugh Caluerley was neuer in his lyfe in more daunger of deathe, than at that time: for all that were in his Shippe (as Froyſſarte writeth) were drowned, except hymſelfe, and ſeauen marriners.

We fynde, that there were drowned in one place and other, aboue a thouſand Engliſh men, in that vnlucky voyage.

Some writers impute this calamitie to lyghte on the ſaide Sir Iohn Arundell and his company, for the laſciuious and filthy rule, whiche they kept before their ſetting forthe, in places where they laye till theyr prouiſion was ready, and not contented with that whiche they did before they toke Shippe, in rauiſhing mens wiues, maydes and daughters, they caried them aborde, that they might haue the vſe of them whileſt they were on the Sea: and yet when the tempeſt roſe, like cruell and vnmercifull perſons, they threw them into the Sea, eyther for that they woulde not bee troubled with their lamentable noyſe and crying, or for that they thought ſo long as they had ſuch women aborde with them (whom they had abuſed ſo long) God would not ceaſſe the rage of the tempeſt.

Outragious wickedneſſe iuſtly puniſhed.

But it ſhoulde appeare this tempeſt was generall, for where the Spaniſh and Frenche fleetes were abroade the ſame time, being aſſembled togither to annoy the coaſtes of this lande, theyr Shippes were likewiſe toſſed and turmoyled, ſo as no ſmal number of them were loſt, in ſomuch, that the domage which they ſuſteyned, was thought farre to paſſe that which happened to ẏ engliſh nauie.

1380

Thys yeare about Chriſtmas, Sir William de Montacute Earle of Saliſburie, after he had remayned a twelue monethes ſpace at Calaice, the Kyngs Lieutenante there, was called home, and Sir Iohn Deueroux, a ryghte valiaunte Knighte, and an olde man of warre, was ſente thither in his place.

Sir Iohn Deueroux made deputie of Calais.

Alſo, Sir Iohn Harleſton was called home from Chierburgh, and ſir William Windeſhore a noble Knight, was ſent thither, to be Captaine of that fortreſſe.

After the Epiphanie, was a Parliament called at London, whiche continued till the begynning of the Calendes of Marche.

Whereas the yeare before, there had bene certaine, Byſhoppes, Earles, Barons, and Iuſtices appointed, to haue ẏ gouernemẽt and rule about the Kyng, now at the requeſt of the Lordes and commons

The Earle of Warwike elected protector

commons in this Parliament aſſembled, yͤ Lord Thomas Beauchampe Erle of Warwike, was choſen to remayne continually with the Kyng, as chief gouernour, both of his perſon, and to giue aunſwere to all ſtraungers that ſhould come hyther about any buſineſſe whatſoeuer, and further to haue the rule and order of all things, in lieu of thoſe that were choſen thereto before: it was perceyued that they had ſought to enrich thẽſelues, & had done little, to the aduancemẽt of the kings honor, or ſtate of the common wealth, but rather emptied the Kings cofers.

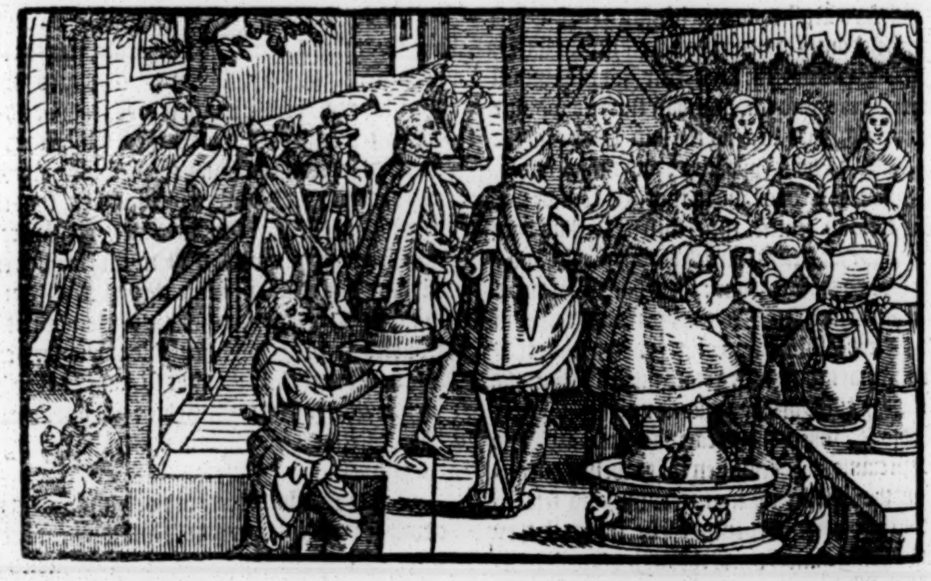
The Ar ſhop o terbury lord Ch cellour.

In this Parliamente alſo, the Lord Richarde Scrope gaue ouer the office of Chancellor, and Simon Sudbury Archbyſhop of Caunterbury tooke it vpon him.

In this Parliament was graunted a tenth by the Cleargie, and a fiftenth by the laytie, with cõdition that from henceforth, to witte, from yͤ Calends of Marche, vnto the feaſt of Saint Michaell, which then ſhoulde be in the yeare. 1381. there ſhoulde be no more Parliamentes, but thys condition was not performed, as after it appeared.

The ki ſiſter m the E Poule.

In the Octaues of Eaſter, the Lord Waleran Earle of Saint Paule, married the Kings halfe ſiſter, the Lady Ioane de Courtney: the ſolemnization of this mariage, was holden at Windſor, with great triumphing.



The Princeſſe that was mother to the bride, was greatly againſt the marriage, but the bryde hir ſelfe had ſuche a liking to the Earle, that the King was contented that they ſhould match togither, and ſet him free of his raunſome, whyche he ſhould haue paide, for that hee hadde bin taken priſoner in the marches of Calis, and further, gaue with his ſiſter by way of endowmente, the Towneſhip and manor of Byfleete.

A combat betwixt ſir Iohn Anſleye and Thomas Katrington.

The ſeuenth of Iune, a combate was foughte before the Kings palace at Weſtminſter, on the pauement there, betwixte one ſir Iohn Anneſley knight, and one Thomas Katrington Eſquier.

The occaſion of this ſtraunge and notable triall roſe hereof. The knight accuſed the Eſquier of treaſon, for that where the fortreſſe of Sainte Sauiour within the Iſle of Cõſtantine in Normandie, belonging ſometime to Sir Iohn Chãdos, had bin committed to the ſaid Katrington, as Captayne thereof, to keepe it againſte the enimies, he hadde for money ſolde and deliuered it ouer to the Frenchmen, where he was ſufficiently prouided, of men, munition and vittayles, to haue defended it againſt them: And ſith the inheritaunce of that fortreſſe and landes belongyng thereto, had apperteyned to the ſaide Anneſley in righte of his wife, as neereſt couſin by affinitie vnto Sir Iohn Chandos, if by the falſe conueyance of the ſaid Katrington, it had not bin made away, and alienated into the enimies hands, hee offered therefore to trie the quarell by combate, againſt the ſaide Katrington, whereupon was the ſame Katrington apprehended, and putte in priſon, but ſhortly after ſet at libertie againe.

Whileſt the Duke of Lancaſter during the time that his father King Edward lay in hys laſt ſickneſſe, did in al things what liked him, and ſo at the contemplation of the Lord Latimer as was thought, hee releaſſed Katrington for the time, ſo that Sir Iohn Anneſley could not come to the effect of his ſute in all the meane time, till nowe. Such as feared to be charged with the like offences, ſtayed the matter, till at length, by the opinion of true and auntiente Knightes, it was defyned, that for ſuch a forraine controuerſie that hadde not riſen within the limmittes of the Realme, but touched poſſeſſion of thynges on

Triall bute i cale la

the further ſide the ſea, it was lawfull to haue it tryed by battayle, if the cauſe were firſte notified to the Conneſtable and Marſhall of the realme, and that the combate was accepted by the parties.

Herevpon was the day and place appoynted, and all things prouided readie, with lyſtes rayled and made ſo ſubſtantially, as if the ſame ſhoulde haue endured for euer. The concourſe of people that came to Lōdon to ſee this tried, was thought to exceede that of the kings coronation, ſo deſyrous men were to beholde a ſight ſo ſtraunge and vnaccuſtomed.

The King and his Nobles, and all the people beeing come togyther in the morning of the day appoynted, to the place where the lyſtes were ſet vp, the knight beeing armed and mounted on a fayre courſer ſeemely trapped, entereth firſt as appellant, ſtaying till his aduerſarie the defendant ſhould come. And ſhortly after was the Eſquier called to defende his cauſe, in this fourme: Thomas Katrington defendant, come and appeare to ſaue the action, for whiche ſir Iohn Anneſley Knight and appellant hath publiquely & by wryting appelled thee: He being thus called thriſe by an Herault at armes, at the thirde call hee commeth armed likewiſe, and ryding on a Courſer trapped with Trappes embrodered with his armes.

At his approching to the lyſtes he alyght from his horſe, leaſt according to the lawe of armes the Coneſtable ſhoulde haue chalenged the horſe if he had entered within the lyſtes, but his ſhifting nothing auayled him, for the horſe after hys maiſter was alyght beſide him, ranne vp and downe by the rayles, nowe thruſting his heade ouer, and nowe both heade and breaſt, ſo that the Earle of Buckingham, bycauſe he was highe Coneſtable of Englande, claymed the Horſe afterwardes, ſwearing that hee woulde haue ſo much of hym as had appeared ouer the rayles, and ſo the horſe was adiudged vnto him.

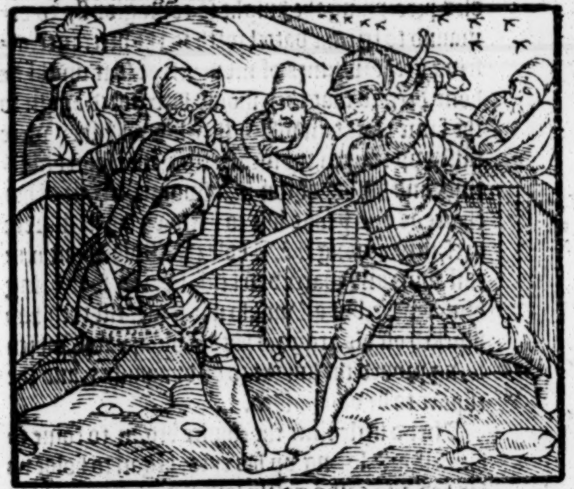
But now to the matter of the combate (for this chalenge of the Horſe was made after) as ſoone as the Eſquier was come wythin the lyſts the Indenture was brought forth by the Marſhall and Coneſtable, which had beene made and ſealed before them, with conſent of the partyes, in which were conteyned the Articles exhibited by the knight agaynſt the Eſquier, and there the ſame was read afore all the aſſemble.

The Eſquier whoſe conſcience was thought not to be cleare, but rather guiltie, went about to make exceptions, that his cauſe by ſome meanes might haue ſeemed the ſounder. But the Duke of Lancaſter hearing him ſo ſtaye at the matter, ſware, that except according to the conditions of the combate, and the lawe of armes, hee woulde admit all things in the Indentures comprysed, that were not made without his owne conſent, he ſhoulde as guiltie of the treaſon forthwith be had forth to execution.

The Duke with thoſe wordes wanne greate commendation, and auoyded no ſmall ſuſpition that had beene conceyued of him, as partiall in the Eſquiers cauſe. The Eſquier hearing this, ſayd, that he durſt fight with the knight, not onely in thoſe poyntes, but in all other in the worlde whatſoeuer the ſame might be: For he truſted more to his ſtrength of bodie, and fauour of his friendes, than in the cauſe whiche he had taken vpon hym to defende. Hee was in deede a mightie man of ſtature, where the knight among thoſe that were of a meane ſtature was one of the leaſt.

Friendes to the Eſquier in whom he had great affyance to be borne out through their aſſyſtance, were the Lordes Latimer, and Baſſet, wyth other.

Before they entred battaile, they tooke an othe, as well the knight as the Eſquier, that the cauſe in which they were to fight, was true, and that they delt with no witche craft, nor arte Magicke whereby they might obteyne the victorie of their aduerſarie, nor had about thē any herb or ſtone or other kind of experiment with which Magitians vſe, to triumph ouer theyr enimies. This othe receyued of eyther of them, and therewith hauing made their prayers deuoutly, they begin the battayle, firſt with ſpeares, after with ſwordes, and laſtly with daggers.



They fought long, till finally the knight had bereft the eſquier of all his weapons, and at length the Eſquier was manfully ouerthrowne by the knight: but as the knight woulde haue fallen vpon the Eſquier, through ſweate that ran downe by his helmet, his ſighte was hyndered, ſo that thinking to fall vpon the Eſquier, hee fell downe ſideling himſelfe, not comming neare to the Eſquier, who perceyuing what had happened, although he was almoſt ouercome with long fighting,

The Eſquire is ouerthrowne.

ting, made to the knight, and threw himſelfe vpon him, ſo that many thought the knight ſhoulde haue beene ouercome: other doubted not but that the knight woulde recouer his feete againe, and get the victorie of his aduerſarie.

The king in the meane tyme cauſed it to bee proclaymed that they ſhoulde ſtay, and that the knight ſhoulde be rayſed vp from the ground, and ſo ment to take vp the matter betwixt them.

To be ſhort, ſuch were ſent as ſhould take vp the Eſquier, but comming to the knight, hee beſought them, that it might pleaſe the king to permit them to lie ſtill, for he thanked God hee was well, and miſtruſted not to obteyne the victorie, if the Eſquier might be layde vpon him, in maner as he was earſt.

Finally, when it woulde not bee ſo graunted, hee was contented to be rayſed vp, and was no ſooner ſet on his feete, but hee cheerefully went to the King, without any mans helpe, where the Eſquier coulde neyther ſtand nor go without the helpe of two men to holde him vp, and therefore was ſet in his Chaire to take his eaſe, to ſee if hee might recouer his ſtrength.

The knight at his comming before the king, beſought him and his nobles, to graunt him ſo much, that hee might bee eftſoones layde on the ground as before, and the Eſquier to be layd aloft vpō him, for the knight perceyued that the eſquire through exceſſiue heate, and the weight of his armor, did maruellouſly faint, ſo as his ſpirits were in maner taken from him. The king and the nobles perceyuing the knight ſo couragiouſly to demaund to trie the battel forth to the vtterance, offring great ſummes of money, that ſo it might be done, decreed that they ſhould be reſtored again to the ſame plight in which they lay whē they were raiſed vp: but in the meane time the eſquier fainting, and falling downe in a ſwoune, fel out of his chaire as one ẏ was like to yeeld vp his laſt breth preſently among thē. Thoſe that ſtood about him caſt wine and water vpō him, ſeeking ſo to bring him againe, but all would not ſerue, till they had plucked off his armor, & his whole apparel, which thing proued the knight to be vanquiſher, and the eſquier to be vanquiſhed.

The Eſquier fainteth.

The Knight is iudged the vāquiſhed.

After a little time the eſquire began to come to himſelf, and lifting vp his eyes, began to holde vp his hed, & to caſt a gaſtly looke on euery one about him: which when it was reported to the knight, he commeth to him armed as he was (for he had put off no peece ſince the beginning of the fight) and ſpeaking to him, called him traitor, and falſe periured man, aſking of him if he durſt trie the battel with him againe: but the Eſquier hauing neither ſenſe nor ſpirite whereby to make anſwere, Proclamation was made that the battell was ended, and euery one might go to his lodging.

The eſquier immediately after he was brought to his lodging, and layde in bed, beganne to war raging woode, and ſo continuing ſtill out of hys wittes, about nine of the clocke the next day hee yeelded vp the ghoſt.

This combate was fought (as before ye haue heard) the vij. of Iune, to the great reioyſing of the cōmon people, and diſcoragement of traytours.

About the ſame time, or rather ſomewhat before, the Lorde Oliuer de Cliſſon with a number of ſhippes and gallies of Fraunce and Spayne, tooke the Sea, and comming on the coaſt of Englande, landed in dyuerſe places of the weſt Countrey, and alſo in the South parts, ſpoyling and burning ſundrie townes, taking ſuch ſhippes and veſſelles as they might lay holde vpon, and ſo continued to endomage the Engliſhe people that inhabited neare to the ſea ſide, all that Sommer following.

In the beginning of the fourth yeare of thys king, Thomas of Woodſtocke Erle of Buckingham, vncle to the king, with an armie of .vij. or viij. M. men of armes, and archers, was ſent ouer to Calais, that he might inuade France, and paſſe through the ſame to come into Britaine vnto the ayde of the Duke there. You haue heard how the French king had ſeaſed into his handes the moſt part of the Duchie of Brytaine, bycauſe that the Duke hadde ioyned himſelfe in league with the king of Englande: but yet there were dyuerſe of the good townes, and alſo many of the Barons and Nobles of the Countrey whiche kept themſelues as neuters a long ſeaſon, but at length, longing to ſee the returne of theyr naturall Lord and duke, ſent vnto him into England, requiring him to repaire home, and to ſee to the quieting of the troubled ſtate of his Countrey.

The Duke beeing thus earneſtly deſyred to returne home, by the aduice of the king of England and his counſaile, graunted to theyr requeſt, that had ſo inſtantly required him, both by letters and ſufficient Meſſengers: wherevpon he tooke the Sea, and ſayling forth, arryued in Brytaine, hauing with him ſir Robert Knolles, and a certaine number of Engliſhmen, both armed men and archers (as before ye haue heard.)

The K. alſo promiſed to ſend him a new ſupply very ſhortly, whiche was not forgotten: but fortune was ſo contrarie, that ſir Iohn Arundell generall of thoſe that were ſent, and many of hys companie, were drowned by force of tempeſt, and the other driuen backe againe into England (as before ye haue heard.) In the meane time, though the Duke of Brytaine with ayde of his ſubiectes, did manfully defend his townes & cōtry againſt the Frenchmen, yet he was in doubt to be oppreſſed by the great puiſſaunce of the Frenchmen, if ayde came not the ſooner. Which being ſignified ouer into Englande, moued the king and hys counſaile to appoynt the Earle of Buckingham to take vpon him this voyage. He landed at Calais three dayes before the feaſt of Marie Magdalene.

There went ouer with him in that armie, the Earles of Stafford, and Deuonſhire, the Lorde Spencer Coneſtable of the hoſte, the Lord Fitz Water Marſhall, the Lorde Baſſet, the Lorde Bourchier, the Lorde Ferreis, the Lorde Morley, the Lorde Darcie, ſir William Windſore, ſir Hugh Caluerley, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Hugh de la Sente, Sir Thomas Percye, Sir Thomas Triuet, ſir Hugh Tirell, ſir William Ferrington, ſir Iohn, & ſir Nicolas Daubriticourt, Thomas Camois, Raufe Neuill, ſonne to the Lord Neuill, ſir Henrie baſterd Ferrers, ſir Hugh Broe, ſir Geffrey Wourſley, ſir William Clinton, ſir Iuon FitzWarren, and diuerſe other.

After they had reſted them at Calais two dayes, they remoued the thirde day oute of the towne, and came to Marqueignes, where they remayned three dayes, till all their companie, cariages, and prouiſions, were come to them oute of Calais: From thence they remoued and came before Arde, where the Earle of Buckingham made knightes, theſe that follow: the Earle of Deuonſhire, the Lorde Morley, the ſonne of the Lord FitzWater, ſir Roger Straunge, ſir Iohn Ipre, ſir Iohn Colle, ſir Iames Tyrell, ſir Thomas Ramſton, ſir Iohn Neuill, and ſir Thomas Ros, or Roſley, as ſome copies haue. Theſe perſons were made knightes bycauſe they went in the vowarde, which was ſent to win a ſtrong houſe called Follant, which the owner had fortified againſt them. But though he defended himſelfe manfully for a time, yet in the ende both hee and all his companie were taken priſoners.

After this, the Duke paſſed by Saint Omers, ſhewing himſelfe afore it like a mile off, with hys hoſt in order of battail, aloft vpon a Mountaine. Some of the Engliſh men rode to the barriers, requiring that ſome of them within would come forth, and breake ſtaues with them, but they could not be anſwered.

The ſame day that the Engliſh men thus came before Saint Omers, the Earle of Buckingham made again new knights, as ſir Rauf Neuill, ſir Bartilmew Bourchier, ſir Thomas Camois, ſir Foulke Corbet, ſir Thomas Danglure, ſir Rauf Wetipas, ſir Lewes Saint Albine, and ſir Iohn Pauley or rather Paulet.

Theſe Engliſhmen rode through the Countrey, demaunding iuſtes and deedes of armes, but they coulde not bee anſwered. In deede the townes of the frontiers were wel repleniſhed and ſtuffed with men of warre, and ſtill were the Engliſhmen coaſted, but they kept themſelues ſo cloſe togither, without breaking theyr order, that theyr enimies coulde finde them at none aduauntage.

They paſſed by Tyrwine, and by Betwyn, where they lodged one day. They made but eaſy iourneis, and ſeemed to requyre nothing but battaile. They paſſed by Arras, by Myramont, and ſo to Clerye on the water of Some, and taried there three dayes, and in other places aboute in that Countrey.

The fourth day they diſlodged, and drew towardes Cambray, and ſo to Saint Quintines, and after vp towardes Reimes.

They founde little riches, and ſmall ſtore of vitayles abrode in the Countrey, for the French king had abandoned al to his men of warre, who eyther waſted or conueyed all things of any value into the fortreſſes and walled townes.

The Engliſhe men therefore ſent to them of Reymes, requiring to haue ſome vyttaile ſent to the hoſt, for the which they would ſpare the cou̅trey from waſting: but they of Reymes woulde not conſent herevnto. Wherupo̅ the Engliſhmen began to light them ſuch Candels, as their eyes within the Citie ached to behold the ſame a farre of. Moreouer the Engliſhmen approched ſo nere to the walles & ditches of the citie, yͭ they brought away .xx. thouſand head of cattell, which the Citizens had gotten within the compaſſe of theyr ditches, and further ſent to the̅ within, that if they would not ſend bread and wine forth to vyttaile the hoſt, in that behalfe they would burne al their corne, for doubt wherof, the Citizens ſent forth to the hoſt ſix Charets, laden with as much breade and wine as they might carie.

The Citizens of Reimes ſaue their corne fieldes from deſtroying by ſending victailes to the Engliſh hoſt.

Thus was their corne ſaued from deſtruction, and the Engliſh men by ſoft and eaſie iourneys drewe towardes the Citie of Trois, in the which was the Duke of Burgoine, with the Dukes of Burbon and Bar, the Earle of Ewe, the Lorde Coucie, ſir Iohn de Vienne high Admyrall of Fraunce, and a great nu̅ber of other of the French nobilitie.

They had made a Baſtide without the town able to receyue a thouſand men of armes: but vpon the Engliſh mens approche to aſſault it, they did forſake that ſtrength, and withdrewe to the towne. Sir Thomas Triuet was here made a Banaret. Alſo there were certaine new knights made, as Sir Peter Berton, ſir Iohn, and Sir Thomas Pauley, or Paulet, ſir Iohn Stinguley, ſir Thomas Dortingues, ſir Iohn Waſſecoq, ſir Thomas Brayſey, Sir Iohn Brauin, Sir Henrie Vernier, Sir Iohn Coleuile, Sir William Euerat, Sir Nicholas Stinguley, and ſir Hugh Lunit.

Sir Thomas Triuet created a Baronet.

Knightes created.

Verne or Vernon.

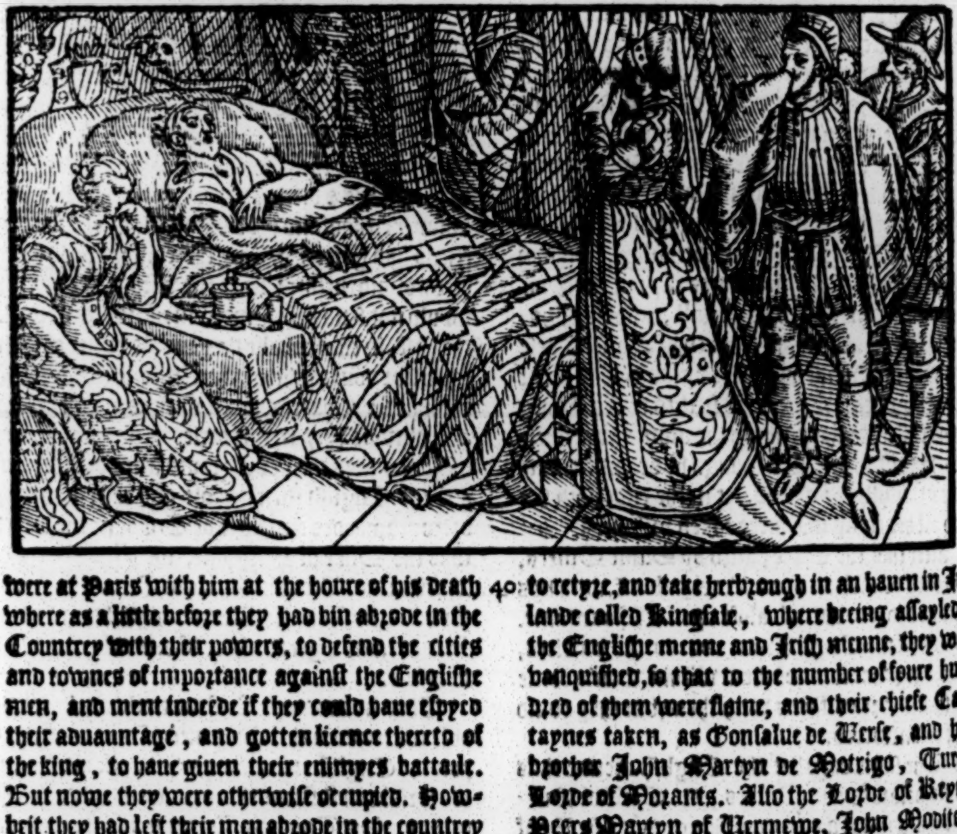
The Engliſh hoſt perceiuing the Frenchmen to withdraw into the towne, drew togither, and

ſtode

ſtoode in order of battayle, for the ſpace of two houres, and then returned to their lodgings. The next day they remoued to Mailleroies le Vicount nere to Sens, and there they remained two dayes and after drew into Gaſtinois, & ſo into Beauſe. They were coaſted all the way by a great power of men of warre, as many or more in number, as they were themſelues, but the French king being a politique prince, wiſely conſidered what loſſes the realme of Fraunce had ſuſteyned afore tyme, by giuing battaile to the Engliſhmen, & therefore was fully reſolued, that in no wiſe he would giue licence to his people to fight with the Earle of Buckingham, but thought better (as he had lerned by good experience) to keepe his townes cloſe agaynſt his enimies, and ſo in the ende to wearie them, than by giuing battaile to put things in hazard, whereas hee knewe they coulde not take from him his Countreys by this kinde of warre, though they ſore endomaged the ſame for a time.

The pollicie of the Fréch king

There chaunced many ſmall ſkirmiſhes amongeſt thoſe that roade forth to diſcouer the countrey, but no notable encounter at all. For the Engliſhmen in thoſe dayes were cattes, not to be catched without Myttens, as Iacob Meir in one place ſayth, and againe the French men were as ware howe they aduentured to come neare them. Onely they ſought how to encloſe them vp in the Countrey, and to famiſhe them that they might then fight with them at ſome great aduantage, but ſtill the Engliſhe hoſt paſſed forwarde, holding on theyr voyage towardes Brytaine by Vandoſme, Pont Volayne, and ſo ouer the riuer of Sartre.



In this meane while the French king Charles the fifth was taken with a ſore ſickneſſe, whereof he departed this life the ſame day that the Engliſh army paſſed ouer the riuer of Sartre, whiche was on the .xxvj. of September, his brethren the dukes of Aniou, Berry, Burbon, and Burgoine were at Paris with him at the houre of his death where as a little before they had bin abrode in the Countrey with their powers, to defend the cities and townes of importance againſt the Engliſhe men, and ment indeede if they could haue eſpyed their aduauntage, and gotten licence thereto of the king, to haue giuen their enimyes battaile. But nowe they were otherwiſe occupied. Howbeit they had left their men abrode in the countrey to coaſt the Engliſhmen as they had done before. All the French power was aſſembled in the Citie of Mans, vnder the leading of the duke of Bar, yͤ Lord Coucie, and others.

The
Charl
Frenc

In this meane while that the Earle of Buckingham was paſſing through the Realme of Fraunce, the French and Spaniſhe gallies did much miſchief on the coaſt of England: but about the latter ende of Iune, by a fleete of Engliſhmen of the weſt countreyes, part of them were forced to retyre, and take herbrough in an hauen in Irelande called Kingſale, where beeing aſſayled of the Engliſhe menne and Iriſh menne, they were vanquiſhed, ſo that to the number of foure hundred of them were ſlaine, and their chiefe Captaynes taken, as Gonſalue de Verſe, and hys brother Iohn Martyn de Motrigo, Turgo Lorde of Morants. Alſo the Lorde of Reyth, Peers Martyn of Vermewe, Iohn Modite of Vermew the Seneſhal of Wargarie, the Seneſhal of S. Andrew, Cornelius of S. Sebaſtiano, Paſcale de Biſkey, Iohn Martinis, Sopogorge of S. Sebaſtiano, and diuerſe other.

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There were taken foure of their Barges, with a Ballenger, and .xxj. Engliſh veſſels recouered, which they had robbed and taken away from the owners. There eſcaped yet foure of their notable captains frō the hāds of our mē, Martin Grantz, Iohn Perys Montago, Iohn Huſce de Gitaria, and one Garcias of S. Sebaſtiano, ſo that the malice of thoſe robbers ceaſſed not. For they with the French Gallyes ſtill lying on the Seas, when they eſpyed any aduauntage, woulde lande theyr people, and doe what myſchiefe they coulde in taking prayes, and burning townes and villages, although nowe and then they came ſhort to their veſſels againe, loſing ſomtimes an hundred, ſomtymes .lxxx. that were ouertaken by the Engliſhe men that came forth againſt them: but among other inuaſions which they made this ſommer on the coaſtes, we finde that they burnt the towne of Winchelſey, & put the Abbot of battail to flight with his people, comming to ſuccor that towne, and tooke one of his Monks that was there in armor with the Abbot.

Some write alſo, that they burnt Rie, Haſtings,, and Porteſmouth. Finally, their boldneſſe ſo farre encreaſed, that in Auguſt they entring with their gallies into yͤ riuer of Thames, came vp to Graueſend, where they burnt the moſt part of the towne, and on the other ſide of the ryuer, aſwell in Eſſex as Kent, they burnt & ſpoyled diuerſe places, and with their priſoners & booties returned withoute receyuing any hurt, bringyng with them into Fraunce, both riche ſpoyles and good priſoners.

But to returne to the Erle of Buckingham where we left. The Engliſh army drew ſtil towards Brytaine, but with ſo ſmall doubt of their aduerſaries, yͭ they lay three or foure days ſometimes ſtill in one place. At their approching to the marches of Brytain, they came to Vytry a town ſituate at the firſt entring into that Countrey, and from thence went to Chateau Briant, and there reſted, whither came to thē certaine knights ſent from the Duke of Brytayne, whiche ſignified to the Earle of Buckingham, what the Dukes meaning was. In deede by the death of the French king, the Dukes malice was greatly abated towarde the Frenchmen, ſo that hee had not much paſſed if the Engliſhmen had beene at home againe.

Moreouer his townes were not determined to receyue the Engliſhe men, as enimies to the crowne of Fraunce: ſo that he was in a perplexity how to order his buſineſſe. At lēgth to ſhew himſelfe a ſtedfaſt friend to the Engliſhmē, & one that was no chaungeling, he determined by their ſupport, to force all thoſe to allow the league whiche he had eſtabliſhed with the Engliſhmen, whiche had denyed to beare armour agaynſt the crowne of Fraunce.

And fyrſt bycauſe they of Nauntes were the ringleaders of that rebellious demeanour, he appoynted fyrſt to beſiege theyr Citie. They hauing knowledge thereof, ſente into Fraunce for ayde.

The Dukes of Aniou, Berry, Burgoigne, and Burbon; brethren to the late King, and vncle to his ſonne the yong king, hauing the gouernaunce of the Realme vnder him, ſent ſixe hundred Speares with all ſpeede to ſtrengthen them of Nauntes, whiche defended the Citie in ſuche wiſe from the puyſſaunce of the Engliſhe men which enuironed the ſame wyth a ſtrong ſiege, that in the ende bycauſe the Duke came not to them (according to his promiſe) the ſiege was rayſed, the morrowe after New yeares day, two Monethes and foure dayes after the ſame was firſt layde.

The ſiege at Naunts broken vp.

The Duke of Brytayne woulde gladly haue come to the ſiege of Nauntes, in ſtrengthning of the Engliſh hoſt, but he could not perſwade hys Lordes to ayde hym in any ſuch enterpriſe. And therefore now that the Erle of Buckingham had broken vp his ſiege, he cauſed him to be lodged in the Citie of Vannes, and his men abrode in the Countrey, ſome here, and ſome there, acquiting himſelfe as well towardes them as he might: but ſurely the hearts of the Britains were wōderfully changed, & in no wiſe would cōſent to haue any warre with the Frenchmen, if any reaſonable peace might be cōcluded. For many that hated yͤ father, bare good will & heartie loue towardes the ſonne, whoſe yong yeares and great towardneſſe, allured the heartes of manye to wiſhe him well. Herevpon was mean made for a peace, which by the duke of Aniou his conſent (who bare the greateſt rule in Fraunce in that ſeaſon) a final accord was made, betwixt the yong king and the Duke of Brytaine, ſo that the Duke ſhoulde come and do his homage vnto the French king, and ſweare to be true and faythfull vnto him. Alſo that hee ſhould rid the Engliſhmen out of his Countrey, and helpe them with ſhippes and veſſels to tranſport them home into Englande.

A peace betwixt the French king & the Duke of Britaine.

The Articles of the peace.

The Earle of Buckingham when he vnderſtood of this peace, was not a little diſpleaſed in his minde, conſidering that the Duke of Brytaine had delt ſo vniuſtly with him, and hys nephew the king of Englande. But the duke ſtyll excuſed him by his ſubiects, as though if hee had not thus agreed, he ſhoulde haue bene in daunger to haue loſte his heritage of that Countrey. Finally, the Earle after he had ſhippes prouided for his paſſage, the .xj. of Aprill departed out of Vannes, and went to the hauen where hys Shippes lay, and ſo went abourde in lyke maner as other of his men did from other Hauens, and ſhortly after (when the wind ſerued) tooke the ſea, and returned into Englande, ſore diſpleaſed with the duke of Britaine, for his great vntruth & diſſimulation (as he tooke it) notwithſtanding all excuſes to cloke the matter by him alledged.

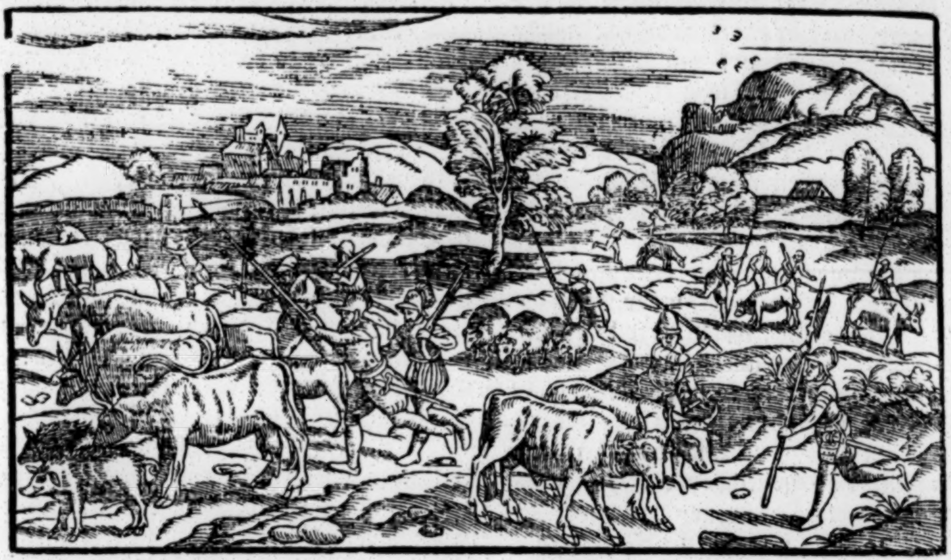
The Erle of Buckingham returned into Englande.

Whileſt the Engliſhmen were thus occupied

in

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders & ſpoyle whole countryes carrying away great booties.

in warres agaynſt the Frenchmen (as before ye haue heard) the Scots could not reſt in quiet, but in reuenge for a ſhip, which the townesmē of new Caſtell and Hull had taken on the ſea, knowing them to be pyrates, determined to doe what miſchiefe they coulde vnto the Engliſh borders: for the loſſe of that ſhip grieued them, bycauſe it was eſteemed to be very rich, the goods that were in it being valued to .vij. thouſand Marks. Herevpon the Scottes entring by the weſt borders, inuade and ſpoyle the Countreys of Weſtmerland and Cumberlande, and comming into the foreſt of Inglewood, they take away with them ſuche a number of beaſtes and cattel, that they were reckened to .xl.M. heades of one and other: beſides this, they cruelly ſlue all ſuch as they coulde lay handes vpon, and burnt vp all the townes, villages, and houſes as they paſſed: and not content herewith, they ſtale vpon the towne of Penreth, when the fayre was kept there, ſleaing, taking, & chaſing away the people, and after gathering togyther all the goodes and ryches there found, toke it away with them, whereof there was ſuch plentie, as might haue ſatiſfied the couetous deſire of a moſt greedie armie.



They returned by Carleil, but hearing that there were gotten into it a great number of men out of the Countreyes adioyning, they durſte not ſtaye to make anye attempt agaynſte that towne, but compaſſed theyr way to eſcape with theyr booties home into theyr Countrey, whiche they did, although they loſt ſome of theyr companie as they paſſed by an embuſhment of certaine archers of Weſtmerlande and Cumberland, that were layd for them, of purpoſe. When the Earle of Northumberland woulde haue gone forth to reuenge thoſe iniuries done to the Countrey by the Scots, he was written to from the king and his counſaile, to forbeare till the day of truce, at what time it might be knowen what was further to be done in the matter.

An army lyngring in the North partes greatly enpouerisheth the country.

About Michaelmas, the Duke of Lancaſter, the Erles of Warwike, and Staffords, with other Lordes and men of honour, hauing with thē a great power of Souldiers and men of warre, went into the North parties, and cōming to the borders, they lay there till they had conſumed no ſmall ſummes of money, & endomaged the countrey as much as if the Scottiſh army had inuaded the ſame. The good they did, was that after long treatie with the Scottiſh Cōmiſſioners a truce was agreed vpon till Eaſter folowing, which being concluded, they returned home without any more adoe. For the ſpace of halfe a ſcore yeares togither nowe laſt paſt, the Engliſhe men euerie yere had one or two ſuch treaties with the Scots about the incurſions and roades which they yerely made into the Engliſh borders, ſore endomaging the inhabitants of thoſe north partes of the realme, notwithſtanding any truce or abſtinence of warre that might be cōcluded. Whileſt the armie (as ye haue heard) lay idle in the north partes, there were certaine letters founde by a poore man about London, who deliuered them vnto yͤ worthy Citizen John Philpot, who calling vnto him certain other worſhipfull Citizens, opened one of thē, in which was conteyned matter of high treaſon: and perceyuing by the ſeale that it belonged vnto ſir Raufe Ferrers knight, one of the kings priuie counſail, deliuered that letter with foure other letters cloſed with the ſame ſeale, firſt to the Lord Chancellor, and after to the king, the which being read, and the ſeale knowne to be the ſayd ſir Rauf Ferrers his ſeale, many greatly marueiled that ſo auncient a knight, & one in whom ſo great truſt was put, ſhould go about any ſuch treaſons. One of the letters was directed to ſir Bertram de Claikin, an other to the lord de la Riuer, & chamberlaine of France, an other to the Lord Cliſſon, and another to the patrone of the gallies, and to the captaine of the armie of Frenchmen & Spanyardes, which at the ſame time waſting alongſt the coaſtes, did much hurt in diuerſe places of the lande. Forthwith the ſayde Philpot and others were ſent in poſt from the king to the Duke of Lancaſter, that forſomuch as the ſayd ſir Rauſe Ferrers was then in the north partes with hym, intreating with the Scottes, he ſhould arreſt him and put him in ſafe keeping, which commaundement the Duke did accompliſh, and committed him to be ſafely kept in the Caſtell of Dureſme, but ſhortly after in the next Parliament he was ſet at libertie, foure Barons being bound for hys forth comming, till time that he might more euidently declare his innocencie.

About the feaſt of S. Martyn, was a Parliament holden at Northampton to the more trouble of them that came to it, bycauſe in that ſeaſon of the yere they were conſtrayned to come, where there was no ſtore of fewell to make them fiers: and beſide that, lodgings were very ſtraite for ſo great a multitude. But the cauſe that moued the Counſaile to appoynte this Parliament there, was to the ende that they might the more freely procede to the tryall of John Kirkeby a Citizen of London, that had murthered the Genewais (as before ye haue heard) which Kirkby was condemned at this Parliament, and drawne and hanged in ſight of the Lōdoners that were come thither, which execution if it ſhoulde haue bene done at London, the Lordes doubted leaſt ſome tumult might haue beene rayſed by the Citizens, who were reckened in thoſe dayes verie raſhe and preſumptuous in their doings.

But nowe to the effect of this Parliament. There was a new and ſtraunge ſubſidie or taſke graunted to be leuyed to the kings vſe, and towardes the charges of this armie that went ouer into Fraunce with the Earle of Buckingham, to witte of euerie prieſt ſecular or regular ſixe ſhillings. viij. pens, and as much of euery Nunne, and of euery man & woman maried, or not maried, being .xvj. yeares of age (beggers certainly knowne onely excepted) foure pens for euery one. Greate grudging and many a bitter curſe followed about the leuying of this money, and muche miſchief roſe thereof, as after it appeared.

In this fourth yere of king Richards raigne, immediately after Chriſtmaſſe, Thomas Brantingham Biſhop of Exeter and Lord Treaſorer, was diſcharged of hys office of Treaſorerſhippe, and Sir Robert Hales, Lord of S. Johns was aduaunced in his place, a right noble and manly knight, but not beloued of the Commons.

About this time, did John Wiclife chiefly ſet forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Aultar, denying the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and that it ought not in any wiſe to be worſhipped in ſuch ſort as the Church of Rome then did teach.

There were Ambaſſadours ſent into Germanie, to treate with the Emperour for a maryage to be had, betwixt the king of Englande, and the Emperors ſiſter.

About the beginning of March they returned, bringing with them the Cardinall, intituled of Saint Praxede, and the duke of Tarſilia, & other nobles that came frō the Emperor, to treat with the king & his counſaile about the ſame mariage.

The Cardinall of S. Praxede.

This Cardinal, whither he paſſed the bounds of his commiſſion and authoritie to him graunted by the Pope (as ſome write) or whether hee was furniſhed with ſuch faculties, he was verye liberall in beſtowing of them abrode, to all ſuche as would come with money: Indulgences which the Pope had vſed only to reſerue for himſelfe to beſtow) this man graunted the ſame liberally, both Biennals, and Triennals. He gaue alſo letters confeſſionall, to all thoſe that would pay for them, admitting aſwell beneficed men as other, to be the Popes chaplaines. He made notaries for money, and denied not Aulters portatiue to any that woulde pay for them. Hee receyued fortie poundes beſides other giftes of the Monkes of the Ciſteaux order, to graunt to them a generall lycence to eate fleſh indifferently, as well abrode, as they had bene accuſtomed to doe at home within their Monaſteries.

Tryennals.

Al for money.

To thoſe that were excommunicate he gaue abſolution: thoſe that had vowed to goe in Pylgrimage to Rome, to the holy lande, or to Saint James, he would not firſt releaſe them, till he had receyued ſo muche money, according to the true valuation, as they ſhould haue ſpent in their iorneyes: and to be briefe, nothing coulde be aſked, but for money he was readie to graunt it.

And when he was requeſted to ſhew by what power hee did all theſe things, wyth great indignation hee anſwered. that hee woulde let them vnderſtande at Rome, if they woulde needes knowe the authoritie which hee had. At length, his Males were ſo filled with ſyluer, that his ſeruants diſdeyned to make them any anſwere, except they brought golde, ſaying bring vs golde, for we are full of your ſiluer: but at his departure he tooke all away with him, both golde and ſiluer in ſuch abundance as was marueylous.

But now to returne to other matters concerning the ſtate of the realme. After the returne of the Erle of Buckingham, it was ordeined by aduice of coūſail, that the duke of Lancaſter ſhoulde eftſoones go as ambaſſador frō K. Ri. into Scotlād, to ſee if he might renue the truce (which ſhortly would haue bin expired) for three yeres longer.

Alſo

An army ſent into Portingale to aide the k. there againſt the king of Caſtile.

Alſo whereas there was variaunce and open warre mainteyned, betwixt Iohn king of Caſtile, and Iohn king of Portingale, the Earle of Cambridge, the Lord William de Beauchamp, the Lorde Botreux, and ſir Mathew Gourney, were ſent into Portingale with fiue. C. armed men, and fiue hundred archers to ayd the king of Portingale againſt ẏ K. of Caſtille, which was ſonne to the baſtarde Henrie: for the Duke of Lancaſter reioyced greatly that hee might haue ſuch a friende as the king of Portingale to ioyne with him in ayde agaynſt the king of Caſtille, meaning as ſoone as oportunity woulde ſerue, to goe ouer with an armie to chalenge his right, and purſue his clayme to the crowne of Caſtille and Leon, agaynſt the vſurper, in ryght of hys wyfe Queene Conſtance, eldeſt daughter to the late lawfull king Peter, whome Henrie the baſtarde (as before ye haue heard) did ſtill perſecute, till he had bereft from him both his life and kingdome. It was ment therefore that if the Duke of Lancaſter coulde compaſſe his purpoſe, for the whiche he went at that tyme into Scotlande, to the honour of the king and Realme, then ſhoulde he ſhortly after follow his brother of Cambridge with a greate power, to trie what chaunce God woulde ſende vnto him, agaynſt his aduerſarie the King of Caſtile. But in the meane tyme other incidents fell within the realme in the fourth yeare of king Richarde, ſore to the diſquieting of the ſame, and vtter diſappoynting for that tyme of the duke of Lancaſters intent.

The commōs by reaſon of the great ſubſidie and other oppreſsiōs riſe in diuers parts of the realme.

Villaines.

The commons of the realme ſore repining, not onely for the pole grotes that were demaunded of them, by reaſon of the graunt made in Parliament (as ye haue heard) but alſo (as ſome write) for that they were ſore oppreſſed as they tooke the matter, by theyr land Lordes, that demaunded of them theyr auncient cuſtomes and ſeruices, ſet on by ſome diueliſhe inſtinct and perſwaſion of theyr owne beaſtly intentions, as men not content with the ſtate whereunto they were called, roſe in diuerſe parts of this realm, and aſſembled togither in companies, purpoſing to enforce the Prince to make them free, and to releaſe them of all ſeruitude, whereby they ſtoode as bondmen to their Lordes and ſuperiors.

The beginning of the rebellion at Derford in Kent.

Where this rebellion of the Cōmons firſt began, diuerſe haue written dyuerſly. One Author writeth, that as he learned by one that was not farre frō the place at that time, the firſt beginning ſhoulde be at Dertford in Kent: For when thoſe pole ſhillings, or rather as other haue, pole grotes, were to bee collected, no ſmall murmuring, curſing, and repyning among the common people, roſe aboute the ſame, and the more in deede, through the lewde demeanour of ſome vndiſcreete officers, that were aſſigned to the gathering thereof, inſomuch that one of thoſe officers being appoynted to gather vppe that money in Dertford aforeſayd, came to ẏ houſe of one Iohn Tyler, that had both ſeruants in his houſe, and a faire yong mayde to his daughter. The officer therefore demaunding money for the ſayde Tyler, and for his wife, his ſeruantes, and daughter, the wife being at home, & hir huſband abrode at worke in the towne, made aunſwere that hyr daughter was not of age, and therefore ſhe denied to pay for hir.

Now here is to be noted, that this mony was in common ſpeech ſaid, to be due for all thoſe that were vndergrowne, bicauſe that yong perſons as well of the man as of the woman kinde, cōming to the age of .xiiij. or .xv. yeares, haue commonly heare growing forth aboute thoſe priuie partes, which for honeſties ſake nature hath taught vs to couer & kepe ſecrete. The officer therfore not ſatiſfied with the mothers excuſe, ſaid he would feele whither hir daughter were of lawfull age or not, and therewith began to miſuſe the mayd, & ſearch further than honeſtie would haue permitted. The mother ſtreight wayes made an outcrie, ſo that hir huſbande being in the towne at worke, & hearing of this ado at his houſe, came running home with his lathing ſtaffe in his hand, and beganne to queſtion with the officer, aſking who made him ſo bolde to keepe ſuche a rule in his houſe: the officer beeing ſomewhat preſumptuous, and highe minded, woulde forthwith haue flowen vpon this Tyler, but the Tyler auoyding the officers blowe, raught him ſuch a rappe on the pate, that his braynes flew out, & ſo preſently he died.

Greate noyſe roſe aboute this matter in the ſtreetes, and the poore folks being glad, euery man arrayed himſelfe to ſupporte Iohn Tyler, and thus the commons drew togyther, and went to Maydſtone, and from thence to blacke Heathe, where their number ſo encreaſed, that they were reckened to be .xxx. thouſand. And the ſayd Iohn Tyler tooke vpon him to be their chiefe captaine, naming himſelfe Iacke Strawe.

Other write ẏ one Thomas Baker of Fobbinges was the firſt that procured ẏ people thus to aſſemble togither: and that one of the kings ſeruants named Iohn Leg, with three of his fellowes, practiſed to feele yong Maydes whether they were vndergrowne (as ye haue heard the officer did at Dertford) which diſhoneſt and vnſeemely kinde of dealing did ſet the people ſtreight in ſuch a rage & vprore, that they cared not what they did to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries.

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But Thomas Walſingham affyrmeth, that the firſt ſparkes of this rebellion kindled in Eſſex, where the inhabitants of two townes only at the firſt that were the authors and firſt ſtirrers of all this miſchief, did ſend vnto euery litle town about that all maner of men, as well thoſe that were aged, as others that were in their luſtieſt time, and youthfull yeres, ſhoulde come to them with ſpeed, ſetting all excuſes apart, in their beſt array and furniture for warre, threatning to ſuche as came not, that their goodes ſhould be ſpoyled, their houſes burnt or caſt downe, and they to loſe theyr heades when they were taken. The terror of this threatning, cauſed the ignorant people to flock to them by heapes, leauing of al their buſineſſe, letting plough and cart ſtand, forſaking wife, children, & houſes, ſo that in a ſhort time there was a fiue.M. gotten togither of thoſe commons & huſbandmen, of which number many were weaponed onely with ſtaues, ſome with ruſtie ſwordes and billes, & other with ſmokie bowes, more ruddie than old Iuerie, not hauing paſt two or three arrowes, & the ſame happely with one feather a peece. Among a thouſand of thoſe kinde of perſons, ye ſhould not haue ſeene one well armed: & yet by reaſon of their multitude, when they were once got togither, they thought the whole realme had not bin able to reſiſt thē: & to make their part the ſtronger, thoſe Eſſex mē ſent ouer into Kent, aduertiſing the people ther of their enterprice, and therfore willed them to make them ready to ioine with them for their obteyning of libertie and reforming of the euil cuſtoms of the realme. Whether the Kentiſhmen through perſwaſions of their neighbors of Eſſex, by occaſion of that which had chaunced at Dertford (as before ye haue heard) or as it may be, the ſame chancing at that ſelf time, they being moued as wel by the one as the other, vp they got (as ye haue heard) and gathering their power out of the next quarters adioyning, by the like pollicie which had bin practiſed by the Eſſex men, they ſtirre vp the moſte part of the country to ioyne with them, and forthwith ſtopping the way, that led to Canterburie, and arreſting all ſuch as paſſed by the ſame, they cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould be true to king Richarde, and to the commons, and neuer to receyue anye king that ſhuld be called Iohn. And this was for the enuie which they bare to the duke of Lancaſter Iohn of Gaunt, who in right of his wife Conſtance, that was daughter to king Peter of Caſtille, did name hymſelfe King of Caſtille.

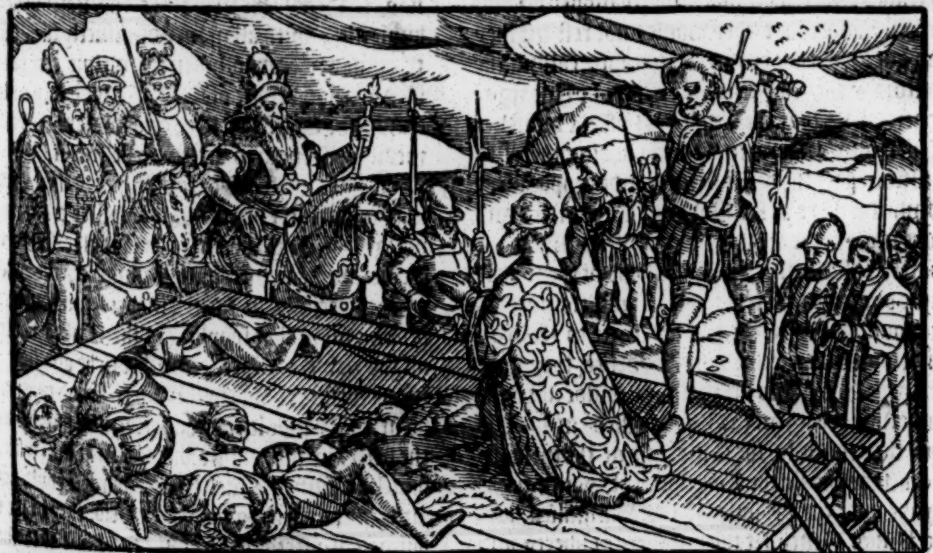
ort of rebels

The oth miniſtred by the rebels to all paſſengers.

Alſo they cauſed them to ſweare that they ſhould be readie to come to them whenſoeuer they ſent for them, aud induce all their neighbours to take part with them. And further that they ſhould neuer yeeld to any taxe to be leuied in the realm, except a fiftenth only. Thus it came to paſſe, that after it was ſpredde abrode what ſturre theſe Eſſex and Kentiſh men kept. The Commons alſo in the counties of Suſſex, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolke, and Norffolke, and other ſhires about buſtled vp and ranne togither on heapes, ſo that the number of thoſe vnruly people maruellouſly encreaſed, in ſuche wiſe as nowe they feare no reſiſtance, and therefore began to ſhewe prouſe of thoſe things which they had before conceyued in their mindes, beheading all ſuch men of law, Iuſtices, and Iurors, as they might catche, and lay

The commons of other ſhires hearing of the ſturre in Kent and Eſſex, riſe in like maner.

Lawiers iuſtices and Iurors brought to blockam feaſte by the rebels.



handes vppon, without all reſpect, pitie, or remorſe of conſcience, alledging that the lande coulde neuer enioy hir natiue and true libertie, till al thoſe ſortes of people wer diſpatched out of the way.

way guiſh

This talke liked well the eares of the cōmon vplādiſh people, & by the leſſe cōueying the more, they purpoſed to burne and deſtroy all Recordes, euidences, Courtrolles, & other minuments, that the remēbrance of auncient matters being remoued out of mind, their Landlordes might not haue wherby to chalēge any right at their hādes. Their number ſtil encreaſed: for all ſuch as were in debt or danger of law, for their miſdemeaners and offences came out of all coaſtes vnto them, ſo that when the Eſſex men, and other of the hither ſide the Thames, were paſſed ouer and ioyned wyth the Kentiſhmẽ, and thoſe that were aſſembled on that ſide the riuer vpon Blackheath, they were eſteemed to be an hundred thouſande, hauing dyuerſe captaines beſides the ſayde Iacke Strawe, as William Wraw, Wat Tyler, Iack Sheepheard, Thom Miller, and Hob Carter. Whyleſt they were lodged on Blackheath, the king ſent to them certaine knightes, to vnderſtande of them the cauſe of their gathering thus togither, to whom anſwere was made, that they were come togither to ſpeake with the king, about certaine cauſes and buſineſſe, and therefore they bad the Meſſengers returne, and declare to the king that there was no remedie but that hee muſte needes come and ſpeake with them.

An huge number of the rebls

Fabian.

Captaines of the Eſſex and Kentiſh rebels

The rebels ſend to the k. to come ſpeake with them.

When this tale was told to the king, there were ſome that thought it beſt that he ſhould go to them, and know what their meaning was: but Simō de Sudburie the Archbiſhop of Cant. that was L. Chancellor, and alſo ſir Robert Hales Lord of S. Iohns, & as then L. Treaſorer, ſpake earneſtly agaynſt that aduiſe, and woulde not by any meanes that the king ſhuld go to ſuch a ſort of barelegged ribalds, but rather they wiſhed that he ſhoulde take ſome order to abate the pride of ſuch vile raſcals. After that the commons vnderſtoode that the king would not come to them, by reaſon of the contrarie aduice giuen to him by thoſe two perſons, the L. Chancellor, and the L. Treaſorer they were maruelouſly moued againſt thẽ, and ſware that they woulde not reſt till they had got thẽ, & chopped off their heades, calling thẽ traytors to the king & realme. There be that write neuertheleſſe, that the king to cut off the branches of ſuch miſchief now in the firſt budding therof, to ſatiſfie in part the deſire of thoſe rude people, went downe the riuer in his Barge to Rethereth, and there neare the ſhore keeping himſelfe ſtil on the water, talked with a great number of them that came downe to the riuer ſide. But forſomuch as he would not come forth of his barge to them on land, which they ſeemed moſt to deſire, they were in a great rage, & ſo for that they coulde not haue him amongeſt them (as they wyſhed) in furious wiſe they runne to the Citie, and at the fyrſt approch, they ſpoyle the Borough of Southwark, breake vppe the pryſons of the Marſhalſea, and the Kings Bench, ſet the priſoners at liberty, and admitte them into their companie.

Il counſayle.

Froiſſart.

The rebels ſpoyle Southwarke, and ſet al priſoners at large.

This was on Corpus Chriſti day, as the ſame Authors write, that the King ſhould thus talke with them: but their firſte entring into Southwarke, was on Corpus Chriſti euen, as Thomas Walſingham hath, paſſing at theyr pleaſure to and fro ouer the bridge all that night: for although the Lorde Maior, and other of the beſt Citizens woulde gladly haue cloſed the gates agaynſt them, yet they durſt not doe it, for feare of the Commons of the Citie, that ſeemed to fauour the cauſe of the rebels, ſo apparauntly, that they threatned to kill both the Lorde Maior, and all other that woulde take vpon them to ſhut the gates againſt the cōmons. The Londoners lyked better of the commons, for that they proteſted the cauſe of their aſſembling togither, was not but to ſeeke out the traytors of the realme, and when they had founde them forth, and puniſhed them according to that they had deſerued, they ment to be quiet. And to giue the more credite to their ſayings, they ſuffred none of their companie to rob or ſpoile, but cauſed them to pay for that they toke. On the morow being Corpus Chriſti day, on the which day it is reported, that the king ſhould talke with them at Rethereth (as before ye haue heard) after that they ſawe that they coulde not haue him to come and talke with thẽ on land as they wiſhed, and that now they had filled their heades full with the fume of ſuch Wines as they dranke in euerie mans Seller that was ſet open for them, enter who would: they fel in talke with the Londoners of many lewde deuiſes, as of the apprehending of traytors, and ſpecially concerning ſuch miſlyking as they had of the Duke of Lancaſter, whom they hated aboue all other perſons. And herevpon agreeing in one minde, after diuerſe other of their outragious doings, they ran the ſame day to the ſayd dukes houſe of the Sauoy, to the whiche in beautie and ſtatelineſſe of building, with all maner of princely furniture, there was not any other in the realme comparable, which in deſpite of the Duke, whō they called traytour, they ſet on fire, and by all wayes and meanes endeuoured vtterly to deſtroy it.

The ſhame[illegible]yle which they there made was wōderful, & yet the zeale of iuſtice, truth, and vpright dealing whiche they woulde ſeeme to ſhewe, was as nice and ſtraunge on the other parte, ſpecially in ſuche kinde of miſgouerned people: for in that ſpoyling of the Dukes houſe, all the Iewels, Plate, and other riche and ſumptuous furniture which they there found in great plentie, they would not that any man ſhould fare the better by it of a mite, but threw al into ÿ fire, ſo to be cōſumed, & ſuch things as ÿ fire could not altogither deſtroy, as plate & iewels, they brake & punned in pieces, throwing the ſame into the Thames. One of them hauing thruſt a fayre ſiluer peece into his boſome, meaning to conuey it away, was eſpied of his fellowes, who toke him, and caſt both him and the peece into the fire, ſaying they might not ſuffer any ſuch thing, ſithe they profeſſed themſelues to bee zealous of truth and iuſtice, and not theeues nor robbers.

There were.xxxij. of them that being gotten into the Seller of the Sauoy, where the Dukes Wines lay, dranke ſo muche of ſuch ſweete wine as they founde there, that they were not able to come forth, but with ſtones and woodde that fell downe as the houſe burned, they were mured in, ſo that oute they coulde not gette. They lay there ſhowting and crying ſeuen dayes togyther, and were hearde of manye, but none came to helpe them, and ſo finally they periſhed.

Now after that theſe wicked people had thus deſtroyed the duke of Lancaſters houſe, and done what they coulde deuiſe to his reproch, they went to the Temple, and burnt the men of lawes lodgings, with their bookes, writings, and all that they might lay hande vpon. Alſo the houſe of S. Johns by Smithfielde they ſet on fire, ſo that it burned for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes togither. On Friday a great number of them, eſteemed to.xx. thouſande, went to the Manour of Heyburie, that belonged alſo to the Lorde of Saint Johns, and ſetting fire on it, ſought vtterly to deſtroy all the whole buildings about it.

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They were nowe deuided into three partes, one vnder the leading of Jacke Strawe tooke in hande to ruinate that houſe, and an other number of them lay on Mile ende greene, and the thirde companie kept vpon the Tower hill, and woulde not ſuffer anye vittayles to be conueyed into the Tower, where the king at that tyme was lodged and was put in ſuche feare by thoſe rude people, that hee ſuffered them to enter into the Tower, where they ſoughte ſo narrowly for the Lorde Chauncellour, that fynding him in the Chapell, they drewe him forth togyther with the Lorde Treaſorer, and on the Tower hill without reuerence of theyr eſtates and degrees, with greate noyſe and fell cryes, they ſtroke off theyr heades.

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There were alſo beheaded the ſame tyme by thoſe rude people, one of the kings ſeruaunts that was a Sergeant at armes called John Legge, who had vſed himſelfe ſomewhat extreemely in gathering vp of the pole money, as by one writer it appeareth.

Alſo to make vp the meſſe, they beheaded a Franciſcan Frier, whom they had taken there the ſame time, for malice of the Duke of Lancaſter, bycauſe he was verie familiar with him.

Walſ.

Some write that this Frier was Confeſſor, and other ſay that he was Phiſition to the King, but whatſoeuer he was, the Commons chopped off his head, to beare the other companie, not ſparing for any reſpect that might be alledged in any of their behalfes.

The ſame day alſo they beheaded manye others, as well Engliſh men as Flemings, for no cauſe in the worlde, but onely to ſatiſfie the crueltie of the Commons, that then were in theyr kingdome, for it was a ſport to them, when they gat any one amongſt them, that was not ſworne to them, and ſeemed to myſlike of their doings, or if they bare but neuer ſo little hatred to him, ſtreyghtwayes to plucke off his hoode, with ſuch a yelling noyſe as they tooke vp amongſt them, and immediatelye to come thronging into the ſtreetes, and ſtryke off hys heade. Neither had they any regarde to ſacred places, for breaking into the Churche of the Auguſtine Friers, they drew forth thirtene Flemings, and beheaded them in the open ſtreetes, and out of the pariſhe Churches in the Citie, they tooke forth. xvij. and lykewyſe ſtroke of theyr heades, wythout reuerence eyther of the Churche, or feare of God. But they continuing in theyr miſchieuous purpoſe, ſhewed their malice ſpecially againſt ſtraungers, ſo that entring into euery ſtreete, lane, and place, where they might finde them, they brake vp their houſes, murthered them whiche they founde wythin, and ſpoyled theyr goodes, in moſt outragious maner.

The raging rebels make a paſtime to kil mē.

No reſpect of place with the rebels.

Likewiſe they entred into Churches (as before yee haue heard) into Abbeyes, Monaſteries, and other houſes, namely of men of law, whiche in ſemblable ſorte they ranſacked. They alſo brake vp the priſons of Newgate, and of both the Counters, deſtroyed the bookes, and ſet priſoners at libertie, and likewiſe the Sanctuarie men of Saint Martyns le grand. And ſo likewiſe dyd they at Weſtminſter, where they brake open the Eſchequer, and deſtroyed the ancient bookes and other Recordes there.

The outragious dealings of the rebels.

They that entred the Tower, vſed themſelues moſt preſumptuouſly, and no leſſe vnreuerently agaynſt the princeſſe of Wales, mother to the K. for thruſting into hir Chāber, they offred to kiſſe hir, and ſwapt themſelues downe vpon hir bed, putting hir into ſuche feare, that ſhee fell into a ſowne, and being taken vp and recouered, was had to the water ſide, and put into a Barge, and cōueyed to the place called the Queenes Wardrobe, or the tower Ryall, where ſhe remayned all that day and night following, as a woman halfe deade, till the King came to recomfort hir.

It was ſtraunge to conſider, in what feare the Lordes, knightes, and gentlemen ſtoode of the cruell proceedings of thoſe rude baſe people. For where there were ſix hūdred armed men, and as many archers in the tower at that preſent, there was not one that durſt gainſay theyr doings. Finally, when they hadde eaſed theyr ſtomackes, wyth the ſpoyling, burning, and defacing of ſundrye places, they became more quiet, and the king by the aduice of ſuch as were the about him, vpon good deliberation of counſaile, offred to thē pardon, and his peace, with condition that they

The K offreth the rebels pardō.

ſhould ceaſe from burning and ruinating of houſes, from killing and murthering of men, and depart euerie man to his home without more adoe, and there to tarrie for the kings Charters confirmatorie of the ſame pardon.

Froiſſart.

The wicked purpoſe of the rebels.

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The Eſſex men were content with this offer, as they that were deſirous to ſee their wiues and children, being waxen wearie of continuall trauaile and paynes which they were conſtrayned to take. The king went forth vnto Mile ende, and there declared vnto the comons that they ſhoulde haue charters made to them of his grãt, to make them all free. And further that euery ſhire, towne, lordſhip and libertie ſhould haue banners of his armes deliuered vnto them, for a confirmation of his graunt. Hereupon they ſeemed well appeaſed, and the king rode to the Queenes Wardrobe, otherwiſe called the Tower ryall, to viſit his mother, and ſo did comfort hir ſo well as he coulde, and taried with hir there all night. The Eſſex men ſatiſfied with the kings promiſes, immediately departed homewarde. They appoynted yet certaine of their companie to remayne ſtill and tarie for the kings Charters. The Kentiſh men alſo remayned, and were as buſie in maner the next day being Saterday, in all kinde of miſchieuous dealings, as they had bene before, to wit in murthering of men, ouerthrowing and burning of houſes. The king therfore ſent vnto them ſuch as declared in what ſort their fellowes were gone home well ſatiſfied, and from thenceforth to liue in quiet, and the ſame forme of peace he was contented to graunt vnto them, if it lyked them to accept the ſame. Hereupon their chiefe captaine Wat Tyler, a verie craftie fellow, and indued with much witte, if he had well applied it, ſayde, that peace indeed he wiſhed, but ſo yet as the conditions might be indited to his purpoſe. He was determined to feede forth the king and his counſaile (bycauſe he was of greater force than they) with cauils and ſhiftes till the next day, that in the night following hee might the more eaſilye haue compaſſed his reſolution, whiche was, hauing all the poorer ſort of the Citie on his ſide, to haue ſpoiled the Citie, and to ſet fire in foure corners of it, killing firſt the king and the Lordes that were aboute him: but hee that reſiſteth the prowd, and giueth his grace to the humble, would not permit the vngracious deuiſes of the naughtie lewde patrone to take place, but ſodainly diſappoynted his miſchieuous drift: for whereas diuerſe fourmes of Charters hadde beene drawne according to the effecte of the agreement with the Eſſex menne, and none of them might pleaſe this Lordelye fellowe, at length the king ſent to him one of his knightes called ſir John Newton, to requeſte him to come to the king, that they might talke of the articles whiche he ſtoode vpon, to haue inſerted in the Charter, of the which one was to haue had a commiſſion to put to death all Lawyers, Eſcheaters, and other which by any office had any thing to do with the lawe, for his meaning was that hauing made all thoſe away that vnderſtoode the lawes, all things ſhould then be ordered according to the will and diſpoſition of the common people. It was reported in deede, that he ſhoulde ſay with greate pride the day before theſe things chaunced, putting his handes to his lippes, that within foure dayes all the lawes of Englande ſhoulde come forth of his mouth. When therefore the ſayde ſir John Newton called vpon him to come away to the king, he anſwered as it were with indignation: If thou (ſayth he) haſt ſo much haſte to returne to the king, thou mayſt depart, I wil come at my pleaſure. When the knight therefore was come from him, he followed indeed, but ſomwhat ſlowly. And when hee was come neare to the place in Smithfielde where the king then was, with certaine Lordes and knightes, and other companie about him, the ſayde Sir John Newton was ſent to him againe, to vnderſtande what he ment. And bycauſe the knight came to him on horſeback, and did not alight from his horſe, Wat Tyler was offended, and ſayde in his furie that it became him rather a foote than horſebacke to approche into his preſence. The knight not able to abide ſuch preſumptuous demeaner in that proud and arrogant perſon, ſhaped him this anſwer: It is not amiſſe that I being on horſebacke, ſhoulde come to thee ſitting on horſebacke, with whiche wordes Wat Tyler taking indignation, drewe out his dagger, menacing to ſtrike ẏ knight, calling him therewith trayter: the knight diſdeyning to be miſuſed at the handes of ſuch a rybauld told him that hee lyed falſely, and with that plucked forth his dagger. Wat Tyler being among hys men, ſhewed that he woulde not beare that iniurie, and forthwith made towardes the knight to runne vpon him. The king perceyuing the knight in daunger, bad him alight from his horſe, and deliuer his dagger to Wat Tyler: but when that woulde not pacifie his prowde and high minde, but that hee woulde needes flie vpon him, the Maior of London William Walworth, and other knightes and Eſquieres that were aboute the king, tolde him that it ſhoulde be a ſhame for them all, if they permitted the knight in theyr preſence before the eyes of their Prince ſo to bee murthered: wherefore they gaue counſaile to ſuccor him forthwith, & to apprehend ẏ vile naughty ribauld. The king though he was but a childe in yeares, yet taking courage to him, commaunded the Maior to arreſt him. The Maior being a mã of incomparable boldneſſe, forthwith rideth to him and arreſted him, in reaching him ſuch a blow on the head, yͤ he ſore aſtonied him therwͭ: & ſtreight wayes other that were aboute the king, as John Standiſh an Eſquier, & diuerſe more of the kings ſeruants drew their ſwordes, & thruſt him through in diuerſe parts of his bodie, ſo that he fell preſently from his horſe downe to the earth, & died there in the place.

When the commons beheld this, they cryed out, our captain is traiterouſly ſlain, let vs ſtande togither, and die with him: let vs ſhoote & reuenge his death manfully: and ſo bending their bowes, made them redy to ſhoot. The king ſhewing both hardineſſe & wiſedome at that inſtant, more than his age required, ſet his ſpurres to his horſe, & rode to them, ſaying, what is the matter my mẽ, what meane you? will you ſhoote at your king? be not troubled nor offended at the death of a traytor & rybauld, I will be your king, captaine and leader, follow me into the fieldes, and you ſhall haue all things that you can deſire. This did the king, to the ende he might appeaſe them, leaſt they ſhould haue ſet fire on the houſes there in Smithfield, & haue attempted ſome further miſchief, in reuenge of the diſpleaſure which they tooke for the death of their chiefe leader. They moued with theſe the kings wordes, followed him and the knights that were with him, into the open fields, not yet reſolued whether they ſhould ſet vpõ the king and ſlea him, or elſe to be quiet, and to returne home with the kings charter.

In the meane time, the Lord Maior of London was returned into the Citie, with one man onely attending vpon him, and cryed to the Citizens, Oh ye good and vertuous Citizens, come forth out of hand, & helpe your king readie to bee ſlaine, and helpe me your Maior ſtanding in the ſame perill, or if yee will not helpe mee for ſome faults committed by me againſt you, yet forſake not your king, but helpe and ſuccour him in thys preſent daunger. When the worſhipfull Citizens and other that in their loial hearts loued the king, had hearde theſe wordes, incontinently they put themſelues in ſtrong and ſure armor, to the number of a thouſand men, and gathering themſelues togither into the ſtreetes, taried but for ſome lord or knight that might conduct them to the King: and by chaunce there came vnto them ſir Robert Knolles, whom all of them requeſted yͤ he would be their leader, leaſt comming out of array & order, they might the ſooner be brokẽ, who willingly led one part of them, and certaine other knights led other of them, clad in faire bright armor vnto the kings preſence: the king with yͤ lords, knights & eſquiers, not a little reioyſed at the comming of thoſe armed men, and ſtreightwayes cõpaſſed the commons about, as they had bin a flock of ſheepe that ſhould haue bin cloſed within ſome folde, till it pleaſed the ſheepheard to appoynt forth, whiche ſhould be thruſt into paſture, & which taken to go to the ſhambels.

The rebels quite diſcoraged threw downe their weapons at the comming of the Londoners in ayde of the King.

There was to be ſeene a maruellous chaunge of the right hand of the lord, to beholde how they throwing downe ſtaues, billes, axes, ſwordes, bowes & arrowes, humbly began to ſue for pardon, which a little before gloried to haue the lyfe of the king, and his ſeruaunts wholy and altogither in their handes, power, and diſpoſition. The poore wretches ſought to hide themſelues in the corne that grew in the fields, in ditches, hedges, and dennes, and whereſoeuer they might get out of the way, ſo to ſafegard their liues. The knights that were with the king would gladly haue beene doing with them, and requeſted licence of him to ſtrike off the heades of ſome one or two hundred of them, that it might bee a witneſſe in time to come, that the force of the order of knighthoode, was able to do ſomewhat agaynſt the Carters & ploughmen: but the king woulde not ſuffer them, alledging that many of them were come thither by compulſion, and not of their owne accord, and therefore it might come to paſſe that thoſe ſhould die for it, that had nothing offended: but he commaũded that there ſhould be proclamation made in Lõdon, that the Citizens ſhould haue no dealings with them, nor ſuffer any of them to come within the Citie that night, but to cauſe them to lie without dores: but yet the charter which they had requeſted, faire written and ſealed, to auoyd a greater miſchiefe, he commaunded for a time to deliuer vnto them, knowing that Eſſex & Kent, were not ſo pacified, but that if they were not the ſooner cõtented, and that partly after their minds, they would vp againe. The tenor of the charter which was got thus by force of the K. was this.

The forme of the kings Charter of Manumiſsion.

The like there was graunted to them of other Countries aſwel to theſe of Herfordſhire in the ſame forme. the names of the counties changed.

Richardus dei gratia, rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus balliuis & fidelibus ſuis, ad quos præſentes litteræ peruenerint, ſalutẽ. Sciatis quod de gratia noſtra ſpeciali manumiſimus vniuerſos ligeos & ſingulos ſubditos noſtros et alios comitatus Hentfordiæ, & ipſos et eorũ quẽlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus & quietos facimus per præſentes ac etiã perdonamus eiſdẽ ligeis ac ſubditis noſtris omnimodas felonias, proditiones, trãſgreßiones, & extortiones, per ipſos vel aliquem eorũ qualitercũq; factas ſiue perpetratas, ac etiã vtlagariam & vtlagarias, ſi qua vel quæ in ipſos vel aliquẽ ipſorum fuerint vel fuerit hys occaſionibus promulgata vel promulgatæ, & ſummã pacem noſtram eis & eorũ cuilibet inde concedimus. In cuius rei teſtimonium has litteras noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud London. xv. die Iunij. Anno regni noſtro quarto.

The towneſmẽ of S. Albõs not yet quieted

The commons hauing obteyned this charter departed home, but ceaſſed not from their riotous demeanour in ſundrie partes of the realme, & eſpecially at S. Albons, where after the townſmen were returned home, they kept ſuch a coile againſt the Abbot and Monkes, to haue certaine auncient

Charters deliuered them that concerned theyr lyberties, & to haue ſuch newe made & deliuered to them as might ſerue theyr purpoſe, that bycauſe ſuch olde Charters as they requeſted were not to be had, the Abbot and Monkes looked euery houre when their houſe ſhoulde be ſet on fire and burnt ouer their heades.

The Prior and certaine other as well Monks as lay men that were ſeruantes to the Abbot, fled for feare of the rage of thoſe miſgouerned people, knowing that they hated them deadly, and therefore loked for no courteſey at their handes. They had obteyned the kings letters vnto the Abbot, commaunding him to deliuer vnto them ſuche Charters as they had gyuen information to be remayning in his hands, ſo that vnder color thereof, they called for thoſe wrytings in moſt importunate wiſe, threatning ſore if they were not brought to lyght, vtterly todeſtroy the houſe by ſetting it on fire.

But to ſpeake of all the vnrulye partes of thoſe vnruly people, it were to long a proceſſe: yet at length after they vnderſtoode howe theyr grande Captaine and cheife ringleader Watte Tyler was ſlaine, they began ſomewhat to aſſwage theyr preſumptuous attemptes, the rather for that there came a knight with the kings letter of protection in behalf of the Abbot and his houſe, and yet they were not ſo calmed, but that they continued in requyring to haue charters made to them by the Abbot of the like forme and effect to that which the king had made, cõcerning the infranchiſing them frõ bondage, whereby they that obteyned ſuch charters tooke themſelues to be diſcharged of all ſeruices and accuſtomed labors, ſo that they ment not to do any further workes, nor yeeld ſuche cuſtomes as before time they vſually had bin accuſtomed to doe and yeelde vnto their Landlordes.

Neither did the towneſmen of S. Albones, and the tenants of other townes & villages theral out that belonged to the Abbey of S. Albones, thus outragiouſly miſdemeane themſelues, but euery where elſe the cõmons kept ſuch like ſtur, ſo that it was rightly called the hurling time; there were ſuch hurly burlyes kept in euery place, to yͤ great daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of all good gouernmẽt in this land: for euen the ſelfſame Saterday after corpus Chriſti day, in Suffolke there were got togither to the number of fiftie M. men, by the ſetting on of Iohn Wraw, a naughtie lewd prieſt, that had bene firſt among the Eſſex men at London, and was ſent downe in all poſt haſt from Wat Tyler, to ſtirre the cõmons in thoſe partes to commit the like miſchiefe as he had ſeene begon about London. Theſe fellowes therefore after they were aſſembled togither, fell to yͤ deſtroying of the manors & houſes of mẽ of law, & ſuch lawyers as they caught, they ſlue, & beheaded ſir Iohn Cauendiſh lord chief Iuſtice of England, and ſet his head vpon the pillorie in the Market place, in S. Edmõdſburie. Alſo ſir Iohn of Cambridge the Prior of S. Edmondſbury, as he would haue fled from them, was taken not far from Mildenhale, and likewiſe beheadded, his bodie being left naked in the open field, and no man preſuming to burie it, during the ſpace of fiue dayes, for feare of the cruell commons. His heade was ſet vpon a pole, & caried before Iohn Wraw and other of thoſe wicked people, the which comming to Burie, and entring the towne in maner of a Proceſſion: when they came into the Market place where the Pillorie ſtood, as it were in a token of the olde friendſhip betwixt the Lord chiefe Iuſtice, and the ſayd Prior, they made ſport with their heades, making them ſomtime as it were to kiſſe, otherwhiles to ſounde in either others eare. After they had taken their paſtime ynough herewith, they ſet both the heads againe aloft vpon the Pillorie.

The hurling tyme.

The outragious dealings of the Suffolke rebels.

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After this, they beheaded an other Monke called Dan Iohn de Lakinghuyth, whoſe head was likewiſe ſet by the other two vpon the Pillorie.

Moreouer, they cauſed the Monkes to come forth and bring vnto them all ſuche obligations in which the towneſmen ſtoode bounde vnto the Monaſterie for their good abearing, likewiſe ſuch charters of liberties of the towne of Burie, which king Knute the founder of the ſayde Monaſterie, and his ſucceſſors had graunted vnto the ſame, which writings whẽ they had brought forth, and proteſted that they knew of no more, the cõmons would ſcarcely beleue them, & therefore called the towneſmen forth, & bad them ſee if yͭ there were al ſuch writings as they thought ſtood with their aduãtage to haue brought to light. The towneſmen feigned as though they had beene ſorie to ſee ſuch rule kept againſt the Monkes, where in deed they had ſet the commons in hande with al theſe things.

To conclude, the Commons tooke thys order with the Monkes, that if the towneſmen might not obteyne their auncient liberties, by the hauing of thoſe writings, they ſhoulde declare what the ſame liberties were, which they were wont to enioy, and the Abbot of Burie, Edmond Brounfield being then in priſon at Notingham whom they purpoſed to deliuer (ſo that he ſhould celebrat diuine ſeruice in his Monaſtery on Midſommer day next) within. xl. dayes after his comming home, ſhould confirme with his ſeale ſuch Charter as was to be deuiſed and made concerning the ſame liberties of the ſaide towneſmen, & the Couent ſhould likewiſe put therevnto their cõmon ſeale.

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They conſtreyned the Monkes further to deliuer vnto the townesmen, a Croſſe and a Chalice of fine golde, and other Iewels that belonged to the Abbey, being in value about yͤ worth of a thouſand poundes in mony, the which was to remaine in the handes of the townesmen, vpon this condition, that if Edmonde Brounfield being deliuered out of priſon enioyed the dignitie of Abbot there, and with all put his ſeale togither with the Couent ſeale within the tyme limitted, vnto a wryting that ſhould conteine the liberties of the towne, that then the ſame Croſſe, Chalice, and other Iewels ſhoulde bee reſtored vnto the Monaſterie, or elſe the ſame to remaine for euer to the Townesmen as forfeyted: ſuche were the doings of thoſe Rebels in and about the towne of Burie, and the like diſorders and breach of peace followed by the Commotions of the Commons in Cambridgeſhire, and in the Ile of Elie, reſembling the others in ſlaughters of men, deſtroying of houſes, and all other ſortes of miſchiefe. In like maner in Norffolke there was aſſembled an huge number of thoſe vnruly Countrey people, whiche vnder the guiding of a dier of cloth, cõmonly called John Litteſter, that had dwelt in Norwiche, attempted and did all ſuch vngracious feates, as they had heard that other did in other partes of the realme, yea and greater alſo, putting forth their handes vnto rapine & robbery. And whereas they were wholy conſpired togither, and bent to commit all kind of miſchiefe, yet eſteeming their own authoritie to bee ſmall, they purpoſed to haue brought William Vfford Erle of Suffolke into their felowſhip, yͭ if afterwardes they might happily be impeached hereafter, for ſuch their naughty & moſt wicked doings, they might haue had ſome ſhadow or color, as it were through him, why they had delt in ſuch vnruly ſort. But the Erle aduertiſed of their intention ſodenly, roſe from ſupper, and got him away by vnknowne wayes, ſtil fleeing from the Commons, till at length hee got to Saint Albones, and ſo from thence to the king.

The commons miſſing of their purpoſe for the hauing of him, layd hold vpon al ſuch knights and other gentlemen as came in their way, and and were found at home in their houſes, compelling them to be ſworne to them, and to ride with them through the Countrey, as the Lord Scales, William Lord Morley, ſir John Brewes, ſir Stephen Hales, and ſir Robert Salle, which ſir Robert continued not long aliue among them, for he could not diſſemble as the reſidue, but begã to reproue openly their naughty doings, for the which he had his braynes daſht out by a Cõtrey Clowne, one that was his bondman, and ſo hee ended his life, who if he might haue come to haue tryed his manhoode and ſtrength with them in plaine battaile, had bene able to haue put a thouſande of thoſe villaynes in feare, his valiancie and prowes was ſuch.

The reſidue taught by hys example that they muſt either diſſemble or die for it, were glad to curry fauor, praysing or diſpraysing all things as they ſawe the Commons affected, and ſo comming into credite with their chieftaine John Litteſter, that named himſelf king of the cõmõs, they were preferred to ſerue him at the table in taking the aſſay of his meates and drinkes, and doing other ſeruice, with kneling humbly before him as hee ſate at meate, as ſir Stephen Hales who was appoynted his caruer, & others had other offices aſſigned them. At length when thoſe Commons beganne to waxe wearie of taking paynes in euill doings, they toke counſaile togither, and agreed to ſende two knights, to wit, the lord Morley, and ſir John Brewes, & three of the Commons in whom they put great confidence, vnto the king, to obtaine theyr charter of manumiſſiõ & enfranchiſing, & to haue the ſame charter more larger thã thoſe that were granted to other coũtreys: they deliuered great ſummes of money vnto thoſe whõ they ſent, to beſtow the ſame for the obteining of pardon, and ſuch graunts as they ſued for, which money they had gotte by force of the Citizens of Norwich, to ſaue the Citie from fire and ſacking.

The captaine of the Norfolke rebels forceth the noble men and gentlemen to ſerue him at the table.

These knights as they were on their iourney, at Ichingham not farre diſtant from Newmarket, not looking for any ſuch thing mette with ſir Henrie Spencer Biſhoppe of Norwich, a man more fitte for the field than the Church, and better ſkilled (as may appere) in armes than in diuinitie. This biſhop had aduertiſemẽts at his Manor of Burley neare to Okam in the partyes about Stanford, of the ſturre which the Commõs in Norffolk kept, and therevpon reſolued ſtreightwayes to ſee what rule there was holden. He had in his companie at that time, not paſt an eight launces, and a ſmall number of Archers.

A warlike Biſhop.

The Biſhop meeting thus with the knights, examined them ſtreight wayes if there were any of the traitours there with them.

The knights at the firſt were doubtfull to bewray theyr aſſociates: but at length enboldned by the Biſhops wordes, declared that two of the chiefe doers in the Rebellion were there preſent, and the thirde was gone to prouide for their dinner.

The Biſhop ſtreight wayes commaunded thoſe two to be made ſhorter by the head, and the thirde hee hymſelfe went to ſeeke, as one of his Sheepe that was loſt, not to bring hym home to the folde, but to the ſlaughter houſe, as he had well deſerued in the Biſhops opinion, ſith he had ſo miſchieuouſlye gone aſtraye and alienated himſelfe from his dutifull allegiance.

Theſe perſons being executed, and their heads pight on the endes of polles, & ſo ſet vp at Newmarket, the Biſhop with the knightes tooke their way with all ſpeede towardes Northwalſham in Norffolk, where the Commons were purpoſed to ſtay for anſwere from the king: and as hee paſſed through the Countrey, his number encreaſed, for the knights and gentlemen of the Countrey, hearing how their biſhop had taken his ſpeare in hãd, and was come into the fielde armed, they ioyne themſelues with him. When therefore the biſhop was come into the place where the cõmons were encãped, he perceyued that they had fortified their campe verie ſtrongly with ditches, and ſuch other ſtuffe as they could make ſhift of, as doores, windowes, boords, and tables, and behinde them were all their cariages placed, ſo that it ſeemed they ment not to flee. Herewith the biſhop being chafed with the preſumptuous boldnes of ſuch a ſort of diſordered perſons, commaunded his trumpets to ſound to the battaile, and with the ſpeare in the areſt, he chargeth them with ſuch violence, that he goeth ouer the ditch, and layeth ſo about hym, that through his manful doings, all his company found meanes to paſſe the ditch likewiſe, and ſo therewith followed a right ſore and terrible fight, both partes doing their beſt to vanquiſh the other: but finally the cõmons were ouercom, and driuen to ſeeke their ſafegarde by flight, which was ſore hindered by their cariages that ſtood behind them, ouer the which they were forced to clime & leape ſo well as they might. John Litteſter and other chiefe captaines were taken aliue. The Biſhop therefore cauſed the ſayd Litteſter to be arreigned of his treaſon, and condemned, and ſo hee was drawne, hanged, and headed according to the iudgement.

Spencer biſhop of Norwich goeth as captaine againſt the Rebels.

The fortefying of the Rebels campe.

The Biſhop is the firſt man that chargeth the rebels in their campe.

The Norffolk rebels vanquiſhed.

The Biſhop heard his confeſſion, and by vertue of his office aſſoyled him; and to ſhewe ſome parcell of ſorowing for the mans miſchaunce, hee went with him to the gallowes. But it ſeemed that pitie wrought not with the biſhop, to quench the zeale of iuſtice: for he cauſed not Litteſter only to be executed, but ſought for al other that were the chiefe doers in that rebellion, cauſing them to be put vnto death; and ſo by that meanes quieted the Countrey.

To recite what was done in euery part of the realme in time of thoſe helliſhe troubles, it is not poſſible but this is to be conſidered, that the rage of the cõmons was vniuerſally ſuch, as it might ſeeme they had generally conſpired togither, to do what miſchiefe they could deuiſe, as among ſundrie other, what wickedneſſe was to compell teachers of children in grammer ſchooles to ſweare neuer to inſtruct any in their arte? Againe could they haue a more miſchieuous meaning, than to burne and deſtroy al olde & auncient monumẽts, and to murther & diſpatch out of the way al ſuche as were able to cõmit to memorie, either any new or old recordes: for it was dangerous among the to be knowne for one that was lerned, & more dãgerous, if any man were found with a penner & ynkhorne at his ſide: for ſuch ſeldom or neuer eſcaped from them with life. But to returne to ſay ſomwhat more concerning the end of their rebellious enterpriſes, you muſt vnderſtand, that after that Watte Tyler was ſlaine at London in the preſence of the king (as before ye haue heard) the hope and confidence of the rebels greatly decaied: and yet neuertheleſſe, the king and his counſaile being not wel aſſured, granted to the cõmons (as ye haue heard) charters of Manumiſſion, & enfrãchiſement from all bondage, & ſo ſent them away home to their coũtries: & forthwith herevpon hee aſſembled an army of the Lõdoners, & of al others in the countreys abrode that bare him good will, apointing none to come, but ſuch as were armed & had horſes, for he would haue no footemen with him. This it came to paſſe, that within three days he had about him .xl. thouſand horſemen, as was eſteemed, ſo that in Englande had not bene heard of the like army aſſembled togither at one tyme. And herewith was the king aduertiſed, that the Kentiſh men beganne eftſoones to ſtyrre, wherewith the king & the whole army were ſo grieuouſly offended, that they ment ſtreyght to haue ſette vpon that Country, and to haue wholy deſtroyed that rebellious generation, but through interceſſion made by the Lordes and Gentlemen of that Countrey, the King pacified his moode, and ſo reſolued to proceede agaynſt them by order of law and iuſtice, cauſing Judges to ſit & to make inquiſition of the Malefactors, & eſpecially of ſuch as were authors of the miſchiefes. And about the ſame time did the Maior of London ſit in iudgement as well vppon the offenders that were Citizens, as of other that were of Kent, Eſſex, Southſex, Norffolk, Suffolk, and other coũties, being found within the liberties of the citie, and ſuch as were founde culpable he cauſed them to loſe their heades, as Jack Straw, John Kirkby, Alane Tredera, and John Sterling, that gloryed of himſelf, for that he was the man that had ſlaine the Archbiſhop.

This fellow (as it is written by ſome Authors) ſtreight wayes after he had done that wicked deed, fell out of his wittes, and cõming home into Eſſex where he dwelt, tied a naked ſword about his neck, that hung down before on his breſt and likewiſe a dagger naked, that hanged downe behind on his backe, & ſo went vp and downe the lanes and ſtreetes about home, crying out, & proteſting, that with thoſe weapõs he had diſpatched ẏ Archb. & after he had remained a while at home, he hee came to London agayne, for that hee ſhoulde receyue as hee ſayde the rewarde there, of the acte whiche he had committed: and ſo in deede, when he came thither, and boldly confeſſed that he was the man that had beheaded the Archbyſhoppe, he loſt his head in ſtead of a recompence: & diuers other both of Eſſex and Kent that had layd violẽt hãds vpõ the Archb. came to the like end at London, where they did the deede, being bewrayed by their owne confeſſions. Here is to be remembred, that the K. after the Citie of London was delyuered from the daunger of the Rebels (as before ye haue heard) in reſpect of the greate manhoode, & aſſured loyaltie which had appeared in the Mayor, and other of the Aldermen, for ſome parte of recompence of their faithfull aſſiſtance in that dangerous ſeaſon, made the ſayd Mayor Williã Walworth Knighte, with fiue other Aldermen, his brethren, to witte, Nicholas Bramble, John Philpot, Nicholas Twyford, Robert Laundre, and Robert Gayton, alſo John Standiſhe, that as ye haue heard, holp to ſlay Wat Tyler.

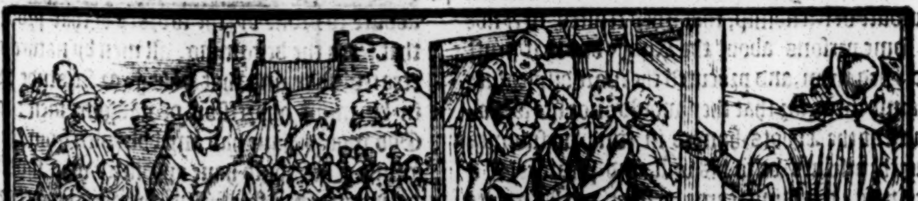
Moreouer, the K. granted, that there ſhoulde be a dagger added to the armes of the citie of Lõdon, in the right quarter of the ſhield, for an augmentation of the ſame armes, and for a remembrance of this Maior, his valiant acte, as doth appeare vnto this daye, for till that time, the Citie bare only the Croſſe, without the dagger.

Although the kings authoritie thus began to ſhew it ſelf to the terror of rebels, yet the cõmons of Eſſex eftſoones aſſembled themſelues togither, not farre from Hatfield Peuerell, and ſente to the Kyng to knowe of him if his pleaſure was, that they ſhoulde enioy their promiſed liberties: and further, that they might be as free, as their Lords, and not to come to any Court, except it were to the great Leete, twice in the yere. When the king hearde ſuche preſumptuous requeſts, he was in a great chafe, and diſpatched the meſſengers away, with a ſore threatning anſwer, ſaying, ẏ bondmẽ they were, & bondmen they ſhould be, and that in more vile maner than before, to the terrible example of all other that ſhoulde attempt any the lyke diſorders: and forthwith, the Earle of Buckingham, and the Lorde Thomas Percy, brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, were ſente with an army, to repreſſe thoſe Rebels, whome they founde fortifyed within woodes, hedges and diches very ſtrongly: but with ſmall adoe they were put to flighte, and a fiue hundred of them ſlayne, the reſidue ſaued thẽſelues as well as they might, by ſuccour of the woddes. There were an eyghte hundred horſes alſo taken, whiche thoſe Rebels had there with them, to drawe and carrie theyr baggage. Thoſe of the Rebels that eſcaped, were not yet ſo tamed by that ouerthrowe, but that aſſembling themſelues togither, they made towards Colcheſter: and comming thither, would haue perſwaded the Towneſmen to haue ioyned with them in a new Rebellion. But when they coulde not bring their purpoſe to paſſe, they marched towards Sudbury. The Lord Fitz Walter, and Sir John Harleſton vnderſtanding whyche way they tooke, followed them, with a company of armed men, and ſuddaynely ſetting vpon them as they were making their proclamations, ſlewe of them ſo many as it liked them, and the other they ſaued, and ſuffered to departe, or elſe committed them to priſon.

The Rebels of Eſſex are ſcattered & ſlaine

After this, the King came to Hauering at the bowre, and from thence to Chelmeſford, where he appoynted ſir Robert Triſilian to ſit in Iudgement of the offendors, and Rebelles of that coũtrey, wherevppon, an inqueſt beeing choſen, a greate number were indicted, arraigned, and founde giltie, ſo that vppon ſome one gallowes, there were nyne or tenne hanged togither.

Fabian.



The Rebels executed in euery lordſhip.

In euerie countrie were like enquiries made, and the chiefe offendors apprehended and put to death in euery Lordſhip through the Realme, where any of them were detected by tenne, by twelue, twentie, thirtie, yea and in ſome places by fortie at once, ſo that the whole number grew to fifteene hundred and aboue.

Froiſſart.

At the firſte, when the Kings Iuſtices began to ſitte in Eſſex, Kent, and at London, by reaſon of the multitude that were to bee executed, they onely chopped off their heads, but afterwardes when that kinde of death ſeemed too cloſe and ſecrete for ſo open offences, they proceeded according to the accuſtomed lawe of the Realme, by condemning them to be drawen and hanged, and according therevnto, they were executed.

The King calleth in hys letters of enfranchiſing graunted to the bondmen.

In the meane time, the King by the aduice of his counſell, directed his letters reuocatory into euery Countie there, to bee proclaymed in euery Citie, borrow towne, and place, as well within the liberties as without, by the whiche letters hee reuoked, made voyde, and fruſtrate his former letters, of enfranchiſing the bond men of hys Realme, and commaunded that ſuch as had the ſame letters, ſhoulde withoute delay bring them in, and reſtore them to him and his counſell to be cancelled, as they woulde aunſwere vppon theyr faith and allegiance whiche they ought to hym, and vppon payne of forfeiting all that they had. The date of whiche letters reuocatorie, was at Chelmeſforde, the ſecond day of Iuly, in the fifth yere of his raigne.

The King remoueth to S. Albons.

When the King had quieted the countrey of Eſſex, and puniſhed ſuche as were the chiefe ſtirrers of that wicked commotion in thoſe parties, he went to Saint Albons to ſee iuſtice done vpon ſuche as hadde demeaned themſelues moſt preſumptuouſly againſte the Kinges peace in that towne, namely againſte the Abbot and hys houſe, and ſought to defende themſelues, vnder a coloure of friendſhip, that they truſted to fynde in ſome perſons about the King: but that truſt deceyued them, and procured the more diſpleaſure againſt them, for that they woulde not ſue for fauoure at the Abbots handes in time, by ſubmitting themſelues vnto his will and pleaſure. To bee briefe, the King came thither with a greate number of armed men and archers, and cauſed his Iuſtice ſir Robert Triſilian to ſitte in iudgement vpon the malefactors, that were broughte thither from Hertford Iayle.

Iohn Ball.

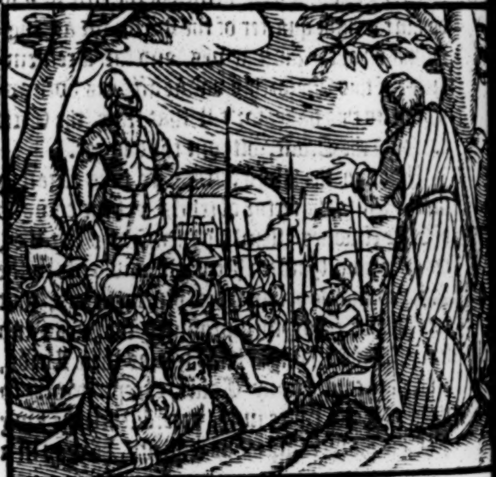
Thither was broughte alſo to the King from Couentrie, Iohn Ball Prieſt, whome the Citizens of Couentrie hadde taken, and now heere at Saint Albons they preſented him to the Kings preſence, wherevpon, he was arreigned and condemned, to bee drawen, hanged and headed for ſuche notable treaſons as hee was there conuicted of. Hee receyued iudgement vpon the Saterday the firſte day that the ſayde Sir Robert Triſilian ſate in Iudgement, but he was not executed till the Monday following.

Iohn Ba prophec

This man hadde bin a Preacher the ſpace of twentie yeres, and bycauſe his doctrine was not according to the religion then by the Biſhoppes mainteined, he was firſte prohibited to preache in any churche or chappell, and when he ceaſſed not for all that, but ſet forth his doctrine in the ſtreets and fieldes where he mighte haue audience, at length hee was committed to priſon, out of the whiche he prophecied, that he ſhoulde be deliuered with the force of twentie thouſand men, and euen ſo it came to paſſe in time of the rebellion of the commons.

Iohn B ſermo Rebels

When all the priſons were broken vppe, and the priſoners ſette at libertie, hee beeing therefore ſo deliuered, followed them, and at Blacke heath when the greateſt multitude was there got togither, as ſome write, he made a ſermõ, taking this ſaying or commõ prouerbe for his theme, VVhen Adam delfe, and Eue ſpanne, who was then a gentleman, and ſo continuing his ſermon, wente about to proue by the wordes of that prouerbe, that from the beginning, all men by nature were created alike, and that bõdage or ſeruitude came in by iniuſt oppreſſion of naughtie men: for if God would haue had any bondmen from the beginning, he would haue appointed who ſhould be bonde and who free. And therefore hee exhorted them to conſider, that nowe the time was come appointed to them by God, in whiche they might if they woulde, caſt off the yoke of bondage, and recouer libertie. Hee counſelled them therefore to remember themſelues, and to take good hearts vnto them, that after the maner of a good huſbandman that tilled hys grounde, and ridde out thereof ſuche euill weedes as choked and deſtroyed the good corne, they mighte deſtroye firſte the greate Lordes of the Realme, and after the Iudges and Lawyers, Queſtmongers and



all other whome they vndertooke to be againſte the commons, for ſo mighte they procure peace and ſuretie to them ſelues in time to come, if diſpatching out of the way the greate men, there ſhoulde bee an equalitie in libertie, no difference in degrees of nobilitie, but a like dignitie and equall authoritie in all things brought in among them. When he had preached and ſet forth ſuch kynde of doctrine, and other the like fonde and fooliſhe toyes vnto the people, they extolled hym to the Starres, affirming that hee ought to bee Archbiſhop and Lord Chancellor, where he that then enioyed thoſe roomthes, meaning Sir Simon de Sudburie that then was aliue, was a Traytor to the King and Realme, and worthy to loſe his head, whereſoeuer he mighte be apprehended. Many other things are reported by writers of this John Ball, as the letter, which vnder a kinde of darke ryddelles he wrote to the Captayne of the Eſſex Rebels, the copie wherof was founde in one of theyr purſes that was executed at London, the tenor whereof was as followeth.

IOhn Scheepe Saint Marie Prieſt of Yorke, and nowe of Colcheſter, greeteth well John nameleſſe, and John the Miller, and John Carter, and biddeth them that they beware of guyle in Bourrough, and ſtande togither in Goddes name, and biddeth Piers Plowman goe to hys worke, and chaſtiſe well Hob the robber, and take with you John Trewman, and all his fellowes, and no moe. John the Miller ẏ ground ſmall, ſmall, ſmall, the Kyngs ſonne of heauen ſhall pay for all. Beware or yee bee woe, knowe your friend from youre foe, haue ynough, and ſay whoe, and do well and better, flee ſynne and ſeeke peace, and holde you therein, and ſo biddeth John Trewman, and all his fellowes.

This letter he confeſſed himſelf to haue written, as Thomas Walſ. affirmeth, with many other things which he had done and committed, to the diſquieting of the Realme, for the whiche hee was drawen, hanged, and beheaded at Sainct Albons, the fifteenth of July, being Monday, in this fifth yeare of King Richards raigne.

The ſame day, the Kings Juſtice, ſir Roberte Triſilian, ſate vpon the Rebels of Saint Albōs, and other of the Countrey of Hertforde, afore whome, by ſuche policie as he vſed, there were a great number endited, and diuers being arreigned, were found giltie, as William Grindecobbe, William Cadindon, John Barbor, and certaine others, which were hanged and drawen, to the number of fifteene perſons in all, diuers chiefe men of the Towne were committed to priſon, as Richard Wallingforde, John Garleeke, William Berewill, Thomas Putor, and others of the Countrey about. There were committed to priſon to the number of foureſcore perſons, the which neuertheleſſe, by the Kyngs pardon, were releaſſed, and diſmiſſed.

The hatred which the Towneſmen had conceyued againſte the Abbot and couent of Sainct Albons, was ſurely greate, and manye deuiſes they had to haue ſaued thoſe that were executed. And where as well the Towneſmen, as other of the Abbots and conuẽts tenauntes, both of Hertfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, had gotten of the Abbot and Conuent letters of diſcharge, from doing any bound ſeruice, the King directed hys letters vnto certaine Commiſſioners, as to John Ludowicke, John Weſtwicombe, John Kenting, Richarde Peters, Walter Saunforde, Richard Gifforde, Thomas Eydon, and to William Eccleſhal, commaunding them to cauſe proclamation to bee made in all ſuche townes and places as were thought neceſſarie, through the whole countreys of Buckingham and Hertford, that all and euery perſon and perſons that ought and hadde bin accuſtomed to doe or yeelde anye maner of ſeruices, cuſtomes, or dueties, whether they were bound men or free, vnto the ſayde Abbot and Couente of Saint Albons, ſhoulde doe and yeelde the ſame ſeruices, cuſtomes and dueties, in ſuche like forme and manner, as they had bin vſed to doe, before the time of the late troubles, and not to chalenge or clayme any libertie or priuiledge whiche they enioyed not before the ſame troubles, vpon their faith and allegiance in whiche they ſtoode bound to him, and vpō payne to forfaite all that they might forfait: and in caſe any were founde to doe contrary thereunto, the ſame commiſſioners hadde authoritie, and were commaunded to arreſt and empriſon them, till for their further puniſhment, order mighte be taken.

The Kyng calleth in by proclamation all ſuch letters of manumiſsion, as the Abbot of ſaint Albons had graunted to his bondmen.

On Saint Margarets day, the Kyng beyng ready to take his iourney to Berkhamſteede in the greate Court of the Abbey of Saint Albons, had all the commons of the countie of Hertforde before him, that had ſummons there to appeare, all that were betwixt fifteene and threeſcore yeres of age, where they tooke an othe, togither from thenceforth, to be faithfull ſubiects vnto him, and neuer to riſe or make any commotion, to the diſturbance of his peace, and rather to die, than to conſente vnto anye rebellious perſons, whome they ſhoulde to the vttermoſt of their powers doe their beſt, to apprehende and deliuer them to the Kings priſon, that they mighte be forthe comming.

The commons of Hertfordſhire ſworne to the Kyng.

After they had receyued this othe, they were licenced to depart, and the King rode to Berkhamſteede, where hee remained for a time, and after went to Eſthamſteede to recreate himſelfe with hunting, where hee was enformed, that thoſe which were hanged at Saint Albons, were taken from the gallowes, and remoued a good way from the ſame: with which preſumption he was ſo ſtirred, that he ſent forthwith his letters to the Bayliſes of the Towne of Saint Albons, commaunding them vppon the ſighte of the ſame, to cauſe cheynes to be made, and to bring the ſayde bodyes backe vnto the gallowes, and to hang them in thoſe chaynes vpon the ſame gallowes, there to remayne, ſo long as one peece myghte ſticke to an other, according to the forme of the iudgement giuen. The teſte of this writ thus directed to the Bayliſes of Saint Albons, was at Eſthamſteede the thirde of Auguſt, in the fifth yeare of this kings raigne. The Townſmen of S. Albons durſt not diſobey the kings commandement, and ſo hanged vp againe in cheynes the dead bodies of their neighbours, greatly to theyr ſhame and reproch, when they could get none other for anye wages, to come neere the ſtincking carcaſſes, but that they were conſtreyned themſelues to take in hande ſo vile an office. And ſuch was the ende of the tumultes at Saint Albons, where as well as in other places, the vnruly cōmons had played their partes. To conclude and make an ende of theſe diueliſh troubles, to yͤ ende it may appeare, in what daunger as well the K. as whole ſtate of the Realme ſtoode, by the miſcheuous attemptes of the vnruly people, I haue thoughte good to declare the confeſſion of Iacke Strawe one of their chiefe Captaynes (and next in reputation amongſt them vnto Watte Tyler) when he came to be executed in London. The ſame time (ſaid he) that we were aſſembled vpon Blackeheath, and hadde ſente to the king to come vnto vs, our purpoſe was to haue ſlayne al ſuche Knightes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen as ſhould haue giuen their attendance thither vppon hym: and as for the King, we woulde haue kepte hym amongſt vs, to the ende that the people myghte more boldly haue repaired to vs, ſith they ſhoulde haue thought, that whatſoeuer we did, the ſame had bin done by his authoritie. Finally when we had got power ynough, that we needed not to feare any force that might be made forth againſt vs, we would haue ſlayne all ſuch noble men, as mighte either haue giuen counſell, or made anye reſiſtance againſte vs, ſpecially, the Knightes of the Rhodes, and laſtly, wee woulde haue kylled the Kyng and all menne of poſſeſſions, with Byſhoppes, Monkes, Chanons, and parſons of Churches, onely Friers Mendicants we would haue ſpared, that myghte haue ſuffiſed for the miniſtration of the Sacramentes, and when we hadde made a riddance of all thoſe, wee woulde haue deuiſed lawes, according to the whych, the ſubiectes of thys Realme ſhoulde haue liued, for we woulde haue created Kyngs, as Watte Tyler in Kente, and other in other Countreys: but bycauſe thys oure purpoſe was diſappoynted by the Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, that woulde not permitte the King to come vnto vs, wee ſought by all meanes to diſpatch hym out of the way, as at length we did.

The confeſsiō of Iacke Straw at the time of his death.

Moreouer, the ſame euening that Watte Tiler was kylled, wee were determined, hauyng the greateſt parte of the commons of the Citie bent to ioyne with vs, to haue ſette fyre in foure corners of the Citie, and ſo to haue deuided amongſt vs the ſpoyle of the chiefeſt ryches that myghte haue beene founde at oure pleaſure, and thys (ſayde hee) was oure purpoſe, as God maye help me now at my laſt ende.

Thus maye you ſee, after what ſorte they were conſpired, to the deſtruction of the Realme. And leaſt this one mans confeſſion might ſeeme inſufficiente, diuers other of them confeſſed the ſame, or muchwhat the lyke in effect, when they ſawe no remedie, but preſente deathe before their eyes.

To declare the occaſion why ſuche miſchiefes happened thus in the Realme, wee leaue to the iudgemente of thoſe that maye coniecture a troth thereof, by conferring the manners of that age and behauior of all ſtates then, ſith they that wrote in thoſe dayes, maye happely in that behalfe miſſe the trueth, in conſtruing things, according to theyr affections: but truely it is to bee thoughte, that the faultes, as well in one degree, as other, ſpecially the ſynnes of the whole nation, procured ſuche vengeaunce to riſe, whereby they myghte bee warned of theyr euill doings, and ſeeke to reforme the ſame in tyme conuenient, But as it commeth ſtill to paſſe, when the daunger is once ouerſhotte, repentaunce lykewiſe is putte ouer, and is no more regarded, till an other ſcourge commeth eftſoones to putte menne in remembraunce of theyr duetie, ſo in lyke manner as ſeemeth, it chaunced in this Kynges dayes, as by that whiche followeth it may more playnely appeare.

In thys meane tyme that theſe troubles were at the hotteſt in Englande, the Duke of Lancaſter beeyng in Scotlande, ſo behaued hymſelfe (in the treatie whyche hee hadde in hande with the Scottes, diſſembling the matter ſo, as if he had not vnderſtoode of any trouble in Englande at all, that finallye before the Scottes hadde knowledge thereof, a truce was concluded to endure (for two yeares) or as other haue, for three yeares. When hee hadde made an ende there, and that all thyngs were agreed vppon and paſſed, for the confirmation of that accorde, hee returned to Berwike, but at his comming thither, the Captayne ſir Mathew Redmã would not ſuffer him to enter yͤ towne, bycauſe of a commaundement giuen to him frõ the Earle of Northumberlande, Lord Warden of the marches: wherefore the Duke was glad to returne into Scotlande agayne, obteyning licence of the Scottes to remayne amongſt them, till the Realme of England was reduced to better quiet. Herevpon, the Commons in England that fauored hym not, tooke occaſion to reporte the worſt of hym that myghte bee deuiſed, calling him nowe in tyme of their rebellious commotions, a traytor to the Realme, declaring that hee hadde ioyned hymſelfe to the Scottes, and meant to take part with them, againſt his owne natiue countrey.

The Kyng in deede hadde ſente commaundementes during the time of the rebellious troubles, vnto the Earle of Northumberlande, that hee ſhoulde haue good regard to the ſafekeeping of all the Townes and Caſtels vnder his rule, and not to ſuffer anye perſon to enter the ſame, hauing forgot to except the Duke of Lancaſter beeyng then in Scotlande: whereuppon the Duke tooke no ſmall diſpleaſure with the Earle of Northumberlande, as after hee well ſhewed at hys cõming home. But before hee returned forth of Scotlande, he wrote to the Kyng, to vnderſtãd his pleaſure, in what ſort he ſhould returne, humbling hymſelfe in ſuch wiſe, as hee made offer to come with one Knight, one Eſquier, & a grome, if it ſhould pleaſe the Kyng ſo to appoynt him, or if it ſo were that by his preſence it was thoughte the Realme was like to fall in anye trouble, hee was ready to departe into exile, neuer to returne into his Countrey agayne, if ſo bee that through his abſence the King and Realme mighte enioy peace and quietneſſe.

The Kyng hearing ſuch offers, wrote to him, that his pleaſure was to haue hym to returne home, with all hys whole trayne, and if the ſame were not thoughte ſufficiente to guarde him, hee ſhould take of euery Towne by the which he paſſed, a certayne nũber of men to attend hym vnto the next Towne for hys ſafegarde, and ſo it was done, the Kyng ſending him commiſſion to that effect, and thus cõming to the Courte, he was of the Kyng right honorably receyued.

Within a few dayes after his commyng, hee exhibited a greeuous complaynte agaynſt yͤ Erle of Northumberland, for abuſing hym in dyuers ſortes, in time of the late troubles, ſo as his honor was greatly thereby touched, for whych the Earle was ſente for, and commaunded to come vnto Barkhamſteede, where all the Lordes in manner of the land were aſſembled in Counſell.

Heere, after the Duke had layde dyuers things to the Earles charge, for his diſobedience, vnfaithfulneſſe, and ingratitude, the Earle after the manner of his Countrey, not able to forbeare, brake out into reprochfull wordes againſte the Duke, although hee was commaunded by the Kyng to ceaſſe, where the Duke kept ſilence in humble manner, at the firſt word, when the king commaunded hym to holde his peace, ſo that by reaſon of the Earles diſobedience in that behalfe, he was arreſted. But yet the Erles of Warwike and Suffolke vndertaking for his appearance at the nexte Parliament, he was ſuffered to depart, and ſo the Counſell brake vp.

The duke of Lancaſter and the Earle of Northumberland come to the parliamẽt with greate troupes of armed men.

About the feaſt of all Sainctes, the Parliamente beganne, to the whiche the Duke of Lancaſter came, bringing with him an exceedyng number of armed men, and lykewiſe the Earle of Northumberlande, with no leſſe company came likewiſe to London, and was lodged within the Citie, hauing great friendſhip ſhewed towardes hym of the Citizens, who promiſed to aſſiſt hym at all tymes, when neceſſitie required, ſo that hys parte ſeemed to bee ouerſtrong for the Duke, if they ſhoulde haue come to any triall of their forces at that time.

The Londoners, frends to the Earle of Northumberlande.

The Duke laye with his people in the ſuburbes, and euery day when they went to the Parliament houſe at Weſtminſter, both partes went thither in armour, to the great terror of thoſe that were wiſe and graue perſonages, fearing ſome miſchiefe to fall forth of that vnaccuſtomed maner of theyr goyng armed to the Parliamente houſe, contrary to the auntient vſage of yͤ realme. At length, to quiet the parties, and to auoyde ſuche inconueniences as mighte haue growen of theyr diſſention, the Kyng tooke the matter into hys handes, and ſo they were made friendes, to the ende that ſome good myghte bee done in that Parliamente, for reformation of things touching the ſtate of the Realme, for whiche cauſe, it was eſpecially called: but nowe after it had continued a long tyme, and fewe things at all concluded, newes came, that the Lady Anne, ſiſter to the Emperoure Wenſlaus, and fyanced wife to the Kyng of England, was come to Caleis, whereuppon, the Parliamente was prorogued till after Chriſtmas, that in the meane time, the marriage myght bee ſolemniſed, whyche was appoynted after the Epiphanie: and forthwith, greate preparation was made to receyue the Bryde, that ſhee myghte bee conueyed with all honor vnto the Kyngs preſence.

The Lords ſit in armour in the parliamẽt houſe.

The K. maketh an agreemẽt betweene the duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Northumberland.

Suche as ſhoulde receyue hir at Douer, repayred thither, where at hir landing, a maruellous, and righte ſtraunge wonder happened, for ſhee was no ſooner out of hir Shippe, and got to lande in ſafetie with all hir company, but that forthwith the water was ſo troubled and ſhaken, as the like thing had not to any mans remembrance

The Emperours ſiſter affyed to kyng Richard, is receyued at Douer.

A water ſhake.

braunce euer bin hearde of: ſo that the Shippe in which the appoynted Queene came ouer, was terribly rent into peeces, and the reſidue ſo beaten one againſte an other, that they were ſcattered heere and there, after a wonderfull manner. Before hir comming to the Citie of London, ſhee was met on Blackheath, by the Maior, and Citizens of London, in moſt honorable wiſe, and ſo with greate triumph conueyd to Weſtminſter, where at the time appoynted, all the Nobilitie of the Realme being aſſembled, ſhee was ioyned in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queene, by the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, with all the glory and honor that might be deuiſed.

1382

The Kings marriage with the Emperors ſiſter.

There were alſo holden for the more honor of the ſame marriage, ſolemne Juſtes for certayne dayes togither, in which, as well the Engliſhmen as yͤ new Queenes Countreymen, ſhewed proofe of their manhoode and valiancie, whereby prayſe and commendation of Knightly prowes was atchieued, not withoute domage of both the parties.

After that the ſolemnitie of the marriage was finiſhed, the Parliamente eftſoones beganne, in the whiche, many things were enacted, for the behoofe of the common wealthe. And amongſt other things it was ordeyned, that all maner manumiſſions, obligations, releaſſes, and other bondes made by compulſion, dures, and menace, in time of this laſt tumulte and ryot agaynſte the lawes of the lande, and good fayth, ſhould bee vtterly voyde and adnihillate. And further, that if the Kynges faythfull liege people did perceyue any gathering of the Commons in ſuſpect wiſe, to the number of ſixe or ſeauen, holding conuenticles togither, they ſhoulde not ſtay for yͤ Kings writte in that behalfe, for theyr warrante, but forthwith it ſhoulde bee lawfull for them to apprehende ſuche people aſſembling togither, and to lay them in priſon, till they mighte aunſwere their doings.

These and many other things were eſtabliſhed in this Parliamente, of the whiche, the moſt part are ſet forthe in the Printed Booke of Statutes, where yee maye reade the ſame more at large.

In tyme of thys Parliamente, the Earle of Suffolke, William Vfforde, beeyng choſen by the Knyghtes of the Shires, to pronounce in behalfe of the common wealthe, certayne matters concerning the ſame: The very day and houre in whyche hee ſhoulde haue ſerued that turne, as hee wente vp the ſtaires, towardes the vpper houſe, he ſuddaynely fell downe, and dyed in the handes of hys ſeruauntes, buſie about to take hym vp, whereas hee felte no griefe of ſickneſſe when hee came into Weſtminſter, beeyng then and before merrie and pleaſante ynough, to all mens ſights,

The ſuddayne death of the Earle of Suffolke.

Of hys ſuddayne death, many were greatly abaſſhed, for that in hys lyfe tyme, hee hadde ſhewed hymſelfe courteous and amiable to all men.

The Parliamente ſhortly thereuppon tooke ende, after that the Merchauntes had graunted to the Kyng for a ſubſedie certayne cuſtomes of theyr woolles, whiche they bought and ſolde, called a Maletot, to endure for foure yeares.

The Lord Richard Scrope was made Lord Chancellor, and the Lorde Hugh Segraue Lord Treaſorer.

About the ſame time, the Lorde Edmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche, the Kings Lieutenaunt in Irelande departed this life, after hee had brought in manner all that lande to peace and quiete, by his noble and prudente gouernemente.

The E
March
good
whic
depu
Irelan

In this ſeaſon, Wiclife ſet forthe dyuers Articles and concluſions of hys doctrine, whiche the newe Archbyſhoppe of Caunterbury, William Courtney, lately remoued from the Sea of London, vnto the higher dignitie, dyd what hee coulde by all ſhiftes to ſuppreſſe, and to force ſuche as were the ſetters forthe, and mayntevners thereof, to recante, and vtterly to renounce. What hee brought to paſſe, in the Booke of Actes and monumentes ſet forthe by maiſter Foxe, ye may finde at large.

Wicl
doctr

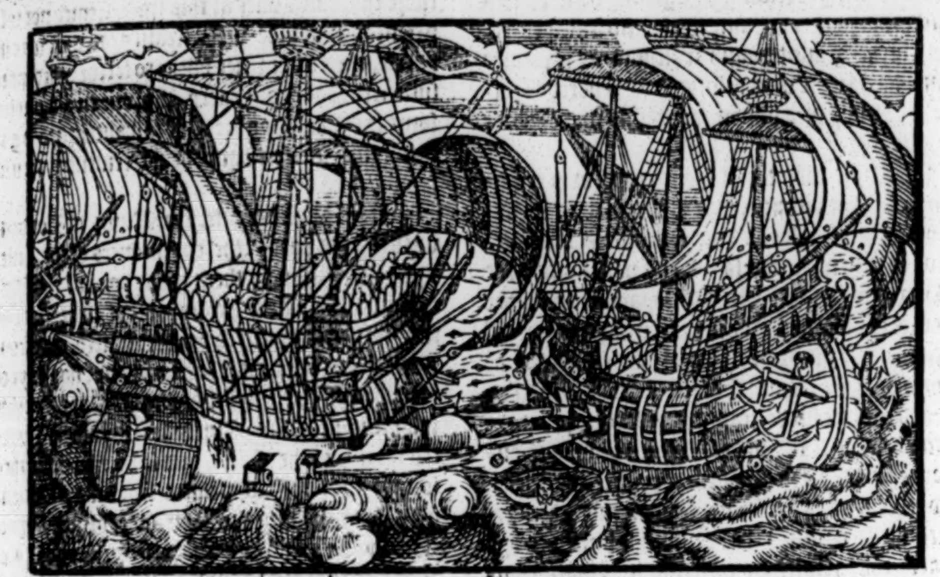
The Tweſday next after the feaſt of Sainct John Port latine, an other Parliament began, in whiche at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of the Knyghtes of the ſhires, John Wrawe Prieſt, that was the chiefe doer among the commons in Suffolke, at Bury, and Mildenhale, was adiudged to be drawen, and hanged, although many beleeued, that hys lyfe ſhould haue bin redeemed for ſome great portion of money.

Iohn

A lewde fellowe that tooke vppon hym to bee ſkilfull in Phiſicke and Aſtronomy, cauſed it to bee publiſhed thorough the Citie of London, that vppon the Aſcention euen, there would riſe ſuche a peſtilente Planet, that all thoſe whyche came abroade forthe of theyr chambers, before they hadde ſayde fyue tymes the Lordes prayer, then cōmonly called the Pater noſter, & dyd not eate ſomewhat that morning, before theyr going forthe, ſhoulde bee taken with ſickneſſe, and ſuddaynely dye therof. Many fooles beleeued him, and obſerued hys order, but the nexte daye, when hys preſumptuous lying coulde be no longer faced out, hee was ſet on Horſebacke, with his face towardes the tayle, whyche hee was compelled to holde in hys hande in ſtead of a bridell, and ſo was ledde about the Citie, with two Jorden pottes about hys necke, and a whetſtone, in token that hee had well deſerued it, for the notable lye which he had made.

A Col
phet
aright

About the ſame time, certayne Engliſhe Shippes of Rye, and other places, wente to the Sea, and meeting with certayne Pirats, fought with them, and ouercame them, taking a ſeauen Shippes, with a three hundred men in thẽ. One of thoſe Shippes had bin taken from the Engliſhe men afore tyme, and was called the Fawcon, belongyng to the Lorde William Latimer. They were al richly lade with wine, wax, and other good merchandiſe.



This yeare, the Maior of London, John de Northampton, otherwiſe called John de Cōberton, did puniſhe ſuche as were taken in Adultery, very extreamely: for fyrſte, hee putte them in the priſon, called the Tonne, that then ſtoode in Cornehill, and after cauſed the women to haue theyr heare cutte, as theeues in thoſe dayes were ſerued, that were appeachers of others, and ſo were they ledde about the ſtreetes, with trumpettes and pipes goyng before them. Neyther were the menne ſpared more than the women, beeyng putte to manye open ſhames and reproches.

But bycauſe the puniſhmente of ſuche offences, was thoughte rather to apperteyne vnto the ſpirituall iuriſdiction, than to the temporall, the Byſhoppe of London, and other of the Cleargie, tooke it in very euill parte, but the Maior beeyng a ſtoute man, woulde not forbeare, but vſed hys authoritie heerein, to the vttermoſt.

About the ſame tyme alſo, when the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterbury ſate in iudgemente vppon a proceſſe that was framed agaynſt one John Aſton, a maiſter of arte, that was an earneſt follower of Wicliffes doctrine, the Londoners brake open the dores, where the Archbyſhop with hys Diuines ſate, and cauſed them to gyue ouer, ſo that they durſt proceede no further in that matter.

The ſame yeare, were the Fiſhmongers of London ſore diſquieted by the foreſayde Maior, who ſoughte to infringe theyr liberties, graunting licence to foreyners, to come and ſell all manner of fyſhe, as freely, and more freely, than anye of the companye of Fiſhmongers: for they mighte not buy it at the foreyners handes to ſell it agayne, by anye meanes, and ſo that companye, whyche before hadde beene accompted one of the chiefeſt in the Citie, was nowe ſo broughte downe, as it ſeemed to bee one of the meaneſt, beeyng compelled to confeſſe, that theyr occupation was no craft, nor worthy ſo to bee accompted amongſt other the craftes of the Citie.

The Fiſhmongers ſore troubled by the Maior.

Thys yeare, the one and twentith of Maye beeyng Wedneſday, a greate earthquake chaunced about one of the clocke in the after noone, it was ſo vehemente, and namely in Kent, that the Churches were ſhaken therewith in ſuche wiſe, that ſome of them were ouerthrowen to the grounde.

A great earthquake.
Churches ouerthrown by the earthquake.

On the Saterday after, beeing the foure and twentith daye of May, early in the morning, chaunced an other earthquake, or as ſome write, a waterſhake, beeyng ſo vehemente, that it made the Shippes in the hauens to beate one againſte an other, by reaſon whereof, they were ſore bruyſed by ſuche knocking togyther, to the great wonder of the people, who being amaſed at ſuche ſtraunge tokens, ſtoode a long time after in more awe of Gods wrath and diſpleaſure, than before, for theſe ſo vnketh and dreadfull wonders thus ſhewed amongſt them.

A waterquake.

About

An. reg. 6.

About this ſeaſon, the Lord Richard Scrope, Lord Chãcellor, was depoſed from that roomth, and the King receiuing the greate ſeale at hys handes, kept it a certaine time, and ſealed therewith ſuche grauntes and writings as it pleaſed him: at length, it was deliuered to Robert Braibroke Biſhop of London, who was made Lorde Chancellor.

The biſhop of London made L. Chancellour in the Lorde Scrope his roome.

The cauſe why the Lord Scrope was remoued from that dignitie, was this, when the Kyng vpon certayne reſpectes hadde graunted vnto certaine Gentlemen, the lands and poſſeſſions that belonged to the late Earle of Marche, and other that were deceaſſed, (which he during the time of their heires minorities, oughte to enioy by the lawes of the Realme) the ſayd Lord Chancellor refuſed to ſeale ſuche grauntes, alledging that the King being greatly in debt, which he was to diſcharge, ſtoode in neede of ſuche profites hymſelfe, and therefore as hee ſayde, he tooke not them for faithfull ſeruauntes, nor dutifull ſubiectes to hys grace, that reſpecting their owne priuate commoditie more than his or the Realmes, did ſue for ſuch grauntes at his hands, aduiſing them to holde themſelues cõtented with ſuch other things as it had pleaſed or mighte pleaſe the King to beſtowe vppon them, for ſurely hee would not conſent, that they ſhoulde enioy ſuche giftes as thoſe were.

They that were thus reiected, made theyr complaynte in ſuche ſort to the King, that he takyng diſpleaſure with the ſayd Lord Scrope, depoſed hym from hys office, to the greate offence, both of the Nobles, and commons, by whoſe conſente, hee was preferred vnto that dignitie.

A new rebellion intended in Norffolke, is bewrayed by one of the conſpiracie before it burſte out.

About Michaelmas this yere, certayn naughtie diſpoſed perſons in Northfolke, not warned by the ſucceſſe of the late Rebellion, went aboute a newe commotion, intending to murther the Byſhoppe of Norwiche, and all the Nobles and Gentlemen of that Countrey: and to bring theyr wicked purpoſe the better to paſſe, they determined to haue aſſembled togither at Saint Faithes fayre, and to haue compelled all thoſe that ſhould haue bin preſente at the ſame faire, to haue taken parte with them, or elſe to haue loſt their liues: and this beeing done, they woulde haue taken Sainct Benettes Abbey at Holme, whyche they woulde haue kept for a fortreſſe, to haue withdrawen into vpon any force that had bin againſt them. But ere they could bring their purpoſe to paſſe, one of the conſpiracie bewraying the matter, they were apprehended, and loſt their heads at Norwich, for theyr malitious deuiſes.

About the ſame time, a Parliament was called, to the whiche, certayne commiſſioners from the Countrey of Flaunders came, to treate of certayne agreementes betwixt the King and realm, and the eſtates of theyr Countrey: but bycauſe thoſe that came ouer at this time, ſeemed not ſufficient to conclude ſuche treaties, as then was in hande, they were ſente backe to fetche other more ſufficiente, as from euery Towne in Flaunders ſome ſuche as myghte haue full authoritie to goe through, and confirme the agreementes then in hande.

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In this Parliamente, the Maior of London, with a great part of the commoners of the Citie, vpon ſuggeſtion by them made againſt the fiſhemongers, for vſing greate deceyt in vttering of their fiſhes, obteyned to haue it enacted, that from thenceforth, none of that company, nor anye of the Vintners, Butchers, Groſſers, or other that ſolde any prouiſion of vittailes, ſhould be admitted Maior of the Citie, and ſo by this ſhifte they ſought to cut off all meanes from the Fiſhmongers, to recouer againe their olde former degree. And bycauſe it was knowen well ynough of what authoritie ſir Iohn Philpot Knight was within the Citie, and that hee fauoured thoſe whome the Lord Maior, yͤ ſaid Iohn de Northhampton fauoured not, hee was put off from the benche, and myght not ſitte with them that were of the ſecrete counſell in yͤ Cities affayres, whereas neuertheleſſe he had trauelled more for the preſeruation of the Cities liberties, than all the reſidue.

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Sir Henry Spencer Biſhop of Norwiche, receyued a little before this preſente, Bulles from Pope Vrbane, to ſigne all ſuch with the Croſſe, that woulde take vpon them to goe ouer yͤ Seas with hym to warre agaynſt thoſe that held with the Antipape Clemente, that tooke himſelfe for Pope, and to ſuche as woulde receyue the Croſſe in that quarrell, ſuche lyke beneficiall pardons were graunted by Pope Vrbane, as were accuſtomarily granted vnto ſuch as went to fighte againſt the Infidels, the Turkes, and Saraſins, to witte free remiſſion of ſinnes, and many other graces.

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The Byſhop of Norwiche that had the diſpoſing of the benefites graunted by thoſe Bulles, to all ſuche as eyther woulde goe themſelues in perſon, or elſe giue any thing towardes the furtherance of that voyage, and mayntenance of the that went in the ſame, ſhewed thoſe Bulles now in open Parliamente, and cauſed copies to bee written forth, and ſente into euery quarter, that his authoritie and power Legantine, mighte be notifyed to all menne, for the better bringing to paſſe, of that hee hadde in charge: and truely it ſhoulde appeare, there wanted no diligence in the man to accompliſhe the Popes purpoſe: and on the other parte yee muſt note, that the priuiledges which he hadde from the Pope, were paſſing large, ſo that as the matter was handled, there were diuers Lordes, Knights, eſquiers, and other men of warre in good numbers, that offred them ſelues to go in that voyage, and to folow the ſtãderdes of the church with the Biſhop, & no ſmall ſummes of money were leuied and gathered amongeſt the people, for the furniſhyng forth of that armie, as after ye ſhall heare. In this meane tyme the erle of Cambridge returned home from Portingale, whether as ye haue hearde, hee was ſent the laſte yeare, and promiſe made, that the duke of Lancaſter ſhould haue folowed him, but by reaſon of the late rebellion, and alſo for other conſiderations, as the warres in Flaunders betwixt the Erle and them of Gaunt, it was not thought cõuenient that any men of warre ſhuld go forth of the realme: and ſo the K. of Portingale not able of himſelfe to go through with his enterpriſe againſt yͤ K. of Spain, after ſom ſmal exploits atcheued by yͤ Engliſhmẽ, & other of the Erle of Cambridge his companie, as the wynning of certain fortreſſes belonging to the King of Caſtille, and that the two kings had layne in field, the one againſt the other by the ſpace of .xv. days without battayle, the matter was taken vp, and a peace concluded betwixt them, ſore againſt the mynde of the Erle of Cambridge, who did what in him lay, to haue brought them to a ſette field: but when there was no remedie, he bare it ſo paciently as hee mighte, and returned home with his people, ſore offended (thoughe he ſayde little) againſt the king of Portingale, for that he delt otherwiſe in this mater than was looked for. He had fianced his ſonne whiche hee had by the daughter of Peter, ſometime king K. of Caſtille, vnto the king of Portingales daughter, nowe in the time of his being there: but although he was earneſtly requeſted of the ſaid king, he would not leaue his ſon behind him, but brought him backe with him again into England (together with his mother) doubting the ſlipper faith of thoſe people.

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In the Lent ſeaſon of this ſixt yere of K. Richards raigne an other parliament was called at London, in the which there was hard holde about the bulles ſente to the biſhop of Norwiche from Pope Vrbane, concerning his iourneye that he ſhould take in hand againſt the Clementines as we may call thẽ for yͭ they held with Pope Clement, whom the Vrbaniſts, that is, ſuch as held with pope Vrbane, tooke for Sciſmatiks. Diuers ther were, that thought it not good that ſuch ſummes of mony ſhuld be leuied of the kings ſubiectes and the ſame togither with an armie of mẽ to be committed vnto the guiding of a Prelate vnſkilfull in warrelike affaires: other there were that would needes haue hym to goe, that the enimies of the churche (as they tooke them) might be ſubdued. And although the more parte of the lordes of the vpper houſe, and likewiſe the Knightes and Burgeſſes of the lower houſe were earneſtly bent againſt this iorney, yet at length thoſe that were of the contrary minde, preuailed, and ſo it was decreede, that it ſhould forwarde, and that the ſaide biſhoppe of Norwiche ſhoulde haue the fifteenthe graunted to the king in the laſte parliament, to pay the wages of ſuche men of warre as ſhoulde goe ouer with hym: for ſouldiors wythout money paſſed not muche of pardones, no not in thoſe dayes excepte at the very point of death, if they were not aſſured howe to be aunſwered of their wages, or of ſome other cõſideration whereby they myghte gayne. The tenthe that was graunted afore by the Biſhops at Oxforde, is nowe in this ſame Parliament appoynted to remayne to the king for the keeping of the ſeas, whileſt the Biſhop ſhuld be forth of the realme in folowing thoſe warres. Theſe things being thus appointed, the biſhop ſendeth forth his letters firmed with his ſeale into euery prouince & coũtrey of this lãd, giuing to al perſons, vicars, & curates through this realme power & authoritie to heare the confeſſions of their pariſhoners, & to graunte vnto thoſe that wold beſtow any parcel of theyr goods which God had lent them towards the aduauncing of the iorney to be made by the croſſed ſouldiors againſt Pope Vrbans enimies, the abſolution & remiſſion of al their ſinnes by yͤ Popes authoritie, according to the forme of the Bul, before mencioned. The people vnderſtanding of ſo great & gracious a benefite, as they tooke it, thus offred to the engliſh natiõ, at home in their own houſes, were deſirous to be partakers thereof, and thoſe yͭ were warlike men, prepared thẽſelues to go forth in that iorney with al ſpeed poſſible: the reſidue that were not fit to be warryours, accordyng to that they were exhorted by theyr confeſſours, beſtowed liberally of theyr goods to the furtheraunce of thoſe that wente: and ſo, fewe there were within the whole kingdome, but that eyther they went, or gaue ſomewhat to the aduauncing forth of the Biſhop of Norwiche his voyage. Which Biſhop choſe diuers to be aſſociate with him, as Captains that were expert in warlike enterpriſes. The firſt & principal was ſir Hugh Caluerley an old mã of warre, & one that in all places had borne himſelf both valiantly & politikely: Next vnto him was ſir Williã Faringtõ, who ſtoutely ſpake in the Biſhops cauſe, when the matter came in queſtion in the parliament houſe, touching his going ouer with this Croyſey. Beſide theſe, ther wẽt diuers noble mẽ and knightes of high renoune, as the lord Henry Beaumount, ſir Williã Elmham, and ſir Thomas Triuet, ſir Iohn Ferrers, ſir Hugh Spẽcer, the biſhops nephue by his brother ſir Mathewe Redman captain of Barwicke, Sir Nicholas

A fifteenth aſſigned to the Biſhop of Norvvich tovvards the vvarres taken in hande againſt the Antipape.

The Croſſed Souldiours.

The captaines that vvẽt vvith the Biſhop of againſt the An- Norvvicne a- tipape.

Froiſſart.

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Tarenſon or Traiſton, ſir William Faringtoun and manye other of the Engliſhe nation: and of Gaſcongne there wente le ſire de Chaſteauneuf, and his brother ſir John de Chaſteauneuf, Raymund de Marſen, Guillonet de Paux, Gariot Vighier, John de Cachitan, and diuers other: Sir John Beauchamp was appointed Marſhal of the field, but bicauſe he was at that preſent in the marches of the realme towards Scotland, he was not readie to paſſe ouer when the Biſhoppe did. The Duke of Lancaſter liked not wel of the Biſhops iorney, for that hee ſawe howe hys voyage that he meant to make into Spayn was hereby for the tyme diſappoynted, and he coulde haue bin better contented, as appeareth by writers, to haue had the money imployed vpon the warres agaynſt the king of Caſtille, that was a Clementine, than to haue it beſtowed vpon this voyage, which the Biſhop was to take in hande againſt the French king, and other in this neerer parties. Herevpon there were not many of the Nobilitie that offered to go with the Biſhop.

The ſtatute againſte Fiſhemongers repealed, they reſtored to their liberties.

But to ſaye ſomewhat of other thyngs that were concluded in this laſt parliament, we fynd, that the Fiſhmongers. whiche through meanes of the late Lorde Maior John of Northampton and his complices were put from theyr auncient cuſtomes and liberties, whiche they enioyed aforetyme within the Citie, were nowe reſtored to the ſame agayne, ſauing that they myght not keepe Courtes among themſelues, as in tymes paſt they vſed, but that after the maner of other craftes and companies, all tranſgreſſions, offences and breaches of lawes and cuſtoms by them committed, ſhould be heard, tryed, and reformed in the Mayres Courte.

All thys winter the matter touching the gathering of mony towards the Croyſey, was earneſtly applyed, ſo that there was leuied what of the diſme, and by the deuotion of the people for obteyning of the pardon, ſo muche as drewe to the ſumme of. xxv. thouſand frankes.

The Byshoppe of Norvviche ſetteth forvvard vvith hys armye.

Polidor.

Froiſſart. v.C.ſpeares & xv.C.other.

When the Biſhop therefore had ſet things in good forwardneſſe for his iourney, he drewe towardes the ſea ſide, and was ſo deſirous to paſſe ouer, & to inuade his aduerſaries, that althoughe the king ſent to him an expreſſe cōmaundement by letters to returne to the Court, that he might conferre with him before he toke the ſeas, yet he excuſing himſelfe, that the tyme would not then permit him to ſtaye longer, paſſed ouer to Caleys, where he landed the. xxiij. of Aprill in thys vj. yeare of King Richards reigne. The armye appoynted to attende him in this iourney, roſe to the number of. ij. M. horſmen, and fifteene thouſand footmen, as ſome write, though other ſpeak of a farre leſſer number: but it ſhould ſeeme that they went not ouer all at one time, but by parts, as ſome before the Biſhop, ſome with him, and ſome after him. And when he and the Captaines before named, were come ouer to Caleys, they tooke counſel togither into what place they ſhuld make their firſt inuaſion, and bicauſe their commiſſion was to make warre onely againſt thoſe that held with Pope Clement, the more parte were of this mynde, that it ſhould be moſt expedient for them to enter into Fraunce, and to make warre againſt the Frenchemen, whome al men knewe to be chiefe maynteyners of the ſayd Clemente. But the Biſhop of Norwiche was of this opinion, that they coulde not doe better than to inuade the countreye of Flaunders, bycauſe that a little before, Earle Lewes hauyng intelligence that king Richard had made a confederacie with them of Gaunt, had on the other part, expulſed all Engliſhmen out of his dominions and countreyes, ſo that the merchauntes whiche hadde their goodes at Bruges, and other places in Flaunders, ſuſteyned great loſſes.

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Though there were that replyed againſt the Biſhops purpoſe herein, as ſir Hugh Caluerley and others, yet at length they yelded thereto, and ſo by his commaundement, they wente ſtraight to Grauelyn, the. xxj. day of May, and immediatly wan it by aſſault. Wherevpon Bruckburg was yelded vnto them, the lyues and goodes of them within ſaued. Then went they to Dunkirk, and without any great reſiſtance entred the Towne and wanne there exceeding much by the ſpoyle, for it was full of riches, whiche the Engliſhmen pylfered at their pleaſure. The Earle of Flaunders lying at Liſle was aduertiſed how the engliſhmen were thus entred his countrey, wherevpon he ſent ambaſſadors vnto the Engliſh hoſt to vnderſtande why they made him warre that was a right Vrbaniſt. The biſhop of Norwich for aunſwere, declared to them that were ſente, that hee tooke the countrey to appertayne to the French king, as he that had of late conquered it, whom all the whole world knewe to be a Clementine, or at the leaſt he was aſſured, that the countrey therabouts was of the inheritāce of the lady of Bar, which likewiſe was a Clementin, & therfore except the people of that countrey wold come and ioyne with hym to goe againſt ſuch as were knowne to be enimies to Pope Vrban, he would ſurely ſeeke to deſtroy them. And where as the Earles ambaſſadoures required a ſafeconduct, to go into Englande by Caleys to vnderſtand the kings pleaſure in this matter, the biſhop would grant them none at all, wherefore they went back againe to the Erle their maiſter, with that aunſwere. The Engliſhemen after the taking and ſpoyling of Dunkirke retourned to Grauelyn and Bruckburg, whyche places they fortifyed, and then leauyng garryſons in them, they went to Mardike, and tooke it, for it was not cloſed. In the meane time, the countrey men o Weſt Flaunders roſe in armour, ⁊ came to Dunkirke, meaning to reſiſt the Engliſhmen: wherof when the biſhoppe was certified, with al ſpeede he marched thither, and commyng to the place, where the Flemmings, to the number of more than .xij. thouſand, were aranged withoute the towne, he ſent an herauld vnto them to know the truthe, of whether Pope they helde, but the rude people, not vnderſtādìng what appertained to the law of armes, ranne vpon the heraulde at his approching to them, and ſlewe him before he could beginne to tell his tale.

The engliſhmen herewith enflamed, determined either to reuenge the death of their heraulde, or to dye for it, and therwith ordered their battailes ready to fight, and being not aboue .v. M. fighting men in all, the biſhoppe placed hymſelfe ammongeſt the horſemen, and ſet the footmen in a battaile marſhalled wedgewyſe, broade behind, and ſharpe before, hauing wyth them a banner wherin the croſſe was beaten. The archers were raunged on eyther ſide: The ſtanderde of the church went before, the fielde gewles, and two keys ſiluer, ſignifying that they were ſouldiours of Pope Vrbane. Moreouer, the Biſhop had his penon there Siluer and azure quarterly, a freat gold on the azure, a bend gules on the ſiluer: and bicauſe he was yongeſt of the Spēcers, he bare a border gules for a difference. At the approching of the battayles togither, the trumpets blew vp, and the archers beganne to ſhoot againſt the battayle of the Flemmings, the which valiantly defēded themſelues, and fought egrely a long time, but at length they were ſo galled with arrowes, which the archers ſhot at them a flanke, that they were not able to endure, but were compelled to giue back. They were deuided into two battails, a vaward, ⁊ a rerewarde. When the vaward began to ſhrinke, the rerewarde alſo brake order, and fled, but the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo faſt, that they could not eſcape, but were ouertaken and ſlaine in great numbers.

Some ſay, there dyed of them in the battayle ⁊ chaſe .v. thouſand, ſome .vj. thouſand: and other write, that there were .ix. thouſand of them ſlain: and Tho. Walſ. affirmeth .xij. M. Many of thē fled into the Towne of Dunkirke for ſuccoure, but the Engliſhmen purſued them ſo egerly, that they entred the town with thē, ⁊ ſlew thē downe in the ſtreetes. The Flemmings in diuers places gathered themſelues togither againe as they fled, and ſhewed countenance of defence, but ſtil they were driuen out of order, and brought to confuſion. The Prieſtes and religious men that were with the Biſhoppe fought moſt egrely, ſome one of them ſlaying .xvj. of the enimies.

Iames Meir.

There dyed of Engliſhmen at this battayle about .iiij.C. The Flemmings had no horſemen amongeſt them, nor any number of Gentlemen: for they ſtood in ſuche dreade of the Engliſh bows, that they durſt not come to any battayle with them, but keping themſelues oute of danger, ſet the cōmons of the countrey in hande to trye what they againſt the Engliſhmen were able to doe without them.

This battaile was fought vpon a Mondaye being the .xv. of May. The countrey was put in a wonderfull feare by this ouerthrow, ſo that the townes and fortreſſes were in great doubte, and ſome yelded themſelues to the Engliſhmen, as Berghen and others: Some were won by force: as the caſtel of Drinchan, ⁊ the town of S. Wenant. To be ſhorte, the Engliſhmenne became maiſters of all the countrey alongeſt the ſea ſide, euen from Grauelyn to Sluys, and got ſuch riches by pillage and ſpoile, as they could not wiſh for greater. They did ſo muche, that they wan in maner all the cloſe towns within the Baylifwickes of Caſſell, of Popring, Meſſynes, and Furneys, with the townes of Newport, Blankberke, and dyuers other. Alſo entryng into the woods of Nepſe and Rutholt, they found a great bootie of ſheepe and beaſtes, and tooke a greate ſorte of priſoners of the countrey people, whiche were fledde into thoſe woods for feare of the enimies: but the Engliſhmen, playing the parte of good bloudhoundes, found them out, and ſent all their booties and pray vnto Grauelin and Brucburge.

The Engliſhmē ſubdue diuers tovvns in Flāders, & ſpoyle the countrey.

The tovvne of Ipre beſieged.

The eigthe daye of Iune they came before the towne of Ipre, and layde ſiege thereto, wherat they continued the ſpace of .ix. weekes. Thyther came to their ayde .xx. M. Gauntiners vnder the leadyng of Fraunces Akreman, Peter Wood, and Peter Wynter: ſo that they within Ipre, were ſtraightely beſieged, but there were within it in garniſon diuers valiaunt knyghtes and Capitains, which defended the towne right manfully: It was fenſed with a mightie rampire, and a thicke hedge, trimly plaſhed ⁊ wound wyth thornes, as the manner of fortifying townes was in auncient time amongſt them in that countrey (as Strabo witneſſeth.)

The maner of fortifying tovvnes in olde tyme.

Durying the tyme that the ſiege laye before Ipre, the Engliſhmen ſwarmed abroade in the coūtrey, for when it was once known what good ſucceſſe the firſt companie that wente ouer had found, ther came dayly forth of England greate nūbers to be partakers of the gain: ⁊ ſir Io. Philpot yͤ fauored the biſhops iorney, prouided them of veſſelles for theyr paſſage, till the Biſhop vnderſtandyng that the more parte of thoſe that came thus ouer were vnarmed, and broughte nothyng wyth them from home, but onely

Hope of gayne encourageth the ſouldiour.

ſwordes, bowes and arrowes, did write vnto the ſayde ſir John Philpot that he ſhoulde ſuffer none to paſſe the ſeas, but ſuch as were men able and likely to do ſeruice, where a great number of thoſe that were come to hym, were fitte for nothing but to conſume victuals.

Iac.Meir.

The multitude of Engliſhemen and Gantiners at this ſiege was great, ſo that diuers ſkirmiſhes chanced betwixt them, and ſuch as were appointed by the Earle to lie in garniſons about in the country againſt them: but ſtill the victorie aboade on the Engliſhe ſide. Alſo there was an Engliſh prieſt, one ſir John Boring that wente to Gaunt, with .v.C. Engliſh Archers, by whoſe ayde, Arnold Hans, one of the captains of Gaūt ouercame his enimies in battail, which were laid in a caſtel nere to the hauen of Alloſte, and ſtopped that no victuals mighte ſafely come oute of Holland or Zeland to be conueyd vnto Gaunt.

An. reg. 7.

The french K. cōmeth dovvn vvith a mightie armie to raiſe the ſiege at Ipre.

The ſiege at Ipre brokē vp.

Nevvport ſacked and brente by the Engliſh men and Gantyners.

Thom. VVal.

A couragious and vvarlik biſhoppe.

The Erle of Flaunders was not wel contented in his mynd, that the Engliſhmen were thus entred into his countrey, and therfore he earneſtly laboured to the Duke of Burgogne (that had maryed his daughter, and ſhoulde be heire of all his dominions and ſeigniories after his deceaſſe) to find ſome remedie in the matter. The Duke whome the matter touched ſo neere, did ſo much with his nephue the Frenche king, that eftſoones he rayſed his whole puiſſance, and came downe into Flanders, ſo that the Engliſhmē perceiuing themſelues not of power to encounter with this huge and mightie armie, were conſtrayned after a great aſſault, whiche they gaue the .viij. of Auguſt, to reyſe their ſiege from Ipre the Monday after, being .S. Laurence day, and to withdrawe into Bruckburg, Berghen, Dixmew, Newport, Caſſell, Dunkirke, Grauelyn, and other places which they had wonne. But at Newporte the townesmen ſet vp the Erles banner, and aſſayling thoſe that were come into the towne, ſlewe diuers of them. The Engliſhmen being ſore offended therwith, came running thither with certain Gauntiners, and made greate ſlaughter of them that had ſo murthered their fellowes. The town was ſacked, ⁊ al the goods aſwell Churche iewels, as other, wer ſent away, partly by ſea into England, ⁊ partly by waggons vnto Berge. After this, they ſette fire in more than .xxx. places of the towne, ſo that there remained nothing vnbrent. The Engliſhmen and Gantiners ẏ were withdrawn into Berg, got togither al the waggons in the country about, placing the ſame vpon the ditches and rampiers, to fortifye the ſame againſt their enimies. Some write, that after the breaking vp of the ſiege at Ipres, the Biſhop of Norwich wold gladly haue perſwaded the lords and knightes that were there with him, to haue entred into Picardie, and there to haue offred the French K. bataile, before his whole puiſſance had bin aſſembled: but ſir Tho. Triuet ⁊ ſir William Elmhā with other, wold in no wiſe cōſent therunto, ſo that ẏ biſhop taking with him ſir Hugh Caluerley, that did neuer forſake him, bad the other farewell, and firſt making a roade into Picardie, he after withdrew into Grauelyn, whyles the other went to Bruckburg: but by Froiſſart, and other writers, it appereth, that ſir Hugh was certainly at Berge, with other that were retired thither, in purpoſe to defende it againſte the frenche king, who ſtill folowed them and recouered dyuers places out of theyr hands by force, as Mont Caſſell, the caſtell of Drincham, ⁊ other. Alſo at his cōming to Berghen, ẏ ſaide ſir Hugh Caluerley, and other that were within it, perceiuing that they were not able to defend it againſte ſuche a puiſſaūce as the french K. had there with him, being greater than euer ſir Hughe Caluerley that auncient captaine would haue thought that Fraūce had bin able to haue ſet forth, departed, ⁊ left the town to be ſpoyled of the Brytons, and other french ſouldiors, which executed there all kinds of crueltye. The more part of ẏ engliſhmen went to Bruckburgh, but ſir Hugh Caluerley went to Grauelin, ⁊ ſo to Caleis, as one ſore diſpleaſed in his minde, for that his coūſell could not be regarded in all this voiage, which if it had bin followed, wold haue brought it to a better iſſue than now it was, as was ſuppoſed.

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The Frenche Kyng followyng the trace of good fortune, that guided his ſtern, marched forth to Bruckburghe, ſo that the vaward of his army came before that towne on the Holyrood day, in September, vnder the leading of ẏ erle of Flaūders, the duke of Britaine, the Lorde Oliuer de Cliſſon hygh Conſtable of Fraunce, and the L. Waleran erle of S. Paule, the whiche demeaned themſelues in ſuch ſorte that althoughe the engliſhemen within, valiantly defended the frenchemens aſſaulte, yet the iij. day after the frenchemens cōming thither, the engliſhmē by compoſition that they might depart with bag ⁊ bagage, yelded vp the towne, which on the .xix. of Septēber being Satterday, as that yere came aboute, was abandoned to the frenche ſouldiors, to rifle and ſpoile at their pleaſure, in the whiche feate the Britons bare ẏ bell away, doing more miſchiefe vnto the poore inhabitants, than with tong can be recited. The duke of Britaine holpe greatly to make the compoſition, that the engliſhmen might departe in ſafetie: for the which doing he was in greate hatred and obloquy of the ſouldiers, the which affirmed that he was not onely a friende to the engliſhemen, but an enimy to hys countrey and a traytor to the commen wealthe.

The Engliſhmen cōming to Grauelyn, ſet it on fire, and departed ſtreight to Caleys, leauing the countrey of Flanders to the Frenchmen, and ſo returned into Englande, where they were not greatly commended for their ſeruice, but were put ſo farre in blame, that ſir Thomas Triuet, and ſir William Elmham wer cōmitted to priſon, within the Tower of London, as men ſuſpected of euill dealing in the deliuerie of Brickburg and Grauelin to the French mens handes: for immediatly after that they had lefte Grauelyn, the Frenchmen came thither, and fortifyed it for a countergariſon to Caleys. There be that write how the French king offred to giue the biſhop of Norwich .xv. M. marks to raſe the towne of Grauelyn, & ſo to leaue it vnto him, the biſhop hauing libertie with all his people and goodes to depart in ſafetie. The biſhop required to haue libertie for certain days, to make herevnto a full & deliberate anſwere. which was graunted, and in the meane tyme he ſent into England to aduertiſe the king in what ſtate he ſtood, and how the Frenche king lay before him with a mightie armye: & therfore if he meant euer to trie battayle with the Frenchemen, nowe was the tyme.

The ſame ſommer, the King & the Queene wēt abrode in progreſſe, viſiting in their way the riche abbeys of the realme, as Bury, Thetforde, Norwich & others going about a great part of ẏ realme: and when theſe newes came to him frō the biſhop of Norwich, he was at Dauentrie in Northamtonſhire, and beeing the ſame time at ſupper, he put the table from him, & riſing with al haſt, got him to horſeback, and rode in poſt that night, changing horſe diuers tymes, with ſuche ſpeed that he came to S. Albons about midnight & making no ſtay there longer than he had borowed the Abbots gelding, haſted forth til he came to Weſtminſter: ſo that it appered he wold neuer haue reſted til he had paſſed the ſea, & giuē battail to the Frenchmē. But after his cōming to Weſtminſter, awearied with that haſtie iorney, he got him to bed, & liked ſo wel of eaſe, that he thought good to ſend a lieutenant in his ſtead to paſſe the ſeas, to deliuer ẏ biſſ. frō danger of his enimies. Hereupon was the duke of Lācaſter ſent for, that he might with ſuche power as was redy to paſſe the ſeas, goe ouer with the ſame, and giue battayle to the French king: but he protracted time till the reſpite graunted to the Biſhoppe to make anſwer, was expired, and ſo the Biſhop when he ſawe no ſuccour come forth of Englande, raſed the towne, as the couenant was: but money he would not or did not receiue, bicauſe he thought in ſo doing, he ſhould offend the counſaile. At his cōming backe into Englaud, he found the duke of Lancaſter at the ſea ſyde with a great power of menne readye to haue come ouer, althoughe ſome thought that he deferred tyme of purpoſe, for that he myſlyked of the Biſhops whole enterpriſe: and now bycauſe it hadde thus quayled, he blamed the Biſhop for his euill gouernement therein: but ſir Hugh Caluerley he reteyned with hym a tyme, doing him all honour, by reaſon of the olde approued valiancie, that had bin euer founde in him. And this was the end of the Biſhop of Norwiche his iourney,

VVarke caſtell brent by the Scottes.

The Scots in the meane whyle ſate not ſtill, but made roades into England, toke & brent the caſtel of Wark. Moreouer, whileſt the ſiege laye before Ypres, the Frenchmen armed certain veſſels, and ſent them to the ſea, namely fiue balengers, as wel to intercept ſuch as ſhould paſſe betwene Englande and Flaunders, as alſo to ſtop ſuch as were apointed to go ouer into Gaſcoyn, that were ſouldiors alſo of the Croyſey, appointed thither vnder the leading of the Lorde Britrigale de la Brette, and certain others. When they of Porteſmouth vnderſtode that theſe fiue ſhips were abroade, they made forth to the Sea, and meeting with their aduerſaries, fought wyth them a ſore cruel battaile, and in the end ſlew all the enimies, nine excepted, and toke all their veſſels. An other fleet of Engliſhmen took .viij. frēch ſhips, which had abord .1500. tonnes of good wines, that comforted the Engliſhmen greatly.

Dyuers French ſhippes taken by the Engliſhmen.

About the feaſt of al Saints was a parliamēt holden at London, in which was granted to the K. one moytie of a fifteenth by ẏ laytie, & ſhortly after, a moytie of a tenth by the clergie. Moreouer the K. toke into his hands the temporalties ẏ belonged to the Biſhop of Norwich, bicauſe he obeyed not the kings cōmandemēt when he was ſent for at the time when he toke the ſeas to paſſe into Flanders. The knights alſo ẏ had not ſhewed ſuch obedience to the biſhop as was requiſite in that iorney, were cōmitted to priſon, but ſhortly after they were ſet at libertie vpon ſureties, that vndertoke for them: it was alſo decreed in this parliament, that the Erle of Buckingā the kings vncle ſhoulde goe to the borders againſt Scotland with a thouſand launces, and ij. M. Archers, to repreſſe the preſumptuous attempts of the Scots, who aduertiſed therof, ſent embaſſadors to treat of peace, but they were diſpatched home againe, withoute obteyning that which they came to ſue for. At the motion & inſtance of the duke of Britain, immediatly vpon the returne of the Engliſh armie out of Flaunders, there was a meeting of certein commiſſioners in the marches of Caleys, at a place called Lelleghen, for the treatie of a peace to be concluded betwixte the two Realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

A parliament at London.

The temporalties of the biſhoprike of Norvvich ſeyſed into the kings handes for the biſhops diſobedience.

A treatie of peace betvveen Englande and Fraunce.

There appeared for king Richard, the duke of Lancaſter, and his brother ẏ Erle of Buckingham, ſir Iohn Hollande brother to the Kyng, Sir Thomas Percye, and a Biſhop. For the

Frenche king, thither came the Dukes of Berry and Burgongne, the Biſhop of Laon, and the Chauncellor of Fraunce. There were alſo the duke of Britain, & the erle of Flanders. Alſo there came a biſhop with other cōmiſſioners from the king of Spayne: for the Frenchmen would nothing doe except the K. of Spayne might be alſo compriſed in the treatie and concluſion. They were. iij. weekes in cōmoning of an agreemente: but when nothing elſe coulde be brought to paſſe they concluded a truce to endure till the feaſte of S. Michaell, which ſhoulde be in the yeare. 1384. The erle of Flāders was iudged moſt in blame, for yͭ no peace could be accorded, bicauſe he wold not that the Gantiners ſhould be compriſed therin, but the Engliſhmen would not agree either to truce or peace, except regard might be had of the Gantiners, as their frends and alies. The kings of Spayn and Scotland were compriſed in this truce as confederates to the Frenchmen, whiche ſhuld haue ſignified the ſame into Scotlande, but did not, til great harme folowed through negligēce vſed in that matter, as after ye ſhal perceiue.

A truce taken betvvene Englande and Fraunce.

The ſame yere in the nighte of the feaſt of the Purification of our Lady, great lightenings and thunders chaunced, which put many in no ſmall feare, ſo huge and hideous was that tempeſt.

Tho. vvalſ.

Shortly after, there roſe no ſmall adoe in the citie of London about the electiō of their Maior: for ſuch as fauored the late Maior Jo. de Northamton, otherwiſe called John de Comberton, ſtood againſt ſir Nicholas Brambre knight that was choſen to ſucceede the ſayde John de Northampton, inſomuch that a ſhoemaker that was one of the ſame John de Northamptons partakers, preſumed through a number of voyces that were ready to fauor him, to take vppon him as Mayre: but through the counſell of ſir Roberte Knoiles knyght, he was ſodeinly apprehended, drawne, and beheaded as a rebell, and troubler of the kings peace.

Great contention aboute the election of the Maior of London.

Sir Ro
Knolle

In the Lent ſeaſon, the duke of Lancaſter, with his brother the Erle of Buckingham wēt towards the borders, hauing with him a mightie power of knights, eſquiers, & Archers, and after he had remained a certain tyme vpon the borders, about Eaſter he entred Scotland, and cōming within three myles of Edenburghe, he ſtayed there a three dayes, in whiche meane tyme the Scottes conueyed all their goodes out of the towne ouer the water of Fyrth: ſo that when the armie came thither, they found nothing but bare walles, which grieued the ſouldiours not a little. The Scots would not come forth to giue any battaile to the Engliſhmē, but got them into woods and mountains, or elſe paſſed ouer the riuer of Firth, ſuffering the Engliſhmen to fight with the vehemēt cold wether, that then ſore anoyed thoſe parts, in ſo much that on Eaſter daye at nighte thorough ſnowe that fell, and ſuche extreme colde and boyſterous ſtormes as ſore afflicted the Armye, beeing encamped within the cōpaſſe of a marris grounde for their more ſuertie: there died aboue. v. hundred horſſes, to let paſſe the loſſe of men that periſhed the ſame time, of whom we make no mētion. To cōclude after the duke & his brother the Erle had remained a tyme thus in Scotlande, and brent certain townes, they returned into Englande.

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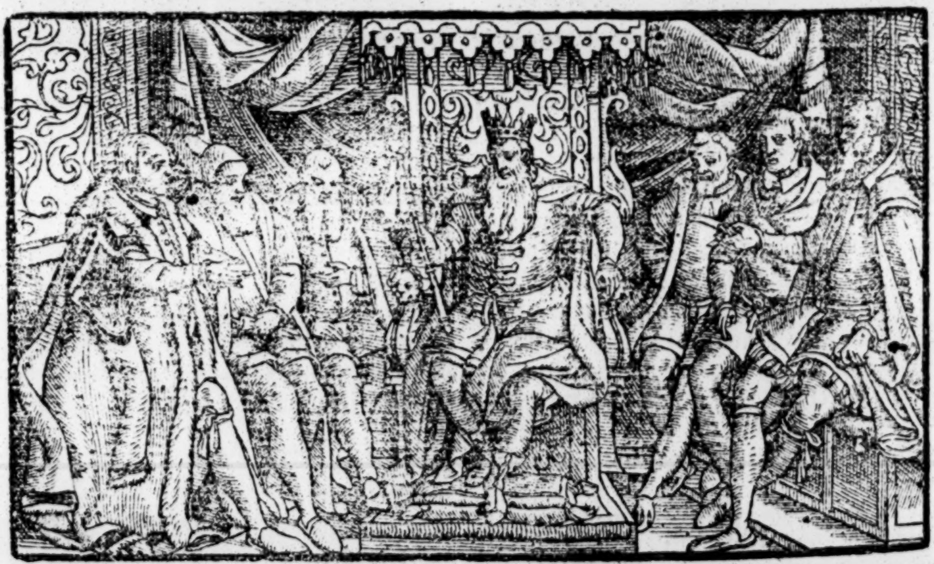

holden at Saliſbury, during the which, an Iriſh fryer of the order of the Carmelites, being a bacheler in diuinitie, exhibited to the king a bill againſte the Duke of Lancaſter, charging hym wyth heynous treaſons: as that he ment vpon a ſodayne to deſtroye the Kyng, and to vſurpe the Crowne, ſhewyng the tyme, place and circumſtaunces of the whole contryued matter.

An Iriſh fryer appeacheth the duke of Lancaſter of treaſon.

The king being yong both in yeares and diſcretion, when he had heard the Fryers information, called two of his Chaplaynes vnto hym, one ſir Nicholas Slake, and an other, and aſked their aduiſe what they thoughte good to be done in ſuch a weighty cauſe: And as they were buſye in talk about yͤ ſame, the duke of Lãcaſter came into the kings chamber after his wonted maner, not vnderſtanding any thing of the mater wherof they were in talk. The king with a ſtern coũtenance beheld the duke, not doing him the honor that he was accuſtomed. The Duke ſuſpecting that the king had ſomwhat in his head yͭ touched his perſon, withdrew: In the mean time thoſe ij. that were thus in coũſel wͭ the king, fearing haply the Dukes power, or els vpon good will they bare towards him, perſwaded the king that in any wiſe he ſhould call him to ſee and heare what was laid to his charge. The duke after he had red the bill of his accuſation, made ſuch anſwere, & ſo excuſed himſelf in declaring his innocencie, that the king gaue credite to his words, and receiued his excuſe: herewith the duke beſought the king, that the Frier might be kept in ſafegarde, till the time came that he might purge himſelfe of that he had charged him with, & that the Lorde John Holland the Kings halfe brother might haue the cuſtodie of hym till the day appointed, that the Duke ſhould come to his full triall.

The night before whiche day, the ſayd Lord Holland, and ſir Henry Greene, knight, came to this Fryer, and putting a corde about his necke, tied the other end about his priuie members, and after hanging hym vp from the grounde, layde a ſtone vpon his bely, with the weight wherof, and peyſe of his body withall, he was ſtrangled and tormented, ſo as his very back bone burſt in ſunder therewith, beſides the ſtrayning of his priuie members: and thus with three kind of tormentings, he ended his wretched lyfe.

The morow after, they cauſed his dead corps to be drawne about the town, to the end it might appeare, he had ſuffered worthily for his greate falſehoode and treaſon.

But now to the Parliament. At length when the K. had obteined of the laytie a graunt of an halfe. xv. the ſame parliament was diſſolued.

In the ſommer folowing the borderers of Englãd & Scotlãd, made rodes ech into others coũtries, to the great diſquieting of both the realms.

Amongs other roades that the Engliſhmenne made ſhortely after Eaſter (as Froiſſarte hath) the Earles of Northumberlande and Nottingham, reyſing an armye of two thouſande ſpeares, and ſix thouſande Archers, entred Scotlande by Rockeſburgh, brente the countreye euen to Edenburgh, and ſo returned without damage. In the meane time came meſſengers frõ the Frenche king to aduertiſe the Scottes of the concluſion of the truce.

But the Scots prouoked with this laſt inuaſion made by the Engliſhemen into theyr countrey, wold not heare of any truce, till they had in parte reuenged their diſpleaſure vpon the Engliſhemen: And ſo wyth certaine men of armes of Fraunce, that lately before were come thyther, not yet vnderſtandyng of any truce, they roaded into Northumberland, doing what miſchief they might: ſo that for the Sommer ſeaſon of this yeare, eyther part ſought to endomage other, as Walſingham hath: although Froiſſart write, yͭ through the earneſt trauaile of the meſſengers that came to intimate the abſtinence of warre takẽ, the parties now that their ſtomacks were wel eaſed with the enterchange of endomaging either others confines, agreed to bee quiet, and ſo the truce was proclaimed in both realms, and accordingly obſerued.

One miſchiefe asketh another.

About the beginning of Auguſt in the eighte yeare of this kings reigne, the duke of Lancaſter went ouer agayn into France, to treate of peace, but after he had remained there a long time, and ſpent no ſmal ſtore of treaſure, he returned with a truce, to endure only till the firſt day of Maye then next enſuyng.

An. reg. 8.

The Duke of Lancaſter ſente into Fraunce to treate of a peace.

Whilſt the duke o Lancaſter was thus forth of the realme, John f Northampton, that had borne ſuche rule in the Citie of London, whyleſt hee was Mayre, and alſo after, (as partely ye haue heard) was accuſed by a Chaplain (that he had in his houſe) of ſeditious ſturres, whiche he went about, ſo that being arraigned therof, he was in the ende condemned to perpetual priſon, and the ſame not to be within the ſpace of one hundred miles at the leaſt of the citie of London. All his goodes were confiſcated, and ſo hee was ſent to the Caſtell of Tyntagill, in Cornewall, and the Kyngs officers ſeyſed vppon his goodes and cattels.

Iohn de Northampton late Maior of Londõ cõdemned to perpetuall priſon and all his goodes confiſcate.

Aboute the feaſt of Saint Martine, a parliament was called at London, in whiche money was demaunded of the clergie and temporaltie, towards the mayntenance of the kings warres.

During this parliamente alſo, a combat was fought within liſts betwixt an engliſh Eſquier, named Jo. Walſhe, & an Eſquier of Nauarre, that accuſed the ſaid Walche of treaſon, though not iuſtly, but moued through diſpleſure, conceiued of an iniury don to him by the ſame Walch whileſt he was vnder captain or vicedeputie, as we may cal him of Chierburgh, in abuſing the Nauarrois wife. Wherevppon when the Nauarrois was vãquiſht, & confeſt yͤ trouth, he was adiudged by the K. to be drawne to the place of execution, and hanged, notwithſtãding that the Quene & diuers other made erneſt ſute for him.

A Combate.

The Appellant being vanquiſhed, is adiudged, to be hanged.

Barvvike caſtel vvonne by the Scottes.

Alſo before that this parliament was diſſolued, newes came forth of the North partes, that the Scots had won the caſtel of Berwike: for which the Erle of Northumberland that was captaine thereof, was put in high blame, for that he hadde not committed the keeping thereof to more circumſpect perſons.

The Duke of Lancaſter that bare no good will to the ſaide Earle, was well apayde that he had ſo good mater to charge his aduerſarie withal, ſo that through his meanes the Erle of Northumberlande, was ſore accuſed, and had muche adoe to eſcape the daunger of beeyng reputed a traytour.

Bervvike caſtel recouered by the Earle of Northumberlande.

Wherevpon great occaſion of malice and diſpleaſure grew betwixt thoſe two noble perſonages as after it well appered. But howſoeuer the matter was handled, the Earle was licenced by the king to go into his coũtrey, & ſeke to recouer agayne poſſeſſion of the caſtell thus lately loſte. Wherevpon he reyſing an armie, and beſiegyng the Scots that were within ẏ caſtel, ſo conſtrayned them, that for the ſumme of. 2000. markes they ſurrendred the fortreſſe into his hands, their liues and goodes ſaued: and ſo the Erle of Northumberlande recouered the Caſtell againe out of the Scottiſhmennes handes, beeing taughte to committe it to more warie kepers than the other before.

1385

The king being incenſed againſt the duke of Lancaſter, meant that he ſhuld haue bin arreſted and arraigned of certain points of treaſon before ſir Robert Tryſſyllyan chiefe Iuſtice (as Tho. Walſing. ſayth) and peraduenture there might be ſome ſuche reporte, that ſuche was the Kings meaning: But yet how this may ſtand, conſidering he was to be tried by his peeres, in caſe that any the like matter had bin pretended, I ſee not.

The Duke of Lancaſter getteth him to hys caſtell of Pontfret, and fortifyeth it.

But how ſoeuer it was, he being warned therof by ſome of the counſell, got him to his caſtell of Pontfret, which he fortified, and banded him ſelf ſo with his frendes, that it appeared he wold defend his cauſe with force of armes, rather than to come to his tryall by order of lawe afore ſuch a Iudge: and by reaſon hereof, it was greatly doubted, leaſt ſome ciuile warre wold haue broken forth. But through the earneſt labor of the kings mother that notwithſtanding hir indiſpoſition of bodie to trauaile, by reaſon of hir corpulencie) riding to and fro betwixt them, made an agreement betwixt the Kyng hir ſonne, and the Duke, to hir greate comforte and contentation of mynde, and no leſſe ſuretie of quietneſſe to the whole realme.

The Princeſſe of VVales maketh an attonement betvvene the kyng & the duke of Lancaſter.

About the ſame tyme the Frenche kyng had a great fleete of Shippes in Flaunders, ſo that it was doubted leaſte he meant ſome inuaſyon into Englande. Whereuppon there was ſente to the ſea the Lorde of Saincte Iohnes, and Syr Thomas Percye wyth a ſtrong Nauye, but they didde no good, ſufferyng the Frenche fleete dyuers tymes to paſſe by them, and not once offered to ſette vpon them: But the Shippes of Porteſmouth and Dertemouth, beſtirred themſelues better: for entring into the riuer of Sayne, they drowned foure of theyr enimyes ſhyppes, and tooke other foure, wyth a Barque of the Lorde Cliſſons, one of the fayreſt that was to be founde eyther in Fraunce or Englande.

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In theſe veſſelles the Engliſhemenne hadde a ryche praye of Wynes, and other Merchandyſes.

The Kyng vppon ſome occaſion tooke great diſpleaſure agaynſt William Courteney Archbiſhoppe of Canterburye, ſtormyng againſt him ſo, as fewe durſte ſpeake any thyng in hys excuſe.

The Lord Chancellour Michael de la Poole ſeemyng to fauour his cauſe, was lykely to haue runne in hygh diſpleaſure. Syr Thomas Triuet, and Syr Iohn Deuereux intreatyng for hym, were ſore rebuked at hys handes. Yet at length after that the Archebyſhoppe was wythdrawne & had kept hym cloſe for a tyme, he was thorough mediation of ſome freendes, reconciled to the kinges fauour.

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About the ſame tyme the Frenche kyng ſente into Scotlande the Admyrall of Fraunce, with a thouſande men of armes, knyghtes, and Eſquiers, beſides Croſſebowes and other to ioyne with the Scots, and to make warres in Englãd.

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The Scottes encouraged wyth thys newe ayde, ſente to them out of Fraunce, leuyed a power, and ſo together wyth the Frenchemenne, enter into the Englyſhe confynes, and beginne to rob and ſpoyle, and further tooke certain Caſtels and houſes of defence.

An.

The King of Englande aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled an huge power of menne of warre, and fyrſte ſente before hym the Duke of Lancaſter wyth parte of the Armye, and afterward followed hymſelfe, wyth all conuenyent ſpeed that myght bee.

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At hys commyng into the parties aboute Yorke, he was enformed that the Scottes and Frenchemen were withdrawne vppon the duke of Lancaſters approche towardes them, but the kyng thought to kepe on his iourney.

Whyleſt hee was lodged in thoſe parties a greate myſchaunce happened by reaſon of variaunce that fell betwixte certayne perſones of the retinewe of Sir Iohn Hollande brother vnto the Earle of Kente, and halfe brother to the Kyng, and other of the retinue of the Lorde Rycharde Stafforde, ſonne to the Earle of Stafforde.

Varia
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forde.

The cauſe of their falling out was aboute a knight of Boheme, called ſir Miles, that was come to ſee the Queene. This Knight kepte companie moſte an end with the L. Richarde Stafforde, and chauncing to be at wordes with twoo of Sir John Hollandes ſeruantes, there came twoo Archers perteynyng to the Lorde Stafford, which blamed them, that were ſo aboute to myſuſe the ſtranger in wordes, as they tooke it: the ſtrife hereby grewe to that point in the ende, that one of the archers ſhotte at one of ſir John Hollandes ſeruantes, and ſlewe him. This miſhap being reported to ſir John Holland, ſette him in ſuche a furie (by reaſon of the loue which he had to his ſeruant) that immediatly he ruſhed forth of his lodging, to reuenge his deathe, and throughe miſfortune meeting with the Lorde Stafforde ſlewe hym, & doubting in what ſorte his deede myghte be taken, fled ſtraight vnto Beuerley, & there tooke Sanctuarie. The Erle of Stafford tooke this miſaduenture right heuily, as reaſon was, yet bycauſe he would not trouble the hoſte nor diſappoint the iourney whiche they had in hand, vpon the kings promiſe that he would doe vpright iuſtice in the mater, as ſhould be thought meete and conuenient, he bare his griefe ſo paciently as he might, ſo that he wanne himſelfe muche praiſe for his wiſdome therin ſhewed. The King aduauncing forwards with his army, came to ẏ borders, & entring into Scotlãd, paſſed thorough Mers and Louthian, waſting & ſpoiling all the towns, houſes and villages in his way. The ableis of Melros, Dryburgh, & Newbottell were brente, and thoſe Monkes and other people that were founde in the ſame were ſlaine. At his comming to Edenburghe, he founde all the people fled out of the towne, but the houſes & buildings hee conſumed with fire togither with the Churche of ſaint Giles.

At the humble ſute of his vncle the Duke of Lãcaſter, Holyrood houſe was preſerued from hurt, for that the ſame Duke in tyme of the rebellion of the commons here in England, was lodged in that houſe, and found muche gentleneſſe and frendſhippe in the Abbot & Conuent. Thus when the King had reuenged the diſpleſure afore receyued at the Scots & frenchmẽs hands (& remained in Edenburgh a fiue dayes) he retourned without proffer of battell, or any notable encounter. The Admirall of Fraunce was earneſtly in hande with the Scottiſh lordes to perſwade them to haue gyuen battell to the Engliſhe army, till he & diuers other Knights of Fraunce were brought to the top of a mountaine, from whence they might beholde all the Engliſhe army, as the ſame paſſed vnderneath them, by a paſſage that laye by the foote of that mountaine: for after that they had viewed the puiſſaunce of the Engliſhmen, and as neare as they could, numbred thẽ, they had no ſuch egre mindes to fight with them as before, for they eſtemed them to be a ſixe. M. men of armes & a. lx. M. archers, & other men of warre, where the Scots and Frenchmen were not paſte a. M. ſpeares and .xxx. M. of all other ſortes, and the moſte parte of thoſe but euill armed.

Therefore they determined vpon an other point, which was, to inuade England in an other quarter, whileſt the engliſhmen brente vp their country, and ſo they ſet forwards toward the weſt borders, & paſſing ouer the mountains that deuide Northumberland from Scotland, they entred into Cumberlande, doing muche hurte in ẏ landes that belonged to the Lorde Mowbray, to the Earles of Nottingham, and Stafford, to the baron of Grayſtock, and to the Muſgraues. Laſtly, they came to Careleill, and boldly aſſaulted the Citie: but ſir Lewes Cliffforde, and ſir Thomas Muſgraue Dauye Holgraue, and diuers other worthie capitaines being within it, ſo defended the walles & gates, that their enimies got ſmall aduantage: and finally hearing that the engliſhe army was returning homewardes, the Scots and frenchemen drewe backe into Scotlande, doubting to be encloſed by the Engliſhmen, as they had bin in deed, if the Duke of Lancaſter and his brethrẽ, vncles to the king, might haue bin beleued, who counſelled the king to purſue the enimies, and ſtop the paſſages through which they muſt needs paſſe in their comming backe. But the Earle of Oxforde being moſte in fauour and credit with the king, in thoſe dayes, as one that ruled all things at his pleaſure, did aduiſe him to the contrarie, by putting him in beliefe (as was ſaide) that his vncles went about to bring him in daunger to be loſte and ſurpriſed of his enimies, whereuppon hee tooke the nexte way home, and ſo brake vp his iourney.

The Scotts inuade England vvhilſt King Richarde is a ſpoiling Scotlande.

Cumberlande ſore ſpoiled by the Scottes.

Carleil aſſaulted by the Scottes.

Good counſell neglected.

When the Scottes and Frenchemen were returned into Scotlande, the Scottiſhe Kyng hauing conceyued a iuſt diſpleaſure towardes the frenche Admirall, for that by his meanes the realme of Scotland had ſuſteined ſuch domage in that ſeaſon, cauſed him and his frenchemen to bee diſpoiled of the moſt part of their goods, and ſente them ſo away out of hys countrey, that the Scottes might receiue ſome comforte by thoſe warres.

Polidor.

A noble reuenge.

This yeare was the battell of Algeberota in Portingale, where John king of Portingal diſcomfyted a great hoſt of Spaniards & frẽchmen by the helpe & policie of certain engliſhmẽ which he had there with him vnder the leading of twoo Eſquiers Norbery and Hartelle. Ther

There vvere 600. Engliſhmẽ vvho vvith their bovves did greate ſeruice as by one authour it appeareth.

were ſlaine diuers Erles and greate Lordes of Spaniardes, but for that our writers doe not note rightly the Spaniſh names, but write thē corruptly as ſtrangers vſe to doe, wee here omit them.

The King of Portingale ſendeth ſixe Caleis to King Richardes aide.

The king of Portingale (after this victorie obteined againſte his enimies) ſent ſixe Galleis vnto the king of England to aide him agaynſte his aduerſaries, the whiche were well receyued and highlye made of by the Londoners and other, ſo that the Portingales had no cauſe to repent of their comming hither.

The Frenche king this yeare beſieged and wanne the towne of Dam, after he had bin at greate charges aboute it. Whileſt his Nauie returned from Scluis, wher the ſame had laine at Incre a long time, the ſhips by tempeſt were ſcatered and wederdriuen, ſo that in the feaſt day of the Exaltation of the croſſe, two of their galleis, a great ſhip a barge and .vij. balengers were caſte a ſhore aboute Callais, and the Caliſians toke .v C. frenchemen and Normans that eſcaped to land.

A good victory of them of Callais againſte the Frenche fleete.

An other day .lxxij. frenche ſhips (as they were comming from Scluis, to paſſe by Calleis, were mette wyth by them of Callais, who behaued themſeues ſo manfully that they toke .xviij. of thoſe frenche ſhips and a great Barke, in whiche three ſcore armed mē were ſlaine before it coulde be taken. Within three dayes after this the Caliſians mette .xlv. other frenche ſhips, and after .vj. houres fight obteyned the victorie, taking three of the moſte principall veſſels, wherof one being a Hulke of Eaſtlande was hired by the Normans, to gard the reſidue. The other .ij. that were taken were of ſuche molde, that they coulde not enter into the Hauen at Callais, and therefore were ſente to Sandwiche, the one of them beeing a newe ſhippe, the lord Cliſſon had bought at Scluis, paying for hir, three thouſand frankes.

The Caliſians & others make a roade into Fraunce and wynne greate booties.

On S. Denis day the ſouldiors of Callais and other Engliſhe fortreſſes there abouts, made a ſecrete iourney into Fraunce, and got a bootie of foure M. ſheepe, and three hundreth heade of greate cattell whiche they droue towardes theyr holdes, and as ẏ lord de Rambures gouernor of Bollongne wold haue recouered ẏ pray, he was vnhorſed with the rencounter of an engliſh ſpeare & being releued by his companie, and mounted againe, withdrewe himſelf, not attempting to trie any further maſtries, and ſo the engliſhmē ſafely paſſed forthe with their bootie of cattell, and aboue a hundreth good priſoners which they had taken at this roade.

Fabian.

Creation of Dukes and Earles at the parliament.

In this .ix. yeare aboute the feaſt of ſaint Martin, the king called his highe Courte of parliament at Weſtminſter, in the whiche amongſt other thinges there concluded, he created two Dukes, a Marques, and .v. Earles. Firſt Edmund Langley erle of Cambridge the Kinges vncle, was created Duke of Yorke, Thomas of Woodſtocke his other vncle, Erle of Buckingham, was created Duke of Glouceſter, Robert Vere erle of Oxforde was made Marques of Deuelin:

Hen lingb Earle aftern King.

Henry of Bollingbroke, ſonne and heire to John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, was created Earle of Darbie: Edwarde Plantagenet ſonne and heire to the Duke of Yorke, was made erle of Rutlande: Michaell lorde de la Poole chauncellor of England was created erle of Suffolk and ſir Thomas Moubray erle of Notingham was made earle Marſhall.

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Alſo by auctoritie of this parliament, Roger lorde Mortimer earle of March, ſonne and heire of Edmund Mortimer Earle of Marche and of the Lady Phillippe eldeſt daughter and heire vnto Lionell Duke of Clarence, thirde ſonne to king Edwarde the third, was eſtabliſhed heire aparant to the crown of this realme and ſhortlye after ſo proclaimed. The whiche erle of Marche anone after the end of the ſame parliament, ſailed into Ireland to his lordſhip of Vlſter, wherof he was owner by right of his ſaide mother:

The Mar by th Iriſh

but whileſt he remained there to pacifie the rebellions of the wild Iriſhe, a great number of them togither aſſembled, came vpon him and ſlew him, togither with the moſte part of his companie.

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This Roger erle of Marche had iſſue Edmunde and Roger, Anne, Ales and Eleanore, whiche Eleanor was made a Nunne. The .ij. ſonnes died without iſſue, and Anne the eldeſt of the daughters was married to Richarde erle of Cambridge, ſon vnto Edmunde of Langlie before remembred: The which Richard had iſſue by the ſaide Anne, a ſonne called Richard, that was after Duke of Yorke, and father to king Edwarde the fourth: alſo a daughter named Iſabell, afterwardes married to the lorde Bourcher. This Richard Erle of Cambridge was put to deathe by Henry the fifth, as after ye ſhall heare. Moreouer, in this yeare Henry of Bullingbroke Earle of Darbie married a daughter & heir of Hūfrey Bohun, erle of Hereford, in whoſe right he was after made duke of Herford, & by hir he had iſſue Henry, that after hym was K. of this realme, the Ladie Blāche Duches of Bar, and the Ladie Phillip married to the king of Denmarke: alſo Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedforde & Humfrey duke of Glouceſter. The Gauntiners ſtill mainteined warre againſte the Earle of Flaūders during his life, and after his deceaſſe againſt Phillip duke of Burgoin, by ſuch aide and comfort as they had from time to time of the king of Englande, till finally this yeare aboute the eighteenth day of December, a peace was concluded betwixt the ſaide duke, and the towne of Gaunt: and ſir John Bourchier that had laine a long ſeaſon there, as Captain vnder Kyng of Englande, and Peter de Boys one of the chiefe captaines of the Gauntiners before the concluding of this peace were ſafely conducted to Caleis by vertue of the duke of Burgoigne his ſafe conduit, and ſo they came ouer into Englande, and the king gaue vnto Peter de Bois a pencion of an hundreth markes ſterlyng, yearely to be paide to him out of the ſtaples of the woolles in London.

This yere K. Richarde holding his Chriſtmaſſe at Eltham, thither came to him Leo king of Armeny, whoſe countrey and realm beyng in daunger to be conquered of the Turkes, he was come into thoſe Weſte partes of Chriſtendome for aide and ſuccour at the handes of the chriſtian princes here. The king honourably receiued him, and after he had takẽ counſell touching his requeſt, he gaue to him great ſums of money and other riche giftes, with a ſtipende as ſome write of a .M. poundes yerely to be paide to him during his life. After he had remained here a two Moneths ſpace, he toke leaue of the king and departed. The chiefeſt point of his errand was, to haue procured a peace betwixt the two kings of England and Fraunce, but deſtiny woulde not permit ſo good a purpoſe to take effect: for the hatred which either nation bare to other, woulde not ſuffer theyr loftye myndes to yeld in any one point further than ſemed good in their owne opinions.

In this nynthe yeare of Kyng Richarde, (though by other writers it ſhoulde ſeme to bee rather in the yere folowing,) the Duke of Lancaſter with a greate power of men of warre wente into Spain, and ledde with hym thither his wife the Ladye Conſtance, and a daughter whiche he had by hir named Katherin, and two other daughters whiche hee hadde by hys former wife: he hadde bene aboute the preparing of an armye, and all furniture neceſſarie for thys iourneye a two or three yeares before, and therefore hauing nowe a ſeuen galleis and eighteene ſhippes, ſente to hym out of Portingale, (whiche arriued at Briſtowe) he cauſed all ſuch veſſelles as he hadde prouided to reſorte likewiſe thither, where making his generall aſſemble, when all his men of warre were come togyther he beſtowed them aboorde, wythall their horſes and purueyaunces, and cauſing ſailes to bee hoiſted vp, ſet forewarde on his long wiſhed iorney. This was in the Moneth of Maye, when the ſeas were calme, the ayre ſwete & the winds pleſant and agreeable to his purpoſe. He apointed for Admirall of his whole fleet ſir Thomas Percie, & ſir John Holland that was after created erle of Huntington, and had maried one of his daughters, was ordeined Conſtable of the hoſte, and Sir Thomas Morceaux hauing maried his baſtard daughter, was one of his Marſhalles.

There were that attended him in this iourney many other Lordes and Knights of honor, as the Lorde Lucie, the Lord Talbot, the lord Baſſet, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Fitz Walter, the lord Poinings, the lord Bradſton, ye L. of Pommiers a Gaſcoigne, the L. Ponne Fitz Warren, Henry Lorde Beaumont, William Lorde Beauchampe, Sir Richard Burley that was another of the Marſhalles of the armye, Sir Hughe Spenſer, Sir Wyllyam Windeſor ſir John Daubreticourte, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Wyllyam Farrington, ſir Thomas Worceter, ſir Thomas Treſhã, ſir Mauburin de Liniers, ſir Thomas Worceter, Syr John Sowtrey, ſir Roberte Clinton, ſir Philippe Tirell, ſir Lewes Rocheſter, Huguelin Caluerley, Dauid Holgraue, Thomas Aleric, Hobequin Beauceſter, and diuers other: they were in all to the number of fifteene hundreth men of armes, whereof a thouſande at the leaſt were Knightes and Eſquiers, beſides a foure thouſande Archers, and other men of warre, ſo perfectly appointed and arrayed, as coulde bee thought meete and conuenient. As they paſſed by Britaine, they landed at Breſte, the captaine whereof, at that time named Sir John Roche, finding himſelfe greatly annoyed by the frenchmen that were lodged in two Baſtides erected before the Caſtell, declared to the Duke in what ſtate he ſtoode. Whereuppon he cauſed the ſaide Baſtides to be aſſailed, which was done by the lorde Fitz Walter; & others, who bare thẽſelues ſo manfully, that the Baſtides were won, broken downe, & a great praye with priſoners obteyned, although not without loſſe of diuers valiant perſonages. And thus were they within Breſt caſtell deliuered of their vnfrendly neighboures by the duke of Lancaſter and his people. Who hauing done their feat toke the ſeas, and ſailed forth till they came on the coaſtes of Gallice, where on S. Laurence euen, they arriued in the hauẽ of Groigne, otherwiſe called Coron, and there they vnſhipped al their prouiſions, determining to inuade the country on that ſide.

Tho. VValſ.

The duke of Lancaſter landeth at Breſte and vvinneth the tvvo Baſtides frõ the frenchemenne.

An. reg. 10.

The Duke of Lancaſter landeth at Groigne.

Froiſſart.

Le Groigne or Corone.

After the duke had remained there a month, he went to Cõpoſtella, and there ſoiorned for a ſeaſon, during the which, his Conſtable Sir John Hollande, wanne dyuers Townes and fortreſſes whiche the enimies kepte: Diuers yelded to the duke with better will, for that the ducheſſe hys wyfe was there wyth him, whome they knewe to bee ryghte inherytoure to the Realme.

At Mouſon a towne on the confines beetwixte Spaine and Portingale, the King of Portingal and the duke of Lãcaſter met, where they communed and tooke counſell togyther for the more ſpeedy proceding in their enterpriſe againſt their aduerſaries of Caſtille.

Phillippe the Duke of Lancaſters daughter married to the Kyng of Portingale.

Alſo ther was a mariage concluded betwixt the ſaide K. of Portingale, and the Lady Phillip daughter to the ſaide duke, whiche mariage ſhortly after was wholy conſummated, the ſaid Lady being firſt maried by procuration at Cõpoſtella, and after ſente into Portingale righte honorably accompanied. The duke continued at Compoſtella all the Winter ſeaſon, till towardes Marche, and then according to appointment taken betwixte him, and the king of Portingale, at theyr beeyng togither at Mouſon, for theyr iourney to bee made into Caſtille, the ſaide King aſſembled an armye of a thouſande menne of armes, and tenne thouſande other ſouldiours, wyth the whyche, entring the confines of Caſtille, hee firſte tooke the Towne of Feroule, and after ioyning with the Duke, who hadde in the meane whiles by his Marſhall takẽ the towns of Ruelles, Ville Lopes, Poũceboide, Dighos, Baionne in la Maroll, Ribatã, Maures, Beſanſes, and Orens, wyth others in the countrey of Gallice, they marched forthe wyth their whole powers bothe togyther, and paſſing ouer the Riuer of Dure, entred into the countrey de Campo.

The Kyng of Portingale and the Duke of Lancaſter ioyning theyr armies togither inuade Caſtell.

Variaunce amongeſt vvriters.

Here the Engliſhe writers make mention of a batail, which yͤ Conſtable of Caſtille ſhuld giue to the duke, and that the victorie remained on the Dukes ſide, and the Spaniardes chaſed out of the fielde. But Froiſſart who liued in thoſe dayes, and learned that whiche hee wrote of thoſe that were with the Duke in his iorney, maketh no remembraunce of any ſuche thing, but that contrarily the King of Caſtille folowing the aduiſe of ſuche Frenchemenne as were ſente into Spaine to aide hym, cauſed all the riches of the countrey to bee brought into the walled Townes and fortreſſes, whiche he ſtuffed wyth men of warre, to defende them from the Engliſhemenne and Portingales, and further to cutte off their victualles, and to keepe them from hauing forrage abroade in the countrey, vnleſſe ſuche as were ſente, were garded wyth the greater Troupes for theyr ſuretie and defence. And thus beſtowing the moſte parte of all ſuche menne of warre, bothe Frenchemenne and Spanyardes, as hee coulde make in places moſte conuenient for that purpoſe, he fully determened not to giue battaile till hys enimies hadde wearied themſelues in keeping of the fields, and that a newe power was come to his aide out of Fraunce, which hee dayly looked for, by whiche meanes it came to paſſe, that the Engliſhemenne not vſed to ſuche hotte aire as they founde in thoſe parties in that ſeaſon of the yeare (for it was aboute Midſommer) fell daily into many perillous diſeaſes, whereof no ſmall number died, and other became ſo faint that they were not able to helpe themſelues, that to conſider the myſerie in whiche they were, it woulde haue rued the hartes of their verie foes.

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Hereuppon, was the duke conſtreined to fall to a communication for a peace, whiche in the ende was accorded, thoughe not at this inſtant: howbeit a truce was graunted, in ſuche wiſe as it might be at the Engliſhemens choice to retourne into theyr countrey, eyther by Sea or by lande, through Fraunce. Suche as paſſed through Spayne into Fraunce, hadde ſafe conductes ſealed and ſigned by the King of Spaine, but vnneth the halfe of thoſe that came out of Englande with the Duke, retourned thither againe, they died ſo faſt, aſwell after the breaking vp of their Campe, as before. Amongſt other, there died before the breaking vp of the Campe, one of the greateſt Barons of all the companie, named the Lorde Fitz Walter, and afterwardes within the Towne of Ville Arpent: there dyed (as Froiſſarte hath) three greate Barons of Englande, and menne of great poſſeſſions: ſir Rycharde Burley, a Knyghte of the Garter, who hadde bene as it were highe Marſhall of the armye: the Lorde Poyninges: and Syr Henry Percie couſin Germaine to the Earle of Northumberlande. In the Towne of Noye deceaſſed Sir Mauburin de Liniers, a Poictouin, and in the Towne of Ruelles dyed the Lord Talbot, and ſo here and there ſaithe Froiſarte, there dyed in all twelue greate Lordes, foure ſcore Knightes, two hundreth Eſquiers, and of the meaner ſorte of Souldioures aboue fiue hundreth. After that the Armie was broken vp, the Duke of Lancaſter and the Ducheſſe his wife went into Portingal, & there remained a ſeaſon, and then taking the ſea, ſailed to Bayonne in the Marches of Gaſcoigne, where hee reſted a long time after.

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In this meane while, there was communication and offers made for a marriage to bee hadde beetwixte the Duke of Berry, vncle to the frenche Kyng, and the Ladye Katherine daughter to the Duke of Lancaſter, and of the Ducheſſe hys wife the Ladye Conſtance.

When the Kyng of Spaine vnderſtoode of that treatie, he beganne to doubt, leaſte if that marriage tooke place it might tourne to hys diſaduantage, and therefore to bee at quietnes wyth the Duke of Lancaſter, whoſe puiſſance hee doubted, and whoſe wiſedome hee perfectlye vnderſtoode, by pollitike meanes and earneſt ſuite, at lengthe hee concluded a peace wyth hym on this wiſe, that his eldeſt ſonne Henrye ſhoulde haue in marriage the Lady Katherin daughter to the Duke of Lancaſter, begotte on hys wife the Ducheſſe Conſtance, and be entituled prince of Auſturgus. In conſideration of whiche marriage to bee had, and all claymes to ceaſſe, whiche the Duke in right of hys wife might chalendge or pretende, it was agreed that the ſaide Duke ſhoulde receyue yerely the ſumme of tenne thouſande markes, to be payde to him, or to his aſſigns in the citie of Baionne in Gaſcoigne, during the terme of the liues of the ſaide Duke and Ducheſſe, and further to haue in hand the ſumme of two hundreth thouſande nobles.

This agreemente and marriage was not concluded, till aboute the thirteenth yeare of King Richardes raigne, ſo that in the meane while many incidentes chaunced in Englande and in other Regions, which in their time and places ſhall bee touched, as to purpoſe ſerueth.

And firſte it is not to bee forgotten, that the frenchemenne neuer ſhewed more vanitie than they did this yeare, ſith the Linage of the Capetes beganne firſte to rule in Fraunce.

All the ſhippes that they could prouide from the confines of Spaine, vnto the mouth of the Rhine, all alongeſt the coaſte, they aſſembled at Sluiſe, and therabout, and made ſo great preparations for the warre, that the like hadde not bene hearde of, (meaning as they boaſted, and made their auauntes) to paſſe ouer into Englande, and to deuoure the whole countrey, in doyng ſacrifice to the ſoules of their elders with the bloude of the engliſhe people. But according to the prouerbe, The Mountaines trauell, wyth childe, and forth commeth a little mouſe.

There were numbred in the Monethe of September aboute Sluiſe, Dam, and Blankberke. 1287. ſhips, beſide thoſe whiche were rigged in Britain by the Conſtable, who had cauſed an encloſure of a field to be made of timber, like rayles or barriers, that when they were once a lande in Englande, they might therwith encloſe their field, and ſo lodge more at ſuertie, and when they remoued, it was ſo made wyth ioynts, yͭ they might take it vp in peeces & eaſily cōuey it with them. This cloſure or wall of woode, was. 20. foote in heigth, and conteined in lengthe or in compaſſe when it was ſette vp iij. M. paces, and at the end of euery. xij. paces ſtood a Turret able to receiue. x. men, that was higher than the reſt of the wall by. x. foote at the leaſte. There were appointed to haue paſſed ouer in thoſe ſhippes. xx. M. men of armes. xx. M. Croſbowes. & . xx. M. other men of warre. To haue ſeene the great apparrel, furniture and prouiſiō, the ſhiping, truſſing, bearing, and carrying to and fro of things needeful for this iorney, a man might haue merueiled, for ſurely the like hath ſeldome bin remembred. All that was done there on that ſide the ſea by the frenchmen, was notified into Englande, ſo that the frēchmē were not more occupied to prepare thēſelues to inuade Englande, than the engliſhemē were to make themſelues redy to defēd theyr country from all daunger of enimies, ſo that euery hauē towne, eſpecially alongſt the Weſt, South and Eaſtcoaſtes, were kepte and warded wyth notable numbers of armed men and archers.

Tho. VValſ.

The prouiſion of the Engliſh men to reſiſte great povver oft Frēchmen.

There were redy wythin the realme at that ſeaſon, in one part & other an. 100000. archers, & x. M. men of armes, beſide thoſe that were gon into Spaine with the duke of Lācaſter. All this preparation laſted for the more part of the ſommer, euen till the beginning of winter: and ſtill the french K. that was come downe into Flaūders, ſtayed for the cōming of his vncle the duke of Berry: the whiche at length in the moneth of Nouember came to Sluiſe, hauing protracted time, of purpoſe, that he might by the excuſe of Winter, cauſe this iorney to be put off till another ſeaſon. Wherin he ſhewed more wit thā all yͤ coūſelors which yͤ french king had about him: for if he had not politikely ſhifted off the matter, the K. had landed here in England, to the great daunger of his perſone and loſſe of hys people. And yet if we ſhall beleue writers that liued in thoſe days, by reaſon of the bruit that was ſpred throughe the realme, of that huge preparation which the french king made to inuade this land, no ſmall feare entred into the hartes of many, namely of the Londoners, who as if the enimies had bin alreadie landed, beſturred them, in making what prouiſiō they might for their defēce, thoughe it ſeemed by their manner of doings, they ſtoode in doubt leaſte the whole realme had not bin able to make ſufficient reſiſtance.

The Londoners eſpecially afrayd of the French forces

In dede diuers were the more afraide, for that they perceiued, howe the barons and great lordes agreed not in many pointes among thēſelues, and ſo being not of one minde, the wiſer ſorte doubted leaſt throughe their diſagreeing in that troubleſome time, ſome daunger mighte growe to the ſtate of the whole reealme. Notwithſtanding no ſmal number of others, wiſhed nothing more than that the french king in going forward with his purpoſe, might haue come ouer, not doubting but that he ſhold haue foūd ſuch a welcom, as wold haue bē litle to his eaſe. About the feaſte of ſaint Michaell, a parliamēt was called and holden at London, and wythall greate numbers of menne of armes and Archers were appoynted to come and lye aboute London, that they might be ready to

Diſſention among the noble men.

Froiſſart.

Tho. VValſ.

A parliament at London.

marche forthwith agaynſt the enimies whenſoeuer it chaunced them to lande. Thus all the townes and villages twenty miles in compaſſe round about Londō, were ful of men of armes and archers, lying as it had bin in campe, and wanting both victuals and money, they were driuen to ſpoile, and to take by violence what they might get. At lengthe after they had layne thus to ſmall purpoſe a long ſeaſon, they were licenced to departe home, with commaundemēt to bee readie to retourne againe vppon the firſte ſummonaunce: Many of them were conſtreyned throughe neceſſitie, to ſell their horſes, and armour, and ſome to ſpoyling and robbing as they wente homewarde, not ſparing what they might laye their handes vppon. Althoughe the menne of warre were diſmiſſed home, the parliamēt yet continued, & the lordes ſtill remained

Roberte Veer Marques of Dublin created Duke of Irelād.

A bill exhibited by the lovver houſe in this parliament againſt the erle of Suffolke lord Chauncellour. A vvicked purpoſe preuented.

Richarde Exton iuſtly commended.

at London, hearkning ſtill the french kings comming. The Lorde Roberte Veer Earle of Oxford, whom the king in the laſt parliament hadde made Marques of Dubeline, was nowe in this parliament created duke of Ireland: the other lordes ſore enuying ſo high preferremente in a man that ſo little deſerued, as they tooke it: for by reaſon of the kings immoderate affection whiche he bare not onely to this noble man, but alſo to the lorde Michaell de la Poole, whome he had lately created Erle of Suffolke, and after aduaunced him to the office of lorde Chauncellor, as before yee haue hearde, not onely the lords, but alſo the cōmons ſore grudged at ſuche their high preferrement, in ſo muche that in this preſent parliament, the knightes and burgeſſes of the lower houſe, exhibited a bill agaynſte the lorde Chauncellor, of diuers crimes whiche they laide to his charge, and ſo vſed the matter, with the helpe of the Lordes, that in the ende in ſome reſpect they had their willes agaynſte hym, contrarie to the kings mind, as after may appeare. And where the King had demaunded a relief of money towards the maintenāce of his eſtate, & charges of the warres, it was aunſwered, that he needed not any tallage of his ſubiectes, ſith he might furniſhe hymſelfe wyth ſuche a ſumme at the handes of the ſaid Earle, that was iuſtely indebted vnto hym therein, as they were able well to proue. But the kyng was nothyng herewith contented, conceyuyng no ſmall diſpleaſure, aſwell agaynſt them of the lower houſe, as againſte the Lordes in the vpper, for fauouring them in the lower, in matters that went ſo ſore againſte his minde. Hereuppon as was ſaide, (whether trulye or otherwiſe, the Lorde knoweth) by a conſpiracye begon betwixte the kyng and ſuche as were moſte in fauour wyth hym, it was deuiſed, that the Duke of Glouceſter (as principall) and ſuche other Lordes as fauoured the knights and burgeſſes in their ſuite, againſt the Earle of Suffolke, and were otherwyſe againſte the Kyng in his demaunde of money, ſhoulde bee willed to a ſupper in London, there to bee murthered. But the Duke comming by ſome meanes to vnderſtande of thys wycked practiſe, hadde no deſire to to take parte of that ſupper where ſuche ſharpe ſauce was prouided, and withall gaue warning to the reſidue, that they likewiſe ſhould not come there, but to content thēſelues wyth their owne ſuppers at their lodginges. It was ſaid, that ſir Nicholas Brēber, who had bin Maior the yeare before, hadde promiſed his aſſiſtannce in the execution of this horrible facte: but throughe the commendable conſtancie of Richard Exton that was Maior this yeare, being moued by the king for his furtheraunce therein, and denying flatly to conſent to the deathe of ſuche innocent perſones, that heynous practiſe was omitted. Thys matter being broughte to lighte, the hatred and malice whiche men bare to ſuche counſellors of the king greatly increaſed, and the Duke of Glouceſter and ſuche as withſtoode the King, dayly grewe more and more into the peoples fauour. At length yet throughe the earneſt ſuite of ſome of the greate lordes, there was graunted to the king halfe a tenthe and halfe a fifteenthe, whiche ſhould not be ſpent at the pleaſure of the prince, but by the order and appoyntment of the ſayde lordes, and ſo at lengthe the Earle of Arundell was apointed to receyue it, to furniſh him with a Nauie to the ſeas. But beefore this payment might be graunted, there was muche a doe, and harde holde ye may be ſure: for where the ſaide Earle of Suffolke then lorde Chauncellour, at the firſt had demaunded of the commons in the kinges name foure fifteenes, for with leſſe (ſaid he,) the king could not mainteine his eſtate and the warres which he had in hande. The whole body of the parliament made aunſwer thereto, that without the king were preſent (for hee was then at Eltham) they coulde make therein no aunſwere at all: and heerewith they tooke occaſion at lengthe to ſaye further, that excepte the ſaid Earle of Suffolke were remoued from the office of Chauncellorſhip, they would medle no further with any acte in this parliament, were it neuer of ſo ſmall importance.

The king being aduertiſed hereof, ſente againe to the commons, that they ſhoulde ſende vnto Eltham (where he lay) fortie of the wiſeſt and beſt lerned of the cōmon houſe, the whiche in the name of the whole houſe ſhoulde declare vnto him their mindes: and then the houſe was in no ſmall feare, by reaſon of a brute that was raiſed, howe the Kyng ſought meanes to entrappe and deſtroye them that followed not his purpoſe. Hereuppon aſwell the lordes of the vpper houſe as the commons of the lower, aſſembled togither, and agreed with one conſẽt, that the duke of Glouceſter, and Thomas Arundell biſhop of Elie ſhould in the name of the whole parliament be ſente to the king vnto Eltham: which was done, and the king was well contented that they ſhould come. When they came before his preſence, with humble reuerence they declared their meſſage, which conſiſted in theſe points: That the lords and commons aſſembled at that preſente in parliament, beſought him of his lawful fauor, that they might liue in peace & tranquilitie vnder him. They further declared, that one olde ſtatute and laudable cuſtome was approued, whiche no man could deny, that the Kyng once in the yeare might lawfully ſommon his highe Courte of parliament, and call the Lordes and commons thereunto, as to the higheſt Courte of his realme, in which Courte all right and equitie ought to ſhine as the Sun being at the higheſt, whereof poore & riche may take refreſhing, where alſo reformation ought to be had of al oppreſſions, wrongs, extortions and enormities within the realme, and there the king ought to take counſell with the wiſe men of his realme, for the maintenaunce of his eſtate, and conſeruation of the ſame. And if it mighte be knowen that any perſons within the realme or without, intended the contrarie, there muſte alſo be deuiſed howe ſuche euill weedes maye be deſtroyed. There muſte alſo be ſtudied and foreſeene, that if any chardge doe come vppon the King and realme, how it may be honorably borne and diſcharged. Further, they declared that til that preſẽt his ſubiects, as was thought, had louingly demeaned themſelues towardes him, in aiding him with their ſubſtaunce to the beſte of their powers, and that their deſire was to vnderſtande howe thoſe goodes were ſpente. And further they ſaid, they had one thing to declare vnto hym, how that by an olde ordinance it was enacted, that if the king ſhoulde abſente himſelfe fortye dayes, not being ſicke, and refuſe to come to the Parliament, withoute regarde to the chardges of his people, and their greate paines, they then may lawfully returne home to their houſes: and therefore ſith he had bin abſent a long time, and yet refuſed to come among them, it was greately to their diſcomfort. To this the Kyng as we find, made this aunſwere: Well, we doe perceiue that our people and commons, goe aboute to riſe againſt vs: wherfore wee thinke wee cannot doe better than to aſke aide of our couſin the french K. & rather ſubmit vs vnto hym, than to our owne ſubiects. The lordes aunſwered, that it ſhoulde not be good for him ſo to doe, but a way rather to bring him into extreme daunger, ſith it was plaine enough, that the frenche Kyng was hys auncient enimie and greateſt aduerſarie, who if he might once ſet foote in the realme of Englande, he would rather diſpoile, and diſpoſſeſſe the Kyng of hys kingdome, than to put hys helping hande to relieue hym: hee might (they ſaide) call to remembraunce, howe hys noble progenitours Kyng Edwarde the thirde, hys Grandfather, and Prince Edward hys father, hadde trauailed in heate and colde, wyth great anguiſhe and troubles inceſſantly, to make a conqueſt of Fraunce, that rightfully appertayned vnto them, and nowe to hym, in whiche warres he might likewiſe remember how many Lordes, noble men, and good commons of bothe Realmes had loſte their liues, and what chardges bothe the Realmes likewiſe bare in mainteining thoſe warres: and nowe (the more pitie) greater burthens were laide vppon the neckes of the engliſhe ſubiects for the ſupportation of his charges, by reaſon wherof, they wer ſo lowe brought (ſaid they) that they haue not to pay their rents, & ſo by ſuch meanes was his power decaied, his lords brought behind hãd, & al his people ſore enpoueriſhed: & as that Kyng cannot be poore that hath riche people, ſo cannot he be rich that hath poore cõmons: & as he tooke hurte by ſuch inconueniences chaũcing through euill counſellours that were aboute hym, ſo the lords and noblemen ſuſteined no leſſe hurt eche one after his eſtate and calling. And if remedie were not in time prouided through his helping hand, the realme muſt needes fall in ruine, and the default ſhould be imputed to hym & to thoſe his euill counſellors.

VVealthe of the people is the glorye of the Prince and ſuretie of his raigne.

By theſe & the like perſuaſions, the K. was induced to come to the parliament, & according to his appointment, he came indeede.

Change of officers by the parliament.

Soone after his comming was Iohn Fortham byſhop of Durham diſchardged of his office of Lord Treaſorer, and in his place was appoynted one Iohn Gilberte, Byſhoppe of Hereforde, that was a Frier of the order of preachers, a man more eloquent than faithfull, as ſome reported of hym. Alſo the Earle of Suffolke was diſchardged of hys office of Lorde Chauncellour, and Thomas Arundell Byſhoppe of Elye placed in hys roomthe, by whole conſent of the Parliament. The ſame Earle of Suffolke was chardged wyth many and right great enormious crimes, fraudes, falſeties, and treaſons, whiche hee hadde practiſed, to the great preiudice of the Kyng and Realme, and thervpon was cõmitted to warde in the Caſtell of Windſor. Notwythſtanding they adiudged him not to death, as ſome write, nor diſgraded him of yͤ honor of knighthood, but condemned him to pay a fine of. xx. M. marks, and

The Earle of Suffolke greuouſly fined by the Parliament houſe for ſundry his offẽces, and alſo to forfeit .j. M. poūds of yeerely rentes which hee had purchaſed. But other write, that notwithſtanding the K. was ſore offended for the accuſations brought againſt the ſaid erle of Suffolke and others, whom he loued, and was lothe to heare any euill of, yet he was conſtreined at length after he had ſhifted off the matter by ſundry deuiſes, to appoint certaine perſones with full power and auctoritie to heare, and in iudgement to determine thoſe matters. The duke of Glouceſter therefore, and the Earle of Arūdell were apointed as iudges, (which whileſt the King as yet was abſent, who got hym forth of the way of purpoſe, bycauſe he woulde not be preſent at the condēnatiō of thoſe whome hee moſte entirely loued and fauoured) wente earneſtly in hande with their buſines, and ſo at length (as Walſinghā hath) the earle of Suffolke was conuict, & found giltie of ſundry crimes, treſpaſſes, & naughtie partes: for which it was thought, that he deſerued to loſe his life & goods, but he was yet ſuffred (as yͤ ſame Walſinghā ſaieth) to goe abroade vnder ſuertie, certaine great men being bounde for him in great ſums of mony. But what order ſo euer was taken for the puniſhmēt of him, ſure it is, hee was diſplaced frō his office of chaūcellorſhip, as before ye haue heard: and further the lords, & other eſtates in this parliamēt, cōſidering yͭ through couetouſneſſe of the newe depoſed officers, the kings treſure had bin imbeſelde, leudly waſted, & prodigally ſpent, nothing to his profit, there wer in this parliamēt .xiij. lords choſen, to haue ouerſight vnder the K. of yͤ whole gouernment of the realme, as by their cōmiſſiō in the ſtatuts of the .x. yere of this king it dothe in yͤ booke of ſtatutes at large apeare. Of theſe .xiij. ther wer iij. of the new officers named, as the biſhop of Elie L. chaūcellor, yͤ biſhop of Herford L. treaſorer, & Nich. Abbot of Weltham L. keeper of the priuy ſeale. yͤ other .x. were theſe, Wil. archbiſhop of Canterbury: Alexāder archebiſhop of Yorke: Edmūd Langly duke of Yorke: Tho. Duke of Glouceſter: Wil. biſhop of Wincheſter: Tho. biſhop of Exceſter: Rich. erle of Arūdel: Rich. L. Scrope, & John L. Deberoux

XIII. lordes appointed by Parliament to haue the gouernement of the realme vnder the king.

Moreouer, at yͤ kings inſtance and earneſt ſute it was graūted, yͭ Rob. de Veer late Marques of Dublin, & nowe newly created Duke of Ireland, ſhuld haue & receiue to his own vſe .xxx. M. markes, that yͤ frenchmen were to giue for yͤ heires of the L. Charles de Blois, that remained here in England, which Charles in times paſt, chalenged as his rightfull inheritance, the duchie of Britain, againſt the erle of Mōtfort. This graūt was made to the duke of Irelād, with conditiō, that beeing furniſhed wyth this mony, he ſhuld paſſe ouer into Irelād, before yͤ next Eaſter, there to reconquer ſuch landes as the K. had giuē to him: for aſwell the lords as yͤ cōmons, wer ſo deſirous to haue him gon, yͭ they wiſhed yͤ realm rather to ſpare ſo much treaſure, thā to haue his preſence about yͤ king, to allure him to folly. The ſame time yͤ king of Armony ſued for a ſafe conduit to come againe ouer into this lande, to ſpeake with yͤ K. as it had bin about yͤ mouing of ſome peace betwixt yͤ .ij. realmes of Englād & Fraūce: but ſith his meaning was ſuſpected to be to no good ende, but to benefit himſelf by receiuing of ſom great gifts at the kings boūtiful hands, his ſuite was not graūted. In this meane time alſo, whileſt the frēch K. with ſuch a cōpanie of dukes, erles & other lords, as had not bin hearde of, ſtill cōtinued in Flanders, ſtaying aſwel for a conuenient winde, as for yͤ comming of the duke of Berry, it chaunced yͭ certaine engliſh ſhips as they waſted the ſeas, met with .ij. of the french ſhips, yͭ were ſailing towards Sluiſe, & fighting with thē, tooke thē, & brought them bothe to Sandwich. In theſe ſhips parte of yͤ cloſure or wall of wood (whereof ye haue heard) was foūd, the maſter carpenter yͭ was the chiefe deuiſer to frame it, being an engliſhmā borne, but baniſhed his coūtry afore yͤ time, for ſome offēce. Alſo there was foūd aborde the ſame ſhips, a maſter gunner, that ſometime had ſerued yͤ engliſhmē at Callais, whē ſir Hughe Caluerley was lieftenaunt there. Alſo diuers greate gunnes and engins to beate downe walles were foūd & taken in the ſame ſhips, with a greate quātity of powder yͭ was more worthe thā all the reſt. About the ſame time, or rather ſomwhat before, the engliſhmē alſo tooke certaine hulks and .vj. cariks of the Genewes, ladē with great riches, but bicauſe they were marchāts, they foūd ſuch fauor at the kings hāds through means of Michael de la Poole thē L. Chancellor (whom they had made their friend) yͭ they had their veſſels, & all their goods reſtored, & ſtreighte wayes they paſſed with the ſame vnto Sluiſe where yͤ enimies laye, to make ſale of their wares there. Whereupon much murmuring roſe among the kings ſubiectes, taking it in euill parte yͭ they ſhuld be ſuffred ſo to goe their wayes to releeue the enimies of the realme, with ſuch goodes as were once brought into the engliſhmēs poſſeſſion, & ſpeciallie the L. Chaūcellor was very euill thought of, for ſhewing ſo much fauor vnto thoſe ſtrangers. The frēch K. ſtill remaining in Flaunders tarying for the comming of the Duke of Berrie & alſo for a conueniēt winde, at length on the euen of Allſaintes, the wind came about very fauorably for the frenchemens purpoſe: whereuppon they weyed Ancres, and lanched from the hauē of Sluſe, but they were not paſt twentie miles forwarde on theyr way, when the winde ſuddaynely turned contrary to their courſe againe, and brought them back with ſuch violence, that diuers of them, as they ſhould enter the hauen, were broken and bruiſed, and ſo by this occaſion, and the Counſell of the Duke of Berry togither, the French King brake vp his iourney for that yeare, and returned into France.

Yee haue hearde what was done by the ſtates aſſembled in Parliamente againſte the Earle of Suffolke, whome the moſt parte of the Realme ſo greatly hated, but yet neuertheleſſe, the Kyng had ſuch an affection towardes him, that immediately after the Parliamente was diſſolued, hee vndid all that had bin enacted againſte him, receyuing him into more familiaritie than before, and cauſed him to cōtinue with the Duke of Irelande, and Alexander Neuill Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, which two lords, trauelled moſt earneſtly to moue the K. againſt the other Lords, and to diſadnull all that had bin done in the laſt Parliament.

There encreaſed therefore in the King an inward hatred, whyche hee conceyued agaynſt the Lordes, theſe men putting it into his eare, that hee was lyke no King, but rather reſembled a ſhadowe of a King, ſaying, it woulde come to paſſe, that hee ſhoulde bee able to doe nothing of hymſelfe, if the Lordes myght enioy the authoritie which they had taken vpon them.

The King gaue credite to theſe tales, and therefore had the Lordes in greate ielouſie; notwithſtanding they were thought to bee his moſt true and faithfull ſubiectes, and the other craftie, deceitfull, and vntruſtie, but ſuch an affection had the King to them, that no informations, nor accuſations, though neuer ſo manifeſtly proued, could bring them out of his fauoure, in ſo muche, as at the feaſt of Chriſtmas nexte following, he cauſed the Earle of Suffolke to ſitte with hym at his owne table, in robes accuſtomarily appointed for Kings to weare, and not for meaner eſtates, which was much noted, and no little encreaſed the enuie againſt him.

About the beginning of Marche, in this tenth yeare, Richarde Erle of Arundell, being appointed Lorde Admirall, and Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham, the Earle of Deuonſhire, and the Biſhop of Norwiche as Froiſſart hathe, went to the Sea with a warlike power of men of armes and archers, ſo well trimmed and appointed as was poſſible, for the Lorde Admirall vnderſtanding that the Duke of Glouceſter, and many other noble men woulde ſee the muſters of his menne, vſed all diligence, and ſpared for no coſtes, to haue the moſt choyſeſt and pikeſt fellowes that mighte be gotten, not following the euill example of others in times paſt, whiche receyued tagge and ragge to fill vp their numbers, whome they hired for ſmall wages, and reſerued the reſidue to their purſes, and when to the aduauncement of the Realmes commoditie they ſhoulde haue encountred the enimies, they ſhifted off all occaſions thereto, and onely prolonged time, withoute atchieuing anye enterprice auaylable, to the ende they mighte receyue the whole wages, and keepe themſelues from daunger, whiche they ſhoulde hardly haue auoyded, when they had not about them ſuche able men as were lyke to matche the enimies: but the Earle of Arundell contrarily gote the ableſt menne hee mighte, not ſparing his owne purſe, to the ende that by theyr ſeruice, hee mighte atchieue ſome worthy enterprice, to redounde vnto the commoditie of hys Countrey.

A greate abuſe in choyſe of Souldiers.

After the Duke of Glouceſter had behelde ſo faire and choſen a power of men of warre, they were ſtraight wayes appoynted to gette them a Shippebourd, and ſo beeing embarqued, yͤ whole nauie paſſed forth to the Thames mouth, where they ſtayed to watch for the fleete of Flaunders, that was ready to come from Rochelle with wines. At length, vpon a Sunday, being the euen of the Annuntiation of oure Lady, the Flemiſhe fleete was diſcouered a good way off, by one that was mounted into one of the toppes of a Shippe of the Engliſhe fleete. The Earle of Arundell greatly reioycing at thoſe newes, forthwith with his whole fleete made to the Sea. When yͤ Flemings approched neere to our Nauie, they made ſayle, as if they woulde ſette vpon the ſame, and our menne of purpoſe made countenaunce, as if they woulde haue retired, as miſtruſting themſelues to be able to match their aduerſaries, who coueting rather a ſafe paſſage than battayle, paſſed by, but the Engliſhmen hauing once gote the winde fitte for their purpoſe, ſuddaynely ſet vpon the Flemiſh Shippes, and fought with them right fiercely: at length, after a ſore conflict whiche endured foure houres, the victorye fell to the Engliſhemen. There were taken foureſcore Shippes, with diuers Captaynes and menne of armes, namelye theyr chiefe Admirall, named Iohn Buycke, a perfect good Sea man, and one that had afortime done much hurt to the Engliſh nation. Diuers of their Shippes were bouged, and ſome eſcaped yet from the battell, but the Earle of Arundell purſued them ſo egrely for the ſpace of two dayes togither, that at length hee tooke them, and broughte them backe to his nauie, ſo that what in the battell, and in the chaſe, there were taken of great and ſmall, to the number of an hundred veſſels, all fraught with wines, ſo that there was founde aboorde the ſame a nine thouſand tunnes, or rather as other haue, nyneteene thouſand, which togither with the veſſelles

A good policie.

A great victorie of the Engliſh nauie againſt the Flemiſh fleete

Ia. Meir.

Tho. VValſ.

Ia. Meir.

Tho. VValſ.

were ſtraight ſente vnto Orwell hauen, and to other hauens abroade in the Realme, beſide that whiche fell to the Kings ſhare, as due to hym by his prerogatiue.

The Citizens of Middlebourgh came to the Earle, and requeſted him that they mighte buy thoſe wines of him, and pay for the ſame after the rate of an hundred ſhillings the tunne, alledging how they were the kings friends, and ſtoode in neede of wines: but the Earle of Arundell, thinking it more reaſon, that thoſe whiche hadde borne the charges of his iourney, to witte the cõmons of the Realme of England ſhould haue the commoditie thereof than anye other, hee denyed their ſute, but yet to ſhewe them ſome pleaſure as his friendes, hee gaue to them twentie tunnes to make merrie with: As for that whiche fell to the Earles ſhare, he vſed ſuche bountifulneſſe in beſtowing it among his friends, that he left not to himſelfe ſo much as one tunne, hee wanne therefore no ſmall prayſe, that forbearing his owne commoditie which hee might haue reaped in ſelling thoſe wines to ſtraungers, hee had more regard to the profit of the commons, whereby they might vnderſtand, that that which they had layd forthe towardes the ſetting forward of this iourney, was not altogither loſt nor caſt away. Part of the Flemiſh fleete eſcaping as before yee haue heard, was purſued vnto the hauen of Sluſe, and Blankerke.

The liberalitie of the Erle of Arundell.

Diuers roades made into Flaunders by the Engliſhmen, & greate ſpoyle done.

All the Countrey of Flaunders neere to the Sea coaſtes, was in great feare, for the Engliſhmen landed, and euery daye wente abroade into the Countrey, brenning diuers townes and villages, as Mude, Oſtburg, Houckam, Monachatedam, and others. And at length, after they had taken their pleaſure in the Countrey, for the ſpace of tenne dayes togither, they hoiſted vp ſailes, and returned with all their pray and booties, whiche beeing ſolde, and vttered abroade in the Realme, made wine ſo plentifull heere in Englande, that it was ſolde for thirteene ſhillings foure pence the tunne, and twentie ſhillings the beſt and choiſeſt.

Wine ſolde for thirteene ſhillings foure pence the tun.

The Earle of Arundell ſayleth into Britayne, with a great power.

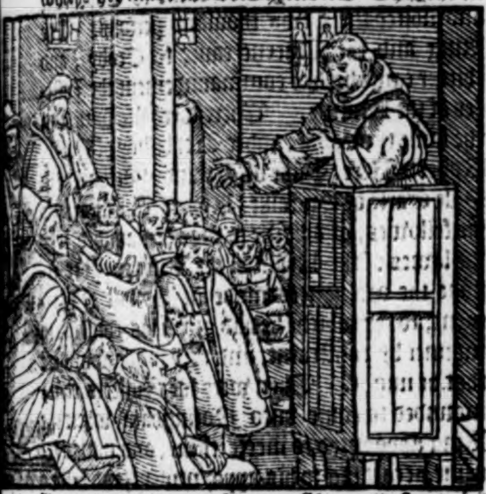
The Earle of Arundel not ſatiſfyed with this happie atchieued enterprice, but minding to doe more ſeruice to the benefite of hys Countreye, gathered his Shippes togither, and hyring newe Souldiers to ſupplye the roumthes of them that were hurte, maimed, or ſlayne, turned his ſayles towards the Caſtell of Breſt, whiche ſeemed to be a keye to the leſſe Britaine, and being (as yee haue heard) in the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, the French menne were about to reyſe vp and build farre greater and ſtronger baſtillions, than thoſe were that the Duke of Lancaſter had taken and deſtroyed as he ſailed forward on his iourney toward Spayne: one of theſe two new Baſtilles yͤ Earle of Arundell wanne by force from them that kept it, and bycauſe it ſeemed neceſſary to be kepte for a defence to the Caſtell, if it were in the Engliſhmens hands, hee committed it to the cuſtodie of certaine Engliſhmen. The other beyng not yet finiſhed, but begunne in ſumptuous wiſe to be builded, he ſet on fyre and brent. This done, furniſhing the garriſon with ſufficient vittailes, and munition to ſerue them for one whole yere, hee returned home into Englande, with greate prayſe and commendations of the commons for his doings: but the Duke of Irelande, the Earle of Suffolke, ſir Simon de Burley, and Sir Richarde Sturrie, that ſtill continued aboute the Kyng, ſeemed rather to enuie the Earle of Arundels good name, than otherwiſe, to commend hym and others to the King, that hadde beene forthe in that iourney, in ſo muche, that when the Earle of Nottingham, otherwiſe called Earle Marſhall, that had beene euer the Kyngs pleyfellowe, and of equall age to hym, came nowe to the Courte, hoping to bee righte welcome, and to receyue great thankes at the kings handes, he hadde no good countenaunce ſhewed hym, neyther of the King, nor of the Duke of Irelande, who diſdeyning once to talke with hym, ſeemed to enuie the worthy prowes in other, whiche he knewe wanted in hymſelfe.

Shortly after, by the counſell of thoſe Lordes and Knightes that remayned aboute the Kyng, the Lorde Henry Percy, ſonne to the Earle of Northumberlande, was ſente to the Seas, to beate backe the attemptes of the enimies, but hee was ſlenderly appoynted to atchieue anye greate enterpriſe: and this was done of ſome enuious purpoſe, bycauſe hee had got a name amõg the common people, to be a right hardie and valiant Gentleman, as well among Engliſhmen as Scottes. But he eyther ignorant, or not much waying of that whiche they craftely had imagined againſte him, boldly and valiantly executed the buſineſſe enioyned hym, and hauing remayned abroade, during the whole time of hys appoynted ſeruice, returned ſafely home.

Aboute the ſame time, a Frier Carmelite, named Walter Diſſe, that had bene confeſſor to the Duke of Lancaſter, obteyned in fauoure of the ſame Duke, at Pope Urbanes hands, certayne faculties, to be diſtributed to ſuch as would pray and pay for them.

Among other of thoſe faculties, one was, to make al thoſe whome he thought good, the Popes Chaplaynes, according to forme of law, and the cuſtome vſed in the Court of Rome. Nowe bycauſe ſuch as obteyned this fauour, enioyed great liberties, many were glad to beſtowe largely, to be ſo preferred, the Frier being ready to admitte thoſe that offered moſt.

Among other, one Peter Pateſhull, a Frier of the Auguſtines order, was made by hym the Popes Chaplayne, a man not vnlearned, and one that fauoured Wicliffes doctrine, and therevpon forſaking his priuate profeſſion, gaue himſelfe to a publique trade of life, whiche myghte ſeeme to him more holy, commendable and ſure. Herevpon, he tooke vpon him to preache agaynſte his owne order, namely, in a Sermon which hee made in S. Chriſtofers Churche in



London, hee inueyed ſo earneſtly againſt the abuſes and heynous crimes which ẏ Friers, ſometimes his brethren, vſed to put in practiſe, that it was an horror to heare. There were preſente an hundred at the leaſt of Wiclifes opinion at his ſermon, and in the meane while, that hee ſo layde forth what he knewe againſte his late brethren, ſome perſons there were that ranne to the Auguſtine Friers, and declared the whole matter, wherevpon, a dozen of the hardieſt and luſtieſt fellowes among them came to the Churche where this Patiſhull was preaching, and hearing what was ſayde, they began to be ſore moued, in ſo muche, that one of them, more zealous for his Religion than the other, ſtepped forthe, and agayne ſayd thoſe things which the preacher propounded, which thing, when the Wickleuiſts perceyued, they ſette vpon him that ſo diſquieted the congregation, and laying handes on hym, threwe hym downe, trode him vnder their feete, and lent him many a good buffet, and chaſing all the other Friers away, they were fully bente to haue killed them, and ſette their houſe a fyre, crying out with loude voyces, Let vs deſtroy theſe murtherers, let vs, brenne theſe Sodomites, and hang vp ſuch traytors of the King and Realme, and running thus with ſuch a furious noyſe and outrage, they purpoſed verily to haue ſette fyre on the Friers lodgings, but that through the humble prayer of Frier Thomas Aſhborne, and one that was his fellow, being reputed for two good men, and doctors of diuinitie, they were ſtayed. The comming alſo of one of the Sherifes of London, holpe muche to appeaſe them, ſo that by his perſwaſion, they returned home to their houſes, but Peter Pateſhull, being maintained among them, was counſelled, ſith hee was interrupted in hys ſermon, to ſet downe in writing all ſuch matters as he was about to intreat of, and what he knew further, he therefore deuiſed a lybell, in whych hee accuſed diuers of his brethren, of murthering ſundry of their fellowes. And for more proofe to bee giuen to his ſayings, hee tolde the names of them that were made away, and the names alſo of the murtherers, and ſhewed where thoſe that were murthered were buryed: hee affirmed further, that the ſayde Friers his brethren of late, were Sodomites and traytors, both to the King and Realme, and many other things hee declared, too badde to ſpeake of, in that his writing or lybell which he faſtned vppon the Churche dore of S. Paule in London, that the more confuſion might thereby redounde vnto his late brethren, the Friers aforeſaid. In the beginning of ẏ ſame Lybell hee proteſted, that hee was got forthe of the Diuels dungeon, and through the grace of God, eſcaped from amongſt wicked and filthy perſons, by reaſon whereof, and for that hee was an auoucher of the veritie, he ſaide, he was ſure to ſuffer great aduerſities at the Friers handes, if they might lay hold on him, but he thanked Pope Vrbane, for that through his graunte, he had obteyned ſuche libertie, that by helpe of his friends, hee might lawfully withdraw himſelfe from ẏ hãds of his enimies. There were diuers men of good worſhip, that mainteyned this Pateſhull, and cauſed a tranſcript of this Lybell, to bee written forth, affirming all to bee true that was therein mentioned.

A Lybell by Frier Pateſhul againſt his breethren.

Amongſt other that thus fauoured this cauſe, were diuers Knightes, as Sir William Neuill, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir John Clanbowe, Sir Richard Sturry, and ſir Thomas Latimer, and the chiefeſt of all, was one ſir John Montague, who cauſed all the Images to bee taken downe, and ſet aſide in corners, which John Aubrey, and his ſucceſſor ſir Alane Buxhull, or any their anceſtors had ſet vp in their Chappell of Cheneley.

The fauourers of Frier Pateſhull.

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Irelande ſoughte to bee diuorſed from his lawfull wife, a trimme yong Lady, daughter to the Lady Iſabell, that was one of King Edwarde the thyrde his daughters, and tooke to wife one Lancegrone a Bohemer, one of the Queenes maydes, by reaſon whereof, greate occaſion of ſlaunder and reproch grewe, and diuers Lords, ſpecially ẏ Duke of Glouceſter, that was vncle to the Ladye that was forſaken, tooke greate diſpleaſure herewith. But ſith the King allowed of all the Duke of Irelandes doyngs, the Duke of Glouceſter diſſembled ſuch iniuries done to his neece for the time, till opportunitie mighte ſerue to reuenge the ſame.

The Duke of Irelande vnderſtoode all theſe things, and therefore was the more circumſpect for his owne ſafetie, and ſtudyed howe by ſome meanes he mighte diſpatche the Duke of Glouceſter out of the way, as the man whome he moſt feared, leaſt his life ſhoulde be his deſtruction, by one meanes or other.

Dissention betwixt the Kyng, and the nobles.

Eaſter was nowe paſt, the tyme (as yee haue hearde appoynted) before the which the Duke of Irelande ſhould haue tranſported ouer into Irelande, and yet was hee not ſet forward, but leaſt ſomewhat myght be thought in the matter, and for feare of ſome ſturre to be rayſed by the Lords of the Realme, that wiſhed him gone, accordyng to the order preſcribed at the laſt Parliament, the King, as it were to bring hym to the water ſide, wente with him into Wales, where beeyng out of the way, they myghte deuiſe how to diſpatche the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Arundell, Warwike, Darbye, and Nottingham, with others of that faction. There were with the King, beſyde the Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Roberte Triſilian Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, and diuers other, whiche doubtfull of theyr owne ſafegardes, dyd what they coulde as writers reporte, to moue the King forwarde to the deſtruction of thoſe noble men.

An.

After the Kyng had remayned in thoſe parties a good while, hee returned, and broughte the Duke of Irelande backe with him agayne, ſo that it ſeemed hys voyage into Ireland was now quite forgotten.

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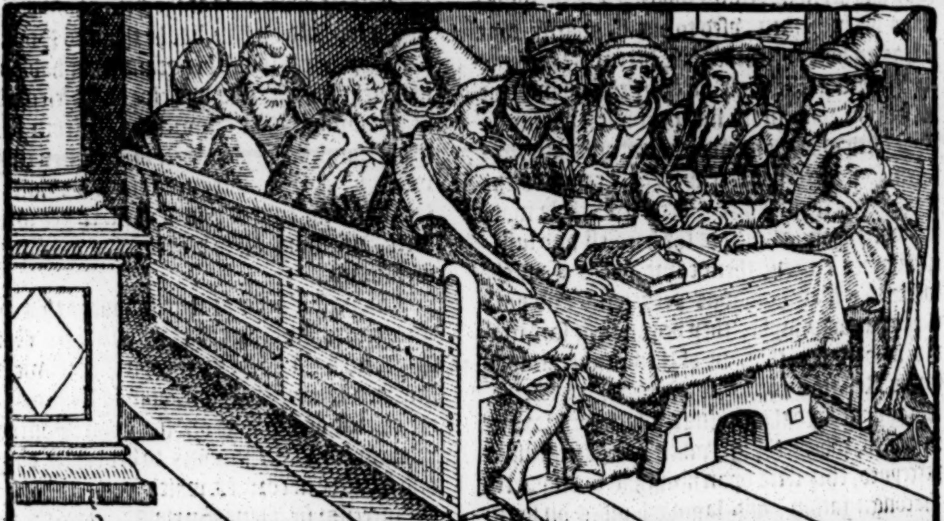
About the ſame tyme, Robert Triſilian Lord chiefe Iuſtice of Englande came to Couentrie, and indited there two thouſand perſons. The King and the Queene came to Groby, and thither came by hys commaundement the Iuſtices of the Realme. There were alſo with hym the ſame tyme, Alexander Archbiſhop of Yorke, Roberte Vere Duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian, and his fellowes, of whome it was demaunded, if by the lawes of the Realme, the King myghte reuoke the ordinances made in the laſt Parliament, to the whiche he had giuen his conſente in manner by conſtraint, and they made aunſwere that he might. Then were the Iuſtices commaunded to come vnto Notingham, where the King appoynted to meete them, and thither hee came, according to his appoyntment, and helde a ſolemne Counſell in the Caſtell of Nottingham, the morrowe after Saint Bartholmewes day. In whiche Counſell, were the aforeſayde Archbyſhop of Yorke, the Duke of Irelande, the Earle of Suffolke, Roberte Triſilian Iuſtice, Roberte Bramble Iuſtice, and ſundry other, all which Iuſtices were commaunded to ſette theyr handes vnto the queſtions vnder written, that by meanes thereof, thoſe perſons that were about the Kyng, thought they might haue good occaſion, to putte the Duke of Glouceſter, and other Lords that were his complices vnto death, whiche in the laſt Parliament were ordeyned to haue the gouernaunce of the Realme, and all ſuche as were conſenting to the ſame. Diuers of the Iuſtices refuſed to ſubſcribe, but yet they were conſtreyned to doe as the reſt did, among the whych was John Belknappe, who vtterly refuſed, tyll the Duke of Ireland, and the Earle of Suffolke compelled hym thereto, for if hee had perſiſted in the refuſall, hee had not eſcaped their handes, and yet when he hadde ſet too hys ſeale, he burſt out into theſe wordes: Nowe (ſayde hee) heere lacketh nothing but a rope, that I might receyue a rewarde worthy for my deſert, and I know, if I had



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had not done this, I mighte not haue eſcaped your handes, ſo that for youre pleaſures and the Kings I haue done it, and deſerued therby death at the handes of the Lordes: whyche indeede ſhortly followed, for in the next Parliamente hee was condemned and executed. But nowe that thys myghte remayne in recorde, an Acte of Counſell was made thereof, in manner as followeth.

Memorand. that the fiue and twentith daye of Auguſt, in the eleuenth yeare of the raigne of King Richard the ſecond, at the Caſtell of Notingham aforeſayde, Roberte Triſilian, Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, Roberte Belknap Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the common pleas, Iohn Holte, Roger Fulthorp, and Williã Borough, Knightes and aſſociates of the ſayde Roberte Belknap, and Iohn Lockton, one of the Kyngs ſergeants at the lawe, beeing perſonally required in preſence of the Lordes and other witneſſes vnderwritten by our ſayd ſoueraigne Lorde the Kyng, in that faith and allegiance in whiche to him they were bounden, that they ſhoulde truely aunſwere to certayne queſtions vnderwritten, and vpon the ſame by their diſcretions, to ſay the lawe.

1 Firſte it was aſked of them, whether the newe ſtatute, ordinaunce, and commiſſion made in the laſt Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, bee hurtfull to the kings prerogatiue. Wherevnto all of one minde aunſwered, that they were hurtfull, and ſpecially bycauſe they bee agaynſte the kings will.

2 Item, it was enquired of them, howe they oughte to bee puniſhed, that procured the ſayde Statute, ordinance and Cõmiſſion to be made. Wherevnto with one aſſent they anſwered, that they deſerued death, except the King of his grace would pardon them.

3 Item, it was enquired, how they ought to be puniſhed, whiche moued the King to conſente to the making of the ſaid ſtatute, ordinance, and cõmiſſion. Wherevnto they aunſwered, that vnleſſe the King woulde giue them his pardon, they ought to loſe their liues.

4 Item, it was enquired of them what puniſhment they deſerued, that compelled the Kyng to the making of that ſtatute, ordinance, and commiſſion. Wherevnto they gaue aunſwere, that they ought to ſuffer as Traytors.

5 Item, it was demaunded of them howe they ought to bee puniſhed that interrupted the Kyng ſo, that hee myghte not exerciſe thoſe things that apperteyned to his regaltie and prerogatiue. Wherevnto aunſwere was made, that they ought to be puniſhed as Traytors.

6 Item, it was enquired of them, whether that after the aſſayres of the Realme, and the cauſe of the callyng togither the ſtates to the Parliamente, were once by the Kyngs commaundemente declared and opened, and other articles on the Kyngs behalfe limitted, vppon whyche the Lordes and commons of the Realme ought to intreate and proceede, if the Lordes neuertheleſſe woulde proceede vpon other articles, and not meddle with thoſe articles which the Kyng hadde limited, till time the King hadde aunſwered the Articles proponed by them, notwithſtanding the Kyng enioyned them to the contrarie: Whether in this caſe the Kyng myghte rule the Parliament, and cauſe them to proceede vppon the Articles by hym limited, before they proceede any further. To whyche queſtion, it was aunſwered, that the Kyng ſhoulde haue in thys parte the rule, for order of all ſuche articles to be proſecuted, vntill the ende of the Parliamente. And if any preſumed to goe contrary to this rule, he was to be puniſhed as a traytor.

7 Item, it was aſked, whether the King when ſo euer it pleaſed hym myghte not diſſolue the Parliamente, and commaunde the Lordes and commons to depart from thence or not. Wherevnto it was aunſwered that hee might.

8 Item, it was inquired, that for aſmuche as it was in the Kyng to remoue ſuche Iuſtices and officers as offende, and to puniſhe them for theyr offences: Whether the Lordes and commons myghte without the Kings will, impeache the ſame officers and Iuſtices, vpõ their offences in Parliament or not. To this aunſwere was made, that they myghte not, and hee that attempted contrarye, was to ſuffer as a Traytor.

9 Item, it was enquired, howe hee is to bee puniſhed, that moued in the Parliamente, that the ſtatute wherein Edwarde, the ſonne of Kyng Edwarde, greate grandfather to the Kyng that nowe is, was endited in Parliamente, myght be ſente for, by inſpection of whyche Statute, the ſayde newe ſtatute or ordinaunce and commiſſion were conceyued, and deuiſed in the Parliament.

To whiche queſtion, with one accorde, as in all the reſidue they aunſwered, that as well hee that ſo ſummoned, as the other, whyche by force of the ſame motion, broughte the ſayde Statute into the Parliamente houſe, be as publique offendors and Traytors to bee puniſhed.

10 Item, it was enquired of them, whether the Iudgemente giuen in the Parliament agaynſte Michael de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, were erronious and reuocable, or not:

To which queſtion likewiſe with one aſſente they ſayd, that if the ſame iudgement were nowe to bee giuen, the Iuſtices and Sergeaunte aforeſayde woulde not gyue the ſame, bycauſe it ſeemed to them, that the ſayde iudgemente is reuocable and erronious in euery part. In witneſſe whereof, the Iuſtices and Sergeaunte aforeſayde, to theſe preſentes, haue ſet their ſeales, theſe beeing witneſſes, Alexander Archbyſhop of Yorke, Roberte Archbyſhoppe of Dublin, Iohn Byſhop of Durham, Thomas Byſhop of Cheſter, Iohn Byſhoppe of Bangor, Robert Duke of Irelande, Mighell Earle of Suffolke, Iohn Rippon Clearke, and Iohn Blake.

Tho. VValſ.

Now beſide theſe Iuſtices and Sergeaunte, there were called at that preſente vnto Notingham, all other Iuſtices of the Realme, and the Sherifes. Alſo, diuers of the Citie of London, which the King knewe would encline to his will the rather, for that ſome of them, hauing aforetime confeſſed treaſon againſt the King, by them imagined, and obteyning pardon for the ſame, were ready at his commaundemente, to recompence ſuche fauoure, in the accompliſhmente of what ſoeuer they knewe myghte ſtand with hys pleaſure. Heereuppon, they beeing enpanelled to enquire of certayne treaſons that were ſuppoſed to be committed by the Lordes, which in the laſt Parliament hadde ſo cauſed things to paſſe, contrary to the Kyngs pleaſure, endited the ſame Lordes of many crimes enformed againſt them.

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¶ The Londoners indeede are euill reported of in thoſe dayes, by ſome writers, for their vnſtableneſſe, one whyle holding on the Kinges part, and with ſuche as were chiefe in counſell about hym, and an other whyle on the Lordes ſyde that were of a contrary faction.

Why the Sheriffes of all ſhires were ſent for to the Courte.

But nowe as concerning the cauſe why the Sherifes were called hither, it was chiefly to vnderſtande what power of men they might aſſure the Kyng of, to ſerue hym agaynſte the Lordes and Barons, whome hee tooke to be his enimies: and further, that where he meant to call a Parliament very ſhortly, they ſhoulde ſo vſe the matter, that no Knyght might be choſen, but ſuch as the Kyng and his Counſell ſhoulde name. But aunſwere was made hereunto by the Sherifes, that the Lordes were ſo highly beloued of yͤ commons, that it lay not in their powers to aſſemble any great forces againſte the Lords, and as for choſing the Knightes of the Shires, they ſayde, that the commons would vndoubtedly vſe theyr auntient liberties, and priuiledges, in choſing ſuche as they thoughte meeteſt.

But yet after that the indictments were found, according tothe deſire of the kyng and hys counſellors, and that thoſe whiche hadde beene called aboute this matter, were licenced to depart home, the Kyng and the Duke of Irelande ſent meſſengers into euerye parte of the Realme, to reteyne men of warre to aſſiſte them in the quarell againſte the Lordes if neede were. Manye made aunſwere, that ſith they knew the Lordes to be faythfull and loyall to the King, euen from the bottome of theyr heartes, and were ready to ſtudy, to deuiſe, and to do all thyngs that might tende to his honor, and wealthe of the Realme, they myghte not by anye meanes beare armoure againſte them. But a great number of other that tooke it that they were reteyned for a good and neceſſary purpoſe, promiſed to be ready whenſoeuer it ſhoulde pleaſe the King to ſende for them.

The Lordes beeing in this meane while aduertiſed of theſe doyngs, were ſtriken with great heauineſſe, for that not knowing themſelues (as they tooke it) giltie of anye offence, the Kyng ſhoulde thus ſeeke theyr deſtruction.

Herewith, the Duke of Glouceſter, meaning to mitigate the Kinges diſpleaſure, receyued a ſolemne othe before the Byſhop of London, and diuers other Lords, proteſting by the ſame othe, that hee neuer imagined, nor wente aboute anye thing, to the Kings hinderance, but to his power, hadde alwayes done what hee myghte, to aduaunce the Kings honor, proſperous ſtate, and good liking, except onely that hee hadde gyuen no good countenaunce to the Duke of Irelande, whome the Kyng ſo muche loued: and ſurely for that the ſayd Duke had diſhonored his kinſwoman, and the Kings alſo, hee was firmely determined to reuenge that iniurie vppon him, and heerewith, hee beſoughte the Byſſhoppe of London to declare what hys wordes were vnto the King.

The Byſhoppe commyng to the King, made reporte of the Duke of Glouceſters proteſtation, cõfirmed with his othe, in ſuch wiſe, as the king beganne ſomewhat to bee perſwaded, that it was true. But when the Earle of Suffolke perceyued that, fearing leaſt the reconciliation of the King and the Duke his vncle ſhoulde turne to his vndoing, hee beganne to ſpeake againſt the Duke, tyll the Byſhoppe bad hym holde hys peace, and tolde hym, that it nothing became hym to ſpeake at all, and when the Earle aſked why ſo, bycauſe (ſaid the Byſhoppe) thou waſt in the laſt Parliamente condemned for an euill perſon, and one not worthy to lyue, but onely it pleaſeth the King to ſhew thee fauour.

The Kyng beeyng offended with the Byſhoppes preſumptuous wordes, commaunded hym to departe and get hym home to his Churche, who forthwith departed, and declared to the Duke of Glouceſter what he had heard and ſene.

Heerevpon, the great miſliking that had bin afore time betwixte the Kyng and the Lordes, was nowe more vehemently increaſed, the Duke of Irland, the Earle of Suffolke, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Lord chiefe Juſtice, Robert Triſilian, and others, ſtill procuring, ſtirring, and confirming the Kyngs heauie diſpleaſure againſt the Lordes.

The Duke of Glouceſter conſidering to what concluſion theſe things tended, came ſecretely to a conference with the Earles of Arundell, Warwike, and Derby, who were in lyke daunger, if they prouided not more ſpeedilie for their ſafetie, whereuppon, hee diſcouereth to them the perill wherein they all ſtoode in commune, ſo that whẽ they wayed what was the moſt expedient meane to ſauegarde theyr lyues, they gathered their powers togither, determining to talke with the Kyng, with their armour vpon their backes, for their more ſuretie, as well concerning his pretence, to bring them to their deathes, as for the fauour which he bare to thoſe whome they reputed to be traytors, both to him, and to the whole ſtate of the Realme, whereby the ſame coulde not auoyde ſpeedie remedie, if ruine were not the ſooner prouided.

The Kyng on the other parte tooke aduice, how he mighte apprehende theſe Lordes (whome he tooke to bee playne traytors) eche one a parte, before they mighte gather their ſtrengthes about them, and firſte, hee ſent the Earle of Northumberlande and others, vnto the Caſtell of Reigate to take the Earle of Arundell, who laye there at that preſent. But howſoeuer it fortuned, the Erle of Northumberlande came backe, and fayled to accompliſhe that which hee had in commaundemente.

After this, a greate number were ſente by nyghte, to haue layde handes on hym, and to haue broughte hym to the Kyngs preſence, or in caſe hee reſiſted, to haue ſlayne hym, if by anye meanes they myghte: but hee beeyng warned by a meſſenger, that came to him, from the Duke of Glouceſter, conueyed hymſelfe away, and with ſuche bandes as hee hadde gote togither, rode all that nyghte, ſo that in the morning hauing paſſed a thirtie myles, not without greate trauayle, and all ſpeede poſſible, hee was in the morning aduaunced vnto Haringey Parke, where hee founde the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle of Warwike, with a greate power of menne about them.

The ſame tyme, the Kyng was aboute to ſette forwardes towardes Caunterbury, there to performe ſome vowe of pilgrimage, whiche hee hadde vndertaken to make, vnto the ſhrine of Thomas Becket, but a brute was reyſed, and a ſlaunder (belyke) contriued, to bryng hym in further hatred of his ſubiectes, that hee meante to ſteale ouer into Fraunce, vnto the French King, hauyng promiſed to deliuer vp into hys handes the Towne of Calais, with the Caſtell of Guynes, and all the fortreſſes whyche hys predeceſſors had poſſeſſed in thoſe parties, eyther by right from their aunceſtors, or by warlike conqueſt, but his iourney to Caunterbury was ſuddaynely ſtayed, vppon knowledge had of the gathering togither of the Lords in Haringey Parke, wherwith the Kyng beeyng ſore amaſed, called togyther ſuch as he truſted, to vnderſtande what their opinion was of the matter, and vnderſtandyng that the purpoſed intention of the Lordes, for whiche they were ſo aſſembled, was to this ende as they pretended, to bring hym vnto a better trade of life, and more profitable order of gouernment, hee was ſtraighte ſtriken with no ſmall feare, demaunding of them their aduice, what was beſt for hym to doe in ſuche troubleſome ſtate of things. Some were of this minde, that it ſhoulde bee beſt to ſeeke to appeaſe the Lordes with faire promiſes, aſſuring them, that they ſhould haue their deſires. Other thought it better, to aſſemble the Kings friendes, and ioyning them with the Londoners, to goe forth and trie the hazard of battayle with the Lordes. Among them that were of thys mynde, the Archbyſhop of Yorke was the chiefeſt. But other that were thought to vnderſtande more of the worlde than he did, iudged it not wiſedome ſo to doe, conſidering that if the Kyng loſt the fielde, then ſhoulde great harme and diſhonor followe, and if the victory fell to his ſyde, yet could he gaine naughte, but loſe a great number of his ſubiectes. Thys was in Nouember, at what time the King vpon his returning from Caunterbury, meante to haue holden a Parliamente, but through thoſe ſturres, neyther hys iourney to Caunterbury, nor the Parliamente wente forwarde: hee cauſed yet order to be giuen, that no Citizen of London ſhoulde ſell to the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Arundell, or any other of the Lordes, anye armour, bowes, arrowes, or other munition, or matter, that myghte tende to the furniture of warre, vpon a great payne.

Counſell taken how to deale againſte the Lordes.

The Lordes ſend meſſengers to the King.

But notwithſtanding, the Lordes went forwarde with their buſineſſe, and before they approched the Citie of London, they ſente to the Kyng the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, the lord John Louell, the Lorde Cobham, and the Lorde John Deuerour, requiring to haue deliuered vnto them ſuche as were aboute hym, that were Traytors and ſeducers both of hym, and the Realme, that ſought nothing elſe, but to trouble both poore and riche, and to ſowe diſcorde and variance betwixte the Kyng and his Nobles.

And further, they declared, that theyr commyng was, for the honor and wealthe, both of the King and Realme. But the Kyng beeyng ruled altogither by the Duke of Irelãd, the Erle of Suffolke, and two or three other, was fully perſwaded, that the Lordes intended to bryng him vnder their gouernement, and therefore hee was counſelled, to make the Frenche Kyng hys ſure friend, in all vrgent neceſſities, and to be aſſured of him, it was reported, that thoſe Counſellors aduiſed him to render vp into the Frenche Kynges handes, the Towne of Caleis, and all that hee hadde elſe in poſſeſſion, on the further ſyde the Sea.

A raſhe anſwer of the Maior of London.

But howſoeuer this matter went, troth it is, that the Kyng ſente for the Maior of London, requiring to know of hym how many able men they thoughte the Citie coulde make, the Maior aunſwered, that hee thought verily the Citizens might make in time of neede, fiftie thouſand mē, within an houres reſpit: well ſayd the King, then I beſeech you goe and proue what will be done: but when the Maior began to attempt the matter, he was anſwered generally, that they would neuer fight agaynſt the Kyngs friendes, and defendours of the Realme, as indeede they tooke the Lordes to be, but againſt the enimies of the king and Realme, they woulde alwayes be ready to fyghte, and ſhewe what reſiſtaunce they were able. This aunſwere the Maior reported to the Kyng.

The Londoners refuſe to fight agaynſt the Lordes.

The Earle of Northumberlands and the L. Baſſets wordes to the K. in the behalfe of the lordes.

The ſame time, there was about the Kyng the Lorde Rauſe Baſſet, who ſayde thus to the King flatly and playnely, Sir, I haue bin, and euer will bee youre true liege man, and my body and goodes ſhall euer be at your graces cōmaundement, in all iuſtice and trueth. But neuertheleſſe, heereof I aſſure you, that if my happe bee to come into the fielde, I will without fayle alwayes followe the true parte, and it is not I that will aduenture to haue my head broken, for the Duke of Irelandes pleaſure.

Likewiſe, the Earle of Northumberland, being at that time in the Court, ſpake theſe wordes to the K. Sir, there is no doub[illegible]t theſe Lordes whiche nowe be in the field, al[illegible]es haue beene youre true and faithfull ſubiects, and yet are, not intending to attempte anye thing againſt youre ſtate, wealth, and honor. Neuertheleſſe, they feele themſelues ſore moleſted and diſquieted, by the wicked deuiſes of certaine perſons about you, that ſeeke to oppreſſe them: and verily without fayle, all your Realme is ſore greeued therewith, both great and ſmall, as well Lords as cōmons, and I ſee not the contrary, but they minde to aduenture their liues with the Lords that are thus in armes, ſpecially in this caſe, which they recon to be yours and your realmes: and ſir, now ye bee in the chiefe place of your Realme, and in ẏ place of your coronation, order your ſelfe now therfore wiſely, and like a King, ſend to them to come before your preſence in ſome publique place, where they maye declare vnto you the intente and purpoſe of theyr commyng, accompanyed with ſo greate a number of people into theſe parties, and I beleeue it verily, they will ſhewe ſuche reaſons, that you will holde them excuſed. The Archebyſhoppe of Caunterbury, and the Lord Chancellor Byſhoppe of Elie, and other of the Byſhoppes alſo there preſente, affirmed the Earles aduice to bee good, and the Kyng conſidering wiſely the caſe as it ſtoode, beganne to bee appeaſed, and accorded to followe theyr aduice, deſiring the Archebyſhop of Caunterbury, and the Byſhoppe of Elie, to aduertiſe them of his pleaſure, whiche was, that hee willed them to come vnto hym to Weſtminſter, on Sonday then nexte following, and ſo they repayring to the Lordes, made reporte to them of the Kyngs mynde and purpoſe. But the Duke of Glouceſter, and the other Lordes, were ſo fully bente in theyr opinion, that they ſwore all whole togither, that they woulde neuer giue ouer their enterpriſe, ſo long as they hadde a penny to ſpende, in mayntenaunce of theyr cauſe: and if it chanced anye of them to departe thys lyfe, the ouerlyuers ſhoulde perſiſt therein, vntill the time that they hadde broughte theyr purpoſe to ſome good effect. And bycauſe they doubted leaſt the Kyng myghte ſtirre the Citie of London againſt them, they determined fyrſte to aduertiſe the Maior and the Citie, howe theyr commyng was onely to reforme certayne greate enormities, whych they ſet downe in writing, and ſente it to the Maior and Citizens, beſeeching them of their fauoure and counſell therein: thys done, they determined yet to keepe their daye on the Sonday followwing, to appeare before the Kyngs preſence, but this was not got of them, till that the Lorde Chancellor, with dyuers other noble menne of good credite hadde vndertaken vppon theyr othes for the Kings behalfe, that no fraude nor deceipt, no perill nor euill pretence ſhoulde be put in practiſe agaynſte the Lordes, whereby they myghte come to loſſe eyther of lyfe, limme, or goodes, or otherwiſe, through the kings meanes, but that if he ſhould goe about any ſuch things, the ſayd Lorde Chancellor, and other the mediators ſhoulde warne the Lordes aforehande thereof.

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When therefore the Lordes were ready, according to couenaunte, to come vnto Weſtminſter, they were ſecretely aduertiſed, that there was an ambuſh layd in a place called ẏ Mewes, and ſo they ſtayed, and came not at the appointed houre. Whervppon, when the King demaunded, howe it fortuned that the Lordes kept not promiſe, the Byſhoppe of Ely Lorde Chancellor made hym this aunſwere, bycauſe ſaith hee, there is an ambuſhe of a thouſande armed

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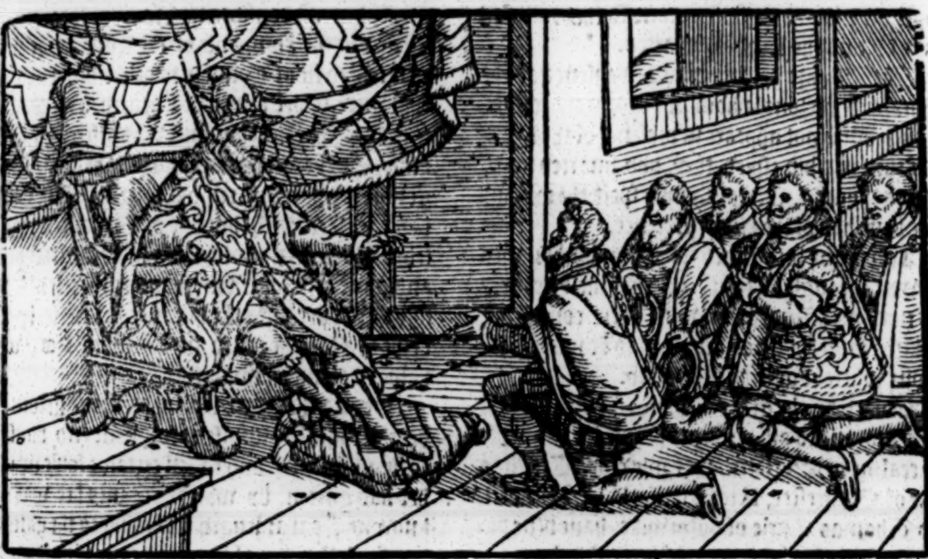
armed men or more layd in ſuch a place, (and named it) contrarie to couenaunt, and therefore they neyther come nor holde you for faythfull of your worde.

The king hearing this, was aſtonied, and affirmed with an othe, that hee knewe of no ſuche thing, and withal he ſent to the Sheriffes of London, cõmaunding them to repaire to the Mewes, and vpon ſearch made, if they founde any force of men there aſſembled, to take and kill all ſuche as they coulde lay handes vppon. But ſir Thomas Triuet, and ſir Nicholas Bramble, knightes, that had in deed aſſembled ſuch a number of men, when they vnderſtoode what order the king had giuen therein, they ſent theyr men backe vnto London.

The Lordes come before the kings preſence in Weſtminſter hal.

The Lords after this, receyuing a ſafeconduct from the king, and perceyuing all to bee ſafe and cleare, came vnto Weſtminſter with a ſtrong power of men about them. The king when hee heard they were come, apparelled himſelfe in his kingly robes, and with his Scepter in hand commeth into the great hall at Weſtminſter.

The Lords as ſoone as they had ſight of him, made vnto him theyr humble obeyſaunce, and ſo went forth vntil they came to the nether ſteps, going vp to the kings ſeate of eſtate, where they made their ſeconde obeyſaunce, and then the king gaue them a countenaunce to come nearer vnto him, & they ſo did, kneeling down before him, and forthwith hee roſe from his place, and louingly welcomming them, tooke eche of thẽ by the hand, and that done ſate him downe againe. Herewith the Biſhop of Elie Lord Chauncellor, as mouth to the king, declared vnto theſe Lordes in effect as followeth.



My Lordes (ſayde he) our ſoueraigne Lorde the king, hearing that you were aſſembled in Haringey Parke, in other maner than was conuenient, would not forthwith runne vpon you wyth force to deſtroy you, as he might eaſily haue don, if he had not wiſhed your ſafetie, for no mã doubteth but if his pleaſure had bin to gather an army, he might haue had more people than you coulde haue got to haue taken part with you, agaynſte him, and ſo happily muche bloud myght haue bene ſpylt, which thing certainly our ſoueraigne Lord the king vtterly abhorreth, and therefore vſing patience and mildeneſſe, he hath rather choſen to talke with you in peaceable wiſe, that hee may vnderſtãd the cauſe why ye haue aſſembled ſo great a number of people togither.

The Lordes for anſwere herevnto ſayd, that they aſſembled theyr forces togither, for the profit both of the king and realme, and eſpecially to take away from him ſuch traytors as remayned continually about him, to wit, Robert de Vere duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuil Archbiſhop of York, Michaell de la Pole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Triſilian that falſe Iuſtice, and ſir Nicholas Brambre that diſloyall knight of London, for ſo they tearmed them. And to proue their accuſations true, they threwe downe their gloues, proteſting by their othes to proſecute it by battaile. Nay (ſayth the king) not ſo, but in the next Parliament which we do appoynt before hand to begin the morow after the Purification of our Ladie, both they and you appearing, ſhall receyue according to lawe, all that, whiche reaſon ſhall appoynt.

The k. reproueth the lords doings,

And nowe to you my Lordes I ſpeake, by what meane, or by what reaſon durſt you ſo preſumptuouſly take vpon you within this my land to riſe thus againſt me? Did you thinke to feare me with ſuch your preſumptuous boldneſſe? haue I not armed men ſufficient to haue beaten you downe, compaſſed about like a ſort of Deere in a toyle? if I would: Truly in this behalf I make no more account of you, than of the vyleſt ſkullions in my kitchen.

When he had ſayd theſe wordes, with much more, he lyft vp the Duke of Glouceſter, that all this while kneeled afore him, and commaunded the reſidue to riſe alſo.

The king taketh both parties into his protection.

After this, he led them curteouſly to his chamber, where they ſate and dranke togither. And finally it was concluded, that they ſhould al meet togither againe at the next Parliament, and eche one to receyue according to iuſtice: and in the meane time the king toke aſwel the duke of Gloceſter, as the duke of Ireland into his protection, ſo that neither part in the meane time ſhould hurt the other, nor preſume to make any gathering of people vnto the time prefixed: and ſo this counſail brake vp, and the Lordes departed.

Grafton.

Theſe things yet were done in abſence of the forenamed perſons whom the Lordes accuſed, for they durſt not appeare in preſence of the lords, for if they had bin eſpied they had ſmarted for it, as was thought, without any reſpect that would haue bene had of the kings preſence.

And nowe foraſmuch as it ſhoulde bee well knowne through all the Citie, that theſe Lordes had nothing offended him with their comming, the king cauſed a Proclamation to be made, the tenour whereof was as followeth.

A proclamatiō clearing the lordes of any treaſon.

Richard by the grace of God. &c. We wil that it bee knowne to all our liege people throughoute our realme of England, that whereas Thomas duke of Glouceſter, Richard Earle of Arundell, and Thomas Earle of Warwike, haue bene defamed of treaſon by certain of our coūſailors, we as it apperteineth, diligently ſearching yͤ ground & cauſe of this defamation, finde no ſuch thing in them, nor any ſuſpition thereof, wherefore we declare the ſame diffamatiō to be falſe, and vntrue, and do receyue the ſame duke and erles into our ſpeciall protection. And bycauſe theſe accuſers ſhall be notoriouſly knowne, their names are Alexander Archb. of Yorke, ſir Robert Veere duke of Irelande, Michael de la Pole Erle of Suffolk, Robert Triſilian L. chiefe Juſtice, and ſir Nicholas Brambre of London knight, who in like caſe ſhal remaine till the next Parliament, & there ſhall ſtand to their anſwere: but in the mean time we likewiſe take them into our protection, ſtreytly charging and cōmaunding that no maner of perſon, charge any of the forenamed, either priuily or apertly in word or deed to hurt thē, or cauſe any hurt to be done to them, but all quarels and demaundes agaynſt them to be remitted, vnto the next Parliament prefixed.

And to haue all things in more perfect readineſſe and remembrance when the eſtates ſhoulde be aſſembled, certain of the Lords were appointed to ſit in the meane time to deuiſe how they might proceed orderly in redreſſe of ſuch matters, as ſeemed to require ſome ſpeedie reformation, neither did they think it good to depart in ſunder, for feare to be entrapped through the malicious practiſe of their aduerſaries: which their doubt ſeemed afterward to ſtand them in ſteed of great wiſedom: for immediately after, their ſayd aduerſaries came to the king, and declared howe they were dayly in dāger of their liues, by reaſon of yͤ malice which the Lords had conceyued againſt them onely for the kings ſake, & not for any matter of their own. And where the king had promiſed that they ſhuld appeare at the next Parliament, whiche was at hād, they told him plainly that they neither durſt nor would put their bodies in ſuch manifeſt danger. The king conſidering hereof, withdrew himſelfe from the companie of the Lordes that were aſſigned to ſit at London, to deliberate of matters that were to bee talked of & ordred in the Parliament: and ſo that counſaile was deferred, & layde aſide, and the kings counſailors that ſtood in danger of their liues through the malice of the Lords confederated with the duke of Glouceſter, got thē from the Court, & withdrew ſome into this place and ſome into that. Among other the erle of Suffolke fled ouer vnto Calais in ſecrete wiſe, by the helpe of a knight called ſir William Hoo, who holpe to conuey him thither.

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He had chaunged his apparell, and ſhauen his bearde, and ſo diſguiſed, counterfeyted himſelfe to be a Poulter, and to ſell certaine foule whiche hee had gotten, by whiche meanes hee was not knowne, till at length comming to the gates of the Caſtell whereof hys brother ſir Edmonde de la Poole was Captaine, hee diſcouered to hym (ſcarcely knowing who he was, by reaſō he was ſo diſguiſed) the whole occaſion of his repayring thyther, requyring him to keepe his counſayle, and that hee mighte remayne with him in priuie maner for a tyme, tyll hee myght heare more howe things wente in Englande, from whence hee was thus fled to auoyde the bloudie handes of his enimies, that ſought his life.

Craſt

His brother doubting what might be layde to his charge if he ſhoulde conceale this matter from the Lorde William Beauchampe Lord Deputie of the towne, ſtreyghtwayes aduertiſed hym thereof, who tooke order that the Earle ſhoulde forthwith bee ſent backe agayne into Englande to the King, who receyued hym wyth ſmall thanks to them that brought him ouer, inſomuch (as ſome write) his brother being one, was committed to Pryſon for diſcloſing him. But yet bycauſe it ſhoulde not ſeeme that hee impryſoned hym for that cauſe, hee was ſhortlye after ſet at libertie, and returned againe to his charge at Calais.

The Erle was alſo permytted to go whither he woulde, although the king had vndertaken to preſent him and others at the next Parliament, to anſwere theyr offences, as the ſame might bee layde to theyr charge.

But here it may be doubted by the vncertentie of writers, whether the Erle of Suffolke thus fled ouer to Calais, before the iourney at Ratcote bridge, or after: but whether it chaunced eyther after or before, it is certain that ſith the time that the Lordes had enforced the King to promiſe to exhibite him and others at the next Parliament to abide their trials, he durſt not openly remaine in the Court, but taking leaue of the king, departed from him. Wherevpon the King being oute of quiet for the abſence of him and other his beſt beloued counſaylers, whome hee ſo much eſteemed, and namely of the Duke of Irelande, and the ſayd Erle of Suffolke, he appoynted one Thomas Molineux Coneſtable of the Caſtell of Cheſter, a man of high valiauncie, and great power in the parties of Cheſſhire and Lancaſhire, to rayſe an armie of men, with the aſſiſtance of the Sherife of Cheſſhire, to whome his commiſſion of authoritie in that behalfe, vnder the great ſeale was directed, to the ende that they might conuey the duke of Irelande in all ſafetie vnto the kings preſence.

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The Sherife hauing receyued this commiſſion, togither with the ſayd Thomas Molineux, rayſed a power, and ſuch as refuſed to ſerue, in reſpect of ſuch good will as they bare to the Lordes, he committed to priſon, commaunding the Iaylers to keepe them ſtreyte in Irons wyth bread and water, till his returne.

Moreouer, the king ſent to ſir Rauſe Vernon, and ſir Richarde Ratcliffe, willing them to aſſiſt the other. And ſo thus they ſet forwarde with the number of fiue thouſande men.

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ot the
relande.

When the Lordes vnderſtoode that the duke of Irelande was marching towardes London with ſuch a power of menne, meaning to ioyne with the Londoners, and ſo to make as it had bin an inuincible armie, they beſturred themſelues, and fell in hand to arme theyr men, and to exhort one another, that nowe they ſhoulde not bee negligent in their owne defence, but to make haſt for the diſpatching of thoſe that craftily had gone about to conſpire their deathes. And ſo theſe lordes, to wit, the duke of Glouceſter, the Erles of Darbie, Arundell, Warwike, and Notingham, aſſembled their powers oute of all quarters, to encounter with the Duke of Irelande, and when they had got their companies togither, they forelayde al the wayes by which hee was thought to come.

But the Duke of Irelande hauing wyth him Molineux, Vernon, and Ratclife, roade forwarde in ſtately and glorious arraye, with an armie (as yee haue hearde) of fiue thouſande men, ſuppoſing that none durſt come forth to wythſtande him. Neuertheleſſe when he came to Ratcote bridge, not paſte foure miles from Cheping Norton which bridge if he coulde haue paſſed, he had beene out of the daunger of all enimies) hee ſodainely eſpied where the armie of the Lordes lay, not farre diſtant from him, readie in the midſt of a valley to abide his comming. Some of the Erle of Darbies company had broken the bridge, and ſo ſtopped his paſſage. He therefore perceyuing his enimies intention, ſtayed, and cauſed the kings banner to be ſpred, and began to ſette a good countenance of the matter, and to exhort his people to ſhew themſelues valiant, and herewith cauſed the trumpets to ſounde. But when it appeared that as ſome were readie to fight in his quarel, ſo there were other that quite forſooke him, and ſayde flatly they woulde not fight agaynſt ſo many noble men, in ſo vniuſt a cauſe, hee beeing thereof aduertiſed, began to waxe faint hearted, and to prepare himſelf to eſcape by flight: and declaring no leſſe openly vnto them, ſayde: before we come to ioyne, I will ſeeke to withdraw my ſelfe out of the way, and ſaue my ſelfe if I can, for me they onely ſeeke, agaynſte you they haue no quarell, ſo that I being ſhifted away, ye ſhall eaſily be preſerued.

The Duke of Ireland his ſoldiers reuolt from him.

Herewith one of the knightes ſayde to him, you haue brought vs forth of our Countrey, you haue procured vs to giue you our promiſe, you haue cauſed vs to take this iourney in hand: here therefore are wee readie to fight and winne the victorie with you, if our happe be ſuche, or if fortune will not ſo fauour vs, we are readie to ſpend our liues with you. No ſayd he, ye ſhall not ſo doe, and forthwith ſtriking his horſe with the ſpurres, he fled from them. Wherevpon many that were with him, curſing thys his demeanour, prepared to yeeld themſelues to the Lords. But Thomas Molineux determined to fighte it out, ſithe the Lordes were not yet all come togyther to that place, but onely the Earle of Darbie and certaine other. Neuertheleſſe, after hee had fought a while, and perceyued it would not auail him to tarie lõger, as one diſpairing of the victorie, tooke him likewiſe to flight, as the Duke of Irelaude had led him the way, and plunging into the riuer which was at hande, it chaunced that ſir Thomas Mortimer being preſent amongeſt other at the ſame place, willed him to come forth of the water vnto him, for if he woulde not, hee threatned to ſhoote him through with arrowes in the riuer where he ſtoode: If I come (ſayd Mollineux) will yee ſaue my life: I will make you no ſuche promiſe (ſaide ſir Thomas Mortimer) but notwithſtanding, eyther come vp, or thou ſhalt preſently die for it: well then (ſayde Mollineux) if there be no other remedie, ſuffer me to come vp,

The Duke of Ireland flieth from his army and let me trie with hande blowes, eyther wyth you or ſome other, and ſo die like a man: but as he came vp, the knight caught him by the helmet, plucked it off his heade, and ſtreightwayes drawing forth his dagger, ſtroke him into the braynes, and ſo diſpatched him.

Thomas Molyneux ſlayne.

In the meane time, the duke of Ireland (as ye haue heard) ſeeking to eſcape by flight, came to the riuers ſide, but finding the bridge broken, he galloped till he found an other bridge, where he found a number of archers readie to ſtoppe his paſſage. When he ſaw that he was thus encloſed with his enimies on the one ſide, and the riuer of Thames on the other, he thought to put all in aduenture, and caſting away his gantlets, and ſworde, to be the more nymble, gaue his horſe the ſpurres, & lept into the riuer, but miſſing the fourd, and not able to lande with his horſe on the further ſide, he forſooke him, and ſwimming ouer ſo well as hee might, got to the banke, and ſo eſcaped. It was now night, and therefore his enimies hauing no knowledge of the countrey, folowed him not, but his horſe, helmet, cuiraſſes, gantlet, & ſword being founde, it was thought verily that hee had beene drowned. The next newes heard of him, was yͭ he had paſſed the ſeas, and was got into Hollād, where he had no great friendly welcome, by reaſon that Albert duke of Bauiere, that was Lorde of that countrey, bare ſuch good will to his coſins of England, the Dukes of Lancaſter, Yorke, and Glouceſter, that hee commaunded this Duke of Ireland to depart forth of his country, as immediately therevpon he did, from thence reſorting to the Biſhoprike of Utreict, & after into other countreys, till finally he ended the courſe of his life, as after in place conuenient it ſhall appeare.

The Duke of Ireland flyeth into Holland.

But now to returne to the armies where wee left them. After the Duke was fledde, and Thomas Molineux ſlaine (as before yee haue hearde) the armie of the Lordes ſet vpon the people that were come with the Duke of Irelande (as hathe beene ſayde) forth of Cheſhyre, Lancaſhire, and Wales, and taking them as enimyes, ſpoyled them of their horſe, armour, bowes and arrowes. The knights and eſquiers had their armour and horſes againe to them reſtored, and were reteined with the Lordes to ſerue them: but the commons without either armor or weapon, were ſent home and had no other harme done vnto them. The Duke of Irelandes cariage being taken, letters were founde in his trunkes or males, whiche the king had written to him, exhorting him with all ſpeede to repayre vnto London, with what power he might make, and there he ſhould find him readie to liue and die with him. Such was the concluſion of this battaile, which happened neare vnto Burfourd, faſt by Bablake, to the great reioyſing of many through the realm, for that the enimies thereof (as they tooke the matter) were thus ouerthrowne. But yet the eſcaping away of the duke of Ireland did ſomwhat mittigate their ioy, for what was become of him it was vncertaine. After this the duke of Glouceſter, and the other Lordes went to Oxforde, beeing ſory that theyr fortune was not to haue takē the duke of Irelād.

Letters found in the Duke of Irelands trunkes.

Burforde.

The ſame time, or rather before, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, ſir Robert Triſilian, fearing the indignation of the lordes, withdrew out of the way, and durſt not be ſeene. But now the Lordes who after the iourney at Radcote bridge, were come (as yee haue heard) to Oxford. We find that the ſame tyme a bruyte was rayſed, whether of truth or not, wee haue neither to affirme nor denie, how there was a meſſenger taken being ſent from the French K. with letters, in which was conteyned a licence or ſafeconduct, for the king of England, the duke of Ireland and others, to come vnto Bollongne wͭ a certaine nūber limitted, where they ſhould find the French K. come down thither redie to receiue them, to yͤ end that for a certaine ſumme of money, which the Frenche king ſhoulde giue to the king of Englande, the Towne of Calays, and all the other fortreſſes in thoſe parts, which were in the Engliſh mens handes, ſhould be deliuered to the Frenchmen, & further yͭ the K. of England ſhould do his homage to the French king, for the lands which he held in Gaſcoigne, and ſo to haue acknowledged himſelfe his liegeman. The Lords as it was reported, hauing got theſe letters, and taken counſaile togythers, howe to proceede in their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good end, remoue frō Oxford, & on Chriſtmas euē they come to S. Albons, & there ſtayed that day & the next.

Tho. W

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On Saint Stephens day they tooke their way to London with an army of .xl. thouſande men as ſome write, and comming into the fieldes, beſide Clerkenwell, muſtred their men, being deuided into three ſeueral battails very wel appointed with Armour and weapon, that it was a beautifull ſight to behold them.

The lo
come to
with a
army.

The king kept his Chriſtmaſſe, not at Weſtmynſter, but in the tower, not doubting but there to be defended what chaunce ſoeuer ſhoulde happen. The Lordes miſtruſting the Londoners, lodged them with their people in the Suburbes. They ſent yet two knightes, and two eſquiers, vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie, to vnderſtande whether they were minded to take part with them, or with the duke of Irelande, and hys adherents, traytors as they termed them, both to the king and realme.

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The Londoners were now in no ſmall feare and perplexitie, not knowing wel what way was beſt for them to take, weying diuers perils, as firſt the Kinges diſpleaſure, if they opened theyr gates vnto the Lordes, and if they ſhutte them forth, they feared the indignation and wrath of the Commons that were come thither with the Lordes, and were readie to breake downe theyr walles and gates, if they were neuer ſo lyttle prouoked.

Beſides this, they ſtoode moſte in doubt, leaſt if the wealthieſt Citizens ſhoulde not giue theyr conſent to receyue the Lordes into the Citie, the meaner ſort, and ſuch as wiſhed rather to ſee ſom hurle than to continue in peace, woulde ſeeke by force to ſet opon the gates, and make way for the Lordes and their people to enter, that they might make hauocke, and ſpoyle whatſoeuer might bee founde of value in the rich mens houſes.

Theſe doubtes with all the circumſtaunces being well weyed and conſidered, the Maior Nicholas Exton and certain of the chiefe men in the Citie, went forth to the Lordes, and offred them to lodge in the Citie at their pleaſure, wyth all things neceſſarie as they ſhould deuiſe.

The Maior cauſed alſo wine, ale, breade, and cheeſe, to be diſtributed amongſt the armie, ſo as eche one had parte, which courteſie turned greatlye afterwardes to the commoditie of the Citie.

The Lordes vpon ſearche made, perceyuing that there was no guile mẽt by laying of men in ambuſhes within the Citie to entrappe them, or otherwiſe, but that all was ſure ynough & cleare without any ſuch euill meaning, they entred the Citie and there abode quietly.

Then went the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and other, betwixt the King and the Lordes to make peace betwixt them. But the king at the firſt ſeemed little to eſteeme the matter, ſaying to the Archbiſhop, well let them lie here with their great multitude of people hardely, till they haue ſpent all they haue, and then I truſt they will returne poore ynough and needie, and then I doubt not but I ſhall talke with them, and vſe the matter ſo as iuſtice may require.

The Lordes beeing enformed hereof, were maruellouſly moued, and ſware that they would not depart till they had ſpoke with him face to face, and forthwith they ſent parte of their companies to watche the Thames, for feare the king ſhoulde eſcape theyr handes, and then laugh them to ſcorne.

When the king then perceyued himſelfe to be encloſed on eche ſide, he talked eftſoones with the Archbiſhop and his aſſociates that were Meſſengers betwixt him and the Lordes, willing them to declare to the Lordes that he would be contented to treate with them in reaſonable order, whervpon they required that he ſhould on the morow next enſuing come vnto Weſtminſter, where he ſhould vnderſtand their demaundes.

When the king heard that, he refuſed to come vnto Weſtminſter, but willed that they ſhoulde come to him there in the Tower. The Lordes ſent him worde againe, that the Tower was a place to be ſuſpected, for that they might there be ſurpriſed by ſome guilefull practiſe deuiſed to intrappe them. The king herevnto made anſwere, that they might ſend ſome two hundred men, or ſo many as they ſhoulde thinke good, to make a through ſearch, whether they needed to feare any ſuch thing, and this accordingly was done, they hauing the keyes of the gates and of al the ſtrong chambers, turrets, and places within the tower, ſent vnto them, and ſo on the Fryday, the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Darbie, and Notingham, came to the king, where he was ſet in a pauilion richely arrayed, and after theyr humble ſalutations done, and ſome talke had betwixte them, they wente at the kings requeſt with him, into his chãber, where they recited vnto him the conſpiracie of their aduerſaries through whiche they had bene indited.

The lords refuſe to come into the tower but after ſearch made they come thither to the kings preſence

Grafton.

Tho. Walſ.

The lords opẽ their griefes to the king.

They alſo ſhewed forth the letters which hee had ſent to the Duke of Irelande, to leuie an armie vnto theyr deſtruction. Likewiſe the letters which the Frenche king had written to him conteyning a ſafeconducte for him to come into Fraunce, there to confyrme things to the diminiſhment of his honor, to the decay of his power, and loſſe of his fame.

During the time of this communication alſo, the Earle of Darbie deſired the king to beholde the people that were aſſembled in ſight before the Tower, for the preſeruation of him & his realme: which he did, and marueyling to ſee ſuch a goodly armie and ſtrength, as he declared to them no leſſe, the Duke of Glouceſter ſayde vnto him, ſir this is not the tenth part of your willing ſubiectes that haue ryſen to deſtroy thoſe falſe traytours, that haue miſled you with their wicked & naughtie counſaile.

The king being brought to his wittes ende, aſwell with thoſe things whiche the Lordes had charged him with, as otherwiſe with the ſight of that great multitude of people, ſeemed greatly amazed. Wherevpon the Lordes, vnder condition that the next day hee ſhoulde come to Weſtminſter to heare more of theyr myndes, and to conclude further for the behoofe of the common wealth of the Realme, beganne to take leaue of him, meaning ſo to depart: but the King deſired them to tarie all nyght with him & the Queene. The Duke thinking to make all ſure, made excuſe that he durſt not be abſent frõ al thoſe folkes, which they had brought with them, for feare that ſome diſorder might ariſe, eyther in the armie, or in the Citie: yet at the kings inſtance, the Earles of Notingham and Darbie taried there all night.

Grafton.

The. VValſ.

The inconſtã-cie of the king

The king before his going to bed, was quite turned cõcerning his determination and promiſe made to go the next day vnto Weſtmin. through ſuch whiſpering tales as was put into his eares, by ſome that were about him, telling him that it ſtood neither with his ſafetie, nor honor, ſo lightly to agree to depart frõ the tower, vnto ſuch place as the Lordes had thus appoynted him, to ſerue more for their purpoſe thã for ſuretie of his perſon

When the Lords therefore vnderſtood that he would not keepe promiſe with them, they were greatly offended, inſomuch as they ſent him flat word, that if he woulde not come (according to promiſe) they would ſurely chooſe an other king, that would and ought to obey the faythful counſaile of his Lordes.

The K. is compelled to condiſcend to the lords requeſts.

The king with this meſſage being touched to the quicke, to ſatiſfie their mindes, and to auoyde further perill, remoued the nexte morning vnto Weſtminſter, where the Lords comming before his preſence, after a little other talke, they declared vnto him, that aſwel in reſpect of his own honour, as the commoditie and wealth of his kingdome, it was behouefull that ſuch traytors, moſt wicked and ſlanderous perſons, as were nothing profitable, but hurtful to him, and his louing ſubiects, ſhould be remoued out of his court, and that other that both could, and would ſerue him more honorably and faythfully were placed in theyr rowmthes. The king although ſore agaynſt his minde, when he ſawe how the Lordes were bent, and that he wanted power to withſtande theyr pleaſures, condiſcended to doe what they woulde haue him. And ſo when he had graunted thereto, they iudged that Alexander Neuill Archbiſhop of Yorke, John Fourdham Biſhop of Durham, Lord Treaſorer, Thomas Ruſhoke a Frier of the order of the Preachers, Biſhop of Chicheſter, and confeſſor to the king, were worthie to bee anoyded the Court. But the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and the Bi. of Chicheſter would abide no reckenings, but got them out of the way, and fledde, it was not knowne whither.

Certa ſomi the C

The Lordes expulſed alſo out of the Court Lord Zouche of Haringworth, the L. Burnell, the Lord Beaumont, Albrey de Veer, Baldwin de Bereford, Richard Aderburie, John Worth, Thomas Clyfford, and John Louell knightes. Theſe were diſmiſſed out of the Court, and remoued from the king, but not diſcharged, for they were conſtreyned to put in ſureties to appeare at the next Parliament.

Certa expul Cour

There were alſo certaine Ladies expulſed the Court, as thoſe that were thought to doe muche harme about the K. to wit the Ladie Poynings, wife to John Worth of Mowern, and the Ladie Moulinge, with others, which alſo found ſureties to anſwere at the next Parliament, to all ſuche things as might be obiected agaynſt them.

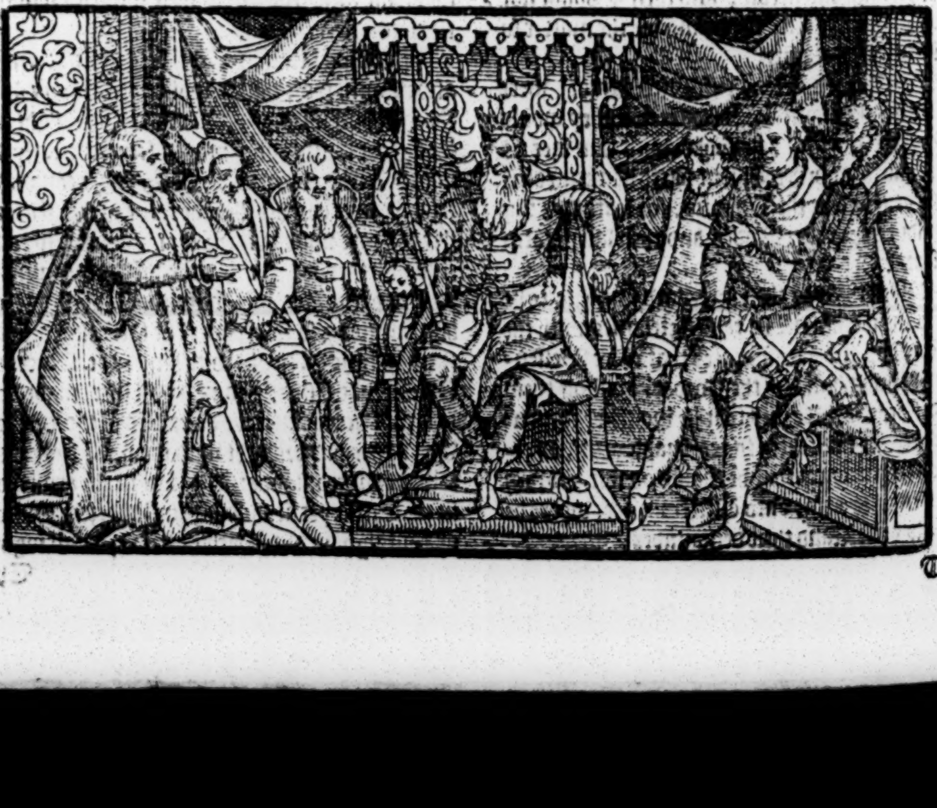
The thoſe comm priſo Lord

Moreouer there were arreſted & cõmitted to ſeuerall priſons, ſir Simon Burley, Wil. Elmham, John Beauchampe of Holt ſteward of the kings houſe, ſir John Saliſburie, ſir Thom. Triuet, ſir James Barneis, ſir Nichol. Dagworth, & ſir Nicolas Brambre knights. Alſo Richarde Clifford, John Lincolne, Ric. Mitford the kings chaplains, & Nic. Slake deane of the kings chapel, whoſe worde might doe much in the Court. There was alſo apprehẽded John Blake an apprentice of the law, al which perſons were kept in ſtrait ward till the next Parliamẽt, in which they were appointed to ſtãd vnto their trial & anſwers

The that wond

Graf

Shortly after, to witte, the morrow after the Purification of our lady, the Parliament began, the which was named the Parliamẽt ỹ wrought wonders. The king would gladly haue proroged the time of this Parliamẽt if by any meanes he might.



The Lordes came to the ſame Parliament, with a ſufficiẽt armie for their owne ſafeties.

The firſt day of this Parliament, were arreſted as they ſate in their places, all the Iuſtices (except ſir William Skipworth) as ſir Roger Fulthrop, ſir Robert Belknap, ſir Iohn Carey, ſir Iohn Holt, ſir William Brooke, & Iohn Locton the kings Sergeant at law, all the whiche were ſent to the Tower, and there kept in ſeuerall places: The cauſe why they were thus apprehẽded, was for that where in the laſt Parliament, diuerſe Lordes were made gouerners of the realme, both by the aſſent of the ſame Parliament, and alſo by the aduiſe & coũſail of all the Iuſtices then being, and Indentures tripertite thereof made, of the which one part remayned with the king, an other with the Lordes ſo choſen to gouerne the realme, and the thirde part with the Iuſtices: and yet notwithſtanding, the ſayde Iuſtices at a Councell holden at Notingham (as ye haue heard before) didde goe contrarie to that agreement. Whereupon it was nowe determyned, that they ſhoulde make anſwere to theyr doings.

Moreouer in the beginning of this Parliament, were openly called Robert Veer Duke of Ireland, Alexander Neuill Archbiſhop of York, Michaell de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, ſir Robert Triſilian Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande, to anſwere Thomas of Woodſtocke Duke of Glouceſter, Rycharde Earle of Arundell, Henrie Earle of Darbie, and Thomas Earle of Notingham vpon certaine articles of high treaſon, which theſe Lordes did charge them with, and foraſmuche as none of theſe appeared, it was ordeyned by the whole aſſent of the Parliament, that they ſhoulde be baniſhed for euer, and theyr landes and goodes moueable and vnmoueable to be forfeyt and ſeyſed into the kings handes, theyr landes entayled onely excepted.

Shortly after was the Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, Robert Treſilian founde founde in a Pothecaries houſe at Weſtminſter, lurking there, to vnderſtande by ſpyes dayly what was done in the Parliament: he was diſcried by one of his owne men, and ſo taken and brought to the Duke of Glouceſter, who cauſed him forthwith the ſame day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawne to Tyburne and there hanged.

Treſilian chief iuſtice diſcried by his own mã is executed at Tiburn.

The morrow after, ſir Nicholas Brambre that ſometime had beene Maior of London, was brought forth to iudgement, and condemned, although he had many friendes that made ſuyte to ſaue his life.

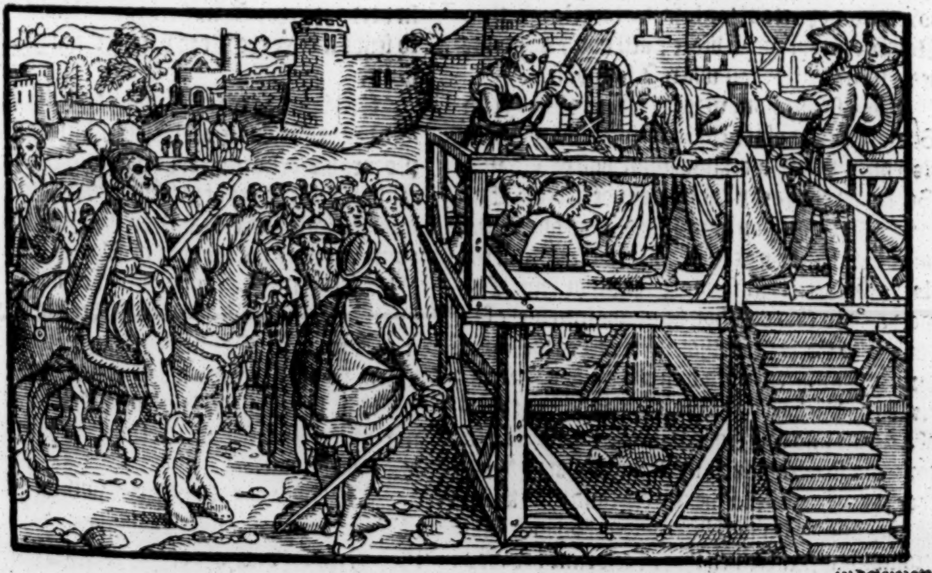
This man had done many oppreſſions within the Citie of London (as was reported.)

In his Mayraltie, he cauſed great and monſtruous Stoks to be made to impriſon men therin, and alſo a common Axe, to ſtrike off the heades of them whiche ſhoulde reſiſt hys wyll and pleaſure, for hee was ſo highly in the kings fauour, that he might doe what he woulde. And the report went, that hee had cauſed eight thouſande or more to be indited, which before had taken part with the Lordes, intending to haue put thẽ all to death, if God had not ſhortned his days.

Many other euill fauoured reportes went abrode of him, as that hee ment to haue chaunged the name of London, and to haue named it little Troy, of which citie baptiſed with yͤ new name, he purpoſed to bee intituled Duke. But theſe were forged rumors deuiſed and ſpred abrode in thoſe dayes, as many other were, partly by the vaine imagination of the people, and partly of purpoſe, to bring thoſe whome the king fauoured further out of the peoples lyking.

But now touching ſir Nicholas Brambre. In the ende beeing thus called to aunſwere hys tranſgreſſions, hee was founde guiltie, and had

Sir Nicholas Brambre executed with an Axe of his owne deuiſe.



iudgement, neither to bee hanged, nor drawne, but to bee beheaded with his owne axe which before he had deuiſed.

Diuers that ſtode agenſt the lords executed

After this ſir John Saliſburie, and ſir James Berneis, both knights and luſtie yong men, were by iudgement of Parliament drawne & hanged. The followed John Beauchampe of ẏ Holt, L. Steward of the kings houſe, that had ſerued king Edward the third, and his ſonne Lionel Duke of Clarence: who likewiſe by decree of this Parliament was drawne and hanged.

Alſo John Blake Eſquier, that in an vnfortunate houre ſtood againſt the Lords in the Councell at Notingham, was now drawne and hanged, and ſo was one Thomas Vſke.

Laſt of all (or as ſome holde, firſt of all) was ſir Simon Burley beheaded, although the Earle of Darbie did what he coulde to ſaue his life, by reaſon whereof, great diſſention roſe betwixt the ſayde Earle, and the Duke of Glouceſter: for the Duke beeing a ſore, and a right ſeuere manne, myght not by any meanes be remoued from hys opinion and purpoſe, if he once reſolued vpon any matter.

The Duke of Glouceſter a ſeuere man.

Some ſpite he bare (as was thought) towards the ſayde ſir Simon Burley, both as well for the faythfull friendſhip, whic he was growne betwixte the Duke of Irelande, and the ſayde ſir Simon, as alſo for that he looked to haue had ſuch offices and rowmeths which ſir Sir Simon enioyed, by the kings gracious fauour and grauntes thereof to him made, as the Wardenſhippe of the cinque portes, and Coneſtableſhip of the Caſtel of Douer, and the office of high Chāberlain. But now bycauſe of all theſe which were condemned and executed at this Parliamēt, in our cōmon Chronicles there is leaſt written, and in Froiſſart, and diuerſe priuate Phamphlets I haue read moſt of this Sir Simon, I haue thought good to ſette downe ſome parte of his lyfe, ſo largely as thys Volume maye well beare, although a greate deale more briefe than where I founde it.

Sir Simon Burley.

This ſir Simon, was the ſonne of ſir John Burley, knight of the Garter, and brought vp in his youth vnder his kinneſman doctor Walter Burley, who (as in the latter ende of king Edwarde the thirde you haue heard) was one of the chiefe that had charge in the bringing vppe of the blacke Prince, eldeſt ſonne to the ſayde king Edwarde. By this occaſion he grewe into ſuche fauour with the Prince, that afterwardes the ſayde Prince committed vnto him the gouernaunce of his ſonne Richarde of Burdeaux, who as he was of a gentle and courteous nature, began then to conceyue ſo great loue and liking towardes hym, that when he came to the crowne, and was king, he aduaunced him highly to great honours and promotions, inſomuch that at one time hee was made knight of the Garter, Coneſtable of the caſtell of Douer, Lord warden of the cinque ports, Lorde Chamberlaine, and alſo one of the priuye counſaile to the king. Neyther was there anye thing done concerning the affayres apperteyning to the ſtate, without his counſaile, appoyntment, and direction, wherein he ſo much fauoured and leaned to the partie of the Duke of Irelande, that he was ſore enuied, and greatly hated of dyuerſe of the reſt of the nobilitie, eſpecially of the kings vncle the Duke of Glouceſter, who vpon malice that he bare to the man, not ſomuch for his owne demeanour, as for his allies, and peraduenture for deſire of his rowmeths, more than of his life, cauſed him to bee accuſed of diuerſe offences againſt the Crowne, Realme, and church, namely for that he had (as they ſurmiſed agaynſte hym) ſpoyled and waſted the Kings treaſure, & withholden the pay of the ſouldiers and men of warre. Wherevpon he was areſted, called to account, and hauing no clearke allowed him to make vppe the ſame, was founde in arrerages. 250000. frankes. And although for one part therof he demaunded allowance of money, whiche he had defreyd and and layde out in Almaine, and in Boheme, about the kings mariage, and for the reſidue deſired dais of payment, yet he could obteyne neyther.

Further, he was accuſed that the duke of Irelande, and he, had gathered great ſummes of money, conueyed the ſame to Douer, and frō thence ſent it in the night by ſea into Germanie.

Laſtly, the Archbiſhop forſooth, & the Monkes of Canterburie, charged him that hee ſoughte the meanes to remoue the Shrine of the Archb. Thomas, otherwiſe called Thomas Becket, from Canterburie vnto Douer, vnder a colour of feare, leaſt the Frenchmen being aſſembled in Flaunders to inuade Englande, ſhould lande in Kent, and take Canterburie, and ſpoyle it, where in deede (as they ſurmiſed agaynſt him) he ment to ſende it ouer the Seas vnto the King of Boheme.

Froiſ

Herevpon he was firſt cōmitted to the tower, and before the King or his other friendes coulde procure his deliuerance, he was without lawe or Juſtice before anye of the reſidue (as ſome holde) brought forth and beheaded on the Tower hill, by cōmaundement of the duke of Glouceſter, & other of his faction, quite contrarie to the kings will or knowledge, inſomuch that when hee vnderſtoode it, he ſpake many ſore wordes agaynſt the Duke, affirming that hee was a wicked man, and worthie to be kept ſhorter, ſithe vnder a colour of doing iuſtice, hee went aboute to deſtroy euery good and honeſt man.

The king was alſo offended with the Duke of Yorke, for his brothers preſumptuous doings, though the ſayde Duke of Yorke beeing verily a man of a gentle nature, wiſhed that the ſtate of the common wealth might haue beene returned without loſſe of any mans lyfe, or other cruell dealing: but the Duke of Glouceſter, and diuerſe other of the nobilitie, the leſſe that they paſſed for the Kings threatning ſpeache, ſo muche more were they readie to puniſh all thoſe whome they toke to bee theyr enimies. In deede the ſayde Sir Symon Burley, was thought to beare himſelfe more loftie, by reaſon of the Kings fauour, than was requiſite, whiche procured hym enuye of them, that coulde not abyde others to bee in anye condition theyr equalles in authoritie.

It ſhoulde appeare by Froiſſart, that hee was firſte of all in the beginning of theſe ſturres betwixt the king and the Lords, committed to the Tower, and notwithſtanding all the ſhift that eyther the King, or the Duke of Irelande, or any other of his friendes coulde make for him, by the duke of Glouceſters commaundement hee was cruelly beheaded, ſo greatly to the offence of the king, and thoſe that were his truſtie counſailers, that therevpon the king cauſed the Duke of Irelande the ſooner to aſſemble an armie againſt the ſaid duke and his complices, thereby to reſtraine their preſumptuous proceedings, but whether he was thus at the firſt or laſt executed, to pleaſe the king the better, now at this Parliament amongſt others that were cōdemned in the ſame: his lands were giuen to the king, a great part whereof he afterwards diſpoſed to diuers men as he thought expedient: but yet in the Parliament holde in the xxj. yere of this kings raigne, the act of atteynder of the ſayd ſir Simon was repealed, and at an other Parliament holden in the ſeconde yeare of king Henrie the fourth, all his landes which then remayned vngraunted and vnſold, were reſtored to ſir John Burley knight, ſon & heyre of ſir Roger Burley, brother to the ſayd Simon, of whom lineally is diſcended Thomas Eyns Eſquier, now Secretarie to the Queenes Maie. counſaile in the north parts. And thus far touching ſir Simon Burley, of whom many reports went of his diſloyall dealings towardes the ſtate, as partly ye haue heard, but how truely the Lorde knoweth.

Among other ſlaunderous tales that were ſpredde abrode of him, one was that he conſented to the deliuering of Douer Caſtell by the kings appoyntment vnto the Frenchmen for money. But as this was a thing not like to be true, ſo no doubt, many things that the perſons aforeſayde which were executed had bin charged with, at the leaſt by common report among the people, were nothing true at al, although happely the ſubſtāce of thoſe things for which they died, might be true in ſome reſpect. Sir William Elmham that was charged alſo for the withdrawing the ſouldiers wages, diſcharged himſelfe thereof, and of all other thinges that mighte bee layde to hys charge.

Grafton.

The iuſtices condemned to perpetual exile

As touching the Juſtices, they were all condemned to death by the Parliament, but ſuche meanes was made for them vnto the Queene, that ſhe obteined pardon for their liues. But they forfeyted theyr landes and goods, and were appoynted to remayne in perpetuall exile, with a certaine portion of Money to them aſſigned for theyr dayly ſuſtentation: the names of whiche Juſtices ſo condemned to exile were theſe, Robert Belknap, John Holt, John Cray, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burgh, and John Lokton.

The K. taketh an oth to performe the lords orders.

Finally, in this Parliament was an othe required and obteyned of the king, that hee ſhoulde ſtand vnto and abide ſuch rule and order as the Lordes ſhoulde take: and this othe was not requyred onely of the king, but alſo of all the Inhabitantes of the realme.

In theſe troubles was the realme of England in theſe days, and the king brought into that caſe, that hee ruled not, but was ruled by hys vncles, and other, to them aſſociate.

The erle of Arundel ſent to the ſea with a great Nauie In ayde of the Duke of Britaine.

In the latter ende of this eleuenth yeare was the Erle of Arundell ſent to the ſea with a greate nauie of ſhips and men of war. There went with him in this iorney, of noble men, the Erle of Notingham, and Deuonſhire, ſir Thomas Percy, the Lorde Clifford, the L. Camois, ſir William Elmhā, ſir Thomas Morieur, ſir John Danbreticourt, ſir William Shelley, ſir John Warwike, or Barwike, ſir Stephen de Libery, ſir Robert Sere, ſir Peter Montberie, ſir Lewes Clanbow, ſir Thomas Coq or Coke, ſir William Pauley or Paulet, and diuerſe others. They were a thouſande men of armes, and three thouſande archers.

Peraduenter Malueris it may be Mongomery.

The purpoſe for which they were ſent, was to haue ayded the duke of Brytaine (if he woulde haue receyued them) being then eftſoones run into the French kings diſpleaſure, for the impriſoning of the Lord Cliſſon Conſtable of Fraunce.

An. reg. 12.

But after that (contrary to expectation.) the duke of Brytain was come to an agreemēt with the French king, the Erle of Arundell drew with his nauie alongſt the coaſtes of Poictou, & Saintonge, till at length hee arriued in the hauen that goeth vp to Rochell, and landed with his men at Marraunt foure leagues from Rochelle, and beganne to pilfre, ſpoyle, and fetche booties abrode in the Countrey.

The French menne within Rochelle, iſſued forth to ſkirmiſh with the Engliſh men, but they were eaſily put to flight, and followed euen to the barriers of the gates of Rochel. Perot le Bernois a captaine of Gaſcoine, that made warre for the king of England in Lymoſin, and lay in the fortreſſe of Galuſet, came forth the ſame time, and made a road into Berry with foure.C.ſpeares.

The Erle of Arundel returneth out of Fraunce.

The Earle of Arundell after hee had layne at Marrant.xv.dayes, returned to his ſhippes, and finally came backe into Englande, and Perot le Bernois likewiſe returned to his fortreſſe.

About the ſame time was a truce taken betwixte the parties Engliſhe and Frenche on the marches, of Aquitaine to beginne the firſt day of Auguſt, and to endure till the firſt of May nexte enſuing.

An ouerthrow giuen to the Engliſhemen by the Scots at Otterborne.

This yeare in Auguſt, the Scots inuaded the Countrey of Northumberlande, and at Otterburne ouerthrew a power of Engliſhmen, which the Earle of Northumberlande and his ſonnes had leuied againſt them. In this battaile the Erle Dowglas chiefe of that armie of Scottes was ſlaine, and the Lord Henrie Percy, & his brother ſir Raufe, ſonnes to the ſayd Erle of Northumberland, were taken priſoners, as in the Scottiſh Chronicles ye may read more at large.

Fabian.
Caxton.
A parliament at Cambridge

After the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, a Parliament was holden at Cambridge, in the which diuerſe new ſtatutes were ordeyned, as for the limiting of ſeruants wages: of puniſhment of vagarant perſons: for the inhibiting of certain perſons to weare weapon: for the debarring of vnlawfull games: for maintenaunce of ſhooting in the long bow: for remouing of the Staple of woolles from Middleburgh vnto Calays: for labourers not to be receyued, but where they are inhabiting, except with licence vnder Seale of the hundred where they dwell.

There was alſo an act made, that none ſhould goe forth of the realme, to purchaſe any benefice with cure or without cure, except by licence obteyned of the king, and if they did contrarie herevnto, they were to be excluded out of the Kings protection.

There was graunted to the king in this Parliament, a tenth to be leuied of the Clergie, and a fifteenth of the laitie.

Sir Thomas Triuet ſlayne with the fall of his horſe.

Moreouer, during the time of this Parliamēt, as ſir Thomas Triuet was ryding towards Barnewel with the king, where the king lodged, by forcing his horſe too muche with the ſpurres, the horſe fell with him ſo rudely to the grounde, that his intrailes within him were ſo burſt and periſhed, that he dyed the next day after.

Many reioyced at this mans death, as well for that menne iudged him to be exceeding bawtie and prowde, as alſo for that he was ſuſpected not to haue dealt iuſtly with the Biſhop of Norwiche, in the iourney whiche the Biſhoppe made into Flaunders: but ſpecially men hadde an euil opinion of him, for that hee ſtoode with the king agaynſte the Lordes, counſayling him in the yeare laſt paſte, to diſpatche them oute of the way.

Sir John Hollande, the kings brother on the mothers ſyde, that was lately returned forth of Spaine, where hee hadde beene wyth the Duke of Lancaſter, was nowe made Earle of Huntingdon.

Com
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Alſo in this .xij. yeare, were commiſſioners appoynted to meete at Balingham, betwixt Calais and Bollongne, to treate a truce to bee had betwixt the realmes of England, Fraunce, and Scotlande. Walter Skirlow Biſhop of Durham, that had beene lately before remoued from Bathe vnto Durham, from whence John Fordham had beene tranſlated vnto Elie, was ſent as head commiſſioner for the king of England, and with him were ioyned ſir John Clanbow, and ſir Nicholas Dagworth, knightes, and Richarde Rowhale Clearke, a doctor of law.

Froi

By Froiſſart it appeareth that the Earle of Saliſburie was one, & ſir William Beauchamp Lorde Deputie of Calais poynted likewiſe as an aſſiſtant with them.

The Biſhop of Bayeux, the Lorde Walcran Earle of Saint Poule, ſir Guillam de Melin, ſir Nicholas Bracque, & ſir John le Mercier, came thither for the French king. And for the king of Scottes there appeared, the Biſhop of Aberdyne, ſir James, and ſir Dauid Lindſey, and ſir Walter Sanckler, knights.

After long treatie, and muche adoe, at length a truce was concluded to begin at Midſommer next, and to endure for the ſpace of three yeares next enſuing.

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Whileſt the Commiſſioners were occupied in the Marches betwixt Calais and Bollongne about this truce, the Scottes entring into Northumberland, did much miſchiefe, leading away many priſoners, of men and women, beſide other great booties & prayes which they got abroade in the countrey. The Lord Thomas Mowbray erle of Notingham was ſent with fiue. C. ſpeares to reuenge thoſe attempts of the enimies: but for that his power was ſmall in compariſon to theirs, he preuayled litle or nothing againſt them. Sir John Clanbow, and ſir Richard Rouale Clerke tooke the French kings othe, and the Erle of S. Paule that had maried the Ladie Mawde Courtenay with other noble men, came into Englande, and receiued the kings othe here for the confirming of this laſt mentioned truce. The Scots might not without muche adoe be perſwaded to accept this truce, being ready the ſame time with an army to enter into England, but yet through the diligēce of ſuche Frenchmen as went thither for that purpoſe, at length they agreed.

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This yeare the King by counſayle of ſome that were aboute hym, called the Nobles and greate menne of the Realme togyther, and as they were ſet in the Counſaile Chamber ſtaying till hee came: at length he entring into the ſame Chamber, and taking his place to ſit among thẽ, demaunded of them, of what age he was nowe? Whereunto anſwere was made, that he was full twentie yeares olde: then (ſayde hee) I am of yeres ſufficient to gouerne mine owne houſe and family, and alſo myne Kingdome: for it ſeemeth agaynſt reaſon that the eſtate of the meaneſt perſon within my kingdome ſhoulde be better than myne. Euerie heyre that is once come to the age of .xx. yeares, is permitted, if his father be not lyuing, to order his buſineſſe himſelfe: then that thing whiche is permitted to euery other perſon of meane degree by lawe, why is the ſame denied vnto me?

When the Barons herewith aſtonied made anſwere, that there ſhoulde bee no right abridged from him, but that he might take vpon hym the gouernment as of reaſon was due: Well ſayde hee, ye knowe that I haue beene a long time ruled by tutors, ſo as it hath not beene lawfull to mee to doe any thing, were it of neuer ſo ſmall importance, without their conſents. Now therefore I wil, that they meddle no further with matters perteyning to my gouernment, and after the maner of an heyre come to lawfull age, I wil call to my counſaile ſuch as pleaſeth mee, and I will deale in mine owne buſineſſe my ſelfe. And therefore I will firſt that the Chauncellor reſigne to me his ſeale. When the Archbiſhop of Yorke (who in the yeare laſt paſt had bin remoued from Ely vnto Yorke, and Alexander Neuill diſplaced,) had delyuered to him the ſeale, the King receyuing it of him, put it in his boſome, and ſodainly ryſing, departed forth of the Chamber, and after a little while returning, ſate downe againe, and delyuered the Seale to the Biſhop of Wyncheſter, William Wickham, and ſo made him Chancellor, although ſore agaynſt the ſame Biſhops will: he made alſo many other new officers, remouing the olde, and vſed in all things his owne diſcretion and authoritie.

The Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Warwicke, and other honourable and worthie men, were diſcharged and put from the Counſaile, and others placed in theyr rowmethes, ſuch as pleaſed the king to appoynt. The ſame time he made fiue new Iuſtices.

In this ſeaſon, the followers of Wicklifes doctrine maruellouſly increaſed, ſpecially in the Dioceſſe of Sarum, where they had many that toke vpon them as Miniſters, both to preach the worde, and to diſpence the Sacraments.

This they did in ſecrete: but they were diſcouered by one that had beene of theyr fellowſhip, who declared to the Biſhoppe of Saliſburie at his Manour of Sonning, all the whole circumſtaunces therof, as he knewe.

There were of them that preached in thoſe dayes earneſtly agaynſt pylgrimages, callyng ſuch Images as ẏ people had in moſt veneratiõ, as that at Walſingham, and the Roode of the North dore at Paules in London, rotten ſtocks, and worme eaten blocks, through which the vnſkilfull people being mocked and deceyued, were compelled moſt manifeſtly to commit idolatrie.

The Biſhops (ſayth Thomas Walſingham) hearing, beholding & knowing theſe things with much more to be true, did litle or nothing to redreſſe the ſame, ſaue only the biſhop of Norwich who ſtirred coales, ſwearing and ſtaring, that if any of that ſect preſumed to preache any peruerſe doctrine within his dioceſſe, he would cauſe them either to hop headleſſe, or to frie a fagot for it: he was therefore not a little prayſed and extolled by the Monks and other religious men, as ſhould appeare for that his zeale.

The Duke of Lancaſter returneth into England forth of Gaſcoigne.

In Nouember, the Duke of Lancaſter came forth of Gaſcoigne into England after he had remayned firſt in Spaine, and after in Gaſcoigne, three yeares togither. Of his ſucceſſe in Spaine is ſpoken before, and likewyſe of the agreement betwixte the King of Caſtille, and the ſayde Duke, whiche was not in all poyntes confyrmed, till a little before his returne nowe into Englande.

A counſel holden at Reding where the D. of Lanca. reconcileth the king and the lords.

About the ſame time the King had called a counſaile of his Nobilitie at Reading, to the whiche the Duke of Lancaſter made the more haſte to come, bycauſe hee knewe that the King woulde ſhewe no good countenaunce to ſome of the noble men, and therefore he doubted leaſt malicious offences might ariſe betwixt them, whiche to appeaſe he ment the beſt he coulde, and his trauaile came to good effect: for he did ſo much, that as well the king as the Lordes departed from the Counſaile as friendes, the Lordes taking theyr leaues of him in louing maner, and he curteouſly bidding them farewell: and ſo eche of them reſorted to their homes well pleaſed and ſatiſfied for that preſent.

The king helde his Chriſtmaſſe this yeare at Woodſtocke, and the Duke of Lancaſter lay at his Caſtell of Hertford.

1390

The Erle of Pembrok ſlain as he was learning to iuſt wounded to death.

The ſame tyme the Lorde John de Haſtings erle of Pembroke, as he was practiſing to learne to iuſt, through miſhap was ſtriken about the priuie partes, by a knight called ſir John S. John, that ran againſt him, ſo as his inner parts being periſhed, death preſently followed.

The loſſe of this erle was greatly bemoned by men of al degrees, for he was liberal, gẽtle, humble, and curteous to eche one, aboue all the other yong Lordes in the land of his time.

Of this Earles aunceſtours thys is reported for a thing ſtraunge and marueylous, that from the dayes of Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembrooke, that was one amongeſt other that ſate in iudgement of Thomas Earle of Lancaſter, there was not any Earle of Pembrooke ſucceeding the ſame Aymer de Valence, vnto the dayes of this yong Earle by miſfortune thus ſlaine, that euer ſaw his father, nor yet anye of their fathers might reioyce in the ſight of anye of their ſonnes, being ſtill called hence, ere the time came for them ſo to doe.

The earle of Lancaſter canoniſed for a Saint.

This yeare, the ſame Thomas Erle of Lancaſter, for the opinion which had bene conceyued of him, by reaſon of myracles and other reſpects, was canonized for a Saint.

A bil againſt wearing of badges.

The Monday next after the feaſt of Saint Hillarie, a Parliament was begonne at Weſtminſter, in which there was a Byll exhibited by the commons, that the Lordes and great men of the realme, ſhoulde not giue to theyr men Badges to weare as their cognizances, by reaſon that through the abuſe thereof, many great oppreſſions, imbraſeries, vnlawfull maintenances, and wrongs were practiſed, to the hinderaunce of all good orders, lawes and iuſtice.

No reteyners to wear badges

The Lordes woulde not conſent altogither to lay down their badges, but yet they agreed that none ſhoulde weare any ſuch cognizaunce except their ſeruaunts of houſholde, and ſuch as were in ordinarie wages by the yeare.

In the ſame Parliament, certaine perſons that had gone about ſome new rebellion in Kent being apprehended, were condemned, and ſo were drawne and hanged.

There was alſo an act made againſt ſuche as ſhould paſſe the Seas, to purchaſe prouiſions (as they tearmed them) in any Church or Churches. And if any from thenceforth attempted ſo to doe, he ſhould be reputed and taken as a rebell.

Ad act againſt mediators for wilful murderers.

Alſo there was an act prouided againſt thoſe that committed any wilfull murder, that none ſhould preſume to ſue for their pardon. A duke or an Archb. that ſo ſued, ſhould forfeyt to the king an hundred poundes. Likewiſe an Erle or a Biſhop, an hundred markes. &c.

Moreouer, in this Parliament it was granted, that the King ſhould haue of euery ſacke of wooll fortie ſhillings, of the which ten ſhillings ſhould be applyed preſently to the kings vſes, and xxx.ß. reſidue of the .xl.ß. ſhoulde remaine in the hãds of the Treaſorers, towards ẏ bearing forth of the charges of warres when any chaunced.

Alſo there was a ſubſidie graunted of ſixe pens in the pound, foure pens to the vſe laſt mentioned, and two pens to be imployed at the kings pleaſure.

The Lācaſ Duke tayne.

In the ſame Parliament, Iohn duke of Lancaſter was created Duke of Aquitaine, receyuing at the kings hand the rodde and cappe, as inueſtures of that dignitie. Alſo the duke of Yorke his ſonne and heire was created Erle of Rutland.

Grea

The fifth of March, a ſore and terrible winde roſe, with the violence whereof, muche hurt was done, houſes ouerthrowne, cattell deſtroyed, and trees ouerturned.

Grea

After this enſued great mortalitie by peſtilence ſo that much youth died euery where, in cities and townes, in paſſing great numbers.

Grea

Herewith followed a great dearth of corne, ſo that a buſhell of wheate in ſome places was ſolde at .xiij. pens, which then was thought to bee at a great price.

A iou gainſ taſy

In this .xiij. yeare of king Richardes raigne, the Chriſtians tooke in hande a iourney agaynſte the Sarazens of Barbarie, through ſute of the Geneways, ſo that there went a great number of Lordes, knights, and gentlemen of Fraunce, and Englande, the duke of Burbon being theyr generall. Out of Englande there went one Iohn de Beaufort baſtarde ſonne to the Duke of Lancaſter (as Froiſſart hath noted) alſo ſir Iohn Ruſſell, ſir Iohn Butler and others. They ſet forwarde in the latter ende of this .xiij. yeare, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not long, but that the gallyes and other veſſels of the Genewayes were readie to paſſe them ouer into Barbarie.

An

And ſo about Mydſommer in the beginning of the fourtenth yeare of thys Kings reigne, the whole armie beeing embarked, ſayled forth to the coaſtes of Barbarie, where neare to the Citie of Afrike they landed, at which inſtant the Engliſh Archers (as ſome write) ſtoode all the companie in good ſteade, with theyr long Bowes, beating backe the enimies from the ſhore, whiche came downe to reſyſt theyr landing.

The archer ſeru

After they had got to land, they enuyroned the Citie of Affrike (called by the Moores Mahemedia) with a ſtrong ſiege: but at length conſtrained wyth the intemperancie of the ſcalding ayre in that hote countrey, breeding in the armie ſundrie diſeaſes, they fell to a compoſition vpon certaine articles to be perfourmed in the behalfe of the Sarazens, and ſo .lxj. dayes after theyr firſt arriuall there, they tooke the Seas againe, and returned home, as in the hiſtories of Fraunce and Italy is likewiſe expreſſed.

Where by Polidore Virgile it may ſeeme, that the Lorde Henrie of Lancaſter Earle of Derbie, ſhoulde bee Captaine of the Engliſhe menne, that (as before ye haue hearde) went into Barbarie wyth the French men, & Genewayes, it ſhoulde otherwiſe appeare by other Wryters, who affyrme that the ſayde Earle made a iourney in deede the ſame tyme agaynſte the myſcreantes,

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treantes, not into Barbarie, but into Prutzenlande, where he ſhewed good prouſe of his noble and valiant courage: for ioyning with the maiſters and knightes of the Teutſch order there, the armie of the Lithuanians that came agaynſt the ſayd order was vanquiſhed, and foure chiefe leaders of the Lithuanians were taken priſoners, three other being ſlain, with three hūdred of their chiefeſt and beſt approued ſouldiers.

Through the policie alſo and worthie manhood of the Erle of Darbie, there was a certaine Citie taken, where the ſaid Erle and his men firſt entring vpon the walles, did ſet vp his banner: other being ſlouthfull, or at the leaſt vnſkilful how to deale in ſuch exploytes.

There were taken & ſlaine foure. M. of the cōmon people, and amongſt them that were founde dead, the king of Poloignes brother was one.

The Caſtell of the ſame Citie was beſieged fiue weekes ſpace: but by reaſon of ſickneſſe & ſuch infirmities as chanced in the army, the maſters of Prutzen, & Lieſland would not tarie any longer, but brake vp their ſiege and returned.

The Maſter of Leiſland led with him into his countrey three thouſand priſoners.

Iuſtes
in Smith
Londō.

In the meane time, whileſt the Chriſtians were thus occupied, as well agaynſt the infidels in Barbarie, as in the Eaſte partes towardes Lyttawe, a royall Juſtes and Martiall turnament was proclaymed to bee holden wythin Smithfielde in London, to beginne on Sunday next after the feaſt of Saint Michaell. And bycauſe this triumphaunt paſtime was publiſhed, not onely in Englande, but alſo in Scotlande, in Almaigne, in Flaunders, in Brabant, in Heynault, and in Fraunce, many ſtraungers came hyther forth of diuerſe Countreys, namely Valeran Earle of Saint Paule, that had maryed King Richardes ſiſter the Ladie Mawde de Courtenay, and William the yong Erle of Oſteruãnt, ſon to Albert de Bauiere Erle of Hollande and Heynalt.

Some copies haue Oſternãt.

At the day appoynted, when all things were prepared, there iſſued forth of the Tower about three of the clocke in the after noone lx. Courſers apparelled for the Juſtes, and vpon euerie one an Eſquier of honour, riding a ſoft pace.

The maner of the iuſts in Smithfield.

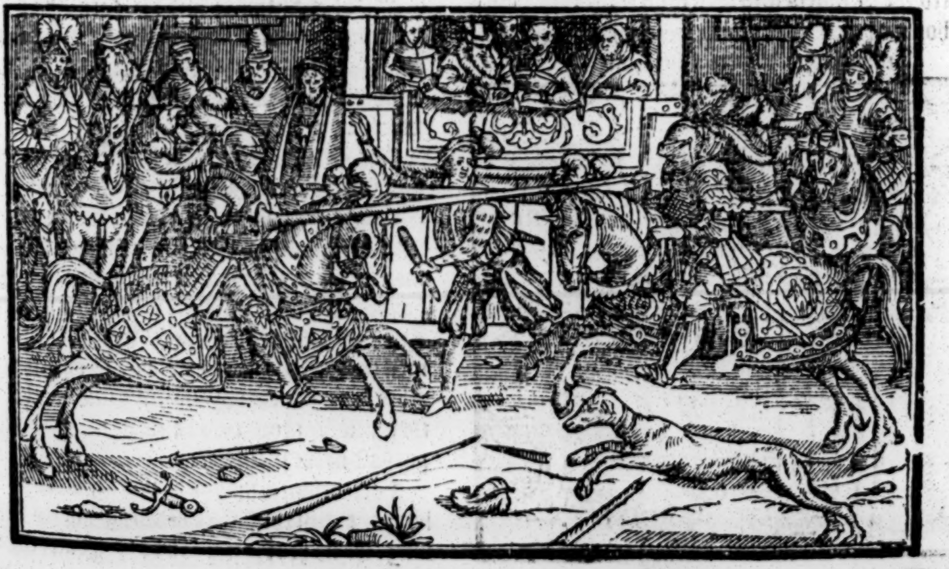
Siluer ſayth Froſart.

Then came forth. xxiiij. Ladies of honour (lx. ſayth Froiſſart) mounted on Palfreys, ryding on the one ſide richly apparelled, and euery Ladie led a knight with a chaine of golde. Thoſe knightes being on the kings part, had their armor and apparell garniſhed with white heartes and crownes of golde about theyr neckes, and ſo they came ryding through the ſtreets of Lōdon vnto Smithfield, with a great number of Trumpets and other Inſtruments before them.

The King and the Queene, with many other great eſtates were readie placed in Chambers richly adorned to ſee the Juſtes: and when the Ladies that led the knightes, were come to the place, they were taken downe from their Palfreys, and went vp into Chambers readie prepared for them. Then alighted the eſquiers of honor from their courſers, and the knights in good order mounted vpon them. And ſo when their helmets were ſet on their heades, and that they were readie in all poyntes, after Proclamations made by the Heraults, the iuſtes began, and many commendable courſes were runne, to the great pleaſure, comfort, and recreation of the King, the Queene, and all other the beholders.

The price that day on the anſwerers part was giuen to the Earle of Saint Paule, and on the Chalengers ſide, to the Earle of Huntington.

On the Monday, the King himſelfe, wyth Dukes, Erles, Lordes, and knights, came to the iuſtes, he being chiefe of the inner part.



That day the price was giuen to the Erle of Oſteruant for the beſt doer, of the vtter part: and of the inner part, to a knight of Englande called ſir Hugh Spencer. On the Tueſday, all maner of Eſquiers iuſted, and likewiſe on the Wedneſday al maner of knights and eſquiers that woulde, on which day was a ſore and rude iuſtes, enduring till night And ſo many a noble courſe and other martiall feates were atchieued in thoſe four days, to the great contentation and pleaſure of many a yong batchler deſirous to win fame, & alſo highly to the kings honor, who by all that ſeaſon helde his Court in the Biſhops Palayce by Paules church, keeping open houſhold for all honeſt perſones that thither reſorted, eſpecially euery night after the iuſtes were ended, a right ſumptuous & princely ſupper was prepared for the ſtrangers & other, and after ſupper, the time was ſpent in dancing & reuelling, after the moſt courtlike maner.

The King kept open houſhold in the Biſhop of Londons his palaice by Paules church.

The K. feſteth the ſtrangers

The Thurſday, the king made a ſupper to al the Lords, knights and gentlemen ſtrangers, and the Queene to all the ladies and gentlewomen.

The Duke of Lancaſter feaſteth the ſtrangers.

On the Fryday the duke of Lancaſter feaſted at dinner al the ſayd Lords, knights, & gentlemē ſtrangers, in moſt ſumptuous & plentiful maner.

On the Saterday, the king and all the whole companie departed from Lōdon vnto Winſore, where newe feaſting beganne, and ſpecially the king did all the honour that might be deuiſed vnto the Erles of S. Paule and Oſteruant.

The Erle of Oſteruant, at the erneſt requeſt of the king, receyued of him the order of the Garter, for the whiche hee was euill thought of afterwardes by his friendes, namely the French king and others.

Finally, after that the king had thus feaſted the ſtrangers and other at Windſore, eche man tooke leaue of the king, the Queene, and the kings vncles, and other Lords and Ladies, and ſo departed the ſtrangers into their own coūtreys, & other home to their houſes, or whither they thoght beſt.

1391

Ambaſſadours were ſent from the Frenche king, vnto the king of Englande, to make an ouerture of peace to be had, and to endure for euer betwixt the two realmes of England & Fraunce, ſith that by warre it was apparant ynough, that neyther realme could greatly benefite it ſelfe, but rather ſore endomage eyther other, as before time it had come apparantly to paſſe. Therefore the matter beeing well conſidered, both partes ſeemed well affected towardes ſome good concluſion by treatie to bee hadde of a full and perfect peace.

Tho. W

Embaſſ

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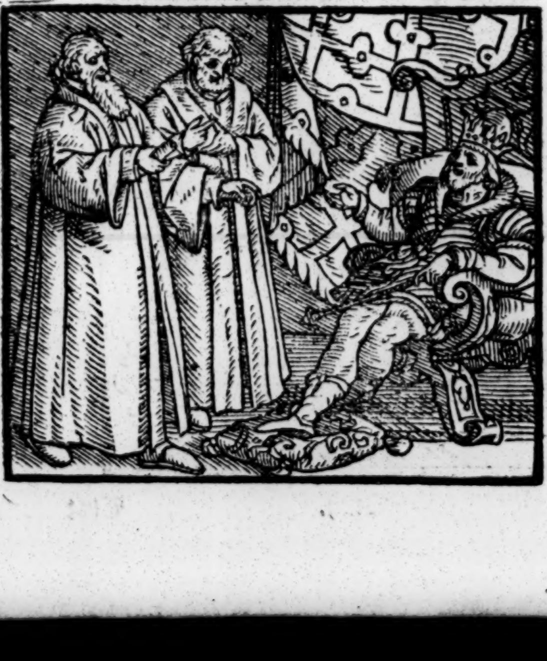

About the ſame time, by the king with the aduice of his counſaile, proclamation was made and publiſhed at London, that all beneficed men abyding in the Court of Rome, being Engliſhe men borne, ſhould returne home into Englande before the feaſt of Saint Nicholas, vnder paine to forfeyte all theyr benefices, and ſuch as were not beneficed, vnder a paine likewiſe lymitted. The Engliſh men hearing ſuch a thunder clap a farre off, fearing the blowe, left the Popes Court, and returned to their natiue ſoyle.

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The Pope troubled with ſuch a rūbling noiſe, ſent in all haſt an Abbot as his *nuncio* vnto the king of Englande, aſwell to vnderſtand the cauſes of this proclamation, as of ſtatutes deuiſed & made lately in Parliament, agaynſt thoſe that prouided themſelues of benefices in the Court of Rome by the Popes Bulles, which ſeemed not a little preiudiciall to the Church of Rome: in conſideration whereof the ſayd *nuncio*, required that the ſame ſtatutes might be repealed & aboliſhed, ſo farre as they tended to the derogation of yͤ church liberties: but if yͤ ſame ſtatuts were not aboliſhed, the Pope might not (ſayd his *nuncio*) with a ſafe conſcience otherwiſe do than procede againſt thē that made thoſe ſtatuts, in ſuch order as the Canons did appoint. Moreouer the ſaid *nuncio* declared to the king, certaine daungerous practiſes betwixt the Antipape and the French king, as to make the duke of Touraine the Frēch kings brother king of Tuſkaine and Lombardie, and to eſtabliſh the Duke of Aniou in the kingdome of Sicille.

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Moreouer, he gaue the king to vnderſtande, that if the Frenche king might cōpaſſe by the Antipapes meane to bee choſen Emperour, hee woulde ſeeke to vſurpe vpon ech mans right, and therefore it ſtoode the king of England chiefly in hande to prouyde agaynſt ſuch practiſes in time. And as for the treatie of peace which the Frenche men ſeemed ſo much to fauour, it was to none other ende, but that vpon agreement once hadde, they might more conueniently compaſſe theyr purpoſe in the premiſſes.

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Furthermore, the *nuncio* erneſtly beſought the king of ayd in the Popes behalf againſt the Frēch king, if (as he threatned to do) he ſhoulde inuade

Nunti

him in Italie with open force.

The king ſeemed to giue fauourable eare vnto the *nuncio*, and after aduice taken, appoynted to ſtay till after Michaelmaſſe, at what time a parliament was appoynted to be aſſembled, wherein ſuch things as he had proponed ſhoulde be weyed and cōſidered of, & ſome concluſion taken therein.

About the ſame time, the Duke of Glouceſter went into Prutzen land, to the great griefe of the people, that made account by his departure, as if the ſunne had beene taken from the earth, doubting ſome miſhappe to followe to the common welth by his abſēce, whoſe preſence they thought ſufficient to ſtay all detriments ÿ might chaunce; for in hym the hope of the Commons onelye reſted.

In his returne home, he was ſore tormented with rough weather & tēpeſtuous ſeas. At length yet he arriued in Northumberlande, and came to the Caſtell of Tinmouth, as to a Sanctuarie knowne to him of olde, where after hee had refreſhed him certaine dayes, he tooke his iourney homewardes to Plaſchy in Eſſex, bringyng no ſmall ioy for his ſafe returne to all the Kingdome.

The ninth of Iuly the Sunne ſeemed darkned, wyth certaine groſſe and euill fauoured cloudes comming betwixt it and the earth, ſo as it appeared ruddie, but gaue no light from none, till the ſetting thereof. And afterwardes continually for the ſpace of ſixe Weekes, aboute the midſt of the day, clowds cuſtomarily roſe, & ſomtimes they continued both day and nighte, not vaniſhing away at all.

The ſame tyme, ſuche a mortalitie and death of peope increaſed in Norffolke, and in many other Countrees of England, that it ſeemed not vnlike the ſeaſon of the great peſtilence.

In the Citie of Yorke there died .xj. thouſande within a ſhort ſpace.

Henrie Percy Erle of Northumberland lieutenaunt of Calais, was called home from that charge, and created warden of the Marches agaynſt Scotland, & Robert Mowbray was ſent to Calays to be the kings lieutenant there.

On Fryday next after all ſoules day, the Parliament began at London, in which the knightes would in no wiſe agree that the ſtatute made agaynſt ſpirituall men, for the prouiding themſelues of benefices in the Court of Rome, ſhould be repelled: but yet they agreed thus much, that it ſhould be tollerated, ſo as with the kings lycence ſuch ſpirituall men might purchaſe to themſelues ſuch benefices till the next Parliament.

Halfe a tenth, and halfe a fiftenth were graunted to the King in thys Parliament, to the furniſhing of the treatie of peace whiche the Duke of Lancaſter was appoynted to proſecute. Alſo conditionally a whole tenth, and a whole fiftenth were graunted to him, if it chaunced that hee made anye iourney that yeare agaynſt the Scottes.

The price of corne that had continued at an high rate, almoſt for the ſpace of two yeres, began to fall immediatly after the harueſt got in, to the great reliefe of the poore, which before through the immoderate eating of Nuttes, and Aples, fell into the diſeaſe called the Flixe, whereof manye dyed, and ſurely (as was thought) the death and dearth had beene greater, if the commendable diligence of the Lorde Maior of London had not beene, in relieuing the Commons, by ſuche prouiſion as hee made for corne to bee brought vnto London, from the partyes of beyonde the Seas, where otherwiſe neyther had the Countrey beene able in any thing to haue ſuffiſed the Citie, nor the Citie the Countrey.

The flix gotte by exceſsiue feeding on fruites.

The L. Maior of London cōmended for his careful prouiſion of corne from beyonde the ſeas in the time of dearth

On Chriſtmaſſe day, a Dolphin that came forth of the Sea vp the Thames vnto London bridge, was eſpyed of the Citizens as he played in the water, and being followed and purſued, wyth much ado was taken. He was ten foote long, and a monſtrous growne fiſhe, ſo as the ſight of him was ſtraunge to many that behelde him. He was thought by his cōming ſo farre into the landward, to foreſhew ſuch tempeſts as within a weeke after did follow.

A Dolphyn taken at London bridge,

1392

Ye haue heard how the matter for a treatie of peace had beene firſt broched by the French king by ſending Ambaſſadours to the king of Englande, to moue the ſame. Which motion beeyng throughly conſidered of the eſtates aſſembled in this laſt Parliament, it was decreed, that it ſhuld goe forwarde (as before ye haue heard) and ſo about Candlemaſſe, the Lorde Thomas Percy, ſir Lewes Clifford, and ſir Robert Briquet, with diuerſe other in their companie, were ſent ouer to the French king, and comming to Paris, founde him lodged in his houſe of Louvre, where they declared to him the good affection of the king theyr maiſter towardes peace: and the better to bryng it to paſſe, they ſhewed that king Richardes deſire was to haue ſome place and time appoynted for Commiſsioners to meete, with authoritie to treate and conclude vpon articles, as ſhoulde bee thought expedient.

Embaſſadors ſent to the French king to treate of peace

The French king greatly honored theſe Ambaſſadors, in feaſting and banquetting them for the ſpace of ſixe dayes togither, and for anſwere, concluded with them, that he himſelfe, with hys vncles and other of his counſaile would bee at Amiens by the midſt of Marche neſt enſuing, there to abide the king of Englāds comming, and his vncles, if it ſhould pleaſe them thither to come.

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors ſaid there was no doubt, but that either the K. himſelf or his vncles ſhould be there at the day aſſigned, with full authoritie to conclude any agreement that ſhoulde ſeeme reaſonable, and ſo thoſe Ambaſſadors returned with great giftes preſented on the kings behalfe to eche of them, excepted ſir Robert Briquet, vnto whom it ſeemed the French king bare no great good will, for that being a French man borne he had euer ſerued the Nauarrois or Engliſh men, and was nowe one of king Richardes priuie Chamber.

Sir Robert Briquet a Frenchman of king Richard his priuie chamber

The Dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, the erls of Darby and Huntington, the lord Thomas Percy the Biſhops of Durham and London were ſente ouer as Froiſ. hath.

The king of Englande (as ſome write) was once minded to haue paſſed the ſeas himſelfe, to haue met the French king at Amiens, at the time appointed, but finally the Duke of Lancaſter, the B. of Durhã, and others, were ſent thither with a traine neare hand of a thouſande horſe.

A royal Ambaſſade.

At their comming into Fraunce they were royally receyued: for the French king had made no leſſe preparation for the Duke of Lancaſters comming; than if he had bene Emperour.

The Duke of Lanca. a Prince of great renoume.

The Duke of Lancaſter verily was eſteemed to be a right mightie Prince, and one of the wyſeſt and ſageſt Princes in all Chriſtendome in thoſe dayes, ſo that it ſeemed the French king reioyced greatly, that he might come to haue conference with him.

There were with the French king here at Amiens, his brother ẏ duke of Thouraigne, his vncles, the dukes of Berry, Burbon, & Burgoigne, and a great number of Erles, Lordes, and other nobles of the realme of France. Before the Engliſh mens cõming for auoyding of ſtrife and debate that mighte ariſe betwixt the Engliſhe and French, a Proclamation was ſet forth cõteining certain articles, for the demeanor which ẏ French men ſhould obſerue towardes the Engliſh men.

Whileſt they there remayned all the Engliſh mens charges were borne by the French king, from theyr ſetting forth from Calais, till they came backe thither againe. As touching theyr treatie, many things were proponed, diuerſe demaundes made, and ſome offers, though to ſmal purpoſe, for they toke not effect, inſomuch as they departed without concluding any thing, further than that the truce whiche was to ende at Mydſommer next, was prolonged to continue one yere more, that in the meane time, the Lords and eſtates of the realme of Englande might aſſemble, and with good aduice deliberate, whether it were more expedient to agree vnto a determinate peace, or to purſue the doubtfull chaunces of warre. And ſuch was the ende of that royall ambaſſage, to the furniſhing forth whereof, the king demaunded an ayde aſwell of the Abbottes and Priors, as of the cities and good townes through the whole realme.

The truce prolonged for a yeere.

Tho. VValſ.

Anon after the returne of the duke of Lancaſter, and other the Ambaſſadors that had bene at Amiens, a Councell of the Lordes and chiefe eſtates of the realme was called at Stamford, the which as if it had bin to a Parliamẽt, there came forth of euery good town certain perſons appointed to deliberate and take aduice in ſo weightie a matter, as eyther to conclude vpon peace, or elſe vpon warre. But in the ende they brought little or nothing to paſſe, ſauing that they agreed to haue the truce to endure for a tweluemonth longer: both the kings ſware to obſerue the ſame, afore ſuche as were appoynted to ſee theyr othes receyued,

About the ſame time came the Duke of Guelderland into this realme, being the kings couſin, a right valiant and hardie gentlemã: he was honorably receyued & welcomed of the king, and of his vncles, the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter.

This duke of Guelderland counſailed the king not to conclude peace, eyther with the Frenchmẽ or Scots, except vpon ſuch conditions as might be knowne to be both profitable and honourable to him and his realme, promiſing that if hee had occaſion to make war againſt either of thoſe two nations, he woulde be readie to ſerue hym wyth a couenient power of men at armes of his country.

After he had bin here a time, and highly feaſted, and banquetted aſwell by the king as other great eſtates of the realme, he returned home not without diuerſe riche giftes.

The King about this ſeaſon ſent to the Londoners, requeſting to borrow of them the ſumme of one thouſande poundes, which they vncurteouſly refuſed to lende: and moreouer they fell vpon an Italian or Lumbarde (as they teamed him) whom they beate, and neare hande ſlue: bycauſe hee offered to lende the King that money. Whereof when the king was aduertiſed, hee was ſore moued agaynſt them, and calling togither the moſt part of the Peeres and noble men of hys Realme, declared vnto them the frowarde dealings of the Londoners, complayning ſore of ſuch their preſumption.

The Lordes and great menne, ſeeming not greatly to fauor the Londoners gaue counſayle that the inſolent pride of thoſe preſumtuous perſons might with ſpeed be repreſſed.

The Citizens of London in thoſe dayes (as ſhould appeare) vſing their authoritie to the vttermoſt, had deuiſed & ſet forth diuerſe orders & conſtitutiõs to abridge the libertie of Foreyners that came to the Citie to vtter their cõmodities: religious men that wrote the doings of that age, ſeemed alſo to find fault with them, for that they fauored Wicliffes opinions, and therfore charge thẽ with infidelitie, & mainteyning I know not how of lollards and heretiks: but howſoeuer the matter went they fell at this preſent into the kings heauie diſpleaſure.

Some there be that write, how the King piked the firſt quarrell againſt the Maior & Sherifes, for a ryot committed by the vnruly Citizens, againſte the ſeruauntes of the Biſhoppe of Saliſbury: for that where one of the ſame Byſhops ſeruauntes had taken a horſe loſe from a bakers mã, as he paſſed by in Fleeteſtreete with his baſket to ſerue his maſters cuſtomers, and would not deliuer it againe, but brake the bakers mans head, when hee was earneſt to haue recouered the loſe, the inhabitants of the ſtreete roſe, and would haue had the Biſhops man to priſon, for breaking the kings peace: but he was reſcued by his fellowes, & eſcaped into Saliſburie houſe, that ſtoode there within the alley, and as then belonged to his maiſter the Byſhop of Saliſburie, beeing at that time high Treaſorer of Englande.

The people beeing ſet in a rage for the reſcue ſo made, gathered togither in great multitude about the Biſhops palace gate, and woulde haue fetched out the offendor by force.

To conclude, ſuch a hurling was in the ſtreete, that the Maior, with the Sherifes, and dyuers Aldermen came thither with all ſpeede, to take order in the matter, and ſee the peace kepte, but after the comming thither of the Maior, the commons of the Citie reſorted to the place in farre greater numbers than before, and the more they were, the worſe they were to rule, and would not bee perſwaded to quiet themſelues, excepte the Biſhops ſeruaunte, whoſe name was Walter Romane, might bee had out of the houſe, & committed to priſon: but at length, after manye aſſaultes, liftes, and other indeuours made to haue broken vp the gates of the houſe, the Maior and Aldermen, with other the diſcrete commoners, appeaſed the people ſo, as they broughte them to quiet, and ſent euery man to his houſe.

The Byſhop was then at Windeſor, where the Courte lay, and being enformed of this matter, by a greeuous reporte, and happely in worſe manner than the thing had happened indede, toke ſuche indignation therewith, that taking with him Thomas Arundell, Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, then Lord Chancellor of England, he wente to the King, and made an heynous complaynte againſte the Citizens, for their miſdemeanor, ſo that his diſpleaſure was yͤ more kindled againſt the Citizens, in ſo muche, that whether in reſpect of this laſt remembred complainte, or rather for their vncourteous deniall to lende him the thouſande poundes, and miſuſing the Lombarde that offered to lend the ſame, I cannot ſay, but ſure it is, that the Maior and Sherife, and a great ſorte more of the Citizens, were ſent for to come to the Courte, where diuers miſdemeanors were obiected and layde to their charge, and notwithſtanding, what excuſe they pretended, the Maior and Sherifes, with diuers other of the moſt ſubſtanciall Citizens, were arreſted. The Maior was committed to the Caſtell of Windeſor, and the other, vnto other Caſtels and holdes, to be ſafely kept, till the King, by the aduice of his Counſell, ſhoulde determine further, what ſhoulde bee done with them.

The liberties of the Citie were ſeiſed into the Kings handes, and the authoritie of the Maior vtterly ceaſſed, the King appoynting a warden to gouerne the Citie, named ſir Edwarde Darlingrugge Knight, that ſhoulde both rule the Citie, and ſee that euery man had iuſtice miniſtred, as the caſe required.

The liberties of London ſeyled.

A Gardian appointed to gouerne the citie of London.

This ſir Edwarde Darlingrugge beganne to gouerne the Citie of London, by the name of Lorde Warden, the one and twentith of Iune, on whiche day, the King entred into the ſixteenth yeare of his raigne: by reaſon it was thoughte, that the ſaide Sir Edwarde Darlingrugge was ouerfauourable to the Citizens, hee continued in his office but till the firſt of Iuly, and being then diſcharged, one Sir Baldwine Radington, a right circumſpect and diſcreet Knight, was putte in that roomth, that knewe how both to contente the Kings minde, and to comforte the Citizens, and put them in hope of the kings fauour in time to be obteyned, to the reliefe of their ſorowe and heauineſſe.

*An.reg.*16. Sir Edw. Darlingrugge L. warden of London.

Darlingrugge remoued, and ſir Balcwyne Radyngton made Lorde warden of London.

At length, the King, through ſute and inſtant labour made by certaine noble men, ſpecially the Duke of Glouceſter, began ſomewhat to relent, and pacifie himſelfe, as touching his rigorous diſpleaſure againſt yͤ Londoners, calling to mind yͤ great honor he had diuers ways receyued at their hãds, with yͤ great giftes which they had likewiſe beſtowed vpon him, wherevpon, he purpoſeth to deale the more mildly with them, and ſo ſendeth for diuers of the chiefe Citizens to come vnto Windeſor, where hee then kepte hys Court, there to ſhewe forth the priuiledges, liberties, and lawes of their Citie, as well the newe as olde, that with the aduice of his counſell, hee might determine which ſhould remayne in force, and which ſhould be aboliſhed. Herevpon, when the ſayde priuiledges, lawes, and liberties were layd forth, to the view of ſuche perſons as hadde to conſider of them, ſome were ratified, ſome permitted by tolleration, and ſome vtterly condemned and abrogated. Neyther might they recouer at that preſente, either the perſon or dignitie of their Maior, nor obteine the kings entier fauour, till they had ſatiſfyed the King of the domages and iniuries by them done, either to him or hys people. And where he had bin at great charges, in preparing forces to chaſtice them, as he was determined, if they had not ſubmitted themſelues

The liberties of London in part confirmed in parte condemned.

vnto him, they were ſure that their purſes muſt aunſwere all that he hadde laid forth about that matter, they therefore with humble ſubmiſſion, in recompence and ſatiſfaction of their treſpaſſes, offered to giue him tenne thouſand poundes, but they were for this time ſent home, and appoynted to returne againe at a certaine daye, not vnderſtanding what they muſt pay, till the Kyng, with the aduice of his Counſell, had taken further order for them. At length, through ſuch dayly ſute as was made for the quieting of the kings whole diſpleaſure towardes the Londoners, hee was contented to pardon all offences paſt, but firſt, the Citizẽs were tolde, that the King meant to come from his manor at Shene, to the Citie of London, and then vndoubtedly, vppon knowledge hadde of their good meanings, heereafter to beare themſelues like louing ſubiects, they ſhould obteyne his fauoure.

A ſweete ſacrifice.

The Citizens aduertiſed heereof, did not onely prepare themſelues to meete him, and to preſente him with giftes in moſt liberall manner, but alſo to adorne, decke, and trimme their Citie with ſumptuous pageants, riche hangings, and other gorgeous furniture, in all poyntes like as is vſed at any Coronation.

He was mette with proceſsion of the biſh. and clergie at S.Georges Churche in Southwarke.

At the day appoynted, there met him beſide other, foure hundred of the Citizens on horſebacke, cladde in one liuerie, preſenting themſelues in that order, vppon the heath on this ſide Shene, and in moſt humble wiſe, crauing pardon for their offences paſt, beſought him to take his way to his palaice of Weſtminſter, through the Citie of London.

This ſute made by the Recorder, in name of all the Citizens, hee graciouſly graunted, and ſo helde on his iourney, till hee came to London bridge, where vnto him was preſented a paſſing faire ſteede, white, ſaddled, brideled, and trapped in riche cloth of golde, parted with redde & white.

Gifts preſẽted the K. by the Londoners to pacifie his diſpleaſure conceyued againſt them.

And likewiſe to the Queene was gyuen a milke white palfrey, ſaddled, brideled, and trapped in the ſame ſort, as the other was. Theſe preſents were thankfully accepted, and ſo both the Kyng and the Queene paſſing forward, entred the Citie, prepared and hanged with rich clothes (as before ye haue heard) the Citizens ſtanding on each ſide the ſtreetes in their liueries, crying Kyng Richard, King Richard.

K. Richarde royally receyued into London.

At the Stãdert in Cheape, was a right ſumptuous ſtage ordeyned, on whiche were ſet dyuers perſonages, and an Angell, that ſet a rich crowne of golde, garniſhed with ſtone and pearle vppon the Kings head, as hee paſſed by, and likewiſe an other on the Queenes head.

This done, the King rode to Poules, & there offered, and ſo tooke his horſe againe, and rode to Weſtminſter, where the Maior and his companie taking their leaue, returned to London.

More gi the Lon to the k

On the morrow, the Maior and his brethren went againe to Weſtminſter, and there preſented the King with two baſens gilte, and in them two thouſand nobles of golde, beſeeching him to be good and gracious Lord to the Citie: he receyued their preſent in courteous manner, and gaue them many comfortable wordes. The thirde daye after, they receyued a newe confirmation of all their olde liberties (at the leaſt ſuche as might be an aide to the Citie, and no detriment to Forreyners) wherefore, by counſell of their friends, they ordeined a table for an aulter of ſiluer and gilte, engrauen with imagerie, and enameled in moſt curious wiſe, conteyning the ſtory of Saint Edwarde, it was valued to be worth a M. markes. This was preſented to the King, the whiche hee ſhortly after offered to the ſhrine of Saint Edward within the Abbey. The Londoners beleeued, that by theſe gifts they had bin quite ridde of all danger, but yet they were cõpelled to giue the K. after this, tenne thouſand pounds, which was collected of the commons in the citie, not without great offence and grudging in their mindes.

Tho. W

The lib of Lond tifi d by to Rich

The d Glouce made D Ireland

His iou into Ir vnluck ſtayed.

The ſame time, the Duke of Glouceſter, hauing receyued money to leauie an army whiche hee ſhoulde haue conueyed ouer into Ireland, of which countrey, a good while before that preſent, the king had made him Duke, was nowe readye ſet forward, when ſuddainely, through yͤ malice of ſome priuie detractours about the King, hee was contermaunded, and ſo hys iourney was ſtayed, to the great hinderance and preiudice, of both the Countreys of Englande and Irelande: for euen vppon the fame that was bruted of hys comming into Irelande, in manner all the Iriſh Lords determined to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, ſo greatly was his name both loued, reuerenced, and feared, euen among thoſe wilde and ſauage people.

Veere, Duke of land, di Louayn

This yere Robert Veere, late Earle of Oxford, & Duke of Ireland, departed this life at Louaigne in Brabant, in great anguiſhe of mind, & miſerable neceſſitie: which yong gẽtleman doubtleſſe, was apt to al cõmendable exerciſes & partes fitte for a noble mã, if in his youth he had bin wel trained and brought vp in neceſſarie diſcipline.

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Tho. W

A Parli at Winc

This yeare after Chriſtmas, a Parliamente was called at Wincheſter, in which only a grant was made by the Cleargie, of halfe a tenth, for the expẽces of the Duke of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, that wer appointed to goe ouer into Frãce to treate of peace, betwixte the two kingdomes.

The Ch and Kin bench at Yorke from the remoued London.

The Courtes of the kings bench and Chauncerie, whiche hadde bene remoued from Weſtminſter to Yorke, either in diſfauour only of the Londoners, or in fauoure of the Citizens of Yorke, for that the Archbiſhoppe of that Citie, being Lorde Chancellor, wiſhed to aduaunce (ſo farre as in him lay) the commoditie and wealthe therof, were neuertheleſſe about this ſeaſon brought backe againe to Weſtminſter, after they had remayned a ſmall time at Yorke, to the diſpleaſure of many.

This yere, the Lord Aubrey de Veere, Vncle to the late Duke of Ireland, was made Earle of Oxford.

The two and twentith of Febꝛuarie, Iohn Eures, Conneſtable of Douer Caſtel, and Lord Steward of the Kings houſe, departed this life, in whoſe roumth, the Lord Thomas Percy, that before was Vicechamberlayne, was created Lord Steward, and the Lord Thomas Beaumont, was made Conneſtable of Douer, & Lord Warden of the cinque Portes: and the Lorde William Scrope was made Vicechamberlaine, who aboute the ſame time, bought of the Lorde William Montagewe the Ile of Man, with the regalitie thereof, for it is a Kingdome as Thomas Walſ. affirmeth.

The Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, went ouer vnto Calais, and downe to Bulloigne came ÿ Dukes of Berry and Burgoigne. Theſe noble men were ſufficiently furniſhed with authoritie, to conclude a perfect peace, both by Sea and land, betweene the two Realmes of Fraunce and England, and all their Alies.

The place appoynted for thẽ to treate in, was at Balingham, where tentes and pauilions were pight vp, for the eaſe of both parties.

They mette there twice or thrice a weeke, in a fayre tent prepared for the purpoſe, about nyne of the clocke in the forenoone. This was aboute the beginning of May.

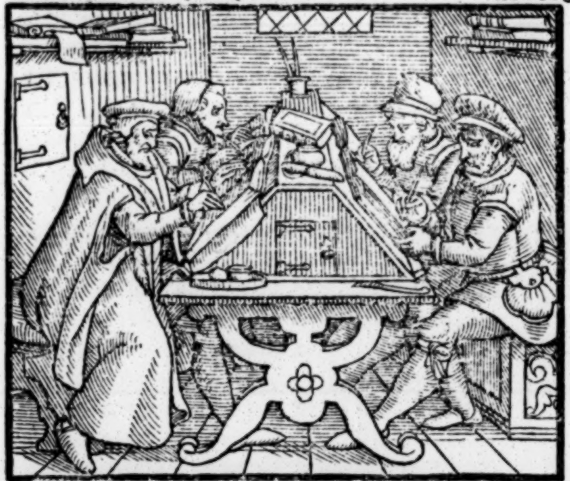
When they entred firſt into communication, and had ſeene eache others authoritie, one of the firſt demaundes that the Frenchmen made, was to haue Calais raſed in ſuch wiſe, as there ſhould neuer bee anye habitation there after that tyme. The Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter aunſwered herevnto, howe they had no authoritie to conclude ſo farre, but that England ſhoulde hold Calais ſtill, as in demeyne, and true inheritãce, and therefore, if they purpoſed to enter anye further in the treatie of peace, they ſhould ceaſſe from that demaund, and ſpeake no more thereof.

When the Dukes of Berrie and Burgoigne heard their two Couſins of Englande aunſwere ſo roundly, they ſpake no more of that matter.

Then the Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter demaunded to haue reſtitution of all ſuche landes as hadde bin deliuered, either to King Richard, or to King Edward the thirde, or to anye their deputies or commiſſioners, and alſo to haue fully payde the ſumme of Florens that was lefte vnpaid, at the time when the warre renued, betwixt England and Fraunce: and this the Engliſh Lawyers proued to ſtande with equitie and reaſon, but neuertheleſſe, the Lords and Chauncellor of Fraunce, argued to the contrary, and ſo agree they could not, in ſo much, as the Frenche men required, that if the Engliſhmen meant to haue any concluſion of peace, they ſhould drawe to ſome neerer poynts.

At length, the four Dukes toke order, that all their demaundes on eyther ſide ſhoulde bee ſette downe in writing, and deliuered to eyther partie interchangeably, that they might be regarded at length, and ſuche as ſhoulde bee founde vnreaſonable, to be raſed or reformed.

Order taken, that the demaundes on eyther ſide ſhould be ſette downe in writing, the better to be conſidered of.



After they had communed togithers dyuers times, and remayned there a fifteene dayes, they appointed to aduertiſe the two Kings of theyr whole doyngs, and after nine dayes ſpace to meete againe.

The Frenche Dukes rode to Abbeuile, where the Frenche King then laye: and the Engliſhe Dukes returning to Calais, wrote to the King of England, of all the whole matter. The Duke of Glouceſter was harder to deale with in eache behalfe, concerning the concluſion of peace, than was the Duke of Lancaſter, for he rather deſired to haue had warre than any peace, excepte ſuch a one as ſhoulde bee greatly to the aduantage and honor of the Realme of Englande: and therefore the commons of Englande vnderſtanding hys diſpoſition, agreed that hee ſhould be ſent, rather than any other. For where in times paſt ÿ Engliſhmenne hadde greatly gayned by the warres of Fraunce, as well the commons, as the Knightes and Eſquiers, who had by the ſame, mainteyned their eſtate, they could not giue their willing conſents, to haue any peace at all with the Frenchmen, in hope by reaſon of the warres, to profyte themſelues, as in times paſt they had done. The Frenche King and the nobles of Fraunce were greately enclined to peace, and ſo likewiſe was the King of England, & the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Engliſhe Gentlemen maynteyned by the French warres.

But

The ſubtiltie of the Frenchmen

The commiſſioners meete agayne.

The King of Armony.

Obſcure and doutfull words to be opened.

A truce for 4. yeres betwene Englande and Fraunce.

But the Frenchmen were ſo ſubtile, and vſed ſo many darke and coloured wordes, that the Engliſhmen had much adoe to vnderſtād them, whiche offended much the Duke of Glouceſter. But neuertheleſſe, at the daye prefixed, theſe foure Dukes met againe at Balingham, and with the French Lordes came the King of Armony, newly retorned into France forth of Grecia, for into his owne country he durſt not come, the Turkes hauing conquered it, except the ſtrong Towne of Coniche, which the Genewayes held. The K. of Armonye woulde gladly that peace mighte haue bin eſtabliſhed bitwixt Fraunce and Englande, in hope to procure the ſooner ſome ayde of the Kings, to recouer his kingdome. But to cōclude, after that the Dukes, and other with them aſſociate as aſſiſtants, had diligently peruſed and examined the articles of their treatie, they would not paſſe nor ſeale to anye, till all darke and obſcure wordes were clearely declared, opened, and made perfeit, ſo that no generall peace mighte be concluded. Notwithſtanding yet as Froyſſarte hath, a truce for four yeares, vppon certayne articles was agreed to be kept, as well by ſea as by lande. It was thought, that when they were at poynt to haue growen to agreement concerning many articles, if the French King had not newly fallen into his former diſeaſe of frenſie, there had better effect followed of this treatie, but by occaſion of his ſickneſſe, eache man departed, before that anye principall articles coulde be fully ordered and made perfect. The ſame time, Sir Thomas Percy the yonger, was made Lorde Warden of Burdeaux and Aquitaine.

*An.reg.*17.

Great tempeſtes.

Muche hurte done by great floudes in Suffolke.

In September, muche hurte was done, thorough exceeding greate thunder, lightning, and tempeſtes, whiche chaunced in many partes of Englande, but ſpeciallye in Cambridge ſhire, where manye houſes were brente, with no ſmall quantitie of corne. Greate inundations and floudes of water followed ſhortly after in October, whiche did muche hurt at Bury, and Newmarket in Suffolke, where it ouerthrew walles of houſes, and putte men and women in greate daunger of drowning.

A great plage in Eſſex.

In Eſſex alſo in September, greate mortalitie fell by peſtilence amongſt the people, whereof many died.

The Towne of Chierburg was reſtored againe to the King of Nauarre, who had engaged it to the King of England, for two thouſand markes.

1394

A Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, whiche began in the Octaues of Saint Hillarie.

The King purpoſing to goe ouer into Ireland, required a ſubſedie, the Cleargie graunted to him a whole tēth, toward the furniſhing forth of that iourney, if he wente himſelfe, if he wente not, yet they agreed to giue to him the moytie of a tenth.

Vari twee duke caſter Erle dell.

In time of this Parliamente, there appeared great euill will to remayne, betwixt the Duke of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Arundell, for the Duke imposed to the Earle, that about the exaltation of the Croſſe, hee lay wyth a company of armed men in the caſtell of Holte by Cheſter, the ſame time that the country there roſe againſt the Duke, with their Capitaine Nicholas Cliſton, and his complices, whome he ment, as the Duke alledged, to haue aided againſt him: but the Erle this flatly denyed, and with probable reaſons ſo excuſed himſelfe, as the quarrell at length was taken vp, and the parties for the time well quieted.

The Quee

This yeare on Whitſonday beeing the ſeauenth of June, Queene Anne departed this life, to the great griefe of hir huſband King Richard, who loued hir entierly. She deceaſſed at Shene, and was buried at Weſtminſter, vpon yͤ South ſide of Saint Edwards Shrine.

The c:th of S cauſe quee there

The King tooke ſuche a conceyte with the houſe of Shene, where ſhe departed this life, that hee cauſed the buildings to bee throwen downe and defaced, whereas the former Kings of this lande, beeing weery of the Citie, vſed cuſtomarilye thither to reſorte, as to a place of pleaſure, and ſeruing highly to theyr recreation.

Thus the King, the Duke of Lancaſter, and his ſonne the Earle of Derby, were widdowers, all in one ſeaſon: for the Lady Conſtance Duches of Lancaſter, daughter to Peter Kyng of Spaine, deceaſſed the laſt yeare, whileſt hir huſbande the Duke of Lancaſter was at the treatie in Fraunce: and the ſame tyme alſo deceaſſed the Counteſſe of Derby, wife to the Lorde Henry Earle of Derby.

Moreouer in this yeare. 1394. Iſabell Ducheſſe of Yorke departed this life, that was halfe ſiſter to the Ducheſſe of Lancaſter, beeing borne of one mother. She was buried at Langley.

An.

A pro tion risſhm retur their

This yeare in Auguſt, was a proclamation ſette forthe, that all Iriſhmenne ſhoulde auoyde this lande, and returne home into their owne Countrey, before the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Lady, on payne of life.

T e E pale i almoſ ſolate

The occaſion of whiche proclamation was, for that ſuch multitudes of Iriſhmen were come ouer into this region, in hope of gaine, that the Countreys in Ireland, ſubiect to England, were in manner lefte voyde of people, ſo that the enimies ſpoyled and waſted thoſe Countreys at theyr pleaſure, finding fewe or none to withſtande them. And where King Edwarde the third had placed in Ireland his benche and Judges,

ges, with his Eſchecker, for the good adminiſtration of Iuſtice, and politike gouernemente to bee vſed there, hee receiued from thence yeerely in reuenewes and profites, comming to his owne coffers, the ſumme of thirtie thouſande poundes: the King nowe layde forthe no leſſe a ſumme to repulſe the enimies, whiche by abſence of thoſe that were come ouer hither, could not otherwiſe be reſiſted, ſith the power of the Rebels was ſo increaſed, and the force of the Countreys ſubiect, thorough lacke of the former inhabitantes ſo deminiſhed.

About the feaſt of the Natiuitie of oure Lady, the King ſet forward to paſſe into Irelande, hauing made ſuch preparation for that iourney, as the like for Ireland had not bin heard of, at anye time before.

There wēt ouer with him the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Marche, Nottingham, and Rutland, the Lord Thomas Percy Lord Stewarde, and diuers other of the Engliſhe Nobilitie.

The Duke of Lancaſter, that in the thirtenth yeare of King Richards raigne had bin created by authority of Parliament, Duke of Aquitaine, was about this preſente time ſent thither, with a fiue hundred men of armes, and a thouſande archers, to take poſſeſſion of that Duchie, according to the Kings graunt, by his letters patents thereof, had, made and confirmed with his ſeale, in preſence of the moſt part of all the Nobles and great Lords of England, to hold all that Countrey to the ſaide Duke and his heires for euer, in as large manner and forme, as his father Kyng Edwarde the third, or any other Kings of Englande, or Dukes of Aquitaine before time hadde holden, and as King Richard at that ſeaſon had and held the ſame, the homage alwayes yet reſerued to the Kings of Englande for euer. But all this notwithſtanding, at his comming thither, ſo farre were the Gaſcoignes, and other people of thoſe marches from receiuing him with ioy and triumph, that they plainely tolde him, they would not atturne to him, nor be vnder his iuriſdiction at any hande, although he had brought ouer with him commiſſioners ſufficiently authoriſed, both to diſcharge them of their former allegiaunce to the King, and to inueſt him in poſſeſſion of that Duchie, in manner and forme as before is ſayde.

The Gaſcoines flatly refuſe to accept the Duke of Lancaſter for their ſoueraigne.

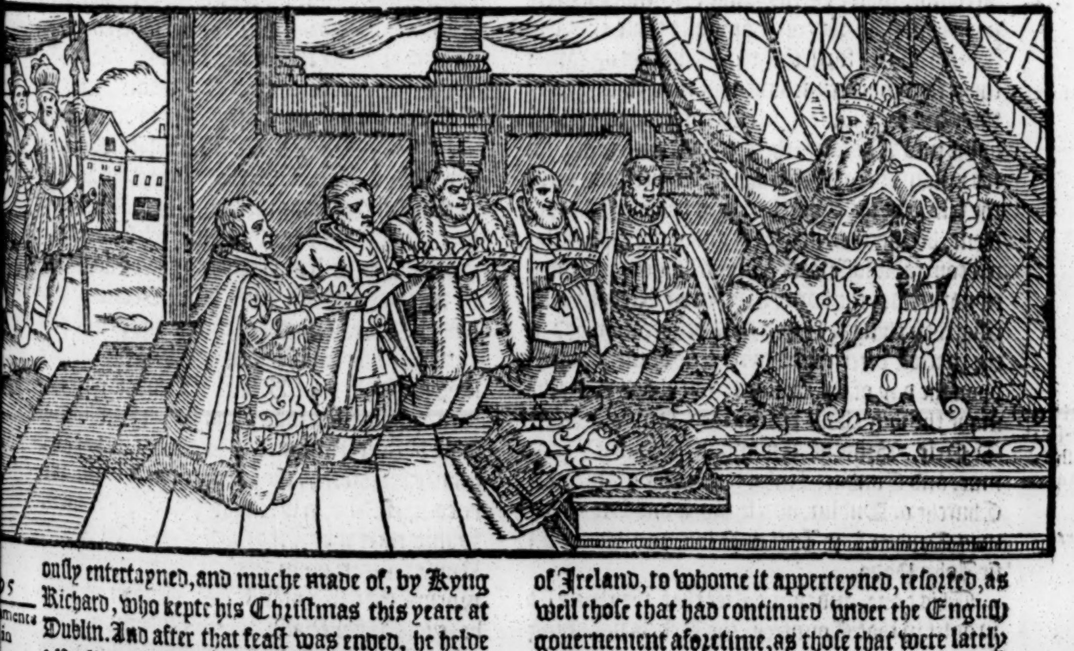
But now to returne to King Richard, ye ſhal vnderſtand, that when all his prouiſion and royall army was ready, about Michaelmas, he tooke the Sea, and landed at Waterford the ſecond of October, and ſo remayned in Irelande all that Winter: his people were lodged abroade in the Countrey, and lay ſo warely as they myght, for although the Iriſhmen durſt not attempte anye exployte openly againſt the Engliſhmen, after the kings arriuall with ſo puiſſante an army, yet they woulde ſteale ſometimes vpon them, where they eſpyed any aduantage, and diſquiet them in their lodgings: but when the Engliſhmen ſtill preuailed, diuers of the greateſt Princes amongſt them came in, and ſubmitted themſelues.

King Richard paſſeth ouer into Irelande with a mighty armye.

Amongſt other, foure Kings are mentioned, as the greate Onele King of Methe, Bryne of Thomounde King of Thomounde, Arthur Mackmur King of Lineyſter, and Cōhur K. of Cheueno and Darpe: theſe Kings were courteouſly entertayned, and muche made of, by Kyng Richard, who kepte his Chriſtmas this yeare at Dublin. And after that feaſt was ended, he helde a Parliament there, to the which, all his ſubiectes of Ireland, to whome it apperteyned, reſorted, as well thoſe that had continued vnder the Engliſh gouernement afortime, as thoſe that were lately yeelded.

Froiſſart.

Foure Iriſh Kings ſubmit themſelues to K. Richarde.



Also

A Parliament at Weſtminſter, King Richard being in Ireland.

Alſo the ſame time, after the Octaues of the Epiphanie, the Duke of Yorke, Lord Warden of England, now in the Kings abſence, cauſed a Parliament to be called at Weſtminſter, to the whiche was ſente forthe of Ireland the Duke of Glouceſter, that he might declare to the cōmons the Kings neceſſitie, to haue ſome graunte of money to ſupply his want, hauing ſpent no ſmal quantitie of treaſure in that iourney made into Irelande. The Dukes words were ſo wel heard and beleeued, that a whole Tenth was graunted by the Cleargie, and a fifteenth by the Laitie, but not without proteſtation, that thoſe paimēts were graunted of a meere free will, for the loue they bare to the King, and to haue his buſineſſe goe forwards.

The Wickleuiſts wrote againſt the Cleargie.

The ſame time, thoſe that followed Wickliffes opinions, ſet vp publiquely on the Churche doore of Paules in London, and the Church doores of Weſtminſter, certayne writings, conteyning accuſations of the Cleargie, and concluſiōs ſuch as had not commonly bin heard againſt Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and the vſe of the Sacraments, as the Churche then maynteyned: they were encouraged thus to doe, as it was ſayde, by ſome noble men and Knightes of great worſhip, as ſir Richard Sturrie, Sir Lewes Clifford, ſir Thomas Latimer, Sir Iohn Mōtagew, and others, who comforted and pricked forwarde thoſe kinde of men, then called Heretikes, and Lollardes, to the confounding of Monkes, Friers, and other Religious perſons, by all wayes they myghte. Hereupon, the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhop of London, and certaine other as meſſengers frō the whole ſtate of the Cleargie, paſſed ouer into Irelande, where to the King they made a greeuous complaint, as well againſte thoſe that had framed and ſet forth ſuche writings, as agaynſte them that mainteyned them in their doings, and therefore beſoughte him with ſpeede to returne home into England, there to take ſuch order, for the reſtreining of thoſe miſordered perſons, as to the reliefe of the Church might be thought expedient, beeing then in great daunger of ſuſteyning irrecouerable loſſe and domage, if good reformation were not the ſooner had. King Richard hearing theſe things, vppon good deliberation had in the matter, determined to returne home, but firſt vpon the day of the annuntiation of our Lady, he made the four aboue remembred Kings, to wit, O Nele, Brine of Thomond, Arthur Mackmur, and Conbur, Knightes, in the Cathedrall Churche of Dublin, and likewiſe one Sir Thomas Orphen, Sir Ioatas Pado, and his couſin ſir Iohn Pado.

The Cleargie complaine to the king of the Wickleuiſts, and their fauorers.

King Richard Knighteth the four Iriſhe Kings, and others.

Froiſſart.

This done, and nowe after that they were ſet in quiet in that Countrey (the Rebels not beyng ſo hardy as to ſtirre, whileſt ſuche a mighty army was there ready at hande to aſſayle them,) the K. about Eaſter, came backe into Englande, without any more adoe, ſo that the gain was thought nothing to coūteruayle the charges, whiche were very greate: for the King had ouer with hym in that iourney, foure thouſand men of armes, and thirtie thouſande archers, as Froiſſart ſaith hee was enformed) by an Engliſh Eſquier, that had bin in that iourney. The King at his comming ouer, did not forget what complaint the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and the Biſhop of London hadde exhibited to him, againſte thoſe that were called Lollards, and Heretikes, whereupon immediately, hee called afore him certaine of the noble men, that were thoughte and knowen to fauour ſuche kinde of men, threatning terribly, if from thenceforth they ſhoulde in anye wiſe comforte, and releeue them. Hee cauſed Sir Richard Sturry to receyue an oth, that he ſhould not maynteyne frō that day forward anye ſuch erronious opinions, menacing him, and as it were, couenaunting with him by an interchangeable othe, that if euer he might vnderſtand, that he did violate and breake that oth, he ſhould die for it a moſt ſhamefull death.

K.Ri turned Irela

K.Ri dea gain uour Wic

This yeare, the Danes that lay rouing on the Seas, did much hurt to the Engliſh Merchants, taking and robbing many Engliſh Shippes, & when the hauen townes alongſt the Coaſtes of Northfolke, made forth a number of Shippes, & ventured to fighte with thoſe Pirats, they were vanquiſhed by the Danes, ſo that manye were ſlayne, and manye taken priſoners, whiche were conſtreined to pay great ranſomes. The enimies alſo found in ranſacking the Engliſhe Shippes, twentie M. poundes, which the Engliſhe Merchants had aboorde with thē to buy wares with, in place whither they were bound to goe.

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Grea wca Dan of the men.

The ſame yere, Wil. Courtney Archb. of Canterbury, hauing more regard to his own priuate cōmodity, thā to the diſcōmodity of others, purchaſed a Bull of the Pope, whereby hee was authoriſed, to leauie through his whole prouince four pence of the pound of all Eccleſiaſtical promotions, as well in places exempt, as not exēpt, no true nor lawfull cauſe being ſhewed or pretended, why he ought ſo to doe: and to ſee yͤ execution of this Bull put in practiſe, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, & the Biſhop of London, were named & appoynted: many that feared yͤ cenſures of ſuche high executioners, choſe rather to paye the money forthwith, than to goe to the lawe, and be compelled happely, maugre their good willes. Some there were, that appealed to the Sea of Rome, meaning to defende their cauſe, and to procure, that ſo vnlawfull an exaction myghte be reuoked. Specially, the prebendaries of Lincolne ſtoode moſt ſtiffely againſte thoſe Byſhops, but the death of the Archbyſhop that chaunced ſhortly after, made an ende of thoſe ſo paſſing great troubles.

This yeare, John Waltham, Byſhoppe of Saliſburie, and Lorde Treaſorer of Englande, departed this life, and by King Richarde hys appoyntmente, hadde the honor to haue his bodye entered at Weſtminſter among the Kings.

After his deceaſſe, Roger Walden, that before was Secretarie to the Kyng, and Treaſorer of Calais, was now made Lord Treaſorer.

Ye haue hearde, that in the yeare. 1392. Robert Veer Duke of Ireland departed this life in Louaine in Brabant. King Richarde therefore thys yeare in Nouember, cauſed his corps being embaulmed, to be conueyed into Englande, and ſo to the Priorie of Colney in Eſſex, appoynting him to bee layde in a Coffine of Cypres, and to be adorned with princely garmentes, hauyng a chayne of golde about his necke, and riche ryngs on his fingers. And to ſhew what loue and affection hee bare vnto him in his life time, the Kyng cauſed the Coffine to bee opened, that hee mighte beholde his face bared, and touche him with hys hands: he honored his funerall exequies, with hys preſence, accompanyed with the Counteſſe of Oxforde, mother to the ſayde Duke, the Archbyſhop of Canterburie, and many other Byſhops, Abbots, and Priors, but of noble men there were very few, for they had not yet diſgeſted the enuie and hatred whiche they hadde conceyued againſt hym.

In this meane whyle, the Duke of Lancaſter was in Gaſcoigne, treating with the Lordes of the Countrey, and the inhabitantes of the good Townes, whiche vtterly refuſed to receyue hym otherwiſe than as a Lieutenaunte or ſubſtitute to the Kyng of England, and in the ende addreſſed meſſengers into Englande, to ſignifie to the Kyng, that they hadde bin accuſtomed to be gouerned by Kings, and meant not now to become ſubiectes to any other, contrary to all reaſon, ſith the King could not (ſauing his othe) alyene them from the Crowne.

The Duke of Lancaſter vſed all wayes hee mighte deuiſe, howe to winne theyr good willes, and hadde ſente alſo certayne of his truſtie counſellors ouer hither into Englande, as Sir William Perrcer, Sir Peter Clifton, & two clearkes learned in the lawe, the one called maſter John Hucch, and the other maſter John Richardes a Chanon of Leyceſter, to pleade and ſolicite hys cauſe: but to bee briefe, ſuche reaſons were ſhewed, and ſuche matter vnfolded by the Gaſcoignes, why they ought not bee ſeparated from the Crowne of England, that finally (notwithſtanding the Duke of Glouceſter, and certayne other were againſte them) it was decreed, that the Countrey and Duchie of Aquitayne ſhoulde remayne ſtill in demayne of the Crowne of Englande, leaſt that by thys tranſportyng thereof, it myghte fortune in tyme, that the heritage thereof ſhoulde fall into the handes of ſome ſtraunger, and enimie to the Engliſhe nation, ſo that then the homage and ſoueraignetie mighte perhappes be loſt for euer.

The graunt of the duchie of Aquitayne to the duke of Lancaſter reuoked.

Indeede, the Duke of Gloceſter, beeyng a Prince of an hygh minde, and loth to haue the Duke of Lancaſter at home, being ſo hyghly in the Kyngs fauoure, coulde haue beene well pleaſed, that hee ſhoulde haue enioyed hys gifte, for that hee thoughte thereby to haue borne all the rule about the Kyng, for the Duke of Yorke was a man, rather coueting to lyue in pleaſure, than to deale with muche buſineſſe, and the weightie affayres of the Realme.

Aboute the ſame tyme, or ſomewhat before, the Kyng ſente an Ambaſſade to the Frenche Kyng, the Archebyſhoppe of Dublin, the Earle of Rutlande, the Earle Marſhall, the Lorde Beaumonde, the Lorde Spencer, the Lorde Cliffordе, named Lewes, and twentie knightes with fortie Eſquiers.

Ambaſſadours ſente into France to treat a mariage betwene K. Richarde and the French kings daughter.

The cauſe of theyr going ouer, was to intreate of a marriage to be had betwixt hym, and the Lady Iſabell, daughter to the French king, ſhee beeyng as then not paſt an eighte yeares of age, whiche before hadde beene promiſed vnto the Duke of Britaignes ſonne: but in conſideration of the greate benefite that was lykely to enſue by thys communication and alliance with Englande, there was a meane founde, to vndoe that knotte, though not preſently.

Theſe Engliſhe Lordes, at their comming to Paris, were ioyfully receyued, and ſo courteouſly entertayned, banqueted, feaſted, and cheriſhed, and that in moſt honorable ſorte, as nothyng coulde bee more: all their charges and expenſes were borne by the Frenche Kyng, and when they ſhoulde departe, they receyued for aunſwere of theyr meſſage, very comfortable wordes, and ſo with hope to haue their matter ſpedde, they returned.

But nowe when the Duke of Lancaſter had, by laying forthe an ineſtimable maſſe of treaſure purchaſed in a manner the good willes of them of Aquitayne, and compaſſed hys whole deſire, hee was ſuddaynely countermaunded home by the King, and ſo to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, hee returned into Englande, and commyng to the Kyng at Langley, where hee helde hys Chriſtmas, was receyued with more honor than loue, as was thoughte, whereupon, hee roade in all haſt that might be, to Lincolne, where Katherine Swinforde as then laye,

Tho. VValſ.

1396

whome ſhortly after the Epiphanie, hee tooke to wife. This woman was borne in Haynaulte, daughter to a Knighte of that Countrey, called ſir Paou de Ruet: ſhee was broughte vp in hir youth, in the Duke of Lancaſters houſe, and attended on his firſt wife the Ducheſſe Blanche of Lancaſter, and in the dayes of his ſeconde wyfe the ducheſſe Conſtance, he kept the foreſaid Katherin to his Concubine, who afterwardes was married to a Knight of England, named Swinford, that was nowe deceaſſed. Before ſhee was married, the Duke had by hir three children, two ſonnes and a daughter, one of the ſonnes highte Thomas de Beaufort, and the other Henry, who was brought vp at Iken in Almaine, prooued a good Lawyer, and was after Byſhoppe of Wincheſter. For the loue that the Duke had to theſe his children, he married their mother yͤ ſayd Katherine Swinfort, being now a widow, whereof men maruelled muche, conſidering hir meane eſtate was farre vnmeete to matche with hys highneſſe, and nothing comparable in honor to his other two former wiues. And indeede, the great Ladies of Englãd, as the Duches of Glouceſter, the Counteſſes of Derby, Arundell, and others, diſcended of the bloud royall, greatly diſdeyned, that ſhe ſhould be matched with yͤ Duke of Lancaſter, and by that meanes be accompted ſeconde perſon in the Realme, and preferred in roomth afore them, and therefore they ſayde, that they woulde not come in anye place where ſhee ſhould be preſent, for it ſhould be a ſhame to them that a woman of ſo baſe birthe, and Concubine to the Duke in his other wiues dayes, ſhoulde goe and haue place before them.

The Duke of Lancaſter marieth a Ladye of a meane eſtate, whome he had kept as his concubine.

The Duke of Glouceſter alſo being a man of an high minde and ſtoute ſtomacke, miſliked with his brothers matching ſo meanely, but the Duke of Yorke bare it well ynough, and verily, the Lady hir ſelfe was a woman of ſuche bringing vp, and honorable demeanor, that enuie coulde not in the ende, but giue place to well deſeruing.

Wicleniſtes encreaſe.

About this ſeaſon, the doctrine of Iohn Wickliffe ſtill mightely ſpred abroade heere in Englande, and the ſciſme alſo ſtill continued in the Churche, betwixt the two factions of Cardinals Frenche and Romanes, for one of their Popes coulde no ſooner be dead, but that they ordeyned an other in his place.

In this eighteenth yeare alſo, was a wonderfull tempeſt of winde in the monethes of Iuly and Auguſt, and alſo moſt ſpecially in September, by violence whereof, in ſundry places of this Realme, greate and wonderfull hurte was done, both in Churches and houſes.

The Ambaſſadors that hadde bin lately in Fraunce, about the treatie of the marriage, (as before you haue heard, wente thither againe, and ſo after that the two Kings by ſending too and fro were light vppon certaine poyntes and coueuaunntes of agreemente, the Earle Marſhall, by letters of procuration, married the Lady Iſabell, in name of King Richarde, ſo that from thenceforth ſhe was called Queene of England.

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Amongſt other couenauntes and Articles of this marriage, there was a truce accorded, to endure betwixt the two Realmes of England and Fraunce, for tearme of thirtie yeares.

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The Pope wrote to king Richard, beſeeching him to aſſiſt the Prelates againſte the Lollardes (as they tearme them) whome hee pronounced to be traytors, both to the Church and Kingdome, and therefore hee beſoughte him to take order, for the puniſhmente of them, whome the Prelates ſhould denounce to be Heretikes.

The ſame time, hee ſente a Bull reuocatorie concerning religious men, that had either at hys hands, or at the handes of his Legates or Nuncios purchaſed to be his Chaplaines, & accompting themſelues thereby exempt from their order, ſo that nowe they were by this reuocatorie Bull, appointed to returne to their order, and to obſerue all rules thereto belonging. This liked the Friers well, namely the Minors, that ſought by all meanes they mighte deuiſe, how to bring their brethren home againe, which by ſuche exemptions in being the Popes Chaplayne, were ſegregate and deuided frõ the reſidue of their brethren.

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The King in this twẽtith yere of his raigne, went ouer to Calice with his vncles the Dukes of Yorke, and Glouceſter, and a greate manie of other Lordes and Ladies of honor, and thyther came to him the Duke of Burgoigne, and ſo they communed of the peace. There was no enimie to the concluſion thereof, but the Duke of Glouceſter, who ſhewed well by his wordes, that he wiſhed rather war than peace, in ſo muche as the King ſtoode in doubt of him, leaſt hee woulde procure ſome rebellion againſte him by his ſubiects, whome he knewe not to fauor greatly thys new aliaunce with Fraunce.

K. Ric
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The King after the Duke of Burgoigne had talked with him throughly of all things, and was departed from him, returned into Englande (leauing yͤ Ladyes ſtill at Calais) to open the couenauntes of the marriage and peace vnto his ſubiects, and after hee hadde finiſhed with that buſineſſe, and vnderſtoode theyr myndes, hee went againe to Calais, and with him hys two Uncles, of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, and dyuers Prelates and Lordes of the Realme, and ſhortly after came the Frenche Kyng to the baſtide of Arde, accompanyed with the Dukes of Burgoigne, Berrie, Britaigne and Burbonne.

There were ſet vp for the king of Englande a right faire and riche pauillion a little beyonde Guyſnes within the Engliſh pale, and an other the lyke pauillion was pight vp for the Frenche king on this ſyde Arde, within the Frenche dominion, ſo that betweene the ſayde Pauillions was the diſtaunce of. lxx. paces, and in the midwaye betwixte them bothe, was ordeyned the thyrde Pauillion, at the whyche bothe Kings comming from eyther of theyr Tentes ſundrye tymes ſhoulde meete and haue communication togyther: The diſtance betwixte the two tentes was beſet on eyther ſide in tyme of the enterview with knights armed with theyr ſwordes in their hands, that is to ſay, on the one ſide ſtood .iiij. C. French knights in armure with ſwords in their hands, & on the other ſide foure hundred Engliſh knightes armed with ſwordes in theyr handes, making as it were a lane betwixte them through the whiche the two kings came and mette, wyth ſuche noble men as were appoynted to attende them. And a certaine diſtance from the two firſt pauillions, were appointed to ſtande ſuche companies of men as either of them by appointment had couenanted to bring with them.

The two kyngs before their meeting, receyued a ſolemne othe for aſſurance of their faithfull and true meaning to obſerue the ſacred lawes of amitie one towarde an other in that their enterview, ſo as no damage, violence, moleſtation, arreſt, diſturbance, or other inconuenience ſhould be practiſed by them, or their frendes and ſubiectes: and that if any diſorder roſe thorough any myſhappe, arrogancie, or ſtrife moued by anye perſon, the ſame ſhoulde be reformed, promiſing in the wordes of Princes to aſſiſt one an other in ſuppreſſing the malice of ſuche as ſhould preſume to doe or attempt any thyng that myghte ſounde to the breache of freendly amitie, during the tyme of that aſſemble eight dayes before, and ſeuen dayes after.

The .xxvj. of October the King of Englande remoued from Caleys towarde the Caſtell of Guyſnes, and with him the duke of Berry, who was ſente to take his othe.

The morrow after, being the euen of Symon and Jude, the Kings mette, and the Lordes of Fraunce, to witte, the duke of Berry, Burgundie, Orleans, and Bourbon, the Earle of Sauoy, the Vicounte of Meaux and others, conueyed the Kyng of Englande, and from hym were ſente to conduct the Frenche kyng dyuers of the Engliſhe Lordes, as the two Dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, foure Earles, to wit, of Derbye, Rutlande, Notingham, and Northumberlande. After the two kinges were come together into the tent for that purpoſe prepared, it was fyrſt accorded betwixt them, that in the ſame place where they thus mette, ſhoulde be buylded of both their coſts a chapell for a perpetuall memorie, which ſhould be called the chapell of our Ladie of peace.

The Chappell of our Lady of peace.

On the Saterday being the feaſt daye of the Apoſtles Simon and Jude, the kings talked togither of certayn articles touching the treatie of peace, and hauing concluded vpon the ſame, they receyued eyther of them an othe vpon the holye Euangeliſtes, to obſerue and keepe all the couenantes accorded vppon. On the Mondaye the French king came to the king of Englande his pauillion, and the ſame tyme was brought thyther the young Queene Iſabell daughter to the Frenche King, who there deliuered hir vnto K. Richarde, whiche taking hir by the hande kiſſed hir, and gaue to hir Father great thanks for that ſo honourable and gracious a gifte, openly proteſting, that vpon the conditions concluded betwixt them, he did receyue hir, that by ſuche affinitie both realmes might continue in quietnes, and come to a good ende and perfecte concluſion of a perpetuall peace. The Queene was committed vnto the ducheſſes of Lancaſter, & Glouceſter, to the Counteſſes of Huntington & Stafforde, to the Marchioneſſe of Dublyn, daughter to the Lord Coucy, to the Ladies of Namure, Poignings, and others, whyche wyth a noble trayne of men and horſſes, conueyed hir to Caleys: for there were .xij. charets ful of ladies and gentlewomen. This done, the kings came togither into the king of Englãds pauilion to diner.

The french K. geueth his daughter to king Richarde in marriage.

The French K. ſat on the right ſide of the hal, & was royally ſerued after the maner of his cou͂trey, that is to wit, of al maner of meates apointed to be ſerued at the firſt courſe in one mightie large diſh or platter, & likewiſe after the ſame ſort at the ſecond courſe. But the K. of Englãd was ſerued after the engliſh maner. Whẽ the tables wer taken vp, & that they had made an end of diner, the kings kiſſed eche other, and toke theyr horſes. The K. of England brought the French K. on his way, & at length they toke leaue either of other, in ſhakyng handes, and embracing on horſebacke. The French king rode to Arde, and the king of England returned to Caleys.

The order of the frenche Kings ſeruice at table.

We haue omitted (as things ſuperfluous to ſpeake of) all the honorable demeanor & curtrous entertainment vſed & ſhewed betwixt theſe princes & noble men on both partes, their ſundry feaſtings & bãkettings, what rich appareel, plate, and other furniture of cupbords & tables, the princely gifts & rich iewels which were preſented frõ one to an other, ſtriuing as it might ſeem, who ſhuld ſhew himſelf moſt bounteous & liberal: beſide the giftes which the King of Englande gaue vnto the French king, and to the nobles of his realme (whyche amounted aboue the ſumme of tenne

The expences of K. Richard at this entervievve.

thouſande markes) the king of England ſpent at this tyme (as the fame went) aboue. iij. C. thouſand markes.

The marriage ſolempniſed at Callais,

After the kyngs returne to Caleys on Wedneſday next enſuyng, being Allhallon day, in ſolemne wiſe he maryed the ſayd Ladye Iſabell in the Church of S. Nicholas, the Archebiſhop of Canterburie doing the office of the miniſter.

The Thurſday after, the dukes of Orleance and Bourbon came to Caleys to ſee the Kyng and the Queene: And on the Fridaye they tooke their leaue and departed, and rode to S. Omers to the Frenche kyng. And the ſame daye in the morning the King and the Queene tooke theyr ſhippe, and hadde faire paſſage: for within three houres they arriued at Douer, from whence they ſped them towardes London, wherof the Citizens being warned, made out certaine horſemen well appoynted in one liuerie of colour, with a deuiſe embrowdered on their ſleeues, that euery companie mighte bee knowne from other, the whiche with the Mayre and his brethren, clothed in ſkarlet, met the king and Queen on black heath, and there doing their dueties with humble reuerence attended vpon their maieſties tyll they came to Newington: where the King cōmaunded the Mayre with his companie to returne, for that hee was appoynted to lodge that nyght at Kenington.

The Maior of London, and the citizens meete the king and the Quene on Blackheath.

Shortly after, to witte the. xiij. of Nouember, the young Queene was conueyed from thence with greate pompe vnto the Tower, at whiche tyme there was ſuche preaſſe on London bridge, that by reaſon thereof, certayn perſones were thruſte to death: among the whiche the Prior of Tiptree, a place in Eſſex was one, and a worſhipfull matrone in Cornehill an other. The Morrowe after ſhe was conueyed to Weſtminſter with the honour that might be deuiſed, and finally there crowned Queene vpon the Sunday being then the. vij. of Ianuarie.

Certaine thruſt to deathe in the preaſſe on Londō bridge.

Iohn Stow.

The Queenes coronation.

1397

The. xxij. of Ianuarie was a parliament begon at Weſtminſter in whiche the duke of Lancaſter cauſed to bee legittimated the iſſue whiche he had begotte of Katherin Swinfort, before ſhe was his wife: & the ſame time Thomas Beaufort ſonne to the ſayde Duke, by the ſayde Katherin, was created Earle of Sommerſet.

The Duke of Lancaſter his baſtardes made legittimate by Parliament.

There was an ordinaunce made in the ſame Parliament, that Iuſtices ſhoulde not haue any to ſit wyth them as aſſiſtaunts. Moreouer, there was a tenth graunted by the clergie to be paide to the kings vſe at two ſeuerall termes in that preſent yeare.

This yere the king contrarie to his othe reuoked the Iuſtices forth of Irelande, whome by conſtraynt as before ye haue hearde, he was inforced to baniſh, therby to ſatiſfie the noble men that woulde haue it ſo.

The Iuſtices reuoked out of exile.

In this. xx. yeare of his reigne king Richard receyuing the ſummes of money (for the which the ſtrong towne of Breſt was engaged to him by euill counſayle as many thought, deliuered it vnto the Duke of Britayne, by reaſon wherof, no ſmall ſparke of diſpleaſure aroſe betwixte the king and the duke of Glouceſter, whiche kindeled vp ſuche a flame as it was eaſy to doe, fyndyng matter inough to feede vpon in both their breſtes that finally it coulde no longer be kepte downe, nor by any meanes quenched.

Breſt y vp to t of Bri

In the moneth of Februarye, the King holding a ſumptuous feaſt at Weſtminſter, many of the Souldiors that were newely come from Breſt preaſſed into the hall, and kept a roomthe together, whome as the duke of Glouceſter beheld, and vnderſtoode what they were, to remember howe that towne was giuen vp contrary to his mynde and pleaſure, it grieued him not a litle: and therfore as the Kyng was entred into hys chaumber, and fewe aboute him, he could not forbeare, but brake forth, and ſayde to the king: Syr ſaw you not thoſe felowes that ſatte in ſuche number this daye in the hall, at ſuche a Table? The King aunſwered that hee ſawe them, and aſked the Duke what they were? To whome the Duke made thys aunſwere: Syr, theſe bee the Souldiors come from Breſt, and as nowe haue nothyng to take to, nor yet knowe howe to ſhifte for their lyuyngs, and the worſe, for that as I am enfourmed, they haue bin euill payde. Then ſayde the Kyng, that is agaynſte my wyll: for I woulde that they ſhoulde haue their due wages: And if any haue cauſe to complayne, lette them ſhewe the matter to the Treaſourer, and they ſhall bee reaſonably anſwered: and herewith he commaunded that they ſhoulde be appoynted to foure certaine villages aboute London, there to remayne and to haue meate, drink, and lodging vpon his charges tyll they were payde.

Priuie betvvi K. and t of Glo

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Out of a pamphle

Thus as they fell into reaſoning of this matter, the duke ſayde to the kyng: Syr your grace ought to put your body in payne to win a ſtrong holde or towne by feate of warre, ere you tooke vppon you to ſelle or delyuer anye Towne or ſtrong holde gotten with greate aduenture by the manhoode and policie of your noble progenitours.

To this the kyng with changed countenance aunſwered and ſayde: Vncle, howe ſaye you that? and the Duke boldely without feare recited the ſame agayne, not chaungyng one worde in any better ſorte. Whervppon the Kyng being more chafed, replyed thus: Thynke you that I am a Merchaunte, or a verye foole, to ſell my lande? by Sainct Iohn Baptiſt no:

But trouth it is, that oure couſin the Duke of Britayne hath ſatiſfyed vs of all ſuche ſummes of money as our progenitours lente vnto hym, and to his auncetours, vpon guage of the ſayd towne of Breſt, for the whiche reaſon and conſcience will no leſſe but that the towne ſhoulde therevpon be to him reſtored.

Upon this multiplying of wordes in ſuche preſumptuous maner by the Duke againſt the Kyng, there kindeled ſuche diſpleaſure betwixt them, that it neuer ceaſſed to increaſe in flames, till the duke was brought to his ende.

The Earle of Saint Paule at his laſte comming into England to receyue king Richardes othe for obſeruing the truce, had conference with the king of diuers matters. The king by way of complaynt, ſhewed vnto him howe ſtiffe the duke of Glouceſter was in hindering all ſuch matters as he would haue forwarde, not onely ſeking to haue the peace broken betwixt the realms of England and Fraunce, but alſo procuring trouble at home, by ſtirring the people to rebellion.

The Earle of Sainte Paule hearing of this ſtoute demeanour of the Duke, tolde the King that it ſhould be beſt to prouide in tyme againſt ſuche miſchiefes as might enſue therof, and that it was not to be ſuffred, that a ſubiecte ſhould behaue himſelfe in ſuche ſorte towarde his prince.

The kyng marking his wordes, thought that he gaue him good and faithfull counſel, and therupon determined to ſuppreſſe both the duke and other of his complices, and toke more diligente regarde to the ſayings and doings of the Duke thã before he had done: and as it cõmeth to paſſe that thoſe which ſuſpect any euil, doe euer deme the worſt, ſo he toke euery thing in euill part, in ſo muche that he complayned of the Duke vnto his brethren the dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, in that he ſhould ſtand agaynſt him in al things and ſeeke his deſtruction, the death of his counſcilours, and deſtruction of his realme.

The two Dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke to deliuer the kings mynde of ſuſpition, made anſwere, that they were not ignorant, howe theyr brother of Glouceſter, as a man ſomtymes raſh in wordes, woulde ſpeak oftentimes more than he coulde or would bring to effecte, and the ſame proceeded of a faithfull hearte, which he bare towardes the king, for that it greeued him to vnderſtande, that the confines of the Engliſhe dominions ſhoulde in anye wyſe bee diminiſhed: therfore his grace ought not to regard his wordes, ſith he ſhould take no hurt therby.

These perſuaſions quieted the king for a time til he was enfourmed of the practiſe which ỹ duke of Glouceſter had contriued (as the fame wente amongſt diuers perſons) to impriſon the Kyng, for then the duke of Lancaſter and Yorke, fyrſte reprouing the duke of Glouceſter for his too liberal talking, and perceyuing that hee ſet nothyng by their wordes, were in doubt leaſt if they ſhould remayne in the court ſtill, he would vpon a preſumptuous mynde, in truſte to bee borne out by thẽ, attempt ſome outragious enterprize. Wherfore they thought beſt to depart for a tyme into theyr countreys, that by their abſence hee might the ſooner learne to ſtay himſelf for doubt of further diſpleaſure. But it came to paſſe, that their departure from the Court was the caſting away of the duke of Glouceſter. For after that they were gone, there ceaſſed not ſuche as bare hym euill will, to procure the King to diſpatche him out of the waye.

The Duke in deede ſore ſtomacked the matter, that his counſell might not be followed in al things, and ſpecially for that he ſawe (as he toke it) that the King was miſledde by ſome perſons that were about him, otherwiſe than ſtoode with his honour: for reformation whereof, he conferred with the Abbot of S. Albons, and the Prior of Weſtminſter. The Abbot was both his couſin and godfather: and hauing one day both the Duke and Prior at his houſe in Saint Albons: after dinner, he fell in talke with the Duke and Priour, and amongſt other communication required of the Priour to tell a trouthe, whether he had any viſion ỹ night before or not. The Prior ſeemed loth to make a direct anſwer, but at lẽgth being earneſtly requeſted, as well by the abbot as duke, he declared that hee had a viſion in deede, which was, that the realme of England ſhould be deſtroyed through the miſgouernment of K. Richard. By the virgine Mary, ſayd the Abbot, I had the verie ſame viſion. The Duke herevpon diſcloſed vnto them all the ſecrets of his mynde, and by their deuiſes preſently cõtriued an aſſemble of diuers great lordes of the realme at Arundell caſtell that day fortnighte, at what tyme he himſelfe appointed to be there, with the Earles of Darbie, Arundell, Marſhall, and Warwike: Alſo the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye the Abbotte of Sainte Albons, the Priour of Weſtminſter, with diuers other.

A conſpiracy betvvene the duke of Glouceſter, and the Abbot of Saint Albons.

Out of an olde frenche pamphlet belonging to Iohn Stovv.

These eſtates beeing come to Arundell Caſtell at the daye appoynted, aboute the verie beginning of the .xxj. yere of king Richards reigne. They ſware eche to other to bee aſſiſtant in all ſuche matters as they ſhoulde determyne, and therewith receyued the Sacrament at the handes of the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury, who celebrated Maſſe before them the morrowe after. Whiche donne, they withdrewe into a chaumber, and fell in counſell togyther, where in the ende they light vpon this poynte, to take Kyng Rycharde, the Dukes of Lancaſter, and Yorke, and committe them to pryſon, and all

An. reg. 21.

The purpoſe of the conſpirators.

all the other Lordes of the kings Counſell, they determined ſhuld be drawen and hanged. Such was their purpoſe whiche they ment to haue accompliſhed in Auguſt following.

The erle Marſhall diſcloſeth the conſpiracy.

But the Erle Marſhall that was Lord deputie of Caleys, and had maryed the Erle of Arundels daughter, diſcouered all theyr counſell to the Kyng, and the verie daye in whiche they ſhoulde beginne their enterpriſe. The king bad the Earle Marſhall take heede what hee hadde ſayde, for if it proued not true, hee ſhoulde repente it: But the Earle conſtantely herevnto anuſwered, that if the matter mighte bee proued otherwiſe, he was contented to bee drawen and quartered.

The king herevpon wente to London, where he dyned at the houſe of his brother the Earle of Huntington in the ſtreete behynde All hallowes churche vpon the banke of the riuer of Thames, whiche was a ryght fayre and ſtately houſe.

After dinner, he gaue his counſell to vnderſtande all the matter, by whoſe aduiſe it was agreed, that the King ſhould aſſemble forthwith what power he might conueniently make of men of armes and archers, and ſtreighte wayes take horſſe, accompanied with his brother the Erle of Huntington, and the Erle Marſhall. Herevpon at .vj. of the clock in the after noone, the iuſt houre when they vſed to go to ſupper, the king mounted on horſebacke, and roade his waye, whereof the Londoners had great meruaile.

The Earle of Rutlande hathe Grafton.

After that the K. began to approche the dukes houſe at Plaſchy in Eſſex, where he then lay, he cōmaunded his brother the Erle of Huntington to ride afore, to know if the duke were at home, and if he were, then to tel him that the king was comming at hande to ſpeake with him. The erle with .x. perſons in his companie amending his pace, (for the king had made no greate haſte all the night before, as ſhould appeare by his iorney) came to the houſe, and entring into the court, aſked if the duke were at home, and vnderſtanding by a Gentlewoman that made him anſwer, that both the duke and the Ducheſſe were yet in bed, he beſought hir to go to the Duke, and to ſhewe him, that the K. was cōming at hand to ſpeake with him, & forthwith came the king with a cōpetent number of menne of armes, and a greate companie of Archers, riding into the baſe court, his trumpets ſounding before him.

The duke herewith came downe into the baſe court, where the king was, hauyng none other apparell vpon him, but his ſhirt, and a cloke or a mantel caſt aboute his ſhoulders, & with humble reuerence, ſayd, yͤ his grace was welcome, aſking of the lords how it chanced they came ſo early, & ſent him no word of their cōming?

The Kyng herewith courteouſly requeſted him to goe and make him readye, and appointe his houſe to be ſadled, for that hee muſte needes ryde with him a little waye, and conferre with him of buſyneſſe. The Duke wente vp againe into his chamber to put vpon hym his clothes, and the Kyng alyghtyng from hys horſe, fell in talke with the ducheſſe and hir ladies.

The Earle of Huntington and diuers other followed the duke into the hall, and there ſtayed for him til he had put on his raiment. And within a whyle they came forth againe all togither into the baſe court, wher the king was, deuiſing with the ducheſſe in pleaſant talke, whome he willed nowe to returne to hir lodgyng againe, for hee might ſtay no longer, and ſo tooke his horſe againe, and the Duke likewiſe: And ſhortely after that the king and all his companie were gone forth of the gate of the baſe court, he cōmanded the Erle Marſhal to apprehend the Duke, which incontinently was doon according to the Kings appoyntment.

The D Glouc reſted.

Here we finde ſome variance in writers: for as by an old French pamphlet (which I haue ſeen) it ſhould appere, the King commanded firſt, that this Duke ſhould be conueyed vnto the Tower, where he ment to commen with him, and not in any other place: but neuertheleſſe the king ſhortly after appointed that he ſhould be ſent to Caleys, as in the ſame Pamphlet is alſo conteined: others write, that immediatly vppon his apprehenſion, the Earle Marſhall conueyed him vnto the Thames, and there beeing ſet aboorde in a ſhippe prepared of purpoſe, hee was broughte to Calleys, where hee was at lengthe diſpatched out of lyfe, eyther ſtrangled or ſmoothered with pillowes, (as ſome doe write.) For the Kyng thynkyng it not good, that the Duke of Glouceſter ſhould ſtand to his anſwer openly, bicauſe the people bare him ſo good much will, ſent one of his Iuſtices called Williā Rikil, an Iriſhman borne, ouer vnto Caleis, there to inquire of the the duke of Glouceſter, whether he had committed any ſuch treaſons, as were alledged againſt him, and the Earles of Arundel and Warwike, as after ſhall be ſpecified. Iuſtice Rikill hearing what he confeſſed vpon his examination, wrote the ſame as he was cōmaunded to doe, and therwith ſpeedily returned to the king, and as it hath bin reported, he enformed the king (whether truly or not, I haue not to ſay) that the duke frankly confeſſed euery thing, wherwith he was charged. Wherevpon the King ſent vnto Thomas Mowbray Erle Marſhall and of Notingham, to make the Duke ſecretly away.

Out of french

The Earle prolonged tyme for the executing of the kings cōmandement, though the K. wold haue had it done with all expedition, wherby the King conceiued no ſmall diſpleaſure, and ſware that it ſhould coſt the Earle his life if he quickly obeyed not his commaundement. The Earle thus as it ſeemed in maner enforced, called oute the Duke at midnight, as if he ſhould haue taken ſhippe to paſſe ouer into England, and there in the lodging called the Princes Inne, he cauſed his ſeruantes to caſt fetherbeddes vpon hym, and ſo to ſmother him to death, or otherwyſe to ſtrangle him with towels (as ſome write.)

This was the ende of that noble man, fierce of nature, haſtye, wylfull, and giuen more to warre than to peace: and in this greatly to bee diſcōmended, that he was euer repining againſt the king in all things, whatſoeuer he wiſhed to haue forward. He was thus made away not ſo ſoon as the brute ran of his death: but as it ſhuld appeare by ſome authors, he remained alyue till the parliament that next enſued, and then about the ſame time that the Erle of Arundell ſuffred, he was diſpatched, as before ye haue heard. His bodie was afterwardes with all funerall pompe conueyd into England, and buryed at his owne menour of Plaſhy within the church there, in a ſepulchre whiche he in his life tyme had cauſed to be made, and there erected.

The D
Glouc
reſted.

The ſame euening that the K. departed from London towardes Plaſhye, to apprehende the Duke of Glouceſter, the Erle of Rutlande, and the Erle of Kent, were ſent with a greate number of men of armes & archers to arreſt the Erle of Arundell, whiche was done eaſily inough, by reaſon that the ſayde Earle was trayned wyth fayre wordes at the kings handes, till hee was within his daunger, where otherwyſe he mighte haue bin hable to haue ſaued hymſelfe, and deliuered his frendes. The Earle of Warwike was taken, and cōmitted to the Tower the ſame day that the King hadde willed hym to dinner, and ſhewed him verie good countenaunce.

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There were alſo apprehended and committed to the Tower the ſame tyme, the Lorde John Cobham, and ſir John Cheyny knightes.

The Earle of Arundell was ſente to the Iſle of Wight, there to remayne as priſoner, till the next parliament, in the whiche he determined ſo to prouide, that they ſhoulde bee all condemned, and put to death. And for doubt of ſome commotion that might aryſe amōgſt the commons, he cauſed it by open proclamation to be ſignified that theſe noble men were not apprehended, for any offence committed long agone, but for newe treſpaſſes agaynſt the kyng, as in the next Parliamēt, it ſhuld be manifeſtly declared & proued.

Shortly after, he procured them to be indited at Notingham, ſuborning ſuche as ſhould appeale them in parliament, to wit, Edward erle of Rutlande, Thomas Mowbray Erle Marſhal, Thomas Holland erle of Kent, John Holland Erle of Huntington, Thomas Beaufort Erle of Somerſet, John Montacute Earle of Saliſbury, Thomas Lorde Spenſer, and the Lorde William Scrope, Lorde Chamberlaine.

ames of
ppellants.

In the meane tyme, the King fearing what mighte be attempted againſt him by thoſe that fauoured theſe noble men that were in durance, ſent for a power of Cheſhire men, that mighte day and nighte keepe watche and warde aboute his perſon. They were aboute. ij. thouſande archers, payde weekely, as by the Annales of Britayne it appeareth. The King had little truſt in any of the nobilitie, except in his brother the erle of Huntington, and the Earle of Rutlande ſon to the duke of Yorke, and in the Earle of Saluſburye: in theſe onely he repoſed a confidence, and not in any other, except in certain knightes and gentlemen of his priuie chamber.

A garde of Cheſhire men about the king.

In the meane tyme whyles thinges were thus in broyle before the beginning of the parliament, diuers other beſyde them whom we haue ſpoken of, were apprehended and put in ſundry priſons.

The Parliament was ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter the xvij. of September, and writtes therevpon directed to euery of the Lordes to appeare, and to bring with them a ſufficient nūber of armed men and archers in their beſt aray: for it was not knowen how the Dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke, would take the death of their brother, nor howe other peares of the Realme would take the apprehenſion and impriſonment of their kynſemen, the Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, and of the other priſoners. Surely the two Dukes when they heard that their brother was ſo ſodainly made away, they wiſt not what to ſaye to the matter, and beganne bothe to be ſorowfull for his death, and doubtefull of their owne ſtates: for ſith they ſawe howe the Kyng (abuſed by the counſell of euill men) abſteyned not from ſuche an heynous acte, they thought he would afterwardes attempte greater myſorders from tyme to tyme. Therefore they aſſembled in all haſte, greate numbers of theyr ſeruauntes, frendes, and tenauntes, and commyng to London, were receyued into the Citie: For the Londoners were ryghte ſorye for the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, who hadde euer ſought their fauour, in ſomuche, that now they woulde haue bin contented to haue ioyned with the Dukes in ſeeking reuenge of ſo noble a mannes death, procured and broughte to paſſe without lawe or reaſon, as the common bruite then walked although peraduenture he was not as yet made awaye.

The lordes appoynted to come in warlike manner to the parliament.

Polidor.

The Dukes of Lancaſter, and Yorke aſſemble their powers to reſiſte the Kings dealings.

Heere the Dukes and other fell in counſell, & manie things were propounded, ſome wold that they ſhould by force reuenge the duke of Glouceſters death: other thought it mete ỷ the Erles

Marſhall and Huntington, and certaine others, as chiefe authours of all the miſchiefe ſhoulde be purſued and puniſhed for their demerites, hauing trayned vp the king in vice and euill cuſtomes, euen from his youth. But the dukes (after their diſpleaſure was ſomewhat aſſuaged) determined to couer the ſtinges of their griefs for a tyme, and if the king would amende his maners, to forget alſo the iniuries paſt. In the meane time the K. lay at Eltham, and had got about him a greate power (namely of thoſe archers, which he hadde ſent for out of Cheſhyre, in whome he put a ſingular truſt more than in any other.)

Caxton.
Fabian.
Polidor.

There went meſſengers betwixt him and the Dukes, whiche beeing men of honour did theyr endeuor to appeaſe both parties.

The Kyng and the Dukes recōciled.

The Kyng diſcharged himſelfe of blame for the duke of Glouceſters death, conſidering that he had gone about to breake the truce, whiche he had taken with France, and alſo ſtirred the people of the realme to rebellion, and further hadde ſoughte the deſtruction and loſſe of his lyfe, that was his ſoueraigne Lorde and lawfull kyng. Contrarily, the Dukes affirmed, that their brother was wrongfully put to death, hauing done nothing worthy of death. At length, by the interceſſion and meanes of thoſe noble menne that went to and fro betwixt them, they were accorded, and the kyng promyſed from thenceforth to doe nothyng but by the aſſent of the dukes: but he kept ſmall promiſe in this behalf, as after wel appeared.

Caxton.

When the tyme came, that the Parliamente ſhould be holden at Weſtminſter, according to the tenour of the ſummonance, the Lordes repaired thither, furniſhed with great retinues both of armed men and archers, as the Erle of Darbie, the Erle Marſhall, the Erle of Rutland, the Lorde Spenſer, the Erle of Northumberlande, with his ſonne the Lorde Henry Percie, and the Lord Thomas Percie the ſayde Erles brother, alſo the Lord Scrope Treaſourer of Englande, and dyuers other. All the whiche Earles and Lordes brought with them a greate and ſtrong power, euery of them in their beſt aray, as it wer to ſtrengthen the king againſt his enimies.

The dukes of Lancaſter and Yorke were likewyſe there, giuing their attendance on the king, with lyke furniture of men of armes & archers.

The greate Parliament.

There was not half lodging ſufficient within the Citie and ſuburbes of London, for ſuche companies of men, as the Lordes brought wyth them to this Parliamẽt, called the great Parliament: inſomuche that they were conſtrayned to lye in villages abrode .x. or .xij. myles on ech ſide the Citie.

The Kinges greeuances opened in this Parliament.

In the beginning of this Parliament, the K. greatly complayned of the myſdemeanour of the peeres and lordes of his realme, as well for thinges done againſt his will and pleaſure, whiles he was yong, as for the ſtraite dealyng, which they had ſhewed towards the Quene, who was three houres at one time on hir knees before the Erle of Arundell, for one of hir eſquiers, named Io. Caluerley, who neuertheleſſe had his head ſmit from his ſhoulders, & al the anſwere that ſhe could get, was this: Madame, pray for your ſelfe, and your huſbande, for that is beſte, and lette this ſuite alone. Thoſe that ſet forth the kings greuances, as prolocutors in this Parliamente were theſe: Iohn Buſhy, Williã Bagot, & Thomas Grene.

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The king had cauſed a large houſe of timber to be made within the Palaice at Weſtminſter, whiche was called an Hall, couered aboue heade with tyles, and was open at the endes, that all men myght ſee thorough it. This houſe was of ſo great a compaſſe, that vneth it mighte ſtande within the roomth of the palaice. In this houſe was made an high throne for the Kyng, and a large place for all eſtates beſides to ſit in.

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There were places alſo made for the appellantes to ſtande on the one ſyde, and the defendants on the other, and a lyke roomth was made behynde for the knights and burgeſſes of the Parliament. There was a place deuiſed for the ſpeaker, named Sir Iohn Buſhy, a knight of Lincolneſhire, accompted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambicious and couetous beyond meaſure.

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to Pol

Sir Io
ſpeake

Immediatly after, eche man being placed in his roomth, the cauſe of aſſembling that parliamente was ſhewed, as that the kyng had called it, for reformation of diuers tranſgreſſions and oppreſſions committed againſt the peace of hys lande by the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earles of Arundell, Warwicke, and others. Then ſir Io. Buſhy ſtepte forth, and made requeſt on the behalfe of the communaltie, that it myghte pleaſe the kings highneſſe for their heinous acts attempted againſt his lawes and royal maieſtie, to appoint them puniſhment according to their deſeruings, and ſpecially to the Archb. of Canterbury, (who then ſat nexte the K.) whom he accuſed of high treſon, for that he had euil cõſeilled his maieſty, inducing him to grãt his letters of pardon to his brother the Erle of Arundel, being a ranke traytor. When the Archbiſhop began to anſwer in his own defence, the K. willed him to ſit down again, and to hold his peace, for al ſhuld be well. Herewith ſir Io. Buſhy beſought the Kyng, that the Archebiſhoppe ſhoulde not bee admitted to make his anſwer, which if he did by reaſon of his great wit & good vtterãce, he feared leaſt he ſhuld lead men away to beleue him: ſo yͤ Archb. might be heard no further. Sir Iohn Buſhy in all his talke when hee proponed any matter vnto the King, did not attribute to him titles of honour,

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due and accuſtomed, but inuented vnuſed termes and ſuch ſtrange names, as were rather agreable to the diuine maieſtie of God, than to any earthly potentate. The Prince being deſirous inough of all honour, and more ambitious than was requiſite, ſeemed to like wel of his ſpeech, and gaue good eare to his talke.

dent flat-

Thus when the Archbiſh. was conſtrained to kepe ſilence, ſir Iohn Buſhy proceded in his purpoſe, requiring on the behalf of the cõmons, that the Charters of pardons graunted vnto the traitors, to witte, the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earles of Arundel and Warwike, ſhould be reuoked by conſent of all the eſtates nowe in parliament aſſembled. The King alſo for his parte proteſted, that thoſe pardons were not voluntarily grãuted by him, but rather extorted by compulſion, and therfore he beſought them that euery man wold ſhew forth their opinions what they thought therof. There were two other perſons of greate credite with the King, beſides ſir Iohn Buſhy, that were, as before you haue heard, very earneſt to haue thoſe Charters of pardon reuoked and made voyde, to witte, ſir William Bagot, and ſir Thomas Greene.

VValſ.

But bicauſe this matter ſeemed to require good deliberation, it was firſt put to the Biſhops, who with ſmall adoe, gaue ſentence, that the ſayde Charters were reuocable, and might wel inough be called in: yet the Archbiſhop of Canterburye in his anſwere herevnto ſayde, that the K. from whome thoſe pardons came, was ſo hygh an eſtate, that he durſt not ſay, that any ſuche charters by him granted, might be reuoked: notwithſtanding, his brethren the biſhops thought otherwyſe: not conſidering (ſayth Thomas Walſ.) that ſuch reuoking of the kings Charters of pardon ſhoulde ſound highly to the kings diſhonor: forſomuche as mercie and pardoning tranſgreſſions is accompted to bee the confirmation and eſtabliſhing of the kings ſeate and royall eſtate.

The temporal lords perceiuing what the Biſhops had done, did likewiſe giue their conſents, to reuoke the ſame pardons: but the iudges with thoſe that were toward the law, were not of this opinion, but finally the Biſhops pretendyng a ſcrupuloſitie, as if they might not with ſafe conſciences bee preſente where iudgement of bloud ſhoulde paſſe, they appoynted a laye man to be their prolocutor to ſerue that turn. To conclude, at length all maner of Charters of pardon were made voyde, for that the ſame ſeemed to impeach the ſuretie of the Kings perſon. When ſir Iohn Buſhy and his aſſociats, had obteined that reuocation, it was further by them declared, that the Erle of Arundel had yet an other ſpeciall charter of pardon for his owne perſon, which he had obteined after the firſt. And therfore ſir Io. Buſhy earneſtly requeſted in name of the Communaltie that the ſame might likewyſe be reuoked.

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The queſtion then was asked of the biſhops, who declared themſelues to be of the lyke opinion, touching that Charter, as they were of the other. At that ſelfe tyme the Archbiſhop of Canterbury abſented himſelfe from the Parliament, in hope that the king woulde be his freende, and ſtande his verie good Lorde, for that he had promiſed nothing ſhould be done againſt him in the parliament whileſt he was abſent: but neuertheleſſe, at the importunate ſuite of the ſayd ſir Iohn Buſhy and others, the Archbiſhop was condemned vnto perpetuall exile, and apoynted to auoyd the realme within ſix weekes. And therwith the king ſente ſecretly to the Pope for order that the Archebiſhoppe might be remoued from his ſea to ſome other, whiche ſuite was obteyned, and Roger Walden Lorde Treaſourer was ordeyned Archbiſhop in his place, as after ſhal appeare. On the feaſt day of Saint Matthewe, Rich. Fitz Aleyn, Earle of Arundel, was broughte forthe to ſwere before the king and whole Parliamente to ſuche Articles as he was to be charged with.

Tho. VValſ.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury condempned to perpetuall baniſhment.

vi. dayes hath Grafton.

The Earle of Arundell areigned.

And as he ſtoode at the barre, the Lorde Neuill was commaunded by the Duke of Lancaſter which ſate that day as high ſteward of Englande, to take the hoode from his necke, and the gyrdle from his waſte. Then the Duke of Lancaſter declared vnto him, that for his manyfolde rebellions and treaſons againſt the kings maieſtie he hadde bin arreſted, and hytherto kepte in warde, and nowe at the petition of the Lordes and commons, he was called to aunſwere ſuche crimes as were there to be obiected agaynſt him, and ſo to purge himſelfe, or elſe to ſuffer for his offences, ſuche puniſhement as lawe appointed.

The Duke of Lancaſter high Stevvarde of England at this arreinement.

Fyrſt, he charged him, for that he had trayterouſly ridde in armour againſt the king in companye of the duke of Glouceſter, and of the Erle of Warwike, to the breache of peace, and diſquieting of the realme.

His anſwere herevnto was, that he didde not this vpon any euill meaning towardes the kings perſone, but rather for the benefite of the King, and realme, if it were interpreted aright, and taken as it ought to be.

The Earle of Arundell his aunſvveres to the pointes of his inditement.

It was further demaunded of hym, why hee procured letters of pardon from the kyng, if he knewe hymſelfe giltleſſe? He aunſwered, that he did not purchaſe them for any feare he hadde of faultes by him committed, but to ſtaye the malicious ſpeache of them that neyther loued the K. nor hym. He was agayne asked, whether he would denye that he made any ſuch roade with the perſones before named, and that in companye of them he entred not armed vnto the kings preſence againſt the kings will and pleaſure?

To this he anſwered, that he coulde not deny it, but that he ſo did.

Then the ſpeaker ſir John Buſhy with open mouth beſought that iudgemẽt might be had againſt ſuch a traitour, and your faithful cõmons (ſaid he to the K.) aſke and require that ſo it may be don. The Erle turning his head aſide, quietly ſaid to him, not the kings faithfull cõmõs require this, but thou, and what thou art I knowe.

Then the eight appellants ſtanding on the other ſide, caſt their gloues to him, and in proſecuting their appeale (which already had bin red) offred to fyght with him man to man to iuſtifye the ſame. Then ſayde the Earle, if I were at libertie, and that it myght ſo ſtande with the pleaſure of my Soueraigne, I woulde not refuſe to proue you all lyers in this behalfe.

Then ſpake the duke of Lancaſter, ſaying to him, What haue you further to ſay, to the pointes before layde againſt you? He anſwered, that of the Kings grace he hadde his letters generall pardon, which he required to haue allowed.

Then the duke told him, that the pardon was reuoked by the Prelates and noble men in the parliamente, and therefore willed hym to make ſome other anſwere. The Erle tolde him agayn that he had an other pardon vnder yͤ kings great ſeale graunted him long after of the kings owne motion, whiche alſo hee required to be allowed. The Duke tolde hym, that the ſame was lykewyſe reuoked.

The Earle of Arundell condemned.

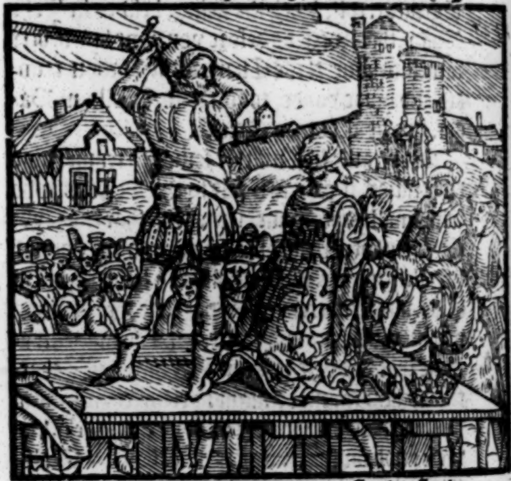
After this, when the Earle had nothing more to ſaye for himſelfe, the duke pronounced iudgement againſt him, as in caſes of treaſon is vſed.

But after he had made an ende, and pauſed a little, he ſayd: The king oure ſoueraigne Lorde of his mercie and grace, bicauſe thou art of hys bloud, and one of the peeres of the realme, hath remitted all the other paines, ſauing the laſt, that is to wit, the beheadyng, and ſo thou ſhalt onely loſe thy head, and forthwith he was had away, and ledde through London vnto the tower hill.

There went with him to ſee the execution don vj. great lords, of whom there were three Erles, Notingham (that had maried his daughter) Kẽt (that was his daughters ſon,) and Huntington, being mounted on greate horſſes, with a greate companie of armed men, & the fierce bands of the Cheſhire mẽ, furniſhed wͭ axes, ſwerdes, bowes & arrowes, marching before & behynde him, who only in this parliament, had licence to bear weapon, as ſome haue written. When he ſhould depart the palaice, he deſired that his handes might be lewſed to diſpoſe ſuche money as he had in his purſe betwixte that place and Chatingcroſſe. This was permitted, and ſo he gaue ſuche money as he had, in almes with his owne handes, but his armes were ſtill bound behynde hym.

When he came to the Tower hill, the noble men that were about him, moued him right earneſtly to acknowledge his treaſon agaynſte the king. But he in no wiſe wold ſo doe, but mayntayned, that he was neuer traytour in worde or deede: and heerewith perceyuing the Earles of Notingham and Kent, that ſtood by with other noble men buſy to further the execution (being as ye haue heard) of kin and alyed to him, he ſpake to them, and ſayd: Truly it woulde haue beſeemed you rather to haue bin abſente than heere at this buſineſſe. But the tyme will come ere it be long, when as many ſhal meruayle at your miſfortune as do nowe at myne.

After this, forgiuing the executioner, he beſoughte hym not to tormente hym long, but to ſtrike off his heade at one blowe, and feeling the edge of the ſworde, whether it was ſharpe ynough or not, he ſayde, It is verie well, do that that thou haſte to doe quickely, and ſo kneelyng downe, the executioner with one ſtroke, ſtrake off his head: his bodie was buried togither with his head in the Churche of the Auguſtine Friers in Breadſtreete within the Citie of London.



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The death of this erle was much lamented among the people, conſidering his ſodeyn fall and miſerable ende, where as not long before among all the noble men of this land (within the whiche was ſuch a nũber, as no countrey in the worlde had greater ſtore at that preſent) there was none more eſtemed: ſo noble and valiant he was, that all men ſpake honour of him. After his death, as the fame went, the K. was ſore vexed in his ſlept with horrible dreames, imaginyng that he ſawe this Earle appeare vnto him, threatening him, and putting him in horrible fear, with which viſions being ſore troubled in his ſleepe, hee curſſed the daye that euer he knewe the Earle. And he was the more vnquiet, bicauſe he heard it reported, that the common people toke the Earle for a martyr, in ſo muche that ſome came to viſite the place of his ſepulture, for the opinion they had

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conceiued of his holines: and where it was bruted abroade as for a miracle, that his head ſhold be growen to his bodie againe, the .x. day after his buriall, the king ſent aboute .x. of the clocke in the night, certaine of the nobilitie to ſee hys body taken vp, that he might be certified of the truth. Whiche done, and perceiuing it was a fable, he commanded the Friers to take down his armes that were ſette vp aboute the place of his buriall, & to couer the graue, ſo as it ſhould not be perceyued where he was buryed,

But nowe to returne to the parliament. After the death of this earle, the lorde Thomas Beauchamp earle of Warwicke, was brought forth to abide his triall by Parliament, & when his accuſers charged him of like points of treaſon, ſuche as before were impoſed to the Earle of Arundell: he anſwered that he neuer ment euill to the kings perſon, nor thought that thoſe roades and aſſembles that were made in companie of the Duke of Glouceſter, the Earle of Arundel, and others, might be accompted treaſon. But when the Iudges had ſhewed hym, that they could not be otherwiſe taken than for treaſon, he humblie beſought the king of mercy and grace. The king then aſked of hym, whether he had ridde with the Duke of Glouceſter, and the earle of Arundell, as had bin alledged: he anſwered that he could not deny it, and wiſhed that he had neuer ſeen them. Then ſaid the king, doe ye not knowe that you are guiltie of treaſon? hee anſwered againe, I acknowledge it, and with ſobbing teares beſought all them that were preſent, to make interceſſion to the kings maieſtie for him. Then the king and the duke of Lancaſter communed, and after the K. had a while with ſilence conſidered of the matter, he ſaide to the erle, by S. Iohn Baptiſte, Thomas of Warwik, this confeſſion that thou haſt made, is vnto me more agreable than al the duke of Glouceſters, & the earle of Warwikes landes. Herewith the Erle making ſtill interceſſion for pardon, the Lordes humbly beſought the K. to graunt it. Finally the king pardoned him of life, but he baniſhed him into the Iſle of Man, which then was the L. Scropes, promiſing ẏ both hee & his wife & children ſhuld haue good enterteinment: whiche promiſe notwithſtanding, was but ſlenderly kept, for bothe the earle and the Counteſſe liued in great penurie, (as ſome write) and yet the lorde Scrope, that was L. Chãberlaine, had allowed for the erles diet .iiij. M. nobles yerely paid out of the kings coffers. On the Monday nexte after the arreignement of the erle of Warwick, to witte, the .xxiiij. of September, was the Lorde Iohn Cobham, and Syr Iohn Cheyney arreigned, and founde guiltie of like treaſons for whiche the other had bin condempned afore: but at the earneſt inſtance & ſuite of the nobles, they were pardoned of life, and baniſhed, or as Fabian hath, condempned to perpetuall priſon. The king deſirous to ſee the force of the Londoners, cauſed them during the time of this parliament to muſter before hym on Blacke Heath, where a man might haue ſeene a great number of able perſonages. And now after that the parliamēt had continued almoſte till Chriſtemaſſe, it was adiourned vntill the Quinden of ſaint Hillarie, then to begin agayne at Shrewſbury.

The parliament adiourned to Shrevvſbury.

The Kyng then came downe to Lichfield, and there helde a Royall Chriſtmaſſe, whiche being ended, he tooke his iorny towardes Shrewſbury, where the parliament was appointed to begin in the quinden of S. Hillarie, as before ye haue hearde. In which parliament there holde vpon prorogation for the loue that the K. bare to the gentlemen & cōmons of the ſhire of Cheſter, he cauſed it to be ordeined, that from thence forth it ſhuld be called and known by the name of the Principalitie of Cheſter: and herewith he entituled himſelf prince of Cheſter. He helde alſo a roial feaſt, keping open houſhold for al honeſt cōmers, during the which feaſt, he created .v. dukes & a ducheſſe, a Marques, and .iiij. erles. The Erle of Derbie was created duke of Hereford: the erle of Notingham ẏ was alſo erle of Marſhall, the duke of Norfolk: the erle of Rutlande, Duke of Aubemarle: the Earle of Kent Duke of Surrey: and the Earle of Huntington Duke of Exceſter: The Lady Margaret Marſhall Counteſſe of Norfolke, was created Ducheſſe of Norfolke: The Earle of Somerſet Marques Dorſet: the Lorde Spencer Earle of Glouceſter: the Lorde Neuill ſurnamed Danraby Earle of Weſtmerlande: The Lorde William Scrope Lorde Chamberlaine Earle of Wilteſhire: and the Lorde Thomas Percie Lorde Stewarde of the Kynges houſe Earle of Worceter.

The K. keepeth his Chriſtmaſſe at Lichefielde.

1398

Cheſhire made Principalitie.

King Richarde Prince of Cheſter.

Creation of dukes and Earles.

And for the better mayntenaunce of the eſtate of theſe noble men, whom he had thus aduaunced to higher degrees of honour, hee gaue vnto them a greate parte of thoſe landes, that belonged to the Duke of Glouceſter, the earles of Warwicke, and Arundell.

And nowe hee was in good hope, that hee had rooted vp all plantes of treaſon, and therefore cared leſſe who might be his friende or foe, than before he hadde done, eſteeming hymſelfe hygher in degree, than any Prynce lyuing, and ſo preſumed further than euer his grandefather did, and tooke vpon hym to beare the armes of Sainct Edwarde, ioyning them vnto his owne armes.

King Richarde beareth Sainct Edvvarde hys armes.

To conclude, whatſoeuer hee then did, none durſte ſpeake a worde contrarie thereto. And yet ſuche as were chiefe of his coũſell, were eſteemed of the commons to bee the worſt creatures that might be, as the Dukes of Aumarle, Norfolk and Exceſter, the Erle of Wilteſhire: ſir John Buſhie: ſir William Bagot: and Sir Thomas Grene: which three laſt remembred, were Knightes of the Bathe, againſte whome the commons vndoubtedly bare greate and priuy hatred.

The Lorde Reignolde Cobham condemned.

But now to procede. In this Parliament holden at Shrewſburye, the Lorde Reignolde Cobham, beeing a verye aged manne, ſimple and vpright in all his dealings, was condemned, for none other cauſe, but for that in the xj. yeare of the Kings raigne, hee was apointed with other, to be attendaunt about the king as one of his gouernors. The actes and ordinaunces alſo deuiſed and eſtabliſhed in the parlament holden in that. xj. yeare were likewiſe repealed. Moreouer, in this Parliament at Shrewesbury, it was decreed, that the Lorde John Cobham ſhoulde be ſente into the Iſle of Gerneſey, there to remaine in exile, hauyng a ſmall portion aſſigned hym to liue vpon. The king ſo wroughte, that hee obteyned the whole power of bothe houſes, to be graunted vnto certaine perſones, as to John duke of Lancaſter: Edmunde duke of Yorke: Edmunde Duke of Aumerle: Tho. duke of Surrey: John duke of Exceſter: John Marques Dorſet: Rog. erle of Marche: Jo. erle of Saliſbury, & Henry erle of Northumberland: Tho. erle of Glouceſter: & Wil. erle of Wiltſhire: John Huſſey, Henry Cheimeſwick, Robert Tey, and Jo. Gouloſer knights, or to. vij. or. viij. of them. Theſe were appointed to heare & determine certaine petitions and maters, yet depending and not ended: but by vertue of this graunt, they proceeded to conclude vpon other thinges, whiche generally touched the knowledge of the whole parliamẽt, in derogation of the ſtates thereof, to the diſaduantage of the kyng, & perillous example in time to come. When the king had ſpente much money in time of this parliamẽt, he demanded a diſme & a halfe of the clergie, and a. xv. of the temporaltie. Finally, a generall pardon was graunted for all offences to all the kinges ſubiectes (50. only excepted) whoſe names he wold not by any meanes expreſſe, but reſerued them to his owne knowledge, that when any of the nobilitie offended him, he might at his pleaſure name him to be one of the number excepted, and ſo keepe them ſtill within his daunger. To the ende that the ordinaunces, iudgementes, and actes made, pronounced and eſtabliſhed in this Parliamente, mighte be and abide in perpetuall ſtrength and force, the Kyng purchaſed the Popes Bulles, in which were conteined greuous cenſures & curſes, pronounced agaynſt al ſuche as did by any means go about to break & violate the ſtatutes in the ſame parliamente ordeined. Theſe Bulles were openly publiſhed and red at Poules croſſe in London, & in other the moſt publike places of the realme. Many other things were done in this parliamẽt, to the diſpleaſure of no ſmall number of people, namely, for that diuers rightfull heires were diſinherited of their lands and liuings, by auctoritie of the ſame parliament: with which wrongfull doings the people were muche offended, ſo that the K. and thoſe that were about him, & chiefe in counſell, came into greate infamy and ſlaunder: In deede the king after he had diſpatched the duke of Glouceſter, and the other noble men, was not a little glad for that he knewe them ſtill ready to diſappoint him in all his purpoſes, & therefore being nowe as it were careleſſe, did not behaue hymſelfe (as ſome haue written) in ſuch diſcreete order, as many wiſhed: but rather (as in time of proſperitie it often happeneth) he forgot hymſelfe, and beganne to rule by will more than by reaſon, threatning deathe to eche one that obeyed not his inordinate deſires: by meanes wherof, the lords of the realme began to feare their owne eſtates, being in danger of his furious outrage whome they tooke for a manne deſtitute of ſobrietie and wiſedome, and therefore coulde not like of him, that ſo abuſed his auctoritie. Hereupon there were ſundry of the nobles, that lamented theſe miſchiefes, and ſpecially ſhewed their griefes vnto ſuch, by whoſe naughty coũſell they vnderſtode the king to be miſled, and this they did, to the ende that they being aboute him, might either turne their copies, and giue him better coũſell, or elſe he hauing knowledge what euill reporte went of him, might amende his maners. But all was in vaine, for ſo it fell forthe, that in this parliamẽt holdẽ at Shrewſbury, Henry Duke of Hereford, accuſed Tho. Mowbray duke of Norfolke, of certaine words which he ſhuld vtter in talke had betwixt them, as they roade togyther lately before, betwixte London and Brainforde, ſounding highely to the kings diſhonor. And for further proofe thereof, he preſented a ſupplication to the K. wherein he appealed the duke of Norfolke in field of battaile, for a traitour, falſe and diſloiall to the K. and enimy vnto the realme. This ſupplication was redde beefore bothe the Dukes in preſence of the Kyng: whiche done, the Duke of Norfolke tooke vpon hym to aunſwere it, declaring that whatſoeuer the Duke of Hereforde hadde ſayde agaynſte hym other than well, hee lyed falſly like an vntrue Knighte, as

The auctoritie of bothe houſes in parliament graũted to certaine perſons.

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as he was: And whē the king aſked of the duke of Herforde what he ſaide to it, he taking hys hoode off his heade, ſaid: My ſoueraigne Lorde, euen as the ſupplication whiche I tooke you importeth, right ſo I ſay for truthe, that Thomas Moubray duke of Norfolke, is a traitour falſe and diſloyall to your roiall Maieſtie, your crowne, and to all the ſtates of your realme.

Then the Duke of Norfolke beeyng aſked what he ſaid to this, he anſwered, Right deare Lord, with your fauour that I make anſwere vnto your couſin here, I ſay (your reuerence ſaued,) that Henry of Lancaſter duke of Herforde, like a falſe and diſloyall traitour as he is, dothe lye in that he hath or ſhall ſay of mee otherwiſe than well. No more ſaide the Kyng, wee haue hearde enough: and herewyth commaunded the Duke of Surrey for that tourne Marſhall of Englande, to arreſt in his name the twoo Dukes: the Duke of Lancaſter father to the Duke of Herforde, the Duke of Yorke, the Duke of Aumarle Conſtable of Englande, and the duke of Surrey Marſhal of the realm, vndertooke as pledges body for body for the duke of Herford: but the duke of Norfolke was not ſuffred to put in pledges, and ſo vnder arreſt was led vnto Windſor caſtel, and there garded wyth keepers, that were appointed to ſee hym ſafely kept. Nowe after the diſſoluing of the Parliament at Shrewſbury, there was a day appointed about a ſixe weekes after, for the K. to come vnto Winſor to hear and to take ſome order betwixte the twoo dukes, which had thus appealed eche other. There was a greate ſkaffold erected within the caſtell of Windſore for the king to ſit with the Lordes and Prelates of his realme: and ſo at the day apointed, he with the ſaide lords & prelats being come thither and ſet in their places, the duke of Herford appellāt, and the duke of Norfolke defendant, were ſent for to come and apeare before the K. ſitting ther in his ſeate of Iuſtice. And then began to ſpeak ſir Io. Buſhy for the K. declaring to the lords how they ſhuld vnderſtand that where the duke of Herford had preſented a ſupplication to the K. that was there ſet to miniſter iuſtice vnto al men that wold demaund the ſame, as apperteined to his roiall Maieſty, he therfore wold now heare what the parties could ſay one againſt an other, & withall the K. commaunded the dukes of Aumarle & Surrey, the one beyng conſtable, & the other marſhall to go vnto the two dukes, appellant and defendant, requiring them on his behalf, to grow to ſome agreement: and for hys parte, hee woulde be readye to pardon all that hadde bene ſayde or done amiſſe betwixte them, touching any harme or diſhonour to him or hys realme: but they aunſwered bothe aſſuredly that it was not poſſible to haue any peace or agreement made betwixt them. When hee hearde what they hadde aunſwered, hee commaunded that they ſhoulde bee broughte forthwith before his preſence, to heare what they woulde ſaye.

Duke of Marſhal Duke marle ble of nde.

der of proceeding appeale.

Herewith an Herault in the Kings name with loude voice commaunded the Dukes to come before the King, either of them to ſhewe his reaſon, or elſe to make peace togither without more delay.

When they were come before the King and Lordes, the King ſpake himſelfe to them, willing them to agree, and make peace togither: for it is (ſaide he) the beſt way ye can take.

The Duke of Norfolke with due reuerence hereunto aunſwered, that it coulde not bee ſo brought to paſſe, his honour ſaued.

Then the King aſked of the Duke of Herforde, what it was that hee demaunded of the Duke of Norfolke, and what is the matter that ye cannot make peace togyther, and become friendes?

Then ſtoode forth a Knight that aſking and obteining licence to ſpeake for the duke of Herford, ſaid, Right dere and ſoueraigne Lorde, here is Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Herforde and Erle of Darbie, who ſaith, and I for hym likewiſe ſay, that Thomas Moubray Duke of Norfolke is a falſe and diſloyall traytour to you, & your royall Maieſtie, and to your whole realme: and likewiſe the duke of Herford ſaith and I for him, that Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke hath receyued .viij. M. nobles to paye the ſouldiors that keepe your Towne of Callais, whiche he hath not done as he oughte: and furthermore the ſaide Duke of Norfolke hath bin the occaſion of all the treaſon that hath bin contriued in your Realme for the ſpace of theſe .xviij. yeres, and by his falſe ſuggeſtions and malicious counſell, hath cauſed to dye and to be murthered your right dere vncle, the duke of Glouceſter, ſonne to king Edwarde.

The obiections againſt the Duke of Norfolke.

Moreouer, the Duke of Herforde ſaith and I for hym, that he will proue this with his bodye, againſt the body of the ſaid duke of Norfolke within liſtes.

The king herewith waxed angry, and aſked the Duke of Herford, if theſe were his wordes, who aunſwered, Right deare Lord, they are my wordes, and hereof I require right, and the battell againſt hym.

There was a Knight alſo that aſked licence to ſpeake for the Duke of Norfolke, and obteining it, began to aunſwere thus: Right deare ſoueraigne Lorde, here is Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke, who aunſwereth and ſaith, and I for him, that all that Henry of Lancaſter hath ſayde and declared (ſauing the reuerence due to the king and his counſell) is a lye, and the ſaide Henrye of Lancaſter hath falſely and wickedly lyed as a falſe and diſloyall Knyght, and bothe hath bene, and is a traitour againſte you, your Crowne, royall Maieſtye, and Realme.

This will I proue and defende as becommeth a loyall Knyghte to doe wyth my body againſte his: Right deare Lord, I beſeeche you therefore, and your counſell, that it maye pleaſe you in your royal diſcretion, to conſider and marke, what Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Hereforde ſuche a one as he is, hath ſaide.

The duke of Norfolke his aunsvvere for hymſelfe.

The King then demaunded of the duke of Norfolk, if theſe were his wordes, and whether he had any more to ſay. The Duke of Norfolk then anſwered for himſelf. Right deare ſir, true it is, that I haue receyued ſo muche golde to pay your people of the town of Callaice, which I haue done, & I do auouche that your towne of Callais is aſwell kept at your commaundemente as euer it was at any time before, and that there neuer hathe bene by any of Callais any complaint made vnto you of me. Ryghte deare and my ſoueraigne Lorde for the voiage that I made into Fraunce, aboute your mariage I neuer receyued eyther golde or ſiluer of you, nor yet for the voyage that the Duke of Aumerle, and I made into Almaigne, where wee ſpente great treaſure: mary true it is, that once I laid an ambuſhe to haue ſlaine the duke of Lancaſter, that there ſitteth: but neuertheleſſe hee hathe pardoned mee thereof, and there was good peace made betwixt vs, for the whiche I yelde hym harty thankes.

This is that whiche I haue to aunſwere, and am ready to defende my ſelfe againſt mine aduerſarie, I beeſeeche you therefore of righte and to haue the batalle againſt him, in vpright iudgement.

The combate apointed to bee done at Couentrye.

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After this, when the King had communed with his counſell a little, hee commaunded the two Dukes to ſtande forth, that their anſwers might bee hearde. The kyng then cauſed them once againe to bee aſked if they woulde agree, and make peace togither, and they bothe flatly aunſwered that they woulde not: and wythall the duke of Herford caſte downe his gage, and the duke of Norfolk toke it vp. The king perceyuing this demeanor betwixte them, ſware by S. Iohn Baptiſt, that he wold neuer ſeeke to make peace betwixt them againe. And therwith ſir Io. Buſhy in name of the K. and his counſell, declared, that the king and his counſell had commaunded, and ordeined, that they ſhold haue a day of battell, appoynted them, at Couentrie. Here writers diſagree about the day that was appointed: for ſome ſay, it was vpon a Monday in Auguſt; other vpon S. Lambertes daye, being the .xvij. of September: other on the .xj. of September: But true it is, that the K. aſſigned them not only the day, but alſo apoynted them liſts and place for the combate, and thereuppon greate preparation was made, as to ſuche a matter apperteined. At the time appointed the King came to Couentrye, where the two Dukes were readye, according to the order preſcribed therin, comming thither in greate arraye, accompanied with the Lords and gentlemen of their linages. The king had cauſed a ſumptuous ſcaffolde or theatre, and royall liſtes there to bee erected and prepared: The Sundaye beefore they ſhoulde fight, after diner the duke of Hereforde came to the Kyng (being lodged like a quarter of a mile without the towne in a tower that belõged to ſir Will. Bagot) to take his leaue of him. The morrow after, being the day appointed for the combat about the ſpring of the day came yͤ duke of Norfolke to the Court to take leaue likewiſe of the King.

The Duke of Hereforde armed hym in his tent, that was ſet vp nere to the liſts, & the duke of Norfolke putte on his armour, betwixte the gate and the barrier of the towne, in a beautifull houſe, hauing a faire perclois of wood towardes the gate, that none might ſee what was done within the houſe.

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The duke of Aumerle that daye being highe Conſtable of Englande, and the duke of Surrey Marſhall, placed themſelues betwixt them, well armed and apointed, and when they ſawe their time, they firſt entred into the liſtes wyth a greate company of men apparelled in ſilke ſendall, embroudered with ſiluer, both richely, and curiouſly, euery man hauing a tipped ſtaffe to keepe the fielde in order.

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Aboute the houre of Prime came to the barriers of the liſts, the duke of Hereford, mounted on a white courſer, barded wyth greene and blewe veluet embroydered ſumptuouſlye wyth Swans and Antelops of goldſmithes worke, armed at all points. The Conſtable and Marſhall came to the barriers, demaunding of hym what hee was, hee aunſwered I am Henry of Lancaſter duke of Hereforde, whiche am come hither to do my deuoir againſt Thomas Moubray duke of Norfolke, as a traitor vntrue to god, the K. his realme, and me. Then incontinently hee ſware vpon the holy Euangeliſtes, that his quarell was true and iuſte, and vpon that point he required to enter the liſts.

Then hee put vp his ſworde, which before he helde naked in his hand, and putting down his viſer, made a croſſe on his horſe, & with ſpeare in hande, entred into the liſtes, and diſcended from his horſe, & ſet hym downe in a chaire of greene veluet, at the one end of the liſts, & there repoſed hymſelfe, abiding the comming of his aduerſary. Soon after him, entred into the field with greate triumph, King Richarde accompanied with all the peares of the realme, and in his company was the earle of ſainct Paule, whiche was come out of Fraunce in poſt to ſee this chalenge performed. The King had there aboue tenne thouſande men in armour, leaſt ſome fray or tumult might riſe amõgſt his nobles, by quarrelling or partaking. Whẽ the K. was ſet in his ſeate, which was richely hanged and adorned: a king at armes made open proclamation, prohibiting all men in the name of the King, & of the high conſtable, and Marſhal, to enterpriſe or attempte, to approche or touche any parte of the liſtes, vpon paine of death, excepte ſuche as were appointed to order or marſhall the fielde.

The proclamation ended, an other Herault cried, beholde here Henry of Lancaſter Duke of Herforde appellant, whiche is entred into the liſtes royall to do his deuoir againſte Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolke defendant, vpon paine to be founde falſe and recreant.

The duke of Norfolke houered on horſeback at the entrie of the liſts, his horſe being barded with crimoſen veluet, embroudered richly with Lions of ſiluer and Mulbery trees, & when he had made his othe before the conſtable, & Marſhall that his quarrell was iuſt and true, he entred the fielde manfully, ſaying aloude: God aide hym that hath the righte, and then hee departed from his horſe, and ſate hym downe in his chaire which was crimſen veluet, courtined aboute wyth white and redde damaſke. The Lord Marſhal viewed their ſpeares, to ſee that they were of equall lengthe, and deliuered the one ſpeare hymſelfe to the Duke of Herforde, and ſent the other vnto the Duke of Norfolke by a Knighte. Then the Herrault proclaimed that the trauerſes, and chaires of the champions ſhoulde bee remoued, commaunding them on the kinges behalfe, to mount on horſebacke and addreſſe themſelues to the battaile and cõbate. The duke of Herford was quickly horſed, and cloſed his bauier, and caſte his ſpeare into the reſte, and when the trumpet ſounded ſette forwarde courageouſly towards hys enimy ſixe or vij. paces. The duke of Norfolke was not fully ſet forward, when the K. caſte downe hys warder, and the Heraultes cried, ho, ho. Then the K. cauſed their ſpears to be taken frõ them and cõmaunded them to repaire againe to their chaires, where they remayned .ij. long houres, while the K. & his cõuſell deliberatly conſulted what order was beſte to be had in ſo weightye a cauſe. Finally after they had deuiſed, & fully determined what ſhuld be done therin, the Heraultes cried ſilence, and Syr John Buſhy the kings ſecretary red the ſentence and determination of the K. and his counſell, in a long roll, the effect whereof was, that Henry duke of Herford ſhould within .xv. dayes depart out of the realme, and not to returne before the terme of x. yeres were expired, except by the Kyng hee ſhould bee repealed again, and this vpon paine of deathe: And that Thomas Moubray duke of Norfolke, bycauſe hee had ſowen ſedition in the realme by his wordes, ſhould likewiſe auoid the Realme, and neuer to retourne againe into Englande, nor approche the borders or confines therof, vpon paine of death, and that the K. would ſtay the profites of his landes, till he had leuied therof ſuche ſummes of mony as the duke had taken vp of the kings treaſurer for the wages of the garriſon of Calleis, whych were ſtill vnpaide. When theſe iudgements were once red, the K. called before him both the parties, & made them to ſweare that the one ſhuld neuer come in place, where the other was, willingly, nor keepe any companye to gither in any forrein region, whiche othe they bothe receiued humbly, and ſo wente their waies. The Duke of Norfolke departed ſorowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at the laſte came to Venice, where he for thought and melancoly deceaſed: for he was in hope as writers recorde, that he ſhould haue bene borne out in the matter by the K. which when it fell out otherwiſe, it greeued hym not a little. The Duke of Herford tooke his leaue of the K. at Eltham, which there releaſed .iiij. yeres of hys baniſhement: So he tooke hys iorney ouer into Callais, and from thence went into Fraunce, wher hee remained. A wonder it was to ſee what number of people ran after him in euery town and ſtrete, where he came, before he tooke the ſea, lamenting & bewailing his departure, as who ſhuld ſay, that whẽ he departed, the only ſhield, defence and comforte of the common wealthe was vaded and gone. At his comming into Fraunce K. Charles hearyng the cauſe of hys baniſhement (whiche he eſteemed to bee very light) receiued hym gently, and him honorably interteined, in ſo much that he had by fauor obteyned in mariage the only daughter of ỹ duke of Berry, vncle to the frenche K. if King Richard hadnot bin a let in that matter, who being thereof certified, ſent the earle of Saliſbury with all ſpeede into France, both to ſurmiſe by vntrue ſuggeſtion, hainous offences againſt him, and alſo to require the frenche King that in no wiſe hee woulde ſuffer his couſin to bee matched

The King his dome betvvixt the .ii. Dukes.

The Duke of Herforde beloued of the people.

The Duke of Hereford is honorably enterteined vvith the french king.

Froiſſart.

1399

Fabian.

Blanke charters.

The deathe of the duke of Lancaſter.

matched in mariage with him that was ſo manifeſt an offendor. On Newyeares day this yeare, the riuer that paſſeth betwixte Suelleſton or Snelſton, and Harewood, two villages not farre from Bedforde, ſodeinly ceaſſed hir courſe, ſo as the chanell remained drie by the ſpace of three miles, that any man might enter into, and paſſe the ſame drie foote at his pleſure. This deuiſion whiche the water made in that place, the one part ſeeming as it were not to come nere to the other, was iudged, to ſignifie the reuolting of the ſubiectes of this land, from their naturall Prince: althoughe it may be, that the water of that riuer ſanke into the ground, and by ſome ſecrete paſſage, or chanell tooke courſe till it came to the place where it might riſe again, as in other places is likewiſe ſeene. Ye haue heard before, howe the Archebiſhop of Canterbury Thomas Arundel, was baniſhed the Realme, & Roger Walden was made Archbiſhop of that ſee, who was a greate fauourer of the citie of London, the which was eftſoones about this ſeaſon falne into the kings diſpleaſure: but by the diligente labour of this Archebiſhop, and of Roberte Braybrooke then biſhop of London, vpon the humble ſupplication of the citizens, the kings wrathe was pacified. But yet to content the kings mind, many blanke charters were deuiſed, and brought into the citie, which many of the ſubſtanciall & welthie citizens, were fayne to ſeale, to their greate chardge, as in the ende appeared. And the like charters were ſent abroad into al ſhires within the realme, wherby greate grudge and murmuring aroſe among the people: for when they were ſo ſealed, the kings officers wrote in the ſame what liked them, as well for charging the parties with payment of money, as otherwiſe. In this meane time, the duke of Lancaſter departed out of this life at the biſhop of Elies place in Holborne, and lieth buryed in the cathedrall churche of S. Paule in London, on the North-ſide of the highe Aulter, by the Lady Blaunche his firſte wife.

Thom. Wal.

The death of this duke gaue occaſion of encreaſing more hatred in the people of this realm towarde the king, for he ſeaſed into his handes all the goods that belonged to hym, and alſo receyued all the rents and reuenues of his landes whiche ought to haue diſcended vnto the duke of Herefordе by lawfull inheritaunce, in reuoking his letters patents, which he had graunted to him before, by vertue wherof, he might make his attorneis generall to ſue liuery for hym, of any maner of inheritaunces or poſſeſſions that myghte from thenceforthe fall vnto hym, and that hys homage myghte bee reſpited, wyth making reaſonable fine, : wherby it was euident, that the king ment his vtter vndooing.

Thys harde dealing was muche myſlyked of all the nobilitie, and cried out againſt, of the meaner ſorte: But namely the Duke of Yorke was therewyth ſore amoued, who before this time, had borne things with ſo pacient a mind as he could, though the ſame touched him very neare, as the death of his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, the baniſhment of hys nephewe the ſaid duke of Hereford, and other mo iniuries in greate number, which for the ſlippery youth of the king, hee paſſed ouer for the tyme, and did forget aſwell as he might.

But now perceiuing that neither law, iuſtice nor equitie could take place, where the kinges wilful will was bent vpon any wrongfull purpoſe, he conſidered that the glorie of the publike wealthe of his countrey muſt needes decay, by reaſon o the king his lacke of witte, and want of ſuche (as would without flattery) admoniſh hym of hys duty: and therefore hee thought it the parte of a wiſe man to get hym in time to a reſting place, and to leaue the followyng of ſuche an vnaduiſed capitaine, as wyth a leaden ſworde would cut his owne throate.

The d York the co goeth

There to fer Kyng.

Herevpon he wyth the duke of Aumarle his ſonne, went to his houſe at Langley, reioicing that nothing had miſhappened in the common wealthe throughe his deuiſe or conſent. The common brute ranne, that the kyng had ſette to ferme the realme of England, vnto ſir Wylliam Scrope Earle of Wiltſhire, and then treaſourer of Englande, to ſir Iohn Buſhy, Syr Iohn Bagot, and ſir Henry Greene Knights.

Aboute the ſame time, the Earle of Arundels ſonne, named Thomas, whiche was kept in the duke of Exeters houſe, eſcaped out of the realme by meanes of one Willyam Scot mercer, and went to his vncle Thomas Arundell, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as then ſoiorning at Coleyn.

Tho.

Nerv actions

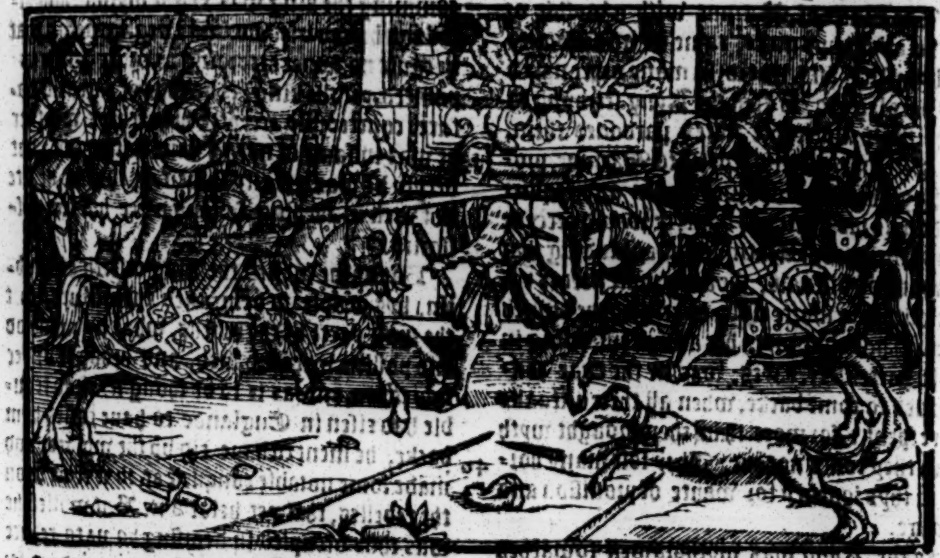
King Richarde beeing deſtitute of treaſure to furniſhe ſuche a Princely porte as he mainteined, borrowed greate ſummes of money of many of the greate Lordes and Peeres of hys realme both ſpiritual and temporall, and likewiſe of other meane perſones, promyſing them in good earneſt, by deliuering to them his letters patentes for aſſuraunce, that hee woulde repay the money ſo borrowed at a day appointed: which notwithſtanding he neuer payd. Moreoreouer, this yere he cauſed .xvij. ſhires of the realme by way of putting thẽ to their fines to pay no ſmal ſũmes of money, for redeeming their offẽces, that they had aided yͤ duke of Glouceſter, the erles of Arũdel, & Warwik whẽ thei roſe in armor againſt him. The nobles, gentlemẽ, and commons of thoſe ſhires were enforced alſo to receiue a newe othe to aſſure the king of their fidelitie in time to come, and withall certaine prelates and other honorable perſonages, were ſent into the ſame ſhires, to perſuade men to this payment, and to ſee thinges ordered at the pleaſure of the Prince: and ſurely the fines whiche the nobles, and other the meaner eſtates of thoſe ſhires were conſtrayned to pay, were not ſmall, but exceeding greate, to the offence of many. Moreouer, the kings letters patentes were ſent into euery ſhire within this land, by vertue whereof, an othe was demaunded of all the kings liege people for a further aſſuraunce of their due obedience, and they were conſtreined to ratifie the ſame in writing vnder their handes and ſeales.

Moreouer they were compelled to put their hands and ſeales, to certaine blankes, whereof, yee haue hearde before, in the whiche, when it pleaſed hym hee might write, what hee thought good. There was alſo a newe othe deuiſed for the ſheriffs of euery county through the realme to receiue: finally many of the kings liege people were through ſpite, enuy, and malice, accuſed, apprehended, and put in priſon, and after brought before the conſtable, and Marſhall of Englande, in the Courte of Chiualrye, and mought not otherwiſe bee deliuered except they coulde iuſtifie themſelues by combat and fighting in liſts againſt their accuſers hand to hand, although the accuſers for the moſt parte, were luſtie, yong and valiant, where the parties accuſed were perchaunce olde, impotent, maimed and ſickly. Whereupon not onely the greate diſtruction of the realme in generall, but alſo of euery ſingular perſon in particular, was to bee feared and looked for.

Indirect dealings.

Polidore.

In this meane time the King being aduertiſed that the wilde Iriſhe dayly waſted, and deſtroyed the townes and villages within the engliſh Pale, and had ſlaine many of the ſouldiours whiche lay there in garriſon for defence of that country, determined to make eftſoones a voiage thither, and prepared al things neceſſary for his paſſage nowe againſt the ſpring.



A little before his ſetting forthe, he cauſed a iuſtes to be holden at Windſor of .xl. knightes and .xl. Eſquiers, againſte all commers, and they to bee apparelled in greene, wyth a white Fawcon, and the Queene to bee there well accompanied with Ladies and damoſels. When theſe iuſtes were finiſhed, the king departed towarde Briſtow, from thence to paſſe into Irelande, leauing the Queene with hir traine ſtill at Windſor: He appointed for hys lieftenaunt generall in hys abſence hys vncle the Duke of Yorke: and ſo in the moneth of Aprill, as diuers authors write, he ſet forward from Windſor, and finally toke ſhipping at Milford, and from thence with .ij. C. ſhips, and a puiſſant power of men of armes and archers he ſailed into Ireland. The Friday nexte after his arriuall there were ſlaine .ij. C. Iriſhemenne at Fourde in Kenlis within the countie of Kildare, by that valiant gentelman Ienico Dartois, and ſuche engliſhmen as he had ther with him: and on the morrowe nexte enſuing the citizens of Dublin inuaded the countrey of Obrin, and ſlewe .33. Iriſhemen. The king alſo, after hee had remained about .vi. dayes at Waterford, marched from thence towards Kilkenny, and comming thither, ſtayed thereaboute .xiiij. dayes, looking for the duke of Aumarle that was appointed to haue met him, but he failed & came not, whereupon the king on Midſomer euen ſet forward again, marching ſtreight towards the country of Mackmur the principall rebell in that ſeaſon within Irelande, who keping himſelfe among

Out of a french pamphlet that belongeth to maſter Iohn Dee.

Macmur.

woodes wyth .iij.M. right hardy men ſeemed to paſſe little for any power that myght bee brought againſt hym. The king yet approching to the ſkirtes of the woodes, commaunded hys ſouldiors to ſet the houſes and villages, which was executed wyth great forwardneſſe of the men of warre. And here for ſome valiant acte that hee dyd, or ſome other fauourable reſpect, which the king bare to the lord Henry ſon to the Duke of Herford, he made him Knight. This Henry was after king of England, ſucceeding his father and called by the name of Henry the fift: there were a .ix. or .x. others made knights alſo the ſame time.

Pioners ſet a vvorke to cutte dovvne vvoodes.

Moreouer, there were two thouſande .v.C. Pioners ſet a work to cut down the woodes, and to make paſſages throughe, and ſo then the engliſhmen entred, and by force got throughe: for the Iriſhmen ſore feared the engliſh bowes, but yet now and then they eſpying their aduantage, aſſailed oftentimes the engliſhmen wyth their darts, and ſlew diuers that went abroade to fetch in forrage.

The Vncle of Macmur with a wythie or withe about hys necke, came in and ſubmitted hymſelfe, and lykewiſe many other naked and bare legged, ſo that the Kyng ſeemyng to pitye theyr myſerable ſtate, pardoned them, and afterward he alſo ſent vnto Macmur, promyſing that if he woulde come in and require pardon as his vncle had done, he would receyue him to mercy: but Macmur vnderſtanding that for want of vittaals, the king muſt needes retire within a ſhorte time, he refuſed the kinges offer. The King wyth his army remaining in thoſe partes .xj. dayes, was in the ende conſtrained to come backe, when all their vittualls were ſpent: for more than they brought wyth them they could not get. They loſt many horſes in thys iourney for wante of prouiſion and forrage.

Macmur ſẽdeth to the king, offering a parley.

As the Kyng was wythdrawen towardes Dubline, marching throughe the countrey, in deſpite of his enimies, that houered ſtill aboute his army, Macmur ſent to the Kyng, offering to talke of an agreement if it ſhould pleaſe him to ſende any noble manne to meete hym at a place appointed.

The Erle of Glouceſter.

The king herevpon commaunded the Erle of Glouceſter to take wyth hym two hundreth launces, and a thouſande archers, and to go to trie if he might by perſuaſion cauſe him to come in and ſubmit himſelfe. The earle went, and coming to talk with hym, found him ſo obſtinate, that their parley ſtraightways brake off: ſo taking leaue eche of other, they departed and the Earle retourned to the Kyng to aduertiſe hym what hee hadde done and perceyued, by the communication whiche hee had had with Macmur.

The King was ſore offended with the obſtinateneſſe of the rebell, that would not agree otherwiſe: but ſo as he myght remaine ſtill at libertie, without daunger to ſuffer any maner of puniſhment for his paſſed offences. Whereuppon the king after his comming to Dublin, and that the army hadde reſted there, and in the countrey nere to the citie, for the ſpace of fiftene daies, hee deuided his people into three partes, and ſent them abroade into the country to purſue the enimies, and withall made proclamation, that whoſoeuer could bring Macmur vnto his preſence, ſhould haue for his recompence a greate rewarde: for he determined not to departe the countrey till he had hym eyther deade or aliue. But he knew full little then what incidents to hinder his purpoſed intention wold after followe.

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faith.

The ſame daye that he ſent abroade his army thus into .iij. ſeuerall partes, the Duke of Aumarle wyth an .C. ſaile arriued, of whoſe comming the king was ryght ioyfull, and although he had vſed no ſmall negligence in that he came no ſoner according to order before appointed, yet the king (as he was of a gentill nature) courteouſly accepted his excuſe: whether he was in fault or not, I haue not to ſay: but verely he was greatly ſuſpected, that he dealte not well in tarying ſo long after his time aſſigned.

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But nowe whileſt the king reſteth at Dublin, hys people ſo demeaned themſelues, that the moſt parte of the rebells, what by manhood and pollicie were ſubdued, and brought vnder ſubiection, and (as is to be thought) if no trouble had riſen in Englande to haue called hym backe, he ment to haue rid vp the woodes, and made ſome notable conqueſt at that time vpon the rebelles, that yet helde out. But whileſt he was thus occupied in deuiſing howe to reduce them into ſubiection, and takyng orders for the good ſtaye and quyet gouernement of the countrey, diuers of the nobilitie aſwel Prelats as other, and likewiſe many of the magiſtrats and rulers of the cities, Townes, and Communaltie, here in Englande, perceyuing dayly how the realme drewe to vtter ruine, not like to be recouered to the former ſtate of wealthe, whileſt king Richarde liued and reigned, (as they tooke it) deuiſed with great deliberation, and conſiderate aduiſe to ſende and ſignifye by letters vnto Duke Henry, whome they nowe called (as he was in deede) Duke of Lancaſter and Herforde, requiring hym with all conuenient ſpeede to conueye hymſelfe into Englande, promiſing hym all theyr aide, power and aſſiſtance.

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aſſiſtaunce, if he expulſing King Richard, as a man not meete for the office he bare, would take vpõ him the ſcepter, rule and diademe of his natiue land and region: he therfore being thus called vppon, by meſſengers and letters from hys friends, and chiefly, through the earneſt perſwaſion of Thomas Arundell, late Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, (who as before ye haue heard) had bin remoued frõ his ſea, and baniſhed the realme by king Richardes meanes, got hym downe into Britaine, togither with the ſaid Archbiſhop, where he was ioyfully receiued of the Duke, and Ducheſſe, and found ſuch frẽdſhip at the Dukes handes, that there were certaine ſhippes rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in baſe Britaigne, called le Porte Blanc, as we finde in the Chronicles of Britaigne: and when all his prouiſion was made ready, he tooke the ſea, togither with the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and hys nephew Thomas Arundell, ſonne and heyre to the late Earle of Arundell, beheaded at the Tower hill.

There were alſo with hym, Reginalde Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Erpingham, and Sir Thomas Ramſton knightes, John Norbury, Roberte Waterton, and Frauncis Coint eſquiers: few elſe were there: for (as ſome write) he had not paſt a. xv. launces, as they tearmed them in thoſe dayes, that is to wit, men of armes, furniſhed and appointed as the vſe then was: yet other write, that the duke of Britaigne deliuered vnto hym three thouſand men of warre, to attende hym, and that he had .viij. ſhips well furniſhed for the warre, wher Froiſſart yet ſpeaketh but of three.

Moreouer, where Froiſſarte and alſo the Chronicles of Britaine auouche, that he ſhould lande at Plimmouth, by our Engliſh writers it ſeemeth otherwiſe: for it appeareth by their aſſured reporte, that he approching to the ſhore, did not ſtraight take lande, but laye aloofe, houering, and ſhewed himſelfe nowe in this place, and nowe in that, to ſee what countenaunce was made by the people, whether they meante enuiouſlie to reſiſte him, or friendely to receyue him.

When the lorde gouernour Edmond duke of Yorke was aduertiſed, that the duke of Lancaſter kepte ſtill the ſea, and was ready to arriue, (but where hee meant firſt to ſette foote a lande, there was not any that vnderſtoode the certaintie) hee ſente for the Lorde Chauncellour, Edmonde Stafforde Biſhoppe of Exeter, and for the Lorde Treaſurer, Wyllyam Scrope Earle of Wiltſhire, and other of the Kynges priuy counſell, as John Buſhye, Wyllyam Bagot, Henrye Greene, and John Ruſſell Knightes: of theſe he required to knowe what they thought good to bee done in this matter, concerning the Duke of Lancaſter, beeyng on the Seas.

Theyr aduiſe was, to depart from London, vnto Sainct Albons, and there to gather an armye to reſiſt the Duke in his landing, but to howe ſmall purpoſe theyr counſell ſerued, the concluſion thereof plainely declared, for the moſte parte that were called, when they came thither boldely proteſted, that they woulde not fight againſte the Duke of Lancaſter, whome they knewe to bee euill dealte with.

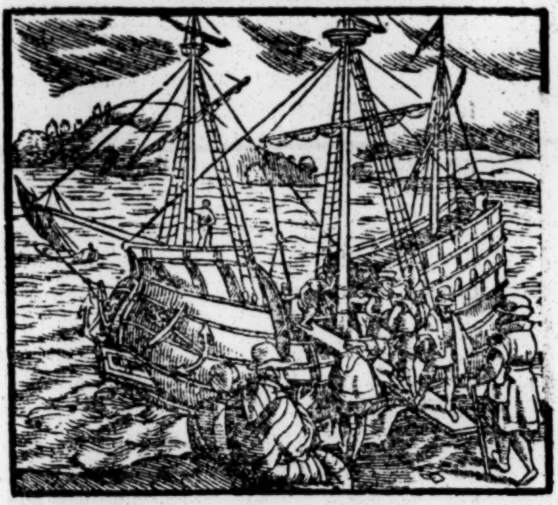
The cõmõs deny to reſiſte the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Lorde Treaſorer, Buſhye, Bagot, and Greene, perceyuyng that the commons woulde cleaue vnto, and take parte wyth the Duke, ſlipped away, leauing the Lorde gouernour of the Realme, and the Lorde Chauncellour to make what ſhift they coulde for themſelues: Bagot got hym to Cheſter, and ſo eſcaped into Irelande, the other fledde to the Caſtell of Briſtowe, in hope there to bee in ſafetye.

The Duke of Lancaſter, after that hee hadde coaſted alongſt the ſhore a certain time, and had gotte ſome intelligence howe the peoples minds were affected towardes hym, landed aboute the beginning of July in Yorkſhire, at a place ſomtime called Rauenſpurre, betwixte Hulle and Bridlington, and wyth hym not paſte .lx. perſons, as ſome write: But hee was ſo ioyfullye receiued of the Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of thoſe partyes, that hee founde meanes (by theyr helpe) forthwyth to aſſemble a greate number of people, that were willing to take his parte. Fyrſt that came to hym, were the Lords of Lincolneſhire, and other Countreys adioyning, as the Lordes Willoughby, Ros, Darcy, and Beaumont.

The Duke of Lancaſter landeth in Yorkſhire.

Additions to Polichron.



At his commyng vnto Doncaſter, the Erle of Northumberlande, and his ſonne Sir Henrie Percy, wardens of the Marches agaynſte Scotland, with the Earle of Weſtmerlande, The Duke of Lācaſters othe to the Lords that ayded hym.

came vnto hym, where hee ſware vnto thoſe Lordes, that hee woulde demaund no more, but the landes that were to hym diſcended by inheritance from hys father, and in right of his wife.

Moreouer, hee vndertooke to cauſe the payment of taxes and tallages to bee layde downe, and to bring the King to good gouernemente, and to remoue from hym the Cheſhire menne, which were enuyed of many, for that the Kyng eſteemed of them more than of any other, happely, bycauſe they were more faythfull to hym than other, readye in all reſpectes to obey hys commaundements and pleaſure.

From Doncaſter hauing now gote a mightie armie about hym, hee marched forth with all ſpeede through the Countreys, comming by Eueſham, vnto Berkeley: within the ſpace of three dayes, all the Kyngs Caſtels in thoſe parties were ſurrendred vnto hym.

The Duke of Yorke, whome King Richard had left as gouernour of the Realme in hys abſence, hearing that his nephewe the Duke of Lancaſter was thus arriued, and had gathered an armye, hee alſo aſſembled a puiſſant power of men of armes and archers (as before yee haue hearde) but all was in vayne, for there was not a man that willingly woulde thruſt out one arrow againſt the Duke of Lancaſter, or his partakers, or in any wiſe offende him or his friends.

The harts of the commons wholly addicted to the Duke of Lancaſter.

The Duke of Yorke therefore paſſing forthe towardes Wales to meete the Kyng, at hys commyng forth of Irelande, was receyued into the Caſtell of Barkeley, and there remayned, til the comming thither of the Duke of Lancaſter, (whome when he perceyued that hee was not able to reſiſt) on the Sonday, after the feaſt of Saint Iames, whiche as that yeare came about, fell vpon the Friday, he came forth into the Church that ſtoode without the Caſtel, and there communed with the Duke of Lancaſter: with the Duke of Yorke were the Byſhops of Norwiche, the Lord Barkeley, the Lord Seymour, and other: with the Duke of Lancaſter were theſe, Thomas Arundell, Archbyſhop of Canterburie, that had bin baniſhed, the Abbot of Leiceſter, the Erles of Northumberlãd and Weſtmerland, Thomas Arundel, ſon to Richard, late Erle of Arũdel yͤ Baron of Greiſtock, the Lords Willoughby and Ros, with diuers other, lords, Knightes, and other people, which daily came to him frõ euery part of the Realm: thoſe that came not, were ſpoyled of all they had, ſo as they were neuer able to recouer themſelues againe, for their goodes being then taken away, were neuer reſtored & thus what for loue, & what for fear of loſſe, they came flocking vnto him from euery part.

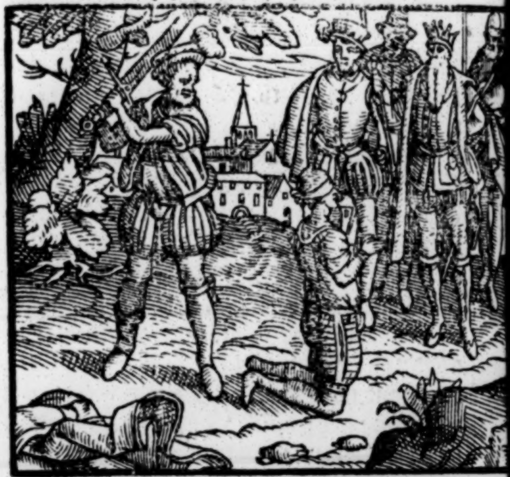
At yͤ ſame preſent, ther wer arreſted, & cõmitted to ſafe cuſtodie, the B. of Norwiche, Sir Wil. Elmam, & Sir Walter Burley, Knights, Lawrence Drew, and Iohn Goloſer Eſquiers.

The Du Lancaſte cheth to ſtowe.

The morow after, yͤ forſayd Dukes wͭ their power, wente towardes Briſtow, where at their comming, they ſhewed thẽſelues before yͤ towne and Caſtell, beeing an huge multitude of people.

There were encloſed within the Caſtell, the lord Wil. Scrope Erle of Wilſhire, and Treaſorer of Englande, ſir Henry Greene, and Sir Iohn Buſſhy knightes, who prepared to make reſiſtance, but when it would not preuayle, they were takẽ, and brought forth bound as priſoners into the Campe, before the Duke of Lancaſter. On yͤ morow next enſuing, they wer arreigned before the Conneſtable and Marſhal, and found giltie of treaſon, for miſgouerning the king and Realm, and forthwith, had their heads ſmit off.

Scrope Treaſo Buſhy Greene cuted,



Sir Iohn Ruſſell was alſo taken there, who faining himſelfe to be out of his wittes, eſcaped their hands for a time. In this meane time, king Richard aduertiſed, how the Duke of Lancaſter was landed in Englãd, & that the Lords, Gẽtlemen & Cõmons, aſſembled thẽſelues to take hys part, he forthwith cauſed yͤ L. Henry, ſon to the ſayde Duke of Lancaſter, and the L. Humfrey, ſon to the Duke of Glouceſter, to be ſhut vp faſt in the Caſtell of Trymme, and with all ſpeede, made haſt to returne into Englãd, in hope with an army to encounter yͤ Duke, before he ſhoulde haue time to aſſemble his friends togither. But heere ye ſhal note, that it fortuned the ſame time, in whiche the Duke of Herforde or Lancaſter, whether ye liſt to call him, arriued thus in England, the ſeas were ſo troubled by tempeſts, and the windes blewe ſo contrary for any paſſage, to come ouer forthe of Englande to the Kyng, remayning ſtill in Irelande, that for the ſpace of ſyxe weekes, hee receyued no aduertiſementes from thence: at length yet, when the Seas became calme, and the winde once turned any thyng fauourable, there came ouer a Shippe, whereby the Kyng vnderſtoode the

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manner of the Dukes arriuall, and all his proceedings to that daye, in whiche the Shippe departed from the coaſt of Englande, whervpon, hee meant forthwith to haue returned ouer into England, to make reſiſtance againſt the Duke, but through perſwaſion of the Duke of Aumarle as was thought, he ſtayed, till hee myghte haue all his Shippes, and other prouiſion, fully ready for his paſſage. And in the meane time, he ſent the Earle of Saliſburie ouer into England, to gather a power togither, by help of the Kings friends in Wales, and Cheſhire, with al ſpeede poſſible, that they myght bee ready to aſſiſt hym agaynſte the Duke, vpon his firſt arriuall, for hee meante hymſelfe to followe the Earle, within ſixe dayes after. The Earle paſſing ouer into Wales, landed at Conwey, and ſente forthe letters to the Kings friends, both in Wales and Cheſhire, to leauie their people, and to come with all ſpeede to aſſiſt the King, whoſe requeſt, with greate deſire, and very willyng myndes they dyd, hoping to haue found the king hymſelfe at Conwey, in ſo muche, that within foure dayes ſpace, there were to the number of fortie thouſande men aſſembled, ready to march with the King againſte his enimies, if hee hadde bin there hymſelfe in perſon, but when they miſſed the Kyng, there was a brute ſpredde among them, that the Kyng was ſurely dead, whyche wrought ſuche an impreſſion, and euill diſpoſition in the myndes of the Welchmenne and others, that for any perſwaſion which the Earle of Saliſburie mighte vſe, they woulde not goe forth with hym, till they ſawe the Kyng: onely they were contented to ſtaye fourteene dayes, to ſee if he ſhould come or not, but when hee came not within that tearme, they would no longer abyde, but ſcaled and departed away, whereas if the King had come before theyr breakyng vp, no doubt, but they would haue put the Duke of of Hereforde in aduenture of a fielde: ſo that the Kyngs lingering of tyme before his commyng ouer, gaue oportunitie to the Duke, to bryng things to paſſe as hee coulde haue wiſhed, and tooke from the Kyng all occaſion, to recouer afterwardes anye forces, ſufficiente to reſiſt hym. At length yet, an eighteene dayes after that the Kyng had ſente from hym the Earle of Saliſburie, he tooke the Sea, togither with the Dukes of Aumarle, Exeter, Surrey, and dyuers others of the nobilitie, with the Byſhops of London, Lincolne, and Carleill. They landed neere to the Caſtell of Barclowlie in Wales, about the feaſt of Saint Iames the Apoſtle, and ſtayed awhyle in the ſame Caſtell, being aduertiſed of the greate forces which the Duke of Lancaſter had gote togither againſte him, wherewith hee was maruellouſly amaſed, knowing certaynely that thoſe whiche were thus in armes with the Duke of Lancaſter agaynſte hym, woulde rather die than gyue place, as well for the hatred as feare whiche they had conceyued of him. Neuertheleſſe, hee departing from Barclowly, haſted with all ſpeede towards Conwey, where hee vnderſtoode the Earle of Saliſburie to bee ſtill remaynyng: hee therefore taking with him ſuche Cheſhire menne as hee hadde with him at that preſente (in whome all hys truſt was repoſed) hee doubted not to reuenge hymſelfe of his aduerſaries, and ſo at the firſt he paſſed with a good courage, but whẽ he vnderſtood as he went thus forward, that all the Caſtels, euen from the borders of Scotland vnto Briſtowe were deliuered vnto the Duke of Lancaſter, and that lykewiſe the Nobles and commons, as well of the South partes, as the North, were fully bente to take parte with the ſame Duke againſte hym, and further, hearing howe hys truſtie counſellors hadde loſt theyr heads at Briſtowe, he became ſo greatly diſcomforted, that ſorowfully lamenting his miſerable ſtate, he vtterly deſpaired of his owne ſafetie, and calling his army togither, whiche was not ſmall, licenced euery mã to departe to his home.

Tho. VValſ.

Additions to Polichron.

King Richard in vtter deſpaire.

The Souldiers being well bente to fighte in his defence, beſoughte him to be of good cheere, promiſing with an othe to ſtand with hym againſte the Duke, and all his partakers vnto death, but this coulde not encourage him at all, ſo that in the nyght nexte enſuing, he ſtale from his armye, and with the Dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the Byſhop of Carleil, and Sir Stephen Scrope, and about halfe a ſcore of others, hee gote him to the Caſtell of Conwey, where hee founde the Earle of Saliſburie, determining there to holde himſelfe, till he might ſee yͤ worlde at ſome better ſtay, for what counſell to take to remedie the miſchiefe thus preſſing vppon hym hee wiſt not. On the one parte hee knewe hys title iuſt, true, and infallible, and his conſcience cleane, pure, and without ſpotte of enuie or malice: he had alſo no ſmall affiance in the Welchmen, and Cheſhire men.

King Richard ſtealeth away from his army, and taketh the Caſtell of Flint.

On the other ſide, hee ſawe the puiſſaunce of hys aduerſaries, the ſuddayne departing of them whome he moſt truſted, and all thyngs turned vpſide downe: he euidently ſawe, and manifeſtly perceyued, that hee was forſaken of them, by whome in time hee myghte haue bin ayded and relieued, where now it was too late, and too farre ouerpaſſed.

Thys ſurelye is a very notable example, and not vnworthye of all Princes to bee well wayed, and diligently marked, that this Henry

A ſpecial note worthy to bee well wayed.

Duke of Lancaſter ſhoulde be thus called to the kingdome, and haue the helpe and aſſiſtance (almoſt) of all the whole realme, which perchaunce neuer thereof thought or yet dreamed, and that king Richard ſhould thus be left deſolate, voide, and in deſpaire of all hope and comfort, in whom if there were anye offence, it ought rather to bee imputed to the frayletie of wanton youth, than to the malice of his hart: but ſuch is yͤ deceiuable iudgement of man, whiche not regarding thyngs preſent with due cõſideration, thinketh euer that things to come, ſhall haue good ſucceſſe, and a pleaſante delectable ende. Sir Thomas Percye Earle of Worceter, Lord Steward of the kyngs houſe, either being ſo commaunded by the King, or elſe vpon diſpleaſure (as ſome write) for that the King had proclaymed his brother the Earle of Northumberlande Traytor, brake his whyte ſtaffe, which is the repreſenting ſigne and token of his office, and without delay wente to Duke Henry.

The Earle of Worceſter leaueth the K. and fleeth to the Duke.

When the Kyngs ſeruauntes of houſholde ſawe this (for it was done before them all) they diſperſed themſelues, ſome into one Countrey, and ſome into an other. When the Duke of Lãcaſter vnderſtoode that King Richarde was returned forth of Ireland, he left yͤ Duke of Yorke ſtill at Briſtowe, and came backe with his power vnto Berkley, the ſeconde daye hee came to Glouceſter, and ſo to Roos, after to Herefordе, where came to him the Byſhop of Hereford, and Sir Edmond Mortimer Knighte.

On the Sonday following, he went to Limſter, and there the Lord Charleton came to him. From thence he went to Ludlowe, and the next day to Shrewſburie, where hee reſted one daye, and thither came to him Sir Roberte Legh, and Sir John Legh, and manie other beeing ſente from Cheſter, to treate with the Duke of Lancaſter, for the Citie and Countie of Cheſter, that were now ready to ſubmit themſelues vnto hym in all things.

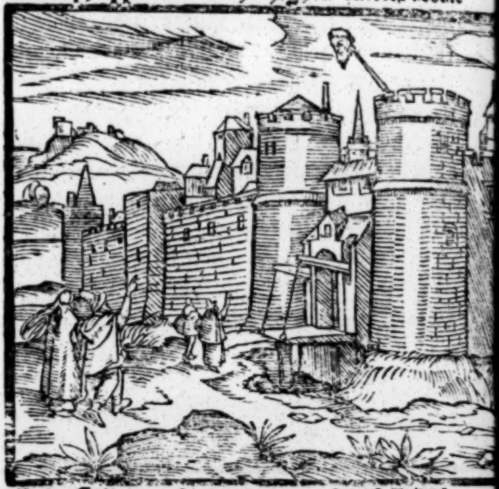
Where fortune fauoreth, thyther the peoples fauor fleeth.

There came hither vnto him alſo the Lorde Scales, and the Lorde Berdolfe, forth of Ireland, hauing bin ſpoyled of all they hadde aboute them in Wales, as they came through yͤ Countrey. From Shrewſburie, he kept on his iourney towards Cheſter, and lodging one night by the way, in a Towne there in the bordures of Wales, he came the ſeconde night vnto Cheſter, and ſtayed there certaine dayes togither, making a iolly muſter of his armye there in ſighte of the Citie. The Cleargie mette, and receyued hym with proceſſion: he ſent forthwith for hys ſonne and heire, and likewiſe for the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne and heire, that were as yet remaining in Ireland, commaunding them with all ſpeede to returne home into England: but the Duke of Glouceſters ſonne, through miſchance periſhed, as he was on the Seas to come ouer, for whoſe loſſe, his mother tooke ſuch grieſe, that ſhortly after through immoderate ſorrowe, ſhee likewiſe paſſed out of this tranſitorie life.

The duke of Lancaſters cõming to Cheſter.

In this meane time, King Richard beyng in the Caſtell of Conwey ſore diſcomfited, and fearing leaſt he could not remaine there long in ſafetie, vppon knowledge had by his truſtie friendes John Pallet, and Richarde Seimoure, of the dealings and approche of his aduerſaries, ſent the Duke of Exeter, to talke with the Duke of Lãcaſter, who in this meane while, had cauſed one of King Richards faithfull and truſtie friendes, Sir Peers a Legh, commonly called Perkin a Lee, loſe his head, and commaunded the ſame to be ſet vp, vppon one of the higheſt turrets aboute all the Citie, and ſo that true and faithfull Ẽtleman, for his ſtedfaſt faith, and aſſured loyaltie to his louing ſoueraigne, thus loſt his life.

Perk



There came to him about the ſame tyme, or ſomewhat before, the Dukes of Aumarle and Surrey, the Lord Louell, and ſir John Stanley, beſieching him to receiue him into his fauour.

By ſome writers it ſhould ſeeme, that not onely the Duke of Exeter, but alſo yͤ Duke of Surrey were ſent vnto Duke Henry from King Richard, and that Duke Henry ſtayed them bothe, and would not ſuffer them to returne to the king againe, keeping the Duke of Exeter ſtill aboute him, and committing the Duke of Surrey to priſon, within the Caſtell of Cheſter.

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The King heerewith went to Beumaris, and after to Kaernaruon: but finding no prouiſion, either of vittailes or other things in thoſe Caſtels, no not ſo muche as a bed to lie in, hee came backe agayne to Conwey, and in the meane time, was the Caſtell of Holte, deliuered to the Duke of Hereford, by thoſe that had it in keping, wherein was great ſtore of Jewels, to the value of two hundred thouſand markes, beſide an hundred thouſand markes in ready coyne.

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After this, the Duke with aduice of counſell, ſente the Earle of Northumberlande vnto the King, accompanyed with foure hundred launces, and a thouſand archers, who commyng to yͤ Caſtell of Flint, had it deliuered vnto him.

And from thence, hee haſted forthe towardes Conwey, but before he approched neere yͤ place, hee left his power behind him, hid cloſely in two ambuſhes, behinde a craggie mountayne, beſyde the high way that leadeth from Flint to Conwey.

This done, taking not paſt foure or fiue with him he paſſed forth, till he came before yͤ towne, and then ſending an Herrault to the Kyng, requeſted a ſafe conduct from the King, that hee might come and talke with him, which the kyng graunted, and ſo the Earle of Northumberlande paſſing the water, entred the Caſtell, and comming to the Kyng, declared to hym, that if it might pleaſe his grace to vndertake, that there ſhould be a Parliament aſſembled, in the whyche iuſtice might bee had, againſt ſuche as were enimies to the common wealthe, and had procured the deſtruction of the Duke of Glouceſter, and other noble men, and herewith pardon the Duke of Hereford of all things wherein hee had offended him, the Duke woulde bee readye to come to him on his knees, to craue of him forgiuenes, and as an humble ſubiect, to obey hym in all dutifull ſeruices.

The King taking aduice vppon theſe offers, and other made by the Earle of Northumberland on the behalfe of the Duke of Hereford: vpon the Earles othe, for aſſurance that the ſame ſhoulde bee performed in eache condition, agreed to goe with the Earle to meete the Duke, and herevpon, taking their horſes, they rode forthe, but the Earle rode before, as it were, to prepare dynner for the King at Rutland, but commyng to the place where he had left his people, he ſtayed there with them.

The King keeping on his way, had not ridden paſt foure myles, when he came to the place where the ambuſhes were lodged, and being entred within daunger of them, before hee was aware, ſhewed himſelfe to bee ſore abaſſhed, but now there was no remedie: for the Earle beeyng there with his men, woulde not ſuffer him to returne, as he gladly would haue done if he might, but being encloſed with the Sea on the one ſide, and the rockes on the other, hauing his aduerſaries ſo neere at hande before hym, hee coulde not ſhift away by any meanes, for if he ſhoulde haue fledde backe, they mighte eaſily haue ouertaken hym, ere he could haue got out of theyr daunger, and thus of force hee was then conſtreyned to goe with the Earle, who broughte him to Rutlande, where they dyned, and from thence they rode vnto Flint to bed.

The King hadde very fewe about him of hys friendes, except only the Earle of Saliſburie, the Byſhop of Carleill, the Lord Stephē Scroupe, Sir N. Fereby, a ſonne alſo of the Counteſſe of Saliſburie, and Ienico Dartois, a Gaſcoigne, that ſtill ware the cogniſance or deuiſe of his maſter King Richarde, that is to witte, a white hart, and would not putte it from him, neither for perſwaſions, nor threates, by reaſon whereof, when the Duke of Herforde vnderſtood it, hee cauſed hym to bee committed to priſon, within the Caſtell of Cheſter.

A conſtaunt ſeruaunt.

Thys man was the laſt, as ſayth myne Author, whiche ware that deuiſe, and ſhewed well thereby his conſtant heart towardes hys maiſter, for the whiche it was thoughte hee ſhoulde haue loſt his life, but yet hee was pardoned, and at length reconciled to the Dukes fauour, after hee was King.

But now to oure purpoſe, King Richarde being thus come vnto the Caſtell of Flint, on the Monday, the eyghtenth of Auguſt, and yͤ Duke of Herforde beeyng ſtill aduertiſed from houre to houre by poſtes, how the Earle of Northumberlande ſpedde, the morrowe following beeyng Tuiſday, and the nintenth of Auguſt, he came thither, and muſtred hys armye before the kings preſence, whyche vndoubtedly made a paſſing fayre ſhewe, beyng very well ordered by the Lorde Henry Percye, that was appoynted generall, or rather as wee maye call hym, maiſter of the Campe, vnder the Duke, of the whole armye.

There were come already to the Caſtell, before the approching of the mayne armie, the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburye, the Duke of Aumarle, the Earle of Worcetor, and dyuers other. The Archebyſhoppe entred fyrſte, and then followed the other, commyng into the firſte warde.

The King that was walking aloft on the brayes of the walles, to beholde the commyng of the Duke a farre off, myghte ſee, that the Archebyſhoppe and the other were come, and as hee tooke it to talke with him: wherevpon, hee forthwith came down vnto them, and beholding that they did theyr due reuerence to hym on theyr knees, hee tooke them vp, and drawing yͤ Archebyſhop aſide from the reſidue, talked with hym a good while, and as it was reported, the Archebyſhoppe willed him to bee of good comforte, for hee ſhould bee aſſured, not to haue any hurte, as touching his perſon, but hee propheſied not as a Prelate, but as a Pilate, as by the ſequeale it well appeared.

Some write, as before in a marginall note I haue quoted, that the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury went with the Earle of Northumberlande vnto Conwey, and there talked with him: & further, that euen then, the King offered in conſideration of his inſufficiencie to gouerne, freely to reſigne the Crowne, and his Kingly title to the ſame, vnto the Duke of Hereforde: but for as much as thoſe that were continually attendante about the Kyng, during the whole tyme of hys abode at Conwey, and tyll hys commyng to Flynt, doe playnly affirme, that the Archbyſhop came not to hym, till this Tuiſday before hys remouing from Flint vnto Cheſter, it maye bee thought (the circumſtances wel conſidered) that he rather made that promiſe heere at Flint, than at Conwey, although by the tenor of an inſtrument, conteyning the declaration of the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and other commiſſioners ſent frõ the eſtates aſſembled in the nexte Parliamente, vnto the ſaide Kyng, it is recorded to be at Conwey, as after ye may read. But ther may be ſome defaulte in the copie, as taking the one place for the other. But wherſoeuer this offer was made, after that the Archbyſhoppe hadde now heere at Flynt communed with the King, hee departed, and taking his horſe agayne, rode backe to meete the Duke, who began at that preſente to approche the Caſtell, and compaſſed it rounde about, euen downe to the Sea, with his people araunged in good and ſeemely order, at the foote of the mountaynes, and then the Earle of Northumberlande paſſing foorth of the Caſtell to the Duke, talked with him a whyle in ſighte of the King, being againe got vp to the walles, to take better viewe of the armie, beeyng nowe aduaunced within two bowe ſhootes of the Caſtell, to the ſmall reioycing yee maye bee ſure of the ſorowfull King.

The Earle of Northumberlande, returnyng to the Caſtell, appoynted the King to bee ſette to dynner, (for hee was faſting till then) and after he had dined, the Duke came downe to the Caſtell himſelfe, and entred the ſame all armed, hys baſſenet onely excepted, and beeing within the firſte gate, hee ſtayed there, tyll the Kyng came foorthe of the inner parte of the Caſtell vnto hym.

The Dukes behauiour to the king at their meeting.

The Kyng accompanyed with the Biſhop of Careleill, the Earle of Saliſburie, and Sir Stephen Scrope Knight, who bare the ſworde before hym, and a fewe other, came foorthe into the vtter warde, and ſate downe in a place prepared for hym: forthwith as the Duke gote ſighte of the Kyng, hee ſhewed a reuerente duetie as became him, in bowing his knee, and cõming forward, did ſo likewiſe the ſeconde and thirde time, till the King tooke him by the hande, and lift him vppe, ſaying, deere Couſin, ye are welcome: the Duke humbly thanking him ſayde, My ſoueraigne Lorde and Kyng, the cauſe of my comming at this preſente, is (your honour ſaued,) to haue agayne reſtitution of my perſon, my landes and heritage, through your fauourable licence.

The King hereunto aunſwered, deare Couſin, I am ready to accompliſh your will, ſo that yee maye enioy all that is yours, without exception. And thus commyng togither, they came foorthe of the Caſtell, and the King there called for wine, and after they had dronke, they mounted on horſebacke, and rode that nyght to Flint, and the nexte daye vnto Cheſter, the thirde vnto Nantwich, the fourth to Newcaſtell: heere with glad countenaunce, the Lorde Thomas Beauchamp Earle of Warwike, mette them, that had beene confyned into the Iſle of Man, as before ye haue hearde, but now was reuoked home by the Duke of Lancaſter. From Newcaſtel they rode to Stafford, and the ſixth daye vnto Lichfielde, and there reſted Sonday all day.

After this, they rode forthe, and lodged at theſe places enſuing, Couentrie, Dauntree, Northhampton, Dunſtable, Sainte Albons, and ſo came to London: neyther was the King permitted all this while to chaunge his apparell, but rode ſtill through all theſe Townes ſimply clothed in one ſute of raymente, and yet hee was in his tyme exceeding ſumptuous in apparell, in ſo muche, as hee had one coate, whiche he cauſed to be made for him of golde and ſtone, valued at 30000. markes.

The King was nowe broughte vnto Weſtminſter the next way, and the Duke was receyued with all the ioy and pompe that myghte bee of the Londoners, and was lodged in the Byſhops Palace, by Poules Churche.

It was a wonder to ſee what great concourſe of people, what number of Horſes came to hym on the way as he thus paſſed the Countreys, tyll his comming to London, where vpõ his approch to the Citie, the Maior rode foorthe to receyue hym, and a great number of other Citizens. Alſo the Cleargie mette him with proceſſion, & ſuche ioy appeared in the countenaunces of the people, vttering the ſame alſo with wordes, as the lyke had not lightly bin ſeene: for in euery towne and village where he paſſed, children reioyced, womẽ clapped their handes, and men cryed out for ioy. But to ſpeake of the greate numbers of people that flocked togither in the fieldes and ſtreetes of London at his comming, I heere omitte, neyther wil I ſpeake of the preſents, welcommings, laudes, and gratifications made to him, by the Citizens and communaltie.

But now to the purpoſe. The next day after his comming to London, the King from Weſtminſter

minſter, was had to the Tower, and there committed to ſafe cuſtodie. Many euill diſpoſed perſons, aſſembling themſelues togither in greate numbers, intended to haue met with him, and to haue taken him from ſuche as had the conueying of him, that they might haue ſlayne him: but the Maior and Aldermen gathered to them the worſhipfull Commoners, and graue Citizens, by whoſe policie, and not without much adoe, yͤ other were reuoked from their euill purpoſe: albeit, before they might be pacified, they comming to Weſtminſter, tooke maiſter John Sclake Deane of the Kings Chappell, and from thence brought him to Newgate, and there layde hym faſt in irons.

After this, was a Parliamente called by the Duke of Lancaſter, vſing the name of King Richard in the writtes directed forth to the Lordes, and other ſtates for theyr ſommonaunce.

This Parliamente began the thirtenth day of September, in the which, many haynous pointes of miſgouernaunce, and iniurious dealings in the adminiſtration of his kingly office, were layd to the charge of this noble Prince king Richard, the whiche (to the ende the commons myghte bee perſwaded, that he was an vnprofitable Prince to the common wealthe, and worthy to be depoſed) were engroſſed vp in. 33. ſolemne Articles, heynous to the eares of all men, and to ſome almoſt incredible, the very effect of whiche Articles heere enſue, according to the copie whyche I haue ſeene, and is abridged by maſter Hall as followeth.

1 Firſte, that Kyng Richarde waſtfully ſpente the treaſure of the Realme, and had giuen yͤ poſſeſſions of the Crowne to menne vnworthy, by reaſon wherof, new charges more and more were laide in the neckes of the poore communalty. And where diuers Lords, as well Spiritual as Temporall, were appoynted by the high Courte of Parliament, to commune and treate of dyuers matters concerning the common wealthe of the Realme, which being buſie about the ſame commiſſion, he with other of his affinitie went about to empeach, and by force and menacing, compelled the iuſtices of yͤ Realme at Shrewesburie to condiſcend to his opinion, for the deſtruction of yͤ ſaid Lords, in ſo much, yͭ he began to raiſe warre againſt John Duke of Lancaſter, Richard Erle of Arundell, Thomas Erle of Warwike, & other Lordes, contrary to his honor and promiſe.

2 Item, that hee cauſed his Uncle the Duke of Glouceſter to be arreſted without lawe, and ſente him to Calais, and there withoute iudgemente murthered him, and although the Earle of Arūdell, vpon his arreignement pleaded his Chartor of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in moſt vile & ſhamefull maner ſuddainely put to deathe.

Item, hee aſſembled certaine Lancaſhire and Cheſſhire men, to the intente to make warre on the ſame Lordes, and ſuffered them to robbe and pill, without correction or repriue. 3

Item, although the King flateringly, and with greate diſſimulation, made proclamation thorough out the Realme, that the Lords before named, were not attached of anye crime of treaſon, but only for extortions & oppreſſiōs done in this realme, yet he layde to them in the Parliament rebellion, and manifeſt treaſon. 4

Item, he hathe compelled diuers of the ſayde Lordes, ſeruauntes, and friends, by menace and extreame paynes, to make greate fines, to their vtter vndoing, and notwithſtanding hys pardon, yet he made them fyne of newe. 5

Item, where diuers were appoynted to commune of the ſtate of the Realme, and the common wealthe thereof, the ſame King cauſed all the rolles and recordes to bee kept from them, cōtrarie to promiſe made in the Parliamente, to his open diſhonor. 6

Item, he vncharitably commaunded, that no man, vpon paine of loſſe of life and goodes, ſhould once intreate him for the returne of Henry nowe Duke of Lancaſter. 7

Item, where this Realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other Prince, the ſayde King Richard, after hee hadde obteyned dyuers Actes of Parliament, for his owne peculiar profit and pleaſure, then hee obteyned Bulles and extreame cenſures from Rome, to compell all men ſtraightly to keepe the ſame, contrary to the honour and auntiente priuiledges of thys Realme. 8

Item, although the Duke of Lancaſter hadde done his deuoyre againſte Thomas Duke of Northfolke in proofe of his quarrell, yet the ſayde King, without reaſon or ground, baniſhed hym the Realme for tenne yeares, contrarye to all equitie. 9

Item, before the Dukes departure, hee vnder hys broade ſeale licenced him to make atturneys, to proſecute and defende his cauſes: the ſayde King after his departure, woulde ſuffer none attourney to appeare for him, but did wyth his at his pleaſure. 10

Item the ſame king put oute diuers Sheriffes lawfully elected, and put in their roomthes diuers other of his owne, ſubuerting the lawe, contrary to his othe and honor. 11

Item, he borowed great ſummes of money, & bound him vnder his letters patents, for the repaymente of the ſame, & yet not one peny payde. 12

Item, hee taxed men at the will of hym and his vnhappie counſayle, and the ſame treaſure ſpent in folly, not paying poore men for their vittayle and viande. 13

14 Item, hee ſayde, that the lawes of the Realme were in his head, and ſometimes in hys breſt, by reaſon of whyche fantaſticall opinion, he deſtroyed noble menne, and empoueriſhed the poore commons.

15 Item, the Parliamente ſetting and enacting diuers notable ſtatutes, for the profit and aduauncemente of the common wealthe, hee by hys priuie friendes and ſolicitors cauſed to be enacted, that no Acte then enacted, ſhoulde bee more preiudiciall to him, than it was to anye of hys predeceſſors: through whyche prouiſo, hee dyd often as hee liſted, and not as the Lawe dyd meane.

16 Item, for to ſerue his purpoſe, hee woulde ſuffer the Sherifes of the Shire, to remayne aboue one yeare or two.

17 Item, at the ſummonance of yͤ Parliament, when Knightes and burgeſſes ſhould be elected, that the election hadde beene full proceeded, hee putte out dyuers perſons electe, and putte other in theyr places, to ſerue hys will and appetite.

18 Item, hee hadde priuie eſpials in euery Shire, to heare who hadde of hym anye communication, and if hee communed of hys laſciuious lyuing, or outrageous doyngs, hee ſtraightewayes was apprehended, and put to a greeuous fyne.

19 Item, the Spiritualtie alledged againſt hym, that he at hys goyng into Irelande, exacted many notable ſummes of money, beſide plate and iewels, without lawe or cuſtome, contrary to his othe taken at his coronation.

20 Item, where dyuers Lordes and Iuſtices were ſworne to ſaye the troth of dyuers thyngs to them committed in charge, both for the honor of the Realme, and profite of the Kyng, the ſayde King ſo menaced them with ſore threatnings, that no man woulde or durſt ſaye the righte.

21 Item, that without the aſſente of the nobilitie, he carried the iewelles, plate, and Treaſure ouer into Ireland, to the great empoueriſhmente of the Realme: and all the good recordes for the common wealthe, and againſte hys extortions, hee cauſed priuily to be embeſyled, and conueyed away.

22 Item, in all leagues and letters to be concluded or ſent to the See of Rome, or other regions, his writing was ſo ſubtill and darke, that no other Prince once beleeued him, nor yet his owne ſubiectes.

23 Item, hee moſt tyrannouſly and vnprincely ſayde, that the lyues and goodes of all his ſubiectes were in his handes, and at hys diſpoſition.

24 Item, that contrarye to the greate Charter of Englande, hee cauſed diuers luſtie menne to appeale dyuers olde menne, vpon matters determinable, at the common lawe in the Court Marciall, bycauſe that there is no tryall, but onely by battayle: whereuppon, the ſayde aged perſons, fearyng the ſequele of the matter, ſubmitted themſelues to his mercie, whome hee fyned and raunſomed vnreaſonably at his pleaſure.

25 Item, he craftely deuiſed certaine priuie othes, contrary to the lawe, and cauſed diuers of hys ſubiectes firſte to be ſworne to obſerue the ſame, and after bownde them in bondes, for keeping of the ſame, to the greate vndoing of manye honeſt men.

26 Item, where the Chancellor, according to the lawe, would in no wiſe graunt a prohibition to a certayne perſon, the King graunted it vnto the ſame, vnder his priuie ſeale, with greate threatenings, if it ſhoulde be diſobeyed.

27 Item, hee baniſhed the Biſhoppe of Caunterburie without cauſe or Iudgement, and kepte hym in the Parliamente chamber with men of armes.

28 Item, the Byſhoppes goodes hee graunted to hys ſucceſſor, vppon condition, that he ſhoulde mayneteyne all his Statutes made at Shrewſburie, Anno. 21. and the Statutes made Anno 22. at Couentrie.

29 Item, vppon the accuſation of the ſayde Byſhoppe, the Kyng craftely perſwaded hym, to make no aunſwere, for hee woulde bee his warrante, and aduiſed hym not to come to the Parliamente, and ſo withoute aunſwere hee was condemned and exiled, and hys goodes ſeaſed.

These bee all the Articles of any effecte, whych were layde agaynſte hym, ſauing foure other, whyche touched onely the Archebyſhoppes matter, whoſe working wroughte Kyng Richarde at length from hys crowne.

Then for as muche as theſe Articles, and other haynous and deteſtable accuſations were layde agaynſte hym in open Parliament, it was thought by the moſt parte, that hee was worthy to bee depoſed of all Kingly honor, and princely gouernemente: and to bring the matter without ſlaunder the better to paſſe, dyuers of the Kyngs ſeruauntes, whyche by licence had acceſſe to hys perſon, comforted hym (beyng with ſorrowe almoſt conſumed, and in manner halfe dead) in the beſt wiſe they coulde, exhorting hym to regarde his health, and ſaue his life.

And fyrſt they aduiſed hym willingly to ſuffer hymſelfe to bee depoſed, and to reſigne hys righte of hys owne accorde, ſo that the Duke of Lancaſter myghte withoute murther or

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battaile obteyne the Scepter and Diademe, after which they well perceyued hee gaped: by meane whereof they thought hee might be in perfect aſſurance of his life long to continue. Whether thys their perſwaſion proceeded by the ſuborning of the Duke of Lancaſter and his fauourers, or of a ſincere affection which they bare to the K. as ſuppoſing it moſt ſureſt in ſuch an extremity, it is vncertain, but yet the effect followed not, howſoeuer their meaning was: notwithſtãding the K. being now in the hands of his enimies, & vtterly diſpayring of all comforte, was eaſily perſwaded to renounce his Crowne and princely preheminence, ſo that in hope of life only, he agreed to all things that were of him demaunded. And ſo (as it ſhould ſeeme by the Copie of an Inſtrument hereafter following) he renounced and voluntarily was depoſed from his royal Crowne, and kingly dignitie, the Monday being the. xxix. day of September, and feaſt of Saint Michaell the Archangell, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1399. and in the. xxiij. yeare of his raigne. The Copie of which Inſtrument here enſueth.

This preſent Indenture made the. xxix. day of September, and feaſt of Saint Michaell, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1399. and the. xxiij. yeare of king Richarde the ſeconde. Witneſſeth that where by the authoritie of the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall of this preſent Parliament, and Commons of the ſame, the right honourable and diſcrete perſons hereunder named, were by the ſayde authoritie aſſigned to go to the Tower of London, there to heare and teſtifie ſuch queſtions and anſweres as then and there ſhoulde be by the ſayde honourable and diſcrete perſones hearde: Know al men to whom theſe preſent letters ſhall come, that we, ſir Richard Scrope Archbiſhop of Yorke, Iohn Biſhop of Hereforde, Henrie Earle of Northumberlande, Raufe Earle of Weſtmerlande, Thomas Lorde Berkeley, William Abbot of Weſtminſter, Iohn Prior of Canterburie, William Thyrning & Hugh Burnill knights, Iohn Markham Iuſtice, Thomas Stow and Iohn Burbage doctors of the Law ciuill, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey knightes, Thomas Fereby and Denis Lopham notaries publike, the day and yere aboueſayd, betweene the houres of eight and nine of the clock before noone were preſent in the chiefe Chamber of the Kings lodging, within the ſayde place of the Tower, where was rehearſed vnto the king by the mouth of the foreſayde Earle of Northumberlande, that before time at Conway in Northwales, the king being there at his pleaſure and libertie, promiſed vnto the Archbiſhop of Canterburie then Thomas Arundell, and vnto the ſayde Earle of Northumberlande, that he for inſufficiencie which hee knewe himſelfe to bee of, to occupie ſo greate a charge, as to gouerne the Realme of Englande, he would gladly leaue off and renounce his right & title, as well of that as of his title to the crowne of Fraunce, and his maieſtie royall, vnto Henrie Duke of Hereforde, and that to doe in ſuch conuenient wiſe, as by the learned men of this lande it ſhoulde moſt ſufficiently be deuiſed and ordeyned. To the whiche rehearſall, the king in oure ſayde preſences anſwered beningly and ſaid, that ſuch promiſe he made, and ſo to doe the ſame, he was at that houre in ful purpoſe to performe and fulfill, ſauing that he deſired firſt to haue perſonal ſpeache with the ſayde Duke, and with the archbiſhop of Canterburie his couſins. And further, he deſired to haue a bill drawne of the ſayd reſignation, that he might bee perfite in the rehearſall thereof.

After which bil drawne, & a copie therof to him by me the ſayd Erle deliuered, we the ſayd Lords and other departed: and vpon the ſame after noone the king loking for the cōming of the duke of Lãcaſter, at the laſt the ſayd duke, with the Archb. of Cant. and the perſones afore recited, entred the foreſayde Chamber, bringing wyth them the Lords Roos, Burgeyny, and Willoughbie, with diuerſe other. Where after due obeyſance done by thē vnto the king, hee familiarly and with a glad countenance (as to them and vs appeared) talked with the ſayde Archbiſhop and Duke a good ſeaſon, and that communicatiō finiſhed, the king with glad countenance in preſence of vs and the other aboue rehearſed, ſayde openly that he was readie to renounce and reſigne all his kingly Maieſtie in maner and forme as hee before had promiſed. And although he had and might ſufficiently haue declared his renouncement by the reading of an other meane perſon, yet for the more ſuretie of the matter, and for that the ſayd reſignation ſhoulde haue his full forte and ſtrength, himſelfe therfore read the ſcroll of reſignation, in maner and forme as followeth.

The tenor of the inſtrumēt wherby king Richard reſigneth the crowne to the D. of Lancaſter

In the name of God Amen. I Richard by the grace of God, king of Englande and of Fraunce. &c. Lorde of Irelande, acquitte and aſſoyle all Archbiſhops, Biſhoppes, and other Prelates, ſecular, or religious, of what dignitie, degree, ſtate, or condition ſo euer they be of, and alſo al Dukes, Marqueſſes, Erles, Barons, Lords, and all my liege men, both ſpirituall, and ſecular, of what maner or degree they be, from their othe of fealtie and homage, and all other deedes and priuiledges made vnto me, and from all manner bondes of allegiance, regalitie and lordſhippe, in which they were or be bounden to mee, or any otherwiſe conſtrayned, and them their heyres and ſucceſſors for euermore, from the ſame bandes, and othes, I releaſe, deliuer and acquitte, and ſet them for free, diſſolued, and acquitte, and to bee harmeleſſe, for as much as longeth to my perſon by any maner way or tytle of right that to mee might follow, of the foreſayde things or any of them. And alſo I reſigne all my kingly dignitie, Maieſtie and crowne, with all the Lordſhippes, power, and priuiledges to the foreſayde kingly dignitie and Crowne belonging, and all other Lordſhippes and poſſeſſions to me in any maner of wiſe perteyning, what name or condition they be of, except the landes and poſſeſſions for mee and mine obite purchaſed and bought. And I renounce all right, and all maner of title of poſſeſſion, which I euer had or haue in the ſame lordſhippes and poſſeſſions, or any of them, with any maner of rightes belonging or apperteyning vnto anye parte of them. And alſo the rule and gouernaunce of the ſame kingdome and Lordſhippes, with all miniſtrations of the ſame, and all things and euerye eche of them, that to the whole Empyre and iuriſdictions of the ſame, belongeth of right or in any wiſe may belong. And alſo I renounce the name, worſhip, & regaltie and kingly highneſſe, clearly, freely, ſingularly and wholy, in the moſt beſt maner and fourme that I may, and wyth deede and worde I leaue off and reſigne them, and goe from them for euermore, ſauing alwayes to my ſucceſſours kings of Englande, all the rightes, priuiledges and appurtenaunces to the ſayde kingdome and Lordſhips aboueſayde belonging and apperteyning. For well I wote and knowledge, and deeme my ſelfe to bee, and haue beene vnſufficient and vnable, and alſo vnprofitable, and for my open deſertes, not vnworthie to bee put downe. And I ſweare vpon the holy Euangelyſts here preſently with my handes touched, that I ſhall neuer repugne to this reſignation, demiſſion or yeelding vp, nor neuer impugne them in any manner by worde or by deede, by my ſelfe nor by none other: nor I ſhall not ſuffer it to bee impugned, in as much as in mee is priuily, or apert. But I ſhall haue, holde and keepe this renouncing, dimiſſion, and leauing vp for fyrme and ſtable for euermore in all and euery part thereof, ſo God mee helpe and all Saintes, and by this holy Euangeliſt, by me bodily touched and kiſſed. And for more recorde of the ſame, here openly I ſubſcribe and ſigne this preſent reſignation with mine owne hande.

And forthwith in our preſences and other, he ſubſcribed the ſame, and after deliuered it vnto the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, ſaying that if it were in his power, or at his aſſignment, hee woulde that the Duke of Lancaſter there preſent ſhould be his ſucceſſour, and King after him.

And in token hereof, hee tooke a Ring of golde from his finger being his Signet, and put it vpon the ſayde Dukes finger, deſiring and requyring the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke, and the Byſhoppe of Hereforde, to ſhewe and make reporte vnto the Lordes of the Parliament of his voluntarie reſignation, and alſo of his intent and good minde that hee bare towardes his couſin the Duke of Lancaſter, to haue him hys Succeſſour and theyr King after him. And thys done, euery man tooke theyr leaue and returned to theyr owne.

Vpon the Morrowe after beeing Tueſday, and the laſt day of September, all the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, with the Commons of the ſayde Parliament, aſſembled at Weſtmynſter, where in the preſence of them, the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, and the Biſhoppe of Hereforde, according to the Kings requeſt, ſhewed vnto them the voluntarie renouncing of the king, with the fauor alſo whiche he bare to his couſin of Lancaſter for to haue him his ſucceſſor.

And moreouer ſhewed vnto them the ſcedule or byll of renouncement, ſigned with king Rychardes owne hand, which they cauſed to be read firſt in Latine, as it was written, and after in Engliſhe.

This done, the queſtion was firſt aſked of the Lordes, if they would admit and allow that renouncement: The which when it was of them graunted and confirmed, the like queſtion was aſked of the commons, and of them in like maner confirmed.

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After this, it was then declared, that notwithſtanding the foreſayde renouncing, ſo by the Lords and Commons admitted and confirmed, it were neceſſarie in auoyding of all ſuſpitions and ſurmiſes of euill diſpoſed perſons, to haue in wryting and regiſtred the manifolde crymes and defaults before done by K. Ri. to yͤ ende that they might firſt bee openly declared to the people, and after to remaine of recorde amongſt other of the kings recordes for euer: which was done accordingly: for the articles which before ye haue heard were drawne and engroſſed vp, and there ſhewed ready to be read, but for other cauſes more needful as thẽ to be preferred, the reading of thoſe articles at that ſeaſon was deferred.

Then foraſmuch as the Lordes of the Parliament had well conſidered the voluntarie reſignation of king Richarde, and that it was behouefull and as they thought neceſſary for the weale of the realme, to proceede vnto the ſentence of his depoſing, there were appoynted by the authoritie of al the eſtates there in Parliamẽt aſſembled, the Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, the Abbot of Glaſtenburie, the Erle of Glouceſter, the Lorde Berkley, William Thirning iuſtice, and Tho. Erpyngham & Th. Gray knights, yͭ they ſhuld giue & pronoũce the opẽ ſentence of the depoſing of king Richard. Wherevpon the ſayde Commiſſioners taking counſaile togither, by good and deliberate aduiſe therein had, with one aſſent agreed, that the B. of S. Aſaph ſhoulde publiſh the ſentence for them and in their names as followeth.

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IN the name of God Amen. We John B. of S. Aſaph, John Abbot of Glaſtenburie, Thomas erle of Glouceſter, Thomas L. Barkley, Wil. Thirninge Juſtice, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Gray knights, choſẽ & deputed ſpeciall cõmiſſaries by the thre eſtates of thys preſent Parliament, repreſenting the whole body of the realme, for all ſuch matters by the ſayde eſtates to vs committed: we vnderſtanding & conſidering the manifold crymes, hurts, and harmes done by Richarde king of England, and miſgouernance of the ſame by a long time, to the great decay of the ſayd land, and vtter ruine of the ſame ſhortly to haue bin, had not the ſpeciall grace of our God thereunto put the ſooner remedie: and alſo furthermore aduerting, that the ſayd king Richard by acknowledging his own inſufficiencie, hath of his owne mere volunte and free will, renounced and giuen ouer the rule and gouernance of this lande, with all rights and honors vnto the ſame belonging, and vtterly for his merites hath iudged himſelfe not vnworthily to be depoſed of all kingly Maieſtie and eſtate roial. We the premiſſes well conſidering by good and diligent deliberation, by the power, name, and authoritie to vs (asa boue is ſaid) committed, pronounce, diſcern, and declare the ſame king Richard, before this to haue bin, and to be vnprofitable, vnable, vnſufficient, & vnworthy to the rule and gouernaunce of the foreſayde realmes and Lordſhips, and of all rights and other the appurtenances to the ſame belonging. And for the ſame cauſes we depriue him of al kingly dignitie and worſhip, and of any kingly worſhip in himſelf. And we depoſe him by our ſentence definitiue, forbidding expreſly to all Archbiſhops, Biſhops, & all other prelates, dukes, Marqueſſes, Erles, Barons and Knights, and al other men of the foreſayde kingdome and Lordſhips, ſubiects, and lieges whatſoeuer they be, that none of them from this day forward, to the foreſayd Richard as K. & lord of the foreſaid realmes and lordſhips be neither obedient nor attendant.

After which ſentence thus openly declared, the ſaid eſtates admitted forthwith the forenamed cõmiſſioners for their procurators, to reſigne and yeeld vp vnto king Richard, al their homage and fealty, which in times paſt they had made & ought vnto him, and alſo for to declare vnto him (if need were) all thinges before done that concerned the purpoſe and cauſe of his depoſing: the which reſignation was reſpited till the morow folowing.

Immediatly as the ſentence was in this wiſe paſſed, & that by reaſon therof the realm ſtood void without head or gouernor for the time, the Duke of Lancaſter riſing from the place where he before ſate, and ſtanding where all thoſe in the houſe might behold him, in reuerent maner made a ſign of the croſſe on his forehed, & likewiſe on his breſt, & after ſilence by an officer cõmaũded, ſaid vnto yͤ people there being preſent, theſe words following.

The Duke of Lancaſter claymeth the Crowne.

IN the name of the father, and of the ſon, and of the holy ghoſt. I Henrie of Lancaſter claime the realme of England and the crowne, with all the appurtenances, as I that am diſcended by right line of the bloud cõming frõ that good Lord king Henrie the thirde, and through the right that God of his grace hath ſent to me, with the helpe of my kyn, and of my friends, to recouer the ſame which was in poynt to be vndone for default of good gouernance and duẽ iuſtice. After whiche words thus by him vttered, he returned and ſate him down in the place where before he had ſitten.

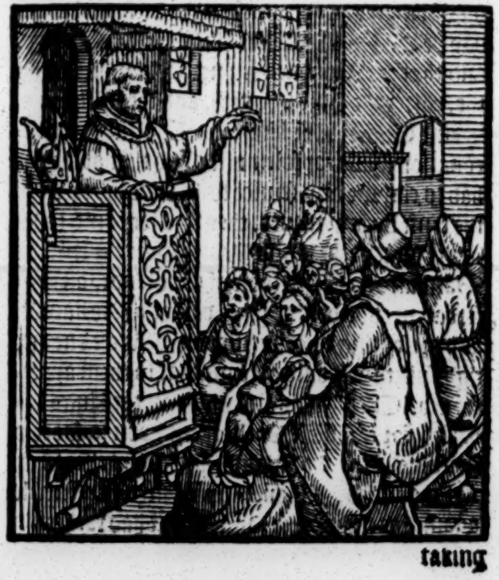
The demaund of the Archbi. of Canterbury to the commons.

Tho. VValſ.

The Duke of Herford placed in the regal throne.

The Archbi. preacheth.

Then the Lords hauing heard and wel perceiued this claime thus made by this noble man, ech of them aſked of other what they thought therin. At length after a little pauſing or ſtay made, the Archb. of Cãterburie hauing notice of the minds of the Lordes, ſtood vp and aſked the commons if they woulde aſſent to the Lordes, which in theyr mindes thought the clayme of the Duke made, to bee rightfull and neceſſarie for the wealth of the realme and them all: whereunto the Commons with one voyce cried, yea, yea, yea. After which anſwere, the ſayd Archbiſhop going to the duke, and kneeling downe before him on his knee, addreſſed to him his purpoſe in fewe wordes. The which when he had ended, he roſe, and taking the duke by the right hãd, led him vnto the kings ſeat, the Archbiſhop of Yorke aſſyſting him, and with great reuerence ſet him therein, after that the duke had firſt vpon his knees made his prayer in deuout maner vnto almightie God. When he thus was placed in his throne to the great reioyſing of the people, yͤ Archb. of Cant. began a brief collatiõ



taking for his theme theſe wordes, written in the firſt booke of kings the ninth Chapter. *Vir dominabitur in populo*, handling the ſame & the whole tenour of his tale to the prayſe of the King, whoſe ſettled iudgement, grounded wiſedome, perfite reaſon, and rype diſcretion was ſuch, (ſayd he) as declared him to bee no childe, neyther in yeares, nor in lighte conditions, but a manne able and meete for the gouernment of a Realme, ſo that there was no ſmall cauſe of comforte miniſtred to them through the fauourable goodneſſe of almightie God, which had prouided them of ſuche a gouernour, as lyke a diſcrete Iudge ſhall deeme in cauſes by ſkylfull doomes, and rule hys Subiectes in vpryghte equitie, ſettyng apart all wylfull pleaſures, and chyldiſhe inconſtancie.

After the Archbiſhop had ended, wiſhing that it might ſo come to paſſe, the people anſwered Amen.

The wordes of the elected king.

The king then ſtanding on his feet, ſaid vnto the Lordes and Commons there preſent: I thanke you my Lordes both ſpirituall and temporal, and all the ſtates of this lande, and doe you to witte, that it is not my will that any man thinke, that I by the way of conqueſt, would diſinherite any man of his heritage, franches, or other ryghtes, that hym ought to haue of right, nor for to putte him out of that which he now enioyeth, and hath had before tyme by cuſtome of good law of thys realme, except ſuch priuate perſons as haue beene againſt the good purpoſe, and the common profit of the realme.

When hee had thus ended, then all the Sheriffes and other officers were put in their authorities againe, to exerciſe the ſame as before, whiche they could not doe whileſt the kings royal throne was voyde.

Tho. Walſ.

Moreouer a Proclamation was made, that the ſtates ſhoulde aſſemble againe in Parliament on Monday then next enſuing, beeing the feaſt day of S. Fayth, whiche is the ſixt of October, and that the Monday then next following, being the .xiij. of the ſame Moneth, and the feaſt day of Saint Edward the king, and Confeſſor, the coronation ſhould be ſolemniſed, and that al ſuch as had to clayme any ſeruice to be done by them at the ſame by any tenure, they ſhoulde come to the white Hall in the kings Palace, afore the Steward Marſhall and Coneſtable of Englande, on Saterday next before the ſame day of ỹ Parliamẽt, and preſenting their petitions that were due and rightfull, they ſhould obteyne that to them apperteyned. Excuſe was alſo made on the kings behalfe, for calling a Parliament vpon ſo ſhort a warning, ſo as the knights and Burgeſſes were not chaunged, but onely appoynted to aſſemble againe, as if the other Parliament had rather bin continued than diſſolued. The cauſe was alledged to bee for eaſing of the charges that woulde haue ryſen if eche man had bene ſent home, and new knightes and burgeſſes called. Theſe things done, the king roſe from his place, and wyth a cheerefull and right courteous countenaunce regarding the people, went to Whyte Hall, where the ſame day he helde a great feaſt.

The coronatiõ proclaymed.

The parliamẽt

In the after Noone were Proclamations made in the accuſtomed places of the Citie, in the name of king Henrie the fourth.

King H
the fou
clayme

On the morrow following, being Wedneſday, and firſt of October, the Procurators aboue named, repayred to the Tower of London, and there ſignified to king Richarde of the admiſſion of King Henrie. And the aforeſayde Iuſtice William Thyrning in name of the other, and for all the ſtates of the lande, renounced vnto the ſayde Richard late king, all homage and fealtie vnto him before time due, in maner and forme as apperteyned.

King
depriu

And thus was King Richarde depriued of all kingly honour and princely dignitie, by reaſon he was ſo giuen to followe euill counſaile, and vſed ſuche inconuenient wayes and meanes, through inſolẽt miſgouernãce, & youthful outrage, though otherwiſe a righte noble and worthie Prince: He raigned .xxij. yeares, three monethes and .viij. dayes.

Hall.

He deliuered to king Henrie now that he was thus depoſed, all the goodes that he had, to the ſumme of three hundred thouſande poundes in coyne, beſides Plate and Iewels, as a pledge and ſatiſfaction of the iniuries by him committed and done, in hope to bee in more ſuretie of life for the deliuerie thereof: but whatſoeuer was promiſed, he was deceyued therein. For ſhortly after his reſignation, hee was conueyed to the Caſtell of Leedes in Kent, and from thence to Pumfret, where he departed out of this miſerable life (as after you ſhal heare.) He was ſeemely of ſhape and fauour, and of nature good ynough, if the wickedneſſe and naughtie demeanor of ſuch as were about him had not altered it. His chaunce verily was greatly infortunate, whiche fell into ſuche calamitie, that hee tooke it for the beſte waye hee coulde deuiſe to renounce hys Kingdome, for the whiche mortall menne are accuſtomed to hazarde all they haue to atteyne thereunto: but ſuch myſfortune, or the lyke oftentymes falleth vnto thoſe Princes, whiche when they are aloft, caſt no doubt for perilles that maye followe. He was prodigall, ambitious, and muche giuen to the pleaſure of the bodie. Hee kept the greateſt port, and mainteyned the moſt plentifull houſe that euer any king in Englande did eyther before his time or ſince.

His p

Hardi

The no
houſe
of k.R

There reſorted dayly to his court aboue .x. M.

perſons that had meate and drinke there allowed them. In his kitchen there were three hundred ſeruitors, and euerie other office was furniſhed after the like rate: Of Ladies, Chamberers, & Landerers, there were aboue three hūdred at the leaſt. And in gorgeous and coſtly apparell they exceeded all meaſure, not one of them that kept within the boundes of his degree. Yeomen & Groomes were clothed in ſilkes, with clothe of graine and ſkarlet, ouer ſumptuous ye may be ſure for theyr eſtates. And this vanitie was not onely vſed in the Court in thoſe dayes, but alſo other people abrode in the townes and Countreys, had theyr garments cutte farre otherwiſe than had beene accuſtomed afore his dayes, with embroderyes, riche furres, and goldſmithes worke, and euerie day there was deuiſing of newe faſhions, to the greate hynderaunce and decay of the common wealth.

Moreouer ſuch were preferred to Biſhoprikes, and other Eccleſiaſtical lyuings, as neither could teache nor preache, nor knewe any thing of the ſcripture of God, but onely to call for theyr tithes and duties, ſo that they were moſte vnworthie the name of Biſhops, being lewd and moſt vaine perſons diſguiſed in Biſhops apparell.

Moreouer there reigned abundantly the filthie ſinne of lecherie and fornication, with abhominable adulterie, ſpecially in the king, but moſte chiefly in the prelacie, whereby the whole realme by ſuch their euill enſample, was ſo infected, that the wrath of God was dayly prouoked to vengeance, for the ſinnes of the Prince and hys people.

Thus haue ye heard what wryters do report touching the ſtate of the time and doings of this king. But if I may boldly ſay what I think: he was a Prince the moſt vnthankfully vſed of hys ſubiects, of any one of whom ye ſhal lightly read. For although through the frailtie of youth he demeaned himſelfe more diſſolutely than ſeemed conuenient for his royall eſtate, and made choyſe of ſuch Counſaylers as were not fauoured of the people, wherby he was the leſſe fauoured himſelf: yet in no kings days were the commons in greater wealth, if they could haue perceyued their happie ſtate: neither in any other time were the Nobles and Gentlemen more cheriſhed, nor Churchmen leſſe wronged: but ſuch was their ingratitude towardes their bountifull and louing ſoueraigne, that thoſe whom he had chiefly aduaunced, were readieſt to controll him, for that they might not rule all things at their will, and remoue from him ſuch as they miſlyked, and place in theyr rowmthes whome they thought good, and that rather by ſtrong hande, than by gentle and courteous meanes, which ſtirred ſuch malice betwixt him and them, till at length it could not be aſſwaged without perill of deſtruction to them both.

The Duke of Glouceſter chiefe inſtrument of this miſchiefe, to what ende hee came yee haue heard: and although his nephewe the Duke of Herefordе, toke vpon him to reuenge his death, yet wāted he moderation and loyaltie in hys doings, for the which both he himſelf and his lineall race were ſcourged afterwardes, as a due puniſhment with rebellious ſubiects, ſo as deſerued vengeance ſeemed not to ſtay long for his ambicious crueltie, that could not be contented to driue king Richard to reſigne his Crowne and regall dignitie ouer vnto him, except hee alſo ſhoulde take from him his guiltleſſe life.

But to let this paſſe to the conſideration of the learned: according to our order, I will ſhewe what wryters of our Engliſh nation liued in his dayes, as wee finde them in Iohn Bales Centuries.

Firſt Henrie Bederic, otherwiſe ſurnamed of Burie, after the name of the towne where hee is thought to haue bin borne, an Auguſtine Frier: Simon Alcocke: Vthred Bolton a Monke of Durham, but borne in the borders of Wales, beyond Seuerne: William Iordan a black Frier: Iohn Hilton a Frier Minor: Iohn Clipton a Carmelite Frier in Notingham: Henrie Daniel a black Frier & a good Phiſition: Raufe Mathā: Iohn Marcheley a gray Frier, or cordelier as ſome call them: Thomas Broome a Carmelite Frier of London: Iohn Bridlington borne in Yorkeſhire: William Thorne an Auguſtine Frier of Canterburie, an Hiſtoriographer: Adam Merimouth a Canon of Saint Paules Church in London, that wrote two treatiſes of hyſtoricall matters, the one intituled *Chronicon. 40. annorum*, & the other, *Chronicon. 60. an.* Simon Bredon borne in Winchecombe, a doctor of Phiſicke, and a ſkilfull Aſtronomer: Iohn Thompſon, borne in Norffolk in a village of that name, and a Carmelite frier in Blackney: Thomas Winterton borne in Lincolnſhyre, and an Auguſtine Frier in Stamford: William Packington Secretarie ſometime to the blacke Prince, an excellēt hiſtoriographer: Geffray Hinghā a ciuilian: Iohn Botleſham borne in Cambridgeſhire a black Frier: William Badby a Carmelite frier, Biſhop of Worceſter, and confeſſor to the Duke of Lancaſter: William Folleuille a Frier minor borne in Lincolnſhire: Iohn Bourgh parſon of Collinghā in Notinghāſhire a doct. of diuinity, and Chancellor of the vniuerſitie of Cambridge: William Sclade a Monke of Buckfaſt Abbay in Deuonſhire: Iohn Thorſbie Archbiſhop of Yorke, and Lord Chauncellor of England, was admitted by Pope Vrbane the fifth into the Colledge of Cardinals, but he died before K. Richard came to the Crowne aboute the. xlviij. yeare of king Edwarde the thirde, in the yeare of our lord 1374. Thomas Aſhborne an Auguſtine Frier: John Aſtone an earneſt follower of Wicklifes doctrine, and therefore condemned to perpetuall priſon: Caſterton a Monke of Norwiche, and an excellent diuine: Nicholas Radclife a monke of S. Albones: John Aſhwarby a diuine, and a fauorer of Wicklifs doctrine: Richard Maydſton ſo called of the towne in Kent where hee was borne, a Carmelite Frier of Ayleſford: John Wardby an Auguſtine Frier, and a great diuine: Robert Waldby excellently learned as well in diuinitie as other artes, for the which he was firſt aduaunced to a Biſhoprike in Gaſcoigne, and after he was admitted Archbiſhoppe of Dubline: William Berton a doctor of diuinitie, and Chãcellor of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford, an aduerſarie to Wicklif: Philip Repingtõ Abbot of Leyceſter a notable diuine & defẽder of Wicklife: Thomas Lombe a Carmelite Frier of Lynne: Nicholas Hereford a ſecular prieſt, a doctor of diuinitie, and ſcholer to Wicklife: Walter Britte alſo another of Wicklifs ſcholers, wrote both of diuinitie and other arguments: Henry Herkley Chauncellour of the vniuerſitie of Oxford, an enimie to Wicklife, and a great Sophiſter: Robert Juorie a Carmelite Frier of London, and the. xx. prouinciall of his order here in Englande: Lankine a Londoner, an Auguſtine Frier, profeſſed in the ſame Citie a doctor of diuinitie, an aduerſarie to Wicklife: Wil. Gillingham a Monke of Saint Sauiours in Canterburie: John Chikmarke a fellow of Marton Colledge in Oxford, a great Philoſopher and Mathemetician: John Sharpe a Philoſopher, and a diuine, wrote many treatiſes, a great aduerſarie to Wicklife: Richard Lauingham borne in Suffolke, and a Frier of Gipſwich, an excellent Logitian, but a ſore enimie to thẽ that fauored Wicklifes doctrine: Peter Pateſhull, of whom ye haue heard before: it is ſayde that hee was in the ende conſtrayned for doubt of perſecution to flie into Boheme: William Woodforde a Franciſcane Frier, a choſen champion agaynſt Wicklife beeing nowe dead, procured thereto by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Thomas Arundell: John Bromyard a Dominicke Frier, both a notable lawyer and a diuine, a ſore enimie alſo to the Wickliuiſtes: Marcill Ingelne an excellent Philoſopher, and a diuine, one of the firſt teachers of the Uniuerſitie of Heydelberg, which Robert duke of Bauiere and Counte Palatine of the Rhine had inſtituted about that ſeaſon: Richarde Northall ſonne to a Maior of London, (as is ſayd) of that name, he became a Carmelite Frier in the ſame Citie: Thomas Edwardſon Prior of the Frier Auguſtines at Clare in Suffolke: John Sommer a Franciſcan Frier at Bridgewater, an enimie to the Wickliuiſtes: Richard Withe a learned Prieſt, and an earneſt follower of Wicklif: John Swafham a Carmelite Frier of Linne, a ſtudent in Cambridge, and became biſhop of Bangor, a great aduerſarie to the Wickliuiſts: William Egumonde a Frier Ermite of the ſect of the Auguſtines in Stamford: John Tylſington a Franciſcane Frier, a mainteyner of the Popes doctrine: William Rymſton or Rimington, a Monke of Salley, an enimie alſo to the Wickliuiſtes: Adam Eſton well ſeene in the tongues, was made a Cardinall by Pope Gregorie the xj. but by Pope Urban the ſixt he was committed to priſon in Genoa, but at the contemplation of king Richarde he was taken out of priſon, but not fully delyuered till the dayes of Boniface the ix. who reſtored him to his former dignitie: John Beaufu a Carmelite of Northamton, proceeded doctor of Diuinitie in Oxforde, and was made Prior of his houſe: Roger Twiford *alias* Goodluck, an Auguſtine Frier: John Treuiſe a Corniſh man borne, and a ſecular Prieſt & Uicar of Berkley, he tranſlated the Byble, Bart. de Proprietatibus, Polichron of Ranulfe Higeden, and diuerſe other treatiſes: Raufe Spalding a Carmelite Frier of Stãford: John Moone an Engliſhman borne, but a ſtudent in Paris, who compyled in the Frenche tongue the Romant of the Roſe, tranſlated into Engliſh by Geffrey Chaucer: William Shirborn: Richard Wichingham borne in Norffolke, and diuerſe other.

Aduerſis Epiſcopus.

When king Richarde had reſigned (as before is ſpecified) the ſcepter & crown Hẽrie Plãtagenet borne at Bullingbroke in yͤ countie of Lincolne, duke of Lancaſter & Heref. erle of Derby, Leyceſter, & Lincolne, ſon to John of Gant duke of Lancaſter, with generall conſent both of the lords & commons, was publiſhed, proclamed and declared king of England and of France, & lorde of Ireland the laſt day of September, in the yeare of the world. 5366. of our Lord. 1399. of the raigne of the Emperor Wenceſlaus the. 22. of Charles the ſixt, king of Fraunce the. xx. and the tenth of Robert the third king of Scottes.

Forthwith he made certaine new officers. And firſt in right of his Erledome of Leiceſter he gaue the office of high ſteward of England belonging to the ſame Erledome, vnto his ſecond ſonne the Lord Thomas, who by his fathers cõmaundemẽt exerciſed that office, being aſſiſted (by reaſon of his tender age) by Thomas Percy Earle of Worceſter. The Erle of Northumberland was made Coneſtable of England: ſir John Scyrley Lord Chauncellor: John Norburie Eſquier L. Treaſorer: ſir Richard Clifford lord priuie ſeale.

Foraſmuch as by king Richards reſignation & the admitting of a newe king, all pleas in euery Court and place were ceaſſed, and without daye diſcontinued, new writtes were made for ſummoning of the Parliament vnder the name of king Henrie the fourth, the ſame to be holden, as before was appointed, on Monday next enſuing.

Vpon the fourth day of October, the Lorde Thomas ſeconde Sonne to the King ſatte as Lorde high ſtewarde of Englande by the kings commaundement in the Whitehall of the kings Palace at Weſtminſter, and as belonged to his office, he cauſed inquirie to be made what offices were to be exerciſed by any maner of perſons the day of the kings coronation, and what fees were belonging to the ſame, cauſing proclamation to be made, that what noble man or other that could claime any office that day of the ſolemniſing the kings coronation, they ſhould come and put in their byles comprehending their demaundes. Wherevpon diuerſe offices and fees were claymed, as well by billes as otherwiſe by ſpeeche of mouth, in fourme as here enſueth.

Clayming of offices at the coronation.

Firſt, the Lord Henrie the kings eldeſt ſonne, to whom he as in right of his Duchie of Lancaſter had appointed that office, claimed to beare before the king the principall ſword called *Curtana*, and had his ſuyt graunted.

Curtana.

John Erle of Somerſet, to whom the king as in right of his Erledome of Lincoln had granted to be Caruer the day of his coronation, claymed that office, and had it confirmed.

The Earle of Sommerſet.

Henrie Percie Erle of Northumberland, and high Coneſtable of England, by the kings grant claymed that office, and obteyned it to enioy at pleaſure.

The Earle of Northũberlãd

The ſame Earle in right of the Ile of Man, which at that preſent was graunted to him, and to his heyres by the king, claimed to beare on the kings left ſide a naked ſworde, with whiche the King was gyrded, when before his coronation hee entred as Duke of Lancaſter into the parties of Holderneſſe, which ſworde was called Lancaſters ſworde.

The Iſle of Manne,

Lancaſter ſword.

Rauf Erle of Weſtmerland, & Erle Marſhal of England, by the kings grant claymed yͤ ſame office, and obteyned it, notwithſtanding that the attorneys of the duke of Norffolke, preſented to the Lord ſteward their petition on the dukes behalfe, as Erle Marſhal, to exerciſe the ſame.

The Earle of Weſtmerland.

The Duke of Norfolke.

Sir Thomas Erpinghã knight, exerciſed the office of Lord great Chamberleyn, and gaue water to the king when he waſhed, both before & after dinner, hauing for his fees, the Baſon, Ewer, and Towels, with other things whatſoeuer belonging to his office, notwithſtanding Aubrey de Veer Erle of Oxford put in his petitions to haue that office as due to him from his aunceſters.

Sir Thomas Erpingham.

Thomas Beauchampe Earle of Warwicke by right of inheritance, bare the thirde ſworde before the king, and by lyke right was Panter at the coronation.

The Earle of Warwicke.

Sir William Argentine knight, by reaſon of the tenure of his Manour of Wilmundale in the Countie of Hertford, ſerued the king of the firſte cup of drinke which he taſted of at his dinner the day of his coronation: the cup was of ſiluer vngylt, which the ſame knight had for his fees, notwithſtanding the petition which Iuon Fitzwarren preſented to the Lord ſteward, requiring that office in right of his wife yͤ Lady Mawd, daughter and heyre to ſir John Argentine knight.

Sir William Argentyne.

Ivon Fitzwarẽ

Sir Thomas Neuill Lord Furniual, by reaſon of his Manour of Ferneham, with the hamlet of Cere whiche hee helde by the courteſie of

The L. Furniual.

England after the deceaſſe of his wife, the Lady Joan deceaſſed gaue to the king a gloue for hys right hand, and ſuſteyned the kings right arme ſo long as he bare the ſcepter.

The L. Grey.

The Lorde Reginald Grey of Ruthen, by reaſon of his manor of Aſhley in Norffolke couered the tables, and had for his fees all the Tableclothes, as well thoſe in the Hall, as elſe where, when they were taken vp, notwithſtanding a petition exhibited, by ſir John Draiton to haue had that office.

Great ſpurres.

The ſame Lorde Gray of Ruthen, bare the kinges great ſpurres before him in the time of his coronation by right of inheritance, as heyre to John Haſtings Erle of Pembroke.

The ſecond ſworde.

John Erle of Somerſet, by the kings aſſignment bare the ſeconde ſworde before him at his coronation, notwithſtanding that the ſayd Lorde Grey of Ruthen by petition exhibited before the Lorde Stewarde demaunded the ſame office, by reaſon of his Caſtell and Tower of Pembroke, and of his towne of Denbigh.

The Earle of Arundel.

Thomas Earle of Arundel chiefe Butler of Englande, obteyned to exerciſe that office the day of the coronation, and had the fees thereto belonging graunted to him, to wit, the Goblet wyth which the king was ſerued, and other things, to that his office apperteyning (the veſſels of Wine excepted) that lay vnder the bar, which were adiudged vnto the ſayd Lorde ſteward, the ſayd erle of Arundels clayme notwithſtanding.

The citizens of London.

The Citizens of London choſen forth by the Citie, ſerued in the hall, as aſſiſtants to the Lord chiefe Butler, whileſt the king ſat at dinner, the day of his coronation: and when the king entred into his Chamber after dinner, & called for wine the Lorde Maior of London brought to hym a cuppe of golde with wine, and had the ſame cup giuen to him, togither with the cuppe that conteyned water to allay the wine. After the king had drunke, the ſayd Lorde Maior and the Aldermen of London had their table to dine at, on the left hand of the king in the hall.

Thomas Dimmocke.

Thomas Dymocke, in right of his mother Margaret Dymocke, by reaſon of the tenure of his manor of Scriuelbie, claymed to be the kings Champion at his coronation, and had hys ſuyte granted, notwithſtanding a clayme exhibited by Baldwin Freuill, demaunding that office by reaſon of hys Caſtell of Tamworth in Warwikſhire.

Baldwin freuil

The ſayde Democke had for his fees one of the beſt courſers in the kings ſtable, with yͤ kings ſaddle and all the trappers and harneys apperteyning to the ſame horſe or Courſer: he hadde likewiſe one of the beſt armors that was in the kings armorie for his owne bodie, with all that belonged wholy therevnto.

The L
Latim

John Lorde Latimer, although he was vnder age, for himſelfe and yͤ Duke of Norffolke, notwithſtanding that his poſſeſſions were in the kings hands, by his attourney ſir Thomas Grey knight, claimed and had the office of Almoner for that day, by reaſon of certaine landes which ſomtyme belonged to the Lorde William Beauchampe of Bedford.

They had a Towel of fine lynnen cloth prepared, to put in the ſiluer that was appoynted to be giuen in almes, and likewiſe they had the deſtribution of the cloth that couered the Pauement & floores from the kings Chamber doore, vnto the place in the Churche of Weſtminſter where the Pulpet ſtoode. The reſidue that was ſpred in the Church, the Sexten had.

W.l

William le Venour, by reaſon he was tenant of the Manour of Liſton, claymed and obteyned to exerciſe the office of making Wafers for the king the day of his coronation.

The
of th
port

The Barons of the fiue Portes claymed, and it was granted them, to beare a Canapie of cloth of golde ouer the king, with four ſtaues, and foure belles at the foure corners, euerie ſtaffe hauing foure of thoſe barons to beare it. Alſo to dine and ſit at the table next to the king on his right hand in the hall the day of his coronation, and for their fees to haue the foreſayde Canapie of golde, with the belles and ſtaues, notwithſtanding the Abbot of Weſtminſter claymed the ſame.

Ed
Cha

Edmond Chambers claymed and obteyned the office of principall Larderer for him and his Deputies, by reaſon of his manour of Skulton, otherwiſe called Burdellebin Skultō, in the coūtie of Norffolke. Thus was euery man appoynted to exerciſe ſuch office as to him of right apperteyned, or at the leaſt was thought requiſite for the time preſent.

On the Monday then next enſuing, when the ſtates were aſſembled in Parliament, order was taken, that by reaſon of ſuch preparation as was to be made for the coronation, they ſhoulde ſit no more till the morow after Saint Edwards day.

On the Sunday following being the euen of Saint Edwarde, the newe King lodged in the Tower, and there made. xlvj. knightes of the Bathe, to witte:

Kni
the

Three of his ſonnes,
The Earle of Arundell,
The Earle of Warwickes ſonne,
The Earle of Stafforde,
Two of the Earle of Deuonſhires ſonnes,
The Lorde Beaumont,
The Lorde Willoughbies brother,
The Earle of Staffordes brother,
The Lorde Camois his ſonne.
The Lorde of Maule,
Thomas Beauchampe,

Thomas Pelham,
[illegible] Lutrell,
Iohn Liſley,
William Hankeford Iuſtice,
William Brinchley Iuſtice,
Bartholmew Racheforde,
Giles Daubeney,
William Butler,
Iohn Aſhton,
Richarde Sanape,
Iohn Tiptoſt,
Richard Frances,
Henrie Percy,
Iohn Arundell,
William Stralle,
Iohn Tirpington,
Aylmere Saint,
Edwarde Haſtings,
Iohn Greiſley,
Gerard Satill,
Iohn Arden,
Robert Chalons.
Thomas Dymocke,
Hungerforde,
Gilbethorpe,
Newporte, and dyuerſe other to the number of .xlvj.

On the Morrowe beeing Saint Edwardes day, and .xiij. of October, the Lord Maior of Lōdon road towards the Tower to attēd the king, with diuerſe worſhipfull Citizens clothed all in red, and from the Tower the king ridde through the Citie vnto Weſtminſter, where he was ſacred, annoynted, and crowned king by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie with all ceremonies and royall ſolemnitie as was due and requiſite.

Though all other reioyſed at his aduauncement, yet ſurely Edmonde Mortimer Earle of March, which was couſin and heyre to Lionell duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten ſonne of king Edwarde the thirde. and Richard Earle of Cambridge; ſonne to Edmonde duke of Yorke, whiche had maried Anne ſiſter to the ſame Edmond, were with theſe doings neither pleaſed nor contented: Inſomuch that now the deuiſion once begon, the one linage ceaſſed not to perſecute the other, till the heyres males of both the lynes were clearly deſtroyed and extinct.

At the day of the coronation, to the intent hee ſhoulde not ſeeme to take vpon him the crowne & ſcepter royall by plaine extort power, and iniurious intruſion, he was aduiſed to make his tytle as heyre to Edmond, (ſurnamed or vntruly feyned) Crouchbacke, ſonne to king Henry the third, and to ſay that the ſaid Edmond was elder brother to king Edward the firſt, and for his deformitie put by from the crowne, to whō by his mother Blanch; daughter & ſole heyre to Henry duke of Lancaſter, he was next of bloud, and vndoubted heyre. But bycauſe not only his friends, but alſo his priuie enimies, knew that this was but a forged title, conſidering they were ſurely enformed, not onely that the ſayde Edmonde was yonger ſon to king Henrie the thirde, but alſo had true knowledge, that Edmōd was neither crooke backed, nor a deformed perſō, but a goodly gentleman, & a valiant captain, & ſo much fauored of his louing father, that he to preferre him in mariage to the Queene Dowager of Nauarre, hauing a great liuelode, gaue to him the countie Palatine of Lancaſter, with many notable honours, high ſeignories, and large priuiledges: Therefore they aduiſed him to publiſh it, that hee chalenged the realme not onely by conqueſt, but alſo bycauſe he was by king Richarde adopted as heyre, and declared by reſignation as his lawfull ſucceſſor, being next heyre male to him of the bloud royall.

But to proceede to other doings, the ſolemnitie of the coronation being ended, the morrow after being Tueſday, the Parliamēt began again, and yͤ next day ſir Iohn Cheyny that was ſpeaker, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his infirmitie & ſickneſſe, not to be able to exerciſe that roumth, was diſmiſſed, and one William Durward eſquire was admitted: herewith were the acts eſtabliſhed in the Parliament of the .xxj. yere of king Richardes raigne repealed and made voyde, and the ordinances deuiſed in the Parliament, holden the .xj. yeare of the ſame king, confirmed, & againe eſtabliſhed for good and profitable.

Sir Iohn Cheny ſpeaker of the parliament diſmiſſed and Wil. Durward admitted.

Acts repealed.

Acts cōfirmed

The ſame day the kings eldeſt ſonne the Lord Henrie, by aſſent of all the ſtates in the Parliament, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Erle of Cheſter, then being of the age of .xij. yeares.

Vpon the Thurſday, the commons came and reherſed all the errors of the laſt Parliament holden in the .xxj. yeare of king Richard, and namely in certaine fiue of them.

Firſt, that where the king that nowe is, was readie to arraigne an appeale agaynſt the Duke of Norffolke, he doing what apperteyned to hys dutie in that behalf, was yet baniſhed afterwards without any reaſonable cauſe.

Secondly, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Metropolitane of the Realme, was forciudged without anſwere.

Thirdly, the duke of Glouceſter was murthered, and after forciudged.

Fourthly, where the Earle of Arundell alledged his Charter of pardon, the ſame might not be allowed.

Fifthly, that all the power of that euill Parliament, was graunted and aſſigned ouer to certaine perſons, and ſithe that ſuch heynous errors coulde not be cōmitted (as was thought) without the aſſent and aduice of them that were of the late kings counſaile, they made ſute that they might be put vnder arreſt, and committed to ſafe keping till order might be further taken for them.

Thus much adoe there was in this Parliament, ſpecially about them that were thought to be guiltie of the duke of Glouceſters death, and of the condemning of the other Lords that were adiudged traytors in the foreſayde late Parliament holden in the ſayde .xxj. yeare of king Richardes raigne: Sir Iohn Bagot knight then priſoner in the tower, diſcloſed many ſecrets, vnto the which he was priuie, and being brought one day to the barre, a bill was read in Engliſhe which hee had made, conteyning certaine euill practiſes of king Richard, and further what great affection yͤ ſame king bare to the duke of Aumarle, inſomuch that he heard him ſay, that if he ſhuld renounce the gouernment of the kingdom, he wiſhed to leaue it to the ſaid duke, as to the moſt able mã, for wiſdome and manhood of all other: for though he could like better of the duke of Hereford, yet he ſayde that he knew if he were once king, he would proue an extreme enimie, and cruell tyrant to the Church.

Fabian.

Sir Iohn bagot diſcloſeth ſecretes.

Henry the fourth ſuſpected not to be well affected towards the church before his comming to the crowne.

It was further conteyned in that Byll, that as the ſame Bagot roade one daye behinde the Duke of Norffolke in the Sauoy ſtreete toward Weſtminſter, the duke aſked him what he knew of the maner of the duke of Glouceſter his death, and he anſwered that hee knewe nothing at all: But the people (quoth he) doe ſay that you haue murthered him. Whereunto the Duke ſware great othes that it was vntrue, and that hee had ſaued his life contrarie to the will of the king, and certaine other Lords, by the ſpace of three weekes, and more, affyrming with all, that he was neuer in all his life time more afrayde of death, than he was at his comming home againe from Calais at that time, to the kings preſence, by reaſon hee had not put the duke to death. And then (ſayd he) the king appoynted one of his owne ſeruants, and certaine other that were ſeruauntes to other Lords to goe with him to ſee the ſayde duke of Gloceſter put to death, ſwearing that as he ſhuld anſwere afore God it was neuer his mind that he ſhould haue died in yͭ ſort, but only for feare of the king, and ſauing of his owne life. Neuertheleſſe there was no man in the realme to whom King Richard was ſo much beholden, as to the duke of Aumarle, for he was the man that to fulfill hys minde, had ſet hym in hande wyth all that was done, againſt the ſayd duke, and the other Lords.

The D. of Aumarle accuſed.

There was alſo conteyned in that Byll, what ſecrete malice king Richarde had conceyued, agaynſte the Duke of Herefordе being in exile, whereof the ſame Bagot had ſent intelligence vnto the Duke into Fraunce, by one Roger Smart, who certified it to him by Peerce Buckton, and others, to the intent he ſhould the better haue regard to himſelfe.

There was alſo conteyned in the ſayde Bill, that Bagot had heard the Duke of Aumarle ſay, that he had leauer than twentie thouſand poundes that the Duke of Herefordе were dead, not for any feare hee had of him, but for the trouble and myſchiefe that hee was like to procure within the realme.

After that the Byll had beene read and heard, the Duke of Aumarle roſe vp and ſayde, that as touching the poynts conteyned in the bill concerning him, they were vtterly falſe & vntrue, which he would proue with his body, in what maner ſoeuer it ſhould be thought requiſit. Therewith alſo the duke of Exceter roſe vp, & willed Bagot that if he could ſay any thing againſt him to ſpeake it openly. Bagot anſwered, that for his part he could ſay nothing agaynſt him: but there is (ſaide he) a yeoman in Newgate one Iohn Hall that can ſaye ſomewhat. Well then (ſayde the Duke of Exceter,) this that I do and ſhall ſay is true, that the late king, the duke of Norffolk, and thou being at Woodſtocke, made me to goe with you into the Chapell, and there the doore being ſhutte, ye made mee to ſweare vpon the aulter, to keepe counſayle in that ye had to ſay to mee, and then yee rehearſed that we ſhould neuer haue our purpoſe, ſo long as the Duke of Lancaſter liued, and therefore ye purpoſed to haue a Councell at Lichfield, and there you woulde arreſt the duke of Lancaſter, in ſuch ſort as by colour of his diſobeying the arreſt, hee ſhoulde be diſpatched out of life. And in this maner ye imagined his death, to the which I anſwered, that it were conuenient that the King ſhoulde ſende for his counſaile, and if they agreed herevnto, I would not bee agaynſt it, & ſo I departed: to this Bagot made no anſwere.

The Aum ſwer gou

Ioh yem

After this, the King commaunded that the Lordes, Berkley, and Louell, and ſixe knights of the lower houſe, ſhoulde goe after dinner to examine the ſayd Hall. This was on a Thurſday being the .xv. of October.

On the Saterday next enſuing, Sir William Bagot, and the ſayde Iohn Hall, were brought both to the barre, and Bagot was examined of certaine poynts, & ſent againe to priſon.

Bago brou the b

The Lord FitzWater herewith roſe vp, and ſayd to the king, that where the duke of Aumarle excuſeth himſelf of the duke of Gloceſters death, I ſay (quoth he) that he was the very cauſe of his death, and ſo hee appealed him of treaſon, offering by throwing downe his hoode as a gage to proue it with his bodie. There were .xx. other Lordes alſo that threw downe their hoodes, as pledges to proue yͤ like matter againſt the duke of Aumarle.

The W of Au treaſo

The Duke of Aumarle threwe downe hys

hoode to trie it agaynſt the Lorde FitzWater, as agaynſt him that lyed falſly, in that hee charged him with, by that his appeale. Theſe gages were deliuered to the Conſtable & Marſhal of England, and the parties put vnder arreſt.

The duke of Surrey ſtood vp alſo agaynſt the L. Fitzwater, auouching that where he had ſayd that the appellants were cauſe of yͤ duke of Glouceſters death, it was falſe, for they were conſtreyned to ſue the ſame appeale, in like maner as the ſayd Lorde FitzWater was compelled to gyue iudgement againſt the duke of Glouceſter, and the Earle of Arundell, ſo that the ſuing of the appeale was done by cohertion, and if he ſayd contrary he lied: & therwith he threw down his hood.

The Lorde FitzWater anſwered herevnto, that he was not preſent in the Parliament houſe when iudgement was giuen againſt them, and al the Lordes bare witneſſe thereof.

Morouer, where it was alledged that the duke of Aumarle ſhould ſend two of his ſeruants vnto Calais, to murther the duke of Glouceſter, yͤ ſayd duke of Aumarle ſaid, that if the duke of Norffolk affyrme it, he lyed falſly, and that he would proue with his bodie, throwing downe an other hoode which he had borowed.

The ſame was likewiſe deliuered to the Conneſtable and Marſhall of England, and the king licenced the Duke of Norffolke to returne, that hee might arraigne his appeale.

After this was Iohn Hal cõdemned of treaſon by authoritie of the Parliament, for that hee had confeſſed himſelfe to be one of them that put the duke of Glouceſter to death at Calais, and ſo on the Monday following, he was drawne from the Tower to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, headed, & quartered: his head being ſent to Calais there to be ſet vp, where the duke was murthered.

On Wedneſday folowing, requeſt was made by the commons, that ſith king Richard had reſigned, and was lawfully depoſed from his royall dignitie, he might haue iudgemẽt decreed againſt him, ſo as the realme were not troubled by him, and that the cauſes of his depoſing might be publiſhed through the realm for ſatiſfying of the people, which demaund was graunted. Wherevpon the Biſhop of Carleil, a man both learned, wiſe, & ſtoute of ſtomacke, boldly ſhewed forth his opinion concerning that demaunde, affyrming that there was none amongſt them worthie or meete to giue iudgement vpõ ſo noble a prince as king Richard was, whom they had taken for their ſoueraigne and liege Lorde, by the ſpace of .xxij. yeares and more, and I aſſure you (ſayd he) there is not ſo ranke a traytor, nor ſo errant a theef, nor yet ſo cruell a murtherer apprehended or deteyned in priſon for his offence, but hee ſhall be brought before the Iuſtice to heare his iudgement, and ye will procede to the iudgement of an annoynted K. hearing neither his anſwere nor excuſe: and I ſay, that the duke of Lancaſter whom ye cal king, hath more treſpaſſed to king Ric. and his realme, than king Richard hath done either to him, or to vs: for it is manifeſt and well knowne, that the Duke was baniſhed the realme by king Richard and his counſayle, and by the iudgement of hys owne father, for the ſpace of tenne yeres, for what cauſe ye know, and yet without licence of King Richard, he is returned againe into the Realme, and that is worſe, hath taken vpõ him, the name, tytle, and preheminence of a King. And therefore I ſay, that yee haue done manifeſt wrong, to procede in anye thing agaynſt king Richarde, without calling him openly to his aunſwere and defence.

As ſoone as the Biſhop had ended this tale, he was attached by the Earle Marſhal, & cõmitted to warde in the Abbey of S. Albons.

Moreouer, where the king had graunted to the Erle of Weſtmerland the Countie of Richemond, the Duke of Brytaine pretending a right thereto by an olde tytle, had ſent his letters ouer vnto the eſtates aſſembled in this Parliament, offring to abide ſuch order as the law would appoynt in the like caſe to anye of the Kings ſubiects. Wherevpon the Commons for the more ſuretie of the entercourſe of Marchants, beſought the king, that the matter myght bee committed to the ordering of the Counſaile of eyther of the parties, and of his Counſaile, ſo as an end might be had therein, whiche requeſt was lykewyſe graunted.

The Duke of Britaine.

After this, the recordes of the laſt Parliament were ſhewed, with the appeales, and the commiſſion made to .xij. perſons to determin things that were motioned in the ſame laſt Parliamẽt. Herevpon the commons prayed that they might haue Iuſtice Markham, and maiſter Gaſcoigne a ſergeant at the lawe ioyned with them for counſaile touching the peruſing of the recordes, which was graunted them, and day giuen ouer till the next morow in the White hall, where they ſat aboute theſe matters three dayes togither.

On the Monday following, being the euen of Simon and Iude the Apoſtles, the commons required to heare the iudgement of king Richarde. Wherevpon the Archbiſhop of Canterburye appoynted to ſpeake, declared how that the K. that now is, had graunted King Richard his lyfe, but in ſuche wyſe as hee ſhoulde remayne in perpetuall priſon, ſo ſafely kept, that neyther the King nor realme ſhould be troubled with him.

King Richard appointed to be kept in perpetual priſon.
Hall.

It was alſo concluded, that if any man went about to deliuer him, that then he ſhoulde bee the firſt that ſhould die for it.

After this, the Commons prayed that the

Lordes and other that were of king Richardes counſaile, might be put to their anſwers for their ſundrie miſdemeanors, which was graunted.

The Earle of Warwicke.

On Wedneſday following, being the morrow after the feaſt of Simon and Iude, all the proceſſe of the Parliament holden the .xxj. yeare of king Richards raign was red openly, in which it was founde howe the Earle of Warwike had confeſſed himſelfe guiltie of treaſon, and aſked perdon and mercie for his offence: but the Earle denied, that euer he acknowledged any ſuch thing by worde of mouth, and that he would proue in what maner ſoeuer ſhould bee to him appoynted. Therin was alſo the appeale founde of the dukes of Aumarle, Surrey, and Exceter, the Marques Dorſet, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Gloceſter, to the whiche eche of them anſwered by himſelfe, that they neuer aſſented to that appeale of theyr owne free willes, but were compelled thereto by the king: and this they affyrmed by their othes & offred to proue it by what maner they ſhould bee appoynted. Sir Walter Cloptō ſaid then to the commons, if ye will take aduauntage of the proceſſe of the laſt Parliament, take it, and ye ſhall be receyued therunto. Then roſe vp the Lord Morley, and ſayde to the Erle of Saliſburie, that he was chiefe of counſail with the duke of Gloceſter, and likewiſe with king Richarde, & ſo diſcouered the dukes counſail to the king as a traytor to his maſter, & that he ſaid he wold with his body proue againſt him, throwing down his hood as a pledge

Sir Walter Cloptō.

The Erle of Saliſburie ſore amoued herewith, told the Lorde Morley, that he falſly belied him, for he was neuer traytor, nor falſe to his maiſter all his life time, and therewith threw downe hys Gloue to wage battaile agaynſt the Lord Morley. Their gages were taken vp, and deliuered to the Coneſtable and Marſhall of Englande, & the parties were arreſted, and day to them giuen till another time.

The L. Morley appelleth the E. of Saliſbury

On Monday following, being the morow after al Soules day, the cōmons made requeſt, that they might not be entred in the Parliamēt rolles, as parties to the iudgement giuen in this Parliament, but there as in verie truth they were priuie to the ſame: for the iudgement otherwiſe belonged to the king, except where any iudgement is giuen by ſtatute enacted for the profite of the common wealth, which requeſt was graunted: diuerſe other petitions were preſented on the behalfe of the Commons, part whereof were granted, and to ſome there was none anſwere made at that time.

Finally, to auoyde further inconuenience, and to qualifie the minds of the enuious, it was finally enacted, that ſuch as were appellants in yͤ laſt Parliament againſt the duke of Glouceſter and other, following ſhould in this wiſe be ordred:

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The dukes of Aumarle, Surrey, and Exeter, there preſent, were iudged to loſe their names of dukes, togither with the honors, titles and dignities therevnto belonging.

The Marques Dorſet beeyng likewyſe there preſent, was adiudged to loſe his tytle and dignitie of Marques, and the Erle of Glouceſter being alſo preſent, was in ſemblable maner iudged to loſe his name, title & dignitie of Earle.

Th.V

Moreouer, it was further decreed agaynſt thē, that they and euery of them ſhoulde loſe and forfeyt all thoſe Caſtels, Lordſhips, manors, lands, poſſeſſions, rents, ſeruices, liberties and reuenues, whatſoeuer had bin giuen to them, at or ſince the laſt Parliament, belonging aforetime to anye of thoſe perſons whome they had appealed, and all other theyr Caſtels, Manours, Lordſhips, lands, poſſeſſions, rentes, ſeruices, liberties, and reuenues whatſoeuer, whiche they helde of the late kings gyft, the day of the arreſt of the ſayd Duke of Glouceſter, or at any tyme after, ſhoulde alſo remaine in the kings diſpoſition from thenceforth, and al letters patents and Charters, which they or any of them had of the ſame names, Caſtels, Manours, Lordſhips, landes, poſſeſſions, and liberties, ſhould bee ſurrendred vp into the Chauncerie, there to be cancelled. Diuerſe other things were enacted in this Parliament, to the preiudice of thoſe high eſtates, to ſatiſfie mennes myndes that were ſore diſpleaſed with their doings in the late kings dayes, as nowe it manifeſtly appeared: for after it was vnderſtode that they ſhould be no further puniſhed than as before is mentioned, great murmuring roſe among the people agaynſt the king, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Earle of Northumberlande, and other of the Counſaile, for ſauing the liues of men whome the commons reputed moſt wicked, and not worthie in any wiſe to liue. But the King thought it beſt, rather with curteſie to reconcile them, than by cutting them off by death, to procure the hatred of theyr friendes and allyes, which were many, and of no ſmall power.

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After that the foreſayde iudgement was declared with proteſtation by Sir William Thirning Iuſtice, the Earle of Saliſburie came and made requeſt, that he myght haue his proteſtation entred agaynſte the Lorde Morley, whiche Lorde Morley ryſing vp from his ſeate, ſayde, that ſo hee myght not haue, bycauſe in hys firſte aunſwere he made no proteſtation, and therefore he was paſt it nowe. The Earle prayed daye of aduiſement, but the Lorde Morley prayed that hee might loſe his aduauntage, ſith he had not entred ſufficient plea agaynſt him. Then ſir Mathew Gourney ſitting vnderneath the king ſaid, to the Earle of Saliſburie, that forſomuch as at the fyrſt daye in your aunſweres, yee made no proteſtation

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proteſtation at all, none is entred of recorde, and ſo you are paſt that aduauntage, and therfore aſked him if he would ſay any other thing. Then the Earle deſired that he might put in mainpriſe, which was graunted: and ſo the Erle of Kent, ſir Rauf Ferrers, ſir John Roche, & ſir John Drayton knightes, mainpriſed the ſayd Erle, bodie for bodie. For the Lord Morley, all the Lordes and Barons offred to vndertake, and to be ſureties for him, but yet four of them had their names entred, that is to wit, the Lordes Willoughbie, Beauchampe, Scales and Berkley: they had day till the Friday after to make theyr libell.

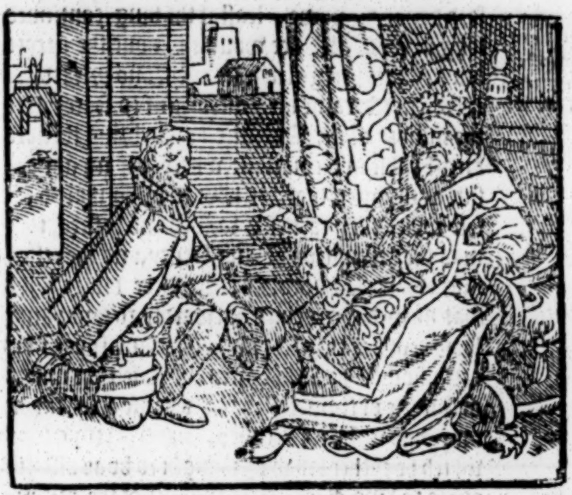
After this came the Lorde Fitzwater, and prayed to haue day and place to arraigne his appeale agaynſt the Erle of Rutland.

The king ſayde he woulde ſend for the Duke of Norffolke, to returne home, and then vpon his returne he ſayde he woulde proceede in that matter. Many ſtatutes were eſtabliſhed in this Parliament, as well concerning the whole bodie of the common wealth, (as by the booke thereof imprinted maye appeare) as alſo concerning diuerſe priuate perſons then preſently liuing, which partly we haue touched, and partly for doubt to be ouer tedious, we doe omit: but this among other is not to be forgottẽ, that the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, was not onely reſtored to his former dignitie, being remoued from it by king Richard, who had procured one Roger Walden to be placed therein (as before ye haue hearde) but alſo the ſayde Walden was eſtabliſhed Byſhop of London, wherewith he ſeemed very well contented.

Moreouer, the kings eldeſt ſonne Henry alreadie created (as heyre to his father, & to the crowne) Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and Erle of Cheſter, was alſo intituled Duke of Aquitaine: & to auoyde all tytles, claymes, and ambiguities, there was an act made for the vniting of ẏ crowne vnto king Henrie the fourth, and to the heyres of his bodie lawfully begotten, his foure ſonnes, Henrie, Thomas, John, and Humfrey, being named, as to whom the right ſhould diſcend ſucceſſiuely by way of intaile, in caſe where heyres fayled to any of them. By force of this act king Henrie thought himſelfe firmely ſet on a ſure foundation, not needing to feare any ſtorme of aduerſe fortune. But yet ſhortly after he was put in danger to haue bene ſet beſides the ſeate, by a conſpiracie begon in the Abbot of Weſtminſters houſe, as after ſhall appeare.

But now to make an ende with this Parliament, after that things were cõcluded and granted, ſo as was thought to ſtande with the ſuretie of the king, and good quiet of the realme, the king graunted a free pardon to all his ſubiects, thoſe excepted that were at the murther of the Duke of Glouceſter, and ſuche as had committed wilfull murther, or rape, or were knowne to be notorious theeues. And thoſe that were to take benefite by this pardon, were appoynted to ſue forth the Charters thereof, betwixt that preſent and the feaſt of all Saints next enſuing: and ſo was this Parliamẽt diſſolued. Immediately after the king (according to an order taken in the ſame Parliament, to giue to vnderſtand vnto all Princes and Countreys about him, by what title and occaſion hee hadde taken to him the kingdome) ſent Ambaſſadours vnto them to ſignifie the ſame:

Tho. VValſ.



Ambaſſadours ſent to forrain princes.

Vnto Rome were ſent, John Trenenant, Byſhop of Herforde, ſir John Cheyney knight, and John Cheyney Eſquier. Into France, M. Walter Skyrlow Biſhop of Durham, and Thomas Percey Erle of Worceſter. Into Spaine, John Trenour Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, and ſir William Parre knight. Into Almaine the Biſhop of Bangor, and two others.

The caſtel of wark taken by the Scots

Sir Tho. Gray.

The Scottes in time of the late Parliament, taking occaſion of the abſence of the Northren Lords, and alſo by reaſon of great mortalitie that afflicted the northren people that yeare, inuaded the borders, tooke the Caſtel of Warke, that was aſſigned to the ſafe keeping of ſir Thomas Grey knight, who then was at the Parliament, as one of the knights of the ſhire, by meanes of whoſe abſence, the enimies the ſooner (as is to be thought) obteyned theyr deſire, and ſo kept that Caſtell a certaine time, and finally ſpoyled it, & ouerthrew it to the ground.

Beſides this, they did many other miſchiefes in the Countrey, to the vndoing of many of the kings ſubiects.

The death of the Duke of Norfolke.

This yeare Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norffolke dyed in exile at Venice, whoſe death might haue beene worthily bewayled of all the realme, if he had not bene conſenting to the death of the Duke of Glouceſter.

The duches of Glouceſter deceaſeth.

The ſame yeare deceaſſed the duches of Glouceſter, through ſorrow as was thought, which ſhe conceyued for the loſſe of hir ſonne and heyre the Lorde Humfrey, who being ſent for forth of Ireland (as before ye haue heard) was taken with the peſtilence, and died by the way.

Hall.

What moued the Abbot of Weſtminſter to conſpire againſt the K.

But now to ſpeake of the conſpiracie whiche was contriued by the Abbot of Weſtminſter as chiefe Inſtrument thereof. Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that this Abbot (as it is reported) vppon a tyme hearde king Henrie ſay when hee was but Earle of Darbie, and yong of yeares, that Princes had too little, and religious men too muche. He therefore doubting nowe, leaſt if the king continued long in the eſtate, hee woulde remoue the greate beame that then grieued his eyes, and pricked his conſcience, became an Inſtrument to ſearch oute the mindes of the Nobilitie, and to bring them to an aſſemble and counſaile, where they myght cõſult and cõmen togither, how to bring that to effect which they earneſtly wiſhed and deſired, that was the deſtruction of king Henry, and the reſtoring of king Richard. For ther were diuers lords that ſhewed themſelues outwardly to fauor king Henry, where they ſecretly wiſhed and ſought his confuſion. The Abbot after he had felt the minds of ſundrie of them, called to his houſe on a day in the terme time, all ſuch Lords and other perſons which he eyther knew or thought to be as affectionate to king Richard, as enuious of the proſperitie of king Henrie, whoſe names were, Iohn Holland Erle of Huntingdon late duke of Exeter, Thomas Holland Erle of Kent late duke of Surrey, Edward Erle of Rutland late Duke of Aumarle, ſonne to the duke of York, Iohn Montagew Erle of Saliſburie, Hugh Lord Spencer late Erle of Glouceſter, Iohn the Biſhop of Carleill, Sir Thomas Blount, and Magdalen a Prieſt one of King Richardes Chapell, a man as lyke to hym in ſtature and proportion in all lyniaments of bodie, as vnlyke in byrth, dignitie, and conditions.

The lords that conſpired againſt the king

The Abbot highly feaſted theſe Lords, hys ſpeciall friendes, and when they had well dyned, they withdrewe into a ſecrete Chamber, where they ſate downe in counſaile, and after much talk and conference had aboute the bringing of theyr purpoſe to paſſe cõcerning the deſtruction of king Henrie, at length by the aduice of the Earle of Huntingdon, it was deuiſed that they ſhould take vpon them a ſolemne iuſtes to be enterpryſed betweene him and twentie on his part, and the erle of Saliſburie, and twentie with him at Oxford, to the which triumph king Henrie ſhoulde be deſired, and when hee ſhould bee moſt buſily regarding the Martiall paſtime, hee ſodainly ſhoulde bee ſlaine and deſtroyed, and ſo by that meanes king Richard, which as yet liued, might be reſtored to libertie, and to his former eſtate & dignitie.

A iuſtes deuiſed to be holden at Oxford.

It was further appointed, who ſhould aſſẽble the people, the number and perſons which ſhould accompliſh & put in execution their deuiſed enterpriſe. Hereupon was an Indenture ſextipartite made, ſealed with their ſeales, and ſigned wyth theyr handes, in the whiche eche ſtoode boundeth to other, to do their whole endeuor for the accompliſhing of their purpoſed exployte.

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Moreouer they ſware on the holye Euangeliſtes to be true and ſecrete eche to other, euen to the houre and poynt of death,

When all things were thus appoynted, the Erle of Huntingtõ came to the king vnto Windſore, earneſtly requiring him, ẏ he would vouchſafe to be at Oxford at the day appoynted of their iuſtes, both to behold the ſame, and to be the diſcouerer and indifferent iudge (if anye ambiguitie ſhould riſe) of theyr couragious actes and doing.

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The king being thus inſtantly required of hys brother in law, and nothing leſſe imagining thã that which was pretended, gently graunted to fulfill his requeſt. Which thing obteyned, all the Lords of the conſpiracie departed home to theyr houſes, as they noyſed it, to ſet armorers on work about the trimming of their armour againſt the iuſtes, and to prepare all other furniture & things redy, as to ſuch an high & ſolemne triumph apperteyned. The Erle of Hũtingdõ came to his houſe and rayſed men on euery ſide, & prepared horſe & harneys for his compaſſed purpoſe, and when he had all things redy, he departed towards Oxford, and at his coming thither, he found all his mates and confederates there, well appointed for theyr purpoſe, except the Earle of Rutlande, by whoſe folly their practiſed conſpiracie was brought to light & diſcloſed to king Henry. For this Earle of Rutland departing before frõ Weſtm. to ſee hys father the duke of Yorke, as he ſate at dinner, had his counterpane of the Indenture of the confederacie in his boſome. The father eſpying it, would needes ſee what it was: and though the ſonne hũbly denied to ſhew it, the father beeing more earneſt to ſee it, by force tooke it out of his boſome, & perceyuing the contents thereof, in a great rage cauſed his horſes to be ſadled out of hande, and ſpitefullye reprouing his ſonne of treaſon, for whom he was become ſuretie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open Parliament, he incontinently mounted on horſbacke to ride towards Windſore to the king, to declare vnto him the malicious intent of his ſonne and his complices.

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The Erle of Rutlande ſeeing in what daunger he ſtood, tooke his horſe, and rode another way to Windſore in poſt, ſo that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the Caſtell Gate, hee cauſed the Gates to be ſhutte, ſaying that hee muſt needes delyuer the keyes to the King.

When he came before the kings preſence, hee

kneeled

he kneeled downe on his knees, beſeeching him of mercie and forgiueneſſe, and declaring the whole matter vnto him in order as euery thing had paſſed, obteyned pardon, and therewith came his father, and being let in, deliuered the indēture which he had taken from his ſonne, vnto the king, who thereby perceyuing his ſonnes wordes to bee true, chaunged his purpoſe for his goyng to Oxforde, and diſpatched Meſſengers forth to ſignifie vnto the Earle of Northumberlande his highe Conneſtable, and to the Erle of Weſtmerland hys high Marſhall, & to other his aſſured friendes, of al the doubtfull daunger and perillous ieopardie.

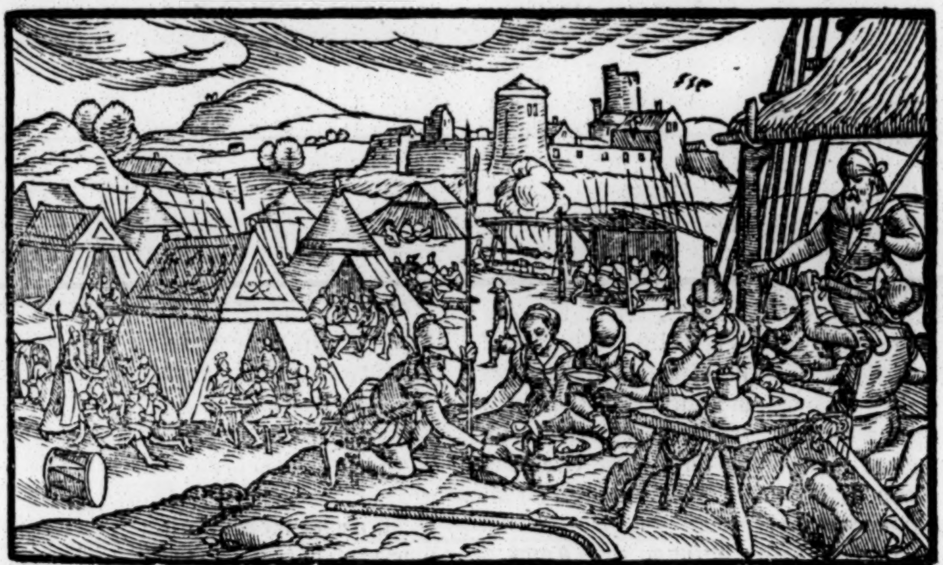
The conſpiratours being at Oxford, at length perceyued by the lacke of the Earle of Rutlande that their enterpriſe was reuealed to the king, and thereupon determined now openly with ſpeare & ſhield, to bring that to paſſe which before they couertly attempted, and ſo they adorned Magdalene, a man moſt reſembling king Richarde, in royall and princely veſture, and named him to be king Richard, affirming that by fauor of his keepers he was eſcaped out of priſon, & ſo they came forwards in order of warre, to the intent to deſtroy king Henrie.

Whileſt the confederatours with their newe publiſhed Idoll, accōpanied with a ſtrong armie of men, tooke the direct way towards Windſore, K. Henry admoniſhed thereof, with a few horſmē in the night came to the tower of London about xij. of the clocke, where in the morning he cauſed the Maior of the Citie to apparell in armor, the beſt and moſt couragious perſons of the Citie, which brought to him three thouſande archers, & three. M. bil men, beſides them that wer appointed to defende the Citie. The conſpiratours comming to Windſore, entred the Caſtell, and vnderſtanding that the king was gone from thence to London, determined with all ſpeede to make towards the Citie: but chaunging that determination as they were on their way, they turned to Colbroke, and there ſtayed. King Henrie iſſuing out of Londō with xx. M. men came ſtreight to Hunſlo heath, and there pitched his campe, to abide the cōming of his enimies: But when they were aduertiſed of the kings puiſſaunce, amazed with feare, & forthinking their begon enterpriſe, as men miſtruſting their owne companie, departed from thence to Barkamſteed, and ſo to Circeſter, and there the Lords tooke their lodging. The Erle of Kent, and the Erle of Saliſburie in one Inne, and the Erle of Huntingdon, and lord Spencer in an other, and all the hoſt lay in the fieldes, whereupon in the night ſeaſon, the bayliſe of the towne with fourescore Archers ſet on the houſe, where the Erle of Kent, and the other lay, which houſe was mā fully aſſaulted and ſtrongly defended a great ſpace, the Earle of Huntingdon, being in an other Inne with the lord Spencer, ſet fire on diuerſe houſes in the towne, thinking that the aſſaylants woulde leaue the aſſault and reſcue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded. The hoſt lying without, hearing noyſe, and ſeeing fire in the towne, thought verily that king Henry had bin come thither with his puiſſance, and therupon fled without meaſure, euery man making ſhift to ſaue himſelfe, and ſo that which the lords deuiſed for their helpe, wrought their deſtructiō: for if the army that lay wͭout the towne had not miſtakē yͤ matter, whē they ſaw yͤ houſes on fire, they might eaſily haue ſuccoured their chieftaines in the towne that were aſſailed, but with a few of the townes mē, in compariſon of the great multitude yͭ lay abrode in the fields. But ſuch was the ordinance of the mightie Lord of Hoſtes, who diſpoſeth things at his pleaſure.

The K. cōmeth to the Tower of London.

The Lords come to Winſore.

The K. goeth forth against them.



Hall.
Froiſſart.

The Erle of Huntingdon and his cōpany ſeeing the force of the townesmen to encreaſe, fledde out on the backeſide, entending to repayre to the armie which they found diſperſed & gone. Then the erle ſeeing no hope of comfort fled into Eſſex.

The other Lordes which were left fighting in the towne of Circeſter, were wounded to death and taken, and their heads ſtricken off and ſent to London.

Tho. VVal.

Thus wryteth Hal of this conſpiracie, in following what authour I know not: But Thomas Walſingham and diuerſe other ſeeme ſomwhat to diſſent from him in relation of this matter: for they write that the conſpiratours mente vpon the ſodaine to haue ſet vpon the king in the Caſtell of Windſore, vnder colour of a Maſke or Mummerie, and ſo to haue diſpatched him, and reſtoring king Richarde vnto the kingdome, to haue recouered their former titles of honor, wͭ the poſſeſſions whiche they had loſt by iudgement of the laſt Parliamẽt. But the king getting knowledge of theyr pretenſed treaſon, got him with all ſpeede vnto London.

A maske.

1400

Harding.

The conſpiratorz, to wit, the Earles of Kent and Saliſburie, ſir Rauſe Lumley, and others, ſuppoſing that the king had not vnderſtoode their malicious purpoſe, the firſt Sunday of the newe yeare, which fell i the octaues of the Innocents, came in the twilight of the euening vnto Windſore with 400. armed men, where vnderſtanding that the King was withdrawne vpon warnyng had of their purpoſed intention, they forthwith returned back, and came fyrſt vnto Sunnynges a Manor place not farre from Reading where the Queene wife to K. Richard then lay. Here ſetting a good countenance of the matter, the Erle of Kent declared in preſence of the Queenes ſeruãts that the Lord Henrie of Lancaſter was fled from his preſence with his children and friendes, and had ſhut vp himſelfe and them in the Tower of London, as one afrayed to come abroade for all the bragges made heretofore of his manhood: and therefore (ſayth he) my intention is my Lords to go vnto Richard that was, is, & ſhal be our king, who being alreadie eſcaped forth of priſon, lyeth nowe at Pomfret, with an hundred thouſande men: and to cauſe his ſpeech the better to be beleiued, he tooke away the kings cogniſaunces from them that ware the ſame, as the Collers from their neckes, and the badges of Creſſants frõ the ſleeues of the ſeruants of houſhold, and throwing them away, ſayde that ſuch cogniſances were no longer to be borne. Thus hauing put the Quene in a vain hope of that which was nothing ſo; they departed from thence vnto Wallingford, and after to Abingdon, entiſing the people by all meanes poſſible vnto rebellion, all the waye as they went, and ſending their agentes abroade, for the ſame purpoſe, at length they came to Circiter in the darke of the night, and tooke vppe their lodgings. The inhabitants of that towne ſuſpecting the matter, and iudging as the truth was, theſe rumors which the Lords ſpred abroade were but dreames, they tooke thervpon counſell togither, got them to armor, and ſtopped al the entries and outgates of the Innes where theſe new gueſtes were lodged, inſomuch that whẽ they about midnight ſecretly attempted to haue come forth and gone their wayes, the townesmen with bow and arrowes were readie to ſtay them, & kept them in. The Lords perceyuing the daunger, gotte them to their armor & weapons, and did their beſt by force to breake through and repulſe the towneſmen. But after they had fought from midnight till three of the clocke in the afternoone of the next day, and perceyued they could not preuaile, they yeelded themſelues to the towneſmen, beſeeching thẽ to haue their liues ſaued, till they might come to the kings preſence. This requeſt they had obteyned, if a prieſt that was chaplain to one of thẽ, had not in the meane time ſet fire vpon certaine houſes in the towne, to the ende that whiles the towneſmen ſhuld buſie themſelues to quench the fire, the Lords might find means to eſcape: but it came nothing to paſſe as hee imagined, for the towneſmen leauing all care to ſaue their houſes from the rage of the fire, were kindled more in furie towards the Lords, and ſo to reuenge themſelues of them, they brought them forth of the Abbey where they hadde them in theyr handes, and in the twie light of the euening, ſtroke off their heades.

The wordes of the earle of kent.

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John Holland Erle of Huntington, (as Tho. Walſ. writeth) was not with the Lordes at the Caſtell of Windſore, but ſtayed about London to beholde the end of this buſineſſe: and hearing how the matter went, farre contrarie to that hee wiſhed, hee ſought to flie by ſea, but not able to gette away, by reaſon the winde being contrarie would not permit him, he tooke his horſe, and hauing a knight with him called ſir John Shelley, he roade into Eſſex, attempting to haue fled from thence by Sea, but ſtill the winde was ſo agaynſt him, that he was continually driuen back when hee was about to make ſaile, and ſo comming againe to lande, he was taken one euening at Pitwell in Eſſex, in a Mill (that belonged to one of his truſtie friendes) as he ſate there at ſupper, togither with the ſayde ſir John Shelley. The Commons of the Countrey that toke him, brought him firſt to Chelmeſforde, and after to Plaſhie, where on the day of S. Maure, that is yͤ xv. of Januarie, about Sunne ſetting he was beheaded in the verie place in whiche the Duke of Glouceſter was arreſted by king Richarde. Hee confeſſed wyth lamentable repentaunce (as wryters do record) that many wayes forth he had offended god & his prince, bycauſe yͤ vnderſtanding the

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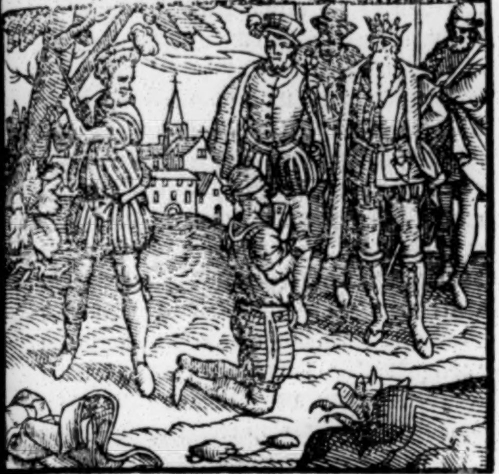
the purpoſe of the other Lordes, hee had not reuealed the ſame.

The Lorde Hugh Spencer, otherwiſe called Earle of Glouceſter, as he would haue fledde into Wales, was taken and carried to Briſtowe, where according to the earneſt deſires of yͤ commons, he was beheaded. Magdaleine fleeing into Scotland, was taken by the way, & brought to the Tower. Many other that were priuie to this conſpiracie, were taken, and put to deathe, ſome at Oxforde, as Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Benet Cilie Knight, and Thomas Wintercell Eſquier, but ſir Leonard Brokas, and ſir John Shelley Knights, John Magdalene, and William Ferby Chapleynes, were drawen, hanged, and beheaded at London. There were nineteene in all executed in one place and other, and the heads of the chiefe cõſpiratours were ſet on polles ouer London bridge, to the terrour of others.



Shortly after, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, in whoſe houſe the conſpiracie was begonne (as is ſayde) goyng betweene his monaſterie and manſion, for thought fell into a ſuddayne palſey, and ſhortly after, without ſpeech, ended thys life. The Biſhop of Careleill was impeached, and condemned of the ſame conſpiracie, but the King of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned hym of that offence, although hee dyed ſhortly after, more through feare than force of ſickneſſe, as ſome haue written. Thus all the aſſociates of this vnhappie conſpiracie taſted the paynefull penaunce of theyr pleaſant paſtime.

Thus haue ye hearde, what writers haue recorded of this matter, with ſome difference betwixt them that write, howe the King ſhoulde haue bin made away at a Juſtes, and other that teſtifie, howe it ſhoulde haue beene at a maſke or mummerie, but whether they meante to haue diſpatched him at a mumming, or at a Juſtes, their purpoſe beeyng reuealed by the Earle of Rutlande, they were broughte to confuſion (as before yee haue heard.) And immediatly after, King Henry, to ridde himſelfe of any ſuch lyke daunger to be attempted againſt him thereafter, cauſed King Richard to dye of a violent death, that no man ſhoulde afterwarde fayne hymſelfe to repreſent his perſon, though ſome haue ſayde, he was not priuie to that wicked offence. The common fame is, that he was euery day ſerued at the table with coſtly meate, like a Kyng, to the intente that no creature ſhould ſuſpecte anye thing done, contrarie to the order taken in the Parliament, and when the meate was ſet before him, he was forbidden once to touche it, yea, hee was not permitted ſo muche as to ſmell to it, and ſo he dyed of famine.

The ſundrye reports of K. Richards deth

One writer, whiche ſeemeth to haue greate knowledge of Kyng Richardes doings, ſayeth, that King Henry, ſitting one daye at his table, ſore ſighing, ſayde, haue I no faithfull friende which will deliuer me of him, whoſe life will bee my death, and whoſe death will be the preſeruation of my life. This ſaying was much noted of them whiche were preſent, and eſpecially, of one, called ſir Piers of Exton. This Knighte incontinently departed from the Courte, with eight ſtrong perſons in his company, and came to Poumfret, commaunding the Eſquier that was accuſtomed, to ſew and take the aſſay before Kyng Richarde, to doe ſo no more, ſaying, let him eate nowe, for hee ſhall not long eate. K. Richarde ſate downe to dinner, and was ſerued without courteſie or aſſay, whereupon, muche maruelling at the ſuddaine chaunge, he demanded of the Eſquier, why he did not his duetie, ſir (ſayd he) I am otherwiſe commaunded by Sir Piers of Exton, which is newly come from K. Henry: when King Richard heard that worde, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and ſtrake the Eſquier on the head, ſaying, the Deuil take Henry of Lancaſter, and thee togither, and with that worde, ſir Piers entered the chamber, well armed, with eight tall men likewiſe armed, euery of them hauing a bill in his hand. King Richard perceiuing this, put the table from him, and ſtepping to the formoſt man, wrong the bill out of his handes, and ſo valiantly defended himſelfe, that hee ſlewe foure of thoſe that thus came to aſſayle hym: Sir Piers beeing halfe diſmayed herewith, lept into the chayre, where King Richarde was wont to ſitte, while the other foure perſons fought with him, and chaſed him about the chamber: and in cõcluſion, as King Richard trauerſed his ground, from one ſide of the chamber to an other, and comming by the chayre, where ſir Piers ſtoode, hee was felled with a ſtroke of a pollax, which ſir Piers gaue hym vpon the head, and therewith ridde him out of life, without giuing him reſpite, once to call to God for mercie, of his paſſed offences.

Some write, that hee pined himſelfe to death, & wold receyue no foode after he knewe howe his frends had ſpedde, and ſo ended his lyfe on S. Valentines day.

Tho. VValſ.

Sir Piers de Extõ, the murderer of kyng Richard.

The deſperate manhoode of King Richard

King Richard murthered.

It is ſayd, that ſir Piers of Exton, after hee had thus ſlayne him, wept right bitterly, as one ſtriken with the pricke of a giltie conſcience, for murthering him, whome he had ſo long a tyme obeyed, as King.

After hee was thus dead, his body was embaulmed, and ſeared, and couered with leade, all ſaue the face, to the intente that all men myghte ſee him, and perceyue, that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueyed from Pontfret to London, in all the Townes and places where thoſe that had the conueyance of it dyd ſtay with it all nighte, they cauſed Dirige to bee ſong in the euening, and Maſſe of *requiem* in the morning, and as well after the one ſeruice as the other, his face diſcouered, was ſhewed to all that coueted to beholde it.

The dead body of K. Richard brought to the Tower.

Thus was the corps firſte broughte to the Tower, and after through the Citie, to the Cathedrall Churche of Sainte Paule bare faced, where it laye three dayes togither, that all men might beholde it. There was a ſolemne obſequie done for him, both at Poules, & after at Weſtminſter, at the which, both at dirige ouernighte, and in the morning at the Maſſe of *Requiem*, the King and the Citizens of London were preſent. When the ſame was ended, the corps was commaunded to be had vnto Langley, there to be buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers. The Byſhop of Cheſter, the Abbots of Sainte Albons, and Waltham, celebrated the exequies for the buriall, none of the nobles, nor any of the commons to accompt of being preſent: neyther was there anye to bid them to dinner after they had leyde him in the grounde, and fyniſhed the funerall ſeruice. Hee was after by King Henry the fifth remoued to Weſtminſter, and there honorably entombed with Q. Anne his wife, although the Scottes vntruely write, that he eſcaped out of priſon, and ledde a vertuous and a ſolitarie life in Scotlande, and there dyed, and is buried as they hold, in the blacke Friers at Sterling.

He is buryed at Langley.

Forayne princes not without cauſe, abhorre to heare of the ſhamefull murther of King Rich.

When the newes of King Richardes depoſing, was reported in Fraunce, King Charles and all his Court wondered, deteſted, and abhorred ſuche an iniurie done to an annoynted Kyng, to a Crowned Prince, and to the head of a Realme: but in eſpeciall, Waleran, Earle of Saint Paule, which hadde married King Richardes halfe ſiſter, moued of high diſdayne towards King Henry, ceaſſed not to ſtirre Kyng Charles and his counſaile, to make warres againſt the Engliſhmen, and he himſelfe ſent letters of defiance into Englande. The Erles ſute was eaſily agreed vnto, and an army royall appoynted with all ſpeede, to inuade Englande. This army was come downe into Picardie, readie to be tranſported into England: but when it was certainely knowen, that K. Richarde was dead, and that the enterpriſe of his deliueraunce, (whiche was chiefly meante) was fruſtrate and voyde, the army was diſſolued: but when yͤ certaintie of King Richards death was intimate to the Gaſcoignes, yͤ moſt part of the wiſeſt mē of yͤ countrey were right penſife: for they iudged verily, that heereby the engliſh nation ſhoulde be brought to diſhonor, and loſſe of their auntiente fame & glory, for committing ſo heinous an offence againſt their K. and Soueraigne Lord, yͤ memorie wherof, they thought would neuer die: and chiefly, the Citizens of Burdeaux toke the matter very ſore at the ſtomacke: for they bare exceding fauour to K. Richard, bycauſe he was borne and brought vp in their Citie, & therefore more than al the reſidue, they ſhewed themſelues to abhorre ſo hainous a deede. The Frenchmen hauing vnderſtanding hereof, thought with thēſelues, that nowe was yͤ time for thē to practiſe with the Gaſcoignes, to reduce them from the engliſh obeyſance, vnder their ſubiection. Hereupon, came Lewes Duke of Burbon vnto Agen, & wrote to diuers Cities and townes, on yͤ confines of Guienne, exhorting them with large promiſes, & faire ſugred wordes, to reuolt from yͤ Engliſhmen, & to become ſubiects to the crowne of Fraunce, but his trauaille preuayled not: for the people vnderſtanding that the engliſhe yoke was but eaſie in compariſon to the French bondage, determined to abide rather in their old ſubiection, than for a diſpleaſure irrecouerable, to aduenture themſelues on a new doubtfull perill, yet it was doubted, leaſt the Cities of Burdeaux. Dax, and Bayonne, would haue reuolted, if the Lordes of the marches about thoſe places, had leaned to them in that purpoſe, for they ſent their commiſſioners vnto Agen, to treate with the Duke of Burbon: but for ſo muche as the Lordes, Pomiers, Mucident, Duras, Landuras, Copane, Roſem, and Langurante, were mynded to continue ſtill Engliſhe, thoſe Cities durſt not well without them turne to the Frenche obeyſance, for they could not haue ſtirred out of theyr gates, but thoſe Lordes woulde haue beene readye at theyr elbowes, to haue caught them by the ſleeues.

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Froiſ

Kyng Henrye beyng aduertiſed of the Frēchmennes couerte meanyngs, and alſo of the wauering myndes of the Gaſcoignes, ſente Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter with two hundred menne of armes, and foure hundred archers into Guyenne, to ayde and aſſiſt Sir Roberte Knolles, hys Lieutenaunte there. The chiefeſt Captaynes that accompanyed the Earle in this iourney, were theſe, fyrſte, hys Nephewe Sir Hugh Haſtings, Sir

Polid
Froiſſ

Thomas Colleuille, Sir William Liſle, John de Grailly, baſe ſonne to the Captall de Botuſ, Sir William Drayton, Sir John Daubrecicourt: alſo there went with him the Byſhoppe of London, and maſter Richarde Doalle, or Dolley. The Earle at his arriuall, ſo wiſely entreated the noble men, ſo grauely perſwaded the magiſtrates of the Cities and Townes, and ſo gently and familiarly vſed and treated yͤ commons, that he not onely appeaſed their furie and malice, but broughte them to louing and vniforme obeyſance, receyuing of them othes of obedience, and loyall fealtie, whiche done, hee returned agayne into Englãd with great thãkes.

Earle of
ceſt. ſent
Gaſcoyn.

The Frenche King perceyuing he coulde not bring his purpoſe aboute, neyther by inuading England, nor by practiſing with yͤ Gaſcoignes, ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſade into England, requiring to haue his daughter yͤ Lady Iſabel, ſometime eſpouſed to King Richard, reſtored to him agayne. King Henry gently receyued thoſe that were ſente to him aboute this meſſage, and for aunſwere, promiſed to ſende his commiſſioners vnto Calais, whiche ſhoulde further commune and conclude with them.

ſſadours
e French

It was not ynough that King Henry was thus troubled now in the firſt yere of his raigne, with ciuill ſedition, and the couert practiſes of the Frenchmen, but that the Scottes alſo tooke vpon them to make open warre againſt him: it chaunced, as in the Scottiſh Chronicles more at large appeareth that George of Dunbarre, Earle of the marches of Scotland, being in diſpleaſure with Robert King of Scottes, fledde into Englande, to Henry Earle of Northumberland, wherevppon, the Scottiſhe King depriued him of all his dignities and poſſeſſions, and cauſed his goodes to bee confiſcate, and after wrote to the King of England, requiring hym if he would haue the truce any longer to continue, either to deliuer into his poſſeſſion the Erle of Marche, and other Traitors to his perſon, or elſe to baniſhe them out of his Realme and dominions: King Henry diſcreetly aunſwered the Herrault of Scotland, that yͤ wordes of a Prince oughte to bee kepte, and his writing and Seale ought to bee inuiolate, and conſidering that hee had graunted a ſafeconduit to the Earle and his company, he would neyther without cauſe reaſonable breake his promiſe, nor yet deface hys honor, which aunſwere declared to the King of Scottes, hee incontinentlye proclaymed open warre againſt the King of Englande, with fyre and ſword. Heerevpon, one ſir Robert Logon, a Scottiſhe Knight, with certayne Shippes well appoynted for the warre, meant to haue deſtroyed the Engliſhe fleete, that was come on the coaſtes of Scotlãd, about Abirdene, to fiſh there: but as it chaunced, he mette with certaine ſhips of Lynne, that fought with him, and tooke hym priſoner, with the reſidue of hys companye, ſo that hee quite fayled of his purpoſe, and came to the loſſe himſelfe.

e Earle
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o En-

The aunſwere of K. Henry to the Scottiſhe ambaſſadours.

Open war proclaymed by the kyng of Scots agaynſte Englande.
Tho. VValſ.

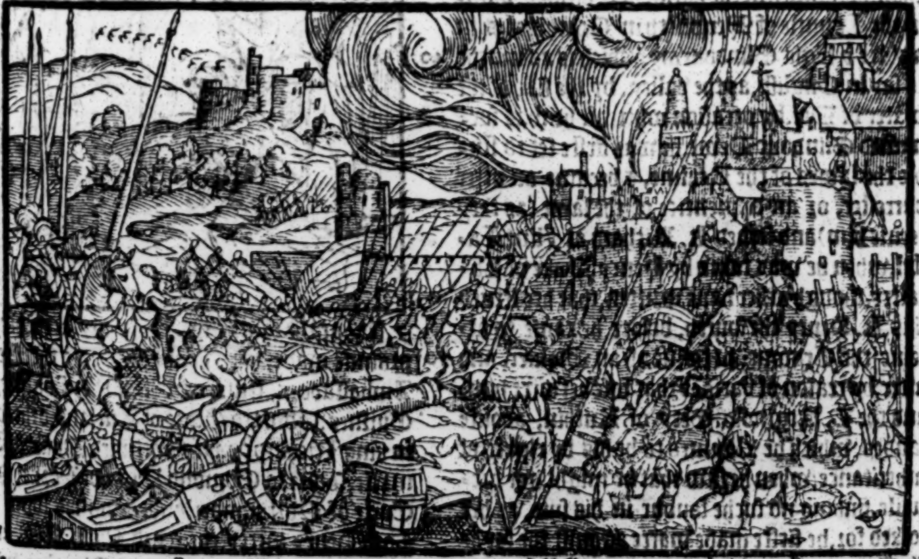
Robert Logon take priſoner.

The ſame time, the Engliſhmen ſpoyled alſo certaine of the Iles of Orkeney.

The Iles of Okeney ſpoyled by Engliſh men.

This ſommer, great deathe chaunced in thys lande, manye dying of the peſtilence, wherewith ſundry places were infected.

Mortalitie of people.



Kyng Henry perceyuing that policie oftentimes preuenteth perill, and vnderſtanding the naughtie purpoſes of the Scottes, gathered a great army, and entred into Scotland, burning Townes, Villages, and Caſtels, with a greate parte of the Townes of Edenburgh and Lith, & beſieged the Caſtell of Edenburgh, in the ende of September, whereof was Captaine, Dauid Duke of Rothſay, and Prince of the Realme, with Archebalde Earle of Dowglas, hauyng

K. Henry inuadeth Scotlande.

The duke of Rothſay.

with them many hardy men of warre: Roberte Duke of Albany, that was appoynted gouernoure of the Realme, bycauſe the King was ſicke, and not meete to rule, ſent an Herrault vnto K. Henry, promiſing him battayle, within 6. dayes at the furtheſt, if he would ſo long tarrie, which K. Henry promiſed to doe right gladly, & gaue to the Herrault for bringing him ſo acceptable newes, a gowne of ſilke, & a cheine of gold. But K. Henry ſtayed 6. dayes, and 16. to, without hearing any word of the gouernours comming. Thē the winter beginning to waxe cold, and foule weather ſtil encreaſing, cauſed the K. to breake vp his ſiege, and ſo returned withoute battaile, or ſkirmiſh offered.

The duke of Albanie.

An. reg. 2.

In the meane time that the K. was thus in Scotland, the Scottes made a roade into Northumberlande, and brenned diuers Townes in Bambourrough ſhire. At the Kings comming backe to Yorke, there were two ſtraungers, the one a Frenchman, & the other an Italian, requiring to accompliſh certayne feates of armes, againſt ſir John Cornewall, & Janico de Artois, their requeſt was graunted, & the ſtrangers were put to the worſt, whereby ſir John Cornewall obteined the kings fauor ſo farforth, that he maried the kings ſiſter, the widowe of John Holland, Earle of Huntington. Some ſaid yet, that the Knighte and the Counteſſe were agreed aforehand, without the kings conſent.

King Henrie returneth home. The Scottes brenne in Northumberlande. Iuſts at York.

Sir Io. Cornewall marieth the kinges ſiſter.

In the kings abſence, whileſt he was forth of the realme in Scotland againſt his enimies, the Welchmen toke occaſion to rebell, vnder ẏ conduct of their Captaine, Owen Glendouer, doing what miſchiefe they could deuiſe, vnto their engliſh neighbours. This Owen Glendouer was ſon to an eſquier of Wales, named Griffith Vichan: he dwelled in the pariſh of Conway, within the Countie of Merioneth in Northwales, in a place ẏ hight Glindourwy, which is as muche to ſay in Engliſh, as the valley, by the ſide of the water of Dee, by occaſion whereof, he was ſurnamed Glindour Dewe, he was firſte ſet to ſtudie the lawes of the Realme, & became an vtter barreſter, or an apprentice of the lawe (as they terme him) and ſerued K. Richard at Flint Caſtel, when he was taken by Henry Duke of Lācaſter, though other haue written, that hee ſerued this K. Henry the fourth, before he came to atteine the Crowne, in roome of an Eſquier, and after, by reaſon of variāce that roſe betwixt him, and the L. Reginold Grey of Ruthin, aboute landes which he claymed to be his by righte of inheritance: when he ſaw that he might not preuaile, finding no ſuche fauour in his ſute, as hee looked for, he firſte made warre againſt the ſayde L. Grey, waſting his landes and poſſeſſiōs with fire and ſword, cruelly killing his ſeruauntes and tenauntes. The K. aduertiſed of ſuche rebellious exploites, enterpriſed by the ſaid Owen, and his vnruly complices, determined to chaſtice them, as diſturbers of his peace, and ſo with an armye entred into Wales, but the Welchmenne with their Captaine, withdrew into the mountaines of Snowdone, ſo to eſcape the reuenge, whyche the K. meant towardes them. The K. therefore did muche hurte in the Countreys with fire and ſword, ſleaing diuers, that with weapon in hand came forthe to reſiſt him, and ſo with a greate bootie of beaſts and cattaile he returned.

The Welchemen rebell by the ſetting on of Owen Glendouer.

Stowe. Owen Glendouer what he was.

Tho. VValſ.

The occaſion that moued him to rebell.

The K. into W meaning chaſtiſe rebelles

The Emperor of Conſtantinople comming into England to ſue for aide againſt ẏ Turkes, was met by the K. on blacke heath, vpon ẏ feaſt day of S. Thomas the Apoſtle, & broughte vnto London with great honor. The K. bare all hys charges, preſenting him with giftes at his departure, meete for ſuch an eſtate.

The F of Co nople into E

After ẏ feaſt of the Epiphanie, a Parliamente was holdē, in which an Acte was made, agaynſt thoſe ẏ held opinions in religion, contrary to the receiued doctrine of the Church of Rome, or denying, ẏ whereſoeuer any of thē were found and proued to ſet forth ſuch doctrine, they ſhoulde bee apprehēded, & deliuered to ẏ B. their dyoceſane, & if they ſtood ſtiffely in their opiniōs, and would not be reformed, they ſhould be deliuered to ẏ ſecular power, to be brent to aſhes. The firſt ẏ taſted the ſmart of this Statute, was one Willi. Hawtree, or Sawtree a prieſt, ẏ being apprehēded, was brēt in Smithfield, in time of this Parliament.

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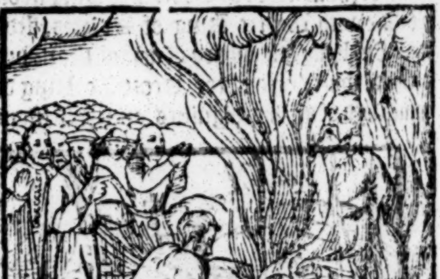

About the ſame time, K. Henry according to promiſe made, as ye haue heard, vnto the French Ambaſſadors, ſent ouer into the Country of Guiſnes, Edward Earle of Rutland, otherwiſe in king Richards dayes entituled Duke of Aumarle, ſonne to Edmond Duke of Yorke, Hēry Earle of Northumberlande, and his ſonne the Lord Henry Percy, the Lord Yuan Fitzwarren, the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Lincolne, where the Duke of Burbon, the Lordes, Charles d'Albert,

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bert, Charles de Hangeſt, John de Chaſtelmorant, the Patriarke of Jeruſalem, and the Byſhops of Paris, and Beauuois, were ready there to commune with them, and ſo they aſſemblyng togither at ſundry tymes and places, the French men required to haue Queene Iſabell to them reſtored, but the Engliſhmen ſeemed loth to departe with hir, requiring to haue hir married to Henry Prince of Wales, one in bloud and age in all things to hir equall, but the Frenchmenne woulde in no wiſe condiſcende thereto, withoute their Kings conſente, who at that preſente was not in caſe to vtter his mind, being troubled with his wonted diſeaſe. The commiſſioners then began to treate of peace, and at length, renewed the truce to endure for ſixe and twentie yeares yet to come, whereunto, the foure yeares paſſed beeyng added, made vp the number of thirtie yeares, according to the concluſion agreed vpon, in the life time of King Richard.

Some Authors affirme, that ther was a new league concluded, to continue, during the lyues of both the Princes. The Frenchmenne dyuers times required to haue ſome dower aſſigned forth for Queene Iſabell, but that was at all times vtterly denyed, for that the marriage betwixte hir and King Richard was neuer conſummate, by reaſon whereof, ſhe was not dowable. Neuertheleſſe, ſhee was ſhortly after ſente home, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Worceſter, aſſociate with dyuers other noble and honorable perſonages, both men and women, hauing with hir all the iewels, ornamēts, and plate which ſhe brought into England, with a great ſurpluſage beſides, giuen to hir by the King. She was delyuered betwixte Bulloigne and Calais, vnto Waleran Earle of S. Pol, the French Kings Lieutenant in Picardie, who being accompanyed with the Byſhop of Chartres, the Lord de Hugueuile, the Lady of Monpenſier, ſiſter to the Earle of Marche, the Lady of Lucenburgh, ſiſter to the ſaide Earle of S. Pol and diuers other Ladyes and Gentlewomenne, whiche receyued hir with greate ioy and gladneſſe, and taking leaue of the Engliſhe Lordes and Ladies, they conueyed hir vnto the Dukes of Burgoigne and Burbonne, that attended for hir, not far off, vpon a hill, with a great number of people. They firſt conueyed hir to Bulleigne, and after to Abuile, frō whence the Duke of Orleaunce conueyed hir to Paris, vnto the preſence of the K. hir father, and the Q. hir mother. She was after giuen in marriage vnto Charles, ſon to Lewis Duke of Orleaunce.

She is conueied to Paris.

Hir ſeconde marriage.

An. reg. 3.

Owen Glendower.

The daunger of the king to haue bene deſtroyed.

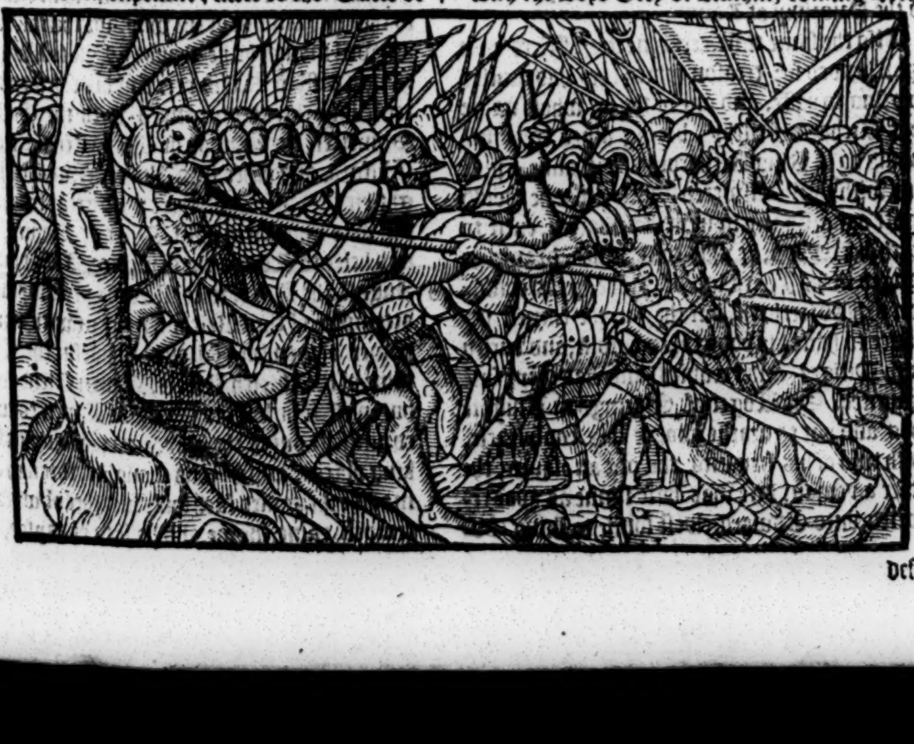
About the ſame time, Owen Glendouer and his Welchmen did much hurt to the Kings ſubiects. One night as the King was going to bed, he was in danger to haue bin deſtroyed, for ſome naughtie traiterous perſons hadde conueyed into his bed a certaine iron, made with ſmithes crafte, like a Caltroppe, with three long prickes, ſharpe, and ſmall, ſtanding vpright, in ſort, that when he had laid him downe, and that the weight of hys body ſhould come vpon the bed, he ſhuld haue bin thruſt in with thoſe prickes, and peraduenture ſlayne: but as God would, the K. not thinking of any ſuch thing, chanced yet to feele and perceyue the inſtrument, before he layde him downe, and ſo eſcaped the daunger.

1402

The Erle of Warwike departeth this life.

A blaſing Starre.

This yere, the eight day of Aprill, deceaſſed yͤ Lord Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of Warwike. In the moneth of Marche, appeared a blaſing ſtarre, firſt betwene the Eaſt part of the firmament, and the North, flaſhing forth fier and flames round about it, and laſtly, ſhooting forth fierie beames towardes the North, foreſhewing as was thought, the great effuſion of bloud that followed, about the parties of Wales and Northumberland: for muchwhat about yͤ ſame time, Owen Glendouer with his Welchmen, fought with the Lord Grey of Ruthin, cōming forth to



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The L. Grey of Ruthin taken in fight by Owen Glendower.

defende his poſſeſſions, whiche the ſame Owen waſted and deſtroyed: and as the fortune of that dayes worke fell out, the Lorde Grey was taken priſoner, and many of his mẽ were ſlayne. This happe lifted the Welchmen into high pride, and encreaſed maruellouſly their wicked & preſumptuous attemptes.

A brute was ſpred abr de that K. Rich. was liuing.

A prieſt taken.

He is executed

The Priour of Launde apprehended.

About Whitſontide, a conſpiracie was deuiſed by certayne perſons, that wiſhed the Kings deathe, mainteyning and bruting abroade, that King Richarde was aliue, and therefore exhorted men to ſtand with him, for ſhortly he would come to light, and reward ſuch as tooke hys part with iuſt recopence: herewith, there was a prieſt takẽ at Ware, or as ſome bookes haue, at Warwike, who had a Kalender or rolle, in whyche a great number of names were written, moe than were in any wiſe giltie to the fact, as afterwards appeared by the ſame prieſts confeſſion, for being examined, whether he knew ſuch perſons as hee had ſo enrolled, & were there preſent before him, he ſayd, he neuer knewe them at all, and beeyng demaunded wherefore hee had then ſo recorded their names, he aunſwered, bycauſe hee thoughte they would gladly doe what miſchief they could againſt King Henry, vpon any occaſion offered, in reuenge of the iniuries done to King Richarde, by whome they had bin aduaunced, and princely preferred. When therefore there appeared no more credite in the man, he was condemned, drawen, hanged, and quartered, and dyuers that had bin apprehẽded about that matter, were releaſſed, and ſet at libertie. Shortly after, yͤ Prior of Launde (who for his euill gouernemement had bin depriued of his ſtate and dignitie) was likewiſe executed, not for attempting any thing of himſelfe, but only for that he confeſſed, that he knew euill counſaile, and concealed it. His name was Walter Baldocke, a Chanon ſometyme in Dunſtable, and by King Richarde promoted to the Priorſhip of Launde.

Grey Friers apprehended.

A gray Fryer hanged in his habite.

Sir Roger Clarᵢngdon.

Alſo the ſame time, certayne grey Friers were apprehended for treaſon which they had deuiſed to bring to paſſe, and one of them, whoſe name was Richarde Friſeby, beeing aſked what hee would do if King Richarde had bin aliue, & preſent with them, anſwered ſtoutly, that he would fighte againſte any man in his quarrell, euen to death, heerevpon, he was condemned, drawen, & hanged in his Friers weede, to the great confuſion of his breethren, but they made earneſt inſtance to haue his body taken downe, and buried with Diriges, and exequies, and had theyr ſute graunted. Sir Roger of Claringdon Knighte was alſo put to deathe aboute this conſpiracie, with two of his ſeruants, the one an eſquier, the other a yeman. Hee was baſe ſonne as was reported, vnto Edward, eldeſt ſonne to King Edward the thirde, ſurnamed the blacke prince. On Corpus Chriſti daye, at euenſong time, the Deuil as was thought appeared in a towne of Eſſex called Danburie, entring into the Church in likeneſſe of a grey Frier, behauing himſelfe very outragiouſly, playing his partes like a Deuil indeede, ſo that yͤ pariſhioners were put in a maruellous great fright. At the ſame inſtante, there chanced ſuche a tempeſt of wind, thunder, and lightning, that the higheſt part of yͤ roofe of that Church was blowen downe, and the Chancell was all to ſhaken, rent, & torne in peeces. Within a ſmall while after, eighte of thoſe grey Friers that had practiſed treaſon againſt the king, were brought to open iudgement, and conuicted were drawen, and headed at London, and two other ſuffered at Leiceſter, all whiche perſons had publiſhed K. Richarde to be aliue. Owen Glendouer, according to his accuſtomed manner, robbing and ſpoyling within the Engliſh borders, cauſed all the forces of the ſhire of Hereforde, to aſſemble togither againſte them, vnder the conduct of Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, but comming to trie the matter by battayle, whether by treaſon or otherwiſe, ſo it fortuned, that the Engliſhe power was diſcomfited, the Earle taken priſoner, and aboue a thouſande of his people ſlayne in the place. The ſhameful villanie vſed by the Welchwomen towardes the dead carcaſes, was ſuche, as honeſt eares woulde be aſhamed to heare, and therefore we omitte to ſpeake thereof. The dead bodies might not be buried, without great ſummes of money giuen for libertie to conuey them away. The K. was not haſtie to purchaſe the deliuerance of the Earle of Marche, bycauſe his title to the Crowne was well inough knowen, and therefore ſuffered him to remaine in miſerable priſon, wiſhing both the ſaide Earle, and all other of his lignage out of this life, with God and his Sainctes in Heauen, ſo they had bin out of the way, for then all hadde bin well inough as he thought. But to lette theſe things paſſe, yͤ K. this yere ſent his eldeſt daughter Blaunche, accompanyed with the Earle of Somerſet, the Byſhop of Worceſter, the Lorde Clifford, and other, into Almaigne, which brought hir to Colein, and there with great triumph, ſhe was married to Wil. Duke of Bauier, ſon and heire to Lewes the Emperor. About midde Auguſt, the King, to chaſtice the preſumptuous attemptes of the Welchmen, went with a great power of men into Wales, to purſue the Captaine of the Welch Rebels, Owen Glendower, but in effect he loſt his labor, for Owen conueyed himſelfe out of the way, into his knowen lurking places, and as was thoughte, through arte magike, he cauſed ſuch foule weather of windes, tempeſt, raine, ſnowe, and haile to be rayſed, for the

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the annoyance of the Kings army, that the lyke had not bin heard of, in ſuch ſort, that the Kyng was conſtreyned to returne home, hauing cauſed his people yet to ſpoyle, and brenne firſte a great part of the Countrey. The ſame time, the Lord Edmonde of Langley Duke of Yorke departed this life, and was buried at Langley with his brethren. The Scottes vnder the leading of Patricke Hepborne, of the Hales the yonger, entring into England, were ouerthrowen at Neſbit, in the marches, as in the Scottiſh Chronicle ye may finde more at large.

This battell was fought the two and twentith of Iune, in this yeare of our Lord. 1402.

Archebald Earle Dowglas ſore diſpleaſed in his mind for this ouerthrowe, procured a commiſſion to inuade Englãd, and that to his coſt, as ye may likewiſe reade in the Scottiſhe hiſtories, for at a place called Houuldon, they were ſo fiercely aſſayled by the Engliſhmen, vnder the leading of the Lorde Percye, ſurnamed Henrie Hoteſpurre, and George Earle of Marche, that with violence of the Engliſhe ſhotte, they were quite vanquiſhed, and put to flight, on the Roode day in harueſt, with a greate ſlaughter made by the Engliſhmen. We know that the Scottiſhe writers note this battell to haue chaunced in the yeare. 1403. but wee following Thomas Walſingham in this place, and other Engliſhe writers, for the accompt of times, haue thought good to place it in this yeare. 1402. as in the ſame writers we find it. There were ſlaine of men of eſtimation, ſir Iohn Swinton, ſir Adam Gordon, Sir Iohn Leuiſton, Sir Alexander Ramſey of Dalehouſy, and three and twentie Knights, beſides ten M. of the commons: and of priſoners amongſt other were theſe, Mordack Erle of Fife, ſon to the gouernour Archembalde Erle Dowglas, which in the fight loſt one of his eyes. Thomas Earle of Murrey, Robert Erle of Angus, and as ſome writers haue, the Earles of Atholl, and Menteith, with fiue hundred other of meaner degrees. After this, the Lord Percy, hauing beſtowed the priſoners in ſure keeping, entered Tiuidale, waſting and deſtroying the whole Countrey, and then beſieged the Caſtell of Cocklawes, wherof was Captaine one Sir Iohn Grenlow, who compounded with the Engliſhmen, that if the Caſtel were not ſuccoured within three monethes, then he woulde deliuer it into their handes. The firſt two monethes paſſed, and no likelihood of reſcue appeared, but ere the third moneth was expired, the Engliſhmen being ſent for to goe with the K. into Wales, reyſed their ſiege, and departed, leauing the noble men priſoners, with the Earle of Northumberlande, and with his ſon the L. Percye, to keepe them to the kings vſe. In this meane while, ſuch as miſliked with the doctrine and Ceremonies then vſed in the Church, ceaſſed not to vtter their conſciences, though in ſecret, to thoſe in whome they had affiance, but as in the like caſes it commonly happeneth, they were bewrayed by ſome that were thought chiefly to fauour their cauſe, as by Sir Lewes Clifford knight, who hauing leaned to yͤ doctrine a long time, did nowe as Tho. Walſ. writeth, diſcloſe al that he knew vnto yͤ Archb. of Caunterburie, to ſhewe himſelfe as it were to haue erred, rather of ſimpleneſſe and ignorance, than of frowardneſſe or ſtubborne malice. The names of ſuche as taughte the articles and concluſions maynteyned by thoſe whiche then they called Lollards or Heretikes, the ſaid ſir Lewes Cliffforde gaue in writing vnto the ſaid Archb.

The profeſſors of Wickcliffes doctrine

Sir Lewes Clifford bewrayeth his fellowes.

Edmond Mortimer Earle of Marche, priſoner with Owen Glendouer, whether for irkeſomneſſe of cruell captiuitie, or feare of death, or for what other cauſe, it is vncertaine, agreed to take parte with Owen, againſte the King of Englande, and tooke to wife the daughter of the ſaid Owen. Straunge wonders happened as men reported at the natiuitie of this man, for the ſame night hee was borne, all his fathers horſes in the ſtable were founde to ſtand in bloud vp to the belyes.

The Earle of March marrieth the daughter of Owen Glendouer.

An. reg. 4.

A Parliament.

The morow after the feaſt of Saint Michaell, a Parliament began at Weſtminſter, which continued the ſpace of ſeauen wekes, in the ſame was a tenth and a halfe graunted by the Cleargie, and a fifteenth by the communaltie.

Moreouer, the commons in this Parliament beſought the King to haue the perſon of George Earle of Marche a Scottiſhman, recommended to his maieſtie, for that the ſame Earle ſhewed himſelfe faithfull to the King and his Realme.

George Earle of March recommended to the King by Parliament.

There was alſo a ſtatute made, that the Friers beggers ſhould not receiue any into their order, vnder the age of fourteene yeares.

1403

Ambaſſadors.

In this fourth yere of King Henries raigne, Ambaſſadors were ſent ouer into Britaine, to bring from thence the Duches of Britaine, the Lady Iane de Nauarre, the widdowe of Iohn de Montford, late Duke of Britaine, ſurnamed the Conqueror, with whome by procurators the king had contracted matrimonie.

In the beginning of Februarie, thoſe that were ſente, returned with hir in ſafetie, but not without taſting the bitter ſtormes of the winde and weather, that toſſed them ſore too and fro, before they could get to lande. The Kyng mette hir at Wincheſter, where the ſeuenth of Februarye, the marriage was ſolemnized betwixte them.

Whileſt theſe thyngs were thus adoing in Englande, Waleran Earle of Sainte Paule, bearing ſtill a deadlye and malitious hatred toward King Henry, hauing aſſembled ſixteene, or ſeuentene hundred men of warre, embarqued them at Harflew, and taking the Sea, landed in the Iſle of Wight, in the whiche he burned two villages, and foure ſimple cottages, and for a triumph of ſo noble an acte, made foure knightes, but when hee hearde that the people of the Iſle wer aſſembled, and approched to fight with him, he haſted to his ſhips, and returned home, wherewith the noble menne of his company were diſpleaſed, cōſidering his prouiſion to be great, and his gaine ſo ſmall.

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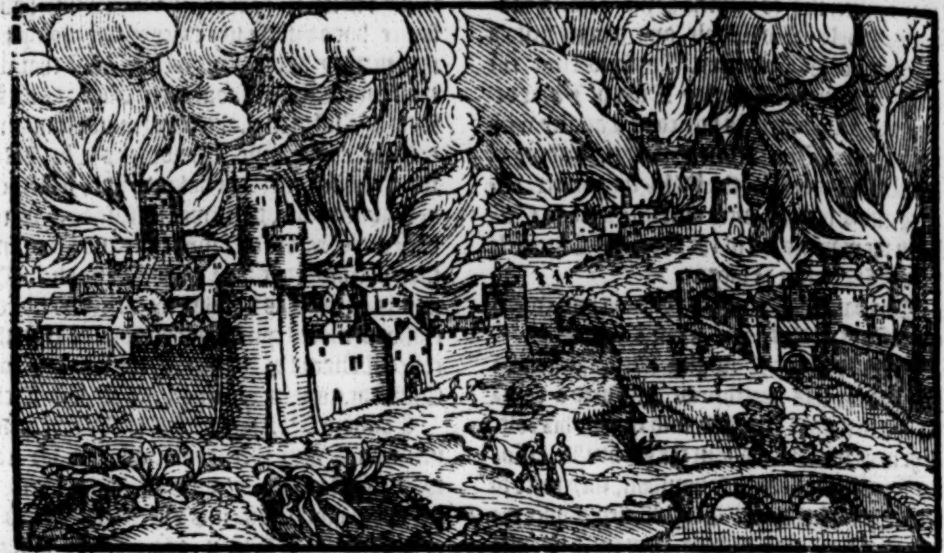

The Earle of Cleremont in Gaſcoigne.

In the ſame very ſeaſon, John Earle of Cleremont, ſonne to the Duke of Bourbon, wanne in Gaſcoigne out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſion, the Caſtels of Saint Peter, Sainte Marie, and the newe Caſtell, and the Lord de la Bret wanne the Caſtell of Carlaſin, whyche was no ſmall loſſe to the Engliſh nation.

Henry Earle of Northumberland, with hys brother Thomas Earle of Worceſter, and hys ſonne the Lorde Henry Percy, ſurnamed Hoteſpurre, which were to King Henry in the beginning of his raigne, both faithfull friendes, and earneſt aydors, began now to enuie his wealthe and felicitie, and ſpecially, they were greeued, bycauſe the King demaunded of the Earle and hys ſonne, ſuch Scottiſhe priſoners as were taken at Homeldon, and Neſbit, for of all the Captiues whiche were taken in the conflictes foughten in thoſe two places, there was deliuered to ẏ kings poſſeſſion only Mordake Erle of Fife, the Duke of Albanies ſonne, though the King did dyuers and ſundry times require deliuerance of the reſidue, and that with greate threatnings: wherewith the Percies beeing ſore offended, for that they claymed them as their owne proper priſoners, and their peculiar prayes, by the counſell of the Lord Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter, whoſe ſtudy was euer (as ſome write) to procure malice, and ſet things in a broyle, came to the King unto Windeſor (uppon a purpoſe to proue him) and there required of him, that either by raunſome or otherwiſe, he would cauſe to be deliuered out of priſon, Edmōd Mortimer Erle of Marche, their Couſin Germayne, whome as they reported, Owen Glendor kepte in fylthie priſon, ſhakeled with irons, only for that he toke his part, and was to him faithfull and true. The King began not a little to muſe on this requeſt, and not withoute a cauſe, for in deede, it touched him ſomewhat neere, for this Edmond was ſon to Roger Earle of Marche, ſonne to the Lady Phillip, daughter of Lyonell Duke of Clarence, the third ſonne of King Edward the thirde, whiche Edmond at king Richards going into Irelande, was proclaymed heire apparant to the Crowne and Realme, whoſe Aunt called Eleanor, the Lord Henrie Percie had married, and therefore King Henry could not well heare that any man ſhoulde be earneſt, about the aduancement of that lignage. The King when hee had ſtudied on the matter, made aunſwere, that the Earle of Marche was not taken priſoner for his cauſe, nor in his ſeruice, but willingly ſuffered himſelfe to be taken, bicauſe he would not withſtand the attemptes of Owen Glendor, and hys complices, and therfore he would neither raunſome him, nor relieue him.

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The Percies with this aunſwere and fraudulent excuſe, were not alittle fumed, in ſo much that Henrie Hoteſpurre ſaid openly: Behold, the heire of the Realme is robbed of his righte, and yet the robber with his owne, will not redeeme him. So in this furie the Percies departed, nothing more minding, than to depoſe King Henry, from the high tipe of his regality, and to place in his ſeate, their couſin Edmōd, Erle of March,

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whome they did not onely deliuer out of Captiuitie, but alſo to the high diſpleaſure of Kyng Henry, entred in league with the forſayde Owen Glendouer. Herewith, they by their deputies in the houſe of the Archedeacon of Bangor, deuided the Realme amongſt them, cauſing a tripartite Indenture to be made and ſealed with their ſeales, by the couenauntes wherof, al England from Seuerne and Trent, South, & Eaſtward, was aſſigned to the Earle of Marche. All Wales, and the landes beyond Seuerne Weſtward, were appoynted to Owen Glendor: and all the remnaunt from Trent Northewarde, to the Lorde Percy.

This was done (as ſome haue ſayd) through a fooliſhe credite giuen to a vayne prophecie, as though King Henry was the Moldewarp, curſed of Gods owne mouth, and they three were the Dragon, the Lion, and the Wolfe, whyche would deuide this Realme betwene them. Such is the deuiation (ſayth Hall) and not diuination, of thoſe blinde and fantaſticall dreames of the Welch propheſiers.

King Henry not knowing of this newe confederacie, and nothing leſſe minding, than that which after happened, gathered a great army to goe againe into Wales, whereof the Earle of Northumberlande, and his ſonne were aduertiſed by the Earle of Worceſter, and with all diligence reyſed all the power they coulde make, and ſent to the Scottes, whiche before were taken priſoners at Homeldon, for ayde of menne, promiſing to the Earle Dowglas the Towne of Berwike, and a parte of Northumberlande, and to other Scottiſh Lordes, greate Lordſhips and ſeigniories, if they obteined the vpper hand. The Scottes in hope of gaine, and deſirous to be reuenged of their olde greefes, came to yͤ Erle with a great company.

The Percies to make theyr part ſeeme good, deuiſed certayne articles, by the aduice of Richard Scrope, Archebyſhoppe of Yorke, brother to the Lorde Scrope, whome King Henry had cauſed to be beheaded at Briſtowe.

Theſe articles being ſhewed to dyuers noble men, and other ſtates of the Realme, moued thē to fauoure theyr purpoſe, in ſo muche that manie of them did not onely promiſe to the Percies ayde and ſuccoure by wordes, but alſo by theyr writings and ſeales confirmed the ſame. Howbeit when the matter came to tryall, the moſte parte of the confederates abandoned them, and at the day of the conflict left them alone.

Thus after that the conſpirators had diſcouered themſelues, the Lorde Henry Percy deſirous to proceede in the enterprice, vpon truſte to be aſſiſted by Owen Glendor, the Earle of Marche and other, aſſembled an armye of men of armies and archers forthe of Cheſhire and Wales, and incontinently hys Uncle Thomas Percie Earle of Worceſter, that hadde the gouernement of the Prince of Wales, who as then laye at London in ſecrete manner, conueyed hymſelfe out of the Princes houſe, and commyng to Stafforde (where hee mette hys nephewe) they encreaſed theyr power by all wayes and meanes they coulde deuiſe. The Earle of Northumberlande hymſelfe was not with them, but being ſicke, hadde promiſed vpon hys amendmente to repayre vnto them (as ſome write) with all conueniente ſpeede.

The earle of Worceſter gouernour to the prince ſlippeth from him. *Hall.*

Theſe noble men to make theyr conſpiracie to ſeeme excuſable, beſides the Articles aboue mentioned, ſente letters abroade, wherein was conteyned, that theyr gathering of an armye tended to none other ende, but onely for the ſafegarde of theyr owne perſons, and to putte ſome better gouernemente in the common wealthe. For whereas taxes and tallages were daylye leuyed, vnder pretence to bee employed in defence of the Realme, the ſame were vaynely waſted, and vnprofitably conſumed: and where through the ſlaunderous reportes of their enimies, the King hadde taken a greeuous diſpleaſure with them, they durſt not appeare perſonally in the Kings preſence, vntil the Prelates and Barons of the Realme hadde obteined of the King licence for them to come and purge themſelues before him, by lawfull tryall of theyr peeres, whoſe iudgemēt (as they pretended) they would in no wiſe refuſe. Many that ſaw & heard theſe letters, did commend theyr diligence, and highly praiſed theyr aſſured fidelitie and truſtineſſe towardes the common wealthe. But the King vnderſtanding theyr cloked drift, deuiſed (by what meanes he might) to quiet and appeaſe the commons, and deface theyr contriued forgeries, and therefore he wrote an aunſwere to their Libelles, that he maruelled muche ſith the Earle of Northumberland, and the Lord Henry Percie his ſonne, had receyued the moſt parte of the ſummes of money graunted to him by yͤ Cleargie and cōmunaltie, for defence of the marches, as he could euidently proue, what ſhould moue them to compleyne and reiſe ſuch manifeſt ſlanders. And where as he vnderſtood, that the Erles of Northumberlande and Worceſter, and the Lorde Percy hadde by their letters ſignified to their friends abroade, that by reaſon of the ſlanderous reportes of their enimies, they durſt not appeare in his preſence, without the mediation of the Prelates and nobles of the Realme, ſo as they required pledges, whereby they might ſafely come afore him, to declare and allege what they had to ſay in proofe of their innocencie, hee proteſted by letters ſente forthe vnder his ſeale,

The pretence of the Percies, as they publiſhed it abroade

The kings anſwere to the Percies libell.

that they mighte ſafely come and goe, without all daunger, or any manner of indempnitie to be offered to their perſons: but this coulde not ſatiſfie thoſe men, but that reſolued to goe forwardes wyth their enterpriſe, they marched towardes Shrewſburie, vppon hope to be ayded (as men thought,) by Owen Glendour, and his Welchmen, publiſhing abroade through out the Countreys on eache ſide, that King Richarde was aliue, whome if they wiſhed to ſee, they willed thē to repaire in armour vnto the Caſtel of Cheſter, where without all doubt, he was at that preſent, and ready to come forwarde. This tale beeyng reyſed, though it were moſt vntrue, yet it bredde variable motions in mens minds, cauſing them to wauer, ſo as they knewe not to whiche parte they ſhoulde ſticke, and verily, diuers were well affected towardes King Richard, ſpecially ſuche as had taſted of his princely bountifulneſſe (of which ther was no ſmall number) and to ſpeake a troth, no maruell it was, if many enuyed the proſperous ſtate of King Henry, ſith it was euident inough to the world, that hee hadde with wrong vſurped the Crowne, and not only violently depoſed King Richarde, but alſo cruelly procured his death, for the whiche vndoubtedly both he, and his poſteritie taſted ſuch troubles, as put them ſtill in daunger of their ſtates, till their direct ſucceeding line was quite rooted out, by the contrarie faction, as in Henry the ſixth, and Edward the fourth it may appeare.

Poore K. Richarde is ſtill alyue with thē that wiſh king Henries ouerthrowe.

But now to returne where we lefte, Kyng Henry aduertiſed of the proceedings of the Percies, forthwith gathered about him ſuche power as hee mighte make, and beeing earneſtly called vppon by the Scotte, the Earle of Marche, to make haſt and giue battell to his enimies, before their power by delaying of time ſhould ſtill too muche encreaſe, hee paſſed forwarde with ſuche ſpeede, that he was in ſight of his enimies, lying in camp neere to Shrewſburie, before they were in doubt of any ſuch thing, for the Percies thought, that he would haue ſtayed at Burton vppon Trent, till his Counſell had come thither to him to giue their aduice what he were beſt to do. By reaſon of the Kings ſuddaine comming in thys ſort, they ſtayed from aſſaulting the Towne of Shrewſburie, which enterpriſe they were ready at that inſtante to haue taken in hande, and forthwith, the Lorde Percie, as a Captaine of high courage. began to exhorte the Captaynes and Souldiers to prepare themſelues to battell, ſith the matter was growen to that poynt, that by no meanes it could be auoyded, ſo that (ſayde hee) thys daye ſhall eyther bring vs all to aduauncement and honor, or elſe if it ſhall chaunce vs to bee ouercome, ſhall deliuer vs from the Kings ſpitefull malice and cruell diſdeyne, for playing the menne as we ought to doe, better it is to dye in battell for the common wealthes cauſe, than through cowardlike feare to prolong life, whiche after ſhall be taken from vs, by ſentence of the enimie.

The kinges ſpeedy diligence.

The Percyes troubled with the kinges ſodayn cōming.

The L. Percye exhorteth his complices to ſticke to their tackle.

Heerevpon, the whole armie being in number about a fourteene thouſande choſen menne, promiſed to ſtande with him ſo long as life laſted.

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There were with the Percies as Chieftaines of this armie, the Earle of Dowglas, a Scottiſhe man, the Baron of Kinderton, ſir Hugh Brone, and Sir Richarde Vernon Knightes, with dyuers other ſtout and right valiãt Captaines.

Nowe when the two armies were encamped, the one againſte the other, the Earle of Worceſter and the Lord Percy with their complices ſente the Articles, (whereof I ſpake before) by Thomas Cayton, and Thomas Saluain Eſquiers to King Henry, vnder their hands and ſeales, which Articles in effect charged him with manifeſt periurie, in that contrary to his oth receiued vpon the Euangeliſts at Doncaſter, when he firſte entred the Realme after his exile, he had taken vpon him the Crowne and royall dignitie, empriſoned King Richard, cauſed him to reſigne his title, and finally to be murthered. Dyuers other matters they layde to his charge, as leuying of taxes and tallages, contrary to hys promiſe, infringing lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme, and ſuffring the Erle of Marche to remain in priſon, without trauelling to haue him deliuered, al which things they as Proctors, and protectors of the common wealthe, toke vppon them to proue againſt him, as they proteſted to the whole world.

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King Henry after he had redde their articles, with the defiãce which they annexed to yͤ ſame, anſwered the Eſquiers, that he was ready with dint of ſword and fierce battell, to proue theyr quarrell falſe, and nothing elſe than forged matter, not doubting, but that God woulde ayd and aſſiſt him in his righteous cauſe, againſt the diſloyall and falſe forſworne traytors.

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The next day in the morning early, beeyng the euen of Mary Magdalene, they ſet their battels in order on both ſides, and nowe whileſt the warriers looked when the token of battell ſhould bee giuen, the Abbot of Shrewſburie, and one of the Clearkes of the priuie ſeale, were ſent from the King vnto the Percies, to offer them pardon, if they woulde come to anye reaſonable agreemente.

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By theyr perſwaſions, the Lord Henry Percie began to giue eare vnto the kings offers, and ſo ſent with them his vncle the Earle of Worceſter, to declare vnto the K. the cauſes of thoſe troubles, and to require ſome effectuall reformation in the ſame.

It was reported for a troth, that now when the King hadde condiſcended vnto all that was reaſonable at his handes to bee required, and ſeemed to humble himſelfe more than was meete for his eſtate, the Earle of Worceſter vppon hys returne to his nephewe, made relation cleane cõtrarie to that the King had ſayde, in ſuche ſorte, that he ſet his nephewes hearte more in diſpleaſure towardes the King, than euer it was before, driuing him by that meanes to fighte whyther he would or not: then ſuddaynely blewe the trumpettes, the Kings part cried Saint George vpon them, the aduerſaries cried *Eſperance Percy*, and ſo the two armies furiouſly ioyned. The archers on both ſides ſhot for the beſt game, laying on ſuch loade with arrowes, that many died, and were driuen downe, that neuer roſe againe.

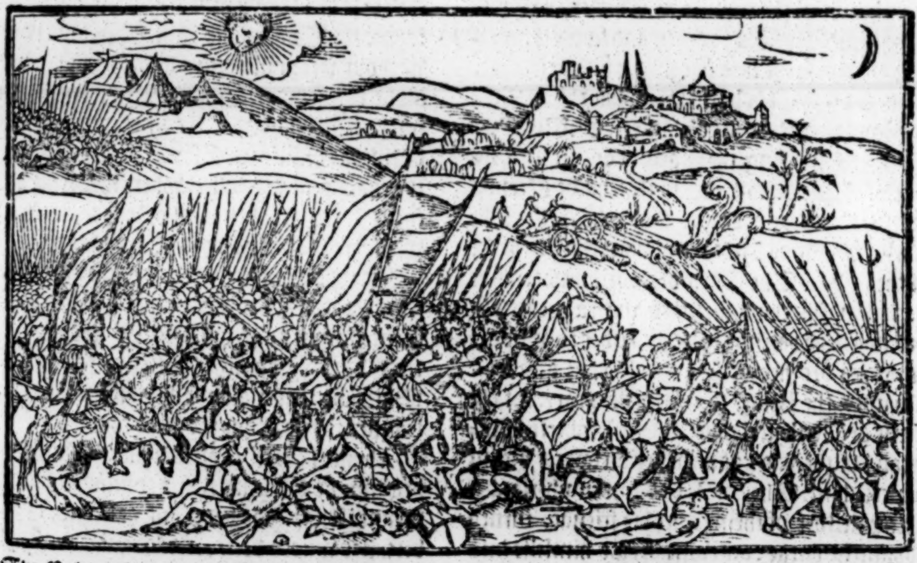
The Scottes (as ſome write) which had the forewarde on the Percies ſide, intending to bee reuenged of their olde diſpleaſures done to them by the Engliſh natiõ, ſet ſo fiercely on the kings forewarde, ledde by the Earle of Stafforde, that they made the ſame to drawe backe, and had almoſt broken their aduerſaries aray.

The Welchmen alſo which before had laine lurking in the woddes, mountaines, and mariſhes, hearing of this battell towarde, came to the ayde of the Percies, and refreſhed the weery people with new ſuccours.

The Welchemen come to ayde the Percies.

The King perceyuing that his men were thus put to diſtreſſe, what with the violente impreſſion of the Scottes, and the tempeſtuous ſtorme of arrowes, that his aduerſaries diſcharged freely againſt him and his people, it was no neede to will him to ſtirre, for ſuddainely with his freſhe battell, hee approched and relieued hys men, ſo that the battell beganne more fierce than before. Heere the Lord Henry Percy, and yͤ Erle Dowglas, a righte ſtoute and hardy Captayne, not regarding the ſhot of the kings battayle, nor the cloſe order of the rankes, preaſſing forwarde togither, bente their whole forces towardes the kings perſon, comming vpon him with ſpeares, and ſwordes ſo fiercely, that the Earle of March the Scot, perceyuing their purpoſe, withdrewe yͤ King from that ſide of the fielde as ſome write, (for his great benefite & ſafegard as it appeared) for they gaue ſuch a violent onſet vpon thẽ, that ſtood about the Kings ſtandert, that ſlaying his ſtandert bearer ſir Blunt, and ouerthrowing the ſtandert, they made ſlaughter of all thoſe that ſtoode about it, as the Earle of Stafforde, that day made by the king Conneſtable of yͤ realme, and diuers other.

The Erle of Marche.
Tho. VValſ.



The Prince that daye holp his father lyke a luſtie yong Gentleman, for although hee was hurt in the face with an arrowe, ſo that dyuers noble men that were about him, would haue cõueyed him forth of the fielde, yet he would in no wiſe ſuffer them ſo to doe, leaſt his departure frõ among his men, might happely haue ſtrikẽ ſome feare into their hartes: and ſo without regarde of his hurt, hee continued with his men, and neuer ceaſſed, either to fight where the battel was moſt hotteſt, or to incourage his men, where it ſeemed moſt neede. This batayle laſted three long houres, with indifferent fortune on both partes, till at length, the King crying Sainct George victorie, brake the aray of his enimies, & aduẽtured ſo far, yͭ as ſome write, the Earle Dowglas ſtrake him downe, & at that inſtãt, ſlew ſir Walter Blunt, and three other, apparelled in yͤ kings ſute and clothing, ſaying, I maruel to ſee ſo many kings thus ſuddainely to ariſe, one in yͤ necke of an other. The king indeede was reiſed, and did that daye manye a noble feate of armes, for

A ſore battaille and wel mainteyned.

The valyaunt doings of the Erle Douglas.

as it is written, he ſlew that day with his owne handes ſixe and thirtie perſons of his enimies. The other on his parte encouraged by his doings, fought valiantly, and ſlew the Lord Percy, called ſir Henry Hoteſpurre. To conclude, the Kings enimies were vanquiſhed, and put to flight, in whiche flighte, the Earle of Dowglas, for haſt, falling from the cragge of a mountaine, brake one of his genitalles, and was taken, and for his valiantneſſe, of the King frankely & freely deliuered.

The high mā-hoode of the king.

The lord Percie ſlayne.

The erle Douglas takē priſoner.

There was alſo taken the Earle of Worceſter, the procurer and ſetter forthe of all thys miſchiefe, Sir Richard Vernon, and the Baron of Kynderton, with diuers other. There were ſlayne vpon the Kings part, beſide the Earle of Stafford, to the number of tenne Knightes, Sir Hugh Shorly, ſir John Clifton, ſir John Cokayne, ſir Nicholas Gauſell, ſir Walter Blunt, ſir John Caluerley, ſir John Maſſy of Podington, ſir Hugh Mortimer, and ſir Roberte Gauſel, all the which, receyued the ſame morning the order of Knighthoode, ſir Thomas Wendeſley was wounded to death, and ſo paſſed out of this life ſhortly after. There dyed in all vpon yͤ kings ſide ſixteene C. and foure M. were greeuouſlye wounded. On the contrarie ſide were ſlaine, beſides the L. Percy, the moſt part of the knights and eſquiers of the countie of Cheſter, to yͤ nūber of two C. beſides yeomen and footmē, in all there dyed of thoſe that fought on yͤ Percies ſide, about fiue M. This battell was fought on Mary Magdalene euen, being Saterday. Vpon the Monday following, the Earle of Worceſter, the Baron of Kinderton, and ſir Richarde Vernon knightes, were condemned and beheaded. The Earles head was ſent to London, there to be ſet on the bridge. The Earle of Northumberlande was now marching forward with a greate power which he had got togither, either to ayde his ſonne and brother as was thought, or at yͤ leaſt towardes the King, to procure a peace: but the Earle of Weſtmerlande, and ſir Roberte Waterton knight, had got an army on foote, & meant to meete him. The Earle of Northumberlande, taking neither of them to bee his friende, turned ſuddainely backe, and withdrewe himſelfe into Warkeworth Caſtell. The King hauing ſet a ſtay in things aboute Shrewesburie, wente ſtraight to Yorke, from whence hee wrote to the Earle of Northumberland, willing him to diſmiſſe his companies that hee had with him, and to come vnto him in peaceable wiſe. The Earle vpon receipt of the kings letters came vnto him the morrow after Saint Laurence day, hauyng but a few of his ſeruauntes to attend him, and ſo excuſed himſelfe, that the King (bycauſe yͤ Erle had Berwike in his poſſeſſion, and further, had his Caſtels of Alnewike, Warkeworth, and other, fortified with Scottes) diſſembled the matter, gaue him faire wordes, and ſuffered him (as ſaith Hall) to departe home, although by other it ſhoulde ſeeme, that hee was committed for a time to ſafe cuſtodie.

The Earle of Worceſter taken.

Knights ſlaine on the kynges parte.

The ſlaughter of Cheſhiremen at this battayle.

The Earle of Worceſter & other beheaded.

The Earle of Weſtmerland reyſeth a power agaynſte the Earle of Northumberlande.

The K. goeth to Yorke.

The Earle of Northumberland commeth to the king.

The King returning forthe of Yorkeſhire, determined to goe into Northwales, to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous doings of the vnruly Welchmen, who (after his comming from Shrewſburie, and the marches there) had done much harme to the Engliſh ſubiects. But now where the K. wanted money to furniſhe that enterprice, and to wage his Souldiers, there were ſome that counſelled hym to be bolde with the Biſhoppes, and ſupply his wante of their ſurpluſage: but as it fortuned, the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie was there preſente, who in the name of all the reſt boldly made aunſwere, that none of hys prouince ſhoulde bee ſpoyled by anye of thoſe naughtie diſpoſed perſons, but that firſte with harde ſtripes they ſhoulde vnderſtande the price of theyr raſhe enterprice. But the King neuertheleſſe ſo vſed the matter with the Byſhoppes for their good willes, that the Archebyſhoppe at length to pleaſure hym, calling the Cleargie togither, gote a graunte of a tenth, towardes the kings neceſſarie charges. The Britaines vnder the conduct of the Lorde of Caſſils, ſpoyled and brente the Towne of Plimmouth, and returned without receyuing anye domage, but immediately therevppon, the Weſterne men manning forthe a fleete, vnder the gouernemente of one William Wilforde Eſquier, made ſaile ouer to the coaſtes of Britaine, where they tooke aboue fortie Shippes laden with oyle, ſope, and Rochel wine, to the quantitie of a thouſande tunne.

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In returning homewardes, they brente fortie other veſſels, and landing at Pennarch, they brente townes and villages ſixe leagues within the Countrey, togither with the Towne of S. Mathewe, and all the buildings there, three leagues round about the ſame towne.

About the feaſt of all Saincts, a Parliament beganne at Couentrie, and continued there tyll Sainte Andrewes tyde, but at length, bycauſe vittailes waxed deere, and lodging was ſtreight, it was adiorned from thence vnto London, there to begin againe in the Octaues of the Epiphanie.

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The ſame time, a pardon was graunted and proclaymed, for all ſuche as hadde taken parte with the Percies againſte the Kyng, and lykewiſe for all other offendors, thoſe excepted that hadde conſented to betraye Calais, whome the King ſente thyther to ſuffer for theyr offences.

A pard

A little before Chriſtmas, the Frenchmenne

meant

meante to haue robbed and ſpoyled the Ile of Wight, but when a thouſande of them were ſet on lande, and had gote togither a great bootie of Cattell, ſuddainely there came vpon them ſuche number of people, that they were conſtreyned to withdrawe to their Shippes, leauing their pray behinde them, and no ſmall number of theyr mē to pay for theyr ſhotte, ſo that they wanne little by that iourney, returning home with ſhame and diſhonor.

This yeare in the Parliament holden at Lōdon (beginning the morrow after the feaſt of S. Hillarie, and continuing twelue weekes) the Erle of Northumberlād was reſtored vnto his former dignities, lands, and goodes, the Ile of Man only excepted, which by reaſon of the forfeyture made by the Earle of Saliſburie, the King had firſt giuen vnto hym, and now depriued him thereof, where all his other landes, poſſeſſions, and liuings were wholly to hym and hys heyres reſtored, by authoritie of the ſame Parliamente.

A ſubſedie was alſo graunted to the Kyng, of euery Knightes fee twentie ſhillings, whether the ſame were holden of hym by menaltie, or otherwiſe.

Moreouer, euery man and woman that myghte diſpende in landes the valew of twentie ſhillings and ſo vpwarde, aboue the repriſes, whether the ſame landes belonged to the laye fee, or to the Churche, payed for euery pounde twelue pens, and thoſe that were valued to bee worth in goodes twentie poundes and vpwardes, payd alſo after the rate of lands, ỹ is twelue pēce for euery pounde.

The Frenchmen aboute the ſame time, came before the Iſle of Wighte, with a greate nauie, and ſent certaine of theyr men to the ſhore, to demaunde in name of King Richarde, and of hys wife Queene Iſabell, a tribute, or a ſpeciall ſubſedie in money, of the inhabitantes of that Ile, who aunſwered, that King Richard was dead, and Queene Iſabell ſometime his wife, hadde bin ſent home to hir parents and countrey, without condition of any dower or tribute, wherfore, they aunſwered reaſonablye, that none they woulde giue, but if the Frenchmen hadde deſire to fighte, they willed them to come on land, and there ſhoulde bee none to reſiſt them, and after they were a lande, they promiſed to giue them reſpite for ſixe houres ſpace to refreſhe themſelues, and that tyme beeyng once expired, they ſhould not fayle to haue battell.

When the Frenchmen hearde of this ſtoute aunſwere made by the Ilandmen, they had no luſt to approch neerer to the lande, but returned without further attempt.

The duke of Orleance his chalenge.

About this ſeaſon, the Duke of Orleaunce, brother to the Frenche Kyng, a man of no leſſe pride than hawtineſſe of courage, wrote letters to Kyng Henry, aduertiſing him, that for the loue he bare to the noble feates of Cheualrie, hee coulde imagine nothyng eyther more honorable or commendable to them both, than to meete in the fielde eache parte with an hundred Knyghtes and Eſquiers, all beeyng Gentlemenne, bothe of name and armes, armed at all poyntes, and furniſhed with Speares, axes, ſwordes, and daggers, and there to fyghte and combate to the yeeldyng, and euery perſon to whome God ſhoulde ſende victorie, to haue hys priſoner, and hym to raunſome at hys pleaſure, offeryng hymſelfe with hys companye, to come to hys Citie of Anguleſme, ſo that the Kyng woulde come to the laundes of Burdeaux, and there defende this chalenge.

The anſwere of king Henrye.

The Kyng of Englande grauely aunſwered heereunto, that hee marueiled why the Duke vnder colloure of doyng deedes of armes for a vayne glory, woulde nowe ſeeke to breake the peace betwixte the Realmes of Englande and Fraunce, hee beeyng ſworne to mayntayne the ſame peace, ſithe hee myghte further vnderſtande, that no Kyng annoynted, of verie duetie, was bounde to aunſwere any chalenge, but to his peere of equall ſtate and dignitie: and further declared, that when oportunitie ſerued, hee woulde paſſe the Sea, and come into hys Countrey of Gaſcoigne, with ſuche companie as hee thoughte conueniente, and then myghte the Duke ſette forwarde with hys bande, for the accompliſhing of hys couragious deſire, promiſing hym in the word of a Prince, not thence to depart, til the Duke eyther by fulfilling his owne deſyre in manner aforeſayde, or by ſingular combate betweene them two onely, for auoyding of more effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, ſhoulde thynke hymſelfe fully ſatiſfyed.

To this and muche more conteyned in the Kynges aunſwere, the Duke replied, and the Kyng agayne reioyned, not withoute tauntes and checkes vnfitting for theyr eſtates.

The duke of Orleance beſiegeth Vergi in Guyenne.

The Duke of Orleaunce offended hyghly (as hee myghte ſeeme) agaynſte the Kyng of Englande, with an armye of ſixe thouſande menne, entred into Guyenne, and beſieged the Towne of Vergy, whereof was Capitaine Sir Roberte Antelfielde, a right hardye and valiante Knyghte, hauyng with hym onely three hundred Engliſhmenne, whyche defended the fortreſſe ſo manfully, that the Duke after hee hadde layne there three monethes, and loſt many of his men, without honor or ſpoyle, returned into Fraunce.

After this, the Admirall of Britaine, highly encouraged, for that the laſt yeare he had taken certaine Engliſh Shippes laden with wines, acompanyed with the Lord du Chaſtel, a valiant Baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, ſayled forth with thirtie Shippes from Saint Malos, and came before the Towne of Dartemouth, and woulde haue landed, but by the puiſſance of the Towneſmen, and ayde of the countrey, they were repulſed, in the whiche conflict, the Lorde du Chaſtel, and two of his brethren, with foure hundred other were ſlayne, and aboue two hundred taken priſoners, and put to their raunſomes, amongſt whome, the Lorde of Baqueuille, the Marſhall of Britaine was one.

The Lord du Chaſtel ſlaine.

Owen Glendouer, waſted the Engliſh marches.

All this Sommer, Owen Glendouer and his adherents, robbed, brent, and deſtroyed the Coũtreys adioyniug, neere to the places where hee haunted, and one while by ſleight and guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he tooke and ſlew many Engliſhmen, brake downe certaine Caſtels, which hee wanne, and ſome he fortified and kept for his owne defence. Iohn Trenor, Byſhop of Aſſaph, conſidering with himſelf how things proſpered vnder the hãds of this Owen, fledde to him, and tooke his parte againſte the King.

Crueltie of the Britaines and Flemings.

About the ſame tyme, the Britaines and the Flemings tooke certayne Shippes of ours laden with merchandice, and ſlewe all the Marriners, or elſe hanged them.

The Countes of Oxforde.

K. Rich. once againe aliue.

Alſo, the olde Counteſſe of Oxford, mother to Robert Vere, late Duke of Ireland, that dyed at Louaine, cauſed certain of hir ſeruaunts, and other ſuche as ſhe durſt truſt, to publiſh and brute abrode, through all the parties of Eſſex, that Kyng Richarde was aliue, and that hee woulde ſhortlye come to lighte, and claYme hys former eſtate, honor, and dignitie. She procured a greate number of Hartes to be made of ſiluer and golde, ſuche as King Richarde was wonte to giue vnto his Knightes, Eſquiers, & friendes, to weare as cogniſances, to the ende that in beſtowing them in King Richardes name, ſhee might the ſooner allure men to further hir lewde practiſes: and where the fame wente abroade, that King Richarde was in Scotlande with a great power of Frenchmen and Scottes, readie to come to recouer his Realme, many gaue the more lightly credite vnto this brute thus ſette forth by the ſaid Counteſſe.

Serlo one of K. Richardes chamber.

The perſwaſions alſo of one Serlo, that in times paſt was one of king Richards chamber, greatly encreaſed this error, for the ſame Serlo, hearing in Fraunce, whither he was fledde, that his maſter King Richarde was in Scotland aliue, conueyed himſelfe thither, to vnderſtand the troth of that matter, and finding there one indeede that greatly reſembled him in all liniaments of body, but yet was not the man himſelfe, as he well perceyued, vppon malice that hee bare to King Henry, aduertiſed by letters ſente vnto diuers of King Richards friendes, that hee was aliue indeede, and ſhortly woulde come to ſhew himſelfe openly to the world, when he had once made his way ready to recouer his Kingdome, to the confuſion of his enimies, and comfort of his friends. Theſe forged inuentions cauſed many to belieue the brute reiſed by yͤ Counteſſe of Oxforde, for the whiche they came into trouble, were apprehended, and committed to priſon. The Counteſſe hir ſelfe was ſhut vp in cloſe priſon, and all hir goodes were confiſcate, and hir Secretarie drawen and hanged, that had ſpred abroade this fained reporte, in going vppe and downe the Countrey, blowing it into mens eares, that King Richard was aliue, affirming that he had ſpoke with him in ſuche a place, and ſuche a place, apparrelled in this raymente, and that rayment, with ſuch like circumſtances.

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About the feaſt of Sainte Iohn Baptiſt, at the kings commaundement, the Earle of Northumberlande came to Ponfret, and broughte with him his nephewes, & his nephewes ſonnes, whereby hee cleared himſelfe of a greate deale of ſuſpition, many doubting before his comming, that he had giuen euill counſell to the yong mẽ, whereby to moue them to Rebellion, and to withſtand the King. Sir William Clifford alſo came with the Earle, and brought the foreſaid Serlo with him, whome he had apprehended vpon hys comming to hym at Berwike, in hope to haue founde ſuccoure at his handes: in conſideration whereof, the King pardoned the ſayde Sir William Cliffforde of his diſobedience ſhewed, in keeping the Caſtell of Berwike againſt hym, in whyche doing, he had committed manifeſt treaſon.

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This Serlo beeing knowen to bee the man that had beene the chiefe murtherer of the Duke of Glouceſter, when he was made away at Calais, was diligently examined, who were helpers with hym in the execution thereof, and after what ſorte they made him away: Serlo knowing there was no way with him but deathe, would not vtter any other, but confeſſed for hys owne parte, hee was worthy for that wicked deede, to dye tenne thouſande deathes, and ſhewed ſuche outward appearance of repentaunce, that many ſore lamented his caſe, and promiſed to hyre Prieſtes to ſing Maſſes, as the manner was, for hys ſoule, of theyr owne coſtes and charges. He was condemned to dye at Ponfret, and was drawen from thence through euery good Towne, through whiche thoſe that hadde the

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the conueyance of him, paſſed with him, till they came to London, where hee was executed, confeſſing euery thing to be true, cōcerning his wicked pretence, as before is recited: and further, that when he perceyued how their counterfaite practiſe would come to light and be openly reuealed, he meant to haue retourned into Fraunce, but wanting money, he thoughte to haue bin relieued with ſome portion at the hande of the ſayde Syr William Clyfforde, and this cauſed hym to come vnto Berwyke, to ſhewe hym his neceſſitie, who to make his owne peace, didde apprehende hym, and preſent hym to the king, as before ye haue heard.

rg.6.

King Henrie wantyng moneye in the feaſte of Saint Faythe the Virgin, aſſembled at Couentrie, hys hyghe Courte of Parliamente, in the whiche, the Lorde Stephen Scrope of Maſham, and the Lorde Henry Fitʒ Hugh obteyned firſt to haue places of Barons.

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Moreouer, it is to bee noted, that thys was called the lay mannes Parliamente, bycauſe the Shiriffes were appoynted to haue a ſpeciall regarde, that none ſhoulde bee choſen Knightes, for the Counties, nor burgeſſes for the Cities and Townes, that hadde anye ſkill in the lawes of the lande. Thys was done, and when they came togither to talke of the waightie affayres of the Realme, ſpecially howe the King mighte bee relieued with money, to beare ſuche charges as hee was knowen to bee at, as well in defending the Realme from the Scottes and Welchmenne at home, as from the Britaines, Flemings, and Frenchmen abroade, it was thoughte moſt expediente, that the Spiritualtie ſhoulde bee depriued of theyr temporall poſſeſſions, to the reliefe of the Kings neceſſitie.

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Hereupon, roſe greate altercation betwixt the Cleargie and the laitie, the Knightes affirming, that they had oftentimes ſerued the King, not onely with theyr goodes, but alſo with their perſons, in great daungers and ieoperdies, whyleſt the Spiritualtie ſate at home, and holp the king nothing at all.

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Thomas Arundell Archebyſhop of Caunterburie ſtoutely aunſwered hereunto, that the Cleargie hadde alwaye gyuen to the King, as muche as the laytie hadde done, conſidering they had oftner gyuen theyr tenthes to hym, than the laytie theyr fifteenes: alſo, that more of theyr tenauntes wente forthe into the Kyngs warres, than the tenauntes of them of the lay fee.

Beſide thys, they prayed daye and night for the Kyngs good ſucceſſe agaynſte his enimies.

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When the ſpeaker named ſir John Cheynie, in replying by playne ſpeache, ſeemed little to eſteeme ſuche prayers of the Church, the Archbiſhoppe was ſette in a great chafe, and with ſharp wordes, declaring what hee thoughte muſt needes followe, both of the Kyng and Kyngdome, when prayers, and ſuffrages of Churchmenne, came to be ſo little ſette by, hee grewe to ſuche impatiencie, that hee flatly tolde the ſpeaker, that although hee ſeemed little to eſteeme of the Religion of the Cleargie, hee woulde not haue him to thynke, that hee ſhoulde take awaye the poſſeſſions of the Churche, without fyndyng ſuche as woulde ſeeke to withſtande hym, for if (ſayde hee) the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie maye liue, thou ſhalte haue hote takyng awaye of any manner thyng that hys is.

He ſpake like a Lorde.

After this, when the Archebyſhoppe perceyued, that the Kyng winked at theſe matters, hee roſe from hys place, and comming before the Kyng, kneeled downe, and beſought hym to conſider, howe through the fauour and grace of the almightye God, hee hadde atteined to the Kyngdome, and therefore hee ought to remember hys firſte purpoſe and intente, whyche was, to ſaue vnto euery man hys ryght, ſo farre as in hym laye.

Hee willed hym lykewiſe to haue in conſideration, the othe which he willingly hadde receyued, that is, that hee ſhoulde aduaunce the honor of the Churche, and the Miniſters thereof cheriſhe and mayntayne. Alſo, to haue in mynde the daunger and diſhonor that redounded to ſuche as brake their othes, ſo that hee beſoughte hym to permitte and ſuffer the Churche to enioye the priuiledges and liberties, whyche in tyme of hys predeceſſors it hadde enioyed, requeſting hym to ſtande in awe of that Kyng, by whome all Kyngs dyd raigne, and to feare the cenſures and condemnation that thoſe incurred, whyche toke and bereſte from the Churche anye good or righte belonging to it, who moſt certaynely (ſayde hee) are accurſed.

The Kings aunſwere to the Archb.

When the Archebyſhoppe hadde vſed this, or the lyke ſpeeche, the Kyng commaunded hym to goe to hys ſeate againe, aſſuring hym, that his intente and purpoſe was, to leaue the Churche in as good ſtate or better, than hee founde it. The Archebyſhoppe herewith turning to the Knightes and burgeſſes of the Parliamente, ſayde vnto them: you, and ſuche other as you bee, haue gyuen counſayle vnto the Kyng and his predeceſſors, to confiſcate, and take into theyr handes, the goodes and poſſeſſions of the celles, whyche the Frenchemenne and Normans poſſeſſed here in Englande, and affirmed, that by the ſame, hee and they ſhoulde heape vp greate riches, and indeede, thoſe goodes and poſſeſſions as is to be prooued, were worth many thouſandes of golde, and yet it is moſt true, that the King at thys day is not halfe one marke of ſiluer the richer thereby, for you haue begged and gotten them out of hys handes, and haue appropriated the ſame vnto your ſelues, ſo that we may coniecture very wel, that you requeſt to haue our temporalties, not to aduaunce the Kings profit, but to ſatiſfie youre owne greedye couetouſneſſe, for vndoubtedly if the King (as God forbid hee ſhoulde) did accompliſh your wicked purpoſes and minds, he ſhould not be one farthing the richer the yere next after: and truely, ſooner will I ſuffer this head of mine to bee cutte off from my ſhoulders, than that the Church ſhould loſe the leaſt right that apperteyned to it. The Knightes ſayd little, but yet they proceeded in their ſute to haue their purpoſe forward, whiche the Archbyſhop perceyuing (as an other Argus, hauing his eye on ech ſide, to marke what was done) laboured ſo to diſappoynt theyr doyngs, that hee wanne the fauor of certayne of the temporall Lordes to aſſiſt him, who conſtantly auouched by theyr conſentes, that the Church ſhoulde neuer bee ſpoyled of the temporalties, and heerein, they acquitte the Archbyſhoppe and Prelates, one pleaſure for an other, whiche they hadde done for them before, when the commons in this Parliamente required, that all ſuche landes and reuenewes as ſometyme belonged to the Crowne, and hadde beene giuen away, eyther by the Kyng, or by his predeceſſors King Edward, and King Richard, ſhould be agayne reſtored to the Kyngs vſe, vnto whiche requeſt, the Archbyſhoppe and other the Prelates woulde in no wiſe conſente: thus by the ſtoute diligence of the Archbyſhoppe Arundell, that petition of the commons, touching the Spirituall temporalties, came to none effecte.

Two fifteenes graunted.

Two fifteenes were graunted by the commons, with condition, that the ſame ſhoulde bee payde vnto the hands of the Lorde Furniuall, who ſhould ſee that money employde, for maintenaunce of the Kings warres.

Letters patentes reuoked.

Moreouer, at the importunate ſute of yͤ commons, the letters pattents that had bin made to diuers perſons of Annuities to them granted by King Edward, and King Richard, were called in, and made voyde, not withoute ſome note of diſhonor to the King.

A tenth and a halfe graunted by the clergie.

The Cleargie graunted to the King a tenth and a halfe, notwithſtandyng, that the halfe of one tenth lately graunted was yet behinde, and appoynted to bee payde vppon Saint Martins day now next comming.

Ouerflowings of the ſea.

Aboute this ſeaſon, greate loſſe happened in Kente, by breaking in of waters, that ouerflowed the Sea bankes, as well in the Archbyſhop of Caunterburies groundes, as other mennes, whereby muche Cattell was drowned. Neyther did Englande alone bewayle hir loſſes by ſuche breaking in of the Sea, but alſo Zelande, Flanders, and Hollande taſted of the like domage.

The dea
Willi
ham.

William Wickham Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, beeyng a man of greate age, deceaſſed thys yeare, leauing behind him a perpetuall memorie of hys name, for the notable monumentes whiche he erected, in building two Colledges, one at Wincheſter for Grammarians, and the other at Oxforde called the newe Colledge, purchaſing landes and reuenewes, for the mayntenãce of Studentes there, to the greate commoditie of the common wealthe, for from thence, as out of a good nurcerie, haue come forthe dyuers men in all ages excellently learned in all ſciences.

And heere I haue not thought it impertinent to ſpeake ſomewhat of thys worthy prelate (cõſidering that by him ſo greate a benefyte hathe returned to the common wealthe) according to ſuche notes as I haue ſeene collected, by yͤ painefull traueller in ſearche of antiquities, John Lelande, who ſayth, that as ſome haue ſuppoſed, the ſayde Wickham, otherwiſe called Perot, was baſe ſonne to one Perot, the Towne Clearke of Wickham in Hampſhire, of whyche place he tooke his ſurname, and that one maſter Wodall a Gentleman, dwelling in the ſayde Towne, brought hym vppe at Schoole, where hee learned his Grammer, and to write very fayre, in ſo much, that the Conneſtable of Wincheſter Caſtell, a greate ruler in thoſe dayes in Hampſhire, gote hym of maiſter Wodall, and reteyned hym to be his Secretarie, with whome hee continued, till Kyng Edwarde the thyrde, comming to Wincheſter, conceyued ſome good lyking of the yong man, and tooke hym to his ſeruice, and withall vnderſtanding that hee was minded to bee a Churchman, he firſt made him perſon, and Deane of Sainte Martins in London, then Archdeacon of Buckingham, but for ſo muche, as his ſeruice was right acceptable to the Kyng, as hee that with greate dexteritie coulde handle ſuche affayres of the ſtate, or other matters of charge as were committed to hys handes, the Kyng ſtill kepte hym aboute hys perſon, as one of hys chiefe Chapleynes of houſholde, and employed hym in ſundrye offices, as occaſions ſerued: and firſt, he made hym ſurueyor of hys workes and buyldings, namely at Windeſor, in repayring of that Caſtell, and alſo at Quinbourrough, where by yͤ kings appoyntmente, a ſtrong fortreſſe was reyſed, for defence of the Realme on that ſide.

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After this, hee was aduanced to the keeping of the priuie ſeale, made ouerſeer of the wardes and forreſtes, alſo treaſorer of the Kings reuenewes in Fraunce, and at length was made Byſhoppe of Wincheſter. The blacke Prince yet dyd not greatly fauoure him, wherevppon, Wickham procured to keepe him occupied in warres beyonde the ſeas. But at length John duke of Lancaſter, and Alice Perers king Edwards concubine, conceiuing ſome great diſpleaſure againſt him, found mean to procure the king to baniſh him the realme, and then hee remayned in Normandie, and Picardie for the ſpace of vij. yeares, or thereabout, and might not bee reſtored ſo long as king Edward liued. But after his deceaſſe, aboute the ſeconde yeare of king Richarde the ſecondes raigne, hee was reſtored home, and purchaſed a generall pardon for all matters paſt, that might be ſurmiſed agaynſt him, or layde to his charge. And afterwardes hee bare himſelfe ſo vprightly in that daungerous tyme, when ſuche miſlyking and priuie enuie raigned betwixt the king and his Nobles, that both partes ſeemed to like of him, inſomuch, that when the king made him Lorde Chauncelor, there was not any that greatly repined therat, and verily in that the king made choyſe of him before others to occupie that place, it argueth there was not ſo euill a diſpoſition in the king, nor lack of diſcretion in order of gouernment, as writers ſeeme to charge hym with. But where other could not ſo well beare iniuries at others hands as happely Wickhã could, the fire of diſſention chiefly kindled therof. For if the Duke of Irelande, and the Earle of Suffolk, with thoſe of that faction coulde haue refrayned to ſhewe theyr diſpleaſures, when the Duke of Glouceſter and other his complices pinched at them (for that they ſawe the king haue them in more eſtimation thã they wiſhed) matters might haue bene qualified peraduenture with leſſe adoe, and withoute daunger to haue enſued to eyther part. But howſoeuer it went with them, it maye doubtleſſe be eaſily coniectured, that Wickham was a man of ſingular wiſedome, and politike forecaſt, that coulde from meane degree in ſuche wiſe climbe aloft, and afterwards paſſe through the chaunces and chaunges of variable fortune, keeping himſelfe euer ſo in ſtate, that he grewe at length to be able to furniſh the chargeable expenſes of two ſuch notable foundations which he left behind him, to make his name immortall. But leauing the conſideration hereof to others, I will returne to the purpoſe from whence I haue thus farre ſtepped.

In this ſixth yeare, the Fryday after Saint Valentines day, the Earle of Marche his ſonnes early in the morning were taken forth of Windſore Caſtell, and conueyed away, it was not knowne whither at the firſt; but ſuche ſearch and inquirie was made for them, that ſhortly after they were hearde of and broughte backe againe.

The Smith that counterfeyted the keyes, by the which they that conueyed them thence got into the chamber where they were lodged, had firſt his hands cut off, and after his head ſtriken from his ſhoulders.

The lady Spẽcer committed to warde.

The Ladie Spencer, ſiſter to the duke of York and widow of the Lorde Thomas Spencer, executed at Briſtow (as before ye haue heard) being apprehended and committed to cloſe priſon, accuſed hir brother the Duke of yorke, as chiefe authour in ſtealing away the ſayd Earle of Marche his ſonnes. And further, that the ſayde Duke ment to haue broken into the Manor of Eltham the laſt Chriſtmaſſe, by ſcaling the walles in the night ſeaſon, the king being there the ſame time, to the intent to haue murthered him.

She accuſeth hir brother the Duke of Yorke.

For to proue hir accuſation true, ſhe offred that if there were any knight, or eſquier, that woulde take vpon him to fight in hir quarell, if he were ouercome, ſhe woulde be contented to be burnt for it. One of hir eſquiers named William Maidſton, hearing what offer his Ladie and Miſtreſſe propounded, caſt downe his hoode, and proffered in hir cauſe the combate. The Duke likewiſe caſt downe his hoode, readie by battaile to cleare hys innocencie. But yet the kings ſonne Lord Thomas of Lancaſter arreſted him, and put him vnder ſafe keeping in the Tower, till it were further knowen what order ſhoulde bee taken wyth him, and in the meane time were all hys goodes confiſcate.

William maidſton eſquire offred to fight. In his ladies quarel.

The erle Marſhal accuſed.

The ſame time was Thomas Mowbray Earle Marſhall accuſed, as priuie to the purpoſe of the Duke of Yorke, touching the withdrawing of the Erle of Marche his children, who confeſſed in deede, that hee knewe of the dukes purpoſe. But in no wiſe yet gaue his conſent therevnto, and therefore beſought the king to bee good and gracious Lorde vnto him for concealing the matter, and ſo hee obteyned pardon of that offence.

The King had aſſembled the ſame tyme the moſt part of the nobilitie at London, to conſult with them for dyuerſe weightie matters, concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, and about ſome ayde of money which he required: but the Lordes ſhewed themſelues not willing to ſatiſfie his requeſt. He therefore cauſed the ſpiritual Lordes as well as the temporall, to meete at S. Albones in the Lent ſeaſon, about the ſame matter, but yet obteyned not hys purpoſe, by reaſon the barons were ſore agaynſte him, and ſo at length on Palme Sunday they went theyr way eche man to his home, hauing gratified the king in nothing concerning his demaunde.

The king wanteth money & cã get none of the Lordes.

In the meane time, to witte the .xv. of March at a place in Wales called Huſke, in a conflicte fought betwixt the Welche men and certaine of the Princes companie, the ſonne of Owen Glendouer was takẽ, and fiftene hundred Welch men

A battel fought at huske in wales & Owen Glendouers ſonne taken priſoner men taken and ſlaine.

Alſo in May, about the feaſt day of S. Dunſtane, was the Chancellor of the ſayd Owen taken priſoner, and a great number of other taken and ſlaine. The priſoners were brought vp to London, where the Chancellor was committed to ſafe keeping in the Tower.

The Caſtell of Mark beſieged about the middeſt of May as James Mayr hath.

Sir Philip Hal

Valeran Erle of S. Paule, by the aſſent of the French king, aſſembled fiue. C. mē of armes, fiue C. Genewais with croſſebowes, and a. M. Flemings on foote, with the which he layde ſiege to the Caſtell of Marke, three leagues from Calais, vpon the. xv. day of July. Captaine of the Caſtell as then for the king of England, was one ſir Philip Hall, hauing with him. lxxx. archers, and. xxiiij. other ſouldiers, whiche defended the place ſo manfully, that the Earle retyred into the towne, and there lodged, fortefying it, for feare of reſkues that might come from Calais.

The next day he gaue an other aſſault to the Caſtell, and tooke the vtter Court, wherein was founde a greate number of horſe, kine, and other cattell.

The next day there iſſued forth of Calais two hundred men of armes, two hundred archers, and three hundred footmen, with ten or. xij. wagons laden with vitaile and artillarie, conducted by ſir Richard Aſton knight, lieutenant of the Engliſh pale for the Erle of Somerſet captaine generall of thoſe Marches.

The Erle of Saint Pol put to flight.

The Frenchmen aduertiſed that the Engliſh men were comming to remoue the ſiege, iſſued not forth of their lodgings, but kept them within their cloſure. Neuertheleſſe the Engliſhmen ſhot ſo ſharpely and cloſely togyther, that the Flemings & footmen began to flie: the men of armes fearing the ſlaughter of their horſes, ranne awaye with a light gallop. The Genewais whiche had ſpent the moſt part of their ſhotte at the aſſaultes made to the Caſtell, ſhewed ſmall reſiſtance, and ſo all the number of the Frenche part were ſlaine and put to flight.

Ia. Mair.

The Erle of S. Paule and diuerſe other eſcaped away, and by S. Omers got to Therouēne, or as others haue to Saint Omers. But there were taken to the number of three or foure ſcore, and amongſt other the Lord de Dampierre, Seneſhall of Ponthieu, Monſeur de Weriners, Monſiur de Vineles, Mōſeur de Noielles, Mōſeur John de Hangeſtes captain of Bollongne, the Lord de Rambures, Monſ. Lionell Darreis captaine of Graueling, Monſeur Peter Raſſer captaine of Arde: alſo Combernarde captaine of Tirouanne, Boid Chanon captain of Montoire, John Chanon captaine of Liſle, Stenebeck captaine of Ralingham, the baſtarde of Burneuile captaine of Burbourgh. There were ſlain about lx, & among them as chiefe ſir Robert Beringueville, the Lord of Quercqs, Morell de Sauceſes, the Lord Courbet de Rempeupret, and others.

Ardea
by Eng

The Engliſhmen had the ſpoyle of the Erles campe, and being returned to Calais, within fiue days after, there iſſued forth about. v. C. mē, meaning to haue wonne the towne of Arde wyth a ſodaine aſſault, whiche they gaue to it in the nyghte tyme. But ſir Manſrd de Bois, and the Lorde Kigme, did ſo valiantly defend it, that the Engliſhmen with loſſe of fortie of their menne were conſtrayned to returne vnto Calays, after they had burnt the deade bodyes in an olde houſe, for that the enimyes ſhoulde not perceyue what loſſe the Engliſhmen had ſuſteyned.

The M
du Po

After this, the French king to auoyde perils, layd in garniſon at Bollongne, and in other places, the Marques of Pount, ſonne to the Duke of Bar, the Earle of Dampney, and ſir John Harpadan, a Knight of greate renoume and eſtimation.

The duke of Burgoine likewiſe ſent a number of ſoldiers vnto Graueling, vnder the leading of one John Vandewalle, and to other fortreſſes alongſt the coaſt he ſent newe ſupplies, for doubt of the Engliſh mens inuaſions.

An ar
to Cal
to the

Chro.

Ia. M

The king of England in deede hearing of the preparation made for warre by the Frenchmen, leuied foure thouſande men whiche hee ſent vnto Calais, and to the ſea, of the which three thouſād vnder the conduct of the kings ſonne, the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter, and the Erle of Kent, the xxij. of May (as ſome write) came vpon the coaſt of Flaunders, and entring the hauen of Sluſe, burnt four great ſhippes which they founde there lying at ancre.

Chro.

Iacob.

The E
men b
the C
Sluys.

The fifth day after theyr comming into that hauen they went a land, thinking to haue fought with the duke of Burgoigne. But as other write after they had beſieged the Caſtel that ſtood in the mouth of the hauen, and loſing. lx. of their men, amongeſt whiche they name one to beare the tytle of Earle of Pembroke (whome they buryed for the tyme in the Churche of Mude) fiue dayes after theyr comming thither they determined to depart from thence, perceyuing the Caſtel would not eaſily be wonne, but firſt they ſpoyled the Countrey about them, and burnt Heys fleet, otherwiſe called Condekyrke, and diuerſe other places thereabout.

This done, they tooke vp the bodie of him whō the Flemiſhe wryters call the Earle of Pembroke, and got them againe to the Sea, for that they were aduertyſed howe the Duke of Burgoigne ment to beſiege Calais. Whereuppon rayſing their ſiege thus from Sluyſe Caſtel, they returned to the defence of the towne of Caleys, ſo muche deſyred of the Frenche Nation. As they returned homewardes, they mette with three

Caricks of Genoa, of the which one hauing the winde with hir, ment to haue ouerthrowne the ſhip wherein the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter was abourde: but by the good foreſight of the maſter of the ſhippe that ruled the ſterne, ſodenly turning the ſame, the violent ſway of that huge veſſell comming ſo vpon them, was auoided, but yet the Carick ſtroke off the noſe of the Engliſh ſhip, and bruyſed hir on the ſide. Then began the fight very cruell, till the Erle of Kent came to the reſkue: and ſo finally after a great conflict & bloudy battaile betwixt the Carickes and Engliſh ſhips, the victorie remayned with the Engliſhmẽ, who taking the Carickes, turned their ſayles towards Normandie, where they arriued and burnt the townes of Hoggue, Mountburg, Berflie, S. Petronilles and other, to the number of. xxxvj. paſſing forth into the Countrey without reſiſtance, the ſpace of. xxx. myles, ſpoyling all that came in theyr way.

This done, they returned, and brought the Carickes into the Camber at Rie, where one of them by miſfortune of fire periſhed, to the loſſe & no gain of either of the parties.

John Duke of Burgoyne hauing obteyned licence to beſiege Calais, prepared an armie of ſixe thouſande men of armes, xv. hundred Croſbowes, and. xij. thouſand footmen, the which being aſſembled, and all neceſſarie prouiſion readie at Saint Omers, hee was by the Frenche king countermaunded, and not ſuffred to proceed any further in that weightie enterprice. And this was thought to be partly the cauſe of the malice that he conceyued agaynſt the duke of Orleans, ſuppoſing that through him (enuying his glorie) he was thus diſappoynted of his purpoſe.

Whileſt ſuch doings were in hande betwixt the Engliſhe and Frenche, as the beſieging of Mark Caſtell by the Earle of Saint Poll, and the ſending forth of the Engliſh fleete, vnder the gouernance of the Lorde Thomas of Lancaſter, and the Earle of Kent, the king was mynded to haue gone into Wales agaynſt the Welche Rebels, that vnder their Chieftaine Owen Glendouer, ceaſſed not to doe much miſchiefe ſtill agaynſt the Engliſh ſubiectes. But at the ſame time, to his further diſquieting, there was a conſpiracie put in practice agaynſt him at home by the Earle of Northumberlande, who had conſpired with Richarde Scrope Archbiſhop of Yorke, Thomas Mowbray Earle Marſhall, ſonne to Thomas Duke of Norffolke, who for the quarell betwixt him and King Henrie had beene baniſhed (as before ye haue herd) the lords, Haſtings, Fauconbridge, Berdolfe, and diuerſe others. It was appoynted that they ſhould meete all togyther wyth theyr whole power, vpon Yorkeſwold, at a day aſſigned, and that the Earle of Northũberlande ſhould be Chieftain, promiſing to bring with him a great number of Scots.

The Archbiſhop accompanied with the Erle Marſhall, deuiſed certaine articles of ſuch matters as it was ſuppoſed, that not onely the communaltie of the Realme, but alſo the Nobilitie, founde themſelues agrieued with: which articles they ſhewed firſt vnto ſuch of their adherents as were neare aboute them, and after ſent them abrode to theyr friendes further of, aſſuring them that for redreſſe of ſuch oppreſſions they woulde ſhedde the laſt droppe of bloud in theyr bodyes, if need were.

The Archbi. of Yorke one of the cheefe conſpiratours.

The Archbiſhop not meaning to ſtay after he ſaw hymſelfe accompanied with a greate number of men, that came flocking to Yorke to take his parte in this quarell, forthwith diſconered his enterprice, cauſing the articles aforeſayde to be ſet vp in the publike ſtreetes of the Citie of York, and vpon the gates of the monaſteries, that eche man might vnderſtande the cauſe that moued him to riſe in armes agaynſt the king, the reforming whereof did not yet appertayne vnto him. Herevpon knights, eſquiers, gentlemen, yeomen, and other of the commons, as wel of the citie, townes and countries about, being allured either for deſire of change, or elſe for a deſire to ſee a reformation in ſuch things as were mẽtioned in the articles, aſſembled togither in great numbers, and the Archbiſhop comming forth amongſt thẽ clad in armor, encouraged, exhorted, & by al meanes he coulde, pricked them forth to take the enterprice in hand, and manfully to continue in the begon purpoſe, promiſing forgiueneſſe of ſinnes to all thẽ, whoſe hap was to die in the quarel: and thus not only all the Citizens of York, but all other in the countries about, that were able to bear weapon, came to the Archbiſhop, and to the Erle Marſhal. In deed the reſpect that men had to the Archbiſhop, cauſed them to like the better of the cauſe, ſince the grauitie of his age, his integrity of life, and incomparable learning, with the reuerend aſpect of his amiable perſonage, moued al men to haue him in no ſmall eſtimation.

The Archbi. in armour.

The eſtimatiõ which men had of the Archbi. of Yorke.

The king aduertiſed of theſe matters, meaning to preuent them, left his iourney into Wales, and marched with al ſpeed towards the north partes. Alſo Rauſe Neuill Erle of Weſtmerlande, that was not farre off, togither with the lorde John of Lãcaſter the kings ſonne, being enformed of this rebellious attempt, aſſembled togither ſuch power as they might make, & togither with thoſe which were appoynted to attend on the ſaid Lord John to defend the borders agaynſt the Scottes, as the Lord Henry FitzHugh, the Lord Rauſe Euers, the Lorde Robert Umfreuill, and others, made forward agaynſt the rebels, and comming into a plaine within the foreſt of Galtree, cauſed theyr

The Erle of weſtmerland & the L. Iohn of Lancaſter the kings ſon prepare thẽſelues to reſiſt the kings enemies.

The foreſt of Galtree.

ſtandarts to bee pight downe in like ſort as the Archbiſhop had pight his, ouer agaynſt them, being farre ſtronger in number of people than the other, for (as ſome write) there were of the rebels at the leaſt .xx. thouſand men.

The ſubtil policy of the erle of weſtmerlad

When the Erle of Weſtmerlande perceyued the force of the aduerſaries, and that they lay ſtill and attempted not to come forwarde vpon him, he ſubtilly deuiſed how to quail their purpoſe, and forthwith diſpatched Meſſengers vnto the Archbyſhoppe to vnderſtande the cauſe as it were of that greate aſſemble, and for what cauſe contrary to the kings peace they came ſo in armor.

The Archbi. proteſtation where he had on him armes

The Archbiſhop anſwered, that he tooke nothing in hande agaynſt the kings peace, but that whatſoeuer he did, tended rather to aduaunce the peace and quiet of the common wealth, than otherwiſe, and where he and his companie were in armes, it was for feare of the king, to whom hee could haue no free acceſſe by reaſon of ſuche a multitude of flatterers as were about him, and therefore hee mainteyned that his purpoſe was good and profitable, as well for the king himſelfe, as for the realme, if men were willing to vnderſtand a truth: and herewith hee ſhewed forth a ſkroll in whiche the articles were written, whereof before ye haue heard. The Meſſengers returning vnto the Earle of Weſtmerlande ſhewed him what they had heard and brought from the Archbiſhop. When he had read the articles, hee ſhewed in worde and countenaunce outwardly that he lyked of the Archbyſhoppes holy and vertuous intent and purpoſe, promiſing that he and his woulde proſecute the ſame in aſſyſting the Archebiſhop, who reioycing hereat, gaue credite to the Earle, and perſwaded the Earle Marſhall agaynſt hys will as it were to go with him to a place appoynted for them to common togyther.

Here when they were mette with like number on eyther part, the articles were read ouer, and without any more adoe, the Earle of Weſtmerlande and thoſe that were with him, agreed to doe theyr beſt to ſee that a reformation might be had, according to the ſame.

The Erle of Weſtmerlands politicke dealing.

The Earle of Weſtmerlande vſing more policie than the reſt: well (ſayde he) then our trauaile is come to the wiſhed ende: and where oure people haue beene long in armour, let them depart home to their wonted trades and occupations: in the meane time let vs drinke togyther, in ſigne of agreement, that the people on bothe ſydes may ſee it, and know that it is true, that we be light at a poynt.

They had no ſooner ſhaked handes togither, but that a knight was ſent ſtreight wayes from the Archb. to bring worde to the people that there was peace concluded, commaunding eche man to lay aſide armes, & to reſort home to their houſes. The people beholding ſuch tokens of peace, as ſhaking of handes, and drinking togither of the Lordes in louing maner, they being alreadie awearied with the vnaccuſtomed trauaile of war, brake vp their fielde and returned homewardes: but in the meane time whileſt the people of the Archbiſhops ſide withdrew away, the number of the contrarie part increaſed, according to order giuen by the Earle of Weſtmerland, and yet the Archbiſhop perceyued not that he was deceyued, till the Erle of Weſtmerland arreſted both him & the Erle Marſhall, with diuerſe other.

The
Yorke
erle M
arreſt
Eyr

Thus hath Walſingham: But other write ſomewhat otherwiſe of this matter, affyrming that the Erle of Weſtmerland in deed, & the lord Raufe Evres, procured the Archbiſhop, and the Erle Marſhall, to come to a communication wyth them, vpon a ground iuſt in the midway betwixt both the armies, where the Erle of Weſtmerland in talke declared to them, how perillous an enterpriſe they had taken in hand, ſo to raiſe the people, & to moue warre againſt the king, aduiſing them therfore to ſubmit themſelues without further delay vnto the kings mercie, and his ſonne the lorde John, who was preſent there in the field with banners ſpred, readie to trie the matter by dynte of ſworde, if they refuſed this counſaile: and therfore hee willed them to remember themſelues well, and if they woulde not yeelde and craue the kings pardon, he badde them doe theyr beſt to defende themſelues. Herevppon as well the Archbiſhop as the Erle Marſhall, ſubmitted themſelues vnto the king, and to his ſonne the Lorde John that was there preſent, and returned not to theyr army. Wherevpon their troupes ſkaled and fledde their wayes: but being purſued, many were taken, many ſlaine, and many ſpoyled of that they had aboute them, and ſo permitted to goe theyr wayes: howſoeuer the matter was handled, true it is that the Archbiſhop, and the Earle Marſhall were brought to Pomfret to the king, who in this meane while was aduaunced thither wyth hys power, and from thence he went to Yorke, whyther the priſoners were alſo brought, and there beheaded the morrowe after Whitſunday in a place without the Citie, that is to vnderſtand, the Archbiſhop himſelfe, the Earle Marſhal, ſir John Lampley, and ſir Robert Plompton.

The
York
Marſ
other
death

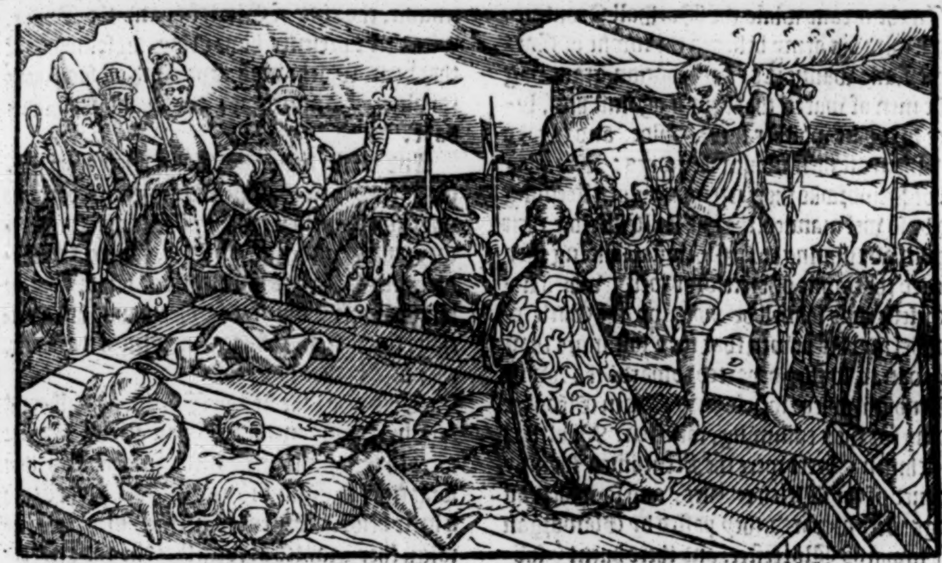
The
puted

The Archbiſhoppe tooke his death verie conſtantly, inſomuche as the common people tooke it, hee dyed a Martyr, affyrming that certaine myracles were wrought as wel in the field where he was executed, as alſo in the place were hee was buryed: and immediately vpon ſuch bruytes, both men and women beganne to worſhip hys dead carkaſſe, whom they loued ſo much when he was aliue, tyll they were forbydden by the Kinges friendes, and for feare gaue ouer to viſit the place of his ſepulture.

The Earle Marſhals bodie was buried in the Cathedrall Church, but his head was ſet on a pol aloft on the walles for a certaine ſpace, till by the kings permiſſion it was taken downe and buried togither with the bodie.

After the king accordingly as ſeemed to him good, had raunſomed and puniſhed by grieuous fines the Citizens of Yorke (which had borne armor on theyr Archbiſhops ſide agaynſt hym) he departed from York with an army of xxxvij. M. fighting men, furniſhed with all prouiſion neceſſarie, marching Northwards agaynſt the Earle of Northumberland. At his comming to Durhã the Lord Haſtings, the Lord Fauconbridge, ſir Iohn Colleuille of the Dale, & ſir Iohn Griffith, being cõuicted of yͤ cõſpiracy were there beheded.

The lordes executed.



The Earle of Northumberland, hearing that his counſail was bewrayed, and his confederates brought to confuſion, through too much haſte of the Archbiſhop of York, with three hundred horſe got him to Berwicke. The king comming forwarde quickly, wan the Caſtell of Warkworth. Wherupon the Erle of Northumberlande, not thinking himſelf in ſuretie at Berwicke, fled with the Lord Berdolfe into Scotlande, where they were receyued of Dauid Lord Fleming.

The king comming to Berwike, cõmaunded them that kept the Caſtell againſt him, to render it into his handes; and when they flatly denied ſo to doe, he cauſed a peece of artillerie to be planted agaynſt one of the Towres, and at the firſt ſhot ouerthrowing part thereof, they within were put in ſuch feare, that they ſimplie yelded themſelues without any maner of condition, wholy to remaine at the kings pleaſure.

Herevpon the chiefeſt of them, to wit ſir William Greyſtock, ſonne to Raufe Baron of Greyſtocke, ſir Henrie Beynton, and Iohn Blenkinſoppe, with foure or fiue other were put to death, and diuerſe other were kept in priſon.

Some write that the Earle of Northumberlande at his entring into Scotland, deliuered the towne of Berwike vnto the Scots, who hearing of king Henries approch, & diſpairing to defende the town againſt him, ſet fire on it, and departed. There was not one houſe that was left vnburnt, except the Friers and the Church.

After that the king had diſpoſed things in ſuch conuenient order as ſtoode with his pleaſure at Berwicke, he came backe, and had the Caſtell of Alnewike deliuered vnto him, with all other the Caſtels that belonged to the Earle of Northumberland in the north parts, as Prodhow, Lãgley, Cockermouth, Aluham, and Newſteed.

The Caſtel of Alnewicke yelded to the King.

Thus hauing quieted the north parts, he tooke his iourney directly into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all hys attemptes had euill ſucceſſe, inſomuche that loſing a fiftie of his cariages through aboundaunce of raine and waters, he returned, and comming to Worceſter, he ſent for the Archbiſhop of Canterburie; and other biſhops, declaring to them the miſfortune that had chaunced to him, in conſideration whereof he requeſted thẽ to helpe him with ſome portion of mony, towardes the maintenaunce of his warres, for the taming of the preſumpteous and vnquiet Welchmen.

The K paſſeth into Wales.

He loſſeth his cariages.

He returneth.

In the meane time, the Frenche king had appointed one of the Marſhals of Fraunce called Montmerancie, & the maſter of his Croſbowes, with .xij. M. men to ſaile into Wales to ayd Owen Glendouer. They tooke ſhipping at Breſt, and hauing the wind proſperous, landed at Milford hauen, with an. C.xl ſhips, as Tho. Walſ. hath, though Enguerant de Mouſtrellet maketh mention but of 120. The moſt part of their horſes were

Hall.

The Marſhal Mountmerãcy ſent to ayd Owen Glẽdouer were loſt by the way for lack of freſh water. The Lord Berkley, and Henry Pay, eſpying their aduantage, burnt .xv. of thoſe French ſhips as they lay at road there in the hauen of Milford: & ſhortly after the ſame L. Berkley, and ſir Thomas Swynborne, with the ſayde Henrie Pay, tooke other .xiiij. ſhippes, as they came that way with prouiſion of vitails and munition forth of France to the ayde of the other.

Carmarden wonne by the French.

In the meane while, the Marſhall Montmerancie, with his army beſieged the towne of Carmarden, and wanne it by compoſition, graunting to the men of warre that kept it againſt him, lycence to depart whither they woulde, and to take with them all their moueable goodes: The Caſtell of Pembroke they attempted not, eſteeming it to be ſo wel manned, that he ſhuld but loſe their labor in attempting it. Notwithſtanding they beſieged the towne of Herforde weſt, which neuertheleſſe was ſo well defended by the Earle of Arundel and his power, that they loſt more than they wan, & ſo they departed towards the towne of Denbigh, where they founde Owen Glẽdouer abiding for their comming, with ten. M. of hys Welchmen. Here were the Frenchmen ioyfully receyued of the Welch rebelles, and ſo when all things were prepared, they paſſed by Glamorgan ſhire towards Worceſter, and there burnt yͤ ſuburbes: but hearing of the kings approche, they ſodenly returned towards Wales. The king with a great puiſſance followed, and founde them embattailed on a high mountain, where there was a great valley betwixt both yͤ armies, ſo that either army might plainly perceiue the other, and eyther hoſt looked to be aſſayled of his aduerſarie, & therefore ſought to take the aduantage of grounde.

Hereford weſt manfully defended.

Engueret Monſtrellet ſayth they brent the townes but couldenot win the Caſtel.

The ſuburbes of worceſter burnt.

Thus they continued for the ſpace of eyght dayes from morning to night, readie to abide, but not to giue battaile: There were manye ſkirmiſhes, and diuerſe proper feates of armes wrought that meane while, in the which the Frenche loſt many of theyr nobles and gentlemen, as the lord Patroullars de Tries, brother to the Marſhall of Fraunce, the Lorde Matelonne or Martelonne, the lord de la Walle, and the baſtard of Bourbon, with other to the number (as ſome haue writtẽ) of fiue. C. But Enguerant de Monſtrellet affirmeth, that vpon their returne into Fraunce, there wãted not aboue .lx. perſons of all their cōpanies.

French Lordes ſlaine.

After they had lain thus one againſt an other yͤ ſpace of .viij. dayes (as before is ſayde) vitails began to fail, ſo that they were enforced to diſlodge The Frẽch & Welchmẽ withdrew into Wales, and though the Engliſhe men followed, yet empeached with the deſart groundes and barren country, through which they muſt paſſe, as ouer felles and craggie mountaines, from hill to dale, from mariſh to wood, from naught to worſe (as Hall ſayth) without vitailes or ſuccor, the king was of force conſtrained to retire with his army, and returne againe to Worceſter, in which returne the enimies took certaine cariages of his laden with vytayles. The French men after the armies were thus withdrawne, returned into Britain, making ſmall bragges of their painfull iourney.

The Fr men re home.

Ann

This yeare at London, the Earle of Arundell maried the baſtard daughter of the king of Portingale, the king of Englande and the Queene, with theyr preſence honouring the ſolemnitie of that feaſt, whiche was kept wyth all ſumptuous royaltie, the morrowe after Saint Katherines daye.

And on the day of the Conception of our Ladie, the Ladie Philip King Henries daughter was proclaymed Queene of Denmarke, Norwey, and Sweden, in preſence of ſuche Ambaſſadours, as the laſt Sommer came hither from the king of thoſe Countreys, to demaund hir in mariage for him, and had ſo trauayled in the matter, that finally they obteyned.

14

A parli

This yeare the firſt of Marche, a Parliament began, which continued almoſt all this yeare: for after that in the lower houſe they hadde denyed a long time to graunt to any ſubſidie, yet at length a little before Chriſtmaſſe in the .viij. yeare of his raign they granted a .xv. to the loſſe and great domage of the comunaltie, for through lingring of time, the expenſes of knights and burgeſſes grewe almoſt in value to the ſum that was demaunded.

A ſte ted by tempo

A new clu ted by clergi

Moreouer, by the Clergie a new kinde of ſubſidie was graunted, to the King, to bee leuied of ſtipendarie prieſts and Friers mẽdicants, & other ſuch religious men as ſung for the dead, celebrating as they termed it Anniuarſaries: euery of thẽ gaue halfe a marke, in reliefe of other of the Clergie, that had ſtill borne the burthen for them before. Wherupon now they murmured and grudged ſore, for that they were thus charged, at that preſent. The ſame time the Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Bardolfe, warned by the Lord Dauid Fleming, that there was a conſpiracie practiſed to delyuer them into the King of Englandes hands, fledde into Wales to Owen Glendouer.

The L ming life for knowl the erle thumb of that was me galest

This coſt the Lorde Fleming his life: for after it was knowne that hee hadde diſcloſed to the Earle of Northumberlande what was ment againſt him, and that the Earle thereupon was ſhifted awaye, certaine of the Scottes ſlue the ſaid Lord Fleming. Wherupon no ſmall grudge roſe betwixt thoſe that ſo ſlue him, and the ſayde lord Flemings friends. For this & other matters, ſuch diſſention ſprung vp amongſt the Scottiſh Nobilitie, that one durſt not truſt another, ſo that they were glad to ſue for a truce betwixt Englande and them, whiche was granted to

Deſſen mōg th tiſh nob

endure for one yeare, as in ſome bookes we finde recorded.

This truce being obteyned, Robert King of Scotland (vpon conſiderations, as in the Scottiſh hiſtorie ye may read more at large) ſent hys eldeſt ſonne James intituled prince of Scotland) a childe not paſt nine yeres of age to be conueyed into Fraunce, vnder the conduct of the Earle of Orkeney, and a Biſhop, in hope that hee myght there both remayne in ſafetie, and alſo learne the French tongue. But it fortuned, that as they ſayled neare to the Engliſhe coaſt about Flambrough heade in Holderneſſe, their ſhippe was taken and ſtayed by certaine Mariners of Claye (a towne in Norffolke) that were abrode the ſame time, and ſo he and all his companie being apprehended, the xxx. of Marche, was conueyed to Wyndſore, where though he had letters from his father, which he preſented to the king, conteyning a requeſt in his ſonnes behalfe for fauour to bee ſhewed towardes him, if by chaunce hee landed within any of his dominions: yet was he deteyned, and as wel he himſelfe as the Earle of Orkney was committed to ſafe keeping in the tower of London, but the Biſhop got away and eſcaped (as ſome write) by what meanes I know not.

By the Scottiſhe writers wee finde that thys chaunced in the yeare. 1404. that is two yeares before the time noted in diuerſe Engliſh writers, as Tho. Walſ. and other. But Harding ſayth it was in the. ix. yere of king Henries raigne, to wit in An. 1408. but whenſoeuer it chanced, it is to be thought that there was no truce at that preſent betweene the two realmes, but that the war was rather open, ſithe diuerſe Engliſhe rebelles ſtyll remayned in Scotlande, and were there ſuccored to the high diſpleaſure of king Henrie.

Hall.

By authoritie of the Parliament that all this time continued, the Brytons that ſerued the Queene, with two of hir daughters were baniſhed the realme.

Robert Halome Chauncellor of Oxforde, as then beeing in the Popes Court at Rome, was created Archbiſhop of Yorke.

Rob. Holome Archbiſhop of Yorke.

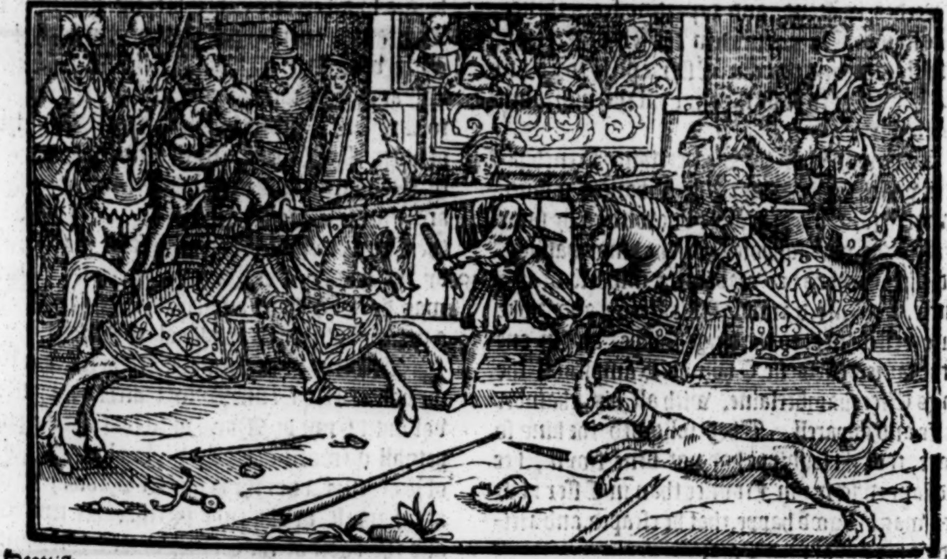
Moreouer the ſame time, the Pope gaue vnto Thomas Langley the biſhoprike of Durham, which by the death of Walter Skirlaw, was thē voyde.

In the ſommer of this yeare, the Ladie Philip the kings yonger daughter was ſent ouer vnto hir affianced huſband, Erick king of Dēmark, Norway, & Sweden, being conueied thither with great pomp, and there maried to the ſaid king, where ſhe taſted (according to yͤ cōmon ſpeech vſed in praying for the ſucceſſe of ſuche as matche togither in mariage) both ioy & ſome ſorow amōg. There attended hir thither Hērie Bowet Biſhop of Bath, and the L. Richard, brother to the duke of Yorke.

The K. and the Queene bought hir to Lynne where ſhe toke ſhipping.

Tho. Walſ.

There was a Juſtes held at London, betwixt the Earle of Kent, and the Earle of Marre a Scottiſh manne. Alſo ſir John Cornewall, and the Lord Beaumound, againſt other two Scottiſh Knightes, whereof the honour remayned with the Engliſh men.



In the Parliament which yet continued, the Duke of Yorke was reſtored to his former libertie, eſtate and dignitie, where many ſuppoſed that he had bin dead long before that time in pryſon.

Edmond Holland Erle of Kent was in ſuche fauour with king Henrie, that he not onely aduanced him to high offices, and great honors, but alſo to his great coſts & charges obteyned for him the ladie Lucy, eldeſt daughter, & one of the heires of the L. Barnabo of Millane, which Barnabo payed to him. 100000. ducates, in the Church of S. Mary Oueries in Southwark, by the handes of Don Alfōſo de Caiuuola, vpō the day of yͤ ſolēnizatiō of yͤ mariage, which was the. 24. of Jan.

The erle of Kent in fauour with the king.

He maryeth a daughter of Bernabo Lord of Millaine.

The

1407

The Duke of Orleans beſiegeth townes in Gaſcoigne.

The duke of Orleans hauing leuied a mightie armie, had beſieged the townes of Burg and Blay in Gaſcoigne, meaning with force to win the ſame, but ſo it fortuned, that for the ſpace of eight weekes togither, there paſſed not one daye without tempeſt of raine, ſnow, and hayle, myxed with windes and lightnings, which killed aſwell men as cattayle, by reaſon wherof, he loſte (as was reported) ſixe thouſande men, ſo that he was conſtreyned to breake vp his campes from before both thoſe townes, and to get him away with diſhonor, for all his bragges and boaſtes made at his firſt comming thither.

Henry Pay a valiant ſea man.

The ſame time, Henrie Pay, and certaine other perſons of the fiue ports, with fiftene ſhippes, tooke an hundred and twentie priſes, whiche lay at ancre in and about the coaſt of Brytayne, laden with Iron, ſalt, Oyle, and Rochelle wines.

King R. ſtil aliue as was faigned.

In this ſeaſon alſo bylles were ſet vp in dyuerſe places of London, & on the doore of Poules Church, in which was conteyned, that king Richarde being aliue, and in health, woulde come ſhortly with great magnificence and power, to recouer again his kingdome: but the contriuer of this deuiſe was quickly found out, apprehended, and puniſhed according to his demerites.

The Citie of London this yeare in the ſommer, was ſo infected with peſtilent mortalitie, that the king durſt not repayre thither, nor come neare to it. Whervpon he beeing at the Caſtell of Leedes in Kent, and departing from thence, tooke ſhip at Quinbourgh in the Ile of Shepey, to ſayle ouer vnto Lee in Eſſex, and ſo to goe to Plaſchy, there to paſſe the time till the mortalitie was ceaſſed.

The k. in danger to be takē by Frēch parts

Sir Thomas Rāſton taken.

As he was vpon the Sea, certaine French pirates which lay lurking at the Thames mouth, to watch for ſome pray, got knowledge by ſome meanes (as was ſuppoſed) of the kings paſſage, and therevpon as hee was in the middeſt of hys courſe, they entred amongſt his fleete, and tooke foure veſſels next to the kings ſhippe, and in one of the ſame veſſels ſir Thomas Rampſton, the kings Vicechamberlaine, with all his chamber ſtuffe and apparell. They followed the king ſo neare, that if his ſhippe had not bene ſwyft, hee had landed ſooner in Fraunce than in Eſſex: but ſuch was his good happe, that he eſcaped, and arriued at his appoynted Port.

The k. eſcaped through ſwiftnes of his ſhip

The L. Camois put in blame

The Lord Camois, that was commaunded with certaine ſhippes of warre to waft the king ouer (whether the winde turned ſo that he coulde not keepe his dyrect courſe, or that his Shippe was but a ſlugge) ranne ſo farre in the kings diſpleaſure, that hee was attached and indyted, for yͭ (as was ſurmiſed againſt him,) he had practiſed with the French men, that the king might by them haue beene taken in his paſſage.

Ye haue heard that the Pope by vertue of his prouiſion had giuen the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke vnto maiſter Robert Halom, but the King was ſo offended therewith, that the ſayde Robert might in no wiſe enioy that benefice, and ſo at length, to ſatiſfie the kings pleaſure, maſter Henrie Bowet was tranſlated from Bathe vnto Yorke, and maiſter Robert Halom was made Byſhoppe of Saliſburie then voyde by remouyng of Henrye Chichelley vnto Saint Dauid.

Henry B Archbi Yorke.

The Lorde Henrie Prince of Wales, thys yeare in the ſommer ſeaſon, beſieged the Caſtell of Abiruſcwith, and conſtrayned them within to compounde with him vnder certaine conditions for truce, but the Prince was no ſooner frō thence departed, but that Owen Glendouer by ſubtill craft entred the Caſtell, put out the keepers, and charging them wyth treaſon for concluding anye agreement wythoute hys conſent, placed other in that Fortreſſe to defende it to hys vſe.

Abiruſ

Owe G

About the feaſt of the Aſſumption of our Ladie, that auncient warriour and worthie knight ſir Robert Knolles departed thys lyfe: hee was (as before yee haue hearde) borne of meane parentage, but growing into ſuch eſtimation for his valiant prowes, as he was thought meet to haue the leading of whole armyes and the rule and gouernment of large Prouinces. For not long before hys deceaſſe, hee beeyng gouernour of Aquitaine, encumbred with age, reſigned hys office vnto Sir Thomas Belforte, a ryghte valyaunt Captaine, and therewyth returned into Englande, where he dyed at a Manour place of his in Norffolk, and from thence was brought to London in a Lytter, wyth greate pompe and muche Torche lyght, and was buryed in the Churche of the whyte Friers in Fleteſtreete by the Ladye Conſtaunce hys wyfe, where was done for hym a ſolemne Obſequie, wyth a great Feaſt, and lyberall dole to the poore.

Sir Ro knolle teth th Bermo

Sa

He wa in the Friers.

Beſyde the dyuerſe noble exploytes, and famous warrelike enterpryſes, atchieued by thys valiaunt ſonne of Mars, he to continue the perpetuall memorie of his name, buylded the bridge of Rocheſter, ouer the Riuer of Medway wyth a Chappell at the ende thereof, hee repayred alſo the bodie of the Church of the whyte Friers where hee was buryed, which Churche was fyrſt founded by the aunceſtour of the Lorde Gray of Codner. He founded a Colledge of ſecular prieſts at Pomfret, and did many other things in his life right commendable.

He bui cheſter comm led Ko bridge

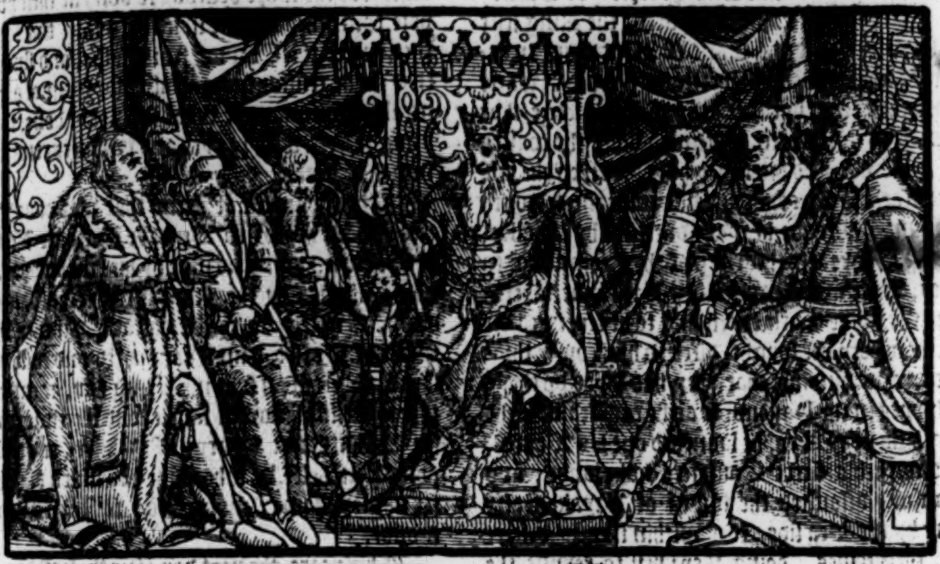
The.

Sir Thomas Rampſton Conſtable of the Tower, was drowned in comming from the court, as he would haue ſhut yͤ bridge, the ſtream being ſo big, that it ouerturned his Barge.

This

reg.9.

This yeare the. xx. of October beganne a Parliament holden at Glouceſter, but remoued to London as ſhould appeare in Nouember, for as we finde, in that Moneth this yere.1407.and ix. of his kings raigne, a ſubſidie was graunted by authoritie of a Parliament then aſſembled at London, to be leuied through the whole realme.



The Lord Camois was arraigned the laſt of October, before Edmonde Erle of Kent that day high ſtewarde of England, and by his Peeres acquitte of the offence, whereof he had beene indited (as before ye haue hearde) and ſo diſmiſſed at the barre, was reſtored againe both to his goodes, landes, and offices.

This yeare the Winter was exceeding ſharp through froſt and ſnowe, that continued and couered the ground by al the Monethes of December, Ianuarie, Februarie, and March.

The Erle of Northumberland, and the Lorde Bardolf, after they had bene in Wales, in France and Flanders, to purchaſe ayde againſt king Henrie, were returned backe into Scotland, and had remayned there nowe for the ſpace of a whole yeare, and as theyr euill fortune woulde, whileſt the king helde a Counſell of the Nobilitie at London, the ſayde Earle of Northumberlande and Lorde Bardolfe, in a diſmoll houre, with a great power of Scots returned into Englande, recouering diuerſe of the Erles, Caſtels and ſeigniories, for the people in great numbers reſorted vnto thē. Hereupon encouraged with hope of good ſucceſſe, they enter into Yorkſhyre, and there began to deſtroy the Countrey. At their cōming to Threſk, they publiſhed a Proclamation, ſignifying that they were come in comfort of the Engliſh nation as to relieue the common wealth, willing al ſuch as loued the libertie of their countrey, to repayre vnto them, with their armor on their backes, in defenſible wiſe to aſſiſt them. The king aduertiſed hereof, cauſed a great armie to bee aſſembled, and came forwarde with the ſame towardes hys enimies: but ere the king came to Notingham, ſir Thomas (or as other copies haue Rauſe) Rokeſby, Sherife of Yorkſhire, aſſembled the forces of the Countrey to reſiſt the Erle and his power, comming to Grimbaut brigges, beſide Knareſbourgh, there to ſtoppe them the paſſage, but they returning aſyde, got to Weatherby, and ſo to Tadcaſter, and finally came forward vnto Brāham More, nere to Hayſelwood, where they choſe their ground meete to fight vpon.

The Sherife of Yorkeſhire.

The Sherife was as readie to giue battaile as the Erle to receyue it, and ſo with a ſtandarde of S. George ſpred, ſet fiercely vpon the Earle who vnder a ſtandard of his own armes, encountred his aduerſaries with great manhood.

His hardy corage to fight.

There was a ſore encounter and cruell conflict betwixt the parties, but in the ende the victorie fell to the Sherife. The Earle of Northumberland was ſlaine in the field, and the Lorde Bardolfe was taken, but ſore wounded, ſo that hee ſhortly after dyed of the hurtes.

The earle of Northūberlād ſlayne.

Theyr heades were ſtryken off, and ſent to London, ther to be ſet vpon the bridge, for a terrour to others.

The Biſhop of Bangor was taken and pardoned by the king, for that when hee was apprehended, he had no armor on his backe. This battaile was foughte the nintenth daye of Februarie.

The King to pourge the Northe partes of all Rebellion, and to take order for the puniſhment of thoſe that were accuſed to haue ſuccoured and aſſyſted the Earle of Northumberlande, went to Yorke, where when many were condemned, and diuerſe put to great fines, and the Countrey brought to quietneſſe, he cauſed the Abbot of Hailes to be hanged, who had beene in armour agaynſt him with the foreſayde Earle.

The Abbot of Hayles hanged

The Erle of kent ſent to the ſea.

In the begynning of March, the King ſent Edmonde Hollande Earle of Kent with an armie of men embarked in certaine ſhippes of warre vnto the Sea, bycauſe hee had knowledge that diuerſe Rouers were waſting about the coaſtes of this lande, and did much hurt. When the erle had ſearched the coaſtes, and coulde meete wyth no enimie abroade, he was aduertiſed by eſpialles, that the Pyrates hearing of hys comming to Sea, were wythdrawne into Brytayne, wherefore the ſayde Earle entending to be reuenged on them, whom hee ſought, directed hys courſe thyther, and fynding that they had layde vp theyr Shippes in the Hauens, ſo as he coulde not fight wyth them by Sea, he launched out his Boates, and with his fierce Souldiers tooke lande, and manfully aſſaulted the towne of Bryake ſtanding by the Sea ſide: they within ſtoutly defended themſelues, doing theyr beſt to repulſe the Engliſh men, with throwing Dartes, caſting ſtones, and ſhooting quarels, in which conflict the Erle receyued a wounde in his heade, ſo that hee dyed thereof the fifth day after.

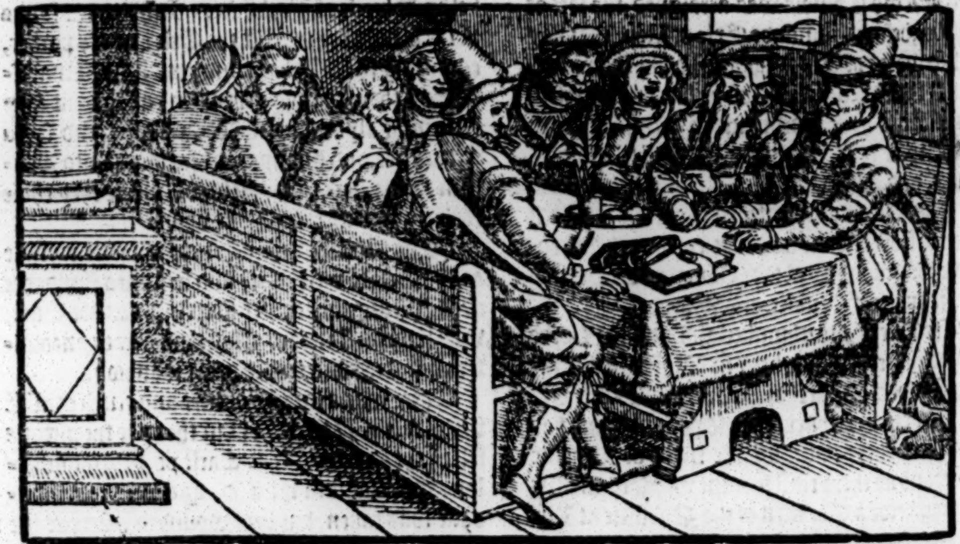
Bryake in Britain aſſaulted by the Engliſh men.

The Erle of kent wounded to death.

The Engliſh men not diſmayed wyth hys death, but the more deſirous to obteyne their purpoſe, continued theyr aſſaultes, tyll by fine force they entred the Towne, ſet it on fire, and ſlue all that made reſiſtaunce, and after for want of a generall to commaunde what ſhoulde be done, they being peſtred with prayes and priſoners returned into Englande.

The Counteſſe of Kent that was daughter (as ye haue heard) to Bernabo Viſconte Lorde of Millaine, hauing no iſſue by hir huſbande, was nowe moued by the King after hir huſbandes death, to marry with his baſtarde brother the Earle of Dorſet, a man verie aged and euill viſaged, whervpon ſhee miſlyking him, ment rather to ſatiſfie hir owne fancie, and therefore choſe for hir huſbande Henrye Mortimer, a goodly yong Batcheler, by whom ſhe had iſſue a daughter named Anne, maryed to Sir Iohn Awbemonde.

This yeare, the next day after the feaſt day of Marie Magdalen, in a Councell holden at London by the Cleargie, the Doctors of the Vniuerſities of Oxford and Cambridge being there, with the reſt aſſembled, debated the matter togither, whether they oughte to withdrawe from the Pope, paymentes of money, and theyr accuſtomed obedience, conſidering that contrarie to his worde and promiſe ſo ſolemnly made, and with an oth confyrmed, hee withdrewe himſelfe from the place where he according to couenants ſhould haue beene preſent, to aduaunce an agreement and concord in the Church.



Vpon the Euen of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, there chaunced ſuch floudes through aboundance of raine as the like had not bene ſeene afore by any man then lyuing.

An.reg.10.

About the feaſt of all Saintes, the Cardinall of Bourges came into Englande, to informe the king and the Cleargie, of the inconſtant dealing of Pope Gregorie, in lyke maner as he had infourmed the French king and the Frenchmen, to the ende, that he might perſwade both theſe kings which were accounted the chiefe in Chriſtendom, to put vnto their helping handes, that the ſame Pope Gregorie might be induced to obſerue and perfourme that othe, which he had receyued, ſo as by the royall authoritie of thoſe two kings, concord might be had in the Church.

The French king (as this Cardinal alledged) following the aduiſe of the learned men of the Vniuerſities of Paris, Bologna, Orleãs, Tholouſe and Monpellier, to auoyde the daunger of fauouring Sciſme, determyned to obey neyther the one nor the other, that contended for the Papacie, vntill peace and concorde might bee reſtored in Chriſtes Church.

The King vnderſtanding the purpoſe of the Cardinall, ſhewed him what courteſie myght be deuiſed, offring to beare his charges ſo long as it pleaſed him to remaine in England, and promyſed him to conſider aduiſedly of the matter.

This yeare after the Epiphanie, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie called the Clergie of the prouince of Canterburie to a Conuocation in Pauls Church at London, to chooſe ſufficient perſons that might goe vnto the generall Councell, appoynted to be kept at Piſa: Hervpon were choſen Robert Halom Biſhop of Saliſburie, Henrie Chicheley Biſhoppe of Saint Dauid, and Thomas Chillingden Prior of Chriſtes Churche in Canterburie. The king before this had ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Pope Gregorie, and alſo to the Cardinals, to witte, ſir Iohn Coluille knight, and maiſter Nicholas Rixton Clearke, with letters, ſignifying the griefe that hee had conceyued for the inconuenience that fell in the Chriſtian common wealth through the ſciſme, and withall putting the Pope in remembrance what miſchief and deſtruction of people hadde chaunced by the ſame ſciſme, ſo as if hee woulde well conſider the miſerable ſtate of things, he would ſurely followe the example of the true mother, that contending before Salomō for hir child with the counterfeyt mother, choſe rather to giue place, than to ſee hir childe cut in peeces.

These and the lyke matters to vtter what deſire he had to haue an vnitie in the Church, he declared frankly in his letters directed to the Pope, ſo as it might appeare to the worlde, how ſoberly and modeſtly hee ſought to enduce the Pope to procure a peace and concorde in the Church, but what his perſwaſions profited, it appeareth in the hyſtorie of Italie.

This yeare certaine learned men in Oxforde and other places, publikely in theyr Sermons maintayned and ſet forth the opinions and concluſions of Wicklife. This troubled the Biſhops and other of the Clergie ſore, inſomuch that in their Conuocation houſe, the. xxvj. of Iune, by a ſpeciall mandate of the Lorde Chauncellor in preſence of the procurators, regents, and other, as Richard Courtney, Richarde Talbot, Nicholas Souche, Walter Midforde, and ſuche like in greate multitude: ſentence was pronounced by Iohn Welles, doctor of the Canon law agaynſt the bookes of Iohn Wicklife doctor of diuinitie, intituled, *De Sermone in monte, Triologorum de Simonia, de perfectione ſtatum, de ordine Chriſtiano, de gradibus Cleri Eccleſiæ*: and to theſe was added the third treatiſe, which he compiled of Logique or Sophiſtrie.

These bookes and the concluſions in the ſame conteyned, the Chancellour of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford by common conſent and aſſent of the regents and not regentes of the ſame Vniuerſitie, reproued, diſanulled and condemned, inhibiting on paine of the greate curſſe and depriuation of all degrees ſcholaſticall, that none from thenceforth ſhoulde affyrme, teache, or preache by anye maner of meanes or wayes, the ſame heritecall bookes as (they tearmed them) conteyning anye the lyke opinions as he taught and ſet forth in the ſame bookes.

Fabian.
Iuſtes in Smithfield.

This yeare aboute Mydſommer, were royall Iuſtes holden at London in Smithfield betwixt the Seneſhall of Heynault, and certaine Henewyers chalengers, and the Erle of Sommerſet, & certaine Engliſhmen defendants.

Owen Glendouer endeth his life in great miſery.

The Welch Rebell Owen Glendouer, made an ende of his wretched life, in this tenth yeare of K. Henries reigne, being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to ſuch miſerie, that in maner diſpayring of all comfort, hee fledde into deſart places and ſolitarie Caues where beeyng deſtitute of all reliefe and ſuccour, dreading to ſhewe his face to any creature, and finally lacking meate to ſuſtayne nature, for pure hunger and lacke of foode, miſerably pyned away and dyed.

An.reg.11.
Officers made

This yeare Thomas Beaufort Erle of Surrey, was made Chancellour, and Henry Scrope Lord Treaſorer.

1410
A Parliament.

A Parliament began this yere in the quindene of S. Hillarie, in whiche the Commons of the lower houſe exhibited a byll to the King & Lords of the vpper houſe, conteyning in effect as followeth.

Tho. VValſ.
Fabian.
A ſupplication to the king.

To the moſt excellent Lorde our King, and to all the Nobles in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, your faythfull commons do humbly ſignifie, that our ſoueraigne Lorde the king myght haue of the temporall poſſeſſions, landes and reuennes which are lewdly ſpent, conſumed and waſted by the Biſhops, Abbottes, and Priors, within this Realme, ſo much in value as woulde ſuffice to finde and ſuſtaine, 150. Earles. 1500. knightes, 6200. eſquiers, and one hundred Hoſpitals more than now be.

Tho. VValſ.

The King (as ſome write, vpon aduiſed conſideration hereof had, miſlyked of the motion, and thervpon cōmaunded that from thenceforth they ſhould not preſume to ſtudie about any ſuch matters. An other thing the cōmons ſued to haue graunted vnto them, but could not obtein, which was that Clerks conuicted ſhould not frō thenceforth be deliuered to the Biſhops priſon.

Moreouer they demaunded to haue the ſtatute either reuoked, or qualified, which had beene eſtabliſhed by authoritie of Parliament, in the ſecond yeare of this kings raigne, againſt ſuch as were reputed to be Heretikes, or Lollards, by force whereof it was prouided, that whereſoeuer ſuche maner of perſons ſhoulde be founde and knowne to preach or teach their erronious doctrine, they ſhould be attached with the kings writ, & brought to the next gaole, but the king ſeemed ſo highly to fauour the Cleargie, that the Commons were anſwered plainly, they ſhould not come by their purpoſe, but rather that the ſayde ſtatute ſhoulde be made more rigorous and ſharpe, for the puniſhment of ſuch perſons.

King Henry a fauorer of the Clergy.

John Badby brent.

Tho. VValſ.

The prince being preſent at the executiō offreth hym pardon.

During this Parliament, one John Badby a Taylor, or as ſome write a Smith, being cōuict of hereſie, was brought into Smithfield, and there in a tonne or pipe burnt to death, in pitiful maner: the kings eldeſt ſonne the Lord Henrie Prince of Wales beeing preſent, offred him his pardon, firſt before the fire was kindled, if he woulde haue recanted his opinions, and after when the fire was kindled, hearing him make a roaring noyſe very pitifully, the Prince cauſed the fyre to be plucked backe, and exhorted him being ſore amaſkered, to remember himſelfe, and renounce his opinions, promyſing hym not onelye lyfe, but alſo three pens a day ſo long as hee lyued, to be payde out of the Kings Coffers: but hee hauing recouered his ſpirites againe, refuſed the Princes offer, chooſing eftſoones to taſte the fyre, and ſo to die, than to forſake his opinions. Wherevpon the Prince commaunded, that hee ſhoulde bee put into the Tonne againe, from thenceforth not to haue any fauour or pardon at all, and ſo it was done, and the fyre put to hym againe, and hee conſumed to aſhes.

Notable conſtancy of Badby.

The kings demaund in the parliament

The King demaunded in thys Parliament, that it myght be graunted to him, to haue euerye yeare in whiche he helde not Parliament a tenth of the Cleargie, and a fifteenth of the Laitie, but the eſtates woulde not agree therevnto, by reaſon whereof, the Parliament continued tyll almoſt the myddle of May. At length they graunted to gyue hym a fyfteenth, not without greate murmuring and grudgyng of the Communaltie.

A long Parliament.

A xv. granted.

Erle of Surrie deceaſeth.

Aboute this ſeaſon, dyed the Lorde Thomas Beauford Erle of Surrey.

The .xj. of Aprill or thereaboutes, the towne of Saint Omers was burnt by caſuall fire, togither with the Abbey, in whiche towne was ſuche ſtraunge and maruellous prouiſion of Engines, and all maner of furniture and preparation for the winning of Calais, as the like had neuer bene ſeene nor heard of.

Preparation made to win Calais.

Tho. VValſ.

Some wryte, that they of Calais ſtandyng in doubt of ſuche purueyaunce, and greate preparation deuyſed to annoy them, procured a yong man to kyndle that fyre, whereby all that dreadfull prouiſion was conſumed to Aſhes, and ſo they within Calays deliuered of a great deale of care and feare whiche they hadde thereof.

Sir Ro freuile miral,

Moreouer this yeare ſir Robert Umfreuile vice Admirall of Englande, annoyed the Countreys on the ſea coaſts of Scotland: for comming into the Forth with ten ſhippes of warre, and lying there .xiiij. dayes togither, landed euery daye on the one ſide of the Riuer or the other, taking prayes, ſpoyles, and priſoners, notwithſtanding the Duke of Albanie, and the Earle Dowglas were readie there, with a greate power to reſiſt him: he brunt the Galliot of Scotlande (being a ſhippe of greate account) with many other veſſelles lying the ſame time at the Blackneſſe ouer agaynſt Lieth.

Hi in Sco

At his returne from thence, he brought wyth him .xiiij. good ſhippes, and many other great priſes of cloathes, both woollen and lynnen, pitche, tarre, woad, flowre, meale, wheate and rie, which being ſolde abroade, the Markets, were well holpen therby, ſo that his ſurname of Robert Mendmarket ſeemed very well to agree wyth his qualities which name he got by this occaſion.

His Ro mar

Aboute foure yeares before this, he burnt the towne of Peples on the Market day, cauſing his men to meete the cloathes, whiche the got there wyth theyr Bowes, and ſo to ſell them awaye, wherevpon the Scots named him Robin Mendmarket.

By w ſion by th name

Shortly after his returne from the Sea now in this .xj. yeare of king Henryes raigne, he made a roade into Scotlande by lande, hauing wyth hym hys Nephewe yong Gylbert Umfreuille Earle of Augus, (commonly called Earle of Kyme) beeyng then but fouretene yeares of age, and thys was the fyrſte tyme that the ſayde Earle ſpredde hys Banner. They burnte at that tyme Jedworth, and the moſt part of Tiuidale.

The Augus vile c called Ky

Ann

A gre by the

This yeare there dyed of the bloudie Flix in the Citie of Burdeaux .xiiij. thouſande perſons, and ſo ſore raged that diſeaſe in Gaſcoigne and Guienne, that there wanted people to dreſſe theyr vines, and preſſe their grapes.

John P geſt a liam L

John Prendergeſt knight, and Wylliam Long ſkoured the Seas, ſo as no Pyrate durſte appeare, that Merchants and paſſengers myght paſſe to and fro in ſafetie. But yet through diſdaine of ſome that enuied theyr good ſucceſſe, the ſame Prendergeſt and Long were accuſed of robberies, which they ſhould practiſe in ſpoyling ſuch ſhippes as they mette with, of dyuerſe things agaynſt the owners willes. Prendergeſt was dryuen to take Sanctuarie at Weſtmynſter, and coulde not be ſuffred to lodge in anye mans houſe for feare of the kings diſpleaſure, commaũding that none ſhoulde receyue him, and ſo was conſtreyned to ſet vp a tent within the Porche of Saint Peters Church there, and to haue his ſeruants to watche nightly about him for doubt to be murthered of his aduerſaries: but his aſſociate William Long, lay ſtill on the Sea, til the Lorde Admirall hauing prepared certaine veſſels went to the ſea himſelfe in perſon to fetche him: but yet he could not catch him, till he had promiſed him pardon, and vndertaken vpon his fidelitie that hee ſhoulde haue no harme: but notwithſtanding all promyſes vpon his comming in, hee was ſhut vp faſt in the Tower, and ſo for a time remayned in durance.

The Archb. of Canter. minding in this ſeaſon to viſite the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, could not bee ſuffred, in conſideration of priuiledges which they pretended to haue.

The realme of Fraunce in this meane while was diſquieted, with the two factions of Burgoigne, and Orleans, in moſt miſerable wyſe, as in the French Hiſtories it maye further appeare. Neyther coulde the king, being a Lunatike perſon, and feeble of braine, take any ful order for the reforming of ſuch miſchiefes, ſo that the whole ſtate of the kingdome was maruellouſly brought in decay: neyther tooke thoſe troubles ende by the death of the duke of Orleans (murthered at lẽgth through the practiſe of the Duke of Burgoigne) but rather more perillouſly encreaſed, for the yõg duke of Orleans Charles, ſonne to duke Lewes thus murthered, allyed hymſelfe with the Dukes of Berry, and Bourbon, and with the Earles of Alanſon, and Arminacke, whereby hee was ſo ſtrongly banded againſt the duke of Burgoigne, whom hee defied as his mortall foe and enimie, that the duke of Burgoigne fearing the ſequele of the matter, thought good (bycauſe there was a motion of mariage betwixt the prince of Wales and his daughter) to require ayde of king Henrie, who foreſeeing that this ciuill diſcord in France, (as it after hapned) might turne his realme to honor and profite, ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne, Thomas Erle of Arundell, Gilbert Vmfreuille Erle of Angus, (commonly called the Earle of Kime) ſir Robert Vmfreuille, vncle to the ſame Gilbert, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell Lord Cobham, ſir Iohn Grey, and William Porter, with .xij.C. archers. They tooke ſhipping at Douer, and landed at Sluys, from whence with ſpeedie iorneys in the latter ende of this .xij. yere of king Henries raigne they came to Arras, where they founde the duke of Burgoigne, of whom they were ioyfully receyued, and from thence he appoynted them to go vnto Peronne, where he aſſembled a power alſo of his owne ſubiectes, and remouing frõ thence, he marched through the countrey, by Roy, Breteuil, Beauuoys, & Gyſors, til he came with his armie vnto Pontoys, where he remayned aboute the ſpace of three weekes.

An.reg.13.

From Pontoyſe the .xxij. of October, the duke of Burgoigne marched towards Paris, and paſſing the riuer of Saine at Pont Meulenc, hee ſtayed not till he came to Paris, into the whiche he entred the .xxiij. of October, late in the Euening.

Saine Clou taken by help of the Engliſhmen.

The Duke of Orleance lay the ſame time at S. Denys, with the more part of his armie, and the reſidue kept the towne of Saint Clou, where a bridge lay ouer the ryuer of Saine. On the .ix. of Nouember, with harde and ſharpe fight the Engliſhmen gat the towne of S. Clou, with the bridge, ſlue and drowned nine hundred souldiours, that were ſet there to defende that paſſage, beſydes foure hundred that were taken pryſoners.

They tooke alſo aboue .xij.C. horſes, whiche they found in the towne, with great riches, whereof the men of warre made their profite.

Sir Manſerd de Bos put to death.

Among other priſoners, ſir Manſerde de Bos, a valiant captayne was taken, and ſhortly after put to deth, as diuerſe other were, which the Burgonians bought of the Engliſh men, that had taken them priſoners. The Tower that ſtoode at the ende of the Bridge, coulde not bee wonne.

Harding.

At an other bickering alſo, it chaunced that the Engliſhe men vnder the leading of the Earle of Angus or Kyme, had the vpper hande, and tooke many pryſoners, which the Duke of Burgoigne woulde that they ſhoulde haue beene lykewiſe put to death as traytors to theyr Countrey, but the ſayd Earle of Angus anſwered for himſelfe, and the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, that they woulde rather dye all in the place, than ſuffer theyr pryſoners to be vſed otherwyſe than as men of warre ought to bee, that is, to haue their liues ſaued, and to be raunſomed according as the law of Armes requyred, and by that meanes they were preſerued.

The Duke of Burgoigne hauing the worlde at will, (for the Duke of Orleans immediatelye after the loſſe of Saint Clou, departing from S. Denys, got him into the highe Countryes) ſent home the Engliſhmen, with heartie thanks, and great rewardes.

Recor.Turris.

Creations of noblemen.

This yeare, the king created his brother Thomas Beauford Erle of Dorſet, and his ſonne the Lord Thomas of Lancaſter, that was Lord ſtewarde of Englande, and Erle of Aubemarle, hee created duke of Clarence.

Hall.

Iohn duke of Burgoigne, hauing now the gouernance, both of the French king and his realme, ſo perſecuted the Duke of Orleauns and hys

The. Orlianciall faction ſueth to the k. of England for ayde.

complyces, that finally they for theyr laſte refuge requyred ayde of King Henrie, ſending ouer vnto hym certayne perſons as theyr lawfull procuratours (of the whiche one hight Alberte Aubemont, a manne of greate witte, learning, and audacitie,) to offer in name of the confederates vnto the ſayde Kyng Henrye, and to hys ſonnes, certayne conditions whiche were made and concluded, the yeare of our Lord. 1412. the eight of May.

The confederates of the Orleancial faction.

The names of the chiefe confederates were theſe, Iohn duke of Berrie and Erle of Poictou, Charles Duke of Orleans, and Valois Earle of Blais, & Beamound Lorde of Coucie and Ach, Iohn Duke of Bourbon, and Aubergne Earle of Clearmont Foreſt, and Lyſle Lorde of Beaulieu, and Caſtean Chinou, Iohn Duke of Alanſon, Bernarde Earle of Arminacke, and others.

The Articles of couenants which they offered to the k. of Englande.

The effect of the Articles which theſe confederates were agreed vpon touching their offer to the king of England were as followeth.

1 Firſt, they offred their bodies, finances, and landes, to ſerue the king of Englande, his heyres, and ſucceſſors, in all iuſt cauſes and actions, ſauing alwayes their allegiances, knowing that he would not further enquire of them.

2 Secondly, they offred their ſonnes & daughters, neces, and nephewes, and al other their kinſfolke to bee beſtowed in mariages according to the pleaſure of the king of England.

3 Thirdly, they offred their Caſtels, townes, treaſures, and all their other goodes, to ſerue the foreſayde king.

4 Fourthly, they offered theyr friendes, allies, and well wyllers to ſerue hym, beeing the moſte part of all the Nobles of Fraunce, Churchmen, Clearkes, and honeſt Citizens, as it ſhould well appeare.

5 Fiftly, they offred to put him in poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Guienne, which they were ready to proteſt to belong to the king of Englande, in lyke and ſemblable wyſe, in lybertie and franchiſes, as any other king of Englande his predeceſſor had held and enioyed the ſame.

6 Sixtly, that they woulde bee readie to recogniſe the landes whiche they poſſeſſed within that Duchie, to hold the ſame of the king of England, as of the verye true Duke of Guienne, promiſing all ſeruices & homages after the beſt manner that might be.

7 Seuenthly, they promiſed to deliuer vnto the king, as much as lay in them, all townes and Caſtels, apperteyning to the royaltie and ſeigniorie of the king of England, which are in number xx. townes and Caſtels: and as to the regarde of other townes and fortreſſes whiche were not in their handes, they would to the vttermoſt of their powers, help the king of England & his heyres to win them out of his aduerſaries handes.

8 Eightly, that the duke of Berrie, as vaſſall to the king of Englande, and likewiſe the duke of Orleans, his ſubiect and vaſſall, ſhould holde of him by homage and fealtie, the landes and ſeigniories hereafter following, that is to ſay, the Duke of Berrie to holde onely the Countie of Ponthieu during his life, and the Duke of Orleans to holde the Countie of Anguleſme during his life, and the Countie of Perigourt for euer, and the Earle of Arminacke, to holde foure Caſtels vpon certaine ſureties and conditions, as by Indenture ſhould be appoynted. For the which offers, couenants and agreements, they requeſted of the king of England to condiſcend vnto theſe conditions enſuing.

The c which que k. of E

1 Firſt, that the king of England, as Duke of Guienne ſhoulde defende and ſuccor them as hee ought to do, againſt al mē as their very lord and ſoueraigne, and ſpecially vntil they had executed iuſtice fully vpon the Duke of Burgoigne, for the crime which he committed vpon the perſon of the Duke of Orleans.

2 Secondly, that hee ſhoulde aſſyſt them agaynſt the ſayde duke of Burgoigne and his fautors, to recouer againe their goodes, which by occaſion of the ſayd duke and his friendes they had loſt and bene depriued of.

3 Thirdly, that he ſhoulde likewiſe ayde them in all iuſt quarelles, for recouering of domages done to their friends, vaſſals and ſubiects.

4 Fourthly, to helpe and aſſyſt them for the concluding and eſtabliſhing of a firme peace betwixt both the realmes, ſo farre as was poſſible.

And further they beſought the king of England to ſend vnto them. viij. M. men to ayd thē agaynſt the Duke of Burgoigne and his complices, whiche dayly procured the French king to make warre vpon them, ſeeking by al wayes and meanes how to deſtroy them.

The king of Englande louingly enterteyned the Meſſengers, and vpon conſideration had of their offers, as wel for that he deteſted the ſhamefull murther of the Duke of Orleans (which remayned vnpuniſhed by ſupport of ſuch as mainteyned the duke of Burgoigne, who as it appeared woulde keepe promyſe no longer than ſerued his owne turne) as alſo for that the ſame offers ſeemed to make greatly both for hys honour and profite, thought that by the office of a King hee was bounde in duetie to ſuccour them that cryed for Iuſtice and coulde not haue it, and namely ſithe in right they were his ſubiectes and vaſſalles, hee oughte to defende them in mayntenaunce of his ſuperioritie and Seigniorie.

Hereupon as Duke of Guienne, he tooke vpon him

king of
glande
vpon
to defend
Orleantial

him to ſuccour and defend them againſt all men, as their verie Lorde and ſoueraigne, and ſo ſending away the Meſſengers, promiſed to ſende them ayde very ſhortly.

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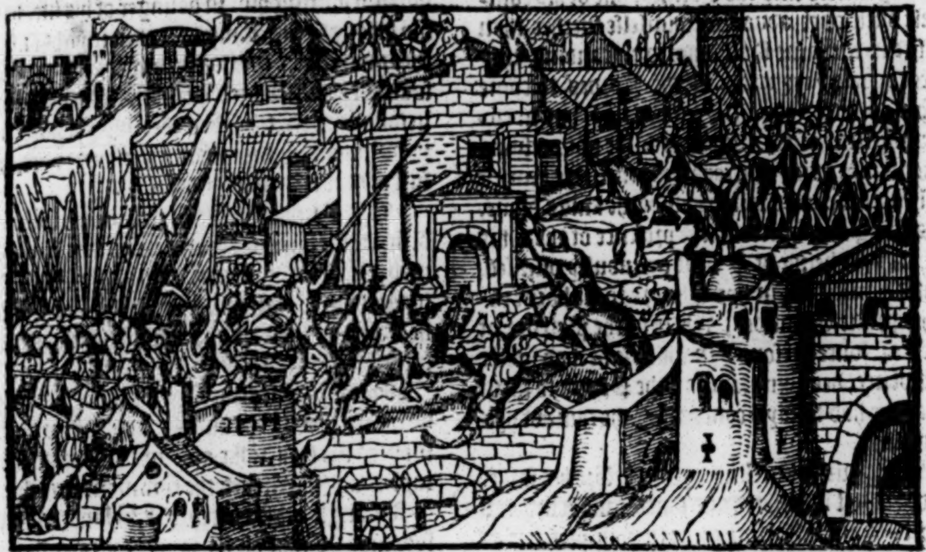
es.

This feate was not ſo ſecretly wrought, but that it was knowne ſtreight wayes in Fraunce. Wherefore the Frenche kings counſaile ſent the Earle of S. Paule downe into Picardie, wyth .vj. hundred horſemen, and a greate number of footmen, who approching to Guiſnes, attempted to aſſault the Caſtell, but was repulſed and beaten backe, ſo that he retired to the towne of Saint Quintines, as one that neuer wan gaine at the Engliſhmens handes, but euer departed frō them with loſſe and diſhonor. In this meane ſeaſon the French king being led by the duke of Burgoin purſued thē that tooke part with the duke of Orleans, commonly called Arminacks, and after the winning of diuerſe townes he beſieged the Citie of Bourges in Berrie, comming before it vpon Saterday the .xj. of Iune, with a right huge armie. Within this Citie were the dukes of Berrie and Bourbon, the Erle of Auxerre, the lord Dalbret, the Archbiſhops of Sens and Bourges, the Biſhops of Paris and Chartres, hauing with thē .xv. hundred armed men, and foure hundred Archers and Arbaleſtiers.

His fortune againſt Engliſh men.



There were with the king at this ſiege, his ſon the duke of Aquitaine, otherwiſe called the Dolphin, the dukes of Burgoigne, ⁊ Bar, and a great number of other erles, lords, knights, ⁊ gentlemē, ſo that the Citie was beſieged euen til within the Faux burges of that ſide towards Dun le Roy.

The ſiege continued, till at length through mediation of Philibert de Lignac, Lorde greate maiſter of the Rhodes, and the Marſhall of Sauoy, that were both in the kings campe, trauelling betwixt the parties, there were appoynted Cōmiſſioners on both ſides to treate for a peace, to wit the maſter of the Croſbowes, and the Seneſhal of Heynalt, and certain other for the king, and the Archbiſhop of Bourges, and the Lorde of Gaucourt and others for the Orlientiall ſide.

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Theſe comming togither on a Fryday, the .xv. of Iuly in the Dolphins Tent, vſed the matter with ſuch diſcretion, that they concluded a peace, and ſo on the Wedneſday nexte following, the campe brake vp, and the king returned.

The prince of wales accuſed to his father.

Iohn. Stow.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in France, the Lorde Henrie Prince of Wales, eldeſt ſonne to king Henrie, got knowledge that certain of his fathers ſeruants were buſie to giue informations agaynſt him, whereby diſcorde might ariſe betwixte him and his father, for they put into the Kings heade, not onely what euill rule (according to the courſe of youth) the Prince kepte to the offence of many: but alſo what greate reſort of people came to hys houſe, ſo that the Courte was nothing furniſhed wyth ſuche a traine as dayly folowed the Prince.

The ſuſpitious iealouſie of the king towards his ſon.

Theſe tales brought no ſmall ſuſpition into the Kings heade, leaſt hys ſonne woulde preſume to vſurpe the crowne, hee beeing yet aliue, through which ſuſpitious iealouſie, it was perceiued that he fauoured not his ſonne, as in tymes paſt he had done.

The Prince ſore offended with ſuch perſons, as by ſlaunderous reportes, ſought not onely to ſpotte his good name abroade in the realme, but to ſow diſcorde alſo betwixt him and his father, wrote his letters into euery part of the realme, to reproue all ſuch ſlaunderous deuiſes of thoſe that ſought hys diſcredite, and to cleare himſelfe the better, that the Worlde mighte vnderſtande what wrong he had to be ſlandered in ſuch wiſe: aboute the feaſt of Peter and Paule, to witte, the .xxix. daye of Iune hee came to the Courte with ſuch a number of Noble menne and other

The prince goeth to the court with a great trayne.

his friendes that wiſhed him wel, as the like train had beene ſeldome ſeene repayring to the Court at any one tyme in thoſe dayes. He was apparelled in a Gowne of blewe Satten, full of ſmal Oylet holes, at euery hole the needle hanging by a ſilke threde, with which it was ſewed. About his arme he ware an Houndes coller ſette full of SS of golde, and the tyrettes likewiſe being of the ſame mettall.

His ſtrange apparel.

The Court was then at Weſtminſter, where he being entred into the Hall, not one of his companie durſt once aduaunce himſelfe further than the fire in the ſame Hall, notwithſtanding they were earneſtly requeſted by the Lordes to come higher: but they regarding what they had in cōmaundement of the prince, woulde not preſume to do in any thing contrary therevnto. He himſelf only accompanied with thoſe of the kings houſe, was ſtreight admitted to the preſence of the k. his father, who being at ÿ time grieuouſly diſeaſed, cauſed himſelf yet in hys Chayre to be borne into his priuie Chamber, where in the preſence of three or foure perſons, in whome he had moſte confidence, hee commaunded the Prince to ſhew what hee had to ſaye concerning the cauſe of hys comming.

The prince cōmeth to the kings preſence

The Prince kneeling downe before his father ſayde: Moſt redoubted and ſoueraigne Lord and father, I am this time come to your preſence as your liege man and as your naturall ſonne, in all things to be at your commaundement.

His wordes to his father.

And where I vnderſtand you haue in ſuſpition my demeanour agaynſt your grace, you knowe very well, that if I knewe any man wythin thys realme of whome you ſhoulde ſtande in feare, my dutie were to puniſh that perſon, thereby to remoue that griefe from your heart: Then howe much more ought I to ſuffer death, to eaſe your grace of that griefe which you haue of me, beeing your naturall ſonne and liegeman: and to that ende I haue this day made my ſelfe readie by cōfeſſion and receyuing of the Sacramēt: and therfore I beſeeche you moſte redoubted Lorde and deare father, for the honour of God, to eaſe your heart of all ſuch ſuſpition as you haue of me, and to diſpatche me here before your knees, with this ſame dagger: and withall hee deliuered vnto the king his dagger, in all humble reuerence; adding further, that his life was not ſo deare to him, that hee wiſhed to liue one daye with his diſpleaſure, and therefore (ſayth he) in thus ridding me out of life, and your ſelfe from all ſuſpition, here in preſence of theſe Lordes, and before God at the day of the generall iudgement, I faythfully proteſt clearly to forgiue you.

The king moued herewith, caſt from him the dagger, and embracing the Prince, kyſſed hym, and with ſhedding teares, confeſſed that in deede he had him partly in ſuſpition, though now as he perceyued not with iuſt cauſe, and therefore from thenceforth no miſreport ſhuld cauſe him to haue him in miſtruſt, & this he promiſed of his honour. So by his greate wiſedome, was the wrongfull ſuſpition whiche his father had conceyued againſt him remoued, and hee reſtored to hys fauour. And further, where he coulde not but grieuouſlye complayne of them that hadde ſlaundered hym ſo greatly, to the defacing not onely of his honor, but alſo putting him in daunger of his life, he hūbly beſought the King that they myght anſwere theyr vniuſte accuſation, and in caſe they were founde to haue forged ſuche matters vpon a malicious purpoſe, that then they myght ſuffer ſome puniſhment for theyr faultes, thoughe not to the full of that they had deſerued.

The kings wordes to the Prince his ſon.

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The King ſeeming to graunt his reaſonable deſire, tolde him yet that he muſt tarie a Parliament, that ſuche offenders might be puniſhed by iudgement of theyr Peeres: And ſo for that time he was diſmiſſed, with great loue and ſignes of fatherly affection.

About the ſame time, John Prendergeſt knight, being reſtored to the kings fauor, with .xxx. ſhips ſkoured the ſeas, tooke good priſes of wine and vitaples, which relieued the commons greatly.

Sir Io
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Amongſt other enterpriſes, he landed vpon the ſodaine at Craal on the fayre day, tooke the town and robbed the fayre, ſo as they that were come thither to ſell their wares, had quicke vtteraunce and ſlowe payment.

King Henrie vnderſtanding, that the French King by the ſetting on of the Duke of Burgoine in purſuing the contrarie faction, hadde beſieged the Citie of Bourges (as before yee haue hearde) determyned with all ſpeede to ayde the Duke of Orleans, and ſo aboute the feaſt of the Aſſumption of oure Ladie, hee ſent ouer an armie of viij. hundred menne of Armes, and nine thouſande Archers, vnder the leading of hys ſeconde ſonne the Duke of Clarence, accompanyed wyth Edwarde Duke of Yorke, Thomas Earle of Dorſet, and dyuerſe other Noble men and worthye Captaynes. They landed in the Baye de la Hogue Saint Waſt, in the Countrey of Conſtantine.

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The Engliſhmen ſwarmed like Bees round about the Countrey, robbing & ſpoiling the ſame.

Shortly after their departure from the place where they landed, there came to them .vj. C. armed men of Gaſcoignes ÿ were enrolled at Burdeaux. When newes therof came to the Frenche court, being then at Auxerre, incōtinently ÿ erles of Alāſon & Richmōt were diſpatched to go vnto the Engliſh camp, bycauſe they had euer bin partakers wͭ the duke of Orleans, to giue thē thanks for their paines, & to aduertiſe them of the peace, that

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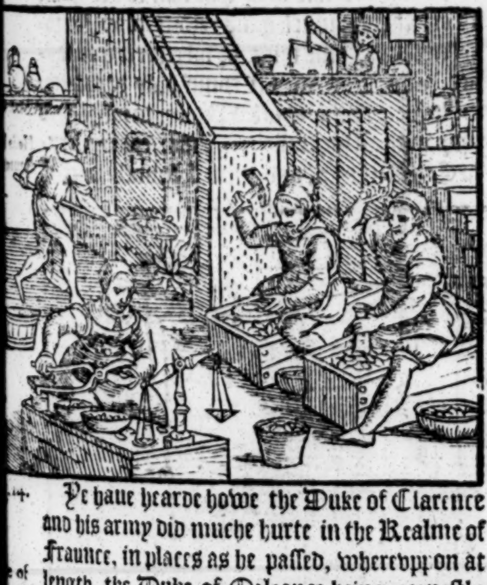
that had bin lately concluded betwixte the parties, and therefore to take order with them, that they mighte bee ſatiſfied; ſo as they ſhoulde not ſpoyle and waſt the Countrey, as they had begun: but whereas the Engliſhmen were greedie to haue, and the Duke of Orleance was not rich to pay, they marched on towardes Guyenne in good order, and what by ſacking of Townes, and raunſoming of riche priſoners, they gote greate treaſure, and many good prayes and booties. Being paſſed ẏ riuer of Loyere they ſpoyled the towne of Beaulieu, and with fire and ſworde waſted the Coũtreys of Touraine, and Maine. The Lorde de Rambures appoynted to reſiſt ſuch violence, was eaſily vanquiſhed.

Moreouer, to the ayde of the Duke of Orleance, the King of England ſent ouer to Calais, the Earles of Kente and Warwike, with two thouſand fighting men, which ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey of Bullennoyes, brente the Towne of Samer de Boys, and tooke with aſſaulte, the fortreſſe of Ruſſalt, and diuers other.

This yeare, the King abaſed the coynes of his golde and ſiluer, cauſing the ſame to be currant in this Realme, at ſuch valew, as the other was valued before, where indede the Noble was worſe by foure pence than the former, and ſo likewiſe of the ſyluer, the coynes whereof hee appoynted to bee currante after the ſame rate.



Ye haue hearde howe the Duke of Clarence and his army did muche hurte in the Realme of Fraunce, in places as he paſſed, whereupon at length, the Duke of Orleance being earneſtly called vpon to diſpatch the Engliſhmenne out of Fraunce, according to an article compriſed in the concluſion of the peace, he came to the Duke of Clarence, rendering to him and his armye a thouſande gramercies, and diſburſed to them as much money as he or his friendes mighte eaſily ſpare, and for the reſt, beeing two hundred and nine thouſande frankes remaining vnpaide, hee deliuered in gage his ſecond brother, John Duke of Angoleſme, which was grandfather to King Francis the firſt, that raigned in our dayes, Sir Marcell de Bourges, & ſir John de Samoures, ſir Archibalde Viliers, and dyuers other, whych Earle continued long in England, as after ſhall appeare. When this agreement was thus made betwixt the Dukes of Orleance and Clarence, the Engliſh army with riche prayes, booties and priſoners came to Burdeaux, making warre on the Fronters of Fraunce, to their greate gayne.

The duke of Angoleſme deliuered in gage to the Duke of Clarence.

In this meane while, the Lorde of Helie, one of the Marſhals of Fraunce, with an armye of foure thouſand men, beſieged a certaine fortreſſe in Guienne, which an Engliſhe Knighte, one ſir John Blunt kepte, who with three hundred men that came to his ayde, diſcomfited, chaſed, and ouerthrew the Frenche power, tooke priſoners, twelue men of name, and other Gentlemen, to the number of ſixe ſcore, and amongſt other, the ſaid Marſhall, who was ſent ouer into Englande, and put in the Caſtell of Wiſſebec, from whence hee eſcaped, and gote ouer into Fraunce, where ſeruing the Duke of Orleance at the battell of Agincort, he was ſlaine among other.

The lorde of Helie Marſhal of Fraunce.

Sir Io. Blount.

In this fourteenth and laſt yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, a Counſell was holden in the white Friers in London, at the which, among other things, order was taken for Shippes and galleys to be buylded and made ready, and al other things neceſſarie to bee prouided, for a voyage which he meant to make into the holy land, there to recouer the Citie of Jeruſalem from the Infidels. For it greeued him to conſider ẏ great malice of Chriſtian Princes, that were bent vpon a miſcheuous purpoſe to deſtroy one another, to the peril of their owne ſoules, rather than to make warre againſt the enimies of the Chriſtian faith, as in conſcience (it ſemed to him) they were bound. Hee helde his Chriſtmas this yeare at Eltham, beeing ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, ſo that it was thought ſometime, that he had bene dead: notwithſtanding it pleaſed God that hee ſomewhat recouered his ſtrength againe, and ſo paſſed that Chriſtmas with as much ioy as hee might.

Fabian.

The K. meant to haue made a iourney againſt the infidels.

The king is vexed with ſickneſſe.

The morrow after Candlemas day, began a Parliament, which he had called at London, but he departed this life before the ſame Parliament was ended: for nowe that his prouiſions were ready, and that he was furniſhed with ſufficient treaſure, ſouldiers, Captaines, vittailes, munitions, tall Shippes, ſtrong galleis, and al things neceſſarie for ſuche a royall iourney as he pretended to take into the holy lande, hee was eftſoones takē with a ſore ſickneſſe, which was not

1413

A parliament.

The king ſick of an Apoplexie.

a leproſie, ſtriken by the hand of God (ſaith maſter Hall) as fooliſhe Friers imagined but a verie apoplexie, of the which he languiſhed till his appoynted houre, and hadde none other griefe nor maladie, ſo that what man ordeyneth, God altereth at his good will and pleaſure, not gyuing place more to the Prince, thā to the poreſt creature liuing, when hee ſeeth his time to diſpoſe of him this way or that, as to his omnipotent power and diuine prouidence ſeemeth expediente.

Hall.

During this his laſt ſickneſſe, he cauſed hys Crowne (as ſome write) to be ſet on a pillow at his beddes head, and ſuddaynely his pangs ſo ſore troubled him, that he lay as though all hys vitall ſpirites had bin from him departed. Such as were about him, thinking verily that hee had bin departed, couered hys face with a lynnen cloth.

The prince taketh away the crowne before his father was dead.

He is blamed of the king. His anſwere.

A guiltie conſcience in extremitie of ſickneſſe pincheth ſore.

The Prince his ſonne being heereof aduertiſed, entered into the chamber, tooke away the Crowne, and departed. The father beeing ſuddainely reuiued out of that traunce, quickly perceyued the lacke of his Crowne, and hauing knowledge that the Prince his ſonne had taken it away, cauſed him to come before his preſence, requiring of him what hee meante ſo to miſuſe himſelfe: the Prince with a good audacitie aunſwered, Sir, to mine and all mens iudgementes you ſeemed dead in this worlde, wherefore I as your nexte heyre apparant, tooke that as myne owne, and not as youres: well faire ſonne ſayde the King (with a greate ſigh) what right I had to it, God knoweth: well quoth the Prince, if you dye King, I wil haue the garland, and truſt to keepe it with the ſword againſt all mine enimies as you haue done: then ſayd the King, I commit all to God, and remember you to doe well, and with that turned himſelfe in his bedde, and ſhortly after departed to God in a chamber of the Abbots of Weſtminſter called Ieruſalem, the twentith daye of Marche, in the yeare 1413. and in the yeare of his age .46. when he had raigned .13. yeares fiue monthes and odde dayes in greate perplexitie and little pleaſure.

The dea
Henrye

ture.

Fabian

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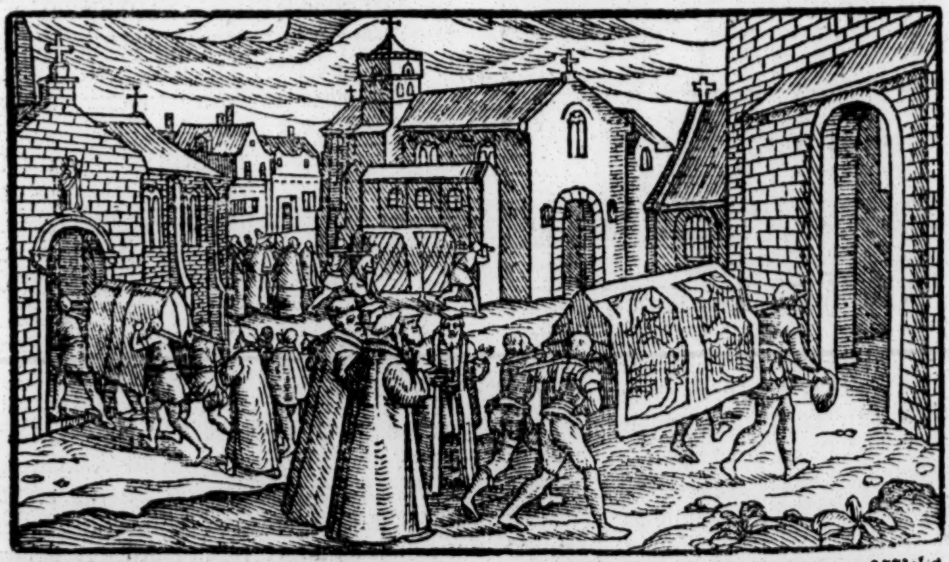
We fynde, that hee was taken with his laſt ſickneſſe, while hee was making his prayers at Sainte Edwardes ſhrine, there as it were to take his leaue, and ſo to proceede forthe on hys iourney: hee was ſo ſuddaynely and grieuouſlie taken, that ſuche as were about him, feared leaſt he woulde haue dyed preſently, wherefore to releeue him if it were poſſible, they bare him into a chamber that was nexte at hande, belonging to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, where they layde him on a pallet before the fier, and vſed all remedyes to reuiue him: at length, hee recouered hys ſpeeche, and vnderſtanding and perceiuing himſelfe in a ſtrange place which he knewe not, hee willed to know if the chamber had any perticular name, whereunto aunſwere was made, that it was called Ieruſalem. Then ſaide the king, laudes bee gyuen to the father of Heauen, for nowe I knowe that I ſhall dye heere in thys chamber, according to the prophecie of me declared, that I ſhoulde depart this life in Ieruſalem.

He is b
Cante

Whether this was true that ſo hee ſpake, as one that too much gaue credite to fooliſh prophecies and vaine tales, or whether it was fayned, as in ſuche caſes it commonly happeneth, we leaue it to the aduiſed Reader to iudge. Hys body with all funerall pompe was conueyed vnto Caunterburie, and there ſolemnely buryed,



His iſſue.

leauing behind him by the Lady Mary daughter to yͤ Lord Humfrey Bohun, Erle of Hereford & Northampton, Henry Prince of Wales, Thomas Duke of Clarence, Iohn Duke of

Bedford, Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, Blanch Duches of Bauier, and Phillip Queene of Dēmarke: by his laſt wife Jane, hee hadde no children.

This King was of a meane ſtature, well proportioned, and formally compact, quicke and deliuer, and of a ſtoute courage. In his latter dayes, he ſhewed himſelfe ſo gentle, that he gate more loue amongſt the nobles and people of this Realme, than he had purchaſed malice and euill will in the beginning: but yet to ſpeake a troth by his proceedings, after hee had atteined to the Crowne, what with ſuch taxes, tallages, ſubſedies, and exactions as hee was conſtreyned to charge the people with, and what by puniſhing ſuche as moued with diſdeyne to ſee him vſurpe the Crowne (contrarie to the othe taken at hys entring into this lande, vppon his returne from exile) did at ſundry times rebell againſt him, hee wanne himſelfe more hatred than in all hys lyfe time (if it had bin longer by many yeares than it was) had bin poſſible for him to haue weeded out and remoued, and yet doubtleſſe, worthy were his ſubiects to taſt of that bitter cuppe, ſith they were ſo readie to ioyne, and clappe handes with him, for the depoſing of their rightfull and naturall Prince King Richarde, whoſe chiefe fault reſted only in that, that he was too bountifull to his friendes, and too mercifull to his foes, ſpecially, if he had not bin drawen by others, to ſeeke reuenge of thoſe that abuſed his good and curteous nature.

But nowe to returne to the matter preſente. The Duke of Clarece immediately vpō knowledge hadde of his father King Henry the fourth his death, returned out of Guyenne into Englande, with the Earle of Angoleſme, and other priſoners.

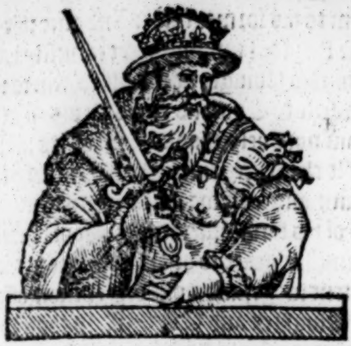
But nowe to rehearſe what writers of oure Engliſh nation liued in the days of this Kyng, that renowmed Poete Geffreye Chaucer is worthily named as principall, a man ſo exquiſitely learned in all ſciences, that hys matche was not lightly founde anye where in thoſe dayes, and for reducing our Engliſhe tong to a perfect conformitie, hee hath excelled therein all other. He departed this life about the yeare of our Lord.1402. as Bale gathereth, but by other it appeareth, that he deceaſſed the fiue and twentith of October in the yeare.1400. and lyeth buried at Weſtminſter, in the South parte of the great Church there, as by a monumente erected by Nicholas Brigham it dothe appeare: John Gower diſcended of that worthye familie of the Gowers of Stitenham in Yorkeſhire (as Leland noteth) ſtudyed not only the cōmō lawes of this Realme, but alſo other kindes of literature, and grew to greate knowledge in the ſame, namely in poeticall inuentions, applying his endeuor with Chaucer, to garniſh the Engliſhe tong, in bringing it from a rude vnperfectneſſe, vnto a more apt elegancie: for whereas before thoſe dayes, the learned vſed to write onely in latine or Frenche, and not in Engliſhe, oure tong remayned very barreyne, rude, and vnperfect, but now by the diligent induſtrie of Chaucer and Gower, it was within a while greately amended, ſo as it grew not only to be very riche and plentifull in wordes, but alſo ſo proper and apt to expreſſe that which the minde conceyued, as any other vſuall language. Gower departed this life ſhortly after the deceaſſe of his deere and louing friend Chaucer, to witte, in the yere 1402. beeing then come to great age, and blinde for a certaine time before his death. He was buried in the Church of Saint Mary Oueries in Southwarke: Hugh Legate borne in Hertfordeſhire, and a Monke of Sainte Albons, wrote Scholies vpon Architreuius of John Hanuille, and alſo vppon Boetius *de Conſolatione*: Roger Alington, Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford, a greate Sophiſt, and an enimie to the doctrine of Wicklife: John Botrel, a Logitien: Nicholas Gorham, borne in a village of the ſame name in Hertfordſhire, a Dominike Frier, fyrſt proceeded maſter of arte in Oxforde, and after going to Paris, became the French Kings confeſſor, and therefore hath bin of ſome taken to be a Frenchman: John Lilleſhull, ſo called of a Monaſterie in the Weſt parties of this Realme whereof hee was gouernour: Walter Diſſe, ſo called of a Towne in Northfolke where he was borne, firſt a Carmelite Frier profeſſed in Norwiche, and after going to Cambridge, hee there proceeded Doctor: hee was alſo confeſſor to the Duke of Lancaſter, and to his wife the Duches Conſtance, a greate ſetter forthe of Pope Vrbanes cauſe againſte the other Popes that were by him and thoſe of his faction named the Antipapes: Thomas Maldon, ſo called of ẏ towne of that name in Eſſex where hee was borne: John Edoe, diſcended out of Wales by lignage, and borne in Herefordſhire, a Franciſcane Frier: Nicholas Fakinham, borne in Northfolke, a grey Frier, proceeded Doctor in Oxford, a great Diuine, and an excellent Philoſopher prouinciall of his order here in Englande: Laurence Holbecke, a Monke of Ramſey, well ſeene in the Hebrewe tong, and wrote thereof a Dictionarie: John Colton, Archbyſhop of Ardmach: John Marrey, ſo called of a village in Yorkeſhire where he was borne, a Carmelite of Doncaſter: Richarde Cheſer borne in Northfolke, a diuine, and an Auguſtine Frier in Norwiche: John Lathburie, a Franciſcane Frier of Reading: Nicholas Poutz: Richard Scrope, brother to William Scrope, Lord Treaſorer of England, ſtudyed in Cambridge, and proceeded there Doctor of both the lawes, became an aduocate in the Court of Rome, and afterwardes was aduanced to the gouernemente of the Sea of Couentrie and Liechfield, and at length was remoued from thence, and made Archbyſhoppe of Yorke: he wrote an inuectiue againſte Kyng Henry, and at length loſt his head, as before yee haue heard: Iohn Wrotham, a Carmelite Frier of London, and after made Warden of an houſe of his order in Calays: Iohn Colby, a Carmelite Frier of Norwich: William Thorp a Northerne man borne, and ſtudente in Oxford, an excellent diuine, and an earneſt follower of that famous Clearke Iohn Wicklife, a notable preacher of the word, and expreſſing his doctrine no leſſe in trade of life, than in ſpeeche, he was at length apprehended by commaundement of the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie Thomas Arundell, and committed to priſon in Saltwood Caſtell, where at length hee dyed: Stephen Patrington, borne in Yorkeſhire, a Frier Carmelite prouinciall of his order thorough England, of whiche broode, there were at that ſeaſon. 1500. within this land, he was Byſhop of Sainte Dauids, and confeſſor to Kyng Henry the fifth, about the fifth yeare of whoſe raigne, he deceaſſed: Robert Maſcall, a Carmelite Frier of Ludlowe, confeſſor alſo to the ſayde King, who made him Byſhop of Hereford: Reginald Langham, a Frier Minor of Norwiche: Aſtonus Dominicanus: Thomas Palmer, warden of the blacke Friers within the Citie of London: Boſton of Burie, a Monke of the Abbey of Burie in Suffolke, wrote a Cataloge of all the writers of the Churche, and other treatiſes: Thomas Peuerell, a Frier Carmelite, borne in Suffolke, hee was aduanced to the Sea of Oſſorie in Irelande by Richarde the ſeconde, and after by Pope Boniface the ninth, remoued to Landaue in Wales, and from thence called by Henrye the fourth, with conſente of Pope Gregorie the twelfth, to gouerne the Sea of Worceſter, and ſo continued Byſhoppe of that Citie, till hee ended his life in the yeare of oure Lord. 1418. whiche was about the ſixth yeare of the reigne of King Henry the fifth: Iohn Purney, an excellente Diuine, proceeded maſter of arte in Oxforde, hee was apprehended for ſuche doctrine as hee taught, contrarie to the ordinances of the Churche of Rome, and was at length compelled by Thomas Arundell, Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie, to recante at Poules Croſſe ſeauen ſpeciall articles: hee wrote diuers treatiſes, and was the ſecond time committed to priſon in Henry yͤ fifth his dayes, by Henry Chichley, that ſucceeded Arundell in gouernement of the Church of Canterburie: William Holme, a grey Frier (and a good Phiſition for curing diſeaſes of the body, whatſoeuer his phiſick was for the ſoule:) he liued til Hēry the fifth his daies, and deceaſſed about yͤ fourth yeare of his raigne: Nicholas Bayard, a blacke Frier, a Doctor of Diuinitie profeſſed at Oxforde: Thomas Rudburne, Archdeacon of Sudburie, and Byſhop of Saint Dauids in Wales, ſucceding after Stephen Patrington: hee wrote a Chronicle, and certaine Epiſtles (as Iohn Bale noteth:) Nicholas Riſton, who being ſore greeued in mind, as diuers other in thoſe dayes, to conſider what inconuenience redounded to the Church, by reaſon of the ſtrife and brawling among the Prelates, for the acknowledging of a lawfull Pope, two or three ſtill contending for that dignitie, wrote a booke, entituled *de tollendo Sciſmate:* Iohn Walter, an excellent mathematicien, being fyrſte broughte vp of a Scholer, in the Colledge of Wincheſter, and after ſtudyed at Oxford: Thomas of Newmarket, taking that ſurname of the Towne in Cambridgeſhire where hee was borne, hee for his worthineſſe as was thoughte, was made Byſhoppe of Carleill, well ſeene both in other ſciences, and alſo in diuinitie: William Inger a Franciſcane Frier, of an houſe of that order in Brigewater: Peter Ruſſell a grey Frier, and of his order the prouinciall heere in England: Iohn Langton, a Carmelite: Roberte Wantham a Monke of Cerneley in Dorſetſhire, wrote a Booke in verſe, of the originall, and ſignification of wordes: William Norton, a Franciſcane Frier of Couentrie: Hugh Sueth, a blacke Frier, and a great preacher: Richard Folſham, a Monke of Norwiche: Robert Wimbeldon, a ſingular diuine, and an excellent Preacher, as appeareth by the Sermon whiche hee made vpon this texte, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ.*

Actes and monuments. page 631. &c.

See maſte Foxe, in booke of and mon mēts, pa.

Actes umen page.6

1413

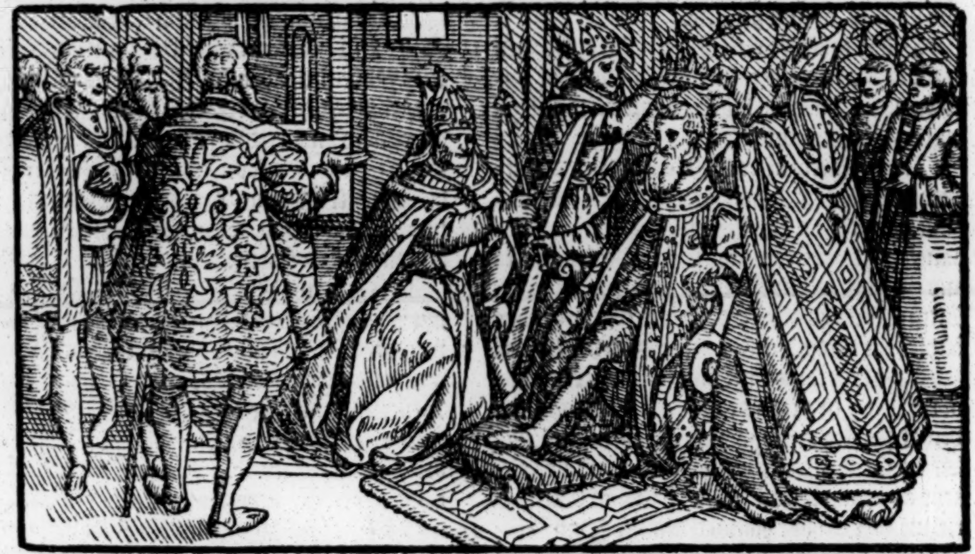


HENRY Prince of Wales, ſon and heire to Kyng Henrye the fourth, borne at Monmouth in wales, on the ryuer of Wye, after his father was departed this life, tooke vpon him the regimente of thys Realme of Englande, the twentith of Marche, being proclaymed King, by the name of Henry the fifth, in the yeare of the worlde. 5375. after the birth of our ſauior.1413. the third, or therabouts, of the Emperor Sigiſmond, the three and thirtie of Charles the ſixt king of Fraunce, and about the fifth of James the firſt K. of Scotland.

Suche greate hope, and good expectation was hadde of thys mans fortunate ſucceſſe to followe, that within three dayes after hys fathers deceaſſe, diuers noble men, and honourable perſonages, did to him homage, and ſware to him due obedięce, which had not bin ſene done to any of his predeceſſors kings of this Realm, till they hadde bin poſſeſſed of the Crowne, and receyued their oth well and truely to gouerne. He was Crowned the ninth of April, beeyng Paſſion Sonday, which was a ſore, ruggie and vntemperate daye, with wind, ſnow and ſleete, that men greatly maruelled thereat, making diuers interpretations, what the ſame mighte ſignifie.

Homage done to king Henry before his coronation.

The day of K. Henryes coronation a very tempeſtuous daye.



But what ſo euer mens fancies hereof might coniecture, this King was the man, that according to the olde prouerbe, declared and ſhewed in what ſort honors ought to change maners, for immediately after that hee was inueſted Kyng, and had receyued the Crowne, hee determined with him ſelfe to putte vppon him the ſhape of a new man, turning inſolencie and wildneſſe into grauitie and ſoberneſſe: And whereas hee hadde paſſed his youth in wanton paſtime, and riotous miſorder, with a ſort of miſgouerned mates, and vnthriftie playfeers, hee nowe baniſhed them from his preſence (not vnrewarded, nor yet vnpreferred) inhibiting them vppon a great payne, not once to approche, lodge, or ſoiourne within tenne miles of his Courte or manſion: and in their places he elected and choſe men of grauitie, witte, and high policie, by whoſe wiſe counſell, and prudent aduertiſement, he might at al times rule to his honoure, and gouerne to his profyte: wheras if he ſhould haue reteined the other luſtie companions aboute him, he doubted leaſt they might haue allured him vnto ſuche lewde and lighte partes, as with them before tyme he had youthfully vſed, not alwayes to his owne commendation, nor yet to the cōtentation of his father, in ſo much, that where on a time, hee ſtroke the chiefe iuſtice on the face with his fiſte, for empriſoning one of his mates, he was not only cōmitted to ſtraighte priſon himſelfe by the ſayde chiefe Juſtice, but alſo of his father putte out of the priuie counſell, and baniſhed the Court, and his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence elected preſident of the Counſel, to his great diſpleaſure and open reproch: but nowe that hee was once placed in the royall throne, and regall ſeate of the Realme, he conſidering with himſelfe, what charge he had in hand, and what apperteyned to his duetie and office, truſted not too muche to the redineſſe of his own wit, nor to the iudgemēt of hys owne wauering wil, and therfore (as I ſaid) called to his counſell ſuch prudent and politike perſonages as myghte helpe to eaſe hys charge, and inſtruct him with ſuche good reaſons, and frutefull perſwaſions, as hee myghte ſhew himſelfe to his ſubiects a mirror of vertue, and an example of vpright dealing. After he had layd this politike foundation, he vertuouſly conſidering in his mind, that all goodneſſe commeth of God, determined to begin with ſome thing acceptable, to his diuine maieſtie, and therefore firſt commaunded the Clergie, ſincerely and trulie to Preache the worde of God, and to liue accordingly, that they mighte bee the lanternes of light to the temporaltie, as their profeſſion required. The lay men he willed to ſerue God, and obey their Prince, prohibiting them aboue all things breach of Matrimonie, vſe of ſwearing, and namely, wilfull periurie.

Beſide this, hee elected the beſt learned men in the lawes of the Realme, to the offices of Iuſtice, and men of good liuing, he preferred to high degrees, and authoritie.

A parliament.

Immediately after Eaſter, he called a Parliament, in which, diuers good ſtatutes, & wholeſome ordinances, for the preſeruation and aduancemente of ẏ common wealth, were deuiſed and eſtabliſhed. On Trinitie Sonday, were the ſolemne exequies done at Canterburie, for hys father, the King himſelfe being preſent thereat.

Thom. VVal.
The funerals of K. Henry the fourthe, kept at Canterbury.

About the ſame time, at the ſpeciall inſtance of the King, in a conuocation of the Clergie holden at Poules in London, it was ordeyned, that Saint George his day ſhould be celebrate, and kept as a double feaſt. The Archb. of Cāterburie, meante to haue honored Sainte Dunſtanes day with like reuerence, but it tooke not effect.

Saint Georges day made double feaſt.

When the K. had ſetled things much to hys purpoſe, he cauſed the body of K. Richard to bee remoued with all funerall pompes, conueniente for his eſtate from Langley to Weſtminſter, where he was honorably interred with Queene Anne his firſte wife, in a ſolemne tombe erected, and ſet vp at the charges of this King.

Sir Iohn Oldcaſtell.

Alſo, in this firſt yere of this kings raigne, ſir John Oldcaſtell, whiche by his wife was called Lord Cobham, a valiant Captaine, and a hardie Gentleman, was accuſed to the Archbiſhop of Caunterburie, of certaine poyntes of hereſie, who knowing hym to bee highly in the Kinges fauor, declared to his highneſſe the whole accuſation. The K. firſte hauing compaſſion of ẏ noble mā, required the Prelates, that if he wer a ſtraied ſheepe, rather by gentleneſſe than by rigor, to reduce him to his former folde. And after this, hee himſelfe ſent for him, and right earneſtly exhorted him, and louingly admoniſhed him to reconcile himſelfe to God, and to his lawes. The lord Cobham not onely thanked him of his moſt fauourable clemencie, but alſo declared firſt to him by mouth, and afterwards by writing, the foundation of his faith, and the grounde of his beliefe, affirming his grace to be his ſupreme head, and competent iudge, and none other perſon, offering an C. Knightes and Eſquiers, to come to hys purgation, or elſe to fight in open liſts, in defence of his iuſt cauſe. The King vnderſtanding and perſwaded by his Counſell, that by order of the lawes of his Realme, ſuch accuſations touching matters of faith, ought to be tried by the ſpirituall Prelates, ſent him to the Tower of London, there to abide the determination of the Cleargie, according to the ſtatutes in that caſe prouided, after which time, a ſolemne ſeſſion was appointed in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, vpon the .22. day of September, and an other the 25. day of the ſame moneth, in the hall of ẏ black Friers at London, in which places, the ſayd lord was examined, apposed, and fully heard, and in concluſion, by the Archebyſhop of Canterburie denounced an Heretike, and remitted agayne to the Tower of London, from which place, eyther by help of friends, or corruption of keepers, hee priuily eſcaped, and came into Wales, where he remained for a ſeaſon.

Sir Ioh
caſtell
Towe

After this, the Kyng keeping his Chriſtmas at his manor of Eltham, was aduertiſed, that ſir Roger Acton knighte, a man of greate witte and poſſeſſions, John Browne Eſquier, John Beuerley Prieſt, and a greate number of other, were aſſembled in armour againſt the King, his brethren, the Clergie, and realm. Theſe newes came to the King, on the twelfth day in Chriſtmas, wherevpon, vnderſtanding that they ment to aſſemble togyther in a place called Ficket field, beſide London, on the backe ſide of Sainte Giles, he ſtraight got him to his palace at Weſtminſter, in as ſecret wiſe as he mighte, and there calling to him certaine bands of armed men, hee repaired into S. Gyles fieldes, neere to the ſayde place, (where he vnderſtood the aſſemble ſhuld be) about midnight, and ſo handled the matter, that he tooke ſome, and ſlew ſome, euen as ſtode with his pleaſure. The captaines of them afore mencioned, being apprehended, were broughte to the Kings preſence, and to hym declared the cauſes of their commotion and ryſing, accuſing a great number of their complices. The king vſed one policie, which muche imported to the diſcomforting of the aduerſaries (as Tho. Walſing. ſayth. For where as he gaue order, that all the gates of London ſhould be ſtraightly kept and garded, ſo

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as none ſhuld come in nor out, but ſuch as were knowen to goe to the King, the chiefeſt ſuccour appoynted to come to the Captaynes of the rebels, was by that meanes cutte off, where otherwiſe ſurely, if they had not bin thus preuented and ſtayed, there had iſſued forth of London to haue ioyned with them, to the number of fiftie thouſande perſons, one and other, ſeruauntes, prentiſes, and other Citizens, confederate with them, that were thus aſſembled in Ficket fielde.

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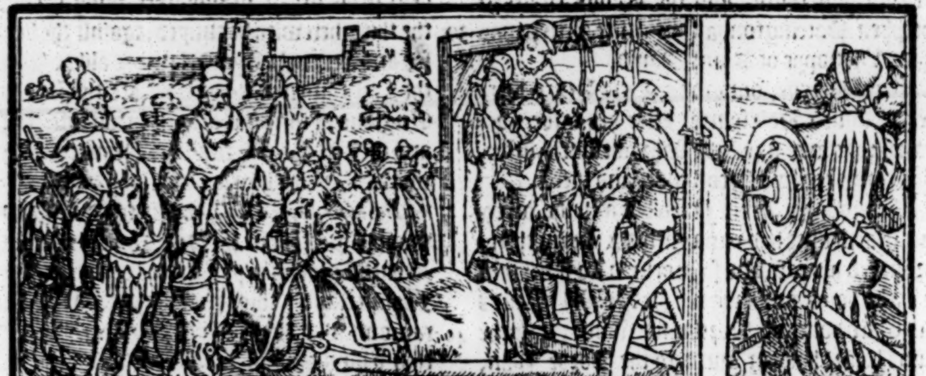
Diuers alſo that came from ſundry partes of the Realme, haſting towardes the place, to bee there at their appoynted time, chaunced to lyghte among the Kings men, and being taken and demaunded whither they wente with ſuche ſpeede, they aunſwered, that they came to meete with their Captaine the Lord Cobhom, but whether he came thither at all, or made ſhifte for hymſelfe to get away, it doth not certainely appeare, but he could not be hearde of at yͤ time (as Thomas Walſ. confeſſeth) although the King by proclamation promiſed a thouſand markes to him that could bring him forth, with greate liberties to the Cities or Townes, that woulde diſcouer where hee was: by this it maye appeare, howe greatly he was beloued, that there could not one be found, that for ſo great a reward would bring him to light.

Williã Murleye.

Among other that were taken, was one William Murley, that dwelt in Dunſtable, a man of greate wealth, and by his occupatiõ a Brewer. He was an earneſt mainteyner of the lord Cobhams opinions, and as the bruite ranne, was in hope to bee highly aduanced by him, if theyr purpoſed deuice had taken place, in ſo muche, as he hadde two horſes trapped with gilt harneſſe, ledde after him, and in his boſome, when he was taken, were found a paire of gilte ſpurres, ſo that it was deemed, that hee hadde prepared them for himſelfe to weare, looking to bee made Knighte by the Lorde Cobhams handes at that preſente time, but when he ſaw how their purpoſe quayled, he withdrewe backe into the Citie, in greate feare to hide himſelfe out of the way, but hee was perceyued, taken, and finally executed among other. To conclude, after this, ſo many perſons were apprehended, that all the priſons in and about London were full, the chiefe of them were condemned by the Clergie of hereſie, and atteinted of high treaſon, as mouers of warre agaynſt theyr Kyng, by the temporall lawe, in the Guild hall of London, and adiudged for that offence, to be drawen and hanged, and for hereſie to bee conſumed with fire, gallowes; and all, whych iudgemente was executed the ſame moneth, on the ſaid Sir Roger Acton, and eight and twentie other.

Sir Rog. Acton and his complices cõdemned of treaſon and hereſie.



Some ſaye, that the occaſion of their death, was onely for the conueying of the Lord Cobham out of priſon. Others write, that it was both for treaſon and hereſie, and ſo it appeareth by the recorde. Certaine affirme, that it was for feined cauſes ſurmiſed by the ſpiritualtie, more vpon diſpleaſure, than troth, and that they were aſſembled to heare their Preacher, the foreſayde Beuerley in that place there, out of the way frõ reſort of people, ſith they might not come togyther openly, about anye ſuche matter, withoute daunger to bee apprehended, as the manner is, and hathe bin euer of the perſecuted flocke, when they are prohibited publiquely the exerciſe of the religiõ. But howſoeuer the matter wẽt with theſe men, apprehended they were, & diuers of thẽ executed (as before ye haue heard) whether for rebellion or hereſie, or for both, as the forme of the Inditemẽt importeth, I nede not to ſpend many wordes, ſith other haue ſo largely treated thereof, & therfore I refer thoſe that wiſh to be more fully

ſatiſfyed

ſatiſfied herein vnto their diſcourſes, hauing for mine owne parte rather choſen to ſhewe what I finde recorded by Writers, than to vſe any cenſure, to the preiudice of other mens iudgements, and therefore to leaue this matter, and alſo the Lord Cobham, eyther in Wales, or elſe where, cloſely hid for the time, from king Hẽries reach, I will paſſe from him to ſpeake of other things.

Tyton
A diſdainful ambaſſade.

Whileſt in the Lente ſeaſon the Kyng laye at Kenilworth, there came to him frõ Charles, Dolphin of Fraunce, the Frenche Kings eldeſt ſonne, certayne Ambaſſadors, that broughte with them a barrell of Paris balles, which they preſented to hym for a token from their maiſter, whiche preſente was taken in verie ill parte, as ſent in ſcorne, to ſignifie, that it was more mete for the Kyng to paſſe the tyme with ſuche childiſh exerciſe, than to attempte anye worthy exployte: wherefore the Kyng wrote to hym, that ere ought long, hee woulde ſende to hym ſome London balles, that ſhoulde breake and batter downe the roofes of his houſes about hys eares.

Tho. Wal.

This yeare, Thomas Arundell Archbyſhop of Canterburie departed this life, a ſtoute Prelate, and an earneſt maynteyner of the Religion then allowed by the Churche of Rome. Henrye Chichellie Byſhoppe of Saint Dauid was remoued, and ſucceeded the ſame Arundell in the Sea of Canterburie, and the Kyngs confeſſor Stephen Patrington, a Carmelite Frier, was made Byſhoppe of Saint Dauid.

Percy reſtored to the Earldome of Northumberlande.

Henry Percye, ſonne to the Lord Henry Percie, ſurnamed Hotſpurre, after his fathers deceaſſe, that was ſlayne at Shrewſburie fielde, was conueyed into Scotlande, and there left by his Grandfather, beeing then but a childe, where euer ſithence hee had remayned, the Kyng therefore pitied his caſe, and ſo procured for him, that he came home, and was reſtored to all his lands and Earledome of Northumberlande, whyche lands before had bin giuen to the Lorde John, the Kings brother.

An. reg. 2.

A bill exhibited to the parliamẽt againſt the Clergie.

In the ſeconde yeare of his raigne, Kyng Henry called his high Court of Parliament, the laſt day of Aprill, in the Towne of Leiceſter, in the which Parliamente, many profitable lawes were concluded, and manye petitions moued, were for that time deferred: amongſt whyche, one was, that a bill exhibited in the Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in the eleuenth yeare of King Henry the fourth (whiche by reaſon the Kyng was then troubled with ciuill diſcorde, came to none effect) might now with good deliberation be pondered, and brought to ſome good concluſion. The effect of whiche ſupplication was, that the temporall lands deuoutely giuen, and diſordinately ſpent by religious, and other ſpirituall perſons, ſhould be ſeaſed into yͤ kyngs hands, ſithence the ſame might ſuffiſe to mainteyne to the honor of the King, and defence of the Realm, fifteene Erles, fifteene C. knightes, ſixe M. two C. Eſquiers, and a C. almes houſes, for reliefe onely of the poore, impotente, and needie perſons, and the King to haue clerely to his cofers twentie M. poundes, with manye other prouiſions and values of Religious houſes, which I paſſe ouer. This bill was much noted, and more feared among the Religious ſorte, whome ſurely it touched very neere, and therefore to find a remedie againſte a miſchiefe, they determined to aſſay all wayes that might ſerue their purpoſe, to put by, and ouerthrowe thys bill, and in eſpeciall, they thoughte beſt to trie if they might repleniſh yͤ kings brayne with ſome pleaſant ſtudie, that he ſhoulde neyther fantaſie, nor regarde the ſerious petition of the importunate commons: whereupon, one day, as yͤ King was ſet in the Parliamente Chamber, Henrye Chichelcy Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, made a pithie oration, wherein hee declared, howe not onely the Duchies of Normandy & Aquitayne, with the Counties of Aniou and Maine, and yͤ countrey of Gaſcoigne, were by lineall diſcent apperteyning to the King, as lawfull and indubitate heire of the ſame, but that alſo the whole realme of France, belonged to him by right, as heire to his greate grandfather King Edwarde the third: herewith he enuyed againſt the ſurmiſed and vntruely feyned lawe Salike, whyche the Frenchmen alledge to defeate the Kyngs of England of their iuſt and rightfull title, clayme and intereſt to the Crowne of Fraunce, the very wordes of which law are theſe, *In terram Salicam mulieres ne ſuccedant*, that is to ſaye, lette not women ſucceede in the land Salique, which the Frenche gloſers expounde to bee the Realme of Fraunce, and yͤ this law was made by K. Pharamond, wheras yet their owne authors affirme, that yͤ land Salique is in Germanie, betweene yͤ riuers of Elbe and Sala, and that whẽ Charles the great had ouercome the Saxons, hee placed there certaine Frenchmen, which hauing in diſdeine the vnhoneſt maners of the Germain women, made a lawe, that the females ſhoulde not ſucceede to anye inheritance within that lande, which at this day is called Meiſen, ſo that if this be true, this law was not made for the Realme of France, nor the Frenchmen poſſeſſed the land Salique, til four C.21. yeares after the deathe of Pharamond their ſuppoſed maker of this Salique lawe, for this Pharamond deceaſſed in the yere.426. and Charles yͤ great ſubdued yͤ Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in thoſe partes beyond the riuer of Sala, in the yeare.805.

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Moreouer, it appereth by their owne writers, that King Pepine, whiche depoſed Childerike, claymed the crowne of Fraunce, as heire general, for that he was deſcended of Blithild daughter to king Clothair the firſte: Hugh Capet alſo which vſurped the Crowne vpon Charles duke of Lorrayne, the ſole heire male of the lyne and ſtock of Charles the great, to make his title ſeem true, and appeare good, thoughe in deede it was ſtarke naught, conueyde himſelfe as heyre to the Lady Lyngard, daughter to king Charlemayn, ſonne to Lewes the Emperor, that was ſonne to Charles the great. King Lewes alſo the tenth otherwyſe called Saint Lewes, being very heire to the ſaid vſurper Hugh Capet, coulde neuer be ſatiſfyed in his conſcience howe he might iuſtely kepe and poſſeſſe the crown of France, til he was perſwaded and fully inſtructed, that Queene Iſabell his grandmother, was lyneally deſcended of the Lady Ermengarde daughter and heyre to the abouenamed Charles duke of Lorayn, by the whiche mariage, the bloud and lyne of Charles the great, was againe vnited and reſtored to the crowne and ſcepter of France, ſo that more clerer than the Sunne, it openly appeareth, that the title of king Pepyn, the clayme of Hugh Capet, the poſſeſſion of Lewes, yea and of the Frenche kynges to thys daye, are deryued and conueyed from the heire female, thoughe they woulde vnder colour of ſuche a fayned Lawe, barre the Kings and Princes of this realme of England, of theyr ryghte and lawfull inheritance.

The Archebiſhoppe further alledged oute of the booke of Numeri thys ſaying: When a man dyeth without a ſonne, let the inheritance diſcende to his daughter. At length, hauing ſaid ſufficiently for the proofe of the kings iuſte and lawfull title to the Crowne of Fraunce, hee exhorted hym to aduance forth his banner to fight for hys ryghte, to conquere hys inheritaunce, to ſpare neither bloud, ſword, ne fire, ſith his warre was iuſt, his cauſe good, and his clayme true.

And to the intent his louyng Chapleyns and obediente ſubiectes of the Spiritualtie myghte ſhewe them ſelues wyllyng and deſyrous to ayde hys maieſtie, for the recouerie of hys aunciente righte and true inheritaunce, the Archbiſhoppe declared that in theyr ſpirituall Conuocation, they had graunted to his highneſſe ſuche a ſumme of money, as neuer by no ſpiritual perſons was to any Prince before thoſe dayes giuen or aduaunced.

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When the Archbiſhoppe hadde ended his prepared tale, Rafe Neuill Erle of Weſtmerland, as then Lorde Warden of the marches aneynſt Scotlande, and vnderſtandyng that the kyng vpon a couragious deſire to recouer his right in Fraunce, would ſurely take the warres in hand, thought good to moue the Kyng to begin fyrſte wyth Scotlande, and thereupon declared how eaſye a matter it ſhoulde bee to make a conqueſt there, & howe greatly the ſame ſhould further his wiſhed purpoſe for the ſubduyng of the Frenche menne, concludyng the ſumme of hys tale with thys olde ſaying: That who ſo wyll Fraunce wynne, muſt with Scotlande fyrſt beginne.

Manye matters he touched, as well to ſhewe howe neceſſary the conqueſt of Scotland ſhould be, as alſo to proue howe iuſt a cauſe the Kyng hadde to attempte it, truſtyng to perſwade the Kyng and all other to be of his opinion.

The duke of Exceter hys vvyſe and pythy anſvvere to the Earle of VVeſtmerlandes ſaying.

But after he had made an ende, the Duke of Exceſter, vncle to the Kyng, a man well learned and wyſe, who hadde bene ſente into Italye by his father, intendyng that he ſhould haue bin a Prieſt) replyed agaynſte the Earle of Weſtmerlandes Orations, affirmyng rather that hee whiche woulde Scotlande winne, with France muſte firſte beginne. For if the Kyng myghte once compaſſe the conqueſte of Fraunce, Scotlande coulde not long reſyſte, ſo that conquere Fraunce, and Scotlande woulde ſoone obeye: (For where ſhoulde the Scottes learne pollicye and ſkill to defende them ſelues if they had not theyr bringyng vp and traynyng in Fraunce?) If the Frenche pencions maynteyned not the Scottiſhe Nobilitie, in what caſe ſhoulde they be? Then take away Fraunce and the Scottes will ſoone be tamed. Fraunce beeyng to Scotlande the ſame that the ſappe is to the tree, which beyng taken awaye, the tree muſte needes dye and wyther.

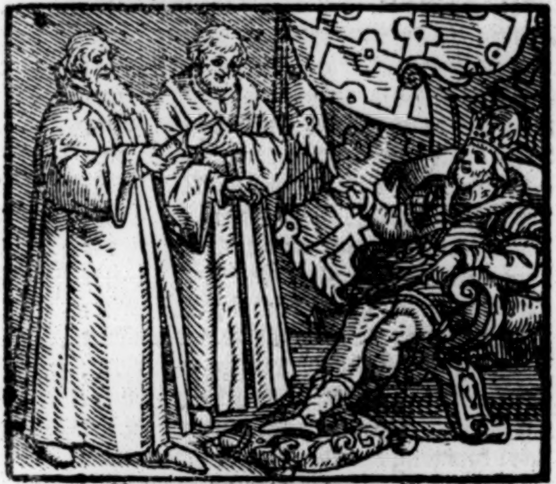
A true ſaying.

To be briefe, the Duke of Exceſter vſed ſuch earneſt and pithy perſwaſions to induce the king and the whole aſſemblie of the Parliamente to credite hys wordes, that immediately after he hadde made an ende, all the companye beganne to crye, Warre, warre, Fraunce, Fraunce, and the bill putte into the Parliament for diſſoluing of Religious houſes was cleerely forgotten and buryed, and nothyng thoughte on but only the recoueryng of Fraunce, accordyng to the title by the Archebiſhoppe declared and ſet forth. And vpon this poynte, after a fewe actes for the wealthe of the Realme eſtabliſhed and decreed, the Parlyamente was proroged vnto Weſtmynſter.

Some write, that in this Parliament it was enacted, that Lollards and Heretikes with their maynteyners and fauourers ſhoulde be *ipſo facto* adiudged guiltie of high treaſon: but in the ſtatute made in the ſame Parliament againſt Lollardes, wee fynde no ſuche wordes: Albeit by force of that Statute, it was ordeyned, that beyng conuicte and executed, they ſhoulde loſe theyr Landes holden in Fee ſimple, and all other theyr goodes and cattalles, as in caſes of Felonye.

Ambaſſadors from the Frēch K. and from the Duke of Burgoigne.

During this Parliament, ther came to the K. Ambaſſadors, as wel from the French king that was then in the gouernance of the Orlienciall faction, as alſo from the Duke of Burgoigne, for ayde agaynſt that faction, promiſing more as was ſayd, thā lay well in his power to performe. The K. ſhortly after, ſent Ambaſſadors to them both, as the Biſhop of Durham, and Norwich, with others.



Creation of Dukes.

Harding.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Frāce

Moreouer at this Parliment, John the kings brother, was created Duke of Bedford, and his brother Humfry, Duke of Gloceſter. Alſo, Thomas Beauforte, Marques Dorſet, was created Duke of Exeter. Imediately after, the King ſent ouer into France, his Vncle the Duke of Exeter, the Lorde Grey, Admirall of England, the Archebiſhop of Dublin, and the Biſhop of Norwiche, Ambaſſadoures to the Frenche K. with fiue hundred horſe, which were lodged in the tēple houſe in Paris, keping ſuch triumphāt cheere in their lodging, and ſuche a ſolemne eſtate in their ryding through the citie, that the Pariſians and all the Frenchmen had no ſmall meruaile at that honorable porte and lordely behauior. The French king receyued them very honorably, and banketted them right ſumptuouſly, ſhewing to them iuſtes and marciall paſtymes, by the ſpace of three dayes together, in the which Juſtes, the king himſelfe, to ſhewe his courage and actiuitie to the Engliſhmen, manfully brake ſpeares, and luſtily tourneyed. When the triumphe was ended, the Engliſhe ambaſſadours hauing a tyme appoynted them to declare theyr meſſage, and beyng admitted to the Frenche kinges preſence, requyred of hym to delyuer vnto the Kyng of Englande, the realme and Crowne of France, wyth the entier Duchyes of Aquitayne, Normandy and Aniou, wyth the countreys of Poictieu and Mayne.

Manie other requeſtes they made, and thys offered withall, that if the French Kyng woulde without warre and effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, render to the King their maiſter his verye right & lawfull inheritance, that he woulde be content to take in mariage yͤ Lady Katherine, daughter to the Frenche King, and to endow hir with all the Duchies and Countries before reherſed. And if he would not ſo doe, then the King of England did expreſſe and ſignifie to hym, that with the aide of God, and helpe of his people, he woulde recouer his right and inheritāce wrongfully withholden from him, with mortall warre, and dint of ſword.

The Frenchmen being not a little abaſhed at theſe demaundes, thought not to make any abſolute aunſwere in ſo weightie a cauſe, till they hadde further breathed, and therefore prayed the Engliſh Ambaſſadors to ſaye to the King theyr maiſter, that they now hauing no oportunitie to conclude in ſo high a matter, would ſhortly ſend Ambaſſadors into Englande, which ſhould certifie and declare to the King, theyr whole minde, purpoſe, and intent.

The Engliſhe Ambaſſadors returned with this aunſwere, making relation of euery thyng that was ſaid or done.

King Henry after the returne of his Ambaſſadors, determined fully to make war in Frāce, conceyuing a good and perfect hope, to haue fortunate ſucceſſe, ſith victorie for the moſte parte followeth where right leadeth, beeing aduanced forwarde by iuſtice, and ſet forth by equitie. And bycauſe manye Frenchmen were promoted to Eccleſiaſtical dignities, as ſome to benefices, and ſome to Abbeys and Priories within the realme, and ſente dayly innumerable ſummes of money into Fraunce, for the reliefe of their naturall coūtreymen and kinſfolke, he therefore in fauour of the publike wealth of his Realme and ſubiects, in a counſel called at London, about Michaelmas, cauſed to be ordeined, that no ſtranger hereafter, ſhould be promoted to anye ſpirituall dignitie or degree within this realme, without his eſpeciall licence, and royall cōſent, and all they that ſhuld be admitted, ſhoulde find ſufficient ſuretie, not to diſcloſe the ſecretes of this Realme to anye forraigne perſon, nor to miniſter ayde or ſuccour to any of thē with money, or by any other meane. This was confirmed in a conuocation called the ſame time by the new Archb. of Caunterburie.

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Moreouer, ſuch as were to goe vnto the generall counſell holden at Conſtance, were named and appointed to make thē ready: for the K. hauing knowledge frō the Emperor Sigiſmonde, of the aſſembling of that counſell, thought it not conuenient to ſitte ſtill as an hearer, and no partaker in ſo high a cauſe, which touched the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian common wealthe, as then troubled by reaſon of the ſchiſme that yet continued, wherefore hee ſente thither Rycharde

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Earle of Warwike, the Biſhops of Saliſbury, Bathe, and Herefore, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and the Prior of Worceſter, with diuers other Doctors and learned men of the ſpiritualtie beſides Knightes and Eſquiers. They were in number an. viij. C. horſſes, ſo wel appoynted and furniſhed as well the menne as horſſes, that all nations meruayled to ſee ſuche an honorable cōpanie come from a countrey ſo farre diſtant.

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Diuers other thinges were concluded at that preſente: for the Kyng had cauſed not onely the Lordes of the ſpiritualtie, but alſo of the temporaltie to aſſemble here at London the ſame time to treate ſpecially of his iourney that he purpoſed to make ſhortly into Fraunce: and herevpon meanes was made for the getheryng of money whiche was graunted with ſo good a wil both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, that there was leuied the ſum of three hundred thouſand marks Engliſh, and herewith order was giuen to gather a great hoſt of men, thorough all his dominions. And for the more increaſing of his nauie, he ſent into Holland, Zeland, and Frizelande, to conducte and hyre ſhippes for the tranſportyng and conueying ouer his men and munitions of warre, and finally prouided for armour, victuals, money, artillerie, cariage, boates to paſſe ouer riuers couered with leather, tentes, and all other things requiſite for ſo high an enterpriſe.

rant.

repara- the warres.

The Frenchemen hauing knowledge herof, the Dolphyn who had the gouernaunce of the realme, bicauſe his father was fallen into his olde diſeaſe of franſye, ſent for the Dukes of Berrye and Alaunſon, and all the other lords of the coūſel of Fraunce, by whoſe aduice it was determined, that they ſhoulde not only prepare a ſufficient armye to reſiſt the king of England, whenſoeuer hee arriued to inuade Fraunce, but alſo to ſtuffe and furniſhe the townes on the Frontiers, and ſea coaſtes, with conuenient garniſons of men: and further to ſend to the king of Englād a ſolemne embaſſade, to make to him ſome offers according to the demaundes before reherſed. The charge of this ambaſſade was committed to the Earle of Vandoſme, to maiſter William Bouratyer Archbiſhop of Bourges, and to maiſter Peter Fremell Biſhoppe of Lyſeux, to the Lords of Yvry and Braquemonte, and to maiſter Gaultier Cole the kings Secretarie, and diuers other.

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These Ambaſſadors accompanied with .250. horſſes paſſed the ſea at Caleys, and landed at Douer, before whoſe arriuall the King was departed from Windſor to Wincheſter, entēding to haue gone to Hampton, there to haue ſurueyd his nauie, but hearing of the Ambaſſadors approchyng, he taryed ſtill at Wincheſter, where ẏ ſaid Frenche lordes ſhewed themſelues very honorably before the King and his nobilitie.

At tyme prefixed, before the Kings preſence ſitting in his throne imperiall, the Archbiſhop of Bourges made an eloquent and a long Oration, diſſuading warre, and prayſing peace, offering to the king of England a greate ſumme of money, with diuers countreys, being in verye deede but baſe and poore, as a dowrie with the Ladie Catherine in mariage, ſo that he would diſſolue his armie, and diſmiſſe his ſouldiers, which he had gathered and put in a readineſſe.

When his oration was ended, the king cauſed the Ambaſſadors to be highly feaſted, and ſet them at his owne table. And after at a day aſſigned in the foreſaid hall, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury to their oration made a notable anſwere, the effect wherof was, that if the Frenche kyng would not giue with his daughter in mariage the duchies of Aquitayne, Aniou, and all other ſeigniories and dominions ſometyme appertaining to the noble progenitors of the king of Englande, he would in no wyſe retire his armie, nor breake hys iourney, but would with all diligence, enter into Fraunce, and deſtroye the people, waſte the countreye, and ſubuerte the townes with bloud, ſworde, and fyre, and neuer ceaſſe till he had recouered his ancient ryght and lawfull patrimonie.

The Kyng auowed the Archbiſhoppes ſaying, and in the worde of a Prince, promyſed to performe it to the vttermoſte.

The Archbiſhop of Bourges diſpleaſed, that hys purpoſe tooke not effecte, deſiring licence and pardon of the kyng to ſpeake, and obteynyng it, verye raſhly and vnreuerently ſayde: Thinkeſt thou to put downe, and wrongfully to deſtroye the moſte chriſtian king our moſt redoubted ſoueraigne Lorde and moſt excellent Prince of all Chriſtendome in bloud and preeminence? Oh king, ſauing thyne honour, thinkeſt thou that he hath offered to thee, landes, goods, and other poſſeſſions with his own daughter for feare of thee, or thy Engliſh nation, thy friendes, wel willers or fauourers? No, no. But of a trouth he moued with pitie, as a louer of peace, to the intente that innocent bloud ſhould not be ſpilt, and that Chriſtian people ſhould not be afflicted with battaple, hathe made to thee theſe offers, puttyng his whole affyaunce in God moſt puiſſaunte, accordyng to ryght and reaſon, truſtyng in his quarrell to bee ayded and ſupported by hys beneuolente ſubiectes and fauourable well wyllers. And ſith wee bee hys ſubiectes and ſeruantes, wee requyre thee to cauſe vs ſafely and ſurely withoute damage to bee conducted out of thy realme and dominions, and that thou wilt write thyne aunſwere wholly, as thou haſte giuen it vnder thy Seale and ſigne manuell.

A proude preſumptuous prelate.

The Kyng of England being nothing at al

The modeſt & wiſe anſwere of the king to the Biſhope of Bourges.

moued wyth the preſumptuous wordes of the vnnurtured biſhop, ſoberly anſwered him in this maner. My Lord, I little eſteeme your frenche bragges, and leſſe ſet by your power & ſtrength, I knowe perfectly my right to your region, and except you will denie the apparant truthe, ſo doe you: And if you neither doe nor will knowe it, yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The power of your maiſter you ſee dayly, but my puiſſance ye haue not yet taſted: if your maiſter haue louing ſubiectes, I am I thanke God, not vnprouided of the ſame: but this I ſay vnto you, that before one yere paſſe, I truſt to make the higheſt crowne of your country to ſtoupe, & the proudeſt myter to kneele downe: and ſay this to the vſurper your maiſter, that I within three monethes, will enter into Fraunce, not as into his land, but as into myne owne true and lawful patrimonie, intẽding to conquer it, not with bragging wordes, flatteryng orations, or coloured perſwaſions, but with puiſſaunce of menne, and dente of ſworde, by the ayde of God, in whome is my whole truſt and confidence. And as concerning myne anſwere to be written, ſubſcribed and ſealed: I aſſure you, I would not ſpeake that ſentence, the which I wold not write and ſubſcribe, nor ſubſcribe that lyne, to the which I would refuſe to put my ſeale. Therfore your ſafeconduct ſhall be to you deliuered, with myne anſwer, and then you maye departe ſurely and ſafely I warrant you into your countrey, where I truſt, ſoner to viſite you, than you ſhal haue cauſe to ſalute or bid me welcome. With this anſwere the Ambaſſadors ſore diſpleaſed in their myndes, (although they were highly entertained and liberally rewarded) departed into theyr countreye, reporting to the Dolphyn how they had ſpedde in all thinges.

After the French Ambaſſadors wer departed, the King lyke a prouident Prince, thought good to take order for the reſiſting of the Scottes, if according to their olde manner, they ſhould attempt any thing againſt his ſubiectes in hys abſence, and therfore appoynted the Erle of Weſtmerlande, the Lord Scrope, the baron of Greyſtocke, ſir Roberte Vmfreuile, and dyuers other hardy perſonages and valyant Capitaines to kepe the frontiers and marches of Scotlande, which ſir Robert Vmfreuille on the day of Mary Magdalen fought with yͤ Scots at the town of Gedering, hauing in his company only.iij.C. archers, and.vij. ſcore men of armes or ſpeares, wher he after long conflict and doubtful battaile, ſlew of his enimes.lx.and odde, & toke.CCClx. priſoners, and diſcomfited & put to flighte.j.M. and mo, whome he folowed in chaſe aboue.xij. myles, and ſo laded with prayes and priſoners, reculed againe not vnhurt to the caſtel of Rockſborough, of the whiche at that time he was captain.

Harding.
A greate ouerthrowe giuen to the Scots by Sir Roberte Vmfreuile.

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When the King had al his prouiſions readye, and ordered all things for the defence of hys realme, he leauing behynde him for gouernor of the realme, the Quene his mother in law, departed to the towne of Southampton, intendyng there to take ſhippe, and ſo to paſſe the ſeas into Fraunce. And firſt he thoughte to aduertiſe the French king of his cõming, and therfore diſpatched Antelope his purſeuant at armes with letters to the French K. requiring him eftſoons of reſtitution of that which he wrongfully withheld, contrary to the lawes of God & man, declaryng how ſory he was that he ſhould be thus compelled for recouerie of his righte & iuſt title of inheritance, to make warre to the deſtruction of chriſtian people, but ſith he had offered peace whiche could not be receiued, now for fault of iuſtice, he might (as he thought) lawfully returne to armes. Neuertheleſſe, he exhorted the Frenche K. in the bowels of Jeſu Chriſte, to render vnto him that whiche was his owne; whereby the effuſion of chriſtian bloud might be auoided. Theſe letters conteyning many other wordes, though only to this effect & purpoſe, were dated frõ Hampton the.v. of Auguſt. When the ſame letters wer preſented to the French king, & by his counſel wel pervſed, anſwere was made, that he would take aduice, and prouide therin as in tyme & place ſhuld be thought conuenient, and ſo the meſſenger was licenced to depart at his pleaſure.

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nour of
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When K. Henry had his nauie once rigged and decked, and that his men and all prouiſions were redie, perceiuing that his captains miſlyked nothing ſomuch as delaying of time, determined with al diligence to cauſe his ſouldiors to goe aborde the ſhips, and ſo to depart. But ſee the hap, the night before the daye appointed for their departure, he was credibly enformed, that Richard Erle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of York, and Henry Lord Scrope of Maſham L. Treſorer, with Tho. Gray a knight of Northũberlãd, being confederated togither, had cõpaſſed his death and final deſtruction, wherfore he cauſed them to be apprehended. The ſayde Lorde Scrope was in ſuche fauour with the king, that he admitted him ſometime to be his bedfelow, in whoſe fidelitie and conſtant ſtedfaſtneſſe, hee repoſed ſuche truſt, that when any priuate or publike counſell was in hande, he hadde the determination of it. For he pretended ſo great grauitie in hys countenance, ſuche paſſing modeſtie in his behauiour, and ſo perfect vprightneſſe and vertuous zeale to all godlineſſe in his talk, yͭ whatſoeuer he ſayd was in euery reſpect thought neceſſarye to bee doone and followed. Alſo the ſayde Syr Thomas Grey (as ſome write) was of the Kinges priuie counſell, ſo that in what

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daunger the king ſtoode, it is eaſy to coniecture, ſith thoſe that were in ſuch authoritie, & ſo neere about hym, ſought his deſtruction.

These priſoners vpon their examination, cōfeſſed, that for a greate ſumme of money which they had receyued of the Frenche king, they entended verily eyther to haue deliuered the Kyng alyue into the handes of hys enimies, or elſe to haue murthered him before he ſhoulde arriue in the duchie of Normandie.

When King Henrie had heard al things opened, whiche he deſired to know, he cauſed all his nobilitie to come before his preſence, before whō he cauſed to be brought the offēders, and to them ſayd: If you haue conſpired the death and deſtruction of me, which am the head of the realme & gouernour of the people, without doubt I muſt of neceſſitie thinke, that you lykewyſe haue cōpaſſed the confuſion of all that here be with me, and alſo the finall deſtruction of youre natiue countrey. And although ſome priuate ſcorpion in your heartes, or ſome wylde worme in your heads, hath cauſed you to conſpire my death and confuſion, yet you ſhould haue ſpared that diueliſhe enterpriſe, which can not continne without a capitayne, nor be directed without a guyde, nor yet with the deſtruction of your owne bloud and nation, you ſhould haue pleaſed a foreyn enimie. Wherfore ſeing that you haue enterpriſed ſo gret a miſchiefe, to the intent that your fautours being in the armie, maye abhorre ſo deteſtable an offence by the puniſhment of you, haſte you to receyue the payne that for youre demerites you haue deſerued, and that puniſhmente that by the lawe for your offences is prouided. And ſo immediatly they were hadde to execution, whiche done, the K. callyng his Lords afore him, ſpake theſe or the like wordes in effecte: See you not the madde imagination of men, which perſecute me that dayly ſtudy and hourely laboure for the aduancement of the publike welth of this realm: and for that cauſe I ſpare no payne, nor refuſe any tyme to the intente to doe good to all men, and hurte to none, and thus to doe is my duetie, and to this as I thinke, I am borne, I pray to God, that there be none among you that be infected with ſo much vntruth, yͭ had lieffer ſee me deſtroyed & brought to confuſion, than to ſee his countrey flouriſh, encreaſed with honor and empire, I aſſure you, that I conceyue no ſuch opinion in any of you, but put in you bothe truſt & cōfidence, & if I may haue your helpe to recouer the old honor of myne aunceſtours by ſubduing the Frenche nation, I for my ſelfe will forget al perill and payne. and be youre guide, lodeſman, and conductor, and if you drawe backe, and will not moue forewarde, beleeue mee, God will ſo diſpoſe, that hereafter you ſhall be deceyued, and ſo repent had I wyſt.

When the king had finiſhed his ſaying, al the noble men kneeled downe, and promiſed faythfully to ſerue him, and duly to obey him, and rather to die than to ſuffer him to fall into the handes of his enimies.

Thys doone, the Kyng thoughte that ſurely all ſedition and ciuill conſpiracie, had bin vtterly extinct: but he ſaw not the fyre which was newely kindled, and ceaſſed not to encreaſe, till at lengthe it burſte out into ſuche a flame, that embracing the walles of his houſe and familie, his lyne and ſtock was clean deſtroyed and conſumed to aſhes, whiche at that tyme mighte peraduenture haue bin quenched and put oute.

For diuers write, that Richard erle of Cambridge did not conſpire with the Lorde Scrope, and Thomas Grey for the murthering of King Henry to pleaſe the Frenche King withall, but onely to the intente to exalte to the crowne his brother in law Edmund Erle of March as heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence: after the death of whyche Earle of Marche, for diuers ſecrete impedimentes, not able to haue iſſue, the Earle of Cambridge was ſure, that the crowne ſhoulde come to him by his wyfe, and to his children, of hir begotten. And therefore (as was thoughte) he rather confeſſed himſelfe for neede of moneye to be corrupted by the French king, than he wold declare hys inwarde mynde, and open his verye intent and ſecrete purpoſe, whiche if it were eſpyed, he ſawe plainly that the Earle of Marche ſhoulde haue drunken of the ſame cuppe that hee taſted, and what ſhoulde haue come to his owne children hee muche doubted: And therefore beeing deſtitute of comforte and in deſpaire of life to ſaue hys children, he fayned that tale, deſiring rather to ſaue hys ſucceſſion than himſelfe, which he did in deede, for his ſonne Richarde Duke of York not priuily but openly claimed the crown, and Edwarde his ſonne, bothe claymed it, and gayned it, as after it ſhall appeare. Which thing if Kyng Henrye had at this tyme eyther doubted, or foreſeene, had neuer bin like to haue come to paſſe, as Hall ſaith.

But whatſoeuer hath bin reported of the confeſſion of the Earle of Cambridge, certain it is, that endited he was by the name of Richard erle of Cambridge of Coneſburgh in the countie of York knight, and with him Tho. Grey of Heton in the countie of Northumberlande knighte, for that that they the .xx. day of Iulye, in the thirde yeare of K. Henry the fifth at Southamton, and in diuers other places within this Realme, had conſpired together with a power of men to them aſſociate, without the kings licence to haue ledde awaye the Lorde Edmunde Earle of Marche into Wales, and then to haue procured hym to

The effect of the Earle of Cambridge hys inditement.

to take vpon him the ſupreme gouernment of the realme, in caſe that King Richarde the ſeconde were dead: and heerewith had purpoſed to ſette forth a proclamation there in Wales, in name of the ſayde Earle of Marche, as heire of the crown againſt king Henry, by the name of Henry of Lancaſter the vſurper, to the ende that by ſuche meanes they might drawe the more number of the kings liege people vnto the ſaid Earle, & further to haue conueyde a baner of the armes of England, and a certain crown of Spayne ſet vpon a pallet, & laide in gage to the ſaid Earle of Cābridge, by the king, together with the ſayd erle of Marche into the parties of Wales aforſaid: & further, that the ſaide Earle of Cambridge, & ſir Tho. Grey had appointed certain of the Kinges liege people to repaire into Scotland, & to bring from thence one Thomas Trumpington, alſo an other reſembling in ſhape, fauor, & countenāce K. Richard, and Henry Percie, togither wyth a great multitude of people to fight with the king, and him to deſtroy in opē field. Beſide this, that they had ment to win certain caſtels in Wales, & and to kepe them againſt the K. and many other treaſons they had contriued, as by the inditement was ſpecified, to the intēt they might deſtroy the king & his brethren, ẏ dukes of Bedford & Glouceſter, and other the great lords and peeres of the realm. And Hēry Scrope of Maſhā, of Flaxflet, in the countie of Yorke was likewiſe indited, as conſenting to the premiſſes. So that it appeareth their purpoſe was wel inough then perceiued, although haply not much bruted abrode, for cōſideratiōs thought neceſſary to haue it rather huyſht & kept ſecret. About the ſelfe ſame time the lord Cobham with his frends, whether as one of cōūſel in the conſpiracie with the erle of Cambridge or not, we can not certainly affirme) was determined to haue made ſome attēpt againſt ẏ L. of Bergueuenny, who being aduertiſed therof, got for his defence from Worceſter, Perſore, Teukſbury, & other places therabouts, to the number of v. M. archers, and other armed men, which came to him vnto his caſtel of Hanley: wherof when the Lord Cobham was aduertiſed, he withdrew again to ſuche ſecrete places about Maluerne, as hee had prouided for his ſuretie, to reſorte vnto: but a Prieſte ẏ belonged vnto him, was taken, & diuers other, who diſcloſed to the L. of Burgueuennye, one of the places where the ſayde Lorde Cobham with his men vſed to keepe themſelues cloſe. They found in deed his money and armor in that houſe piled vp betwixt two walles, handſomly conueyed and framed for the purpoſe, but he with his folkes were withdrawne into ſome other place, after they once heard, that the Earle of Cambridge, and the Lorde Scrope were executed. But now to proceede with King Henries doings. After this, when the wind came aboute proſperous to his purpoſe, hee cauſed the marynera to wey vp ankers, and hoyſe vp ſayles, and ſo ſette forward with a thouſand ſhips, on the vigile of our Ladie day the Aſſumption, and toke land at Caux, cōmonly called Kyd Caux, wher the ryuer of Sayne runneth into the ſea, without reſiſtance or bloudſheading.

A Ievvell.

Titus L

The Ki leth oue Fraunce his hoſte

At his firſt comming a land, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that no perſon ſhoulde be ſo hardie on pain of death, eyther to take any thing out of any church that belonged to the ſame, nor to hurt or do any violence either to Prieſts, women, or any ſuche as ſhould be founde withoute weapon or armor, & not ready to make reſiſtāce: alſo that no man ſhuld renue any new quarell or ſtrife, wherby any fray might ariſe to the diſquieting of the armie. The next day after his lāding he marched toward the towne of Harflew, ſtanding on the riuer of Sayne, betwene two hilles, & beſieged it on euery ſide, reyſing bulwarkes & a baſtell, in whiche the two Earles of Kent and Huntington were placed with Cornwal, Grey, Steward, & Porter: on that ſide towards the ſea, the king lodged with his field, & the duke of Clarēce on ẏ furder ſide towards Roan. Ther were within the town the lords de Touteuille & Gaucourt, with diuers other that valiantly defended

Titus L A charit proclam

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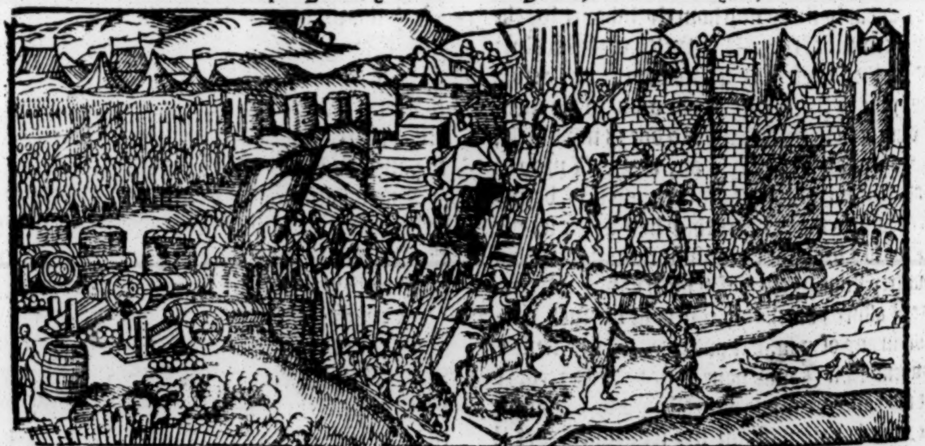

them

themſelues, doing what damage they coulde to their aduerſaries, and damning vp the riuer that hath his courſe through the towne, the water roſe ſo high betwixt the kinges campe, and the Duke of Clarence Campe, that were deuided by the ſame riuer, that the Engliſhmen were conſtrayned to withdrawe their artillerie from one ſyde, where they had planted the ſame.

The Frenche king being aduertiſed, that king Henrie was arriued on that coaſt, ſent in all haſt the Lorde de la Breth Conſtable of Fraunce, the Seneſchall of Fraunce, the Lorde Bouciqualt Marſhall of Fraunce, the Seneſchall of Henaut, the Lorde Lignye with other, whiche fortifyed townes with men, vittuall, and artillerie on all thoſe frontiers towardes the ſea. And hearyng that Harflew was beſieged, they came to the caſtell of Caudebecke, beeing not farre from Harflew, to the intent they might ſuccor their frends which were beſieged, by ſome policie or meanes: but the Engliſhmen notwithſtanding al the damage that the Frenchmen coulde worke againſt them, forrayed the countrey, ſpoiled the villages, bryngyng many a riche praie to the Campe before Harflewe, and dayly was the towne aſſalted: for the Duke of Glouceſter, to whome the order of the ſiege was committed, made three mynes vnder the grounde, and approching to the walles with his engins and ordinance, wold not ſuffer them within to take any reſte: for although they with their coūtermynyng ſomwhat diſappointed the Engliſhmen, and came to fight with them hande to hande within the mynes, ſo that they wente no further forwarde with that worke, yet they were ſo encloſed on eche ſyde, as well by water as lande, that ſuccour they ſawe coulde none come to them: for the Kyng lying with his battaile on the hill ſide on the one partie, and the duke of Clarence beyonde the ryuer that paſſeth by the towne, & renneth into Sayne on the other parte, beſide other Lordes and capitaines that were lodged with their retinues for their moſt aduantage: None could be ſuffered to go in, or come forth without their licence, in ſomuche that ſuche powder as was ſente to haue bin conueyed into the towne by water, was taken by the Engliſhe ſhippes that watched the riuer. The Capitaines within the towne, perceyuing that they were not able long to reſiſte the continuall aſſaults of the Engliſhmen, knowing that their walles were vndermyned, and lyke to be ouerthrowne (as one of their bulwarkes was already, where the Erles of Huntington & Kent had ſet vp their baners) ſente an officer at armes forth aboute midnight after the feaſt day of S. Lambert, whiche fell that yeare vpon the Tuiſday, to beſeech the king of England to appoint ſome certayne perſons as Commiſſioners from hym, with whom they within myght treate about ſome agreement. The Duke of Clarence to whom this meſſenger firſt declared his erād, aduertiſed the King of his requeſte, who graunting thereto, appoynted the Duke of Exceſter, with the Lord Fitz Hugh, and Syr Thomas Erpingham, to vnderſtand the myndes of them within the Towne, who at the firſt, requeſted a truce till Sunday next followyng the feaſt of S. Michaell, in whiche meane tyme if no ſuccoure came to remoue the ſiege, they would vndertake to delyuer the towne into the kings handes, their lyues and goodes ſaued. The Kyng aduertiſed hereof, ſente them worde, that except they wolde ſurrender the towne to hym the morrowe nexte enſuyng without anye condition, they ſhoulde ſpende no more tyme in talke aboute the matter. But yet at length through the earneſt ſute of the French Lords, the king was contented to graūt them truce till nyne of the clocke the next Sunday, being the. xxij. of September, with condition, that if in the meane time no reſkue came, they ſhould yelde the towne at that houre with their bodies and goodes to ſtande at the Kynges pleaſure. And for aſſuraunce thereof, they deliuered into the kynges handes thirtie of their beſt Capitaynes and merchantes within that towne as pledges. But other write, that it was couenaunted, that they ſhoulde delyuer but onely twelue pledges, and that if the ſiege were not reyſed by the Frenche Kinges power within. vj. dayes nexte folowyng, then ſhoulde they deliuer the Towne vnto the kyng of Englandes handes, and thyrtie of the chiefeſt perſonages within the ſame, to ſtande for lyfe or death at hys wyll and pleaſure: and as for the reſidue of the men of warre and Towneſmen, they ſhoulde departe whether they woulde, wythoute carrying forth eyther Armour, weapon, or anye other goodes.

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Whether this be true, or the former report, as we fynde it in Thomas Walſingam, and that the Kyng afterwardes when the towne was deliuered accordyng to theſe conditions, was contented to take ſuche order, as to receyue onely thirtie of the chiefeſt within the Towne, and to permit the other to goe their wayes freely, wee can not certaynely affirme.

But howeſoeuer it was, the kyng was contented to graunt a reſpite vppon certayne conditions, that the Capitaines within myght haue tyme to ſende to the Frenche King for ſuccour, as before ye haue hearde, leaſt he entending greater exploytes, myghte loſe tyme in ſuche ſmal matters.

When thys compoſition was agreed vpon, the Lorde Bacquevile, was ſente vnto the Frenche Kyng to declare in what poynte the towne ſtode. To whome the Dolphin anſwered, that the kings power was not yet aſſembled, in ſuch number as was conuenient to reiſe ſo greate a ſiege. This anſwere beyng brought to the Captaynes within the Towne, they rendred it vp to the king of England, after that the thyrde day was expired, whiche was on the day of Sainct Maurice beeyng the ſeuen and thirtie daye after the ſiege was firſte layde. The ſouldiours were ranſomed, and the towne ſacked, to the great gayne of the Engliſhemen.

Harflue yelded and sacked.

This done, the kyng of Englande ordeyned Capitayne of the towne of Harflewe his Uncle the Duke of Exceſter, whyche eſtabliſhed hys Lieutenant there, one Syr John Faſtolfe, with fiftene hundred men (or as ſome haue) two thouſande, and .xxxvj. knightes, wherof the Baron of Carew, and ſir Hugh Lutterell, were two counſellours.

And bycauſe many of his nobles whyleſt this ſiege lay before Harflewe, fell ſicke of the Flixe, and other diſeaſes, and diuers were dead, amongeſt whome the Earle of Stafforde, the Biſhop of Norwiche, the Lordes Molyns and Burnell were foure, (beſyde others:) the king licenced his brother the duke of Clarence, John Erle Marſhall, and John Erle of Arundel, being infected with that diſeaſe to returne into England.

King Henry after the winnyng of Harflewe determined to haue proceeded further in the conqueſt and winning of other townes and fortreſſes: but bicauſe the dead tyme of the winter approched, it was determyned by the prudent aduiſe of his counſell, that he ſhoulde in all conuenient ſpeede ſette forewarde, and march through the countrey towardes Caleys by land, leaſt his returne as then homewardes ſhould of ſlaunderous toungs be named a running away: and yet that iourney was adiudged perillous, by reaſon that the number of his people was muche myniſhed by the flixe and other feuers, whiche ſore vexed and brought to deathe aboue .xv. hundred perſons of the armie: and this was the cauſe that his retourne was the ſooner appoynted and concluded. But before hys departyng, hee entred into the Towne of Harflewe, and wente on to the Churche of Saincte Martines, and there offered. All the menne of warre whiche hadde not payde their raunſomes, hee ſware them on the holy Euangeliſtes, to yeld themſelues Priſoners at Caleys by the feaſte of Saincte Martine in Nouember nexte.

Greate deathe in the hoste by the flixe.

There were two ſtrong Towers ſtandyng on the Hauen ſyde, whyche lokyng for ayde did not yelde till tenne dayes after the Towne was rendred. When the K. had repaired the walles, bulwarks and rampiers about the towne, & furniſhed it with victuall and artillerie, he remoued from Harflewe towarde Ponthoyſe, entending to paſſe the riuer of Some with his armie before the bridges were eyther withdrawne or broken.

Suche victuals and other neceſſaries as were to be caryed forth with the armie, he appointed to bee layde on horſes, leauing the Cartes and wagons behynde for the leſſe encombre.

The Frenche King hearing that the Towne of Harflew was gotten, and that the Kyng of Englande was marching forwarde into the bowelles of the realme of Fraunce, ſent out proclamations, and aſſembled people on euerye ſyde, committing the whole charge of his armie to his ſonne the Dolphyne and Duke of Aquitayne, who incontinently cauſed the bridges to be broken, and the paſſages to be kepte.

Alſo he cauſed all the corne & victuals to be cõueyed away, or deſtroyed in all places, where it was coniectured, that the Engliſhmen would repayre, ſo the intente that they might be kepte in ſome ſtrayte or corner of the countrey, without victuals or comforte, ſo that they ſhould be conſtrayned to dye, or yelde thorough famyne, or to be fought withall, ſo muche to their diſaduauntage, that the victorie mighte be prepared for the Frenche, ere they came to hazarde themſelues in battayle.

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The Kyng of Engulnde nothyng diſmayed with all theſe incõmodities lyke to chaunce vnto hym at one time, kepte his iourney in deſpite of his enimies, conſtreyning them within diuers townes and holds to furniſh hym with victuals: but yet as he paſſed by the towne of Ewe, the garniſon of the town iſſued forth, and gaue the Engliſhemen a ſkirmiſh, although in the end the Frenchmen were beaten into the Towne, with loſſe, namely of a ryght valiant man of armes, named Lãcelot Piers. Ther were many engliſh men hurt with quarrells ſhot off from the loupes and walles, as they purſued the enimyes vnto the gates.

Titus L

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Enguer

At length ẏ king approched the riuer of Some, where finding all the bridges broken, he came to the paſſage of Blanchetaque, where hys greate graundfather king Edwarde the thirde, paſſed a little before the battail of Creſſy, but the paſſage was now ſo impeached with ſtakes ſet in the bottom of the forde, & ſo defended, that he could not paſſe there wythout great daunger, conſideryng the multitude of hys enimyes that were bothe beehinde and before, and on eche ſide of hym, the Countreye in all partes ſwarming wyth embuſhementes of men of warre. He therfore marched forwards to Arames, ſo ordering his army and placing his carriage, that he appeared ſo terrible to his enemies, as they durſt not once offer him battaile, and yet the Lorde Dalbreth Conſtable of Fraunce, the Marſhall Boucequaulte, the

Blanche

Titus L

the erle of Vendoſme great Maſter of Fraũce, the Duke of Alanſon, and the Earle of Richemont, with all the puiſſaunce of the Dolphyn lay at Abuile, and durſt not ſo muche as touch his battailes, but euer kept the paſſages, & coaſted aloof, like a hauke that lyketh not hir pray. The king of Englande ſtill kepte on his iorney till hee came to the bridge of Sainct Marence, where hee found aboue .xxx. M. frenchemenne, and there pitched his fielde, looking ſurely to be fought withall. Wherefore to encourage his capitaines the more, he dubbed certaine of hys hardy and valiant gentlemen knights, as Iohn Lorde Ferrers of Groby: Reignold of Greyſtock: Piers Tempeſt: Chriſtofer Moriſby: Thomas Pickering: William Huddleſton: Iohn Hoſbalton: Henry Mortimer: Phillip Hall: and Willyam hys brother: Iaques de Ormonde, and dyuers other: But when hee ſawe that the Frenche made no ſemblaunce to fight, he departed in good order of battaile by the towne of Amiens, to another towne neare to a caſtell called Bowes, and there laye twoo dayes looking for battaile euery houre. From thence he came neare to Corby, where hee was ſtayed that night, by reaſon that the common people, and peſantes of the countrey aſſembled in great numbers, and the men of armes of the gariſon of Corby ſkirmiſhed wyth his army in the morning, and were diſcomfited, and the peſantes driuen euen harde to their gates. The ſame day the king founde a ſhallowe fourd betweene Corby, and Peronne, which neuer was eſpied before, at whiche he wyth his armie and carriages the night enſuing, paſſed the water of Some without let or daunger, and therewyth determined to make haſte towardes Callais, and not to ſeeke for battaile, excepte hee were thereto conſtrayned, bycauſe that hys army by ſickenes was ſore diminiſhed, in ſo muche that he had but onely twoo thouſande horſemen and thirteene thouſande archers, bill men, and of all ſortes of other footemen.

n capi-
knights.

Henry
h the ri-
Some
his hoſte.

The Engliſhemen were brought into great miſery in this iorney, their victuall was in maner ſpent, and nowe coulde they get none: for their enemies had deſtroied all the corne before they came: Reſte coulde they none take, for their enemies were euer at hande to giue them alarmes: dayly it rained, and nightly it freeſed: of fewell there was great ſcarſitie, but of fluxes greate plenty: money they hadde ynoughe, but wares to beſtowe it vppon, for their reliefe or comforte, hadde they little or none. And yet in this greate neceſſitye, the poore people of the countrey were not ſpoiled, nor any thyng taken of them wythout payment, neyther was any outrage or offence done by the Engliſhemenne of warre, except one, whiche was, that a foliſh ſouldiour ſtale a pixe out of a churche, for which cauſe he was apprehended, and the king would not once remoue till the box was reſtored, and the offender ſtrangled.

Englishe
ſore af-
d.

An example of Iuſtice.

Titus Liuius.

The people of the countreys thereaboute, hearyng of ſuche zeale in hym, to the mayntainaunce of Iuſtice, miniſtred to hys army bothe victuals, and other neceſſaries, althoughe by open proclamation ſo to do they were prohibited. The Frenche King being at Roan, and hearing that King Henry was paſſed the riuer of Some, was muche diſpleaſed therwith, and aſſembling his coũſell to the number of .xxxv. aſked their aduice what was to be done.

Note the force of Iuſtice.

Hall.

The french K. cõſulteth hovv to deale vvith the engliſhmẽ.

There was amongſt theſe fiue & thirtie his ſonne the Dolphin, callyng hymſelfe King of Sicill, the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, the Earle of Pontiew the Kinges yongeſt ſonne, and other highe eſtates. At lengthe .xxx. of them agreed, that the Engliſhemenne ſhoulde not departe vnfought withall, and fiue were of a contrarye opinyon, but the greatter number ruled the matter: And ſo Montioy Kyng at armes was ſent to the king of England to defie him as the enemie of France, and to tell him that hee ſhoulde ſhortely haue battaile. Kyng Henry ſoberly aunſwered thus: Sir, mine intent is to doe as it pleaſeth God, for ſurely I will not ſeeke your maſter at this time, but if he or his ſeeke me, I will willingly fight with them: And if any of your nation attempte once to ſtoppe me in my iorney now towards Callais, at their ieoperdy be it, and yet my deſire is that none of you bee ſo vnaduiſed, as to bee the occaſion, that I in my defence ſhall colour and make red your tawny ground with the effuſion of chriſtian bloud: When hee had thus aunſwered the Herauld, hee gaue hym a greate rewarde, and licenced hym to departe. Vpon the returne of the Herault, wyth this aunſwere, it was incontinently proclaimed, that all men of warre ſhoulde reſorte to the Conſtable to fight with the King of England, and his puiſſance. Whereuppon, all men accuſtomed to beare armour, and deſirous to winne honour throughe the Realme of Fraunce, drewe towarde the field.

The french K. ſendeth deſſiaunce to kyng Henry.

King Henryes aunſvvere to the deſſaunce.

The Dolphin ſore deſired to haue bin at the battaile, but hee was prohibited by his father: likewiſe Phillip Earle of Charolois, woulde gladly haue bene there, if his father the duke of Burgoigne would haue ſuffred hym: many of his mẽ ſtale away, and went to the frenchmen. The king of England hearing that the frenchmen approched, and that there was an other riuer for him to paſſe with his army by a bridge, and doubting leaſte if the ſame bridge ſhoulde

Titus Liuius.

be broken, it woulde be greately to his hinderaunce, appoynted certayne capitaynes wyth their bandes, to go thyther wyth all ſpeede before hym, and to take poſſeſſion thereof, and ſo to keepe it, tyll hys commyng thither. Thoſe that were ſent, findyng the frenchemen buſy to breake down their bridge, aſſailed them ſo vigorouſly, that they diſcomfited them and tooke and ſlew them, and ſo the bridge was preſerued tyll the king came, and paſſed the riuer by the ſame with his whole army. This was on yͤ .xxij. day of October. The duke of Yorke that led the vãtgarde (after the army was paſſed the Riuer) mounted vp to the heigth of an hill wyth his people, and ſente out ſkowtes to diſcouer the countrey, the which vpon their returne aduertiſed hym, that a wonderfull greate army of Frenchmen was at hand, approching towards them. The duke declared to the Kyng what he had heard, and the Kyng thereuppon, without all feare or trouble of minde, cauſed the bataile which he led himſelfe to ſtay, and incontinently rode forth to view his aduerſaryes, and that done, returned to hys people, and with chereful countenaunce cauſed them to bee put in order of battayle, aſſignyng to euery capitayne ſuche roomth and place, as he thought conuenient, and ſo kepte thẽ ſtill in that order till night was come, ⁊ then determined to ſeeke a place to encampe ⁊ lodge his army in for that night. There was not one amongſt them that knewe any certayne place whither to goe, in that vnknowen countrey: but by chaunce they happened vppon a beaten way, white in ſighte by the which they were broughte vnto a little village, where they were refreſhed with meate ⁊ drinke ſomewhat more plenteouſly, then they had bin diuers dayes before.

King Henry rideth forthe to take the vievve of the Frenche army.

Order was taken by commanndement from the Kyng, after the army was firſte ſet in battayle array, that no noiſe or clamor ſhoulde be made in the hoſte, ſo that in marching forthe to this village, euery man kepte hymſelfe quyet: but at theyr commyng into the village, fiers were made to giue light on euery ſide, as there likewiſe were in the frenche hoſte whiche was lodged not paſte. ij. C. ⁊ fiftie paces dyſtaunte from the Engliſhemen.

The chiefe leaders of the french hoſte were theſe: The conſtable of Fraunce, the Marſhall, the Admirall, the lord Rambures maſter of the croſbowes, and other of the frenche nobilitie, which came and pitched downe their ſtanderts and banners in the countye of Sainct Paule, within the Territorie of Agincourt, hauing in their army as ſome write, to the number of .lx. thouſande horſemen beſides footemen, wagoners and other. They were lodged euen in the way by the whiche the engliſhmen muſt nedes paſſe towardes Callais, and all that night after their comming thither, made greate cheare and were very mery, pleaſant, ⁊ full of game: The Engliſhmen alſo for their partes were of good comfort, and nothing abaſhed of the matter, and yet they were both hungry, weary, ſore trauailed, and vexed with many cold diſeaſes. Howbeit they made peace wyth God, in confeſſing their ſins, receyuing the ſacrament, and requiring aſſiſtaunce at his handes, that is the only giuer of victory, determined rather to die, than either to yelde, or flee.

The number of the frenchemen. *Enguerant.*

The day following was the .xxv. of October in the yeare .1415. being then Friday, and the feaſt of Criſpine, and Criſpinian, the moſt faire and fortunate day to the engliſhemen, and moſte ſorrowfull, and vnlucky to the Frenchemen.

Tl ebr
Agin

In the morning of the ſame day, the french Capitaines made three battayles. In the vawarde were .viij. M. healmes of Knyghtes, and Eſquiers .iiij. M. Archers, and .xv. C. croſbowes whiche were guided by the lorde de la Breth, Conſtable of Fraunce, hauyng wyth hym the Dukes of Orleauns and Burbon, the Earles of Ewe and Richemonte, the Marſhall Bouciquault, and the maſter of the croſbowes, the lord Dampier Admirall of Fraunce and other capitaines: The earle of Vandoſme wyth .xvj. C. men of armes were ordered for a wing to that battayle. And the other wyng was guided by Sir Guicharde Dolphin, Syr Clugnet of Brabant, and Sir Lewes Bourdon, with .viij. C. men of armes, of elect and choſen perſones. And to breake the ſhotte of the engliſhmen were appointed, Sir Guilliam de Saneuſes, with Hector and Phillippe his brethren: Ferry de Maylly, and Alen de Gaſpanes with other .viij. C. of armes. In the middle warde, were aſſigned as many perſons, or mo, as were in the formoſt battaile, and the chardge thereof, was committed to the Dukes of Bar and Alanſon, the Earles of Neuers, Vaudemont, Blamont, Salinges, Grant Prec, and of Ruſſy: And in the rereward were all the other men of armes gayded by the Earles of Marle, Dampmartine, Fauconberg, and the Lorde of Lourrey capitaine of Arde, who had wyth hym, the men of the Frontiers of Bolonois: Thus the frenchemen being ordered vnder their ſtandardes and banners, made a great ſhew: for ſurely they were eſteemed in number ſix times as many or more, than was the whole company of the Engliſhemen, wyth Wagoners, Pages and all. They reſted themſelues, waytyng for the bloudy blaſte of the terryble trumpet, till the houre betweene .ix. and .x. of the

The orde
the Frenc
army.

the clocke of the ſame day: during whiche ſeaſon, the conſtable made vnto the capitains and other men of warre, a pithie oration exhorting and encouraging them to doe valiantly, wyth many comfortable wordes, and ſenſible reaſons. King Henry alſo like a leader, and not as one led, like a ſoueraigne, and not an inferior, perceyuing a plotte of grounde very ſtrong, and meete for his purpoſe, which on the backe halfe was fenced with the village, wherein hee hadde lodged the nighte before, and on bothe ſides defended wyth hedges, and buſhes, thought good there to embattaile his hoſte, and ſo ordered his men in the ſame place, as he ſawe occaſion, and as ſtoode for his moſte aduantage: Fyrſt, he ſent priuily. ij. C. archers into a lowe meadowe, whiche was nere to the vauntgarde of his enemies: but ſeparate with a greate diche commaunding them there to kepe themſelues cloſe till they had a token to them giuen, to let driue at their aduerſaries: Beſide this, he appointed a vaward, of the which he made captaine Edwarde Duke of Yorke, that of an hault courage had deſired that office, and with hym were the Lordes Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope, and this battaile was all of archers. The middle warde was gouerned by the kyng himſelfe, with his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earles of Marſhall, Oxforde, and Suffolke, in the which were all the ſtrong bilmen. The Duke of Exceter vncle to the kyng led the rerewarde, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers. The horſmen like wings went on euery ſide of the battaile.

der of
liſhe

Thus the king hauing ordered his batailes, feared not the puiſſance of his enemies, but yet to prouide that they ſhoulde not with the multitude of their horſemen breake the array of his archers, in whome the whole force of his army conſiſted, hee cauſed ſtakes bounde wyth Iron ſharpe at bothe endes of the length of .v. or .vj. foote to be pitched before the archers, and of eche ſide the footemen like an hedge, to the entente that if the barded horſes ran raſhly vppon them they might ſhortly be gored and deſtroyed: certain perſons alſo were appoynted to remoue ỹ ſtakes, as by the mouing of the archers occaſion and time ſhoulde require, ſo that the footemen were hedged aboute with ſtakes, and the horſmen ſtoode like a bulwarke betweene them and their enemies, without the ſtakes.

the
force
Engliſhe

ſtake in

This deuiſe of fortifying an army, was at this time firſt inuented, but ſince that time they haue deuiſed caltrappes, harrowes, and other newe deuiſes, to defend the force of the horſemen, ſo that if the enemies runne raſhely vpon the ſame, either are their horſes wounded with the ſtakes, or their feete hurt with the other engins, ſo that of neceſſitie for very paine the ſely beaſtes are ouerthrowen and brought to the grounde.

Titus Liuius.

Kyng Henry by reaſon of his ſmall number of people, to fill vp hys battailes, placed his vauntgarde ſo on the right hande of the maine battaile, whyche hymſelfe led, that the diſtance betwixte them might vnneth be perceyued, and ſo in like caſe was the rerewarde ioyned on the left hand, that ỹ one might ỹ more readily ſuccour an other in time of neede, when hee hadde thus ordered his battailes, he lefte a ſmall company to keepe his campe, and caryage, whiche remained ſtill in the village, and then calling his capitaines and ſouldiours aboute him, hee made to them a right harty oration, requiring them to play the men, that they might obtaine a glorious victorie, as there was good hope they ſhould, if they would remember the iuſte cauſe and quarrell, for the whiche they fought, and agaynſte whome they ſhoulde matche, beeyng ſuche faint harted people, as their anncetors had ſo often ouercome. To conclude, many wordes of comforte he vttered to them, to encourage them to do manfully, aſſuring them that Englande ſhoulde neuer be charged wyth hys raunſome, nor any French man triumph ouer hym as a captiue, for either by famous death, or glorious victorye, woulde hee winne honour and fame.

Titus Liuius.

King Henries oration to his men.

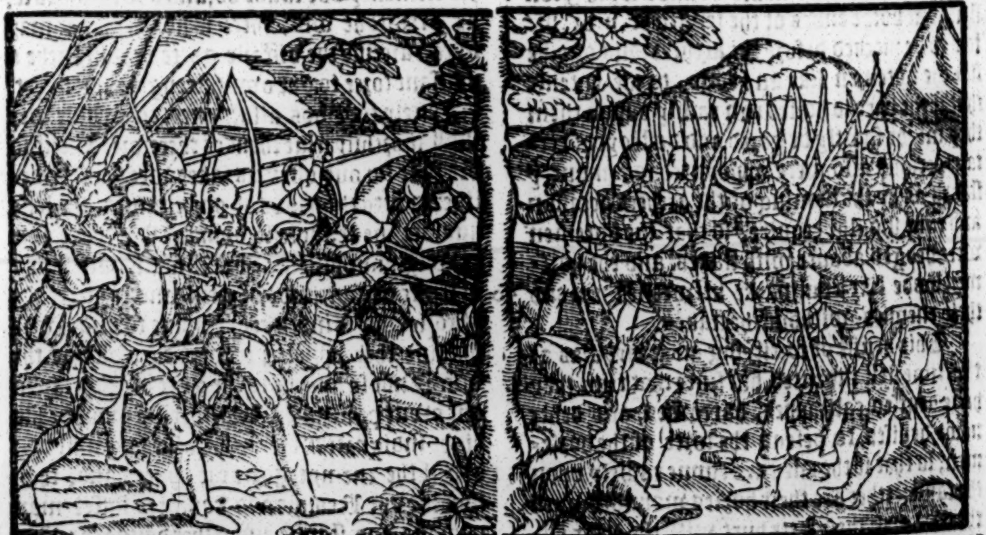
It is ſaide alſo, that he ſhould heare one of the hoſte vtter hys wiſhe to another, that ſtoode nexte to hym in this wiſe: I woulde to god there were preſent here with vs this day ſo many good ſouldiours as are at this houre within the Realme of Englande, whereto the Kyng aunſwered: I woulde not wiſhe a man more here than I haue, wee are in deede in compariſon to the enemies but a fewe: But if God of his clemency doe fauor vs, and our iuſte cauſe, as I truſte he will, there is no man that may or can aſcribe the victorie gotte againſt ſuche a puiſſant force to our owne ſtrength and might, but onely to Gods aſſiſtaunce, to whome wee ſhall worthily giue thankes therefore. And if ſo bee that for our offences ſakes wee ſhall be deliuered into the hands of our enimies, the leſſe number we be, the leſſe domage ſhal the realme of Englande ſuſteine: but if we ſhould fighte in truſte of multitude of men, and ſo gette the victorie (our mindes being prone to pride) wee ſhoulde thervppon peraduenture aſcribe the victory not ſo muche to the gifte of God, as to our owne puiſſaunce, and thereby prouoke his highe indignation and diſpleaſure againſt vs: and if the enemye gotte the vpper hand, than ſhoulde our Realme and countrey ſuffer more domage and ſtande in further daunger: But

A vviſhe.
A noble courage of a valiant Prince.

hee

be you of good comforte, and ſhewe your ſelues valiant, God and our iuſte quarrell, ſhall defende vs, and deliuer theſe our proude aduerſaries with all the multitude of them whiche you ſee, or at the leaſte the more parte of them into our handes. Whileſt the king was yet thus exhorting hys people, eyther army ſo maligned the other being as then in open ſight, that euery man cryed forward, forwarde. The Dukes of Clarence, Glouceſter, and Yorke, were of the ſame opinion, yet the king ſtayed a while, leaſt any ieoperdy were not foreſeene, or any hazard not preuented. The Frenchmen in the meane while, as thoughe they had bin ſure of victory, made great triumphe, for the captaines had determined before, how to deuide the ſpoile, & the ſouldiours the night before had plaid the engliſhemen at dice. The noble men had deuiſed a chariot, wherin they might triumphantly conuey King Henry beeing captiue to the Citie of Paris, crying to their ſouldiours, haſte you to obtain ſpoile, glory and honour, little remembring that the whirle winde, ſhortely with a puffe, woulde blowe away all their vaine ioye and fooliſhe fantaſticall braggyng: of this doing, you may gather that it is as muche madnes to make a determinate iudgemēt of things to come, as it is wiſedome to doubt what will folow of things begon. Here we may not forget howe the French men beeing thus in theyr ruffe, ſent an Herault to K. Henry, to enquire of hym what rauſome he would offer, and how he aunſwered, that within .ij. or .iij. houres he hoped that it ſhould ſo happen, that the frenchmen ſhould common rather with the Engliſhmen for their owne raunſomes, than the engliſhemen ſhould neede to take thought for their deliueraūce, promiſing for his owne part, that his dead carcaſſe ſhoulde rather be a pray to the Frenchemen, than that his liuing body ſhould be endangered of paying any raunſom. When the meſſenger was come backe to the frenche hoſte, the men of warre put on their helmettes & cauſed their trumpets to blow to the battaile. They thought themſelues ſo ſure of victory, that diuers of the noble men made ſuche haſte towards the battaile, that they left many of their ſeruauntes and men of warre behinde them, & ſome of them woulde not once ſtaye for their ſtanderts: as amongeſt other the duke of Brabant when his ſtandert was not come cauſed a baner to be taken from a trumpet, and faſtened to a ſpeare, the which he cōmanded to be borne before him in ſteed of his ſtanderd. But when both theſe armies cōming within ſight either of other, & were ſet in order of battaile, they ſtoode ſtill at the firſt, beholding either others demeanor, being not diſtant in ſunder paſt .iij. bowſhootes. And when they had thus ſtoode on both ſides a good while without doing any thing, (except that certaine of the frenche horſemē aduaūcing forward, betwixt both the hoſtes were by the engliſhe archers conſtrained to retourne backe) aduiſe was taken amongeſt the engliſhmen, what was beſt for them to do, and thereupon all things conſidered, it was determined that ſith yͤ frenchmē would not come forward, the king wyth his army, embatailed as ye haue heard, ſhoulde marche towards them, & ſo leauing their truſſe & bagage in the village where they lodged the night before, onely wyth theyr weapons, armour, and ſtakes prepared for the purpoſe, as ye haue heard, they made ſomwhat forward, before whō there went an olde knight ſir Tho. Erpingham (a man of great experiēce in the warre) with a warder in his hand, & whē he caſt vp his warder, al the army ſhouted, but that was a ſigne to the archers in the meadow, which therwith ſhot wholy altogither at yͤ vawarde of the Frenchemen, who when they per-

Hall.



ceyued the archers in the medow, and ſaw they could not come at thẽ, for a ditche that was betwixte them, with all haſte ſette vpon the forewarde of K. Henry, but ere they could ioyne, yͤ archers in the forefront, and the archers on yͤ ſide which ſtoode in the meadowe, ſo wounded the footmen, galled the horſes, and combred the men of armes, that the footmen durſt not goe forward, the horſmen ran togither vpon plũps without order, ſome ouerthrewe ſuche as were nexte them, & the horſes ouerthrewe their maiſters, and ſo at the firſt ioyning, the Frenchmen were fouly diſcomforted, and the Engliſhmen muche encouraged. When the French vaward was thus brought to confuſion, the engliſh archers caſte away their bowes, and tooke into their handes, axes, malles, ſwordes, billes, and other hand weapons, and with the ſame ſlewe the Frenchmẽ, til they came to the midle ward.

Then approched the K., and ſo encouraged his people, that ſhortly the ſecond battail of the Frenchemen was ouerthrowen, and diſperſed, not without greate ſlaughter of men: howbeit, diuers wer relieued by their varlets, and conueyed out of the field. The Engliſhmen were ſo buſied in fighting, & taking of the priſoners at hand, that they folowed not in chaſe of their enemies, nor would once break out of their array of battail. The frenchmen ſtrongly withſtoode the fierceneſſe of the Engliſhmen, when they came to handy ſtrokes, ſo that the fighte was doubtfull and perillous. And when one parte of the french horſmen thought to haue entred vpon the kings battaile, they were with yͤ ſtakes ouerthrowen to the grounde, and eyther taken or ſlaine. Thus this battaile continued iij. long houres. The K. that day ſhewed himſelfe a valiant knight, albeit notwithſtanding he was almoſte felled by the duke of Alanſon, yet with plaine ſtrength he ſlew. ij. of the dukes company, and felled the duke, whome when he woulde haue yelded, the kings garde contrary to his minde outragiouſly ſlewe. And in concluſion, the K. minding to make an end of that daies iorny, cauſed his horſmen to fetch a compaſſe about, and to ioyne with hym againſt the rereward of the frenchmẽ, in the which was the greateſt number of people. When the frenchmẽ perceyued his intent, they were ſodenly amazed & ran away like ſheepe, without order or aray: which whẽ the K. perceyued, he encouraged his men, & folowed ſo quickly vpon the enemies, yͭ they ran hither and thither, caſting away theyr armour: and many of them on their knees deſired to haue their liues ſaued. In the meane ſeaſon, while the battaile thus continued, & that the engliſhemen had taken a greate number of priſoners, certayne frenchemen on horſe backe, wherof wer captains Robinet of Borneuile, Rifflart of Clamas, & Iſambert of Agincourt, and other men of armes, to the number of. vj. C. horſmen, which were the firſt that fled, hearing that the engliſh tents and pauilions were a good way diſtant from the army, without any ſufficient gard to defend the ſame, eyther vpon a couetous meaning to gain by the ſpoil, or vpon a deſire to be reuẽged, entred vpõ the kings camp, & there ſpoiled the hales, robbed the tents, brake vp cheſts and carried away caſkets, & ſlew ſuche ſeruants as they founde to make any reſiſtance, for the which acte they were after committed to priſon, and had loſte their liues, if the Dolphin had longer liued: for when the outcry of the lackies & boyes, which ran away for fear of the frenchmẽ thus ſpoiling the campe, came to the kings eares, he doubting leſt his enemies ſhould gather togither againe, & begin a newe field, and miſtruſting further that the priſoners would either be an aide to his enemies, or very enemyes to their takers in deede if they were ſuffred to liue, contrary to his accuſtomed gentlenes, cõmaunded by ſounde of trũpet, that euery man vpon paine of death, ſhould incontinently ſlea his priſoner: whẽ this dolorous decree, and pitifull proclamation was pronounced, pity it was to ſee how ſome frenchmẽ were ſodenly ſticked with daggers, ſome were brained with pollaxes, ſome ſlaine with malles, other had their throates cut, and ſome their bellies panched, ſo that in effect, hauing reſpect to yͤ greate number, fewe priſoners were ſaued.

The kings campe robbed.

All the priſoners ſlaine.

When this lamentable ſlaughter was ended, yͤ engliſhmen diſpoſed thẽſelues in order of battayle, ready to abide a newe fielde, and alſo to inuade, and newly ſet on their enemies, and ſo with great force they aſſailed yͤ erles of Marle and Fawconbridge, and the lords of Louray, & of Thine yͤ which with. vj. C. men of armes had all day kepte togither, and were now ſlaine and beatẽ down out of hand. Some write, that the K. perceiuing his enemyes in one parte to aſſemble togither, as though they ment to giue a new battail for preſeruation of the priſoners, ſent to them an Herrault commaunding them either to depart out of his ſight, or elſe to come forward at once, and giue battaile, promiſing herewith, that if they did offer to fighte agayne not only thoſe priſoners whiche his people alredy had taken, but alſo ſo many of them as in this new conflicte, which they thus attempted ſhould fall into his hands, ſhould dye the death without redemtion. The frenchmen fearing yͤ ſentence of ſo terrible a decree, without further delay departed out of the fielde. And ſo aboute foure of the clocke in the after noone, the Kyng when he ſawe no apparaunce of enemies, cau-

A freſh onſet

Titus Liuius.

ſed

Thankes giuen to God for the victorie.

A worthy example of a godly prince.

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The battaile of Agincourte.

The ſame day that the nevve maior vvent to VVeſtminſter to receiue his othe, the aduertiſment of this noble victorie came to the citie in the morning betimes ere men vvere vp from theyr beddes

Regiſter of Maiors.

ſed the retreite to bee blowen, and gathering his army togither, gaue thankes to almightie god for ſo happy a victory, cauſing his prelates and chapleines to ſing this pſalme. *In exitu Iſraell de Egipto,* and cōmaundyng euery man to kneele downe on the grounde at this verſe. *Non nobis domine, non nobis, ſed nomini tuo da gloriā.* Which done, he cauſed *Te Deum,* with certain anthēs to be ſong, giuing laud & praiſe to god and not boaſting of his owne force or any humaine power. That night he & his people tooke reſt and refreſhed themſelues with ſuch victuals as they foūd in the french campe, but lodged in the ſame village, where he lay the night before: and in the morning, Mountioy K. at armes & foure other french Herraults came to the K to knowe the number of priſoners, & to deſire buriall for the dead: Before he made thē anſwere (to vnderſtād what they would ſay) he demaūded of them why they made to him that requeſt conſidering that hee knewe not whether ỹ victory was to be attributed to him, or to their nation but: when Montioy by true and iuſt confeſſion had cleared that doubt to ỹ highe praiſe of the K. he deſired of Montioye to vnderſtand the name of the Caſtell neare adioyning: when they had told him that it was called Agincort, he ſaid that this conflict ſhal be called the batail of Agincourte. He feaſted the frenche officers of armes that daye, and graunted them their requeſte, which buſily ſought throughe the fielde for ſuche as were ſlaine, but the engliſhmē ſuffred thē not to go alone, for they ſearched wyth them, & found many hurte, but not in ieoperdy of their liues, whom they tooke priſoners, & brought them to their tents. Whē the K. of Englande had well refreſhed himſelfe, & his ſouldiours, and had taken the ſpoile of ſuche as were ſlaine, hee wyth his priſoners in good order returned to his towne of Callais: Whē tidings of this greate victory, was blowen into Englande, ſolempne proceſſions and other praiſings to almightie God wyth bonfiers, & ioyfull triumphes, were ordeined in euery towne; City, and borough, & the maior & citizēs of London, went the morrow after the daye of S. Simon and Iude from the Church of S. Paule to the church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter in deuoute maner, rendring to God harty thanks for ſuch fortunate lucke ſent to the king and his army. The ſame Sonday that the K remoued from the campe at Agincourte towards Calais, diuers frenchmē came to the field to view againe the dead bodies, & the peaſants of the countrey ſpoiled the carcaſſes of all ſuch apparell & other things as the engliſhmen had left: for they tooke nothing but gold & ſiluer, iewels, riche aparell and coſtly armour, but the ploughmē & peaſāts lefte nothing behinde, neither ſhirt nor cloute, ſo that the bodies lay ſtark naked till Wedneſday, on the whiche day diuers of the noble men were conueied into their countries, and the remainaunte were by Phillip Earle Charolois (ſore lamenting the chaunce & moued with pity) at his coſte and charge buried in a ſquare plot of grounde of xv. C. yardes, in the which he cauſed to be made. iij. pittes, wherein were buried by accompte. v. M. and viij. C. perſons beſide thē that were caried away by their frinds and ſeruants, and other which being wounded died in hoſpitalles and other places. After this dolorous iourney and pitifull ſlaughter, diuers clerks of Paris made many lamentable verſes, complaining that the king reigned by will, and that counſellors were parciall, affirming that ỹ noble men fled agaynſt nature, and that the cōmons were deſtroied by their prodigalitie, declaring alſo that the Clergie were dombe, and durſte not ſaye the truthe, and that the humble commons duly obeied, and yet euer ſuffred puniſhemēt, for which cauſe by deuine perſecution the leſſe nūber vanquiſhed the greter: wherfore they concluded, that al things went out of order, and yet was there no man that ſtudied to bring the vnruly to frame: it was no maruaile thoughe this battaile was lamentable to the french nation, for in it were taken and ſlaine ỹ flower of al the Nobilitie of Fraunce: There wer taken priſoners Charles duke of Orleance, nephew to the frēch K. Io. duke of Bourbon, the Lorde Bouciqualt one of the marſhals of Fraūce, which died in England wyth a number of other lords, knightes, and eſquiers at ỹ leaſte. xv C. beſide the common people. There were ſlaine in al of the frenche parte to the nūber of. x M. men, wherof were Princes and noble men bearing baners. Cxxvj. & of knights eſquiers & gentlemen in the whole were ſlaine viij. M. iiij C. (of the whiche. v. C. were dubbed knights the night before the battail) ſo that of other the meaner ſorte there died not paſſe xvj C. Amongeſt thoſe of the Nobilitie that were ſlain, theſe were the chiefeſt, Charles lord de la Breth high conſtable of Fraunce, Iaques of Chatilō L. of Dāpierre Admiral of France, the L. Rambures maſter of the croſbowes, ſir Guiſchard Dolphin greate maſter of Fraunce, Io. duke of Alanſon, Anthony duke of Brabāt, brother to the duke of Burgoine, Edward duke of Bar, the erle of Neuers another brother to the duke of Burgoine, with the erles of Marle, Vaudemont, Beaumont, Grandpree, Rouſſi, Fauconberg, Fois, and Leſtrake, beſide a greate number of Lords and Barons of name: Of engliſhmē, there died at this battayl, Edward duke of Yorke, the earle of Suffolke, ſir

Noble m
priſoners

The
ſlaine on
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ſlaine.

Sir Richard Kikeley, and Dauy Gamme Eſquier, and of all other, not aboue .xxv. perſons, if you will credite ſuch as write miracles : but other Writers of greater credite affirme, that there were ſlaine aboue fiue or ſixe C. perſons. Titus Liuius ſayeth, that there were ſlaine of Engliſhmen beſide the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Suffolke, an C. perſons at the firſt encounter: the Duke of Glouceſter the kings brother was ſore woūded about the hippes, & borne downe to the ground, ſo that he fel backwards, with his feete towards his enimies, whome the K. beſtridde, and like a brother, valiantly reſcued him from his enimies, and ſo ſauing his life, cauſed him to be conueyed out of the fight, into a place of more ſafetie.

Liuius.

After that the K. of England had refreſhed him ſelfe, and his people at Calais, and that ſuch priſoners as he had left at Harflew (as yee haue heard) were come to Calais vnto him the ſixth daye of Nouēber, he with all his priſoners toke ſhipping, & the ſame day lāded at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the Duke of Yorke, & of the Earle of Suffolke, & cauſed yͤ Duke to be buried at his colledge of Fodringhey, & the Earle at new Elme. In this paſſage, the Seas were ſo rough & troublous, that two ſhips belonging to ſir Iohn Cornewall, Lorde Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland, howbeit, nothing was loſt, nor any perſon periſhed. The Maior of London, and yͤ Aldermen, apparelled in orient grained ſcarlet, and four C. commoners, clad in beautifull murrey, well mounted, and trimly horſed with rich collers, and greate chaines, met the K. on black heath, reioicing at his returne. And the Clergie of London, with rich Croſſes, ſumptuous copes, and maſſie cenſers, receiued him, at S. Thomas of Waterings, with ſolemne proceſſion. The K. like a graue and ſober perſonage, and as one remembring from whome al victories are ſent, ſeemed little to regard ſuche vaine pompe & ſhewes as were in triumphāt ſort deuiſed for his welcomming home from ſo proſperous a iourney, in ſo much, that he would not ſuffer his helmet to be caried with him, and ſhewed to the people, that they might behold the dintes and cuttes whiche appeared in yͤ ſame, of ſuch blowes and ſtripes, as hee receiued the daye of the battell : neyther woulde he ſuffer any dities to be made & ſong by minſtrels, of his glorious victorie, for that he would whollie haue the praiſe and thankes altogither giuen to God. The newes of thys bloudy battell being reported to the French K. as then ſoiourning at Roan, filled the Courte full of ſorrowe, but to remedie ſuche danger as was like to enſue, it was decreed by counſel, to ordeine newe officers in places of thē that were ſlaine: and firſte, hee elected his chiefe officer for the warres, called the Conneſtable, the Earle of Arminacke, a wiſe and politike Captaine, and an auntiente enimie to the Engliſhmen. Sir Iohn de Corſey was made maſter of the croſſebowes.

Noble preſages.

The ... ſlaine on ... frenche p... Engliſhe... ſlaine.

Liuius.

...reat mo... of the K.

Shortly after, either for melancholy that he had for the loſſe at Agincourt, or by ſome ſodayne diſeaſe, Lewes Dolphin of Viennoyes, heire apparant to the Frenche King, departed this life, without iſſue, which happened well for Robynet of Bourneuille, and his fellowes, as yee haue hearde before, for his death was theyr life, and his life would haue bin their death.

The death of the Dolphin of France.

1416

After that the French King had created new officers, in hope to releeue the ſtate of his realme and countrey, ſore ſhaken by the late greate ouerthrowe, it chanced, that Thomas Duke of Exeter, Captaine of Harflewe, accompanyed with three thouſand Engliſhmē, made a great roade into Normandie, almoſt to the Citie of Roan, in whiche iourney, he got greate abundance, both of riches and priſoners : but in hys returne, the Earle of Arminacke newly made Conneſtable of France, intending in his fyrſte enterprice to winne his ſpurres, hauing with him aboue fiue thouſand horſemen, encountred with the Duke : the fight was handled on both partes very hotely, but bycauſe the Engliſhmen were not able to reſiſt yͤ force of yͤ frenchmen, the Duke was conſtreined to retire with loſſe at the leaſt of three C. of his footemen, yet being withdrawē into an orchard, which was ſtrōgly fenced and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Engliſhmen, but yet they toke from them all their horſes and ſpoyle, and aſſaulted them, till it was night, and then retired backe to yͤ town, not far diſtāt from yͤ place where they fought, called Vallemōt, this was vpon yͤ fourtēth day of Marche, and in the morning, vpon yͤ breake of the daye, the Engliſhmen iſſued forth of the orcharde, where they had kepte thēſelues all yͤ night, and drew towardes Harflewe, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertiſed, followed thē, and ouertoke them vppon the ſandes, neere to Chiefe de Caux, and there ſet on them : but in yͤ ende, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and a greate number of them ſlaine by the Engliſhmē, which afterwardes returned without more adoe vnto Harflew. The french writers blame the Conneſtable for this loſſe, bycauſe hee kepte vpon the high grounde with a number of men of warre, and woulde not come downe to ayde his fellowes.

A ſore conflicte.

In this fourth yeare of K. Henries raigne, the Emperor Sigiſmond, couſin germaine to K. Henry, came into Englād, to the intēt, that he

Anno re. 4.

The Emperor Sigiſmond cōmeth into Eng.

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Engliſh
ſlaine.

Sir Richard Kikeley, and Dauy Gamme Eſquier, and of all other, not aboue .xxv. perſons, if you will credite ſuch as write miracles : but other Writers of greater credite affirme, that there were ſlaine aboue fiue or ſixe C. perſons. Titus Liuius ſayeth, that there were ſlaine of Engliſhmen beſide the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Suffolke, an C. perſons at the firſt encounter: the Duke of Glouceſter the kings brother was ſore woũded about the hippes, & borne downe to the ground, ſo that he fel backwards, with his feete towards his enimies, whome the K. beſtridde, and like a brother, valiantly reſcued him from his enimies, and ſo ſauing his life, cauſed him to be conueyed out of the fight, into a place of more ſafetie.

Liuius.

After that the K. of England had refreſhed him ſelfe, and his people at Calais, and that ſuch priſoners as he had left at Harflew (as yee haue heard) were come to Calais vnto him the ſixth daye of Nouẽber, he with all his priſoners tooke ſhipping, & the ſame day lãded at Douer, hauing with him the dead bodies of the Duke of Yorke, & of the Earle of Suffolke, & cauſed yͤ Duke to be buried at his colledge of Fodringhey, & the Earle at new Elme. In this paſſage, the Seas were ſo rough & troublous, that two ſhips belonging to ſir Iohn Cornewall, Lorde Fanhope, were driuen into Zeland, howbeit, nothing was loſt, nor any perſon periſhed. The Maior of London, and yͤ Aldermen, apparelled in orient grained ſcarlet, and four C. commoners, clad in beautifull murrey, well mounted, and trimly horſed with rich collers, and greate chaines, met the K. on black heath, reioicing at his returne. And the Clergie of London, with rich Croſſes, ſumptuous copes, and maſſie cenſers, receiued him, at S. Thomas of Waterings, with ſolemne proceſſion. The K. like a graue and ſober perſonage, and as one remembring from whome al victories are ſent, ſeemed little to regard ſuche vaine pompe & ſhewes as were in triumphãt ſort deuiſed for his welcomming home from ſo proſperous a iourney, in ſo much, that he would not ſuffer his helmet to be caried with him, and ſhewed to the people, that they might behold the dintes and cuttes whiche appeared in yͤ ſame, of ſuch blowes and ſtripes, as hee receiued the daye of the battell : neyther woulde he ſuffer any dities to be made & ſong by minſtrels, of his glorious victorie, for that he would whollie haue the praiſe and thankes altogither giuen to God. The newes of thys bloudy battell being reported to the French K. as then ſoiourning at Roan, filled the Courte full of ſorrowe, but to remedie ſuche danger as was like to enſue, it was decreed by counſel, to ordeine newe officers in places of thẽ that were ſlaine: and firſte, hee elected his chiefe officer for the warres, called the Conneſtable, the Earle of Arminacke, a wiſe and politike Captaine, and an auntiente enimie to the Engliſhmen. Sir Iohn de Corſey was made maſter of the croſſebowes.

Noble
priſoner

The
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Liuius.

eat mo
of the K.

Shortly after, either for melancholy that he had for the loſſe at Agincourt, or by ſome ſodayne diſeaſe, Lewes Dolphin of Viennoyes, heire apparant to the Frenche King, departed this life, without iſſue, which happened well for Robynet of Bourneuille, and his fellowes, as yee haue hearde before, for his death was theyr life, and his life would haue bin their death.

The death of the Dolphin of France.

1416

After that the French King had created new officers, in hope to relieue the ſtate of his realme and countrey, ſore ſhaken by the late greate ouerthrowe, it chanced, that Thomas Duke of Exeter, Captaine of Harflewe, accompanyed with three thouſand Engliſhmẽ, made a great roade into Normandie, almoſt to the Citie of Roan, in whiche iourney, he got greate abundance, both of riches and priſoners : but in hys returne, the Earle of Arminacke newly made Conneſtable of France, intending in his fyrſte enterprice to winne his ſpurres, hauing with him aboue fiue thouſand horſemen, encountred with the Duke : the fight was handled on both partes very hotely, but bycauſe the Engliſhmen were not able to reſiſt yͤ force of yͤ frenchmen, the Duke was conſtreined to retire with loſſe at the leaſt of three C. of his footemen, yet being withdrawẽ into an orchard, which was ſtrõgly fenced and hedged about with thornes, the Frenchmen were not able to enter vpon the Engliſhmen, but yet they tooke from them all their horſes and ſpoyle, and aſſaulted them, till it was night, and then retired backe to yͤ town, not far diſtãt from yͤ place where they fought, called Vallemõt, this was vpon yͤ fourtẽth day of Marche, and in the morning, vpon yͤ breake of the daye, the Engliſhmen iſſued forth of the orcharde, where they had kepte thẽſelues all yͤ night, and drew towardes Harflewe, whereof the Frenchmen being aduertiſed, followed thẽ, and ouertooke them vppon the Sandes, neere to Chiefe de Caux, and there ſet on them: but in yͤ ende, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and a greate number of them ſlaine by the Engliſhmẽ, which afterwardes returned without more adoe vnto Harflew. The french writers blame the Conneſtable for this loſſe, bycauſe hee kepte vpon the high grounde with a number of men of warre, and woulde not come downe to ayde his fellowes.

A ſore conflicte.

In this fourth yeare of K. Henries raigne, the Emperor Sigiſmond, couſin germaine to K. Henry, came into Englãd, to the intẽt that

Anno re. 4.
The Emperor Sigiſmond cõmeth into Eng.

he might make an attonement betwene Kyng Henry, and the french king: with whom he had bin before, bringing with hym the Archebiſhop of Reines, as ambaſſador for the french kyng. At Callais hee was honourably receiued by the Earle of Warwicke Lorde deputy there, and diuers other Lords, ſente thither of purpoſe to attende hym. Moreouer, the king ſente thither xxx. greate ſhips to bring hym and his traine ouer. At Douer the duke of Gloceſter, and diuers other Lordes were ready to receyue hym, who at his approching to land, entred the water with their ſwordes in their handes drawen, and by the mouth of the ſaide duke, declared to hym, that if hee intended to enter the lande as the kings friend, and as a mediator to intreate for peace, he ſhoulde be ſuffred to arriue: but if he would enter as an Emperor into a land vnder his Imperiall iuriſdiction, then were they ready to reſiſt hym. This was thought neceſſarie to be done, for ſauing of the kings prerogatiue, whiche hathe full preeminence within his owne realme, as an abſolute prince or Emperour: when the Emperor herevpon anſwered that he was come as the kings friend, and as a mediator for peace, and not with any imperial authoritie, hee was of the Duke and other his aſſociats receiued with al ſuch honor as might be deuiſed. The king with all his nobilitie receiued hym on Blacke Heathe, the. vij daye of May, and broughte him throughe London to Weſtminſter, with gheate triumphe. Shortly after there came alſo into England, Albert duke of Holland, who was likewiſe friendly enterteyned. Both theſe princes, the Emperour and the duke of Holland were conueyed to Windſore, to ſaint Georges feaſt, and elected companions of the noble order of the Garter, and had the collar and habite of the ſame to them deliuered & ſat in their ſtalls al the ſolemnity of the feaſt. Shortly after that the feaſt was finiſhed, the Duke of Hollande returned into his countrey, but the Emperour tarried ſtil, and aſſayed all maner of meanes to perſwade the Kyng to a peace wyth the Frenchmen: but their euill hap, as they that were appointed by gods prouidēce to ſuffer more domage at the Engliſhmens handes, would not permit his perſwaſions to take place: for wheras peace was euen almoſte entring in at the gates, the King was ſodainely ſtirred to diſpleaſure, vppon a newe occaſion, for he beeing aduertiſed of the loſſe of his men at the late conflicte in the territorie of Roan, (as ye haue heard) refuſed to heare this worde peace once named. The Emperor like a wiſe Prince, paſſed ouer that time til an other ſeaſon, that ſome fauorable aſpect of the planets ſhould ſeeme to further hys purpoſe, and when he thought the ſame was comen, he broched againe the veſſell of concorde and amitie, which hee put in ſo faire a cup, and preſented it wyth ſuche effectuous wordes, that ſurely the Kyng had taſted it, if word had not bin brought about the ſame time, that Harflew was beſieged of yͤ french both by water and by land, as it was in deede: for the conſtable of Fraunce encouraged with his laſt victory (though the ſame was not muche to his praiſe) aſſembled an army, & vpon a ſodaine laid ſiege to the town, and at the ſame inſtant John Vicount of Narbon the vice admirall of Fraunce, brought the whole Nauy to the riuage and ſhore adioining to the towne, in purpoſe to haue entred by the water ſide, but the duke of Exceter defeated their intent, and defended the Towne very manfully. Kyng Henry aduertiſed hereof, ment at the firſt to haue gone wyth his nauy in perſon to the ſuccours of his men, but the Emperor diſſuaded hym from that purpoſe, aduiſing him rather to ſend ſome one of his captains. The king folowing his louing and reaſonable aduertiſement, appoynted hys brother the duke of Bedford accompanied with the Earles of Marche, Marſhall, Oxforde, Huntington, Warwicke, Arundell, Sariſbury, Deuonſhire, and diuers Barons, with. ij. C. ſaile to paſſe into Normandy, for reſcue of the towne of Harflew, which vſing great diligēce ſhipped at Rie, and after ſome hinderance by contrary windes, at lengthe came to the mouthe of the riuer of Sayne on the day of the Aſſumption of our Lady: When the Vicount of Narbone perceiued the engliſhe nauy to approche, he couragiouſly ſet forewarde, and gat the poſſeſſion of the mouthe of the hauen. The duke of Bedford ſeing his enimies thus fiercely to come forward, ſette before certaine ſtrong ſhips, which at the firſt encounter vanquiſhed, and tooke. ij french ſhips, the captaines whereof were to raſhe & forward. The duke followed with all his puiſſaunce, and ſet vpon his enemies, the fight was long, but not ſo long, as perilous, nor ſo perilous, as terrible, (for battailes on the ſea are deſperate) till at length the victory fell to the Engliſhmen, ſo that almoſte all the whole Nauy of Fraunce, in the whiche were many Shippes, Hulkes, Carikes, and other ſmall veſſels, to the number of. v. C. was ſunke and taken. Amongſt other veſſelles that were taken, three greate Carikes of Genoa, a citie in Italy, were ſent into England. In the ſame conflicte were ſlaine of the frenchemen no ſmall number, as appeared by the dead bodies, which were ſene euery day ſwimming abont yͤ Engliſh ſhips. After this, the duke of Bedford ſailed vp to Harflew, & refreſhed yͤ town both with victual and money (notwithſtanding that

certayne

Titus Liuius.

The ſtraunge manner of receuing the Emperour at Douer.

Albert duke of Hollande commeth into Englande.

The Emperour an earneſt mediator for peace.

Harflevv ſieged by Frenche.

Titus Li

A greate throvve giuen to Frenche Duke of forde.

Titus Li

Harflevv cued by th

French galleys did what they could to haue letted that enterprice.) When the Earle of Arminacke hearde that the puiſſant nauie of Fraunce was vanquiſhed, hee reiſed his ſiege, and returned to Paris. After this diſcomfiture and loſſe, the puiſſance of the Frenchmen began to decay, for now the Princes and nobles of the Realme fell into deuiſion and diſcord amõg themſelues, ſtudying how to reuenge their olde iniuries; ſo that they refuſed to take payne for the aduancement of the publique weale, and ſafegard of their countrey, and thereupon through priuie diſpleaſure, and couerte hatred, their power beganne to ware ſo ſlender, and their libertie broughte into ſuche a malitious diuerſitie, and doubtfull difference, that it was maruell their countrey hadde not bin brought into a perpetuall bondage, whiche thing no doubt had followed, if King Henrie hadde longer liued in this mutable world: for as vppon one inconuenience ſuffered, many do followe, ſo was it in Fraunce at that time: for the King was not of ſound memorie: the warre that was toward, ſeemed both doubtful and perilous; the Princes were vntruſtie and at diſcord, and a hundred things moe, (whiche might bryng a realme to ruine,) were out of frame and order in Fraunce in thoſe dayes. After that the Duke of Bedford was returned backe againe into England with great triumph and glory, he was not ſo muche thanked of the King his brother, as praiſed of yͤ Emperor Sigiſmond, being to him a ſtranger, whiche ſaide openly, that happie are thoſe ſubiectes, whiche haue ſuche a K. but more happie is the K. that hath ſuch ſubiectes. When yͤ Emperor perceiued that it was in vain to moue further for peace, he left off that treatie, and entred himſelfe into a league with K. Henrie, the contẽts of which league cõſiſted chiefly in theſe articles, that both yͤ ſaid Emperor, and K. theyr heires and ſucceſſors, ſhould be friends each to other, as alies and confederates againſte all maner of perſons of what eſtate or degree ſo euer they were (the Churche of Rome, and the Pope for yͤ time being only excepted) and that neyther they, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhoulde bee preſent in counſell, or other place, where either of them, or his heires or ſucceſſors might ſuſteine domage, in lands, goodes, honors, ſtates, or perſons: & that if any of them ſhould vnderſtande of loſſe or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they ſhould impeache the ſame, or if yͭ lay not in their powers, they ſhould aduertiſe the others thereof, with all conuenient ſpeede: and yͭ either of them, and their heires and ſucceſſors, ſhould aduance the others honor and commoditie, without fraude or deceipt. Moreouer, yͭ neyther of thẽ, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhould permitte their ſubiectes to leuie warres agaynſt the others, and that it ſhould be lawfull and free for each of their ſubiectes, to paſſe into the others countrey, & there to remayne and make merchãdice, either by ſea or lande, paying the cuſtomes, gabels, and ducties due and accuſtomed, according to the lawes and ordinances of the places & countreys where they chanced to ariue. Furthermore, that neither of the ſaide Princes, nor their heires nor ſucceſſors ſhould receiue any rebell, baniſhed man, or traitors of the others wittingly, but ſhould cauſe euery ſuch perſon to auoide out of their countreys, realmes, dominiõs, and iuriſdictions. Againe, that neither of the ſaid Princes, their heires, nor ſucceſſors ſhoulde begin any warres againſte anye other perſon, other than ſuche as they had warres with at that preſent, without conſente of the other his confederate, except in defence of themſelues, their cõtreis, & ſubiectes, in caſe of inuaſiõ made vpõ thẽ. Alſo, that it ſhould be lawfull for the K. of England, to proſecute his warres againſt the Frẽchmẽ, for recouerie of his right, as ſhould ſeeme to him expediente, and likewiſe to yͤ Emperor, for recouerie of any part of hys right in France, ſo yͭ neither of thẽ did preiudice yͤ others right in yͭ behalfe. Laſtly, that either of thẽ ſhould aſſiſt the other in recouerie, and cõqueſt of their right, lãds, and dominions, ocupyed, with-holden, and kept frõ them, by him that called himſelf K. of Frãce, and other yͤ princes & Barõs of France. This aliance, with other cõditions, agreemẽts, and articles, was cõcluded & eſtabliſhed the .9. daye of October, in yͤ yere of our Lord. 1416. This done, the Emperor returned homewards, to paſſe into Germany, & the K. partly to ſhew him pleaſure, & partly bycauſe of his owne affayres, aſſociated him to his towne of Calais. During the time of their abode there, the Duke of Burgoigne offered to come to Calais, to ſpeake with the Emperor and the K. bycauſe he had knowledge of yͤ league that was cõcluded betwixt them: the K. ſent his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Erle of March to the water of Graueling, to be hoſtages for the Duke of Burgoigne: and alſo yͤ Earle of Warwike, with a noble cõpany to cõduct him to his preſence. At Graueling found the Dukes met, & after ſalutations done, the Duke of Burgoigne was conueyed to Calais, where of yͤ Emperor and the K. hee was highly welcomed & feaſted. Heere is to be noted, that in Iune laſt, yͤ K. of Englãd had ſent the Erle of Warwike, and other, vnto yͤ Duke of Burgoigne, as then remaining at Liſle, where by yͤ diligẽt trauaile of thoſe engliſh Imbaſſadors, a truce was concluded betwixte the K. of England, and the Duke of Burgoigne, touching onely the Counties of Flanders, and Arthois, to endure from the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt, in that preſente yeare.

Titus Liuius.

Continuation de la chronicle de Flanders.

A truce betweene the K. and the Duke of Burgoigne.

1416. vnto the feaſt of Sainte Michaell, in the yeare nexte enſuing, whiche truce at the Dukes being now at Calais, (when no further agreement could be concluded) was prolonged vnto the feaſt of S. Michaell, that ſhould be in yͤ yere 1419. The Duke of Glouceſter was receyued at Graueling, by the Erle Charroloys, and by him honorably coueyed to S. Omers, and there lodged that night. The next day, the Erle Charroloys came with diuers noble men, to viſit yͤ duke of Glouceſter in his lodging, and whē he entred into yͤ chamber, the dukes backe was towardes him, talking with ſome one of his ſeruauntes, & did not ſee nor welcome the Erle at his firſt entrie, but after he ſayde to him ſhortly without any great reuerence, or comming towards hym, you be welcome faire couſin, and ſo paſſed forth his tale with his ſeruāts. The Erle Charroloys for all his youth, was not wel content therwith, but yet ſuffered for that time. Whē the Duke of Burgoigne had done all his buſines at Calais, after the ninth daye, hee returned to Graueling, where the D. of Glouceſter & he met againe, and louingly departed, yͤ one to Calais, & the other to S. Omers, for the whiche voyage, the Duke of Burgoigne was ſuſpected to bee enimie to the Crowne of Frāce. After the dukes departing frō Calais, yͤ Emperour was highly feaſted and rewarded, & at his pleaſure, ſailed into Holland, & ſō roade towards Beame. The K. likewiſe toke ſhip, & returned into Englād, on S. Lukes euē.

Aboute the ſame time, the Kyng ſente newe Ambaſſadors vnto yͤ generall Counſell, whych ſtil cōtinued at Conſtance, whither yͤ Emperor Sigiſmonde alſo returned, that in yͤ matter for aboliſhing yͤ Sciſme (which in yͤ ſeaſon diſquieted yͤ Church of Rome, about yͤ admitting of a true Pope) they might vſe al meanes, for the reducing of the parties to an vnitie: wherfore, by yͤ conſente alſo of all nations, it was ordeyned in this Counſell, that this Realme ſhould haue the name of the Engliſhe nation, and bee called and reputed for one of yͤ fiue nations that obeyed the Romane B. whiche to grante before that tyme, through enuie, yͤ people of other nations had vtterlie refuſed. The nintenth of October, the Parliament yͭ had bin brokē vp, by reaſon of yͤ Emperors cōming, began againe at Weſt. & there in opē audience, the K. made to thē a ſhort & pithie oratiō, declaring yͤ iniuries lately done, & cōmitted by yͤ french nation, ſhewing alſo the iuſt and lawful occaſiō of his warres, ſignifying furthermore yͤ great diſcord & ciuil diſſentiō which raigned amongſt yͤ nobilitie of Frāce, reherſing many things, for yͤ which it were neceſſarie to follow yͤ warres now in hande againſt thē, & that without delay: he therefore deſired thē to prouide for money & treaſure, yͭ nothing ſhould be wanting, whē neede required: his requeſt herein was granted, for euery mā was willing and glad to further yͤ voiage, ſo that the Clergie grāted two diſmes, & the laitie a whole fiftēth. In this Parliamēt alſo, John D. of Bedford, was made gouernor or regēt of yͤ realme, to hold & enioy yͤ office, ſo long as the K. was occupied in the french warres. Moreouer, in this Parliamēt, the King gaue to yͤ D. of Exeter a M. pounds by yere, to be paid out of his own cofers, beſides. 40. pounds yerely, which he was to receiue of yͤ town of Exeter, of the kings reuenewes there, & had the ſame grant confirmed, by authoritie of yͤ Parliament, in ſomuch yͭ ſome write, yͭ in this Parliamēt, he was made D. of Exeter, & not before. The king kept his Chriſtmas at Kenelworth, & the morrow after Chriſtmas day, were certain writings caſt abroade, in greate mens houſes, & almoſt in euery Inne, within yͤ towns of S. Albōs, Northampton, & Reading, conteining ſharp reproofes againſt al eſtates of the Church, & it could not be knowen from whence thoſe writings came, nor who was the author of them. The K. very earneſtly procured all things to be made ready for the warre, meaning to paſſe the next Sōmer ouer into Fraunce, to recouer his right by force, which by no other meane he ſaw how to obteine. In this meane while, had the Frenchmen hired a great nūber of Genewaies & Italians, with certaine Carrickes, and galleis well appointed, the which being ioyned with the Frenche fleete, lay at the mouth of the riuer of Saine, and vp within the ſame riuer, both to ſtoppe all ſuccour by Sea that ſhould come to them within Harflew, and alſo to waſt abroade, and do what domage they could vnto the Engliſh, as occaſion ſerued.

Tit.Liuius.

The prerogatiue of the Engliſhe natiō in the general Counſell.

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The Kings Oration.

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The Kyng therefore eare hee paſſed ouer himſelfe, ſent the Earle of Huntington to ſearch and ſcoure the Seas, leaſt any Frenchmen, lying thus in awaite for him, might ſurpriſe him, ere he ſhould haue knowledge to auoide the danger. This luſtie Earle, called John Holland, ſon to the Earle of Huntington, otherwiſe called D. of Exeter, beheaded at Circeter, in the tyme of K. Henry the fourth, and couſin to the K. with a greate nauie of ſhips, ſearched the Sea, from the one coaſt to the other, and in concluſion, encountred with nine of thoſe greate Carikes of Genes (the which the L. Jaques, the baſtard of Bourbō had reteined to ſerue the french K.) and ſet on thē ſharply. The conflict was great, & the fight long, (continuing the more part of a Sommers day) but in cōcluſion, the frenchmen & Italians were ouercome, & fled, three of the greateſt Carikes wͭ their patrones, & Monſ. Jaques de Burbon their Admiral, were takē, wͭ as much money as ſhuld haue paid yͤ ſouldiers of yͤ whole fleete for halfe a yere, & thre other Carikes wer bowged. The erle

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ning backe with this good lucke, found the King at Hampton, who receiued him with thankes, as he had well deſerued. Shortly after, vpon ẏ three and twentith of Iuly, the King tooke his Ship at Porteſmouth, accompanyed with the Dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the Earles of Huntington, Marſhal, Warwicke, Deuonſhire, Saliſburie, Suffolke, & Somerſet, the lordes Roſſe, Willoughby, Fitz Hugh, Clintõ, Scrope, Matreuers, Bourchier, Ferreis of Groby, and Ferreis of Chartley, Fanhope, Gray of Codnore, ſir Gilbert Umfreuile, ſir Gilbert Talbot, & diuers other, and ſo hauing winde & wether to his deſire ẏ firſt day of Auguſt, he lãded in Normãdy nere to a caſtel called Touque, where he conſulted with his Captaines, what way was beſt for him to take cõcerning his high enterprice. His army cõteined ẏ nũber of xvj. M. and four C. ſouldiers & men of war of his own puruciãce, beſide other. The D. of Clarẽce had in his retinue a C. lances, & three C. archers, and beſide him, ther were three Erles, which had two C. & 40. lances, and xvij. C. and twẽtie archers. The D. of Glouceſter four C. and 70. lances, & 14. C. and ten archers. The erles of March, Marſhal, Warwike, & Saliſburie, each of thẽ one C. lances, and three C. archers apeece. The erle of Huntington fortie lances, & vj. ſcore arches. The erle of Suffolk 30. lances, & xc. arches. Beſide theſe, there were. 13. Lords, as Burguennie, Matreuers, Fitz Hugh, Clifford, Grey, Willoughby, Talbot, Courtney, Burchier, Roos, Louell, Ferrers of Chartley, & Harington, ẏ which had in their retinue the nũber of fiue C. & ſix lances, & 15. C. and 80. archers. Alſo, ther were in this army. 77. knightes, which had vnder thẽ. 9. C. and. 45. lances, & two M. eight C. and 52. archers, ſo ẏ in all, ther were 25. M. fiue C. & 28. fighting mẽ, of which nũber, euery fourth mã was a lance: beſide the ſouldiers & men of war, ther were a M. Maſons, Carpenters, & other labourers. The Normãs hearing of ẏ Kings arriual, were ſuddenly ſtrikẽ with ſuche feare, ẏ they fled out of their houſes, leauing the townes & villages, & with their wiues, and children, bagge, & baggage, gote thẽ into the walled townes, preparing there to defend themſelues, & with all ſpeede, ſent to the French king, requiring him to prouide for the defence & preſeruation of his louing ſubiectes: herevpon, the men of warre were appointed to reſorte into ẏ ſtrong townes, to lie within ẏ ſame in garriſons, to reſiſt the power of the Engliſhmen, ſo that all the walled Townes and Caſtels in Normandy, were furniſhed, with men, munition and vittailes. The King of Englande, when hee had reſolued with his Counſell for his proceeding in his enterpriſes, layd ſiege vnto the Caſtell of Touque. The Duke of Glouceſter that ledde the fore warde, had the charge of that ſiege, the whiche by force of aſſaultes, and other warlike meanes, brought it to that point, that they within yelded ẏ place into his hands, the ninth day of Auguſt. The Earle of Saliſburie alſo which ledde the ſeconde warde or battell of the Engliſhe hoſte, tooke the Caſtel of Aunbreuilliers, the which was giuẽ to him by the King, and ſo this Earle was the firſt that had any place graunted to him of the kynges free gift, in this new conqueſt.

Amberuilliers caſtell taken.

The King made at the winning of Touque eight and twentie Knightes, and left ſir Robert Kirkeley Captayne there. After this, vpon deliberate aduice taken how to proceede further in this buſineſſe, it was determined, that the King ſhould goe to Caen, and therevppon he ſet forward toward that towne in moſt warlike order, waſting the countrey on euery ſide as he paſſed.

The Towne of Caen, ſtandeth in a playne fertile Cõutrey, no ſtronger walled, than deepe ditched, and as then well vitayled and repleniſhed with people, for the Citizens fearing the Kinges comming, had prouided all things neceſſarie and defenſible. The King doubting leaſt the Frenchmen, vpon knowledge had of his approch to the Towne, woulde haue brenned the ſuburbes and other buildings without ẏ walles, ſent the Duke of Clarence with a thouſand men before him, to preuente them. The Duke comming thither, founde the ſuburbes already ſet on fire, but he vſed ſuch diligence to quench ẏ ſame, that the moſt part of the houſes were ſaued. Hee alſo wanne the Abbey Churche of Saint Stephen, whiche the Frenchmen were in hand with to haue ouerthrowen, by vndermining the pillers, but the Duke obteyning the place, filled vp the mines, and ſo preſerued the Churche from ruine.

Hee alſo wanne a Celle of Nunnes, verye ſtrongly fenced, after the manner of warre: then came the King before the Towne, who cauſed forthwith to be caſt a deepe trench, with an high Mount, to kepe them within from iſſuing forth, and that done, began fiercely to aſſault ẏ towne, but they within, ſtoode manfully to their defence, ſo that there was ſore and cruell fight betwixte them, and their enimies: but when King Henrie perceyued that hee loſt more than hee wanne by his dayly aſſaultes, hee left off anye more to aſſault it, and determined to ouerthrow ẏ walles, with vndermining, wherefore with al diligence, the Pioners caſt trenches, made mines, and broughte tymber, ſo that within a fewe dayes, the walles ſtoode only vpon poſtes, ready to fail, when fire ſhould be put to them. The king meaning now to giue a generall aſſaulte, cauſed all the Captaines to aſſemble before him in cõuſell, vnto whom he declared his purpoſe, cõmanding

Caen beſieged

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them not before the nexte day to vtter it, till by ſound of trumpet they ſhoulde haue warning to ſet forwarde, towarde the walles, leaſt his determination being diſcloſed to the enimies, myght cauſe them to prouide the better for their owne defence.

The order of the aſſault.

Moreouer, he preſcribed vnto them, what order he woulde haue them to keepe, in giuing the aſſault, and that was this, that euery Captaine deuiding his bande into three ſeuerall portions, they might be ready one to ſucceede in an others place, as thoſe which fought, ſhoulde happely bee driuen backe and repulſed.

Tit. Liuius.

In the morning nexte following, beeing the fourth of September, ſomewhat before yͤ breake of the day, hee cauſed his people to approche the walles, & to ſhewe countenance, as though they would giue a general aſſault, & whileſt they were buſied in aſſayling and defending on both ſides, the Engliſhmen perced, and brake through the walles by diuers holes and ouertures made by yͤ Pioners, vnder the foundation: yet the King vpon diuers reſpectes, offered them within pardon of life, if they woulde yeeld themſelues and the towne to his mercie, but they refuſing that to doe, the aſſault was newly begun, and after ſore fighte, continued for the ſpace of an houre, the Engliſhmen preuailed, and ſlew ſo many as they found with weapon in hand, ready to reſiſt them. The Duke of Clarence was the firſt that entred with his people, and hauing gote the one part of the towne, aſſayled them that kepte the bridge, and by force beating them backe, paſſed the ſame, and ſo came to the walles on the other ſide of the Towne, where the fighte was ſharpe and fierce betwixte the aſſaylauntes and defendauntes, but the Duke with his people ſetting on the Frenchmen behinde, as they ſtoode at defence on the walles, eaſily vanquiſhed them, ſo that the other Engliſhmen entred at their pleaſure.

Caen taken by the Engliſhmē

Thus when the King was poſſeſſed of the towne, hee incontinently commaunded all armoures and weapōs to be brought into one place, whiche was immediatly done, without anye gaynesay: then the miſerable people came before the kings preſence, and kneeling on their knees, held vp their handes, and cryed mercy, mercy, to whome the Kyng gaue certayne comfortable wordes, and bad them ſtande vp: all the nighte following, he cauſed his army to keepe thēſelues in order of battell within the towne, and on the nexte morning, called all the magiſtrates and gouernours of the towne into the Senate houſe, where ſome for their wilfull ſtubberneſſe, were adiudged to die, other were ſore fined and raunſomed. Then he calling togither his ſouldiors & men of warre, not onely gaue them great prayſes and high commendations for their manly doings, but alſo diſtributed to euery man, according to his deſerte, the ſpoyle and gaine gotten in the towne, chiefly bycauſe at the aſſault they hadde ſhewed good proofe of their manhood and valiant courages.

After that the Towne was thus wonne, the Lord Montainie, Captain of the Caſtell, would not yelde, but made ſemblance, as though hee meant to defend the place, to the vtterance: but after that hee was ſharply called vpō by Kyng Henry, eyther to yeld it, or elſe that he ſhoulde be aſſured to haue all mercie and fauour ſequeſtred from him, he tooke better aduice, and therevppon being in deſpaire of reliefe, made this compoſition, that if he were not reſcued by the French power by a certaine day, he ſhoulde render the forteſſe into the Kings handes, with condition, that he and his ſouldiers ſhould be ſuffered to depart with all their goodes, the habilimentes of warre onely excepted: herevpon, twelue hoſtages were deliuered to the King, and when the day came, being the twentith of September, they within rendred the Caſtel into the Kings hāds, and thus, both the Towne and Caſtell of Caen became Engliſh.

Tit.Li

Caen C
yelded.

Tit.Li

Whileſt the king was thus occupied about his conqueſts in Normandy, the Scottes aſſembled themſelues togither in greate number, and entring Englād, waſted the countrey with fire and ſworde wherſoeuer they came.

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The Engliſh Lords that were left in truſt with the keeping of thoſe parties of the Realme, reyſed the whole power of the Countreys, ſo that there came togither, the number of an hundred thouſand men vpon Baw More, where the generall aſſemble was made, and as it chanced the Duke of Exeter, vncle to the K. which had lately before muſtred a certayne number of men to conuey thē ouer to the K. as a new ſupply to his army there, was yͤ ſame time in yͤ North parts on pilgrimage at Bridlington, and hearing of this inuaſion made by the Scottes, tooke vppon him to be generall of the army prepared againſt them, and to giue them battel. Alſo, the Archb. of Yorke, although he was not able to ſit on horſebacke by reaſon of his great age, cauſed himſelfe to be caried forth in a charet in that iourney, the better to encourage other: but the Scottes hearing that the Engliſhmen approched towarde them with ſuch a puiſſance, withdrew backe into their countrey, and durſt not abide the bickering.

Tit.Li

A grea
to reſiſ
Scottes

The.

The ſame time, the Lord Cobham, ſir Iohn Oldcaſtell, whyleſt hee ſhifted from place to place to eſcape the hands of them that he knewe would be glad to lay hold on him, had conueyed hymſelfe in ſecrete wiſe into an huſbandmans houſe, not farre from S. Albons, within the precinct of a Lordſhippe belonging to the Abbot of

Sir Ioh
caſtell.

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that Towne: the Abbots ſeruauntes getting knowledge hereof, came thither by night, but they miſſed their purpoſe, for hee was gone, but they caughte diuers of his men, whome they carried ſtreighte to priſon. The Lord Cobham herewith was ſore diſmaied, for that ſome of them that were taken, were ſuche as he truſted moſt, being of counſell in all his deuiſes. In the ſame place, were found bookes written in engliſh, & ſome of thoſe bokes in times paſt had bin trimly gilte, & limmed, beautified with Images, the heads wherof had bin ſcraped off, & in yͤ Letany, they had blotted forthe the name of our Lady, & of other ſainctes, til they came to yͤ verſe *Parce nobis Domine.* Diuers writings were founde there alſo, in derogation of ſuche honour as then was thought due to our Lady: the Abbot of ſaint Albons ſent the boke ſo diſfigured with ſcrapings & blotting out, with other ſuche writings as there were found, vnto the king, who ſent the boke againe to the Archb. to ſhewe the ſame in his ſermons at Poules croſſe in Londõ, to yͤ end, that the citizens and other people of the realme might vnderſtande the purpoſes of thoſe that then were called Lollards, to bring thẽ further in diſcredit with the people. In this meane time that yͤ king of Englande was occupied about yͤ winning of Caen, the frenchemen had neither any ſufficient power to reſiſt him, nor were able to aſſemble an hoſte togither in this miſerable neceſſitie, by reaſon of yͤ diſſention amongſt thẽſelues: For their K. was ſo ſimple, yͭ he was ſpoiled both of treaſure & kingdome, ſo yͭ euery man ſpent & waſted he cared not what. Charles yͤ Dolphin being of yͤ age of .xvj. or .xvij. yeres only, lamented & bewailed yͤ ruine & decay of his cõtry, he only ſtudied yͤ aduancemẽt of yͤ commõ welth, & deuiſed how to reſiſt his enemies, but hauing neither mẽ nor mony, he was greatly troubled & diſquieted in his minde: In concluſion, by yͤ aduiſe & cõſell of yͤ Erle of Arminak yͤ conſtable of Frãuce, he found a meane to get all yͤ treaſure and riches which his mother Q. Iſabell had gottẽ & horded in diuers ſecret places: & for yͤ cõmõ defence and profit of his cõtry he wiſely beſtowed it in waging ſouldiors, & preparing things neceſſary for yͤ warre. The Q. forgetting yͤ great perill that the realme thẽ ſtode in, remembring only yͤ diſpleaſure to hir by this act done, vpõ a womaniſh malice, ſet hir huſbãd Io. duke of Burgoigne in yͤ higheſt auctoritie about yͤ K. giuing him the regiment & direction of the king and his realme, with al preheminence & ſoueraigntie. The duke of Burgoigne hauing the ſworde in his hande, in reuenge of olde iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphin, determining, that when hee hadde tamed this yong vnbridled Gentleman, then woulde hee go aboute to wythſtande, and beate backe the common enemies of the realme.

The like reaſon moued the Dolphin, for hee mynded firſte to repreſſe the auctours of ciuill diſcorde before he woulde ſet vpon foraigne enemies, and therefore prepared to ſubdue and deſtroy the Duke of Burgoine, as the chiefe head and leader of that wicked and curſed miſchiefe, whereby the realme was muche vnquieted, and ſore decayed, and in maner brought to vtter ruine. Thus was Fraunce inflamed, and in euery parte troubled wyth warre and deuiſion, and yet no man woulde eyther prouide remedy in ſo greate daunger, nor once put forthe hys finger to remoue ſo greate miſeries.

Bayeux taken.

Lyſeaux taken

Caen peopled with Engliſhe inhabitants.

A worthy and rare example of equitie in king Henry.

King Henry following the victory and hys good ſucceſſe, ſente the Duke of Clarence to the Sea coaſte, whiche with greate difficultie, got the towne of Bayeux, wherof the Lorde Matreuers was appoynted Capitaine. The Duke of Glouceſter alſo finding ſmall reſiſtance, toke the Citie of Liſeaux, of whiche Citie, Sir Iohn Kirkeley was ordeined capitaine. In the meane time, Kyng Henry hymſelfe tarried ſtill at Caen, fortefying the Towne and Caſtell, and put out fiftene hundreth women and impotente perſons, repleniſhing the Towne wyth Engliſhe people. While the Kyng ſoiourned at Caen, hee kepte there a ſolemne feaſte, and made many Knights, and beſide that, he ſhewed there an example of greate pitie and clemency: for in ſearching the Caſtell, hee founde innumerable ſubſtaunce of plate and money, belonging to the Citizens, wherof, hee woulde not ſuffer one peny to bee touched, but reſtored the ſame to the owners, deliuering to euery man that whiche was his owne. When the fame of his mercifull dealing herein, and alſo of his greate clemency ſhewed to captiues, and of his fauourable vſing of thoſe that ſubmitted themſelues to his grace, was ſpredde abroade, all the Capitaines of the Townes adioining, came willingly to hys preſence, offering to him themſelues, their townes, and their goodes, whereupon hee made proclamation, that all men, whiche hadde, or woulde become his ſubiectes, and ſweare to hym allegiaunce, ſhoulde enioy their goods, and liberties, in as large or more ample manner, then they did before: whiche gentle enterteyning of the ſtubborne Normans, was the very cauſe, why they were not only contente, but alſo gladde to remoue and turne from the Frenche parte, and became ſubiectes to the crowne of Englande.

When Kyng Henry hadde ſet Caen in good order, hee lefte there for Capitaines, the one of the Towne, the other of the Caſtell, Sir Gilbert Umfreuille Earle of Kyme or Angus, and ſir Gilbert Talbot, and made Bailiffe there, Sir Ioh. Popham, & ſo departed from Caen the firſt

The caſtell of C urtie ren= dred.

of October, and comming to the Caſtell of Courſye, within three dayes had it rendred vnto hym. From whence, the fourth of October, hee departed, and came vnto Argenton, they within that Towne and Caſtell offered, that if no reſcue came by a day limited, they woulde deliuer both the Towne and Caſtell into the Kings hands, ſo that ſuch as would abide and become yͤ kings faythfull ſubiectes ſhoulde be receiued, the other to departe with their goodes and liues ſaued, whither they would: The King accepted their offer.

Argenton buylded.

When the day limited came, and no ſuccors appeared, they yeelded according to the coue-naunts, and the King performed all that on his behalfe was promiſed. The Lord Grey of Codnor was appointed Captaine there.

After this, reſorted dayly to the King, of the Normans, people of all ſortes and degrees, to ſweare to him fealtie and homage. The Citie of Sees whiche was well inhabited, and wherein were two Abbeys of great ſtrength, namely one of them yeelded to the King, and ſo likewiſe did diuers other townes in thoſe parties, withoute ſtroke ſtriken.

Sees yelded.

Alanſon beſieged and yelded vp.

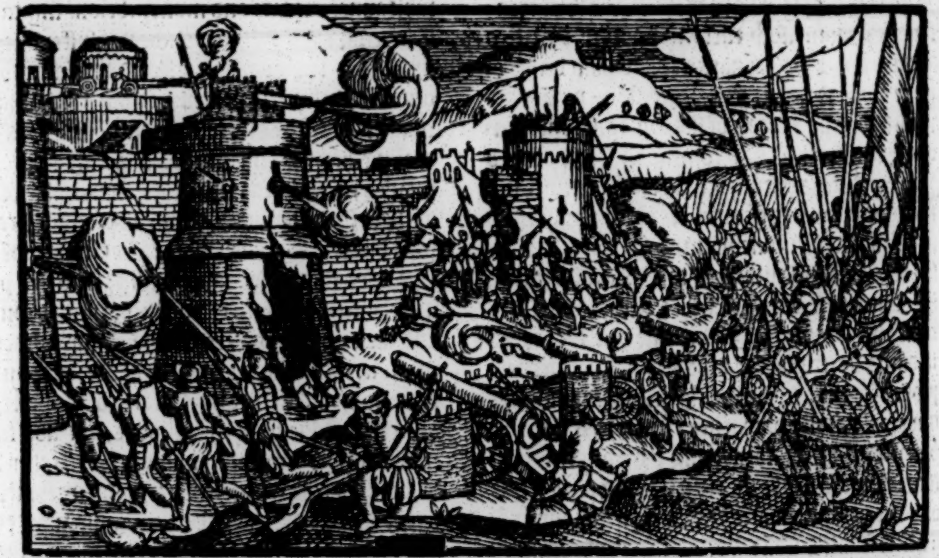
The towne of Alanſon abode a ſiege for the ſpace of eighte dayes, they within defending it right valiantly at the firſt, but in the ende conſidering with themſelues, what ſmall hope there was for anye ſuccours to come to remoue the ſiege, they grew to a compoſition, that if within a certaine day they were not relieued, they ſhould yeelde both the Towne and Caſtel into yͤ kings hands, which was done, for no ſuccours coulde be heard of. The K. appointed Captaine of thys Towne, the Duke of Glouceſter, and his Lieutenant ſir Rauſe Lentall. The Duke of Brytaine vnder ſafeconduit came to the Kyng, as hee was thus buſie in the conqueſt of Normandie, and after ſundry poyntes treated of betwixte them, a truce was taken, to endure from the ſeuenteenth daye of Nouember, vnto the laſt of September, in the yeare nexte following, betwixte them, their ſouldiers, men of warre, and ſubiectes. The like truce was granted vnto the M. of Ieruſalē and Sicill, and to hir ſonne Lewes, for the Duchie of Aniou, and the Countie of Mayne, the Duke of Britaine being their deputie, for concluding of the ſame truce.

Tit.Li

A truce betwe Henry duke of tayne.

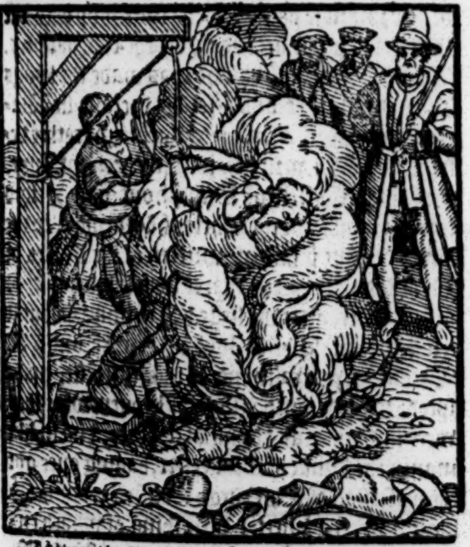
About yͤ ſame time alſo, at the ſute of Charles the Dolphin, a treatie was had at Touque, for a finall peace, but it came to none effect. From Alanſon, the K. ſet forwarde towards the Towne and Caſtell of Falets, meaning to beſiege the ſame, where the frenchmen appointed to the keeping of it, had fortified yͤ towne by al meanes poſſible, & prepared themſelues to defend it to yͤ vttermoſt. The Erle of Saliſburie was firſt ſent thither before with certaine bands of ſouldiers to encloſe the enimies within the Towne, and to view the ſtrength thereof. After him came the K. with his whole army, about the firſt of Decēber, and then was the towne beſieged on eache ſide.

Falets b ged.



The K. lodged before the gate that leadeth to Caen, the Duke of Clarence before the Caſtell yͭ ſtandeth on a rocke, and the Duke of Glouceſter, lay on yͤ kings right hand, and other lords & noble men were aſſigned to their places as was thought expedient. And to be ſure frō taking domage by any ſuddaine inuaſion of the enimies, there were great trenches and rampiers caſt and made about their ſeuerall campes, for defence of yͤ ſame. The frenchmen notwithſtandyng thys ſiege, valiantly defended their walles, and ſometimes made iſſues forth, but ſmall to their gaine, and ſtill the Engliſhmen with their gunnes and great ordinance made batterie to the walles and bulwarkes. The Winter ſeaſon was very colde, with ſharpe froſtes, and hard weather, but the Engliſhmen made ſuche ſhift for prouiſion of all things neceſſarie to ſerue their turnes, that they were ſufficiẽtly prouided, both againſt hunger and colde, ſo that in the ende, the Frenchmen perceyuing they coulde not long endure againſt them, offered to talke, and agreed to gyue ouer the Towne, if no reſcues came by a certain day appointed.

Aboute the ſame ſeaſon, was ſir John Oldcaſtell, Lord Cobham taken, in the Countrey of Powes lande, in the borders of Wales, within a Lordſhip belonging to the Lord Powes, not without daunger and hurtes of ſome, that were at yͤ taking of him, for they could not take him, till he was wounded himſelfe. At the ſame time, the ſtates of the Realme were aſſembled at London, for the leuying of money, to furniſh yͤ kings exceeding great charges, which he was at, about the mayntenaunce of his warres in Fraunce: it was therfore determined, that the ſaid Sir John Oldcaſtell ſhould be brought, and put to his triall, ere the aſſemble brake vp. The Lord Powes therefore was ſente to fetch him, who broughte him to London in a litter, wounded as he was: herewith, beeing firſte layde faſt in the Tower, ſhortly after he was brought before the Duke of Bedford, regent of the Realme, and the other eſtates, where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawen from the Tower vnto S. Giles fielde, and there hanged in a chayne by the midle, and after conſumed with fire, the gallowes and all.



When the daye was come, on the whiche it was couenaunted, that the Towne of Falciſe ſhould be deliuered, to wit, the ſeconde of Januarie, bycauſe no ſuccours appeared, the Towne was yeelded to the king, but the Caſtell held ſtil, into the whiche, the Captaine and gouernoure, both of the Towne and Caſtell withdrew himſelfe, with al the Souldiers, and being ſtraightly beſieged, defended himſelfe, and the place ryghte ſtoutely, although he was ſore layde to, vntill at length, perceiuing his people awearied with continuall aſſaultes, and ſuche approches, as were made to, and within the very walles, hee was driuen to compounde with the King, that if hee were not ſuccoured by the ſixth of Februarie, then ſhould he yeeld himſelfe priſoner, and deliuer the Caſtell, ſo that the Souldiers ſhoulde haue licence to depart, with their liues only ſaued. When the day came, the couenauntes were performed, and the Caſtell rendered to the kings handes, for no aide came to the reſcue of them within. The Captaine named Oliuer de Manny, was kept as priſoner, till the Caſtell was repayred at his coſts and charges, bicauſe yͤ ſame, through his obſtinate wilfulneſſe, was ſore beaten and defaced, with vnderminings and baterie. Captaine there, by the King, was appoynted ſir Henry Fiz Hugh.

Hiſtorie des Dukes de Normandie.

After this, King Henry returned to Caen, and by reaſon of a proclamation which he hadde cauſed to bee made for the people of Normandie, that had withdrawen themſelues forthe of the Bayliwickes of Caen, and Faleis, he granted away to his owne people, the lands of thoſe that came not in, vppon that proclamation, and in ſpeciall, he gaue to the Duke of Clarence, during his life, the Vicounties of Auge, Orbec, and Ponteau de Mer, with all the landes of thoſe that were withdrawen forth of the ſame vicounties. This gift was made the ſixtenth of Februarie, in this fifth yeare of this kings raigne.

Tho. VValſ. Titus Liuius.

All the Lent ſeaſon, the King lay at Bayeux with part of his army, but the reſidue were ſente abroade, for the atchieuing of certaine enterpriſes, bycauſe they ſhould not lye idle.

A ſore tempeſt

Whileſt the King of Englande wanne thus in Normandie, his nauie loſt nothing on the Sea, but ſo ſcoured the ſtreames, that neyther Frenchmenne nor Brytons durſt once appeare, howbeit, one day there aroſe ſuche a ſtorme and hydeous tempeſt, that if the Earles of Marche and Huntington hadde not taken the Hauen of Southhampton, the whole nauie had periſhed, and yet the ſafegarde was ſtrange, for in the ſame Hauen, two Balingers, and two greate Carickes, laden with merchandice were drowned, and the broken maſt of an other Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of the Towne.

When the furie of this outragious winde and weather was aſſwaged, and the Sea waxed calme, the Earles of Marche and Huntington paſſed ouer with all their company, and landed in Normandie, and marched through the countrey, deſtroying the villages, and taking prayes on eache hand, till they came to the King where he then was.

Anno reg. 6.

In the ſixth yeare of King Henries raigne, hee ſente the Earle of Warwike, and the Lorde Talbot, to beſiege the ſtrong Caſtell of Dampfront. The Duke of Clarence was alſo ſente, to beſiege and ſubdue other townes, vnto whome, at one time & other, we finde, that theſe townes vnderwritten were yelded, wherein he put Captaynes as followeth.

Townes in Normandie yelded to king Henry.

In Courton, Iohn Aubyn.
In Barney, William Houghton.
In Chambys, Iames Neuille.
In Bechelouin, the Earle Marſhall.
In Harecourt, Richard Wooduille Eſquier.
In Faugernon, Iohn Saint Albon.
In Creuener, Sir Iohn Kirkby, to whome it was giuen.
In Anuilliers, Robert Hornby.
In Bagles, Sir Iohn Arture.
In Freſney le Vicont, ſir Robert Brent.

The Duke of Glouceſter the ſame tyme, accompanyed with the Earle of Marche, the Lorde Grey of Codner, and other, was ſente to ſubdue the Townes in the Iſle of Conſtantine, vnto whome theſe townes hereafter mentioned were yeelded, where hee appointed Captaines as followeth.

At Carentine, the Lord Botreux.
At Saint Lo Reginald Weſt.
At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.
At Pont Done, Dauy Howell.
At the Hay de Pais, ſir Iohn Aſton.
At S. Sauieur le vicont, ſir Iohn Robſert.
At Pontorſon, ſir Robert Gargraue.
At Hamberie, the Earle of Suffolke, Lord of that place by gift.
At Briqueuille, the ſaide Earle alſo by gifte.
At Auranches, Sir Phillip Hall, Baylife of Alanſon.
At Vire, the Lord Matreuers.
At S. Iames de Beumeron, the ſame Lord.

Chierburgh beſieged by the Engliſh.

After that yͤ Duke had ſubdued to yͤ Kyngs dominion, yͤ moſt part of all yͤ townes in yͤ Iſle of Conſtantine, Chierburgh excepted, hee returned to the K. and forthwith was ſente thither again, to beſiege that ſtrong fortreſſe, which was fenſed with men, munition, vitailes, and ſtrong walles, towers, and turrets, in moſt defenſible wiſe, by reaſon whereof, it was holden agaynſte him yͤ ſpace of fiue moneths, although he vſed al wayes & meanes poſſible, to anoy them within, ſo that many fierce aſſaultes, ſkirmiſhes, iſſues, and other exploites of warre, were atchieued betwixt the frenchmen within, and the Engliſhmẽ without, at length yet, the Frenchmen were ſo conſtreined by power of baterie, mines, and other forcible wayes of approchings, that they were glad to compounde to deliuer the place, if no reſcue came, to reiſe the ſiege, either from the Dolphin, that then was retired into Aquitaine, or from the Duke of Burgoigne, that then laye at Paris, within the tearme of .62. dayes, for ſo lõg reſpite the Duke graunted, where they within, preſuming of the ſtrength of their fortifications, & in hope of ſuccour, either frõ the Dolphin, or yͤ Duke required a far longer tearme. Nowe were the Dolphin, and the Duke of Burgoigne growen to a certain agreemẽt, by mediatiõ of Cardinals ſent frõ the Pope, ſo that the Engliſhmẽ ſurely thought, that they would leauie a power, and come downe to reſcue Chireburg, by reaſon wherof, yͤ Duke of Glouceſter cauſed his camps to bee ſtrongly intrenched, and manye defenſible blockhouſes of timber to bee raiſed, lyke to ſmall turrets, that the ſame might be a ſafegard to hys people, and to cõclude, left nothing vnforſene nor vndone, that was auailable for yͤ defence of hys army. The K. doubting leaſt ſome power ſhuld be ſent downe, to the danger of his brother, and thoſe that were with him at this ſiege of Chirburgh, cauſed two M. men to bee embarqued in thirtie ſhips of the Weſt countrey, by order ſent vnto certaine lords there. The frẽchmen within the towne, perceiuing thoſe ſuccours to approche neere to yͤ towne, thought verily that there had bin a power of frenchmen cõming to their ayde: but when they ſaw them receiued as friends into yͤ Engliſh camp, their comfort was ſoone qualled, & ſo when the day appointed came, beyng yͤ nintenth of October, or rather aboute the later end of Nouember, as the hiſtorie of the Dukes of Normandie hathe, they rendred vp both yͤ towne & Caſtell, according to the couenauntes. The L. Grey of Codnore was made the kyngs Lieutenant there, and after his deceaſſe ſir Walter Hungerford. About yͤ ſame time, or rather before, as Ti. Li. writeth, to wit, the .22. of Iune, the ſtrong Caſtell of Dampfront was yeelded into the handes of the Earle of Warwike, to the kings vſe, but yͤ hiſtorie written of the Dukes of Normãdy affirmeth, that it was ſurrẽdred yͤ 22. of Septẽber, after the ſiege had cõtinued about it frõ April laſt. The Erle of Warwike, and yͤ L. Talbot, after yͤ winning of this fortreſſe, made ſpede to come vnto yͤ ſiege of Rouen, wher they were imployed, as after ſhal appeare. And in like maner, the Duke of Glouceſter, hauing once got the poſſeſſion of Chirburgh, haſted towardes yͤ ſame ſiege, for yͤ better furniſhing of whych enterpriſe, he had firſt cauſed an army of fiftene M. mẽ to be brought ouer to him, vnder the leading of his vncle yͤ Duke of Exeter, who embarquing with the ſame, about the feaſt of the holy Trinitie, was appoynted by the King to beſiege the Citie of Eureux, as the Earle of Angus, otherwiſe called Earle of Kyme, was ſent to winne the Caſtell of Milly Leueſche.

Chierb yelded Englis

The C Damp ylded.

Theſe townes being deliuered to the kings vſe, the Duke ordeyned Captaine of Eureux ſir Gilbert Halſall knight.

The king nowe determining with all ſpeede to beſiege Rouen, prepared all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe. Into this Citie the Normans had conueyed out of euery parte theyr money, iewels, and houſhold ſtuffe, as into the moſt ſure and ſtrongeſt place of the whole duchie. For ſith his arriuall, they had not onely walled that Citie and fortified it with rampiers and ſtrong Bulwarkes, but alſo furniſhed it with valiant Captaynes, and hardie ſouldiers, to the number of foure thouſande, beſide ſuche of the Citizens as were appoynted for the warre, according to their eſtates, of the which there were at the leaſt fiftene thouſande readie to ſerue in defence of the Citie, as ſouldiers and men of warre in all places where they ſhoulde be aſſigned.

King Henrie to haue the Countrey free before he would beſiege this citie, thought good firſt to winne ſuch townes as lay in his way, & therefore departing from Caen (where he had kept the feaſt of Saint George) the .ix. day of Iune hee marched ſtreight vnto the towne of Louiers, and layd his ſiege about the ſame.

They within the towne being well furniſhed of al things neceſſarie for the defending of a ſiege, manfully reſiſted the Engliſhe mens enforcementes, whiche ſpared not to deuiſe all wayes and meanes howe to approche the walles, and to batter the ſame with their great Artillerie, till at length they brought the Frenchmen to that extremitie, that they were contented to yeeld the town on theſe conditions; that if by the .xxiij. of Iune there came no ſuccour from the French king to rayſe the ſiege, the towne ſhould be deliuered into the kings handes, the ſouldiers of the garniſon ſhould ſerue vnder the king for a time, and the townesmen ſhoulde remaine in theyr dwellings as they did before, as ſubiectes to the king: but the Gunners that had diſcharged any peece agaynſt the Engliſhmen ſhould ſuffer death.

When the day came, and no ayde appeared, the couenants were performed accordingly.

From thence went the king with all ſpeed vnto Ponte de Larch, ſtanding vpon the Ryuer of Seine .viij. miles aboue Roan towards Paris: he came thither about the .xxviij. of Iune.

When the French men which kept the paſſage there, heard of the kings approch, they gathered togither a greate number of menne of warre, mynding to defende the paſſage agaynſte hym, appoynting an other bande of men (if they fayled) to keepe the further ſyde of the bridge, and to watch that neyther by boate nor veſſell, he ſhould come ouer the riuer by any maner of meanes.

At his comming neare to the towne, he perceyued that it was not poſſible to paſſe by the bridge without great loſſe of his people, and therfore he retyred almoſt a myle backewarde, where in a pleaſant and commodious place by the Ryuer ſyde hee pytched his campe, and in the nyght ſeaſon, what wyth Boates and Barges, & what with Hoggeſheads and Pypes, he conueyed ouer the broade ryuer of Seane a great companye of his ſouldiers, without any reſiſtance made by his enimies. For they which were on the hither ſyde of Sein thinking that the Engliſhmen had gone to wynne ſome other place, followed them not, but ſtudied how to defende theyr towne, which was ynough for them to doe.

The Engliſh army paſſeth the ryuer of Seyne.

And to put the French men in doubt, leaſt the Engliſh men ſhould ſeeke paſſage ſomwhere elſe, the King appoynted certaine of the ſouldiers which had ſkill in ſwimming, to goe to a place a three myles from the ſiege by the Riuer ſide, and there to enter into the water, making great clamor and noyſe, as though they had ment to haue paſſed, but they had in commaundement not to trauerſe paſſe halfe the Ryuer, ſo to procure the Frenchmen to make thitherwardes, whileſt the King in one place, and his brother the Duke of Clarence in another, got ouer their men, and that in ſuch number, before the Frenche men had any vnderſtanding thereof, that when they made towardes them, and perceyued that they were not able to encounter them, they fled backe, and durſt not abide the Engliſh footmen, which would fain haue beene doing with them.

A good policy

When the king ſaw that his men were on the other ſide of the water, he (the next day earely) returned to the towne, & aſſaulted it on both ſides. When the Inhabitants therefore ſaw thẽſelues compaſſed on both ſides, contrarye to theyr expectation, wyth humble heart and ſmall ioy, they rendred vp the towne vnto the Kings handes. ¶

Pont de Larch rendred vp to the engliſhmen

After this, the king hauing no let nor impedimẽt, determined forthwith to beſiege yͤ Citie of Roan, and firſt ſent before him his vncle yͤ Duke Exceter, with a great companie of horſemen and Archers to viewe the place, and thereupon wyth Banner diſplayed came before the Citie, and ſent Wynſore an Herault at Armes to the captaynes within, willing them to deliuer the Citie to the king his maiſter, or elſe hee woulde purſue them with fire and ſworde. To whom they proudly anſwered, that none they receyued of him, nor any they woulde deliuer him, except by fine force they were thereunto compelled: and herewyth there iſſued out of the towne a great band of men of armes, and encountred fiercely with the Engliſh men, the which receyuing them wyth lyke manhoode, and great force, draue the Frenchmen into the towne againe to their loſſe, for they left thirtie of their felowes behind priſoners and dead in the field.

The Duke returned with this good ſpede and prowde anſwere of the French men vnto the king which remayned yet at Pont de Larch, and had giuen the towne of Louiers to his brother the Duke of Clarence, which made there his deputie ſir Iohn Godard knight.

After that the Duke of Exceter was returned to Pont Larche the Frenche Captaines within Roan, ſette fire on the Suburbes, beate downe Churches, cut downe trees, ſhred the buſhes, deſtroyed the Vines rounde aboute the Citie, to the entent that the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue no reliefe nor comfort eyther of lodging or fewell.

Roan beſieged by k. Henry.

When the king heard of theſe deſpitefull doings, he with his whole armie remoued frõ Pont-Larch, and the laſt day of Iuly, came before the Citie of Roan, and compaſſed it rounde aboute with a ſtrong ſiege.

Before Pont Saint Hillarie *Titus Liuius.*

The order of the ſiege.

Before the gate called Markevile. *Titus Liuius.*

Saliſbury and Huntington on the other ſide of the riuer of Sayne.

The king lay with a great puiſſaunce at the Charteux houſe, on the Eaſt ſide of the Citie, and the Duke of Clarence lodged at S. Geruais, before the Port of Caux on the Weſt part. The Duke of Exceter tooke his place on the Northe ſide: at the port S. Denys betweene the dukes of Exceter and Clarence, was appoynted the Earle Marſhall, euen before the gate of the Caſtell, to whom were ioyned the Erle of Ormond, and the Lordes Harington and Talbot, vpon his comming from Damfront: and from the Duke of Exceter toward the king, were encamped the Lordes, Ros, Willoughbie, Fitz Hugh, and ſir William Porter, with a greate bande of Northren men, euen before the Port Saint Hillarie. The Earles of Mortaigne and Saliſburie, were aſſigned to lodge about the Abbey of Saint Katherine. Sir Iohn Grey was lodged directly againſt the Chapell called Mount S. Michaell: Sir Philip Leeche Treaſorer of the warres, kept the hill next the Abbey, and the Baron of Carew kept the paſſage on the ryuer of Seyne, and to him was ioyned that valiaunt Eſquire Ienico Daſtoys.

On the further ſide of the ryuer, were lodged the Earles of Warren, and Huntingdon, the Lordes Neuill and Ferrers, ſir Gilbert Umfreuille with a well furniſhed companie of warlike ſouldiers, directly before the Gate called Port de Pont.

And to the entent that no ayde ſhould paſſe by the water toward the citie, there was a great chaine of yron deuiſed at Pontlarch, ſet on Pyles from the one ſide of the water to the other: and beſide that cheyne, there was ſet vp a new forced bridge, ſufficient both for cariage and paſſage, to paſſe the ryuer from one campe to another.

The L. Talbot

The Earle of Warwicke that had lately won Dampfront, was ſent to beſiege Cawdebecke, a towne ſtanding on the Ryuer ſide, betweene the ſea and the Citie of Roan, whiche towne beeing hardly handled with fierce and continuall aſſaultes, that the Captaines within offred to ſuffer the Engliſh nauie to paſſe by theyr towne withoute impeachment, vp to the Citie of Roan. And alſo if Roan yeelded, they promiſed to render the towne without delay.

Hereupon the Engliſhe nauie to the number of an hundred ſayles paſſed by Cawdebecke, and came to Roan, and ſo beſieged it, on the water ſide.

There came alſo to this ſiege the Duke of Glouceſter, with the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lord Burgueuenny, which had takẽ (as before ye haue heard) the towne of Cherbourgh, and lodged before the port Saint Hillarie, nearer to their enimies by .xl. rodes, than any other perſon of the armie.

During this ſiege alſo, there arriued at Harflew, the Lord of Kilmayne in Ireland, with a bande of .xvi. hundred Iriſhmen, in mayle, wyth Dartes and Skaynes after the maner of theyr Countrey, all of them being tall, quicke and deliuer perſons, which came and preſented themſelues before the king lying ſtil at the ſiege, of whom they were not onely gently receyued and welcomed, but alſo bycauſe it was thought that the French king and the Duke of Burgoigne would ſhortly come, and eyther attempt to rayſe the ſiege, or vitayle and man the towne by the north gate, they were appoynted to keepe the northſide of the armie, and in eſpeciall the way that commeth frõ the Foreſt of Lions. Which charge the Lorde of Kylmayne, and his companie ioyfully accepted, and did ſo theyr deuoire therein, that no men were more prayſed, nor did more domage to theyr enimies than they did: for ſurely theyr quickneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of foote, did more preiudice to their enimies, than their barded horſes dyd hurt or domage to the nymble Iriſhmen.

Alſo the kings couſin germaine and alie the king of Portingale, did ſend a great nauie of well appoynted ſhippes vnto the mouth of the Ryuer of Seyne, to ſtoppe that no French veſſels ſhould enter the ryuer, and paſſe vp the ſame, to the ayde of them within Roan.

Thus was the fayre Citie of Roan compaſſed about with enimies, both by water and lande, hauing neither comfort nor ayde of King, Dolphin, or Duke. And yet although the armie was ſtrong withoute, they lacked not within, both hardie Captaines and manfull ſouldiours. And as for people, they had more than ynough: For as it is written by ſome that had good cauſe to knowe the truth, and no occaſion to erre from the ſame, there were in the Citie at the time of the ſiege, two hundred and tenne thouſand perſons. Dayly were iſſues made out of the Citie at dyuerſe gates, ſometime to the loſſe of the one party, and ſometime of the other, as chaunces of warre in ſuch aduentures happen.

The French men in deed preferring fame before worldly riches, and deſpyſing pleaſure the enimie to warlike prowes, ſware ech to other, neuer to render or deliuer the Citie, while they myght eyther holde ſworde in hande, or ſpeare in reaſt.

The king of England aduertiſed of their hault courages, determined to conquer them by famin, which would not be tamed with weapon. Wherfore he ſtopped all the paſſages, both by water and lande, that no vittayle coulde be conueyed to the Citie: hee caſt trenches rounde aboute the walles, and ſet them full of ſtakes,, and defended them with Archers, ſo that there was left neither way for thē within to iſſue out, nor for any that were abroode to enter in without his licence.

To rehearſe the great paynes, trauaile and diligence, which the king tooke vpon him in hys owne perſon at this ſiege, a man myght wonder: and bycauſe dyuerſe of the ſouldiers had lodged themſelues for their more eaſe, in places ſo farre diſtant one from another, that they might eaſily haue beene ſurpriſed by theyr enimies, ere any of their fellowes coulde haue come to theyr ſuccors, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that no man on paine of death ſhoulde lodge without the precinct appoynted them, nor goe further abroade from the campe, than ſuche boundes as were aſſigned: and as it chaunced, the king in going about the campe, to ſuruey and view yͤ warders, he eſpyed two ſouldiers that were walking abroade without the lymittes aſſigned, whome he cauſed ſtreight wayes to be apprehended and hanged vp on a tree of great heigth, for a terror to other, that none ſhould be ſo hardie to breake ſuch orders as he commaunded them to obſerue.

Whileſt the king lay thus with his power about the mightie Citie of Rouen, the Frenchmen ſought to endomage aſwel thoſe that were at that ſiege, as other of the Engliſhmen that laye in garniſons within the townes that were alreadie in the king of Englandes poſſeſſion, inſomuche that as ſome haue written, within the octaues of the Aſſumption, three notable victories chaunced to the Engliſhmen in three ſeuerall places, firſt an hundred Engliſhmen at Kylbuef, tooke three great Lordes of the Frenchmen, beſydes fourescore other perſones, and put three hundred to flight.

Alſo vpon the Thurſday within the ſame octaues, foure hundred Frenchmen that were entred within the Suburbs of Eureux were repulſed by eleuen Engliſh men, that tooke foure of thoſe Frenchmen priſoners, ſlue .xij. of them, and tooke .xl. horſes.

On the Saterday following, the Frenchmen tooke in hand to ſteale vpon them that lay in garniſon within Louires, in hope to ſurpriſe yͤ towne early in the morning: but the Captaine perceyuing their purpoſe, ſallied forth with a hundred of his men, and putting the Frenchmen to flight, being a thouſande, tooke an hundred and fourescore of them, being all gentlemen.

But to returne to them before Rouen. The ſiege thus continuing from Lammas, almoſt to Chriſtmas, dyuerſe enterpriſes were attempted, and diuerſe pollicies practiſed, howe euery parte might endomage his aduerſaries: no part greatly reioyced of their gaine. But in the meane time vittaile began ſore to fayle them within, ſo that onely Vinegar and water ſerued for drinke.

Extreme famine within Roane.

If I ſhould reherſe (according to the report of diuerſe writers) howe deerly dogges, rattes, miſe, and cattes were ſolde within the towne, and how greedily they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and how the people dayly dyed for fault of foode, and yong Infantes laye ſucking in the ſtreetes on theyr mother breaſtes, lying deade, ſteruen for hunger, the Reader myghte lamente their extreme miſeries.

A vertuous & charitable prince.

A great number of poore ſillie creatures were put out at the gates, which were by the Engliſhe men that kept the trenches beatē and driuen back again to the ſame gates, which they found cloſed and ſhut agaynſt them. And ſo they lay betwene the walles of the Citie, and the trenches of the enimies ſtill crying for helpe and reliefe, for lacke whereof great numbers of them dayly died. Yet king Henrie moued with pitie, on Chriſtmaſſe day in the honor of Chriſtes Natiuitie, refreſhed all the poore people with vittaile, to their greate comfort, and his high prayſe: yet if the Duke of Burgoignes letters had not beene conueyed into the Citie, it was thought they within would neuer haue made reſiſtance ſo long time as they did, for by thoſe letters they were aſſured of reſkue to come. Diuerſe Lordes of Fraunce hauing written to them to the like effect, they were put in ſuch comfort herewith, that immediatlye to expreſſe their great reioyſing, all the Belles in the Citie were rong forth cherefully, whiche during all the time of the ſiege till that preſent had kept ſilence. In deede by reaſon of a faynt kinde of agreement procured betwixt the Dolphin and the Duke of Burgoigne, it was thought verily that a power ſhould haue beene rayſed, for preſeruation of that noble Citie, the loſing or ſauing thereof beeing a matter of ſuch importance.

Chron.S.Al.
A large trench without the Campe.

The king of Englande to preuent the enimies purpoſe, cauſed a large trench to bee caſt without his campe, which was pight full of ſharpe ſtakes, with a greate rampire fenced with bulwarkes, and turnepykes, in as defencible wiſe as myght be deuiſed. Sir Robert Bapthorpe knight, was appoynted Comptroller, to ſee this worke perfourmed, which he did with all diligence accompliſh, in like caſe as hee had done, when the other trench and rampire ſtrongly ſtaked and hedged was made at the firſt betwixt the campe and the Citie, to reſtreyne ſuch as in the beginning of the ſiege, reſted not to pricke forth of the Gates on horſebacke. And ſo by this meanes was the army defenced both behinde and before.

1419

Finally the whole number of the Frenchmen within the Citie were brought to ſuche an extremitie for want of vitayles, that they were in danger all to haue ſterued. Whervpon being nowe paſt hope of reliefe, they determined to treat with the king of England, and ſo vpon newyeares euen there came to the Walles, ſuche as they had choſen amongeſt them for commiſſioners, which made a ſigne to the Engliſhmenne lying withoute the Gate of the Bridge, to ſpeake wyth ſome Gentlemanne, or other perſonne of Authoritie.

The Earle of Huntingdon whiche kept that part, ſent to them ſir Gylbert Umfreuile vnto whom they declared, that if they might haue a ſafeconduct, they woulde gladly come forth to ſpeake with the king. Sir Gylbert repayring to the Duke of Clarence, and other of the Kings Counſayle, aduertiſed them of this requeſt.

Herevppon the Duke of Clarence wyth the other Counſaylors, reſorted to the kings lodging to infourme him of the matter, and to know his pleaſure therein, who after good aduicement and deliberation taken, willed ſir Gylbert to aduertiſe them, that he was content to heare twelue of them, whiche ſhoulde be ſafely conueyed to his preſence.

They within Roane demand Parlee.

This anſwere being brought to the Frenchmen by the ſaid ſir Gilbert, on the next day in the morning, foure knightes, foure learned men, and foure ſage Burgeſſes, all clothed in blacke, came forth of the Citie, and were receyued at the port Saint Hillarie by ſir Gilbert Umfreuile, accompanyed with diuerſe Gentlemen and yeomen of the Kings houſholde, commonly called yeomen of the Crowne, by whom they were conueyed to the kings lodging, whom they founde at Maſſe, whiche being ended, the King came oute of hys trauers, ſternely, and Princely beholding the French Meſſengers, and paſſed by them into his Chamber. And incontinently after commaunded that they ſhould be brought in before his preſence, to heare what they had to ſay: One of them lerned in the Ciuill Lawes, was appoynted to declare the Meſſage in all theyr names, who ſhewing himſelfe more raſhe than wiſe, more arrogant than learned, firſt tooke vpon him to ſhewe wherein the glorie of victorie conſiſted, aduiſing the king not to ſhewe his manhoode in famiſhing a multitude of poore ſimple and innocent people, but rather ſuffer ſuch miſerable wretches as laye betwixt the walles of the Citie, and the trenches of his ſiege, to paſſe through the campe, that they might get theyr lyuing in other places, and then if hee durſt manfully aſſaulte the Citie, and by force ſubdue it, he ſhould win both worldly fame, and merite great meede at the handes of almightie God, for hauing compaſſion of the poore needie and indigent people.

When this Oratour had ſayde, the King (who no requeſt leſſe ſuſpected, than that whiche was thus deſyred) beganne a whyle to muſe, and after hee had well conſidered the craftie cautele of hys enimyes, with a fierce countenaunce, and bolde ſpirite hee reproued them, both for theyr ſubtill dealing wyth hym, and theyr malapert preſumption, in that they ſhoulde ſeeme to goe aboute to teache him what belonged to the dutie of a Conquerour, and therefore ſince it appeared that the ſame was vnknowne vnto them, hee declared that the Goddeſſe of battayle called *Bellona*, had three Handmaydens, euer of neceſſitie attending vpon hir, as bloud, fyre, and famyne. And whereas it laye in hys choyce to vſe them all three, yea, two, or one of them at his pleaſure, hee hadde yet appoynted onely the meekeſt Mayde of thoſe three Damoſelles to puniſhe them of that Citye, tyll they were brought to reaſon. And where as the gayne of a Captaine atteyned by any of the ſayde three Handmaydens, was both glorious, honourable, and worthie of tryumphe: yet of all the three, the yongeſt Mayde, whiche hee meant to vſe at that tyme was moſte profytable and commodious: And as for the poore people lying in the Dytches, if they dyed through famyne, the faulte was theyrs, that lyke cruell Tyrauntes hadde put them oute of the Towne, to the intente hee ſhoulde ſlea them, and yet had hee ſaued theyr lyues, ſo that if any lacke of charitie was, it reſted in them, and not in hym: but to theyr cloked requeſt, hee ment not to gratifie them within ſo much, but they ſhould keepe them ſtill to helpe to ſpende theyr vytayles, and as to aſſaulte the Towne, hee tolde them that hee woulde they ſhoulde knowe, hee was both able and wylling thereto, as he ſhoulde ſee occaſion: but the choiſe was in hys hande, to tame them eyther wyth bloude, fyre, or famine, or with them all, whereof he woulde take the choyſe at his pleaſure, and not at theyrs.

This aunſwere put the French Ambaſſadors in a great ſtudy, muſing much at hys excellent witte and hautineſſe of courage: and after they had dyned (as his commaundement was they ſhould) with his officers, they vpon conſultation had togither, required once againe to haue acceſſe to his royall preſence, which being graunted, they humbling themſelues on their knees, beſought him to take a truce for eight dayes, during the whiche they mighte by theyr commiſſions take ſome ende and good concluſion with him and his Counſaile.

The King like a mercifull Prince graunted to them their aſking, with whiche anſwer they ioyfully returned.

After their departure were appoynted and ſet vp three tentes, the one for the Lordes of Englande, the ſeconde for the Commiſſioners of the Citie, and the thirde for both parties to aſſemble in, and to treate of the matter.

The Commiſſioners for the Engliſhe parte were the Earles of Warwicke, and Saliſburie, the Lorde Fitzhugh, ſir Walter Hungerford, ſir Gilbert Vmfreuille, ſir Iohn Robſert, and Iohn de Vaſques de Almada. And for the French part were appoynted, Sir Guy de Butteler, and ſixe other.

These Commiſſioners met euery day, arguing and reaſoning aboute a concluſion, but nothing was done the ſpace of eight dayes, nor ſo much as one article concluded: wherefore the Engliſhe men tooke downe the Tentes, and the Frenchmen tooke theyr leaue: but at their departing, they remembring themſelues, required the Engliſhe Lordes for the loue of God, that the truce might endure till the Sunne ryſing the next day, to the which the Lordes aſſented.

When the French Commiſſioners were returned into the Citie without any concluſion of agreement, the poore people ran about the ſtreetes crying, and calling the captaines and gouernors, murtherers, & manquellers, ſaying that for their pride and ſtiffe ſtomackes, all this miſerye was happened, threatning to ſlea them, if they woulde not agree to the King of Englande hys demaunde.

The Magiſtrates herewyth amaſed, called all the townſmen togither to knowe theyr myndes and opinions. The whole voyce of the Cōmons was, to yeelde rather than to ſterue. Then the Frenchmen in the Euening, came to the Tent of ſir Iohn Robſert, requyring him of gentleneſſe to moue the king, that the truce might be prolonged for foure dayes. The king thereunto agreed, and appoynted the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, & the other ſeuen before named for his part, and the Citizens appoynted a like number for them. So the Tents were again ſet vp, and dayly they met togither, and on the fourth daye they accorded on this wiſe, that the Citie and Caſtell of Roane ſhould be delyuered vnto the king of England, at what time after the middeſt of the .xix. day of that preſent moneth of Ianuarie, the ſayde King willed the ſame, and that all the Captaines and other men whatſoeuer, dwelling or beeing within the ſayd Citie and Caſtell, ſhould ſubmit them in all things to the grace of the ſayd king: and further, that they ſhould pay to the ſayde king three hundred thouſande Scutes of Golde, whereof alwayes two ſhould be worth an Engliſh Noble, or in the ſtead of euerie Scute, xxx. great blankes white, or .xv. grotes.

Moreouer it was accorded, that euerie ſouldier and ſtraunger being in the ſayde Citie and Caſtel, ſhoulde ſweare on the Euangeliſtes before their departure, not to beare armour agaynſt the king of Englande, before the firſt day of Ianuarie next to come.

Alſo they within the towne ſhould ſuffer al the poore people lying in ditches, or about the ditches of the Citie, which for penurie were chaſed oute, to enter the Citie againe, and to finde them ſufficient food til the ſayd nintenth day of Ianuarie.

There were diuerſe other Articles, in all to the number of .xxij. agreed, aſwell on the behalfe of the Citizens, as of king Henrie, who graunted, that all the Souldiers ſtraungers and other within the ſaid Citie and Caſtel at that time, being not willing to become his lieges, ſhuld depart after that the Citie and Caſtel was once yeelded, freely without let, leauing to the ſaid king al their armors, horſes, harneſſe, and goodes, except the Normans, which if they ſhoulde refuſe to become lieges to him, were appoynted to remayne as his priſoners, togither with one Luca Italico and certaine other.

Luca. Italico. The Vicare generall of the Archbi. of Rouen for denoūcing the king acurſed was deliuered to him and reteyned in pryſon til he dyed. *Titus Liuius.*

When the day of appoyntment came, which was the day of S. Wolſtan, ſir Guy de Butteler, & the Burgeſſes, deliuered the keyes of the City & Caſtel vnto the king of England, beſeeching him of fauor and compaſſion. The king incontinently appoynted the Duke of Exceter, with a great companie to take poſſeſſion of the Citie, who like a valiant Captaine mounted on a goodly courſer firſt entred into the Citie, and after into the Caſtell.

One Alane Blāchart was likewiſe deliuered to him, and by his commaundement put to death. Tranſlator of *Titus Liuius.*

King Henries entry into Roane.

The next day being Fryday, the king in great tryumph like a conquerour, accompanied wyth foure Dukes, ten Erles, viij. Biſhops, xvj. Barons, and a great multitude of knightes, eſquiers, and men of warre, entred into Roan, where hee was receyued by the Clergie, with .xlij. Croſſes, and then met him the Senate, and the Burgeſſes of the towne, offering to him diuerſe fayre and coſtly preſents.

In this maner he paſſed through the Citie to our Ladie Church, and there hauing ſayde his oriſons, he cauſed his Chaplaines to ſing this Antheme: *Quis eſt tam magnus dominus:* VVho is ſo great a Lorde as our God.

This done, he came to the caſtel, where he cōtinued a good ſpace after, receyuing homages & fealties of the burgeſſes & townesmen, and ſetting orders amongſt them. He alſo reedified diuerſe fortreſſes, & townes, during which tyme hee made Proclamation, that all menne whiche woulde become hys ſubiectes, ſhoulde enioy theyr goods, landes and offices, whiche Proclamation made many towns to yeeld, and many men to become Engliſh the ſame ſeaſon.

Titus Liuius.

The Duke of Brytaigne vnderſtanding that if the King of Englande ſhoulde continue in poſſeſſion of Normandie, his Countrey could not but bee in greate daunger, if hee prouided not to haue him his friend, vpon ſafecōduct obteyned for him and his retinue, came to Roan with fiue. C. horſes, and being honourably receyued of the K. after cōference had betwixt thē of diuers things, at length they agreed vpon a league on this wiſe, that neither of them ſhould make warre vnto the other, nor to any of the others people or ſubiectes, except he that ment to make that warre denounced the ſame ſixe Monethes before.

A league concluded betwene K. Henry and the D. of Britaine.

Thus this league being concluded, the Duke tooke leaue of the king, and ſo returned into Brytayne.

About the ſame time, at the ſuyte of certaine Biſhops and Abbottes of Normandie, the King confirmed vnto them theyr auncient priuileges, graunted by the former Dukes of Normandie, and kings of Fraunce, except ſuch as were graunted by thoſe whom he reputed for vſurpers and no lawfull kings or dukes. Hee alſo eſtabliſhed at Caen the Chamber of accountes of the reuenues of his dukedome of Normandie.

In Rouen he began the foundation of a ſtrong Tower behinde the Caſtell, that from the caſtell to the Tower, and from the Tower to his Palayce, the men of warre appoynted there in garniſon, myght paſſe in ſuretie without daunger of the Citie, if perhaps the Citizens ſhould attempt any rebellion.

In this ſixth yeare, whyleſt theſe thinges were adoing in Normandie, Queene Ioan late wife of king Henry the fourth, and mother in law to this King, was areſted by the Duke of Bedford the kings lieutenant in his abſence, & by him committed to ſafe keeping in the caſtell of Leedes in Kent, there to abide the kings pleaſure.

She was committed to the ſafe keping of Pelham who appointed hir ix. ſeruants to attend hir & conueyed hir to the caſtel of Pomſey.

Tho. VValſ.

Frier Randoll.

About the ſame time, one Frier Randoll of the order of Franciſcanes that profeſſed diuinitie, and had bene confeſſour to the ſame Queene, was taken in the Iſle of Gerneſey, & being firſt brought ouer into Normandie, was by the kings commaundement ſent hither into Englande, and cōmitted to the Tower, where he remayned till the perſō of the tower quarelling with him, by chance ſlue him there within the Tower warde. It was reported that hee had conſpired with the Queene by ſorcerie and nigromancie to deſtroy the King.

Whyleſt the king remayned in Rouen, to ſet things in order for the eſtabliſhment of good policie in that Citie, hee ſent abroad dyuerſe of hys Captaynes, with conuenient forces to ſubdue certayne Townes and Caſtelles in thoſe partyes, as hys brother the Duke of Clarence, who wanne the ſtrong Towne of Vernon, and Mante. In Vernon was ſir William Porter made Captayne, and in Maunte the Earle of Marche.

Verno
Mant
by the

The Erle of Saliſburie wan Hunflew, after he had beſieged it from the fourth of Februarie, vntill the. xij. of March.

Titu
Hun

This towne was giuen afterwardes vnto the duke of Clarence. Alſo the ſayde Earle of Saliſburie wan the Townes of Monſter de Villiers, Ew, Newcaſtell, and finally all the places in that quarter, which till that preſent were not vnder the Engliſh obeyſance. At Newcaſtell Sir Philip Leech was made captaine.

After Candlemaſſe, the King departed from Rouen to go to Eureux, whither he had promyſed to come in like caſe as the Dolphin had promiſed to be at Dreux, to the end that they might aduiſe vpon a conuenient place where to meete to entreate of a peace to bee concluded betwixte the two Realmes. But the Dolphin by ſiniſter perſwaſion of ſome enimies to concorde, brake promiſe, and came not. When the king ſawe that through default of his aduerſarie, no treaty wold be had, he remoued to Vernon, and there a while remayned.

Nowe from Eureux the king had diſpatched the Erle of Warwicke vnto the ſiege of la Roch Guion, which fortreſſe he ſo conſtrayned, that it was yeelded into his handes, the ſixth of Aprill, in the beginning of this ſeuenth yeare of Kyng Henries raigne, and giuen to ſir Guy Butteler late Captaine of Rouen, of the kings free and liberall graunt.

An
Roch
rendr

About the ſame ſame time, the Duke of Exceter layde ſiege vnto Chateau Galyarde, which ſiege continued from the laſt of Marche, vnto the latter ende of September, or (as ſome write) vnto the. xx. of December, as after ſhall appeare.

Chate
ard

The Duke of Glouceſter beeing ſente to wynne the Towne and Caſtell of Yuri, tooke the Towne by aſſaulte, and the Caſtell was delyuered by compoſition after fortie dayes ſiege.

Yury
by a

After this the Engliſhmen ouerranne the coūtrey about Chartres, and did much hurt to theyr enimies in all places where they came.

The heartes of the Frenchmen were ſore diſcouraged with the loſſe of Rouen, and the other townes which yeelded one after another, thus to the Engliſhmen, ſo that ſuch as loued the wealth of their Countrey, ſore lamented the imminent miſchiefes, which they ſaw by the diuiſion of the Nobilitie, like ſhortlye to fall on theyr heades, namely bycauſe they ſawe no remedie prepared. But who euer elſe was diſquieted with this matter, John Duke of Burgoigne raged, and ſwelled, yea and ſo muche freated therewith, that hee wyſt not what to ſay, and leſſe to doe: for hee knewe well that hee was neyther free from diſdaine, nor yet delyuered from the ſcope of malice, bycauſe that he onely ruled the King, and had the whole doings in all matters aboute hym. And therefore he conſidered that all ſuch miſhappes as chaunced to the ſtate of the cõmon wealth would bee imputed to his negligence and diſordered gouernment.

To finde ſome remedie againſt ſuch daungers at hand, he thought firſt to aſſay, if hee might by any reaſonable meanes cõclude a peace betwixt yͤ two mightie kings of England ⁊ France, which if hee might bring to paſſe, he doubted not to reuenge his quarell eaſily ynough againſt the Dolphin Charles, and to repreſſe all cauſes of grudge and diſdaine. Herewith intending to build vpon this fraile foundation, he ſent letters and Ambaſſadours to the king of England, aduertiſing him that if he woulde perſonally come to a communication to bee had betweene him and Charles the Frenche king, hee doubted not but by hys onelye meanes, peace ſhould bee brought in place, and bloudie battaile clearely exiled.

King Henrie giuing courteous eare to theſe Ambaſſadors, ſent with them the Earle of Warwicke as his Ambaſſador, accompanied with two hundred gentlemen to talke with the duke, as thẽ remaining in the French Court at the towne of Prouins.

The Erle was aſſayled by the way as he iorneyed, by a great number of rebellious perſons, gotten into armor, of purpoſe to haue ſpoyled him of ſuch money and things as he and his companie had about them. But by the high valiancie of the Engliſh people, with the ayde of theyr Bowes, the Frenchmenne were dyſcomfyted and chaſed.

The Earle at hys commyng to Prouins was honourably receyued, and hauing done the effect of his Meſſage returned, and wyth him the Earle of Saint Paule, and the ſonne and heyre of the Duke of Bourbon, were ſent as Ambaſſadours from the French King, to conclude vpon the time and place of the meeting, with al the circumſtances, whereupon the king of England agreed to come vnto the towne of Mante, wyth condition that the duke of Burgoigne, and other for the French king ſhuld come to Pontoyſe, that either part might meet others in a cõuenient place betwixt thoſe two townes neare vnto Meulan: According to this appoyntment, King Henrie came to Mante, where in the feaſt of Pentecoſt he kept a liberall houſe to all commers, and ſate himſelfe in great eſtate: Vpon the which day, eyther for good ſeruice alreadie by them done, or for the good expectation of things to come, hee created Gaſcon de Fois, otherwyſe called the Captau or Captall de Buef, a valiaunt Gaſcoigne, Earle of Longueuile, and Sir John Grey, Erle of Tankeruile, and the Lorde Bourſhier, Earle of Eu.

Creation of Earles.

After this ſolemne feaſt ended, the place of the enterview and meeting was appoynted to be beſide Meulan on the riuer of Seyne, where in a fayre place euery parte was by commiſſioners appoynted to theyr ground.

When the daye of appoyntment approched, whiche was the laſte day of Maye, the King of England accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence, and Glouceſter, his brethren, the Duke of Exceter his Vncle, and Henrie Beauford Clerke his other vncle, which after was Biſhop of Wincheſter and Cardinall, with the Erles of Marche Saliſburie, and others, to the number of a thouſand men of warre, entred into his ground which was barred about and ported, wherein his tentes were pight in a princely maner.

Eyther part wss appointed to bring with them not paſte ii.M.v.C. men of war as Tit.Liu. hath.

Likewyſe for the Frenche part, came Iſabell the Frenche Queene, bycauſe hir huſbande was fallen into hys olde frantike diſeaſe, hauing in hir companie the Duke of Burgoigne, and the Earle of Saint Paule, and ſhee had attending vppon hir the fayre Ladie Katherine hir daughter, wyth.xxvj.Ladies and Damoſelles: and had alſo for hir furniture a thouſand men of of warre: The ſayde Ladie Katherine was brought by the Queene hir mother, onelye to the intent that the King of Englande beholding hir excellent beautie, ſhoulde bee ſo enflamed and rapt in hir loue, that hee to obteyne hir to his wife, ſhoulde the ſooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concorde. But though many wordes were ſpent in this treatie, and that they mette at eight ſeuerall tymes, yet no effect enſued, nor any concluſion was taken by thys friendly conſultation, ſo that both partyes after a Princely faſhion tooke leaue eche of other, and departed, the Engliſhe menne to Mant, and the Frenche men to Pontoyſe.

A treatie of peace.

Seuen times the laſt being on the laſt day of Iune. *Tit.Liuius.*

Some Authours write that the Dolphyn to ſtaye that no agreement ſhoulde paſſe, ſent Sir Taneguye de Chaſtell to the Duke of Burgoin, declaring that if hee woulde breake of the treatie with the Engliſhe men, he woulde then common with him, and take ſuch order, that not only they but the whole Realme of Fraunce ſhould thereof be glad and reioyce. Howſoeuer it came to paſſe, truth it is, that where it was agreed, that they

Chro. of Flan.

Titus Liuius.

they ſhoulde eftſoones haue met in the ſame place on the thirde of July. The King according to that appoyntment came, but there was none for the French part, neither Queene nor Duke, that once appeared, ſo that it was manifeſt ynough how the fault reſted not in the Engliſhmen but in the French men, by reaſon whereof no concluſion ſorted to effect of all this communication, ſaue onely that a certaine ſparke of burning loue was kindled in the kings heart by the ſight of the Lady Katherine.

The king without doubt was highly diſpleaſed in his minde, that this communication came to no better paſſe. Wherefore he miſtruſting that the Duke of Burgoigne was the verie let and ſtoppe of his deſires, ſayde vnto hym before his departure: Couſin we will haue your kings daughter, and all things that we demaunde with hir, or we will driue your king and you out of his realme. Well ſayd the Duke of Burgoigne, before you driue the king and me out of his realme, you ſhall be well wearied, and thereof wee doubt little.

Shortly after, the Duke of Burgoigne and the Dolphin mette in the plaine fieldes beſydes Melun, and there comming togither, concluded apparantly an open peace and amytie, which was proclaimed in Paris, Amiens, and Pontoys. This agreement was made the vj. of July in the yeare 1419. It was engroſſed by Notaries, ſigned with their handes, and ſealed with their great ſeales of armes: but as the ſequel ſhewed, hart thought not, what tongue ſpake, nor minde ment not, that hand wrote. Whiles theſe things were a doing, diuers of the Frenchmen in Roan wente about a conſpiracy againſt the Engliſhmen, whereof the King beeing aduertiſed, ſent thyther certayne of his nobles, which tryed out theſe conſperators, cauſed them to be apprehended, had thẽ in examination, and ſuch as they found guiltye were put to death, and ſo ſetting the Citie in quietneſſe, returned to the king.

An egreement betweene the Duke of Burgoine and the Dolphyne.

Titus Liuius.

A cõſpiracy in Roane.

The king of Englande perceyuing by this newe alliance, that nothing was leſſe to be looked for, than peace at the handes of the Frenchmen, deuiſed ſtill howe to conquere townes and Fortreſſes, which were kept agaynſt him: and nowe that the truce was expired, on the .xxx. day of July, he being as then within the towne of Maunte, appoynted certaine bandes of ſouldiers in the after noone to paſſe out of the Gates, giuing onely knowledge to the captaines what he would haue them to doe. And to the intent that no ynkling of the enterprice ſhould come to the enimies eare, he kept the gates himſelfe as Porter.

Theſe bandes belonged to the Earle of Lõgueville & to the Lord de Leſpar Gaſcoignes hiſt. dez Ducz de Norman.

The K playeth the Porters part.

These that were thus ſent forth, being guided by yͤ Erle of Lõgueuile, otherwiſe called yͤ Captau de Buef, were commaunded in as ſecret maner as they coulde, to draw towarde the towne of Pontoyſe, and to keepe themſelues in couert tyll the darke of the night, and then to approch the walles of that towne, and vpon eſpying their aduauntage to enter it by ſcaling, hauing ladders, and all things neceſſarie with them for the purpoſe.

Moreouer, about the cloſing of the day and night in the Euening, he ſent forth the Earle of Huntingdon, with other bandes of ſouldiers, to ſuccor and aſſyſt the other, if they chaunced to enter the towne according to the order taken.

Thoſe that were firſt ſent forth, (according to their inſtructions) conueyed themſelues ſo cloſely to their appoynted places, that the enimies hard nothing of theyr doings. Whereupon whẽ the night was come, they came in ſecret wiſe vnder the walles, and there watched their time till the morning began to draw on: In the meane time, whileſt the watch was departed, and before other were come into their places to relieue it, the Engliſhmen ſetting vp their ladders, entred and brake open one of the Gates to receyue the other that followed.

The Frenchmẽ perceiuing that yͤ walles were taken, ⁊ their enimies entred into the town, at the firſt were ſore amaſed: but after perceyuing the ſmall nũber of the Engliſhmen, they aſſembled togither, ⁊ fiercely aſſailed them, ſo that they were conſtrayned to retyre to the walles and turrets, which they had taken, and with much adoe defended the ſame, ſome leaping down into the ditches, and hyding them in the vines, till at length the Earle of Huntingdon, with his companies came to theyr ſuccours, and entring by the Gate which was open, eaſily bet backe the enimies, and got the Market place: which thing when the lord Liſle Adam captaine of the towne perceyued, he opened the gate towards Paris, by the which hee with al his retinue, and diuerſe of the townſmen to the number of ten thouſand in all, (as Enguerant de Monſtr. recounteth) fled towards Paris, taking away with thẽ their coine, iewels, ⁊ plate. Some of them fleeing towards Beauuays, were met with, and ſtripped of that they had, by Jehan de Guigni, and Jehan de Claw, two Captaines that ſerued the Orliential faction.

There wer within the towne of Pontoyſe at that tyme when it was thus taken by the Engliſhmen, a thouſand launces, and two thouſande Arbeleſtiers, as Thomas Walſ. affyrmeth, and of Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes that went fyrſt forth of Maunt with yͤ Captal de Beuf, not paſt xv. hundred as Hall reporteth. Although Enguerant de Monſtrellet ſayth, they were about three thouſand. But how many ſoeuer they were, they durſt not at the firſt by reaſon of their ſmal number (as may be thought) once deuide themſelues, or fall to pylfering till about the houre of Prime, that the Duke of Clarence came to theyr ayde wyth fiue thouſand men, and much prayſing the valiantneſſe of the Earle and his retinue that had thus wonne the towne, gaue to them the chiefe ſpoyle of the which there was great plentie.

Then went the duke forth towardes Paris, & cōming thither, lodged before it two dayes & two nightes, without perceyuing any proffer of iſſue to be made forth agaynſt hym by hys enimyes, and therefore ſeeing that they durſt not once looke vpon him, hee returned to Pontoyſe, for the taking of whiche Towne the whole Countrey of Fraunce, and ſpecially the Pariſians were ſore diſmayed: for nowe there was no fortreſſe able to withſtande the Engliſh puyſſance. Inſomuch that the Iriſhmen ouerran all the Iſle of France, and did to the Frenchmen domages innumerable (as theyr wryters affyrme) and brought daylye prayes to the Engliſh army.

And beſides that, they woulde robbe houſes, and lay beddes on the backes of the Kine, and ride vpon them, and carie yong children before them, and ſel them to the Engliſhmē for ſlaues: which ſtraunge doings ſo feared the Frenchmen wythin the territorie of Paris, and the Countrey aboute, that the rude perſons fled out of the villages with all their ſtuffe into the Citie.

The Frenche King, and the Duke of Burgoigne lying at Saint Denys, in this ſeaſon departed from thence with the Queene and hir daughter, and went to Troys in Champaigne, there to conſult of theyr buſineſſe, hauing left at Paris the Earle of Saint Paule, and the Lorde Liſle Adam, with a great puyſſance to defend the Citie.

The King of Englande immediatly after that Pontoyſe was won (as before ye haue herd) came thither in perſon, as well to giue order for the placing of a ſufficient garniſon there for defence thereof, as to proceed further into the countrey for the conqueſt of other townes and places: and ſo after he had ſeene euery thing vſed in ſuch ſort as might ſtande with the good gouernment, and ſafe keeping of the ſayde Towne of Pontoys, the .xviij. day of Auguſt hee departed out of the ſame wyth his maine armie. And bycauſe they of the garniſon that laye in the Caſtell of Vauconuillers had done, and dayly dyd diuerſe and ſundrie diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen, hee pyght downe his fielde neare to the ſame, the better to reſtrayne them from theyr cruell attempts, and withal ſent part of his armie to beſiege them wythin that Caſtell, whiche put them in ſuche feare, that they diſpeyring of all reliefe or ſuccor, and perceyuing they ſhoulde not be able long to defende the place agaynſt the kings puyſſaunce, yeelded the place with all theyr coigne and other goods into the kings handes.

Titus Liuius.

The Souldiers of that garniſon, and the inhabitantes, at the contemplation of a certaine Ladie there amongſt them, were licenced by the king to depart without armor or weapon, onely with their liues ſaued.

John a Burgh that was after Baylife of Gyſours, was appoynted captaine of this caſtel.

Gyſoures beſieged and yelded to the Engliſhmen.

After this, all the townes and Caſtels within a great circuite offred to yeelde themſelues vnto the Engliſh obeyſaunce, the ſtrong towne and Caſtell of Gyſours onely excepted, which ſtil held out, and woulde ſhewe no token of will to yeeld: Herevpon the king the laſt of Auguſt beganne to approch the ſame, but at the firſt hee coulde not come nere, by reaſon of the mariſhes and fennes: but yet ſuch was the diligence of the Engliſhmen aduaunced by the preſence of the king being there in perſon, readie in all places to commende them that were forwarde in their buſineſſe, and to chaſtice ſuch as ſlacked their duetie, that dayly they came nearer and nearer, although the Frenchmen iſſued forth daily to encounter them, giuing them many ſore and ſharpe ſkirmiſhes. For the towne being double walled and fenced with thoſe brode mariſhes, ſo encouraged them within, that they thought no force had beene able to haue ſubdued them: but at length calling to remembrance, that the King of Englande came before no towne, nor Fortreſſe, from which he would depart before he had brought it vnder his ſubiection, they offred to come to a Parlee, and in the ende compounded to render the towne into the kings hands the .viij. day of September next enſuyng, and the Caſtell (bycauſe it was the ſtronger peece) they couenanted to delyuer the .xxiiij. of the ſame, if in the meane time no reſkue came to rayſe the ſiege. Herevpon when no ſuche reliefe coulde be hearde of, at the dayes limitted, the ſouldiers of the garniſon, and the more part of the townesmen alſo, ſubmitted themſelues, and receyued an othe to bee true ſubiects to the king, and ſo remayned ſtill in theyr rowmethes. The Erle of Worceſter was made captaine there.

Tho. VValſ.

Duke of Clarence hath Grafton.

Titus Liuius.

About the ſame time, to witte, the .xxiij. of September (as ſome write) was Chateau Galiard ſurrendred to the handes of the Duke of Exceter, which had bene beſieged euer ſince the laſte day of March (as before ye haue heard). But other write that it held out a ſeuen Monethes, and was not deliuered till the .xx. of December.

This Caſtell was not onely ſtrong by ſituation, ſtanding vpon the toppe of a ſteepe hyll, but alſo cloſed with mightie thicke walles, and furniſhed with men, and all maner of munition and things neceſſarie. The king appoynted the Lord Ros captaine of it.

After that Giſours and Caſtell Galiard were thus yeelded to the Engliſh obeyſaunce, all the other townes and caſtels thereaboute, and in the countrey of Veulqueſſin, ſhortly after yeelded to the king, as Gourney, Chaumounnt, Neauſle, Dangu, and other ſmall fortreſſes. Of Gontney, was ſir Gylbert Umfreuile made Captaine at Neauſle, the Earle of Worceter, and at Dangu Richarde Woduile.

Al Normandy reduced to the engliſh ſubiectes.

Shortly after was the Caſtell Daumal yelded to the Earle of Warwicke, to whome it was giuen. And thus was the whole duchie of Normandie (Mont Saint Michael only excepted) reduced to the poſſeſſion of the right heyre, whiche had beene wrongfully deteyned from the kings of England euer ſith the dayes of king Iohn, who loſt it about the yeare. 1207.

To ſatiſfie thoſe that be deſirous to know what Captaynes were appoynted by the King in dyuerſe townes that were yeelded to him, of which we haue made no mention heretofore but ingenerall, hereafter follow the names of the ſayd captaynes and townes, as wee finde them in the Chronicles of Maiſter Hall.

At Crewleye, Sir Henrie Tanclux an Almaine.

At Torigny, Sir Iohn Popham, to whome it was giuen.

At Chamboy the Lord Fitzhugh.

At Vernueil in Perche ſir Iohn Neuill.

At Eſſay, Sir William Huddleſton baylyfe of Alanſon.

At Crulye ſir Loys Robſert.

At Conde Norean, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe.

At Cawdebecke ſir Loys Robſert.

At Deepe, William Lorde Bourchier Erle of Eu.

At Aubemarle, the Earle of Warwike, and his deputie thereof William Montfort.

At Bellincombre, ſir Thomas Rampſton Lorde thereof by gyft.

At Longueuille, the Captall de Beuf or Buz, Erle thereof by gyft.

At Dauuille, ſir Chriſtofer Burden.

At Couches, ſir Robert Marburie.

At Chierburg, ſir Iohn Gedding.

At Barqueuille, the Lorde Ros.

At Arques ſir Iames Fines, baylife of Caux.

At Monceaux ſir Philip Leeche.

At Eſtrie Pagny, Richard Abraham.

At Sentler Surget, William Baſſet.

At Bretueil, Sir Henry Mortimer Baylife of Hunflew.

The Duke of Burgoigne murthered.

But nowe to returne where we left, the wyſe and graue perſonages of the realme of France ſore lamenting and bewayling the miſerie of theyr Countrey, ſawe they had puyſſaunce ynough to defende their enimies, if they were of perfite concord amongſt themſelues, and therfore to remoue all rancor and diſpleaſure betwixt the Dolphin, and the duke of Burgoigne, they procured a new meeting, whiche was appoynted to bee at Monſtreau ou fault Yonne, where the two princes at the day aſſigned met: but ſuch was the fortune of Fraunce, that the Duke of Burgoigne was there murthered, as hee kneeled before the Dolphin: wherevpon enſued greater debate than before. For Philip Erle of Charroloyes, ſonne and heyre to the ſayde Duke, tooke the matter verye grieuouſly, as he had no leſſe cauſe, and determined to be reuenged on the Dolphin, and other that were guiltie of the murther.

When he had well conſidered of the matter, and taken aduiſe with his counſayle, he firſt ſent Ambaſſadors to the king of Englande, then lying at Gyſours, to treate and conclude a truce betwene them both for a certaine ſpace, that they might talke of ſome concluſion of agreement.

King Henrie receyued the Ambaſſadors very courteouſly, and graunted that cõmunication might be had of peace, but vtterly denyed any abſtinence of warre, bycauſe hee woulde not loſe tyme, if the treatie ſorted not to good effect. Hereupon hauing his armie aſſembled at Maunte, he deuided the ſame into three parts, appoynting the Duke of Glouceſter with one part to go vnto the caſtel of S. Germain in Lay, & to lay ſiege therto.

The duke according to his cõmiſſion cõming before that caſtel, within a while conſtrayned the within by continuall ſkirmiſhes and aſſaults to deliuer vp the place into his hands. An other part of the army was ſent vnto the caſtel of Montioy, which likewiſe by ſuch fierce aſſaults and manful approches as the Engliſhmen made thereto, was ſhortly giuen ouer and yeelded. The thirde part of the hoſt went to Meulanc, a verie ſtrong town compaſſed aboute with the ryuer of Seyne, but the King deuiſed to faſten boates and barges togither, and to rere vp certaine frames of timber aloft on the ſame for defence of his ſouldiers, that ſhould by that meanes approch the walles, wherewith thoſe that had the towne in keeping were ſo put in feare, that theyr Captaine was glad to come to a communication, and agreed to deliuer the towne into the kings hands, if no reſkue came before the .xxx. day of October next enſuing. On whiche daye, for that no ſuccours appeared, the Towne (according to the couenantes) was gyuen vp into the Kings handes. Sir Thomas Rampſton was made Captaine there, and after him ſir Iohn Faſtolfe.

The king whileſt theſe places were beſieged, and thus brought vnder his ſubiection, continued for the moſt parte at Maunt, but yet oftentimes he went forth to viſite his campes, and to ſee that nothing ſhoulde bee wanting, that might further the ſpeedie diſpatche of his enterprices.

Aboute the ſame tyme, there came agayne Imbaſſadours to him from the Frenche King Charles, and from the Duke of Burgoigne to treate wyth hym of ſome good concluſion of peace to bee had, but as yet hee had no ſuche truſt in theyr ſute, but that hee doubted their meaning, and therefore ceaſſed not to proceede in the wynning of Townes, and Caſtels, as he hadde done before.

Nowe when Chriſtmaſſe approched, the King withdrewe to Roan, and there kepte the ſolemnization of that Feaſt, appoynting in the meane tyme hys men of warre to be occupied as occaſion ſerued.

The Earle of Saliſburie was ſent to beſiege the towne of Freſney, the which after ſtoute reſiſtance made at the firſt, ſhortly after was deliuered to him to the kings vſe.

The Earles Marſhall, and Huntingdon, ſir John Greene Cornewall, ſir Philip Leech, and diuerſe other, were ſente into the Countrey of Mayne, where not farre from the Citie of Mans they were encountered by a power of Frenche men, whiche the Dolphin hadde ſent agaynſte them.

There was at the firſt a ſharpe bickering betwixt them, but in the ende the victorie remayned with the Engliſhmen, ſo that many of the Frēch men were ſlaine, and taken, and the reſidue chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine (as Thomas Walſinghā hath, at the poynt of fiue thouſande, and two hundred taken priſoners, among whom was the Marſhal de Rous, and diuerſe others of good account. The two Engliſh Erles remayned there as Victors, in the Countrey whiche was by the Kyng to them aſſigned.

Whileſt theſe victorious exploytes were thus happely atchieued by the Engliſhmen, and that the King lay ſtill at Roan, in giuing thankes to Almightie God for the ſame, there came to him eftſoones Imbaſſadours from the Frenche King and the Duke of Burgoigne to moue him to peace.

The King mynding not to be reputed for a deſtroyer of the Countrey, whiche hee coueted to preſerue, or for a cauſer of Chriſtian bloud ſtil to be ſpylt in hys quarell, beganne ſo to encline and giue eare vnto theyr ſuyt and humble requeſt, that at length after often ſending to and fro, and that the Biſhop of Arras, and other men of honor had beene with him, and likewiſe the Earle of Warwike, and the Biſhop of Rocheſter hadde beene wyth the Duke of Burgoigne, they both finally agreed vpon certayne Articles, ſo that the French King and his commons woulde thereto aſſent.

Now was the French King and the Queene with theyr daughter Katherine at Troys in Champaigne gouerned and ordered by them, which ſo much fauored the Duke of Burgoigne, that they woulde not for any earthly good, once hynder or pull backe one iote of ſuch Articles as the ſame Duke ſhoulde ſeeke to preferre: and therfore what needeth many wordes, a truce tripertite was accorded betweene the two kings and the Duke, and theyr Countreys, and order taken that the king of Englande ſhoulde ſende in the companie of the duke of Burgoigne his Ambaſſadours vnto Troyes in Champaigne ſufficientlye authoriſed to treate and conclude of ſo great a matter.

A truce tripertite.

The King of Englande being in good hope that all his affayres ſhoulde take ſo good ſucceſſe as he coulde wiſh or deſire, ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne his Uncle, the Duke of Exceter, the Earle of Saliſburie, the Biſhop of Elie, the Lorde Fanhope, the Lorde Fitzhugh, ſir John Robſert, and ſir Philip Hall, with diuerſe doctours to the number of fiue. C. horſe, which in the company of the Duke of Burgoigne came to the Citie of Troys the. xj. of March.

Ambaſſadors from K. Henry to the Frēch K.

The king, the Queene, and the Ladie Katherine them receyued, & hartily welcomed, ſhewing great ſignes and tokens of loue and amitie.

After a few dayes they fel to counſel, in which at length it was concluded, that king Henrie of Englande ſhould come to Troys, and marry the Ladie Katherine, and the king hir father after his death ſhould make him heire of hys realm, crown and dignitie.

The Articles of the peace concluded betwene K. Hēry and the French king.

It was alſo agreed, that king Henrie during his father in lawes life, ſhoulde in his ſteade haue the whole gouernment of the realm of France, as regent thereof, wyth many other couenantes and articles, as after ſhall appeare. To the perfourmaunce whereof it was accorded, that all the nobles and eſtates of the realme of France, as well ſpirituall as temporall, and alſo the Cities and cōmonalties, Citizens and Burgeſſes of townes that were obeyſant at that time to the French K. ſhould take a corporall othe.

Theſe Articles were not at the firſte in all poyntes brought to a perfect concluſion. But after that the effect and meaning of them was agreed vpon by the commiſſioners, the Engliſh men departed towardes the king their maiſter and left ſir John Robſert behinde, to giue his attendance on the Ladie Katherine.

King Henry being enfourmed by them of that which they had done, was well content with the agreement, and with all diligence prepared to go vnto Troys, and thereupon hauing all things in a redineſſe, he being accōpanied with his brethren the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, the Erles of Warwik, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, Eu, Tankeruile, & Longuile, & .xv. M. men of warre, went from Roane to Pontoyſe, and departing from thence the eight day of May, came to Saint Denis two leagues from Paris, and after to Pont charēton, where he left a ſtrong garniſon of men, with ſir William Gaſcoigne, to kepe the paſſage, and ſo then entring into Brie, he toke by the way a Caſtell which was kept agaynſt him, cauſing them that ſo kept it ſome to bee hanged, and the reſidue to be led forth with him as priſoners. And after this keeping on his iourney by Prouins, and Nogent, at length he came to Troyes. The Duke of Burgoigne accompanyed wyth many Noble men, receyued him two leagues withoute the towne, and conueyed him to his lodging: All his armie was lodged in ſmal villages therabout. And after that he had repoſed himſelfe a little, he went to viſite the French King, the Queene, and the Ladie Katherine, whome he founde in Saint Peters Church, where was a ioyous meeting betwixt thē. And this was on the .xx. day of May, and there the king of Englande, and the Ladie Katherine were affianced.

Tho. VVal'ſ.

Titus Liuius.

King Henry commeth to Troyes to the French king.

King Henry afficeth the French kings daughter.

After this the two kings and their counſaile aſſembled togythers dyuerſe dayes, wherein the firſt concluded agreement, was in diuerſe poynts altered and brought to a certaintie, according to the effect aboue mentioned.

When this great matter was finiſhed, the kinges ſware for their partes to obſerue al the couenants of this league and agreement. Likewiſe the duke of Burgoigne and a great number of other Princes and Nobles which were preſent, receiued an othe, the tenor wherof as the Duke of Burgoigne vttered it in ſolēne wordes, thus enſueth accordingly as the ſame is exemplifyed by *Titus Liuius de Frulouiſijs.* In Latine.

Titus Liuius.

The oth of the D. of Burgoigne.

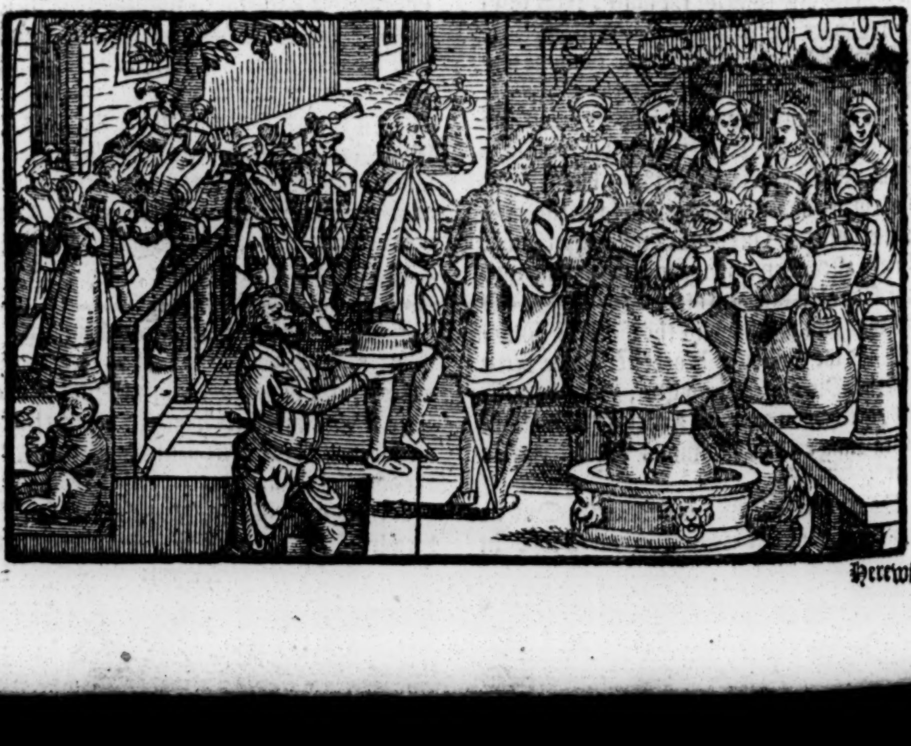
Ego Philippus, Burgundiæ dux per me meoſq́; hæredes, ad ſacra dei Euangelia domino regi Hērico Angliæ, Franciæq́; pro Carolo rege regenti iuro, quod humiliter ipſi Henrico fideliterq́; cunctis in rebus quæ remp. ſpectant & Frācia coronā, obediemus, & ſtatim poſt mortē Caroli domini noſtri, domino Hērico regi ſuiſq́; ſucceſſoribus in perpetuū ligei fideles erimus, nec alium quempiā pro domino noſtro ſupremo Franciæ rege, quā Henricū & ſuos hæredes habebimus, neq́; patiemur. Nō erimus præterea in conſilio vel cōſenſu cuiuſquàm dampni regis Hērici, ſuorum ve ſucceſſorū, vbi quicquam detrimēti patiantur capitis ſiue mēbri vel vitā perdāt ſed prædicta (quātū in nobis fuerit) quàm citiſſime literis vel nuncijs, vt ſibi melius prouidere valeant, eis ſignificabimus.

The ſame is engliſhed thus.

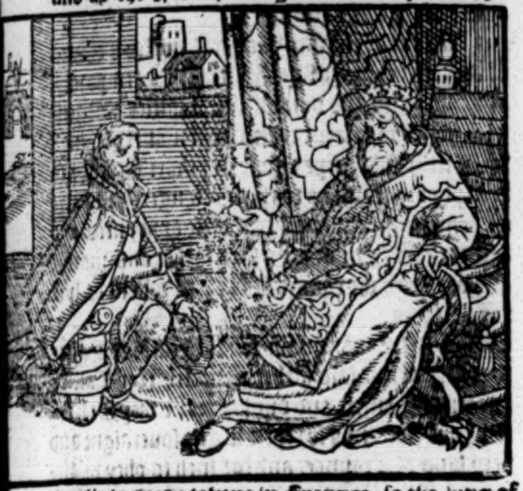
I Philip duke of Burgoigne, for my ſelfe, and for mine heires, do here ſweare vpon the holy Euangeliſt of God, vnto Henry K. of England, & regēt of France for K. Charles, ŷ we ſhal hūbly & faithfully obey the ſaid Hēry in al things which concerne the cōmon welth & crowne of France, & immediatly after the deceaſe of our ſoueraign L. king Charles, we ſhal be faithful liegemē vnto ŷ ſaid K. Henry, & to his ſucceſſors for euer: neither ſhal we take or ſuffer any other for our ſoueraign Lord & ſupreme K of France, but the ſame Henrie & his heires, neither ſhal we be of counſel or cōſent of any hurt towards the ſaid K. Henry or his ſucceſſors, whereby they may ſuffer loſſe & detrymēt of life or limme, but that the ſame ſo farre as in vs may lie, wee ſhall ſignifie to them with all ſpeed, by letters or meſſengers, that they may the better prouide for themſelues in ſuch caſes.

The like othe a great number of the Princes and Nobles both ſpirituall and temporall which were preſent, receyued the ſame time.

This done, the Morrow after Trinitie Sunday, being the thirde of Iune, the mariage was ſolemnized and fully cōſummate, betwixt the K. of England, and the ſaid Ladie Katherine.



Herewith was the king of Englande named and proclaimed heyre and Regent of Fraunce, and as the Frenche king ſent the Copie of thys treatie to euery towne in Fraunce, ſo the king of Englande ſent the ſame in Engliſh to euery citie and Market towne within his realme, to be proclaimed and publiſhed. The true copie whereof as wee finde it in the Chronicle of maiſter Hall, we haue thought good here to ſet downe, for the more full ſatiſfying of thoſe that ſhall deſire to peruſe euery clauſe and article thereof.



The articles and appointments of peace betwene the realmes of England and France.

Henrie by the grace of God K. of Engl. heire, and regent of France, lord of Ireland, to perpetuall mind to chriſten people, & all thoſe that be vnder our obeyſance, we notifie and declare, that though there hath bin here before diuerſe treaties betwene the moſt excellent prince Charles our father of France and his progenitors, for the peace to be had betwene the two realmes of France and Englande, the whiche heretofore haue borne no fruit: we conſidering the great harmes, the which hath not onely fallen betwene thoſe two realmes, for the great diuiſion of that hath beene betweene them, but to all holy Churche: Wee haue taken a treatie with our ſayde father, in whiche treatie betwixt our ſayde father and vs, it is concluded and accorded in the forme after the maner that followeth.

1 Firſt, it is accorded betwixte our father and vs, that foraſmuch as by the bond of matrimonie made for the good of yͤ peace betwene vs and our moſt deare beloued Katherine, daughter of oure ſayde father, and of our moſt deare mother Iſabell his wife, the ſame Charles and Iſabell beene made our father and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we ſhall haue and worſhip, as it fitteth and ſeemeth ſo worthie a Prince and Princeſſe, to be worſhipped principally before all other temporall perſons of the worlde.

2 Alſo we ſhall not diſtrouble, diſeaſon or lette oure father aforeſayde, but that hee holde and poſſeede as long as hee lyueth, as he holdeth and poſſedeth at this tyme, the Crowne and dignitie royall of Fraunce, and rentes and profites for the ſame, of the ſuſtenaunce of his eſtate and charges of the realme. And our foreſayd mother alſo hold as long as ſhee liueth, the ſtate and dignitie of Queene, after the maner of the ſame realme, with conuenable conuenient parte of the ſayde rentes and profites.

3 Alſo that the foreſayde Ladie Katherin, ſhal take and haue Dower in our realme of England as Queenes of Englande here a fore were wont for to take and haue, that is to ſay, to the ſumme of .lx. thouſand Scutes, of the which two algate ſhall be a noble Engliſh.

4 And that by the wayes, maners, & meanes that we without tranſgreſſion or offence of other made by vs, for to ſpeake the lawes, cuſtomes, vſages and righſes of our ſayde Realme of Englande, ſhall done our labour and purſute that the ſayde Katherine all ſo ſoone as it may be done, be made ſure to take, and for to haue in oure ſayde Realme of Englande, from the tyme of oure death, the ſayde dower of. xl. thouſande Scutes yearely, of the whiche twaine algate bee worth a noble Engliſh.

5 Alſo if it happe the ſayde Katherine to ouerliue vs, wee ſhall take and haue the Realme of France immediately, from the tyme of our death, dower to the ſumme of. xx. thouſande frankes yearely of and vpon the landes, places and lordſhippes that helde and had Blaunche ſometyme wyfe of Philip Boſcele to our ſayde Father.

6 Alſo that after the death of our ſayde father aforeſayde, and from thence forwarde, the crowne and the realme of Fraunce with all the ryghtes, and appurtenaunces, ſhall remayne and abyde to vs, and bene of vs and oure heyres for euermore.

7 And foraſmuche as our ſayd father is withholden with diuerſe ſickneſſe, in ſuch maner as he maye not intende in his owne perſon for to diſpoſe for the needes of the foreſayde Realme of Fraunce: therefore during the life of oure foreſayde father, the facultyes and exerciſe of the gouernaunce and diſpoſition of the publique and common profite of the ſayd Realme of Fraunce, with Counſayle, and Nobles, and wiſe men of the ſame Realme of Fraunce, ſhall bee and abyde to vs: ſo that from thenceforth wee may gouerne the ſame Realme by vs. And alſo to admitte to our Counſayle and aſſyſtaunce of the ſayd Nobles ſuche as wee ſhall thinke meete, the whiche faculties and exerciſe of gouernaunce thus being toward vs, we ſhal labor & purpoſe vs ſpeedfully,

diligently,and truly,to that that may be & ought for to be,to the worſhip of God, and our ſayd father and mother, and alſo to the common good of the ſayde realme,and that realme with the counſaile and helpe of the worthie and great nobles of the ſame realme or to be defended,peaſed and gouerned after right and equitie.

8 Alſo that we of our owne power ſhal do the court of the Parliament in France to be kept and obſerued in his authoritie and ſoueraigntie, and in all that is done to it in all maner of places that now or in time comming,is,or ſhall be ſubiect to our ſayd father.

9 Alſo we ſo our power ſhall defend and helpe all & euery of the Peeres,Nobles, Cities, townes comunalties, and ſingular perſons, nowe or in time comming, ſubiectes to our father in theyr rightes,cuſtomes, priuiledges,freedoms,and frāchiſes,longing or due to thē in al maner of places now or in time comming ſubiect to our father.

10 Alſo we diligently and truly ſhall trauaile to our power, and do that iuſtice be adminiſtred & done in the ſame realme of France after yͤ lawes, cuſtomes,& rights of the ſame realm,without perſonall exception. And that we ſhall keepe & holde the ſubiects of the ſame realme in tranquilitie and peace,and to our power we ſhall defende them againſt all maner of violence and oppreſſion.

11 Alſo we to our power,ſhall prouide,and doe to our power,that able perſons and profitable bin taken to the offices as well of Juſtices and other offices, belonging to the gouernance of the Demaynes, and of other offices of the ſayde realme of Fraunce, for the good right and peaceable iuſtice of the ſame, and for the adminiſtration that ſhall be committed vnto them, and that they bee ſuche perſons, that after the lawes and rightes of the ſame Realme, and for the vtilitie and profite of oure ſayde father, ſhall miniſter, and that the foreſayde realme ſhal be taken and departed to the ſame offices.

12 Alſo tyat we of our power,ſo ſoone as it may commodiouſly be done, ſhall trauaile to put into the obedience of our ſayd father, all maner of Cities,townes,and caſtels, places,Countreys,and perſons within the realme of France, diſobedient, and rebels to our ſaide father, holding with them which been called the Dolphin or Arminack.

13 Alſo that we might the more commodiouſly, ſurely and freely done exerciſe and fulfill theſe things aforeſayd. It is accorded that all worthie nobles and eſtates of the ſame realme of France, aſwel ſpirituals as tēporals,& alſo cities notables & cōmunalties,& citizens, burgeſſes of townes of the realm of France,yͭ bene obeyſant at this time to our ſaid father,ſhal make theſe othes yͭ folowē.

14 Firſt to vs hauing the facultie,exerciſe diſpoſition,and gouernance of the foreſaid common profite to our heſtes and commaundements,theſe ſhall meekly and obediently obey and intend in al maner of things cōcerning the exerciſe of gouernance of the ſame realme.

15 Alſo that the worthie great nobles & eſtates of the ſaid realme,aſwel ſpirituals as temporals, and alſo cities and notable cōmunalties & citizens & burgeſſes of yͤ ſame realm in al maner of things wel & truly ſhall kepe & to their power ſhall doe to be kept of ſo much as to them belongeth or to any of them,all thoſe things that bene appoynted and accorded betwene our foreſayd father and mother and vs, with the counſaile of them whom vs lyſt to call to vs.

16 And that cōtinually frō the death, and after the death of our ſaid father Charles,they ſhall be our true liegemen,and our heyres, & they ſhall receiue and admit vs for their liege & ſoueraigne and very king of Fraunce, and for ſuch to obey vs without oppoſition,contradiction,or difficultie,as they ben to our foreſaid father during his life,neuer after this realme of France ſhal obey to mā as king or regēt of Frāce, but to vs & our heires. Alſo they ſhal not be in counſail,help,or aſſent that we leeſe life or lym,or be take with euill taking or that we ſuffer, harme, or diminution in perſon, eſtate, worſhip, or goodes, but if they knowe any ſuche thing for to be caſt or imagined againſt vs, they ſhall let it to their power, and they ſhall done vs to weten thereof,as haſtily as they may by themſelfe,by meſſage,or by letters.

17 Alſo that all maner of conqueſts that ſhuld be made by vs in Fraunce vpon the ſaide inobedients,out of the duchy of Normandy,ſhalbe done to the profit of our ſaid father,& that to our power we ſhal do that al maner of lāds & lordſhips that bene in the places ſo for to be conquered, longing to perſons obeying to our foreſaide father which ſhal ſweare for to kepe this preſent accord,ſhall be reſtored to the ſame perſons to whō they long to.

18 Alſo that all maner of perſons of the holye Church,beneficed in the duchie of Normandie,or any other places in the realme of Fraunce,ſubiect to our father,and fauoring the partie of the dukes of Burgoigne, which ſhall ſweare to keepe this preſent accorde, ſhall reioyce peaceably theyr benifices of holy Church in the duchie of Normandie,or in other places next aforeſayde.

19 Alſo likewiſe al maner of perſons of holye church,obedient to vs & beneficed in the realme of Frāce,& places ſubiect to our father,yͭ ſhal ſweare to kepe this preſēt acord ſhal inioy peaceably their benefices of holy church in places next aboueſayd.

20 Alſo that all maner of Churches vniuerſities and ſtudies general, and all colledges of ſtudies & other colledges of holy church being in places now or in time comming ſubiect to our father or in yͤ duchy of Nor. or other places in yͤ realme

of France,

Fraunce ſubiect to vs ſhall enioy their rights and poſſeſſions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties, & franchiſes, longing or due to them in any maner of wiſe in the ſaid realm of France, ſauing the right of the crowne of France, and euery other perſon.

21 Alſo by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the crowne of Fraunce, the Duchie of Normandie and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce, ſhall bow vnder the cõmaundement, obeyſance and Monarchie of the crowne of France.

22 Alſo that we ſhal force vs, & do to our power that recompence be made by our ſaid father without diminution of the crowne of Fraunce to perſons obeying to him, & fauoring to that partie ẏ is ſaid Burgoigne, to whõ longeth landes, lordſhips, rents, or poſſeſſions in ẏ ſaid duchie of Normandie, or other places in the realme of Fraunce, conquered by vs hither toward, giuẽ by vs in places, & lands gotten or to be gotten, & ouercome, in the name of our ſaid father vpon rebels & inobedients to him. And if ſo be that ſuch maner of recõpence be not made to the ſaid perſons, by the life of our ſaid father, we ſhall make that recompence in ſuch maner & places, of goods when it hapneth by Gods grace to the crowne of France. And if ſo be that the lands, lordſhips, rentes or poſſeſſions, the which lõgeth to ſuch maner of perſons in the ſaid duchy & places be not giuen by vs, the ſame perſõs ſhalbe reſtored to them without any delay.

23 And during the life of our father, in al places now or in time cõming ſubiect to him, letters of cõmon iuſtice, & alſo grants of offices and giftes, pardons or remiſſions, & priuiledges ſhalbe written and proceed vnder the name & ſeale of our ſaid father. And forasmuch as ſome ſingular caſe may fall, that may not be forſeene by mans wit, in the which it might be neceſſarie & behouefull, that we do write our letters, in ſuch maner caſe if any hap for the good and ſuretie of our father, and for the gouernance that longeth to vs, as is beforeſayd, & for to eſchewen perils that otherwiſe might fal, to ẏ preiudice of our ſayd father, to write our letters, by the which we ſhal cõmaund, charge, & defende after the nature & qualitie of the neede, in our fathers behalfe and ours as Regent of France.

24 Alſo that during our fathers life, wee ſhall not call nor write vs king of Fraunce, but verily we ſhall abſteyne vs from that name, as long as our father liueth,

25 Alſo that our ſayd father during his life ſhal nempe, call, and write vs in Frenche in this maner. *Noſtre treſchier filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretere de Fraunce.* And in Latine in this maner. *Præclariſſimus filius noſter Henricus rex Angliæ & hæres, Franciæ.*

26 Alſo that we ſhall put none impoſitions or exactions, or do charge the ſubiectes of our ſayde father without cauſe reaſonable and neceſſary, ne otherwiſe than for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the ſaying and aſking of the lawes and cuſtomes reaſonable approued of the ſame realme.

27 Alſo that we ſhall trauaile to our power to the effect and intent, that by the aſſent of the three eſtates of either of the realmes of France & England, that all maner of obſtacles may be done away, & in this partie, that it be ordeyned & prouided, that frõ the time that we or any of our heires come to the crowne of France, both the crownes, that is to ſay of Fraunce & England perpetually be togither in one and in the ſame perſon, that is to ſay, from our fathers life to vs, & from the term of our life thenceforwarde in the perſons of oure heyres, that ſhall bee one after another, and that both realmes ſhall be gouerned from that wee or any of our heyres come to the ſame, not ſeuerally vnder diuerſe kings in one time, but vnder the ſame perſon whiche for the time ſhall bee king of both the realmes, and our ſoueraigne Lorde (as it is before ſayd,) keeping neuertheleſſe in all maner of other things to eyther of the ſame Realmes, theyr rightes, libertyes, cuſtomes, vſages, and lawes, not making ſubiect in any maner of wiſe one of the ſame realmes to the rights, lawes, or vſages of that other.

28 Alſo that thenceforwarde, perpetually, ſhall be ſtill reſt, and that in all maner of wiſe, diſſentions, hates, rancours, enuies and warres, betwene the ſame realmes of Fraunce and Englande, and the people of the ſame realmes, drawing to accord of the ſame peace, may ceaſſe and be broken.

29 Alſo that there ſhal be frõ henceforward for euermore, peace and tranquilitie, and good accord and cõmon affection, & ſtable friendſhip betwene the ſaid realmes, and their ſubiects beforeſaid: the ſame realms ſhal kepe themſelues with their coũſaile, helpes, and common aſſyſtence againſt all maner of men that enforce them for to doen or to ymagin wrõgs, harms, diſpleaſures, or grieuãces to them or either of them. And they ſhalbe cõuerſant and marchandiſen freely and ſurely togither, paying the cuſtom due and accuſtomed. And they ſhal be conuerſant alſo, that all the confederates & alies of our ſayd father and the realme of Fraunce aforeſayd, and alſo our confederates of the realme of England aforeſayd, ſhall in. viij. Monethes frõ the time of this accord of peace, as it is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accorde, and will bee comprehended vnder the treaties and accorde of this peace, ſauing neuertheleſſe eyther of the ſame crownes, and alſo all maner actions, rightes & reuenues, that longen to our ſayd father and his ſubiects, and to vs and our ſubiectes, againſt all maner of ſuch allies and confederates.

30 Alſo neither our father, neither our brother the duke of Burgoine ſhall begin, ne make wyth Charles, cleping himſelf the Dolphin of Viennes, any treatie, or peace, or accord, but by counſel and aſſent of all & eche of vs three, or of other the three eſtates of either of the ſaide realmes aboue named.

31 Alſo that we with aſſent of our ſayde brother of Burgoigne, and other of the nobles of the realme of Fraunce, the which thereto owen to be called, ſhal ordeyne for the gouernance of our ſaid father ſekerly, louingly, and honeſtly after the aſking of his royall eſtate and dignitie, by the maner that ſhall be to the worſhip of God, and of our father, and of the realme of Fraunce.

32 Alſo all maner of perſons, that ſhall bee about our father to do him perſonal ſeruice, not only in office, but in all other ſeruices, aſwel the nobles & gentles as other, ſhall be ſuch as hath beene borne in the realm of France, or in places longing to Fraunce, good, wiſe, true and able to that foreſayd ſeruice. And our ſaide father ſhall dwell in places notable of his obedience, and no where elſe. Wherefore we charge and commaunde our ſayd liege ſubiectes, and other being vnder our obedience that they keepe and doe to be kept in all that longeth to them, this accorde & peace after the forme and maner as it is accorded. And that they attempt in no maner wiſe, any thing yͭ may be preiudiciall or contrarie to the ſame accorde & peace, vpon payne of life and lymme, and all that they may forfeyte agaynſt vs. Yeuen at Troes, the xxx. day of May. 1420. and proclamed in London the. xx. day of Iune.

33 Alſo that we for the things aforeſayde, and euery one of them, ſhall giue our aſſent by our letters patents, ſealed with our ſeale vnto our ſayde father, with all approbation and confyrmation of vs, and all other of our bloud royall, and all other of the Cities and townes to vs obedient. Sealed with our ſeales accuſtomed. And further oure ſayde father beſydes hys letters Patentes ſealed with oure greate Seale, ſhall make or cauſe to bee made Letters approbatorie, and confyrmations of the Peeres of his Realme, and of the Lordes, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the ſame vnder hys obedience. All whiche Articles, wee haue ſworne to keepe vppon the holye Euangeliſtes.

Tho. VValſ.

The. xiiij. of Iune being Frydaye, there was a ſolemne Proceſſion at London, and a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, in whiche the Preacher openly declared the effect of the kings maryage, and the articles cōcluded vpon the ſame, by reaſon wherof (he ſayd) there muſt be a new great ſeale deuiſed, and the olde broken, and in the newe the kings name with a newe addition of his tytle as Regent of Fraunce, & heyre apparant of that kingdome was to be engraued.

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Beſide the league thus concluded by K. Henrie with the French king, and the whole bodie of the realme of France, there was a priuate league accorded betwixt him and the Duke of Burgoin the effect whereof was comprehended in articles as followeth.

Firſt, that the duke of Burgoigne ſhould procure this peace lately before concluded, to be obſerued firme and ſtable in all couenants & poynts therof ſo farre as he by any meanes might further the ſame: in conſideration wherof, one of the brethren of king henry ſhould take to wife one of the ſaid duke of Burgoigne his ſiſters. That K. Hērie ſhould euer haue in ſingular fauor the ſaid D. of Burgoigne, as his moſt dere brother, & ſupport him in all his rights. That the ſaid duke after the deceaſſe of king Charles ſhuld take an othe of fealtie to be true to king Henrie & his heyres according to the forme & tenor therof before expreſſed, & ſhuld in al things be friend to k. H. & his heires for euer. That k. Henry ſhuld do his vttermoſt endeuor, that due puniſhment might bee had for the murther of Duke Iohn, father to the ſayd Duke of Burgoigne, aſwell vpon Charles that named himſelfe Dolphin, as vpon others that were guiltie and priuie to that murther: If the ſayd Dolphin chanced to be takē, either in battail or town beſieged, or if any other chanced ſo to be taken, that ſhould be proued guiltie or priuie to the murther of the ſayd duke Iohn, he ſhould not be deliuered without iuſt puniſhment for his deedes, nor without the cōſent of the two kings Charles and Henrie, & of the three eſtates of both the realmes. In conſideration of the great diligence, and painfull trauaile ſuſteyned by the duke of Burgoigne, it was alſo agreed, that he ſhould haue by Patent graunted of king Charles and Queene Iſabella fee of. xx. thouſand pounds Pariſien, of yerely reuenues, aſſigned forth neare to the confines of his Countrey, to enioy the ſame to him and to hys wyfe the Duches Michel, and to the heires males betwixt them two lawfully begotten, to the obteyning wherof, king Henry ſhould ſhew all hys furtherance; & if it might not be brought to paſſe till king Henrie had obteyned the Crowne of Fraunce, then ſhould hee ſee the ſame performed, vpon the receyuing of his homage.

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The king of Englande after all the articles of the ſaid treaties and agreements were concluded, paſſed & ſworne vnto, made to the French K. the duke of Burgoigne, & other the French Lordes, a ſumptuous banquet, & before they departed frō the ſame, he ſadly and ſoberly made to thē a right pithie and ſentētious oration, declaring to thē both how profitable the ioyning of the two kingdomes ſhoulde bee to the ſubiectes of the ſame, and alſo the right that hee had thereto, being by lyneall diſcent of the womans ſide, (which is the ſureſt,) rather a Frenchman than an Engliſhman, and though he was an Engliſhman borne, yet he aſſured them to tender the wealth of the Realm of France, as much as he would the aduancement of his owne natiue Countrey of England: herewith, hee inueyghed againſte Charles the Dolphin, being the head and onely mainteyner of all the ciuil diſcord, whoſe wicked nature, and cruel diſpoſition, did wel appeare in the murther of the late Duke of Burgoigne, he therfore willed thẽ, according to their ductie, othe, and agreement, to ſtand with him, and help to reduce ſuche a ſtubborne and diſloyall ſonne, vnto the obeyſance of his father K. Charles, that hee might ſhew himſelfe conformable vnto ſuche orders and decrees, as they had taken, appointed, and agreed vpon: and for his parte, he promiſed to worſhippe, loue, and honor his father in lawe yͤ ſaid K. Charles, in place of his owne father, according to the true meaning of this concorde and agreemente, truſting the ſame to bee a peace finall. And to conclude, he promiſed, that if they ſhewed thẽſelues true and loyall to him, according to the ſame agreement, the Ocean Sea ſhould ſooner ceaſſe to flow, and the bright ſunne loſe his light, than he woulde deſiſt from doing that whiche became a Prince to do to his ſubiect, or a father to his naturall child. When hee had thus perſwaded the nobilitie, and diſpatched his buſineſſe at Troies, he with all his armie, hauing with him the frẽch King, and the Duke of Burgoigne, departed frõ thence the fourth of June, and vpon the ſeuenth day of the ſame moneth, came before the towne of Sens in Burgoigne, which held on the Dolphins part, but after four days ſiege, it was yeelded vnto the King, and there he made Captaine, the Lord Genuille. From thence, hee remoued to Monſtreaw ou fault Yonne, which towne was taken on the three and twentith day of June, by aſſault, and many of the Dolphins part apprehended, before they could get to the Caſtell.

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Whileſt yͤ ſiege lay there, and before yͤ towne was entred, the Duke of Bedforde came thither vnto the K. bringing with him a faire retinue of Souldiers out of England. After the getting of the Towne, the Caſtell being well vittelled and manned, denyed to render, and therefore was it enuironed with a ſtrong ſiege, during yͤ which, the Duke of Burgoigne was enformed, in what place of the towne the Duke his father was buried, who was ſlaine there (as before you haue heard) and now his corps was taken vp againe by his ſonnes appointmente, and feared, and ſo conueighed vnto Digeon in high Burgoigne, & there buryed by his father D. Phillip. Bycauſe they within the Caſtell of Monſtreaw, gaue opprobrious wordes to the kings Herrault that was ſente to them, the King cauſed a gibet to bee ſet vp before the Caſtell, on the which were hanged twelue priſoners, all Gentlemen, and friendes to the Captaine named Monſ. de Guitrie, who at length, perceiuing that by no meanes he could be ſuccoured, and fearing to be taken by force, begã to treate with the King of Englande, who for the ſpace of eight dayes would hearken to none of his offers, but in concluſion, hee and his rendred themſelues ſimply, their liues only ſaued, ſixe weekes after they had bin beſieged. The erle of Warwike was made Captaine, both of the Towne and Caſtell, who fortified it with men, munition, and vittailes. The King departing from thence, came to Melun vppon Seine, the thirtenth day of July, and beſieged it rounde about, hauing then in company with him yͤ french King, and the yong King of Scottes, the dukes of Burgoigne, Clarence, Bedford, Glouceſter, & Bar, the Prince of Orange, and one and twentie Earles, beſides Lords, Barons, and knights, equall to Lordes in degree, to the number of 57. what of England and Frãce, and beſide alſo fifteene maiſter ſouldiers. This ſiege continued the ſpace almoſt of ſeauen monethes, or as Thomas Walſ. hathe, fourteene weekes, and foure days, with ſkirmiſhing, ſcaling, aſſaulting, and defending, to the loſſe no doubt of both partes. Captain of this towne, was one Monſ. de Barbaſon, a Gaſcoigne of ſuche experience and approued valiãcie in warres, that his renowne was ſpred through the world. At the firſt laying of the ſiege, he called all the Souldiers there in garriſon, and likewiſe the townesmen afore him, and warned them all on paine of deathe, that none of them ſhould bee ſo hardie, as to treate, or once to motion any word of ſurrendring the towne, or of comming to any compoſition or agreemẽt with the two kings, except they made him being their Captaine, priuie thereto, before they attẽpted any ſuch thing. In the meane ſeaſon, yͤ frẽch Queene, the Queene of England, and the Duches of Burgoine, lying at Corbeill, came dyuers times to viſit their huſbãds, and to ſee their friendes, whome the King of Englande highly feaſted, & louingly enterteined, that euery creature reported great honor of him. This Towne of Melun ſeemed very ſtrong, both by reaſon of the riuer of Saine, which compaſſed part therof, & alſo by ſtrong walles, turrets, ditches, and bulwarkes made about it. The K. therefore to take away all the iſſues & entries from them within, made a bridge ouer the riuer, able to beare horſes and carriage: and againe, appointed dyuers boates, furniſhed with men of warre, to keepe the ſtreame, ſo yͤ they within ſhould haue no way to come abrode, either by water or lãd: yet one day, the Frenchmen ſallied forth, and aſſailed yͤ Engliſh lodgings, where the Erle of Warwike was

It held not out ſo lõg as ſhuld appere by Titus Liuius, who ſaith, that it was rendred the fourth of Iulye.

Melun beſieged by kyng Henry.

Eighteene wekes haue the Chronicles of Flaunders.

Titus Liuius.

Monſieur de Barbaſon a valiant captaine.

Titus Liuius

encamped on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, not far from the D. of Burgoigne, but by the valiannt prowes & manly courage of the Engliſhmen, the enimies were eaſily beaten backe, and conſtreyned to retire into the Towne againe, with theyr loſſe.

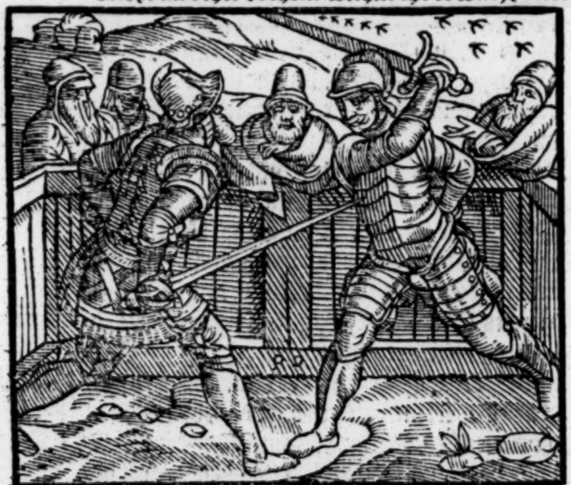
The duke of Bauiere commeth to king Henry with a number of horſemen.

Heere is to be remembred, that during thys ſiege before Melun, there came to the K. the D. of Bauiere, yͤ kings brother in law, but the kings ſiſter that had bin married to him, was not then liuing, and brought with him ſeuen hundred wel appointed horſemẽ, which were reteined to ſerue the K. and right worthely they bare themſelues, and therefore moſt liberally recompenced at the kings hande, for the time they continued in hys ſeruice. The K. enforced this ſiege by all wayes & meanes poſſible, to bring the towne into ſubiection, as well by mines as otherwiſe, but they within yͤ towne ſo valiantly behaued thẽſelues, as well by coũtermines, whereby at length they entred into yͤ kings mines, as by other wayes of reſiſtaunce, that by force of aſſaultes it was not thought any eaſie matter to winne the ſame.

The tranſlator of Tit. Liuius.

K. Henry and Monſire Barbaſon fighte hand to hand.

It fortuned one day, that whileſt ther roſe a cõtention betwixt two Lords of the kings hoſt, who ſhould haue the honor to goe firſt into yͤ mine, to encounter with yͤ frẽchmen, yͭ now had brought their mine through into yͤ engliſh mines, & made barriers betwixte, that they might ſafely come & fight with the Engliſhmen: the K. to auoide the ſtrife, entred the mine himſelfe firſt of all other, & by chance, came to fight hande to hand with the L. Barbaſon, that was likewiſe entred yͤ myne before all other of them within the towne, & after they had fought a good ſeaſon togither, at lẽgth they agreed to diſcouer to eyther other their names, ſo as yͤ L. Barbaſon, firſt declaring what he was, yͤ K. likewiſe tolde him, that he was the K. of England, whereuppon, Barbaſon perceyuing with whome he had fought, cauſed yͤ barriers forthwith to be cloſed, and withdrew into yͤ Citie, & the K. returned backe to his campe.



At length, vittailes within the town began to faile, & peſtilence began to waxe hote, ſo that the Lord Barbaſon began to treate, and in concluſion, about the middes of Nouember (as Fabian hath) the towne was yeelded vpon certaine conditiõs, whereof one was, that all yͭ were conſenting to the death of yͤ D. of Burgoigne, ſhoulde be delyuered to yͤ K. of England, of whom the L. Barbaſon was ſuſpected to be one.

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The K. ſente them vnder the conduit of his brother the D. of Clarence, to the Citie of Paris, whereof yͤ french K. made him Captaine, & ſo at his cõming thither, he toke poſſeſſiõ of yͤ Baſtill of S. Anthonie, the Loure, yͤ houſe of Neelle, & the place of Boys de Vincennes.

Titus L

Monſ. de Barbaſon was accuſed by the D. of Burgoigne, and his ſiſters as giltie to their fathers death, but he in open Court defended himſelfe, as not giltie of that crime, granting indeede and cõfeſſing, yͭ he was one of yͤ familiar ſeruants to the Dolphin, but yͭ he was priuie or cõſenting to yͤ death of the D. of Burgoigne, he vtterly denied: wherevpon, he was not condemned, neither yet acquited, by reaſon of ſuche preſumptions & coniectures as were alledged and brought againſt him, ſo yͭ he remained in priſon at Paris & elſe where, yͤ ſpace of nine yeres, til at length, beeing broughte vnto Caſtel Galliard, it chanced yͭ the ſame Caſtell was won by thoſe of the Dolphins partie, & he being as then priſoner there, eſcaped out of danger, & ſo by that meanes was ſet at libertie, as after ſhall appeare.

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Some write, yͭ he had bin put to death, if he had not appealed from K. Henries ſentence, vnto the iudgement of yͤ officers at armes, alledging, that by yͤ lawe of armes, no man hauing his brother in armes within his danger, afterwardes ought to put him to deathe for any cauſe or quarell, & that he was the kings brother in armes he proued it, for yͭ he had fought with him hãd to hand within yͤ mines (as before ye haue heard) which combate was thought of equall force by the Heraults as if he had fought wͭ the K. body to body, wͭin ſolemne liſtes. But for yͤ credite of this matter, we leaue it to yͤ cõſideration of yͤ Readers. The erle of Hũtingtõ, was made Captaine of Melũ, & from thence, yͤ K. departed with his army vnto Corbeil, where yͤ french K. & the two Queenes then ſoiourned, & after, both yͤ kings accompanied wͭ the dukes of Bedford, Burgoine, Glouceſter, & Exeter, & the Erles of Warwike & Saliſburie, wͭ a great nũber of noble mẽ & knights, ſet forth towards Paris, whome the Citizens in good order met without the gates, & the Clergie alſo wͭ ſolemne proceſſiõ: all the ſtreetes wer hãged with rich clothes, the two kings rode togyther (the K. of England giuing yͤ vpper hand to his father in lawe) through yͭ great Citie of Paris, to our Lady Church, where after they hadde ſaide their deuotions, they departed to their lodgings,

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gings, the french K. to yͤ houſe of S. Paule, and yͤ K. of Englãd to yͤ Caſtel of Loure. The next day, the two Queenes made their entrie, & were receiued with like ſolemnities, as their huſbands were yͤ day before. During yͤ ſeaſon yͭ theſe two Kings lay in Paris, there was a great aſſemble called, as wel of yͤ ſpiritualtie, as of the nobles of yͤ tẽporaltie, in yͤ whiche, the kings ſate as Iudges, before whom, the Duches of Burgoigne, by hir proctor, appealed the Dolphin, & ſeuen other, for the murther of D. Iohn hir huſband. To the which appeale, the counſell of yͤ other part made diuers offers of amẽds, as wel of foundations of Chãtries for prieſts, to pray for yͤ ſoule, as recõpence of money to the widowe & children, for the final determination wherof, yͤ kings to take further aduice therein, appointed another day. At this ſame time, yͤ three eſtates of the Realme of France aſſembled at Paris, & there euery perſon ſeuerally ſware vpõ the holy Euãgeliſt, to kepe, ſupport, mainteine, & defend the treatie and finall accord, which was concluded betweene the two kings, & therto euery noble mã, ſpirituall gouernor, & tẽporal ruler, ſet too their ſeales, which inſtrumẽts wer ſent to yͤ kings treaſurie of his Eſchequer at Weſt. ſafely to be kept, wher they yet remaine. The french K. at yͤ ſame time, being in good & perfect ſtate of health, opẽly there in Parliamẽt declared, yͭ the peace was cõcluded, accorded, & made by his free aſſent, & with yͤ aduice of al yͤ counſell of France, & that he woulde for hys owne part, & that his ſucceſſors ought for theyr parts, obſerue & keepe yͤ ſame, with al the articles therin cõteined. And likewiſe, that al his ſubiects were bound for euer, to obſerue & keepe the ſame, without breaking or doing any thing preiudicial therto. During the time yͭ the two kings thus ſoiourned in Paris, the french king kept a ſmall port, very few, & thoſe of yͤ meaner ſort reſorting vnto his Court, but the K. of Englãd kept ſuch a ſolemne ſtate, wͭ ſo plẽtifull an houſe, & ſhewed himſelfe ſo bountiful in giftes, & ſetting forth of warlike ſhewes & princely paſtimes, that all the noble mẽ & other reſorted to his palace, to ſee his eſtate, & to do him honor. He toke vpõ him as regẽt of France, to redreſſe cauſes, remoue officers, reforme things yͭ were amiſſe, and cauſed a newe coigne to be made, called a Salute, wherin were yͤ armes of France, & the armes of England and Frãce quarterly ſtamped. Alſo, to ſet al things in quiet, he cõſtituted ſir Gilbert Vmfreuile Captain of Melũ, wͭ a good nũber of valiant Souldiers, to remaine there in garriſon, & the Earle of Hũtingtõ, couſin germaine to the K. was deputed Captaine at Blois de Vincenes, & the Duke of Exeter, wͭ fiue C. men of warre, was aſſigned to keepe Paris. The D. of Bauier about yͤ ſame time, wͭ the kings licence, departed into his coũtrey, both he & his retinue, receiuing large giftes of yͤ kings greate liberalitie, and amongſt other things, the K. gaue to him a cup of golde, garniſhed & ſet with pretious ſtones of great price and value. Moreouer, he had a penſiõ giuen him of a M. markes by yere, vnder the kings letters patents, to be had & receiued of yͤ kings free & liberal grant, during the life of the ſaid Duke.

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When the King had thus ordred his buſines, he wͭ the Q. his wife, the princes, & nobles of the Realme departed frõ Paris yͤ ſixth of Ianuarie, & came to Rouen, but firſt before his departing, he cauſed proces to be made & awarded forth againſt Charles yͤ Dolphin, cõmanding him to appeare at the marble table at Paris, where for lacke of appearance, hee was with al ſolemnitie in ſuch caſe requiſite, denoũced giltie of yͤ murther & homicide of Iohn D. of Burgoigne, & by the ſentence of Parliament, baniſhed the realme: but yͤ Dolphin withdrew into Languedoc, and after to Poictiers, getting to him ſuch friends as he could, & namely, he found yͤ erle of Arminacke very faithfull to him, not only aiding him with men, but alſo in his owne perſon, he continually ſerued him againſt all his aduerſaries. The K. of England comming to Roane, ſoiourned there a certain time, & receiued yͤ homage of all yͤ nobles of Normãdie, amõgſt whom, yͤ erle of Stafford did homage for yͤ countie of Perche, and Arthur of Britaigne lykewiſe for the countie of Iurie,

1421

These Counties they enioyed of the kings gift.

He alſo ordeined his Lieutenaunt generall, both of France & Normandy, his brother Tho. D. of Clarence, & his deputie in Normãdy was the Erle of Saliſburie. Whẽ the feaſt of Chriſtmas was paſſed, hee departed frõ Roane, wͭ the Q. his wife, & by Amiens came to Calais, wher he tooke ſhip the morow after Candlemas day, & landed at Douer, & came to Canterburie, & from thẽce to Eltham, & ſo through Londõ to Weſt. I paſſe ouer to write what ioy & triumph was ſhewed by the Citizens of Londõ, and of al other his ſubiects in euery place where he came. The King hymſelfe to render vnto God hys moſt humble and hartie thankes, cauſed ſolemne proceſſions to be obſerued and kept fiue dayes togyther in euery Citie and towne. After that done, he made great purueyance for the coronation of his Q. & ſpouſe, the faire Lady Katherine, whiche was done the daye of S. Mathie, beeing the 24. of Februarye, with all ſuch Ceremonies and princelyke ſolemnitie as apperteined, and as in yͤ Chronicles of Robert Fabian is at large expreſſed. After the ſolemne feaſt of the Coronation once ended. the King as well to viſit certayne places for deuotion, by way of pilgrimage, as alſo to ſee in what ſtate and order diuers parts of his Realm ſtoode, departed from the Q. appointing day and place where ſhe ſhould meete hym, and

He landed at Douer on Cãdelmaſſe euen ſayeth Tho. Walſingham.

K. Henry returneth into England with his new wyfe.

Tho. Walſing. ſaith, ſhe was crowned the firſt Sunday in Lent, whiche that yeare fell vpon the ninth of February. The coronation of Queene Catherine.

Iuſtice miniſtred by kyng Henry in progreſſe.

and ſo iourneyed forthe from place to place, thorough ſundry Countreys, as well of Wales as Englande, and in euery quarter where he came, hee heard with diligent care the complaintes of ſutors, & tooke order for the adminiſtration of iuſtice both to high and lowe, cauſing manie myſdemeanors to be reformed. At length he came to the town of Leyceſter, where he foũd the Quene according to the appointment before taken.

An. reg. 9.

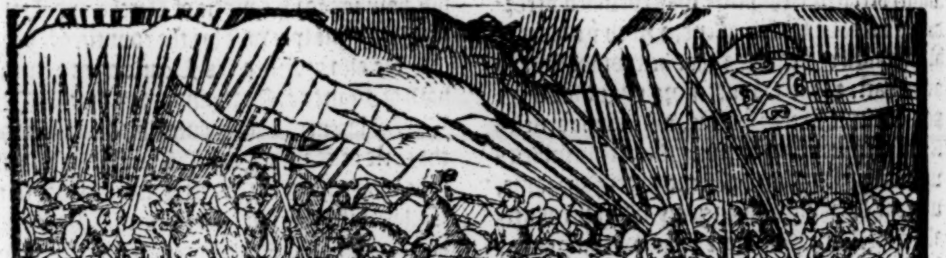
Heere at Leiceſter, he held the feaſt of Eaſter: but while theſe things wer thus adoing in England, the D. of Clarence, the Kings Lieutenant in France and Normandie, aſſembled togither all the garriſons of Normandie, at the Towne of Bernay, and from thence departed into yͤ coũtrey of Maine, and at Pont le Gene he paſſed the riuer of Yonne, and rode through all the Countrey to Lucie, where he paſſed the riuer of Loire, and entred into Aniou, and came before the Citie of Angiers, where he made many Knightes, that is to ſay, ſir William Ros, ſir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowlande Rider, ſir Thomas Beaufort, called the baſtard of Clarence, and diuers other. and after that hee had forrayed, brente, and ſpoiled the countrey, hee returned with pray and pillage, to the towne of Beaufort, in the valley, where he was aduertiſed, that a great number of his enimies, Frenchmen, Scottes, Spanyards, and other, were aſſembled togither, at a place called Viell Bauge, that is, olde Baugie, with the Duke of Alanſon, calling hymſelfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphin. The D. of Clarence had a Lombard reſorting vnto him, reteined with the parte aduerſe (his name was Andrewe Forguſa) of whome the Duke enquired the number of his enimies, to whome he reported, that their number was but ſmall, and not of puiſſance to match with halfe the power of hys ſtrong armye, entiſing him with aſſurance of victorie, to ſet on the Frenchmẽ. The Duke like a couragious Prince, aſſembled togither all the horſemen of the army, and left the archers vnder the guiding of the baſtard of Clarence, and two Portingales, Captaines of Freſney le Vicont, ſaying, that he onely and the nobles would haue yͤ honor of that iourney. Whẽ the D. was paſſed a certaine ſtraight and narrow paſſage, he eſpied his enimies raunged in good order of battell, by the monition of the Lombard, which had ſold him to his enimies, and his aduerſaries had laid ſuch buſhments at the ſtraights, that yͤ duke by no waies without battell, coulde either retire or flee. The Engliſhmen ſeing this, valiantly ſet on their enimies, which was four to one, by reaſon wherof, at length the Engliſhmen were oppreſſed with multitude, & brought to confuſion.

The duke of Clarence made a roade into Aniow.

Viel Baug or Baugi

Forguſa, Lombard trayeth the duke of Clarence.

The Englishmen discomfited.



The duke of Clarence and dyuers nobles of Englande ſlayne.

There were ſlaine, the Duke of Clarence, the Earle of Tankeruile, the Lord Ros, ſir Gilberte Umfreuile Earle of Angus, and ſir Iohn Lomley, Sir Robert Verend, and almoſt two thouſand Engliſhmen: and the Earles of Somerſet, Suffolke, and Perche, the Lorde Fitz Water, ſir Iohn Barkeley, ſir Raufe Neuile, Sir Henrye Inglis. ſir William Bowes, ſir William Logton, ſir Thomas Borough, and diuers other taken priſoners. And of the Frenchmen wer ſlaine about twelue hundred of the beſt men of warre they had, ſo that they gained not much. The baſtard of Clarence which tarried at Beaufort, being enformed of the great number of the Frẽchmen, made forward with al the archers, to come to the ſuccoure of the Duke, but they came to late, for the Frenchmẽ hearing of the approching of the archers, fledde with their priſoners, and left the body of the Duke, and other the dead carcaſes behind them. The archers buried them all ſauing the Dukes corps, whiche with great ſolemnitie was ſent into England, and buried at

Caunter-

Canterburie beſide his father. After this, yͤ Engliſhmen brent & ſpoiled the Countrey of Maine, and ſo returned to Alanſon, and after departed euery man to his garriſon. This battell was fought on Eaſter euen, in the yeare. 1421. But now to returne to the king. After he had kept his Eaſter at Leiceſter, hee with the Queene remoued, and wente Northwarde, till they came to Yorke, where they were receiued with great ioy of the Citizens, and other the nobles and Gētlemen of the countrey. The K. went vnto Beuerley, to viſit the ſhrine of S. Iohn, and immediately vpon his departure frō thence, the ſorowful newes of his brother yͤ D. of Clarence his death, came to him, for the which he was right penſiſe: but ſith mourning would not auaile, he called to remembrance what he had to do, and therevpon without delay, ſente Edmōd erle of Mortaigne, brother to the Erle of Sōmerſet into Normandie, giuing to him like authoritie & prehemineēce, as his brother the late deceaſſed D. of Clarence had before enioyed. After this, he called hys hygh Court of Parliament, in the whiche, he declared with ſuch great wiſedome and grauitie, the actes which had bin done in Fraunce, the eſtate of the time preſent, and what was neceſſarie to be prouided for the time to come (if they woulde looke to haue that iewell and high kingdome, for the whych they hadde ſo long laboured and ſought) that the communaltie gladly granted a fifteene, and yͤ Clergie beneuolētly offred a double diſme, and bycauſe no delay ſhoulde bee in the Kings affaires for lacke of paiment, the B. of Wincheſter the kings vncle leant vnto him twentie M. pound, to be receiued of yͤ ſame diſmes. Whē al things neceſſary for this iourney were ready and prepared, he ſent his brother the D. of Bedforde before him to Calais, with al his army, being as ſome write, four M. men of armes, and twentie M. archers and others, (though ſome haue written, that the whole armie paſſed not twelue M. of one and other.) The K. himſelfe ſhortly after, about yͤ middle of May, paſſed the Seas to Calais, & ſo frō thēce, he marched through yͤ Countrey vnto Boyes, de Vincennes, where yͤ french K. and the Quene as then ſoiourned. The D. of Burgoigne alſo that had receiued him at Monſtruell, attended him to Dowaſt in Ponthiew, & there hauing taken leaue of him for ſixe days, returned now again to him, according to his promiſe. Then did they cōſult togither, about their affaires, & appointed in al haſt to fighte with the Dolphin, & to reiſe the ſiege of Chartres whiche he had there plāted. Herevpon, the K. of Englād with al his puiſſance, came to yͤ town of Maūt, & thither repaired the D. of Burgoigne, but ere they departed from thence, they had knowledge, that the Dolphin hearing of the puiſſant army of the K. of England, approching towards him, was reculed with his people towardes Touers in Towraine, wherefore the K. of England incontinently, did not onely ſend backe the Duke of Burgoigne into Picardie, to reſiſt yͤ attempts of ſir Iaques de Harecourt, which made war in that countrey for the Dolphin, but alſo appoynted the K. of Scottes, with the D. of Glouceſter, to beſiege the towne of Dreux. They comming thither about the. 18. of Iuly, planted ſiege on euery ſide, both of towne & Caſtell, & what with power of baterie, and other forcible meanes, ſo cōſtreined thē within, yͭ on the. 8. day of Auguſt, they cōpounded, that if no ſufficient reſcue came to reiſe the ſiege, before the end of twelue dayes next enſuing, both the towne and Caſtell ſhould be deliuered to the K. of Englands vſe, ſo as the ſouldiers might depart with their goods whither they would, except one Engliſhmā, which was knowen to be amongſt thē, being fledde for treaſon out of the kings dominions. On the twētith day of Auguſt, which was the day of the apointment, yͤ K. of Scottes receiued the towne & Caſtell, to the behoofe of his ſoueraigne L. the kyng of England, who during al the time of the ſiege, lay at Moraumall. The Towneſmen yͭ would remaine ſtill in their houſes, were ſworne to bee true ſubiectes to the K. and the other whyche refuſed, departed with the ſouldiers. The Engliſhman yͭ was excepted, was deliuered, according to the couenantes, and after executed, as hee had deſerued. The Earle of Worceſter was made Captaine of Dreux, and ſir Henrye Mortimer Bailiffe there. This done, the K. hearing that the Dolphin ſhould be at Baugencie aſſembling his power, haſted thitherwards, but at his comming into thoſe parties, he founde no appearance of enimies in yͤ field, & ſo he remained there a fifteene dayes, in which meane while, the Erle of Suffolke was ſent forth, to diſcouer the Countrey, & the K. wan by aſſault the towne of Baugencie, & after when vittailes began to faile, hee marched forward, meaning to purſue the Dolphin, but yͤ Dolphin doubting the Engliſh puiſſance, conueyed al yͤ vittailes forth of thoſe quarters, & retired himſelf to Bourges in Berrie, choſing that place as his ſureſt refuge, and therefore determined there to remaine, till Fortune turning his wheele, ſhould looke on them with a more fauorable countenance: heerof in ſcorne was he cōmonly called K. of Berrie. The K. of England followed, till vittailes and forrage began ſore to faile on al ſides, & then returning, paſſed towards Orleans, taking the Caſtel of Rouge Mont by aſſault: he ſtayed three dayes before Orleans, & from thence for want of vittailes, marched thorough Gaſtinois, til he came to Vigny-ſur Yōne, where he remained for a ſeaſon, to refreſh his

people

The King of Scots ſerueth King Henry.

Dreux beſieged, and rendred to the engliſhemen.

King Henry purſueth the Dolphin.

The Dolphin, why called K. of Berry.

Titus Liuius.

Les hiſtories des ducz de Normandie.

people that were ſore trauelled, in that painefull paſſed iourney, in which yͤ K. loſt not only many of his menne for lacke of vittailes, but alſo a great nũber of horſes and carriages. Some haue written, that about yͤ ſame time, he ſhould win the Citie of Sens, otherwiſe called yͤ kings new towne by ſurrender, but after hee had remained for a time at Vignie, wee finde that he remoued to Paris, where he was honorably receiued.

Shortly after, he conſidering with himſelfe yͭ the towne of Meaux in Brie beeing repleniſhed with enimies, was not to be ſuffered to remayne in that ſtate, in the middes of his new gottẽ ſubiects, determined to take away the open ſcruple yͭ might poiſon and infect the members, dwelling hard by: wherfore with a great number of Erles and Barons in his company, he came to beſiege it. This towne was no leſſe well vittelled than manned, and no better manned than fortified, ſo that the King could neither haue it to him delyuered at his pleaſure, nor gaine it by aſſaulte, without yͤ great loſſe of his people, yet neuertheleſſe, he determined not to depart, til he had gote it by one meane or other. The riuer of Marne deuided this towne into two parts, ſo that there was no entrie from the one into the other, but by a bridge, reiſed vp, & made ouer yͤ riuer, ſuſteined with many arches. The one parte is called the city, and the other *Le marche* being the ſtrongeſt & beſt fortified. The K. firſt lodged a mile off, in a Caſtel, and ſente the D. of Exeter to begin the ſiege, which he did, according to his inſtructions, vpon the ſixth of October. Shortly after, the K. himſelf came, & lodged in the Abbey of Pharon, the D. of Exeter in the Abbey *de Chage*, the erle of March at the grey Friers, & the Erle of Warwike directly againſte that parte that is called *la Marche*. They within defended themſelues right valiantly, ſo that the Engliſhmen were not al at their eaſe, but ſpecially through lacke of vittailes many dyed, & many fel ſicke, by reaſon wherof, no ſmall nũber returned home into Englande, where in yͤ meane time, on the firſte of Decẽber, a Parliamente was called and holden at Weſt. by the D. of Bedford, gouernor of the Realm in the kings abſence. In this Parliament, a fifteth was granted to the K. towards the maintenãce of the warres, the one moitie to be paid at Cãdlemas, and the other at Martiumas; of ſuch money, as at the time of the grante was currante.

The ſtrong towne of Meaux beſieged by the Engliſhmen.

A Parliament called by the Duke of Bedforde, the King beeing in France.

Windſore. The birth of King Henry the ſixte.

This yeare at Windſor, on the day of Sainct Nicholas in December, the Queene was delyuered of a ſon named Henry, whoſe Godfathers were Iohn Duke of Bedford, and Henry B. of Wincheſter, and Iaquete, or as the Frenchmen called hir, Iaqueline of Bauiere. Cõutes of Holland was his Godmother. The K. beeing certified hereof, as he lay at ſiege before Meaux, gaue God thankes, in that it hadde pleaſed his deuine prouidence to ſende him a ſon, which might ſucceede in his Crowne & ſcepter. But whẽ he heard reported the place of his natiuitie, were it that hee fantaſied ſome olde blind prophecie, or hadde ſome foreknowledge, or elſe iudged of his ſonnes fortune, he ſaide to the Lord Fitz Hugh his truſtie Chamberlaine theſe wordes, My Lorde, I Henrie borne at Monmouth, ſhall ſmall tyme reigne, and much get, & Henrie borne at Windſore, ſhall long reigne, and all leeſe, but as God will, ſo be it. The King held his Chriſtmas at the ſiege before Meaux, for he would not giue ouer that ſiege, although his army was greately diminiſhed, by reaſon of lacke of vittailes, extreame colde, foule weather, and other diſcommodities, that bredde great ſtore of diſeaſes and ſicknes among his people: notwithſtanding, all the helps and meanes that might bee, he deuiſed to remedie the ſame, ſo that beſide ſuch as dyed, as well of ſickneſſe as by the enimies hand, many returned home into their Countreys. But yet he ceaſſed not to continue the ſiege, beatyng the walles with hys ordinaunce, and caſting downe bulwarkes and rampiers on eache ſyde the Towne, made approches as well by water as land, with mightie engines deuiſed of bourds to defende the Engliſhmen, as they approched the walles, and gaue aſſaultes. The walles alſo were in diuers places vndermined. After this, the Engliſhmen found meanes, by bridges made of boates, to paſſe the riuer, but yet the Souldiers and other within, defended their rampiers, and breaches moſt ſtoutely, and with gunnes and quarrels ſtill ſhot at the Engliſhmen, of whome they ſlew many, and among other, the Earle of Worceſter was ſlaine, with a bullet of the great Artillerie, and the Lord Clifford, with a quarrel of a Croſſebowe, but yet the Engliſhmen ſtill wanne ground, and got neerer and neerer to the walles. They alſo wonne the chiefeſt part of a bridge from the enimies, and kepte watche and ward vppon and about the ſame. The Earle of Warwike had alſo taken a Vaumure from thẽ of the market place, built on the South ſyde thereof, able to receiue and lodge a good number of men, whiche ſeruing to good purpoſe, for the better bridling of them within, he cauſed to bee kept, and thus were they within Meaux ſore oppreſſed on euery ſide, ſo that in February, yͤ Captaines doubting leaſt the Citie could not be defended long, cauſed all the vittailes and goods to be conueyed into the market place, and retired all the men of warre into the ſame, leauing none in the other part of the Citie, but the commons, and ſuch as were not able to do any auailable ſeruice in warre. The King aduertiſed hereof, commãded in all haſt to aſſaulte the Citie, whiche was quickly done, ſo that the Citie by fine force, was within three houres taken and ſpoyled, and the ſame day, was the market place beſieged round about, and a Mille wonne, adioyning to the ſame.

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ſaileth
Fraunce.

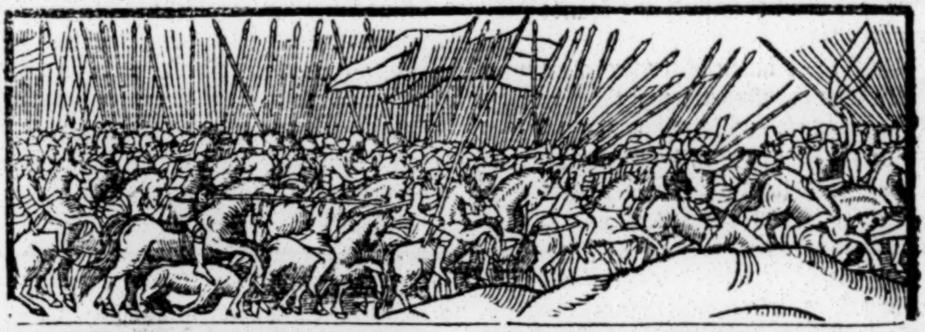
In April, the Queene paſſed ouer into Frāce, with a faire retinue of men, vnder the conduit of the Duke of Bedforde, the Duke of Glouceſter remayning Lorde gouernour of the Realme in his place.

At hir comming thither, ſhe was ſo welcommed, and honorably receiued, firſt of hir huſbād, and after of hir father and mother, that ſhee appeared to be no leſſe loued of hir noble huſbande, than of hir deere and naturall parents.

Mány

Whileſt the ſiege ſtill continued before Meaux, Oliuer Manny, a valiant man of warre of the Dolphins part, (which before was Captaine of Faleiſe, and yeelding it, ſware neuer to beare armour againſte the King of England) aſſembled a great number of menne of warre, as well Britaines as Frenchmen, that is to ſay, the lord Montborchier, the Lord of Coynon, the Lorde of Chatelgiron, the Lord Tintignace, the Lord de la Howſſay, and diuers other, whiche entred into the Countrey of Conſtantine in Normandie, and robbed and killed the Engliſhmenne, where they mighte either eſpie or take them at their aduantage, but the Earle of Suffolke, keeper of thoſe marches, hearing of their doings, ſent for the Lord Scales, ſir John Aſton Bailiffe of Conſtantine, Sir William Hall, Sir John Banaſter, and many other, out of the garriſons within that territorie, the which encountred with their enimies, at a place called *le Parke leueſque*, in Engliſh, the Biſhops Parke. There was a ſore fight and a long betwixte them, but finally, the Frenchmen were put to flight, ſo that in the conflict and chace were ſlaine, the Lorde of Coynon, the Lord of Caſtellgiron, and three hundred other: and there wer taken priſoners, the Lord de la Howſay, and Sir Oliuer Manny, with threeſcore others. The King pardoned ſir Oliuer Manny his life, though he ill deſerued ſo great a benefite, for that he had broken his othe and promiſe, but he was ſent into Englād, there to learne to ſpeake Engliſh, and ſo beeing brought to London, ſhortly after dyed, being as then a very aged man, and was buried in the white Friers.

A ſore conflict



The King lying ſtill before the market place at Meaux in Brie (as ye haue hearde) ſore beate the walles with his ordinance, and caſt downe Bulwarkes and rampiers on euerye ſide the Towne, ſo that he hadde made an open breache for his people to enter, wherof the Lord of Offemont beeyng aduertiſed, with a companye of choſen perſons ſente by the Dolphin, aſſayed in the night ſeaſon to enter the Towne, to the ſuccours of them within: but though diuers of hys people got ouer yͤ walles, by help of ladders whiche they had ſet vp, yet ſuch was his chance, that as he paſſed a plāke, to haue come to the walles, he fell into a deepe ditche, and in the meane time, the Engliſhmen perceyuing by the noyſe what the matter meant, came running to the ditche, tooke the Lorde of Offemont, and ſlewe dyuers of his company that ſtoode in defence.

Continuation des Chroniques de Flandres.

The Captaines within, perceyuing in what caſe they ſtoode, by reaſon their ſuccours were thus intercepted, and doubting to be taken by aſſault, for that they wanted munition and weapon, began to treate with the King of England, who appointed the Earle of Warwike, and the Lord Hungerford, to commune with them, and in concluſion, an accord was taken, and ſo the Towne and market place, with al the goods, were deliuered into the Kyng of Englandes handes, the tenth daye of May, in the yeare 1422.

Tit. Liuius.

The condition of the ſurrender of Meaux into the kings handes.

The appoyntmente taken with them of thys towne was this, that they ſhould yeeld thēſelues ſimply to the kings pleaſure, their liues onely ſaued: and herevpon, many of thē were ſente ouer into England, amongſt whome, was the B. of yͤ towne, which ſhortly after his ariuall heere, fel ſicke and dyed. There were alſo foure perſons excepted, agaynſt whome, the Kyng myghte by order of lawe and iuſtice, procede as hee ſawe cauſe, for theyr faultes and treſpaſſes committed. As firſte, the Capitaine of the towne, named the baſterde of Vauren, the whiche hadde done many greeuous oppreſſions to the people of the Countrey thereaboutes, in ſpoylyng them of their goodes, and ranſoming them at his pleaſure. He had alſo put diuers to death moſt cruelly, when they were not able to pay ſuch finance and raunſomes as he demaunded: whervppon, being now put to deathe himſelfe, his body was hanged vppon a tree that ſtoode on an hill without the towne, on the which, hee had cauſed both huſbandmen, and towneſmen, and other priſoners, to be hanged before time.

His ſtãdert alſo which was wont to be borne before him in battell, was ſet vp in the ſame tree.

The Bailiffe alſo of the towne, and two of the chiefeſt burgeſſes that had bin of counſell with him in his vnlawful doyngs, were lykewiſe executed.

Alſo beſyde theſe, there were founde in thys towne diuers that were accuſed to be giltie of the Duke of Burgoigne his deathe, wherefore they were putte to theyr triall, in the Parliamente at Paris, and ſome of them beeing founde giltie, were executed.

When the deliuerie of the ſtrong towne of Meaux was publiſhed through the Countrey, all the Townes and fortreſſes in the Iſle of Fraunce, in Lannoys, in Brie and in Champaigne, yeelded themſelues to the King of England, which appointed in the ſame valiant Captaines, and hardie ſouldiers.

After that hee had thus got poſſeſſion of Meaux, and the other fortreſſes, he returned agayne to Boys de Vincennes, and beeing there receiued of the King and Queene of Fraunce, and of the Queene his wife the thirtith day of May, being Whitſon euen, they remoued altogither vnto Paris, where the King of England lodged in the Caſtell of Loure, and the Frenche King in the houſe of Saint Paule.

The royall port of the K. of Englande.

Theſe two kings kept great eſtate with their Queenes, at this high feaſt of Pentecoſt, but the King of Englandes Court greatly exceeded, ſo that al the reſort was thither. The Pariſiẽs that beheld his princely port and high magnificence, iudged him rather an Emperour than a Kyng, and their owne King to be in reſpect to him like a Duke or a Marques. The Dolphin hauyng knowledge by eſpials where the King of England and his power lay, came with all his puiſſance ouer the riuer of Loyre, and beſieged Coſney, a towne ſcituate vpon that riuer, a ſixe ſcore miles diſtant from Paris, and appointed parte of his army to waſt and deſtroy the confynes of the Duchie of Burgoigne, to the intẽt to deuide the power of the Kyng of Englande, from the ſtrength of the Duke of Burgoigne, ſuppoſing as it came to paſſe indeede, that the Duke would make haſt towardes Burgoigne, to defende hys owne lands. In the meane time, they within Coſney were ſo hard handled, that they promiſed to render their towne to the Dolphin, if they were not reſcued by the King of Englãd within tenne dayes. King Hẽry hearing theſe newes, woulde not ſend any one creature, but determined to goe himſelfe, to the reyſing of that ſiege, and ſo with all diligence came to the Towne of Corbeil, and ſo to Senlis, where, (whither it were with heate of the ayre, or that he with hys daily labour were feobled or weakened) he began to waxe ſicke, yea and ſo ſicke, that hee was conſtreyned to tarrie, & ſend his brother the Duke of Bedford to reſcue them of Coſney, which he did, to his high honor, for the Dolphin hearing that the Duke of Bedford was comming to reiſe his ſiege, departed thence into Berrie, to his greate diſhonor, and leſſe gaine.

Coſney beſieged by the Dolphyn.

The kin leth ſick

Coſney ed by th of Bedf

Aboute the ſame time, the Duke of Britaine ſent his Chancellor yͤ Biſhop of Nauntes, with the Biſhop of Vannes, and others of his counſell, as Ambaſſadors from him vnto K. Henrye, with full commiſſion, to ratifie and allowe for him and his people the peace cõcluded at Troyes: but by reaſon of the Kings greeuous ſicknes, nothing as then was done in that matter.

Titus L

The Du Britayn deth a dors to of Engl

Neuertheleſſe, the Duke himſelfe in perſon came afterwardes to Amiens, and there performed that which he had appoynted his Ambaſſadors at this time in his name to haue done, and accompliſhed.

In the meane ſeaſon, King Henrye waxed ſicker and ſicker, and ſo in an horſelitter was cõueyed to Boys de Vincennes, to whome ſhortly after repared the Dukes of Bedforde & Glouceſter, and the Earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, whome the King louingly welcomed, and ſhewed himſelfe right glad of their preſence: and when he ſaw thẽ penſiue for his ſickneſſe & great danger of life wherin he preſently laye, he with many graue, curteous, & pithie wordes, recomforted them the beſt he could, and therwith exhorted them to be truſtie and faithfull vnto his ſon, and to ſee that he might be wel and vertuouſly brought vp, and as cõcerning the rule and gouernãce of his realmes, during the minoritie & yong yeares of his ſaid ſonne, he willed them to ioyne together in frendly loue and concorde, keping continuall peace and amitie with the duke of Burgoigne, and neuer to make treatie with Charles that calleth himſelfe Dolphyn of Vyenne, by the whyche any part eyther of the crown of France, or of the Duchies of Normandie and Guyenne may be leſſened, or dimyniſhed, and further, that the Duke of Orleauns, and the other Princes ſhoulde ſtyll remayne Priſoners, tyll hys ſonne came to lawfull age, leaſt retournyng home againe, they myght kindle more fyre in one day, than myght be quenched in three. He further aduiſeth thẽ, that if they thought it neceſſarye, that

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it ſhoulde be good to haue his brother Humfrey duke of Glouceſter to be protector of Englande, during the nonage of his ſonne, and his brother the duke of Bedford, with the helpe of the duke of Burgongne to rule and to be regent of France, commaunding him with fire and ſword to perſecute the Dolphyn, til he had either brought him to reaſon and obeyſance, or elſe to driue and expell hym out of the realme of Fraunce. And herewith he proteſted vnto them, that neyther the ambitious deſyre to enlarge his dominions, neyther to purchaſe vayne renowne and worldlye fame, nor any other conſideration hadde moued him to take the warres in hande, but onely that in proſecuting his iuſt title, he might in the end atteyn to a perfect peace, and come to enioy thoſe peeces of his inheritance, whiche to him of right belonged, and that before the beginning of the ſame warres, he was fully perſwaded by menne bothe wyſe and of greate holyneſſe of lyfe, that vppon ſuche intent, he myghte and ought bothe beginne the ſame warres, and follow them til he had brought them to an end iuſtly and rightly, and that without all daunger of Gods diſpleaſure or perill of ſoule.

Liuius.

The noble men preſent, promiſed to obſerue his preceptes, and to perfourme his deſires, but their hearts were ſo penſiue, and repleniſhed with ſorow, that one could not for weping, behold an other. Then he ſayd the .vij. pſalmes, and receyued the ſacrament, and in ſaying the Pſalmes of the Paſſion, ended his dayes here in this worlde, the laſt of Auguſt, in the yere a thouſand, foure hundred twentie and two.

arted

This Henry was a king, whoſe lyfe was immaculate, and his liuing without ſpotte. Thys king was a Prince whome all men loued, and of none diſdayned. This Prince was a captain againſt whome fortune neuer frowned, nor miſchance once ſpurned. This captain was a ſhepheard, whom his flocke both loued and obeyed. This ſhepheard was ſuche a Iuſticiarie, that lefte no offence vnpuniſhed, nor frendſhip vnrewarded. Thys Iuſticiarie was ſo feared, that all rebellion was baniſhed, and ſedition ſuppreſſed. Hys vertues were no more notable, than his qualities were worthie of praiſe: for in ſtrengthe and nimbleneſſe of bodie from his youthe, fewe were to hym comparable, for in wraſtling leaping, and running, no mã almoſt durſt with him preſume, in caſting of great iron barres and heauie ſtones he excelled commonly all menne. No colde made him ſlouthfull, nor heat cauſed him to ſhrinke, and when he moſt laboured, his head was vncouered. He was no more weary of harneſſe, than of a lyght cloake. Hunger and thirſte were not to him noyſome. He was neuer afearde of a wounde, nor ſorowed for the pain: He neyther tourned his noſe from euill ſauour, nor from ſmoake or duſt, hee woulde not cloſe his eyes: No man coulde be founde more temperate in eatyng and drynkyng, whoſe dyet was not too delicate, but rather more meete for menne of warre, than for dayntie and delicate perſons. Euery honeſt perſon was permitted to come to him, ſitting at his meale, and eyther ſecretely or openly to declare his mynde and intente. Highe and weyghtie cauſes as well betwene men of war & other, he wold gladly heare, and either determined them himſelf, or cõmitted them to other to giue ſentence: he ſlept very little, and that onely by reaſon of bodily labor and vnquietneſſe of minde, from the which, no ſmall noiſe coulde awake him, in ſo muche that when his ſouldiors either ſong in the nightes, or theyr mynſtrels played, that the campe ſounded therwith, he then ſlept moſt ſoundly: his corage was inuincible, and his heart ſo vnmutable, that fear was baniſhed from him. If any alarum chaunced to be raiſed by his enimies, he was firſt in armure, and the firſt that was ſet forward. In the time of warre he found meanes to get knowlege not only what his enimies didde, but what they ſaid, and intended, ſo that al things to him were knowne, and of his deuices fewe perſons before the thing was at the poynt to be done, ſhould be made priuie. He had ſuch knowledge in ordring and guiding an armie, and ſuch a gift to encourage his people, that the Frenchmẽ ſayd he could not be vanquiſhed in battayle. He had ſuch wit, ſuche prudence, and ſuche policie, that he neuer enterpriſed anye thyng, before he had fully debated it, and foreſeene all the mayne chaunces that mighte happen, and when the ende was once concluded, hee wyth all diligence and courage, ſette hys purpoſe forewarde. What pollicie he hadde in fyndyng ſodayne remedies, for preſente myſchieues, and what practiſe hee vſed in ſauyng him ſelfe and his people in ſodayne diſtreſſes, excepte by hys actes they dyd playnely appeare, I thinke it were a thyng almoſt incredible to be tolde. Meruayle it is to heare, howe he didde continually abſteyne hymſelfe from laſciuious lyuing and blynde auarice, in ſuche eſtate of wealth, richeſſe, and prouoking youth: yea in the tyme of loſſe he was no more ſadde, than in the time of victorie, whiche conſtancie fewe menne can vſe.

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tlykyng
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n Hall.

What ſhoulde I ſpeak of his bountyfulneſſe and liberalitie? No mã could be more free, gentle, and liberall, in beſtowyng rewardes to all perſons, according to their deſertes: ſaying that he neuer deſyred money to kepe, but to giue and ſpend. What ſhuld I ſay, he was the blaſing comete and apparant lanterne in his dayes. He was the myrroure of Chriſtendome, and the glorye of his countrey, the floure of kings paſſed, and the glaſſe of them that ſhoulde ſuccede. No prince had leſſe of his ſubiectes, & no kyng conquered more, whoſe fame by hys deathe liuely floriſhed, as his actes in his life were ſeene and remembred. The loſſe of ſuch a prince (ye may be ſure) was exceedingly lamented of his ſubiectes, blaming fortune, whiche had taken away ſo precious a Jewell, ſo noble ornament, and ſure defēce: for no doubt as much hope as was taken away from the engliſhmē for the getting of Fraunce, by his ſodain deathe, ſo much truſt was encreaſſed in the ſtomackes of the Frenche nation, to recouer their late loſſes. Peter Baſſet eſquier, whiche at the time of his death was his chāberlain affirmeth, that he died of a pleureſie, though other writers alledge otherwiſe: as the Scots, whiche write that hee died of the diſeaſe of ſaint Fiacre, which is a palſey and a crampe: Enguerant ſaith, that he died of ſaint Anthonies fier: but bycauſe a pleureſſe was ſo rare a ſickneſſe in that ſeaſon, and ſo ſtrange a diſeaſe, that the name was to the moſt parte of men vnknowen, and phiſitions were acquainted as litle with any remedy for the ſame, and therfore euery man iudged as he thought, and named a ſickneſſe that hee knewe, ſhooting not nere the prick, nor vnderſtanding the nature of the diſeaſe. This king reigned .ix. yeres .v. monethes and .xxiij. daies, and liued not full .38. yeares. He was of ſtature higher than the common ſort, of body leane, well mēbred & ſtrongly made, of face beautiful, ſomwhat long necked, blacke heared, ſtoute of ſtomacke, eloquent of tong, in martiall affaires a perfect maiſter, & of chiualry the very paragone. His body was embalmed and cloſed in lead, & layd in a chariot royall, richly apparelled with cloth of gold, vpon his corps was laid a repreſentation of his perſon, adorned with robes, diademe, ſcepter, & ball, lyke a king, the whiche chariot .vj. horſes drewe richly trapped, with ſeuerall armes, the firſt with the armes of ſaint George, the ſecond with the armes of Normandy, the thirde with the armes of king Arthur, the fourth with the armes of ſaint Edwarde, the fifte with the armes of Fraunce, and the ſixte with the armes of Englande and Frāce. On this chariot gaue attendaunce James king of Scots, the principall mourner, his vncle Thomas duke of Exceter, Richarde earle of Warwicke, the erle of Marche Edmund, the earle of Stafforde Hūfrey, the earle of Mortaigne Edmunde Beaufort, the lord Fitz Hughe Henry, the lorde Hūgerford Walter, ſir Lewes Robſert L. Bourchier, ſir John Cornwall lord Fanhope, and the lord Crumwell were the other mourners. The lord Louell, the lord Audeley, the lord Morley, the lord Sowche bare the baners of ſaints, and the baron of Dudley bare the ſtanderd, and the earle of Longuile bare the baner. The hachementes were borne onely by Capitaines to the number of .xij. and roūd about the chariot rode .v. C. mē of armes all in black armour and their horſes barded blacke with the but ends of their ſpeares vpwards. The conduit of this dolorous funeralles was cōmitted to ſir William Philip, Threaſourer of the kings houſhold, and to ſir William Porter, his chief caruer, and other. Beſide this, on euery ſide of the chariot wente .iij. C. perſons, holding long torches, and lords bearing baners, baneroles, and penons. With this funerall pompe he was conueied frō Bois de Wincēnes, to Paris, and ſo to Roan, to Abuile, to Calais, to Douer, and ſo through Londō to Weſtminſter, where he was buried with ſuche ſolemne ceremonies, ſuche mourning of lordes, ſuch prayer of prieſtes, ſuch lamenting of cōmons, as neuer was before thoſe days ſene in the Realme of England. Shortly after this ſolempne buriall, his ſorowfull Queene returned into England, and kepte hir eſtate with the king hir yong ſon. Thus ended this puiſſaunte Prince hys moſte noble and fortunate raigne, whoſe life (ſaith Hall) althoughe cruell Atropos abbreuiated, yet neyther fyre, ruſt, nor fretting time ſhall amongſt vs engliſhmen, eyther appall his honor, or blot out his glory, whiche in ſo few yeares, and ſhorte dayes, atchieued ſo high aduētures. Of lerned men & writers, theſe I finde remembred by Bale and others, to haue liued in the dais of this noble and valiant king Henry the fift. Fyrſt Alain de Linne, borne in Lynne, and profeſſed a Carmelite Frier in that town, and at length became Prior of that conuent, but proceeded doctor of diuinity in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and wrote manye treatiſes: Thomas Otterborne that wrote an hiſtorie of Englande, is thought to liue aboute this ſeaſon, he was a Franciſcan or grey Frier, as they called them, and a greate ſtudent bothe in diuinitie and philoſophy: John Seguarde an excellent Poet, and a Rhetoritian, he kepte a ſchoole, and read to his ſcholers in Norwich, as is ſuppoſed, writing ſundry treatiſes, reprouing aſwell the profaning of the Chriſtian religion in Monkes and Prieſtes, as the abuſe of poetrie in thoſe that tooke vppon them to write filthye Verſes, and rithmes: Roberte Roſe a Frier of the Carmelites order in Norwiche commonly called the white Friers, both an excellent Philoſopher, and a diuine, hee proceeded Doctor at Oxforde, he was promoted to bee Priour of his houſe, and wryting diuers treatiſes: amongeſt all the Sophiſtes of his tyme (as ſayeth Bale,) he offended none of the

He vvas of an indifferent ſtature neither to high nor to lowe of bodye ſlender and leane, but of a meruelouſe ſtrength, as Titus Liuius vvriteth.

Wicleuiſts, which in that ſeaſon ſet forth purely the worde of God, as maye appeare by hys workes: John Lucke, a Doctor of diuinitie in Oxford, a ſore enimie to the Wicleuiſts: Rich. Caiſter borne in Norffolke, Vicar of S. Stephens in Norwiche, a man of greate holyneſſe and puritie in lyfe, fauoring though ſecretly, the doctrine of Wicliffe, and reprouing in his Sermons, the vnchaſte marners and filthie example that appeared in the Clergie: Of Sir John Oldcaſtell Lord Cobham ye haue heard before: William Walleys a blacke Frier in Lyn, and prouinciall of his order here in England: Rich. Snetiſham, a ſtudent in Oxford, where he profited ſo greatly in lerning and wiſedome, that he was accōpted for the chiefeſt in all that vniuerſitie, in reſpect whereof he was made chancellor of the ſame, he was choſen alſo to be one of the xij. to examine and iudge vpon Wicliſes doctrine by the Archbi. of Canterbury: John Langdene a monk of Chriſts church in Canterbury, another of the. xij. that were choſen to iudge of Wicliſes opinions: William Taylor a prieſt, and a maiſter of arte in Oxford, a ſtedfaſt follower of Wiclefes doctrine, and was brente for the ſame in Smithfield at London, the ſecōd day of March in the yeare of our Lord. 1422. and laſt of Kyng Henry the fifths reigne: Richard Graſdale ſtudied in Oxforde, and was one of thoſe. xij. that were appointed to iudge of Wiclefs doctrine.

William Lyndwood a lawyer excellently learned, as well in the Ciuill as Canon lawes, hee was aduaunced to the ſeruice of this king Henry the fifth, and made by hym keeper of the priuye Seal, was ſent in ambaſſade bothe to the kyng of Spayne and of Portingale, aboute buſineſſe of moſt weightie importance. It is ſaid that he was promoted to the Biſhopryke of S. Dauid: Bartholomew Florarius, ſuppoſed (as Bale ſaieth) by Nicholas Brigham, to be an engliſhmā, wrote a treatiſe called *Florarium*, wherof he tooke his ſurname, and alſo an other treatiſe of abſtinence, in whiche he reproueth certaine corrupte maners in the clergie, and the profeſſion of Friers mendicants: Adā Hemmuclington, a Carmelite Frier, ſtudied both in Oxford and in Paris: William Batecombe is placed by Bale, about the tyme of other learned men, which liued in king Henry the fifthes tyme, but in what ſeaſon he liued, he ſaith he knoweth not: he was an excellent Mathematician, as by the title of hys workes which he wrote it ſhoulde appeare. Titus Liuius de Foro Lubiſijs lyued alſo in theſe dayes, and wrote the lyfe of this Henry the fifth, an Italian borne: but ſith he was bothe reſiant here, and wrote the lyfe of this Kyng, I haue thought good to place him among other of oure Engliſhe writers. One there was that tranſlated the ſayd hiſtorie into Engliſhe, adding as it were by waye of notes in manye places of that booke ſundrye thinges for the more large vnderſtanding of the hiſtorie, a copie wherof I haue ſeene belonging to John Stow citizen of London. There was alſo aboute the ſame tyme an other writer, who (as I remember) hath followed the ſayd Liuius in the order of his booke, as it were chapiter for chapiter, onely chaunging a good, familiar and eaſy ſtile, which the ſaid Liuius vſed, into a certayn Poeticall kinde of writing, a copie wherof I haue ſeene (and in the life of this king partly followed) belonging to maiſter John Twine of Kent, a lerned Antiquarie, and no leſſe furniſhed wyth olde and autentike monumentes than ripe iudgemente and ſkilfull knowledge for the perfect vnderſtanding therof, as by the fruites of his labors, parte wherof (as I am enfourmed) he meaneth to leaue to poſteritie, it will (no doubt,) ryght euidently appere.

1422
Henry the.6.
Anno.reg.1.

After that Death had bereft the worlde of that noble Prince King Henry the fyfth, his only ſonne Prince Henry, beyng of the age of nyne moneths, or thereaboute, wyth the ſounde of Trumpettes, was openly proclaimed kyng of England and of Fraunce the thirtie daye of Auguſt, by the name of Henrye the ſixte, in the yeare of the worlde Fyue thouſande, three hundred eightie and nyne, after the birth of our Sauiour. 1422. about the twelfth yeare of the emperour Fredericke the thirde, the fortie and two and laſte of Charles the ſixte, and the firſte of James the thirde king of Scotlande.

The cuſtodie of this young prince was appoynted to Thomas duke of Exceſter, and to Henry Beauforde Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, the duke of Bedford was deputed Regent of France and the Duke of Glouceſter was ordeyned protectour of Englande, whiche takyng vpon him that office, called to hym wyſe and graue counſellours, by whoſe aduice he prouided and tooke order as well for the good gouernemente of the Realme of Englande, and the ſubiectes of the ſame at home, as alſo for the mayntenaunce of the warres abroade, and further conqueſte to be made in Fraunte, appoynting valyant and expert capitaynes, whiche ſhoulde be ready, when neede required.

Beſide this, he gathered great ſummes of money to maynteyne men of warre, and left nothing forgotten that might aduance his purpoſed enterpriſes.

Whyle theſe things were a doing in Englande, the duke of Bedforde Regent of France, ſtudyed moſte earneſtly, not onely to keepe and well to order the countreys by king Henry late conquered, but alſo determyned not to leaue off from dayly warre and continuall trauayle, tyll the tyme that Charles the Dolphin (which was nowe a flote bycauſe king Charles his father in the Moneth of October in thys preſente yeare was departed to God) ſhoulde eyther bee ſubdued, or brought to due obeyſance.

And ſurely the death of this Kyng Charles, cauſed many alterations in the realm of France. For a great manie of the nobilitie, whiche before eyther for feare of the Engliſh puiſſaunce, or for the loue of this king Charles (whoſe authoritie they followed) helde on the Engliſhe part, didde nowe reuolt to the Dolphyn, endeuoring themſelues to driue the Engliſhe nation oute of the Frenche territories.

The Duke of Bedforde being greately moued wyth theſe ſodaine chaunges, fortified hys Townes bothe with garniſons of men and munitions of armour, weapon and victuals. He aſſembled alſo a great armie of Engliſhmen and Normans, and ſo effectuouſly exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their liege and lawfull lorde yong king Henry, that the hearts of many of the Frenche capitains willingly ſware to kyng Henry fealtie and obedience, by whoſe example the communaltie did the ſame.

Thus al the people being quieted, and the ſtate of the countrey eſtabliſhed in an order within the realme of France, nothyng was mynded but warre, and nothing ſpoken of but conqueſt.

The Dolphyn whiche laye the ſame tyme in the citie of Poictiers, after his fathers deceſſe cauſed hymſelfe to be proclaymed kyng of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the ſeuenth: And then beeyng in good hope to recouer his patrimonie, with an hault courage prepared warre, and aſſembled a greate armie: and firſte the warre beganne by light ſkirmiſhes, but it proceeded into mayne battayles. The Dolphyn thinking not to ſurceaſſe any occaſions of well doyng, ſente the Lorde Grauile to the towne of Pont Meulan, ſtandyng on the riuer of Seyne, who comming to the ſame vppon the ſodaine, the.xiiij. of Januarie, tooke it, and ſlewe a greate number of Engliſhe ſouldiors, whiche he found within it.

Pont Me
ſurpriſed
the Frenc

142
Enguer

When the Duke of Bedford, otherwyſe clepped the Regente of Fraunce was aduertiſed of thys ſodayn enterpryſe, he appoynted the Lorde Thomas Montacute earle of Saliſbury (a man both for his great policie and hault corage, fitter to be cõpared to the olde Romans than to mẽ of his days, accõpanied with the erle of Suffolk, the L. Scales, the yong L. Poinings, ſir Jo. Faſtolf maiſter of the houſhold with yͤ ſaid L. Regent, & diuers other, to beſiege yͤ ſaid town of Põt Meulan, which after.ij. monthes ſiege was rẽdred to yͤ ſaid erle, & the L. Grauile ſware to be true to the K. of England euer after that daye, but ſhortly after, he forgetting his othe, returned to his olde maſter again: The erle of Saliſbury apointed ſir Hẽry Mortimer, & ſir Ric. Vernõ captains of yͤ town: And frõ thẽce went into Chãpaigne, and there beſieged the towne of Sens, tooke it, & ſir Will. Marin the captaine within it, and ſlewe all the Souldiors that kepte that Towne, and made capitains there ſir Hugh Gedding, and ſir Richarde Aubemonde. In this ſeaſon Humfrey duke of Glouceſter, either blinded with ambition or doting for loue, maryed the Ladye Iaquet or Iaquelyn, daughter and ſole heire to William of Bauiere duke of Hollande, which was lauful wife to Iohn duke of Brabant then liuing, who afterwards what by force and what by ſpiritual compulſaries (as after ye ſhall heare) recouered hir out of the duke of Glouceſters handes.

The chances thus hapning as you before haue heard, Iohn Duke of Bedforde, Philippe duke of Bourgoigne, and Iohn Duke of Britayne made an aſſemble and frendly enteruiew in the citie of Amiens, where they renued the old league and auncient amitie made betweene the noble Prince king Henry the fifth and them, addyng thereto theſe conditions and agreements, eche of them to be to the other friend and ayder, and the enimie of the one to be enimie to the other, and al they to be both frends and ayders to the King of England, and welwilling to his welwillers and aduerſarie to his aduerſaries. And (bicauſe that affinitie is an embracer of amitie) ther was concluded a mariage betwene the duke of Bedford, and the Lady Anne ſiſter to the Duke of Burgoigne. This mariage was after ſolemniſed according to the concluſion at Troys in Champaigne, in the preſence of the duke of Burgoigne brother to the bryde, and of hir vncle the duke of Brabant, the Erles of Saliſbury and Suffolk, and of .ix.C. lordes, knights, and Eſquiers, with ſuch feaſt and triumph, as before that tyme had not bin ſeene of the Burgoignions.

Whyleſt theſe matters were in hand, the Pariſians thinking to blynd the eyes of the duke of Bedford, wrote to hym how dyuers caſtels and fortreſſes lying about their territories, were repleniſhed with theyr enimies, dayely ſtopping their paſſages, and robbing their merchants, to their vtter vndoing, if they by his helpe were not relieued. But this was but a gloſe of the Pariſiãs, meaning to cauſe him to go about the winning of ſome ſtrong hold, whileſt they in his abſence might bring into the citie Charles yͤ Dolphyn, yͭ then called himſelf French K. for ſo had they apointed, aſſigning to him the day of his cõming, & the poſt of his entrie. But their practiſe being diſcouered to the duke of Bedford, he with a great power entred into Paris, one day before the fayre was appointed, & .ij. nightes before he was looked for of his enimies being vnprouided, and ſodeinly cauſed the conſpirators within the Citie to bee apprehended, and openly to be putte to execution.

Thys done, putting a myſtruſt in the Pariſians, he cauſed the Caſtels and fortreſſes neere and adioyning to the Citie, to be furniſhed with Engliſhemen. And to auoyde all nyght watchers about Paris, and the cõfines therof, he firſt tooke into his poſſeſſion either by aſſault or compoſition, the towne of Traynelle and Bray vpon Seyne: and bicauſe two caſtels, the one called Pacy, and the other Courſay were alſo euyll neyghbours to the Pariſians, he ſente ſir Iohn Faſtolfe greate mayſter of his houſholde wyth a notable armie to win the ſame caſtels, whiche he didde, and with praye and priſoners, returned backe agayne to his maiſter, the Regent.

In this verye ſeaſon, the Dolphyn ſente the Lorde William Stewarde, Earle of Buchquhane that was Conneſtable of Fraunce, and the Erle of Ventadoure in Auuergne, and manye other noble mẽ of his part, to lay ſiege to the towne of Crauaunt in the Countie of Auxerre, within the parts of Burgoigne, wherof hearing the Lorde Regent, and the Duke of Burgoigne they aſſembled a great armie, and appoynted the Earle of Saliſbury to haue the guidyng therof, who with his Captains and men of warre, Engliſh and Burgoignions came in good array to giue battayle to the beſiegers of the Towne of Crauaunt: and bicauſe the riuer of Yonne, whiche runneth by the ſayd towne, was betwene the Engliſhe armie, and their aduerſaries, they could not well aſſayle their enimies, whiche defended the bankes and paſſages verie ſtrongly: yet notwithſtanding, both horſmen and footmen of the Engliſh parte courageouſly put themſelfes into the riuer, and with fine force recouered the bank, whom the Burgonions incontinently followed. When they were all gotten into the playne, the Archers ſhotte, the bill men ſtrake, and long was the fyghte in doubtefull ballaunce. But in concluſion the Frenchmen, not able to reſiſt the force of the Englyſhe Nation, were dyſcomfited, ſlayne, and chaſed leauyng a glorious victorye to the Engliſhmen and Burgoignions. There were ſlayn of the Frenchmen an .xviij.C. knightes and eſquyers, beſyde commons: of Scottes neere hand .iij. thouſand. Amongſt the Frenchemen theſe were the chiefeſt that were ſlayn: The Erle of Leſtrake, the earle of Comygens: The erle of Tonnoire: the lord Coquart de Comeron, the baſtarde of Armynac, the Vicount of Touraye, the baſtarde of Forreſtes, the Lorde de Port, and the Lord Memorancy: Of Scottes the Lorde of Saint Iohns towne, ſir Iohn of Balgary, ſir Iohn Turnbul, ſir Iohn Holiburton, ſir Robert Liſley, ſir William Conyngham, ſir Will. Douglas, ſir Alexander Hume, ſir Williã Liſle, ſir Io. Rotherford, ſir Will. Crayford, ſir Tho. Seton, ſir Will. Hamilton, & his ſonne, Iohn Pillot. There were taken the Erle of Buchquhane conſtable of France, whiche loſt his eye, the earle of Vantadour, ſir Alexander

The engliſhe armye entreth the riuer, and vvinneth the banke.

Meldoryne, ſir Lewes Ferigny, & .xxij. C. gentlemen of the Frenche part. Of Engliſhmen there were ſlaine Sir Iohn Grey, ſir William Hall, ſir Gilberte Halſall, one of the Marſhalles of the field, Richard ap Madocke, and. xxj. C. ſouldiours and men of warre.

An. reg. 2.

After this fortunate victorie was the Earle of Saliſbury made by the lord Regent, Lieutenant and vicegerẽt for the king and the ſayd lord Regent in the countreys of France, Bry, and Chãpaigne: and ſir Iohn Faſtolf was ſubſtituted deputie vnder the lord Regent within the duchie of Normandie on this ſyde the riuer of Seyne, and withall he was alſo made gouernour of the countreyes of Aniou and Mayne. The earle of Saliſbury after .v. moneths ſiege, wanne by ſurrender, the towne and Caſtel of Montaguillon in Bry, the capitaines whereof, the one named Pregent of Cotynye, and Guille Bourgoys Brytons, ſware neuer to beare armure againſte the Engliſhmen on this ſyde the riuer of Loyre.

In the meane tyme of that ſiege, the Erle of Suffolke tooke by force the Caſtell of Coucy, and the ſtrong Caſtell of la Roche in Maſconnoys, he got by appoyntment.

1424

In this ſecond yeare of king Henry the ſixte, Iames K. of Scotland, agreeing to take to wife the Ladie Iane, daughter to Io. erle of Somerſet deceſſed, and ſiſter to Iohn then duke of Somerſet, and alſo couſin germain remoued to K. Henry, and neece to the Cardinall of Wincheſter, and to the duke of Exceſter, was ſet at libertie, couenaunting to pay a ſmall-portion of money more than was allowed to hym for hys wyues marriage moneye, and lefte hoſtages for the ſame. But before his departure oute of the realme, he did his homage to the yong kyng of Englãd, Henry the .vj. at the caſtel of Windſore, before iij dukes. ij. Archbiſhops. xij. Erles, ten Biſhops, twentie barons, and. ij. C, knights, and Eſquiers, beſide others, according to the tenour hereafter folowing.

Homage done by the King of Scotlande to King Henry the ſixt.

I Iames Steward, king of Scottes, ſhall be true and faithfull vnto you, Lord Henrye by the grace of God king of England & France, the noble and ſuperior Lorde of the kingdome of Scotlande, and to you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome of Scotlande, which I holde and clayme of you, and I ſhall beare you my my fayth and fidelitie of life and lim and worldly honour againſt all men: and faithfully I ſhall knowledge and ſhal do to you ſeruice due for the kyngdome of Scotlande aforeſayde. So God helpe me, and theſe holy Euangeliſtes.

But notwithſtanding this hys othe, and the great, bounteous liberalitie of the mother, and vncles of his wife, in beſtowing on him great abundance of plate and riche clothes of arras, after he had once taken the aire of Scotlande, and ſmelt the ſente of the Scottiſh ſoyle, he became lyke to his fraudulent progenitours, newly alying hymſelfe with the Frenche nation and ſhewing himſelf a verie enimie to the realm of England, wherin he had bin moſt princely brought vp both in learning, knowledge & good nurture, highly to his aduancement and commendation, if his vnthankfulneſſe had not defaced his other vertues.

Hal.

But now to leaue the Scottiſh king amongſt his countreymen in Scotlande, and returne to the doings of England. I find that the duke of Glouceſter, beeing protector and gouernour of the realme, prepared an armie of. x. M. men of warre, and ſent them ouer to his brother the regent into France, the whiche comming into the territorie of Paris, were ioyfully of him receyued. About the ſame time the Frenchemen got by ſtelth diuers townes out of the Engliſhmens hands, and amongſt other the faire town of Cõpiegne was one, and the pretie towne of Crotoy an other. When the duke of Bedforde was aduertiſed hereof, he determined not to let the matter paſſe in ſuche ſorte, but with all conueniente ſpeed, ſent forth his people to recouer thoſe townes agayn. And firſt the Erle of Suffolke accõpanied with the Erle of Ligny, and diuers other capitaines of the Engliſhemen, wente to beſiege Compiegne, and lodged on the one ſide of the riuer of Sohanie, as the Lorde Liſle Adham, ſir Thomas Rampſton, and the prouoſt of Paris, lay on the other ſide. The Frenchmẽ within the towne being wel furniſhed with good ſouldiours munition and victualls, couragiouſly defended themſelues againſt the aſſaylantes.

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The Engliſhemen remẽbring that Guilliam Remonde, otherwiſe called Mariolayne had bin the leader of the ſouldiors within yͤ towne, which Mariolayn before at Pacy was takẽ priſoner by ſir Io. Faſtolf, cauſed him to be brought frõ Paris vnto the campe, & ſet him in a chariot with an halter about his neck, and conueyd him to the gibet without the town, ſending word to thẽ within, that if they woulde not without delay render the towne, their captain ſhould incontinently be ſtrangled afore their faces: wich moued the ſoldiors ſo muche, by reaſon of the loue they bare to their old captain & gouernor, that for the deliuerãce of him and ſafegard of themſelues, they yelded the town, ſo that both he and they might departe with horſe and harneis, only in ſure cõduct & ſafetie: yet long ere this towne of Compiegne was deliuered, ſir Philip Hall which was ſent to Crotoye by the Lord Regent with. viij. C. men to beſiege it, gotte it ſodeynly by aſſault, ere the Frenchmen had eyther diſpoſed their garriſon, or appointed their lodgings.

About the ſame time ſir John de la Poole brother to the duke of Suffolk, being captain of Auranches in Normandie, aſſembled all the garriſons of the baſe marches of the cou̅trey of Aniou, and came before the citie of Angiers, brente the ſuburbes, ſpoiled ⁊ deſtroyed the whole countrey, and hauing as many priſoners as his men myghte goe awaye with, he was encountred by the Earle of Aumale, the vicount of Narbonne, and .vj. M. Frenchmen, whiche finding the Engliſhmen out of araye, encombred with carriage of their great ſpoyle, ſodeynly ſet on them, gaue them the ouerthrowe, ſlewe .iij. C. and toke many priſoners, as the ſaid ſir John de la Poole, ſir Jo. Baſſet, John Aufort, lieutenant of Faleyſe, Jo. Clifton, Henry Mortimer, ⁊ other to the number of .vj. C. But though the Frenchemen got here in this place, they went not away with like gain in an other: For the Baſtard de la Baulme, and the lord Craignar capitains of Courallon with a great bande made a roade into Maſconnoys, whom by chaunce Mathewe Gough, and other Engliſhemen, whiche were alſo abroade in the countrey, met and encountred. There was a ſore fyght betwene the parties, being of courage and number in maner equall, but after long conflicte, the Frenchmen almoſt all were ſlain and taken, and the baſtard being wel horſed, fled, after who̅ folowed vpon the ſpurres, Mathew Gough chaſing him euen to his caſtell gate, and there toke him, for the which acte he was muche prayſed of the Earle of Saliſbury (to whome he preſented the ſayd baſtard) and had not onely the rightes giuen him that belonged to the priſoner, but alſo was rewarded with a goodly courſer at the erles hands. About this ſeaſon Arthur brother to Jo. Duke of Britayne, commonly called the Earle of Richemond, hauyng neyther profite of the name, nor of the countrey, notwithſtanding that king Henrye the fifthe hadde created hym Earle of Yvry in Normandie, and gaue hym not only a great pencion, but alſo the whole profites of the ſame towne of Yvry, yet nowe bycauſe that the Duke his brother was retourned to the parte of the Dolphyn, he lykewiſe reuolting from the Engliſhe obeyſaunce, came to the Dolphyn to Poyctiers, and there offred himſelf to ſerue him, whome the Dolphyn gladly accepted, reioycing more therof, than if he hadde gayned an hundred thouſand crownes: for the Britons within the towne of Yvry, hearyng that theyr maiſter was ioyned wyth the Dolphyn, kept both the towne and Caſtell againſt the Duke of Bedforde, furniſhing it dayly with newe me̅, ⁊ munitio̅s. The Lord Regent aduertiſed hereof, reyſed an army of Engliſhmen and Normans to the number of .xviij. C. men of armes, and .viij. M. archers and other. He hadde in his companye the Earles of Saliſbury and Suffolke, the Lordes Scales, Willoughby, and Poynyngs, Syr Reginalde Grey, ſir John Faſtolfe, Sir John Saluayne, ſir Lancelot Liſle, ſir Philippe Hall, Sir John Paſheley, Sir John Gray, ſir Thomas Blont, Sir Robert Harling, Sir William Oldhal, and many other both knightes, and Eſquyers, with whome he came before the towne of Yvry, which was wel defended til they within perceiued the̅ſelues in daunger, by reaſon of a myne whyche the Engliſhmen made, whereupon they yelded the Towne, but the Capitaynes of the Caſtell would not preſently render the place, howebeit they promiſed to deliuer it, if the ſame were not reſkued at a day aſſigned, by the Dolphin, or his power. Vpon which promiſe, hoſtages were deliuered into the poſſeſſion of the Lorde Regent, by whoſe licence an Heraulte was ſente to the Dolphyn, to aduertiſe him of the time determined, who vnderſtanding the diſtreſſe of his frendes, incontinently ſent John Duke of Alanſon, as his lieutenaunt generall, the Earle Douglas, whome at their ſetting forth, hee made duke of Tourayne, and the Erle Buchquhane, as then Coneſtable of Fraunce, the Erles of Aumale, Vantadoure, Tonnere, Maulieurier, ⁊ Foreſts, the Vicountes of Narbonne, and Touars, the lordes of Grauile, Gaules, Malicorn, Manny, Ballay, Fountayns, Mountforte, and many other noble knights and eſquiers, to the number of fiftene thouſand Frenchmen and Britons, beſydes .v. thouſand Scots, whome the Earle Douglas had lately tranſported out of Scotlande.

This royall Armye approched wythin two myles of Yvry, but when the Duke of Alanſon vnderſtode by ſuche as hee hadde ſente to viewe the conduit of the Engliſhmen, that hee coulde not get any aduauntage by aſſayling them (although the Dolphyn had giuen him ſtraight co̅maundement to fight with the Regent) he retyred backe with his whole armie to the towne of Verneuil in Perche, that belonged to the Kyng of England, ſending worde to the gariſon, that he had diſcomfited the Engliſhe armye, and that the Regent wyth a ſmall number wyth hym by ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, had ſaued himſelfe.

The inhabitants of Verneuil, giuing to light credite hervnto receyued the Duke of Alaunſon with all his armie into the towne. In the meane tyme came the day of the reſcous of Yvry, whiche for want thereof was deliuered to the duke of Bedforde by the Capitaine cleped Geraurde de la Pallier, who preſenting vnto the D. of Bedford the keyes of the caſtell, ſhewed him a letter, alſo ſigned and ſealed wyth the handes and ſeales of eyghteene greate Lordes, whyche the daye before promiſed by the tenour of the ſame letter to gyue the Duke battaile, and to reyſe the ſiege.

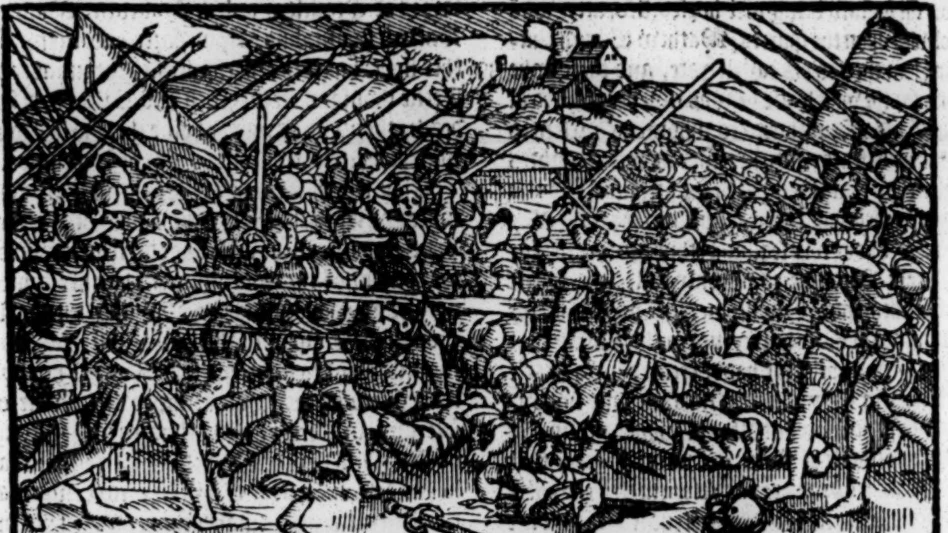
Verneueil gotten from the Engliſhemen by crediting a lye.

Well (ſayd the Duke) if their heartes would haue ſerued, their puiſſance was ſufficient once to haue proffred, or to haue performed this faithfull promyſe: but ſith they diſdayne to ſeeke me, God and Sainte George willyng, I ſhall not deſiſt to follow the tract of theyr horſſes till one part of vs be by battayle ouerthrowen. And herewith he ſente forth the Earle of Suffolke wyth vj. C. horſmen to eſpy the doings of the Frenchmen, & where they were loged. The erle riding forth, paſſed by Dampuile, & came to Bretueill, where he heard certain newes where the Frenchmenne hadde gotten Verneuil, and remayned there ſtill.

The ordering of their battayles.

These newes he ſent by poaſt vnto the Duke of Bedforde, the which in continently vpon that aduertiſement, ſette forewarde in great haſte towardes his enimies. The Frenchemen hearing of his comming, ſette their people in araye, and made all one mayne battaile without foreward or rereward, and appoynted foure hundred horſmenne Lombardes, and other to breake the araye of the Engliſhmen, either behynd, or at the ſides, of the whiche was captaine ſir Stephan de Vinoylles, called the hyre. The D. of Bedford lykewiſe made one entier battayle, and ſuffered no man to be on horſebacke, and ſet the archers (euery one hauing a ſharp ſtake) both on the frōt of the battayl, and alſo on the ſides, like wings. And behynde were al their horſſes tyed together, eyther by yͤ reines, or by the tayles, with the cartes and cariages, to the defence wherof, wer two thouſand archers apointed. Herewith either part being come almoſt to the ioining, the duke of Alanſon, on the one ſyde, exhorted hys people to play the men, declaring vnto them, that the concluſion of this battaile, ſhuld eyther deliuer them out of vile ſeruitude, or place them in the vale of bondage. On the other ſide, yͤ duke of Bedforde to encorage his mē willed them to remēber how oft they hadde ſubdued thoſe theyr aduerſaries in battaile (with whom they ſhould nowe cope) for the moſte part, euer being the leſſe number againſt yͤ greater. Agayn, he declared how neceſſarie it was to tame yͤ bold attempts of the preſumptuous Dolphyn now in the beginning, leſt if the fyre were ſuffred ſtill to flame, as it had begon, they ſhould ſcant haue water to quenche it.

Many wordes he vttered, to put them in hope of good ſucceſſe and victorie. But ſkarce had he ended his exhortation, when the Engliſhmenne ruſhed forth, and boldly ſet on their enimies, crying Saint George Bedford, and the Frenchmen lykewyſe cryed Montioy Saint Denys. Then began the battaile right fierce on both ſides continuing for the ſpace of. iij. houres in doubtfull balance, Fortune ſhewing hir ſelfe ſo equal, that no herault coulde determine to whether part ſhe was more fauourable: but at lengthe after that thoſe foure hundred horſemen, whiche were appoynted, as ye haue heard, to breake the arraye of the Engliſhmen, had paſſed thorough on the one ſyde vnto the place where the caryages and horſes ſtood, and coulde not paſſe farther, by reaſon of the fierce ſhot of the Engliſh bowes, they falling to the ſpoyle made a hande, and therwith departed. Thoſe Archers then that were appointed to keepe the cariages, being nowe at libertie, came forwarde, and ſo fiercely ſhot at the thickeſt preaſe of theyr enimies fyghting on foote, that in the ende they were not able longer to endure, but were borne downe by fyne force, and ſo vanquiſhed.



The battayle of Vernoyle.

Thys battayle was foughte the eyght and twentieth of Auguſte in the yeare of our Lorde a thouſande foure hundred twentie and foure, in the which battaile were ſlayn of the Frenchmen the erles of Aumarle, Ventadour, Foreſt, Mary, the Lords Grauile, Gaules, Fountaines, Ambois, Touars, Mounteny, Combreſſe, Brunell, Tumble, and Poiſy, beſide .iij. C. knights Alſo the Vicount Narbonne, whoſe body was hanged on a gibbet, bycauſe he was one of the murtherers of the duke of Burgoin. Of Scots alſo were ſlaine, Archibald earle Douglas, that was made as before is mētioned duke of Toraine, James Douglas ſon to the ſaide Archibald earle of Wigton, John earle of Boughen newly made Conneſtable of Fraunce, ſir Alexander Meldrin, ſir Henry Balglauie, ſir John Sterling, William of Homelſdon, ſir James Gray, ſir Roberte Randen, ſir Alexander Linſaye, ſir Robert Stewarde, ſir Robert Swinton, and .xxvij. C. Scots of name and armes, beſide other: ſo that in this battaile were ſlaine by report of Montioy king at armes in Frāce, and the Engliſhe Herraultes there preſent, of Frenchemen, and Scottes .ix. M. & .vij. C. and of Engliſhemen .xxj. C. but no man of name, ſauing .v. yong Eſquiers. And there were taken priſoners, John duke of Alanſon, the baſtarde of Alanſon, the Lorde of Faiett, the L. of Hormit, ſir Piers Hariſon, ſir Lois de Gaucourte, ſir Roberte Bruſſet, ſir John Turnebull a Scot, and .ij. C. gentlemenne, beſide cōmon ſouldiors. The Frenchemen within Vernoil, ſeeing the Dolphines armye thus ouerthrowen, deliuered the towne to the Regent, their liues ſaued. Then was ſir Phillip Hall, appointed capitaine there, and the Lorde Regent retourned, and came to Roan, and after to Paris.

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The Dolphin that called himſelfe Kyng of Fraunce, was ſore amaſed with the ouerthrow of his army, and no meruaile: for he was driuen out of all the countries in manner, that apperteined to the crowne of Fraunce and might reſort to none except to Bourbonois, Aluergn, Berry, Poictow, Touraine, a parte of Aniow, and Languedoc: yet to ſhewe himſelfe as king, he erected his court of Parliament, his chancerie and al other courts in the citie of Poictiers, and there eſtabliſhed hys great ſeale, wyth all due circumſtaunces thereto aperteyning: whiche there continued the ſpace of .xiiij. yeares togither, and then was remoued to Paris, after that he had got poſſeſſion of that citie, and expulſed the Engliſhemen, as after ſhall apeare. The Duke of Bedforde lying at Paris, ſente the Lorde Scales, ſir John Montgomerie, ſir Jo. Faſtolf, with two thouſand mē to conquer the countries of Aniow, & Maine, vnto whom were rendered without aſſaulte, the ſtrong caſtels of Beaumont le Vicount, Teune, Silly, Oſce, Courceriers, Rouſſy, Vaſſe, Couetemenant, and twentye other, whyche I doe heere paſſe ouer.

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Suche was then the opinion conceyued of the Engliſhe puiſſaunce, ſo ofte tried, proued, and aſſayed, that the Frenchemen thought that the Engliſhemen woulde and ſhoulde haue all things, whyche they eyther wiſhed or enterpriſed.

The Earle of Saliſbury, with the ſayde Lorde Scales, and the other capitaines before named, were appointed wyth an army of ten thouſande men, to beſiege the riche and ſtrong citie of Mans, the chief citie of al yͤ country of Maine. The Engliſhemenne comming before that Citie, made their approches, and planted their battery to the walles, ſo that with the ſhot of their greate peeces (whyche kinde of engins beefore that time had not bene muche ſeene nor hearde off in Fraunce) the Citie was within a fewe dayes, diſpoiled of all hir Towers and outwarde defences.

The Citizens of Mans, and the ſouldiours within, perceyuing in what daunger they ſtood and knewe not how to remedy the matter, offered the Towne vppon this condition, that all perſons which woulde tary within the towne might abide, and all that woulde departe with horſe and harneſſe only, ſhoulde be permitted: whiche offers were accepted, and the Towne rendred, whereof the Earle made capitaine the Earle of Suffolke, and his lieuetenaunt Syr John Faſtolfe.

Mans deliuered to the Engliſhemen.

After this, the Earle of Saliſburye beſieged the faire Towne of Sainct Suſan, whereof was capitaine one Ambroſe de Lore, a right valiant chiefetain. The Erle cauſed the towne to bee aſſaulted at his firſte comming to it, but he loſte more than he gained, and therefore lefte off his aſſaults, and cauſed a trenche to be caſte aboute the Towne, and ſo planted his battery, by force whereof hee ouerthrewe the walles in ſuche ſorte that the captaine offered for himſelfe and his ſouldiors .20000. crownes, ſo that they might departe in their doublettes onely, whiche ſumme bycauſe winter approched was accepted, and the towne yelded.

Of this Towne Sir John Popham was made Capitaine. Then the Earle wente to Maine la Jubez, which towne after fiue wekes ſiege was yelded, and appointed to the keeping of ſir John Montgomerye knighte. After the feaſte of the Purification of our Lady, the erle of Saliſbury beſieged the caſtel de la Fert Barnarde, during whiche ſiege a ſale was made of the towne of Alanſon being in the engliſhmens poſſeſſion by a Gaſcoigne that was one of the gariſon there, but this ſale being opened to the Erle of Saliſbury by the ſame Gaſcoine at the daye appointed, the Lorde Willoughby and ſir John Faſtolfe, with .ij. M. men were ſent to encounter with the buiers of that town, ſo that when Charles de Uilliers chiefe marchāt of this enterpriſe, came early in a morning with .ij. C. horſemen, and .iij. C. footmen, and approched the town, abiding for the Gaſcoigne, ere he was aware, the Engliſhmen had cōpaſſed him and his company rounde aboute, and ſetting vpon the frenchmen, ſlew and toke all the whole number of them, ſaue Peter Dāthenazie and .xxv. other, which by the ſwiftnes of their horſes, ſaued themſelues. After this cōflicte ended, the lord Willoughby retourned to the erle of Saliſbury, lying ſtill at ſiege before the towne de le Fert Bernarde, which ſhortly after was rendred vp into the Earle of Saliſburies handes, to whom the lord Regent gaue it, to enioy to him and his heires for euer. Beſide this, the ſaid earle partly by aſſault, partly by compoſition toke diuers other, as S. Kales, where he made captaine Richarde Gethin eſquier: Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernour Mathewe Goughe: Guerlande, of yͤ which he aſſigned ruler John Banaſter: Malicorne, wherof he made captaine Wil. Glaſdale eſquier: Liſle Soubz Boulton, wherof was made captain ſir Lancelot Liſle knight: Loupelland, wherof was made captain Henry Brāche: Montſeur, of yͤ which was made captaine ſir Wil. Oldeball knight: la Suze, was aſſigned to yͤ keping of John Suffolk eſquier. And beſide this, aboue .xl. caſtels ⁊ piles were ouerthrowen ⁊ deſtroyed. The newes herof reported in Englande, cauſed great reioyſing among the people, not only for the conqueſt of ſo many townes ⁊ fortreſſes, but alſo for that it had pleſed god to giue thē the victory in a pitched field: wherfore general proceſſions were apointed to render vnto god humble thankes, for his fauor ſo beſtowed vpon thē. This yere after Eaſter, the king called his highe court of parliament at Weſtminſter, by aduiſe of the peeres, and comming to the parliament houſe himſelfe, he was conueyd through the citie vpon a great courſer, with great triumphe, the people flocking into yͤ ſtreetes to beholde the childe, whom they iudged to haue the liuely Image, purtrature, and countenaūce of his father, ⁊ like to ſuccede him, ⁊ be his heire in all princely qualities, martiall policies, and morall vertues, aſwell as his vndoubted inheritor in his realms, ſigniories and dominions. In this parliamēt was granted to the K. a ſubſidy of .xij. d. the pound, towards yͤ maintenaūce of his warres, of al marchandiſe, cōming in or going out of the realme, aſwell of engliſhmen as ſtrāgers. During which parliament came to Londō, Peter duke of Quimbre ſonne to the K. of Portingale, couſin germain remoued to the K. which of yͤ duke of Exceter ⁊ yͤ biſhop of Wincheſter his vncles was highly feaſted, he was alſo elected into the order of the garter. During yͤ ſame ſeaſon Edmūd Mortimer, the laſte earle of Marche, of that name (which long time had bin reſtreined frō his libertie, ⁊ finally waxed lame) deceaſſed without iſſue, whoſe inheritaunce deſcended to the lorde Richard Plantagenet, ſonne and heire to Richard erle of Cambridge, beheaded, as before ye haue hearde at the towne of Southampton. In the time of this parliament, alſo was ſir John Mortimer, couſin to yͤ ſame erle, either for deſerte or malice, attainted of treſon, ⁊ put to execution, of whoſe deathe no ſmall ſlaunder aroſe amongſt yͤ cōmon people. After al theſe things done in England ⁊ in Fraunce, Humfrey duke of Glouceſter (who had married the Lady Jaquet, or Jaqueline of Bauiere, coūteſſe of Heynault, Holland, ⁊ Zelād: notwithſtanding ſhe was coupled in marriage afore to the Duke of Brabāt, as yet liuing, and had continued with him a long ſpace) paſſed nowe yͤ ſea with yͤ ſaid lady, ⁊ went to Mons or Bergen in Heinoult, where the more part of the people of that countrey, came and ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, as vnto their ſoueraine lord, in right of his ſaid wife, the lady Jaquet or Jaquelin: with which doing John duke of Brabant hir former huſbād was greatly moued, and likewiſe the Duke of Burgoign, being great frend to the ſame duke of Brabant, was muche offended: but firſt bycauſe of olde familiaritie, he wrote louingly to the duke of Gloceſter, requiring him to reforme himſelfe according to reaſon, and to forſake his vngodly life, bothe in keping of an other mans wife, and alſo in ſeeking to vſurpe other mens right and titles. Hervpon went letters betwixt them for a time, but at length whē the Duke of Burgoine perceiued that the duke of Gloceſter ment to purſue his quarrell, ⁊ to make war againſt the duke of Brabant, he toke part wyth yͤ duke of Brabant ſo erneſtly that he conſented to fight with the duke of Gloceſter body to body within liſtes in defence of the duke of Brabantes quarell, ⁊ further aided the duke of Brabant in his warres againſt yͤ duke of Gloceſter, with all his puiſſance, in ſo muche that in yͤ end (after the duke of Gloceſters return into England) yͤ duke of Brabāt recouered all the townes in Heynault, whiche the Lady Jaquet or Jaquelin held againſt him: ⁊ further the ſame lady was by compoſition deliuered by them of the towne of Mons vnto the duke of Burgoigne, who cauſed hir to be conueied vnto Gaunt, from whence ſhe made ſhift to eſcape into Hollande, where ſhe was obeied as counteſſe of yͤ coūtry, ⁊ then made warre in hir own defence againſt

the

Ceneral proceſſions after victorie:

A ſubſidie.

The prince of Portingale cōming to London.

the Dukes of Burgoigne & Brabant, the which ſought to ſpoile hir of al hir townes and landes: & further procured Pope Martine the .v. before whome the matter was brought, to giue ſentẽce that the firſt matrimony with the duke of Brabant was good & effectuall, and the ſeconde eſpouſels celebrated with the duke of Glouceſter, to be vnlawfull. But in the meane time, the L. Fitz Walter being ſent ouer to the aide of the lady Iaquet or Iaquelin, with a power of engliſhemen, landed in Zelande, neere vnto the town of Zerixe, againſt whome came the duke of Burgoign, and encountring with them and other ſuch Hollanders and Zelanders, as were ioyned with them nere to a place called Brewers hauen, there diſcomfited them, ſo that of engliſhmen Holanders and Zelanders that were with the ſaid lorde Fitz Walter, there were ſlaine .vij. or .viij. hundred, and the reſidue chaſed to the water.

At length, when the duke of Glouceſter vnderſtode the ſentence pronounced againſt hym by the Pope, he beganne to waxe weary of hys wife the ſaide Lady Iaquet, by whom he neuer had profit, but loſſe, and toke to his wife by a ſeconde marriage Eleanor Cobham, daughter to the lorde Cobham of Sterberow, which before (as the fame went) was his ſoueraine Ladye and paramoure, to his greate ſlaunder and reproche.

A little beefore thys tyme, Syr Thomas Rampſton, ſir Phillippe Branche, ſir Nicholas Burdet, and other engliſhmen to the number of .v. C. men of war, repaired and fortified the towne of ſaint Iames de Beuvron, ſituate on the fronters of Normandie towardes Britaine, within half a league of the duke of Britaines grounde, with whome as then they had open warre, and ſo began to do many diſpleaſures to his people. Whereupon Arthur Earle of Richemont and Iury, brother to the ſayde duke, & lately before created conſtable of Frãce, aſſembled an huge power of men to the number of .xl. M. as ſome haue writtẽ, & with the ſame came before the ſayd towne of ſaint Iames de Beuvron, and planted his ſiege very ſtronglye about it, enforcing with his greate ordinaunce to ouerthrow the walles. And one day amongſt other, he determined to giue the aſſault, and ſo did, the whiche continued a long ſpace very hot and earneſt. The Bretons Bretonantes were come downe into a lowe bottome, where there was a little ponde or fiſhe poole, and they muſte nedes paſſe by a ſtreite way to come to the walles in greate danger. On that ſide of the town was a little Boulevert whiche Syr Nicholas Burdet kept, hauing with hym a .lx. or .lxxx. fighting men, and ouer againſt the ſame Boulevert there was a gate well furniſhed alſo wyth Engliſhe ſouldiors, ſo that the Bretons which came downe into the ditches in greate number to giue the aſſault, heard on either ſide them, the Engliſhemen (within the ſaide Boulvert, and gate) make a great noiſe, in crying Saliſbury, and Suffolke, with the which cry, the Bretons being maruellouſly aſtonied, began to recuile in greate diſorder. And therewith the ſaid ſir Nicholas Bourdet iſſued forth vppon them, and purſuing them ryghte valiantly, ſlewe them downe wythout fynding any greate defence, ſo that there died of them what by the ſworde, and what by drowning in the ſaide poole, aboute a vij. or .viij. C. and to the number of .l. were taken priſoners. And beſide this, thoſe engliſhmen gained an .xviij. ſtanderts and one baner. Incontinently the newes hereof were reported to the conſtable of France, who was buſy at the aſſault on the other ſide of the towne, whereof he was ſore diſpleaſed, and no leſſe amazed, ſo that hee cauſed the retreit to bee ſounded, for all the ſiege on that ſide towarde the poole, was already rayſed. After this, vpon counſell taken amongſt the frenchmen, it was determined that they ſhoulde diſlodge: And ſo aboute the middeſt of the nexte night, the Conſtable and al the reſidue of his people departed towarde Fougieres, leauing behind them greate plentie of Artillerie bothe greate and ſmall, with victualles, and all their other prouiſions: as .xiiij. greate gunnes and .xl. barells of pouder .iij. C. pypes of wine. ij. C. pipes of biſket and flower .ij. C. frailes of figs and reaſyns, and .v. C. barelles of herring. Somewhat before this ſeaſon fell a great deuiſion in the realm of England, which of a ſparcle was like to haue growen to a great flame: For whether the Biſhop of Wincheſter called Henry Beaufort, ſonne to Iohn duke of Lancaſter by his thirde wife, enuied the authoritie of Humfrey duke of Glouceſter, protector of the Realme, or whether the Duke diſdained at the riches and pompous eſtate of the Biſhop, ſure it is that the whole Realme was troubled with them and their partakers: ſo that the citizens of London were faine to keepe daily and nightly watches, and to ſhut vp their ſhops for feare of that which was doubted to haue enſued of their aſſembling of people about them. The archebiſhoppe of Canterbury and the Duke of Quimbre, called the prince of Portingal, rode eight times in one daye betweene the two parties, and ſo the matter was ſtaied for a time. But the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter to cleare himſelfe of blame ſo farrre as hee myght, and to chardge hys nephew the Lorde protectour with all the fault, wrote a letter to the Regent of Fraunce, the tenor whereof enſueth.

Enguerant de Monſtrellet.

Diſcention betvvixt the duke of Glouceſter and the Byſhop of VVincheſter.

RIght high and mightie Prince, & my right noble, & after one, lieueſt lorde, I recõmende me vnto you with all my hart. And as you deſire the welfare of the king our ſoueraigne lord and of his realmes of Englande and Fraunce, your owne healthe, and ours alſo, ſo haſte you hither. For by my truthe if you tarrie, we ſhall put this lande in aduenture with a fielde, ſuche a brother you haue here, God make him a good man. For youre wiſedome knoweth, that the profit of Frãce ſtandeth in the welfare of England. &c. Written in great haſt on Allhallown euen. By your true ſeruaunt to my liues end. Henry Wincheſter.

A parliament holden at Leiceſter.

The duke of Bedford being ſore greeued and vnquieted with theſe newes, conſtituted the erle of Warwicke, whyche was lately come into Fraunce with vj. M. men, hys lieutenaunt in the Frenche dominions, and in the Duchie of Normandie, and ſo with a ſmall companie, he with the Ducheſſe his wife, returned againe ouer the ſeas into Englande, and the .x. daye of January, he was with all ſolemnitie receyued into London, to whome the Cityzens gaue a paire of Baſins of Syluer and gylte, and a thouſand markes in money. And from Londõ hee roade to Weſtminſter, and was lodged in the Kings pallace. The .xxv. day of Marche after his comming to London, a Parliament beganne at the towne of Leiceſter: where the duke of Bedforde openly rebuked the lordes in generall, bicauſe that they in the time of warre through their priuie malice and inward grudge hadde almoſte moued the people to warre, and commotion, in whiche time all men oughte or ſhoulde be of one mind, harte and conſent: requiring them to defende, ſerue and dreade their ſoueraigne Lord Kyng Henry, in performing his conqueſt in Fraunce, whiche was in manner brought to concluſion. In this parliament the Duke of Glouceſter laide certaine articles to the biſhop of Wincheſters charge, the whiche with the aunſwers hereafter doe enſue.

The Articles of accuſation and accorde betweene the lorde of Glouceſter, and the lorde of VVincheſter.

Articles ſette forthe by the Duke of Glouceſter, againſte Henrye Biſhop of VVincheſter.

HEre enſueth the Articles, as the Kynges counſaile hathe conceyued, the whiche the high and mighty prince my Lord of Glouceſter hathe ſurmiſed vpon my Lorde of Wincheſter Chauncellour of Englande with the anſwere to the ſame.

Fyrſt, wheras he being protectour, and defendour of this land, deſired, the Tower to bee opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richarde Wooduile Eſquier hauing at that time the chardge of the keping of the Tower, refuſed his deſire, & kept the ſame Tower againſte hym vnduely and againſte reaſon, by the commaundement of my ſayd lorde of Wincheſter: and afterwarde in approuing of the ſaid refuſe, hee receiued the ſayd Wooduile, and cheriſhed hym againſt the ſtate and worſhip of the kyng, and of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter.

2 Item, my ſaid lord of Wincheſter without the aduiſe and aſſent of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter, or of the Kings counſaile, purpoſed and diſpoſed hym to ſet hand on the Kings perſone, & to haue remoued him from Eltham, the place that hee was in, to Windſore, to the intent to put him in gouernaunce as him liſte.

3 Item, that where my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter, to whome of all perſones, that ſhoulde be in the lande, by the way of nature and birth, it belongeth, to ſee the gouernance of the kings perſon, informed of the ſaide vndue purpoſe of my ſaid L. of Wincheſter, declared in the article next aboueſaid, and in letting therof determining to haue gone to Eltham vnto the king to haue prouided as the cauſe required. My ſaid Lorde of Wincheſter vntruely and againſt the kings peace, to the intent to trouble my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter going to the king, purpoſing his deathe, in caſe that hee hadde gone that way, ſet men of armes and archers at the ende of London Bridge nexte Southwarke: and in forbarring of the kings high way, let drawe the chaine of the ſtoupes there, and ſet vp pipes and hurdles in manner and forme of Bulwarkes: and ſet men in Chambers, Cellers, and Windowes with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to the intent to bring to finall deſtruction my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſters perſon, aſwell as of thoſe that then ſhoulde come wyth hym.

4 Item, my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter ſaith and affirmeth, that our ſoueraigne Lorde hys brother that was king Henry the fift, tolde him on a time, when our ſoueraigne Lorde being prince was lodged in the pallace of Weſtminſter in the greate chamber, by the noiſe of a ſpaniell, there was on a night a man ſpied and taken behinde a tapet of the ſayde Chamber, the whyche man was delyuered to the Earle of Arundell to bee examined vppon the cauſe of his being there at that time, the which ſo examined, at that time confeſſed that hee was there by the ſtirring vp and procuring of my ſaide Lorde of Wincheſter, ordeined to haue ſlaine the ſaide Prince there in his bedde: Wherefore the ſaide Earle of Arundell let ſacke him forthwith, and drowned him in the Thames.

5 Item, our ſoueraigne Lorde that was, Kyng Henry the fift ſaide vnto my ſayd Lord of Glouceſter, that his father Kyng Henry the

fourth liuing, and viſited then greatly wyth ſickneſſe of the hand of God, my ſaide Lord of Wincheſter ſaide vnto the king (Henry the fift then being prince) that the king his father ſo viſited with ſickneſſe was not perſonable, and therefore not diſpoſed to come in conuerſation and gouernance of the people, and for ſo much, counſailed him to take the gouernance & crown of this lande vpon hym.

The aunſwere of the Biſhop.

HEre enſue the aunſwers to the accuſations made by my Lorde of Wincheſter Chauncellour of Englande, vnto the cauſes and matters of heauineſſe, declared in the Articles againſt him by my Lorde of Glouceſter.

1 Fyrſt as of the refuſe made vnto my lord of Glouceſter, of opening the Tower to him, of his lodging therein, by the commaundement of my ſaide lorde of Wincheſter, he aunſwereth, that in the preſence of my ſaide Lord of Glouceſter before his comming out of his country of Heinault, for cauſes ſuche as were thought reſonable, it ſeemeth lawfull that the Tower ſhoulde haue bin notably ſtored and kepte with victuall, howbeit it was not forthwith executed, and that in likewiſe after that my ſaid lord of Glouceſter, was gone into his ſaid countrey of Heinault, for ſeditious and odious billes and languages, caſte & vſed in the citie of London, ſounding of inſurrection and rebellion againſte the kings peace, and deſtruction aſwell of diuers eſtates of this lande as ſtrangers being vnder the defence, in ſo muche that in doubt thereof, ſtraungers in greate number fledde the lande: And for the more ſure keping of the ſaid Tower, Richarde Wooduile eſquier ſo truſted with our ſoueraigne lord the king that deade is (as well ye knowe) and alſo chamberlaine and counſellor vnto my Lorde of Bedforde, wyth a certaine number of defenſible perſons aſſigned vnto hym, was made deputie there by the aſſent of the kings counſell, being that time at London, for to abide therein, for the ſafegarde thereof, and ſtraightlie charged by the ſaide counſell, that during that tyme of his ſayde chardge, he ſhoulde not ſuffer any man to be in the Tower ſtronger than hymſelfe, without ſpeciall charge or commanndement of the king by the aduiſe of his counſell.

2 Item, that after, ſoone vppon the comming of my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter into this lande from his countrey of Heinault, the ſaide lords of the kings counſell were informed, that my ſaid Lorde of Glouceſter, grudged with the ſaide manner of enforcing the Tower, and let ſay to them of London, that hee had well vnderſtande that they had bin heauily threatned for the time of his abſence, and otherwiſe than they ſhould haue bin, if he had bin in this land. Wherfore hee was right euill contented, and eſpecially of the ſaid forcing of the Tower, ſet vpon them in manner of a chaſt villayne, conſideryng the good equitie and truthe that they had alwayes kepte vnto the king, offering them therevpon remedy if they woulde.

3 Item, that after this, Richard Scot lieuetenaunt of the Tower by the commaundement of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter broughte vnto him Frier Randolphe, the whiche had long before confeſſed treaſon done by hym againſte the Kings perſon that deade is, for the whiche knowledge, he was put to bee kept in the ſayde Tower, and ſtraightly commaunded vnder greate paine giuen vnto the ſaid Scot, to kepe him ſtraightly, and ſurely, and not to lette him out of the ſaide Tower wythout commaundement of the Kyng by the aduiſe of his counſell. The whiche Frier Randolphe, my ſaide Lord of Glouceſter kept then with himſelf (not witting to the ſaide Scot) as he declared vnto my ſayde Lorde of Wincheſter, ſoone after that he had broughte the ſaide Frier Randolph vnto my Lorde of Glouceſter, ſaying vnto my Lorde of Wincheſter, that he was vndone but hee helped hym, and expreſſed, as for cauſe of the withhoulding of Frier Randolphe: And ſaying moreouer, that when hee deſired of my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter, the deliueraunce of the ſaide Frier Randolphe, to leade him againe vnto the Tower, or ſufficient warrant for hys diſchardge, my ſaide Lorde of Glouceſter aunſwered him, that his commaūdement was ſufficient warrant and diſcharge for hym. In the whiche thing aboueſaid, it was thought to my lord of Wincheſter, that my ſaid lord of Glouceſter, tooke vpon hym further than his auctoritie ſtretched vnto, and cauſed him to doubt and dreade leaſte that he would haue proceeded further. And at ſuche time as the ſaide Wooduile came vnto hym, to aſke his aduiſe & counſell, of lodging my ſaid L. of Gloceſter in yͤ Tower, he aduiſed and charged him, that before he ſuffred my ſaide lord of Glouceſter, or any perſon lodge therein ſtronger than himſelfe he ſhoulde puruey him a ſufficiēt warrant therof, of the K. by the aduiſe of his counſell.

Fryer Randolph.

4 Item, as to the ſaid article of the foreſaide cauſes of heauineſſe, my ſaid lord chauncellour anſwereth, that hee neuer purpoſed to ſet hande on the kings perſō, nor to remoue him, or that he ſhoulde be remoued, or put in any manner of gouernaūce, but by the aduiſe of the kings coūſell. For hee coulde not perceyue any manner of goodnes or of aduātage yͭ might haue growne to him therof, but rather great perill & charge,

and herof my ſaide lord of Wincheſter, is ready to make proofe, in time and place conueniēt.

5 Item, as to the. iij. article of the foreſaid cauſes and heauines, my ſaide lorde Chauncelor anſwereth, yͭ he was ofte & diuers times warned, by diuers credible perſōs, aſwell at the time of the kings laſt parliamēt, holdē at Weſtminſter, as before & ſith, yͭ my ſaid L. of Glouceſter, purpoſed him bodily harm, & was warned ther of, and counſelled by the ſaid perſons, & that diuers times, to abſtaine hym from comming to Weſtminſter, as my ſaid L. of Wincheſter declared vnto my ſaid lorde of Glouceſter.

6 Item, that in yͤ time of yͤ ſaid parliament, diuers perſons of low eſtate of the citie of Lōdon in great number, aſſēbled on a day vpon yͤ Wharfe, at the Crane of the Wintrie, & wiſhed & deſired that they had there yͤ perſon of my L. of Wincheſter, ſaying, that they would haue throwen him into the Thames, to haue taught him to ſwimme with wings. Wherof billes & language of ſlaūder and threatnings were caſt and ſpoken in the ſaid citie by my ſaide L. the Chauncellor, which cauſed him to ſuppoſe that they that ſo ſaid and did, willed and deſired his deſtruction, although they had no cauſe.

7 Item, that after yͤ cōming to Lōdon of ſir Rafe Botiller, & maiſter Lewes, ſēt frō my L. of Bedford, to yͤ reſt of yͤ lords of the counſell, they being informed, that my ſaid L. of Glouceſter did beare diſpleaſure to my ſaide lorde of Wincheſter, they came to the ſaid L. of Glouceſter to his Inne, yͤ ſecōd Sonday next before Allhalonday, & ther opened vnto him, yͭ they had knowledge and vnderſtāding of yͤ ſaid diſpleaſure, praying him to let them knowe if hee bare ſuch diſpleaſure againſt my ſaide L. of Wincheſter, and alſo the cauſes therof. At the which time (as my ſaid L. of Wincheſter was afterwards informed) my ſaid Lorde of Glouceſter affirmed that he was heauy towarde hym, and not without cauſes that peraduenture he wold put in writing.

8 Item, that after the Monday nexte before Allhallon day laſte paſte in the nyght, the people of the ſaid citie of Londō by the cōmaundement of my ſaid lorde of Glouceſter, as it was ſaid: For what cauſe my lord the Chauncelor, wiſſe not, aſſembled in the citie, armed & arraied, and ſo continued all the night. Amongſt diuers of the which (the ſame night by what excitation, my ſaid L. the Chauncellor wiſt not) ſeditious & heauy language was vſed and in eſpeciall againſt yͤ perſō of my ſaid L the Chancellor. And ſo yͤ ſame Monday at night my ſaid lord of Glouceſter ſent vnto yͤ Innes of Court at London, charging thē of the Courte dwelling in the ſame, to be with him vpon the morrowe at eighte of the clocke in their beſt array.

9 Item, that on the morrowe being Tuiſdaie next folowing, early my ſaid L. of Glouceſter, ſent vnto the Maior and Aldermen of the ſaid citie of London to ordaine hym to the nūber of. iij. C. perſons on horſe backe, to accompany hym to ſuch place as hee diſpoſed hym to ride, whiche (as it was ſaid) was vnto the king, to the intēt to haue his perſon & to remoue him from the place that he was in without aſſent or aduiſe of the Kings counſell, the whiche thing was thought vnto my ſaid lord the Chauncellor that hee ought in no wiſe to haue done, nor had not bin ſene ſo before.

10 Item, that my ſaid Lord the Chancellor, conſidering the things aboueſaid, and douting therfore of perills that might haue enſued therof, intending to puruey theragainſt, & namely for his owne ſurety and defence, according to yͤ lawe of nature, ordeined to let that no force of people ſhuld come on the bridge of Lōdon towards him, by the whiche he or his might haue bin endaungered or noyed, not intending in any wiſe bodily harme, vnto my ſaidē Lorde of Glouceſter, nor to any other perſon, but only his owne defēce, in eſchuing yͤ perill aboueſaid.

11 Item, as toward the fourthe & fifte of the ſaid articles, my L. the Chauncellor anſwereth that he was euer true to all thoſe that were his ſoueraigne lords and raigned vpon him, and yͭ he neuer purpoſed treaſon or vntruthe againſte any of their perſons, and in eſpeciall againſt the perſon of our ſaid ſoueraigne Lord Henry the fift. The whiche conſidering the great wiſdom, truthe, & manhode that all men knewe in hym, hee woulde not for the time that he was kyng, haue ſet on my ſaid lord the Chaūcelor ſo greate truſt as he did, if he had foūd or thought in him ſuch vntruthe. The which thing my ſaid lord yͤ Chaūcellor offered to declare & ſhewe, as it belongeth to a man of his eſtate to doe, requiring thervpon my lord of Bedford and all yͤ lords ſpirituall and temporall in this parliament, that it might be ſeene that there were Iudges conuenient in this caſe, that they woulde doe hym ryght, or elſe that hee might haue leaue of the king by their aduiſe to goe ſue his right, before him that ought to be his Iudge.

And as toward the letter ſent by my lord of Wincheſter vnto my lorde of Bedforde, of the which the tenor is before reherſed, of the which my Lorde of Glouceſter complained him of the malicious and vntrue purpoſe of my ſaid lorde of Wincheſter, as toward the aſſembling of the people, and gathering of a fielde in the Kinges land, in troubling thereof, and againſt the kings peace: my ſaid lorde of Wincheſter anſwereth, that if his ſaid letters duely vnderſtande, and in ſuch wiſe as he vnderſtood & ment in the writing of them, it may not reaſonably be gathered and takẽ, yͭ my ſaid lord of Wincheſt. entended to gather any field, or aſſemble people, in troubling of the kings land, & againſt yͤ kings peace, but rather purpoſed to acquite him to the K. in his truth, & to kepe the reſt and peace in the kings land, & to eſchue rebelliõ, diſobediẽce & all trouble. For by that that in the beginning of the ſayde letter, he calleth my ſayd Lord of Bedford his lieueſt Lord after one, that is the king, whom he ought to accept of dutie of his truth, the which he hath euer kept, and will keepe.

13 Moreouer, in the ſaid letter he deſireth yͤ cõming home of my L. of Bed. for yͤ welfare of the K. & of his realms of Engl. & of France, whiche ſtãde principally in keping of his reſt & peace, & praieth my ſaid L. of Bedf. to ſpeed his cõming into Engl. in eſchuing of ieopardie of the land, & of a field which he dread him, might haue folowed, if he had lõg taried: As toward thoſe wordes, and ye tarie, we ſhal put this land in aduenture wͭ a field, ſuch a brother ye haue here &c. My ſaid L. of Wincheſter ſaith, the ſooth is: before or he wrote yͤ ſaid letter by the occaſion of certaine ordinãces made by yͤ Maior & Aldermen of Lõdon againſt the exceſſiue taking of maſons, Carpenters, tylers, plaſterers, and other laborers for their dayly iorneys, and approued by the kynges deuice & counſel, there were caſt many heuineſſes & ſeditious billes vnder the names of ſuch labourers, thretning riſing with many thouſands, and menacing of eſtates of the land, and likewiſe ſeditious and euil language ſowen & ſo cõtinued & likely to haue enſued, of purpoſe & intẽt of diſobedience & rebellion. To the redreſſing of which, it ſemed to my lord yͤ Chãcellor, yͭ my ſaid lord of Glouceſt. did not his indeuor nor diligence yͭ he might haue ſhewed: for lack of which diligence, they that were diſpoſed to do diſobeyſance were encouraged and emboldned, ſo that it was lyke, that they ſhoulde haue made a gathering, and that the King and his true ſubiects ſhoulde haue bin compelled to haue made a field to haue withſtand them, the which field making, had bin aduenturing of this lande, and in tokening that it was neuer my ſaid Lorde Chancellors intente, to gather no field, but as truth moſt ſtirred hym againſt ſuch as riotouſly woulde make ſuch aſſemblie againſte our ſoueraigne Lorde, and the weale of this lande, hee deſired ſo haſtely the cõming of my ſayde L. of Bedford, the whiche hee woulde in no wiſe haue ſo greatly deſired, if hee woulde haue purpoſed him vnto anye vnlawfull making of a field, for he wiſt well, that my ſayd Lord of Bedford would moſt ſharply haue chaſtiſed, and puniſhed all thoſe that ſo woulde anye riotous aſſemble make. When this aunſwere was made, the Duke cauſed this writing folowing, openly to be proclaymed.

BE it knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my Lorde of Bedforde, and all the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, aſſembled in this preſent Parliamente, to acquite him & them, and to procede truely, iuſtly, & indifferently, without any parcialitie in any maner of matter or quarels moued or to be moued betwene my L. of Glouceſter, on that one partie, and my Lord of Wincheſter, Chancellor of Englande, on that other partie. And for ſure keping of the kings peace, it is acorded by my ſaid L. of Bedford, and by my ſayd Lordes, ſpirituall and temporall, an othe to be made in forme as followeth, that is to ſay.

The oth of the Lordes.

THat my ſayd Lord of Bedford, and my ſayd Lords, ſpiritual and temporal, & each of them ſhal as farre forth as their cunnyngs and diſcretions ſuffiſen, truely, iuſtlye, and indifferentely counſell and aduiſe the K. and alſo procede and acquit themſelues in all the ſayd matters, & quarels, without that they or any of them ſhall priuily and apertly make or ſhewe himſelfe to bee partie or parciall therein, not leauyng or eſchuing ſo to doe for affection, loue, neede, doubte, or dreade of any perſon or perſons. And that they ſhall in all wiſe kepe ſecret al that ſhall be cõmoned by way of counſell in the matters and quarels abouesayd, in the ſayd parliament, without that they or any of them ſhall by worde, writing of the king, or in anie wiſe open or diſcouer it to anie of the ſaide parties, or to any other perſon that is not of the ſaide counſaile: But if he haue a ſpeciall Comaundement or leaue thereunto of the K. or of my ſayd lord of Bedf. And that eche of thẽ ſhall with all his might and power, aſſiſte by way of counſell, or elſe ſhew it vnto the king, my lord of Bedford, & to the reſt of my ſaid lordes to put the ſaid parties to reaſon, and not to ſuffer that any of the ſaid parties by them, or by their aſſiſtance, procede or attempt by waye of fight againſt the kings peace: nor helpe, aſſiſt or comfort any of them therto: but lette them with al their might and power, withſtande them, and aſſiſt vnto the king, and my ſaid Lorde of Bedforde, in keeping of the Kinges peace, and redreſſing all ſuche maner of proceedyng by waye of fight or force.

The Dukes.

THe Duke of Bedforde.
The Duke of Norffolke.
The duke of Exceſter.

Biſhoppes.

The Archebiſhop of Canterbury.
The Biſhop of Carlile.
The Biſhoppe of Bathe.
The Biſhoppe of Landaffe.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter
The Biſhop of Chicheſter.
The Biſhop of Worceſter.
The Biſhop of Saint Dauids.
The Biſhop of London.
The Biſhop of Dureſme.

Earles.

The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Staffordе.
The Earle of Oxforde.

Lordes.

The Lorde Hungerforde.
The Lorde Tiptofte.
The Lorde Poynings.
The Lorde Cromewell.
The Lorde Boroughe.
The Lorde Louell.
The Lorde Botreux.
The Lorde Clinton.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Audeley.
The Lorde Ferreis of Grouby.
The Lorde Talbot.
The Lorde Ros.
The Lorde Grey.
The Lord Grey of Ruthen.
The Lorde Fitz Walter.
The Lorde Barkeley.

Abbottes.

The Abbot of Waltham.
The Abbot Glaſtinbury.
The Abbot of S. Auguſtines in Canterbury.
The Abbot of Weſtminſter.
The Abbot of ſaint Maries in Yorke.
The Abbot of ſaint Albones not ſworne bicauſe he was not preſent.

Whiche othe in manner and fourme aboue rehearſed, as the lords aſwell ſpirituall as temporall, beeing in this Parliament at Leyceſter aſſembled, the fourth day of Marche, promiſed vpon their faith dutye and allegiaunce, which they owe to the king their ſouerain Lord, truly to obſerue and kepe, acording to the true meaning and purporte of the ſame.

The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God Amen, we Henry Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas duke of Exceſter, Iohn duke of Norffolke, Tho. Biſhop of Dureſme, Philip biſhop of Worceſter, Iohn biſhop of Bathe, Hũfry erle of Stafford. Will. Alnwick keper of yͤ kings priuy ſeale, Rafe L. Cromwell, Arbitrators in al maner of cauſes, matters & quarrelles of heauineſſes & greuãces with all incidents, circũſtãces, dependẽts, or cõnexes being & hanging betwene yͤ high & worthy prince Hũfry duke of Glouceſter on the one party, and the worſhipfull father in god Henry biſhop of Wincheſter & chaũcelor of Englande on yͤ other party, by either of thẽ, for yͤ peaſing of the ſaide quarrels & debates taken & choſe in maner & fourme as it is contained more plainly in a compromiſe made therupon, of the whiche the tenor enſueth in this fourme.

Memorandũ yͤ .vij day of March in yͤ fourth yere of our ſouerain L. the king Henry yͤ ſixt, yͤ high and mighty prince Hũfrey duke of Glouceſter at yͤ reuerence of god, & for the good of the king our ſoueraine lord in this land, & namely at yͤ reuerence & eſpecially at yͤ requeſt & praier, of the mighty and high prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed him to put, & putteth al maner matters and quarrells indeede, with all their incidẽts, circũſtaũces, dependẽts & cõnexes that touchen him & his perſõ, that he hath in any wiſe do, or feeleth himſelfe greeued or heauy againſt my lord his vncle, my Lord of Wincheſter. Or elſe that my lord of Wincheſter findeth him greeued againſt him, in as muche as they touche him or his perſon fro yͤ beginning of the worlde vnto this day, In yͤ aduiſe, ordinaũce & arbitrement of yͤ worthy father in god, Henry Archb. of Canterbury, yͤ high and noble prince Thomas duke of Exceſter, and Iohn Duke of Norffolke, the worſhipfull father in god Tho. biſhop of Dureſm Philip biſhop of Worceter, Iohn biſhop of Bathe, the noble lord Humfrey earle of Stafforde, yͤ worſhipfull perſons maſter Wylliã Alnewicke keper of the kings priuy ſeale, and Rafe lord Cromwell, promiſſing and behighting by yͤ faith of his body, and word of his princehood and kings ſon, to do, kepe, obſerue, and fulfill for him and his behalf, all that ſhall be declared, ordeined, & arbitred, by yͤ forſaid Archb. dukes biſhops, erle, keper of yͤ priuy ſeale & lord Cromwell in all matters & quarels abouesaid. Graũting alſo and promiſing ouer that, to be cõprehended in the foreſaid arbitrement, as toward putting away all heauineſſes & diſpleaſures, in any wiſe conceiued, by my L. of Glouceſter againſt all thoſe that haue in any wiſe, aſſiſted, coũſelled, or fauored vnto his ſaid vncle of Wincheſter, and as toward any matters that bee touching my Lorde of Glouceſter remitteth it, and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the King and his counſell, they to deeme it by the aduiſe of his counſaile, as hym thinketh it to be done. In witneſſe of the whiche thing to this preſẽt compromiſe my ſaid L. of Gloceſter hath ſubſcribed his name with his owne hand: Humfry Glouceſter. And in like forme my lord of Winch. in an other cõpromiſe hath ſubſcribed with his owne hand vnder the word of his prieſthoode to ſtand at the aduiſe, ordinãce, arbitrement of the perſõs abouſaid *mutatis mutãdis*.

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The cauſes aforeſaid and quarrels by vs ſene, heard & diligently examined & decreed, by the aſ-

aſſent of the ſayde parties, ordeyne and awarde, that my Lords of Glouceſter, & of Wyncheſter, for any thing doone or ſpoken, by that one partie agaynſt that other, or by any of theyrs, or anye other perſon or perſones, afore the ſeuenth day of this preſent Moneth of Marche, neuer hereafter take cauſes, quarels, diſpleaſures or heauineſſes, that one agaynſt the other, ne neither agaynſt the Counſailers adherents or fauourers of that other, for any thing or things that are paſt. And that my ſayde Lorde of Glouceſter, bee good Lorde to my ſayde Lorde of Wyncheſter, and haue him in loue and affection as his kinſman and vncle. And that my ſayde Lorde of Wyncheſter, haue to my ſayde Lorde of Glouceſter, true and ſadde loue and affection, do, and be readie to doe to him ſuche ſeruice as apperteyneth of honeſtie to my ſayde Lorde of Wyncheſter and his eſtate to do. And that eche of them be good Lord vnto all thoſe adherents, counſaylours, and fauourers of that other, and ſhew them at all tymes fauourable loue and affection, as for any thing done by them, or ſayde before the ſeuenth day of March.

And we decree, ordeyne, and award, that my ſayd Lord of Wincheſter, in the preſence of the King our ſoueraigne Lord, my Lorde of Bedford, and my Lord of Glouceſter, and the reſidue of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and cōmons being in this preſent Parliament, ſay and declare in maner and forme that foloweth.

My ſoueraigne Lord, I haue wel vnderſtād, that I am noiſed amōg the ſtates of your land, how that the King our ſoueraigne Lorde that was that time, beeing Prince, and lodged in the great chamber at Weſtminſter, by the baying of a ſpanyell, there was on a night taken, behind a tapet in the ſame chamber, a man, that ſhoulde haue confeſſed, that he was there by mine excitation, and procuring to haue ſlaine the foreſayde Prince there in his bedde, wherevppon hee was ſacked, and forthwith drowned in the Thames.

And furthermore, I am accuſed, howe that I ſhould haue ſtirred the K. that laſt dyed, the time alſo that hee was Prince, to haue taken the gouernance of this Realm, & the Crowne vpō him, liuing his father yͤ ſame time, being K. Through which language and noiſing, I feele my name & fame greatly enbleniſhed in diuers mens opinions, wherevpon, I take firſt God to my witnes, and after all the worlde, that I haue beene at all times, & am true louer, and true man, to you my ſoueraigne Lord, and ſhall be al my life. And alſo, I haue bin to my ſoueraigne L. yͭ was youre father, all time of his raigne, true man, and for ſuch he tooke me, truſted me, and cheriſhed me to his liues end, and as I truſt, no man will affirme the contrarie, nor neuer in my life procuring nor imagining death nor deſtructiō of his perſon, ne aſſenting to any ſuch thing, or like therto, yͤ time that hee was K. or Prince, or elſe in other ſtate.

And in likewiſe, I was true man to Kyng Henry the fourth, al the time that he was my ſoueraigne L. and raigned vpon me. In whiche matters, in al maner of wiſe, that it liketh to you my ſoueraigne Lorde, for to commaund me, I am ready for to declare me. And furthermore, where, how, and when it ſhall like you, by yͤ aduice of your counſaile, to aſſigne me: wherfore I beſeche you my ſoueraigne L. as humbly as I can, conſidering that there is no grounded proceſſe, by the whiche I might lawfully in theſe matters abouesaid, be conuict, bleſſed be God, to hold me, & declare me, by the aduice of al yͤ lords, ſpiritual & temporal, being in this preſent Parliament, true man to you my ſoueraigne Lord, & ſo to haue bin vnto my ſoueraigne lords yͭ were your father & grandfather, and true man alſo to haue bin at all times vnto your ſaid father whileſt he was Prince, or elſe in any other eſtate, the ſaide ſclander and noyſe notwithſtanding, and this ſame declaration, to be enacted in this your ſaid preſent Parliament.

The which words declared in maner as it is aboueſaid, it ſeemeth to my ſaid Lords the arbitrators, that it is meete, that my ſaide Lorde of Wincheſter, draw him apart, and in the meane time, the lords being preſent, bee ſingularly examined therevpon, & ſay their aduice. And if it bee aſſented by them, in maner as my ſaid Lorde of Wincheſter deſireth, let him be called again, and that then my Lord of Bedford haue theſe words in effect that followe.

Faire Vncle, the King my Lord, by yͤ aduice of his counſaile, hath commaunded me to ſaye to you, that he hath well vnderſtand and conſidered all the matters whiche yee haue heere openly declared in his preſence, and thervppon, ye deſire a petition, that hee will declare you, and by the aduice and aſſent of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, being in this preſent Parliamēt, he declareth you a true man to him, and that ye haue ſo bin, to my Lorde his father, & Grandfather, alſo true man to my lord his father, while he was prince, or elſe in any other eſtate, the ſaid diſſlander and noiſing notwithſtanding, and will that the ſayd declaration be ſo enacted in this preſent Parliamēt. After the which words thus ſaid (as before is declared) it was decreed alſo by the ſayde Lords arbitrators, that yͤ ſaid lord of Wincheſter ſhoulde haue theſe wordes that followeth to my ſaid Lord of Glouceſter.

My Lord of Glouceſter, I haue conceyued to my great heauineſſe, that yee ſhould haue receyued by diuers reportes, that I ſhoulde haue purpoſed and imagined againſt your perſon, honor, and eſtate, in diuers maners, for the whiche, yee haue taken againſt me great diſpleaſure. Sir, I take God to my witneſſe, that what reports ſo euer haue bin to you of me, peraduenture, of ſuch as haue had no great affection to me, God forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purpoſed any thing that mighte bee hindering or preiudice to youre perſon, honor, or eſtate. And therefore I pray you, that yee be vnto me good L. from this time forthe, for by my will, I gaue neuer other occaſiō, nor purpoſe not to doe hereafter by gods grace. The which wordes ſo by him ſaid, it was decreed by the ſame arbitrators, that my Lorde of Glouceſter ſhould aunſwere and ſay:

Faire Uncle, ſith ye declare you ſuch a man, as yee ſaye, I am right glad that it is ſo, and for ſuche a man I take you. And when this was done, it was decreede by the ſaid arbitrators, that euery eache of my L. of Glouceſter, & Wincheſter, ſhould take either other by ẏ hand, in ẏ preſence of the K. and al the Parliament, in ſigne & token of good loue and accorde, the whiche was done, and the Parliament was adiorned til after Eaſter.

When the greate fier of this diſſention, betweene theſe two noble perſonages, was thus by the arbitrators, to their knowlege and iudgement, vtterly quēched out, and layd vnder boord, all other controuerſies, betweene other Lordes, taking part with the one party or the other, were ſoone appeaſed, and brought to concord, for ioye whereof, the King cauſed a ſolemne feaſt to bee kept on Whitſonday, on the which day, he created Richard Plantagenet, ſonne and heire to the Earle of Cābridge (whom his father at Southhāpton had put to death, as before ye haue hard) Duke of Yorke, not foreſeeing that this preferment ſhoulde bee his deſtruction, nor that hys ſeede ſhoulde of his generation bee the extreame ende, and finall confuſion. He the ſame day alſo, promoted Iohn Lord Mowbray, & Erle Marſhall, ſonne and heire to Thomas D. of Northfolke, by King Richard the ſeconde, exiled thys Realme, to the title, name, and ſtile, of the Duke of Northfolke, during whiche feaſt, the Duke of Bedford adorned the King with the high order of Knighthood, whiche on the ſame day, dubbed wͭ the ſword theſe knights, whoſe names enſue.

Richard Duke of Yorke.
Iohn Duke of Norffolke.
The Earle of Weſtmerlande.
Henry Lord Percy.
Iohn Lorde Butler, ſon to the Earle of Ormond.
The Lord Roſſe.
The Lord Matrauers.
The Lord Welles.
The Lord Barkeley.
Sir Iames Butler.
Sir Henry Grey of Tankaruile.
Sir Iohn Talbot.
Sir Rauf Grey of Warke.
Sir Robert Vere.
Sir Richard Vere.
Sir Edmond Hungerford.
Sir Water Wingfielde.
Sir Iohn Butler.
Sir Reginald Cobham.
Sir Iohn Paſhelewe.
Sir Thomas Tunſtall.
Sir Iohn Chedeoke.
Sir Rauſe Langſtre.
Sir William Drurie.
Sir William ap Thomas.
Sir Richard Carbonell.
Sir Richard Wooduile.
Sir Iohn Shirdlow.
Sir Nicholas Blunket.
Sir William Cheyney Iuſtice.
Sir William Babington.
Sir Rauſe Butler.
Sir Robert Beauchampe.
Sir Edmond Trafford.
Sir Iohn Iune, chiefe Baron, and dyuers other.

After this ſolemne feaſt ended, a greate ayde & ſubſedie was graunted, for the continuance of the conqueſt in France, & ſo therevpon, money was gathered, and men were prepared in euery Citie, towne, & countrey, during which buſines, Thomas Duke of Exceter, great vncle to the King, a right ſage & diſcrete counſellor, departed out of this mortall life, at his manor of Grenewiche, & with all funerall pompe, was conueyghed thorough London to Berrie, and there buried.

The D
Excet

The ſame yeare alſo dyed the Lady Elizabeth, halfe ſiſter to the ſame Duke, and of ẏ whole bloud with King Henry the fourth, maried firſt to the Lorde Iohn Holland, Duke of Exceſter, and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at ẏ [illegible] Friers of London.

While theſe things were thus a doing in Englande, the Earle of Warwike, Lieutenant for the Regent in Fraunce, entred into the Coūtrey of Maine, and beſieged the Towne of C teau de Loyre, the whiche ſhortly to him w rendered, whereof he made Captaine, Matheu Gough, Eſquier.

After this, he tooke by aſſaulte the Caſtell o Maiet, and gaue it for his valiantneſſe to Ioh Winter eſquier, and after that he conquered t caſtell of Lude, and made there Captayn William Gladiſdale Gentleman.

Here he was informed, that the Frenchmenne were aſſembled in the coūtrey of Beauſſe, wherevppon hee haſted thyt herwardes to haue gyuen them battaile, but they hauing knowlege of his approche, durſt not abide to trie the matter with him by a pight fielde, but fledde before hee came neere them.

The Earle in his returne, wanne the Caſtell of Montdublean by ſurrender, where he left the valiant Lorde Willoughby, and then returned to Paris. During whiche ſeaſon, he was ordeyned by the three eſtates of the Realme of Englande, to bee gouernour of the yong King, in the place of the Duke of Exceſter deceaſſed: howbeit, hee dyd not as yet returne into Englande, but remayned in Fraunce for a ſeaſon, and atchieued many worthy enterpriſes.

ic of icke ouer- the ing.

Whileſt the Lorde regent of Fraunce was thus in Englãd, meanes was made by yͤ Duke of Burgoigne, for the deliuerie of the Duke of Alanſon, taken at the battell of Vernoyle, and nowe for the ſumme of two hundred thouſande crownes, hee was ſet at libertie, but neyther for releaſſe of all, or abatement of parte of his raunſome, woulde hee by any meanes acknowledge the King of Englande, to be his liege and soueraigne Lorde.

g. 5.

After that the Duke of Bedford hadde ſet all things in good order in England, hee toke leaue of the King, and togither with his wife, returned into Fraunce, firſt landing at Calais, where the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter (that alſo paſſed the Seas with him) receyued the habite, hatte, and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all ceremonies to it apperteyning.

7

The late Kyng Henry the fifth, had forbidden him, eyther to ſue for, or to receyue that dignitie, bicauſe he would not that Cardinals hats ſhoulde in anye wiſe preſume to bee equall with regall crownes, whyche hee doubted woulde come to paſſe in thys man, if hee myghte once atteyne to the honor of wearing one of thoſe hattes, ſuche an haultie ſtomacke, and loftie courage hee euer noted to bee in him, from hys youth vpwardes.

But nowe the Kyng beeyng yong, and the regent hys friend, he obteyned his purpoſe, to his great profite, and the empoueriſhing of the ſpiritualtie of thys Realme: for by a Bull legantine which hee purchaſed from Rome, he gathered ſo ſuche treaſure, that no man in manner hadde money, but hee, ſo that he was called the ryche Cardinall of Wincheſter.

After that the Lorde Regent was arriued in Fraunce, the Lorde of Ruſtiman, marſhall of Britaigne, aſſembled a greate company of the Britiſhe nation, whiche fortifyed and repared the Towne of Pontorſon, and after, the ſayde Marſhall, with a thouſande men, entred into the Countrey of Conſtantine, and commyng before the Towne of Auranches, was encountred by the Engliſhmen of that garriſon, and after long fighte, hys people were putte to the worſe, chaſed, and diſcomfited, and hee hymſelfe taken priſoner in the fielde.

The Duke of Bedford hearing that yͤ towne of Pontorſon, ſcituate within two leagues of Mont Saint Mighell, was newly fortified, and ſtrongly defended, ſent thither the Erle of Warwike, accompanyed with the Lord Scales, and other valiant Captaynes and Souldiers, to the number of ſeauen thouſande men, to beſiege the Towne, who ſo enuironed it on euery ſyde, that neyther any man coulde ſteale in or out.

The ſiege thus long continuing, vittailes began to waxe ſcant in the Engliſh army: wherefore, the Lorde Scales, hauing in hys company Sir John Harpley Baylife of Conſtantine, ſir Sir William Brearton Bailife of Caen, Sir Raufe Teſſon, Sir John Carbonell, and three thouſande good men of warre, departed from the ſiege, to get vittayle, pouder, and other things neceſſary for their purpoſe.

And as they were returning with their cariages by the Sea coaſt, neere to Saint Michaels Mount, they ſuddaynely were encountred by theyr enimies, whereof were chiefe, the Baron of Coloſes, the Lorde Dauſeboſt, Captayne of the ſayde Mount, the Lord Mountabon, the Lorde Montburchier, the Lorde of Chateaugiron, the Lord of Tintignate, the Lord of Chateaubrian, with ſixe thouſand men of warre.

The Lord Scales and his company, perceyuing themſelues beſet on the one ſyde with the Sea, and on the other with theyr enimies, alight from their horſes, ⁊ like coragious perſons, there in an vnſpeakable furie, ſet on their enimies.

A hotte ſkirmiſhe.

The fight was fierce and cruell, the Engliſhmen kept themſelues cloſe togither, ſo that their enimies could get no aduantage of them. At the laſt, the Lord Scales cried S. George they flee, whereupon, the Engliſhmen toke ſuch courage, and the Frenchmen that fought before, were ſo diſmayd, that they began to flee indeede: the Engliſhmen leaped then againe on horſebacke, and followed them ſo, that they ſlew ⁊ toke aboue eleuen C. perſons, among yͤ which wer taken, the Baron of Coloſes, yͤ Vicount of Roan, ⁊ other. The L. of Chateaugiron, with a Scottiſh Captayne, and diuers other mẽ of name were ſlaine.

On the Cene thurſday.

Enguerrant.

After this victorie, the Lord Scales, with his vitailes, prouiſion and priſoners, returned to the ſiege, where he was of the Erle, and other noble men ioyouſly receyued.

Whileſt the ſiege thus continued before Pontorſon, Chriſtopher Hanſon, and other ſouldiers of the garriſon of Saint Suſan, made a roade into yͤ Countrey of Anion, and came to a Caſtel called Ramffort, whiche Caſtell was ſo priuily ſcaled, that yͤ Captaine within, & his company, were taken or ſlayne, before they knewe of theyr enimies approching.

When knowledge heereof was giuen to the Frenchmen whiche were aſſembled, to the number of of twentie thouſand, to reyſe the ſiege that lay before Pontorſon, they left that enterpriſe, and wente to recouer the ſaid Caſtell of Ramfort, and ſo comming before it, plãted their ſiege ſo on each ſide of it, that at length by compoſition, the Engliſhmen within, doubting to be taken by force, rendred vp the Caſtell, hauing libertie to depart with bagge and baggage.

Shortly after, the Lorde of Raux, callyng hymſelfe Lieutenant generall for the Dolphin, entred into Mayne, with an armie of three M. men, and by force tooke yͤ Caſtell of Malicorne, whereof was Captayne, an Engliſhman, one Oliuer Oſbaterſby.

In like manner, they tooke the little Caſtell of Lude, and therein William Blackborne, Lieutenant for William Glaſdale Eſquier.

After this, the frenchmen returned backe to yͤ Dolphin, and kept not on that iourney to Pontorſon, for that they vnderſtoode by eſpials, that the Earle of Warwike, and the Engliſhmenne there, determined to gyue them battell, if they once attempted to reyſe the ſiege.

Pontorſon rendred to the Engliſhmen.

They within the Towne, beeing ſtraightly beſieged, perceiuing no likelyhoode of ſuccours, & ſeeing the Engliſhe armye dayly encreaſe, fell to treatie, for doubt to be taken by force, and ſo rendred the towne vpon cõdition, yͭ they myght depart with horſe and harnes only, whiche beeyng granted to thẽ, the Erle like a valiant Captaine entred into the towne, & there appointed for gouernors, the Lorde Ros, & the L. Talbot, & leauing there a conuenient garriſon, returned to the Lord Regent. After the taking of this towne of Pontorſon, there was a league, & a treatie concluded betweene the Regent, and the D. of Britaigne, by yͤ articles of which agremẽt, yͤ townes of Põtorſon, & S. Iames de Bewron, were beaten downe to the ground, and raſed.

After the Lord of Rays was departed out of Mayne as ye haue heard, Chriſtopher Hanſon, Philip Gough, Martin Godfrey, called yͤ Scaler, tooke by ſtelth the Caſtell of S. Laurence de Mortiers. At the ſame time, whẽ the Captaine, & the moſt part of his company, were gone forth to heare Maſſe, in a Churche ouer againſte the ſame Caſtell, and keeping themſelues cloſe, tyll the Capitaine returned, tooke him as he was entred within the firſt gate, and ſo was this Caſtel ſtuffed with Engliſhemen, and Captaine therof appointed ſir William Oldhaule.

The ſame ſeaſon, ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, gouernour of the Countreys of Aniou, and Maine, aſſembled a great puiſſance of men of warre, and layde ſiege before the Caſtell of Saint Owen Diſtays, beſyde the Towne of Lauall, and after he had layne there tenne dayes, the Caſtell was deliuered, they within departing with their liues and armour only to them graunted, by the tenor of the compoſition, which they tooke with yͤ ſame ſir Iohn Faſtolfe.

After the winning of this Caſtell, the Engliſhmen remoued to the ſtrong Caſtell of Grauile, and after twelue dayes, they within offered to yeelde the Caſtell by a daye, if they were not ſuccoured by the Dolphin or his power: the offer was taken, and pledges deliuered.

Then Sir Iohn Faſtolfe returned in poſt to the Regent, aduertiſing him of this compoſition and agreement, wherefore, the ſaid Regent reyſed a great power to fighte with the Frenchmen at the day appoynted, and in his company, were the Earles of Mortaigne and Warwike, the Lords Ros and Talbot, Sir Iohn Faſtolfe, ſir Iohn Aubemond, ſir Iohn Ratcliffe, and diuers other, to the number of twentie thouſande men, and ſo marched forwardes, in hope to meete and ioyne battel with their aduerſaries, but yͤ french power, beeing not farre off from the place, durſt not approche, wherefore, the Regent ſent to Sir Iohn Faſtolfe incontinently, to receyue yͤ Caſtell, but they within (contrary to promiſe and appointmente) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and ſo forſaking the pledges, and theyr fellowes in armes, refuſed to render the fortreſſe, wherefore, the pledges were brought before their fighte, and there before the Caſtell openly put to death.

After this, the Lorde Talbot was made gouernour of Aniou and Maine, and ſir Iohn Faſtolfe was aſſigned to another place, which Lord Talbot, being both of noble birth, and of haultie courage, after his comming into Fraunce, obteyned ſo manye glorious victories of his enimies, that his only name was, and yet is dreadfull to the French nation, and much renowmed amongſt all other people.

The L Talbo valian taine.

This luſtie and moſt valiant Captaine, entred into Mayne, where he ſlew men, deſtroyed Caſtels, brent Townes, and in concluſion, ſodaynely tooke the Towne of Lauall. The Lord Loghac, and diuers other, withdrew into yͤ Caſtell, in the whiche, they were ſo ſtreightly beſieged, that in the ende, they agreed to pay to the Lord Talbot, an hundred thouſand Crownes, for licence to departe, with all theyr bagge and baggage.

Then was this Caſtel deliuered, to yͤ keeping of Gilbert Halſall, which after was ſlaine at the ſiege of Orleauns, in whoſe place, Mathewe Gough was made Captayne there, who beeyng at the iourney of Senlis, by treaſon of a Miller that kepte a Mille adioyning to the wall, the Frenchmen entred into the towne, and brought it againe into their ſubiection.

The Duke of Bedford hearing that yͤ towne of Montargis, in the territorie of Orleauns, was but ſlenderly kept, and not throughly furniſhed, ſent the Earle of Suffolke, with his brother Sir John Poole, and Sir Henry Biſſet, hauing in their company a ſixe thouſande men to aſſault that towne, but when they came thither, and found the Towne, both well manned, and ſtrongly fortified, contrary to their expectation, they ſurceaſſed from giuing the aſſault, and only layd theyr ſiege round about it.

The Earle of Warwike was appoynted to lye with a greate number of men of warre, at Sainte Mathelines de Archempe, to encounter the Frenchmen, if they would attempte to ayde or vittaile thoſe within the towne.

The ſituation of this towne was ſuche, that by reaſon of waters and mariſhes, the Engliſhe army muſt needes ſeuer it ſelfe into three parts, ſo that the one coulde not eaſely help the other, but eyther by boates or bridges.

This ſiege continued aboue two monethes, ſo that in the meane time, the Frenchmenne had leyſure to prouide for the ſuccour thereof, and ſo it came to paſſe, that the Conneſtable of Frāce Arthur of Britaigne, the Lorde Boyſac one of the Marſhals, Stephen la Hire, Pothon de Saintreiles, the lord Grauille, and diuers other, to the number of three thouſande horſemē, were ſente forthe by the Dolphin, the which priuily in the night ſeaſon, came on that ſide, where Sir John de la Poole, and Sir Henrye Biſſet laye, whome they found ſo out of order, and without good watche, that the Frenchmenne entred into theyr lodgings, ſlewe manye in theyr beddes, and ſpared none, for theyr reſiſtance was but ſmall.

A gret ſlaughter by negligence of the watche.

Sir John de la Poole, with his horſe ſaued hymſelf, and ſir Henry Biſſet eſcaped by a boate, and eight other with him.

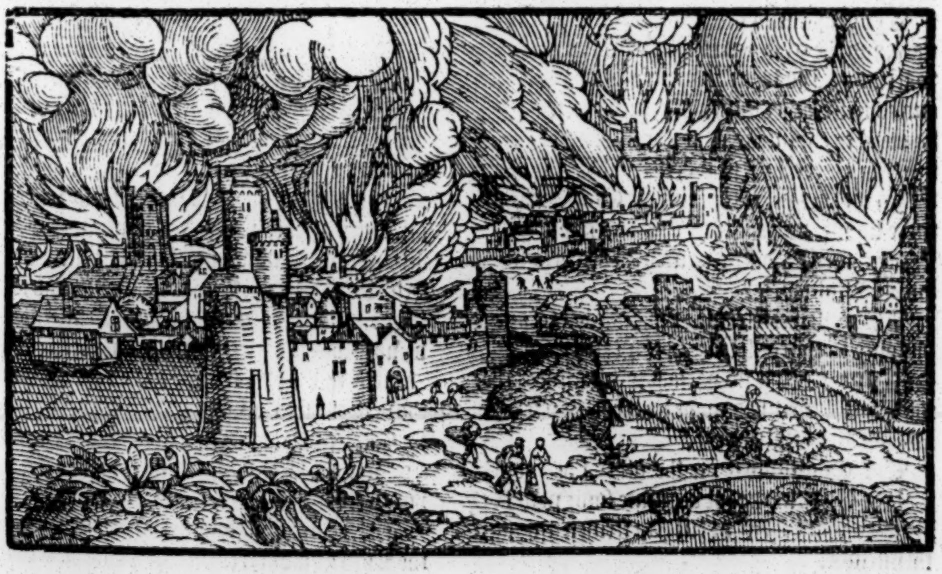
The reſidue fleeing in plumpes, and ſtriuing to paſſe by a bridge of timber, the whiche beeyng peſtered with preaſſe of the multitude, brake, and ſo there were a greate number drowned, in ſo muche, that there were ſlayne by the enimes ſword, and drowned in the water, a fifteene hundred men.

The Earle of Warwike hearing of this miſfortune, departed from Saint Mathelines with all ſpeede, and commyng before Montargis, offered battell to the Frenche Captaynes, whyche aunſwered, that they had manned and vittelled the towne, and intended to doe no more at that time.

The Engliſhmen ſeeing it would be no better, came ſoftly backe againe with all their ordinance to the Duke of Bedford.

Sur Nicholas Burdet.
Polidor.

It ſeemed, that Fortune would not permitte the Frenchmen long to enioy in this ſeaſon any good ſucceſſe, without enterlacing yͤ ſame with ſome diſpleaſure, for at thys very tyme, Sir Nicholas Burdet, appoynted by the Duke of Somerſet to endomage hys enimies in the coaſtes of Britaigne, ſente horſemen into euerie parte, working all the diſpleaſure to the people that myghte be deuiſed, the Countrey, through which he paſſed, was waſted, yͤ townes were brent, the houſes ſpoyled, and greate number of priſoners taken, the ſmall villages were deſtroyed, and the walled Townes raunſomed, and ſo without hurte or domage, the ſayde Sir Nicholas Burdet returned into Normandye.



Theſe newes being ſignified to the Conneſtable, and other the french Captaines, aſwaged their greate mirth and triumphant ioy, conceyued for the victorie of Montargis, that loth they were to attempt any further enterpriſes agaynſt the Engliſh nation. But the Duke of Alanſon, whiche as yee haue hearde, was lately deliuered out of captiuitie, reuiued againe the dulled ſpirites of the Dolphin, and ſomewhat aduaunced, in hope of good ſpeede, the fainting hartes of hys Captaines, ſo that vppon occaſion offered, they determined to atchieue a notable feate as they tooke it, againſt the Engliſhmen, which was the recouerie of the Citie of Mans out of theyr hands: for ſo it happened, that diuers of ỹ chiefe rulers in that Citie, and namely, diuers ſpiritual perſons, meaning to reuolt to the Dolphins ſide, aduertiſed him by letters of their whole mindes, whiche letters were conueyed vnto him by certaine Friers.

The Dolphin glad of thoſe newes, appointed the Lordes de la Breth, and Faict, Marſhals of France, accōpanyed with the Lords of Mount Iehan, of Buel, Doruall, Torſie, Beaumanor, the Hire, and his brother Guilliam, with fyue hundred other valiant Captaines and ſouldiers, to the accompliſhing of this enterpriſe, the whiche comming thither at the day aſſigned, in the night ſeaſon approched towards the walles, making a little fire on an hill, in ſight of the towne, to ſignifie their comming, whiche beeing perceyued by the Citizens that nere to the great church were watching for the ſame, a burning creſſet was ſhewed out of the ſteeple, whiche ſuddainely was put out and quenched. What needeth many words.

The Captaines on Horſebacke came to the gate, and the traitors within ſlewe the porters & watchmen, and let in their friends, the footemen entred firſte, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent, that if muche neede requiſed, they might fight in the open fielde.

Mauns loſt by treaſon of the Citizens.

In the meane ſeaſon, manye Engliſhmenne were ſlayne, and a greate crie and noyſe reyſed through the Town, as in ſuch ſurpriſes is wont and accuſtomed.

The cauſe heereof was not knowen to anye, but only to the conſpirators, for the remnant of the Citizens being no partakers, imagined, that the Engliſhmen had made hauocke in ỹ towne, and put all to the ſworde.

The Engliſhmen on the other ſide iudged, that the Citizens hadde begunne ſome new Rebellion againſt them, or elſe had ſtriuen amongſt themſelues.

The Earle of Suffolke, whiche was gouernour of the Towne, hauing perfect knowledge by ſuch as eſcaped frō the walles, howe the matter went, withdrewe without any tarriance, into the Caſtell, which ſtandeth at the gate of Sainte Uincent, wherof was Conſtable, Tho. Gower eſquier, whither alſo fled ſo many Engliſhmen, that the place was peſtered, and there if they were not the ſooner reſcued, likely to be famiſhed: and ſurely, they were ſore aſſaulted by their enimies, ſo that they could not haue endured long, if they hadde not priuily ſente a meſſenger to the Lorde Talbot, whiche then lay at Alanſon, certifying hym in what a wofull caſe they were.

The Lord Talbot hearing theſe newes, neither ſlept, nor banquetted, but in all haſt aſſembled togither about ſeauen hundred men, and in the euening departed from Alanſon, and in the morning came to a Caſtell called Guyerch, a two miles frō Mans, and there ſtayed a while, till he had ſente out Mathew Gough, as an eſpiall, to vnderſtand how the Frenchmen demeaned themſelues.

Mathew Gough ſo well ſpedde hys buſines, that priuily in the night he came into the Caſtel, where hee learned, that the Frenchmen verye negligently vſed themſelues, without takyng heede to theyr watch, as though they had beene out of all daunger.

When thys Mathewe hadde knowen all the certaintie, he returned againe, and within a mile of the Citie, met the Lorde Talbot, and ỹ Lorde Scales, and opened vnto them all things, according to his credence.

The Lordes then to make haſt in the matter, bycauſe the daye approched, with all ſpeede poſſible, came to the poſterne gate, and alighting from theyr horſes about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, they iſſued out of the Caſtell, crying Saint George Talbot.

The Frenchmen beeing thus ſuddainely taken, were ſore amaſed, in ſo much, that ſome of them, beyng not out of theyr beddes, gote vp in their ſhirtes, and lept ouer ỹ walles. Other ranne naked out of the gates to ſaue their liues, leauing all theyr apparell, horſes, armour, and riches behynde them, none was hurt, but ſuche as reſiſted. To bee ſhorte, there were ſlayne and taken, to the number of foure hundred Gentlemen, the priuate ſoldiers were frankely let goe.

Mauns r
uered.

After this, was inquiſition made of the authors of the treaſon, and there were accuſed thirtie Citizens, twentie Prieſtes, and fifteene Friers, whiche according to their demerites, were put to execution.

Trayton
cuted.

An.reg.

The Citie of Mans beeing thus recouered, the Lord Talbot returned to Alanſon, & ſhortly after, the Earle of Warwike departed into Englande, to bee gouernoure of the yong Kyng, in ſteede of Thomas Duke of Exceſter, lately

departed

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departed to God, and then was the Lord Thomas Montacute Earle of Saliſburie, ſente into Fraunce, to ſupplye the roomth of the ſayd Earle of Warwike, who landed at Calaice with fiue thouſand mē, and ſo came to the D. of Bedford, as thē lying in Paris, where they fel in counſell togither, concerning the affaires of France, and namely, the Earle of Saliſburie began maruellouſly to phanteſie the gayning of the Citie and Countrey of Orleans.

ure Erle
ſburie a
e and
man.

This Earle was the man at that time, by whoſe witte, ſtrength, and policie, the Engliſhe name was much fearefull and terrible to yͤ french nation, which of himſelfe, mighte both appoynt, commaund, and do all things in manner at hys pleaſure, in whoſe power (as it appeared after his death) a greate part of the conqueſt conſiſted: for ſurely, he was a man both paynefull, diligente, & readie to withſtande all daungerous chaunces that were at hande, prompte in counſell, and of courage inuincible, ſo that in no one man, men put more truſt, nor any ſingular perſon wanne the hearts ſo much of all men.

Heerevppon, after this great enterpriſe hadde long beene debated in the priuie counſell, the Erle of Saliſburies deuice therein was of them all graunted and allowed, ſo that he beeyng repleniſhed with good hope of victorie, and furniſhed with artillerie and munitions apperteining to ſo great a ſiege, accompanyed with the Earle of Suffolke, and the Lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunte armye, to the number of tenne thouſande menne, departed from Paris, and paſſed through the countrey of Beauſſe. There he tooke by aſſault, the Towne of Genuille, and within fiue dayes after, had the Caſtell deliuered vnto hym, by them that were fledde into it for theyr ſafegarde.

He alſo tooke the towne of Baugencie, ſuffering euery man which woulde become ſubiect to the Kyng of England, to enioy theyr lands and goodes.

Mauns
uered.

The Townes of Meun vppon Loyre, and Iargeaulx, hearing of theſe doings, preſented to them the keyes of theyr Townes vppon lyke agreement.

o.reg.7.
s beſie-
of Or-

After this, in the moneth of September, hee came before the Citie of Orleans, and planted hys ſiege on the one ſyde of the ryuer of Loyre, but before hys comming, the Baſterd of Orleans, the Byſhop of the Citie, and a greate number of Scottes, hearing of the Earles intente, made dyuers fortifications about the Towne, and deſtroyed the ſuburbes, in the whyche, were twelue pariſhe Churches, and foure orders of Friers.

Trayton
cuted.

An.reg.

They cutte alſo downe all the vynes, trees, and buſhes, within fyue leagues of the Citie, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſhoulde haue neyther comfort, refuge, nor ſuccour.

After the ſiege hadde continued three weekes full, the baſterd of Orleans iſſued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Engliſhmen, but they receyued hym with ſo fierce and terrible ſtrokes, that he was with all his company compelled to retire and flee backe into the Citie, but the Engliſhmen followed ſo faſt, in killing and taking of theyr enimies, that they entred with them: the Bulwarke of the bridge, whiche with a great tower ſtanding at the ende of the ſame, was taken incontinentlye by the Engliſhemenne.

In this conflict, many Frenchmen were taken, but moe were ſlayne, and the keeping of the Tower and Bulwarke was cōmitted to William Glaſdale Eſquier.

By the taking of this bridge, the paſſage was ſtopped, that neyther men nor vittaile, could goe or come by that way.

After this, the Earle cauſed certaine Bulwarkes to be made rounde about the towne, caſting trenches betweene the one and the other, laying ordynance in euery place where he ſawe that any batterie might be deuiſed.

When they within ſaw that they were enuironed with fortreſſes and ordinance, they layde gunne againſte gunne, and fortified towers againſt Bulwarkes, and within, caſt newe rampiers, and fortified themſelues as ſtrongly as mighte bee deuiſed, againſt the violence of their enimies baterie and aſſaultes.

The Baſterd of Orleans, and the Hire, were appoynted to ſee the walles and watches kepte, and the Byſhop ſaw that the inhabitants within the Citie were put in good order, and that vittaile were not wantonly conſumed, or vaynely ſpent.

In the Tower that was taken at the bridge ende (as before you haue hearde) there was an high chamber, hauing a grate full of barres of yron, by the which, a man myghte looke all the length of the bridge into the Citie, at whiche grate, many of the chiefe Captaynes ſtoode many times, viewing the Citie, and deuiſing in what place it was beſt to giue the aſſault. They within the Citie well perceyued thys tooting hole, & layde a peece of ordinãce directly againſt the windowe.

It ſo chanced, that the .59. day after the ſiege was layd, the Erle of Saliſburie, Sir Thomas Gargraue, and William Glaſdale, with diuers other, went into the ſaid tower & ſo into the high chamber, & looked out at the grate, and within a ſhort ſpace, the ſonne of the maſter gunner, perceiuing mē looking out at the windowe, tooke his match, as his father had taught him, who was gone downe to dinner, and fired the gunne, the ſhot whereof brake, and ſheuered the iron barres of the grate, ſo that one of the ſame barres ſtrake the Earle ſo violently on the head, that it ſtroke awaye one of hys eyes, and the ſyde of hys cheeke.

The Earle of Salisbury ſlain

Sir Thomas Eargraue was likewiſe ſtriken, and dyed within two dayes.

The Earle was conueyghed to Meun, on Loire, where after eight dayes, he likewiſe departed this worlde, whoſe body was conueyed into Englande with all funerall pomp, and buried at Biſſam by his progenitors, leauing behind him an only daughter named Alice, married to Richarde Neuill, ſonne to Rauſe Earle of Weſtmerlande, of whome, more ſhall bee ſayd heereafter.

The domage that the Realme of Englande receyued by the loſſe of thys noble man, manifeſtly appeared, in that immediately after hys death, the proſperous good lucke whiche had followed the Engliſh nation, began to decline, and the glory of their victories gotten in the parties beyond the Sea, fell in decay.

Though al men were ſorowful for his death, yet the Duke of Bedford was moſt ſtriken with heauineſſe, as he that had loſt his only right hãd, and chiefe ayde in time of neceſſitie. But ſith that dead men cannot helpe the chances of men that be liuing, he like a prudent gouernour, appointed the Earle of Suffolke to be his Lieutenante and Captaine of the ſiege, and ioyned with him the Lord Scales, the Lord Talbot, ſir John Faſtolf, & diuers other right valiant Captaines.

Theſe perſons cauſed baſtilles to bee made rounde about the Citie, and left nothing vnattempted, whiche mighte aduaunce their purpoſe.

1429

In the Lent ſeaſon, vittaile and artillerie began to waxe ſcant in the Engliſh camp, wherefore the Earle of Suffolke appoynted Sir John Faſtolfe, ſir Thomas Rampſton, and ſir Phillip Hall, with their retinues, to ride to Paris, to the Lord Regent, to enforme him of their lacke, who incontinently vpon that information, prouided victuall, artillerie and munitions neceſſarie, and loded therewith many chariots, cartes, & horſſes: and for the ſure conueying of the ſame, hee appointed Sir Simon Morhier, prouoſt of Paris, with the guard of the Citie, and diuers of his owne houſhold ſeruants to accompany Sir John Faſtolfe and his complices, to the armie lying at the ſiege of Orleans.

Engu

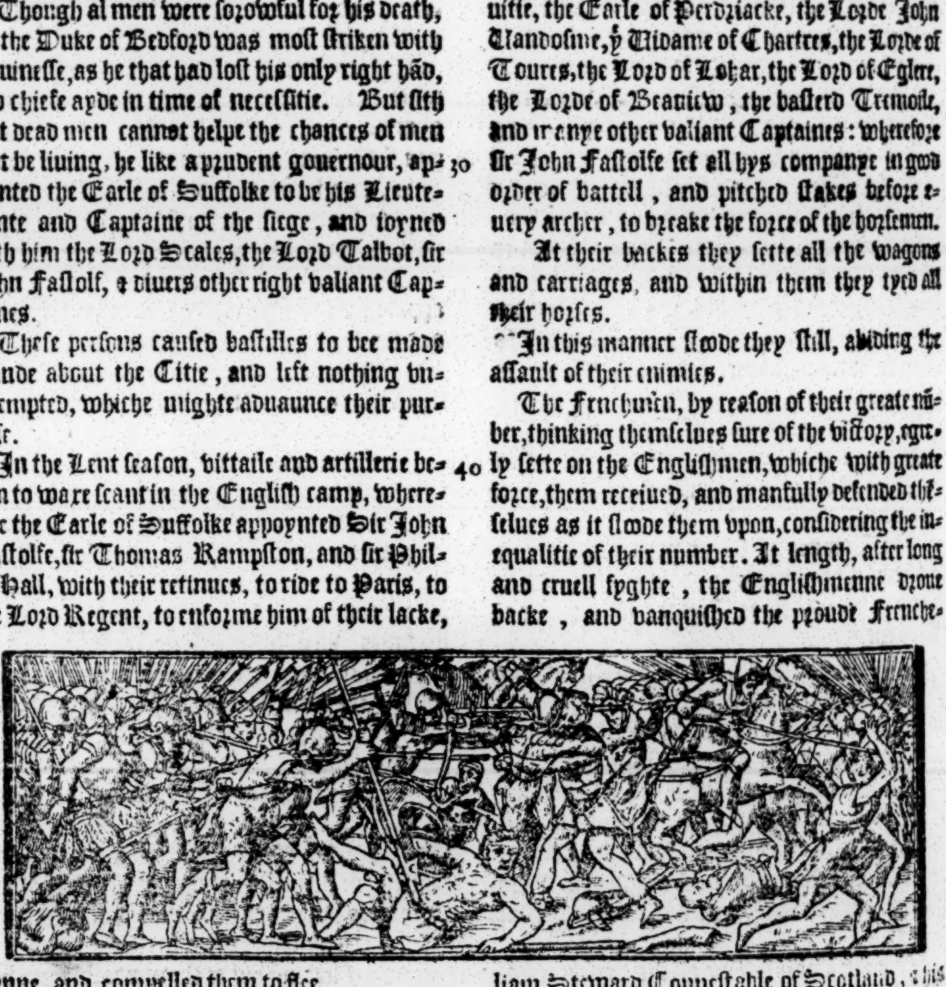
They were in all, to the number of fifteene hundred men, of the which, there were not paſt a fiue or ſixe hundred Engliſhmen, the whiche departing in good order of battell out of Paris, came to Genuille in Beauſſe, and in a morning early, in a great froſt, they departed from thẽce towarde the ſiege, and when they came to a Towne called Rowray, in the lãds of Beauſſe, they perceyued their enimies comming towards them, beeing to the number of nine or tenne thouſand of Frenchmen, and Scottes, of whom were Captaines Charles of Clermont, ſonne to the Duke of Bourbon, then being priſoner in England, Sir William Steward Conneſtable of Scotland, a little before deliuered out of captiuitie, the Earle of Perdriacke, the Lorde John Vandoſme, yͤ Vidame of Chartres, the Lorde of Toures, the Lord of Lohar, the Lord of Eglere, the Lorde of Beauiew, the baſterd Tremoile, and manye other valiant Captaines: wherefore ſir John Faſtolfe ſet all hys companye in good order of battell, and pitched ſtakes before euery archer, to breake the force of the horſemen.

At their backes they ſette all the wagons and carriages, and within them they tyed all their horſes.

In this manner ſtoode they ſtill, abiding the aſſault of their enimies.

The Frenchmen, by reaſon of their greate nũber, thinking themſelues ſure of the victory, egerly ſette on the Engliſhmen, whiche with greate force, them receiued, and manfully defended thẽſelues as it ſtoode them vpon, conſidering the inequalitie of their number. At length, after long and cruell fyghte, the Engliſhmenne droue backe, and vanquiſhed the proude Frenchemenne, and compelled them to flee.

A ro
tory
gliſh



In this conflict were ſlaine the Lorde William Steward Conneſtable of Scotland, & his brother the L. Dorualle, the L. Chateaubriã, ſir

John Baſgot, and other Frenchmen and Scots, to the number of .xxv. hundred, and aboue .xj. C. taken priſoners, although the French wryters affirme the number leſſe.

After this fortunate victorie, ſir John Faſtolfe and his companie, hauing loſt no one man of any reputation, wyth all theyr caryages, vytaile, and pryſoners, marched forth and came to the Engliſh campe before Orleans, where they were ioyfully receyued, and highly commended for theyr valiauncie and worthie prowes ſhewed in the battaile, the which bycauſe moſt part of the caryage was Herring, and Lenton ſtuffe, the French men call it the battaile of Herrings.

el of ings.

The Earle of Suffolke being thus vytayled, continued the ſiege, and euery day almoſt ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen within, who (at length being in diſpayre of all ſuccours) offred to treate, and in concluſion, to ſaue themſelues, and the Citie from captiuitie of theyr enimyes, they deuiſed to ſubmit the Citie, themſelues, and all theirs vnder the obeyſance of Philip duke of Burgoign, bycauſe he was extract out of the ſtock and bloud royall of the auncient kings of Fraunce, thinking by this means (as they did in deed) to break or diminiſh the great amitie betwene the Engliſhmen and him.

This offer was ſignifyed by them vnto the Duke of Burgoigne, who with thankes certified them againe, that he would gladly receyue them, if the Lord Regent woulde therewith be contented. Hereupon he diſpatched Meſſengers to the Duke of Bedforde, who, though ſome counſelled that it ſhould be verie good and neceſſarie for him to agree to that maner of yeelding, yet hee and other thought it neither cõuenient nor honourable, that a Citie ſo long beſieged by the king of England his power, ſhuld be deliuered vnto any other foreyne prince or potentate, than to him, or to hys Regent, and that bycauſe the example mighte prouoke other townes hereafter to ſeeke the lyke agreement.

Hereupon the Regent anſwered the Burgonian Ambaſſadors, that ſith the king of England had beene at all the charges aboute the beſieging and winning of the Citie, it was not conſonant to reaſon that the Duke ſhoulde enioy the fruites of an other mans labour.

Hereof folowed a double miſchief to the Engliſh proceedings in the realme of France, for both the Duke of Burgoigne conceyued an inwarde grudge agaynſt the Engliſhmen, for that hee ſuſpected them to enuy his glory and aduancement, and againe the Engliſhmen left the ſiege of Orleans, which by this treatie they might haue recouered out of theyr enimies hands, and put their friendes in poſſeſſion of it. But mortall men can not foreſee all things, and therefore are guided by fortune which ruleth the deſtinie of man, and turneth hir wheele as ſhee lyſteth.

While this treatie was in hand, the Dolphin ſtudied dayly how to prouide remedie by the deliuerie of his friendes in Orleans out of preſent danger. And euẽ at the ſame time, that mõſtrous womã named Joan la Pucell de Dieu, was preſented vnto him at Chinon, where as then hee ſoiourned, of whiche woman yee maye finde more written in the French hiſtorie, touching hir birth, eſtate, and qualitie. But briefly to ſpeake of hir doings, ſo much credite was giuen to hir, that ſhe was honoured as a Saint, and ſo ſhe handled the matter, that ſhe was thought to be ſent from god to the ayde of the Dolphyn, otherwiſe called the French king, Charles the ſeuenth of that name, as an Inſtrument to deliuer Fraunce out of the Engliſhmens handes, and to eſtabliſh him in the kingdome.

Ione la Pucell de Dieu.

Hereupon ſhe being armed at all poyntes lyke a iolye Captaine, roade from Poictiers to Bloys, and there founde men of warre, vytaile and munitions readie to be conueyed to Orleans.

Here was it knowen that the Engliſh men kept not ſo diligent watch as they had beene accuſtomed to doe, and therefore this Mayde with other Frenche Captaynes comming forwarde in the deade tyme of the nyghte, and in a greate rayne & thunder, they entred into the Citie with all their vytaile artillerie and other neceſſarie prouiſions.

The next day the Engliſh men boldly aſſaulted the Towne, but the Frenchmen defended the walles ſo, as no greate feat worthie of memorie chanced that day betwixt thẽ, though the French men were amaſed at the valiaunt attempt of the Engliſh men, whereupon the Baſtarde of Orleans gaue knowledge to the Duke of Alanſon, in what daunger the towne ſtoode without his preſent helpe, who comming within two leagues of the Citie, gaue knowledge to them within, that they ſhoulde bee readie the nexte daye to receyue him. Which accordingly was accompliſhed: for the Engliſhmen willingly ſuffered him and hys armie alſo to enter, ſuppoſing that it ſhould be for their aduauntage to haue ſo great a multitude to enter the Citie, whereby theyr vytayles (whereof they within had great ſcarcitie) might the ſooner be conſumed.

On the next day in the morning, the Frenchmen altogither iſſued out of the towne, and wan by aſſaulte the Baſtile of Saint Leu, and ſet it on fire. And after they likewiſe aſſaulted the Tower at the bridge foote, which was manfully defended, but the Frẽchmen being more in number, at length tooke it ere the Lorde Talbot could come to the ſuccours, in the which Wil. Gladdeſdale the captain was ſlaine, with the Lord Mollins, and the Lord Poynings alſo.

The Frenche men puffed vp with thys good lucke, fetched a compaſſe about, & in good order of battaile marched toward the Baſtile, which was in the keeping of the Lord Talbot, the which vpon the enimies approche, lyke a Captaine without all feare or dread of that great multitude, iſſued forth agaynſt them, and gaue them ſo ſharpe an encounter, that they not able to withſtand his puyſſaunce, fled (like ſheepe before the Wolfe) againe into the Citie, with great loſſe of men and ſmall artillerie. Of Engliſh men were loſt in the two Baſtiles, to the number of ſixe hundred perſons, or thereabout, though the Frenche wryters multiplie this number of hundred, to thouſandes as theyr manner is in theyr glorious hyſtoryes.

The Earle of Suffolke, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales and other Captaynes aſſembled togyther in Counſaile, and after cauſes ſhewed to and fro, it was amongeſt them determined to leaue theyr fortreſſes and Baſtiles, and to aſſemble in the plaine field, and there to abyde all the day, to ſee if the Frenchmen woulde iſſue forth to fight with them.

This concluſion taken was accordingly executed: but when the Frenchmen durſt not once come forth to ſhew their heades, the Engliſhmen ſet fire in theyr lodgings, and departed in good order of battell from Orleans.

The ſiege of Orleans broken vp.

The next day, which was the .viij. day of May the Erle of Suffolk rode to Iargeaux with foure hundred Engliſhmen, and the Lord Talbot with an other companie returned to Meun. And after he had fortifyed that towne, he went to the towne of Lauall, and wan it, togither with the Caſtell, ſore puniſhing the townesmen for theyr cancred obſtinacie agaynſt them.

Thus when the Engliſhmen had ſeuered themſelues into garniſons, the Duke of Alanſon, the baſtard of Orleans, Ioan la Pucelle, the lord Gawcourt, and diuerſe other Captaines of the Frenchmen, came the .xij. day of Iune, before the towne of Iargeaux, where the Earle of Suffolke and his two brethren ſoiourned, and gaue to the towne ſo fierce an aſſault on three partes, that Poyton de Sentrailes perceyuing an other part voyde of defendants, ſcaled the walles on that ſide, and wythout difficultie tooke the towne, and ſlue ſir Alexander Poole, brother to the Erle, and many other to the number of two hundred, but the Frenchmen gayned not much thereby, for they loſt three. C. good men and more. Of the Engliſh men .xl. were taken, with the Earle and his other brother named Iohn.

The Frenchmen as they returned to Orleans, fell at variance for their priſoners, and ſlue them all, ſauing the Earle and his brother.

Shortly after, the ſame Frenche armie came to Mehun, where they tooke the Tower at the bridge foote, and put therein a garniſon.

From thence they remoued to Bangency, and conſtrayned them that were within the towne to yeelde, vpon condition they might depart wyth bagge and baggage.

At the ſame place there came to the duke of Alanſon, the new Coneſtable Arthure of Brytain, and with him was the Lord Dalbrit, and other.

Alſo after this the Earle of Vandoſme came to them, ſo that by the dayly repayre of ſuch as aſſembled togither to ſtrengthen the Frenche part, they were in all to the number betweene .xx. and .xxiij. thouſand men, the whiche beeing once ioyned in one armie, ſhortly after fought with the Lord Talbot (who had with him not paſt ſix M. men) nere to a village in Beauſe called Patay, at which battail the charge was giuen by the Frēch ſo vpon a ſodaine, that the Engliſh men had not leyſure to put themſelues in aray, after they had pight vp their ſtakes before their Archers, ſo that there was no remedie but to fight at aduenture.

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This battaile continued by the ſpace of three long houres: for the Engliſh men though they were ouerpreſſed with multitude of their enimies, yet they neuer fled backe one foote, tyl theyr Captayne the Lorde Talbot was ſore wounded at the backe, and ſo taken. Then theyr heartes began to faint, and they fledde, in which fight were ſlaine aboue twelue hundred, and fortie taken, of whome the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, the Lord Hungerforde, and ſir Thomas Rampſton were chiefe.

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Diuerſe archers after they had ſhot all theyr arrowes, hauing onely their ſwordes, defended themſelues, and with helpe of ſome of their horſemen came ſafe to Mehun.

This ouerthrow, and ſpecially the taking of the Lorde Talbot, did not ſo muche reioyce the Frenchmen, but it did as much abaſh the Engliſhmen, ſo that immediatly therevpon the townes of Ienuile, Mehun, Fort, and diuers other, returned from the Engliſh part, and became French.

From this battail departed without any ſtroke ſtriken ſir Iohn Faſtolfe, the ſame yeare for hys valiantneſſe elected into the order of the Garter, for which cauſe the Duke of Bedforde tooke from him the Image of Saint George, and his Garter, though afterward by meane of friendes, & apparaunt cauſes of good excuſe, the ſame were to him againe deliuered agaynſt the mynde of the Lorde Talbot.

Charles the Dolphin yͤ called himſelfe French K. perceiuing fortune to ſmile thus vpō him, aſſembled a great power, & determined to conquere the Citie of Reimes, that hee might be there ſacred, crowned, & annoynted, according to the cuſtome of his progenitors, that all men might iudge that he was by al lawes and decrees a iuſt and a lawfull king.

In his way thitherwardes he beſieged the citie of Auxerre, the Citizens whereof compounded with him to yeelde, if they were not reſkued within certaine dayes.

From thence he came before Troys, and after .xij. dayes ſiege had that Citie deliuered vnto him, by compoſition, that the Captaine ſir Philip Hall, with his people, and moueables myght depart in ſafetie.

After that Troyes was yeelded, the communaltie of Chaalons rebelled agaynſt Sir John Awbemonde theyr Captaine, and conſtreyned him to deliuer the towne vpon lyke compoſition.

In ſemblable maner did they of Reimes, deſiring him to giue ſafeconduct to all the Engliſhe men ſafely to depart.

When Reimes was thus become French, the foreſayde Charles the Dolphin in the preſence of the Dukes of Lorrainne and Barre, and of all the noble men of his faction, was ſacred there King of Fraunce by the name of Charles the ſixt, with all rytes and ceremonies thereto belonging.

They of Auxerre, when the terme of their appointment was expired, ſubmytted themſelues to him, and ſo likewiſe did all the Citie and townes adioyning.

The Duke of Bedford aduertiſed of all theſe doings, aſſembled his power about him, and hauing togither ten thouſand good Engliſhmen (beſide Normans) departed oute of Paris in Warlike faſhion, and paſſing through Brie to Monſtreau fault Yõne, ſent by his Herault Bedford, letters to the Frenche King, ſignifying to hym, that where hee had contrarie to the finall concluſion accorded betweene his noble brother King Henrie the fifth, and king Charles the ſixte, father to him the vſurper, by allurement of a diueliſhe witche, taken vpon him the name, tytle and dignitie of the king of Fraunce, and further had by murther, ſtealing, craft, and deceytfull meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept diuerſe cities and townes belonging to the king of Englande his nephewe, for prouke whereof hee was come downe from Paris with his armie, into the Countrey of Brie, by dynt of ſworde, and ſtroke of battaile to proue his wryting and cauſe true, willing his enimie to chooſe the place, and in the ſame he would giue him battaile.

The new French king being come frõ Ryems to Dampmartyne, ſtudying howe to compaſſe them of Paris, was halfe abaſhed at this meſſage, But yet to ſet a good countenance on the matter, hee anſwered the Herault, that hee woulde ſooner ſeeke his maiſter, than his maiſter ſhould need to purſue him.

The Duke of Bedforde hearing this anſwere marched towarde the king, and pitched his fielde in a ſtrong place.

The French king though at the firſt he ment to haue abydden battaile, yet when he vnderſtood that the Duke wss equall to him in number of people, he chaunged his purpoſe, and turned with his armie a litile out of the way. The Duke of Bedford perceyuing his faynt courage, followed him by hilles and dales, till hee came to a towne not farre from Senlis, where he found the French king and his armie lodged, wherefore hee ordred his battailes like an expert chieftaine in martiall ſcience, ſetting the Archers before, and himſelfe with the Noble men in the maine battaile, and put the Normans on both ſides for wings. The Frenche king alſo ordred his battailes with the aduiſe of his captaines.

Thus theſe two armies lay two dayes and two nightes eyther in ſight of other, without any great doing, except a few ſkirmiſhes, wherein the Dukes light horſemen did verie valiauntly. At length in the deade of the nighte (as priuily as myght be) the French king brake vp his campe, and fled to Bray. The Duke of Bedford had much ado to ſtay his people in the morning from purſuyte of the Frenche armie: but for that hee miſtruſted the Pariſians, hee woulde not depart farre from that Citie, and ſo returned thyther againe.

In this ſeaſon, Pope Martine the fifth of that name, meaning to ſubdue the Bohemers that diſſented from the Church of Rome in matters of Religion, appoynted Henrie Beaufort Biſhop of Wincheſter and Cardinall of Saint Euſibie, to be his Legate in an armie that ſhoulde inuade the Kingdome of Beame, and to bring a power of men with him out of Englande. And bycauſe the warre touched religion, he licenced the Cardinal to take the tenth part of euerie ſpirituall dignity, benefice, and promotion. Boheme.

This matter was opened in the Parliament houſe, and aſſented to: whervpon the Biſhoppe gathered the money, and aſſembled foure thouſand men and aboue, not without greate grudge of the people, which dayly were with tallages and aydes weryed and ſore burdened.

As this Biſhop was come to Douer readie to paſſe the ſeaes ouer into Flaunders, the Duke of Glouceſter hauing receyued letters from the Duke of Bedford, conteyning an earneſt requeſt to relieue him with ſome ſpeedie ayde of men of warre, was conſtreyned to write vnto the Biſhop of Wincheſter, willing him in time of ſuche neede, when all ſtoode vpon loſſe or gaine, to paſſe with all his armie toward the Duke of Bedford, to aſſyſt him agaynſt his aduerſaries, which thing done, and to his honour atchiued, he might perfourme his iourney agaynſte the vngracious

Bohemers.

The Cardinall (though not well contented with this countermaunde) yet leaſt he ſhould run into the note of Infamie, if he refuſed to ayde the Regent of Fraunce in ſo great a cauſe, paſſed ouer with his power, brought the ſame vnto hys couſin to the Citie of Paris.

About the ſame ſeaſon, the French king in hope to bee receyued into the townes of Compeigne and Beauuois (by reaſon of the fauor and good will which the Inhabitantes bare towardes him) was come with an armie towardes Compiegne, whereof the Duke of Bedforde being aduertiſed, and hauing nowe his hoſte augmented with the newe ſupply, which the Cardinall had of late brought vnto him, marched forward with great ſpeede towarde the place where hee vnderſtoode the French king was lodged. And cõming to Senlis, he perceiued how his enimies were encamped vpon the Mount Piloll, betweene Senlis and Compiegne.

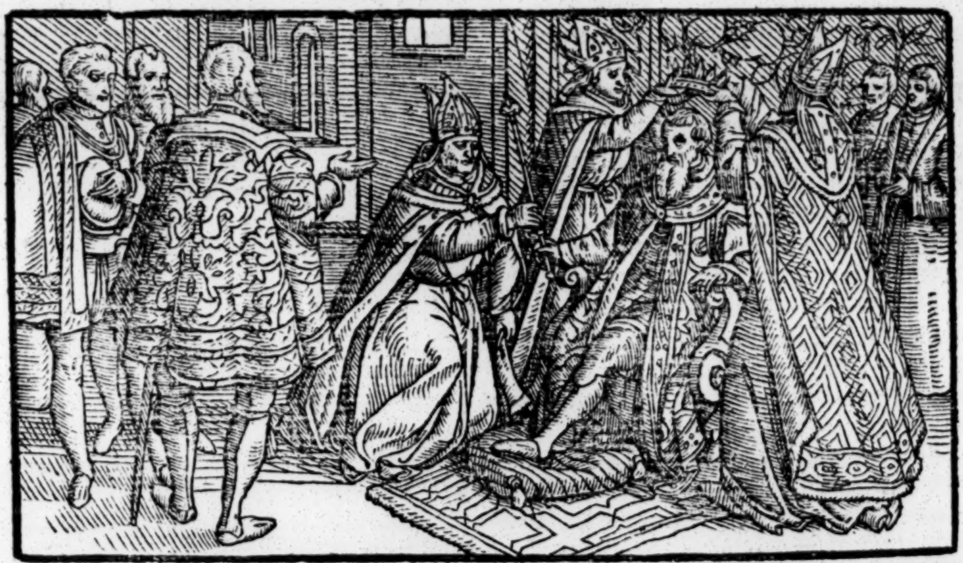
Here might eyther armie beholde the other: wherevpon for the auoyding of daungers that myght enſue, the campes were trenched, and the battayles pitched, and the fields ordred as though they ſhould haue tryed the matter by battaile, but nothing was done except with ſkirmiſhes, in the which the Normans ſore vexed the Frenchmen, and therfore receyued great commendations and prayſes of the Lorde Regent, who vndoubtedly determined to haue giuen battaile to his enimies, if they woulde haue abydden it.

But after the armies had thus lyen eyther in ſight of other, for the ſpace of two dayes togither, the Frenche King determining not to aduenture in an open battaile the whole chaunce of the game, leaſt he might thereby receyue a perpetuall checkmate, in the night ſeaſõ remoued his campe, and fled to Creſpy, though his number was double to the Engliſh armie.

The Duke of Bedford ſeeing that the French king was thus Cowardly reculed with all hys power and armie returned again to Paris, euer ſuſpecting the deceytfull fayth of the Pariſians.

The Biſhoppe of Wyncheſter, after that the Frenche king was retreated backe, went into Beame, and there did ſomewhat, though ſhortly after without anye great prayſe or gaine hee returned into Englande, more glad of his comming backe than of hys aduauncing forwarde. Anon after the Pope vnlegated him, and ſette an other in hys place, wherewith he was nothing contented.

On the ſixth day of Nouember, being the day of Saint Leonarde, King Henrie in the eyght yeare of his raigne, was at Weſtminſter with all pompe and honour crowned king of this realme of England.



The ſame yeare the Frenche King was receyued into the towne of Compiegne, and ſhortly after were the townes of Senlis, and Beauuoys rendred to him. And the Lorde Longueual tooke by ſtealth the Caſtell of Aumarle, and ſlue all the Engliſhmen within it.

Tho. VValſ. Alſo about the ſame tyme, the Frenchmen recouered Caſtell Galiarde forth of the Engliſhe mens handes, where the Lorde Barbaſon was found in a dungeon, encloſed within a great grate of Iron like to a little Chamber, and forthwyth they brake open the grate, but Barbaſon woulde not come forth, bycauſe he had gyuen his fayth and promiſe to one Kingſton that was captaine of that Fortreſſe for the king of Englande, to bee true priſoner, vntil the Frenchmen had ſent to the ſame Kingſtone (that was departed vpon ſuche couenants as they were agreed vpon at the deliuerie of that fortreſſe) willing him to come backe againe vpon ſafeconduct, which at theyr earneſt requeſt he did, and withall diſcharged the Lorde Barbaſon of his othe, and ſo then he came forth and remayned at his libertie, to the greate reioyſing of the Frenchmen, which iudged that he had bene rather deade than aliue all that time of his impriſonment.

About the ſame time alſo the French K. ſought by all meanes poſſible to breake the amitie betwixt the realme of Englande, and the houſe of Burgoigne, whereof the Duke of Bedforde hauing intelligence, thought it ſtoode him vpon the more earneſtly to looke to his charge, and namely as it were for an ancreholde, hee determined to prouide that hee might defende and ſafely kepe the duchie of Normandie, and therefore appoynting the Biſhop of Terrowen, and Ely, named Lewes of Lutzenburgh, Chancellor for King Henrie, of the realme of Fraunce, to remayne at Paris vpon the defence of that Citie, with a conuenient number of Engliſhmen, he departed into Normandie, and comming to Roan, called a Parliament there of the three eſtates of the Duchie, in the which he declared many things vnto them, touching the happy life, and great freedome which they might be aſſured to enioy, ſo long as they continued vnder the Engliſh obeyſance, and therefore he exhorted them to abyde conſtant in theyr allegiaunce, fayth and promyſe made and ſworne to his noble brother King Henrie the fifth.

Whyleſt the Duke of Bedforde was buſie to retaine the Normans in theyr due obedience, the French king departed from Senlis, and cōming to the towne of Saint Denys, ſound it in maner deſolate, ſo that he entred there without reſiſtance, and lodged his armie at Mount Martyr, and Abberuilliers neare vnto the Citie of Paris. And from thence ſent John Duke of Alanſon, and his ſorcereſſe Joan la Pucelle, with three thouſande light horſemen to aſſault the Citie, and followed himſelfe, in hope to get it, eyther by force or treatie, But the Engliſh Captaynes euery one keeping his warde and place aſſigned, ſo manfullye defended themſelues, their walles and towers, with the aſſyſtance of the Pariſians, that they repulſed the Frenchmen, and threwe downe Joan theyr great Goddeſſe into the bottom of the town ditche, where ſhe lay behinde the backe of an Aſſe ſore hurt, till the tyme that ſhee (all filthie wyth myre and durt) was drawne out by Guyſcharde of Thienbrone, ſeruant to the Duke of Alanſon.

The French king perceyuing that he coulde not preuaile in this enterpriſe, left the dead bodies behinde him, and taking with him the wounded Captaine, returned into Berrie. But in the meane way, the inhabitants of Laignie ſubmytted themſelues vnto him.

The Duke of Bedford being in Normandie, hearing of this ſodain attempt, with all haſt poſſible came to Paris, where he gaue many greate thankes, with highe commendations vnto the Captaynes, ſouldiers and Citizens for theyr aſſured fidelitie, great hardineſſe, and manly doing, which his gentle wordes ſo encouraged the hearts of the Pariſians, that they ſware promiſed and concluded, to bee friendes for euer to the king of Englande, and his friends, and enimies alwayes to his foes and aduerſaries, making proclamation by this ſtyle, friendes to king Henrie, friends to the Pariſians, enimies to England, enimies to Paris. Marie whether this was vttered from the bottome of theyr hearts, it is heard to ſo ſay, but the ſequele of their actes would ſeeme to proue the contrarie.

Soone after theſe doings, came to Paris with a great companie, Philip Duke of Burgoigne, and then vpon long conſultation had for the recouerie of theyr loſſes, it was agreed that the Duke of Bedford ſhoulde rayſe an armie, and that the Duke of Burgoigne ſhoulde be his Deputie, and tarie at Paris for the defence of the Citie.

The Duke of Bedforde then withoute anye great reſiſtance recouered againe the towne of Saint Denys with dyuerſe other fortreſſes.

And after this hee ſent the Baſtarde of Clarence to laye ſiege to the Caſtell of Torſie, the which (notwythſtanding the great ſtrength thereof) after ſix monethes ſiege, was rendred vp into his handes.

During the ſiege of this Caſtell, ſir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure. C. Engliſhmen departed from Gourney in Normandie, and rode by Beauuoys, ſpoyling and robbing the Countrey to the Suburbes of Cleremount, whereof the Earle of that towne hauing aduertiſement, aſſembled all the men of warre of the gariſons adioyning, and wyth the ſame ſet forwarde to fight wyth the Engliſhmen whom he found in a ſtrayte place neare to Beauuoys.

The Earle of Cleremonte perceyuing that hee coulde not hurte them wyth hys men of Armes by reaſon of the ſtrength, came downe on foote wyth all hys companye, and fiercely ſette on the Engliſhmenne: but by the terrible ſhotte of the Engliſhe Archers, the Frenchemenne in the ende were conſtrayned to flee, and the Engliſh menne perceyuing the matter, ſtreyght leapt on Horſebacke and followed the chaſe. In the whiche were taken two hundred Priſoners, and thrice as many ſlaine. The Earle eſcaped by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe.

At the ſame ſeaſon the Earle of Suffolke beſieging the Towne of Aumarle (whereof was Captayne the Lorde of Rambures) after.xxiiij. greate aſſaultes gyuen to that Fortreſſe, had the towne and Caſtell ſimplye to hym rendred. Thus by lyttle and lyttle the Engliſhe menne recouered many Townes which before they had loſt.

But yet aboute the ſame tyme, the Frenche mē ſtale the towne of Laual, by treaſon wrought by a Myller, which keeping a Myll that ioyned to the Wall, ſuffred the Frenche to paſſe through his Myll into the towne.

Shortly after alſo ſir Stephen Vignolles ſurnamed la Hyre, toke by ſcaling, the towne af Louiers in Normandie.

Laygny beſieged by the engliſhmen.

The Engliſhe men in the colde Moneth of December beſieged the towne of Laigny in the whiche was the Puſell, and diuerſe other good Captaynes. The weather was ſo cold, and the raine ſo great and continuall, that the Engliſhe menne by that vntemperauncie of the ayre, and not by the enimyes, were conſtreyned to rayſe theyr ſiege.

1430

Compeigne beſieged.

After this the Duke of Burgoigne accompanied with the Earles of Arundell, and Suffolke and the Lorde Iohn of Lutzenburgh, beſieged the towne of Compiegne with a great puyſſance.

This towne was well walled, manned, and vitayled, ſo that the beſiegers were conſtrayned to caſte trenches, and make mynes, for otherwiſe they ſawe not howe to compaſſe their purpoſe.

In the meane time it happened in the night of the Aſcention of our Lord, that Poyton de Saintreyles, Ioan la Puſelle, and fiue or ſixe hundred men of armes iſſued oute by the bridge towarde Mondedier, intending to ſet fire in the tentes and lodgings of the Lorde Bawdo de Noyelle.

At the ſame verie tyme, ſir Iohn de Luxenburgh, with eight other Gentlemen, chaunced to be nere vnto the lodgings of the ſayd lord Bawdo, where they eſpyed the Frenchmen which beganne to cut downe Tents, ouerthrow Pauilions, and kill men in theyr beddes, wherevppon they with all ſpeede aſſembled a great number of men, as well Engliſh as Burgonions, and couragiouſly ſet on the Frenchmen, and in the ende beate them backe into the towne, ſo that they fled ſo faſte that one letted another, as they woulde haue entred.

Saint Albons.

In the chaſe and purſute was the Puſelle taken, with diuerſe other, beſydes thoſe that were ſlaine, which were no ſmall number.

Diuerſe were hurte alſo on both partes. Among the Engliſhmen, ſir Iohn Montgomerie, had hys arme broken, and Sir Iohn Stewarde was ſhotte into the thigh with a quarell.

Ioan the Puſel taken.

The ſame Puſelle was afterwardes ſent vnto Roan, where being preſented vnto the Duke of Bedforde, ſhe was long tyme kept in pryſon, and at length by due proceſſe of the lawes condemned for a Sorcereſſe. But at the firſt abiuring hir errours and great wickedneſſe, it was thought ſhee ſhoulde haue eſcaped death. But when it was after proued agaynſte hir, that ſhee fell into the relaps, proteſting the ſame vppon a wylfull and obſtinate minde, ſhee was committed to the ſecular power, and by force thereof finally burnt to Aſhes.

After the taking of the ſayd Ioan la Puſelle, the ſiege ſtill continued before Compiegne, and the Duke of Bedforde ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne lying at the ſiege, the Earle of Huntingdon, and ſir Iohn Robeſert, with a thouſand archers which dayly ſkirmiſhed them within, and made ſuche Baſtiles and Fortreſſes, that the Towne had beene rendred into theyr handes, but that the Duke of Burgoigne departed from the ſiege to goe into Brabante, to receyue the poſſeſſion of that Duchie, by the death of his couſin Philip the Duke of that Countrey, as then departed this worlde.

Sir Iohn de Lutzenburg was lefte by the duke of Burgoigne as generall of the ſiege before Compiegne, the which he rayſed within a ſhorte ſpace after, contrarie to the myndes of the Engliſhe menne, whiche were verie deſirous to haue lyen there tyll the Towne hadde beene rendered, whiche if the ſiege had beene continued but eight dayes longer, muſte needes haue come to paſſe, by reaſon that peſtilence and famine hadde almoſte conſumed all the Souldiers wythin the Towne, ſo that it remayned in maner withoute defence.

After the breaking vppe of this ſiege, Iohn Duke of Norffolke toke agayne the townes of Dampmartine, and the Chaſſe, Mongay wyth diuerſe other townes.

Alſo the Earle of Stafforde toke the towne of Bryn Countie Robert, and from thence forraged all the Countrey to Sens, and after toke Queſnoy in Brie, Grand Puys, and Rampellon.

During which tyme, the French men on the other ſide, toke Louiers, and Villeneuf.

Then alſo did the Towne of Melun rebell, and had ſuche ayde of other townes adioyning, that the Engliſh Souldiers were faine to leaue Melun, Morret, and Corbell. Thus did things wauer in doubtfull ballance, betwixt the two nations Engliſh and French.

But bycauſe the Engliſhe ſore myſtruſted further daunger, it was concluded, that King Henrie in his royall perſon wyth a newe armie, ſhoulde come into Fraunce, partly to viſite and comfort his owne ſubiectes there, and partly eyther by feare or fauour (bycauſe a childe of hys age and beautie doth commonly procure them loue of elder perſons,) to moue the Frenchmen to continue theyr due obeyſaunce towardes hym.

Wherefore after a great hoſt conuenient for that purpoſe aſſembled, and money for maintenaunce of the warre readie gathered, and the realme ſet in an order vnder the gouernment of the Duke of Glouceſter Protector (whiche during the Kings abſence appeaſed dyuerſe ryottes, and puniſhed the offenders) the king with a greate power tooke ſhipping at Douer, on Saint Georges Euen within night, and landed at Calays on the morrow, being Saint Georges day, and Sunday, by ſeuen of the clocke in the morning. He remayned in Calays a good ſpace, and from thence hee remoued to Roan, beeing there receyued wyth all tryumphe. Hee taryed in that Citie a long time, his Nobles dayly conſulting on their great buſineſſe and weightie affayres.

In the Moneth of Nouember, hee remoued from Roan to Pontoyſe, and ſo to Saint Denyſe, to the intent to make his entrie into Paris and there to be ſacred king of Fraunce.

There were in his companie of his owne Nation, his vncle the Cardinall of Wincheſter, the Cardinall and Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedforde, Yorke, and Norffolke, the Earles of Warwicke, Saliſburie, Oxforde, Huntingdon, Ormonde, Mortaine, and Suffolke. Of Gaſcoignes, there were the Earles of Longuille, and Marche, beſide many other noble men of Englande, Guienne, and Normandie. And the chiefe of the French Nation, were the Dukes of Burgoigne, and Lewes of Luxenburg, Cardinal and Chauncellour of Fraunce for king Henrie: the Biſhoppes of Beauoys, and Noyonne, both Peeres of Fraunce, beſyde the Biſhoppe of Paris, and dyuerſe other Byſhoppes, the Earle of Vaudemount and other Noble menne, whoſe names were ſuperfluous to rehearſe. And hee had in a garde aboute his perſon three thouſande price Archers, ſome on horſebacke, and part on foote.

To ſpeake with what honour he was receyued into the Citie of Paris, what Pageauntes were prepared, and how richly the gates, ſtreetes, and bridges on euerie ſyde were hanged wyth coſtly clothes of Arras and tapeſſerie, it would be too long a proceſſe, aud therefore I doe here paſſe it ouer with ſilence.

On the .xvij. day of December, he was crowned king of France, in our Ladie Church of Paris, by the Cardinall of Wincheſter, the Biſhop of Paris not being contented that the Cardinall ſhould doe ſuch an high ceremonie in his Church and iuriſdiction.

After all the ceremonies were finiſhed, the K. returned toward the Palace, hauing one crowne on his head, and another borne before him, & one ſcepter in his hande, and the ſecond borne before him.

This high and ioyous feaſt paſſed not wythout ſome ſpot of diſpleaſure amongſt the Engliſh nobilitie: for the Cardinall of Wincheſter, which at this time would haue no mā to be equall with him, commaunded the Duke of Bedford to leaue off the name of Regent, during the time that the king was in France, affirming the chiefe ruler being in preſence, the authoritie of the ſubſtitute to be clerely derogate, according to the cōmon saying; In yͤ preſence of the higher power, the ſmaller giueth place.

The Duke of Bedford tooke ſuch a ſecrete diſpleaſure with this doing, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but ſtoode agaynſte him in all things that he woulde haue forwarde.

This was the roote (as ſome haue thought) of that diuiſion amongeſt the Engliſhe Nobilitie, where through theyr glorie within the realme of France began firſt to decline.

The nexte daye after the ſolemne feaſt of the kings coronation, were kept tryumphant iuſtes and tourneys, in the which the Erle of Arundell, and the baſtard of S. Poll, by the iudgement of the Ladies wan the price.

The King kept open houſe the ſpace of .xx. dayes to all commers, and after bycauſe the ayre of Paris ſeemed contrary to his pure complexion, by the aduice of his counſail, he remoued to Roan where he kept his Chriſtmaſſe. But before his departure from Paris, the noble men as well of Fraunce and Normandie did to him homage, & the common people ſware to him fealtie.

In this meane time, ſir Frances called the Aragoignois, a noble captaine of the Engliſh part in Normandie, tooke by force and policie, the towne of Montargis, with a great pray of treaſure and priſoners, and put therin a garniſon, leauing it wel furniſhed with vitails and munition.

Montargis recouered by the Engliſhmen.

About the ſame time, the Earle of Arundel being truly enformed that the Lord Bouſac Marſhall of Fraunce was come to Beauuoys entending to do ſome feate in Normandie, aſſēbled the number of .xxiij. hundred mē, and comming nere to the ſayde towne of Beaubays, ſent a greate number of lighte horſemen to runne before the towne, to trayne out the Frenchmen within, the whiche iſſuing out and following the Engliſhe horſemen vnto their ſtale, were ſo encloſed and fought with, that in maner al the number of them ſaue a fewe which fledde backe into the Towne wyth the Marſhall, were ſlaine or taken.

Amongeſt other of the chiefeſt priſoners, that valiaunt Captaine Pouton de Santrailles was one, and without delay was exchaunged for the Lorde Talbot, before taken priſoner at the battaile of Patay.

There was alſo taken one called the ſhepherd, a ſimple man, and a ſillie ſoule, but yet of ſuche

The holy ſhepard.

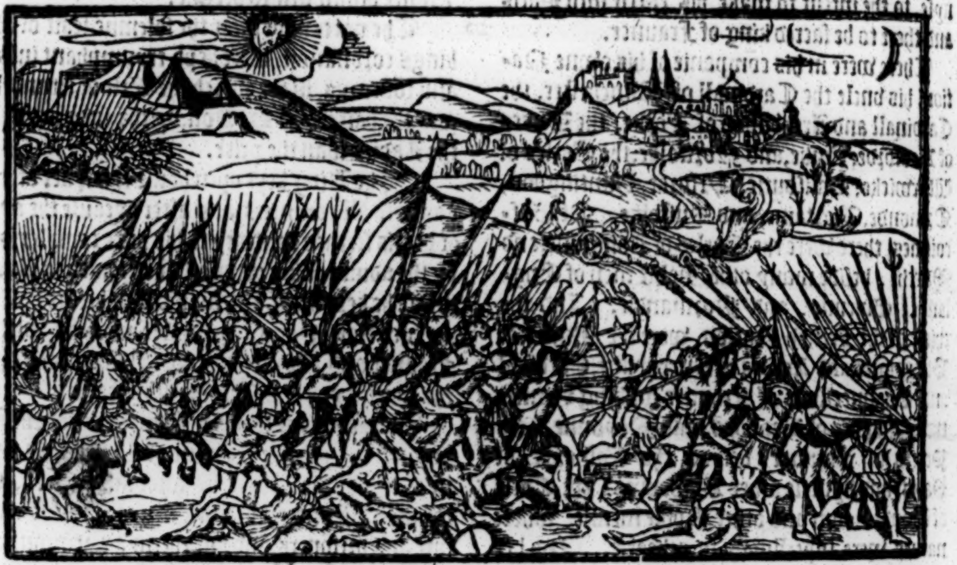
reputation for his ſuppoſed holyneſſe amongeſt the French men, that if hee touched the Wall of any of theyr aduerſaryes townes, they beleeued it would incontinently fall downe.

This chaunce ſucceeded not fortunately alone vnto the Engliſhe nation, for Richarde Beauchampe Earle of Warwicke had a great ſkyrmiſhe before the towne of Gourney, where hee diſcomfited and repulſed his enimies: and beſyde thoſe that were ſlaine, he tooke .lx. horſmen, all being gentlemen of name and armes.

Vaudemount beſieged.

Like chaunce happened to the friendes of king Charles, toward the marches of Lorraine, where Reigner Duke of Bar beſieged the Towne of Vaudemont perteining to the Erle thereof named Anthonie, couſin to the ſame duke Reigner. This Erle before the dukes approching, left a conuenient crew within the towne to defende it, and with all ſpeede rode to the Dukes of Bedford & Burgoigne, being then at the foreſayd great triumph at Paris, where he purchaſed ſuch fauor at theyr handes, bycauſe hee had euer taken theyr partes, that not onely ſir John Faſtolfe was appoynted to go with him, hauing in his company vj. hundred Archers, but alſo the Duke of Burgoignes Marſhall named ſir Anthonie Toulongeon, accompanied with .xv.C. other men of warre.

When the duke of Barre heard that his enimies were thus comming towardes him, like a hardie captaine, he rayſed his ſiege, and met face to face with the erle and his cōpanie, betweene whō was a cruell and mortall battail. The horſmen of the French ſide endured long, but in concluſiō the Engliſh archers ſo galled their horſes, & ſo woūded the men, that the Barrois, Almains & other of duke Reigners ſide were compelled to flee.



The Duke of Bar taken.

In the chaſe was taken the Duke of Bar, the Biſhop of Metz, the lord of Roquedemaque, ſir Euerard of Salſeburg, the Viconte Darcie, and two hundred other, beſide three thouſande which were ſlaine.

Saint Seuerine beſieged.

In this luckie time alſo, no leſſe occaſion of victorie was offred to the Engliſh men in an other part, if they could haue vſed it with ſuch circumſpect warineſſe as had beene expedient: for Robert Lord Willoughby, & Mathew Gough, a valiant Welchman, with .xv. hundred Engliſh men, laid ſiege to a town in Aniou called S. Seuerine, whereof Charles the Frenche king beeing aduertiſed, ſent with all ſpeede the Lord Ambroſe de Lore, with many noble men to the ſuccors of them within the towne, whereof the ſame Lorde Ambroſe was captaine, and therefore made the more haſt to relieue his deputie, and the other being ſtraytly beſieged, but yet ſtayed at the towne of Beaumont, till his whole power might come to him. The Engliſhmen aduertiſed of this intent of the captaine, came vpon him in the night, and found the Frenchmens watch ſo out of order, that a .M. men were entred into the campe before they were eſpied, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhe men found ſmall reſiſtance. But when the day began to appeare, and that the Sunne had ſette forth his bright beames abroade, that all things might be ſeene, the Engliſhmen giuen wholy to ſpoyle, followed not their enimies in chaſe, but being contented with their pray and gaine, began to retreyt toward the ſiege againe, which the lord Willoughbie ſtill mainteyned wyth a part of the armie.

But ſee the chaunce, the Frenchmen whiche were comming after, heard by the noyſe of the people that ſome fray was in hande, put ſpurres to their horſes, and ſet on the Engliſh men peſtered with bagge and baggages of the ſpoyle and pray which they had gotten in the French campe.

The other of the Frenchmen which before had fled, returned againe, and ayded their fellowes, ſo that

that the Engliſhmen beeing taken oute of order, were compelled to flee, of whō Mathew Gough and diuerſe other were taken priſoners, and yet of the other part many were ſlaine, and a great nūber taken: amongſt whome was the L. de Lore, who for all that the French men coulde doe was kept & not deliuered. The L. Willoughby hearing of this miſhap, rayſed his ſiege and departed verie ſore diſpleaſed in his minde, but coulde not remedie it.

About this ſeaſon, Nicholas the Cardinall of the holy Croſſe, was ſent into France as a Legate from Eugeny the fourth as then Biſhoppe of Rome, to treate a peace betweene the Engliſhe men and Frenchmen, but when after greate inſtance and labour made betwene the parties, hee ſawe their obſtinate and frowarde myndes, nothing enclined to any agreement, he wan ſo much at theyr handes by earneſt ſute, that a truce was graunted to endure for ſix yeares to come: but as the ſame was hardly graunted, ſo was it of the Frenchmen ſoone and lightly broken. For the baſtard of Orleans newly made Erle of Dunoys, tooke by treaſon the towne of Chartres from the Engliſh men, affyrming by the lawe of armes, that ſtealing or buying a towne withoute inuaſion or aſſault was no breach of league, amitie, or truce. In which towne he ſlue the Biſhop, bycauſe he was a Burgonian. Hereby did new malice encreaſe, and mortal warre beganne eftſoones to be put in vre.

Whileſt theſe things were doing in France, the Cardinal of Wincheſter was come backe againe into Englande, to appeaſe certaine commotions and ſturres attempted by certaine perſons vnder colour of religion: but after that William Maundeuille, and Iohn Sharpe the chiefe authors therof were apprehēded and executed by the gouernour and the kings Iuſtices, the reſidue yeelded and confeſſed their offences, whereof two articles were theſe (as ſome write) that Prieſtes ſhould haue no poſſeſſions, and that all things by the order of charitie among chriſtian people ſhuld be in common.

Other ther be, that haue thought how their opinions were not ſo farre diſagreeing from the ſcripture, as to mainteyne any ſuche errors, but that their enimies contriued to ſpread abrode ſuch rumors of them, to make them more odious to the people.

After that their conſpiracie was thus by dilligent inquirie therof had, clearly quenched, a Parliament was called by the Duke of Glouceſter, in the which money was aſſigned to be leuied, and men appoynted, whiche ſhoulde paſſe ouer into Fraunce to the ayde of the Duke of Bedford, for the better maintenance of the warres, bycauſe it was ſuſpected that the truce woulde not long continue.

During this Parliament, Iames the king of Scots ſent Ambaſſadors to cōclude a peace with the Duke of Glouceſter, who (bycauſe the King was abſēt) referred the matter to ẏ three eſtates. After long conſultation, not without great argumentes, a peace was concluded.

A peace concluded with the Scots.

When the Parliament was ended, the Cardinall well furniſhed with men and money, departed out of England, and came to Roan to the king, to whom alſo reſorted the duke of Bedford from Paris, to conſult of things not vnlikely to follow. Hereupon a great counſaile was kept in the Caſtell of Roan, and many doubtes moued, and few weightie things out of hande concluded. At length after great diſputation, with many arguments ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmond late Erle of Motaigne, and nowe by ẏ death of Iohn Duke of Sommerſet (which dyed wythout heyre Male, leauing behinde him a ſole daughter called Margaret after Counteſſe of Richmonde) receyued to the name and tytle of Duke of Sommerſette, lyked and approued the Argument and reaſon of thoſe that helde how it was expedient to haue an armie in a readineſſe for defence, leaſt the Frenchmen ſodainly ſhoulde attempt any enterpryſe to the daunger of the Engliſhmen, and loſſe of thoſe townes and Countreys which were vnder their rule and dominion.

When all things were agreed, King Henry departed to Calays, and from thence to Douer, and ſo by eaſie iourneyes hee came the .xxj. day of Februarie to the Citie of London, where he was both triumphantly receiued, and richly preſented, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian it maye at large appeare.

1432

K Henry returneth out of France into England.

After that the King was departed forth of Fraunce into Englande, the Duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, and Captaine of Calays, taryed behynde in the Marches of Pichardie, where hee was enfourmed that certaine Souldiours of Calays grudging at the reſtraynte of Woolles, beganne to murmure agaynſt the king and his Counſaile, ſo that the towne was like to haue ſtand in ieopardie.

The Duke therefore foreſeeing the miſchiefe that might enſue, and thinking it wiſedome to withſtande the firſt motion, cauſed the chiefe doers to be apprehended, and vpon due examination had, diuerſe were put to death, and many baniſhed that towne and marches for euer.

In the meane tyme, the Ladie Anne Ducheſſe of Bedforde departed thys lyfe at Paris, by whoſe death the aſſured loue and faythfull friendſhip betwixt the Duke of Bedford and his brother in lawe the duke of Burgoigne, began to decay.

The Duches of Bedford ſiſter to the Duke of Burgoigne deceaſed.

Shortly after, to wit, about the beginning of the next yeare. 1433. the ſayde Duke of Bedforde being thus a wydower, through the perſwaſion of the Lorde Lewes of Lutzenbourgh Biſhop of Tyrwinne and Ely, and Chancellor of France for king Henrie, agreed to marry the Lady Iaquet, daughter to Peter Earle of Saint Pol, and neece to the ſayde Biſhoppe, and to the Lorde Iohn of Lutzenbourgh.

The Duke of Bedford maryeth with the Erle of Saint Pol his daughter.

The maryage was ſolemnized at Tyrwinne with greate triumph. After which ſolemne feaſt ended, the Duke of Bedforde returned wyth hys newe ſpouſe (being aboute the age of .xvij. yeres) vnto Calays, and ſo into Englande, where hee remayned vntill Auguſt next, and then returned againe to Paris.

The Duke of Burgoigne was nothing pleaſed with this new alliance contracted by the duke of Bedford, with the houſe of Lutzenbourgh, but the mariage was conſummate ere he coulde finde any remedie to hinder it.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing, in other places the French ſouldiers lacking wages began priuilye (as the tyme ſerued) to take both Engliſhmenne and Burgonians, raunſoming and ſpoyling them at theyr pleaſure.

The Engliſhmen herewith moued to diſpleaſure, prepared for warre after ſixe Mouethes that the truce had beene taken. So by ſuche meanes was the warre againe renued.

The Frenchmē breake the truce and take the towne of Saint Valerie.

The Frenchmen as open trucebreakers, rayſed a crew of men, & ſodenly toke the towne of S. Valerie ſtanding in Normandie, neare to the mouth of the Riuer of Somme, and an other armye vnder the leading of Sir Ambroſe de Lore, waſted and deſtroyed al the country about Caen. The Duke of Bedforde not mynding to bee ydle on his part, ſent the Earle of Arundell, the Earle of Warwikes ſonne, the Lord Liſle Adam marſhall of Fraunce for king Henrie, and .xij. C. men of warre with ordinance and munitions to beſiege the towne of Laigny vpon the Riuer of Marne. The Earle with ſhot of Canon brake the arche of the bridge, and got from the Frenchemen theyr Bulwarke, and ſet it on fire. Diuerſe aſſaultes were attempted, but the towne was wel defended, for there were within it an .viij. hundred men of armes, beſide other meane ſouldiers.

Laigny beſieged.

The Duke of Bedforde hereof aduertiſed gathered an armie of ſixe thouſande men, whereof were Captaynes Robert Lorde Willoughbie, ſir Andrew Ogard Chamberlaine to the Duke. ſir Iohn Saluaine baylyf of Roan, ſir Iohn Montgomerie baylife of Caux, ſir Philip Hall baylife of Vernoille, ſir Richarde Ratcliffe Deputie of Calays, ſir Raufe Neuill, ſir Raufe Standiſh, ſir Iohn Hanforde, ſir Richarde Cutbyn, ſir Richard Haringdon Baylife of Eureux, ſir William Fulthorpe, ſir Thomas Griffin of Ireland, Dauie Hall, Tho. Stranguiſh, Leonard Ormſtone eſquiers, and Thomas Gerard.

The Duke of Bedforde furniſhed with this armie and companie of worthie Captaines came to the ſiege before Laigny, where he made a bridge of Boates, and brought his ordinaunce ſo neare the towne, that to all people it ſeemed not long able to reſiſt. But the Earle of Dunoys otherwiſe called the Baſtarde of Orleans, with diuers hardie Captaynes as valiauntly defended as the Engliſh men aſſaulted. At length the Frenche King perceyuing thys Towne to bee the three corner Key betweene the territories Burgonion, Engliſh and French, and the loſſe thereof ſhould turne him to irrecouerable domage, ſent the Lord of Rieux, Poyton, the Hyre, the Lord Gawcourt and ſixe thouſande men, with great plentie of vytaille, to the intent eyther to rayſe the ſiege, or elſe to vytaile the towne.

The French men made a bragge as though they woulde haue aſſayled the Engliſh men in theyr campe, but when they perceyued the courage of the Lorde Regent, and the deſire whiche he had to fight, they framed themſelues ſo in order of battaile, as though they could do al things and yet in effect did nothing, but that whyleſt parte of them mainteyned a ſkyrmiſhe, a ſorte of rude and ruſticall perſons were appoynted to conuey into the towne thirtie Oxen, and other ſmall vytayle: but thys ſweete gayne was dearelye payed for, if the loſſe wyth the gayne bee pondered in equall Ballaunce: for hauing regarde to thirtie leane Oxen, in the ſkirmiſhe were ſlaine the Lorde Sayntreiles brother to that valiaunt Captayne Poyton de Sayntreylles, alſo Captayne Iohn brother to the Lord Gawcourt, and fiftie other noble and valiaunt perſonages.

The Frenchmen perceyuing they coulde not atchieue theyr entrepryce as then to theyr aduantage, conſidering not onely how the Engliſhmen were planted in a place not eaſie to be woon, and again the vnſpeakable heate which ſore trauayled theyr people, being in the begynning of Auguſt, they remoued and went vnto Fort vnder Perre, where by a bridge of tunnes they paſſed into the Iſle of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedforde (like a wiſe Prince) not mynding to leaſe the more for the leſſe, nor the accident for the ſubſtance, reyſed his ſiege & returned to Paris, nothing more minding than to trie his quarell with dint of ſworde againſt hys enemies, if they would thereto agree. And hereupon he ſent Bedford his Herauld to the L. Gawcourt and other captayns of the French army, offring them battail & a pitched field within a conuenient time, and where they would appoynt.

The French Captaynes anſwered the Engliſh Heranlt, that there was both tyme to gaine, and time to loſe, of the whiche they doubted not to eſpie the one, eyther to theyr greate gayne or apparant loſſe.

33 Caſtle of likely to en by of pwyne.

Shortly after, Peers Audebeufe Coneſtable of the Caſtell of Roan, corrupted with money, ſuffred the Marſhall of Fraunce, with two hundred other, as perſons diſguiſed to enter the place by ſtealth, but they were ſoone eſpyed, and driuen to the dungeon, where they were conſtrayned to yeeld themſelues priſoners, of the whiche ſome were hanged, ſome headed, and ſome raunſomed, at the pleaſure of the Regent.

This pageant thus played and ended, the lord Regent ſent the Earle of Saint Paule, and Robert Lord Willoughbie, with a competent number of men to beſiege yͤ towne of Saint Walerie whiche the Frenchmen a little before had taken. This ſiege continued the ſpace of three Weekes, at the ende whereof the Frenchmen within yeelded the towne and departed with theyr horſe and harneſſe onely ſaued. The Earle putte there in garniſon freſhe and valiaunt Souldiours, and appoynted Captayne there, Sir John Audemounde.

In the ſame towne (whether by infection of ayre, or by corrupt vitaile, which the towneſmen did eate) a great Peſtilence ſhortly after happened which conſumed within a ſmall time two partes of the people.

The Earle of Saint Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby returning back to the Regent, were ioyfully receyued, and within a while after, the Earle departed from Paris to laye ſiege to the Caſtell of Mouchas, but being encamped neare to yͤ town of Blangy, he by a ſodain maladie departed this life, yͤ laſt of Auguſt, leauing hys ſeignories to Lewes de Luxenburg his ſon & heyre.

An.reg. 12.

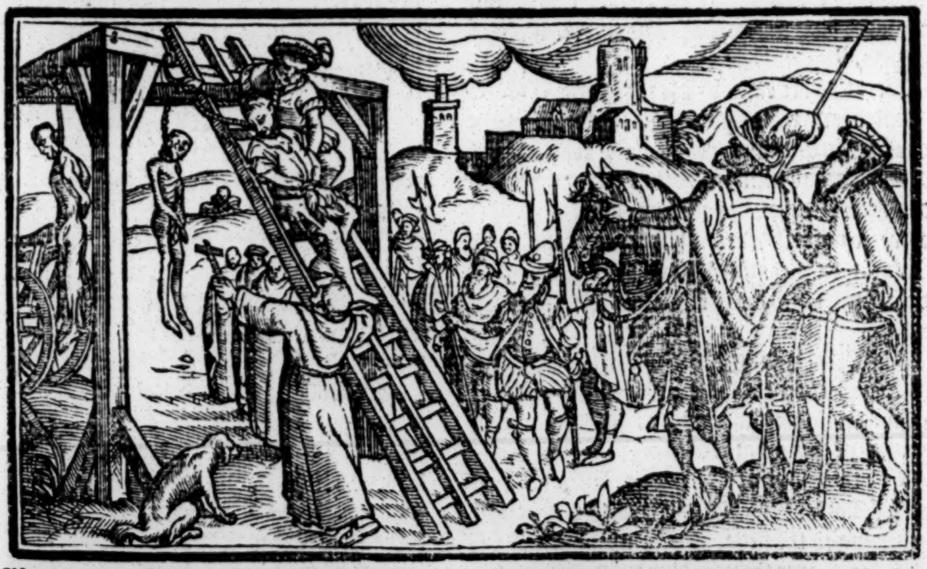
Bycauſe this dead Earle was father in lawe to the Regent, ſolemne obſequies were kepte for him both in Paris and in London.

In the meane ſeaſon the French men entring into high Burgoigne, burnt tooke, and deſtroyed, diuerſe townes, whervpon the Burgonions aſſẽbled a great armie, both to reuẽge their quarels, and to recouer theyr townes taken from them, to whome as to hys friendes the Duke of Bedforde ſente the Lorde Wylloughbie, and Sir Thomas Kiriell with a conuenient number of Souldiers, whiche entring into the landes of Laonnoys, were encountred with a greate power of theyr enimyes: But after long fyghte, the Frenche menne were ouerthrowne, and of them lefte deade in the fyelde an hundred and ſixtie Horſemen, beſyde priſoners, which after in a furie were all kylled and putte to deſtruction.

1434 The Lord Talbot ſayleth into Fraunce.

Whileſt theſe things happened thus in France, John Lorde Talbot gathered togither a crewe of choſen men of warre in England, to the number of. viij. hundred, and ſayled into Normandie, and paſſed by Roan to Paris.

In his waye hee tooke the ſtrong Caſtell of Joing betwene Beauuays and Gyſours, and cauſed all the Frenchmen within to bee taken and hanged, and after raſed and defaced the Caſtell.



After he had reſted himſelfe a whyle at Paris, and taken aduice with the Counſaile there, what way it ſhould be beſt for him to take, without prolonging tyme, he with the Lorde de Liſle Adam and others, departed from thence, hauing in theyr retinues. xvj. hundred men of war, and comming to the caſtell of Beaumont vpon Oyſe, wherof was captain ſir Amadour de Vignoilles brother to the Hire, they foũd it abãdoned by thẽ yͭ had it in keping, who were withdrawne to the towne of Creil, whither the Lorde Talbot followed them, and ſleaing in a ſkirmiſh the ſaid Amadour, he wan at length the ſayd Towne of Creil, & after the townes of Pont S. Maxence, Neufville in Eſmoy, la Rouge Maiſon, Creſpy en Valoys, and Cleremont in Beauuoſis, & after with great ryches and good priſoners returned to Paris: neither had the Lorde Talbot ſuch good & proſperous ſucceſſe alone, but the Erle of Arundel alſo at the verie ſame ſeaſon tooke the Caſtell of Bomeline, and razed it to the grounde, and after got by force the caſtell of Dorle, and from thence came to S. Selerine, where the Lord Ambroſe de Lore, beeing Captayne, iſſued oute and fought with the Engliſh men ſo egerly, that hee droue them backe an arrowe ſhoote by fine force: but the Earle ſo encouraged his men, that they gaue a freſhe onſet vppon the French menne, and followed it ſo fiercely, that they ſlue a greate number of them, and droue the reſidue into the towne.

Loueirs beſieged.

After this victorie, he beſieged Louiers, whereof was Capitayne the Hyre and hys brother, which rendred the towne without aſſault.

Then the Earle aſſembling togither a greate armie, returned againe to Saint Selerine, and enuyroned the towne with a ſtrong ſiege. When hee had lyen there almoſt three monethes, euerye day attempting or doing ſomewhat, hee finally gaue ſo fierce an aſſault, that by force he entred the Towne, and ſlue John Allemaigne, and Guilliam Saint Albine, the chiefe Captaynes, and eight hundred other men of warre. The children of le Seigneur de Lore were taken pryſoners. The Earle put newe men of warre into the towne, and made Captaine there Sir John Cornewall.

After this hee came before the ſtrong Towne of Sillye, and there pytched hys Campe. The Inhabitauntes diſmayed with the chaunce that had happened to them of Saint Selerine, deliuered to hym pledges, vppon thys condition, that if they were not reſkued wythin thirtie dayes next enſuing, then they (theyr lyues ſaued) ſhould render the towne into his poſſeſſion: which offer was receyued.

The French King being aduertiſed hereof by a poſt, appoynted (as ſome ſay) Arthure Earle of Richmont, (or as other wryte, John Duke of Alanſon) with a great companie of men of warre to goe to the reſkue of this towne, but whether it was the Earle or the Duke, certaine it is at hys approching to the ſiege, he encamped himſelfe by a brooke ſide, ouer the whiche a man might haue ſtryden, and perceyueng how ſtrongly the Engliſhmen were encamped agaynſt him, he thought it not for his profit to gyue battayle, and ſo in the night ſeaſon rayſed and went his way wythoute further attempt.

When they within the towne knew that their ſuccours fayled, they rendred themſelues to the mercie of the Earle of Arundell, who gently receyued them, and leauing a garniſon in the town, departed to Mans, and in his way tooke the Caſtelles of Mellay and S. Laurence.

About this time the Lorde Willoughbie and ſir Thomas Kiriell, returning with great victorie oute of Burgoigne, paſſing by the towne of Louiers lately reduced to the Engliſh obeiſance, furniſhed it both with men and munition.

An in
in No

Amongſt ſo many good chaunces, ſome euill are accuſtomed to happen, or elſe the gayners woulde not knowe themſelues. And ſo at thys tyme it happened, that a great number of the common and ruſticall people in Normandye dwelling by the Sea coaſt, eyther prouoked by the Frenche King, or deſyrous of alteration and chaunge (which thing the commons much couet and deſire) made an inſurrection, put on harneis, and by force expulſed certaine Engliſhe garniſons oute of theyr holdes, publyſhing and proclayming openly, that theyr onelye purpoſe and intent was to expell and baniſhe the whole Engliſhe Nation out of theyr Countreys and Coaſtes. Wherefore it may euidently appeare, that the blacke Morian will ſooner chaunge hys colour, than the vniuerſall people bredde in France, will heartily loue or inwardly fauour an Engliſh borne childe.

Herevpon this vngracious people, forgetting theyr dutie and allegiance vnto theyr ſoueraigne Lorde and King, frantikely aſſembled themſelues togither, and with all ſpeede marched toward Caen, to the intent there both to encreaſe theyr number, and alſo to conſult what way they ſhuld follow in their new begun enterpriſe.

But the Dukes of Yorke and Sommerſet, whiche then were lying in Normandie, hauing perfect knowledge of all the doing of theſe rebels, immediatly without delay ſent forth the Earle of Arundell, and the Lorde Willoughbye with ſixe thouſande Archers, and .xiij. C. light horſemen to ſtay and keepe them from making anye further progreſſe. The Earle of Arundell appoynted the Lorde Willoughbie, with two thouſande Archers, and a certaine number of Horſemen to goe afore hym, and to lie in a ſtale within ſome couert place. This done, the Earle followed, and encloſing the ragged multitude at the backe, droue them before him, as they hadde beene Deare into a Buckeſtale, and when the ignoraunt multitude approched nere to the place of the ſtale, the Earle made a token, and ſhotte a Gunne for a ſigne. Therewyth the Lorde Wylloughbie ſette on them before, and the Earle behynde, ſhooting ſo fiercely, that the baſtarde people, wounded and galled with the ſhot of arrowes, threwe away theyr harneſſe, deſiring nothing but death.

The Earle of Arundell moued with compaſſion, cauſed his ſouldiers to ſtaye from further ſlaughter, & apprehending thoſe which he thought to be the leaders & chiefe ſtyrrers of the people, let the other returne home without any further domage: but yet ere the ſouldiers coulde bee brought backe vnder their ſtandarts, there were aboue a thouſand of the rebels ſlaine.

After this commotion was thus appeaſed, vpon inquirie had of the principall offenders, ſuch as were found guiltie were put to terrible executions as they had well deſerued.

During which rebellion, Peter Rokeforde, and his companie, gat by treaſon the Towne of Deepe, and dyuerſe other holdes thereto adioyning.

After the Earle of Arundell had obteyned ſo many conqueſtes, and notable victories (as partly ye haue hearde) hee attempted another, whiche was the laſt worke and finall labour of his lyuing dayes. For the Duke of Bedford being infourmed that his aduerſaryes hadde gotten the Towne of Rue, and therein putte a garniſon, whiche ſore vexed the Countreyes of Ponthieu, Arthois, and Bolennoys, ſent worde to the Erle that he without delay ſhuld beſiege yͤ ſaid towne. The Erle obeying his commaundement aſſembled his people, and came to Gourney, where hee heard tell how there was a Caſtel neare to Beauays called Gerberoy, the which being fallen in decay, Charles the French King had appoynted ſir Stephen de Veignoilles, commonly called the Hyre, to repayre and newly to fortifie, bycauſe it ſtoode commodiouſly to ſerue as a countergarniſon agaynſt the Engliſh townes and fortreſſes on thoſe frontiers.

The Erle aduertiſed hereof, and perceyuing that this new building would be greatly preiudiciall to the Engliſhe men, determined firſt to diſpoſſeſſe his enimies of that place, ſuppoſing to finde ſmall reſiſtaunce, but he was deceyued, for there was the ſayde Hyre, and a three thouſand men of warre with him. The Erle cõming thither, encamped himſelfe with fiue. C. horſemen in a little cloſe not farre from the Caſtell.

The Frenchmen perceyuing that the Earle and his horſes were wearie, and that his archers were not yet come, determined to ſet vpon him before the comming of his footemen, the which they knewe to be little more than a mile behinde. Wherefore for a policie, they ſet forth fiftie horſemen, as though there had beene no mo within the Caſtell. The Erle perceyuing this, ſent forth ſir Randolfe Standiſh to encounter them, hauing with him an hundred horſes.

The Frenchmen fought couragiouſly awhile, and ſodainly came out all the remnant, and ſlue ſir Randolfe Standiſh, and all his companie, and boldly ſet on the Erle and his bande, which manfully reſiſted the French men, till at length the Hyre cauſed three Culuerings to be ſhotte off amongſt the Engliſhmen, whereof one ſtrake the Earle on the ancle, and ſo brake his legge, that for payne he fell from his horſe. Then the Frenchmenne entered amongeſt the Engliſhenne, tooke the Earle lying on the grounde, wyth Sir Rycharde Wooduile, and ſixe ſcore moe, and there were ſlaine almoſte two hundred. The reſidue ſaued themſelues as well as they might.

The Earle was caryed to Beauays, where of his hurt he ſhortly dyed, and was buried in the Frier Minors.

He was a man of ſyngular vertue, conſtancy, and grauitie, whoſe death in ſo troublous a ſeaſon did ſore appall the heartes of the Engliſhe people.

Thus did mightie Mars oftentymes chaunge his variable countenaunce, ſo that one tyme the Engliſh menne got by aſſault, and yelding dyuerſe ſtrong Townes, Caſtelles, and Pyles, and at another ſeaſon the Frenche people, ſomtime by bargaine, ſometyme by aſſault obteyned, the ſame againe, or other in their ſteede.

Aboute the Moneth of June in this twelfth yeare, John Duke of Bourbon and Auuergne, taken priſoner at the battayle of Agincourt. xviij. yeares paſt (as before ye haue heard) nowe paying his raunſome, whiche was eightene thouſande pounde ſterling, was taken with a moſte ſore and grieuous Feuer, the which made an end of his lyfe in the Citie of London, the ſame daye that was appoynted for his departure towarde Fraunce, whoſe corps was enterred in the gray Friers of the ſame Citie. So thus maye euerye creature ſee, howe man purpoſeth, and God diſpoſeth.

The Duke of Bourbon dyeth at Londõ.

Continuation Chro. of Flan.

This yeare alſo about the latter end of May, was an enterview appoynted to be had at Saint Omers betwixt the Dukes of Bedford & Burgoigne, for the qualifying of certaine diſpleaſures and grudges betwixt them kindled and mainteyned by ſome flattering taletellers, which feyning things of reproche touching highly theyr honors, bredde ſuche grudges, that all loue betwixte them ceaſſed, all affynitye was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was drowned through diſdayne in the bottomleſſe caue of Obliuyon. Suche a peſtilent breathe hath flatterye, and ſuche myſchiefe enſueth of Princes lyght credence.

These two Dukes being come to the towne of S. Omers, the duke of Bedford being Regent of France, and ſonne, brother, and vncle to kings, thought that the Duke of Burgoigne ſhoulde haue come and viſited him in hys lodging.

The Duke of Burgoigne on the other parte, being Lorde and ſoueraigne of the Towne, iudged it not meete to goe to hym where hee was lodged, but was content by intreatie of friendes to meete him in a place indifferente betweene both theyr lodgings, which offer was not accepted, and ſo both parties departed diſcontent, and neuer after ſawe nor communed togither.

Thus by the prowde diſdeyne and enuious diſcorde of theſe two highe ſtomacked Princes, Bedforde not mynding to haue any Peere, and Burgoigne not willing to abyde any ſuperiour, ſhortly after Englande loſte, and Burgoigne gayned not long, as by the ſequele maye appeare.

An.reg.13.

The Baſtarde of Orleans called the Earle of Dunoys, the Lorde Rochforde Marſhall of Fraunce, with other, in the beginning of thys thirtenth yeare, tooke the Towne of Saint Denys by treaſon, ſkyrmiſhed with them of Paris, and leauing behynde them a great garniſon, tooke the Towne of Howdone, and Pont S. Marence by compoſition.

And at the ſame tyme was the towne of Pont Meulan taken by the ſodaine ſcaling of two fyſhermen which entred vp at a cõmon priuie ſtanding in the wall.

Thus as yee maye perceyue, the warre was continually purſued betwixte theſe two mightye Nations, Engliſhe and Frenche, within the Realme of Fraunce, beeing as it were the lyſtes within the which they had appoynted to trye the game, ſo that no Countrey in the worlde was thought more miſerable than the ſame. And though the poore people and Inhabitantes of the good Townes and Villages, ſuſteyned moſt loſſe in theyr ſubſtaunce, yet the menne of warre oftentymes payed deare for theyr chieuance, being dayly ſlaine, wounded, and taken priſoners, and that on both partes, as the chaunce of warre accuſtomably falleth out.

The fruites of warre.

At length when ſacietie of ſlaughter, aboundaunce of murders, remembraunce of loſſe of goodes and expences had ſomewhat ſoftened the ſtonie heartes of theſe loftie ſtomacked people, ſo that eyther parte was deſirous of peace, yet the one diſdained openly to offer it, and the other priuately to receyue it.

The crye and noyſe of this deteſtable warre was blaſted throughe Chriſtendome, but ſpecially the bruyte thereof was greate at Baſile, where the generall Councell was as then holden, the Emperour Albert, and all the Princes of Chriſtendome beeing preſent there, eyther in perſone or by theyr procuratours, for the abboliſhing of the Sciſme that then continued in the Churche of Rome for this indubitate Pope.

14

Wherefore the Emperour and the temporall Princes, ſuppoſing the exhortation of ſpirituall Fathers ſhoulde muche profite to the quieting of the ſtryfe betwixt the Realmes of England and Fraunce, deſyred Eugenie then Pope, to bee a mediatour betwixt them.

And one thing put them in good hope of ſome good concluſion, bycauſe the Duke of Bourgoigne was wylling (ſo that it were not of hys owne ſuyte) to returne & reconcile himſelfe, with the French King his mortall enimie and auncient aduerſarie.

A sol
tie of
Arra

Hereupon by authoritie of this generall Councell, two diſcrete perſons, the Cardinals of the holy Croſſe, and Cypres, came to the towne of Arras in Arthoys, whither were ſent from the King of Englande, Henrie Beauforde Cardinal of Wincheſter, Henrie Archbiſhop of Yorke, William de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, and John Hollande Earle of Huntingdon, with dyuerſe other Knights and Eſquiers. And for the French king were there preſent Charles Duke of Bourbon, Lewes Earle of Vandoſme, Arthure of Brytayne Coneſtable of Fraunce, the Archbiſhop of Reimes, and ſir Philip Harecourt.

The duke of Burgoigne was there in proper perſon, accompanied with the duke of Guelders, and the Erles of Eſtampes, Lygny, S. Paule, Vaudemont, Neures, and Daniel ſonne to the Prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallant companie.

Vpon the day of the firſt ſeſſion, the Cardinal of S. Croſſe, declared to the three parties the innumerable miſchiefes, that had followed to the whole ſtate of the chriſten cõmon welth by theyr continual diſſention and dayly diſcord, exhorting them for the honour of God, and for the loue which they ought to beare towardes the aduancement of his fayth and true religion, to conforme themſelues to reaſon, and to lay aſide all rancor, malice & diſpleaſure, ſo that in concluding a godly peace, they might receyue profit and quietneſſe here in this worlde, and of God an euerlaſting rewarde in heauen.

After this admonition thus to them giuen, & after diuerſe dayes of communication, euery part brought in their demaunds, which were moſt cõtrarie, and farre from any likelyhood of comming to a good concluſion.

The Engliſhmen required that K. Charles ſhould haue nothing but what it pleaſed the king of England, & that not as dutie, but as a benefite by him of his mere liberalitie giuen and diſtributed. The Frenchmen on the other part woulde that king Charles ſhoulde haue the Kingdome frankly and freely, and that the king of England ſhoulde leaue the name, armes and tytle of the

King of Fraunce, and to bee contente with the Dukedomes of Aquitaine and Normandie, and to forſake Paris, and all the townes whiche they poſſeſſed in France, betwene the ryuers of Some and Loyr, being no percel of the Duchie of Normandie. To bee briefe, the pride of the one part, and the ambition of the other, hindered concorde, peace, and quietneſſe.

The Cardinals ſeeing them ſo farre in ſunder, mynded not to diſpute theyr tytles, but offred them reaſonable conditions of truce and peace for a ſeaſon, which notwithſtanding either of frowardneſſe, or of diſdeyne vpon both partes, were openly refuſed. Inſomuch that the Engliſhmen in great diſpleaſure, departed to Calays, and ſo into England.

One Writer affyrmeth, that they being warned of a ſecrete conſpiracie moued agaynſt them, ſodainly departed frõ Arras, and ſo returned into their Countrey.

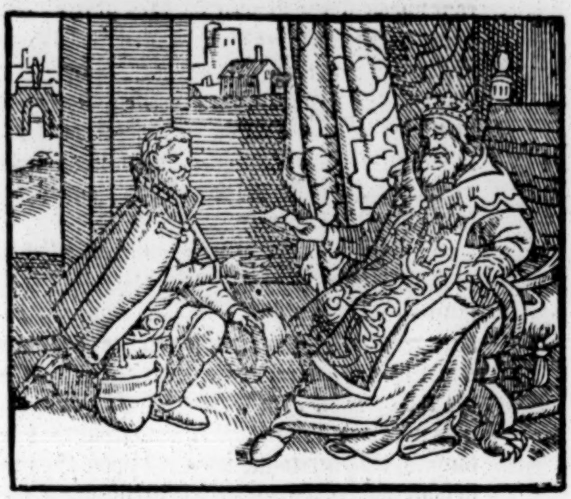
Whiles this treatie of peace was in hande, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughbie, the Lorde Scales, with the Lorde Liſle Adam, and fiue thouſande men of warre, beſieged the towne of Saint Denys with a ſtrong band. The Erle of Dunoys hearing thereof, accompanied wyth the Lorde Lohac, and the Lorde Bucill, wyth a great companie of horſemen haſted thitherwardes to rayſe the ſiege, and by the waye encountred with ſir Thomas Kiriell, and Mathew Gough, ryding alſo towarde Saint Denys, betweene whom was a great conflict, and many ſlaine on both partes, but ſodainly came to the ayde of the Frenchmẽ, the garniſon of Pont Meulan, which cauſed the Engliſhmen to returne withoute any greate harme or domage, ſauing that Mathewe Gough by foundering of his horſe was taken, and caryed to Pont Meulan.

In the meane time was the towne of Saint Deniſe rendred to the Engliſhmen, the which razed the walles & fortifications, ſauing the walles of the Abbey, and of the tower called Venin.

Shortly after the towne of Pontoyſe, where ſir John Ruppelley was captaine, rebelled, and by force the Engliſhe menne were expulſed, the Inhabitantes yeelding themſelues to the French King. This towne was ſmall, but the loſſe was greate, bycauſe it was the Key that opened the paſſage betwixt the Cities of Paris and Roan.

But nowe to returne to the communication at Arras, which after the departure of the Engliſh Commiſſioners held betwixt the Frenchmen and Burgonians, till at length a peace was concluded, accorded, and ſworne betwixt K. Charles and Duke Philippe of Burgoine, vpon certaine cõditions, as in the French hyſtories more plainly appeareth.

After that the ſame peace was agreed, the duke of Burgoigne, to ſet a vayle before the King of Englandes eyes, ſent Thoiſon Dore his King at Armes to King Henrie with letters, excuſing the matter by way of information, that hee was conſtrayned to enter into this league with King Charles, by the dayly outcryes, complaintes, and lamentations of his people, alledging agaynſte hym that hee was the onelye cauſe of the long continuance of the warres, to the vtter empoueriſhing of his owne people, and of the whole nation of Fraunce: Therefore ſith hee coulde not otherwiſe doe, but partlye to content his owne people, and chiefely to ſatiſfie the requeſt of the whole generall counſayle, was in maner compelled for his part to growe to a peace and amitie wyth King Charles: he likewyſe wiſhed that King Henrie vppon reaſonable and honeſt conditions of agreement offered, ſhould in no wyſe refuſe the ſame, whereby the long continued warre at length myght ceaſſe and take ende, to the pleaſure of almightye God, whiche is the Anthour of peace and vnitie: and hereto hee promyſed hym his ayde and furtherance, wyth many fayre and pleaſant flattering wordes, which I paſſe ouer.



The ſuperſcription of this letter was thus.

To the high and mightie prince, Henrie by the grace of God King of Englande, his welbeloued couſin. Neither naming him king of Fraunce, nor his ſoueraigne Lorde, according as (euer before that time) he was accuſtomed to do.

This Letter was much marueyled at, of the Counſayle, after they had throughly conſidered and pondered all and ſingular the contentes therof, and as reaſon moued them, they could not but be muche diſquieted therewith, ſo farre forth that dyuerſe of them ſtomaked ſo muche the vntruth of the Duke, that they coulde not temper theyr paſſions, nor brydle their tongues, but openly called him traytor.

But when the rumor of the Dukes reuolting was publiſhed amōgſt the people, they left words and fell to beſtowing of ſtrypes: for being pricked with this euill tidings, they ranne in great outrage vppon all the Flemings, Hollanders, and Burgonions which thẽ inhabited within yͤ Citie of London, and the Suburbes of the ſame, and ſlue and hurt a great nūber of them before they, by the kings proclamation, coulde be ſtayed from ſuch iniurious doing, for the king nothing more mynded than to ſaue innocent bloud, and to defend them that had not offended.

The officer at armes was willed to tell hys maiſter, that it ſtoode not with his honor to bee enimye to the Engliſhe Nation, and that his dutie was (all things conſidered) to keepe hys auncient truth and olde allegiance, rather than to bee the occaſion of newe warre. And further it was not the point of a wiſe man to leaue the certaine for the vncertaine, and truſt vpon the vnſtedfaſt holde of a newe reconciled enimie.

When the Meſſenger with thys aunſwere was diſpatched and ſent awaye, the King of Englande and his Counſayle purpoſed to worke the Duke of Burgoigne ſome diſpleaſure, and therevpon by rewardes, corrupted certaine rulers of Cityes and Townes within his Dominions to moue ſome rebellion agaynſt hym, which indeede ſore troubled the Dukes wittes and a great while diſquieted his minde by their diſobedyent conſpiracie.

*An.reg.*14.
The death of the Duke of Bedford Regent of France.

This yeare the .xiiij. day of September dyed John Duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, a man as politike in peace, as hardie in warre, and yet no more hardie than mercifull, when hee had the victorie, whoſe bodie was with all funerall pompe, and ſolemne Exequies buryed in the Cathedral Church of our Lady in Rouen, on the North ſyde of the highe Aulter, vnder a ſumptuous and coſtlye monument, whiche Tombe when King Lewis the eleuenth by certayne vndiſcreete perſones was counſayled to deface, affyrming that it was a greate dyſhonour, both to the King and to the Realme, to ſee the enimye of hys father and theyrs to haue ſo ſolemne and riche memoriall: He aunſwered ſaying, what honour ſhall it bee to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the grounde the deade bones of him, whome in hys lyfe tyme neyther my father nor your progenitours, wyth all theyr power, puiſſaunce, and friendes were once able to make flee one foote backewarde, but by hys ſtrength, wytte, and policie, kept them all oute of the principall Dominions of the Realme of Fraunce, and out of thys Noble and famous Duchie of Normandie: Wherefore I ſay, fyrſt, God haue his ſoule, and let hys bodie nowe lye in reſt, whiche when hee was alyue, woulde haue diſquieted the prowdeſt of vs all: and as for the Tombe, I aſſure you, is not ſo decent nor conuenient, as his honour and actes deſerued, although it were much rycher, and more beautifull.

A worthy ſaying of a wiſe Prince.

Great

The froſt was ſo extreme thys yeare begynning about yͤ .xxv. daye of Nouember, and continuing tyll the tenth of Februarie, that the Shippes wyth Marchandice arryuing at the Thames mouth, coulde not come vppe the Riuer, by reaſon it was ſo frozen, and ſo their lading being there diſcharged, was brought to the Citie by lande.

After the death of that Noble Prince the Duke of Bedforde, the bright Sunne that in Fraunce commonly ſhone moſte fayre and beautyfull vppon the Engliſhe menne, beganne to be clowdie, and daylye to waxe more darke, for the Frenchmenne beganne not onely to wythdrawe theyr obedyence whiche they had by oth promyſed to the King of England, but alſo tooke ſword in hande and openly defyed the Engliſhmenne: but yet coulde not all theſe miſhappes any thing abaſhe the valiaunt courages of the Engliſhe people: for they hauing no myſtruſt in God and good fortune, ſette vppe a newe ſayle, beganne the warre agayne afreſhe, and appoynted for Regent in Fraunce, Richard Duke of Yorke, ſonne to Richard Erle of Cambridge.

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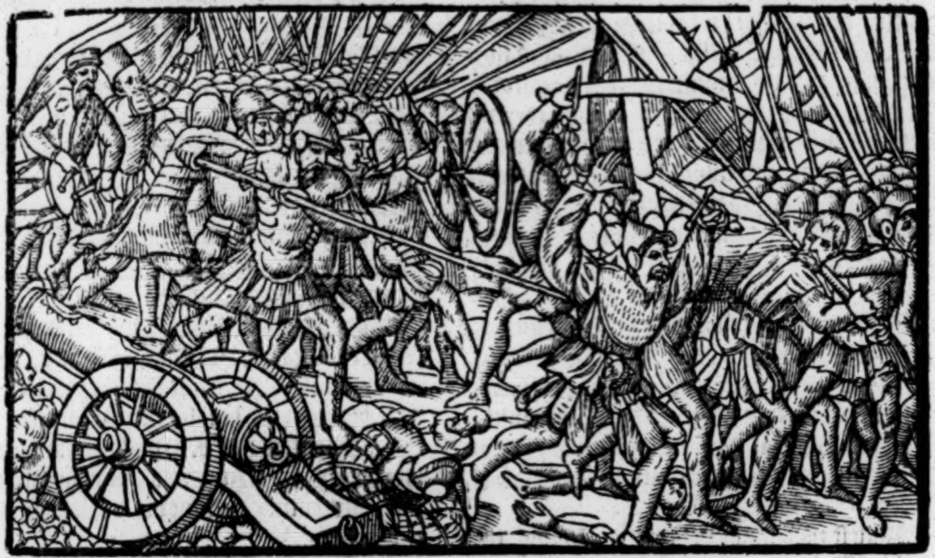
Although the Duke of Yorke was worthye both for byrth and courage of this honor and preferment, yet hee was ſo diſdeyned of Edmonde Duke of Sommerſet being couſin to the King, that by all meanes poſſible hee ſought hys hynderaunce, as one glad of hys loſſe, and ſorye of his well doing: by reaſon whereof, ere the Duke of Yorke coulde gette hys diſpatche, he was conſtrayned to lynger, tyll Paris and dyuerſe other of the chiefeſt places in Fraunce were gotten by the French king.

The Duke of Yorke perceyuing his euil wil, openly diſſembled that, which he inwardly mynded, and thus eyther of them wrought things to the others diſpleaſure, till through cancred malice, and peſtiferous diuiſion, continuing in the heartes of theſe two Princes, at length by mortall warre they were both conſumed, wyth almoſt all theyr whole lynes and offſprings.

The Normans of the Countrey of Caux, beeyng heartened by the death of the Duke of Bedforde, beganne a new rebellion, ſlue diuerſe Engliſhmen, robbed many Townes that were vnder yͤ Engliſh obeyſaunce, and tooke the towne of Herflew by aſſault, and dyuerſe other townes. But the Lorde Regent beeing aduertiſed, ſente forth the Lorde Scales, ſir Thomas Kiriel, and the Lorde Hoo, whiche ſo afflicted thoſe rebels of Caux, yͤ they ſlue aboue .v. M. perſōs, & burnt all the Townes and villages in the Countrey, not being walled, ſo that in that parte, was neyther habitation nor tillage, for all the people fled into Britaine, and all the beaſts of the Countrey were broughte to Caudebecke, where a good ſheepe was ſolde for an Engliſh peny, & a Cow for twelue pence. Dayly was ſkirmiſhing and fighting in euery part, in ſo much, that the Lord Scales diſcomfited at the Rye beſide Roan, the Hire, and fifteene hundred valiant Frenchmen, of the whiche, aboue three hundred, were taken priſoners, beſide ſeauen goodly faire courſers.



Amongſt other of the priſoners, were ſir Richard Reignold de Fountaynes, ſir Alayne Gerond, Alayn de Monſay, and Geoffrey Granie, capitayne of the Scottes. But yet this victorie and others the lyke, ſtayed not the Frenchemen from working treaſon dayly, in ſomuche, that diuers townes turned to the part of K. Charles, and ſome were taken by practiſe, as Dieppe, Boys de Vincennes, and other.

Heere is one chiefe pointe to be noted, that eyther the diſdeyne among the chiefe peeres of the realme of England (as ye haue heard) or the negligence of the Kings counſell (whiche did not foreſee daungers to come) was the loſſe of the whole dominion of France, betweene the ryuers of Soane and Marne, and in eſpeciall, of yͤ noble Citie of Paris. For where before, there were ſent ouer thouſands for defence of the holdes and fortreſſes, now were ſent hundreds, yea and ſcores, ſome raſcalles, and ſome not able to drawe a bowe, or carrie a bill: for the Lord Willoughby, and the Biſhop of Terrouanne, whiche had the gouernaunce of the great Citie of Paris, had in their company, not two thouſand Engliſhmen, which weakeneſſe, King Charles wel perceiued, and therefore he appointed the Conneſtable, Arthur of Britaigne, the Earle of Dunoys, the Lords de la Roche, and Liſle Adam, with other valiant Captaines and men of warre, as well Burgonions as Frenche, to goe before Paris, truſting by fauoure of certaine Citizens, with whome he had intelligence, ſhortly to bee Lorde of the Citie, without great loſſe or battell. So theſe Captaines came before the Citie of Paris but perceiuing yͭ all things ſucceeded not, according to their expectatiō, they returned to Mont Martir, and the next day, ſuddainely ſet on the Towne of Saint Denis, and conſtreyned the Engliſhmen that kept it, to flee into the Abbey, and into the tower Venin.

In this conflict, two hundred Engliſhmen were ſlayne, and the reſidue vppon a reaſonable compoſition, rendred vp the place, and departed to Paris.

Thomas Lorde Beaumonte, whiche of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, iſſued forth of the citie with. vj. C. ſouldiors onely intending to view the doings and number of the Frenche armie, but he was ſodeynly eſpyed and compaſſed aboute, ſo that within a ſmall ſpace he was diſcomfited and taken, and wyth him. lxxx. priſoners, beſide. ij. C. which wer ſlain in yͤ field, & the remnant chaſed to the very gates of the citie. The Pariſians, & eſpecially yͤ maſter of yͤ Halles, and ſome of the Vniuerſitie, & Michael Lallier, and many notable burgeſſes of the Citie (which euer with an Engliſhe countenāce couered a French heart) perceiuing the weaknes of the Engliſhmen, and the force of the Frenchmen, ſignified to the Frenche Capitaynes their myndes and intentes, willing them with all diligence to come, that they myght receyue ſo riche a pray to them without any difficultie, ready to be giuen and deliuered into their handes.

The Conſtable delaying no time, came with his power, and lodged by the Charter houſe, and

The treaſon of the Pariſians.

the Lord Liſle Adam, approching to the walles, ſhewed to the Citizens a Charter, ſealed with the great ſeale of King Charles, by the which he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted to them all their olde liberties, and auntient priuiledges, ſo that they would heereafter be to him true and obedyente: whiche thing to them declared, they ranne aboute the towne, crying Saynt Denis, liue King Charles. The Engliſhmen perceyuing this, determined to keepe the gate S. Denis, but they were deceiued, for the cheynes were drawen in euery ſtreete, and women and children caſt downe ſtones & ſcalding water on the Engliſhmens heads, and the Citizens in armour fought with them, and chaſed them from ſtreete to ſtreete, and from lane to lane, and ſlew and hurt diuers and many of them. The Biſhop of Tyrwine, Chancellor there for King Henry, the Lord Willoughby, and Sir Simon Moruiher, tooke great payne to appeaſe the people, but when they ſaw that all auailed not, they withdrewe into the Baſtell of Saint Anthony, whiche fortreſſe, they had well vittailed, and furniſhed with men and munitions.

Paris yelded to the frenche King.

Whileſt this rumor was in the Towne, the Earle of Dunois, and other, ſcaled the walles, and ſome paſſed the riuer by boates, and opened the gate of Saint Iames, by the which, yͤ Conneſtable, with his banner diſplayde, entred, at whoſe entrie, the Pariſians made great ioy. The Byſhop and the Lord Willoughby, with theyr ſmall companye, defended their fortreſſe tenne dayes, looking for ayde, but when they ſaw that no comfort appeared, they yeelded their fortreſſe, ſo that they and theirs, with certaine baggage, might peaceablye returne to Roan.

Thus was the Citie of Paris broughte into the poſſeſſion of Charles the French King, thorough the vntrue demeanor of the Citizens, the which contrarie to their othes, and promiſed allegiance, like wauering and inconſtant mynded people, reuolted from the Engliſhmẽ, when they ſawe them at the weakeſt.

After this glorious gayne, the Frenchmen beſieged the towne of Crayle vpon Oyſe, whereof Sir William Chamberlaine was Captaine, the which with fiue hundred Engliſhmen, iſſued out of the Towne, and after long fight, diſcomfited his enimies, and ſlew two hundred, & tooke a greate number priſoners: the remnant not lyking the market, departed to Compeigne, and other townes adioyning. During whiche ſeaſon, twelue Burgeſſes of the Towne of Giſors ſold it for money, vnto Poyton de Xantrailes, but he had not the Caſtell deliuered, and therefore with all his power, he beſieged the ſame, whereof, the Lord Talbot being aduertiſed, ſent for the lord Scales, and they both with eighteene hundred men, reſcued the Caſtell, tooke the Towne, and diſcomfited their enimies, and ſlewe of them aboue four hundred perſons. Nowe according to the olde prouerbe (when the ſteede is ſtollen, ſhut the ſtable dore) the Duke of Yorke appointed at the laſt Parliament, to be regent of Fraunce (after that Paris, Saint Denis, Saint Germaines in Lay, and diuers other Townes in Fraunce were taken and betrayed for lacke of conuenient ſuccours) was ſente ouer into Normandie with eight thouſande men, and in his company, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Suffolke, and the Lord Fawconbridge, and dyuers other valiante Captaynes.

When he was landed, the Earle of Saliſburie beſieged the Caſtell of Chamboys, whyche ſhortly was to him rendred.

Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where hee ſet good orders, and did great iuſtice in the countrey, wherefore the Normans in theyr Chronicle, highly extoll him for that point. Howbeit, they ſay, that he gate by long ſiege, the Towne and Abbey of Fecamp, and did none other notable acte, during the time of his rule and gouernement.

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In this fourtenth yeare, the Duke of Burgoigne determined by the aduice of his counſell, to attempte the winning of Calais. The prouiſion was wonderous great which was made for the archieuing of this enterpriſe: whereof, Sir Iohn Ratcliffe, deputie of the Towne of Calais, hauing perfect intelligence, aduertiſed king Henrye, and his counſell, whiche incontinently ſente thither the Earle of Mortaigne, ſonne to the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lord Cameys, with fifteene hundred men, and greate foyſon of vittailes, whiche iſſued out of Calais, and came before Grauclin, where they were encountred with a great number of Flemings, whych were ſhortly diſcomfited, and four hundred of them ſlaine, and ſixe ſcore taken priſoners. And within two dayes after, the Engliſhmen draue by fine force, the Lords of Warreyn and Bado, to the barriers of Ard, and diſcomfited their companie, to the number of fifteene hundred, and ſlewe ſeauen valiant Captaynes, & tooke many Gẽtlemen priſoners.

The Duke of Burgoigne remayning ſtil in his former purpoſe, aſſembled togither, of Flemings, Picards, Hollanders, and Henneweyrs, a great army, to the number of fortie thouſand, ſo well armed, ſo well vittailed, ſo well furniſhed with ordinaunce, and ſo well garniſhed in all things, that they thought in their harts, and blaſted amongſt themſelues, that the Caliſians woulde leaue their towne deſolate, and flee for their ſafegard, hearing onely of the Dukes approch: but they reconed before their hoſt, and ſo

payd

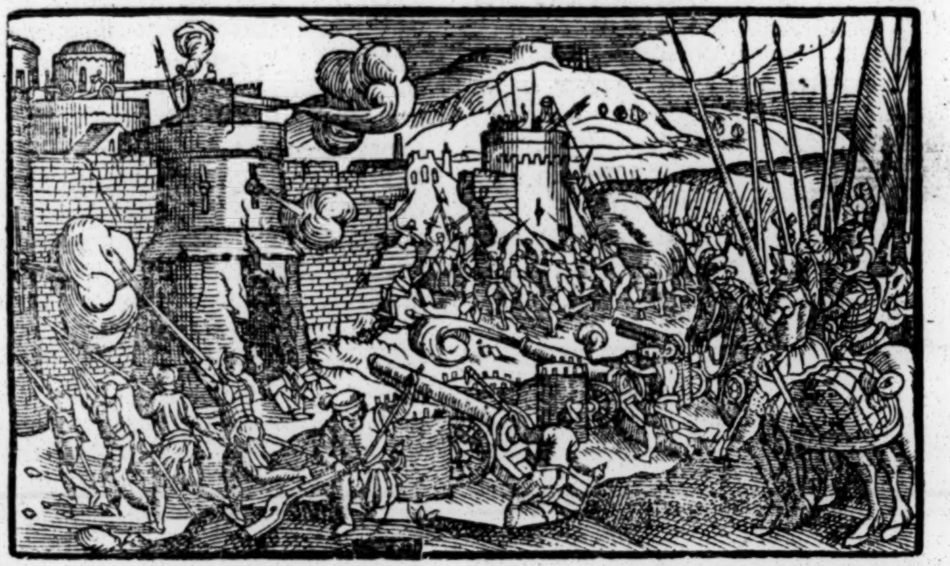
payde more than the ſhot came to.

When this mightie army was paſt the water of Graueline, the Duke intending to begin his great conqueſt, aſſaulted the little poore Caſtell of Oye, which hauing in it but fiftie souldiers, of the which, twelue solde their liues deerely, the remnant compelled by neceſſitie, yeelded themſelues to the dukes mercie, which to pleaſe the Gantoyſe, beeing of number moſt puiſſante in all the armye, liberally gaue to them, both the Caſtel, and priſoners, the which rude and beaſtly people, nothing expert in the lawes of armes, not only raſed the Caſtell, but alſo hanged nine and twentie of the captiues, and hadde ſo done with the reſidue, if the Duke, diſdeyning theyr crueltie, had not intreated for the reſt.

After this victorie, the Picardes beſieged the Caſtell of Marke, and gaue three aſſaultes to it. The Engliſhmen within, being in number two hundred, and ſixe, vnder the gouernemente of their Captayne Sir Iohn Gedding, valiauntly defended the place, till at length, deſpairing of ſuccours, they yeelded themſelues, their liues and limmes ſaued. The Caſtel of Marke being thus deliuered, was raſed to the ground.

After this, the Duke of Burgoigne, accompanyed with the Duke of Cleues, the Earle of Eſtampes, the Lords of Dantoing, Croy, Criſquy, Humiers, and many other valiant Barons and Knightes, with his great army, came before the towne of Calais, and placed his ſiege about the ſame, moſt to his aduantage: hee gaue three aſſaultes to the Towne, but his people gayned nothing at the ſame, ſo that they were conſtreyned to abſteyne, from further approching to the walles.

Caleys beſieged by the duke of Burgoigne.



At the firſt aſſault, the Hyre which was come to ſee the Duke of Burgoigne, was ſore wounded and hurte.

Beſide this, one thing troubled the Dukes eyes, bycauſe that at euery tyde, Shippes arriued in the Hauen out of England, openly before his face, laden with vittailes, munitions and men.

The Duke one day roade about to view and behold the ſituation of the towne, to the intente to take his moſt aduantage, eyther by aſſaulte or otherwiſe: hee was quickly eſpyed, and with the ſhotte of a canon, a Trumpetter, which rode next before him, and three horſſes in his companie were ſlayne out of hand.

The Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient number with him, was appoynted to beſiege the Caſtell of Guiſnes, where he gote little profite, and did leſſe harme. Moreouer, for ẏ better aduācing of his enterprice, the Duke minded to ſtoppe vp the Hauē, ſo that no ſuccours ſhould enter there. Heerevpon, he cauſed foure greate Hulkes to bee fraught with great ſquare ſtones, cimented and ioyned togither with leade, to the intente they ſhoulde lie ſtill lyke a Mount, and not to ſeuer in ſunder. Theſe Shippes, with the reſidue of the Dukes nauie, were conueyd into the mouth of Calais Hauen, and at a full Sea, by craft and policie, were ſonke downe to ẏ ground, but whether God woulde not that the Hauen ſhoulde be deſtroyed, eyther the conueyghers of the Hulkes knewe not the very channel, theſe foure greate Shippes, at the low water, lay openly vppon the ſands, without hurting the roade or Channell, whiche when the ſoldiers perceyued, they iſſued out of the towne, brake the Shippes, and caried both the ſtones, and timber into the Towne.

Another deuice yet was accompliſhed by the Duke, whiche was the building of a ſtrong baſtell, ſet on a little Mountayne, furniſhed with foure hundred men, and much artillerie, whyche fortreſſe did impeach the Engliſhmen from iſſuing forth of the Towne, to their high diſpleaſure.

Whiles theſe things were adoing, there arriued in the Dukes armie an Herrault of England, called Penbroke, belonging to the Duke of Glouceſter, which declared to the Duke of Burgoigne, that the protector of Englande his maiſter (if God woulde ſend him wind and weather) woulde giue battell to him, and to his whole puiſſance, either there, or in any other place within his owne Countrey, where he would appoynte, but the daye he could not aſſigne, bycauſe of the inconſtancie of the winde. The Duke (lyke a noble man) aunſwered the Herrault, Sir, ſay to your maiſter, that his requeſt is both honorable, and reaſonable: howbeeit, hee ſhall not neede to take the paines to ſeeke me in mine owne countrey, for (God willing) he ſhall finde me here, till I haue my will of the Towne, readye to abyde hym, and all the power he can make.

After the Herrault had receyued this anſwer, hee was highly feaſted, and had a cuppe, and an hundred guildens to him giuen in rewarde, and ſo he returned to Calaice.

After whoſe departure, the Duke called a Counſell in the chiefe pauilion of the Gantois, about this meſſage of the Engliſhe Herrault, where it was determined with greate courage, that they would abide the battell, if the Duke of Glouceſter came to offer it.

Whileſt this great matter was in conſultation, the Caliſians not wel contented with yͤ baſtill which the Duke hadde newly builded, iſſued out of the Towne in greate number, parte on horſebacke and part on foote.

The footemen ranne to aſſault the baſtill, and the horſemen went betweene the army, and the aſſailantes to ſtoppe the ayde and ſuccours that might come.

Vppon the ſounding of the alarme, the Duke himſelfe in perſon was comming on foote, to relieue his men; but beeing kepte backe a ſpace by the Engliſh horſemen, in that delay of time, the baſtill was wonne by fine force, and eyght ſcore perſons of thoſe that kept it ſlayne, beſide the reſidue whiche were taken priſoners, and ledde to Calaice, with all the ordinance and artillerie, to the high diſpleaſure of the Duke, and hys counſayle.

The nexte day after, there ſprang a rumor in the armye (no man could tell how) that yͤ Duke of Glouceſter with a great puiſſance was alreadie embarqued, and woulde arriue at the nexte tide. What was the very cauſe, I cannot truely write, but ſurely the ſame nyghte, the Duke fledde away, and ſente in all haſt to the Lorde of Croy, to reyſe his ſiege before Guiſnes, whyche tidings were to him very ioyous, for he neither got nor ſaued, ſo theſe two Captaines departed, leauing behynd thē, both ordinance, vittailes, & great riches.

The Duke of Burgoigne breaketh vp the ſiege before Calais, and fleeth.

The French writers to ſaue the honor of the Duke of Burgoigne ſaye, that there was a certaine diſcord & cōmotion amōgſt the Flemings & Duche nation, affirming, that the great lords and the Picards (whom yͤ frenchmē greatly extolle) woulde betray and ſell the Flemings, and their frendes, & that for the ſame cauſe, in a great furie they cried, home, home, and would not tarrie for anye requeſt that the Duke coulde make, and ſo by their miſgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to reyſe his ſiege, and to depart.

The Flemmiſh authors affirme the contrarie, ſaying, that they were readie to abide yͤ comming of the Duke of Glouceſter: but the Duke of Burgoigne fearing to be entrapped betweene the Engliſhe armye without, and the garriſon within the Towne of Calaice, fled away in the nighte, giuing to them no warning thereof before, ſo that for lacke of time, and conueniente ſpace to lade and carrie their ſtuffe, and beeyng commaunded vpō the ſuddaine, to diſlodge with all ſpeede, they left behinde them their vittailes, tents, and other things, to their greate loſſe and detriment. Howſoeuer the matter was, the troth is, that he fled the ſix and twentith day of Iuly, in the nighte, and the next day in the morning, the Duke of Glouceſter landed in Calaice hauen, and ſtreight went into the camp, where hys enimies the night before were lodged, and there he founde manye faire peeces of ordinance, and eſpecially, one called Dygeon, ſo named, after the chiefe Towne of Burgoigne, beſide pauilions, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vittell.

The Duke of Glouceſter, ſeing his enimies reculed, hauing in his company fiue and twentie thouſand men, entred into Flanders, burning houſes, killing ſuch as made reſiſtāce, deſtroying the Countrey on euery parte, ſetting fire in the Townes of Poperinch, Bailleul, and other.

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Alſo, they waſted the ſuburbes of diuers cloſed Townes, and after paſſed by Newcaſtell, Rimeſture, and Valon Chapell, and then entring into Arthois, they came to Arques and Blandeſques, ſetting fire in euery part wher they came.

Thus they paſſed by Saint Omers, and finally by Arde, returned to Guiſnes, and ſo to Calaice at ſixe weekes ende, with greate booties of Cattell, and other riches.

In all this their iourney, they had but ſmall ſtore of bread, whiche cauſed much faintneſſe, and diuers diſeaſes in the armie, whereof a greater number dyed, than did of the enimies ſworde: and yet the Flemings write, that they of Bruges diſtreſſed, to the nūber of two M. Engliſhmen in this iourney: howbeit, the french writers affirme, that the Engliſhmen loſt moe of theyr compa-

Barlan

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company in the marches about Arde, than they did in all other places where they had bin before, hauing paſſed through the parties of Flaunders, without encounter, or anye domage done to thẽ by the enimies.

After that the Duke of Glouceſter was returned into Englãd, he was aduertiſed, that James King of Scottes hadde beſieged the Caſtell of Rockeſbourrough, with thirtie thouſand menne, but the Captayne therof, Sir Rauſe Grey, defended it ſo manfully, for the ſpace of twentie dayes, that King James being then aduertiſed, that the Earle of Northumberlande was comming to fight with him, fledde, with no leſſe loſſe than diſhonor, home to his towne of Edenburgh.

r. 15.

Shortly after that the Duke of Burgoigne had bin before Calais, as in the laſt yere is mentioned, by meane of friendes, and at the deſire of Princes, a truce or abſtinence of warre for a time was moued, betweene the King of Englande, and the ſaid Duke, for the whiche cauſe, were ſente to Graueline for the King of Englande, Henry Beauford, Cardinall of Wincheſter, John Lorde Moumbray Duke of Northfolke, Humfrey Earle of Staffordе, and dyuers other, well learned, and honorable perſonages. And for the Duke of Burgoigne, there appeared the Ducheſſe his wife, the Byſhop of Arras, the Lord of Croy, and diuers other.

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At this treatie, a truce was taken for a ſmall time, and for a leſſe ſpace obſerued, which abſtinence of warre was concluded, betweene the King of Englande, and the Ducheſſe of Burgoigne (enterleſſing the Duke, and his name.)

Some thinke, that the King of Englande woulde neuer enter in league with him, bycauſe he had broken his promiſe, oth, and writing, ſealed to him, and to his father.

Other imagined this to bee done of a cautell, to caſt a miſt before the Frenche Kings eyes, to the intent hee ſhould beleeue, that this feate was wroughte by the Ducheſſe, without aſſente or knowledge of the Duke or his counſell.

Thus may yee ſee, that Princes ſometyme, with ſuche vayne gloſes, and ſcornefull expoſitions, will hide theyr doyngs, and cloke their purpoſes, to the intent, they woulde not eyther be eſpyed, or elſe that they maye plucke their heads out of the coller, at their pleaſure.

37

About this ſeaſon, Queene Catherin mother to the king of England, departed out of this life, and was buried by hir huſband in the minſter of Weſtminſter.

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This woman, after the death of kyng Henry the fifth hir huſband, beyng yong and luſtie, folowing more hir owne wanton appetite than friendly counſel, and regarding more priuate affection than hir princelyke honour, tooke to huſband priuily a goodly Gentleman, and a ryght beautyfull perſon, endued with manye goodlye giftes bothe of nature and grace, called Owen Teuther, a man deſcended and come of the noble lynage and auncient lyne of Cadwallader laſt king of the Britons, by whom ſhe conceyued and brought forth three goodly ſonnes, Edmund, Jaſper, & an other, which was a Monke in Weſtminſter, and liued a ſmall time: alſo a daughter, which in hir youth departed out of this tranſitorie life.

King Henrye, after the death of his mother, bycauſe, they were his brethren of one wombe deſcended, created Edmond Earle of Richmõd, and Jaſper Earle of Pembroke, which Edmõd engendred of Margaret daughter and ſole heire to John Duke of Somerſet, Henry, which after was King of this Realme, called Henry the ſeauenth, of whome yee ſhall heare more in place conuenient. This Owen, after the death of the Queene his wife, was apprehended, and committed to warde, bycauſe that contrarie to the ſtatute made in the ſixte yeare of this King, hee preſumptuouſly had married the Queene, without the Kings eſpeciall aſſent, out of whiche priſon, he eſcaped, and let out other with him, and was againe apprehended, and after eſcaped agayne.

Likewiſe, the Ducheſſe of Bedforde, ſiſter to Lewes Earle of Saint Paule, minding alſo to marrie rather for pleaſure than for honor, without counſel of hir friends, maried a luſty knight, called Sir Richarde Woduile, to the great diſpleaſure of hir Uncle the Biſhop of Tyrwine, and the Earle hir brother.

This Sir Richarde, was made Baron of Riuers, and after Earle, and had by this Lady many noble ſonnes, and faire daughters, of the which, one was yͤ Lady Elizabeth, after Quene of Englande, by reaſon ſhee was married vnto Edward the fourth, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Whileſt this marriage was a celebratyng, Jane late Queene of England, and before Ducheſſe of Britaine, daughter to the King of Nauerre, and wife to King Henrie the fourth, dyed at the manor of Hauering, and was buryed by hir huſband at Canterburie.

And about the ſame time, deceaſſed alſo the Counteſſe of Warwike, and Henrie Archbyſhop of Yorke.

In this yeare alſo, the Duke of Somerſet, accompanyed with yͤ Lords of Faucombridge, Talbot, Sir Francis Surien, the Arragonnois, Mathewe Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Harington, Walter Limbrike, John Erdding, William Watton Eſquiers, and Thomas Hilton, Bailiffe of Roane, with a great cõpanie of the

Harflew beſieged & won by the Engliſhmen.

of the Engliſhe partie, beſieged the Towne of Harflew (lately before gotten by the Frenchmē) both by water and lande: the Captayne within the towne, was one Sir John d'Eſtouteuille, hauing his brother Robert with him, and a ſixe hundred good fighting men.

The aſſailants caſt trenches, and ſo fortifyed themſelues in their campe and lodgings, that when the Earles of Ewe and Dunois, the valiant baſterd of Bourbon, the Lord Gawcourt, and other famous Captaines, with a four thouſand mē, ſent to the reſcue of them within, came before the Towne, they coulde not ſuccour theyr frendes, nor annoy their enimies by any meanes they could deuiſe, and ſo for feare to loſe honour they returned backe again, with much trauaile, and little profite. The Capitaines within the towne perceiuing they could not bee ayded, did ſhortly after render the town to the duke of Somerſet, who after cōmitted it to the keeping of Thomas Paulet, William Lymbrik, Chriſtofor Barker, and George ſaint George, whiche many yeres (til the deuiſion began in England) manfully and valiantly defended both the town and hauen. But afterward, when this Duke of Somerſet was Regent and gouernour of Normandie, he not only loſt this towne of Harflew, but alſo the citie of Roan, and the whole duchie of Normandie, where as nowe being but a deputie, he got it to his high prayſe and glorie.

James king of Scottes murthered.

In this yeare was James kyng of Scottes murthered by certaine traitours of his own ſubiectes.

The Lord Talbot beſieged Tankerville, and after four moneths, had it ſimply to him rēdred.

This towne was no great gayne to the Engliſhmen, for in the meane ſeaſon, the Frenche king in his own perſon beſieged the ſtrong town of Monſtreau ou ſault Yōne, whereof Thomas Gerarde being capitayne, more for deſire of reward, than for feare of enimies, ſold the Towne to the French King, and had of him great gifts, and good cheere, as afterwards was opēly knowen.

The Earle of Warwike made Regent of Fraunce.

This Towne had bin reſcued or the Frenche King fought withall, if one chance had not happened, for the Duke of Yorke about that tyme, was diſcharged of his office, and the Earle of Warwike preferred to the ſame, ſo that the duke of Yorke, lying as then at Roan, woulde haue gladly reſcued the Towne, if his authoritie had not ſurceaſſed, & the Erle of Warwike could not come in time, for yͤ wind was contrarie to him.

This preſente yeare, was a Parliament holden at Weſtminſter, in the whiche, manye good and profitable actes for the preſeruation of concord at home, and defence againſt the enimies abroade, were ordeyned and deuiſed.

Arthur of Britaigne, Conneſtable of France, and John Duke of Alanſon, were ſente by the Frenche King into Normandie, with a greate army, to beſiege the towne of Auranches, ſtanding vpon the knoppe of an hill, where after they had layen a certayne ſpace, without gayne, the Lord Talbot with a valiant company of men, came thither, and offered the enimies battaile, which when they, at all hants refuſed, the Lorde Talbot perceyuing theyr faint harts, reyſed his field, and in the open ſight of them all, entred into the Towne, and the next day, iſſued out, and finding the Frenchmen riding abroade to deſtroy the playne Countrey, he compaſſed them about, and ſlewe many of them, and tooke diuers priſoners.

Although the Frenchmen gote neyther honor nor profit by this iourney, yet they enterpriſed a greater matter, as the winning of Roan, in ſo much, that Pothon de Santreiles, and the Hire, with manye other notable Captaines, hauyng promiſe of certaine burgeſſes of that Citie, to haue entrie made thē, ſecretly in the night, came forwarde to a Towne called Riſe or Riz, not paſt a foure leagues frō Roan, and there lodged.

The Lord Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and ſir Thomas Kiriel, hearing of their approche, ſette out of Roan at midnight, and with great paine, came to Riſe in the morning ſo couertly, that yͤ Frenchmen beeing ſuddainely ſurpriſed, and ſet vpon like men, all amaſed ranne away, & fledde.

In the chaſe were taken, the Lorde of Fontaines, Sir Alcine Geron, Sir Lewes de Balle, and threſcore Knightes and Eſquiers, beſide other, and there wer ſlaine two hundred and moe.

The Hire eſcaped very narrowly, by ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, though not vnwounded.

The Engliſhmen returned to the Towne of Riſe, and founde there greate number of horſes, and other baggages, which they ioyouſly brought with them to Roan.

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On the ſixth day of Nouember, this preſent yeare, the Earle of Warwike, as Regente of France, paſſed the Sea, after hee had bin ſeauen times ſhipped and vnſhipped, & landed at Homflew, with a thouſande freſh Soldiers, and came to Roan, and then the Duke of Yorke returned into England.

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Betweene yͤ change of theſe two Captaines, the Duke of Burgoigne (whiche ſore enuied the glorie of the Engliſhmen) beſieged the Towne of Crotoy, with tenne thouſand men and moe, hauing with him greate plentie of gunnes, and goodly ordinance.

The Earle of Warwike aduertiſed heereof, ſente the Lorde Fawcombridge, Sir Thomas Kiriell, ſir John Montgomerie, Thomas Limbrike, Thomas Chandos, Dauie Hall, and dyuers ners other Knightes and Eſquiers, and manye tall yeomen, to the number of fiue thouſand men, which paſſed yͤ riuer of Somme, beſide yͤ towne of Saint Valerie, wading in the water vp to yͤ chinne, ſo glad were they to reſcue their felowes.

When the Duke of Burgoigne was enformed of the approching of the Lorde Talbot, hee with all his power, ſauing four hundred (whych were left in a baſtill by him there newly builded) fled to Abuille, the baſtill was ſoone gained by yͤ Engliſhmen, and thoſe within eyther ſlayne or taken.

After this, the Lord Talbot ſent to the Duke of Burgoigne, ſignifying to hym, that except he would come forth, & giue him battell, he woulde vtterly waſt his Countrey of Picardie, and according to his promiſe, he brent Townes, ſpoyled and ſlewe many people in Picardie: but for all thoſe his doings, the Duke of Burgoigne appeared not, but got him from Abuile to Amiens, ſo that the Lorde Talbot abode twentie dayes full in Picardie and Arthois, deſtroying al afore him, and after returned without impeachment.

And in the meane ſeaſon, Sir Thoms Kiriell had gotten all the Dukes cariages and ordinance, and left as much vittaile in the towne of Croytoy, as would ſerue ſixe hundred menne a whole yeare, and conueyed the reſidue to the Earle of Warwike, who highly prayſed them for their hardie doings.

After this enterprice atchieued, Henry Earle of Mortaigne, ſon to Edmond Duke of Somerſet, arriued at Chierburg with foure hundred archers, and three hundred ſpeares, and paſſed through Normandie, till he came into the countie of Maine, where he beſieged a Caſtell called Saint Anyan, in the which, were three hundred Scottes, beſide Frenchmen. This Caſtel he toke by aſſaulte, ſlewe the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmenne, bycauſe they were once ſworne Engliſh.

After this, hee got alſo an other Caſtell, two miles from Sainte Julians, called Alegerche, which was ſhortly after recouered, and the Lord Camewis, which came to the reſcue of yͤ ſame, in the meane way was entrapped, and taken.

Thus flowed the victorie, ſometime on the one partie, and ſometime on the other. For about the ſame time alſo, the Townes of Meaux in Brie, and Saint Suſan, were ſolde and delyuered to the French parte, by the vntructh of the burgeſſes, and inhabitants of the ſame townes, about the latter ende of this ſixteenth yeare.

This yeare, by reaſon of great tempeſts, vnmeaſurable windes, and rayne, there roſe ſuche ſcarcitie, that wheate was ſolde at three ſhillings foure pence the buſſhell, wine at twelue pence the gallon, bayſalt at fourteene pence the buſſhell, and malt, at thirteene ſhillings foure pence the quarter, and all other graynes were ſolde at an exceſſiue price, aboue the olde rate.

In the moneth of June, the Earle of Huntington (as Stewarde of Guien) with two M. archers, and four hundred ſpeares, was ſent into Gaſcoigne, as a ſupply to the Countrey, and commons of the ſame: for the K. of Englande and his counſaile were enformed, that the Erle of Dunois lay in the frontiers of Tholouſe, ſecretly, by rewards and faire promiſes practiſing to procure diuers townes in Guienne, to become French, wherefore this Erle (like a politike warrior) altered not onely the Captaines in euerye Towne and Citie, but alſo remoued the magiſtrates, and changed the officers from towne to towne, & roome to roome, ſo that by this meanes, the Earle of Dunoys at yͤ time, loſt both trauel and coſt. In the ſame moneth alſo, Sir Richard Wooduile, ſir William Chamberlaine, ſir Wil. Peito, and ſir Wil. Storie, with a M. men, were ſent to ſtuffe the Townes in Normandie, which at that time, had thereof great neede, for yͤ Engliſh Captaines had ſmall cōfidēce in the Normans, & not too much in ſome of their owne nation, for that harlot briberie, with hir fellowe couetouſneſſe, ranne faſte abroade with Frenche Crownes, that vnneth anye creature (without ſpeciall grace) coulde holde either hande cloſe, or purſe ſhut. In this yere, the Dolphin of France, alied with John Duke of Alanſon, and John Duke of Burgoigne, rebelled againſt his father King Charles, but in the end, by wiſe perſwaſions, and wittie handling of the matter, yͤ knotte of that ſeditious faction was diſſolued, and the King with his ſonne, and the other confederates openly and apparantly pacified.

Two ſhrewde perſwaders.

The Engliſhmen (whiche euer ſought theyr aduantage) hearing of this domeſticall deuiſion in France, reiſed an armie, and recouered againe diuers townes, whiche were ſtollen from them before, and prepared alſo to haue recouered yͤ Citie of Paris, til they heard of the agremēt made betwixte the father and the ſonne, for then they left off that enterprice, and wente no further about it.

Anno re. 18.

In the moneth of Nouember in this preſente yere, there was ſuch a great froſt, & after that, ſo deepe a ſnow, yͭ al the ground was couered therwith, & al yͤ diches froſen, which weather, put the Engliſhmen in hope to recouer againe yͤ towne of Ponthoiſe, by the French King gotten before by corrupting with money diuers burgeſſes of yͤ Towne, wherefore the Engliſhmen, being clothed all in white, wͭ John L. Clifford their Captain, came in yͤ night to yͤ diches, and paſſed thē without danger, by reaſon of the froſt, ſcaled the walles, ſlew the watch, & tooke the towne, with many

Ponthoiſe recouered by the Engliſh.

many profitable priſoners.

After the regaining of the Towne of Ponthoyſe, the Lord Richarde Beauchamp, Erle of Warwike, dyed in the Caſtell of Roan, and was conueyed into England, and with ſolemne Ceremonies, buryed in his Colledge of Warwike, in a very faire and ſumptuous ſepulture.

Anno. re. 19.

About the beginning of Lente, the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lorde Talbot, with other Captaines and men of warre, to the number of two thouſand, whiche they had aſſembled in the marches of Normandie, towards Rouen, marching forward towards Picardie, paſſed ouer the Riuer of Somme, and through the Towne of Monteruel, came before the fortreſſe of Folleuille, whiche the Duke beſieged, whileſt the Lorde Talbot entred further into the Countrey.

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After that the Duke had mounted his greate artillerie, and began to batter the holde, the Captayne within chanced to be ſlaine, with a ſhotte of the ſame artillerie, and ſhortly after, the baterie being ſtill continued, the reſt of the menne of warre that ſerued vnder him, yeelded the place, in which, the Duke left a competent gariſon of ſoldiers, whiche afterwardes, ſore endomaged the Countrey.

This done, the Duke followed the Lorde Talbot, who was alreadye entred a good way within the Countrey of Santhois, and nowe ioyning their powers togither, they came to a fortreſſe called Lyhons, in Santhois, whyche was alſo rendred vnto them, after they hadde brent the church which the Coūtrey people kept againſte them, and woulde not yeelde it, till they were fiered out, and brent and ſlayne, to the nūber of three hundred.

After the fortreſſe was deliuered into theyr handes by compoſition, the Duke with his power lay there about tenne dayes, ſending diuers troupes of his menne of warre abroade into the Countrey, whiche ſpoyled the ſame, tooke yͤ fortreſſe of Herbonneres, and the Lord therof within it, who for his raunſome, and to haue his ſubiects and houſe ſaued from ſpoyle and fire, compounded with his takers for a thouſand Saluz of golde, which he paid to them.

Finally, after the Duke of Somerſet, and the Lord Talbot with their power, had layne in Lyhons about tenne dayes, they departed from thence, and returned into Normandie, without any empeachment.

1441
The Duke of Yorke againe made regent of France.

After the death of the Earle of Warwike, the Duke of Yorke was againe made Regente of Fraunce, which accompanyed with the Earle of Orforde, the Lorde Bourchier called Earle of Ewe, Sir James of Ormond, the Lord Clinton, Sir Richarde Wodduille, and diuers other noble men, ſayled into Normandie, before whoſe ariuall, the Frenche King ſore greeued with the taking of the Towne of Ponthoiſe, aſſembled a greate armie, and beſieged the ſaid towne hymſelfe in perſon, enuironing it with baſtilles, trenches, and ditches, beating the walles and Bulwarkes with ſhot of great ordinance, and giuing thervnto diuers greate and fierce aſſaultes, but John Lorde Clifford, like a valiant Captayne, defended the Towne ſo manfully, that yͤ frenche men rather loſt than wanne.

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The Duke of Yorke at his landing, receyued true aduertiſement of this ſiege, wherevppon, hee ſent for the Lord Talbot, and a great number of Soldiers, and ſo came neere to the Towne of Ponthoiſe, and there encamped himſelfe, and therewith, ſente worde to the French King, that thither hee was come to giue him battell, if hee woulde come out of his ſtrength and baſtilles, but the Frenche King, by aduice of his councell, determined not to venture his perſon, with men of ſo baſe degree, but meant to keepe his ground, bidding the Lorde Regente to enter at his perill, and in the meane ſeaſon, did what hee coulde to ſtoppe the paſſage of the riuer of Oyſe, ſo that no vittaile ſhould be brought to the Engliſh armie by that way, in hope ſo to cauſe them to recule backe.

The Duke of Yorke, perceyuing that yͤ frēch King minded not to fighte, purpoſed to paſſe ouer the riuer of Oyſe, and ſo to fighte with hym in his lodging, wherupon, he remoued his camp, and appointed the Lorde Talbot, and other, to make a countenaunce, as they woulde paſſe the riuer by force at the port of Beaumont, and appoynted an other companye in boates of timber and leather, and bridges made of cordes & ropes (whereof he had great plentie caried with hym in Chariots) to paſſe ouer beneath the Abbey.

While the Lorde Talbot made a crie, as though he would aſſault the gate, certaine Engliſhmen paſſed the water in boates, and drew a bridge of cordes ouer, ſo that a greate number of them were gote to the other ſide, ere the Frenchmen were aduiſed what had happened. When they ſaw the chance, they ranne like madde mē, to haue ſtopped the paſſage, but it was too late, for the moſt parte of the Engliſhmen were gote ouer, in ſo muche, that they chaſed theyr enimies backe, and ſlewe Sir Guilliam de Chaſtell, nephew to the Lorde Taneguy du Chaſtell, and diuers other.

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The Frenchmen ſeeing their euill happe irrecouerable, returned to the French King, and told to him, what had chanced, wherevpon, he doubting to be aſſailed to his diſaduantage, thoughte not good longer to tarrie, but with all ſpeede, remouing his ordinance into the baſtill of Sainte Martin, whiche hee had newly made, diſlodged in the nyghte from Maubuyſſon, and wente to Poyſſy, leauyng the Lorde de Cotigny admirall of Fraunce, with. iij. M. men to kepe the baſtile. If he had taried ſtil at Maubuyſſon, the Lord Talbot which had paſſed the riuer of Oyſe in two ſmall leather boates, had eyther taken or ſlayne hym the ſame night.

The Engliſhmen the next daye in good order of battayle came before the town of Ponthoyſe, thinkyng there to haue founde the French king, but he was gone, and in his lodging they found great riches, and muche ſtuffe whiche he coulde not haue ſpace to carie away for feare of the ſodayn inuaſion. Then the Duke with his power entred into the towne, and ſent for new victual, and repaired the towers and bulwarkes aboute the Towne, and diuers tymes aſſaulted the baſtile of the Frenchmen, of the whiche hee made no great accompte, bycauſe they were not of power eyther to aſſaulte or ſtoppe the victuals or ſuccours from the towne.

After this, the Duke intendyng once agayne to offer the Frenche king battaile, left behind him at Ponthoyſe for captain there, ſir Geruais Cliſton, ſir Nicholas Burdet, Henry Chandos, and a thouſande ſouldiors, and therewith remouing with his whole armie, came before Poyſſy, where he ſet himſelfe and his men in good order of battayle ready to fighte. There iſſued out ſome of the Frenche Gentlemen to ſkirmiſhe with the Engliſhemen, but to their loſſe: for dyuers of them were ſlain, and foure valiant horſemen taken priſoners. The Duke perceyuing the faynte hearts of the Frenchmẽ; and that they durſt not encounter in field with the Engliſhe power, diſlodged from Poyſſi, and came to Maunte, and ſone after to Roan.

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When the Regent and the lord Talbot were returned agayne into Normandie, the Frenche K. conſidering howe muche it ſhoulde redounde to his diſhonor to let reſt the town of Ponthoyſe in his enimies hãds, ſith he had bin at ſuch charges and trauaile aboute the winnyng therof, hee eftſones aſſembled all his puiſſance, and retourning ſodeinly again vnto Ponthoyſe, he firſt by aſſault gat the church, and after the whole town, toke the captain, and diuers other Engliſhmen, and ſlewe to the number of. iiij. C. whiche ſolde their lyues dearely: for one French writer affirmeth, that the French king loſt there. iij. M. men and the whole garniſon of the Engliſhmen was but only a thouſand. Among other that were ſlayne here of the defendants, was ſir Nicholas Burdet knight, chief Butler of Normandie.

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icholas
t Payne.

After this hotte tempeſte, the weather began ſomewhat to waxe more calme: for king Henry and kyng Charles, agreed to ſende Ambaſſadours to commen of ſome good concluſion of peace: So that King Henry ſente the Cardinall of Wynchester, wyth dyuers other noble perſonages of his counſel to Caleys, with whom was alſo ſent Charles duke of Orleans yet priſoner in England, to the intent that he might be both author of the peace, and alſo procurer of his owne deliueraunce.

The French king ſent the Archbiſhop of Reimes, and the Erle of Dunoys: and the Duke of Burgongne ſent the Lord de Creuecueur, & dyuers other. All theſe mette at Caleys, where the Duke of Orleans curteouſly receiue the Earle of Dunoys (his baſtarde brother) thanking him greatly for his paynes taking in gouerning hys landes and countrey, during the time of his captiuitie and abſence. Diuers cõmunications were had, as well for the deliueraunce of the Duke, as for a fynall peace, but nothyng was concluded, ſauyng that an other meetyng was appoynted, ſo that in the meane ſeaſon the demaundes of eyther partie mighte be declared to their Soueraigne Lordes and Maiſters: And herevpon the Commiſſioners brake vp their aſſemble, and returned into their countreys.

The Engliſhmen as the Frenche writers recorde, required not only to poſſeſſe peaceably the two Duchies of Aquitayne and Normandie, diſcharged of al reſort, ſuperioritie, and ſoueraintie againſte the Realme of Fraunce, the Kings and gouernors of the ſame, but alſo to be reſtored to al the towns, cities, and places, which they within. 30. yeres nexte before gone and paſt, had conquered in the realme of France. Whiche requeſt the Frenchmen thought very vnreſonable, and ſo both parts minding rather to gain or ſaue than to loſe, departed for yͤ time, as ye haue herd.

After this meting thus proroged, Philip D. of Burgogne, partly moued in conſcience to make amends to Charles duke of Orleans as yet priſoner in Englãd for the death of duke Lewes his father, whom duke John, father to this D. Philip, cruelly murthered in the Citie of Paris, and partly intending the aduancement of his neece, yͤ Lady Marie, daughter to Adolfe duke of Cleue, (by the which aliãce, he truſted, that al old rãcor ſhuld ceaſſe) contriued ways to haue the ſayd D. of Orleans ſet at libertie, vpon promiſe by hym made to take yͤ ſaid lady Mary vnto wife. This Duke had bin priſoner in Englande euer ſith the bataile foughten at Agincourt, vpon the daye of Criſpyne and Criſpynian, in the yere. 1415. and was ſet now at libertie in the moneth of Nouember. in the yeare. 1440. paying for his raunſome. iiij. C. thouſand crowns, though other ſay but. iij. hundred thouſande. The cauſe that he was deteined ſo long in captiuitie, was to pleaſure thereby the Duke of Bourgongne: For ſo long as the Duke of Burgongne continued faithfull to the King of Englande, it was not thought neceſſarie to ſuffer the duke of Orleans to be raunſomed, leaſt vpon his deliuerance hee would not ceaſſe to ſeeke meanes to be reuenged vpon the duke of Burgongne, for the old grudge and diſpleaſure betwixt their two families, and therfore ſuche ranſome was demaunded for him as he was neuer able to paye: but after that the duke of Burgongne had broken his promiſe, and was turned to the French part, the counſell of the king of England deuiſed how to deliuer the duke of Orleans, that thereby they might diſpleaſure the duke of Burgoygne: Whych thing the duke of Burgogne perceyuing, doubted what might follow if he were deliuered without his knowledge, and therfore to hys greate coſte practiſed his deliuerance, payde his raunſome, and ioyned ẇ him amitie & aliance by mariage of his niece.

The Duke of Orleans deliuered.

This Duke being nowe deliuered, and ſpeaking better Engliſh than Frenche, after his arriuall in France, repaired to the Duke of Burgogne, and according to hys promiſe and conuention, maryed the Ladie Mary of Cleue, in the towne of Saint Omers, on whome he begat a ſonne, whiche after was Frenche Kyng, and called Lewes the twelfth.

Yet here is to be noted, that olde rancour ſodainly appeaſed, cōmonly ſpringeth out againe, for although the vnhappie deuiſion betwixte the two families of Orleans & Burgogne, were by benefyte of this mariage for a tyme ſtayed and put in forgetfulneſſe, for the ſpace of twenty yeres and more, yet at length it brake out betwene their children and Couſins, to the great vnquietyng of the more parte of the Chriſtian world, ſpecially in the tymes of Kyng Fraunciſ the fyrſte, and hys ſonne Henry the ſeconde, very heyres of the houſe of Orleans: For John erle of Angoleſme, vncle to this Duke Charles, begatte Charles, father to the ſayde King Francis, whyche Earle John had bene as pledge in England for the debt of Lewes Duke of Orleans, ſith the laſt yere of K. Henry the fourth, till that nowe his nephewe beyng deliuered, made ſhifte for money, and raunſomed hym alſo, and at length reſtored him to his countrey,

In the begynnyng of thys twentieth yeare, Richarde Duke of Yorke, Regent of Fraunce, and gouernour of Normandie, determined to inuade the territoryes of his enimyes both by ſundrye Armyes, and in ſeuerall places, and therevppon without delaying of tyme, he ſente the Lord of Willoughby wyth a great crew of Souldiours to deſtroye the countrey of Amyens, and John Lorde Talbot was appoynted to beſiege the Towne of Dieppe, and the Regent hym ſelfe accompanyed wyth Edmunde Duke of Somerſet, ſet forward into the Duchy of Aniow. The Lorde Willoughby according to hys Commiſſyon entred into the countrey of hys enimyes in ſuche wyſe vppon the ſodayne, that a great numbre of people were taken ere they coulde withdrawe into any place of ſafegarde or forcelet.

The Frenchemenne in the garnyſons adioyning, aſtonyed wyth the clamoure and crye of the poore people, iſſued out in good order, and manfully foughte wyth the Engliſhmen, but in the end, the Frenchmen ſeyng theyr fellowes in the forfront ſlayn down, & kyld without mercie, tourned their backes, and fled: the Engliſhmen followed, and ſlewe manye in the chaſe, and ſuche as eſcaped the ſworde, were robbed by the Earle of Saynte Pol, whyche was commyng to ayde the Engliſhmen.

In thys conflicte were ſlayne aboue ſix hundred men of armes, and a great number taken.

The Dukes of Yorke and Somerſet lykewyſe entred into Aniow and Mayne, and there deſtroyed Townes, and ſpoyled the people, and wyth great prayes, and Priſoners, repayred agayne into Normandie, whether alſo the lorde Willoughby withdrewe after his valyaunt enterpriſe atchieued (as before ye haue heard) with ryche ſpoyle and good priſoners.

The Duke of Somerſet not ſatiſfyed wyth hys former gayne, entred into the marches of Britayne, and tooke by fierce aſſaulte, a towne named la Gerche, appertayning to the Duke of Alanſon, ſpoyling and burning the ſame.

This done, he went to Ponzay, where he ſoiorned two Moneths, ſendyng forth dayly his men of warre to deſtroy the countreys of Aniou Traonnoys, & Chatragonnoys. The Frenche Kyng ſente the Marſhall Loyach with .iiij M. men to reſiſt the inuaſiōs of the duke of Somerſet, whiche Marſhall intended to haue ſet on the Duke in his lodgyngs in the deade tyme of the night: but this enterpriſe was reueled to the D. who marched forward, and met the Frenchmen halfe the way, and after long fighte, diſcomfited them, ſlewe an hundred of the Marſhals men, and toke .lxij. priſoners, wherof the chiefe were the Lord Dauſigny, ſir Lewes de Buell, and al the other (almoſt) were knightes and Eſquiers.

After this encounter, the duke toke the towne of Beaumont le vicount, & manned all the fortreſſes on the frontiers of his enimies, and wyth riche booties and priſoners, returned again to the duke of Yorke. In this meane time ẏ L. Talbot beſieging the town of Dieppe, enuironed it with deepe trenches and terrible rampiers, buyldyng alſo vppon the mount Poulet, a ſtrong and defenſyble Baſtyle, but at lengthe perceyuyng the Towne to be ſtrongly defended, and that he lacked ſuch furniture of men, victuals, & ordinance as was neceſſarie for the winning of it, he delyuered the cuſtodie of the baſtile, with the gouernaunce of the ſiege to his baſtarde ſonne, a valyaunt yong man, and departed to Roan for aide, money and munition. The Frenche king aduertiſed hereof, ſente his ſonne the Dolphyn of Vyenne wyth the Earle of Dunoys, and a fiftene thouſande men to reyſe the ſiege from Dieppe. Three dayes they aſſayled the Baſtyle, in the which. vj. C. Engliſhmen were encloſed, and at length bicauſe pouder & weapon failed thẽ within, the Frenchmen wan it, and toke the baſtard Talbot pryſoner, with ſir William Peytowe, and ſir John Repley, whiche ſhortly after were redemed. The other Engliſhe ſouldiours ſeyng the baſtyle wonne by the Frenchemen, ſtood all a day in good order of battaile, and in the nyghte followyng, politikely returned to Roan, without loſſe or damage. In the aſſaulting of the baſtile, the Frenchemen ſaye, they ſlewe two hundred Engliſhmen, and denye not but that they loſt fiue hundred of their owne men, beſide thoſe that were hurte.

Whyles theſe thinges were a doing, Philippe Duke of Burgongne made ſuche ſharpe warre agaynſt the Earle of Saint Pol, in taking from him his townes and Caſtels, that hee was conſtrayned to renounce his allegiaunce ſworne and promiſed to the King of Englande, and returned to the Frenche parte.

The Engliſhe capitaynes in Guyenne beſieged the ſtrong towne of Tartas, belongyng to the Lord Dalbreth theyr olde and auncient enemie. The capitains wythin the town perceiuing that they were not able to reſiſte the force of the Engliſhmen any long time, toke this appointment, that the Towne ſhould remayne Neuter, and for the aſſuraunce thereof, they delyuered Cadet the ſonne of the Lorde de la Brethe in pledge, vpon this condition, that if the ſaid lorde de la Breth would not aſſent to the agreement, then he ſhoulde ſignifye his refuſall to the Engliſhe Capitaines within three monethes nexte enſuing, and he to haue his pledge, and they to do their beſt. The French K. at the requeſt of the lords of Guyenne, cauſed the lord de la Breth to ſignifye his diſagreement vnto the Erle of Huntington, as then lieutenãt to the K. of England in the duchie of Aquitayne: and therto to gratifie the Lords of Guyenne, he aſſembled an armie of lx. M. men, & came to Tholouſe, and ſo to Tartas, to whom the chieftains of the town, ſeing no ſuccors cõming from the K. of Englãd, rendred the towne, and Cadet de la Breth, whiche was left there as a pledge, was alſo deliuered.

The French king after the yelding of Tartas remoued to S. Seuere, which towne he toke by force, ſlew. iij. C. perſons, and toke ſir Thomas Rampſton priſoner. After this, he came to the citie of Arques, toke a bulwarke by force, and had the Towne yelded to him by compoſition.

The capitayn which was the Lord of Montferrant departed with all the Engliſhe crewe to Burdeaux, where he founde the Earle of Longuille, the Capdaw de Bueffe, & ſir Tho Rampſton, whiche was a little before deliuered. After this, the fortreſſes of the Riol & Mermandie, wer alſo yelded to yͤ French K. who notwithſtanding at lẽgth was cõſtrained for lack of vittuals (whiche wer cut off by the Engliſhmen, yͭ lay abrode in diuers fortreſſes for yͤ purpoſe, to break vp his armie, and to retire into France. And then after his departure, the engliſhmẽ recouered again the citie of Arques, & the other towns by the Frenche king gayned, & toke priſoner his lieutenant called Reignalt Guilliam the Burgonion, & many other Gentlemen, & al the meane ſouldiors wer either ſlaine or hanged.

The chaunce of vvarre.

The Lorde Talbot.

While the Frenche Kyng was in Guyenne, the Lorde Talbot toke the towne of Conchete, and after marched towarde Gailardon, which was beſieged by the baſtarde of Orleans, otherwiſe called the Erle of Dunoys, which erle hearing of the Lord Talbots approche, reiſed his ſiege, & ſaued himſelf. The Frenchmen a little before this ſeaſon, had taken the towne of Eureux by treaſon of a Fiſher. Sir Francis the Arragonoys hearing of that chance, apparelled. vj. ſtrõg felows, like men of the countrey, with ſacks and baſkets, as cariers of corne & vittual, & ſent thẽ to the caſtel of Cornyl, in the which diuers engliſh men wer kept as priſoners, & he with an ambuſh of Engliſhmen lay in a valey nye to yͤ fortreſſe. The ſix counterfait huſbandmẽ entred the caſtel vnſuſpected, and ſtreight came to the chãber of yͤ captain, & laying hands on him, gaue knowledge to them that lay in ambuſh to come to their ayd the which ſodeinly made forth, and entred yͤ caſtell, ſlewe and toke all the Frenchmen, & ſet the Engliſhmen at libertie: which thing done, they ſet fire in the caſtell, and departed to Roan with their bootie and priſoners.

The Earle of Dunois.

Thus maye ye ſee, that in warre nothyng is certain, and victorie is euer doubtfull, whiche ſometyme ſmyled on the Engliſhe parte, and ſometime on the Frenche ſide, according to hir variable nature. But nowe to ſpeake ſomwhat of the doings in England in the meane tyme.

Whyleſt the men of war were thus occupied in martiall feates, and dayly ſkirmiſhes within the Realme of Fraunce, ye ſhall vnderſtande that after the Cardinall of Wincheſter, and the Duke of Glouceſter, were to the outward apparaunce of the worlde, reconciled eyther to other, the Cardinall, and the Archebyſhop of Yorke ceaſſed not to do many things without the con-

A nevv breach betvveene the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Biſhoppe of VVincheſter.

ſent of the King or of the Duke, being during the minoritie of the K. gouernour and protector of the Realme, wherfore the ſayde Duke lyke a true hearted Prince, was nothyng pleaſed, and therevppon in wrytyng declared to the Kyng wherein the Cardinall and the Archbyſhoppe hadde offended both his Maieſtie and the lawes of the realme.

This complaynt of the Duke of Glouceſter was conteyned in foure and twentie articles, as in the Chronicle of Maiſter Hall ye may reade at full, the whyche for breefeneſſe I here omitte.

But the cheefeſt point reſted, in that it was apparant howe the Cardinall hadde from tyme to tyme through the ambitious deſyre to ſurmount all others in high degrees of honour and dignitie, ſought to enriche hymſelfe to the great & apparant hynderaunce of the king, as in defraudyng hym not onely of his treaſure, but alſo in doing and practiſing thyngs greatly preiudiciall to his affaires in Fraunce, and namely by ſettyng at libertie the Kyng of Scottes, vpon ſo eaſy conditions, as the Kynges Maieſtie greately loſte thereby.

When the Kyng hadde hearde the accuſations thus layde by the Duke of Glouceſter agaynſte the Cardinall, he commytted the examination thereof to his Counſell, whereof the more parte were ſpirituall perſons, ſo that what for feare, and what for fauoure, the matter was winked at, and nothyng ſayde to it: onely faire countenance was made to the Duke, as though no malice hadde beene conceyued agaynſt hym: but venym wyll breake out, and inwarde grudge wyll ſoone appeare, whiche was thys yeare to all men apparant: for dyuers ſecrete attemptes were aduaunced forwarde thys ſeaſon agaynſt thys noble man Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter a farre off, whiche in concluſyon came ſo neere, that they bereſte hym bothe of lyfe and lande, as ſhall hereafter more playnly appeare.

For fyrſt this yeare, Dame Eleanore Cobham, wyfe to the ſayde Duke, was accuſed of treaſon, for that ſhee by ſorcerie and enchauntement entended to deſtroy the kyng, to the intent to aduaunce hir huſbande to the Crowne.

Vppon thys, ſhee was examined in Saynte Stephens Chappell before the Byſhop of Canterbury, and there by examination conuicte and iudged to doe open penaunce in three open places wythin the Citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetual impriſonmẽt in the yſle of Man, vnder ỹ keping of ſir Io. Stanley knight.

Alias Iohn Hum.

At the ſame ſeaſon were arreſted, arrayned, and adiudged gyltie, as ayders to the Ducheſſe, Thomas Southwell Prieſte, and Chanon of Saynte Stephens at Weſtminſter, John Hun prieſt, Roger Bolyngbroke, a cunnig Necromancer as it was ſaid, and Margerie Iordayn, ſurnamed, the Witche of Eye.

The matter layde againſt them, was for that they, at the requeſte of the ſayde Ducheſſe, had deuyſed an Image of waxe, repreſentyng the Kyng, whiche by their ſorcerie by little and little conſumed, entendyng thereby in concluſion, to waſte and deſtroye the Kyngs perſone.

Margerie Iordayne was brente in Smythfielde, and Roger Bolyngbroke was drawne to Tyborne, and hanged and quartered, taking vpon his death, that there was neuer any ſuche thing by them imagined. John Hun hadde his pardon, and Southwell dyed in the Tower before execution.

The Duke of Glouceſter bare all theſe thinges paciently, and ſayd little.

Edward ſon to the duke of Yorke was borne this yeare the .xxix. of Aprill at Roan, his father being the Kings lieutenant of Normandie.

The Counſell of Englande forgat not the late enterpriſe of the Frenche king, atchieued in the Duchie of Guyenne, and therfore doubting ſome other the lyke attempte, they ſente thyther Syr Wyllyam Wooduile wyth eyght hundred menne to fortifye the frontiers, and farther, ſet forth a proclamation, that all men which wold tranſporte anye Corne, Cheeſe, or other victuall thyther, ſhoulde pay no maner of cuſtome or tallage: whyche licence cauſed the Countrey of Aquitayne to bee well furnyſhed of all thynges neceſſarye.

Aboute this ſeaſon John the valiaunt Lorde Talbot for his approued prowes and tried valiancie ſhewed in the Frenche warres, was created Earle of Shrewſbury, and with a companie of three thouſande menne ſente agayne into Normandie, for the better defence of the ſame.

In this yeare dyed in Guyenne the Counteſſe of Comynges, to whome the French king and alſo the Earle of Arminacke pretended to be heyre, inſomuche that the Earle entred into all the landes of the ſayde Ladie, and bycauſe hee knewe the Frenche Kyng woulde not take the matter well, to haue a Roulande agaynſte an Olyuer, he ſente ſolemne ambaſſadours to the king of Englande, offeryng him his daughter in mariage, wyth promyſe to be bounde (beſide greate ſummes of money, whyche hee woulde giue wyth hir) to deliuer into the Kyng of Englands handes, all ſuche Caſtelles and Townes as he or his aunceſters deteyned from him within any part of the Duchie of Acquitayne, eyther by conqueſt of his progenitors, or by gifte or deliuerie of any Frenche king, and further to ayde the ſame Kyng, wyth money for the recouerye of other Cityes wythin the ſame Duchye by the Frenche Kyng, or by any other perſone from hym vniuſtly kept, and wrongfully withholden.

Thys offer ſeemed ſo profytable and alſo honorable to King Henry and to the realme, that the Imbaſſadours were well hearde, honourably receyued, and wyth rewardes ſente home into theyr countrey.

After whome were ſente for the concluſion of the marriage into Guyenne, ſir Edwarde Hull, ſir Robert Ros, and John Grafton deane of S. Seuerines, the whyche (as all the Chronographers agree) both concluded the marryage, and by proxie affyed the yong Ladye.

The Frenche kyng not a little offended herewyth, ſent his eldeſt ſonne Lewes the Dolphyn of Vyenne into Rouergue wyth a puiſſant armye, whyche tooke the Earle and hys youngeſt ſonne, with both his daughters, and by force obteyned the countreyes of Arminack, Lobuergne, Rouergue, and Mouleſſonoys, beſide the cities Seuerac, Cadeac, and chaſed the baſtarde of Arminack out of his countreyes, and ſo by reaſon hereof, the concluded mariage was deferred, and that ſo long that it neuer tooke effect, as hereafter it may appeare.

Thus whyleſt England was vnquieted, and Fraunce by ſpoyle, ſlaughter, and brenning ſore defaced: all Chriſtendome lamented the continuall deſtruction of ſo noble a realme, and the effuſion of ſo muche chriſten bloud, wherfore to agree the two puiſſant Kings, all the Princes of Chriſtendome trauayled ſo effectuouſly by their oratours and Imbaſſadors, that a dyet was appoynted to be kept at the citie of Tours in Tourayne, where for the king of Englande appeared William de la Poole Earle of Suffolke, doctour Adam Molyns keeper of the Kings priuie ſeale, alſo Sir Robert Ros, and diuers other. And for the French king were appointed Charles duke of Orleans, Lewes de Bourbon earle of Vandoſme, greate Maiſter of the Frenche Kynges houſeholde, Piers de Breſſe Stewarde of Poyctowe, and Bertram Beauuau Lorde of Precigny.

There were alſo ſente thyther Imbaſſadours from the Empire, from Spayne, from Denmarke, and from Hungarie, to bee mediatours betwixte the two Princes.

The aſſemble was greate, but the coſte was muche greater, inſomuche that euerye parte for the honour of theyr Prince and prayſe of theyr countrey, ſette forth themſelues, as well in fare as apparell, to the vttermoſte.

Many meetings were had, and many things moued to come to a fynall peace: but in concluſion by reaſon of many doubtes whyche roſe on both parties, no finall concorde coulde be agreed vppon, but in hope to come to a peace, a certayn truce as well by ſea as by lande, was concluded by the Commiſſioners for eyghteen Moneths, whyche afterwarde agayne was prolonged to the yeare of our Lord. 1449. if in the mean time it had not bene broken.

A truce for. 18. monethes.

1444

In the treatyng of this truce, the Earle of Suffolke extending his commiſſion to the vttermoſt, without the aſſent of his aſſociates, imagined in his fantaſie, that the next way to come to a perfecte peace, was to moue ſome marriage betwene the Frenche Kinges kinſewoman, the Ladye Margarete daughter to Reyner Duke of Aniou, and hys Soueraygne Lorde Kyng Henrye.

This Reyner duke of Aniou named himſelfe king of Sicile, Naples, and Ieruſalem, hauing only the name and ſtile of thoſe realmes, without any penie profite, or foote of poſſeſſion.

This mariage was made ſtraunge to the erle at the firſt, and one thyng ſeemed to bee a greate hinderaunce to it, whiche was, bicauſe the kyng of Englande occupyed a greate parte of the Duchye of Aniowe, and the whole Countie of Mayne, apperteyning (as was alledged) to king Reyner.

The Earle of Suffolke (I can not ſaye) eyther corrupted with bribes, or too muche affectioned to thys vnprofytable mariage, condeſcended and agreed, that the Duchie of Aniowe and the Countie of Mayne ſhould be deliuered to the King the brydes father, demaunding for hir marriage, neyther pennye nor farthyng, as who woulde ſay, that this newe affinitie paſſed all riches, and excelled bothe golde and precious ſtone. And to the intent that of this truce might enſue a finall concorde, a daye of enterview was appointed betwene the two kings in a place conuenient betwene Chartres and Roan.

When theſe thynges were concluded, the earle of Suffolke wyth his companie returned into Englande, where he forgat not to declare what an honourable truce he hadde taken, out of the whyche there was a greate hope that a fynall peace myght growe the ſooner for that honourable marryage, whyche hee hadde concluded, omittyng nothyng that myght extoll and ſette forth the perſonage of the Ladye, or the nobilitie of her kinne.

But although this mariage pleaſed the kyng and dyuers of hys Counſell, yet Humfrey duke of Glouceſter protector of the realme was much agaynſte it, allegging that it ſhould be both contrarie to the lawes of God, and diſhonorable to the Prince, if he ſhoulde breake that promiſe and contract of mariage made by ambaſſadors ſufficiently therto inſtructed, with the daughter of the Erle of Arminack, vpon conditions both to him and his realme, as much profitable as honorable.

But the Dukes wordes coulde not be heard, for the Earles doings were only liked and allowed. So that for performance of the concluſions, the Frenche king ſent the Erle of Vandoſme, great maiſter of his houſe, and the Archebiſhop of Remes fyrſt peere of Fraunce, and diuers other into Englande, where they were honorably receyued and after that the inſtrumentes were once ſealed and deliuered on both partes, the ſayd ambaſſadors retourned into their countreys with greate giftes and rewardes.

Creations of eſtates.

When theſe things were done, the king both for honour of his Realme, and to aſſure to himſelfe mo frends, he created Iohn Holland Earle of Huntington Duke of Exceſter as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford was made duke of Buckingham: & Henry erle of Warwike was erected to the title of duke of Warwike, to whom the K. alſo gaue the caſtell of Briſtowe, with yͤ Iſle ofIerneſey, and Garneſey. Alſo the erle of Suffolk was made Marques of Suffolk, which Marques with his wife and many honorable perſonages of men and women richely adorned both with apparell & iewels, hauing with them many coſtly chariots & gorgeous horſlitters, ſailed into France for the conueyance of the nominated Queene into the realm of England. For king Reigner hir father, for all his long ſtile had too ſhort a purſe to ſend his daughter honorably to the King hir ſpowſe.

This noble cōpany came to the citie of Tours in Tourayne, where they were honorably receiued both of the French K. and of the K. of Sicil.

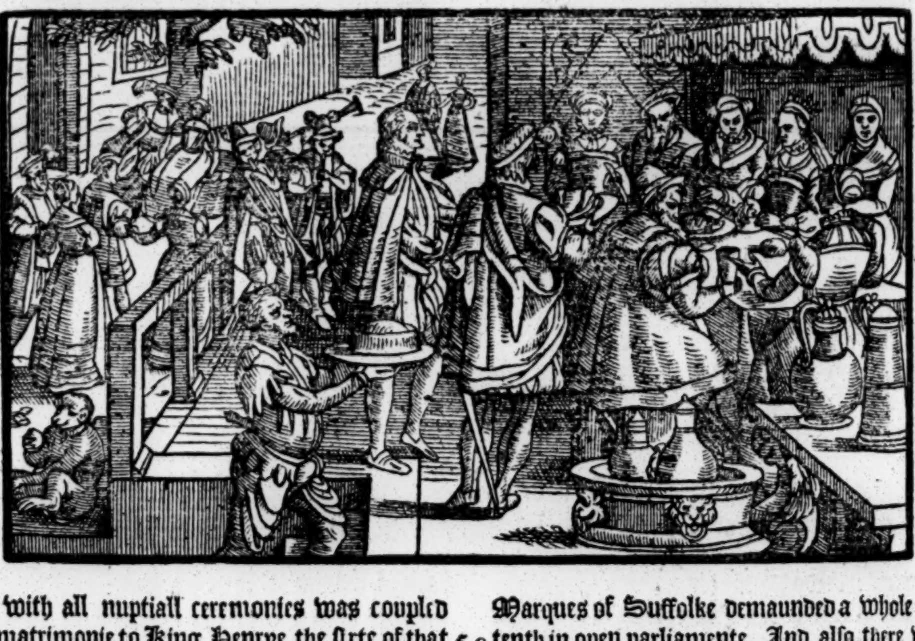
An
14

The Marques of Suffolke as procurator to K. Henry, eſpouſed the ſayd Lady in the churche of S. Martins.

At the whiche mariage were preſente the father and mother of the bryde, the Frenche Kyng himſelf, which was vncle to the huſband, and the French Queene alſo, whiche was Aunt to the wyfe. There were alſo the Dukes of Orleans, of Calabre, of Alanſon, and of Britayne, vij. Erles. xij. barons, xx. Biſhops, beſide knightes and Gentlemen.

When the feaſt, triumph, bankets and iuſtes were ended, the Lady was deliuered to the Marques, which in great eſtate he conueyed through Normandie vnto Diepe, and ſo trāſported hir into Englande, where ſhee landed at Porteſmouth in the moneth of Aprill.

This woman excelled al other, aſwel in beautie and fauor, as in wit and policie, and was of ſtomacke and courage more lyke to a man, than a woman.



Margaret daughter to Reiner king of Sicill and Ieruſalem maried to Henry the ſixt.

Shortly after hir arriuall, ſhee was conueyed to the towne of Southwike in Hamſhire, where ſhe with all nuptiall ceremonies was coupled in matrimonie to King Henrye the ſixte of that name, and vpon the thirtie of Maye nexte followyng, ſhee was Crowned Queene of thys realme of Englande at Weſtminſter, with all the ſolemnitie thereto appertaynyng. This mariage ſeemed to many both infortunate and vnprofitable to the realme of Englande, and that for many cauſes. Fyrſte, the King had not one penye with hir, and for the fetchyng of hir, the Marques of Suffolke demaunded a whole fiftenth in open parliamente. And alſo, there was deliuered for hir the duchye of Aniou, the Citie of Mans, and the whole Countie of Mayne, whiche Countreys were the verye ſtayes and backeſtandes to the Duchie of Normandie.

And furthermore, the Earle of Arminacke tooke ſuche diſpleaſure with the Kyng of Englande for thys marryage, that hee became vtter enemye to the Crowne of Englande,

and

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and was the chiefe cauſe that the Engliſhmen were expulſed oute of the whole Duchie of Aquitayne.

But moſte of all it ſhoulde ſeeme, that God was diſpleaſed wyth this marriage: For after the confirmation thereof, the Kings friends fell from hym, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his Realme fell at diuiſion, and the commons rebelled in ſuche ſorte, that fynally after many fieldes foughten, and many thouſands of men ſlayn, the Kyng at length was depoſed, and his ſonne ſlayn, and this Queene ſent home agayne, with as muche myſerie and ſorrowe as ſhe was receyued with pompe and triumph: ſuch is the inſtabilitie of worldly felicitie, and ſo wauering is falſe flattering fortune.

This yere after the deceaſſe of Henry Chicheley Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſucceded Iohn Stafford in gouernment of that ſea, bring tranſlated from Bathe and Welles. He was the .lxj. Archbiſhop, as Polydore noteth.

During the tyme of the truce, Richard duke of Yorke and dyuers other capitaines, repaired into Englande, both to viſite their wyues, children and frendes, and alſo to conſult what ſhuld be done, if the truce ended.

g.24.
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For the whiche cauſe a Parliament was called, in the which it was eſpecially cõcluded, that by good forſight Normandie mighte be ſo furniſhed for defence before the ende of the Truce, that the Frenche king ſhould take no aduantage through wante of tymely prouiſion: for it was knowne, that if a peace were not concluded, the Frenche kyng did prepare to imploye his whole puiſſance to make open warre. Hereuppon money was graunted, an armye leuyed, and the Duke of Somerſet appoynted to be Regent of Normandie, and the Duke of Yorke therof diſcharged.

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I haue ſeene in a Regiſter booke belongyng ſomtime to the Abbey of S. Albons, that the D. of Yorke was eſtabliſhed Regent of France after the deceaſe of the duke of Bedford, to continue in that office for the terme of .v. yeres, which being expired, he returned home, and was ioyfully receiued of the king with thanks for his good ſeruice, as he had full well deſerued in tyme of that his gouernement: and further, that now when a newe Regent was to be choſen & ſent ouer to abide vpon ſafegard of the countreys beyond the ſeas as yet ſubiect to the Engliſh dominion, the ſaid duke of Yorke was eftſoones (as a man moſt mete to ſupplie that roomth) appointed to go ouer again as Regent of Fraunce with all his former allowances.

But the Duke of Somerſette ſtill maligning the Duke of Yorkes aduauncement, as hee had ſought to hinder his diſpatche at the firſte when he was ſent ouer to be regent, as before ye haue heard: he likewyſe nowe wrought ſo, that the king reuoked his graunt made to the duke of Yorke for enioying of that office the terme of other fiue yeares, and with helpe of Williã Marques of Suffolke obteyned that graunt for him ſelfe: Whiche malicious dealing the Duke of Yorke mighte ſo euill beare, that in the ende the heate of diſpleaſure burſt out into ſuche a flame, as conſumed at length not only bothe thoſe two noble perſonages, but alſo many thouſandes of others, though in dyuers tymes & ſeaſons, as in places hereafter as occaſion ſerueth, it ſhal more euidently appeare. But nowe to returne to the Parliament.

The Marques of Suffolkes requeſtes.

The Marques of Suffolke ſuppoſing that all men had as well lyked his doinges (duryng the tyme of hys Legation in Fraunce) as the ſame pleaſed himſelfe, the ſeconde daye of Iune in the fyrſt Seſſion of this Parliamente, before all the Lordes bothe Spirituall and Temporall in the hygher houſe aſſembled, openly, eloquently, and boldly declared his payne, trauaile, and diligence ſuſteyned in his ſayde Legation, as well for the takyng and concluding an abſtinence of warre, as in the making of the marriage, opening alſo to them, that the ſayd truce expired the firſte of Aprill next comming, except a finall peace, or a farther truce were concluded in the meane ſeaſon: and therfore he aduiſed them to prouide and forſee things neceſſarie for the warre (as though no concorde ſhoulde ſuccede) leaſt happly the Frenchemen perceyuing them vnprouided, wold take theyr aduauntage, and agree neyther to peace nor amitie, ſaying vnto them, that ſyth hee hadde admonyſhed the Kyng and them accordyng to hys duetie, if anye thyng happened otherwyſe than well, hee was therof innocente and guyltleſſe, and hadde acquyted hymſelfe like a true and louyng ſubiecte, and a faythfull counſayloure, praying the Lordes to haue it in remembraunce.

Lykewyſe on the morrowe after, he deſcended into the common houſe, accompanyed with certain Lordes, and there declared the ſame matter to the Knyghtes, Citizens, and Burgeſes, praying the Commons for hys diſcharge, that as well all hys doyngs and proceedyngs in the Kyngs affaires beyonde the ſea, as alſo his aduertiſemente and counſell opened to the Lordes and Commons nowe together aſſembled, might bee by the Kyng and them enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament.

Whereuppon the morrow after, the Speaker William Burleye, and the company of the lower houſe, repayred vnto the Kyngs preſence, then ſyttyng amongſt the Lordes of the vpper houſe, and there humblye required that the requeſt of the Marques myght be graunted, and ſo likewiſe the Lordes made the like petition kneling on their knees, in ſo muche that the Kyng condeſcended to their deſires: and ſo the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declarations of the ſayde Marques, together wyth the deſyres not only of the Lordes, but alſo of the commons, as wel for the honor of him, and his poſteritie, as for his acquitall & diſcharge, were enacted & enrolled in the recordes of the Parliament. By ẏ Quenes meanes ſhortly after alſo, was the ſaid Marques aduaunced ſo in authoritie, that hee ruled the Kyng at his pleaſure, and to his hyghe preferment, obteyned the wardſhips both of the bodye and landes of the Counteſſe of Warwike, and of the Ladie Margaret ſole heire to John Duke of Somerſet, whiche Ladie was after mother to King Henry the ſeuenth: and beſide that, cauſed the kyng to create John de Foys, ſonne to Gaſton de Foys, Earle of Longuile, and the Captaw de Bueff Earle of Kendall, whiche John had maryed his neece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter, the ſayde Gaſton, and John his ſonne, giuyng to the ſonne towardes the mayntenaunce of hys degree, landes and caſtelles, amounting to the ſumme of one thouſande poundes, whiche landes, name, and ſtyle, the iſſue and lyne of the ſayde Earle of Kendale at this daye haue and enioye.

These things being thus in doing, the French king ſeeyng that the Towne of Mans was not deliuered accordyng to the appoyntement taken by force of the mariage, rayſed an armie for to recouer the ſame. Wherof the king of England beeing aduertiſed (leaſt the breache of the truce ſhould come by him) cauſed the towne to be deliuered without any force.

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This yeare was a great commotion in Norwiche agaynſt the Prior of the place. At length the Citizens opened the gates to the Duke of Norffolke whiche came thyther to appeaſe the matter, though at the fyrſt they woulde not ſuffer hym to enter.

The liberties of Norvviche ſeaſed into the kings handes.

The chiefe offenders were accordyng to their demerites, greuouſly puniſhed and executed, and the Mayre was diſcharged of hys office, & Sir John Clyfton was made Gouernour there, till the Kyng hadde reſtored the Citizens to theyr auncient liberties.

Indirect meanes ſought to reforme vvronges.

This commotion was begonne for certayne newe exactions whyche the Pryour claymed and tooke of the Citizens, contrarye to theyr auncient freedome: But thys was not the way to come to their right, and therefore they were worthily corrected.

An.reg.25.

Whyleſt the warres ceaſſed by occaſion of the truce, the myndes of men were not ſo quiet but that ſuch as were bent to malicious reuenge, ſoughte to compaſſe their prepenſed purpoſe, not agaynſt foreyn foes and enemies of their countrey, but againſte their owne countrey menne, and thoſe that hadde deſerued verye well of the common wealthe: and this ſpecially for lacke of ſtoutneſſe in the Kyng, who by his authoritie myghte haue ruled bothe partes, and ordered all differences betwixte them, as might haue ſtande wyth Reaſon: but whereas hee was of ſuche pacience and integritie of lyfe, as nothing ſeemed to hym worthie to be regarded, but that apperteyned vnto heauenly matters and health of hys ſoule, the ſauyng whereof, hee eſteemed to bee the greateſt wyſedome, and the loſſe thereof the extremeſt folly that might be.

The d… of Kyn… the…

The Queene contrary wyſe, was a woman of a greate witte, and no leſſe courage, deſyrous of honoure, and furnyſhed wyth the giftes of reaſon, policye and wyſedome, but yet to ſhew hir ſelfe not altogether a man, but in ſome one poynte a verie woman, oftentymes when ſhe was vehemente and fully bente on a matter, ſhe was ſodeynly lyke a Weathercocke, mutable and tournyng.

Deſcri… the Q…

Thys woman diſdaynyng that hir huſband ſhould be ruled rather than rule, could not abyde that the Duke of Glouceſter ſhoulde do all thinges concernyng the order of weyghtye affayres, leaſt it myghte bee ſayde, that ſhe had neyther wytte nor ſtomacke, whyche woulde permitte and ſuffer hir huſbande beeyng of perfecte age, lyke a young pupill to bee gouerned by the diſpoſition of an other manne. Althoughe thys toye entred fyrſte into hir brayne thorough hir owne imagination, yet was ſhee pricked forwarde to reforme the matter both by ſuche of hir huſbandes counſell, as of long tyme had borne malice to the Duke for his playneneſſe vſed in declaryng theyr vntrouth, as partely yee haue hearde, and alſo by the aduertiſement giuen to hir from Kyng Reygner hir father, aduyſyng hir, that ſhee and hir huſbande ſhoulde in anye wyſe take vppon them the rule and gouernance of the Realme, and not to bee kepte vnder, as wardes and deſolate Orphanes.

The Q… taketh… hir the… ment,a… charge… Duke o… ceſter.

What needeth many wordes? the Queene perſuaded by theſe meanes, firſte of all excluded the Duke of Glouceſter from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibiting ſuche as ſhee knewe to bee hys mortall foes to inuente and imagine cauſes and griefes agaynſt hym and hys, in ſo much that by hir procurement, diuers noble men cōſpired againſt him, of the which diuers writers affirme the Marques of Suffolk, and the duke of Buck. to be the chief, not vnprocured by ẏ Cardinall of Wincheſt. & the Archbiſhop of Yorke. Dyuers Articles were layde agaynſte hym in open counſel and in eſpecially one, that he had cauſed menne adiudged to dye, to bee put to other execution, than the lawe of the land aſſigned: for ſurely the duke being very wel learned in the lawe ciuill, deteſting malefactors, & puniſhing offences, gat greate malice and hatred of ſuche as feared condigne rewarde for their wicked doings. Althoughe the duke ſufficiently aunſwered to all things againſt him obiected: yet bicauſe his death was determined, his wiſdome little helped, nor his innocencie nothing auailed.

But to auoyde the daunger of ſome tumulte that might be reyſed, if a Prince ſo well beloued of the people ſhuld be openly executed, they determined to worke their feats and bring him to deſtruction, ere he ſhuld haue ani knowledge or warning thereof. So for the furtherance of their purpoſe, a parliament was ſummoned to be kepte at Berry, wheather reſorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongſt them the duke of Gloceſter, which on the ſecond day of the ſeſſion was by the lorde Beaumond, then high coneſtable of England, acompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arreſted, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his ſeruauntes ſequeſtred from him, and .xxxij. of the chief of his retinew wer ſent to diuers priſons, to the greate admiratiō of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to priſon, beeing the .xxiiij. of February was founde deade in his bedde, and his body ſhewed to the lordes and commons, as though hee had dyed of a palſey, or of an impoſtume: but all indifferent perſons (as ſaithe Hall) well knewe, that hee dyed of ſome violent deathe: ſome iudged him to be ſtrangled, ſome affirme that an hotte ſpit was put in at his fundement: other write that he was ſmouldered betwene .ij. fetherbeds, and ſome haue affirmed that hee dyed of verye griefe, for that he might not come openly to his anſwere. His deade corps was conueied to S. Albons, and there buried. After his death none of his ſeruāts ſuffred, although fiue of them, to wit, ſir Roger Chāberlain knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arteiſe eſquiers, and Richard Nedhā gentleman, were arreigned, condempned and drawen to Tiborne, where they were hanged, let downe quick, & ſtriped to haue bin bowelled and quartered, but the Marques of Suffolke cōming at that inſtant brought their pardons, ſhewed the ſame openlye, and ſo theyr lyues were ſaued.

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liament
at Ed-
bury.

Duke of
ceſter ſo-
murthe.

Some thinke that the name and title of Glouceſter, hathe bene vnluckye to diuerſe, whiche for their honoures haue bene erected by creation of princes, to that ſtile and dignitie. as Hughe Spenſer, Thomas of Wodſtocke, ſon to Kyng Edwarde the thirde, and this Duke Humfrey: Whiche .iij. perſons by miſerable deathe finiſhed their dayes, and after them king Richarde the thirde alſo, Duke of Glouceſter, in ciuill war was ſlaine and brought to death: ſo that this name of Glouceſter is taken for an vnhappy ſtile, as the prouerbe ſpeaketh of Seians horſe, whoſe rider was euer vnhorſed, and whoſe poſſeſſor was euer brought to miſery.

of Glo-
vnfor-
e.

But ſurely, by the vnworthy deathe of this noble Duke and politike gouernor, the publike wealthe of the Realme of Englande came to greate ruyne, as by the ſequele of this pamphlet may more at lardge appeare.

There is an olde ſaid ſaw, that a man intendyng to auoyde the ſmoke, falleth into the fyre: So heere, the Queene myndyng to preſerue hir huſbande in honoure, and hirſelfe in auctority, conſented to the deathe of this noble man, whoſe only deathe brought that to paſſe, whyche ſhee hadde moſte cauſe to haue feared, whyche was, the depoſing of hyr huſbande, the decay of the houſe of Lancaſter, whyche of likelyhoode hadde not chaunced if this Duke hadde liued: for then durſte not the Duke of Yorke haue attempted to ſet forthe his title to the Crowne, as hee afterwardes didde, to the greate diſquieting of the Realme, and deſtruction of Kyng Henry and of many other noble men beſide.

This is the opinion of menne, but gods iudgementes are vnſearcheable, againſt whoſe decree and ordinaunce preuaileth no humaine counſaile.

But to conclude with this noble Duke: he was no doubt a right mirrour of an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his endeuoures to the aduauncement of the common wealth, no leſſe louing to the poore commons, than beloued of them again. Learned he was, and wiſe, full of curteſie, and voide of all pride and ambition, a vertue rare in perſonages of ſuche high eſtate, albeit where the ſame chaunceth, moſt commendable.

But ſithe the praiſe of this noble man deſerueth a large diſcourſe, and meete for ſuche as haue cunning howe to handle the ſame, I referre the readers vnto Maiſter Foxes booke of Actes, and Monumentes, fyrſte Volume Page 833.

In this ſixe and twentieth yere of the raign of this King, but in the firſte of the rule of the Queene, I finde nothing done worthye of rehearſall within the Realme of Englande, but that the Marques of Suffolke, by greate fauor of the Kyng, and more deſire of the Queene, was erected to the title and name of Duke of Suffolke, whiche dignitie hee ſhorte time en-

An. reg. 26.

requeſt of the Marques myght be graunted, and ſo likewiſe the Lordes made the like petition kneling on their knees, in ſo muche that the Kyng condeſcended to their deſires: and ſo the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declarations of the ſayde Marques, together wyth the deſyres not only of the Lordes, but alſo of the commons, as wel for the honor of him, and his poſteritie, as for his acquitall & diſcharge, were enacted & enrolled in the recordes of the Parliament. By ẏ Quenes meanes ſhortly after alſo, was the ſaid Marques aduaunced ſo in authoritie, that hee ruled the Kyng at his pleaſure, and to his hyghe preferment, obteyned the wardſhips both of the bodye and landes of the Counteſſe of Warwike, and of the Ladie Margaret ſole heire to John Duke of Somerſet, whiche Ladie was after mother to King Henry the ſeuenth: and beſide that, cauſed the kyng to create John de Foys, ſonne to Gaſton de Foys, Earle of Longuile, and the Captaw de Bueff Earle of Kendall, whiche John had maryed his neece, and by his procurement the king elected to the order of the garter, the ſayde Gaſton, and John his ſonne, giuyng to the ſonne towardes the mayntenaunce of hys degree, landes and caſtelles, amounting to the ſumme of one thouſande poundes, whiche landes, name, and ſtyle, the iſſue and lyne of the ſayde Earle of Kendale at this daye haue and enioye.

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This yeare was a great commotion in Norwiche agaynſt the Prior of the place. At length the Citizens opened the gates to the Duke of Norffolke whiche came thyther to appeaſe the matter, though at the fyrſt they woulde not ſuffer hym to enter.

The liberties of Norvviche ſeaſed into the kings handes.

The chiefe offenders were accordyng to their demerites, greuouſly puniſhed and executed, and the Mayre was diſcharged of hys office, & Sir John Clyfton was made Gouernour there, till the Kyng hadde reſtored the Citizens to theyr auncient liberties.

Indirect meanes ſought to reforme vvrongs.

This commotion was begonne for certayne newe exactions whyche the Pryour claymed and toke of the Citizens, contrarye to theyr auncient freedome: But thys was not the way to come to their right, and therefore they were worthily corrected.

An. reg. 25.

Whyleſt the warres ceaſſed by occaſion of the truce, the myndes of men were not ſo quiet but that ſuch as were bent to malicious reuenge, ſoughte to compaſſe their prepenſed purpoſe, not agaynſt forreyn foes and enemies of their countrey, but againſte their owne countrey menne, and thoſe that hadde deſerued verye well of the common wealthe: and this ſpecially for lacke of ſtoutneſſe in the Kyng, who by his authoritie myghte haue ruled bothe partes, and ordered all differences betwixte them, as might haue ſtande wyth Reaſon: but whereas hee was of ſuche pacience and integritie of lyfe, as nothing ſeemed to hym worthie to be regarded, but that apperteyned vnto heauenly matters and health of hys ſoule, the ſauyng whereof, hee eſteemed to bee the greateſt wyſedome, and the loſſe therof the extremeſt folly that might be.

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The Queene contrary wyſe, was a woman of a greate witte, and no leſſe courage, deſyrous of honoure, and furnyſhed wyth the giftes of reaſon, policye and wyſedome, but yet to ſhew hir ſelfe not altogether a man, but in ſome one poynte a verie woman, oftentymes when ſhe was vehemente and fully bente on a matter, ſhe was ſodeynly lyke a Weathercocke, mutable and tournyng.

Thys woman diſdaynyng that hir huſband ſhould be ruled rather than rule, could not abyde that the Duke of Glouceſter ſhoulde do all thinges concernyng the order of weyghtye affayres, leaſt it myghte bee ſayde, that ſhe had neyther wytte nor ſtomacke, whyche woulde permitte and ſuffer hir huſbande beeyng of perfecte age, lyke a young pupill to bee gouerned by the diſpoſition of an other manne. Althoughe thys toye entred fyrſte into hir brayne thorough hir owne imagination, yet was ſhee pricked forwarde to reforme the matter both by ſuche of hir huſbandes counſell, as of long tyme had borne malice to the Duke for his playneneſſe vſed in declaryng theyr vntrouth, as partely yee haue hearde, and alſo by the aduertiſement giuen to hir from Kyng Reygner hir father, aduyſyng hir, that ſhee and hir huſbande ſhoulde in anye wyſe take vppon them the rule and gouernance of the Realme, and not to bee kepte vnder, as wardes and deſolate Orphanes.

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What needeth many wordes? the Queene perſuaded by theſe meanes, firſte of all excluded the Duke of Glouceſter from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibiting ſuche as ſhee knewe to bee hys mortall foes to inuente and imagine cauſes and griefes agaynſt hym and hys, in ſo much that by hir procurement, diuers noble men cōſpired againſt him, of the which diuers writers affirme the Marques of Suffolk, and the duke of Buck. to be the chief, not vnprocured by ẏ Cardinall of Wincheſt. & the Archbiſhop of Yorke. Dyuers Articles were layde agaynſte hym in open counſel and in eſpecially one, that he had cauſed menne adiudged to dye, to bee put to other execution, than the lawe of the land aſſigned: for ſurely the duke being very wel learned in the lawe ciuill, deteſting malefactors, & puniſhing offences, gat greate malice and hatred of ſuche as feared condigne rewarde for their wicked doings. Althoughe the duke ſufficiently aunſwered to all things againſt him obiected: yet bicauſe his death was determined, his wiſdome little helped, nor his innocencie nothing auailed.

But to auoyde the daunger of ſome tumulte that might be reyſed, if a Prince ſo well beloued of the people ſhuld be openly executed, they determined to worke their feats and bring him to deſtruction, ere he ſhuld haue ani knowledge or warning thereof. So for the furtherance of their purpoſe, a parliament was ſummoned to be kepte at Berry, wheather reſorted all the peeres of the realme, and amongſt them the duke of Gloceſter, which on the ſecond day of the ſeſſion was by the lorde Beaumond, then high coneſtable of England, acompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and others, arreſted, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his ſeruauntes ſequeſtred from him, and .xxxij. of the chief of his retinew wer ſent to diuers priſons, to the greate admiratiō of the people. The duke the night after he was thus committed to priſon, beeing the .xxiiij. of Februarye was founde deade in his bedde, and his body ſhewed to the lordes and commons, as though hee had dyed of a palſey, or of an impoſtume: but all indifferent perſons (as ſaithe Hall) well knewe, that hee dyed of ſome violent deathe: ſome iudged him to be ſtrangled, ſome affirme that an hotte ſpit was put in at his fundement: other write that he was ſmouldered betwene .ij. fetherbeds, and ſome haue affirmed that hee dyed of verye griefe, for that he might not come openly to his anſwere. His deade corps was conueied to S. Albons, and there buried. After his death none of his ſeruāts ſuffred, although fiue of them, to wit, ſir Roger Chāberlain knight, Middleton, Herbert, Arteiſe eſquiers, and Richard Nedhā gentleman, were arreigned, condempned and drawen to Tiborne, where they were hanged, let downe quick, & ſtriped to haue bin bowelled and quartered, but the Marques of Suffolke cōming at that inſtant brought their pardons, ſhewed the ſame openlye, and ſo theyr lyues were ſaued.

447
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Duke of
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Some thinke that the name and title of Gloceſter, hathe bene vnluckye to diuerſe, whiche for their honoures haue bene erected by creation of princes, to that ſtile and dignitie, as Hughe Spenſer, Thomas of Woodſtocke, ſon to Kyng Edwarde the thirde, and this Duke Humfrey: Whiche .iij. perſons by miſerable deathe finiſhed their dayes, and after them king Richarde the thirde alſo, Duke of Glouceſter, in ciuill war was ſlaine and brought to death: ſo that this name of Glouceſter is taken for an vnhappy ſtile, as the prouerbe ſpeaketh of Seians horſe, whoſe rider was euer vnhorſed, and whoſe poſſeſſor was euer brought to miſery.

But ſurely, by the vnworthy deathe of this noble Duke and politike gouernor, the publike wealthe of the Realme of Englande came to greate ruyne, as by the ſequele of this pamphlet may more at lardge appeare.

There is an olde ſaid ſaw, that a man intendyng to auoyde the ſmoke, falleth into the fyre: So heree, the Queene mindyng to preſerue hir huſbande in honoure, and hirſelfe in auctority, conſented to the deathe of this noble man, whoſe only deathe brought that to paſſe, whyche ſhee hadde moſte cauſe to haue feared, whyche was, the depoſing of hyr huſbande, the decay of the houſe of Lancaſter, whyche of likelyhode hadde not chaunced if this Duke hadde liued: for then durſte not the Duke of Yorke haue attempted to ſet forthe his title to the Crowne, as hee afterwardes didde, to the greate diſquieting of the Realme, and deſtruction of Kyng Henry and of many other noble men beſide.

This is the opinion of menne, but gods iudgementes are vnſearcheable, againſt whoſe decree and ordinaunce preuaileth no humaine counſaile.

But to conclude with this noble Duke: he was no doubt a right mirrour of an vpright and politike gouernour, bending all his endeuoures to the aduauncement of the common wealth, no leſſe louing to the poore commons, than beloued of them again. Learned he was, and wiſe, full of curteſie, and voide of all pride and ambition, a vertue rare in perſonages of ſuche high eſtate, albeit where the ſame chaunceth, moſt commendable.

But ſithe the praiſe of this noble man deſerueth a large diſcourſe, and meete for ſuche as haue cunning howe to handle the ſame, I referre the readers vnto Maiſter Foxes booke of Actes, and Monumentes, fyrſte Volume Page 833.

In this ſixe and twentieth yere of the raigne of this King, but in the firſte of the mar of the Queene, I finde nothing done worthye of rehearſall within the Realme of Englande, but that the Marques of Suffolke, by greate fauor of the Kyng, and more deſire of the Queene, was erected to the title and name of Duke of Suffolke, whiche dignitie hee ſhorte time en-

An. reg. 26.

ſoyed: for Richard duke of Yorke being greatly alyed by hys wife to the chiefe Peeres and Potentates of the Realme, ouer and beſide hys own progeny, perceiuing the king to be a ruler not ruling, and the whole burthen of the realm to reſte in the ordinaunces of the Queene, and the Duke of Suffolke, began ſecretly to allure his friendes of the Nobilitie, and priuily declared vnto them hys tytle and ryghte to the crowne, and likewiſe didde he to certaine wiſe and ſage gouernours and rulers of diuers Cities and Townes: whych priuy attempt was ſo pollitickely handled, and ſo ſecretly kepte that his prouiſion was ready before his purpoſe was openly publiſhed, and his friendes opened themſelues ere the contrary parte coulde them eſpie: for in concluſion, time reueled truthe, and olde hidde hatred ſoddainely ſprong out, as yee maye hereafter both learne and heare.

1448

The deathe of the Bishoppe of VVinchester & his deſcription.

During theſe doings, Henry Beauford Biſhop of Wincheſter, and called the riche Cardinall, departed out of this worlde, and was buried at Wincheſter. This man was ſonne to John Duke of Lancaſter, deſcended of an honourable linnage, but borne in baſte, more noble in bloud than notable in learning, hault of ſtomacke, and highe of countenaunce, riche aboue meaſure, but not very liberall, dyſdainfull to his kinne, and dreadfull to hys louers, preferring money before friendeſhippe, manye things beginning and fewe performing: hys couetous inſaciabilitie, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe to forgette God, his Prince, and hymſelfe: of the getting of his goodes both by power Legantine, and ſpirituall bribery, I will not ſpeake, but the keeping of them for his ambitious purpoſe was bothe greate loſſe to hys naturall Prince and natiue countrey: for hys hydden riches might haue well holpen the King, and his ſecret treaſure might haue releued the communaltie, when money was ſcante and importunate charges were dayly imminent.

An. reg. 27.

Sir Fraunces Suriennes.

Foug'eres

After the deathe of this Prelate, the affaires in Fraunce were neither well loked to, nor the gouernors of the countrey wel aduiſed: for an Engliſh capitain called ſir Frācis Suriennes, ſurnamed the Aragonois, of the countrey wher he was borne, a man for his wit and actiuitie admitted into the order of the Garter toke by ſkaling ſoddainely in the nyght of the euen of our Lady day in Lent, a Towne on the Frenters of Normandy, belonging to the Duke of Britaine called Fougiers, ſpoylyng the ſame and killing the inhabitantes.

The Duke of Britaigne beeing hereof aduertiſed, ſent worde by the biſhop of Remmes to the Frenche Kyng, beſeching him of his aid and counſaile in the matter.

The French King forthwith ſent his caruer John Hauart, and John Coſinet one of the Maiſters of his requeſtes to the King of Englande: and to the Duke of Somerſet, he diſpatched Peter de Fontaines the Maiſter of his horſe, to the whiche meſſengers aunſwere was made aſwell by the Kyng as the duke, that the fact was done without their knowledge. And for the truce to be kepte, and not onely reſtitution, but alſo amendes to be made to the Duke of Britayne, a daye of dyet was appoynted to be kepte at Louuiers, where the commiſſioners on both partes being aſſembled, the frenchmen demaunded amendes, wyth no ſmall recompence. The Engliſhemen aunſwered that without offence, nothing by Juſtice ought to be ſatiſfied, affirming the doing of Sir Fraunces Surcinnes to be only his act without conſent eyther of the Kyng of Englande, or of the Duke of Somerſet hys lieutenaunt and Regent.

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But whiles wyth long delay, they talked of this matter at Louuiers, certain Frenchmen by aduertiſement of a wagoner of Louuiers, vnderſtādīng that the town of Pont de Larche was but ſlenderly manned. The wagoner laded his wagon, and paſſed forward hauing in his companye two ſtrong Varlettes clad like Carpenters, wyth greate axes on their ſhoulders, and herete le Seigneur de Breze wyth a choſen company of men of armes, lodged himſelfe in a buſhement neare to the gate of Saint Andrewe, and Capitayne Floquet accompanied wyth ſir James de Clermont, and another greate companye priuily lurked vnder a wodde towarde Louuiers.

When all things were appointed for the purpoſe, early one morning about the beginning of the moneth of October, deuiſed to take the ſame town on this maner: The wagoner came to the gate, and called the porter by name, praying hym to open the gate, that hee myghte paſſe to Roan, and retourne agayne the ſame nyght.

The Porter (whiche well knewe the voyce of hys cuſtomer) toke little heede to the other two companions, and ſo opened the one gate and ſent another felowe of hys to open the formoſte gate. When the Chariot was on the drawe bridge betwene both the gates, the chariot Maiſter gaue the Porter money, and for the nonce let one peece fall on the grounde, and while the Porter ſtouped to take it vp, the wagoner wyth hys dagger ſtroke hym in at hys throate, ſo that he cried for no helpe, and the .ij. great lubbers ſlewe the other porters, and with their axes cut the axeltree of the wagon, ſo that the drawe bridge coulde not be ſhortly drawen vppe. This done they made a ſigne to Capitaine Floquet, whyche wyth all ſpeede entred the Towne, ſlewe and toke all the Engliſhemenne: and amongeſt other, the Lorde Fauconbridge Capitaine of the ſaide Towne was taken priſoner. The loſſe of this place was of no ſmall importance, being the very kay & paſſage ouer the riuer of Seyne, from France into Normandy, beeing diſtant from Roan onely foure leagues.

When requeſt was made to haue it reſtored againe to the Engliſhemen, aunſwere was made, that if they woulde reſtore to the Duke of Britayne, the Towne of Fougieres wyth condigne amends for the domages done there, the Towne of Pont Larche ſhoulde then bee againe deliuered, or elſe not.

And ſhortely after, in hope of good ſpeede the Frenche King aſſembled an army, and deuiding the ſame into three parts, gotte by ſurrender after ſundry aſſaults, and loſſe of diuers of his men, the townes of Louiers, and Gerborye, whereof Wyllyam Harper was Capitayne. Alſo the Towne, Caſtell, and greate Tower of Verneuell in Perche were rendred into the Frenche Kyngs handes, after twenty dayes of reſpite graunted, to ſee if reſcues wold haue come.

The Frenche wryters affirme the Towne to be taken by aſſault. Thus was the warre renued, before the terme of the truce was fullye expired, and the Engliſhe Capitaines were brought to their wittes end, what with appeaſing dayly rumors wythin the Townes, and what wyth ſtudie howe to recouer caſtels loſte and taken, for while they ſtudied how to keepe and defende one place, foure or fiue other folowing fortunes chaunce tourned to the french parte. The chiefe cauſe of whyche reuoltyng was, for that it was blowen abroade throughe France, how the realm of England, after the death of the duke of Glouceſter by the ſeuerall factions of princes was deuided in two parts, and that Wyllyam de la Poole lately created Duke of Suffolke, and diuerſe other whyche were the occaſion of the ſaide Duke of Glouceſters deathe, vexed and oppreſſed the poore people, ſo that mennes mindes were not intentiue to outwarde affaires: but all their ſtudye giuen to keepe off wrongs offered at home, the Kyng lyttle regardyng the matter, and the Quene ledde by euill counſell, rather further d ſuche miſchiefes, as dayly beganne to growe, by ciuill diſcorde, than ſought to reforme them, ſo that the Normans and Gaſcoignes vnderſtanding in what ſtate thynges ſtoode tourned to the Frenche parte, as he, reafter it maye appeare.

Aboute the ſame time alſo, beganne a newe rebellion in Irelande, but Richarde Duke of Yorke beeing ſent thither to appeaſe the ſame, ſo aſſwaged the fury of the wilde and ſauage people there, that he wanne hym ſuche fauoure amongeſt them, as coulde neuer bee ſeparated from hym, and hys lynnage, whiche in the ſequele of thys hiſtorye maye more plainely appeare.

A rebellion in in Irelande.

The Frenchemenne hauing perfect vnderſtandyng of the vnreadineſſe of the Realme of England, diſplayd their banners, and ſet forth theyr armyes, and in ſhorte ſpace gat by yelding, Conſtance, Gyſors, Caſtell Galliarde, Ponteau de Mere, ſaint Lo, Feſtampe, Newcaſtell, Touque, Maulcon, Argenton, Liſieux, and diuers other Townes and places within the countrey of Normandy.

The Engliſhe loſſe all in Fraunce.

Lykewiſe in Guienne was the Towne of Mauliſſon rendred to the Erle of Fois. Theſe Townes were not yelded voluntarily by the Engliſhe ſouldiors: but they were compelled thereto by the inhabitants of the townes, which hauyng intelligence of the feeble eſtate of the Realme of Englande, roſe againſte the Capitaynes, opened the gates to the ennemyes, or conſtreined them to render vpon compoſition. By whyche enforcement, was the riche Citie of Roan deliuered: for ſurely the Duke of Somerſet and the Earle of Shrewſbury had well kepte that Citie, if they had bin no more vexed with the Citizens, than they were wyth theyr ennemies. For after that the Frenche Kyng had giuen ſummonaunce to the Citie, the inhabitantes ſtreyght wayes didde not only deuiſe which way they might betray the citie, but alſo put on armor, and rebelled openly againſt their Capitaines, the whiche perceyuing theyr vntruthe, retired into the Caſtell or Pallaice, where for a certayne ſpace, wyth arrowes and handegunnes, they ſore moleſted the vntrue citizens, but at lengthe vnderſtanding the great puiſſaunce of the Frenche King, and diſpairing of all aide and ſuccoure, they yelded vpon condition, that wyth all their goodes and armoure they ſhoulde ſafely departe to Caen, and that certayne Townes ſhoulde bee deliuered by a daye. And till the ſame Towns were rendred, the Earle of Shrewſbury, and the Lord Butler ſonne to the Earle of Ormonde, were lefte behinde as pledges, whiche were ſent to the caſtell of Eureux, bycauſe they ſore feared the malice of the citizens of Roan.

Roan yelded to the Frenchemenne.

The Frenchemenne followyng the victorye came to Harflewe, and fiercely aſſaulted the walles, but by the highe prowes and vndaunted valiauncy of the Capitayne, Syr Thomas

Harflevve beeſieged. Sir Thomas Curſon.

Curſon they were to their great loſſe manfully by him repulſed, and beaten backe. The frenchmen learning witte by this greate perill, left e their ſkaling, and deuiſed dayly howe to batter and break the walles, make the breaches reaſonable for them to enter. This ſiege long continued to the greate loſſe of bothe parties. When Sir Thomas Curſon ſawe no likelyhoode of gaine, but great apparance of preſent loſſe, hee fell at compoſition with the enimies, and ſo departed wyth all his goodes.

Harflevve yelded to the Frenche.

An. reg. 28.

After which Towne rendred, the fortreſſe of Hunflewe was vppon like compoſition alſo yelded. Thus maye you ſee howe fortune is euer wythout meaſure, eyther too muche fauouring, or too much hating: for beſide theſe towns ſurrendred in Normandye, the Duke of Britain recouered againe Fougieres, ſaint James de Beuuron, and diuers other.

1450

Sir Thomas Kiriell.

In the meane ſeaſon the King of Englande ſente into Normandye (with a newe ſupply of a thouſande fiue hundreth men) a right valiant Capitayne called Sir Thomas Kiriell, who ioyning hymſelfe wyth other Engliſhe capitaines recouered the Townes of Liſieux, and Valongnes, and hauing wyth him power ſufficient, as he tooke it, to keepe the fieldes, he departed the twelfth of April from Valongnes, meaning to paſſe towardes Baieux, and after to Caen, but on the eyghteenth day of the ſame Moneth, hee was encountred at a place called Formigny betwixt Carenten and Baieux, by the Earle of Clermont, and other Frenchemen with Scottes. At the firſt onſet, the Engliſhemen receyued their enemies wyth ſuche manhoode, that the Frenchemen were driuen back, and the Engliſhmen took from them two Culuerines, albeit in the ende, by the comming of the Conſtable of Fraunce, Arthur de Britaine Earle of Richmont, who broughte with hym two hundreth or twelue ſcore menne of armes, and an eyght hundred archers or demylaunces, the Engliſhemenne were diſcomfited, put to flight, and ſlaine to the number of three thouſande ſeuen hundred three ſcore & thirteen, as Enguerãt noteth, beſide priſoners, of whom there were diuers perſonages of accompte, as the ſaide Sir Thomas Kiriell hymſelfe, Syr Henry Norbery, Sir Thomas Drewe, Syr Thomas Kirkly, Chriſtofer Auberton, Aryell, Helice, Alengour, Jennequin, Vacquier, Gobarte, Calcuille, and ſundry other.

The Engliſhemen ouerthrovven at Formigny.

Sir Robert Veer, and ſir Mathew Gough that valiant Welchmã, and many other eſcaped ſo wel as they might ſome to Baieux ſome to Caen, and other to other places as ſeemed to ſtand beſt with their ſafeties.

After thys victorye obteyned, the Frenche Kyng aſſembled an army royal, and cõming before Caen, beſieged it on all ſides, and after makyng hys approches fiercelye aſſaulted the walles, but the Duke of Somerſet, and the other Capitaines within the Towne, manfully withſtoode their enemies, ſhewyng both force and greate pollicye in defendyng and beatyng backe the aſſailants. The Frenche Kyng perceyuing hee coulde not preuaile that way, ſent for all his greate ordinaunce to Paris, whiche beeing brought, he dayly ſhotte at the walles, and did ſome hurte, but to the Caſtell whych ſtoode on a rocke, and in it a Dungeon vnable to be beaten downe, hee didde no harme at all. Though the duke of Somerſet was the kings lieuetenaunt, yet Syr Dauy Hall as captain of thys Towne, for hys Mayſter the Duke of Yorke owner therof, tooke vpon hym the chiefe chardge. Sir Roberte Veer was Captaine of the Caſtell, and Sir Henry Radforde Captaine of the Dungeon. Dayly the ſhotte was greate, but more terrible then hurtfull, ſauing one daye a ſtone ſhot into the Towne, fell betweene the Ducheſſe of Somerſet, and hir children, whiche being amazed with this chaunce, beſought hir huſband kneeling on hir knees, to haue mercy and compaſſion of his ſmalle infantes, and that they might bee deliuered oute of the Towne in ſafegarde.

Caen be and yeld the Fre

The Duke more pityfull than hardy, moued wyth the ſorrowe of hys wife, and loue of his children, rendred the Towne agaynſte the minde of Sir Dauy Hall, (whoſe counſell and faithefull diligence in acquyting himſelfe to aunſwere the truſte committed to hym by hys Maiſter,) if other hadde followed, the Frenche had ſuſtayned more trauaile and loſſe, ere they ſhoulde haue ſo eaſely attrined their purpoſe. The concluſion of the ſurrender was, that the Duke of Somerſette and his, might departe in ſafegarde with all their goodes and ſubſtance: ſir Dauy Hall with diuers of his truſty frinds departed to Chierburghe, and from thence ſailed into Ireland to the duke of Yorke, making relation to hym of all theſe doings, whyche thing kindled ſo great a rancour in the Dukes harte and ſtomacke, that hee neuer lefte perſecuting of the Duke of Somerſette, till hee had broughte hym to hys fatall ende, and confuſion.

After the obteyning of this ſtrong towne of Caen, the Earle of Clermonte beſieged the Citie of Liſieux, whereof was Capitaine Mathewe Goughe wyth three hundred Engliſhe men, who in the ende, deliuered that towne, vppon condition, that he and his people might departe to Chierburghe. Then was Falaiſe beſieged, whereof were Capitaynes, for the

Earle

Erle of Shrewſbury that was the owner, Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton eſquiers, which being in dyſpaire of all ſuccours, agreed to deliuer it vpon twoo conditions:

The one was, that the erle their Maſter whiche remayned in pledge, for performaunce of certaine appointmentes, concluded at the deliuerye of Roan (as yee haue hearde) ſhoulde be ſet at libertie. The other, that if they were not reſcued within .xij. dais, that then they & theirs ſhoulde departe wyth armoure, and all their goodes moueable, whither it pleaſed them. At the day appoynted, the Towne was rendred, and ſo likewiſe was the Towne of Damfront vppon the ſemblable agreement. Nowe reſted onely Engliſhe the Towne of Chierburghe, wherof was captayne one Thomas Gonville, whyche ſurely as long as victuall and munition ſerued, defended the Town right manfully, but when theſe twoo handes were conſumed; hee beeing deſtitute of all comforte and ayde, vppon a reaſonable compoſition, yelded the Towne, and went to Callais, where the Duke of Somerſette, and many other Engliſhemen then ſoiorned. Thus was Normandye loſte
mandy clerely out of the Engliſhemennes hands, after it had continued in their poſſeſſion the ſpace of .xxx. yeares by the conqueſte of Henry the fifte. In the whiche Duchie were an hundred ſtrong Townes and fortreſſes, able to be kepte and holden, beſide them whiche were deſtroyed by the warres, and in the ſame is one Archebiſhopricke, and ſixe Biſhopprickes. Some ſaye that the Engliſhemenne were not of puiſſaunce eyther to manne the Townes, as they ſhoulde haue bene, or to inhabite the countrey, whiche was the cauſe that they could not keepe it. Other ſaye, that the Duke of Somerſette, for his owne peculiar aduauntage, kepte not halfe the number of ſouldiours whiche he was appoynted and allowed, but put the wages in his purſe, but the chiefe, and onely cauſe vndoubtedly, was the deuiſion within the realm, euery great man deſiring rather to be reuenged on his foe at home, than on the common enimie abroade, as by that whiche followeth, you may plainely perceiue.

For whileſt the Frenche made theſe con-
g. 29. queſts in the Duchie of Normandie, three miſchieuous Capitaynes, ſette the people of thys realme (aſwell thoſe of the nobilitie, as of the meaner ſorte) in ciuill warre and ſedition: for among the highe Princes and Peeres reigned inwarde grudge, among the Clergie flattery and adulation, and among the communaltye diſdaine of laſciuious ſoueraigntie, whyche the Queene wyth hir mynions and vnprofitable counſellors daily toke and vſurped vpon them.

Wherefore they (not minding to bee charged further than their backes were able to beare, and herewyth perceiuing how throughe want of prouydent wiſedome in the gouernoure all things went to wracke, aſwell within the realm as without) beganne to make exclamation againſt the Duke of Suffolk, affirming him to bee the onely cauſe of the deliuerie of Aniow, and Maine, the chief procurour of the Duke of Glouceſters death, the very occaſion of the loſſe of Normandy, the ſwallower vp of the kyngs treaſure, the remouer of good and vertuous counſellours from aboute the Prince, and the aduauncers of vicious perſons, and of ſuche, as by their doings ſhewed themſelues apparant aduerſaries to the common wealthe.

The commons exclame againſt the duke of Suffolke.

The Queene doubting not only the dukes deſtruction, but alſo hir owne confuſion, cauſed the Parliament beefore begon at the blacke Friers, to be adiourned to Leiceſter, thynking there by force, and rigor of lawe, to ſuppreſſe and ſubdue all the malice and euill wil conceiued againſte the Duke and hir, at whiche place fewe of the Nobilitie would appeare: wherefore it was againe adiourned to Weſtminſter, where was a full apparaunce.

The Parliamẽt adiourned from London to Leiceſter, and from thence to VVeſtminſter.

In the whiche ſeſſion the commons of the nether houſe, put vp to the kyng and the lords many articles of treaſon, miſpriſion, and euill demeanor, againſte the Duke of Suffolke, the effect whereof wyth hys aunſweres here enſueth, as we finde the ſame recorded in the Chronicles of Maiſter Edwarde Hall.

1 Fyrſte they alledged that hee hadde traiterouſlye excited, prouoked, and counſayled John Earle of Dunois baſtarde of Orleans, Bertram Lorde Preſigny, Willyam Coſinet, ennemies to the King, and friendes and Ambaſſadours to Charles, calling himſelf French Kyng, to enter into this Realme, and to leauie warre againſte the King and his people, to the intent to deſtroy the K. and his frendes, and to make John his ſon King of this realm, marying him to Margaret, ſole heire to John Duke of Somerſet, pretending and declaring hir, to be nexte heire inheritable to the crowne, for lack of iſſue, of the kings body laufully begotten.

Articles propoſed by the Commons againſt the duke of Suffolke

2 Item, the ſaide Duke being of the Kings priuie and neare counſaile, allured by greate rewards and faire promiſſes, made by the forſaid Earle of Dunois, cauſed the King to delyuer and ſette at libertye, Charles Duke of Orleans, ennemy to the King, and the Kings noble father, whiche delyueraunce was prohibited by expreſſe words, in the laſte will of the kings moſte victorious father.

3 Item, that beefore the departure of the

ſaid

ſaide Duke of Orleans, the aforenamed Duke of Suffolke trayterouſlye faſte cleauyng to Charles called the Frenche King, counſailed, prouoked, and entiſed the ſaide Duke of Orleans, to moue the ſame Kyng to make warre againſte England, both in Fraunce and Normandie: according to which procurement and counſayle, the ſaide Frenche King hathe recouered the whole Realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandie, and taken priſoners the Earle of Shrewſbury, the Lorde Fauconbridge, and many other valiant Capitaines.

Theſe three Articles aforenamed he denyed, eyther for facte or thought.

4 Farther it was alledged, that he beeyng ambaſſador for the K. of England, to Charles calling hymſelfe Frenche King, promyſed to Reyner king of Sicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, ennemies to the king, the releaſe of Aniow, wyth the deliueraunce of the Countie of Maine, and the citie of Mawnt or Mauns, wythout the knowledge of the other Ambaſſadours, which him accompanied, which promiſe after his return, he cauſed to be performed, to the kings diſinheritance and loſſe irrecuperable, and to the ſtrengthe of his enemies, and feebliſhement of the Duchie of Normandie. To this article he anſwered, that his commiſſion was to conclude, and doo all thinges accordyng to his diſcretion, for the obteynyng of a peace, and bycauſe wythout deliuerye of thoſe countreys, hee perceyued that truce coulde not bee obteyned, he agreed to the releaſe and deliueraunce of them.

5 Alſo they ſurmiſed, that the ſaide Duke beeing in Fraunce in the Kings ſeruice, and one of the priuieſte of his counſaile there, traiterouſlye declared and opened to the Capitains and Conduiters of warre, apperteyning to the Kinges enemies, the Kinges counſaile, purueyance of his armies, furniture of his towns, and all other ordynaunces, whereby the Kings enemies (enformed by hys trayterouſe information) haue gotten Townes and fortreſſes, and the king by that meane depriued of his inherytaunce.

6 Item, the ſayde Duke declared to the Earle of Dunoys, to the Lord Preſigny, and Wyllyam Coſinet ambaſſadors for the french king lying in Londō, the priuities of the kings counſaile, bothe for the prouiſion of further warre, and alſo for defence of the Duchie of Normandye, by the diſcloſing whereof, the Frenchmenne knowing the Kinges ſecretes, preuented the tyme, and obteyned theyr purpoſe.

7 Item, that the ſaide Duke at ſuche time as the King ſent Ambaſſadours to the French King, for the intreating of peace, traiterouſly beefore their comming to the Frenche Courte, certified king Charles of their commiſſion, authoritie and inſtructions, by reaſon wherof, neither peace nor amitie ſucceded, & the kings inheritaunce loſte, and by hys enemyes poſſeſſed.

8 Item, the ſame Duke ſayde openly in the ſtarre chamber before the lords of the counſaile, that hee had as highe a place in the counſaile houſe of the French king, as hee had there, and was aſwell truſted there as here, and could remoue from the French king, the priuieſt man of his counſaile, if hee would.

9 Item, when armies haue bene prepared, and ſouldiours readie waged to paſſe ouer the Sea, to reſiſte the Kings enemies: the ſayde duke corrupted by rewards of the french king, hathe reſtrayned and ſtayed the ſaide armies, to paſſe any farther.

10 Item, the ſaid Duke being Ambaſſador for the King, compriſed not in the league as the kings alies, neyther the king of Arragon, neyther the Duke of Britaigne, but ſuffred them to bee compriſed on the contrarie parte, by reaſon wherof, the olde amitie of the king of Arragon, is eſtranged from this Realme, and the Duke of Britaine became enemie to the ſame: Giles his brother the Kinges ſure freinde, caſte in ſtrong priſon, and there like to ende and finiſhe his dayes.

All theſe obiections hee vtterly denyed, or faintly auoided, but none fully excuſed. Diuers other crimes were layde to hys charge, as enriching hymſelfe with the Kynges goodes and lands, gathering togither, and making a Monopolie of offices, fees, wardes, and Farmes, by reaſon wherof, the Kings eſtate was greatly miniſhed and decayed, and he and his kinne highely exalted and enriched, with many other pointes, which bycauſe they be not notable nor of greate force or ſtrengthe, I omitte and ouerpaſſe.

The Queene which entierly loued the duke, doubting ſome commotion and trouble to ariſe, if hee were let go vnpuniſhed, cauſed him to be committed to the tower, where he remained not paſſe a Moneth, but was agayne deliuered and reſtored to the Kynges fauour, as muche as euer hee was beefore. This dooing ſo much diſpleaſed the people, that if politike prouiſion hadde not bin, greate miſchiefe had immedyatly enſued: for the commons in ſundry places of the Realme aſſembled togyther in greate companyes, and choſe to them a Capitaine, whome they called Blewberde, but ere they hadde attempted any enterpriſe, their leaders were apprehended, and ſo the matter pacified

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After this little rage thus aſſwaged, the parliament was adiourned to Leiceſter, whyther came the King and Queene in great eſtate, and wyth them, the Duke of Suffolke as chiefe counſellors. The commons of the lower houſe not forgetting their olde grudge, beſought the King, that ſuche perſons as aſſented to the releaſe of Aniow, and delyueraunce of Mayne might bee duely puniſhed, and to bee priuie to that fact they accuſed as principall, the Duke of Suffolke, with John Biſhop of Saliſbury, and Sir James Fines, Lord Say, and diuers other. When the king perceiued that there was no remedy to appeaſe the peoples fury by any diſſembling wayes, to beginne a ſhorte way to pacifie ſo long an hatred, hee fyrſte ſequeſtred the Lorde Saye being Threaſourer of England, and other the Dukes adherents from their offices, and roomthes, and after baniſhed the Duke of Suffolke as the abhorred tode, and common noyſaunce of the realme for the terme of fiue yeares, meaning by this exile to appeaſe the furious rage of the people, and after when the matter was forgotten, to reuoke hym home againe: but fortune woulde not that ſo vngracious a perſon ſhoulde ſo eſcape, for when hee ſhipped in Suffolke, intending to tranſporte ouer into Fraunce, hee was encountred with a ſhippe of warre, apperteyning to the Duke of Exceter, Conneſtable of the Tower of London, called the Nicholas of the Tower. The Capitayne of that Barke wyth ſmall fight entred into the Dukes ſhip, and perceyuing hys perſon preſent, brought hym to Douer Rode, and there on the one ſide of a cocke boate, cauſed his heade to be ſtriken off, and left his body with the heade lying there on the ſands, which corps beyng there founde by a chaplein of his, was conueyed to Wingfield colledge in Suffolke, and there buried. This end had William de la Poole Duke of Suffolke, as menne iudge by Gods prouidence, for that he hadde procured the deathe of that good duke of Glouceſter, as before is partly touched.

But the deathe of this Duke broughte not the Realme in quiet, for thoſe that fauoured the Duke of Yorke, and wiſhed the Crowne vppon his heade, for that (as they iudged) hee hadde more right therto, than he that ware it, procured a commotion in Kent on this manner.

A certain yong man of a goodly ſtature and right pregnaunt of witte, was enticed to take vppon hym the name of John Mortimer (allthoughe his name was John Cade) and not for a ſmall pollicie, thinking by that ſurname, that thoſe which fauored the houſe of the Earle of Marche woulde be aſſiſtaunt to hym.

This Captaine aſſembled a greate companye of tall perſonages, aſſuring them, that the enterpriſe whiche he tooke in hande, was bothe honorable to God and the kyng, and profitable to the whole Realme, for if eyther by force or pollicye they might gette the King and Queene into their handes, that he woulde cauſe them to bee honourablye vſed, and take ſuche order for the puniſhing and reforming of the miſdemeanors of their counſellours, that neither fifteenes ſhoulde hereafter be demaunded, nor once any impoſitions or taxes ſhoulde bee ſpoken of.

The Kentyſhe people prouoked with theſe perſwaſions and other faire promiſſes of libertye (which they moſt deſire) in good order of battaile, though not in great number, came with their ſaide Capitaine vnto the plaine of Black heath, betwene Eltham and Greenewiche.

And to the intent the cauſe of this glorious Capitaines comming thither, might bee ſhadowed from the King and his counſaile, vnder a cloked veile of good meaning, thoughe his intent was malicious, he ſent vnto hym an humble ſupplication, affirming that his comming was not againſt his grace, but againſt ſuche of his counſellours, as were louers of themſelues, and oppreſſors of the poore communaltye: flatterers of the King, and enemies to his honor: ſuckers of his purſe, & robbers of his ſubiectes: parciall to their friendes, and extreeme to their enemies: through bribes corrupted, and for indifferency doing nothing.

This proude bill was of the King and hys counſaile diſdainfully taken, and vppon conſultation hadde, it was concluded, that ſuche proude Rebelles ſhoulde rather bee brought down by force and violence, than pacified with faire wordes, and gentle aunſwers: Whereuppon the King aſſembled a greate army, and marched towarde them, whiche hadde lyen on Blacke heathe by the ſpace of eight dayes.

The ſubtill Capitain Jacke Cade, intending to bring the King further within the compaſſe of his nette, brake vp his Campe, and retired backe to the town of Seuenocke in Kent. The Queene whiche bare the rule being of his retraite well aduertyſed, ſente Syr Humfrey Stafford Knighte, and William hys brother, with many other gentlemenne, to followe the chaſe of the Kentiſhemenne, thinking that they hadde fledde, but they were deceyued, for at the firſt ſkirmiſhe bothe the Staffords were ſlaine, and all their company ſhamefully diſcomfited.

The Staffordes ſlaine at Seuenock by Iacke Cade.

The Kings army being at this time come to Blacke heath, hearing of this diſcomfiture, beganne to grudge and murmure amongeſt themſelues, ſome wiſhing the Duke of Yorke at home to ayde the captaine hys couſin: ſome deſiring the ouerthrowe of the Kyng and hys counſayle: other openlye crying oute on the Queene and hyr complices.

This rumor publiſhed abroade, cauſed the King and certaine of his counſaille (to appeaſe the furious rage of the multitude) to commit the Lorde Say Threaſurer of England, vnto the Tower of London, and if other againſte whome like diſpleaſure was borne, hadde bene preſent, they had ben likewiſe cõmitted. When Iacke Cade had obteyned the victorie againſte the Staffordes, hee apparrelled hymſelfe in ſir Humfreys brigandins ſet full of guilt nailes, and ſo wyth pompe and glorye, retourned againe toward London, diuers idle and vagarande perſons reſortyng to hym from Suſſex, and Surrey, and other places, and from other parties to a greate number. Thus this glorious Capitaine enuironed wyth a multitude of euill, rude and ruſticall people, came againe to the plaine of Blacke heathe, and there ſtrongly encamped hymſelfe, to whome were ſent from the Kyng, the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye, and Humfrey Duke of Buckinghem, to common with hym of his greeues and requeſtes.

Theſe lordes founde hym ſober in talke, wiſe in reaſoning, arrogant in hart, & ſtiffe in opinion, for by no meanes he would graũt to diſſolue his army, except the king in perſon wold come to him, and aſſent to all things he would require. The king after he had vnderſtoode the preſumptuous aunſwers and requeſtes of this villanous rebell, beganne aſmuche to doubt his owne familiar ſeruauntes, as hys vnknowen ſubiectes, (which ſpared not to ſpeake, that the Capitaynes cauſe was profitable for the common wealthe) departed in all haſte to the Caſtell of Killingworthe in Warwickeſhire, leauing only behind him the lord Scales to keepe the tower of London. The Kentiſhe captaine beeing aduertiſed of the Kings abſence, came firſte into Southwark, and there lodged at the white harte, prohibiting to all his retinue murder, rape, and robbery, by which colour of well meanyng, hee allured to hym the hartes of the common people. But after this, hee entred into the Citie of London, and cutte the ropes of the drawe bridge, ſtrikyng hys ſworde on London ſtone, ſaying now is Mortimer lord of this citie. And after a flattering declaration made to the Maior of his thither comming, he departed againe into Southwarke, and vpon the thirde day of Iuly hee cauſed ſir Iames Fines Lorde Say, and threaſorer of England, to be brought to the Guyld hall, & there to be arreined, which being before the kings Iuſtices, put to anſwer, deſired to be tried by his Peeres, for the lenger delay of his life. The captaine perceyuing his dilatorie plea, by force tooke hym from the officers, & brought hym to the ſtanderd in Cheape, and there before his confeſſion ended, cauſed his heade to bee ſtriken off, and pitched it vpon an highe pole, which was openly borne before him throughe the ſtreetes. And not content herewith hee went to Mileend, and there apprehended ſir Iames Cromer then ſheriffe of Kent, and ſon in lawe to the ſaide Lorde Say, cauſing likewiſe hym without confeſſion or excuſe hearde, to bee beheaded, and his heade to bee fixed on a pole, and with theſe .ij. heades this bloudy butcher entred into the citie againe, and in deſpite cauſed them in euery ſtreete to kiſſe togither, to the great deteſtation of all the beholders. After this, ſucceeded open rapine, and manifeſt robbery in diuers houſes within the citie, and eſpecially in the houſe of Philip Malpas Aldermã of London, & diuers other, ouer and beſide raunſoming and fining of diuers notable merchãts, for the ſuertye of their liues, and goods, as Roberte Horne Alderman, whyche payde .v.C. marks: he alſo put to execution in Southwarke diuers perſones, ſome for breakyng hys ordynaunce, other being of his olde acquaintaunce, leſt they ſhoulde bewraye his baſe linnage diſparaging him for his vſurped ſurname of Mortimer. The Maior and other the Magiſtrates of London, perceyuing themſelues neyther to bee ſure of goodes, nor of life well warranted, determined to repulſe and keepe out of their citie ſuche a miſchieuous tiraunt and his wicked company, and to be the better able ſo to do, they made the lorde Scales and that renoumed captaine Mathewe Goughe priuye bothe of their intent and enterpriſe, beſeeching them of their helpe and furtherance therin. The Lord Scales promiſed them his aide with ſhoting off the artillery in the tower, and Mathew Gough was by hym apointed to aſſiſte the Maior & Londoners in all that he might, and ſo he & other captaines appointed for defence of the Citie, tooke vpon them in the night to keepe the brydge, and woulde not ſuffer the Kentiſhmen once to approche. The rebelles which neuer ſoundly ſlept for feare of ſodaine chaunces, hearing that the bridge was thus kept, ran with greate haſte to open that paſſage, where betwene bothe parties was a fierce and cruell encounter. Mathew Goughe perceuing the rebelles to ſtand to their tackling more manfully than hee thought they woulde haue done, aduiſed his company, not to aduaunce any further towarde Southwarke, till the day appeared that they myght ſee where the place of ieoperdy reſted, and ſo to prouide for the ſame: But thys little auailed. For the rebelles wyth theyr huge multitude draue backe

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the Citizens frõ the ſtoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and began to ſet fire in dyuers houſes: greate ruth it was to beholde that miſerable chance, for ſome deſiring to eſchue the fire, fell vpon their enimies weapon, and ſo dyed: fearefull womẽ, with children in their armes amazed, & paſt good remembrãce, lept into yͤ riuer, other doubting how to ſaue them ſelues, betwene fire, water, & ſword, were in their houſes choked, and ſmothered. Yet yͤ Captaines nothing regarding theſe chances, foughte on the bridge all the night valiantly, but in concluſion, yͤ rebels gat the drawe bridge, & drowned many, & ſlew John Sutton Alderman, & Robert Heyſand, a hardye Citizen, wᵗ many other, beſide Mathew Gough, a man of great wit, & much experience in feates of chiualry, yͤ which in cõtinual warres, had ſpẽt his time in ſeruice of the King and his father.

This ſore conflict endured in doubtfull wiſe on the bridge, till nine of the clocke in the morning, for ſometime, the Londoners were beaten backe to S. Magnus corner: and ſuddaynely againe, the Rebels were repulſed to yͤ ſtoulpes in Southwarke, ſo that both parts being faint and werie, agreed to leaue off from fighting till the next day, vppon condition, that neyther Londoners ſhould paſſe into Southwarke, nor yͤ Kentiſhmen into London.

After this abſtinence of warre taken, thys rakehell Captaine hoping vppon more friendes, brake vp the gailes of the Kings benche, and the Marſhalſey, and ſet at libertie a ſwarme of galauntes, both meete for his ſeruice, and apt for his enterpriſe.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie being Chãcellor of Englande, and as then for his ſuretie lying within the Tower, called to him the Byſhop of Wincheſter, who likewiſe for feare, lurked at Halywell: theſe two Prelates, ſeeing the furie of the Kentiſhe people, by reaſon of theyr late repulſe and beating backe, to bee ſomewhat aſwaged, paſſed the riuer of Thames, from the Tower into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kings great ſeale, a general pardon vnto all the offendors, and cauſed the ſame to be openly publiſhed. The poore people were ſo glad of this pardon, and ſo readye to receiue it, that without bidding farewell to their Captayne, they withdrewe thẽſelues yͤ ſame night, euery mã towardes his owne home, as men amazed, and ſtriken with feare, but Jacke Cade, deſpayring of all ſuccours, and fearing nowe the ſequeale of his lewde dealings, departed ſecretely in habite diſguiſed into Suſſex, hoping ſo to eſcape, but after that proclamation was made, that who ſo euer could apprehẽd the ſaid Jacke Cade, ſhuld haue in rewarde a M. markes for hys paynes, many ſought for him, but few eſpied him, tyll at length, one Alexander Iden, a valiant Eſquier of Kente, founde him out in a garden, and hym there in his defence, manfully ſlew, and brought his dead body to London, whoſe head was pitched on a polle, and ſet vpon London bridge.

Iacke Cade, a deſperate Rebell ſlayne.

After this, the King himſelfe came into Kent, and there ſate in iudgement vpon the offendors, and if he had not mingled his iuſtice with mercie, more than fiue hundred by rigor of lawe, had bin iuſtly put to execution, but he puniſhing onely the ſtubborne heads, and diſordred ringleaders, deliuered and pardoned yͤ ignorãt & ſimple perſons, to the great reioycing of all his ſubiects.

During this commotion about London, Rauſe Bi. of Saliſburie, was by his owne tenauntes, and ſeruants, murthered at Edington, and ſo from thenceforth, dayly followed murther, ſlaughter, and diſſention.

The French King vnderſtanding all this ciuill diſcord, and rebellious ſturres in England, made thereof his foundation, hoping to get into his handes and poſſeſſion, the Duchie of Aquitaine, and therevpon, ſent yͤ Erles of Pontiuure and Perigort, to lay ſiege to the towne of Bergerat, ſituate vppon the riuer of Dourdonne, of whiche towne was Captaine, John Gedding, who vppon reaſonable conditions, rendred the Towne: but yet the Lorde Cameis, ſir George Seymor, and ſir John Arundel, with diuers other valiant Captaines, hauing the gouernaunce of the Countrey, manned Townes, gathered people, and recomforted the fainting harts of the Gaſcoignes in all that they could, & withall, ſent letters ouer into England, certifying to yͤ kings maieſtie, that without ſpeedie aide, & ready ſuccours, the whole countrey was like to bee conquered & won out of the Engliſhmens poſſeſſiõ.

Many letters were ſente, & manye faire anſweres were brought, but reliefe neyther appeared, nor one man of warre was thither ſhipped, by reaſon whereof, the frenchmen purſuing the victorie, gote the fortreſſes of Janſacke, and S. Foye, with diuers other peeces of importaunce thereaboutes. Alſo, about yͤ ſame time, the L. Doruall, third ſonne to the L. de la Brech, with a great number of men, as well on horſebacke as on foote, departed from Baſas, to conquer and deſtroy yͤ Ile of Medoc, wherevpon, the Maior of Burdeaux iſſuing out, & encountring with his enimies, was vanquiſhed, loſing ſixe C. Engliſhmen & Gaſcoignes: albeit, the frenchmen gained not this victorie with cleane handes, for ther were ſlaine of them to the nũber of eight C. perſons.

After this, the baſtarde of Orleans, with his brother John Earle of Angoleſme, which had bin long priſoner in England, and many other valiant Captaynes, beſieged yͤ Caſtell of Montguyon, which to them was rendred. Afterwarde,

1451

they beſieged the Towne of Blay, ſtanding on the riuer of Garōne, the which in concluſion by very force, was cōquered and won. The baſterd of Kendall, Captaine of the Caſtell, ſeeing the towne loſt, vpon certaine reaſonable conditions, deliuered his fortreſſe to the baſterd of Orleans, the french kings Lieutenāt. After this, ẏ townes of Burge and Liborne, after fiue weekes ſiege, were likewiſe yelded to the frenchmē. Thē was ẏ Citie of Acques beſieged by the Erle of Foys, and the Vicont de Lawtrec his brother, and other noble men. So likewiſe alſo was the ſtrong towne of Rion by the Earle of Arminacke, extreame enimie to ẏ realm of Englād, for breach of ẏ mariage cōcluded betweene K. Henrye and his daughter. The Earle of Ponthieuore layde ſiege to Chatillon in Perigort, and the Earle of Dunoys enuironned with greate puiſſaunce the towne of Fronſacke. The Engliſhmen perceiuing in what ſtate they ſtood within ẏ towne, couenanted with the ſaid Earle, ẏ if the Towne were not ſuccoured, and the Frenchmen fought with before the feaſt of the natiuitie of S. John Baptiſt next enſuing, ẏ then the towne of Frōſack ſhould be yeelded to them, whiche was the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe in all that Countrey, and the very key of Guyenne. Hereof wer pledges delyuered, & writings made and ſealed, which agreement once blowen through the countrey, the citie of Burdeaux, and all other townes (excepte Bayonne) made the like agreement. So did al ẏ noble men and Gentlemen whiche were ſubiects and vaſſals to the Crowne of Englande. Euery day was looking for ayde, but none came, for the diueliſhe deuiſion that raigned in Englande, ſo encombred the heads of the noble men there, that the honor of the Realme was cleerely forgotten, ſo that (to conclude) the day appointed came, but ſuccour looked for came not, by reaſon wherof, all ẏ townes in Aquitaine (except Bayonne) deliuered their keyes, and became vaſſales to the french nation, yet the Citizens of Burdeaux, in hope of reſcues, required a longer daye of battell, which was graunted, but at the day appoynted, when no reliefe came, they rendred themſelues and the Citie to their aduerſaries, their liues and goodes ſaued, with licence and ſafeconduit to all perſons which would depart and ſaile into England. Then finally was the Citie of Bayon beſieged, and with mines and baterie conſtreyned to yeeld it ſelfe into the Frenchmens handes.

Beſide the agreements taken and made with the townes, diuers noble mē made ſeuerall compoſitiōs, as Gaſton de Foys, Capdaw de Buef, whome King Henrie the fifth made Earle of Longeuile, and Knight of the garter, whoſe anceſtors were euer true to Englande, whiche agreed, that he and his ſon John de Foys, whom King Henrie the ſixth made Earle of Kendale, and alſo Knight of the garter, ſhoulde enioy all their landes in Aquitaine, giuen to them by the kings of Englande, or by the Dukes of Aquitaine, and bycauſe their intente was ſtil to ſerue ẏ king of England, they agreed to deliuer into ẏ cuſtodie of the Erle of Foys, the ſon and heire of the ſaide Earle of Kendale, beeing of the age of three yeares, to the intent, that if he at his ful age denyed to become ſubiect to the French King, or before that time deceaſſed, that thē after ẏ death of his father and grandfather, all the ſaide landes ſhould wholly remaine to the next heire of their bloud, either male or female, being vnder the obeyſance of the French King or his heires. Many other noble men, whoſe harts were good Engliſh, made like compoſitiōs, and ſome came into England, and others wente to Calais, & bare great offices there, as the L. Duras, whiche was Marſhall of that Towne, and Monſ. Vauclere, which was deputie there, vnder ẏ Erle of Warwike. Thus were the Engliſhmen cleerely diſplaced, and loſt the poſſeſſiō of al ẏ cōūtreys, townes, Caſtels, and places within the Realme of France, ſo ẏ only Calais, Hāmes, & Guines, wt the marches therof, remained in their hāds, of al thoſe their dominiōs & ſeigniories which they ſometime held in the parties of beyond the ſeas.

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The Duke of Yorke pretending (as yee haue heard) a right to the Crowne, as heire to Lionel Duke of Clarence, came this yere out of Irelād vnto London, in the Parliament time, there to conſult with his eſpecial friends, as John Duke of Northfolke, Richarde Earle of Saliſburie, and the Lorde Richarde his ſonne, whiche after was Earle of Warwike, Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, and Edward Brooke lord Cobham.

After long deliberation, & aduice takē, it was thought expediente, to keepe their chiefe purpoſe ſecret, and that the Duke ſhould reyſe an armye of mē, vnder a pretext to remoue diuers Counſellors about the King, and to reuenge the manifeſt iniuries done to the common wealthe by ẏ ſame rulers, of the which as principall, the D. of Somerſet was namely accuſed, both for that he was greatly hated of the commons for ẏ loſſe of Normandie, and for that it was wel knowē, that he would be altogither againſt the Duke of Yorke in his chalenge to bee made (when tyme ſerued) to the Crowne.

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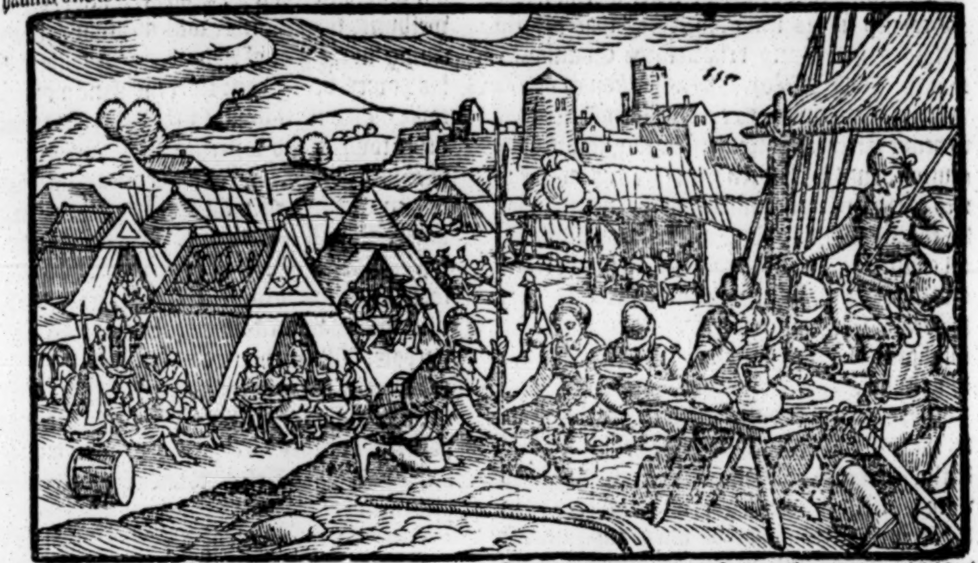
Therfore, when the Duke of Yorke had thus by aduice of his ſpeciall friends, framed the foundation of his long intended enterpriſe, he aſſembled a greate hoſt, to the number of ten M. able men, in ẏ marches of Wales, publiſhing openly, that ẏ cauſe of this his gathering of people, was for the publike wealth of the Realme.

The King muche aſtonyed at the matter, by aduice of his counſell, reyſed a great power, and marched forward toward the Duke, but he being thereof aduertiſed, turned out of that way, whiche by eſpials he vnderſtoode that the King helde, and made ſtreighte towarde London, and hauing knowledge that he might not be ſuffered to paſſe through the Citie, hee croſſed ouer the Thames at Kingſton bridge, and ſo kept on towards Kent, where he knewe that he hadde both friendes and good willers, and there on Brent heath, a mile frō Dertforde, and twelue miles frō London, he embatelled, and encamped hymſelfe very ſtrongly, enuironing his field with artillerie and trenches.



The King hereof aduertiſed, brought his army with all diligence vnto blacke heathe, and there pight his tents.

Whileſt both theſe armies lay thus embatelled, the King ſente the Byſhop of Wincheſter, and Thomas Boucher, Biſhoppe of Elie, Richard Wooduille, Lord Riuers, & Richard Andrew, the keeper of his priuie ſeale, to the Duke, both to know the cauſe of ſo great a commotiō, & alſo to make a concord, if ỹ requeſts of the D. and his companye ſeemed conſonant to reaſon.

The Duke hearing the meſſage of the Byſhops, aunſwered, that his comming was neyther to dammifie the K. in honor, nor perſon, neither yet any good man, but his intente was, to remoue from him certaine euill diſpoſed perſons of his counſayle, bloudſuckers of the nobilitie, pollers of the Cleargie, and oppreſſors of ỹ poore people, amongſt whome, he chiefly named Edmond Duke of Somerſet, whome if the Kyng would commit to warde, to aunſwere ſuche articles as againſt him in open Parliament ſhuld bee both propoſed and proued, hee promiſed not only to diſſolue his army, but alſo offered hymſelfe like an obediēt ſubiect, to come to the kings preſence, and do to him true and faithfull ſeruice, according to his loyall and bounden ductie.

When the Biſhops & the others, were returned with this aunſwere, for the auoiding of bloudſhed, & pacifying of ỹ D. and his people, the D. of Somerſet was committed to warde, as ſome ſay, or elſe commanded to keepe himſelfe priuie in his owne houſe, as other write, till the furie of the people were ſomewhat qualified.

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But it ſhuld ſeeme by that whiche ſome haue writ, ỹ the D. of Yorke was deceiued of ỹ hope whiche he had, to be aided of the Kentiſhmen, inſo much, ỹ whē he ſaw himſelfe ouermatched by ỹ K. in number of people, who had got togither thrice as many men as ỹ D. had there ŵ him, ỹ D. was ỹ more eaſie to deale with, & ſo cōming to ỹ K. and ſubmitting himſelfe by mediatiō of certaine of ỹ nobilitie, he obtained pardon of that his former preſumptuous enterpriſe, & within a few dayes after his cōming to London with the K. he openly in the Church of S. Paule (the K. being preſent) receiued a ſolemne oth, that from thenceforth, he ſhould no more commit any ſuch offence, nor attempt any thing, either againſt the K. or any other of his liege people, contrarie to ỹ order of law and iuſtice. Howſoeuer the matter wente, troth it is, that the D. of Yorke, the firſte day of March diſſolued his army, & brake vp his camp, & came to ỹ kings tent, where contrary to his expectatiō, & againſt promiſe, made by ỹ K. as other write, he found the D. of Somerſet going at large, & ſet at libertie, whom the Duke of Yorke boldly accuſed of treaſon, briberie, oppreſſion, and many other crimes.

The Duke of Yorke accuſeth the D of Somerſet.

The Duke of Somerſet not only made anſwere to the Dukes obiections, but alſo accuſed him of high treaſon, affirming, that he with hys fautors and complices, had conſulted togither, how to obteine the ſcepter & regal crowne of this realm: by mean of which words, the K. remoued ſtreight to London, and the Duke of Yorke as priſoner, rode before him, & ſo was kepte awhile.

The King aſſembled togither a great Counſaile at Weſtminſter, to heare the accuſations of the two Dukes, the one obiecting to the other many haynous and greeuous crimes.

But the Duke of Somerſette, whiche nowe conceyued in his minde the thing that ſhortly followed, inceſſantly exhorted the Counſayle, that the Duke of Yorke, by cõpulſion or otherwiſe, might be driuen to confeſſe his offence, that ſo being atteinted of treaſon, he might ſuffer execution, and his children to be taken as aduerſaries to their natiue countrey, to the intente, that by the loſſe of this only Prince, and his ſequeale, all ciuill war, and inward deuiſion might ceaſſe and be repreſſed, beſeeching almightie God, that ſo greate an enimie to the King and his bloud, might neuer eſcape puniſhmente, nor continue long in life.

The Duke of Somerſet ſette forth this matter the more vehemently, bycauſe hee knewe perfectly, that the Duke of Yorke dayly imagined with himſelfe, howe to get the Crowne, and to depoſe and deſtroy both the King and him, but the neceſſitie of deſtenie cannot by any manner deuiſe, bee either letted or interrupted, for many things (to common iudgement) declared the D. of Yorkes innocencie in this caſe. Firſt, his free and voluntarie comming to the King, without conſtreynt, when he was partly of puiſſance able to haue encoũtred with the kings whole power. Secondly, his humble ſubmiſſiõ, and reaſonable requeſts, as well on his owne behalfe, as for the poore commons, whiche argued, that hee ſought for no ſoueraignetie, but theſe things he vſed for a cautele, to daſle mens eyes withall.

Deſtenie, or rather Gods prouidence cannot be auoyded.

1452

While the counſayle treated of ſauing or diſpatching of this dolorous D. of Yorke, a rumor ſprang through London, that Edward Erle of Marche, ſon & heire apparant to the ſaid D. accõpanyed with a great army of Marchmẽ, was comming towarde London, which tidings ſore appalled the Queene, and the whole counſayle.

Beſide this, the very ſame day, came Imbaſſadors frõ the chiefe Citizens & magiſtrates of yͤ Citie of Burdeaux, whereof the chiefe were, the Erle of Kendale, and the L. de Leſparre, which ſignified to yͤ Counſaile, that if they would ſende an armie into Gaſcoigne, the people of yͤ countrey would reuolt from the frẽch part, & eftſones become Engliſhe. Theſe two things ſore troubled the heads of the Counſaile, which leaſt inward ſedition might hinder outward conqueſts, ſet the D. of Yorke at libertie, & permitted him to goe to his Caſtell of Wignore, in the marches of Wales, by whoſe abſence, the D. of Somerſet roſe in ſuch high fauour, both with the King and Queene, that his word only ruled, and hys voice alone was heard.

The Counſaile not forgetting the offer of yͤ Gaſcoignes, & that they might now haue yͤ Citie of Burdeaux, with the country round about, by requeſt of the inhabitants, appointed the valiant Captaine Iohn L. Talbot, Earle of Shrewesburie, to goe thither with an armie, who arriuing in the Iſle of Madre, paſſed forthe with his power, being ſcant three thouſand men, and tooke the ſtrong towne of Fronſacke, and dyuers other townes and fortreſſes. The inhabitantes of Burdeaux, hearing of the Earles arriual, ſent to him meſſengers in the darke night, requiring him with all ſpeede, to come and receiue the Citie. The Earle loſt not one houre, but haſted forth, and came before that Citie, eare the french men within vnderſtood any thing of the Citizẽs purpoſe. When they were aduertiſed that there was a gate ſet open for the Engliſhmen to enter, they thought to haue eſcaped ſecretly by a poſterne, but they were purſued, ſlayne, and taken, by the L. de Leſparre, and other of the Engliſh armie.

After the regaining of Burdeaux, there arriued at Blay the baſterde of Somerſet, ſir Iohn Talbot, L. Liſle by his wife, ſonne to the ſayde Earle of Shrewesburie, the L. Molins, the L. Harington, the Lorde Cameis, Sir Iohn Howard, Sir Iohn Montgomerie, ſir Iohn Vernon, with. 22. hundred men, with vittailes and munitions.

When the Erle was thus, according to hys intente, of all things furniſhed, firſte he fortifyed Burdeaux with Engliſhmen, and ſtore of vittayle, and after that, he rode into the Countrey abroade, where hee obteyned Cities, and gote Townes, without ſtroke, or dint of ſworde, for the people already awearyed of the French ſeruitude, and longing ſore to returne to the Engliſh libertie, ſeemed to deſire nothing more than to haue the Earle to receyue them into the Engliſh obeyſance. Amongſt other townes, yͤ towne and Caſtell of Chaſtillon in Perigort, was to him deliuered, the which he fortified with men, and ordinance very ſtrongly.

In the meane time, the Frenche King beeyng aduertiſed of all theſe doings, reyſed an army to reſiſt this inuaſion made by the Earle of Shrewesburie, and firſte he appointed his Captaynes to beſiege the Towne of Chaſtillon, to the reſcue whereof, the Earle haſted forward, hauyng in his company eight hundred horſemen, vnder the leading of his ſonne the Lord Liſle, the Lord Molins, the Lord Cameys, Sir Edward Hull, Sir Iohn Howard, and Sir Iohn Vernon.

Hee appointed alſo fiue thouſande footemen, vnder the conduit of the Earle of Kendalle, and the L. de Leſparre, to follow him with al ſpeede.

In his way, hee tooke by fine force a tower, whiche the Frenchmen had taken, and ſlewe all that he found within it, and after by the way, he met fiue hundred frenchmen, going a foraging, of whome he ſlew the more part, and chaſed the other to the campe.

The Frenchmen that lay at the ſiege, perceyuing by thoſe good runners away, that the Erle approched, left yͤ ſiege, & retired in good order into the place whiche they hadde trenched, diched and fortified with ordinance.

The Earle aduertiſed how the ſiege was remoued, haſted forwarde towardes his enimies, doubting moſt, leaſt they woulde haue bin quite fledde and gone before his comming: but they fearing the diſpleaſure of the French King (who was not farre off) if they ſhould haue fled, abode the Earles comming, and ſo receiued him, that though he firſte with manfull courage, and ſore fighting wanne the entrie of their camp, yet at length, they compaſſed him about, and ſhooting him through the thigh with an handgunnne, ſlew his horſe, and finally killed hym, lying on the ground, whome they durſt neuer looke in the face, while he ſtoode on his feete.

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It was ſaid, that after he perceyued there was no remedie, but preſente loſſe of the battell, hee counſelled his ſonne the Lord Liſle, to ſaue himſelfe by flight, ſith the ſame could not redounde, to any great reproch in him, this being the firſte iourney in which he had bin preſent. Manye wordes hee vſed to perſwade him to haue ſaued his life, but nature ſo wrought in the ſonne, that neither deſire of life, nor feare of death, coulde either cauſe him to ſhrinke, or conueigh hymſelfe out of the daunger, and ſo there manfully ended his life with his ſaid father.

There died alſo the Erles baſterd ſonne, Henry Talbot, and Sir Edwarde Hull, elect to the order of the garter, and thirtie other menne of name, and right valiant perſonages of the Engliſh nation.

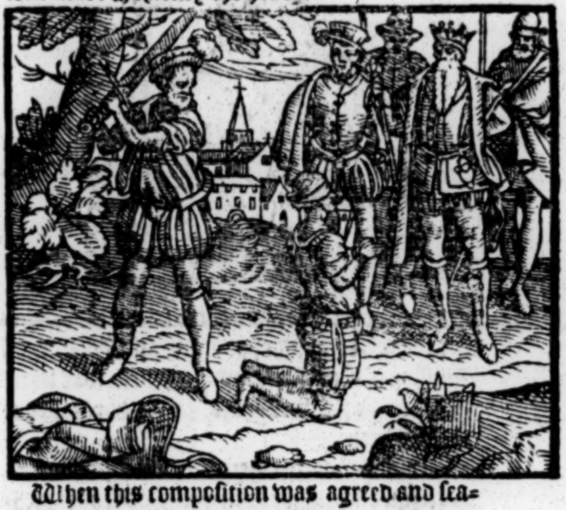
The Lord Molines was taken priſoner with lx. others. The reſidue of the Engliſh people fled to Burdeaux, and other places, of whom in the flight were ſlayne aboue a thouſand perſons.

Thus at this batfaile of Chatillon fought the xiij. day of July in this yere, ended his life John Lord Talbot, and of his progenie the firſt Erle of Shrewſbury, after that he with muche fame and moſte victorie, had valiantly made warre, and ſerued his Prince and countrey by the ſpace of. xxiiij. yeares, in the parties of beyond the ſea, whoſe corps was left on grounde, and after was founde by his frendes, and conueyed to Whitchurch in Shropſhire, where it was enterred.

After thys diſcomfiture dyuers Lordes fledde to Burdeaux, but the Earle of Candall, the lordes of Montferrant, of Roſayn, and of Dangladas entred into the Caſtell of Chaſtillon, whiche by yͤ ſpace of ten days they defended, but in the ende, diſpayring of all ſuccours, rendred the fortreſſe, and came ſafe to Burdeaux.

After this, the townes of Saint Million, Liborne, and all other whiche the Earle of Shrewſburie had conquered, rendred themſelues to the Frenchmen, Burdeaux only except, the whiche Citie beeing the laſt refuge of the Engliſhe people, the French King in perſon beſieged with all his puiſſance, and in concluſion, conſtreyned both the garniſons and inhabitants to yeelde, ſo that the Engliſhmen and Gaſcoignes myghte ſafely depart into England or to Calaice, with all their ſubſtance, and that the Lordes de Leſparre, Duras, and thirtie other, ſhould neuer vppon paine of death, be founde within any of the French Kings dominions, which Lord de Leſparre being after taken in Gaſcoigne diſguiſed, was made ſhorter by the head.

Burdeaux yelded againe to the Frenche.



When this compoſition was agreed and ſealed, the Engliſhmen were ſhortly tranſported ouer into Englande, in the moneth of October this preſent yeare.

Thus was the Duchie of Aquitaine, whyche had continued in the Engliſhe poſſeſſion, from the yeare of our Lorde. 1155. vnto this preſente yeare, which is neere hands three hundred yeres, by the mariage of Alienor, daughter and heyre to William Duke of Aquitaine, wife to Kyng Henry the ſecond, finally reduced and broughte againe to the Frenche obedience and ſeruitude.

Within that only Duchie, be foure Archbyſhops, foure and twentie Biſhops, fifteene Erledomes, two hundred and two Baronies, and aboue a thouſand Captaineſhippes and Baliſewikes, whereby yee maye conſider, what a loſſe this was to the Realme of England.

The thirteenth day of October this yeare, was the Q. deliuered at Weſtmin. of a faire ſonne, The Queene deliuered of hir ſon Prince Edward.

which was chriſtened, and named Edward.

His mother ſuſteyned not a little ſlander and obloquie of the common people, who had an opinion, that the King was not able to get a childe, and therefore ſticked not to ſay, that thys was not hys ſonne, with manye ſlaunderous wordes, greatly ſounding to the Queenes diſhonor, which neede not heere to be rehearſed.

After the birth of this childe, he highly aduanced his brethren on his mothers ſide, for Edmōd he made Earle of Richmond, which was father to King Henry the ſeuenth, and Jaſper he created Erle of Pembroke, which died without iſſue.

This yeare, John Stafford, Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie departed this life, & John Kemp, Archbiſhoppe of Yorke, was remoued from that Sea, to ſucceede in place of the ſaid Stafford, being the .62. Archbyſhoppe there, and John Both Byſhop of Couentrie and Liechfield, was tranſlated to Yorke, beeing the. 51. Archbyſhoppe of that Churche.

An.reg. 32.

1454

When the warres were ended in forayne parties, ciuil diſſention began againe to renue within the Realme, beeing deuided into two ſeuerall factions, for King Henry diſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter, clayming the Crowne from hys grandfather King Henry the fourth (firſt author of this deuiſion) and Richard Duke of Yorke, as heire to Lyonell Duke of Clarence, third ſonne to King Edward the third, wreſtled for ẏ game, and ſtroue for the wager, by reaſon whereof, the nobles as well as the common people, were into partes deuided, to the vtter deſtruction of many a man, and to the great ruyne & decay of this region: for while the one partie ſtudyed to deſtroy the other, all care of the common wealth was ſet aſide, and iuſtice and equitie cleerely exiled.

The duke of Yorke imagineth the deſtructiō of the Duke of Somerſet.

The Duke of Yorke aboue all things, firſte ſought meanes how to prouoke the malice of the people againſt the Duke of Sommerſet, imagining, ẏ he being made away, his purpoſe ſhould ſhortly come to a good concluſion.

He alſo practiſed to bring the King into the hatred of the people, for that hee was not a man apt to the gouernemente of a Realme, wanting both witte, and ſtomacke, ſufficient to ſupply the roomth which he held.

Many of the high eſtates, not liking ẏ world, and diſalowing the actes and doings both of the King and his counſaile, determined to practiſe howe things might come to ſome alteration.

He bare hymſelf the Neu

When the Duke vnderſtoode their mindes, he chiefly entertayned, and wanne the fauour of two Neuilles, and both named Richard, the one Earle of Saliſburie, and the other Earle of Warwike, the firſt being the father, and ẏ ſecond the ſonne.

The iſſu Rich N erle of Sa bury.

This Earle of Saliſburie, was ſecond ſonne to Raufe Neuill Earle of Weſtmerland, whoſe daughter the Duke of Yorke had married, and this ſayde Richard was eſpouſed to Lady Alice, the only childe and ſole heire of Thomas Montacute Earle of Saliſburie, ſlayne at the ſiege of Orleans (as before is declared) of which woman, he begate Richarde, John and George: Richard the eldeſt ſonne, eſpouſed Anne, the ſiſter & heyre of the entire bloud, to Lord Henry Beauchamp Earle, and after Duke of Warwike, in whoſe right and title he was created, and named Erle of Warwike.

The deſc tiō of the of Warw

This man through a certaine naturall inclination and practiſe, did ſo ſet forward a ſorte of good qualities whiche reſted in him, with wittie and gentle demeanor towards all maner of perſons, both of high and lowe degree, that he grew into ſuche fauoure and eſtimation amongſt the common people, that they iudged him able to do all things, & that without hym nothing could be well done. For whiche cauſes his authoritie ſo farforth increaſed, that whiche way he bowed, that way ranne the ſtreame, and what parte hee tooke, that ſyde got the game.

An.reg.

The duke Somerſet a reſted.

1455

When the Duke of Yorke hadde faſtened hys chaine betwene theſe two ſtrong pillers, he with his frendes wrought ſo effectuouſly, and handled his buſineſſe ſo politikely, that the Duke of Somerſet was arreſted in the Queenes great chamber, and ſente to the Towre of London, where he kept his Chriſtmaſſe without great ſolemnitie, againſt whome, in open Parliamente were layd diuers and heynous articles of high treaſon, as wel for the loſſe of Normandie, as for the late miſchance which happened in Guyenne.

The king at ẏ time was ſicke at Clarendon, and conueyed to London, by reaſon whereof, no fynall determination proceeded in thys weightie cauſe, but all was put in ſuſpence, tyll the next aſſemblie of the high Court of Parliamente.

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Wee finde in ſome Writers, that whileſt the K. was ſicke, the D. of Yorke bare all the rule, & gouerned as Regent or Vicerоy, by authoritie committed to him by the Lords of the Realme, then aſſembled in counſell, to ſee to the preſeruation, and good gouernemente of the common wealth, during the time of that yͤ kings ſicknes, which was ſo greeuous, that hee lay ſenſeleſſe, and was not able for a time, either to goe or ſtande.

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The Duke of Yorke therefore hauing obteyned an abſolution of the Pope, to diſcharge him of his oth before taken, did now diſcouer the ſparkes of his hatred, hid vnder the aſhes of diſſimulation, againſt the D. of Somerſet: but yet when the K. had recouered ſtrength againe, and reſumed to hym hys former princely gouernemente, eyther of hys owne mynde, or by the Queenes procurement, hee cauſed the Duke of Somerſet to be ſet at libertie, by whiche doyng, great enuie & diſpleaſure grew. And to aggrauat more the malice of the D. of Yorke, & his friẽds, the Queene whiche then bare the chiefe rule, cauſed the Duke of Somerſet to be preferred to the Captaineſhippe of Calaice, wherewith not only the commons, but alſo many of the nobilitie were greately greeued and offended, ſaying, that he had loſt Normandie, and ſo would he do Calaice.

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The Duke of Yorke and his adherentes, perceyuing that neither exhortation ſerued, nor accuſatiõ preuailed againſt the Duke of Somerſet, determined to reuenge their quarrell, and obteyne their purpoſe by open warre: and ſo he being in the marches of Wales, accompanyed with his ſpeciall friends, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Warwike, the Lorde Cobham, and others, aſſembled a power, and like warlike perſons, marched toward London.

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army.

The King enformed heereof, aſſembled lykewiſe a great hoſt, & meaning to meete with the Duke, rather in the North parts than about London, where it was thought he had too many friends, with great ſpeede, and ſmall lucke, being accompanied with the Dukes of Somerſet, and Buckingham, the Earles of Pembroke, Stafford, Northumberlande, Deuonſhire, Dorſet, & Wilſhire; the Lords Clifford, Sudley, Berneis, Roos, and others, beeing in all aboue two thouſande men of warre, departed from Weſtminſter the twentith, or as ſome haue, the one and twentith of May, and laye the firſte nighte at Watford. Of whoſe doings, the Duke of Yorke by eſpials hauing ſtill aduertiſement, with al his power, beeing not paſt three thouſande men (as ſome write) coaſted the Countrey, and came to the ſaid Towne of Saint Albons, the third day next enſuing.

Anno

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145

The King had pight his Standert in a place called Goſelowe, otherwiſe Sandiford, in Saint Peeters ſtreete: the Lord Clifforde kept the barriers of the Towne, to ſtoppe that the D. being aſſẽbled in Keye fielde, ſhuld not enter yͤ towne.

But the King, whẽ he heard firſt of yͤ Dukes approche, ſente to him meſſengers, as the Duke of Buckingham, and others, to vnderſtãd what he meant by his comming, thus furniſhed after the manner of warre.

VVhethäſted.

The Duke of Buckingham, doing his meſſage as hee had in commaundement, was aunſwered by the Duke of Yorke and his complices, that they were all of them the Kings faithfull liege ſubiects, and intended no harme to him at all: and the cauſe of our comming hither (ſay they) is not to doe anye hurt to his perſon, but let that wicked and naughtie man the Duke of Somerſet bee deliuered vnto vs, who hathe loſt Normandie, and taken no regard to the preſeruation of Gaſcoigne, yea, and furthermore, hath brought this Realme of England vnto this miſerable eſtate, that where it was the floure of nations, and the Princeſſe of all prouinces, now doth it ſitte as a widowe forſaken, not hauyng any louing ſonnes, but ſuche whome that euill man ſeeketh to deſtroy, and to deuoure both thẽ and their ſubſtance: if it therefore pleaſe the kyng to deliuer him into our handes, wee are readye without trouble or breach of peace, to returne in quiet home into our Countrey, but if the Kyng be not minded ſo to doe, but denye our requeſt, bycauſe he will by no meanes miſſe him, let hym vnderſtand, that we will rather dye in the fielde, than now to returne without our hoped pray.

The duke of Buckingham ſent to the D. of Yorke.

The Duke of Somerſet burdened with all thinges that had happened amiſſe.

The King aduertiſed of this the aunſwere and purpoſed intention, more wilfull than reaſonable, choſe rather to trie the hazard of battell, than to deliuer the Duke of Somerſet into the handes of his enimies, whiche they perceyuyng, ſtraightway ſounded the trumpet to battell, or rather as Hall hath, while king Henry ſent forth his Ambaſſadors to treate of peace, at the one end of yͤ towne, the Erle of Warwike, with his Marchmen entred at the other end, & fiercely ſetting on yͤ kings foreward, within a ſmall tyme diſcomfited the ſame. The place where they firſt brake into yͤ towne, was about the middle of S. Peters ſtreete. The fight for a time was ryghte ſharp & cruell, for yͤ D. of Somerſet, wͭ the other lords, cõming to yͤ ſuccours of their companiõs that were put to yͤ worſe, did what they could, to beate backe yͤ enimies, but the D. of Yorke, ſent euer freſh men to ſuccour the wearie, & to ſupplye the places of them that were hurt, by which policie, the Kings army was finally brought to cõfuſion, and all the chiefetaines of the fielde ſlaine and beaten downe, for there dyed vnder yͤ ſigne

The firſt battaile at Sainte Albons.

VVhethäſted

Hall.

of the Caſtell, Edmond Duke of Sommerſet, who as hath bin reported, was warned long before to auoyde all Caſtels: and beſide hym laye Henry the ſeconde of that name, Earle of Northumberland, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, ſonne to the Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Lord Clifford, Sir Barthram Antwiſell Knight, a Norman borne (who forſaking his natiue Countrey to continue in his loyal obedience to King Henrie, came ouer to dwell heere in Englande when Normandie was loſt,) William Zouche, Iohn Boutreux, Raufe Bapthorp, with his ſonne W. Corwyn. W. Cotton, Gilbert Faldinger, Raynold Griffon, Iohn Dawes, Elice Wood, Io. Eithe, Ra. Woodwarde, Gilbert Skarlock, and Rafe Willoughbby Eſquiers, with manye other, in all to the number of. viij. thouſande, as Edwarde Hall ſayth in his Chronicle, if there eſcaped not a fault in the Impreſſion, as. 8000. for. 800. ſith hundreds in very deede, would better agree with the number of the Kings whole power, whiche he brought with him to that battell, beeyng not many aboue two thouſande, as by writers it appeareth.

Thomas Lord Cliffords hath Whethamſted

Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, being wounded, and Iames Butler Earle of Ormond and Wilſhire, and Thomas Thorp, Lord chief Baron of the Eſchequer, ſeeing fortune thus to bee againſt them, left the King poſt alone, and with a great number fledde away.

Thoſe that thus fledde, made the beſt ſhifte they coulde to get away, through gardens, and backeſides, through ſhrubbes, hedges, & woddes, ſeeking places where to hide themſelues, til that daungerous tempeſt of the battell were ouerblowen.

The kinges part vanquiſhed.

Diuers of the Kings houſe alſo that coulde better ſkill to play the Courtiers than warriors, fledde with the firſt, and thoſe of the Eaſt partes of the Realme, were likewiſe noted of too much lacke of courage, for their ſpeedie withdrawing themſelues, and leauing the King in danger of his aduerſaries, who perceyuing hys men thus fledde from him, withdrewe into a poore mans houſe to ſaue himſelfe from the ſhot of arrowes, that flewe about his eares as thicke as ſnowe, falling from the ſkye,

The Duke of Yorke aduertiſed of the place, into the whiche the King was withdrawen, haſted thither with all ſpeede, and comforted hym in the beſt wiſe he could, aſſuring him, that now that the common enimie of the Realme was diſpatched, to witte, the Duke of Sommerſet, he had cauſe rather to reioyce, than to bee ſorie, ſith his deſtruction was the Kings preſeruation, and for himſelfe and all his adherents, he vndertooke that they were and would remayne duryng life, his moſt faithfull liege people, ready in al points to ſerue hym, as his truſtie and obediente ſubiectes.

After he hadde vſed ſuche words to him as he thought beſt to comforte him with, he broughte him forth of that ſimple houſe (into the which he was crept) withe all due reuerence, ſhewed towarde hym, fyrſte to the Shrine, and after to his chamber.

Whileſt the Duke of Yorke was about thus to comfort the King, the Souldiers that had the victorie nowe in their hands, applyed the ſpoyle, namely, the Northerne men, ſtripping not only thoſe that had borne armour againſt them, but alſo the Towneſmen and other, with whome they might meete, ſo that it was thoughte, if the King had taken vp his lodging at his firſt comming thither, within the Abbey, as hee did not, but in the middes of the Towne (to prouide the better to reſiſt his enimies) the Abbey had beene ſpoyled alſo.

This was the ende of the firſte battell at S. Albons, whiche was foughte on a Thurſeday, next before the feaſt of Penthecoſt, being yͤ three and twentith daye of May, in thys three & thirtith yeare of the kings raigne.

The bodies of the noble men, were buried in the monaſterie in our Ladies Chappell, and the meane people, in other places.

This Edmond Duke of Sommerſet, left behinde him three ſonnes, Henrye, Edmonde, and Iohn, which to the extremitie of death, tooke part with the line of King Henry.

The Duke of Yorke hauing got this victorie, remembred well, that hee hadde publiſhed abroade howe the onely cauſe of this warre was, for the aduancemente of the common wealthe, and therefore vſing al courteſie, would not touch the Kings perſon, after anye violente ſorte, but with all honor, and due reuerence, conueyed him to London, and ſo to Weſtminſter, to whiche place, was ſummoned a Parliamente, whyche began the ninth daye of Iuly, in the whiche ſeſſiō, the late Duke of Glouceſter was openly declared a true ſubiect, both to the King, and to the Realme.

Beſide this, it was enacted, that no perſon ſhoulde either iudge or report any poynt of vntroth of the Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Saliſburie and Warwike, or of anye Knighte, Eſquier, archer, or other, for comming in warlike aray againſt the King, at Saint Albons, conſidering theyr enterprice was only, to ſee yͤ kings perſon in ſafegard.

But all the blame was put vpon the Duke of Sommerſet, Thomas Thorp, Baron of the Eſchequer, & Wil. Ioſep Eſquier, yͤ kings collateral companion, bicauſe that they vpō a malitious purpoſe, kept a certain letter from yͤ kyngs knowledge, and would in no wiſe ſuffer it to be deliuered vnto him, notwithſtãding yͤ ſame made to the aduancement of ſome good aſſured peace, if it had beene throughly and aduiſedly read, weyed, and conſidered, in which letter they declared, that as faythfull and humble ſubiectes, they requyred onely that it would pleaſe the king (whoſe honor, health, ſuretie and preſeruation, they chiefly wyſhed) not to giue credence to theyr aduerſaries malicious ſuggeſtions, till theyr comming to his preſence, vnto the which they hũbly beſought him that they might be admitted as his faythfull liege people, to ſhewe the intent and purpoſe of their commings, which was to none other ende, than to enlarge theyr fidelitie and allegiance towards his moſt dread perſon, intending to put themſelues with as much diligence, induſtrie, and trauaile in all things that might preferre & aduaunce his honour, health, ſuretie, and ſafegarde, as anye ſubiect he had liuing.

The keeping back of this letter from the kings ſight and knowledge, did miniſter matter ſufficient ynough to the Parliament to colour and iuſtifie for well done all tranſgreſſions committed in the late battayle and chaſe at Saint Albons.

In this Parliament alſo, the Duke of Yorke was made Protector of the realme, and the Erle of Saliſburie was appoynted to be Lord Chancellor, and had the great ſeale to him deliuered, and the Earle of Warwike was elected to the office of the captainſhip of Calays, and the territories of the ſame, and thus the rule of the Realme reſted in the orders of the Duke and Chancellor, and all warlike affayres remayned principally in the Erle of Warwike. And ſo amongſt them it was agreed, that king Henry ſhould ſtill raigne in name and dignitie, but neyther in deede nor in authoritie, not mynding to deſtroy him leaſt they might ſodainly prouoke the furie of the common people agaynſt them, bycauſe that of the ſymple ſort of people hee was for hys holyneſſe of lyfe, and aboundant clemencye muche fauoured and highly eſteemed.

In this Parliament alſo it was enacted, that the king ſhoulde reſume, take into his handes againe, haue and retaine in his poſſeſſion, all honours, Caſtels, Lordſhips, townes, villages, manours, landes, tenements, waſtes, foreſts, chaſes, rentes, reuerſions, fees, fermes, ſeruices, iſſues, profites, counties, aduouſons of Priories, Churches, hoſpitals, and free Chapels, and all other reuenues with theyr appurtenances, the whiche had paſſed from him ſith the firſt day of his raigne vnto that preſent, eyther by his letters patents, or authoritie of Parliament, and any other meanes, whether by graunt, confirmation, or releaſe from him made in fee ſimple, or fee taile for tearme of life or yeares, to anye maner of perſon and perſons in Englande, Wales, Scotlande, or the Marches, in Irelande, or in the townes of Calays, and Guiſnes, and the marches there, and likewiſe all grauntes made of ſuche things as is aboue mentioned, being parcell of the Duchie of Lancaſter, and further all graunts of offices, rowmeths, fees, wages, or commodities, not accuſtomed to belong to any office or charge before the ſayde firſt day of the kings raigne, were likewiſe reuoked.

Diuerſe other things were alſo conteyned within this reuocation, and generall reſumption of things into the kings hands, with certaine exceptions yet and prouiſoes had, as were thought cõuenient, and as by the ſame act it doth and may more plainly appeare.

Moreouer nowe that the Duke of Yorke and his adherẽts had wraſted the whole rule and gouernment into their handes.

All ſuche perſons as the king eyther loued, or the Queene fauoured, were put beſide the priuie counſaile, and ſuche put in their places, as was knowne to fauor the houſe of Yorke.

Shifting of officers.

Alſo the officers were chaunged, throughout the realme at the will and diſpoſition of the Protector, Chancellor, and captain of Calays, ſo that they cõſtituted as it were a triumuirate, ruling all things at their owne diſcretion. And yet in all theyr rule I finde not that any mention is made of theyr deferring of iuſtice, or of any polling or bryberie as was openly proued by ſuch as gouerned before their time. Onelye they were noted with an execrable and damnable offence of diuerſe ſpirituall perſons, and namely of the Abbot of Weſtminſter and his Munkes, for that they toke oute of the Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter John Hollande Duke of Exceter, being repugnant to the order taken in the laſt Parliament, and conueyed him to the Caſtell of Pomfret.

Henry D. of Sommerſet.

But that venemous worme, that dreadfull Dragõ called diſdaine of ſuperioritie, which hath conſumed the bloud of ſo manye noble Princes, and deſtroyed the lygnage of ſo many gouernors in all realmes and kingdomes, as well Pagan as Chriſtian, coulde not but incenſe the heartes of the Lord Henrie Beauforde, newly inueſted duke of Somerſet by the death of Duke Edmond hys father, which at the battaile of Saint Albons (as aboue is rehearſed) loſt his life, and of Humfrey Duke of Buckingham (who had loſt his ſonne and heyre at the ſame battaile) and of other lordes and men of authoritie fauouring the part of king Henrie, whiche bewayled the vnſure ſtate of the ſame king, bycauſe they perceyued wherevnto the cloked courteſie and diſſembling maner of the Duke of Yorke did drawe, and therefore thought it neceſſarie to puruey for a remedie ere the miſ-

The Duke of York diſcharged of his office.

1456

chiefe happened. Hereupon they conſulted with the Queene, and by hir aduice was a great coūſail called at Greenwich, where the duke of York was diſcharged of his protectorſhippe, and the Earle of Saliſburie depriued alſo of his office: whiche malicious chaunge amongeſt the Nobilitie cauſed ſodaine alterations, and ſeditious attemptes to ſpring and aryſe in the communaltie, and in eſpeciall wythin the Citie of London. For a yong Marchaunt which before time hadde beene in dyuerſe Cities within the Countrey of Italy, and there forbydden by the Magiſtrates to weare anye weapon, chalenged an Italian in Cheapeſide for wearing a Dagger, alledging agaynſte hym the lawes of hys owne Countrey: and bycauſe the Italian aunſwered ſomewhat diſdainefully, the Marchaunt not wylling to ſuffer ſo open a reproche in a ſtreete ſo fraught with people, tooke by force from him his Dagger and with the ſame brake his pate.

This Italian in greate haſt complayned to the Maior of thys offence, ſo that at the nexte Court holden at the Guilde hall, the Marchant was ſent for, and his offence beeing declared vnto him, he was commaunded to warde, whereupon dyuerſe other light perſons within the Citie, aſſembled togyther in great plumps, and by force conſtrayned the Maior to delyuer the pryſoner out of Newgate, and not ſo ſatiſfied, like madde men ran to the ſeuerall houſes of dyuerſe Venetians, Lucaſes, and Florentines, and them ſpoyled, robbed, and rifled wythout reaſon or meaſure.

An vprore in the citie of London.

A foule diſorder.

The Maior perceiuing this enormious doing, aſſembled a greate number of ſubſtantiall and graue Citizens, which not without great bloudſhed and mayming of ſundrie perſons finally appeaſed the rage, and cauſed the miſruled people to depart to their houſes.

The begynner of this outragious vprore got him to Weſtminſter, and there regiſtred him for a Sanctuarie man.

The Queene whiche now againe ruled all things, aduertiſed of this vnlawful miſdemeanor ſent the dukes of Exceter and Buckingham, accompanied with other noble men, to Lōdon with a commiſſion of Oyer and Determiner, for the puniſhment of ſo ſeditious an offence: But when the Maior, the two Dukes, and the two chiefe iuſtices were ſet in the Guild hall for performance of theyr Commiſſion, vppon intelligence that a number of lyght wytted Citizens, were mynded in armour to reſkue the priſoners that had beene apprehended for the late committed robberie and ryotes as they ſhoulde goe to their triall and arraignment: the two Dukes and the other commiſſioners ſodenly departed from the Guildehal & left their inquirie for that daye, though in deede they were in no ſuch daunger as they doubted: for certaine diſcreete and ſage Citizens ſo handled the matter, that no miſorder followed of that great tumult and ſodaine furie of the people.

A com
counſ

The Maior on the next day called a common counſaile, whereof the number was an hundred fourescore and odde perſons, & by authoritie of the ſame, ordeyned that all wardens of myſteryes ſhould aſſemble their myſteries in their common halles, where they ſhoulde exhort them to the obſeruation of peace, and if they ſpyed any man eyther readie to ſtyrre a rumor, or deſirous of the deliuerance of ſuch as were accuſed and in priſon, that their names ſhoulde be ſecretly written, and couertly deliuered to the Lord Maior: which politike doing finally ended the outragious attemptates of the vnruly people. And ſo the commiſſioners returned to the Guildehall, where many of the robbers were attainted and put to execution, beſide diuerſe greate fines and raunſomes payed, which were ſet vpon the heades of dyuerſe Marchants for winking at the matter.

This yeare John Kempe Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie departed this lyfe, and Thomas Burſtlyer Byſhoppe of Elye was remoued to ſucceeder in his place, beeing the threeſcore and three Archbiſhop that ſat in the ſea of that Archbiſhops ſea.

An
14

The French nation hearing of the ciuill diſſention within the Realme of England, thought to worke ſome domage to the Engliſhe people, in reuenge of olde iniuries.

Hereupon were two Nauies appoynted to inuade the townes ſtanding vppon the ryuage of the Sea. The Captaynes of the one Fleete, was William Lorde Pomyers, and of the other Sir Peers Breſſy, a great ruler in Normandie.

These two captaines taking their courſe oute of the mouth of Saine, ſeuered themſelues, the one Weſtwarde, and the other Eaſtward, which was ſir Peter de Breſſy. This luſtie Captaine ſayling alongſt all the coaſtes of Suſſex & Kent, durſt not once take lande, till hee arryued in the Downes, and there hauing by a certaine eſpyall perfite notice that the Towne of Sandwiche was neyther peopled nor fortified, bycauſe that a lyttle before, the chiefe Rulers of the Towne were from thence departed, for to auoyde the peſtilenciall plague, whiche ſore there afflicted and ſlue the people, entred the Hauen, ſpoyled the towne, and after ſuch poore ſtuffe as he there foūd rifled and taken, hee fearing an aſſemble of the Countrey, ſhortly returned.

Sandw
led by
Frenc

The Lorde Pomyers likewyſe tooke hys courſe Weſtwarde, and by nyght burnt certaine houſes in Foulnay, and with a little pyllage retyred into Brytaine.

Foul

The Scots alſo not forgetting their old prāks, entred into Northumberlande, king James the ſeconde being there in perſon, and burned certain poore houſes, and little cottages: but in the verie middeſt of theyr great enterpriſe, they hearing of the duke of Yorkes marching toward them with a great armie, with much paine and no gaine, in all haſt returned to their countrey.

But nowe to paſſe ouer outwarde inuaſions and to returne to the dayly diſorder put in vre amongeſt the Nobles at home, a greate conflict chaunced betwene the Lord Egremonde, and the ſonnes of the Earle of Saliſburie, in the whiche fray, many perſons were ſlaine, and a great number hurt.

The Lorde Egremond could not eſcape, but by force was taken and brought before the kings counſaile, & there the King & the Queene to ſhew themſelues to all perſons indifferent, adiudged him to paye to the Earle of Saliſburie a greate ſumme of money, and for his heynous offence committed agaynſt the Kings lawes, hee was committed to the gaile of Newgate within the Citie of London, oute of the whiche by helpe of friendes hee eſcaped, to the great vexation of the Sheriffes of London at that tyme being.

The Queene ſecretely thyrſting for the deſtruction of the Duke of Yorke and his friendes, perceyued that ſhe could attempt nothing againſt him neare to the Citie of London, bycauſe the Duke was had in more eſtimation there among the Citizens and communaltie, than eyther the King hir huſbande, or hirſelfe, and therefore ſhee cauſed the King to make a progreſſe into Warwikſhire for his health and recreation, and ſo with hawking and hunting came to the Citie of Couentree, where dyuerſe wayes were ſtudied to compaſſe the Queenes long wiſhed deſire: for the accompliſhing whereof, the Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Saliſburie, and Warwike (whoſe deſtruction was chiefly ſought) were ſent for to Couentrie by the Kings letters, vnder his priuie ſeal, to which place the ſayd Lordes without ſuſpition of euill, obediently reſorted, but beeing admoniſhed by ſecrete friendes, what was intended agaynſt them, they auoyded that daunger, where as otherwiſe their lyues had beene loſt without al remedie. And ſo not ſaying farewell, they departed from the Court, the Duke vnto Wygmore in the marches of Wales, the Erle of Saliſburie to his faire Caſtell of Middleham in the North countrey, and the Erle of Warwike ſayled to the towne of Calays.

But nowe although the bodies of theſe three noble perſonages were thus ſeparated, yet theyr heartes were knitte and coupled in one, and ſtyll went meſſengers with letters betwixt them, to communicate theyr deuiſes, and to giue ſignification of theyr mindes and purpoſes from one to another.

An. reg. 39.
1458

In this yeare Reginald Peacocke Biſhop of Chicheſter, abiured at Paules Croſſe, and all his bokes were burnt, & he himſelf cōmaunded to kepe his owne houſe during his naturall life, bycauſe yͤ he being very wel learned, & better ſtomacked, beganne to moue queſtions, not priuily but openly, in the Vniuerſities, concerning the annates, Peter pens, and other iuriſdictions and authorities appertayning to the Biſhop of Rome, and not onely put forth ſuch queſtions, but declared hys minde and opinion in the ſame.

Some ſay he held, that ſpirituall perſons by Gods lawe ought to haue no temporall poſſeſſions.

VVhethamſ

Other wryte that he ſayde that perſonall tythes were not due by Gods law. And as ſome haue recorded, hee helde that it was not needefull to belieue that Chriſt after his paſſion did deſcend into hell, neither yet to beleeue in the Catholike Church, nor the communion of Saints.

Alſo that he held howe the vniuerſall Church might erre in matters of fayth. And that it is not of neceſſitie to beleue, that that which is allowed, ordeyned, and determined in fauour of fayth, and the health of mans ſoule, by a generall Counſaile or by the vniuerſall Church, ought to be allowed and holden of all chriſtian people.

Moreouer he helde, that it was lawfull to euerie man to vnderſtande the ſcriptures in the literall ſenſe, and that none is bounde to cleaue vnto any other ſenſe, vpon anye neceſſitie of ſaluation.

King Henrie and his adherentes perceyuing that the Duke of Yorke lay ſtill and ſtyrred not, returned to London, and there called a great coūſaile, openly declaring that the French and Scots enboldned by the ciuill diſcorde within this realm would attempt to annoy the ſame, as of late they had ſhewed apparant tokens of theyr euill malicious meaning, and would not ceaſſe vpon occaſions to doe further diſpleaſures, tyll they perceyued a perfite concorde and an vnfeyned amitie to be concluded betwene him and his friendes, and thoſe of the contrarie part and confederacie.

And to the intent that he woulde be the chiefe Author of peace, hee promiſed ſo to entertaine the Duke of Yorke and his fautors, that al old grudges being not onely inwardly forgotten, but alſo outwardly forgiuen, ſhould be the cauſe of perpetuall loue and aſſured amitie.

This deuiſe was of all men preſent well taken, and adiudged for the beſt. Whereupon dyuerſe graue perſons were ſente to the Duke of Yorke, and al other the great eſtates of the realm, whiche ſince the battaile of Saint Albons neuer met nor communed togither, commaunding thē for great cauſes and reaſonable conſiderations, to reſort to the kings Palace without delay.

The peeres of the Realme called to a treatie.

At his cõmaundement came to London Rychard Duke of Yorke, with foure. C. men, and was lodged at Baynards caſtell being his owne houſe, and after him came the Erle of Saliſburie with fiue hundred men, and was likewiſe lodged at his owne houſe called the Herber. Then came the Dukes of Exceter, and Somerſet with. viij. hundred men, and were lodged without Temple Barre, and the Earle of Northumberlande, the Lorde Egremonde, and the Lord Clifforde came with. xv. C. men, and lodged withoute the Citie. The Erle of Warwicke alſo came from Calais with ſix hundred men in red Jackets, embrodered with white ragged ſtaues behind and before, and was lodged at the gray Friers.

Thus were all thoſe of the one faction lodged within the citie, and thoſe of the other without, in Holborne, towarde Weſtmynſter, and in other places of the Suburbs, as who ſayd ẏ as the Jewes diſdeined the companie of the Samaritains, ſo the Lancaſtrians abhorred the familiaritie of the Yorkiſh lynage.

After ẏ theſe Lords were thus come vnto Lõdon, the King and the Queene ſhortly followed, comming thither the. xvij. day of Marche, and lodged in the Biſhops Palace.

Bicauſe no riotous attempt or bickering ſhuld be begon betweene any of the parties, or their retinues, the Maior and Aldermenne of the Citie kept great watch, as well by day as by night, ryding about the citie by Holborne, and Fleetſtreet, with fiue thouſand men well armed & arrayed, to ſee good order and peace on all ſides kept.

The Lords are brought to agree.

The Lordes which lodged within the city held a dayly counſaile at the black Friers. The other parte ſoiourning without the walles, aſſembled lykewiſe in the Chapiter houſe at Weſtminſter. At length by the diligent trauaile, good exhortation, and prudent aduice of the Archb. of Cant. & other vertuous Prelates, both parties were perſwaded to come to a communication, and ſo did, where after long debating of their grieuaunces, they were accorded, promiſing to forget all olde rancors, and to be friendes eche to other, and obedient to the King, whereof writings were ſealed, ſigned and deliuered. The principall poyntes whereof the king beeing named and reputed as whole arbitratour conſiſted herein.

VVhetham.

The awarde.

The cleergy were ſure in thoſe dayes to loſe nothing by theſe contentions howe ſo euer the world went.

Firſt, that at the coſts, charges, and expences, of the Duke of Yorke, the Erles of Warwik, and Saliſburie, xlv. poundes of yearely rent, ſhoulde be lawfully aſſigned, giuen and aſſured by waye of a mortizement for euer, vnto the Monaſterie of Saint Albones, for Suffrages and Obites to be kept, and almes to bee employed for the ſoules of Edmond late duke of Somerſet, Henry late Erle of Northumberland, and Thomas late L. Clifford, which being ſlaine in the late battaile of S. Albones, were buried there in the Abbey Church, and alſo for the ſoules of all other ſlaine in the ſame battaile. The ſaide Duke of Somerſet, the Earle of Northumberlande, and L. Clifforde, by vertue of the ſame award, were declared for true and faithfull liegemen to the king, & ſo to be holdẽ and reputed in the day of their deathes, aſwel as ẏ ſaid duke of York, the erles of Warwik & Saliſb.

Moreouer it was decreed, that the D. of York ſhould giue to Elenore Ducheſſe of Somerſet, & to Henrie Duke of Somerſet hir ſon, the ſumme of fiue thouſand Markes of good aſſignments of debts which the K. ought to him for his wages due, during the time of his ſeruice in Irelãd, to be diuided as the K. ſhould think cõuenient betwixt the brethren & ſiſters of the ſayd D. of Somerſet.

The L Egre

Alſo that the Erle of Warwick ſhould giue to the Lorde Clifforde, the ſumme of a thouſande Markes, in good and ſufficient aſſignementes of debts which the king ought to him to be diſtributed betwixt the ſaid L. Clifford his brethren and ſiſters. Alſo where Thomas Percie knight, L. Egremond, & Richard Percy his brother, ſonnes of the Lady Elenor Counteſſe of Northumberland, had bin in a Seſſions holdẽ within ẏ countie of Yorke before Richard Bingham, & Raufe Pole the kings Juſtices & other cõmiſſioners, cõdemned vnto the Erle of Saliſburie in the ſum of viij. M. marks, & to the ſame erle, and to his wyfe Alice in the ſum of fiue M. marks. & to Tho. Neuil knight, ſonne to the ſaid Erle of Saliſburie, in the ſumme of a. M. marks, & to the ſaid Thomas & Mawd his wife, in the ſum of two. M. marks, and to John Neuil knight, ſon to the ſaid Erle of Saliſburie, in the ſumme of. viij. C. markes for tranſgreſſions & treſpaſſes there found to bee done by the ſaid L. Egremond, & Richard his brother, vnto the ſaid erle of Saliſb. Alice, Thom. Neuil, Mawd & John Neuil, as by the record appeared. It was ordeyned that the ſaide Erle & his ſonnes ſhould releaſe all the ſaid ſummes of money, & the executions thereof, and likewiſe releaſe vnto Raufe Verney, & John Steward late Sheriffes of London, vnto whoſe cuſtodie the ſaide L. Egremond had bin for the ſame cõdemnations cõmitted, and from thẽ eſcaped, al actions which they or any of thẽ might haue againſt the ſaide Verney & Steward for the ſame eſcape. But yet it was decreed by this award, that the ſayd Lorde Egremonde ſhould be bound by recogniſance in the Chancerie to keepe the peace againſt the ſayde Earle and his wife, their children, ſeruants and tenants.

Alſo where diuerſe knights, Eſquiers and other ſeruaunts and tenaunts to the ſayd Earle of Northumberland, & to the ſayd lord Egremond, were by their ſeuerall Obligations bound, by occaſion of the ſayde debates vnto the ſayde Duke of Yorke, Earle of Saliſburie, or any of theyr children, to ſtande to theyr order and gouernement, it was ordeyned that the ſame obligations ſhould be deliuered to them that ſo ſtoode bound, before the feaſte of Saint Peter ad Vincula nexte enſuing, at the Citie of Yorke, or elſe that the parties ſo bounde, ſhoulde haue ſufficient acquittances in diſcharge of the ſame obligations.

It was further awarded, that all variaunce, diſcord, debates, controuerſies, appeales & actions perſonels that were or had beene betwixt any of the perſons aforeſayde, or anye of theyr ſeruants or tenants, ſhould be for euer determined and ended, ſauing to euerie one his title, action & right, which he had by any euidẽce of arrerages of rents or ſeruices, accompts, detinues, or debtes due by reaſon of anye lawfull contract or deede had and made for any reaſonable conſiderations, other thã the variance before ſayd.

And for the more aſſurance of both parties, it was ordeyned that eyther ſhould releaſe to other all maner of actions, that were mere perſonals and appeales, whiche anye of them mighte haue againſt the other, by reaſon of the variaunces and diſcordes afore mentioned.

Alſo it was decreed, that if any action, ſuyte or quarell, chaunced betwixt any of the ſeruantes or tenants of any of the parties, for matter or tytle ſuppoſed to be had, occaſioned or moued before this time, that from thenceforth, none of the ſayd partyes ſhould maintaine, ſupport, or ayde any of them that will ſo ſue and moue ſtrife and debate, but ſhould rather ſo deale as the matter may be brought to peace and quietneſſe.

It was further awarded, that if any man cõplayned, pretended or ſurmiſed, that this awarde was not kept, but in ſome poynt broken by anye of the parties, for yͤ which breach he would haue a *Scire facias*, or ſome other action proſecuted in the kings name vpon any recogniſance made to the king for the performãce of this award, yet ſhould not the ſame *Scire facias* or action be proſecuted till the kings counſaile might be throughly certified of the matter by the complaynant, and vpon conſideration ſee iuſt cauſe, why the ſame *Scire facias* or action ought to be had & proſecuted in the kings name. And if any variaunce roſe betwixt the counſayle of both the partyes in making of the recogniſaunces, releaſes, acquittaunces or other wrytings, the ſame variaunce ſhoulde bee deterned by the two Lords chiefe Iuſtices that ſhould be fully inſtructed of the kings intention in thys behalfe.

And beſydes this, it was notifyed and declared by the ſame awarde, that the parties being ſeuerally bounde in the Chauncerie in great ſums to obey and performe this awarde, ordinance and iudgement made by the King, it was the Kings will and pleaſure, that the ſame recogniſaunces ſhould ſtand in force, and no parcels of the ſums therein conteyned to bee pardoned in anye wiſe, withoute the agrement and conſent of the partie, for whoſe aſſurance the ſame recogniſaunce was taken. And if any of the ſayde ſummes, or anye parcell thereof ſhoulde bee recouered by action or execution taken & proſecuted in the kings name, vpon any of the ſayde recogniſaunces, the partie to whoſe hynderaunce the awarde was broken, ſhoulde haue the one halfe of the money ſo recouered, and the other moitie ſhoulde be aſſigned to the Treaſorer of the kings houſe, towardes the charges and expences of the ſame houſe.

This ordinance, award and agreement, was giuen vp vnder the kings great ſeale, at the kings Palace of Weſtminſter, the .xxiiij. day of March in the .xxxvj. yeare of his raigne.

A ſolemne procesſion at Paules.

For the outwarde publiſhing of this ioyfull agreement, there was vpon our Ladie daye in Marche a ſolemne Proceſſion celebrate within the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule in the Citie of London, at the which the king was preſent in his habite royall, with his Crowne on his heade. Before him went hand in hande the duke of Somerſet, the Earle of Saliſburie, to Duke of Exceter, and the Erle of Warwike, and ſo one of the one faction, and another of the other: and behinde the King the Duke of Yorke, and the Queene with greate familiaritie to all mennes ſightes, though their heartes were as farre in ſunder, as their bodies were then nere ioyned by that their mutuall leading hande in hande. For notwithſtanding this cloaked pageant, and diſſembling Proceſſion, it ſhortly after appeared, that theyr thoughtes were all inuenomed, and full of ranke poyſon, though their tongues and flattering countenaunces vttered the taſte of moſte ſweete and pleaſant ſugred confections.

An.reg.37.

But as fire incloſed in a ſtrayte place, will by force vtter his flame, and as the water being ſtopped will in proceſſe of time burſt out and win paſſage, so this cancred Crocodrile, coulde not long lurke in malicious myndes, but in concluſion according to hir nature ſhee ſhewed hirſelfe. For after this apparant concord, and inward diſcorde, according to the verie propertie of diſſimulation, diuerſe noble men of byrth ſmally regarding theyr honours, forgot theyr othe, and brake theyr promiſe.

The fruit of diſsimulation

1459

For not long after this diſſimuled amitie, a certaine fray eyther by chaunce, or of a pretenced purpoſe, was made vpon a yeoman of the Erles of Warwike, by one of the kings ſeruants, in the which the aſſaylant was ſore hurt, but the erles man fled.

The kings meniall ſeruauntes ſeing theyr fellow hurt, and the offender eſcaped, aſſembled

The Erle of Warwicke aſſaulted.

togither and watched the Earle, when hee returned from the counſaile chamber towardes hys Barge, and ſodainly ſet on him, the yeomen with ſwordes, and the blacke garde with ſpittes and fireforkes. After long fight, and many of the Earles men maymed and hurt, by helpe of hys friendes hee tooke a Wherry, and ſo eſcaped to London.

The queenes purpoſe.

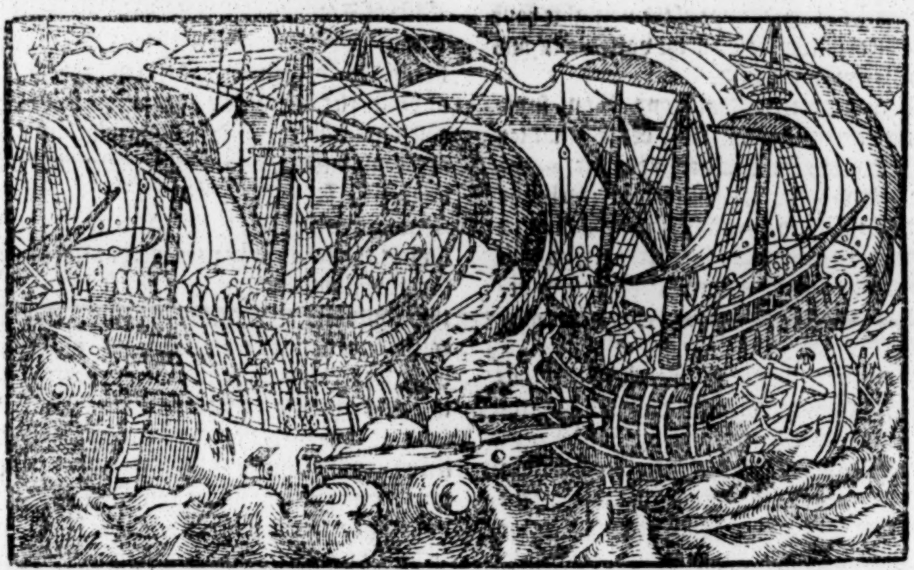
The Queene aduertiſed hereof, incontinently commaunded that he ſhoulde bee apprehended and committed to the tower, where (if he had bin taken) he had ſhortly ended his dayes.

By this vnhappy fray, there aroſe anon after ſuch trouble and terrible warre, that the whole Realme was thereby diſquieted. For after thys diſpleaſure done to the Earle, and the Queenes good minde towardes him, by his ſecrete friendes reuealed, he with all diligence tooke his iourney to Warwicke, and after into Yorkſhire, where he found the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Saliſburie, declaring vnto them the aſſault made vpon him by the kings ſeruants, and the pretenſed euill purpoſe of the Queene. After whiche complaint made, he fearing to be diſpoſſeſſed of hys roumth at Calays, with great ſpeed embarqued himſelfe and ſayled thither.

He was not onely Deputie or Lieutenant of Calais, but alſo high Admiral of the Seas, which office was to him confirmed for the ſpace of fiue yeares, whereupon whether before hys arryuall now at Calais, or ſhortly after, I cannot ſaye, but this yeare aboute the myddeſt of Sommer, the ſayde Earle hauing with him a. xiiij. well appoynted ſhippes, ſayled abroade to ſkoure the Seas, and by chaunce mette wyth fiue greate ſhippes, whereof three were Carakes of Genoa, and the other two were of Spaine, bigger in heigth and length than the Carakes.

The Earle though hee was vneth able to deale agaynſt them, yet he valiantly encountring them, there was a right ſore and long continued battaile fought betwixt them, for it laſted almoſte the ſpace of two dayes. In the ende yet the victorie fell to the Engliſhe, ſo that two of thoſe ſhippes being forced to ſaue themſelues by flight, the other three were taken, which the Erle brought vnto Calais, with all the Marchandice abourde in the ſame, the value whereof in Wine, Oyle, Waxe, Iron, cloth of Golde and other ryches, was eſteemed to the ſumme of ten thouſand pound and aboue, by reaſon whereof, that was ſolde nowe for. xij. pens, which woulde not haue beene bought before for two ſhillings.

A riche Priſe.



There were taken a greate number of priſoners, beſide a thouſand perſons of the enimies that were ſlaine in the fight. Of the Erles part there were fiftie ſlaine.

The Earles fame hereby encreaſed not a little, and many a bleſſing hee had for this peece of ſeruice.

An. reg. 38.

But now to the former purpoſe. After that the ſayde Erle was departed the realme, and gone ouer to Calais, the Duke of Yorke, and the Erle of Saliſburie falling in conſultation togither, it was at length agreed betwixt them, with aduice of theyr friendes, that the ſayde Earle of Saliſburie with a warlike companie ſhould march toward the king, and ſignifie to him by way of cōplaint, both the manifeſt iniurie done to his ſon, and alſo the vncurteous breach of the ſworne amitie and late agreement, in which ſute if he preuayled, hee ſhoulde not then let paſſe the occaſion giuē for reuenge of diſpleaſures to him done, both by the Queene and her ſiniſter counſaylers.

After concluſion of this deuiſe, the Erle of Saliſburie remoued from Middleham Caſtell, accompanied with foure or fiue thouſand men, and toke his way through Lancaſhire, to paſſe that waye towardes London.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Queene which was aſſyſted and ruled by the Dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham, hauing a vigilant eie to all hir buſineſſe, ymagined that the Erle of Warwike had kindled this fire, to the intent to ſet the Crown on the Duke of Yorkes head: wherefore ſhe appointed James Twichet Lorde Audley (bycauſe his power laye in thoſe partyes by the whiche the Earle of Saliſburie muſte paſſe) to rayſe an hoſt of men wyth all ſpeede, and to giue battaile to the ſame Earle, if he ſawe cauſe and place conuenient.

Shee had deuiſed a cogniſaunce of the whyte Swanne, which ſhe willed all ſuch as ſhee knew to beare fauour vnto hir ſonne to weare, for a ſignification of their good mindes and heartie loue towardes him, whiche cogniſaunce ſhe had giuen to many Gentlemenne of Cheſſhire, and other countreyes thereaboute.

She hirſelfe lay the ſame time at Ecclesale in Staffordeſhire, but the King remayned at Colleſhill in Warwikeſhire, whither the Earle of Saliſburie ment to come, as he pretended to haue communed with him for a reformation of matters depending in controuerſie betwixt him and of the Duke Yorke and others. But the Queene conſtruing that they ment no good, neither to hir, nor hir huſbande, requeſted the Lorde Awdeley to apprehende hym, if by anye meanes hee might.

Blore heath.

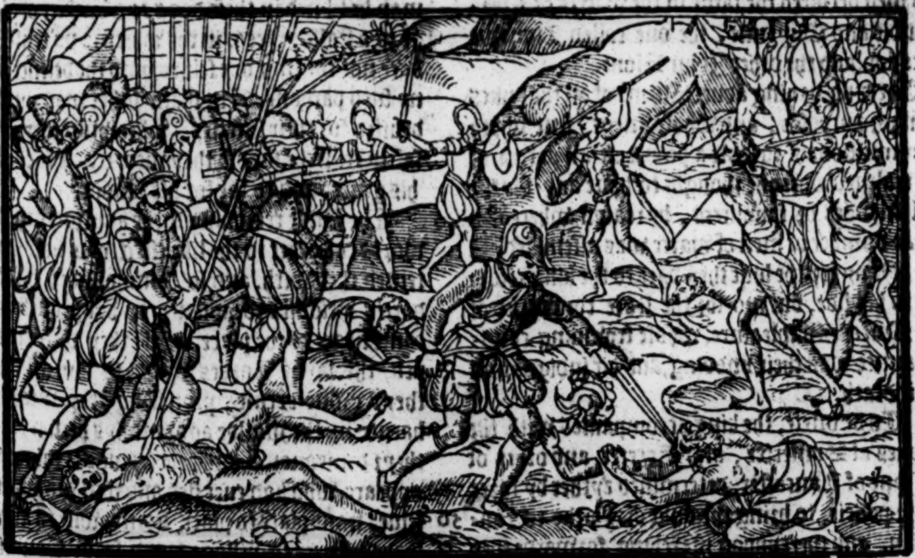
The Lorde Awdeley according to hys commiſſion, aſſembled aboue tenne thouſande men of Cheſſhire and Salopſhire, and knowing by hys eſpialles, which way the Earle kept, approched neare to him vpon a fayre playne called Bloreheathe, wythin a myle of a towne called Drayton in Shropſhyre. The Earle perceyuing in what ieopardie he ſtoode, determined to abyde the aduenture, with fame and honour, rather than to flie with loſſe and reproch, and ſo encamped himſelfe all the night on the ſide of a little brooke, not verie brode but ſomewhat deepe.

The xxiii. of September.

Polecie often times ouercometh force.

The L. Audley ſlayne.

In the morning early, being the day of Saint Tecle, hee cauſed his ſouldiours to ſhoote theyr flightes towardes the Lorde Awdeleyes companie, whiche lay on the other ſide of the ſayde water, and then hee and all his people made a ſigne of retreyt. The Lorde Awdeley ſuppoſing hys aduerſaries had fledde in deed, cauſed his Trumpettes quickly to blowe vp, and ſetting forth hys vowarde, ſpeedily paſſed the water. The Earle of Saliſburie which knewe the ſleightes of warlike policie, ſodainly returned and ſet vpon the Lorde Awdeley and his chiefe Captaynes, ere the reſidue of his armye coulde paſſe the water. The fight was ſore and dreadfull. The Earle deſpyring the ſauing of hys lyfe, and hys aduerſaryes coueting his deſtruction, fought ſore for the obteyning of theyr purpoſe: but in concluſion, the Earles armie, as men not looking for other ſuccours nor meane to eſcape, but by theyr owne manhood, ſo egrely aſſaulted theyr foes, that they ſlue the Lord Awdeley, and all his Captaynes, and diſcomfited all the remnant of his people.



In this battaile was ſlaine .xxiiij. hundred perſons, but the greateſt loſſe fell on the Cheſſhire men, bycauſe one halfe of the ſhire was on the one part, and the other halfe on the other, of which number were ſir Tho. Dutton, ſir John Done, and ſir Hugh Venables, ſir Richarde Molineux, ſir William Trowtbecke, ſir John Legh of the Both, and ſir John Egerton, knightes, John Done, and John Dutton Eſquiers.

The Erle of Saliſburies ſonnes apprehended.

But the Earles two ſonnes, the one called ſir John Neuill, & the other ſir Thomas Neuill, were ſore wouded, yͤ which ſoberly iorneying into yͤ north cuntry, were apprehẽded by yͤ Q. friends, and togither with ſir Thomas Harington that was likewiſe taken, were conueyed to Cheſter, but their keepers delyuered them ſhortly after, or elſe had the Marche menne deſtroyed the Gayles. Such fauour had the Commons of Wales to the Duke of Yorke his bande, that they could not ſuffer any wrong to be offred, or euill worde to be ſpoken agaynſt him or his friends.

After this battell fought at Blowre heath (as before ye haue heard) the Duke of Yorke perceyuing that the deſtruction of him and his friendes was intended, and that his priuie intentes were alreadie diſcloſed to the king and the Queene, hee thought nowe no longer to lynger his buſineſſe, but with all diligence to diſplay and aduance his banner. And therefore ſending for his chiefe mate the Earle of Saliſburie, after long communication had of theyr weightie affayres, they determined to rayſe an armie, and by fine force eyther to die, or to winne theyr purpoſe.

The Duke of Yorke aſſembleth an army

Herevpon were men forthwith aſſembled, friendes ſent for, and a puiſſaunt armie was gathered, both of Northren men and Welchmen, whiche in good order came into the marches of Wales adioyning to Shropſhire, determining there to abide their enimies, or to meete them if occaſion ſerued.

There came to him from Calais the Earle of Warwike, bringing with him from that towne a great number of expert men in martiall feates, whereof two were Captaines knowne for men of great experience and approued policie, as they had well declared the ſame in the warres of Normandie and Guyenne, the one called Andrewe Trollop, and the other Iohn Blont.

Andrew Trollop, Iohn Blũt

The king hauing aduertiſment of all the dukes doings, purpoſes, and whole intent, ſent forth Commiſſioners to leuie a power in all partes of the realme, where he thought to haue any faythfull friendes or fauourers, by reaſon whereof a great number of men of warre was aſſembled.

The king raiſeth an army.

Many for the loue they bare to the king reſorted to his ſide, but mo for the feare conceyued of the Queenes diſpleaſure, whoſe frowning countenaunce was their vndoing, and hir indignation their death.

To be briefe, the king accompanied with the Dukes of Somerſet, and Exceter, and other of the lyne of Lancaſter, determined eyther by force or by policie, to bring the duke of Yorke to confuſion, and thereuppon marching forwarde they came vnto Worceſter, where as well to refreſhe his people, as to take further aduice what was beſt to be done, he ſtayed for a time, and at length it was determined, that the king ſhould firſt ſend vnto the aduerſaries, a meſſenger of good accoũt, as the Bi. of Saliſbury, Richard Beauchampe, to offer vnto them a cleare and free generall pardon, of all treſpaſſes, offences, and tranſgreſſions whatſoeuer, if they woulde giue ouer theyr enterprice, and become true and obedient ſubiects.

VVhetham.

The Biſhop of Saliſbury ſent to the Duke of Yorke and others.

When the Biſhop was come vnto them, and hadde declared his meſſage, they firſt withdrewe themſelues apart, and fell togither in counſaile, and after they gaue aunſwere by the mouth of the Earle of Warwike, whiche conſiſted in three poyntes: Fyrſt, that as concerning the pardon, they durſt not truſt vnto it, conſidering they had dyuerſe pardons before, and the ſame confyrmed by Parliament, and yet nothing auaylable to their aſſurance.

Secondly, that notwithſtanding ſuche pardons, thoſe that were about the king were preſumptuous and vnruly, that they cared not at al to breake the kings commaundements, nor were any thing abaſhed to be noted for yͤ breach therof.

Thirdly, although by law of the lande, and right of the ſtatute, euery Lorde by vertue of the kings writ, being called to the Parliamẽt, ought ſafely to come, ſafely there to remaine, and ſafely to depart and returne home, this notwithſtãding, the ſayd erle of Warwike himſelfe, at a certaine counſail holden at Weſtminſter, by vertue of the kings writ of priuie ſeale beeing there in perſon, & labouring to his knowledge to giue good aduice & counſaile for the profit of the cõmon wealth, was yet in danger of death, if the Lorde aboue had not the better prouided for his eſcape, more than anye humaine power or force of the kings pardon: for the whiche cauſe (quoth he) ſith the kings pardon may be likned in theſe days to a buckler of glaſſe, or to a ſtaffe of reed, in the which is no truſt, we dare not commit our ſelues vnto the defence of any ſuch pardons. But if any other way might be deuiſed for their ſurreties, whereunto they might ſafely truſt (he ſayde) they were readie to come to his grace, and to ſue for his fauour.

The King receyuing ſuche aunſwere in theſe words, or other to the like effect, was nothing cõtented therewith, and ſo commaunded his Standardes eftſoones to aduaunce, but yet before hee came neare to the place where they were encamped, the ſayde Lordes wrote to him a letter in theyr owne excuſe, proteſting they meante no harme in the worlde agaynſt hys perſon, as by theyr demeanours and proceedings it might well appeare, who had euer fled and withdrawne themſelues from place to place, from towne to towne, from village to village, and from Countie to Countie, which might ſerue for an euident token that they ſought for nothing but onely theyr owne ſafegardes and quietneſſe of the Realme, with ſo much fauour, as in good and ſafe ſuretie they might come to his preſence, to declare certaine things which in their opinions might turne to the welth of the realm: and further to make an-

ſwere

ſweare all things that had beene obiected agaynſt them, and nowe (ſayde they) we are here remayning in the vttermoſt partes and confines of the lande, that is in the Marches towardes Wales, not farre from Ludlow, not vpō any preſumptuous meaning, but rather in all humble lowlineſſe of minde & bodie, to abide his graces cōming, which they beſought of God might be in ſome peaceable maner and fauourable in theyr behalfes.

The king hauing receyued this letter, and coniecturing that venome lay hid vnder ſo ſweete and ſoft ſpeeche, commaunded his armie againe to marche forth, and comming within halfe a mile of the aduerſaries campe, pight downe his field, and forthwith cauſed proclamation to bee made, that whoſoeuer of his aduerſaries would giue ouer his lewde begon enterpriſe, and repayre to his preſence to ſue for mercie, he would pardon him of all offences.

matiō

This Proclamation comming to the vnderſtāding of them in the duke of Yorks hoſt, cauſed a great number that were there with him agaynſt the king, to get away and come to the kings ſide.

Moreouer, there roſe among the reſidue greate murmuring, ſo as they ſeemed very lyke to growe to a grieuous mutinie. Amongſt other of thoſe that came to the kings campe, Andrew Trollop was chiefe, who with ẏ other Caliſiās which had long ſerued the king, and liued a long time by his wages, perceyuing now that they ſhould fight agaynſt theyr ſoueraigne Lorde himſelfe (whoſe friend they eſteemed before that time the Erle of Warwike euer to haue bene, and in no wiſe hys enimie) in the dead of the night before the daye of the battell they ſecretly departed from the Dukes campe, and ſubmitted themſelues to the king, admoniſhing him of all things deuiſed for his loſſe and deſtruction. For the Duke of Yorke perceyuing by his expert Captaynes, a way how to ſet vppon his enimies, and eaſily to diſcomfit them, thought to take the occaſion, and ſo on the nexte morning went to haue aſſayled the king and hys people ere they could haue bene readie, or ware of his determination: but nowe by the going away thus of his captaynes and people, no effect folowed of that his ymagination. For being aduertiſed that Andrew Trollop was thus departed, hee was now as much diſcomforted therby, as before by the truſt which he put in him he was encouraged, and therewith perceyuing that all his counſayle and purpoſe was by the forenamed Andrew reuealed and diſcloſed, thought it better for him and his to depart in ſuretie, than to abide ẏ chaunce of mutable fortune: whervpon he with his yonger ſonne Edmond Erle of Rutland, ſecretly fled into Wales, and ſo paſſed into Irelande, where hee was with all ioy and honour gladly receyued, all the Iriſh offring to die and liue with him.

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The Erle of Marche ſonne and heire apparant to the ſaid duke, accompanied with the Earles of Saliſburie and Warwicke, and ſir Iohn Wenlocke, ſtale awaye the ſame night, and came into Deuonſhire, where, by the meanes of Iohn Dynham eſquire, (which after was highe Treaſorer of England, in the dayes of king Henrie the ſeuenth) they bought a ſhip which coſt .C.x. Markes at Exmouth, and ſayled into Gerneſey, and after came to Calais, and were let in at the poſterne, and ioyfully welcomed of their friendes, namely of ſir William Neuil Lord Fauconbridge, that was the Erle of Warwikes vncle, and brother to the Erle of Saliſburie, who had the towne & Caſtel in keeping.

But now to returne to the king: when in the morning he was aduertiſed that the duke of Yorke and his partakers were fled & gone, he cauſed al his horſmen to folow them, although in vain, for they were got farre ynough out of daunger (as before ye haue heard.)

The king pardoned all the poore ſouldiours ſauing certaine ring leaders of the which ſome he puniſhed and fined, and ſome he hanged and quartered.

After this he remoued to Ludlow, and there brake vp his hoſt, and ſpoyled the towne and Caſtell, and ſent the Duches of Yorke with hir two yong ſonnes to be kept in Warde with the Duches of Buckingham hir ſiſter. This done, he proclamed theſe Lordes, traytours to him, enimies to their countrey, and rebels to the crowne, confiſcating their lands, goods, and offices, and committed the gouernaunce of the north partis to the Erle of Northumberland, and to the Lord Clifford, as to his truſtie and moſte faithfull friendes, and of his towne of Calais, hee made Captaine Henrie the new duke of Somerſet. Thys duke reioyſing much in his new office, choſe forth dyuerſe valiant and hardie ſouldiers, and with great pompe ſhortly after tooke the ſeas, and ſayled towards Calais, but when he thought to haue entred the hauen, the artillery ſhot ſo hotly, both out of the town, and from Riſe banke, that he ſuffring there a ſore repulſe, was faine to lande at Whitſandbay, and ſent worde to the Captaines of the towne to receyue him as the kings lieutenant, ſhewing to them his letters patents, but neither he nor his writing was once regarded, & ſo of neceſſitie hee reſorted to the Caſtell of Guiſnes, dayly ſkirmiſhing with the garniſon of Calais, more to his loſſe than gaine.

The Duke of Somerſet made Captaine of Calys.

Diuers of the mariners of thoſe ſhips that wēt ouer with him, after his arriuall owing more good will to the Earle of Warwike than to this yong duke, conueyd their ſhips into the hauē of Calais, and in them diuerſe of the erle of Warwikes enimies, as Iamin Findyll, Iohn Felow, & diuerſe other, the which being preſented vnto the Earle of Warwike, hee cauſed their heades to bee ſtryken off.

Iohn Dynham

The Lord Riuers taken.

Shortly after Rycharde Lorde Ryuers, and ſir Anthonie Wooduile his valiaunt ſonne that was after Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike perſons, were appointed to paſſe ouer to Guiſnes, to ayde the Duke of Somerſet agaynſt his aduerſaries, which lay in Calais, but as they ſoiourned at Sandwich abiding for wind and weather to tranſport them ouer, the Erles of Marche and Warwike had knowledge thereof, and ſent John Dynham with a ſmall number of men (but a multitude of valiant heartes) vnto the towne of Sandwich, which ſodainly entred the ſame, and tooke the Lorde Riuers in his bed, and his ſonne alſo, robbing houſes, and ſpoiling ſhips, and beſide this, they tooke the principall ſhippes of the kings nauie, and had them away with them to Calais, and there preſented them to the Earle of March, of whom he was ioyfully receyued, for though in the fight hee was ſore hurte and maymed in the legge, ſo as he halted euer after, yet hee bare himſelfe ſo worthily in that enterpriſe, that hys prayſe was great amongſt all men.

After this good fortune thus chaunced to the Lordes, dyuerſe of the beſt ſhippes taken in the Hauen of Sandwiche, were well vitayled and manned, and with them the Earle of Warwike ſayled into Irelande, to common with the Duke of Yorke of his great affayres and buſineſſe.

The weather and wind were ſo fauourable to the Earles purpoſe, that within leſſe than thirtie dayes hee paſſed and repaſſed from Calais to Dubline, and backe againe.

The Duke of Exceter being chiefe Admirall of the Sea, lay in the Weſt Countrey, and durſte not once meddle with the Earle of Warwikes nauie, as he came by, by reaſō of yͤ miſtruſt which hee had in the Captaines and Mariners of hys own nauy, who by their murmuring wel ſhewed that they wiſhed yͤ erle of Warwiks good ſucces.

A parliamente at Couentry

VVhethāſted.

The kings inclination to mercy.

During this time, the king called a Parliament in the Citie of Couentrie, which began the xx. of September, in the whiche the Duke of Yorke and his confederates were attaynted of highe treaſon. But yet when the King ſhoulde come to giue his conſent vnto the actes paſſed in the ſame Parliament, and that the Clerke of the Parliament had read that ſtatute of the attainder of thoſe Lordes, ſuch was the kings modeſtie and great zeale vnto mercie, that he cauſed a prouiſo to be had in and added vnto the ſame ſtatute, that it might be lawfull vnto him at all tymes fully without authoritie of any other Parliament, to pardon the ſame noble men, and reſtore them againe to their former eſtates, degrees, and dignities in all things, ſo that they would come in vnto him, and in the ſpirite of humbleneſſe beſeeche him of grace and fauour.

Herewith alſo order was taken for the defence of the hauens and landing places alongſt the ſea coaſtes.

Sir Simond Mountforde with a great crew of men, was appoynted to kepe the Downes, and the fiue Portes, and all men paſſing into Flaunders were vpon paine of death prohibited to paſſe by Calais, leaſt the Lordes there ſhould borrowe of them any money, as they did preſt lately before of the Marchants of the Staple the ſumme of xviij. M. pound. The Lords were not ignorant of all the kings prouiſions made agaynſt them, but were aſcerteyned dayly what was done euen in the kings priuie Chamber, wherefore firſt they ſent a company to Sandwiche vnder the gouernance of the Lord Fauconbridge, which tooke the town, and ſir Simon or Oſbert Mountford within it, and ſent him with all his mates to Calais, where incontinently he with twelue of his chiefe fellowes loſt their heades on the Sandes before Riſebanke.

After the kings nauie gayned, and his Captaynes, on the arriuage of the ſea taken, and deſtroyed, the Lords lying at Calais, being aduertiſed frō the Lord Fauconbridge, who after the taking of Mountfort lay ſtill in Kent, that the people of that Countrey and other partes were altogither bent in their fauour, they conceyued thereupon ſo great hope in their friendes within the Realme, that they determined to paſſe the Sea, and therewith entring their ſhippes, with a fiftene hundred men landed with them at Sandwich.

And from thence came to Canterburie and ſo paſſing throughe Kent, there came to them the Lord Cobham, John Guilford, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other Gentlemen, ſo that before they approched to London, their number was eſteemed aboue .xl. thouſand fightnig mē, for the fame of their landing being once knowne, Gentlemen repayred, and yeomen reſorted out of all the South partes of the realme, vpon whiche rumor, Thomas Lorde Scales, a man in greate fauor with the King and Queene, accompanied with the Earle of Kendall a Gaſcoigne, and the Lorde Louell, reſorted to London with a greate companie of armed men, declaring to the Maior that their repayre onely was to defende and keepe the Citie, from ſpoyle of ſuch traytors as the king was credibly informed did thither reſort, to whō the Maior anſwered, that hee needed no felowe helper, either to defend or gouerne the citie to him committed in charge. With which aunſwere the lord Scales and his aſſociates nothing cōtented, entred into the tower, dayly deuiſing wayes howe to grieue the Citizens, whō he perceyued to fauor rather the duke of Yorkes part, than the kings.

But ſhortly after the Earles of Marche and Warwicke, and other of their affinitie, came to London, and were of the Maior and Citizens ioyouſly receyued, to whom reſorted the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Biſhops of London, Lyncolne, Saliſburie, Ely, and Exceter, with many other Prelates, and religious perſons.

Vpon good deliberation and aduiſe had and taken amongſt theſe Lordes how to go forwarde with their weightie enterprice, the Earles of Marche and Warwike, William Lorde Fauconbridge, Henrie Lorde Bourchier, called Erle of Eu, with a great number of men whiche came out of Kent, Eſſex, Surrey, and Suſſex, to the number (as ſome wryters affyrme) of. xxv. M. perſons, departed from London toward the king lying at Couentrie, then called the Queenes ſecrete herbour, leauing behinde them to keepe the Londoners in theyr promiſed obeyſance, the Erle of Saliſburie, the Lorde Cobham, and ſir Iohn Wenlocke, which tooke ſuch order and watched the gates and entries on eche ſide ſo diligently, that no ſuccours might come to the Lord Scales lodging in the Tower, who tooke therewith ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſhot out his great ordinaunce agaynſt them within the Citie, and they likewiſe ſhot at him againe, to the hurt and no pleaſure of both partes.

ry the
ſe-
bot.

The king hauing knowledge of all theſe doings, aſſembled a great armie, and accompanied with the duke of Somerſet (lately come frō Guiſnes) & the duke of Buckingham, and diuerſe other great Lordes that tooke his parte, came to Northamton, where the Queene perceyuing hee puiſſance to be able to matche in fight with the aduerſaries, tooke vpon hir to encourage hir friendes and well willers: for the King ſtudied of nothing but of peace, quietneſſe, and ſolitarie life. When the whole hoſt of the kings part was aſſembled, the ſame iſſued forth of the towne, and paſſing ouer the riuer of Nine, lodged in the new fielde betweene Harſington and Sandifford, ſtrongly fencing themſelues about with high banks, and deepe trenches.

On the other part, the Lords being herewyth aduaunced verie neare the place where the kings people lay without Northāton, the Biſhops that were there with them, by the aduice and conſent of the ſaid Lordes, ſent vnto the king the Biſhop of Saliſburie to vnderſtand his mind, & to moue him vnto ſome treatie of peace, and to admitte the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the'other biſhops there preſent, to be mediatours in the matter, that ſome good accord might be concluded betwixt the parties, ſo as an vniuerſall peace might bee reſtored in all parts through the whole realme.

hāſted

The Biſhop of Saliſburie doing this meſſage not ſo circumſpectly as had beene conuenient, returned without bringing any towardly anſwere, but rather wordes of high deſpite and vtter defiance. For the Lordes that were about the king truſting in their warlike engines and ſtrength of place in whiche they were encāped, though otherwiſe inferior in number of men, purpoſed to abide the brunt of battel, & ſo led with the ſpirite of raſhneſſe, ſent none other anſwere back againe by the biſhop, but contumelious words ſounding greatly to the reproch of theyr aduerſaries, who beeing ſore offended therewith, determined to ſeeke reuenge with dynt of ſworde.

The Erle of Marche as thē being in the floure of his luſtie and moſt couragious youth, lying betweene Toucetor and Northampton, determined to ſet on the kings armie without longer delay: and therevpon in the night ſeaſon remoued his campe toward Northampton, & in marching forwarde ſet his men in order of battaile, whereof the vātwarde was led by the Erle of Warwick, whiche eyther by ſtrength, or ſtealth, wanne a ſtreyte which the Lorde Beaumont kept, going toward the kings campe, and herewith entring freſhly wyth his people, beganne the battayle aboute ſeuen of the clocke the ninth day of Iulye. After him followed the Earle of Marche with the banner of his father. Other write, that the Earle of Marche led the forewarde, the Earle of Warwicke the middleward, and the lord Faucōbridge the rerewarde.

The battel of Northamton.

VVhethāſted

Moreouer that Edmond Lord Grey of Ruthin, who was on the kings ſide, fayled in yͤ truſt committed to him: for where the enimies coulde not (without great daunger to be beaten downe and ſlaine) enter vpon the Kings campe, by reaſon of a mightie trench and rampyre pight full of pyles, and ſharpe ſtakes, wherewith the campe was compaſſed about, the ſayd Lord Gray came with his men, and with helping handes pulled the enimies vp, & receyued them into the field, where the battaile was begonne with greate force and violence, for being now entred the field, they ſette vpon the Kings people ſo fiercely, that it ſeemed they mente eyther to obteyne the victorie, or to dye for it, euen all the whole number of them.

The L. Grey of Ruthen.

The fight continued ryght fierce and cruell, wyth vncertayne victorie, till the houre of nine, at whiche tyme the Kings armie was diſcomfited, and of the ſame ſlaine and drowned in the Riuer, few leſſe than ten thouſande tall Engliſh men, and the king himſelfe left comfortleſſe alone was taken by the aduerſaries, as a'man predeſtinate to miſerie.

Hall.

The kings part diſcomfited.

The k. taken.

At this battaile were ſlaine Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, Iohn Talbot Earle of Shrewesburie, a valiaunt perſonne, and not degenerating from his noble parentes, Thomas lord Egremond, Iohn Viſcont Beaumont, & ſir

William Lucie which made great haſte to come to part of the fight, and at his fyrſt approche was ſtryken in the heade wyth an Axe.

Beſide theſe that were ſlaine, many were taken pryſoners, bycauſe they left theyr horſes, alighting to fight on foote. The Duke of Somerſet, and other, whiche narrowly eſcaped, fled with the Queene & prince into the biſhoprike of Durham. The Erles hauing got the victorie in thys bloudie battaile, conueyed the king to London, & lodged him in the Biſhops Palace.

The tower deliuered to the Erle of March.

After whoſe comming to the Citie, the tower was deliuered to the Erle of Marche, vpon a certaine compoſition, but the Lord Scales ſuſpecting the ſequele of the deliuerie thereof, tooke a wherrie priuilye, intending to haue fledde to the Queene, but hee was eſpyed by dyuerſe watermen belonging to the Earle of Warwike (whiche wayted for his forth comming on the Thames) and ſodenly taken, and ſhortly ſlaine with many dartes and daggers, and his bodie left naked & all bloudie at the gate of the Clink, which after was buried in the Churche adioyning. Then were diuerſe perſons apprehended, and indyted of treaſon, whereof ſome were pardoned, & ſome executed.

The L. Scales ſlayne.

Tho. Thorpe

Thomas Thorpe ſeconde Baron of the Eſchequer, was committed to the Tower, where he remayned long after, for that he was knowne to be great friend to the houſe of Lancaſter.

An. reg. 39.

During this trouble, a Parliament was ſummoned to begin at Weſtminſter, in the month of October next following.

Whethãſted

The Duke of Yorke commeth forth of Ireland.

In the meane time the Duke of Yorke aduertiſed of all theſe things, ſayled from Dubline towardes Englande, and landed at the redde banke neare to the Citie of Cheſter, with no ſmal companie, and from Cheſter by long iourneys, hee came to the Citie of London, which he entred the Fryday before the feaſt of S. Edward the Confeſſor, with a ſword borne naked befor him, with trumpets alſo ſounding, and accompanied with a great traine of men of armes, and other of hys friends & ſeruants. At his cõming to Weſtm. he entred the palace, & paſſing forth directly through the great hall, ſtayed not till he came to the chamber, wher the King and Lordes vſed to ſit in the Parliament time, cõmonly called the vpper houſe or chamber of the Peeres, and being there entred, ſtept vp vnto the throne royall, & theyr laying his hande vppon the cloth of eſtate, ſeemed as if hee ment to take poſſeſſion of that whiche was hys ryght, for hee helde his hande ſo vpon that cloth a good pretie while, and after withdrawing hys hande, turned hys face towardes the people, beholding theyr preaſſing togither, and marking what countenance they made.

Whethãſted

A ſtrange demeanor of the D. of Yorke.

Whileſt he thus ſtoode and behelde the people, ſuppoſing they reioyced to ſee his preſence, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie Thomas Bourcher, came vnto him, and after due ſalutations, aſked him if he would come and ſee the King. Wyth which demaunde he ſeeming to take diſdaine, anſwered briefely, and in fewe wordes thus: I remember not that I know any within this realm, but that it beſeemeth him rather to come and ſee my perſon, than I to goe and to ſee his. The Archbiſhop hearing his anſwere, went backe to the King, and declared what anſwere he hadde receyued of the Dukes owne mouth.

His bo

After the Archbiſhop was departed to the king that lay in the Queenes lodging, the Duke alſo departed, and wente to the moſte principall lodging that the king hadde within all his Palace, breaking vp the lockes and doores, and ſo lodged himſelfe therein, more lyke to a King than a Duke, continuing in the ſame lodging for a time to the great indignation of many, that could not in any wiſe lyke of ſuch preſumptuous attempts, made by the ſayde Duke, to thruſt himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crowne, and to depoſe King Henrie, who had raigned ouer them ſo long a time.

Maiſter Edwarde Hall in his Chronicle maketh mention of an Oration which the Duke of Yorke vttered ſitting in the regall ſeate there in the Chamber of the Peeres, eyther at this hys firſt comming in amongſt them, or elſe at ſome one tyme after, the which we haue thought good alſo to ſet downe, although John Whethamſted the Abbot of Saint Albones, who liued in thoſe dayes, and by all likelyhoode was there preſent at the Parliament, maketh no further recytall of any wordes, which the Duke ſhoulde vtter at that time in that his booke of Recordes, where hee entreateth of this matter. But for the Oration (as maiſter Hall hath written thereof) wee finde as followeth.

During the time (ſayth he) of this Parliament, the Duke of Yorke with a bolde countenance entred into the chamber of the Peeres, and ſat down in the throne roial, vnder the cloth of eſtate (which is the kings peculiar ſeate) and in the preſence of the nobilitie, as well ſpirituall as temporall, (after a pauſe made) he began to declare his title to the Crowne, in this forme and order as enſueth.

The D. Yorke made Lords Parlia

My ſingular good Lordes, maruayle not that I approche vnto this throne: for I ſit here as in the place to mee by very iuſtice lawfully belonging, and here I reſt, as to whõ this chaire of right apperteineth, not as hee which requyreth of you fauour, parcialitie, or bearing, but egal right, friendlye indifferencie, and true adminiſtration of Juſtice: For I beeing the partie grieued, and complaynant, cannot miniſter to my ſelf the medicine that ſhould helpe me (as expert Leches and chirurgiãs may) except you be to me both faithful ayders and alſo true Counſaylers. Nor yet this noble Realme and our naturall Countrey ſhall neuer be vnbuckeled from hir dayly Feuer, except I as the principall Phiſition, and you as the true and truſtie Apothecaries) conſult togither, in making of the potion, and trie out the cleane and pure ſtuffe, frō the cōrupt and putrifyed drugges. For vndoubtedly the root and bottom of this long feſtured canker, is not yet extyrpate, nor the feeble foundation of this fallible buylding, is not yet eſpied, which hath been and is the daylie deſtructiō of the nobilitie, and the continual confuſion of the poore comunaltie of this realme & kingdome. For all you know (or ſhould know) that the high and mightie prince K. Richarde the ſeconde, was the true & vndoubted heire to the valiant conqueror & renowmed prince K. Edward the third, as ſon & heire to the hardie knight & courageous captaine Edward prince of Wales, duke of Aquitaine and Cornwal, eldeſt ſonne to the ſaid K. Edward the third, which king was not onely in deed, but alſo of all men reputed & taken for the true and infallible heire to the wiſe and politique prince king Henrie the third, as ſon & heire to king Edwarde the ſeconde, ſonne and heire to king Edwarde the firſt, the verie heyre and firſt begotten ſonne of the ſayd noble and vertuous prince king Henrie the thirde. Whiche king Richarde of that name the ſecond, was lawfully and iuſtly poſſeſſed of the Crown and Diademe of this realme and region, till Henrie of Darbie Duke of Lancaſter and Hereforde, ſonne to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter, the fourth begotten ſonne to the ſayde king Edward the thirde, & yonger brother to my noble aunceſter Lionel duke of Clarence, the third begotten ſonne of the ſayd king Edward, by force and violence, contrarie both to the dutie of his allegiance, and alſo to his homage to him both done and ſworne, rayſed warre and battayle at the caſtell of Flinte in Northwales, agaynſt the ſayde king Richarde, and him apprehended, and impriſoned within the tower of London, during whoſe life and captiuitie, he wrongfully vſurped and intruded vpon the royall power, and high eſtate of this realm and region, taking vpon him the name ſtile, and authoritie of king and gouernour of the ſame. And not therewith ſatiſfyed, and contented, cōpaſſed and accompliſhed the death and deſtruction of his naturall Prince, and moſte worthie ſoueraigne Lord, not as a common homicide and butcherly murtherer, but as a regicide, & deſtroyer of his king. After whoſe piteous death, & execrable murther, the right and title of the Crowne, and ſuperioritie of this Realme was lawfully reuerted and returned to Roger Mortimer Earle of Marche, ſonne and heyre to Ladie Philippe the onely childe of the aboue rehearſed Lionell Duke of Clarence, to whiche Rogers daughter called Anne, my moſt deareſt and welbeloued mother, I am the verie true and lineall heyre, whiche diſcent all you cannot iuſtly gainſay, nor yet truely denie. Then remember this, if the tytle be mine, why am I put from it? If I bee true heyre to the Crowne (as I am in deede) why is my ryght withholden? If my clayme bee good, why haue I not iuſtice? For ſurely learned men of great ſcience and knowledge, ſaye and affyrme, that lineall diſcent, nor vſurped poſſeſſion can nothing preuayle, if continuall clayme bee lawfullye made, or openly publiſhed. For the auoyding of which ſcruple and ambiguitie: Edmonde Earle of Marche my moſte welbeloued Vncle in the tyme of the firſte Vſurper in deede, but not by right called King Henrie the fourth, by hys couſins the Earle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Percie, he beeing then in captiuitie wyth Owen Glendor, the Rebell in Wales, made hys tytle and righteous clayme to the deſtruction of both the noble perſons. Likewiſe my moſt deereſt Lorde and father, ſo farre ſet forth that right and tytle, that hee loſt his life and worldly ioy at the towne of Southhampton, more by power than indifferent Iuſtice. Sithe whoſe death, I comming to my full age, haue neuer deſyſted to purſue my tytle, and requyre my right, whiche by meanes of ſinyſter counſayle and iniuſt detention, I can neyther obteyne nor recouer. So that of fine force, I am compelled to vſe power in ſteade of prayer, and force in ſteade of requeſt (not as I ſayde before) for my priuate emolument, and peculiar profite, but to reſtore peace, loue, and quietneſſe to thys oure naturall Region, which euer ſith the firſt vngodly vſurpation of the aforenamed Henrie, vntruly called king Henrie the fourth, hath beene clearely baniſhed, and oute of the ſame iniuſtlye exyled. What murthers and manſlaughters hathe beene perpetrated and committed wythin thys Countrey, ſithe the begynning of that vngracious vſurpation? what number of noble men haue beene ſlaine, deſtroyed, and executed ſithe that infortunate day? It is to lamentable and manifeſt. For although Henrie of Lancaſter Earle of Darbye tooke vpon hym the Scepter and the Crowne, and wrongfullye bare the name and ſtyle of a King, and was not muche tickled wyth myne Vncle the Earle of Marche, at that tyme being wythin age: yet was he neuer in ſuretie of himſelfe, nor had or enioyed any profite, quietneſſe, either in minde or in bodie: For ſurely, a corrupt conſcience neuer feeleth reſt, but looketh when the ſworde of vengeance wil diſcende and ſtrike: his ſon alſo called king Henrie the fifth, obteyned notable victories, & immortal praiſes for his noble actes done in the realm of Frāce: yet God for ẏ offēce of his vntrue parent: ſodenly touched him, vnbodying his ſoule in the flower of his youth, and in the glorie of hys conqueſt. And although he had a fayre ſonne and a yong, apparant heyre, yet was this orphan ſuch a one, as preachers ſaye, that God threatned to ſende for a puniſhment to his vnruly & vngracious people, ſaying by his Prophet Eſay, I ſhal giue you children to be your Princes, and infants without wiſdome, ſhall haue the gouernaunce of you. The Prophet lied not, if you note all things in an order: for after this Henrie the fift (whoſe fame no man can iuſtly reproue or deface) ſucceded his ſonne, whom all we haue called our naturall Prince, and obeyed as his heyre, in whoſe time & wrongfull raigne, I require you diligently to conſider, with what great torments and afflictions God hath whipped and ſcourged this miſerable Iſle, yea with ſuch and ſo many ſcourges and plagues, as no nation (the Egiptians onely except) were euer tormented or afflicted withal. I wil not ſpeake of rebellious murthers, & oppreſſions, which of late haue beene done and exerciſed here among vs: But I will declare & manifeſt to you, how the crown and glory of this realm is by the negligence of this ſilly man, and his vnwyſe counſail miniſhed, defaced and diſhonored. Is not Normandie which his father gate regained & conquered again, by yͤ inſolencie of him and his couetous counſaile? Is not the whole duchie of Aquitaine, by two. C. and odde yeares peaceably poſſeſſed by the kings of this realme, in one yere and a little more, gotte out of our hands & ſeigniory? What ſhoulde I ſpeake of Aniou and Maine, or the loſſe of the Iſle of France, with the rich Citie of Paris. Alas it is too apparaunt, neither will I moleſt you with the recitall of all the particulers thereof: But now in the middeſt of this affliction and to make an ende of the ſame, God of his ineffable goodneſſe looking on this countrey, with hys eies of pitie and mercie, hath ſent me in the truth, to reſtore againe his decayed kingdome, to hys ancient fame and olde renowne, whereof here in open Parliament according to my iuſt and true title, I haue and do take poſſeſſion of this royall throne, not putting diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine ayd and aſſiſtance of you the Peeres of this realme, I ſhall beautifie and mainteyne the ſame to the glorie of him, honour of my bloud, and to the publique wealth as well of you all here preſent, as of all the poore Commons and ſubiectes of this kingdome and regiment.

When the Duke had made an ende of hys Oration, the Lordes ſate ſtyll as men ſtryken into a certayne amaſedneſſe, neyther whiſpering nor ſpeaking forth a worde, as thoughe theyr mouthes had bene ſowed vp.

The Duke not verie well content with their ſtrange ſilence, aduiſed them to conſider throughly, and ponder the whole effect of his wordes and ſayings, and ſo neyther fully diſpleaſed, nor yet altogither pleaſed, departed to his lodging in the kings Palace.

While he was declaring thus his tytle in the chamber of the Peeres, there happened a ſtraunge chaunce in the verie ſame inſtaunt amongeſt the Commons in the neather houſe then there aſſembled: for a Crowne whiche did hang in the middle of the ſame to garniſhe a braunch to ſet lights vppon, without touche of any man, or rygour of wind, ſodainly fell downe. And at the ſame time alſo fell downe the Crowne which ſtoode on the toppe of the Caſtell of Douer, whiche chaunces were interpreted by the common people, to be as ſignes that the Crowne of the Realme ſhoulde bee deuided and chaunged from one lyne to an other.

Prodig
kens.

The Lordes of the Realme forgotte not the Dukes demaunde, and therfore to take ſome good direction therein, dyuerſe of them, as well of Spirituall Lordes, as Temporall, wyth many graue and ſage perſons of the Communaltie daylye aſſembled at the blacke Friers and other places, to treat and commen of this matter, being of ſo great importance.

During which time the Duke of Yorke, although he and the King were both lodged in the Palace of Weſtmynſter, yet would hee not for any prayers or requeſt made vnto him, once viſite or ſee the King, tyll ſome perfect concluſion were taken in thys greate and weightie matter, ſaying and affyrming, that he was ſubiect to no man, but onely to God, and hee was Lorde and ſuperiour and none other.

The King of Scottes partlye encouraged through the ciuill diſcorde here in England, and partly for the diſpleaſure which he had conceyued for the death of Edmonde Duke of Somerſet his mothers brother, this yere beſieged the Caſtell of Roxbourgh, and by the breaking of a Bombarde, as the ſame was ſhotte off agaynſt the Caſtell, hee chaunced to bee ſlaine. Yet the Scottes lefte not off theyr enterpryſe aſſaulting the Caſtell, tyll they gatte it, and then defended it a long tyme after, tyll Rycharde Duke of Gloceſter it conquered and deſtroyed.

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After long debating of the matter, with many arguments made, and deliberate conſultation had amongeſt the Peeres, Prelates, and Commons of the realme, vpon the vigill of all Saints, it was condiſcended and agreed by the three eſtates, for ſo much as King Henrie had beene taken as King by the ſpace of .xxxviij. yeares and more, that he ſhould enioy the name and title of King, and haue poſſeſſion of the Realme during his naturall lyfe.

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And if he eyther dyed, or reſigned, or forfeyted

ted the ſame for breaking or going agaynſt any poynt of thys concorde, then the ſayde Crowne and authoritie royall ſhould immediately bee deuolued, and come to the Duke of Yorke, if hee then lyued, or elſe to the next heyre of his lynage. And that the D. of York from thenceforth ſhould bee Protectour and Regent of the lande.

This agreement beeing put in Articles, was engroſſed, ſealed, and ſworne by the two parties, and alſo enacted in the highe Court of Parliament. For ioy whereof the King hauing in hys companie, the Duke of Yorke, roade to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule within the Citie of London, and there on the daye of all Saintes with the Crowne on hys heade, wente ſolemnly in Proceſſion, and was lodged a good ſpace after in the Biſhops Palace, neare to the ſayde Church.

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And vpon the Saterday next enſuyng, Rycharde Duke of Yorke was by ſound of Trumpet ſolemnely proclaymed heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Englande, and Protector of the Realme.

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After this, the Parliament kept at Couentrie the laſt yeare, was declared to bee a diueliſhe counſaile, and onely celebrate for the deſtruction of the Nobilitie, and no lawfull Parliament, bycauſe they which were returned, were neuer elected according to the due order of the lawe, but ſecretely named by them, which deſyred rather the deſtruction than the aduauncement of the common wealth.

When theſe agreementes were done and enacted, the King diſſolued his Parliament, whiche was the laſte Parliament that euer hee ended.

The Duke of Yorke well knowing that the Queene woulde ſpurne agaynſt the concluſions agreed vpon in this Parliament, cauſed both hirſelfe and hir ſonne to be ſent for by the King. But ſhe being a ſtout Dame, vſing to rule, and not to be ruled, and therto counſayled by the Dukes of Exceter, and Somerſet, not only denyed to come, but alſo aſſembled a greate army, entending to take the King by fine force oute of the Lordes handes.

The Protector being in London, and hauing perfite knowledge of all theſe doings, aſſigned the Duke of Norffolke, and the Earle of Warwike his truſtie friendes to be about the King, and hee with the Earles of Saliſburie and Rutlande, and a conuenient number of men, departed out of London the ſeconde day of December northward, and ſent to the Earle of Marche his eldeſt ſonne to followe him with all hys power. The Duke came to his Caſtell of Sandall beſide Wakefield on Chriſtmaſſe euen, and there beganne to aſſemble his tenaunts and friendes. The Queene being therof aſcerteyned, determined to cope with him ere his ſuccour were come. And ſo hauing in hir companie the Prince hir ſonne, the Dukes of Exceter, and Somerſet, the Earle of Deuonſhire, the Lorde Cliffor de, the Lorde Ros, and in effect all the Lordes of the North partes, wyth xviij. thouſande men (or as ſome write. xxij. thouſande) marched from Yorke to Wakefielde, and bad baſe to the Duke, euen before his Caſtell Gates. He hauing with him not fully fiue thouſande perſones, contrarie to the myndes of hys faythful Counſailers, would needes iſſue forth to fight with his enimies.

The Duke of Somerſet and other of the Queenes part, deuiſed how to take, theyr moſte aduauntage, and ſo appoynted the Lord Clifford to lie in one ſtale, and the Earle of Wilſhire in another, and the Duke with other kept the main battaile.

The battaile of Wakefelde.

The Duke of Yorke ſlayne.

The Duke of Yorke wyth his people diſcended downe the hill in good order and array, & was ſuffred to paſſe on towarde the maine battail: but when he was in the plaine field betwene his caſtel and the town of Wakefield, he was enuironed on euery ſide, like a fiſhe in a net, ſo that he manfully fighting was within halfe an houre ſlaine & dead

Only ſeuen C. Southern men ſaith Whethãſted.

and his whole armie diſcomfited: and with him dyed of his truſtie friends, his two baſtarde Vncles ſir Iohn, and ſir Hugh Mortimers, ſir Dauy Hall, ſir Hugh Haſtings, ſir Thomas Neuill, William, and Thomas Aparre, both brethren, and two thouſande and eyght hundred other, whereof many were yong Gentlemen, and heires of greate parentage in the South partes, whoſe lynages reuenged theyr deathes within foure Monethes next and immediately enſuing, as after ſhall appeare.

In this conflict was wounded and taken priſoner, Richarde Earle of Saliſburie, ſir Richarde Lymbricke, Raufe Stanley, Iohn Harow, captaine Hanſon, & diuerſe other. The Lord Clifford perceyuing where the Earle of Rutland was conueyed out of the fielde by one of his fathers chaplyns, and ſcholemaiſter to the ſame Earle, followed him, and ouertaking him, and vnderſtanding what he was, ſtabbed him to the heart with a dagger as he kneeled afore him.

The cruel murder of the yong Erle of Rutlād

This Earle was but a childe at that time of xij. yeares of age, but neither his tender yeares, nor his dolorous countenance which he ſhewed in holding vp both his handes, and crauing mercie and grace with his lamentable geſture (for hys ſpeache was gone for feare) coulde not plie the cruel heart of the Clifford to take pitie vpon him, ſo that hee was noted with great infamie, for that his vnmerciful act and murther made of that yong gentleman.

But the ſame Lorde Clifforde not ſatiſfied herewith, came to the place where the dead corpſe of the Duke of Yorke lay, and cauſed his heade to be ſtriken off, and ſet on it a Crowne of Paper, and ſo fixed it on a Poll, and preſented it to the Queene, not lying farre from the fielde, in greate diſpite and muche deriſion, at which preſent muche ioy, and great reioyſing was ſhewed: but they laughed then, that ſhortly after lamented, and were glad then of other mennes deathes, that knewe not theyr owne to bee ſo neare at hande.

Whethãſted.

Some write that the Duke was taken aliue, and in deriſion cauſed to ſtande vpon a Molehill, on whoſe heade they put a garlande in ſteade of a Crowne, which they had faſhioned and made of Segges, or Bulruſhes, and hauing ſo crowned him with that Garlande, they kneeled downe afore him as the Iewes did to Chriſte in ſcorne, ſaying to him, haile King without rule, hayle King without heritage, hayle Duke and Prince without people or poſſeſſions. And at length hauing thus ſcorned him with theſe and dyuerſe other the lyke deſpitefull wordes they ſtroke off his heade, whiche (as yee haue heard) they preſented to the Queene.

Many deemed that this miſerable end chaunced to the Duke of Yorke, as a due puniſhment for breaking his othe of allegiance to his ſoueraigne Lord king Henry: but other helde him diſcharged thereof, bycauſe he obteyned a diſpenſation from the Pope, by ſuch ſuggeſtion as his procurators made vnto him, whereby the ſame othe was adiudged voyd, as that which was receyued vnaduiſedly, to the preiudice of himſelfe, and diſinheriting of all his poſteritie.

Mark the diſpenſat

After this victorie obteyned thus by the Q. and hir part, the Earle of Saliſburie and all the priſoners were ſent to Pomfret, and there beheaded, whoſe heades togyther with the Duke of Yorkes head, were conueyed to Yorke, and there ſet on Polles ouer the gate of the Citie, in deſpite of them and their lynage.

The priſ beheade

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The Erle of Marche ſo commonly called, but now after the death of his father, in deede and in ryght verie Duke of Yorke, lying at Glouceſter was wonderfully amazed, when the ſorowfull newes of theſe miſhappes came vnto hym: but after comfort gyuen to him by hys faythfull louers and aſſured allyes, hee remoued to Shrewſburie, declaring to the Inhabitauntes of that towne, and to them of the other townes in thoſe partyes, the murther of his father, the ieopardie of himſelf, and the preſent ruine of the cōmon welth.

The people on the Marches of Wales, for the fauour which they bare to the Mortimers linage, more gladly offred him their ayde and aſſyſtance than he could deſire the ſame, ſo that hee had incontinently a puiſſaunt armye, to the number of xxiij. thouſand, ready to go againſt the Queene, and the murtherers of his father.

The Ear broke.

But when hee was ſetting forwarde, newes was brought to him, that Iaſper Earle of Pembroke, halfe brother to King Henrie, and Iames Butler Earle of Ormond and Wilſhire, had aſſembled togither a greate number of Welche and Iriſhe people, ſodainely to take and ſurpriſe him: he being herewith quickened, retyred backe and mette with his enimies in a fayre plaine, neare to Mortimers Croſſe, not farre from Hereford eaſt, on Candlemaſſe day in the morning, at whiche tyme the ſonne (as ſome wryte) appeared to the Earle of March like three Sunnes, and ſodainly ioyned altogither in one, vppon whiche ſight hee tooke ſuche courage, that he fiercely ſetting on his enimyes, put them to flight: and for this cauſe, menne ymagined, that he gaue the Sunne in his full bryghtneſſe for his Badge or cogniſaunce. Of his enimies were left dead on the groūd three thouſand, and viij. hundred. The Erles of Pembroke and Wilſhire fled, but ſir Owen Teuther, father to the ſayd erle of Pembroke, which Owē had maried K. Henries mother (as ye haue hearde before) with Dauid Floid, Morgā ap Reuther, & diuerſe other wer takē, and beheaded at Hereford.

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During this ſeaſon, the Queene encouraged with hir late gayned victorie, with a great multitude of Northerne people, marched towarde London, intending to vndoe all that which had bin ordeyned in the laſt Parliament.

These Northerne people, after they were once paſſed ouer the riuer of Trent, ſpoyled and waſted the Countrey afore them, in maner as if they had bin in the land of forayne enimies. At length, they approched to Saint Albons, & hearing that the Duke of Northfolke, and the Erle of Warwike, with other, whome the Duke of Yorke had left to gouerne the King in hys abſence, had by the Kings aſſent, aſſembled a great hoſt, and were encamped neere to that Towne. Thoſe Northerne Lordes and other that were with the Queene, made forwarde, and entring into Saint Albons, meante to paſſe through the Towne, and ſo to coape with their enimies, but finding a ſorte of archers raunged neere to the greate croſſe in the market place, to defend their paſſage, they were receyued with ſuche a ſtorme of arrowes which came flying about their eares as thicke as hayle, that they were quickly repulſed backe, and with loſſe, driuen to retire vnto the Weſt ende of the Towne, where by a lane that leadeth Northwards vp to Saint Peters ſtrete, they made their entrie, and had there alſo a ſharp encounter, againſt certayne bands of the kings people, but yet after greate ſlaughter on both partes, they gote through, and vppon the heathe that lyeth at the North ende of the towne, called Barnard heath, they had a farre greater conflict with foure or fiue thouſande of the Kyngs armie, that ſeemed as they had bin auaunt courers, whiche gaue the onſet ſo fiercely at the beginning, that the victorie reſted doubtfull a certaine time, ſo that if ye Eaſterne and Southerne men had continued as they began, the field had bin theirs, but after they had ſtoode to it a pretie while, and perceyued none of their fellowes from the great armie to come and aſſiſt them, they began to faint, and turning their backes, fledde amaine, ouer hedge and ditch, through thicke and thinne, woddes and buſhes, ſeeking ſo to eſcape the handes of their cruell enimies, that followed them with egre minds, to make ſlaughter vpon them, namely, the Northerne prickes, nowe in the chace purſued moſt hotely, and bare downe many, and more had done, if the night comming vppon, had not ſtayed the execution of their vnmercifull willes.

When the daye was nowe cloſed and darkened with the ſhadow of night, thoſe that were about the King, being in number a twentie thouſande perſons, hearing howe euill their fellowes had ſped, began vtterly to deſpaire of the victorie, and ſo fell without anye long tarriance, to running away, by reaſon whereof, the nobles that were about the King, perceyuing how the game went, and withall ſaw no comfort in the King, but rather a good will and affection towards the contrarie part, they withdrew alſo, leauing the King accompanyed with the Lord Bonneuille, and Sir Thomas Kiriell of Kent, which vpon aſſurance of the Kings promiſe, tarried ſtill with him, and fled not, but their truſt deceyued them, for at the Queenes departing from Saint Albons, they were both beheaded, though contrarie to the minde and promiſe of hir huſbande. Sir Thomas Thorp, Baron of the Eſchecker, was alſo beheaded the ſame day, at Highgate, by the commons of Kent.

Such was the fortune of this ſeconde battell foughte at Sainte Albons, vppon Shroue Tewesday, beeing the ſeuenteenth of Februarie, in which were ſlayne three and twentie hundred men, and not aboue, of whome, no noble man is remembred, ſaue Sir John Grey, whiche the ſame day was made knight, with twelue other, at the village of Colney.

1916. as Iohn Stow noteth, Sir Iohn Grey ſlayne.

Now after that the noble men and other were fled, and the king lefte in maner alone without any power of men to garde his perſon, hee was counſelled by an eſquyer called Thomas Hoo, a man wel languaged, and well ſeene in the lawes, to ſend ſome conuenient meſſenger to the Northern lordes, aduertiſing them that he wold now gladly come vnto them (whome he knew to bee his verie frendes, and had aſſembled themſelues togyther for his ſeruice, to the ende he might remaine with them, as before he had remained vnder the gouernment of the Southern lords. According to the aduice and counſel of this eſquier, the king thought it good ſo to ſende vnto them, and withall appointed the ſame eſquier to beare the meſſage, who firſte went & declared the ſame vnto the Erle of Northumberlande, and returning backe to the king, brought certayne lordes with him, who conueyed the King firſt vnto the Lorde Cliffords tent, that ſtoode next to ye place where the Kings people had encamped.

Thomas Hoo Eſquier, ſent to the Northerne Lords.

This done, they went and brought ye Queene and hir ſonne Prince Edwarde vnto his preſence, whome hee ioyfully receiued, embracing and kiſſing them in moſt louing wiſe, and yeelding hartie thankes to almightie God, whome it hadde pleaſed thus to ſtrengthen the forces of the Northerne men, to reſtore his deerely beloued and onely ſonne againe into his poſſeſſion.

Thus was the Queene fortunate in hir two battailes, but vnfortunate was the King in all his enterpriſes: for where his perſon was preſent, the victorie ſtill fledde from him to the contrary part.

Hall.

The Queene cauſed the King, to dubbe hir

Prince Edward made knight.

ſon pꝛince Edward Knight, with. 30. other perſons, which the day befoꝛe, fought on hir ſide againſt his part.

This don, they went to ẏ abbey, where of the abbot & Monks they were receiued, wͭ hymnes & ſongs, & ſo bꝛought to the high Altare, & after to the Shꝛyne, & ſo to the chamber in which the K. was wont to lodge. The Abbot made ſuite ẏ oꝛder might be taken to reſtrain the Noꝛthern men frō ſpoiling ẏ town, & pꝛoclamation in deed was made to ẏ effect, but it auailed not: foꝛ they mainteined, ẏ the ſpoile of things was granted thē by couenāt, after they were once paſſed ouer ẏ riuer of Trent: & ſo not regarding any pꝛoclamation oꝛ other cōmandement, they ſpared nothing that they could lay hāds vpon, if the ſame were mete foꝛ thē to carie & beare away. The Queene hauing thus got the victoꝛie, ſent to ẏ Maioꝛ of Lōdon, cōmanding him without delay to ſend certain carts laded with Lenton victuals foꝛ the refreſhing of hir & hir army. The Maioꝛ incōtinētly cauſed carts to be laded, & wold haue ſent thē foꝛward, but the cōmons of the citie would not ſuffer them to paſſe, but ſtayed them at Criplegate, notwithſtanding, the Maioꝛ did what hee could by gentle perſwaſions to quiet them.

The Northren men ſpoile the Towne of S. Albons.

The Queene ſendeth to the Maior of London for vittailes.

During which controuerſie, diuers of ẏ Noꝛtherne hoꝛſemen, came & robbed in the ſuburbes of ẏ Citie, & would haue entred at Criplegate, but they were repulſed by ẏ comoners, and thꝛee of thē ſlaine, wherevpō, the Maioꝛ ſent ẏ Recoꝛder to Barnet to ẏ kings counſel there, to excuſe the matter, & the Ducheſſe of Bedfoꝛd, the Lady Scales, wͭ diuers fathers of ẏ ſpiritualtie, wēt to ẏ Q. to aſwage hir diſpleaſure cōceiued againſt ẏ Citie. The Q. at their hūble requeſt by aduice of hir counſell, appointed certaine Loꝛdes and knights, with four C. tall perſons, to ride to the citie, & there to view & ſee the demeanoꝛ & diſpoſition of ẏ people: & diuers Aldermē were apointed to meete thē at Barnet, & to conuey thē to London. But what man purpoſeth, God diſpoſeth, foꝛ al theſe deuiſes were ſhoꝛtly altered into an other foꝛme, bicauſe true repoꝛt came not only to the Q. but alſo to the Citie, that the Earle of Marche, hauing vanquiſhed the Erles of Pēbꝛoke & Wilſhire, had met wͭ the Erle of Warwike (after this laſt battell at Sainte Albons) at Chipping Noꝛton by Cotſold, and that they wͭ both their powers, wer cōming toward Londō. The Q. hauing little truſt in Eſſex, and leſſe in Kente, but leaſt of all in London, with hir huſband & ſon, departed frō S. Albōs, into ẏ Noꝛth countrey, where the roote and foundation of hir aide and refuge only conſiſted.

The Q
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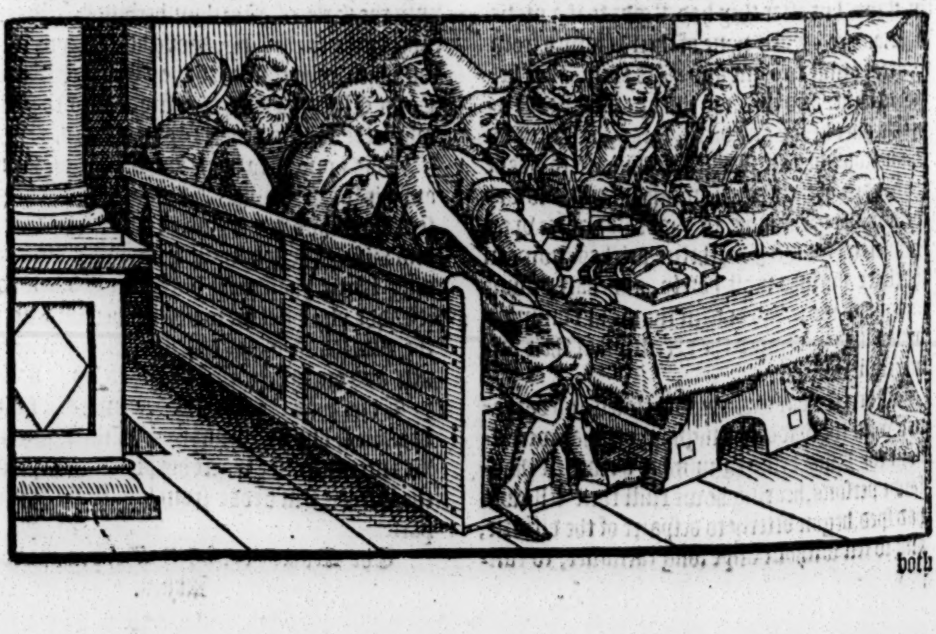
The Duches of Yoꝛke, ſeeing hir huſbande and ſonne ſlaine, and not knowing what ſhould ſucceede of hir eldeſt ſonnes chance, ſent hir two yonger ſonnes, Geoꝛge and Richard, ouer ẏ ſea, to the Citie of Utrecht in Almayne, where they were of Phillip Duke of Burgoine well receyued, and ſo remayned there, till their bꝛother Edward had gote the Crowne, and gouernemēt of the Realme.

The Earles of Marche and Warwike, hauing perfect knowledge that the King and Q. with their adherents, were departed from Saint Albons, rode ſtraight to London, entring there with a great number of men of warre, the firſte weeke of Lent, whoſe comming thither was no ſooner knowen, but that the people reſoꝛted out of Kent, Eſſex, and other the counties adioyning, in great numbers, to ſee, aide, and comfoꝛt this luſtie Pꝛince, and flower of chiualrie, in whome, the hope of their ioy, and truſt of theyꝛ quietneſſe only conſiſted.

This pꝛudent yong Pꝛince, minding to take time when time ſerued, called a great Counſell,



both of the Lords ſpirituall and temporall, and to them repeated the title and right that hee had to the Crowne, rehearſing alſo the articles concluded betwixte King Henrie and his father, by their writings ſigned and ſealed, and alſo confirmed by acte of Parliament, the breaches whereof, he neither forgate, nor left vndeclared.

After the Lordes had conſidered of this matter, they determined by authoritie of the ſayde Counſell, that bycauſe King Henry hadde done contrarie to the ordinances in the laſt Parliament concluded, and was inſufficient of hymſelfe to rule the Realme, hee was therefore depriued of all kingly honor, and regall ſoueraignetie, & incontinently, was Edward Earle of March, ſonne and heire to Richarde Duke of Yorke, by the Lords in the ſaid Counſel aſſembled, named, elected, and admitted for King and gouernoure of the Realme, on whiche day, the people of the Earles parte, beeing in their muſter in Sainte Iohns field, and a great number of the ſubſtanciall Citizens there aſſembled, to beholde theyr order, ſuddainely the Lorde Fawcombridge, whiche tooke the muſters, wiſely declared to the people, yͤ offences and breaches of the late agreemente, committed, ſuffered, and done, by Kyng Henrye the ſixth, and demaunded of the people, whether they would haue the ſaid King Henry, to rule & reigne any longer ouer them, to whome they with whole voice aunſwered, nay, nay. Then he aſked them, if they woulde ſerue, loue, honor, and obey the Earle of Marche, as theyr earthly prince and ſoueraigne Lorde, to whyche queſtion they aunſwered, yea, yea, crying Kyng Edwarde, with manye greate ſhoutes and clapping of hands.

The Q
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The Lordes were ſhortly aduertiſed of the louing conſente whiche the commons frankely and freely of their owne free willes had gyuen, whereupon incontinently, they all with a conuenient number of the moſt ſubſtanciall commons, repayred to Baynards Caſtell, makyng iuſt and true reporte of their election and admiſſion, and the louing aſſent of the commons.

The Earle after long pauſing, firſt thanked God of his greate grace, and benefite then towards him ſhewed, and the Lords and cōmons alſo for their hartie fauoure, and aſſured fidelitie: notwithſtanding, like a wiſe Prince, he alledged his inſufficiencie for ſo great a roomth, & weightie burthen, as lacke of knowledge, want of experience, and diuers other qualities to a gouernour appertaining, but yet in concluſion, beyng perſwaded by the Archbyſhop of Caunterburie, the Byſhoppe of Exeter, and other Lordes then preſente, hee agreed to their petition, and tooke vpon him the charge of the Kingdome, as forfeited to him by breache of couenauntes, eſtabliſhed in Parliamente, on the behalfe of Kyng Henry.

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King.

But now before we proceede any further, ſith the raigne of King Henrye may ſeeme heere to take ende, we will ſpecifie ſome ſuch learned mē as liued in his time. Iohn Leland, ſurnamed the elder (in reſpect of the other Iohn Leland, that paynefull antiquarie of our time) wrote dyuers treatiſes, for the inſtruction of Grammarians: Iohn Haynton, a Carmelite or white Frier (as they called them) of Lincolne: Roberte Colman, a Franciſcane Frier of Norwich, and Chancellor of the Vniuerſitie of Oxford: Williā White a Prieſt of Kent, profeſſing yͤ doctrine of Wickliffe, and forſaking the order of the Romayne Churche, married a wife, but continued his office of Preaching, till at length, in the yeare. 1428. he was apprehended, and by William, B. of Norwiche, and the Doctors of the Friers Mendicantes, charged with thirtie articles, which he mayntayned, contrarie to the doctrine of the Romane Church then in vſe, and in September, the ſame yeare, ſuffered death by fire: Alexander Carpenter, a learned man, ſet forthe a Booke called *Deſtructorium vitiorum*, wherin he enueygheth againſt the Prelates of the Churche of that time, for their crueltie vſed, in perſecuting the poore and godly Chriſtians: Richarde Kendale, an excellente Gramarian: Iohn Bate, Warden of the white Friers in Yorke, but borne in the borders of Wales, an excellent Philoſopher, and a diuine, he was alſo ſeene in yͤ Greeke tong, a thing rare in thoſe dayes: Peter Baſſet, Eſquier of the priuie chamber to King Henrye the fifth, whoſe life he wrote: Iohn Pole a prieſt, that wrote the life of S. Walburgh, daughter to one Richard, a noble man of this Realme of Englande, whiche Walburg as hee affirmeth, builded our Lady Churche in Andwerp: Thomas Iſmaelite, a Monke of Sion: Walter Hilton, a Chartreaux Monke alſo of Sheene, eyther of theſe wrote certaine treatiſes full of ſuperſtition, as Iohn Bale noteth: Tho. Walden ſo called of the Towne where he was borne, but his fathers ſurname was Netter, a white Frier of London, and the three and twentith prouinciall gouernour of his order, a man vndoubtedly learned, and throughly furniſhed with cunning of the Scholes, but a ſore enimie to them yͤ profeſſed the doctrine of Wickliffe, writing ſundrye greate volumes and treatiſes againſte them: hee dyed at Rouen in Normandie, the ſeconde of Nouember, in the yere. 1430. Richard Vllerſton, borne in Lancaſhire, wrote diuers treatiſes of Diuinitie: Peter Clearke, a ſtudent in Oxforde, and a defender of Wickliffes doctrine, wherevpō, when he feared perſecution heere in England, he fled into Boheme, but yet at length, he was apprehended, *Fabian and Caxton.*

prehended by the Imperialiſtes, and dyed for it, as ſome write, but in what order, is not expreſſed: Roberte Howndeſlow, a religious man of an houſe in Howndeſlow beſide London, whereof he toke his ſurname: Thomas Walſinghã, borne in Northfolke, in a Towne there of the ſame name, but profeſſed a Monke in the Abbey of Sainte Albons, a diligente hiſtoricien: John Tilney, a white Frier of Yermouth, but a ſtudent in Cambridge, and proued an excellent diuine: Richarde Fleming, a Doctor of diuinitie, profeſſed in Oxford, and by the King aduanced to the gouernement of the Biſhopricke of Lincolne: he founded Lincolne colledge in Oxford, in which Vniuerſitie, he had bin ſtudente: John Lowe, borne in Worceſterſhire, an Auguſtine Frier, a Doctor of diuinitie, and prouinciall in England of his order, and by King Henry the ſixth, made firſte Biſhop of Saint Aſaph, and after remoued from thence to Rocheſter: Thomas Kingſtede the yonger, not the ſame yͭ was Byſhop, but a doctor of the lawe, and Vicar of Mildenhall in Suffolke, a notable preacher, and wrote diuers treatiſes: John Felton, a doctor of Diuinitie of Magdalene Colledge in Oxforde: Nicholas Botleſham, a Carmelite Frier borne in Cambridgeſhire, and ſtudent firſte in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and after in Paris, where he proceeded Doctor of Diuinitie: Thomas Rudburne, a Monke of Wincheſter, and an Hiſtoriographer: John Holbroke, borne in Surrey, a greate Philoſopher, and well ſeene in the Mathematikes: Peter Paine, an earneſt profeſſor of Wiclifes doctrine, and fearing perſecution heere in England, fled into Boheme, where he remained in great eſtimation for his greate learning and no leſſe wiſedome: Nicholas Vpton, a Ciuilian, wrote of Heraldry, of colours in armorie, and of the ductie of chiualrie: William Beckley, a Carmelite Frier of Sandwich, and warden of the houſe there, a diuine, and profeſſed degree of Schole in Cambridge: John Tory, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche: John Capgraue, borne in Kent, an Auguſtine Frier, proceeded Doctor of diuinitie in Oxforde, was admitted prouinciall of his order, and proued without controuerſie, the beſt learned of anye of that order of Friers heere in England, as John Bale affirmeth: hee wrote manye notable volumes, and finally, departed this life at Lynne in Northfolke, the twelfth of Auguſt, in the yere 1464. which was in the fourth yeare of K. Edward the fourth: Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, Earle of Pembroke, and Lorde Chamberlaine of Englande, alſo protector of the Realme, during the minoritie of his nephew King Henrye the ſixth, was both a greate fauourer of learned men, and alſo very well learned himſelfe, namely in Aſtrologie, whereof beſide other things, hee wrote a ſpeciall treatiſe, entituled, *Tabula directionum*: John Whethamſted, otherwiſe called *Frumentarius*, was Abbot of Sainte Albons, and highly in fauoure with the good Duke of Glouceſter laſt remẽbred, hee wrote diuers treatiſes, and among other, a booke as it were of records of things, chancing whileſt he was Abbot, whiche booke I haue ſeene, and partly in ſome parcell of this Kings time, haue alſo followed: Roger Onley, borne in the Weſt countrey (as Bale thinketh) was accuſed of treaſon, for practiſing with the Ladye Eleanor Cobham, by ſorcerie, to make the King away, and was thereof condemned, and dyed for it, though he were innocent therof, as ſome haue thought, he wrote a treatiſe, entituled, *Contra vulgi ſuperſtitiones*, alſo an other *De ſua innocentia*: Nicholas Cantlow, a Welchman borne, diſcended of an auncient family in Southwales, as by Bale it ſhould appeare, became a Frier Carmelite in Briſtow: Henry Wichinghã, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche, a notable diuine, a greate Preacher, and wrote alſo ſundrie treatiſes of diuinitie: John Lidgate, a Monke of Burie, an excellente Poet, and chiefe in his time in that facultie, of al other that practiſed the ſame within this land, he trauelled through Fraunce and Italy to learne the languages and ſciences, how greatly he profited in atteyning to knowledge, the workes whyche he wrote, doe ſufficiently teſtifie: Nicholas Hoſtreſham, an excellent Phiſition: John Blackney, a religious man, of the order of the Trinitie, entituled, *De redemptione captiuorum*, and Prior of an houſe of the ſame order, at Ingham in Northfolke, he was ſurnamed Blackney, of the towne where he was borne: Thomas Beckington, Biſhop of Bathe, wrote againſte the lawe Salique, whereby the Frenchmen woulde ſeclude the Princes of this Realme, from theyr title to the Crowne of Fraunce: John Baringhã, a Carmelite Frier of Ippeſwich or Gippeſwiche in Suffolke: Dauid Boys, borne in Wales, and a Frier Carmelite, profeſſed in Glouceſter, a doctor of diuinitie: John Brome, an Auguſtine Frier: Michael Trigurie, a Corniſhe man borne, whome for his excellencie in learning, K. Henry the fifth appointed to be maſter or gouernoure, whether ye liſt to call him, of that ſchole or Vniuerſitie, which he inſtituted in the Citie of Caen in Normandie, after hee had broughte it vnder his ſubiection: John Amundiſham, a Monke of Sainte Albons: Oſwalde Anglicus, a Monke of yͤ Chartreux order: John Keningale, a Carmelite Frier of Norwiche: Peter *de ſancta fide* that is, of Sainte Faith, a Carmelite alſo of Norwiche: Reginalde Pecocke, Biſhop of Chicheſter, of whome yee haue heard before, he was borne in Wales, and Student in Oriall Colledge in Oxforde, where hee proceeded doctor of Diuinitie, hee wrote manye treatiſes touching the Chriſtian religion: John ſurnamed Burie of the towne where hee was borne, an Auguſtine Frier in the Towne of Clare in Suffolke: Robert Fleming: Thomas Gaſcoigne, borne at Hunſfleete in Yorkſhire, of that worſhipfull familie of yͤ Gaſcoignes there, a Doctor of Diuinitie, and Chancellor of the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde: William Stapilhart, borne in Kente, but by profeſſion, a white Frier in London: Robert Fumingh ā borne in Northfolke, a Franciſcane Frier in Norwich: Nicholas Mōtacute, an Hiſtoriographer: John Chādler, Chancellor of Welles: William Botoner, diſcended of a good houſe, a Knight by degree, and borne in Briſtowe, very ſtudious in antiquities, and other ſciences: John Stowe, a Monke of Norwiche, but Student in Oxeford, where he proceeded doctor of Diuinitie: Thomas Langley, a Monke of Hulme: Nicholas Bungey, borne in a Towne of Northfolke of that name, wrote an hiſtorie, called *Adunationes chronicorum*: Henrye Beauford Biſhoppe of Wincheſter, baſe ſonne to John Duke of Lancaſter, of whome before we haue made ſufficient mention: hee was aduanced to the dignitie of Cardinall, by Pope Martine the fourth, in the yeare. 1426. Adam Homlington, a Carmelite Frier: William Coppinger, maſter of the Uniuerſitie of Oxford: Thomas Stacie, an experte Mathematicien, and no leſſe ſkilfull in Aſtronomie: John Talaugerne, a Monke of Worceſter: William Sutton, an Aſtrologicien: Robert Balſacke, wrote a booke entitled *De re militari*, that is to ſaye, of warre or cheualrie, ſo that as is thoughte, hee was both a good ſouldier, and a painefull ſtudent of good letters: Thomas Dādo, a Carmelite Frier of Marleburg, hee wrote the life of Alphred Kyng of Weſt Saxons: William Grey, borne of the noble houſe of the Greys of Codnor: hee wente to atteyne to ſome excellencie of learning into Italy, where hee hearde that noble Clearke Guarinus Ueronenſis reede in Ferrara: hee was preferred to the Biſhopricke of Elie, in the yeare. 1454. by Pope Nicholas the fifth, when Thomas Burchier was tranſlated from thence to Caunterburie: John Kemp, Archbiſhop of York, and after remoued from thence to Caunterbury, as before yee haue heard: hee was made Cardinall of Saint Albine, by Pope Eugenie the fourth: Adam Molins or Milner (as Bale calleth hym) keeper of the Kinges priuie Seale, excellently learned, in time of the ciuill warre betwixt King Henry, and the Duke of Yorke, loſt his head as many other did, in time of thoſe helliſhe tragedies, God deliuer euerye Chriſtian Realme from the like: Thomas Chillenden, a Doctor, both of the lawe Ciuill and Canon, became at length a Monke in Canterburie: Roberte Bale, ſurnamed the elder, excellently learned in the lawes of the Realme, was aduanced to the office of Recorder of London, gathered as it were a Chronicle of the cuſtomes, lawes, foundatiōs, changes, reſtoring Magiſtrates, offices, orders, and publique aſſemblies of the Citie of London, with other matters, touching the perfect deſcription of the ſame Citie: he wrote other works alſo touching the ſtate of the ſame citie, and the actes of King Edwarde the thirde, hee departed this life in the yeare of our Lorde. 1461. euen about the beginning of the raigne of King Edward the fourth, vnto whome we will nowe agayne returne.

An. reg. 1.
Edward the. iiij.

AFTER that thys noble Prince Edward Erle of March had conſented to take vpō him yͤ gouernemente of thys Kingdome of Englande, through perſwaſion of the Prelates, and other of the nobilitie, as before ye haue hearde:the morow next enſuing, being the fourth of March, he rode to the Church of Saint Paule, and there offered : and after *Te Deum* ſong, with greate ſolemnitie hee was conueyd to Weſtminſter, and there ſet in the hall, with the Scepter royal in his hand, where to all the people there in great number aſſembled, his title and clayme to the Crowne of England, was declared two maner of wayes, the firſt, as ſonne and heire to Duke Richard hys father, right inheritor to the ſame : the ſecond, by authoritie of Parliament; and forfeiture committed by King Henry. Whereupon, it was agayne demaunded of the commons, if they woulde admitte, and take the ſayde Earle, as their Prince, and ſoueraigne Lord, whiche all with one voyce cryed, yea, yea.

The Earle of Marche taketh vpon him as King.

His title declared.

This agreement then being thus concluded, he entred into Weſtminſter Churche vnder a Canapie, with ſolemne proceſſion, and there as king offered, and herewith, taking the homages of all the nobles there preſent, hee returned by water to London, and was lodged in the Biſhops palais, and on the morow after, he was proclaymed K. by the name of Edwarde the fourth, throughout the Citie.

He is proclaymed King.

This was in the yeare of the world. 5427. and after the birth of our ſauiour. 1461. after our accompt, beginning the yeare at Chriſtmas, but after the vſuall accompt of the Church of England 1460. about the twentith of the Emperor Frederike the thirde, the nine and thirtith and laſt of Charles the ſeuenth King of Fraunce, and fyrſte yeare of the raigne of James the thirde, King of Scottes.

Whileſt theſe things wer adoing in yͤ South partes, King Henry beeing in the North Countrey, aſſembled a great armie, truſting with little payne and ſmall loſſe, to ſubdue the reſidue of hys enimies, namely, ſith their chiefe ringleader the Duke of Yorke was ſlaine, and diſpatched out of the way, but he was deceyued: for out of the dead ſtocke ſprang ſo mightie a branche, that by no meanes the ſame myght bee broken off, whiche was this Edwarde the fourthe, beeing ſo highly fauoured of the people, for hys greate liberalitie, clementie, vpright dealing, and courage, that aboue all other, hee was commended and praiſed to the very heauens : By reaſon whereof, men of all ages, and of euery degree, to hym dayly repaired, ſome offering themſelues, and their men to ieopard their liues with him, and other plentuouſly gaue him money to ſupporte his charges, and to maynetaine his warre: by which meanes, he gathered togither a puiſſant army, to the intente to deliuer battell to his enimies, and in one day to make an ende of all hys troubles.

When his army was ready, and all thinges prepared, he departed out of London the twelfth daye of Marche, and by eaſie iourneys, came to the Caſtell of Pomfret, wher he reſted, appointing the Lorde Fitz Walter to keepe the paſſage at Ferribridge, wyth a greate number of talle perſonages.

King Henry on the other parte, hauyng hys army in a readineſſe, committed the gouernance of the army to the Duke of Somerſet, the Earle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Cliffordе, as men deſiring to reuenge the death of their parentes, ſlayne at the fyrſte battayle of Sainct Albons.

Theſe Capitaines, leauing King Henry, hys wife, and ſon, for their moſte ſafegard within the Citie of Yorke, paſſed the riuer of Wharfe wyth all their power, intending to ſtop kyng Edward of his paſſage ouer the riuer of Ayre.

And for the better and more eaſye exploite of their purpoſe, the Lorde Cliffорde determined to make an aſſaye to ſuche as kepte the paſſage of Ferribridge, and ſo hee departed wyth hys light horſemen from the great army on the Saterday before Palmeſonday, and earely ere his enemies wer aware, gat the bridge, and ſlewe the keepers of the ſame, and all ſuche as woulde withſtande hym.

The Lord Fitz Walter hearing the noiſe, ſodainely roſe out of his bedde, and vnarmed, with a pollaxe in his hande, thinking that it had bin a fraye amongſt his men, came downe to appeaſe yͤ ſame, but ere he eyther began his tale, or knew what the matter ment, he was ſlaine, and with him the baſtard of Saliſbury, brother to the erle of Warwike, a valiant yong Gentleman, and of greate audacitie.

When the Earle of Warwicke was enformed hereof, like a man deſperate, hee mounted on his hackney, and came puffing and blowing to king Edward, ſaying, Sir, I pray God haue mercie of their ſoules, which in the beginning of your enterpriſe, haue loſt their liues, and bicauſe I ſee no ſuccours of the world, I remit the vengeance and puniſhment to God, our creator and redeemer, and with that alighted downe, & ſlewe his horſe with his ſworde, ſaying, lette him flee that will, for ſurely I will tarrie with him that will tarrie with me, and kiſſed the croſſe of hys ſword.

ie
wike.

King Edward perceyuing the courage of his truſtie friend the Earle of Warwike, made proclamation, that all men which were afrayde to fight, ſhould departe, and to all thoſe that tarried the battell, he promiſed great rewardes, with addition, that anye Soldiour whiche voluntarily woulde abyde, and afterwardes, either in, or before the fighte ſhould flee or turne his backe, that then hee that could kyl hym, ſhould haue a great rewarde, and double wages.

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After thys proclamation ended, the Lorde Fawcombridge, Sir Walter Blunt, Roberte Horne with the fore ward, paſſed yͤ riuer at Caſtelford, three miles from Ferribridge, intendyng to haue enuironed the Lord Clifford and his cōpanie, but they being thereof aduertiſed, departed in great haſt towarde King Henries armie, but they met with ſome that they looked not for, and were attrapped ere they were aware, for the Lord Clifford, either for heate or paine, putting off his gorget, ſuddainely with an arrow (as ſome ſay) without an head, was ſtriken into the throte, and immediately rendred his ſprite, and the Erle of Weſtmerlands brother, and all his companye almoſt, were there ſlayne, at a place called Dintingdale, not farre from Towton.

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gdale.

This ende had the Lord Clifford, which ſlew the Earle of Rutlande kneeling on his knees, whoſe yong ſon Thomas Clifford, was brought vp with a Sheppard in poore habite, and diſſimuled behauiour, euer in feare to publiſhe hys lignage and degree, till King Henry the ſeuenth obteyned the Crowne, by whome he was reſtored to his name and poſſeſſions.

When this conflict was ended at Ferribridge, the Lord Fawcombridge hauing the fore ward, bycauſe the Duke of Northfolke was fallen ſicke, valiantly vpon Palmeſonday in the twylight, ſet forth his army, and came to Saxton, where hee mighte apparantly behold the hoſt of his aduerſaries, which wer accompted threeſcore thouſand men, and thereof aduertiſed King Edward, whoſe whole armie amounted to eyghte and fortie thouſande ſixe hundred and threſcore perſons, which incontinently with the Earle of Warwike ſette forwarde, leauing the rereward vnder the gouernaunce of Sir John Wenlocke, Sir John Dinham, and other, and firſt of all, he made proclamation, that no priſoner ſhould bee taken, nor one enimie ſaued.

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An heuie proclamation.

So the ſame daye, about nine of the clocke, which was the nine and twentith day of March, being Palmeſonday, both the hoſtes approched in a faire playne fielde, betweene Towton, and Saxton.

Palme Sunday fielde.

When each parte perceyued other, they made a great ſhout, and at the ſame inſtant, there fell a ſmall ſleete or ſnowe, whiche by violence of the winde that blewe againſt them, was driuen into the faces of them whiche were of King Henries part, ſo that their ſighte was ſomewhat blemiſhed, and dimmed.

The Lorde Fawcombridge leadyng the fore warde (as is ſayde before) of Kyng Edwardes parte, cauſed euery archer vnder hys Standerte to ſhoote one flight (whiche before hee cauſed them to prouide) and then made them to ſtande ſtill.

The Northerne menne feeling the ſhotte, but by reaſon of the ſnowe, not well viewing the diſtaunce betweene them and their enimyes, lyke hardy menne, ſhotte their ſheafe arrowes as faſt as they myghte, but all theyr ſhotte was loſt, for they came not neere the Southerne men by threeſcore Taylors yardes.

When theyr ſhotte was almoſt ſpente, the Lorde Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his archers, whiche not onely ſhotte theyr whole ſheafes, but alſo gathered the arrowes of theyr enimies, and lette a greate parte flie agaynſte theyr fyrſte owners, and ſuffered a great ſorte of them to ſtande, which ſore troubled the legges of the Northerne menne, when the battell ioyned.

The Earle of Northumberlande and Andrew Trollop, which were chiefe Captaynes of Kyng Henries vawarde, ſeeyng theyr ſhotte not to preuaile, haſted forwarde to ioyne with theyr enimies, and the other part ſlacked not, to accompliſh their deſire.

The Earle of Northumberlande.

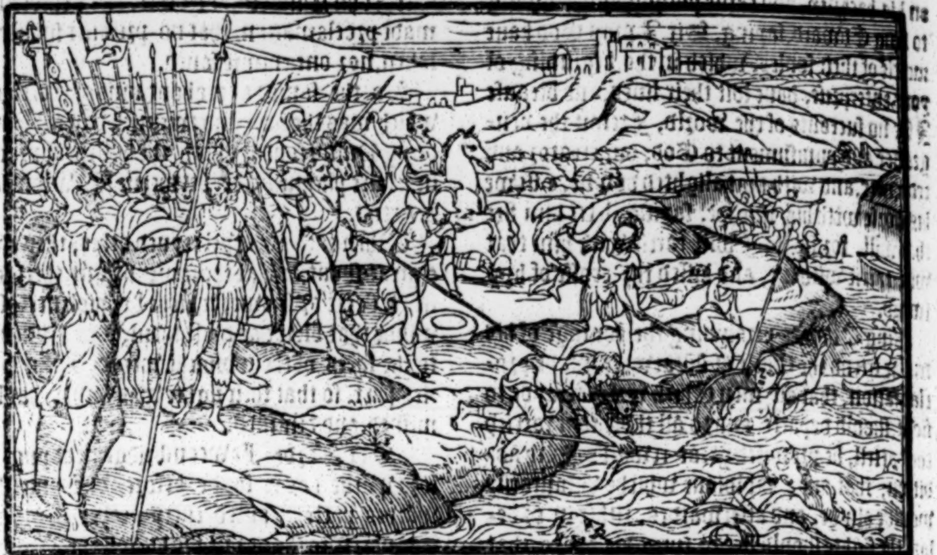
This battell was ſore foughten, for hope of life was ſet aſide on eyther parte, and takyng of priſoners proclaymed a great offence, by reaſon euery man determined to conquere, or to dye in the field. This deadly battell and bloudy conflict, continued tenne houres in doubtfull victorie, the one parte ſometime flowing, and ſometime ebbing: but in concluſion, King Edwarde ſo couragiouſly comforted his men, that the other part was diſcomfited, and ouercome, & like to men amazed, fled towarde Tadcaſter bridge to ſaue them ſelues, but in the meane way, there is a little broke called Cocke, not very broade,

The obſtina myndes of both partes.

Kyng Henries parte diſcomfited.

Cocke riuer

but of a greate deepeneſſe, in whiche, what for haſt to eſcape, and what for feare of followers, a greate number was drencht and drowned.



It was reported, that men aliue paſſed the riuer vpon dead carcaſſes, and that the greate riuer of Wharfe, whiche is the great ſewer of that brooke, and of all the water comming frō Towton, was couloured with bloud.

The chaſe continued all night, and the moſt parte of the nexte daye, and euer the Northerne men, as they ſawe anye aduantage, returned againe, and fought with their enimies, to yͤ greate loſſe of both partes. For in theſe two dayes were ſlaine (as they that knew it wrote) on both parts ſixe and thirtie thouſand ſeauen hundred threeſcore and ſixteene perſons, all Engliſhmen, and of one nation, whereof the chiefe were the Erles of Northumberlād and Weſtmerland, and the Lord Dakers, the Lord Welles, Sir John Neuill, Andrew Troloy, Robert Horne, and many other Knightes and Eſquiers, and the Earle of Deuonſhire was taken priſoner, but the Dukes of Somerſet and Exceſter fledde from the field, and ſaued themſelues.

The number ſlayne in battayle, of Saxton, otherwiſe called Palme ſunday fielde.

After this great victorie, King Edward rode to Yorke, where hee was with all ſolemnitie receiued, and firſt he cauſed the heads of his father, the Earle of Saliſburie, and other his friends, to bee taken from the gates, and to be buried with their bodies, and there hee cauſed the Earle of Deuonſhire, and three other, to be beheaded, and ſet their heads in the ſame place.

King Hēry, after he heard of the irrecouerable loſſe of his armye, departed incontinently with his wife and ſonne, to the Towne of Berwike, and leauing the Duke of Somerſet there, wente into Scotlande, and comming to the King of Scottes, required of him and his counſell, ayde, ſuccour, reliefe, and comfort.

King Henrye withdraweth to Berwike, & from thēce into Scotland.

The yong King of Scottes, lamenting the miſerable ſtate of King Henry, comforted hym with faire wordes and friendly promiſes, and aſſigned to him a competente pencion to liue on, during his abode in Scotland.

Kyng Henry in recompence of this curteſy and frendſhip ſhewed to him by the K. of Scottes, deliuered to the ſayd king the towne of Berwike.

After that the Scottiſhe king had gote poſſeſſion of this towne, hee faythefully ſupported the parte of king Henrye, and concluded a mariage betwixt his ſiſter, and the yong Prince of Wales, but yet the ſame mariage was neuer conſummate, as after ye ſhall heare.

When king Henry was ſomewhat ſettled in the realme of Scotlande, he ſente his wyfe and his ſonne into France to K. Reigner hir father, truſting by hys ayde and ſuccour to aſſemble an armie, and once agayne to poſſeſſe his Realme and former dignitie, and hee in the meane tyme determined to make his aboade in Scotlande, to ſee what waye his friendes in Englande would ſtudie for his reſtitution.

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The Queene beyng in Fraunce, did obteyne of the young Frenche king then Lewes the .xi. that all hir huſbandes friendes, and thoſe of the Lancaſtriall band, might ſafely and ſurely haue reſorte into any parte of the Realme of France, prohibityng all other of the contrarie faction any acceſſe, or repaire into that countrey.

Thus yee haue hearde, how King Henry the ſixth, after he had raigned eight and thirtie yeres and odde monethes, was expulſed and driuen out of this Realme, and now leauing him with the Princes of his faction, conſulting togither in Scotlande, and Queene Margaret his wife gathering of meanie in Fraunce, I will returne where I left, to proceede with the doings of king Edwarde.

This yong Prince hauing with proſperous ſucceſſe obteyned ſo glorious a victorie in the mortall battell at Towton, and chaſed all hys aduerſaries out of the Realme, or at the leaſt wayes put them to ſilence, returned, after yͤ maner and faſhion of a triumphant conqueror, with great pomp vnto London, where according to the olde cuſtome of the Realme, he called a great aſſemblie of perſons of all degrees, and the nyne and twentith daye of Iune, was at Weſtminſter with al ſolemnitie, crowned, & anoynted K.

In the which yeare, this King Edwarde called his high courte of Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the whiche, the ſtate of the Realme was greatly reformed, and all the Statutes made in Henry the ſixt his time (whiche touched eyther his title or profite) were reuoked.

In the ſame Paliament, the Erle of Oxford, farre ſtriken in age, and his ſonne and heire, the Lord Awbrey Veer, eyther through malice of theyr enimies, or for that they had offended the King, were both, with diuers of theyr counſellors, atteinted, and put to execution. which cauſed Iohn Earle of Oxforde, euer after to rebell.

There were alſo beheaded the ſame time, Sir Thomas Tudenham Knyghte, William Tirell, and Iohn Mongomerie Eſquiers, and after them diuers others.

Alſo after this, hee created his two yonger brethren Dukes, that is to ſaye, Lorde George Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richarde, Duke of Glouceſter, and the Lord Iohn Neuill, brother to Richarde Earle of Warwike, hee firſte made Lord Montacute, and afterwardes created hym Marques Montacute.

Beſide this, Henrye Bourchier, brother to Thomas Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie, was created Earle of Eſſex, and William Lorde Fawconbridge, was made Earle of Kent.

To this Henrye Lorde Bourchier, a man highly renowmed in martiall feates, Richarde Duke of Yorke, long before this time, had gyuen his ſiſter Elizabeth in marriage, of whome hee begate foure ſonnes, William, Thomas, Iohn, and Henrye, the whiche William, beeing a man of great induſtrie, witte, and prouidence, in graue and weightie matters, married the Lady Anne Woduile, diſcended of high parentage, whoſe mother Iaquet, was daughter to Peter of Luxenburgh, Earle of Sainte Paule, by the whyche Anne, hee had Lord Henry Earle of Eſſex, one Daughter, named Cicile, maried to Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and an other called Iſabell, which dyed vnmaried.

The Earle of Kente was appoynted about this time to keepe the Seas, being accompanyed with the Lord Audeley, the Lord Clinton, Sir Iohn Howard, Sir Richard Walgraue, and other, to the number of tenne thouſand, who landing in Britayne, wanne the Towne of Conquet, and the Iſle of Reth, and after returned.

An. reg. 2.

The Duke of Somerſet and other, ſubmit them to King Edwarde.

When all things were brought in order, and framed as Kyng Edwarde in manner coulde wiſhe, Henrye Duke of Somerſet, Sir Rauſe Percye, and diuers other, being in deſpaire of all good chance to happen vnto King Henrye, came humbly, and ſubmitted themſelues vnto Kyng Edward, whome he gently receyued.

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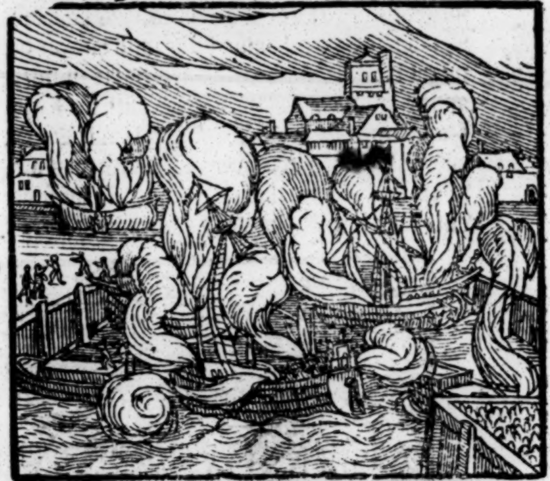
An. reg. 3.

The Queene retourneth forthe of Fraunce

All this ſeaſon, was King Henry in Scotland, and Queene Margaret being in Fraunce, found ſuch friendſhip at the French kings hands, that ſhe obteined a crew of fiue hundred Frenchmen, with whiche ſhee ariued in Scotlande, and after that ſhe hadde repoſed hir ſelfe a time, ſhee ſayled with hir gallante bande of thoſe ruffling Frenchmen, toward Newcaſtell, and landed at Tinmouth. but whether ſhee were afraid of hir owne ſhadowe, or that the Frenchmen caſt too many doubtes, the troth is, that the whole army returned to their Shippes, and a tempeſt roſe ſo ſuddaynely, that if ſhee had not taken a ſmall caruelle, and that with good ſpeede arriued at Berwike, ſhee hadde bin taken at that preſente tyme by hir aduerſaries. And although Fortune was ſo fauourable to hir, yet hir company with ſtormy blaſtes, was driuen on the ſhore before Banborough Caſtell, where they ſet their ſhips on fyre, and fledde to an Iſlelande called holy Iſleand, where they were ſo aſſailed by the baſterd Ogle, and an Eſquier, called Iohn Manners, with other of K. Edwardes friendes, that many of them were ſlayne, and almoſt four hũdred taken priſoners: but their Coronell Peter Breſſie, otherwiſe called Monſ. de Varenne, happened vpon a fiſherman, and ſo came to Berwike vnto Q. Margaret, who made him Captaine of the Caſtell of Alnewike, which he with his frenchmen kept, till they were reſcued.



Banborough Caſtell.

The Duke of Somerſet reuolteth.

Shortly after, Queene Margaret obteyned a great company of Scottes, & other of hir friẽds, and ſo bringing hir huſbande with hir, and leauing hir ſonne, called Prince Edward, in the towne of Berwike, entred Northumberlande, tooke the Caſtell of Banborough, and ſtuffed it with Scottiſhmen, and made thereof Captaine, Sir Raufe Grey, and came forwarde, towarde the Biſhopricke of Durham. When the Duke of Somerſet heard theſe newes, hee without delay reuolted from King Edwarde, and fledde to King Henry. So likewiſe did Sir Raufe Percie, and many other of the kings friẽds, but many moe followed King Henrye, in hope to get by the ſpoyle, for his army ſpoyled and brenned townes, & deſtroyed fields whereſoeuer he came. King Edwarde aduertiſed of all theſe things, prepared an army, both by ſea and land. Some of hys Shippes were rigged and vittailed at Linne, and ſome at Hull, and well furniſhed with ſoldiers, herewith were ſet forth to the ſea.

The Lorde Montacute.

Hegely More.

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Alſo, the Lorde Montacute, was ſent into Northumberlande, there to reyſe the people, to withſtand his enimies. And after this, the King in his proper perſon, acompanyed with his brethren, and a greate parte of the nobilitie of hys Realme, came to the Citie of Yorke, furniſhed with a mightie army, ſending a great part thereof, to the ayde of the Lord Montacute, leaſt peraduenture, he giuing too much confidence to the men of the Biſhopricke and Northumberlande, might through them be deceyued. The Lorde Montacute then hauing ſuche with him as hee might truſt, marched forth towards his enimies, and by the way, was encountred with the Lorde Hungerford, the Lord Roos, Sir Raufe Percy, and diuers other, at a place called Hegely more, where ſuddaynely, the ſaide Lordes in manner without ſtroke ſtriking, fled, and only ſir Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully ſlayne, with diuers other, ſaying, when he was dying, I haue ſaued the bird in my boſome, meaning, that he had kept his promiſe and oth made to K. Hẽry, forgetting belike, that hee in King Henries moſt neceſſitie abandoned hym, and ſubmitted him to king Edward, as before you haue heard.

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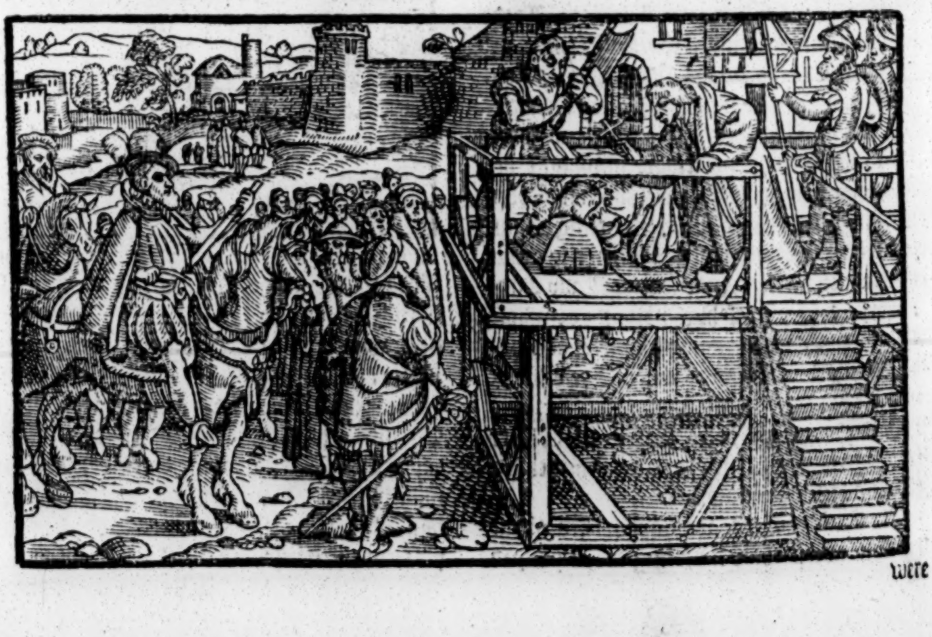
The Lorde Montacute ſeeing fortune thus proſperouſly leading his ſayle, aduanced forward, and learning by eſpials, that King Henry with his hoſt was encamped in a faire playne called Lyuels, on the water of Dowill in Exhamſhire, haſted thither, and manfully ſet on hys enimies in their owne campe, whiche like deſperate perſons, with no ſmal courage receiued him. There was a ſore foughten fielde, and long ere eyther parte could haue any aduãtage of yͤ other, but at length, the victorie fell to the Lord Montacute, who by fine force, entred the battell of his enimies, and conſtreyned them to flee, as deſpairing of all ſuccours. In whiche flighte and chaſe were taken Henrye Duke of Somerſet, whyche before was reconciled to Kyng Edwarde, the Lord Roos, the Lorde Molins, the Lord Hungerford, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir Thomas Huſey, Sir John Finderne, and manye other. King Henrie was a good horſeman that day, for he rode ſo faſt away, that no man might ouertake him, and yet hee was ſo neere purſued, that certaine of his Henxmen were taken, their horſes trapped in blew veluet, and one of them hadde on his head the ſayde Kyng Henries helmette, or rather (as maye bee thought) and as ſome ſaye, his highe cappe of eſtate, called Abococke, garniſhed with two riche crownes, which was preſented to king Edward at Yorke, the fourthe daye of May. The Duke of Somerſette was incontinentlye beheaded at Exham, the other Lordes and Knyghtes



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were had to Newcaſtell, and there after a little reſpite, were likewiſe put to death.

Beſide theſe, diuers other, to the number of fiue and twentie, were executed at Yorke, and in other places.

Sir Humfrey Neuill, and William Taylboys, calling hymſelfe Earle of Kyme, Sir Rauſe Grey, and Richard Tunſtall, with dyuers other, which eſcaped from this battel, hidde themſelues in ſecrete places, but yet they kepte not themſelues ſo cloſe, but that they were eſpyed, and taken. The Earle of Kyme was apprehended in Riddeſdale, and brought to Newcaſtell, and there beheaded. Sir Humfrey Neuill was taken in Holdernes, and at Yorke loſt his head. After this battell called Exam field, Kyng Edwarde came to the Citie of Dureſme, and ſent from thence into Northumberland, yͤ Erle of Warwike, the Lord Montacute, the Lordes Fawconbridge, and Scrope, to recouer ſuche Caſtels, as his enimies there held, and with force defended.

They firſt beſieged the Caſtell of Alnewike, whiche Sir Peers Breſſe, and the Frenchmen kepte, and in no wiſe woulde yeelde, ſendyng for ayde to the Scottes, wherevppon Sir George Douglas earle of Angus, wyth thirteene thouſande choſen men, in the daye tyme, came and reſcued the Frenchmen out of the Caſtell, the Engliſhmen looking on, which thought it much better to haue the Caſtell, without loſſe of theyr men, then to leeſe both the Caſtell, and theyr men, conſidering the greate power of Scottes, and their owne ſmall number, and ſo they entred the Caſtell, and manned it.

After this, they wanne the Caſtell of Dunſtanborough by force, and likewiſe the Caſtel of Bamborough.

Iohn Goys, ſeruant to the Duke of Somerſet, being taken within Dunſtanbourough, was brought to Yorke, and there beheaded, and Syr Rauſe Grey beeing taken in Bamborough, for that he had ſworne to be true to King Edward, was diſgraded of the high order of Knighthood at Doncaſter, by cutting off his gilt ſpurres, rēting his coate of armes, and breaking his ſword ouer his head: and finally, he was there beheaded for his manifeſt periurie. After this, King Edwarde returned to Yorke, where in deſpite of the Earle of Northumberlande, whiche then kepte himſelfe in the Realme of Scotland, he created Sir Iohn Neuill, Lorde Montacute, Earle of Northumberlande, and in reproofe of Iaſper Earle of Pembroke, he created William Lorde Herbert, Earle of the ſame place, but after when by mediation of friendes the Earle of Northumberland was reconciled to his fauoure, hee reſtored him to his poſſeſſions, name, and dignitie, and preferred the Lord Montacute, to the title of Marques Montacute, ſo that in degree, he was aboue his elder brother the Earle of Warwike, but in power, policie, and poſſeſſiōs, far meaner.

An. reg. 4.

King Edwarde, though all things myghte ſeeme nowe to reſt in good caſe, yet hee was not negligent, in making neceſſarie prouiſiō, againſt all attemptes of his aduerſarie King Henrye, and his partakers, and therefore reyſed Bulwarkes, and buylded fortreſſes on eache ſide of his Realme, where anye daunger was ſuſpected for the landing of any armie.

He cauſed alſo eſpials to be laide vpon yͤ marches, fore aneinſt Scotlande, that no perſon ſhoulde goe out of the Realme to King Henrie and his companie, whiche then ſoiourned in Scotland. But all the doubtes of trouble that might enſue by the meanes of K. Henries being at libertie, were ſhortly taken away and ended, for he himſelfe, whether he was paſt all feare, or that he was not wel eſtabliſhed in his wits and perfect minde, or for that he could not long keepe himſelfe ſecret in a diſguiſed apparell, boldly entred into England. He was no ſooner entred, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlow, and brought toward the King, whome the Earle of Warwike mette on the way by the kings commandement, & brought him through London to the Tower, and there he was layde in ſure hold.

King Henry taken.

Queene Margaret his wife, hearing of the captiuitie of hir huſband, miſtruſting the chance of hir ſonne, al deſolate and comfortleſſe departed out of Scotland, & ſailed into France where ſhe remayned with hir father Duke Reigner, tyll ſhe returned into Englande to hir harme, as after ye ſhal heare. The new D. of Somerſet, and his brother Iohn, ſailed into France, where they alſo liued in greate miſerie, till Duke Charles, bycauſe he was of their kinne, as diſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter by his mother, ſuccoured thē with a ſmall penſion, which was to thē a greate comfort. The Earle of Pembroke went from countrey to countrey, not alwayes at his hartes eaſe, nor in ſafetie of life.

The earle of Pembrooke.

King Edward being thus in more ſuretie of his life than before, diſtributed the poſſeſſions of ſuch as tooke part with King Henry the ſixt, to his ſouldiers and Captaines, whiche he thought had well deſerued: and beſide this, he lefte no other point of liberalitie vnſhewed, by the which he might allure to him the beneuolente mindes, and louing hartes of his people. And moreouer, to haue the loue of all men, hee ſhewed himſelfe more familiar both with the nobilitie, and communaltie than (as ſome men thought) was conueniente either for his eſtate, or for his honor, notwithſtanding the ſame liberalitie he euer after vſed.

The lawes of the Realme in parte hee reformed, and in part he newly augmented.

New coyne ſtamped.

The coyne both of golde and of ſiluer, whych yet at this day is, he newly deuiſed, and deuided, for the golde hee named royols and nobles, and the ſiluer he called grotes and halfe grotes.

After this, hee made Proclamation, that all perſons, which were adherēts to his aduerſaries parte, and woulde leaue their armour, and ſubmitte themſelues wholly to hys grace and mercie, ſhoulde bee cleerely pardoned and forgyuen.

By this kind of courteous dealing, he wanne him ſuch fauour of the people, that euer after, in all his warres, hee was through their aide and ſupport, a victor and conquerour.

When his Realme was thus brought into a good quiet eſtate, it was thought meete by hym and thoſe of his counſell, that a marriage were prouided for him in ſome conuenient place, and therefore was the Earle of Warwike ſente ouer into Fraunce, to demaunde the Lady Bona, daughter to Lewes Duke of Sauoy, and ſiſter to the Ladye Carlote, then Queene of France, which Bona was then in the French Courte.

The Earle of Warwike ſent into Fraunce about a mariage.

The Earle of Warwike commyng to the Frenche King, as then lying at Tours, was of him honorably receyued, and righte courteouſly enterteyned. His meſſage was ſo well liked, and his requeſt thoughte ſo honorable for the aduancemente of the Lady Bona, that hir ſiſter Queene Carlote obteyned both the good will of the Kyng hyr huſbande, and alſo of hir ſiſter the foreſayde Lady, ſo that the matrimonie on that ſide was cleerely aſſented to, and the Earle of Dampmartine, appoynted with other, to ſayle into Englande, for the full finiſhyng of the ſame.

But heere conſider the olde prouerbe to bee true, whyche ſayeth, that mariage goeth by deſtinie.

For during the tyme that the Earle of Warwike was thus in Fraunce, and according to his inſtructions, brought the effect of his commiſſion to paſſe, the king beyng on huntyng in yͤ Forreſt of Wychwood beſide Stony Stratford, came for his recreation to the Manor of Grafton, where the Ducheſſe of Bedforde then ſoiorned, wyfe to ſir Richard Woodvile Lord Riuers, on whome was then attendaunt a daughter of hirs, called the Lady Elizabeth Gray, widowe of ſir John Gray knyght, ſlayne at the laſt batayle of Saint Albons, as before you haue heard.

The Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Thys widdowe hauing a ſuite to the Kyng for ſuche landes as hir huſbande had giuen hir in ioynture, ſo kindled the Kings affection towards hir, that he not only fauoured hir ſuite, but more hir perſon, for ſhe was a woman of a more formall countenance than of excellent beautie, and yet both of ſuche beautie and fauor, that with hir ſober demeanour, ſweete lookes, and comely ſmyling, (neither too wanton, nor to baſhfull) beſide hir pleaſant tongue and trimme wit, ſhe ſo allured and made ſubiect vnto hir the hearte of that great Prince, that after ſhe had denyed hym to be his paramour, with ſo good maner, and wordes ſo well ſet as the better coulde not be deuiſed, hee finally reſolued with himſelfe to marrie hir, not aſking counſell of any man, till they might perceyue it was no boote to aduiſe him to the cōtrarie of that his concluded purpoſe: But yet the Ducheſſe of Yorke his mother letted it as much as in hir laye: and when all woulde not ſerue, ſhee cauſed a precontracte to bee alledged, made by hym wyth the Ladie Elizabeth Lucye. But all doubtes reſolued, all things made cleere, and all cauillations auoyded, priuily in a morning, he marryed the ſayde Ladye Elizabeth Graye at Grafton aforeſayde, where hee firſt beganne to fanſye hir.

And in the next yere after ſhe was with great ſolemnitie crowned Queene at Weſtminſter. Hir father alſo was created Earle Riuers, and made high Coneſtable of Englande: hir brother Lorde Anthonie was marryed to the ſole heyre of Thomas lorde Scales: Sir Thomas Graye ſonne to ſir John Greye the Queenes firſt huſbande, was created Marques Dorſet, and married to Cicelie heire to the Lorde Bonuille.

The Frenche king was not well pleaſed to be thus dalyed with, but hee ſhortely to appeaſe the grief of his wyfe and hir ſiſter the Ladye Bona, maried the ſaid lady Bona to the Duke of Millane.

Now when the erle of Warwike had knowledge by letters ſent to him out of England from his truſtie friends, that king Edward had gotten him a new wyfe, he was not a little troubled in his mynde, for that as hee tooke it, his credence thereby was greatly miniſhed, and his honour much ſtayned, namely in the courte of Fraunce, for that it myght be iudged, he came rather lyke an eſpyall, to moue a thyng neuer mynded, and to treat a mariage determined before not to take effect. Surely he thought hymſelf euill vſed, that when he had brought the matter to his purpoſed intente and wiſhed concluſion, then to haue it quayle on his parte, ſo as all men mighte thinke at the leaſte wyſe, that his Prince made ſmall accompte of hym, to ſend him on ſuch a ſleeueleſſe errand.

All men for the moſte parte, agree that this mariage was the onely cauſe, why the Earle of Warwike conceyued an hatred agaynſte Kyng

Edwarde, whome hee ſo muche before fauoured.

Other affirme other cauſes, and one ſpecially, for that King Edwarde did attempte a thing once in the Earles houſe, whiche was muche againſt the Earles honeſtie (whether hee woulde haue defloured his daughter or his neece, the certaintie was not for both their honors openly reuealed) for ſurely, ſuche a thing was attempted by King Edwarde, whyche loued well, both to beholde, and ſo feele faire Damoſels: but whether the iniurie that the Earle thought hee receyued at the Kings handes, or the diſdeyne of authoritie that the Earle had vnder the King, was the cauſe of the breach of amitie betwixt them: troth it is, that the priuie intentions of their heartes, brake into ſo many ſmall peeces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them againe, during their naturall lyues. But though the Earle of Warwike was earneſtly inflamed againſt the King, for that hee had thus married himſelfe without his knowledge, hauing regard onely to the ſatiſfying of his wanton appetite, more than to his honor, or ſuretie of his eſtate, he did yet ſo diſſimule the matter at his returne into Englande, as though hee had not vnderſtoode any thing thereof, but only declared what he had done, with ſuch reuerence, and ſhewe of friendly countenance, as hee hadde bin accuſtomed: and when hee hadde tarried in the Court a certayne ſpace, he obteyned licence of the King, to depart to his Caſtell of Warwike, meaning whẽ time ſerued, to vtter to the worlde, that whych he then kept ſecrete, that is to ſaye, hys inward grudge, whiche hee bare towardes the Kyng, with deſire of reuenge, to the vttermoſt of hys power.

Neuertheleſſe, at that tyme hee departed to the outewarde ſhewe, ſo farre in the Kynges fauoure, that manye Gentlemen of the Courte for honour ſake gladly accompanyed hym into his countrey.

This yere alſo, the kings daughter, the Lady Elizabeth, after wife to Kyng the ſeauenth was borne, Kyng Edwarde concluded an ametie and league with Henrye King of Caſtill, and John King of Aragon, at the concluding whereof, hee graunted licence for certayne Cotteſolde Sheepe, to be tranſported into the Countrey of Spayne (as people reporte) whych haue there ſo multiplyed and increaſed, that it hath turned the commoditie of England, much to the Spaniſhe profite.

Beſide thys, to haue an amitie with his next neighbor the King of Scottes, hee winked at the loſſe of Berwike, and was contented to take a truce for fifteene yeares.

Thus King Edwarde, though for refuſall of the Frenche Kings ſiſter in law, wanne him enimies in Fraunce, yet in other places hee procured him friendes, but thoſe friendes had ſtande hym in ſmall ſteede, if Fortune hadde not holpe hym to an other, euen at hys elbowe.

This was Charles Earle of Charoloys, ſonne and heire apparant vnto Philippe Duke of Burgongne, whiche Charles beeyng then a widdower, was counſelled to bee a ſuter vnto Kyng Edwarde, for to haue in marriage the Lady Margaret, ſiſter to the ſame Kyng, a Lady of excellent beautie, and endowed with ſo many worthy giftes of nature, grace, and fortune, that ſhee was thought not vnworthy, to matche with the greateſt Prince of the worlde.

1467
An. reg. 7.
The baſterd of Burgoigne ambaſſador into Englande.

The Lorde Anthonie baſterde, brother to the ſayde Earle Charoloys, commonly called the baſterd of Burgoigne, a man of great wit, courage, and baliantneſſe, was appoynted by hys father Duke Phillip, to goe into Englande in Ambaſſade, about this ſute, who being furniſhed of plate and apparell, neceſſarie for his eſtate, hauing in his companie Gentlemen, and other expert in al feates of cheualrie and martiall proweſſe, to the number of foure hundred horſes, tooke hys Shippe, and arriued in Englande, where he was of the King and nobles honorably receyued.

Thys meſſage beeyng declared, yee maye be ſure the ſame was ioyfully hearde of the Kyng and hys counſayle, the whiche by that affinitie, ſawe howe they myghte bee aſſured of a buckler agaynſte Fraunce: but yet the Earle of Warwike, bearyng hys hartie fauoure vnto the french King, did as muche as in hym lay by euill reportes, to hynder thys marriage: but this notwithſtandyng, at length, the Kyng graunted to the baſterdes requeſt, and the ſayde baſterde openly in the Kyngs greate chamber contracted the ſayde Ladye Margaret, for , and in the name of hys brother the ſayde Earle of Charroloys.

Iuſtes betwixt the baſtarde of Burgongne & the lord Scales

After thys marriage thus concluded, the baſterde chalenged the Lorde Scales, brother to the Queene, a man both egall in hart and valiantneſſe with the baſterde, to fighte with hym both on horſebacke, and on foote, whyche demaunde, the Lorde Scales gladlye accepted.

The Kyng cauſing lyſtes to bee prepared in Weſt Smythfielde for theſe champions, and very faire and coſtly galeries for the Ladyes, was preſente at thys martiall enterpriſe hymſelfe.

The firſte daye, they ranne togyther diuers courſes with ſharp ſpeares, and departed with egall honour.

The nexte daye, they tourneyd on horſebacke.

The Lorde Scales horſe had on his chafron a long ſharp pike of ſteele, and as the two champions coaped togither, the ſame horſe (whether through cuſtome or by chance) thruſt his pike into the noſethrilles of the baſterdes horſe, ſo that for very payne, he mounted ſo high, that hee fell on the one ſide with his maiſter, and the Lorde Scales rode roũd about him, wͭ his ſworde in his hand, till the King commaunded the Marſhall to help vp the baſterd, which openly ſaid, I cannot hold me by the clowdes, for though my horſe faileth me, ſurely I will not faile my contercompanyon. The Kyng would not ſuffer them to do any more that day.

The morowe after, the two noble men came into the fielde on foote, with two polaxes, and fought valiantly; but at the laſt, the poynte of the Polaxe of the Lorde Scales, happened to enter into the ſight of the baſterds healme, and by fine force, mighte haue plucked him on his knees: the King ſuddaynely caſt downe his warder, and then the Marſhals them ſeuered.

The baſterde not content with this chaunce, and truſting on the connyng whiche hee had at the Polaxe, required the King of iuſtice, that he might performe his enterpriſe. The lord Scales refuſed it not, but the Kyng ſayd, he would aſke counſell, and ſo calling to him the Conneſtable, and the Marſhall, with the officers of armes, after conſultation had, and the lawes of armes rehearſed, it was declared for a ſentence diffinitiue, by the Duke of Clarence, then Conneſtable of Englande, and the Duke of Northfolke, then Marſhall that if he would goe forward with his attempted chalenge, he muſt by yͤ law of armes, bee deliuered to hys aduerſarie, in the ſame ſtate and like condition, as he ſtoode, when he was taken from him.

The law of armes.

The baſterd hearing thys iudgemente, doubted the ſequele of the matter, and ſo relinquiſhed his chalenge. Other chalenges were done, & valiantly atchieued by the Engliſhmen, whiche I paſſe ouer.

The death of the Duke of Burgoigne.

Shortly after, came ſorowfull tidings to the baſterd, that his father Duke Phillip was dead, and thereupon, taking his leaue of King Edwarde, and his ſiſter the newe Duches of Burgoigne, liberally rewarded with plate & iewels, with all ſpeede he returned to his brother yͤ new Duke, who was not a litle glad, of the contract made for him with the ſaid Lady, as after it wel appeared.

In this ſame yeare, Kyng Edward, more for the loue of the Marques Montacute, than for any fauour hee bare to the Earle of Warwike, promoted George Neuill their brother, to the Archbiſhoprike of Yorke.

George Archb of Yo

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An. r

Charles Duke of Burgoigne, reioycing that he had ſo well ſpedde, for concluſion of mariage with King Edwardes ſiſter, was very deſirous to ſee hir, of whome he had heard ſo great prayſe, wrote to King Edward, requiring him to ſende his ſiſter ouer vnto him, according to the couenants paſſed betwixt them.

King Edward being not ſlacke in this matter, appoynted the Dukes of Exceſter and Suffolke, and theyr wiues, beeing both ſiſters to the Lady Margaret, to attende hir, till ſhee came to hir huſband. And ſo after that Shippes, and all other neceſſarie prouiſions were ready, they beeing accompanyed with a greate ſorte of Lordes and Ladyes, and other, to the number of fyue hundred horſe, in the beginning of Iune, departed out of London to Douer, and ſo ſayled to Sluſe, and from thence, was conueyd to Bruges, where the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt the Duke and hir, with great triumph, & princely feaſtings.

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In this meane time, the Earle of Warwike, bearing a continuall grudge in his hart toward king Edward, ſith his laſt returne out of Frãce, perſwaded ſo with his two brethren, the Archbyſhoppe, and the Marques, that they agreed to ioyne with him in any attempt which he ſhould take in hande againſt the ſaid Kyng.

The Archebyſhoppe was eaſily allured to the Earles purpoſe, but the Marques coulde by no meanes bee reduced, to take any part agaynſte King Edward of a long tyme, til the Earle had both promiſed hym great rewards, and promotions, and alſo aſſured him of the ayde and power, of the greateſt Princes of the Realme.

And euen as the Marques was loth to conſente to thys vnhappie conſpiracie, ſo with a faynte harte, hee ſhewed himſelfe an enemie vnto King Edwarde, whyche double diſſimulation, was both the deſtruction of hym, and hys brethren.

Beſide this, the Earle of Warwike, beeyng a farre caſting prince, perceyued ſomewhat in the Duke of Clarence, whereby hee iudged, that hee bare no greate good will towards the King hys brother, and thereupon, feelyng hys mynde, by ſuch talke as he of purpoſe miniſtred, vnderſtoode how hee was bente, and ſo wanne hym to hys purpoſe, and for better aſſuraunce of hys faythfull friendſhippe, he offered him his eldeſt daughter in marriage, with the whole halfe deale of his wiues inheritance.

And heerevpon, after conſultation hadde of theyr weightie buſineſſe and daungerous affayres, they ſayled ouer to Calaice, of the

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whiche towne the Earle was capitayne, where his wyfe & two daughters then ſoiorned, whome the duke (being in loue with hir perſon) had great deſire to viſite.

But the Earle hauing in continuall remembrance his purpoſed enterpriſe, apointed his brethren, the Archbiſhop & the Marques, that they ſhoulde by ſome meane in his abſence ſtirre vp ſome new rebellion in the Countie of Yorke, and other places adioyning, ſo that thys ciuile warre ſhould ſeeme to all men to haue bin begun without his aſſent or knowledge, he being on the further ſide the Seas.

69

re. 9.

The Duke of Clarence beeing come to Calais with the Earle of Warwike, after he hadde ſworne on the Sacrament to keepe his promiſe and pact made with the ſaide Earle whole and inuiolate, hee married the Lady Iſabell, eldeſt daughter to yͤ Earle, in our Lady Church there.

Shortly after, according as had bin aforehãd deuiſed, a commotion was begunne in Yorkeſhire, to the great diſquieting of that Countrey. The ſame chanced by this meanes.

o. Hoſpi- o.ke.

There was in the Citie of Yorke, an old and rich Hoſpitall, dedicated to Sainct Leonard, for the harbourrough and relieuing of poore people. Certaine euill diſpoſed perſons, of the Earle of Warwikes faction, intending to ſet a broyle in the Countrey, perſwaded the huſbandmen to refuſe to giue any thing to the ſaide Hoſpitall, affirming, that the corne giuen to that good intent, came not to the vſe of the poore, but was conuerted to the behoofe of the maiſter of the Hoſpitall, and the Prieſtes, whereby they grew to be riche, and the poore people wanted their due ſuccoure and reliefe: and not contente with theſe ſayings, they fell to doings: for when the proctors of the Hoſpitall, according to their vſage, went about the Countrey to gather the accuſtomed corne, they were ſore beaten, wounded, and euill intreated.

llion.

Shortly after, the conſpiracie of the euill diſpoſed people, grew to an open Rebellion, ſo that there aſſembled to the number of fifteene thouſand men, euen ready bent, to ſet on the Citie of Yorke, but the Lord Marques Montacute, gouernour and preſidente of that countrey for the King, taking ſpeedie counſaile in the matter, with a ſmall number of men, but well choſen, encountred the rebels before the gates of Yorke, where after a long conflict, he tooke Robert Huldorne their Captayne, and before them, commaunded hys head to bee ſtriken off, and then, (bycauſe it was a darke eueníng) he cauſed hys Souldiers to enter into Yorke, and there to refreſh them. Heere manye men haue maruelled, why the Marques thus put to deathe the Captayne of thoſe people, whiche he had procured to this their rebellious enterpriſe. Some ſay, he did it, to the intent to ſeeme innocent and faultleſſe of his brothers doings. But other iudge, that he did it, for that contrarie to his promiſe made to his brother, he was determined to take part with King Edwarde, with whome (as it ſhall after appeare) he in ſmall ſpace entred into grace and fauour.

Hul- api- the re- taken aded.

The Rebels being nothing diſmayd with the death of their Captain, but rather the more bent on miſchiefe, by faire meanes, and craftie perſwaſions, gote to them Henry, ſonne to the Lord Fitz Hugh, and Sir Henrye Neuill, ſonne and heyre to the Lorde Latimer, the one beeing nephew, and the other couſin germayne to the Erle of Warwike.

Although theſe yong Gentlemen bare the names of Captaynes, yet they had a gouernour that was Sir Iohn Conyers, a man of ſuche courage and valiantneſſe, as fewe were to bee found in his dayes within the North partes.

Sir Iohn Coniers.

After they ſaw that they could not get Yorke bycauſe they wanted ordinance, they determined with all ſpeede to marche toward London, intending to rayſe ſuche a toy in the peoples myndes, that they ſhoulde thinke King Edward neyther to bee a lawfull Prince, nor yet profitable to the common wealth.

King Edwarde hauing perfect knowledge of all the doyngs of the Earle of Warwike, and of his brother the Duke of Clarence, was by diuers letters certified, of the greate armie of the Northerne men, with all ſpeede commyng towarde London, and therefore in greate haſt, hee ſente to William Lord Herbert (whome as yee haue heard, hee had created Earle of Pembroke) requiring hym withoute delay, to reyſe hys power, and encounter with the Northerne men.

The Earle of Pembroke.

The Earle of Pembroke, commonly called the Lorde Herberte, both ready to obey yͤ kings commaundemente, according to hys duetie, and alſo deſirous to reuenge the malice whyche he bare to the Earle of Warwike, for that hee knewe howe hee hadde beene the onely let why he obteyned not the wardſhip of the Lord Bonneuilles daughter and heire for his eldeſt ſonne, accompanyed with hys brother Sir Richarde Herberte, a valiaunt Knyghte, and aboue ſyxe or ſeauen thouſande Welchmenne, well furniſhed, marched forwarde to encounter with the Northernemẽ. And to aſſiſt him wͭ archers, was apointed Humfrey L. Stafford of Southwike, named, but not created Earle of Deuonſhire by the King, in hope that he would ſerue valiantly in that iourney: he had with him eight hundred archers.

The Lorde Stafforde.

When theſe two Lordes wer met at Cotteſholde, they hearde how the Northernemen were going toward Northampton, whereuppon, the Lorde Stafforde, and Sir Richarde Herberte, with two thouſande well horſed Welchmenne, rode forth afore the maine armye, to ſee the demeanor of the Northerne men, and at length, vnder a woods ſide, they couertly eſpyed them, paſſing forward, and ſuddainely ſet on the rereward: but the Northerne mē with ſuch nimbleneſſe turned about, that in a moment, yͤ Welche menne were diſcomfited, and many taken, the remnaunte returned to the armye with ſmall gayne.

The Welchmen diſcomfited.

The Northernemen well cooled with thys ſmall victorie, went no further Southward, but tooke their way towards Warwike, looking for aide of the Earle, whiche was lately come from Calais, with his ſonne in lawe the Duke of Clarence, and was rayſing menne to aide hys friends and kinſfolke.

The King likewiſe aſſembled people to ayde the Earle of Pembroke, but before eyther parte receyued ſuccoure from his friende or partaker, both the armies met by chance in a fayre playne, neere to a Towne called Hedgecote, foure miles diſtante from Banburie, where there are three hilles, not in equall diſtance, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lying in manner (although not fully) triangle.

Hedgecote.
Banbury field.

The Welchmen gote firſt the Weſt hill, hoping to haue recouered the Eaſt hill alſo, which if they might haue obteyned, the victorie had bin theirs, as their fooliſh propheciers tolde them before.

Theſe Northerne menne encamped on the South hill, the Earle of Pembroke, and the Lord Stafford of Southwike, were lodged in Banburie, the day before the fielde, whiche was Saint Iames day, and there the Erle of Pembroke put the Lorde Stafforde out of an Inne, wherein he delighted much to be, for the loue of a Damoſell that dwelled in the houſe: and yet it was agreed betwixt them, that which of them ſo euer obteyned firſt a lodging, ſhoulde not be diſplaced.

Diſcord what it breedeth.

The Lord Stafford in great deſpite, departed with his whole bande of archers, leauing the Earle of Pembroke almoſt deſolate in yͤ towne, who with all diligence returned to his hoſt, lying in the fielde vnpurueyd of Archers.

Sir Henry Neuill, ſonne to the Lord Latimer, tooke with him certaine light horſemenne, and ſkirmiſhed with the Welchmen in the euening, iuſt before their camp, where doing ryghte valiantly, but alittle too hardilie aduenturing himſelfe, was taken and yelded, and yet cruelly ſlayne, whiche vnmercifull acte, the Welchmen ſore rewed the next day ere night: for the Northerne men ſore diſpleaſed for the deathe of thys noble man, in the nexte morning, valiantly ſet on the Welchmen, and by force of archers, cauſed them quickly to diſcend the hill, into the valley, where both the hoſtes fought.

The Earle of Pembroke did right valiantly, and ſo likewiſe did hys brother Sir Richarde Herbert, in ſo muche, that with his Polaxe in hys hande, hee twice by fyne force paſſed thorough the battell of his aduerſaries, and without anye hurte, or mortall wounde returned.

The va
manho
Sir Rich
Herbert

But ſee the happe, euen as the Welchmenne were at poynte to haue obteyned the victorie, Iohn Clappam Eſquier, ſeruaunte to the Erle of Warwike, mounted vp the ſyde of the Eaſt hill, accompanyed onely with fyue hundred menne, gathered of the raſcals of the Towne of Northampton, and other villages aboute, hauyng borne before them the ſtandert of yͤ Earle of Warwike, with the white beare, crying, a Warwike a Warwike.

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The Welchmenne thynking that the Earle of Warwike hadde come on them with all hys puiſſance, ſuddaynely as menne amaſed, fledde: the Northren men them purſued, and ſlewe without mercie, ſo that there dyed of the Welchmen that day, aboue fiue thouſande, beſyde them that fledde and were taken.

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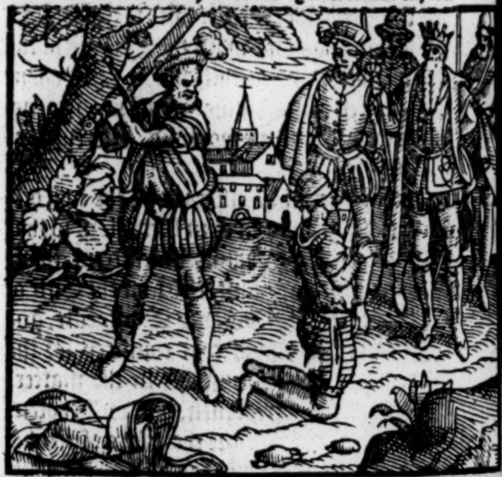
The Earle of Pembroke, and his brother Sir Richard Herbert, with diuers Gentlemen, were taken and brought to Banberie, where the Erle with hys brother, and other Gentlemen, to the number of tenne, that were lykewiſe taken, loſt their heads, but greate mone was made, for that noble and hardie Gentleman, Sir Richard Herberte, beeyng able for his goodly perſonage and high valiancie, to haue ſerued the greateſt Prince in Chriſtendome.



Sir Rich
Herbert
moned.

The Northamptonſhire men, with dyuers of the Northerne mē, by thē procured in this furie, made them a captaine, called Robert Hilliard, but they named him Robin of Reddeſdale, and ſodainly came to Grafton, where they tooke the Earle Riuers, father to the Queene, and hys ſonne ſir John Wooduile, whom they brought to Northamton, aud ther beheaded them both without iudgemente.

The King aduertiſed of theſe miſchaunces, wrote to yͤ Sherifs of Somerſetſhire, & Deuonſhire, that if they might by any meanes take the Lord Stafford of Southwike, they ſhould without delay put him to death. Hereupon ſearch was made for him, till at lēgth he was found in a village within Brentmarch, and after brought to Bridgewater was there beheaded.

After the battaile thus fought at Hedgecote commonly called Banburie fielde, the Northren men reſorted toward Warwike, where the Earle had gathered a great multitude of people, whiche Earle receyued the Northrenmen with greate gladneſſe, thanking ſir John Coniers, and other theyr Capitaynes for theyr paynes taken in hys cauſe.

The king in this meane time had aſſembled his power, and was comming toward the Erle, who being aduertiſed thereof, ſent to the Duke of Clarence, requiring him to come aud ioyne with him. The Duke being not farre off, with all ſpeede repared to the Earle, and ſo they ioyned theyr powers togither, and vpon ſecret knowledge had, that yͤ king (bycauſe they were entred into termes by waye of comunication to haue a peace) tooke ſmall heede to himſelfe, nothing doubting anye outward attēpt of his enimies: the Erle of Warwike intending not to leeſe ſuch oportunity of aduantage, in the deade of the night, with an electe companie of men of warre (as ſecretely as was poſſible) ſet on the kings fielde, killing them that kept the watche, and ere the king was ware (for he thought of nothing leſſe than of that which thē happened) at a place called Wolney, foure myles from Warwike, he was taken priſoner & brought to the Caſtell of Warwike.

And to the intent his friendes ſhoulde not knowe what was become of him, the Earle cauſed him by ſecrete iourneys in the night to be conueyed to Myddleham Caſtell in Yorkſhire, and there to be kept vnder the cuſtodie of the Archbiſhoppe of Yorke and other his friendes in thoſe parties.

King Edwarde being thus in captiuitie, ſpake euer faire to the Archbiſhop, and to his other keepers, ſo that he had libertie diuerſe dayes to goe on hunting. And one day vpon a playne when hee was thus abrode, there mette with him ſir William Stanley, ſir Thomas a Borough, and dyuerſe other of his friends, with ſuch a great bande of menne, that neither his keepers woulde, nor once durſte moue hym to returne vnto Pryſon againe.

King Edward is deliuered out of Captiuitie.

Some haue thoughte that his keepers were corrupted with money, or fayre promiſes, and therefore ſuffered him thus to eſcape oute of daunger.

After that he was once at libertie, hee came to Yorke, where he was ioyfully receyued, and taryed there two dayes: but when he perceyued he coulde get no armie togither in that Countrey to attende him to London, he turned from Yorke to Lancaſter, where he founde his Chamberlayn the Lorde Haſtings well accompanied, by whoſe ayde and ſuche others as drewe to hym, beyng well furniſhed, hee came ſafely to the Citie of London.

He commeth to London.

When the Earle of Warwike, and the Duke of Clarence had knowledge how king Edwarde by the treaſon or negligence of them (whom they had put in truſt) was eſcaped their handes, they were in a wonderfull chaufe: but ſith the chaunce was paſt, they began eftſoones to prouide for the warre, which they ſawe was like to enſue, and found muche comfort, in that a great number of men, delyting more in diſcorde than in concorde, offred themſelues to ayde theyr ſide. But other good menne deſirous of common quiete, and lamenting the miſerable ſtate of the realme, to redreſſe ſuch miſchiefe as appeared to be at hand, by theſe tumultes, tooke paine, and road betweene the King, the Erle, and the Duke, to reconcile them eche to other.

Theyr charitable motion and cauſes alledged, bycauſe they were of the chiefeſt of the Nobilitie, and therefore caried both credite and authoritye with them, ſo aſſwaged the moodes both of the king, the Duke and the Erle, that eche gaue faith to other to come and goe ſafely without ieopardy. In which promiſe both the Duke and Erle putting perfite confidence, come both to London.

At Weſtminſter, the King, the Duke, and the Earle, had long comunication togither for to haue come to an agreement, but they fell at ſuche great wordes vpon rehearſal of olde matters, that in gret furie without any concluſion they depart, the king to Canterburye, and the Duke and the Earle to Warwike, where the Earle procured a newe armie to be rayſed in Lincolnſhire, & made Captaine therof, ſir Robert Welles ſonne to Richard Lorde Welles, a man of greate experience in warre.

1470

The King aduertiſed hereof, without delaye prepared an armie, and out of hand he ſent to Richard Lorde Welles, willing him vpon the ſighte of his letters, to repayre vnto him: whiche to doe he had oftentymes refuſed, excuſing himſelfe by ſickneſſe and feebleneſſe of bodie. But when that excuſe ſerued not, he thinking to pourge himſelfe

Sir Thomas Dymmock.

ſufficiētly, of all offence & blame before the kings preſence, tooke with him ſir Thomas Dimmocke who had maryed his ſiſter, & ſo came to London, and when he was come vp, being admoniſhed by his friendes that the king was greatly with him diſpleaſed, hee with his brother in law tooke the Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter: but king Edwarde truſting to pacifie all this buſie tumult wythoute any further bloudſhed, promiſed both thoſe perſõs their pardons, cauſing them vpon his promiſe to come out of ſanctuarie to his preſence, and calling to him the Lorde Welles, willed him to write to his ſonne to leaue off the warre, and in the meane ſeaſon he with his armie went forwarde, hauing with him the Lord Welles, & ſir Thomas Dimmocke, and being not paſt two dayes iourney frõ Stamforde, where his enimies had pitched theyr field, and hearing that ſir Robert Welles, not regarding his fathers letters, kept his campe ſtill, he cauſed the Lord Welles father to the ſaid ſir Robert, and ſir Thomas Dimmocke to be beheaded contrarie to his promiſe.

An.reg.10.

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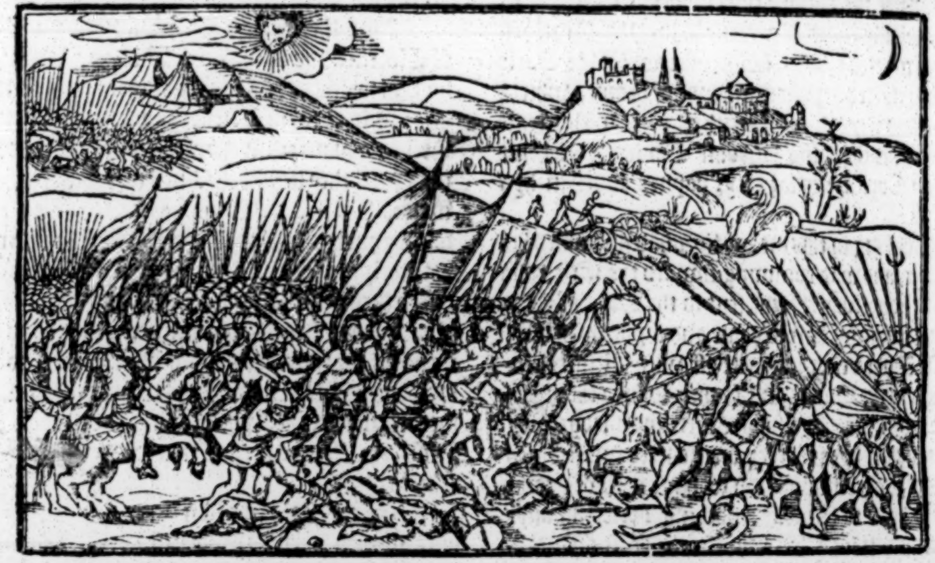
Sir Robert Welles hearing that the king approched, and that his father and ſir Thomas Dimocke were beheaded, though he was ſomewhat doubtfull to fight, before the Earle of Warwike were with his power aſſembled, hauing yet a yõg and luſtie courage, manfully ſet on his enimies. The battaile was ſore fought on both ſides, and many a man ſlaine, till ſir Robert perceyuing his people at poynt to flie, was buſily in hand to exhort them to tarie, and in the meane time being compaſſed about with his enimies was there taken, and with him ſir Thomas de Laund knight, and many mo.



After the taking of their Captain, the Lincolnſhire men amaſed, threw away their coates the lighter to runne away, and fled amaine, and therefore this battaile is called there yet vnto this day, Loſecote fielde.

Loſecote field.

The king reioyſing at this victorie, cauſed ſir Robert Welles and diuers other to be put to execution in the ſame place. The fame went that at this battaile was ſlaine ten M. men at the leaſt.

The Earle of Warwike lay at the ſame time at his Caſtell of Warwike, and ment to haue ſet forwarde the next day towarde his armie in Lincolnſhire, but when he heard that the ſame was ouerthrowne, he tooke newe counſaile, and wyth al diligence ymagined how to compaſſe Thomas Lorde Stanley, which had maryed his ſiſter, that he might be one of the conſpiracie: whiche thing when hee could not bring to paſſe (for the Lorde Stanley had anſwered him, that he woulde neuer make warre agaynſt king Edwarde) he thought no longer to ſpende time in waſt, and miſtruſting hee was not able to meete with his enimies, he with his ſonne in lawe the Duke of Clarence, departed to Exceter, and there tarying a fewe dayes determined to ſayle into Fraunce, to purchaſe ayde of King Lewes. And reſting vppon this poynte, hee hyred Shippes at Dartmouth, and when the ſame were readie trimmed and decked, the Duke and the Earle wyth theyr wyues, and a greate number of ſeruauntes embarqued themſelues, and fyrſt tooke theyr courſe towardes Calays, whereof the Earle was Captayne, thinking there to haue lefte hys wyfe, and daughters, till hee had returned out of Fraunce.

The faithfulneſſe of the L. Stanley.

The
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thee
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ſea.

But when they were come before the towne of Calays, they coulde not be ſuffered to enter, for the Lord Wauclere a Gaſcoigne, being the Erles Deputie in that towne, whether hee did it by diſſimulation or bearing good will to King Edwarde, (as by the ſequele it may be doubted whether hee did or no) in ſteade of receyuing his maſter wyth tryumph, hee bent and diſcharged a-

The
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outa

gaynſt him diuerſe peeces of ordinaunce, ſending him worde, he ſhould not there take lande. This Nauie lying thus before Calays at an anker, the Ducheſſe of Clarence was there delyuered of a fayre ſonne, whiche childe the Earles Deputie would vneth ſuffer to bee Chriſtened within the towne, nor without great intreatie would permit two Flagons of wine to bee conueyed abourde to the Ladies lying in the Hauen.

The king of England aduertiſed of the refuſall made, by Monſeur de Vawclere to the Erle of Warwike, was ſo much pleaſed therwith, that incontinently he made him chiefe captaine of the towne of Calays by his letters patents, which he ſent to him out of hand, and therof diſcharged the Erle as a traytor and a rebell.

The Duke of Burgoigne (vnto whom King Edward had written, that in no wiſe he ſhoulde receyue the Earle of Warwike, nor any of hys friendes within hys Countreyes) was ſo well pleaſed with yͤ doings of Monſeur de Vawclere, that he ſent to him his ſeruaunt Philip de Commynes, and gaue to him yearely a thouſande Crownes in pencion, praying and requiring him to continue in truth and fidelitie towarde King Edwarde, as he had ſhewed and begonne. But though Monſeur de Vawclere ſware in the ſayd Philippes preſence, truly to take king Edwards part, yet hee ſente priuily to the Earle of Warwike lying at Wytſandbay, that if he landed, he ſhoulde be taken and loſt, for all Englande (as he ſayde) tooke part agaynſt him, the Duke of Burgoigne, and al the inhabitants of the towne, with the Lord Duras the kings marſhal, and all the retinue of the garriſon were his enimies.

The Erle hauing this aduertiſement from his fayned enimie, with his nauie ſayled towardes Normandie, and by the way ſpoyled and tooke many ſhippes of the Duke of Burgoignes ſubiects and at the laſt with all his nauie and ſpoile, hee tooke land at Dieppe in Normandie, where the gouernour of the Countrey friendly welcomed hym, and aduertiſed King Lewes of hys arriuall.

The French king deſirous of nothing more than to haue occaſion to pleaſure the Earle of Warwike, of whom the high renowme cauſed al mẽ to haue him in admiration, ſent vnto him, requiring both him and his ſonne in lawe the duke of Clarence, to come vnto his Caſtel of Amboys where he then ſoiourned.

The Duke of Burgoigne hearing that the Duke and Earle were thus receyued in France, ſent a poſt with letters to the king Lewes, partly by way of requeſt, and partly by way of menacing, to diſſwade him from ayding of his aduerſaries, the ſaid duke and erle. But the French K. little regarded this ſute of the duke of Burgoigne and therefore anſwered that he might & woulde ſuccour his friends, and yet breake no league with him at all.

Iohn Marques Montacute.

In the meane time king Edwarde made inquirie for ſuch as were knowne to bee ayders of the Erle of Warwike within his realme, of whõ ſome he apprehended as guiltie, and ſome doubting themſelues fledde to Sanctuarie, and other truſting to the kings pardon, ſubmitted themſelues, as Iohn Marques Montacute whome hee courteouſly receyued.

The erles of Pembrok and Oxford.

When Queen Margaret that ſoiourned with duke Reigner hir father heard tell that the Earle of Warwik was come to the French court, with all diligence came to Amboys to ſee him with hir onely ſonne prince Edward. And with hir came Iaſper Earle of Pembroke, and Iohn Earle of Oxford, which after diuerſe impriſonments lately eſcaped, fled out of England into France, and came by fortune to this aſſemble.

A league.

Edward Prince of wales maried.

Theſe perſones after intreatie had of their affayres, determined by meane of the French king to conclude a league and amitie betweene them. And firſt to begin withall for the ſure foundation of their newe treatie, Edward prince of Wales wedded Anne ſeconde doughter to the Earle of Warwike, which Ladie came with hir mother into Fraunce.

After which mariage, the Duke & the Erles tooke a ſolemne othe, that they ſhoulde neuer leaue the warre, till eyther king Henrie the ſixt, or hys ſonne Prince Edwarde were reſtored to the Crowne, and that the Queene and the Prince ſhoulde depute and appoynt the Duke and the Erle to be gouernours and conſeruators of the common wealth, til time the prince were come to eſtate. Many other conditions were agreed as both reaſon and the weightineſſe of ſo great a buſineſſe required.

Whileſt theſe things were thus a doing in the Frenche Court, there landed a Damſell belonging to the Ducheſſe of Clarence (as ſhe ſaid) which made Monſeur de Vawclere beleeue, that ſhe was ſent from king Edward to the Duke of Clarence, & the Erle of Warwike with a plaine ouerture and declaration of peace. Of the which tydings, Vawclere was very glad for the Erles ſake: but this damoſell comming to the duke, perſwaded him ſo much to leaue off the purſute of his conceyued diſpleaſure towardes his brother king Edward, that he promiſed at his returne into England, not to be ſo extreme enimie againſt his brother as he was taken for, and this promiſe afterward he did keepe.

The promiſe of the Duke of Clarence.

With this anſwere the Damoſell returned into England, the Erle of Warwike thereof being clearely ignorant.

The French King lent both Shippes, men

and money vnto Queene Margaret, and to hir partakers, and appoynted the Baſterd of Bourbon, Admyrall of Fraunce with a great nauie to defende them agaynſt the nauie of the Duke of Burgoigne; whiche hee layde at the mouth of of yͤ riuer Saine readie to encounter them being of greater force than both the Frenche nauy and the Engliſh Fleet: and yet king Reigner did alſo helpe his daughter with men and munitions of warre. When their ſhips and men were come togither to Harflue, the Erle of Warwike thought not to linger time, bycauſe he was certified by letters from his friends out of England, that aſſone as he had taken lande, there would be readie many thouſandes to do him what ſeruice and pleaſure they coulde or might.

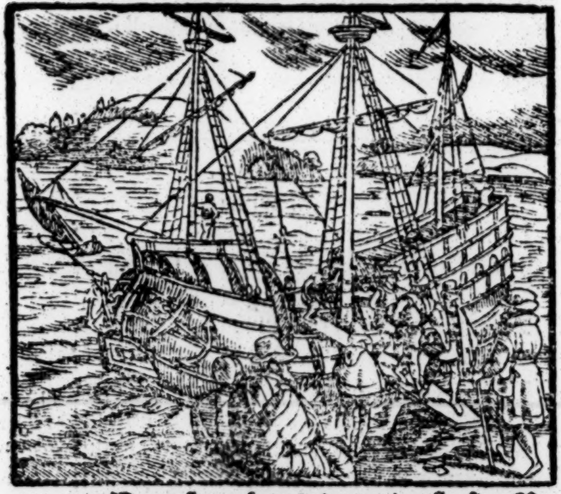
And beſide this, diuerſe noble men wrote that they would helpe him with men, armour money, and all things neceſſarie for the warre, and further to aduenture their owne bodies in his quarel.

The loue which the people bare to the erle of Warwike.

Surely his preſence was ſo muche deſired of all the people, that almoſt all men were readie in armour, loking for his arriuall: for they iudged that the very Sunne was taken from the worlde, when he was abſent.

When hee had receyued ſuche letters of comfort, he determined with the Duke, and the Erles of Oxforde and Pembroke (bycauſe Queene Margaret and hir ſonne were not fully yet furniſhed for the iourney) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of the armie.

And euen as fortune would, the nauie of the Duke of Burgoigne at the ſame time by a tempeſt was ſcattered and dryuen beſide the coaſt of Normandie, ſo that the Earle of Warwike in hope of a bone voiage, cauſed ſayles to be halſed vp, and with good ſpeede landed at Dartmouth in Deuonſhyre, from whence almoſte ſixe Monethes paſſed he tooke his iorney toward France, (as before ye he haue heard.)



A proclamatiō

When the Earle had taken lande, he made a Proclamation in the name of King Henrie the ſixt, vpon high paynes commaunding and charging all men able to beare armour, to prepare themſelues to fight agaynſt Edwarde Duke of Yorke, which contrarie to ryght had vſurped the Crowne.

It is almoſt not to be beleeued, howe manye thouſandes of men of warre at the firſt tidings of the Earles landing reſorted vnto him.

King Edwarde wakened with the newes of the Erles landing, and the great repayre of peopl that came flocking in vnto him, ſent forth letters into all parts of his realme to rayſe an army, but of them that were ſent for, few came, and yet of thoſe fewe the more part came with no greate good willes: which when he perceyued, hee began to doubt the matter, and therefore being accompanied with the Duke of Glouceſter hys brother, the Lorde Haſtings hys Chamberlaine, whiche had maryed the Earles Syſter, and yet was euer true to the King his maiſter, and the Lorde Scales brother to the Queene, hee departed into Lyncolnſhyre, and bycauſe hee vnderſtoode that all the Realme was vp agaynſt hym, and ſome parte of the Earle of Warwickes power, was within halfe a dayes iourney of him, following the aduice of hys Counſayle, with all haſt poſſible hee paſſed the Waſhes in greate ieopardie, and comming to Lynne, founde there an Engliſh Shippe, and two Hulkes of Hollande readie (as fortune woulde) to make ſayle, whereupon hee with his brother the Duke of Glouceſter, the Lorde Scales, and dyuerſe other hys truſtie friendes, entred into the ſhip. The Lorde Haſtings taryed a whyle after, exhorting all hys acquaintaunce, that of neceſſitie ſhoulde tary behinde, to ſhewe themſelues openly as friendes to king Henrie, for theyr owne ſafegarde, but heartily requiring them in ſecret, to continue faythfull to king Edward.

This perſwaſion declared, he entred the ſhip with the other, and ſo they departed, being in nūber in that one ſhippe and two Hulkes, about ſeuen or eight hundred perſons, hauing no furniture of apparell or other neceſſarie things with them, ſauing apparell for warre.

As king Edward with ſayle and oare was thus making courſe towardes the duke of Burgoignes Countrey (whither he determined at the firſt to go) it chanced that ſeuen or eight gallant ſhips of Eaſterlings, then open enimies both to England and Fraunce, were abroade on thoſe Seas, and eſpying the Kings veſſels, beganne to chaſe him. The kings ſhip was good of ſayle, and ſo much gat of the Eaſterlings, that he came on the coaſt of Holland, & ſo diſcended lower before a towne in yͤ country called Alkmare, & there caſt ancre as nere the towne as was poſſible, bycauſe they could not enter the hauē at an ebbing water.

The Eaſterlings alſo approched the Engliſh ſhip as neare as their great ſhips could come at the lowe water, intending at the floud to haue their pray as they were verie like to haue atteined it in deede, if the Lorde Gronture, gouernour of that Countrey for the Duke of Burgoigne, had not by chaunce beene at the ſame tyme in that Towne, and vpon knowledge had of King Edwardes arriuall there in the Hauen, and in what daunger he ſtoode, by reaſon of the Eaſterlings, commaunded them not to bee ſo hardie as once to meddle with any Engliſh men, being both the Dukes friendes and allies. And then did King Edwarde and all his companye come a lande after they had beene well refreſhed and gentlye comforted by the Lorde Gronture, they were by hym brought to the Haghe, a riche Towne in Hollande, where they remayned a while, hauing all things neceſſarie miniſtred vnto them by order of the Duke of Burgoigne, ſente vnto the Lorde Gronture, immediately vpon certificate ſent from the ſayd Lorde Gronture of king Edwardes arriuall.

When the fame was once ſpred abroade that King Edwarde was fledde the Realme, an innumerable number of people reſorted vnto the Earle of Warwike to take hys part, but all king Edwardes truſtie friends went to diuerſe Saintuaries, and amongſt other his wife Queene Elizabeth tooke Saintuarie at Weſtminſter, and there in great penurie forſaken of all hir friendes, was deliuered of a fayre ſonne called Edwarde, whiche was with ſmal pompe lyke a poore mans chylde Chriſtened, the Godfathers beeing the Abbot and Priour of Weſtminſter, and the Godmother the Ladie Scrope.

The Kentiſhmen this ſeaſon (whoſe myndes be euer moueable at the change of Princes) came to the Suburbs of London, ſpoyled manſions, robbed beerehouſes, and by the counſaile of Sir Giffray Gates and other Saintuarie men, they brake vp the kings Benche, and deliuered priſoners, and fell at Radcliffe, Limehouſe, & Saint Katherines, to burning of houſes, ſlaughter of people, and rauiſhing of women, whiche ſmall ſparckle had growne to a greater flame, if the Erle of Warwike with a greate power had not ſodainly quenched it, and puniſhed the offenders, which benefite by him done, cauſed him muche more to be eſteemed and lyked amongſt the commons than he was before.

When he had ſetled al things at his pleaſure, vpon the .xij. day of October, he rode to the tower of London, and there deliuered king Henrie oute of the warde, where hee before was kept, and brought him to the kings lodging, where he was ſerued according to his degree. And the .xxv. day of the ſayde Moneth, the Duke of Clarence accompanied with the Earles of Warwike and Shrewesburie, the Lorde Straunge, and other Lordes & Gentlemen, ſome for feare, and ſome for loue, and ſome onely to gaſe at the wauering worlde, went to the Tower, and from thence brought king Henrie apparelled in a long gowne of blew Veluet, through London to the Church of Saint Paule, the people on euerye ſyde the ſtreetes reioyſing and crying, God ſaue the king, as though ech thing had ſucceeded as they would haue had it: and when he had offred as kings vſe to do, he was conueyed to the Biſhops Palais, where he kept his houſhold like a king. When K. Henry had thus readepted and eftſoones gottẽ his Regal power & authoritie, he called hys highe Court of Parliament to begin the .xxvj. day of Nouember, at Weſtm. in the which K. Edward was adiudged a traytor to the countrey, and an vſurper of the Realme. His goodes were confiſcate and forfeyted. The like ſentence was giuen againſt all his partakers & friends. And beſide this it was enacted, that ſuch as for his ſake were apprehended, and were either in captiuitie or at large vpon ſureties, ſhould be extreemely puniſhed according to their demerites, amongſt whõ was the L. John Tiptoft Erle of Worceſter lieutenãt for king Edwarde in Irelande, exerciſing there more extreme crueltie than princely pitie, and namely on two infants being ſonnes to the Erle of Deſmond. This Erle of Worceſter was eyther for treaſon to him layde, or for malice againſt him conceyued, atteynted and beheaded.

A parliament.

King Edward adiudged an vſurper.

The E. of Worceter Tiptoft beheaded.

Moreouer, all ſtatutes made by king Edward were clearely reuoked, and the Crownes of the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, were by authoritie of the ſame Parliament entayled to king Henrie the ſixth, and to his heyres Males, and for default of ſuch heyres, to remaine to George Duke of Clarence, and to his heyres male: and further the ſayd Duke was enabled to bee nexte heyre to his father Richard Duke of Yorke, and to take from him all his landes and dignities, as though he had beene his eldeſt ſonne at the tyme of his death. Jaſper Erle of Pembroke, and John Earle of Oxford, and diuerſe other by king Edward attainted, were reſtored to their old names, poſſeſſions, and ancient dignities.

The Crowne entailed.

Beſide this, the Earle of Warwike (as one to whom the common welth was much bounden) was made gouernor of the realme, with whome as fellow was aſſociated George Duke of Clarence. And thus was the ſtate of the realme quite altered. To this Parliament came the Marques Montacute, excuſing himſelfe that for feare of death he declined to take king Edwardes part, which excuſe was accepted.

The Erle of Warwicke inſtituted gouernour of the realme.

When Queene Margaret vnderſtoode by hir huſbands letters that the victorie was gotten by

theyr

their friendes, ſhe with hir ſon Prince Edwarde and hir traine entred their ſhips, to take their voiage into England: but the winter was ſo ſharpe, the weather ſo ſtormie, and the winde ſo contrarie, that ſhe was faine to take lande againe, and to deferre hir iourney till another ſeaſon.

Iaſper Erle of Pembroke.

About the ſame ſeaſon, Iaſper Erle of Pembroke went into Wales to viſite his landes there in Pembrokeſhire, where he found Lorde Henry ſon to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauing not full ten yeares of age, he being kept in maner like a captiue, but honorably brought vp by the Lady Herbert, late wife to William Erle of Pembroke, beheaded at Banburie (as ye before haue heard.) This Henrie was borne of Margaret the onely daughter and heire of Iohn the firſt duke of Somerſet, then not being full ten yeares of age, the which Ladie though ſhe were after ioined in mariage with Lorde Henrie ſon to Humfrey duke of Buckingham, and after to Thomas Stanley Earle of Darby, both being yong and apt for generation, yet ſhe had neuer any mo children, as though ſhee had done hir part to bring forth a man childe, and the ſame to be a king (as hee after was in deede, entituled by the name of Henrie the ſeuenth (as after ye ſhall heare.)

Margaret coũteſſe of Richmond and Darbie.

The Erle of Pembroke toke this childe being his nephew, out of the cuſtodie of the Ladie Herbert, and at his returne brought the childe wyth him to London to king Henrie the ſixte, whome when the king had a good while behelde, he ſayde to ſuch princes as were with him: Lo ſurely this is he to whom both we and our aduerſaries leauing the poſſeſſion of all things ſhall hereafter giue rowme and place.

The ſaying of king Henry the ſixte, of Henry of Richmont after k. Henry the ſeuenth.

So this holy man ſhewed before the chaunce that ſhould happen, that this Erle Henrie ſo ordeyned by God, ſhould in tyme to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioy the kingdome, and whole rule of this realme of England.

The Erle of Warwike vnderſtanding, that his enimie the Duke of Burgoigne had receyued king Edward, and ment to ayde him for recouerie of the kingdome, hee firſt ſent ouer to Calais foure. C. Archers on horſbacke to make warre on the Dukes countreys, and further prepared foure M. valiant men to go ouer very ſhortly, that the Duke might haue his handes euen full of trouble at home. And where ye haue heard that the Erle of Warwike was kept out of Calais at his fleeing out of Englande into Fraunce, ye ſhall note that within a quarter of an houre after it was known that he was returned into England, and had chaſed King Edwarde oute of the Realme, not onely Monſeur de Vawclere, but alſo all other of the garniſon & towne, ſhewed themſelues to be his friends, ſo that the ragged ſtaffe was taken vp and worne in euery mans cap, ſome ware it of golde enameled, ſome of ſiluer, and hee that could haue it neither of golde nor ſiluer, had it of whytiſh ſilke or cloth: ſuche wauering myndes haue the common people, bending like a reed with euery winde that bloweth.

The ragged ſtaffe.

The Duke of Burgoigne hauing an armye readie at the ſame time to inuade the frontiers of Fraunce, to recouer the townes of Saint Quintines and Amiens, lately by the French king taken from him, doubted to be hindered greatly by the Engliſh men, if he ſhould bee conſtrayned to haue war with them: for the duke of Burgoigne helde not onely at that ſeaſon Flaunders, but alſo Bulleyne, and Bullennoys, and all Artoys, ſo that hee was thereby in daunger to receyue harme out of Calais on eche ſide. Therefore he ſent Ambaſſadours thither, which did ſo muche with the Counſayle there, that the league was newly confirmed betwixt the Realme of Englande and the Dukes Countreys, only the name of Henrie put in the wryting in ſteade of Edwarde.

The D. goign Ambaſ to Cal

This matter hyndered ſore the ſute of King Edwarde, dayly ſuing to the Duke for ayde at hys handes, the more earneſtly in deede, bycauſe of ſuche promiſes as by letters were made vnto him oute of Englande, from hys aſſured friends there.

But Duke Charles woulde not conſent openly to ayde King Edwarde, but yet ſecretely vnder hande by others, he lent to him fiftie thouſande Florens of the Croſſe of Saint Andrew, and further cauſed foure great Shippes to be appoynted for him in the hauē of de Vere, otherwiſe called Camphire in Zealãd, which in thoſe dayes was free for all men to come vnto, and the Duke hyred for him fourtene ſhips of the Eaſterlings well appoynted, and for the more ſuretie toke bonde of them to ſerue him truely till hee were landed in Englande, and fyftene dayes after.

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He ayde Edward hand.

The Eaſterlings were glad of this iourney, truſting if he got agayne the poſſeſſion of Englande, they ſhoulde the ſooner come to a peace, and obteyne reſtitution of theyr lybertyes and franchiſes whiche they claymed of former tyme to haue wythin this realme.

The Duke of Burgoigne cared not muche, on whoſe ſide the victorie fell, ſauing for payment of his money: For he would oft ſay, that he was friende to bothe partyes, and eyther parte was friendly to him.

In deede as hee was brother in lawe to the one, ſo was hee of kynne to the other, as by hys Grandmother being daughter to Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaſter.

When therefore all King Edwardes furniture and prouiſion for his iourney were once readie, hauing nowe with him about two thouſand able menne of warre, beſyde Mariners, hee entred into the Shippes wyth them in the hauen before Fliſhing in Zealande, vppon the ſeconde day of Marche: and bycauſe the winde fell not good for hys purpoſe, hee taryed ſtill abourde for the ſpace of nine dayes, before it turned meete for his iourney.

But after that the wind once came about as he wiſhed, the sayles were hoyſed vp on the .xj. of March being Monday, and forward they ſayled, directing their courſe ſtreight ouer towardes the coaſt of Norffolke.

On the next day being Tueſday, and the .xij. of March, towardes the Euening they roade before Cromer, where the king ſent a lande ſir Robert Chamberlaine, with ſir Gylbert Debenham knights, and diuerſe other, to the ende they might diſcouer the Countrey, and vnderſtand howe the people within the lande were bent towardes him, eſpecially thoſe countreys there next adioyning.

Upon their returne, he vnderſtoode that there was no ſuretie for him to lande in thoſe partyes, by reaſon of the good order whiche the Earle of Warwike, and the Erle of Oxford eſpecially had taken in that countrey to reſiſt him: for not only the duke of Norffolk, but all other the gentlemen (whom the Erle of Warwike had in any ſuſpition) were by letters of priuy ſeale ſent for, and eyther committed to ſafe keeping about London, or elſe enforced to finde ſuretie for their loyall demeanour towards king Henrie: yet thoſe knights and other that were thus ſente forth to make inquirie, were well receyued of their friendes, and had good cheare. But after the king perceyued by theyr report, how things ſtood thereaboutes, hee cauſed his Shippes to make courſe towardes the north partes.

The ſame night following, a great ſtorme of windes and weather roſe, ſore troubling the ſeas, and continued till the .xiiij. day of that moneth being Thurſday, on the whiche daye with great daunger, by reaſon of the tempeſtuous rage and torment of the troubled Seas, he arriued at the head of Humber, where the other ſhips were ſcattered from him, eche one ſeuered frõ other, ſo that of neceſſitie they were driuen to land in ſunder where they beſt might, for doubt to be caſt away in that perillous tempeſt.

The king with the Lord Haſtings his chamberlaine, and other to the number of fiue. hundred men being in one ſhip, landed within Humber on Holderneſſe ſide, at a place called Rauenſpurre, euen in the ſame place where Henrie Erle of Darbie, after called k. Henrie the fourth, landed, when hee came to depriue king Richarde the ſecond of the crowne, and to vſurpe it to himſelfe.

Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, and three hundred men in his companie, toke land in an other place foure miles diſtant from thence, where his brother king Edward did land.

The Earle Riuers, and with him two hundred men landed at a place called Pole, fourtene miles from the hauẽ where the king came a land. The reſidue of his people landed ſome here ſome there in places where for theyr ſuretyes they thought beſt.

On the morow being the .xv. of March, nowe that the tempeſt ceaſed, and euery man being got to land, they drewe from euerye of their landing places towardes the king, who for the firſt nyght was lodged in a poore village two miles frõ the place where he firſt ſet foote on land.

As touching the folkes of the Countrey, there came fewe or none to him, for by the incenſing of ſuch as had bene ſent into thoſe parties from the Erle of Warwike and other his aduerſaries, the people were ſhrewdly induced to ſtande agaynſt him. But yet in reſpect of the good will that many of them had borne to hys father, they coulde haue beene content, that hee ſhoulde haue enioyed his ryght to his dewe enheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke, but in no wyſe to the tytle of the Crowne. And herevpon they ſuffered hym to paſſe, not ſeeking to annoy him, till they myght vnderſtande more of his purpoſed meaning.

The king perceyuing howe the people were bent, noyſed it abroade that hee came to make none other chalenge, but to hys inheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke, and withall ment to paſſe firſt vnto the Citie of Yorke, and ſo forward towardes London, to encounter with hys aduerſaryes, that were in the South partes: For although his neareſt way had beene through Lincolnſhyre, yet bycauſe in taking that waye hee muſte haue gone agayne to the water, in paſſing ouer Humber, he doubted leaſte it woulde haue beene thought, that he had withdrawne himſelfe to the ſea for feare, and ſo to auoyde the rumours that might haue beene ſpredde therof, to the hynderaunce of his whole cauſe, he refuſed that way and toke this other, ſtill bruyting it (as before we ſayde) that his comming was not to chalenge the Crowne, but onely to bee reſtored vnto hys lawfull right and inheritaunce of the Duchie of Yorke, which was diſcended to him from his father: and here it ſeemed that the colour of iuſtice hath euer ſuche a force in it ſelfe, amongeſt all men, that where before fewe or none of the commons coulde be founde that woulde offer themſelues to take his parte, yet nowe that hee did (as they thought) clayme nothing but that which was his right, they began ſtreyght to haue a lyking of his cauſe. And where there were gathered to the number of ſix or ſeuen thouſande men in dyuerſe places, vnder the leading chiefely of a Prieſt, and of a Gentleman called Martine

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Martyn de la Mare or Martyne of the ſea

de la Mare, in purpoſe to haue ſtopped his paſſage: now the ſame perſons tooke occaſion to aſſiſt him, and when hee perceyued mens myndes to bee well qualifyed wyth this feyned deuice, he marched forth till hee came to Beuerley, whiche ſtoode in his direct way as hee paſſed towardes Yorke. He ſent alſo to Kingſtone vpon Hull, diſtant from thence a ſixe myle, willing that hee might be there receyued, but the inhabitants who had beene laboured by his aduerſaries, refuſed in any wiſe to graunt therevnto.

He paſſeth towardes Yorke.

The Earle of Warwike aduertiſed by Meſſengers of king Edwardes arriuall, and of his turning toward Yorke, with all haſt wrote to his brother the Marques Montacute, who hadde layne at the Caſtell of Pomfret all the laſte Winter, wyth a greate number of Souldiers, willing hym to conſider in what caſe theyr affayres ſtoode, and thervpon with all ſpeede to ſette vppon King Edwarde, or elſe to keepe the paſſages, and to ſtay him from comming any further forwarde, tyll hee himſelfe as then being in Warwikeſhyre buſie to aſſemble an armye, myght come to hys ayde with the ſame.

But this notwythſtanding, although there were greate companies of people of the Countreyes thereaboutes aſſembled, they came not yet in ſight of the King, but ſuffred hym quietly to paſſe, eyther bycauſe they were perſwaded that hee ment (as hee in outwarde wordes pretended) not to clayme any tytle to the Crowne, ☞ but onely his ryght to the Duchie of Yorke, or elſe for that they doubted to ſette vppon hym, although his number were farre vnequall to theirs, knowing that not onely he himſelfe, but alſo hys companie were mynded to ſell theyr liues dearelye before they woulde ſhrynke an ynche from any that was to encounter them. It maye bee that dyuerſe of the Captaynes alſo were corrupted: and although outwardly they ſhewed to bee agaynſt him, yet in heart they bare him good wil, and in no wiſe minded to hinder him.

K. Edward without interruption paſſeth forward to Yorke

So, forwarde hee marched, tyll hee came to Yorke, on a Monday beyng the eightenth day of Marche.

Th. Conyers recorder of Yorke

Before hee came to the Citie by the ſpace of three Myles, the Recorder of Yorke, whoſe name was Thomas Coniers (one knowne in deede not to beare hym any faythfull good will) came to hym, and gaue him to vnderſtande, that it ſtoode in no wiſe with his ſuretie, to preſume to approche the Citie, for eyther hee ſhould bee kept oute by force, or if he did enter, hee ſhoulde bee in daunger to be caſt awaye by hys aduerſaries that were within.

King Edwarde neuertheleſſe ſithe hee was come thus farre forwarde, knewe well ynoughe there was no going backe for him, but manfully to proceede forwarde with hys begunne iourney, and therefore kepte on hys waye, and ſhortlye after there came to him out of the Citie, Robert Clyfforde, and Rycharde Bourgh, who aſſured him that in the quarell whiche hee pretended to purſue, to witte, for the obteyning of hys right to the Duchie of Yorke, he ſhoulde not fayle, but be receyued into the Citie: but immediatly after came the ſayde Coniers agayne with the like tale and information as hee had brought before, and thus King Edwarde one while put in comforte, and an other while diſcouraged, marched forth till he came to the gates of the Citie, where his people ſtayed whyleſt hee and aboute .xvj. or xvij. other ſuch as hee thoughte meeteſt, wente forth, and entred the Citie wyth the ſayde Cliforde and Bourgh, and (as ſome wryte) there was a prieſt ready to ſay Maſſe, in which Maſſe tyme the King receyued the Sacrament of the Communion, and there ſolemnly ſware to keepe and obſerue two ſpeciall Articles: although it was far vnlyke that he mynded to obſerue eyther of them: the one was that hee ſhoulde vſe the Citizens after a gentle and courteous maner: and the other, that hee ſhoulde bee faythfull and obedient vnto King Henries commaundementes. For this wilfull periurie (as hath beene thought) the iſſue of this king ſuffered for theyr fathers offence, the depriuation not onelye of landes and worldlye poſſeſſions, but alſo of theyr naturall lyues by theyr cruell Uncle king Richarde the thirde.

When king Edwarde had thus gotten into the Citie of Yorke, he made ſuch meanes among the Citizens, that he got of them a certaine ſum of money, and leauing a garniſon within the citie contrarie to his othe, for feare leaſt the Citizens after his departure, might happily moue ſome rebellion aginſt him, he ſette forwarde the next day towards Tadcaſter, a towne .x. miles from thence, belonging to the Erle of Northumberland. The next day he tooke his way towards Wakefielde, and Sendall, a Caſtell and Lordſhip belonging to the inheritaunce of the Dukes of Yorke, leauing the Caſtell of Pomfret vpon his left hande, where the Marques Montacute with his armie lay, and did not once offer to ſtop him. Whether the Marques ſuffred him to paſſe by ſo, with his good will or no, diuerſe haue dyuerſly coniectured. Some thinke that it lay not in the power of the Marques greatly to annoy him, both for that the king was wel beloued in thoſe parties, and againe all the Nobles and commõs there for the moſt part were towardes the Earle of Northumberlande, and wythoute him or his commaundement, they were not willing to ſturre. And therefore the Erle in ſitting ſtill & not mouing to or fro, was thought to do K. Edward as good ſeruice as if he had come to him, and rayſed people to aſſyſt him, for diuerſe happilye that ſhoulde haue come with him, remembring diſpleaſures paſte, woulde not haue beene ſo faythful as the Erle himſelfe, if it had come to the iumpe of any hazarde of battaile.

About Wakefielde and the partes there adioyning, ſome companie of his friendes came to him, whereby his power was encreaſed, but nothing in ſuch numbers as he looked for. From Wakefielde he croſſed on the left hand, ſo to come againe into the high way, and came to Doncaſter, and frō thence vnto Notingham. Here came to him ſir William Parre, and ſir James Harrington, with ſix hundred men well armed and appoynted: alſo there came to him ſir Thomas a Bourgh, and ſir Thomas Montgomerie with their aydes, which cauſed him at theyr firſt comming to make Proclamation in his owne name, to witte, of King Edwarde the fourth, boldely affyrming to him, that they would ſerue no mā but a king.

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Whileſt he remayned at Notingham, and alſo before he came there, hee ſent abrode diuerſe of his auaunt courrers to diſcouer the countrey, and to vnderſtande if there were anye power gathered agaynſt him. Some of them that were thus ſent aproched to Newarke, and vnderſtoode that within the towne there, the duke of Excester, the erle of Oxford, the lord Bardolfe, & other were lodged with a great power to the number of four M. men, whiche they had aſſembled in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, and in the ſhires of Cambridge, Huntington, and Lincolne.

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The duke of Excester and the Erle of Oxford, and other the chiefe chaptains aduertiſed that K. Edwards foreriders had bene afore the towne in the Euening, ſuppoſed verily that hee and his whole armie were comming towards thē, wherevpon they, not thinking it good to abide longer there, determined with al ſpeed to diſlodge, and ſo about two of the clocke after midnight they departed from Newarke, leauing ſome of theyr people behinde, which either ſtale away from thē, and taried of purpoſe, or could not get away ſo ſoone as their fellowes. In deede the foreriders that ſo diſcouered them within the towne of Newarke, aduertiſed the king thereof in al poſt haſt, who incontinently aſſembled his people, and forthwith marched towards them: but before hee came within three miles of the towne, hee had knowledge that they were fledde and gone from Newarke, wherevpon he returned again to Notingham, intending to keepe on his neareſt waye towardes the Earle of Warwike, whom he vnderſtood to be departed from London, and to bee come into Warwikeſhyre, where and in the Countreys adioyning he was buſied in leuying an army, with the which he purpoſed to diſtreſſe him.

King Edwarde commeth to Leyceſter.

The King then from Notingham came to Leyceſter, where three thouſande able men, and well furniſhed for the warre came vnto him. Theſe were ſuch as he knewe would liue and die in his quarell, the moſt parte of them belonging vnto the Lorde Haſtings the kings Chamberlaine. And thus he being more ſtrongly accompanied than before, departed from Leyceſter, and came before the walles of the Citie of Couentrie the, xxix. day of March.

The earle of Warwick in Couentry.

The Earle of Warwike was withdrawne into this Citie, keeping himſelfe encloſed therein with his people, beeing in number ſixe or ſeuen thouſande men.

The king ſent to him, and willed him to come forth into the fielde, and there to make an ende of the quarell in plaine battaile: but the Erle at that preſent refuſed ſo to do. For although vnder pretence of king Henries authoritie, he was reputed the kings generall lieutenant of the whole realm, whereby he had got ſuch power togither, as was thought able ynough to matche with the King for number, yet bycauſe hee doubted howe they were bent in his fauour, hee durſt not commytte the matter vnto the doubtfull chaunce of a battayle, till he had more of hys truſtie friendes about him.

King Edwarde prouoketh the erle of Warwicke to fight,

The king therefore three dayes togither prouoked him to come forth, but when hee ſawe it would not be, he remoued to Warwike an eight myles from Couentrie, where hee was receyued as king, and ſo made his Proclamations from that tyme forth in all places where he came, vnder his accuſtomed name and tytle of king. Hee lodged here at Warwicke, the rather (as was thought) to prouoke the Earle to iſſue forth of Couentrie to giue him battaile, howbeit that deuiſe nothing auayled: but yet there came dayly dyuerſe perſons on the Earles behalfe to treate with the king about a peace, that ſome good compoſition might haue bene concluded, and the king for the aduauncement of peace and tranquilitie within the realme, offred large conditions, as a free pardon of life to the Erle and all his people, with many other beneficiall Articles on their behalfes, which to manye ſeemed verie reaſonable, conſidering their heynous offences. But the Erle would not accept anye offers, except hee might haue compounded ſo as it pleaſed himſelfe, and as was thought in no wiſe to ſtande with the kings honour, and ſuretie of his eſtate.

Hee cometh to Warwicke.

A treaty for peace.

The Duke of Clarence.

In this meane while, the Earle of Warwike ſtill looked for the Duke of Clarence, who by the ſayde Earles appoyntment had aſſembled a power of men of warre about London: but whē the Erle perceyued that the Duke lingered forth the tyme, and did not vſe ſuch diligence as was requiſite, as one that had bene in doubt of warre or peace, he began to ſuſpect that the Duke was of his brother corrupted, and therin he was nothing deceyued: for true it is, that whileſt the king was as yet beyond the ſeas, in the Dominion of the duke of Burgongne, the duke of Clarence began to wey with himſefe the greate inconuenience into the which aſwell his brother King Edwarde, as himſelfe and his yonger brother the Duke of Glouceſter were fallen, through the diſſention betwixt them (which had bene compaſſed & brought to paſſe by the politique working of the Earle of Warwicke and hys complices) as fyrſt the diſinheriting of them all from theyr rightfull tytle to the Crowne, ſecondlye the mortall and deteſtable warre, that coulde not but enſue betwixt them to ſuche miſchiefe, that to whether part the victorie enclyned, the victorer ſhould remaine in no more ſuretie of his owne perſon or eſtate after the vpper hande gotte, than before: and thirdly he well perceyued alreadie, that hee was had in great ſuſpition, and not heartily beloued of anye the Lordes and Rulers that were aſſured partakers with king Henry and the Lancaſtrian faction, inſomuch they ſticked not dayly to goe about to breake and make voyde the appoyntments, articles, and couenants, made and promiſed to him, and of likelyhoode would dayly more and more intende thereto, for in truth hee ſawe that they purpoſed nothing ſo much as the deſtruction both of him and of all his bloud, all which things throughly conſidered, with many other as they were layde afore him, by right wiſe and circumſpect perſons, which in this behalf had cõference with him, he conſented that by ſome ſecret wayes and meanes a recõciliation might be had betwixt him and his brethren, the king & the duke of Glouceſter, the whiche to bring to ſome good and full effect, theſe honourable perſonages following became dealers therein. Firſt of all the duches of Yorke their mother, the duches of Excester, and the duches of Suffolke their ſiſters, the Lorde Cardinall of Canterburie, the Biſhop of Bathe, the Earle of Eſſex, but moſt eſpeciallye the Duches of Burgongne their ſiſter alſo, and diuerſe other right wiſe and prudent perſonages, who wrought by mediation of certaine Prieſtes, and other ſuche as they vſed for meſſengers betwixt them.

Prieſts vſed for priuy meſſengers.

Finally by the earneſt trauaile and diligence ſhewed by the ſayd Duches of Burgongne (who inceſſantly ſent to & fro ſuch hir truſtie Meſſengers now to the king being on that ſide the ſeas, and then to the Duke remayning here in Englande) at length they were made friendes, and a perfect agreement concluded and ratifyed, wyth aſſurance betwixt them ſo ſtrongly as might be, to the furthering whereof the Kings Chamberlaine the Lorde Haſtings fayled not to doe hys beſt, ſo as by his good diligence, it was thought the king was the ſooner induced to wiſhe to ioyne eftſoones in true friendſhip with his ſayde brother of Clarence.

King Edward and his brother of Clarẽce reconciled vnwitting to the erle of Warwike.

And as it well appeared the Duke of Clarence acquit himſelfe faythfully therein: for hearing now that his brother king Edwarde was landed and cõming forwards towards London, he gathered his people, outwardly pretending to paſſe with them to the ayde of the Erle of Warwike agaynſt his brother, although inwardly hee ment the contrarie, and ſo accompanied wyth aboue foure thouſande men, he marched forth towardes the place, where he thought to finde hys brother.

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King Edwarde being then at Warwike, and vnderſtanding that his brother of Clarence approched, in an after noone iſſued forth of that towne with all his forces, and paſſed on till hee came into a fayre large fielde three myles diſtant from Warwike towards Banburie, where hee might beholde his brother of Clarence in good aray of battayle, comming towards him.

When they were now within halfe a mile approched togither, the king placed his people in order of battaile, vnder their banners, and ſo left the ſtanding ſtill, and appoynted them to keepe their grounde, whileſt he taking with him hys brother of Glouceſter, the Lorde Riuers, the Lorde Haſtings, and a fewe other, went forth to meete hys brother of Clarence: and in like ſort the Duke of Clarence tooke with him a fewe of the Nobilitie that were about him, and leauing his armye in good order departed from them to meet the king, & ſo they met betwixt both the hoſts with ſo ſweete ſalutations, louing demeanor, & good countenances, as better might not bee deuiſed betwyxt brethren of ſo highe and noble eſtate: and beſydes that, the lyke friendly entertainment, and courteous demeanour appeared in the ſalutings of the other Noble men, that were on them attendant, whereof al ſuch as ſawe it, and loued them, greatly reioyced, gyuing God thankes for that ioyfull meeting, vnitie, and concorde, appearing thus manyfeſtly betwixte them, and herewyth the Trumpettes and other Inſtrumentes ſounded, and the King withall brought the duke vnto his armie, whom he ſaluting in moſt courteous wyſe, welcomed them into the lande, and they humbly thanking him, did to him ſuch reuerence as apperteyned.

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This done, the K. leauing his hoſt again keeping their ground wᵗ the ſame few perſons which he toke with him before, went with his brother of Clarence vnto his armie, and ſaluting thẽ with ſweete & courteous words, was ioyfully of them welcomed,and ſo after this, they all came togyther ioyning in one,and either part ſhewing thēſelues glad thus to meete, as friends with the other,they went louingly togither vnto Warwik with the king, where and in the countrey thereabouts they lodged as they thought ſtoode moſt with their eaſe and ſafeties.

Herewith the Duke of Clarence deſyrous aboue all things to procure ſome good and perfite accorde, betwixte hys brother the King, and the Erle of Warwike (which ſhould bring great quietneſſe to the lande, and deliuer the common wealth of many daungers that myght enſue by reaſon of ſuche numbers of partakers, as well Lordes as other that were confederate with the Earle) the ſayde Duke treated with the Kyng preſent, and ſent meſſengers vnto Couentrie to the Earle,mouing as well the one as the other moſt inſtantly to frame theyr mindes vnto a pacification.

The king at the inſtance of his brother was contented to offer large conditions, and verie beneficiall for the Earle and his partakers, if they woulde haue accepted them: but the Earle whether vtterly diſpayring of his owne ſafetie, if hee ſhoulde agree to any peace, or elſe happily for that he thought it ſtoode with his honour to ſtand vnto ſuch promiſes and couenaunts as hee had made with the French King, and with Queene Margaret,& hir ſon prince Edward,vnto whom he was bounde by othe not to ſhrinke or ſwarue from the ſame,he refuſed all maner of ſuche conditions as were offred.

Inſomuch that when the Duke had ſent to him, both to excuſe himſelfe of the act whiche he had done, and alſo to require him to take ſome good waye wyth King Edwarde, nowe while he myght,the Erle after hee had paciently hearde the Dukes meſſage, hee ſeemed greatlye to abhorre his vnfaythfull dealing, in turning thus from hys confederates and alies, contrarie to his othe and fidelitie.

To the meſſengers(as ſome write,)hee gaue none other anſwere but this,that he had leuer bee like himſelfe,than like a falſe and periured Duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leaue warre,till he had either loſt his own life,or vtterly ſubdued his enimies.

As it was thought,the Erle of Oxfords perſwaſion wanted not,to make him the more ſtifly to hold out, and rather to trie the vttermoſt hazard of war, than to agree to acknowledge K. Edward for his lawfull ſoueraigne lord & king. Wherevpon no appoyntment nor any agreement at all could be brought to paſſe,& ſo al that treaty which the duke of Clarence had procured, brake off and tooke none effect.

There came to the Erle of Warwike whileſt he lay thus at Couentrie, beſide the Erle of Oxford,the duke of Excester, & the Lorde Marques Montacute, by whoſe comming that ſide was greatly ſtrengthned,& the nūber much encreaſed,

King Edwarde paſſeth towards Londō.
*An.reg.*11.

The K. vpon conſideration hereof,and perceiuing he could not get the Earle to come forth of Couentrie, departed from Warwike, and eftſoones ſhewing himſelf with his people before the Citie of Couentrie,deſired the erle and his power to come forth into the fields, that they might end their quarel by battel:which the erle and the other lords with him vtterly refuſed as thē to do. This was yͤ .v. of April being Friday. The K. herevpō was reſolued to march towards London, where his principall aduerſarie king Henry remayned, vſing his kingly authoritie by diuerſe ſuch of the nobilitie as were about him,wherby K. Edward was barred and diſappoynted of many aydes & aſſiſtants,which he was ſure to haue, if he coulde once breake that force of the royal authoritie,that was ſtill thus exerciſed agaynſt him in K. Henries name. Wherefore (by the aduice of his brethren and other of his counſaile)accordingly as it had bene ordeined before this his laſt ſetting forth frō Warwik, he kept on his way towards Londō,cōming to Dātrie on the Saterday at night, and on the morow being Palmſonday, he hearde ſeruice in yͤ church there,& after rode to Northāpton,where he was ioyfully receyued. Frō thence he toke the next way towardes London, leauing continually behind him as he paſſed forth a competēt band of ſpeares & archers, to beat back ſuch of yͤ erle of Warwiks people,as peraduenture he might ſend abrode to trouble him & his army by the waye. In this meane while, that things paſſed in maner as before ye haue heard,Edmōd duke of Somerſet, & his brother Iohn Marques Dorſet,Tho.Courtney erle of Deuonſhire, & other being at London, had knowledge by aduertiſemēts out of France,that Q. Margaret with hir ſon prince Edward,the cōuteſſe of Warwik, the prior of S. Iohns,the L. Wenlocke,& diuerſe other their adherents and partakers, with al that they might make,were ready at yͤ ſea ſide, purpoſing with al ſpeede to ſaile ouer into England, & to arriue in the weſt cōtrey,wherevpon they departed forth of London, and with al haſt poſſible drew weſtwarde, there to raiſe what forces they could,to ioine with thoſe their friends immediatly after they ſhould once come to land,& ſo to aſſiſt thē againſt K. Edward & his partakers.

True it is, that the Queene with hir ſon, and the other perſones before mentioned, toke theyr ſhippes,the. xxiiij.daye of Marche, continuyng on the Seas before they coulde lande (throughe tempeſtes and contrary windes) by the ſpace of twentie dayes,that is tyll the thirtenth of Aprill, on which day, or rather on the fourtenth, they landed at Weymouth, as after ſhall appeare: but now touching king Edwardes proceeding forward on his iourney towards London, yee haue to vnderſtand, that vpon the Tueſday the .ix. of Aprill he came to Saint Albons, from whence he ſent comfortable aduertiſements to the Queene his wife, remayning within the Sanctuarie at Weſtminſter, & to other his faythfull friendes in and about Lõdon, to vnderſtand by couert meanes how to deale to obteyne the fauor of the Citizens, ſo as he might be of them receyued. The Erle of Warwike vnderſtanding all his doings and purpoſes, wrote to the Londoners, willing & charging them in any wiſe to kepe king Edward out of their citie, & in no condition to permit him to enter: and withall he ſent to his brother the Archb. of Yorke, willing him by al meanes poſſible to perſwade the Lõdoners not to receiue him, but to defend the Citie agaynſt him for yͤ ſpace of two or three dayes at the leaſt, promiſing not to faile but to come after him, & to be readie to aſſaile him on the back, not doubting but wholy to diſtreſſe his power, & to bring him to vtter confuſion. The Archb. hereupon the .ix. of Aprill, called vnto him at Paules, all ſuch Lords, knights, and gentlemen, & other that were partakers on yͤ ſide, to the number in all of ſix or ſeuen thouſand men in armor, and herewith cauſed king Henrie to mount on horſebacke, and to ride from Paules through Cheepe down to Walbroke, & ſo to fetch a compaſſe as the cuſtome was when they made their general Proceſſions, returning backe againe to Paules vnto the Biſhoppes Palace, where at that time he was lodged.

The Archbi. of Yorke.

King Henry ſheweth his ſelfe to the Londoners.

The Archbiſhop ſuppoſed that ſhewing the king thus riding through the ſtreetes, hee ſhoulde haue allured the Citizens to aſſyſt his part. True it is that the Maior and Aldermen had cauſed the gates to be kept with watch and warde: but now they well perceyued that king Henries power was to weake, as by that ſhewe it had well appeared, to make full reſiſtance againſt K. Edwarde, and ſo not for them to truſt vnto, if King Edward came forward, & ſhould attempt to enter the Citie by force: for it was not vnknowne vnto them, that many of the worſhipfull Citizens, and other of the Commons in great numbers, were fully bent to ayde king Edward, in all that they might, as occaſion ſerued.

Thus what through loue that many bare to King Edwarde, and what through feare that diuerſe ſtoode in, leaſt the Citie beeing taken by force myght happily haue beene put to the ſacke, with the loſſe of many an innocent mannes life, the Maior, Aldermen, and other the worſhipfull of the Citie fell at a poynt among themſelues, to keepe the Citie to king Edwardes vſe, ſo as hee might haue free paſſage and entrie into the ſame at his pleaſure.

The Londoners reſolue to receyue K. Edwarde.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke perceyuing the affections of the people, and howe the moſt part of them were now bent in fauour of king Edwarde vppon the ſayde Kings approche towardes the Citie, he ſent forth ſecretely a Meſſenger to him, beſeeching hym to receyue him againe into hys fauour, promyſing to bee faythfull to hym in tymes to come, and to acquite this good turne hereafter wyth ſome ſingular benefite and pleaſure.

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The king vpon good cauſes and conſiderations therevnto him mouing, was contented to receyue him againe into his fauour. The Archb. hereof aſſured, reioyced greatly, and well & truely acquit him concerning his promiſe made to the king in that behalfe.

The ſame night following was the Towre of London recouered to king Edwards vſe. And on the morrow being Thurſday, and the .xj. of Aprill, king Edward quietly made his entrie into the Citie with his power, hauing fiue .C. ſmokie gunners marching foremoſt being ſtrangers, of ſuch as he had brought ouer with him. He firſt rode to Paules Church, and from thence he went to the Biſhops Palace, where the Archb. of York preſented himſelf vnto him, and hauing K. Henrie by the hand, deliuered him vnto king Edwarde, who being ſeaſed of his perſon, and diuerſe other his aduerſaries, he went from Paules to Weſtmynſter, where he made his deuout prayers, gyuing God moſt hearty thanks for his ſafe returne thither againe.

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This done, he went to the Queene to comfort hir, who with greate pacience had abidden there a long time, as a Sanctuarie woman, for doubt of hir enimies, and in the mean ſeaſon was deliuered of a yong Prince, which ſhee nowe preſented vnto him, to his great heartes reioycing and comfort. From Weſtminſter the king returned that night vnto London againe, hauing the Queene with him, and lodged in the houſe of the Duches his mother.

On the morrow being good Fryday, he tooke aduiſe with the Lordes of his bloud, and other of his counſayle, for ſuch buſineſſe as he had in hãd, namely howe to ſubdue ſuche his enimies as ſought his deſtruction.

The Earle of Warwike calling himſelfe lieutenant of England vnder the pretenced authoritie of king Henrie, hoping that King Edwarde ſhoulde haue much a doe to enter into London, marched forth from Couentrie with all his puiſſance, following the king by Northãton, in hope to haue ſome great aduantage to aſſaile him, ſpecially if the Londoners kept him out of their city, as he truſted they would, for then hee accounted himſelf ſure of the vpper hand, or if he were of thẽ

The
War
lowe

receyued, yet hee hoped to finde him vnprouided in celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter, and ſo by ſetting vppon him on the ſodaine, hee doubted not by that meanes to diſtreſſe him: but K. Edward hauing intelligence of the Earles intention, prouided all things neceſſarie for battaile, & hearing that the Erle of Warwike was now come vnto Saint Albons with his armie, he determined to marche forth to encounter him before hee ſhoulde approche neare the Citie.

The Earle of Warwike, accompanied with Iohn Duke of Excester, Edmond Duke of Somerſet, Iohn Earle of Oxford, and Iohn Neuill Marques Montacute his brother, vnderſtanding that king Edward was not onely receyued into London, but alſo had got king Henrie into his handes, perceyued that the tryall of the matter muſt needes bee committed to the hazard of battell, and therefore being come to the towne of S. Albons, he reſted there a while, partly to refreſhe his ſouldiers, and partly to take counſaile how to proceed in his enterprice. At length, although he knew that his brother the Marques Montacute was not fully wel perſwaded wt himſelf, to like of this quarell which they had in hand, yet the brotherly affection betwixt them tooke away all ſuſpition from the Earle, and ſo he vtterly reſolued to giue battaile, and therupon remoued towardes Bernet, a towne ſtanding in the midway betwixt London and Saint Albons aloft on a hill, at the ende whereof towardes Saint Albones there is a fayre plaine for two armyes to meete vpon, named Gladmore heath. On the further ſide of which plaine towardes Saint Albons the Erle pight his campe.

King Edwarde on the other part being furniſhed with a mightie army (hauing ioyned to that power which he brought with him certaine new ſupplies) vpon Eaſter euen the .xiij. of April in the after noone marched forth, hauing his ſayd army deuided into foure battailes. He tooke with hym king Henrie, and came that euening vnto Bernet, tenne ſmall myles diſtant from London, in which towne his forerydars finding certaine of the Erle of Warwikes forerydors, bet them out, and chaſed them ſomewhat further than halfe a myle from the Towne, where by an Hedge ſide they founde readie aſſembled a great number of the Earle of Warwikes people.

The King after this comming to Bernet, woulde not ſuffer a manne to remayne in the Towne (that were of his hoſte) but commaunded them all to the fielde, and with them drewe towardes hys enimyes, and lodged wyth hys armye more nearer to them than hee was aware of, by reaſon it was darke, ſo as hee coulde not well deſcerne where they were encamped, fortifying the fielde the beſt hee coulde for feare of ſome ſodaine inuaſion.

He tooke his grounde not ſo euen afore them as hee woulde haue done, if he might haue diſcouered the place, where they had lyne, and by reaſon thereof he encamped ſomewhat aſyde ſlippes of them, cauſing his people to keepe as much ſilence as was poſſible.

Artillerie.

They had great artillerie on both partes, but the Earle was better furniſhed therewith than the king, and therefore in the nighte time, they ſhotte off from his campe in maner continually, but doing little hurt to the kings people, ſtil ouerſhooting them by reaſon they lay muche nearer than the Erle or any of his men did eſteeme. And ſuche ſilence was kept in the Kings campe, that no noyſe bewrayed them where they lay. For to the ende it ſhoulde not bee knowne to the enimyes, howe near the King wyth his armie was lodged vnto them, the King woulde not ſuffer any of hys Gunnes in all that nyght to bee ſhot off, leaſt thereby they myghte haue geſſed the ground, and ſo leuelled theyr Artillarie to his annoyance.

A good pollicy

Early on the nexte morning betwixt foure and fiue of the Clocke, notwithſtanding there was a greate myſte that letted the ſight of bothe partes to diſcouer the fieldes, the king aduaunced hys Banners, & cauſed his Trumpettes to ſounde to the battaile.

Hall.

On the other part, the Erle of Warwike at the verie breake of the day, had likewiſe ſet hys men in order of battaile in this maner:

The order & the battel of both sides.

In the right wing hee placed the Marques Montacute, and the Earle of Oxforde with certaine horſemen, and he with the Duke of Excester tooke the left wing, and in the myddeſt betwene both, he ſet Archers, appoynting the duke of Somerſet to guide them as their chieftaine.

King Edwarde had ſet the duke of Glouceſter in the foreward, the middleward he himſelfe with the duke of Clarence, hauing with them King Henrie, did rule and gouerne. The Lorde Haſtings led the rerewarde, and beſide theſe three battails he kept a companie of freſh men in ſtore, which did him greate pleaſure before the ende of the battaile.

Here is to be remembred, that aſwell the king on his parte, as the Earle of Warwike on hys, vſed many cōfortable wordes to encourage their people, not forgetting to ſet forth theyr quarels as iuſt and lawfull, the king naming his aduerſaries traytours and rebels, and the Erle accounting him a tyrant, and a torcious vſurper. But when the tyme came that they once got ſight eyther of other, the battel began very ſharpe & cruel, firſt wyth ſhotte, and after by ioyning at hande blowes. At the fyrſt yet they ioyned not front to frōt, as they ſhould haue done, by reaſon of the myſt that tooke away the ſight of eyther armye, and ſuffred the one not to diſcerne perfectlye the order of the other, inſomuche that the one ende of the Earle of Warwikes armie ouerraught the contrarie ende of the Kings battaile whiche ſtoode Weſtward and by reaſon thereof through the valiancie of the Earle of Oxforde that ledde the Earles vowarde, the Kings people on that part were ouermatched, ſo that manye of them fled towardes Barnet, and ſo to London, bringing newes that the Earle of Warwike hadde wonne the fielde.

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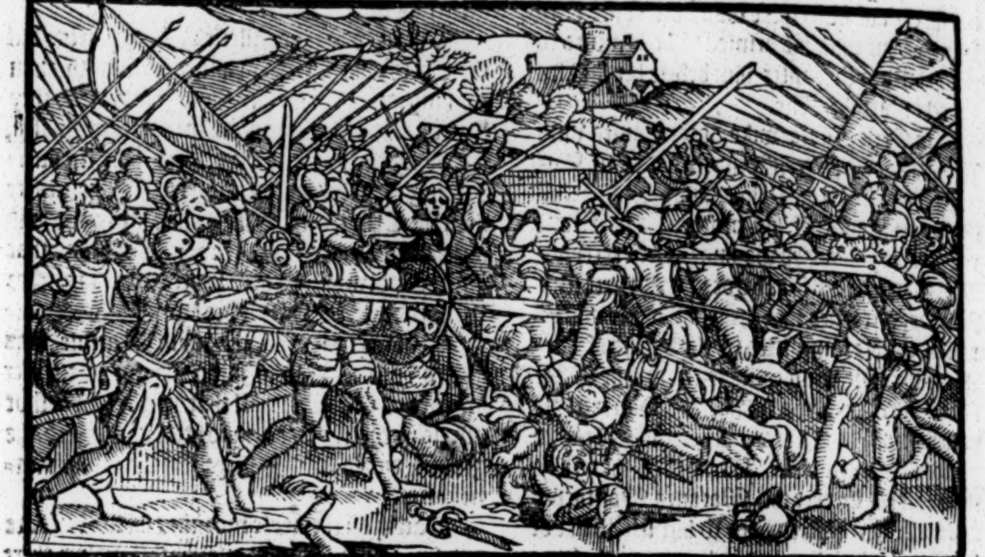

The Earles men in deede followed freely in chaſe of thoſe, that were thus put to the worſe, and ſlue many of them; but the reſidue of thoſe that fought in other partes coulde not perceyue this diſtreſſe of the Kings people, bycauſe the thicke myſte woulde not ſuffer them to ſee anye ſpace, farre off, but onelye at hande, and ſo the kings battaile that ſaw not any thing what was done beſide them, was nothing diſcouraged. For a fewe excepted, that ſtoode next to that part, there was not any one that wyſt of that diſcomfiture, and the other of the Erle of Warwikes men, that fought in other places ſomewhat diſtant from them, were nothing the more encouraged by this proſperous ſucceſſe of theyr fellowes, for they perceyued it not. And in like caſe as at the Weſt ende the Earles battaile ouerreached the Kings, ſo at the Eaſt ende the Kings ouerreached the Earles, and with like ſucceſſe put the Erles people in that place to the worſe. At length after ſore fight, and great ſlaughter made on both ſides king Edwarde hauing the greater number of men (as ſome write, though other affyrme the contrarie) beganne ſomewhat to preuaile: but the Earle on the other ſyde remembring his ancient fame and renowme, manfully ſtucke to it, and encouraged his people ſtill ſupplying wyth newe ſuccours in places where hee ſawe expedient, and ſo the fight renued more cruel, fierce, and bloudie than before, inſomuche that the victorie remayned ſtill doubtfull, though they had fought from morning till it was now farre in the day.

The manfull courage of the Erle of Warwike

K. Edward therefore willing to make an ende of ſo long a conflict, cauſed a new power of freſh men (which he had for this purpoſe kept in ſtore) to ſet on his enimies. The Erle of Warwicke was nothing abaſhed herewith, but vnderſtanding that this was all the reſidue of King Edwardes power, comforted his men to beare oute this laſt brunt, and in ſo doing the victorie was ſure on their ſide, and the battayle at an ende: but King Edwarde ſo manfully and valiauntly aſſayled hys aduerſaryes, in the myddle and ſtrongeſt part of theyr battayle, that with great violence he bare downe all that ſtoode in his way, for hee was followed and aſſyſted by a number of moſte hardye and faythfull menne of warre, that ſhewed notable proufe of tried manhoode in that inſtant neceſſitie.

The Earle of Warwike, (when his ſouldiers awearyed with long fight, and ſore weakened wyth woundes and hurtes receyued in the battaile) gaue little heede to his wordes, (beeing a man of an inuincible ſtomacke) ruſhed into the middeſt of his enimies, whereas he (aduenturing ſo farre from his companie, to kill and ſlea his aduerſaryes, that hee coulde not bee reſkued) was amongeſt the preaſſe of his enimyes ſtriken downe and ſlaine.

The Er
Warwi
ſlaine.

The Marques Montacute thinking to ſuccour his brother, was likewiſe ouerthrowne and ſlain, with many other of good calling, as knights and Eſquiers, beſide other Gentlemen.

The M
Monta
ſlayne.

Some write that this battaile was ſo driuen to the vttermoſt point, that king Edward himſelfe was conſtrained to fight in his own perſon.

and that the Erle of Warwike which was wont euer to ride on horſebacke from place to place, and from ranke to ranke, comforting his men, was now aduiſed by ẏ Marques his brother, to leaue his horſe, and to trie the extremitie by hand ſtrokes. On both parties were ſlaine (as Hall ſayth) ten thouſande at the leaſt, whereas Fabian ſayth but .xv.C. and ſomewhat aboue. Other write that there dyed in all about three thouſand.

Upon the kings part were ſlaine, the Lorde Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lorde Montioys ſonne and heyre, ſir Humfrey Bourchier ſonne to the L. Berners, & diuerſe other knights, eſquiers, and gentlemen. The battaile dured the ſpace of three houres very doubtfull by reaſon of the miſt, & in ſkirmiſhing and fighting, now in this place now in that, but finally the victorie fell on the Kings ſide, and yet it could not bee eſteemed that his whole armie paſſed nine thouſande fighting men, (as ſome wryte) where his aduerſaryes (as by the ſame wryters appeareth) were farre aboue that number. But bycauſe thoſe that ſo wryte, ſeeme altogyther to fauour King Edwarde, we may beleue as we liſt.

The Duke of Somerſet, and the Earle of Oxforde fledde in companie of certaine Northern menne, whiche hadde beene at the battayle, and as ſome wryte, the Earle of Oxford kepte forth wyth them, and retyred after into Scotlande, but yet as well the Duke of Somerſet, as the ſayd Erle of Oxforde in fleeing towarde Scotland, changed their purpoſe upon the way, and turned into Wales to Jaſper Earle of Pembroke.

The Duke of Exceter being ſtryken downe and ſore wounded, was left for deade in the fielde, amongſt other the dead bodies, bycauſe hee was not knowne, and by reaſon thereof comming to himſelfe, got up, and in greate daunger eſcaped unto Weſtminſter, and there toke Sanctuarie.

King Edwarde hauing got this victorie, refreſhing himſelfe and his people a while at Bernet, returned the ſame day into London, lyke a tryumphaunt Conquerour, leading wyth hym King Henrie as a captiue priſoner, and ſo making a ſolemne entrie, at the church of S. Paule offred his ſtandert.

The deade bodyes of the Earle and Marques, were brought to London in a Coffyn, and before they were buryed, by the ſpace of three dayes, lay open uyſaged in the Cathedral church of Saint Paule, to the intent that all menne might eaſily perceyue, that they unfeynedly were deade.

The common bruyte ranne, that the King was not ſo ioyous of the Earles death, as ſorrowfull for the loſſe of the Marques, whome hee full well knewe, (and no leſſe was it euident to other,) to be his faythfull friende and well wyller, for whoſe onely ſake, hee cauſed both theyr bodies to bee buried wyth theyr aunceſters at the Priorie of Biſſam.

Queene Margaret landeth with a power out of France

On the Tueſday in Eaſter Weeke, came knowledge to King Edwarde, that Queene Margaret the wyfe of King Henrie, wyth hir ſonne Prince Edwarde was landed upon Eaſter day at Weymouth in Dorſetſhire, accompanyed with John Longſtrother Priour of Sainte Johns, commonly called Lorde Treaſorer of Englande, who went ouer into Fraunce to fetch them: Alſo the Lorde Wenlocke, a man made onely by King Edwarde, beſide diuerſe other Knightes and Eſquires, of whome part had bene long forth of the Realme, and part newly gone ouer thyther to them in companie of the Lorde Treaſorer.

They toke theyr Shippes at Hunflet, the xxiiij. of Marche (as before you haue heard) but through contrarie wyndes and tempeſtes, they were driuen backe, and conſtrayned to abide for conuenient winde, which although it came ſometyme about fitte for theyr purpoſe, it continued not long in that kinde, ſo as if thereupon they toke the Seas at any tyme, they were forced to returne backe againe to land ere they could paſſe halfe the way ouer: and thus being diuerſe tymes under ſayle, in hope to paſſe the Seas hyther into Englande, they were repulſed backe againe, till the thirtenth of Aprill being Eaſter euen, on which day the winde comming fauourably about, they toke the Seas, and ſayled forward towards this land. The Counteſſe of Warwike hauing a ſhip of aduauntage, arriued before the other at Porteſmouth, & from thence ſhe went to Southampton, meaning to haue gone to Weymouth, where ſhe underſtood that ẏ Queene was landed: but here had ſhe knowledge of the loſſe of Bernet field, & that hir huſband was there ſlain. Whervpon ſhee went no further towardes the Q. but ſecretely gotte hir ouer the water into the newe Forreſt, and toke Sanctuarie within the Abbay of Beaulieu.

The counteſſe of Warwik taketh Sanctuary

The Duke of Sommerſet & the erle of Deuonſhire cõfort Queene Margaret.

Queene Margaret, & hir ſonne Prince Edward, with the other that landed at Weymouth, went from thence to an Abbey neare by called Cerne. Thither came unto them Edmond Duke of Somerſet, and Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire with other, and welcomed them into England, cõforting the Queene in the beſt maner they coulde, and willed hir not to deſpayre of good ſucceſſe, for albeit they had loſt one fielde, (whereof the Queene had knowledge the ſame daye beeing Monday in Eaſter Weeke, the fiftenth of Aprill, and was therefore ryght ſorrowfull) yet they doubted not but to aſſemble ſuche a puyſſance, and that very ſhortly, forth of diuerſe partes of the Realme, as beeing faythfull and wholy bent to ſpende theyr lyues and ſhed the beſt bloud in theyr bodyes for hir ſake, and hir ſonnes, it ſhoulde be harde for King Edwarde to reſiſt them with all the power he had or coulde make.

Hall.

The preſence of theſe noble men greatly comforted hir, and relieued hir of the ſorrowes, that in maner ouerwhelmed hir penſiue hearte, for ſhe doubted ſore the ende of all theſe proceedings, the which they concluded vpon to follow, for the aduancement of hir and hirs, ſpecially it miſgaue hir, that ſome euill ſhoulde chaunce to hir ſonne prince Edward, for ſhe greatly weyed not of hir owne perill (as ſhe hirſelf confeſſed.) Therefore ſhe would gladly haue had them either to haue deferred the battell till a more conuenient time, or elſe that hir ſon might haue bene conueyed ouer into France againe, there to haue remayned in ſafetie, till the chance of the next battell were tried: but they being of a contrarie minde, and namely the duke of Somerſet, ſhe at the length conſented to that which they were reſolued vpon.

The feare whiche the Queene Margaret had for hir ſon.

Thus euery man being bent to battaile, gathered his power by himſelfe, firſt in Somerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, and part of Wilſhyre, and after in Deuonſhire and Cornwall, for the better encouraging of which Countreys to ioyne with them in theyr quarell, they repayred to Exceter. Here they ſent for ſir Iohn Arundell, and ſir Hugh Courtney, and many other, in whome they had any confidence.

To be ſhort, they wrought ſo, that they rayſed the whole powers of Cornwall and Deuonſhire, and with a great army departing forth of Exceter, they toke the right way to Glaſtenburie, and from thence to Bathe, rayſing the people in all partes, where they came: for thoſe Countreyes had beene ſo laboured, firſt by the Earle of Warwike, and after by the duke of Somerſet, and the Erle of Deuonſhire (which two noble men were reconed as olde inheritors of the ſame countreys) that the people ſeemed there greatly enclyned in the fauour of king Henrie.

King Edward being at London, was dayly aduertiſed by faythfull eſpials of all the doings of his aduerſaries, and was in no ſmall agonie, bycauſe he coulde not learne what way his enimies ment to take, for he purpoſed to encounter them in one place or other, before they ſhould approche nere to London. And vpon ſuch reſolution with ſuch an army as he had got about London, furniſhed with all artillerie and other prouiſions neceſſarie, hee ſet forward the. xix. of Aprill, & came to Windſore, where hee ſtayed a ſeaſon, as well to celebrate the feaſt of Saint George, as to abide the comming of ſuche bandes as he had appoynted to repayre thither vnto him, making there this generall aſſemble.

King Edwards ſetteth forward his enemies.

The enimies to maſker him the more, ſent forth their forerydERS vnto ſundrie townes, both as well to rayſe people in the Countreys aboute, as to make the King to beleeue, that their purpoſe was ſo to paſſe thoſe wayes, where neuertheleſſe they ment not once to come: and hereupon when they departed from Exceter, they ſent firſt theyr forerydERS ſtreyght to Shafteſburie, and after to Saliſburie, and then they toke the ſtreight way vnto Taunton, to Glaſtenburie, and after to Welles, where houering about in the Countrey, they ſente another time their forerydERS vnto a towne called Yuell, and to Bruton, as if theyr meaning had bene to drawe towardes Reading, and ſo through Barkſhire, and Oxfordſhire, to haue marched ſtreight to London, or elſe to haue ſet vpon the king at ſome aduauntage, if it were offered.

But king Edwarde conſidering aduiſedly of the matter, perceyued well that they being in an angle of the Realme, if they ment to go to London, they muſt eyther holde the ſtreight waye forth by Saliſburie, or elſe drawing vp to the ſea ſide, paſſe alongſt through Hamſhyre, Suſſex, and Kent, or happily if they miſtruſted theyr owne ſtrengthes, as not able to matche wyth his puyſſaunce, they woulde then ſlyppe on the left hande, and drawe towardes Cheſſhire, and Lancaſhyre, there to encreaſe theyr forces, and peraduenture by the waye to ioyne wyth a power of Welche menne, vnder the leading of Iaſper Earle of Pembroke, who hadde beene ſente into Wales long afore, to frame and putte in a readineſſe the people there to aſſyſte King Henryes friendes, at theyr commyng thytherwardes. And ſuche was theyr purpoſe in deed, for they had great confidence in ſuch ayde as they truſted to haue of the Cheſſhire and Lancaſhire men.

King Edwarde meaning to approche nearer vnto them, that hee mighte the ſooner make way to ſtoppe them of theyr paſſage, on whiche hande ſoeuer they drewe, departed from Windſore the morrowe after Saint Georges day, beyng the. xxiiij. day of Aprill, keeping forth hys iourneye tyll on Saterdaye the. xxvij. of Aprill hee came to Abingdon, where hee lay Sunday all day.

On Monday hee marched forwarde to Chicheſter, where hee hadde ſure aduertiſement, that they intended to bee at Bathe the nexte daye beeyng Tueſdaye, and on Wedneſdaye to come forwarde to gyue him battaile: Whereupon king Edwarde deſirous to ſee his people in order of battayle, drewe with them forth of the towne, and incamped in the field three miles dyſtant from thence.

On the morrowe, hearing no certayntie of their cõming forward, hee marched to Malmeſburie, ſtil ſeeking to encounter them: but here hee had knowledge, that they hauing changed theyr purpoſe, meante not to gyue hym battaile, and therefore were turned aſide, and gone to Briſtowe, where they were receyued, relieued, and well refreſhed, by ſuche as fauoured theyr cauſe; as well with vittayles, men, and money, as good ſtore of artillerie: wherevppon, they were ſo encouraged, that the Thurſeday after, they tooke the fielde agayne, purpoſing to giue King Edwarde battell indeede, and for the ſame intente, had ſente theyr foreriders to a Towne, diſtaunt from Briſtowe nyne myles, called Sudburie, appoynting a grounde for theyr fielde, a myle off the ſame Towne, towardes the Kings campe, called Sudburie hill.

hill.

The King hereof aduertiſed, yͤ ſame Thurſeday, being the firſt of May, with hys army fayre raunged in order of battaile, came towards the place, by them appoynted for their field: but they came not there, for hearing that King Edwarde did thus approche, vpon a new change of reſolution, they left that way: albeit, ſome of theyr herbengers were come as farre as Sudburie towne, and there ſurpriſed fiue or ſixe of the Kings partie, that were raſhly entred that Towne, attending onely to prouide lodgings for theyr mayſters.

The Lordes thus hauing eftſoones chaunged theyr purpoſe, not meaning as yet to fight with the King, directed their way ſtraight towardes Berkeley, trauelling all that night. Frõ Barkeley, they marched forwarde towardes Glouceſter.

The King in the meane time, on the Thurſeday after noone, came to the ſame ground, called Sudburie hill, and there ſtayed, ſendyng forthe ſcowriers, to hearken what they mighte vnderſtand of the enimies, whome he tooke to be ſomewhere at hand: but when hee coulde not heare any certaynetie of them, he aduaunced forwarde, lodging hys vantgarde in a valley beyonde the hill, towardes the Towne of Sudburie, and lay hymſelfe with the reſidue of hys people at yͤ ſame place, called Sudburie hill.

About three of the clocke after midnight, hee was aduertiſed, that his enimies hadde taken theyr way by Barkely, towardes Glouceſter. Heerevpon, taking aduice of hys counſell, what was beſt to doe, he was coũſelled to ſend ſome of hys ſeruauntes with all ſpeede vnto Glouceſter, to Richarde Beauchamp, ſonne and heire to the Lorde Beauchamp of Powike, to whome hee hadde before thys preſente, committed the rule and cuſtodie of the Towne and Caſtel of Glouceſter.

The Kyng ſente therefore with all ſpeede vnto him, commaundyng hym to doe hys beſt, to defend the Towne and Caſtell agaynſte hys enimies, if they came to aſſayle the ſame, as it was ſuppoſed they intended, and if they ſo dyd, hee promiſſed to come with hys whole armie preſently to the reſcue.

The meſſengers dyd theyr diligence, and ſo beeyng ioyfully receyued into Glouceſter, the Towne and Caſtell, by the vigilant regarde of the ſayde Richard Beauchamp, was put in ſafekeeping.

And this meſſage was done in good tyme, for true it is, there were diuers in the Towne, that could haue bin well contented, that the Queene, and the Lordes with hir, ſhoulde haue bin receyued there, and woulde haue aduentured to haue broughte it to paſſe, if they had not bin thus preuented: and the Queene and the Lordes with hir, hadde good intelligence with dyuers in the Towne, ſo as they were putte in greate hope, to haue entred the ſame: wherevpon, they trauelled theyr people ryghte ſore all that night and morning, comming before the Towne of Glouceſter, vppon the Friday, about tenne of the clocke. And when they perceyued that they were diſappoynted of theyr purpoſe, and theyr entrie flatly denyed, they were highly therewith diſpleaſed, for they knew very well, that dyuers within the Towne bare theyr good willes towardes them: but after they hadde vſed certayne menacyng braueries, and made a ſhewe as if they hadde meant to aſſault yͤ gates, and walles, ſo to haue entred by force, they departed theyr wayes, marching with all ſpeede towardes Tewkeſburie.

Glouceſter, why it was not aſſaulted.

It myght be maruelled at, why they attempted not the winning of Glouceſter indeede, conſidering the friendes whiche they knewe they hadde within it: but the cauſe whyche moued them chiefly to forbeare, was, for that as well they without, as the other within the Towne, knewe that King Edward approched at hande, and was ready to ſet vppon them on the backes, if they hadde once begunne to haue aſſaulted the Towne, and ſo, neyther they within the Towne, that were the Kyngs friendes, doubted the enimies forces, nor the enimie indeede durſt attempte anye ſuche enterprice agaynſte them.

A long march

About foure of the clocke in the after noone, they came to Tewkeſburie, hauing trauelled that nighte laſt paſt, and that day, ſixe and thirtie long myles, in a foule Countrey, all in lanes and ſtonie wayes, betwixt wooddes, without anie good refreſhing, ſo that as well the men, as the horſes, were ryghte weerie: and where the more parte of theyr armye conſiſted of footemen

men, the Captaynes coulde not haue gone any further, excepte they woulde haue left theyr footemenne behynde them, and ſo of neceſſitie, they were driuen to ſtaye there, determinyng to abide the aduenture that God woulde ſende them, for well they knewe that the Kyng followed them very neere at hande, ſo as if they ſhoulde haue gone further, and lefte the moſt parte of theyr companie behynde, as it coulde not otherwiſe haue chanced, he would haue bene readye to haue taken the aduauntage wholye, ſo to diſtreſſe them.

The place where the Lords encamped.

Herevpon, they pight theyr fielde in a cloſe, euen harde at the Townes ende, hauyng the Towne and the Abbey at theyr backes, and directly before them, and vpon eache ſyde of them, they were defended with comberſome lanes, deepe ditches, and manye hedges, beſide hylles and vales, ſo as the place ſeemed as noyſome as myght bee, to approche vnto.

The painefull march of King Edward with his armye.

The Kyng thys Friday, verye earely in the mornyng, aduaunced hys Standertes, and in good order of battell, hauyng deuided his armye into three wardes, marched thorough yͤ playnes of Cotteſwolde, the daye was very hotte, and hauyng in hys armye aboue three thouſande footemenne, hee trauelled with them and the reſidue a thirtie myles and more, by all whyche way, they could fynde neyther horſemeate, nor mans meate, no not ſo muche as water for theyr horſes, excepte one little brooke, of the whiche, they receyued no greate reliefe, for what with the horſes and carriages that paſſed thorough it, the water became ſo troubled, that it ſerued them to no vſe: and ſtill all that daye, Kyng Edwarde with hys armye, was within fyue or ſyxe myles of hys enimies, hee in the playne Countrey, and they among the woodes.

Kyng Edwarde had euer good eſpials, to aduertiſe hym ſtill what his enimies did, and which way they tooke.

Chiltenham.

At length, he came with all hys armye, vnto a village called Chiltenham, lyke a fyue myles diſtant from Tewkeſburie, where he hadde certayne knowledge, that hys enimies were already come to Tewkeſburie, and were encamped there, purpoſing to abyde hym in that place, and to delyuer hym battell.

Kyng Edwarde therevppon, made no long delay, but tooke a little refection hymſelfe, and cauſed hys people to doe the lyke, with ſuch prouiſion of vittayles as he had appoynted to bee conueyed forth with hym, for the reliefe of hymſelfe and hys armie.

Thys done, hee ſet forwarde towardes hys enimies, and lodged that nyghte in a fielde, not paſt three myles diſtaunt from them.

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On the morrowe beeyng Saterday, and fourth of May, hee drewe towardes hys enimies, and marſhalled his armye, deuided into three battailes in thys ſort. He putte hys brother the Duke of Glouceſter in the forewarde, and hymſelfe in the middle ward. The Lorde Marques, and the Lorde Haſtings ledde the rereward. Herewith, hee approched the enimies camp, whyche was righte harde to be aſſailed, by reaſon of the deepe ditches, hedges, trees, buſhes, and comberſome lanes, wherewith the ſame was fenced, both a frount, and on the ſydes, ſo as the King coulde not well approche them to any aduauntage: and to be the better in a readineſſe, to breake backe the Kyngs power, when hee ſhoulde come to aſſaulte them, they were embattelled in thys order: the Duke of Somerſet, and hys brother the Lorde Iohn of Somerſette ledde the forewarde: The middle warde was gouerned by the Prince, vnder the conduct of the Lorde of Saint Iohannes, and the Lorde Wenlocke (whome King Edwarde hadde aduanced to the degree of a Baron.) The rereward was appoynted to the rule of the Erle of Deuonſhire.

The ord of the hoſt.

Thus may ye perceyue, that King Edwarde was put to hys ſhiftes, howe (to any aduantage) to aſſault hys enimies. Neuertheleſſe, he beeyng well furniſhed with greate artillerie, the ſame was aptly lodged, to annoy the enimies, that they receyued greate domage thereby, and the Duke of Glouceſter, who lacked no policie, galled them greeuouſly with the ſhotte of arrowes, and they rewarded theyr aduerſaries home agayne, with lyke paymente, both with ſhotte of arrowes, and greate artillerie, although they hadde not the lyke plentie of gunnes as the king hadde.

The D Glouce

Tewke fielde.

The paſſages were ſo comberſome, that it was not poſſible to come vpon any euen hande, to ioyne at handblowes.

The Duke of Glouceſter vppon a politike purpoſe (as ſome haue written) reculed backe with all his companie, which when the Duke of Somerſet perceyued, eyther moued therewith, or elſe bicauſe he was too ſore annoyed with the ſhotte in that place where he with his foreward ſtoode, lyke a Knyght more couragious than circumſpect, came out of his ſtrength with hys whole battell, and aduaunced hymſelfe, ſomewhat aſyde ſlippes the Kings voward, and by certayne paſſages aforehande, and for that purpoſe, prouided (to the Kings parte, although vnknowen) hee paſſed a lane, and came into a faire open cloſe, right afore the K. wher he was embattelled, not doubting, but the Prince, & the L. Wenlocke, with the middle warde, had followed iuſt at his back, but whether yͤ L. Wenlocke diſſima-

The Du Someſe

diſſimuled the matter for king Edwardes ſake, or whether his hart ſerued him not, ſtill he ſtode, and gaue the looking on.

The king, or as other haue, the duke of Gloceſter, taking the aduantage that he adventured for, turned againe face to face to the duke of Somerſet his battayle, and winning the hedge and ditche of hym, entred the cloſe, and with greate violence put hym and his people vp towards the hill from whence they were deſcended.

Here is to bee noted, that when the king was come before hys enimies, ere he gaue the onſette hee perceyued that vppon the ryghte hande of theyr Campe, there was a Parke, and muche ſtore of woodde growyng therein, and doubtyng leaſt hys aduerſaries hadde layde any ambuſhe within that woodde, he choſe foorth of his companies two hundred speares, commandyng them to keepe a ſtale, lyke a quarter of a myle from the fielde, to attende vpon that corner of the woodde, out of the whiche the ambuſhe, if any were, was to iſſue, and to encounter with them, as occaſion ſerued: but if they perceyued that there was no ambuſhe at all, then to imploye their ſeruice as they ſhoulde ſee it expediente and behouefull for the tyme.

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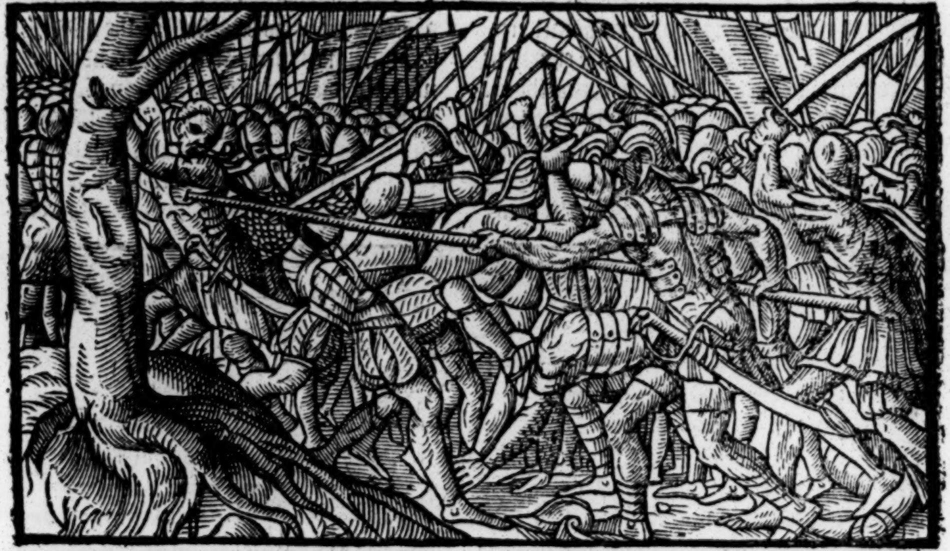
This politik prouiſion for danger that might haue enſued, (although there was none that way foorth) ſerued yet before the ende of the battayle, to greate good purpoſe: For when thoſe ſpeares perfectly vnderſtoode that there was no ambuſhe within the wood, and withall ſawe conueniente tyme to employe them ſelues, they came and brake with full randon vppon the Duke of Somerſette and hys vowarde a flanke, in ſo violent wyſe vppon the ſodayne, that where they hadde before ynough to doe with thoſe wyth whome they were firſte matched, nowe with this newe charge giuen vppon them, by thoſe two hundred ſpeares, they were not a little diſmayed, and to conclude, ſo diſcouraged, that ſtreightwayes they tooke them to flyght, ſome fledde into the Parke, other into the meadowe there at hande, ſome into the lanes, and ſome hidde them in dykes, eche one makyng what ſhift he could, by the whyche he hoped beſte to eſcape: but many neuertheleſſe were beaten downe, ſlayne, and taken priſoners.

The vantgard of the Lords diſtreſſed.



The Duke of Somerſet ſeyng this vnfortunate chance, as ſome write, tourned to the middle warde, and there finding the Lord Wenlock ſtanding ſtill, after he had reuiled him, and called him traytour, with his axe he ſtroke the braynes out of his head.

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The Duke of Glouceſter purſuing after them, that fledde with the Duke of Somerſette to theyr camp, wher the reſt of their armie ſtode, entred the trench, and after him the king, where he bare himſelfe ſo knightely, that therevpon the Queenes parte wente to wracke, and was put to flight, the king and other falling in chaſe after them, ſo that many were ſlayne, but eſpecially at a myllne in the medowe faſt by the towne, a great ſorte were drowned, many ran towards the towne, ſome to the churche, and diuers to the Abbey, & other to other places, wher they thought beſt to ſaue themſelues.

In the winning of the campe, ſuche as ſtoode to it were ſlayne out of hande. Prince Edward was taken as he fled towardes the towne, by ſir Richarde Croftes, and kept cloſe.

Hall.

Prince Edward taken.

In the fielde and chaſe were ſlayne, the Lord John of Somerſet, called Marques Dorſet, Thomas Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, Sir John Delues, Sir Edwarde Hampden, Sir Roberte Whitingham, and Sir John Leukener, with three thouſand other.

Nobles ſlaine.

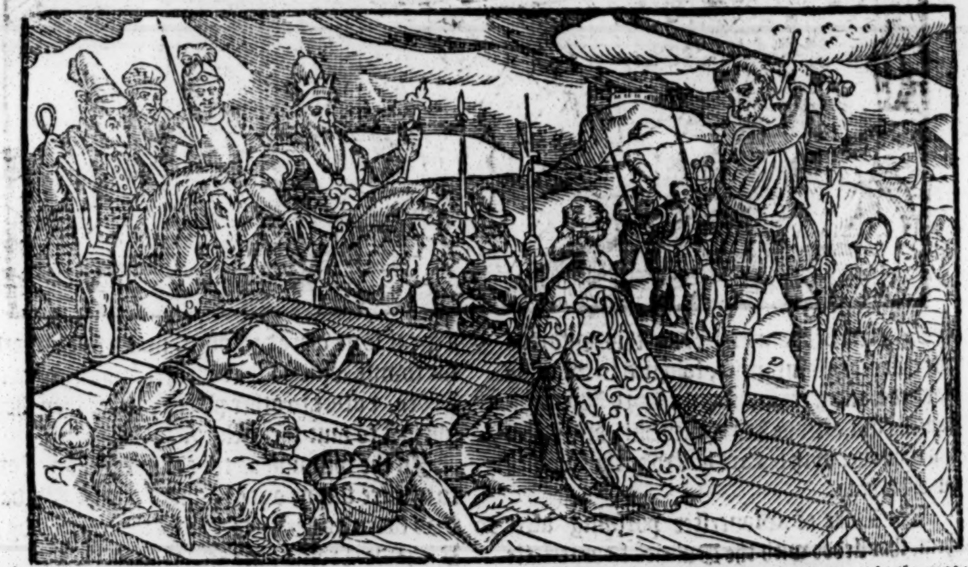
After the fielde was ended, proclamation was made, Sir Richard Crofts deliuereth the prince in hope that his life ſhould haue bin ſaued

made, that whoſoeuer could bring forth Prince Edwarde alyue or deade, ſhoulde haue one Annuitie of a hundred pounde during hys lyfe, and the Princes lyfe to be ſaued, if he were broughte forth alyue. Sir Richarde Croftes nothing miſtruſtyng the kings promiſe, broughte forth hys pryſoner Prince Edwarde, beeyng a fayre and wel proportioned yong Gentleman, whom when kyng Edwarde hadde well aduyſed, hee demaundeed of hym, howe he durſt ſo preſumptuouſly enter into his Realme with banner diſplayed? whereunto the Prince boldly anſwered, ſaying, to recouer my fathers Kingdome & heritage from his father and graundfather to him, and from him after hym, to mee lineally deſcended. At whyche wordes, kyng Edwarde ſayde nothyng, but with hys hande thruſte him from hym, or as ſome ſay, ſtroke him with his gantlette, whome incontinentely, George Duke of Clarence, Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, Thomas Grey Marques Dorcet, and Wylliam Lorde Haſtings that ſtoode by, ſodeynely murthered: For the which cruell acte, the more part of the doers in theyr latter dayes dranke of the lyke Cuppe, by the ryghtuous Juſtice and due puniſhment of God. His body was homely enterred wͭ the other ſimple corpſes, in yͤ church of yͤ Monaſterie of blacke Monks in Teukeſbury.

Prince Edward murthered.

Thys was the laſte ciuill battayle that was foughte in King Edward the fourths days, whiche chaunced thys fourth daye of Maye, beyng Saterdaye, in the eleuenth yeare of his reygne, and in the yeare of our Lorde. 1471.

After the victorie was thus atchieued, the king repayred to the Abbey Churche there, to gyue God thankes for that good ſucceſſe, whyche it hadde pleaſed hym to bliſſe him with: and there findyng a greate number of his enimyes, that were fledde thyther to ſaue themſelues, he gaue them all hys free pardon: Albeit there was no franchyſe there for rebelles: but that he myghte haue commaunded them to haue bene drawin forth without breache of any liberties of that Churche. Hee graunted alſo that the deade bodies, as well of the Lordes as other, ſlayne in that battel, myght be buried in the ſame church, or els where it pleaſed their frendes or ſeruants, without any quartering or headyng, or ſetting vp the heades or quarters in any publike places.



The Du Somerſet other be ded,

Queene Margaret taken.

There were found in the abbey and other places of the towne, Edmunde duke of Somerſet, John Lonſtrother, Lorde Prior of S. Johannes, Sir Thomas Treſham, Sir Gerueys Clifton, and diuers other Knightes and Eſquiers, whiche were apprehended, and all of them being broughte before the D. of Glouceſter, ſitting as Conneſtable of England, and the Duke of Northfolke, as Marſhall in the middeſt of the Towne, they were arreigned, condemned, and iudged to die, and ſo vpō the Tewſday beyng yͤ ſeauenth of May, the ſaid D. and the L. Prior, wͭ the two forenamed Knightes, and twelue other knightes, were on a ſcaffold ſet vp in yͤ middle of the towne for that purpoſe, beheaded, and permitted to bee buried, without anye other diſmembring, or ſetting vp of their heads, in any one place or other. The ſame Tewſday, the K. departed from Tewkeſburie towards Worceſter, and by the way had knowledge, that Q. Margarett was found in a pore houſe of religion, not far frō thence, into yͤ which ſhe was withdrawē, for ſafegard of hir ſelfe, the Saterday in the morning, beeing the day of the battell. She was after brought to London as priſoner, and ſo kept, till hir father ranſomed hir with greate ſummes of money, whyche he borowed of Lewes the eleuenth, Kyng of Fraunce, and bycauſe hee was not able to make repayment thereof, he ſold vnto the ſaid Lewes (as the French writers affirme) the Kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sicils, with the countie of Prouance.

King Edward being at Worceſter, had aduertiſements brought forth of the North partes, that the people there, were about to aſſemble in armour againſt him, in fauour of King Henry, whervpon, he left the right way to London, and rode to Couẽtrie, meaning to encreaſe the number of his people, and ſo with a puiſſant army, to goe Northwards. Hervpon, comming to Couentrie, the eleuenth of May, and remayning there a three dayes, he well refreſhed ſuch as had bin with him at Tewkeſburie fielde. Hither was broughte to him Queene Margaret, from whence ſhe was conueyd to London, there to remain in ſafekeeping (as before ye haue heard.)

Whileſt hee was buſie in ſending abroade to his friends to leauie an armie, he was aduertiſed that the commotion in the North was pacified, for after that it was knowen abroade, howe hee had obteyned the victorie, as well at Tewkeſburie, as at Barnet, and in manner, ſubdued al his enimies, the Captaynes that had ſtirred the people to that Rebellion, began to quayle, and forſaking their companies, dyuers of them made ſute to the Earle of Northumberlande, that it mighte pleaſe him to be a mediator to the King for their pardon, ſo that now, there was no Rebellion in all the North partes, but that as well, the Citie of Yorke, as all other places, were at the Kings commaundement, readie in al things to obey him, as true and loyall ſubiectes. And this was confirmed by the Earle of Northumberlands owne mouth, who on the fourteenth of May, came to the King, as yet remayning at Couentrie, by reaſon wherof, it was not thought needefull, that the King ſhoulde trauell any further Northwarde at that time, either about the pacifying of the people, or to ſee execution done vpon the offendors, ſith all was there in good tranquilitie and quiet.

But now when al things ſeemed to be at reſt, and no Rebellion after ſo happie victories doubted, newes came to him before his commyng to Couentrie, from the Lords of his bloud, abiding at London, that one Thomas Neuill, baſterde ſonne to that valiant Captayne the Lord Thomas Fawconbridge (who had lately before bene ſente to the Sea, by the Earle of Warwike, and after fallen to practiſe piracie) had ſpoyled dyuers Merchante Shyppes, Portingalles, and others, in breache of the auncient amitie that long had continued betwixte the Realmes of England and Portingale: and furthermore, had now got to him a greate number of Marriners, out of all parts of the lande, and manye traitors and miſgouerned people, from each quarter of the Realme, beſyde dyuers alſo forth of other countreys, that delighted in theft and robberies, meaning to worke ſome exployte againſte the King: and verily, his puiſſance increaſed dayly, for hauing bin at Calais, and broughte from thence into Kente many euill diſpoſed perſons, he began to gather his power in that Countrey, meaning (as was thoughte) to attempte ſome great and wicked enterpriſe.

The baſterde Fauconbridge before London wyth an army.

After the Kings comming to Couentrie, hee receiued aduertiſementes, that this baſterd was come before London, with many thouſandes of men by lande, and alſo in Shippes by water, purpoſing to robbe and ſpoyle the Citie. Many Kentiſhmen were willing to aſſiſt hym in thys miſcheuous enterpriſe, and other were forced againſte their willes, to goe with him, or elſe to ayde hym with their ſubſtance and money, in ſo much, that within a ſhort time, he had got togyther ſixteene or ſeauenteene thouſande men, as they accompted thẽſelues, with whome he came before the Citie of London the twelfth of May, in the quarrell (as he pretended) of King Henry, whome hee alſo meant to haue out of the tower, and to reſtore him againe vnto his Crowne and royall dignitie, and for that intente, he required to enter the Citie with his people, that receyuing King Henrye forth of the Tower, they myghte paſſe with him thorough the Citie, and ſo to march ſtraight towards King Edward, whoſe deſtruction they vowed to purſue, with all theyr vttermoſt indeuors. But the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie, woulde not in any wiſe agree to ſatiſfie theyr requeſt herein, vtterly refuſing to receyue him, or any of his company, into the Citie. King Edwarde from tyme to time by poſtes was enformed of all theſe doyngs, and by aduiſe of counſell, the fourteenth of May, ſent to the ſuccoures of the Maior and Aldermen, a fifteene hundred of the choyſeſt ſoldiers he hadde about him, that they myghte help to reſiſt the enimies, till hee had got ſuch an armie togyther, as was thoughte neceſſarie, meaning with all conuenient ſpeede, to come therewith to the reſcue of the Citie, and preſeruation of the Queene, Prince, and his daughters, that were within the Tower, not in very good ſafegard, conſidering the euill diſpoſitions of many within the Citie of London, that for the fauour they had borne to the Earle of Warwike, and deſire to bee partakers of the ſpoyle, cared not if the baſterd myghte haue atteyned to his full purpoſe, and wiſhed intente.

Succours ſent to the Citie of London.

The ſixtenth of May, King Edwarde ſette forth of Couentrie, towardes London. But here yee haue to vnderſtand, that when the baſterde coulde not be receiued into the Citie, neyther by gentle perſwaſions, nor greeuous threatnings, he made ſemblaunce, to paſſe ouer the Thaymes at Kingſton bridge, a tenne miles from Londō, and thitherwardes hee drewe with his whole power by lande, leauing hys Shippes afore Saint Katherines and thereaboutes.

The baſterdes purpoſe to ſpoile the ſuburbs of London.

His pretēce was, to ſpoyle and deſtroy Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbes of the Citie on that ſide, and after, to aſſault the Citie it ſelfe, to trie if he might enter by force, and ſo to bee reuenged of the Citizens, that had refuſed to receyue hym: but as he was onwardes vppon this iourney, hee was aduertiſed, that Kyng Edwarde was preparing to come forwardes agaynſt hym, aſſiſted in manner, with al the great Lordes of ẏ realme, and others in great number, more than he hadde bin at any time before, by reaſon whereof, doubting what myghte followe, if paſſing the ryuer, he ſhoulde fortune ſo to be encloſed, that he ſhuld be driuen thereby to encounter with the Kyngs power at ſuch oddes, hee thought it beſt to alter his purpoſe, and ſo returning, came backe agayne before London, and muſtered hys people in Saint Georges field, aranged and placed in one entier battaile, and to the intent they might worke theyr purpoſed feate, before the Kinges comming to the reſcue, they reſolued with all theyr forces to aſſault the Citie, and to enter it if they could by playne ſtrength, that putting it to the ſacke, they mighte conuey the riches to theyr Shyppes, whyche lay in the Riuer, betwixte Sainte Katherins and Blacke wall, neere to Ratcliffe: heereupon, hauing broughte certayne peeces of artillerie forth of theyr Ships, they planted the ſame alongſt the water ſyde, ryghte ouer agaynſte the Citie, and ſhotte off luſtely to annoy them within, ſo muche as was poſſible: but the Citizens on the other ſide, lodged their great artillerie againſte their aduerſaries, and with violente ſhotte thereof, ſo galled them, that they durſt not abide in anye place alongſt the water ſyde, but were driuen euen from theyr owne ordinance.

The baſterd altereth his purpoſe.

The baſterde meaneth to enter the City by force.

The baſterd yet meanyng not to leaue anye way vnaſſayed that myghte aduance hys purpoſe, appoynted a greate number of hys retinue, to ſet fire on the bridge, ſo to open the paſſage, and to enter into the Citie that way forth, and withall, hee cauſed aboue three thouſande other to paſſe by Shyppes ouer the Thaymes, giuing order, that when they were gote ouer, they ſhuld deuide themſelues into two battailes, the one to aſſault Aldgate, and the other Byſhoppes gate, whiche order accordyngly was executed, they doyng theyr beſt at both places to force ẏ gates, not ſparing to bende and diſcharge ſuch gunnes as they hadde broughte with them againſte the ſame, nor ceaſſing with arrowes, to annoy thoſe that there ſtoode at defence, whereby much hurte was done, as well at the one place as the other, fire beeyng ſet on both the gates, in purpoſe to haue brent them vp, and ſo to haue entred.

Aldgate, and Biſhopſgate aſſaulted.

The fire which they had kindled on ẏ bridge, little auayled them (although they brente there, to the number of a threeſcore houſes) for the Citizens hadde layde ſuche peeces of ordinance directly in their way, that although the paſſage hadde bin wholly open, they ſhoulde haue hadde harde entring that way forth.

Houſe
on the b

The Maior, Aldermen, and other worſhipfull Citizens, were in good aray, and eache man appoynted and beſtowed where was thoughte needefull.

The Earle of Eſſex, and manye Knyghtes, Eſquiers, and Gentlemen, with theyr friendes and ſeruauntes, came to ayde the Citizens, takyng great payne to place them in order, for defence of the gates and walles: and furthermore, deuiſed howe and in what ſorte they myghte make a ſally forth vppon the enimies to diſtreſſe them: and ſurely, by the intermingling of ſuche Gentlemen and Lordes ſeruauntes in euerye parte with the Citizens, they were greatly encouraged to withſtand theyr enimies. The Rebels yet, vnder the leading of one Spiſing, bare themſelues ſo ſtoutely at Aldgate, that they wan the bulwarkes there, and droue the Citizens backe, within the portculice, and entred with them, to the number of ſixe or eyghte, but ſome of them were ſlayne with the fall of the portculice that was let downe vpon them, to keepe the reſidue out, and thoſe that were entred within the gate, were ſoone diſpatched. Heerewith, they laſſhed freelie, the one parte at the other, with gunnes and bowes, although no great hurt was done with ſhotte, till at length Roberte Baſſet Alderman (that was appoynted to the keeping of this gate, with the moſt part of the Citizens) and the Recorder, named Urſewike, either of them being well armed in ſtrong Iackes, commaunded the portculice to bee drawen vp, and mayntenauntly ruſhed forth vpon their enimies, putting them backe vnto Sainte Bothulphes Church.

The v
of Rob
Baſſet
man.

At the ſame inſtante, the Earle Riuers, hauing gote togyther a foure or fiue hundred men, well choſen, and apparelled for the warre, iſſued forthe at the poſterne, by the Tower, and aſſayling the Kentiſhmen, euen vppon the poynte as they were thus put backe, mightely layde vppon them, firſte with arrowes. and after ioyning with them at handſtrokes, ſlewe and tooke manie of them priſoners, ſo that the Rebels were fully putte to flighte, and followed firſte to Mile ende, and from thence, ſome vnto Poplar, ſome to Stretforde, and Stepnith, and in manner, eache way forth, aboute that parte of the Citie, the chaſe beeyng followed for the ſpace of two miles in lengthe, many of them were of Eſſex, and ſo made their courſe homewardes, but the more parte of them fledde to the water ſide, and getting to their ſhippes, paſſed ouer the Thames to the reſte of their companye. The other likewiſe that were buſie to aſſault Byſhopſgate, when they vnderſtoode that their fellowes were diſcomfited and fled from Aldgate, they likewiſe ſlipped away, and made the beſt ſhifte they could to ſaue themſelues. There were a ſeuen hundred of them that fledde from Aldgate, and other places, ſlaine out right, beſide the priſoners. And yet there were fiers brennyng all at once at Aldgate, Byſhopſgate, and on the bridge, and many houſes conſumed wyth the ſame fiers. But now the baſterde, vnder whom that company was directed, that had ſet fier on the bridge, when he ſawe that hee myght not preuaile, and vnderſtoode the euill ſucceſſe of thoſe whiche he had ſette ouer the Thaymes, hee withdrewe alſo, and lefte the bridge.

Here the hardy manhoode of Raufe Joſſelin Alderman is not to bee paſſed wyth ſilence, who after hee hadde valiantly reſiſted the baſterde and his bande that aſſaulted the bridge, vpon their retire, ſallied forthe vppon them, and followyng them in chaſe a long the water ſide, till they came beyonde Ratcliffe, ſlewe and tooke verye many of them.

The baſterde notwithſtanding gathered his companyes togyther, and wyth ſuche as were willyng to remayne wyth hym, encamped on Blacke heathe, by the ſpace of three dayes next enſuyng, to witte, the ſixteenth, ſeuenteenth, and eighteenth of May, vtterly deſpayryng of hys wiſhed praye, ſith hee hadde beene thus repulſed from London, to hys vtter confuſion.

And nowe to conclude, hearyng that Kyng Edwarde was commyng wyth a ryghte puiſſaunt armye, the ſayde baſterde and hys people durſte no longer abide, but brake vp and diſperſed themſelues, ſome one way, and ſome an other. They of Calais gotte them thither agayne wyth all ſpeede, and ſuche as were of other Countryes, repayred likewiſe to theyr homes, and many of the Kentiſhemen went alſo to their houſes.

The baſterde wyth hys Mariners and ſuche riotous rebelles, robbers, and wicked perſons as ſoughte nothyng but ſpoile, gotte them to ſhippeborde, and wyth all their veſſelles drewe downe to the coaſte.

King Edward hauyng aſſembled an armie of thirtie thouſande men (as ſome write) and accompanied in manner wyth all the greate Lordes of Englande, came to London the one and twentye of May, beeing Tueſday, where hee was honourablye receyued by the Mayor, Aldermen, and other worſhippefull Citizens, where euen vppon their fyrſte meetyng wyth hym, hee dubbed diuers of them Knightes, as the Maior, the Recorder, and other Aldermen, and worſhippefull Commoners of the Citie, whyche hadde manfullye and valiauntlye acquite themſelues againſte the baſterde Fauconbridge and hys wicked companye of Rebelles.

Hall.

King Henry the ſixth murthered in the Tower.

Moreouer, heere is to bee remembred, that poore Kyng Henrye the ſixth, a little before depriued (as yee haue hearde) of hys Realme and imperiall Crowne, was nowe in the Tower ſpoyled of hys lyfe, by Rycharde Duke of Glouceſter, (as the conſtante fame ranne) who to the intente that hys brother Kyng Edwarde myghte raygne in more ſuretie, murthered the ſaide King Henry with a dagger, althoughe ſome writers of that time fauouryng altogyther the houſe of Yorke, haue recorded, that after hee vnderſtoode what loſſes hadde chaunced to hys friendes, and howe not only his ſon, but alſo all other hys chief partakers were dead and diſpatched, he tooke it ſo to harte, that of pure diſpleaſure, indignation, and melancolie, hee dyed the three and twentith of May.

The nine and twentith of May.

The dead corps on the Aſcention euen, was conueyed with bylles and gleaues pompouſly (if you wyll call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower, to the Churche of Sainte Paule, and there layde on a beere, where it reſted the ſpace of one whole daye, and on the nexte daye after, it was conueyd without Prieſt or

Clearke, torche or taper, ſinging or ſaying, vnto the Monaſterie of Chertſey, diſtant from London fifteene miles, and there was it firſt buryed, but after, it was remoued to Windeſore, and there in a newe vawte, newly intumulate. Hee raigned eyght and thirtie yeares, ſixe monethes & odde dayes, & after his readeption of ẏ Crowne ſixe monethes. He lyued two and fiftie yeares, hauyng by hys wife one onely ſonne, called Edwarde, Prince of Wales. He was of a ſeemely ſtature, of body ſlender, to whiche proportion, all other members were aunſwerable, hys face beautifull, in the whiche continually was reſidente, the bountie of minde, with the whiche hee was inwardlye indewed. Of hys owne natural inclination, he abhorred all the vices, as well of the body as of the ſoule. His patience was ſuche, that of all the iniuries to hym done (whyche were innumerable) hee neuer aſked vengeaunce, thinkyng, that for ſuche aduerſitie that chaunced to hym, hys ſynnes ſhoulde bee forgotten and forgyuen. What loſſes ſo euer happened vnto hym, hee neuer eſteemed, nor made anye accompt thereof, but if any thyng were done, that myghte ſounde as an offence towards GOD, hee ſore lamented, and with great repentaunce ſorowed for it, ſo that full vnlyke it is, that hee dyed of anye wrath, indignation, and diſpleaſure, bycauſe hys buſineſſe about the keeping of the Crowne on hys head, tooke no better ſucceſſe, excepte peraduenture yee will ſaye, that it greeued hym, for that ſuch ſlaughters and miſchieues as hadde chaunced within thys lande, came to paſſe onely through hys folly and defaulte in gouernemente, or that more is, for hys fathers, his Grandfathers, and hys owne vniuſt vſurping, and deteyning of the Crowne. But howſoeuer it was, for theſe before remembred, and other the lyke properties of reputed holyneſſe, whych was ſayde to reſt in hym, it pleaſed God to worke miracles for hym in hys lyfe tyme, as menne haue lyſted to report, by reaſon whereof, King Henrye the ſeauenth ſewed to Pope Iulio the ſeconde, to haue hym canonized a Sainct, but for that the canonizing of a King, ſeemed to bee more coſtly than of a Byſhoppe, the ſayde Kyng left off hys ſute in that behalfe, thynkyng better to ſaue his money, than to purchaſſe a newe holy day of Sainte Henrye, with ſo great a price, remitting to God the iudgemente of hys will and intent.

Canonizing of kings, deere

Thys Henrye the ſixte, amongſt other good deedes, buylte the Schoole of Eton by Windeſor, and alſo the Kings Colledge in the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge, whereof hys liberal mind towardes the mayntenance of good learning, may euidently be coniectured.

Eaton colledge.

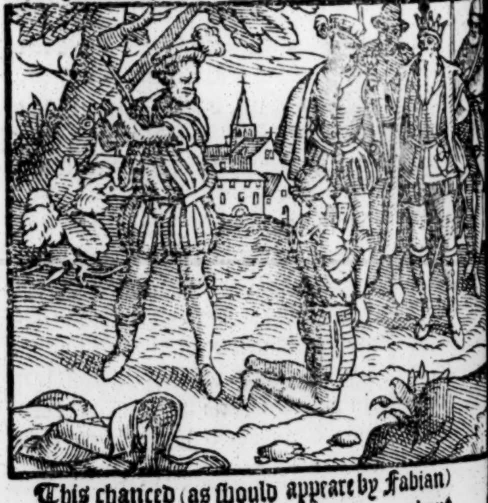
Kinges colledge in Cambridge.

But nowe to returne to King Edward. Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that after hys commyng to London, hee reſted there but one day, or two at the moſt, takyng hys iourney forthrighte into Kente with all hys armie, following the baſterd, and other his complices, to ſuppreſſe them, if they were in anye place aſſembled agayne to reſiſt him, but after they were once diſperſed, they durſt not ſhewe themſelues agayne in armour, thoſe onely excepted, that were withdrawen vnto Sandwiche with the baſterde, whiche for the more parte were marriners, an eyghte or nine hundred, beſyde certayne other euill diſpoſed perſons, that accompanyed hym, as hys ſoldiers, and men of warre, with whoſe aſſiſtance, the Baſterde kepte that Towne by ſtrength, hauing in the hauen a ſeauen and fortie Shyppes, greate and ſmall vnder his gouernaunce, but vpon the Kings approching neere vnto thoſe parties, they ſente to hym for pardon, promiſing, that vpon a reaſonable appoyntment, for ẏ ſafegard of their liues, and other indempnities to bee hadde for their benefite, they woulde become hys faithfull ſubiectes, & deliuer into his hands all the Shippes. Their offer the K. vppon great conſiderations, & by good deliberate aduice of counſell, thought beſt to accept, & there vpon, being at that time in Canterburie, he graunted to theyr petitions, and ſent immediately vnto Sādwich hys brother Richard Duke of Glouceſter, to receyue them to mercie, togither with all the Shippes, which according to their promiſe, they deliuered into his handes. But notwithſtanding that (as ſome write) the Baſterde Fauconbridge, and other of hys companie that were gote to Sandwiche, had thus theyr pardons by compoſition at the Kyngs hande, we finde neuertheleſſe, that the ſayde Baſterd, beeing afterwards at Sea (a rouing belyke, as hee hadde vſed before) came at length into the open hauen at Southhampton, and there taking lande, was apprehended, and ſhortly after beheaded.

Sand by the

The re ſucio

The b of Fau bridge ded.



This chanced (as ſhould appeare by Fabian) about the latter end of October. Moreouer Roger Vaughan that had bin ſent by K. Edwarde into Wales, anon after Teukeſbury field (being a man of great power in that countrey) to entrap and ſurmiſe by ſome ſecrete ſleight the Earle of Pembroke, the ſayd erle being therof aduertiſed, tooke the ſame Roger, and without delay ſtroke off his head. After this, was the erle beſieged in the towne of Pembroke by Morgan Thomas, but the ſiege was reiſed by Dauid Thomas brother to the ſayd Morgan, a faithfull frende to the Erle, and then the erle by his help was conueyed to Tynby, where he got ſhips, and with his nephew the Lord Henry erle of Richmond ſayled into Britain, where of the Duke they were curteouſly entertayned, with aſſurance made, that no creature ſhould do them any wrong or iniurie within his dominions.

King Edward viſiting diuers places in Kent ſatte in iudgement on ſuch as had ayded the baſtard in the laſt cōmotion, of whom diuers were condemned and executed, as Spiſing one of the captains that aſſaulted Algate, whoſe head was ſet vp ouer the ſame gate: and ſo likewiſe was the head of one Quintine, a butcher, that was an other captaine amongſt them, and chief of thoſe that aſſaulted Biſhops gate, as ſome write.

Moreouer, at Canterbury, the Maior of that citie was executed, and diuers other at Rocheſter, Maydſtone, and Blackheath: for the Lord Marſhal and other Iudges beeing appointed to hold their Oyer and determiner in that countrey of Kent, there were aboue an hundred indited ⁊ condemned. Diuers alſo of the Eſſex men that had bin partakers in this rebellion with the baſtard, and holpe to ſet fire on Biſhops gate ⁊ Algate, were hanged betwixt Stratford ⁊ London. Manie of the welthy cōmons in Kent were put to grieuous fines, and when the king had made an end of his buſineſſe in that countrey, he returned to London, comming thither againe vppon Whitſon euen, being the firſte of Iune, and hauing thus within the ſpace of .xj. weekes, recouered in maner the whole poſſeſſion of his realme, being relieued of the moſt part of all his doubtfull feare, he ment to remoue al ſtops out of the way, and therfore ſent the Archebiſhop of Yorke brother to the Erle of Warwike, and to the Marques Montacute ouer to Guyſnes, ther to be kept in ſafe cuſtodie within the caſtel, where he continued a long ſeſon, til at length he was by frendſhip deliuered, and ſhortly after through very anguiſh of mind, departed this life, whom Laurēce Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotheram in the ſea of Yorke, did ordinarily ſuccede.

Beſyde this, Iohn Earle of Oxford, whiche after Barnet field, bothe manfully and valiantly kept Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall, either for lacke of ayde, or perſwaded by his frendes, gaue vp the Mounte, and yelded himſelfe to king Edward (his life only ſaued) whiche to hym was graunted, but to bee oute of all doubtfull imaginations, King Edward alſo ſente hym ouer the ſea to the Caſtell of Hammes, where by the ſpace of twelue yeares he was in ſtrong priſon ſhut vp and warely looked to.

1471

An. reg. 12.

King Edwarde was not a little diſquieted in his minde, for that the Earles of Penbrooke and Richemont were not onely eſcaped out of the Realme, but alſo well receyued and entertained of the Duke of Britaine, hee ſente therefore in ſecrete wiſe graue and cloſe meſſengers, to the ſayde Duke, the whyche ſhoulde not ſticke to promiſſe the Duke greate and riche rewardes, ſo that hee would deliuer both the Earles into their handes and poſſeſſion.

Meſſengers ſent to the duke of Britaine.

The Duke after hee hadde hearde them, that were ſente, made thys aunſwere, that hee could not with his honour deliuer them to whom hee hadde gyuen his faith to ſee them preſerued from all iniurie, but this (hee ſaide) he woulde do for the King of Englande that they ſhoulde bee ſo looked vnto, as he needed not to doubt of anye attempt to bee made againſte hym by them or by theyr meanes. The Kyng receyuyng this aunſwere, wrote louingly to the Duke of Britaine that hee woulde conſider his friendeſhippe, wyth conuenient rewardes, if it ſhoulde pleaſe him to bee as good as hys promiſſe. The Duke perceiuyng gaine commyng by the abode of the two Engliſh earles in his country, cauſed them to be ſeperated in ſunder, and all their ſeruaunts being Engliſhmen to be ſequeſtred frō them, ⁊ in their places appointed Britons to attend them.

1473

An. reg. 13.

In the thirteenthe yeare of his raigne King Edwarde called his highe courte of Parliament at his Pallaice of Weſtminſter, in the whiche all lawes and ordinaunces made by hym before that day were confirmed, and thoſe that King Henry had abrogated after his readeption of the Crowne were againe reuiued. Alſo lawes were made for the confiſcation of traytors goodes, and for the reſtoring of them that were for his ſake, fled the realme, whiche of his aduerſaries hadde ben attaynted of high treaſon, and condemned to dye. Moreouer towards his charges of late ſuſteyned, a competent ſumme of money was demaunded and freely graunted. There was alſo a pardon granted almoſt for all offences, and all men then being within the Realme, were releaſed and diſcharged of all high treaſons ⁊ crimes, although they had taken part with his aduerſaries againſt him. In this ſeaſon the D. of Burgongne had ſore warres with the French K. ⁊ to be the more ſpedily reuenged on his aduerſarie, he ſent Ambaſſadors into Englande, to perſwade

A Parliament.

A Subſidie.

A pardon.

Ambaſſadours from the duke of Burgongne.

kyng Edward to make war alſo on the French Kyng, for the recouerie of his auncient right in the Realme of Fraunce, by the ſame Frenche Kyng agaynſte all equitie, withholden and detayned.

King Edward not ſo much for yͤ loue he bare to the duke of Burgongne, as for deſire to be reuenged on the Frenche king, whome he tooke to be his enimie for ayding the Earle of Warwike, Queene Margaret, and hir ſonne Prince Edward, and their complices, gaue good eare to the duke of Burgongne his meſſengers, and finally after he had taken aduice of his counſell, the ſaid Meſſengeres were anſwered, that K. Edwarde in the beginning of the next yeare would land at Caleys with a puiſſaunt armie, both to reuenge ſuche iniuries as hee had receiued at the Frenche kings handes, and alſo to recouer his right, whiche he wrongfully deteyned from him.

Oportunitie not to bee neglected.

In deed the tyme ſerued verie well for yͤ Engliſhmẽ to atchieue ſom high enterpriſe in Frãce at that preſent, for not onely the Duke of Burgongne as then made warre againſt the French K. but alſo many great men within the realm of France, miſlyking the maners of their king, began to haue ſecret intelligẽce with the ſaid duke, and namely Lewes of Lutzenburgh earle of S. Paule Coneſtable of France was ſecretly confederate with the duke of Burgongne, intendyng verily to bring the French kyng to ſome greate hinderance, the better to haue his purpoſe accompliſhed in certain weightie matters.

The Earle of Sainct Pol.

King Edward vnderſtanding all theſe thinges, was greatly encoraged to make a iorney into France, & thervpon with all diligence prepared all things ready for the ſame, and bicauſe he wanted money, and coulde not well charge hys cõmons with a newe ſubſidie, for that he had receyued the laſt yeare great ſums of money graunted to him by Parliament, he deuiſed this ſhift to call afore him a great number of the wealthyeſt ſort of people of his realme, and to them declaring his neede, and the requiſite cauſes therof, he demaunded of euerye of them ſome portion of money, which they ſticked not to giue, and therfore the K. willing to ſhew yͭ this their liberalitie was very acceptable to him, he called this grant of money a Beneuolence, notwithſtanding that many with grudge gaue great ſummes toward that newe found ayde, which of them might bee called a Maleuolence: but the K. vſed ſuche gentle faſhions toward them, with frendly prayer of their aſſiſtance in his neceſſitie, that they coulde not otherwyſe doe but frankely and freelye yeelde and giue hym a reaſonable and competent ſumme.

A shift to recouer money

1474
An. reg. 14.

When all things conuenient for ſuche an enterpriſe were in a redineſſe, the king came to Douer, where he founde. v. C. ſhippes and hoyes redie to tranſport hym and his armie. And ſo the fourth day of July he paſſed ouer, and landed at Caleys with great triumph, but his armie, horſes, and munitions of warre ſcarce paſſed ouer in. xx. dayes.

The ki an army ouer in Fraunce

In thys Armye (beeing one of the beſte appoynted that had paſſed oute of Englande into Fraunce in many yeares before) were fifteene hundred men of armes well horſed, of the which the moſt parte were barded and richely trapped, and many of them trimmed in one ſuite. There were alſo. xv. M. Archers with bowes and arrows, of the which a great number wer on horſebacke: there were alſo a great companie of other fighting men, and of ſuche as ſerued to ſette vp Tentes and pauilions, to attende the artillerye and to encloſe their campe, and otherwiſe to laboure, and to bee employed in ſeruice. In all this armye was there not one Page. The King of Englande was at his arriuall highly diſpleaſed wyth the Duke of Burgongne, whiche in the worde of a Prince hadde promiſſed to meete hym at hys landyng wyth twoo thouſande men of armes and lyghte horſemenne, beſide a great number of Launſquenetz, and Halberdiers, and that hee woulde haue begonne the warre three monethes before the Kings tranſporting, whereas contrarily, the duke lay lingeryng at the ſiege of Nuſſe, and let paſſe the occaſion of atchieuing a more profitable enterpriſe. Kyng Edward incontinently diſpatched the Lord Scales in poſte vnto the Duke, to put hym in remembraunce of his promiſe, and to aduiſe him to come and ioyn wyth hym before the Sommer were ſpente.

The b Nuſſe,

The Lo Scales,

Before King Edwarde departed from Douer, hee ſente an officer of armes vnto the french King wyth a defyaunce. The Frenche Kyng receyuyng the King of Englandes letters at the meſſengers hande, redde the ſame, and after he hadde conſidered thereof at leaſure, hee called the Engliſhe Harrault aſide, and to hym declared the little truſte that was to bee putte in the Duke of Burgongne, and the Coneſtable, by whoſe procurement hee knewe that King Edwarde was procured to come at that ſeaſon into Fraunce, and therefore it ſhoulde bee better for hym to haue peace wyth an old enemy, than to ſtaye vppon the promiſſes and familiaritie of a newe diſſimulyng friende, whyche peace bothe moſt pleaſed God, & was the thyng that he moſt deſyred: when hee hadde ſayde, he gaue to the Herrauld three hundred Crownes, promyſyng him a thouſande Crownes if any good appointment came to paſſe.

A defy ſent to French

Thys Herrauld was borne in Normandie, & being more couetous of the crowns thã ſecrete, according as of duetie by his office hee ought to

The off an Harr

haue bin, promiſed to do all things that in him lay, and further ſhewed ways by the whiche the french king myght enter into the port of treatie for peace, the whiche he doubted not but would ſorte to a good concluſion. The Frenche kyng glad to heare theſe thinges, gaue to the Herauld when he ſhould depart, beſyde the other rewarde, a peece of crimſen veluet of .xxx. yards long. The L. Scales cõming to ẏ duke of Burgongne, before Nuſſe, could not perſwade him to reyſe his fielde, & as it ſtode him vpon, to come and ioyne with K. Edward, til at length conſtrained therto by other means, he left Nuſſe vnconquered, ſending the moſte parte of his armie into Lorrain, came with a ſmall company to K. Edward lying before Caleys. King Edwarde at the firſte cõming of the duke vnto him, ſemed much to reproue his vnwyſe dealing: in makyng ſo ſlowe haſt to ioyne with him at thys tyme, ſith for his ſake, and at his ſute, he had paſſed the ſeas with his army, to the intent to make warres in Frãce in reuenge of both their iniuries, the time ſeruing their turnes ſo well as they could wiſh or deſire, the oportunitie wherof, could neuer happely bee recouered agayn. The Duke after he had excuſed himſelfe, with alledging the diſhonour that ſhould haue redounded to him if he had lefte the ſiege of Nuſſe, without meane of ſome ſhew of compoſition, encoraged K. Edward to aduance forward with many golden promiſes, aſwell of his owne parte, as of the Conneſtable, the King agreed to ẏ dukes perſwaſion, & ſo ſet forwarde: but yet when he was entred into the dukes cõtreys, ẏ Engliſhmẽ wer not ſo frendly entertained as they loked to haue bin: for at their cõming to Peronne, there were but a fewe ſuffered to enter the gates, the remnant were driuen to lodge in the fieldes, better purueyed of their owne, than of the dukes prouiſion. And at their cõming before S. Quintines (which town the Conneſtable had promiſed to deliuer into the hands of ẏ duke of Burgongne) the artillerie ſhot off, and they of the town came forth both on horſeback & foot to ſkirmiſh with them ẏ approched, of ẏ whiche .ij. or .iij. were ſlaine. This entertaynment ſeemed ſtrange to K. Edw. pondering the laſt days promiſe, & this dayes doing. But ẏ duke excuſed the matter, & woulde haue perſwaded him to make coũtenãce to beſiege the town, ẏ the Conneſtable might haue a color to render it into his hands, as though he did it by cõſtrainte. But the K. remembring what had bin tolde to hys Herralde by the French K. how he ſhuld be diſſimuled wt, perceiued the Frẽch kings words to be too true, & therfore thought it more ſurer to hear the fair words of the Conneſtable, & the duke, than to giue credite to their vntrue & diſceytfull doings. The engliſh men returned to their campe in a great chafe towards the Conneſtable, & the next day to encreaſe their diſpleaſure, an other corſey was miniſtred, that ſmarted ſorer: for duke Charles of Burgongne toke his leaue ſodenly of K. Edward, alledging that he muſt needes ſee his armie in Barroys, promiſing ſhortly, with all his puiſſaunce to retourne agayne to the great commoditie of them both. This departing muche troubled the king of England, bicauſe he looked for no ſuche thing, but thought rather ẏ he ſhoulde haue had the duke his continual felow in armes: & therfore this diſſimuling and vnſtedfaſt working, cauſed the king to thinke, that he neuer thought, & to doe that he neuer intended. The Frenche K. in thys meanwhile had aſſembled a mighty power, ouer the whiche he had made captaine Monſ. Rob. de Eſtoutvile, whome he ſent into Arthoys, to defend the frontiers there againſt the kyng of Englandes entrie, and hee hymſelfe tarried ſtill at Senlis: But though hee ſhewed countenaunce thus of warre, yet inwardly deſirous of peace, according to the aduice giuen him by the engliſhe Herraulde, hee cauſed a varlet or yeoman, as I may cal him, to be put in a cote armor of Frãce, which for haſt was made of a trumpet baner: for K. Lewes was a man nothyng preciſe in outward ſhewes of honor, oftentymes hauing neyther officer of armes nor trumpet in his courte.

The Duke of Burgongne departeth.

This counterfaite Herraulde being throughly inſtructed in his charge, was ſente to the K. of England, & ſo paſſing forth: when he approched the Engliſhe campe, hee put on his coate of Armes, & being eſpied of the outriders, was brought to a tent, where the Lord Howarde, and the Lorde Stanley were at diner, of whome he was curteouſly receiued, and by them conueyed to ẏ kings preſence, vnto whom he declared his meſſage ſo wittily, that in the end he obteined a ſafe conducte for one hundred horſſes, for ſuche perſons as his maiſter ſhould appoint to meete, as many to be aſſigned by K. Edward in ſome indifferent place betweene bothe armies, to haue a lyke ſafeconduct from hys ſaid maiſter, as he receiued from him.

A meſſenger ſent to the K. of Englande.

After that the ſafe conducts were deliuered on both patres, the Ambaſſadors mette at a village beſide Amiens: on the kyng of Englandes ſide, the Lorde Howarde, Sir Thomas Sentleger, doctor Morton after biſhop of Ely, and Chancellour of England, were chiefe. For the French K. the baſtard of Bourbon Admirall of France, the Lorde of Sainte Pierre, the Byſhoppe of Eureux called Heberge, were apointed as principall. The Engliſhmenne demaunded the whole Realme of Fraunce, or at the leaſt Normandye and whole Acquitayne, the allegations were proued by the Engliſhmen, and politikely defended by the Frenchmen, ſo that with

Commiſſioners appointed to treate of peace.

argumentes, without concluſion, the daye paſſed; and the commiſſioners departed, and made relation to their maiſters. The Frenche K. & his counſel wold not conſent yͭ the Engliſhmẽ ſhuld haue one foot of land within Fraunce, but rather determined to put himſelf & the whole realme in hazard & aduenture. At the next meting yͤ cõmiſſioners agreed vpon certain articles, which were of both yͤ princes accepted & allowed.

Articles of agrement betvvene kyng Edvvarde and the french king.

It was firſt accorded yͭ the French K. ſhuld pay to yͤ king of Englãd without delay .75000. crowns of yͤ ſun, & yerely .l.M. crowns to be payd at London, during K. Edwards life. And further it was agreed, yͭ Charles the Dolphyn ſhould mary the lady Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to K. Edward, & they two to haue for yͤ maintenãce of their eſtates, the whole duchy of Guyenne, or elſe .l.M. crownes yerely, to be payd within yͤ toure of Lõdon by yͤ ſpace of .ix. yeres, & at the end of yͤ terme, the Dolphyn & his wife to haue yͤ whole duchye of Guyenne, & of yͭ charge the French K. to be clerely acquit. And it was alſo cõcluded, that the .ij. princes ſhuld come to an enterview, & ther take a corporal othe for the performance of thys peace, eyther in ſight of other.

VVant of money procureth peace.

On the K. of Englands part wer cõpriſed as alyes (if they wold therto aſſent) yͤ dukes of Burgogne & Britain. It was alſo couenãted, yͭ after the whole ſum aforeſayd of 75000. crowns were payde to K. Edw. he ſhuld leaue in hoſtage the L. Haward, & ſir Io. Cheyny maiſter of his horſe, til he & al his army was paſſed the ſeas. This agrement was very acceptable to yͤ French K. for he ſaw himſelf and hys realme therby deliuered out of great peril yͭ was at hand: for not only he ſhuld haue bin aſſailed, (if this peace had not takẽ place) both by yͤ power of Englãd & Burgongne, but alſo by the duke of Britain, & diuers of his own people, as yͤ Coneſtable & others. The K. of England alſo vnderſtanding his own ſtate, for wante of moneye, to maynteyne the warres, if they ſhuld long continue (though otherwiſe he deſired to haue attẽpted ſome high enterpriſe againſt the Frenchmẽ) was the more eaſily induced to agree by thoſe of his counſel, yͭ loued peace better thã war, & their wyues ſoft beds better thã hard armor & a ſtony lodging.

The duke of Gloceſter an enimie to peace

But the D. of Glouceſter & other, whoſe ſwords thirſted for Frenche bloud, cried out on this peace, ſaying yͭ al their trauell, pain & expences wer to their ſhame, loſt and caſt away, & nothing gayned but a continual mocke.

The Duke of Burgongne cõmeth in haſte to the King of Englande.

When the duke of Burgogne heard yͭ there was a peace in hand betwixt K. Edward & the French king, he came in no ſmall haſt from Lutzenburgh, only accõpanied with .xvj. horſes into the K. of Englandes lodging, and began as one in a greate chafe ſore to blame his doings, declaring in plain termes how diſhonorable this peace ſhuld be vnto him, hauing atchieued nothing of that aboute the which he came. The K. of England after he had giuen him leaue to ſpeake his fantie, anſwered him ſomwhat roundly againe, openly reprouing him for his promiſe breaking & vncurteous dealing with him, where for his cauſe, chiefly he had paſſed the ſeas, & now found him not to kepe touch in any one point which he had couenãted. The duke being in a great rage, bad the king of England farwel, & ſodeinly toke his horſe, & rode again to Lutzenburgh, promiſing not to enter into any league with the Frenche King, till king Edward was paſſed the ſeas again into Englãd & had bin there .iij. months: but this promiſe was not perfourmed; for of neceſſitie hee toke a wiſer way, & agreed with the French K. vpon a truce immediatly after the departure of the Engliſhe armie oute of his countreye.

He depa
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in a rage.

The Coneſtable of France alſo, doubting yͭ his vntrouth would be diſcloſed to his deſtruction, by meanes of this agreemẽt betwene yͤ kings of England & France, as ſoon as he heard they were entred into communication therof, ſent to king Edw. requiring him not to credite the French kings promiſes, which he wold no lõger obſerue, thã vntil he ſhuld once vnderſtand, that he was on the other ſide of the ſea: & rather than he ſhuld agree, for want of money, he offered to lend him .l.M. crowns. But the king of England, ſith the accord was paſſed & agreed, wold not change any thing for the promiſes of ſo ſlipper a merchãt as he knew the coneſtable to be.

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After yͭ the peace was concluded, the Engliſhmen were permitted to enter into the towne of Amiens, and there to buy ſuch neceſſary things as they wanted, & had plentie of wine and good cheere made them of the French kings coſt; for at the entrie of euery gate, there were .ij. long tables ſet on euery ſide of the ſtreete where they ſhould paſſe, & at euery table fiue or ſix gentlemen of the beſt companions of all the countrey were appointed to enterteyn the engliſhmen as they entred, and to ſee them ſerued withoute lacking. This chere laſted .iij. or .iiij. dayes not only to the Frenche kings coſte, but alſo to hys vnquietnes at length, doubting to haue bin diſpoſſeſſed of his towne: For one day there entred the number of .ix. M. engliſhmen well armed in ſundry companies, ſo that no frenchman durſte once forbid them to enter, but finally, order was takẽ by the king of England, who ment no deceit, that no greater nũber ſhuld enter, then was conuenient, & the other were called backe, ſo that the French king & his counſel were well quieted, & rid of caſting further perils thã nede required.

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After this, bothe the Kynges enteruiewed togither at Picqueny on the water of Some .iij. leagues abouе Amiens, ſhewyng greate curteſie eyther to other. The letters of both their agreements were opened & red, and then either Prince layd his right hand on the miſſal, & his left hande on yͤ holy Croſſe (as it was tearmed) & toke there a ſolemne othe to obſerue and kepe the treatie for .ix. yeares concluded betweene them with al their confederates and alies, compriſed, mencioned and ſpecified in the ſame, and further to accompliſhe the marriage of their children. There was wyth either prince .xij. noble mē at this meeting, which was vpō a bridge caſt ouer the water of Some, a grate beyng ſet a trauerſe the ſame in the mids, ſo from ſide to ſide, that the one Prince could not come vnto the other, but only to imbrace eche other, in putting their armes through the holes of the grate. There were four Engliſhmen appointed to ſtand with the Frenchmen on the bridge to ſee their demeanor, and likewiſe .iiij. Frenchmen were appointed to the Engliſhmen for the ſame purpoſe. There were with the king of England his brother the duke of Clarence, the erle of Northumberland, the biſhop of Elie his chācellor, the lord Haſtings his chamberlain, and .viij. others. They hadde louing and very familiar talke togither a good ſpace, bothe afore their company, and ſecretly alone, whileſt their company of curteſy withdrew ſomewhat backe. Finally, when theſe Princes had ended their communication, they toke leaue eyther of other in moſt louyng & amiable wiſe, & then mounting on horſback, they departed, the French king to Amiens, and Kyng Edward to his armie. The Frenche king gaue to dyuers of the Engliſh Lords great rewards, as to the L. Chancellor, to the L. Haſtings, to yͤ L. Haward, to ſir Thomas Montgomery, to ſir Thomas Sentleger, to ſir John Cheyny, to the Marques Dorſet, and to diuers other. And beſide the extraordinarie rewards, which he beſtowed amongſt them to haue their ſtedfaſt fauour and good willes, he gaue to them great pēcions, amounting to the ſumme of .xvj. thouſand crounes a yere. When the king of England had receiued his money, & his nobilitie their rewardes, he truſſed vp his tents, and laded his baggage, & departed towards Caleys, where at his cōming thither, he toke ſhip, and ſailed with a proſperous winde into Englande, and was royally receyued vpon Blackheath by the Mayre of London and the Magiſtrates, & .v. C. comoners apparelled in Murrey, the .28. daye of September, and ſo cōueyed thorough yͤ citie of Weſtmin. where for a while after his long labor, he repoſed himſelfe. About the ſame ſeaſon, the French king to compaſſe his purpoſe for the getting of the Conneſtable into his hands, toke truce with the duke of Burgongne for .ix. yeres, as a cōtractor in the league, and not comprehended as an other princes alye. The K. of England aduertiſed hereof, ſente ouer Sir Thomas Montgomerye to the French king, offring to paſſe the ſeas agayn the next ſommer in his ayde to make warres on the duke of Burgongne, ſo that the French K. ſhuld pay to him fiftie thouſand crownes for the loſſe whiche hee ſhould ſuſtein in his cuſtome, by reaſon that the woolles at Caleys bycauſe of the warres could haue no vent, and alſo pay half the charges, and half the wages of his ſouldiors and men of warre. The Frenche K. thanked the K. of England for his gentle offer, but hee alleged that the truce was already concluded, ſo that he coulde not then attempte any thing againſt the ſame without reproche to his honour. But the trouth was, the French K. neither loued the ſight nor liked the companie of the King of England on yͤ ſide the ſea, but when he was here at home, he both loued him as his brother, and toke hym as his frende. Syr Thomas Montgomery was with plate richly rewarded, and ſo diſpatched.

There returned with him the Lord Hawarde and ſir John Cheyney, whiche were hoſtages with the French king till the Engliſh army were returned into Englande.

1475

An. reg. 15.

K. Edw. hauing eſtabliſhed al things in good order, as mē might iudge, both within his realme & without, was yet troubled in his mind, for that Hēry the erle of Richmond, one of yͤ bloud of K. Henry yͤ vj. was aliue, & at libertie in Britaine: therfore to attēpt eftſoons the mind of Fraunces D. of Britain, he ſent ouer vnto yͤ ſaid duke, one doctor Stillington & two other his ambaſſadors laden with no ſmal ſum of gold. Theſe ambaſſadors declaring their meſſage, affirmed yͭ the K. their maſter willed to haue the erle of Richmōd, only for this purpoſe, to ioyn with him in alyāce by marriage, & ſo to plucke vp al the leauings of diſcord betwixt him & the contrary faction. The duke gently heard the Orators, & thoughe at the firſt he by excuſes denied their requeſt, yet at the length beleuing that K. Edw. wold giue to the erle his eldeſt daughter, yͤ lady Elizabeth in mariage, he conſented to deliuer him, & receyued of yͤ engliſh Orators a great ſumme of mony: but ere they were embarked with their pray, the D. being aduertiſed, that the erle of Richmond was not ſo earneſtly ſought for, to be coupled in mariage with K. Edward his daughter, but rather that his head might be chopped off with an hatchet, cauſed his treaſorer Peter Landoyſe to cōuey the ſayd Erle of Richmond into a ſanctuarie at S. Malo, wher the Engliſh ambaſſadors then lay, only ſtaying for a cōuenyēt wind: who complayned, that they were euill vſed to bee ſpoyled both of their moneye and merchandiſe, yet bycauſe the matter was ſo handeled, that it ſeemed the Earle eſcaped into the Sanctuarie thorough theyr owne negligence, after they hadde receyued hym into their handes,

Henry earle of Richmonde.

Ambaſſadours into Britaine.

The Earle of Richmonde taketh Sanctuarie.

they were ſone aunſwered, but yet promiſe was made that the Erle ſhould be ſafely kept, either in the Sanctuarie, or elſe as priſoner in the Dukes houſe, that they ſhuld not need to feare him more than his ſhadow. And thus the K. of Englande purchaſed for his money, the keeping of his enimie, the ſpace onely of .iij. dayes, and no more.

King Edw. was ſomwhat diſpleaſed wyth this chance, but yet truſting that the D. of Britayn wold according to promiſe, ſee the Erle of Richmont ſafely kept from doing any greuance to him or his ſubiects, put all doubtes therof out his mynd, ⁊ began to ſtudy how to kepe a liberal princely houſe, and therupon ſtoryng his cheſts with money, hee imployed no ſmall portion in good houſe keepyng.

1476

An. reg. 16.

The deathe of the Duke of Burgongne.

This yere the duke of Burgongne was ſlain by the Swytzers, before the towne of Nancy in Lorrayne, after whoſe death the French K. wan all the townes which the ſayd Duke held in Picardie and Arthoys, and bycauſe that the towne of Bolongne and countie of Bolongnoys, appertayned by right of inheritance vnto the Lord Berthram de la Toure, Earle of Auuergne, the Frenche king bought of him his righte and title in the ſame, and recompenced hym wyth other lands in the countie of Foreſts, and in other places. And bicauſe the forenamed town and countye were holden of the Erledome of Arthoys, he chāged the tenure, and auowed to hold the ſame towne and countye of our Lady of Bolongne, and therof did homage to the image in the great churche of Bolongne, offering there an Heart of gold, weying two thouſand crowns, ordeyning further that his heires and ſucceſſors at their entrie into their eſtates, by them ſelues or their deputies, ſhuld offer an hart of like weight ⁊ value as a reliefe ⁊ homage for yͤ ſame town ⁊ coūtye.

1477

About this ſeaſon through great miſhap, the ſparke of priuie malice was newly kindeled betwixt the K. and his brother the D. of Clarēce, inſomuch that where one of the dukes ſeruantes was ſodeinly accuſed (I can not ſay whether of truth, or vntruly ſuſpected by the dukes enimies) of poyſoning, ſorcerie or inchauntmente, and therof cōdemned, ⁊ put to executiō for the ſame, the Duke whiche might not ſuffer the wrongfull condemnation of his man (as he in his conſcience iudged) nor yet forbeare but to murmure and reproue the doyng therof, moued the Kyng with his dayely exclamation to take ſuche diſpleaſure with hym, that finally the Duke was caſt into the Tower, and therwith adiudged for a traytour, and priuilye drowned in a butte of Malmeſey, the .xj. of Marche, in the beginning of the .xvij. yeare of the kings reigne.

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Some haue reported, that the cauſe of thys noble mans death roſe of a fooliſh propheſie which was, that after king Edwarde ſhould reigne one, whoſe firſt letter of his name ſhould be a G. wherwith the K. and the Quene wer ſore troubled, ⁊ began to conceiue a greeuous grudge againſt this duke, and could not be in quiet til they had brought him to his end. And as the deuill is wōt to encōber the myndes of men which delite in ſuche diuliſh fantaſies, they ſaid afterward yͭ that propheſie loſt not his effect, when after king Edward, Glouceſter vſurped his kingdom. Other alledged, that the cauſe of his death was for that the duke being deſtitute of a wife by yͤ meanes of his ſiſter the lady Margarete, Ducheſſe of Burgongne, procured to haue the Lady Mary daughter ⁊ heire to hir huſband duke Charles. Which mariage K. Edward (enuying the proſperitie of his brother) both againſayd and diſturbed, and therby olde malice reuiued betwixt thē, whiche the Queene and hir bloud (euer myſtruſting, and priuily barking at the kyngs lynage) ceaſſed not to encreaſe. But ſure it is, yͭ although king Edward were conſenting to his death, yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, and repent his ſodeyn execution. Inſomuch that when any perſon ſued to hym for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he woulde accuſtomably ſaye, and openly ſpeake: O infortunate brother, for whoſe life not one wold make ſuite, openly and apparantly meanyng by ſuche wordes that by the meanes of ſome of the nobilitie he was deceyued ⁊ brought to his cōfuſion.

Propheci
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This duke left behynd him two yong infants begot of the body of his wife, the daughter of Richard late erle of Warwike, whiche children by deſtinie as it were, or by their owne merits, folowing the ſteps of their anceſtors, ſucceded them in like miſfortune and ſemblable euill chaunce. For Edward his heire whome K. Edward had created earle of Warwike was .xxiij. yeares after in the tyme of Henry the ſeuenth, attaynted of treaſon, and on the Tower hill loſt his head. Margarete his ſole daughter maryed to ſir Richard Pole knight, and by Henry the .viij. reſtored to the name, title and poſſeſſiōs of the earledom of Saliſbury, was at length for treaſon cōmitted againſt the ſayd Henry the .viij. atteynted in open parliamēt, ⁊ ſixtie two yeres after hir father had ſuffred death in the tower, ſhe on the greene within the ſame place was beheaded. In whoſe perſon dyed the very ſurname of Plantagenet, whiche from Geoffrey Plantagenet ſo long in the bloud royall of this realme had floriſhed ⁊ continued. After yͤ death of this D. by reaſon of great heat ⁊ intemperancie of aire, hapned ſo fierce and quicke a peſtilence, that fifteene yeares warre paſte conſumed not the third parte of the people, that only foure moneths myſerably ⁊ pitifully diſpatched ⁊ brought to their graues.

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1478
reg. 18.

The counſellors of the yong Duches of Burgongne ſent to King Edwarde for ayde againſt the French king, & aboute the ſame time had the Quene of Engl. ſente to the lady Margaret duches of Burgongne for ẏ preferremēt of hir brother Anthonie erle Riuers to ẏ yong damſel: but the counſel of Flanders cōſidering ẏ he was but an Earle of meane eſtate, & ſhe the greateſt inheritrice of all Chriſtendom at that time, gaue but deafe eare to ſo vnmeet a requeſt. To which deſire, if the Flemings had but giuen a lyking eare by outwarde ſemblance, and with gentle wordes delayed the ſuit, ſhe had bin both ſuccoured & defended. Whether K. Edw. was not contented with this refuſall, or ẏ he was loth to breake with the Frenche K. he wold in no wiſe conſent to ſend an armie into Flāders againſt ẏ French king, but yet he ſent Ambaſſadors to hym with louing & gentle letters, requiring hym to growe to ſome reſonable order and agreement with the yong Ducheſſe of Burgongne, or at the leaſt to take a truce with hir at his requeſt.

The ambaſſadors of Englād wer highly receiued, bountifully feaſted, & liberally rewarded, but anſwer to their deſire had they none, but that ſhortly after, the French K. wold ſend Ambaſſadors, hoſtages, and pledges to the K. of Englād their maiſter, for the perfecting and concludyng of all things depending betwene thē two, ſo that their ſoueraine lorde and they, ſhould haue cauſe to be contented and pleaſed. Theſe faire wordes were only delayes to driue tyme till hee mighte haue ſpace to ſpoyle the young Damoſell of hir townes and countreys. And beſide thys, to ſtay king Edwarde from taking parte with hir, hee wrote to him that if he would ioyne with him in ayde, he ſhould haue and enioye to him and hys heyres the whole countie and countrey of Flanders, diſcharged of homage, ſuperioritie and reſort to be claimed by the French K. or his ſucceſſors: and further he ſhould haue the whole duchy of Brabant, wherof the French king offered at his owne coſt & charge to conquer .iiij. the chiefeſt and ſtrongeſt townes within the ſayd Duchye, and them in quiet poſſeſſion to deliuer to the K. of Englande, graunting further to pay to hym x.M. angels toward his charges, with munitions of warre and artillerie, whiche he promyſed to lende him, with men and cariage for the conueyance of the ſame. The king of England refuſed to make any warres agaynſte thoſe countreyes that were thus offered to him: but if the Frenche King would make him partener of hys cōqueſts in Picardie, rendring to him part of the towns alredie gotten, as Bolongne, Monſterel, and Abuile, then he wold ſurly take his part, and ayde him with men at his owne coſts & charges.

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Thus paſſed faire wordes and golden promiſes betwene theſe two princes, and in the meane time the yong ducheſſe of Burgongne was ſpoiled of hir townes, caſtels and territories, tyll at length for maintenance, ſhe condeſcēded to marie wt Maximilian ſonne to ẏ emperor Frederik, that he might kepe the Wolfe from the folde.

1479
An. reg. 19.

King Edward in the .xix. yere of his reign began more thā he was before accuſtomed to ſerch the forfaiture of penall lawes and ſtatutes, aſwel of the chief of his nobilitie as of other gentlemen being proprietaries of great poſſeſſions, or abundantlye furniſhed with goodes, likewyſe of merchāts, & other inferior perſons: by reaſon wherof, it was of all men iudged ẏ he wold proue hereafter a ſore and a rigorous Prince among his ſubiects: but this his new inuēted practiſe and couetous meaning, (by reaſon of forcyn affaires and abridgement of his dayes in this tranſitorie lyfe, which were within two yeares after conſumed) toke ſome but not great effecte.

1480
An. reg. 20.

Ambaſſadors were ſent to and fro betwixt the K. of England & France, and ſtil the french king fed the K. of England with faire wordes, putting him in hope to match his ſon and heire the Dolphyn with the lady Elizabeth daughter to the K. of England, according to the concluſions of agreemēt had & made at Pyqueny betwixt them, although in very decde he meante nothing leſſe. His ambaſſadors euer made excuſes if any thing were amiſſe, & he vſed to ſend chaunge of ambaſſadors, ſo ẏ if thoſe which had bin here afore, and were returned, had ſayde or promiſed any thing (though they were authoriſed ſo to doe) whyche might turne to their maſters hindrance, the other that came after mighte excuſe themſelues by ignorāce of ẏ mater, affirming that they wanted cōmiſſion once to talk or meddle with that matter, or if he perceiued that any thing was lyke to be concluded contrary to his mynde, for a ſhifte he would call his Ambaſſadours home in greate haſte, and after ſend an other with new inſtructions nothing depending on the olde.

The French K. fedeth the king of Englande vvith faire vvordes and promiſes.

Thus the French king vſed to dally with K. Edward in the caſe of this mariage, only to kepe hym ſtil in amitie: And certainly the king of England being a mā of no ſuſpicious nature, thought ſooner that the Sun ſhould haue fallen from his circle, than that the French king would haue diſſimuled or broken promiſe with him: but there is none ſo ſoone beguyled, as he that leaſte myſtruſteth, nor anye ſo able to deceyue as hee to whom moſt credence is giuen: but as in myſtruſting nothing is great lightneſſe, ſo in too much truſtyng is to muche folly, whiche will appeared in this matter: for the Frenche king by cloakyng his inwarde determinate purpoſe, wyth greate dyſſimulation and large promyſſes, kept hym ſtil in frendſhip with the king of England, till he had wrought a greate parte of his will againſt the yong Ducheſſe of Burgongne, which king Edward would not haue ſuffered, if he had put any great doubt in the french kings fair promiſes, conſidering that the crown of France was in this mean time ſo much encreaſed in dominions, to the great reenforcement of that realme.

1481
An. reg. 21.

In this very ſeaſon James the thirde of that name K. of Scots ſent into England a ſolemne ambaſſade for to haue the ladie Cicelie, K. Edwards ſecond daughter to be maried to his eldeſt ſonne James, prince of Scotland, duke of Rothſay, and earle of Carick. King Edward and his couſel, perceiuing that this affinitie ſhuld be both honorable and profitable to the Realme, did not only graunt to his deſire, but alſo beforehand diſburſed certain ſummes of money, to the only intent that the mariage ſhould hereafter neyther be hindred nor broken, with this condition, that if yͤ ſaid mariage by any accidentall meane ſhould in tyme to come take none effecte, or that K. Edw. wold notifie to the K. of Scots, or his counſell, that his pleaſure was determined to haue yͤ ſayd mariage diſſolued: Then yͤ Prouoſt & merchāts of the town of Edenburgh, ſhuld be bound for repayment of the ſaid ſum again. Al which things were with great deliberatiō cōcluded, paſſed and ſealed, in hope of cōtinuall peace & indiſſoluble amitie. But K. James was known to be a man ſo wedded to his own opinion, yͭ he could not abide thē that wold ſpeake cōtrary to his fantaſy, by meanes whereof, he was altogither led by the counſel and aduice of men of baſe linage, whom for their flatterie, he had promoted vnto great dignities & honorable offices, by which perſons, diuers of the nobilitie of his realme were greately miſuſed & put to trouble both with impriſonmēt exactions & death, inſomuche that ſome of them went into voluntarie exile. Amongſt whome Alexander duke of Albany, brother to K. James, being exiled into France, & paſſing through England, taried with king Edward, & vpon occaſion moued him to make war againſt his brother, yͤ ſaid K. James, for that he forgetting his othe, promiſe and affinity cōcluded with K. Edward, cauſed his ſubiects to make roades & forrayes into the Engliſh borders, ſpoyling, brenning, & killing king Edwards liege people. King Edward not a little diſpleaſed with this vnprincely doing, prouoked & ſet on alſo by the D. of Albanye, determined to inuade Scotland with an armie, as wel to reuenge his owne iniuries receyued at the hands of king James, as to helpe to reſtore the D. of Albany vnto his countrey and poſſeſſions again. Hervpon al the wintry ſeaſon, he muſtred his men, prepared his ordinance, rigged his ſhips, and left nothing vnprouided for ſuch a iorney, ſo that in the beginning of the yeare, all things apperteyning to the warre, and neceſſarie for hys voyage, were in a readineſſe.

Ambaſſadours foorth of Scotlande.

Preparati for warr gainſt S

To be his chieftayn of his hoſt, and lieutenant general, Rich. duke of Glouceſter was appoynted by his brother king Edward, and with him were adioyned as aſſociates, Henry the fourth earle of Northumberland, Tho. L. Stanley lorde Steward of the kings houſe, the L. Louell, the lorde Greyſtocke, and diuers other noble men, & worthie knights. Theſe valiant captains came to Alnewik in Northumberland, about the beginning of July, where they firſt encāped thēſelues, & marſhalled their hoſt. The forewarde was led by the erle of Northūberland, vnder whoſe ſtanderd were the L. Scropt of Bolton, ſir Jo. Middleton, ſir Jo. Dichfielde, & diuers other knights, eſquiers and ſouldiors, to the number of. vj. M. & .vij. C. In the middle warde was the Duke of Glouceſter, and wyth hym the Duke of Albany, the lorde Louell, the lorde Greyſtock, ſir Edward Wooduile, and other to the number of fiue thouſand and eight hundred men. The L. Neuile was appoynted to folow, accompanied with iij. M. The Lorde Stanley led the wing on the right hand of the dukes battail with. iiij. M. mē of Lancaſhire & Cheſhire. The Lord Fitzhugh, ſir Williā a Parre, ſir James Harrington, with the number of two thouſande ſouldiors, guyded the left wing: And beſide all theſe, there were one thouſand appointed to giue their attendaunce on the ordinance. This royall armie not intending to loſe tyme, came ſodeynly by the water ſide to the town of Barwike, and there what with force and what with feare of ſo great an army, toke & entred the towne: but the erle of Bothwel being captain of the caſtell, wold in no wiſe deliuer it: wherfore the capitains vpon good and deliberate aduice, plāted a ſtrong ſiege roūd about it. Whē this ſiege was laid, the ij. dukes & al the other ſoldiors (except yͤ L. Stāley, ſir Jo. Elringtō treaſorer of yͤ kings houſe, ſir Will. a Parre, & 4000. men that were lefte behinde to keepe the ſiege before

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before the caſtell (departed from Berwicke toward Edinborough, and in marching thitherward, they brent and deſtroyed many townes and baſtiles. King James hauing ſmall confidence in his communaltie, and leſſe truſt in his nobilitie, kept himſelfe within the caſtell of Edenboroughe. The Duke of Gloceſter entred into the towne, & at the eſpecial deſire of the duke of Albany, ſaued the towne, and the inhabitants from fyer, bloude, and ſpoile, taking only of the marchauntes, ſuche preſents as they gentilly offered to hym and his captains, cauſing Gartier principal king at armes, to make a publike proclamation at the high croſſe in the market place of Edenboroughe, by the which he warned and admoniſhed king James, to keepe, obſerue, and performe, all ſuche promiſſes, compactes, couenauntes, and agreements, as he had concluded and ſealed to, with the king of Englande, and alſo to make ſufficiẽt recompẽce to his ſubiectes, for the tiranny, ſpoile, and crueltie, which hee and his people had committed and don, contrary to yͤ league, within the marches of his realm of England, before the firſt day of Auguſt next enſuing. And further without delay to reſtore his brother the duke of Albany to his eſtate, and all his poſſeſſions, offices, and authorities, in as large maner as he occupied and enioyed the ſame before: or elſe the duke of Gloceſter lieutenaunt generall for the king of England, was ready at hande to deſtroy hym, his people, and countreys, with ſlaughter, flame, and famine. King James woulde make no anſwer neyther by worde nor writyng, but kepte hymſelfe cloſe within the caſtell: but the lordes of Scotland lying at Hadington with a great puiſſaũce, determined firſt to practiſe with yͤ duke of Glouceſter for a peace, and after by ſome meanes to allure the duke of Albany from the Engliſhe amitie, & vpon this motion, the .ij. day of Auguſte they wrote to the duke of Glouceſter, requiring that the mariage betwene the prince of Scotland, & king Edwards daughter might be accompliſhed, according to the couenants, and further that a peace from thenceforth might bee louingly concluded betwene both realms. The duke of Glouceſter anſwered again to theſe demaundes, that for the article of the mariage, he knewe not the King his brothers determinate pleaſure, either for the affirmaunce, or denyall of the ſame, but neuertheleſſe he deſired full reſtitution of all yͤ ſums of money preſted out in lone vppon the ſame mariage, and as for peace he aſſured them he would agree to none, except the caſtel of Berwik might be to him deliuered, or at the leaſte wiſe that they ſhoulde vndertake yͤ the ſiege lying afore yͤ ſame ſhuld not be troubled by the K. of Scots, nor by any of his ſubiectes, nor by his or their procuremẽt or meanes. The Scottiſh lordes vpon thys anſwer and demaundes of the duke of Glouceſter, ſent to hym the elect of Murray, & the lord Dernley, which reaſoned the matter, touching the repayment of the mony, for that the time of the lawfull contracte of the ſaide mariage, was not yet come, & no day apointed for the money to be paide before the contract beganne. But for further aſſuraunce, either for the contract to be made, or for the paiment of the money, they promyſed thereunto accordingly (as reaſon ſhould require) to agree. Secõdarily as touching yͤ caſtel of Berwicke, they alledged that it apperteined to the realme of Scotland, as the olde inheritaũce of the ſame. The duke notwithſtanding, all that they could ſay, wold agree to no peace, except yͤ Caſtell of Berwicke might quite deliuered to the king of England, and ſo the meſſengers departed. The ſame day the archbiſhop of ſainct Andrewes, the Biſhop of Dunkell, Colin earle of Argyle, lord Cambell, and lord Andrewe lord of Auandale chauncellor of Scotland, wrote to the duke of Albany a ſolemne and an autenticall inſtrument, ſigned & ſealed with their hãds and ſeales, concerning a generall pardõ to him and his ſeruaunts, vpon certaine conditions to be graunted, which conditions ſeemed ſo reaſonable, that yͤ duke of Albany deſirous to be reſtored to his olde eſtate, poſſeſſions, and natiue countrey, willingly accepted the ſame: but before he departed from the duke of Glouceſter, he promyſed bothe by worde and writyng of his owne hand, to do & performe all ſuche things, as he before that time had ſworne and promiſed to king Edward, notwithſtãding any agreemẽt nowe made, or after to be made, with the lordes of Scotland: and for performaunce of the effect hereof, he againe toke a corporall othe, & ſealed the writyng before the D. of Glouceſter in the engliſhe campe at Leuington beſides Hadington, the thirde day of Auguſt in the yere. 1482. After he was reſtored, the Lordes of Scotlande proclaimed him great lieutenaunt of Scotland and in the kings name made proclamatiõ, that all men within .viij. dayes ſhoulde be ready at Craufhaus, both to reiſe the ſiege before the caſtell, and for the recouering againe of the town of Berwicke. The Duke of Albany wrote all this preparation to the Duke of Glouceſter, requiryng hym to haue no miſtruſte in hys dealings. The duke of Glouceſter wrote to him againe his minde very roundely, promiſing that he with his army woulde defende the beſiegers frõ all enemies that ſhould attempt to trouble them, or elſe die in the quarrell. To be briefe, when the lordes of Scotland ſawe that it booted them not to aſſay the reiſing of the ſiege, ex-

The Biſhoppe elected of Murray ſent to the Duke of Glouceſter.

The Duke of Albanie reſtored home.

He is created great lieutenaunt of Scotlande.

cept they ſhoulde make accompt to bee fought wythall, they determined to deliuer the Caſtell of Berwicke to the engliſhmē, ſo that thereupon there might be an abſtinence of warre taken for a ſeaſon. And herewith they ſent to the duke of Gloceſter a charter indented whych was dated the .xxiiij. day of Auguſte, in the ſaide yeare 1482. contracted betwene the duke of Gloceſter lieutenant general for the king of Englād, and Alexander duke of Albany lieutenāt for James king of Scottes, that an eſpeciall abſtinence of warre ſhuld be kept betwixt ẏ realms of England and Scotland, aſwell by ſea, as by lande, to begin the .viij. day of Septēber nexte comming, to endure till the .iiij. day of Nouember nexte following. And in ẏ ſame ſeaſō, the town and caſtell of Berwicke, to be occupied and remaine in the reall poſſeſſion of ſuche as by the king of Englands deputie ſhulde be appointed. Herevnto the duke of Glouceſter agreed, and ſo then was the caſtell of Berwicke deliuered to the lord Stanley, and other thereto appointed, which therein put both engliſhmen and artillery ſufficient to defend it againſt all Scotlande, for .vj. moneths. The duke of Albany alſo cauſed the prouoſt and burgeſſes of Edenborough, to make a ſufficient inſtrument obligatorye, to king Edward, for the true ſatiſfaction, and cōtentation of the ſame mony, which he alſo ſent by the ſaide prouoſte, to the duke of Gloceſter to Alnewike. It was conteined in the ſaid inſtrument or writing, that king Edward ſhuld intimate his pleaſure vnto the ſaide prouoſt & burgeſſes of Edenboroughe, before the feaſt of Allſaintes nexte following, whether he would the mariage ſhoulde take place, or that he woulde haue the payment of the money, accordyng to which article, K. Edward ſet Gartier his principall king of armes, & Northumberland Herauld, to declare his refuſall of the mariage and the election & choiſe of the repaiment of the mony. They came to Edenbourgh. 8. days before ẏ feaſt of Allſaints, where according to their cōmiſſion and inſtructions, Gartier declared the pleaſure of the king his maiſter, vnto ẏ prouoſt & burgeſſes of Edenboroughe, who made anſwer ẏ now knowing his determination therein, they wold accordyng to their bond, prepare for repaiment of the mony. Gartier and his fellowe were gentilly entertained, and in ſafetie conueyed backe to Berwicke, and ſo cōming to Newcaſtell, where the duke of Gloceſter than lay, made relation to him of all their doings, & then the duke with all ſpeede returned to Shriuehuton and there abode. Althoughe king Edward reioyced that his buſines came to ſo good concluſion with the Scots, yet he was aboute the ſame time ſore diſquieted in his minde towards the frenche king, whome he now perceiued to haue dalied with him, as touching the agreement of the mariage, to be had betwixt the Dolphin and his daughter the lady Elizabeth: for the lord Haward being as then returned out of Frāce, certified the king of his owne knowledge, how that he being preſent, ſaw the lady Margaret of Auſtrich daughter to duke Maximilian, ſon to the emperor Frederike, receiued into Frāce with great pompe and roialtie, and at Ambois to the Dolphin contracted, & eſpouſed. King Edward highly diſpleaſed with ſuch double & vniuſt dealing of the frenche king, called his nobles togither, & opened vnto them his griefes, who promiſed him for redreſſe thereof, to be ready with all their powers to make warres in France at his pleaſure and appointment.

The Caſtell of Berwicke deliuered.

Gartier king of armes is ſent into Scotland.

1483

But whileſt hee was buſie in hande to make his purueiaūce for warres thus againſt Frāce, whether it was with melancolye & anger, whiche he tooke with the french kings doings & vncurteous vſage, or were it by any ſuperfluous ſurfet (to the which he was much giuen) he ſodainely fell ſicke, and was ſo greeuouſly taken, that in the end he perceiued his natural ſtrength in ſuch wiſe to decay, that there was litle hope of recouerie in the cūning of his phiſitiōs, whiche hee perceyued only to prolong hys life for a ſmall time, wherefore he began to make readye for his paſſage into an other world, not forgetting as after ſhal appeare, to exhorte the nobles of his realme aboue all thinges, to an vnitie among themſelues. & hauing as he tooke it, made an attonement betwixte the parties that were knowen to be ſcant friends, he cōmended vnto their graue wiſedoms the gouernmēt of his ſon the prince, & of his brother the Duke of Yorke, during the time of their tēder yeres. And thus hauing ſet things in good ſtay as might be ſuppoſed, hee ſhortely after departed this life at Weſtminſter the .ix. of April in the yere. 1483. After he had reigned .xxij. yeres, one moneth, & viij. dayes, his body was with funerall pompe conueyed to Windſor & there buried, he left behinde him iſſue by the Quene his wife ij. ſons, Edward and Richard, with .v. daughters, Elizabeth that was after Quene maried to Henry the .vij. Cicilie maried to the vicount Welles, Briget a Nunne profeſſed in Sion or Dertfort as ſir Tho. More hath: Anne maried to the L. Thomas Howarde, after erle of Surrey, and duke of Norffolke: Katherin wedded to the L. Williā Courtney ſon to the earle of Deuonſhire: beſide theſe he left behinde him likewiſe, a baſe ſon named Arthur that was after vicoūt Liſle: for the deſcription of his perſon & qualities I will referre you to that whiche ſir Tho. More hath written of him in that hiſtorie which he wrote and left vnfiniſhed of his ſon Edward the fift, & of his brother king Richard the third, which we ſhall god willing hereafter make you partaker of, as wee finde the ſame recorded among his other workes, word for word, when firſte we haue according to our begon order rehearſed ſuche writers of our nation as liued in his dayes. As firſt, Nicholas Kenton borne in Suffolke a Carmelit Frier in Gippeſwich, prouinciall of his order throughe Englande: Henry Parker a carmelite Frier of Doncaſter, preached againſte the pride of prelates, and for ſuche doctrine as he ſet forthe, was impriſoned wyth his fellowe Tho. Holden, and a certaine blacke Frier alſo for the like cauſe. Parker was forced to recant .iij. ſpeciall articles, as Bale noteth out of Lelande: Iohn Harding an eſquier borne in the Northe partes, wrote a Chronicle in Engliſh verſe, & among other ſpeciall points therein touched he gathered all the ſubmiſſions and homages had and made by the Scottiſhe kings euen from the dayes of King Athelſton: Whereby it euidently may appeare, howe the Scottiſhe Kingdome euen in maner from the firſte eſtabliſhing thereof here in Britaine, hath bene apperteining vnto the kings of England, and houlden of them, as their chiefe and ſuperior Lordes: William Ive a doctor of Diuinitie and prebendarie of Sainct Poules in London: Thomas Wilton a diuine, and Deane of the ſayde Churche of Poules in London: Iulian Bernes, a gentlewoman endued with excellent giftes bothe of body and minde, wrote certaine treatiſes of hauking and hunting, delighting greatly hirſelfe in thoſe exerciſes and paſtimes: ſhe wrote alſo a booke of the lawe of armes, and knowledge apperteyning to Harolds: Iohn Stambery borne in the Weaſte partes of this Realme, a Carmelite Frier, and confeſſor to King Henry the ſixte, hee was alſo Maiſter of Eaton Colledge, and after was made Biſhop of Bangor, and remoued from thence to the See of Hereforde: Iohn Slueley an Auguſtine Frier prouinciall of hys order: Iohn Forteſkew a Iudge and Chauncellor of England, wrote diuers treatiſes concerning the lawe, and pollitike gouernement: Rochus a Charterhouſe Monke borne in London, of honeſte parentes, and ſtudied in the Vniuerſitie of Paris, he wrote diuers epigrammes: Iohn Phreas borne alſo in London was fellowe of Bailioll Colledge in Oxforde, and after wente into Italy, where hee hearde Guarinus that excellent Philoſopher read in Ferrara: he proued an excellent phiſition and a ſkilfull lawier, There was not in Italy whileſt hee remained there, that paſſed hym in eloquence and knowledge of bothe the tongues, Greeke and Latin: Walter Hunt a Carmelite Frier, a greate deuine, and for his excellency in lerning ſent from the whole body of this realme, vnto the generall counſell houlden firſte at Ferrara, and after at Florence by Pope Eugenius the. iiij. where he diſputed among other wyth the Greekes in defence of the order and ceremonies of the latine Churche: Thomas Wighenhall a Monke of the order called Premonſtratenſis in the Abbey of Derã in Norffolke: Iohn Gunthorpe went into Italy, where he hearde that eloquent learned man Guarinus read in Farrara. After his commyng home into England, he was Deane of Welles, and keeper of the priuy ſeale: Iohn Hamboys an excellent Muſicion, and for hys notable cunnyng therein, made doctor of Muſicke: Williã Caxton wrote a Chronicle called *Fructus temporum*, & an appendix vnto Treuiſa, beſide diuers other bookes & tranſlations: Iohn Milberton a carmelite Frier of Briſtow and prouinciall of his order through England, Irelande and Scotland, at lengthe bycauſe he defended ſuch of his order as preached againſt endowments of the church with temporall poſſeſſions, he was brought into trouble, committed to priſon in caſtell ſaint Angelo in Rome, where he continued .iij. yeares, and at length was deliuered throughe certaine of the Cardinalles that were appointed hys Iudges: Dauid Morgan a Welcheman, Threaſourer of the church of Landaffe, wrote of the antiquities of Wales, and a diſcriptiõ of the country: Iohn Tiptot, a noble man borne, a greate trauailer, excellently learned, and wrote diuers treatiſes, & finally loſt his head in the yere. 1471. in time of the ciuill warre betwixt the houſes of Yorke & Lancaſter: Iohn Shirwood biſhop of Durham: Thomas Kent an excellent philoſopher, Roberte Huggon borne in Norffolk in a town called Hardingham, wrote certayne vayne prophecies: Iohn Marfielde a learned phiſition: William Greene a carmelite Frier: Thomas Norton borne in Briſtow an Alcumiſte: Iohn Meare a Monke of Norwich: Richarde Porlande borne in Norffolke a Franciſcan Frier, and a doctor of diuinitie: Thomas Milling a Monke of Weſtminſter, a Doctor of diuinitie and preferred to the Biſhopricke of Hereforde: Skogan a learned Gentleman and ſtudent for a time in Oxforde, of a pleaſaunte witte, and bent to mery deuiſes, in reſpect whereof he was called into the Courte, where giuing himſelfe to his naturall inclination of mirthe and pleaſaunt paſtime, he plaied many ſporting parts, althoughe not in ſuche vnciuill maner as hath bene of hym reported.

¶The hiſtorie of king Edward the fifth, and king Richard the third vnfiniſhed, written by Maiſter Thomas Moore then one of the vnder Sheriffes of London, about the yeare of our lorde. 1513. according to a Copie of his owne hande: Printed among his other woorkes.

Edward the. v.

1483

King Edward of that name the fourth, after that hee had liued fiftie and three yeres, ſeuen monethes, and ſixe dayes, and thereof raigned twoo and twentie years, one Monethe, and eyght dayes, died at Weſtminſter the ninth day of Aprill, the yeare of our redemption, a thouſande foure hundreth foure ſcore and three, leauyng muche fayre iſſue, that is to witte, Edwarde the Prince, a thirteene yeare of age: Richarde Duke of Yorke, twoo yeare yonger: Elizabeth, whoſe fortune and grace was after to bee Queene, wyfe vnto Kyng Henry the ſeuenth, and mother vnto the eyght: Cicelie not ſo fortunate as faire: Briget, whyche repreſentyng the vertue of hyr, whoſe name ſhee bare, profeſſed and obſerued a religious life in Dertforde, an houſe of cloſe Nunnes: Anne, that was after honourablye married vnto Thomas, then Lorde Hawarde and after Earle of Surrey: And Katherine, which long time toſſed in either fortune, ſomtime in wealth, ofte in aduerſitie, at the laſte, if this be the laſte, for yet ſhee liuethe, is by the benignitye of hir Nephewe King Henry the eyghte, in very proſperous eſtate, and worthy hir birthe and vertue.

The loue of the people.

This noble Prince deceaſſed at his Palaice of Weſtminſter, and wyth greate funerall honour and heauineſſe of his people from thence conueyed, was enterred at Windſor. A King of ſuch gouernaunce and behauiour, in time of peace (for in warre eche parte muſte needes bee others enimye) that there was neuer any Prince of this lande, attainyng the Crowne by battaille ſo hartelye beeloued wyth the ſubſtaunce of the people: nor he hymſelfe ſo ſpeciallye in anye parte of hys life, as at the time of hys deathe. Whiche fauour and affection, yet after hys deceaſſe by the crueltie, miſchiefe, and trouble of the tempeſtuous worlde that followed, highlye towarde him more increaſed. At ſuche tyme as he died, the diſpleaſure of thoſe that bare hym grudge, for Kyng Henryes ſake the ſixte, whome he depoſed, was well aſſwaged, and in effect quenched, in that, that many of them were deade in more than twentye yeares of hys raigne, a greate parte of a long life: And many of them in the meane ſeaſon growen into his fauour, of whiche he was neuer ſtrange. He was a goodlye perſonage, and Princely to beholde, of harte couragious, politique in counſell, in aduerſitie nothyng abaſhed, in proſperitie rather ioyfull than proud, in peace iuſte and mercifull, in warre ſharpe and fierce, in the fielde bolde and hardye, and natheleſſe no further than wiſedome woulde aduenturous, whoſe warres who ſo wel conſider, hee ſhall no leſſe commende hys wiſedome where hee voyded, than his manhoode where he vanquiſhed. Hee was of viſage louelye, of body mightye, ſtrong, and cleane made: Howbeit in his latter dayes wyth ouer liberall dyet, ſomewhat corpulent and boorely, and natheles not vncomely, hee was of youth greately giuen to fleſhely wantonneſſe: from which health of body in great proſperity and fortune, without a ſpeciall grace hardely refraineth.

Deſcripti of Edvva the fourth

Thys faulte not greately greeued the people: for neyther coulde anye one mans pleaſure, ſtretche and extende to the diſpleaſure of verye manye, and was wythout violence, and ouer that in hys latter dayes leſſed and well lefte. In whiche time of his latter dayes, this Realme was in quiet and proſperous eſtate, no feare of outwarde enemyes, no warre in hand, nor none towarde, but ſuche as no man looked for, the people towarde the Prince, not in a conſtrained feare, but in a willyng and louyng obedience: among themſelues, the commons in good peace. The Lordes whome hee knewe at variaunce, hymſelfe in his deathe bed appeaſed: hee hadde lefte all gathering of money (whiche is the onely thing that withdraweth the hartes of Engliſhemen fro the Prince) nor any thing intended he to take in hande, by whyche hee ſhoulde bee driuen thereto, for hys tribute, out of Fraunce, hee hadde before obteyned. And the yeare foregoing his deathe, he hadde obteyned Barwicke. And albeit that all the time of his raigne hee was wyth his people, ſo benigne, courteous, and ſo familiar, that no part of his vertues was more eſtemed: yet yͤ condition, in the ende of his dayes (in whyche many Princes by a long continued ſouerainetie, decline into a proude porte from debonair behauiour of their beginnyng) meruellouſlye in hym grewe and increaſed: ſo farre forth, that in Sommer the laſte that euer hee ſawe, hys highneſſe being at Windſor in hunting, ſente for the Maior and Aldermen of London to hym for none other errande, but to haue them hunt and bee merye with hym, where hee made them not ſo ſtately, but ſo friendely and ſo familiar cheare, and ſente veniſon from thence ſo freely into the Citie, that no one thyng in many dayes before, gate hym eyther mo heartes or more heartye fauour amongeſt the common people, whiche oftentimes more eſteeme and take for greater kindnes, a little courteſie, than a greate benefite. So deceaſſed (as I haue ſayde) this noble King, in that time, in whiche his life was moſte deſired. Whoſe loue of hys people, and their entire affection towarde him, hadde bene to hys noble children (hauyng in themſelues alſo as manye giftes of nature, as many Princely vertues, as muche goodlye towardneſſe as their age coulde receyue) a maruellouſe fortreſſe and ſure armour, if diuiſion & diſſention of their friendes had not vnarmed them, and lefte them deſtitute, and the execrable deſire of ſoueraintye, prouoked hym to their deſtruction, whiche if eyther kinde or kindneſſe hadde houlden place, muſte needes haue bene their chiefe defence. For Richarde the Duke of Glouceſter, by nature their vncle, by office their protectour, to their father beholden, to themſelfe by othe and allegiaunce bounden, all the bandes broken that binden man and man togyther, wythout anye reſpecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contriued to bereue them, not only their dignitie, but alſo their liues.

escriptio Edvva fourth

But for aſmuche as this Dukes demeanor miniſtreth in effect all the whole matter whereof this booke ſhall intreate, it is therefore conuenient, ſomewhat to ſhewe you ere wee farther goe, what manner of man thys was, that coulde finde in his harte ſo muche miſchiefe to conceiue.

de Duke ke.

Richarde duke of Yorke, a noble man and a mightie, beganne not by warre, but by lawe, to chalendge the Crowne, puttyng hys claime into the Parliament, where his cauſe was eyther for righte or fauour ſo farre forthe auaunced, that King Henry his bloude (albeit he had a goodly Prince) vtterly reiected, the Crowne was by auctoritie, of parliament entailed vnto the Duke of Yorke and his iſſue male in remainder, immediatly after the deathe of Kyng Henry. But the Duke not induryng ſo long to tarry, but entendyng vnder pretexte of diſſention and debate ariſing in the Realme to preuent his time, and to take vppon hym the rule in Kyng Henry his life, was with many nobles of the Realme at Wakefielde ſlaine, leauing three ſonnes, Edwarde, George and Richard. All three as they were greate ſtates of birth, ſo were they great and ſtately of ſtomack, greedy and ambitious of auctoritie, and impatient of partners. Edwarde reuenging his fathers deathe, depriued Kyng Henry, and attained the Crowne. George Duke of Clarence was a goodly noble prince & at all points fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not ſet him againſte hys brother, or the enuy of his enemies his brother againſte hym. For were it by the Queene and lordes of hir bloude whiche highly maligned the kings kinred (as women commonly not of malice, but of nature hate them whom their huſbands loue,) or were it a proude appetite of the duke hymſelf, intending to be king: at the leaſt wiſe heinous treſon was there layde to his charge, and finally were hee faultie, were he faultleſſe, attaynted was he by Parlyamente, and iudged to the deathe, and therevpon haſtily drowned in a butte of Malmeſey, whoſe death kyng Ewarde (albeit hee commaunded it) when he wyſt it was done, piteouſly bewayled, and ſorowfully repented.

Edvvarde.

George Duke of Clarence.

The diſcription Richard the thirde.

Richarde the thirde ſonne, of whome wee nowe intreate, was in witte and courage egall with either of them, in bodie and prowes farre vnder them both, little of ſtature, yll featured of limmes, crooke backed, his left ſhoulder muche hygher than hys ryght, harde fauoured of viſage, and ſuche as is in ſtates called warlye, in other men otherwyſe, he was malitious, wrathfull, enuious, and from afore his byrth euer frowarde. It is for truth reported, that the Ducheſſe his mother hadde ſo much adoe in hir trauaile, that ſhe could not be deliuered of hym vncut, and that he cam into the world with the feete forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the fame runneth) alſo not vntoothed, whether men of hatred report aboue the truth, or elſe that nature chaunged hir courſe in his beginning, which in the courſe of his life many things vnnaturally committed.

None euill captain was he in the warre, as to which his diſpoſition was more metely than for peace. Sundry victories had he, and ſomtimes ouerthrowes, but neuer in default as for his owne perſon, eyther of hardineſſe or politike order, free was he called of diſpence: and ſomewhat aboue hys power liberall, wyth lardge giftes hee gate hym vnſtedfaſte friendeſhippe, for whiche he was faine to pill and ſpoile in other places, and gette hym ſtedfaſte hatred.

Hee was cloſe and ſecrete, a deepe diſſimuler, lowly of countenaunce, arrogant of harte, outwardelye coumpinable where hee inwardelye hated, not lettyng to kiſſe whome hee thought to kill: diſpitious and cruell, not for euill will alwaye, but ofter for ambition, and eyther for the ſurety or increaſe of hys eſtate. Frend and foe was muche what indifferent, where his aduauntage grewe, hee ſpared no mans deathe, whoſe life wythſtoode his purpoſe. Hee ſlewe wyth his owne handes Kyng Henry the ſixte, being priſoner in the Tower, as men conſtantly ſaide, and that wythout commaundement or knowledge of the Kyng, which woulde vndoubtedlye, if hee hadde intended that thyng, haue appointed that butcherly office to ſome other, than his owne borne brother.

The deathe of Kyng Henry the ſixte.

Some wiſe men alſo weene that his drifte couertly conueyed, lacked not in helpyng forth his brother of Clarence to his deathe: whiche hee reſiſted openly, howbeit ſomewhat (as men deemed) more faintly than hee that were hartelye minded to hys wealthe. And they that thus deeme, thinke that hee long time in King Edwards life, forethought to be King in caſe that the King his brother (whoſe life hee looked that euill diet ſhoulde ſhorten) ſhoulde happen to deceaſſe (as in deede hee did) while his children were yong. And they deeme, that for this intent hee was gladde of his brothers deathe the duke of Clarence, whoſe life muſt needes haue hindered hym ſo intending, wheather the ſame Duke of Clarence hadde kepte hym true to his Nephewe the yong Kyng, or enterpriſed to be King himſelfe. But of all this pointe, is there no certaintie, and who ſo deuineth vppon coniectures, may aſwell ſhoote to farre as to ſhorte. Howbeit this haue I by credible enformation learned, that the ſelfe nyght, in whyche Kyng Edward dyed, one Miſtlebrooke long ere morning, came in greate haſte to the houſe of one Pottier dwellyng in Redecroſſtreete wythout Creeplegate: and when hee was wyth haſtye rappyng quicklye letten in, hee ſhewed vnto Pottier that King Edwarde was departed.

By my truth man quod Pottier, then will my Maiſter the Duke of Glouceſter bee King. What cauſe hee had ſo to thinke harde it is to ſaye, whether hee beeing towarde hym, anye thyng knewe that hee ſuche thing purpoſed, or otherwiſe hadde any inkeling thereof: for he was not likelye to ſpeake it of nought.

But nowe to retourne to the courſe of this hyſtorye, were it that the Duke of Glouceſter hadde of olde foreminded this concluſion, or was nowe at erſte therevnto moued, and putte in hope by the occaſion of the tender age of the yong Princes, his Nephewes (as opportunitie and likelyhoode of ſpeede putteth a man in courage of that hee neuer intended) certaine is it that hee contriued their deſtruction, wyth the vſurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himſelf. And foraſmuche as he well wiſte and holpe to maintaine, a long continued grudge and harte brenning beetweene the Queenes kinred and the Kings bloud, eyther partie enuying others authoritie, hee nowe thoughte that their deuiſion ſhoulde bee (as it was indeede) a furtherly beginnyng to the purſuite of hys intent, and a ſure grounde, for the foundation of all hys buildyng, if hee mighte firſte vnder the pretexte of reuenging of olde diſpleaſure, abuſe the anger and ignorance of the tone partie, to the deſtruction of the tother: and then winne to his purpoſe as many as he could, & thoſe that could not bee wonne, myght bee loſte ere they looked therefore: For of one thyng was hee certayne, that if hys intent were perceyued hee ſhoulde ſoone haue made peace betwene the bothe parties with hys owne bloude.

Kyng Edwarde in hys life, albeit that this diſſention betweene his friendes ſomewhat irked hym: yet in his good healthe he ſomewhat the leſſe regarded it, bycauſe hee thought whatſoeuer buſines ſhoulde fall betwene them, himſelfe ſhoulde alwaye bee able to rule bothe the parties. But in his laſt ſicknes, when hee perceyued his naturall ſtrengthe ſo ſore enfeebled, that hee diſpaired all recouerie, then hee conſidering the youth of his children, albeit he nothyng leſſe miſtruſted than that that happened, yet well foreſeeing that many harmes myghte growe by their debate, while the youthe of hys children ſhoulde lacke diſcretion of them ſelfe, and good counſaile of their friendes, of whiche eyther partie ſhoulde counſaile for their owne commoditie and rather by pleaſaunt aduiſe to wynne themſelfe fauoure, than by profitable aduertiſement to doo the children good, hee called ſome of them before hym that were at variaunce, and in eſpeciall the Lorde Marques Dorſet the Queenes ſonne by hir firſte huſband, and William the Lord Haſtings a noble man then Lorde Chamberlaine, againe whom the Queene ſpecially grudged, for yͤ greate fauour the King bare hym: and alſo for that ſhe thought hym ſecretely familiar with the Kyng in wanton company. Hir kinred alſo bare hym ſore, aſwell for that the Kyng hadde made hym Captayne of Caleys, whyche Office the Lorde Riuers brother to the Queene claymed of the of the kings former promiſſe, as for diuers other great gifts which he receiued, yͤ they looked for. When theſe Lordes wyth diuers other of both the parties were come in preſence, the Kyng lifting vp himſelfe and vnderſet with pillowes, as it is reported, on this wiſe ſaide vnto them.

ratien
ing in
ped.

My Lordes, my deare kinſmenne and alies, in what plight I lye you ſee, and I feele. By which the leſſe while I looke to liue wyth you, the more deepely am I moued to care in what caſe I leaue you, for ſuche as I leaue you, ſuch bee my chyldren like to finde you. Which if they ſhoulde (that God forbid) finde you at variaunce, might hap to fall themſelues at warre, ere their diſcretion woulde ſerue to ſet you at peace, yee ſee their youth, of whyche I recken the only ſuretye to reſte in your concorde. For it ſuffiſeth not that all you loue them, if eche of you hate other: if they were men your faithfulneſſe happily woulde ſuffiſe. But childehoode muſte be maintained by mens authoritie, and ſlipper youthe vnderpropped with elder counſell, whiche neyther they can haue, but yee giue it, nor yee giue it, if yee gree not. For where eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatred of eche of others perſon, impugneth eche others counſaile, there muſte it needes bee long ere anye good concluſion go forward. And alſo while eyther partye laboureth to bee chiefe, flatterie ſhal haue more place than plaine and faythfull aduiſe, of whiche muſte needes inſue the euill bringing vp of the Prince, whoſe minde in tender youthe infecte, ſhall redily fall to miſchiefe and riot, and drawe downe wyth his noble Realme to ruine, but if grace tourne hym to wiſedome: whyche if god ſende, then they that by euill meanes before pleaſed hym beſte, ſhall after fall fartheſt out of fauoure, ſo that euer at length euill drifts draw to nought, and good plaine wayes proſper. Greate variaunce hath there long bene betweene you, not alwaye for greate cauſes. Sometime a thyng right well intended, our miſconſtruction tourneth vnto worſe, or a ſmall diſpleaſure done vs, eyther our owne affection or euill tonges agreueth. But this wot I well, yee neuer hadde ſo greate cauſe of hatred, as ye haue of loue. That wee bee all men, that wee bee Chriſtenmen, this ſhall I leaue for preachers to tell you (and yet I wot neare whether any preachers wordes ought more to moue you, thā his that is by and by going to the place that they all preache of).

But this ſhall I deſire you to remember, that the one parte of you is of my bloude, the other of mine alies, and eche of you wyth other eyther of kinred or affinitie, whyche ſpirituall kinred of affinitie, if the Sacramentes of Chriſtes Churche, beare that weyght wyth vs, that woulde God they didde, ſhoulde no leſſe moue vs to Charitie, than the reſpecte of fleſhely conſanguinitye. Our Lorde forbidde, that you loue togyther the worſe for the ſelfe cauſe yͤ you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where finde we ſo deadly debate, as among them, whyche by nature and lawe moſt ought to agree togither. Suche a peſtilent Serpent is ambition, and deſire of vaine glorie and ſoueraintie, whiche among ſtates where hee once entreth, creepeth forth ſo farre, till with deuiſion and variaunce he turneth all to miſchiefe. Fyrſt longyng to be next the beſte, afterwarde egall wyth the beſte, and at laſte chiefe and aboue the beſte. Of whiche immoderate appetite of worſhippe, and thereby of debate and diſſention, what loſſe, what ſorrowe, what trouble hathe within theſe fewe yeares growne in this Realme, I pray God aſwell forget, as wee well remember.

Ambition.

Which things if I could aſwell haue foreſeene, as I haue with my more paine then pleaſure proued, by Goddes bleſſed Ladye (that was euer his othe) I woulde neuer haue won the courteſie of mens knees, wyth the loſſe of ſo many heades. But ſithen thinges paſſed cannot bee gaynecalled, muche oughte wee the more beware, by what occaſion we haue taken ſo greate hurte afore, that we eftſoones fall not in that occaſion agayne. Now bee thoſe griefs paſſed and all is (God be thanked quiet) and likely right well to proſper in wealthfull peace vnder your couſins my children, if God ſende them life and you loue. Of whiche two things, the leſſe loſſe were they, by whome thoughe God did his pleaſure, yet ſhoulde the Realme alway finde Kings, and peraduenture as good Kings. But if you among your ſelfe in a childs raigne fall at debate, many a good man ſhall periſhe and haplye hee to, and yee to, ere this lande finde peace againe. Wherefore in theſe laſte wordes that euer I looke to ſpeake wyth you, I exhorte you and require you all, for the loue that you haue euer borne to mee: for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you: for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all, from this time forwarde all griefs forgotten, eche of you loue other. Whiche I verely truſte you will, if yee any thing earthly regarde, eyther God or your King, affinitie or kinred, this realme, your owne country, or your own ſuertie: And therewithall the King no longer induryng to ſitte vp, laid him downe on his righte ſide, hys face towarde them: and none was there preſent that coulde refraine from weepyng. But the Lordes recomfortyng him wyth as good wordes as they coulde, and aunſweryng for the time as they thoughte to ſtande with hys pleaſure, there in hys preſence, as by theyr wordes appeared, eche forgaue other, and ioyned theyr handes togyther, when (as it after appeared by theyr deedes) their hartes, were farre aſonder. As ſone as the King was departed, the noble Prynce his ſonne drewe towarde London, whiche at the time of hys deceaſſe, kepte hys houſholde at Ludlowe in Wales, whiche countrey beeing farre off from the lawe and recourſe to Iuſtice, was begon to be far out of good wil, and waxen wyld robbers & reuers, walkyng at libertie vncorrected.

And for thys encheaſon the Prince was in the life of hys father ſente thither, to the ende that the aucthoritie of his preſence, ſhoulde refraine euill diſpoſed perſons fro the boldeneſſe of their former outrages. To the gouernaunce and ordering of this yong Prince at hys ſendyng thither, was there appoynted Sir Anthony Wooduile lord Riuers, and brother vnto the Queene, a right honourable man, as valiant of hand as politike in counſel. Adioyned wer there vnto him other of yͤ ſame partie, & in effect euery one as he was nereſt of kin vnto the Quene, ſo was planted next about yͤ Prince.

Lorde Riuers.

That drifte by the Queene not vnwiſely deuiſed, whereby hir bloude mighte of youthe bee rooted in the Princes fauoure, the Duke of Glouceſter tourned vnto their deſtruction, and vppon that grounde ſette the foundation of all his vnhappye buildyng. For whomſoeuer he perceyued, eyther at variaunce wyth them, or bearing hymſelfe theyr fauoure, hee brake vnto them, ſome by mouthe, ſome by wrytyng and ſecret meſſengers, that it neyther was reaſon nor in any wiſe to bee ſuffered, that the yong Kyng their Maiſter and kinſman, ſhoulde bee in the handes and cuſtodye of his mothers kinred, ſequeſtred in manner from their company and attendaunce, of whiche euery one oughte hym as faithfull ſeruice as they, and manye of them farre more honourable parte of kinne than his mothers ſide. Whoſe bloude (quod hee) ſauing the Kings pleaſure, was full vnmeetelye to bee matched wyth his: whiche nowe to bee as who ſaye remoued from the Kyng and the leſſe noble to bee left aboute hym, is (quod he) neyther honourable to his Maieſtie nor vnto vs, and alſo to his grace no ſuretie to haue the mightieſt of his friendes from hym, and vnto vs no little ieoperdye, to ſuffer our well proued euill willers to growe in ouergreat auctoritie with the prince in youth, namely whiche is lighte of beleefe and ſone perſwaded. Yee remember I trowe King Edwarde hymſelfe, albeit he was a man of age and of diſcretion, yet was he in many things ruled by the bende, more than ſtoode either with his honour, or our profit, or to the cõmoditie of any mã els, except only the immoderate aduancement of thẽſelfe. Which whether they ſorer thirſted after their own weale, or our wo, it were hard I wene to geſſe. And if ſome folkes friendſhippe had not holden better place wyth the Kyng than any reſpect of kinred, they myght peraduenture eaſilye haue betrapped and brought to confuſion ſome of vs ere this. Why not as eaſilye as they haue done ſome other already, as nere of his royall bloude as wee? But our Lorde hath wrought his wil, and thanke bee to his grace that peril is paſſe. Howbeit as greate is growing, if we ſuffer this yong king in our enemies hande, whiche wythout his wittyng myght abuſe the name of hys commaundement, to any of our vndoyng, whiche thyng God and good prouiſion forbidde.

Of whiche good prouiſion none of vs hath any thing the leſſe neede, for the late made atonement, in which the kings pleſure had more place than the parties willes. Nor none of vs, I beleeue is ſo vnwiſe, ouerſoone to truſte a newe friende made of an olde foe, or to thinke that an hourely kindneſſe, ſodainely contracte in one houre, continued yet ſcante a fortnyght, ſhoulde bee deeper ſettled in their ſtomackes: than a long accuſtomed malice many yeres rooted. Wyth theſe wordes and wrytyngs and ſuche other, the Duke of Glouceſter ſone ſet a fire, them that wer of themſelf eythe to kindle, & in eſpeciall twayn, Edward duke of Buckingham, & William Lord Haſtyngs & Chamberlain, both men of honour and of great power.

The tone by long ſucceſſion from his aunceſtrie: the tother by his office, and the Kyngs fauoure. Theſe two not bearing eche to other ſo muche loue as hatred bothe vnto the Quenes part: in this poynt accorded togyther wyth the Duke of Glouceſter, that they woulde vtterly amoue from the kings companye all hys mothers frends, vnder the name of theyr enemies.

Vppon this concluded, the Duke of Glouceſter vnderſtandyng that the Lordes whiche at that time were aboute the King, entended to bring him vp to his coronation accompanied with ſuche power of their friends, that it ſhuld bee harde for hym to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, without the gathering & great aſſẽble of people & in maner of open warre, wherof yͤ end he wiſt was doubtfull, & in which the K. being on their ſide, his parte ſhuld haue the face and name of a rebellion: he ſecretly therfore, by diuers meanes cauſed the Queene to bee perſwaded & brought in the minde, that it neyther were neede, & alſo ſhoulde bee ieopardous, the Kyng to come vp ſtrong. For whereas nowe euerye Lorde loued other, and none other thyng ſtudied vpon but about the Coronation and honour of the King: if yͤ Lordes of hir kindred ſhould aſſemble in the Kings name muche people, they ſhoulde giue the Lordes atwixte whome and them had bin ſometime debate, to feare and ſuſpect, leaſte they ſhould gather thys people, not for yͤ Kings ſafegard, whome no man impugned, but for theyr deſtruction, hauing more regarde to theyr olde variance, than theyr new attonement. For whiche cauſe they ſhoulde aſſemble on the other partie muche people agayne for theyr defence, whoſe power ſhe wiſt well farre ſtretched. And thus ſhould all the Realme fall on a rore. And of all the hurt that thereof ſhould enſue, which was likely not to bee little, and the moſt harme there like to fall where ſhe leaſt would, all the worlde would put hir and hir kindred in the wight, and ſay that they hadde vnwiſely and vntruely alſo broken the amitie and peace, that the Kyng hir huſband ſo prudently made, betweene his kinne and hirs in his deathe bed, and whiche the other partie faithfully obſerued.

The Queene beeing in this wiſe perſwaded, ſuch word ſent vnto hir ſonne, and vnto hir brother beeing about the King, and ouer that the Duke of Glouceſter himſelfe and other Lordes the chiefe of his bende, wrote vnto the King ſo reuerently, and to the Queenes friendes there ſo louingly, that they nothing earthly miſtruſting, brought the King vp in great haſt, not in good ſpeede, with a ſober companye. Now was the King in his way to London gone frō Northampton, when theſe Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham came thither, where remayned behinde the Lord Riuers the Kings Vncle, intending on the morrowe to followe the Kyng, & be with him at Stonie Stratford, myles thence earely or he departed. So was there made that night muche friendly cheere betweene theſe Dukes and the Lorde Riuers a greate whyle. But incontinente, after that they were openly with great curteſie departed, and the Lorde Riuers lodged, the Dukes ſecretely with a fewe of their moſt priuie friendes, ſet them downe in cõſayle, wherein they ſpente a greate parte of the night. And at their riſing in the dawning of the day, they ſente about priuily to their ſeruauntes in their Innes and lodgings about, giuing them commandement, to make themſelfe ſhortly readie, for their Lordes were to horſebackewarde. Vppon whiche meſſages, manye of theyr folke were attendaunte, when many of the Lord Riuers ſeruauntes were vnready. Nowe had theſe Dukes taken alſo into their cuſtodie the keyes of the Inne, that none ſhoulde paſſe forth without their licence.

And ouer this, in the high way toward Stonie Stratford, where the King lay, they had beſtowed certaine of their folke, that ſhoulde ſende backe agayne, and compell to returne, any man that were goten out of Northampton, towarde Stonie Stratforde, till they ſhoulde giue other licence. For as much as the Dukes themſelfe intended for the ſhewe of theyr diligence, to bee the firſte that ſhoulde that daye attende vpon the Kings highneſſe out of that Towne: thus bare they folke in hand. But when the Lorde Riuers vnderſtoode the gates cloſed, and the wayes on euery ſide beſet, neyther his ſeruauntes nor hymſelfe ſuffered to gone out, perceyuing well ſo great a thing without his knowledge not begun for naughte, comparing this manner preſente, with this laſt nightes cheere, in ſo fewe houres ſo great a change, maruellouſly miſliked. Howbeit, ſith he could not get away, and keepe hymſelfe cloſe he woulde not, leaſt hee ſhoulde ſeeme to hyde hymſelfe for ſome ſecrete feare of hys owne faulte, whereof hee ſawe no ſuche cauſe in himſelfe. He determined vpon the ſuretie of hys owne conſcience, to goe boldly to them, and inquire what this matter myghte meane, whome aſſoone as they ſawe, they began to quarrel with him and ſay, that he intended to ſet diſtaunce betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confuſion, but it ſhould not lie in his power. And when he began (as he was a very well ſpoken man) in goodly wiſe to excuſe himſelfe, they tarried not the ende of his aunſwere, but ſhortly tooke hym, and put him in ward, and that done, forthwith wente to Horſebacke, and tooke the way to Stony Stratforde, where they founde the King with hys companie, readie to leape on Horſebacke, and departe forwarde to leaue that lodging for them, bycauſe it was to ſtraight for both companyes. And aſſoone as they came in his preſence, they lighte adowne with all theyr companie about them. To whome the Duke of Buckingham ſayde, goe afore Gentlemen, and yeomen keepe your roomes.

The Lorde Riuers put in warde.

And thus in a goodly aray, they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble wiſe, ſalued his grace, whiche receyued them in very ioyous and amiable manner, nothing earthly knowing nor miſtruſting as yet. But euen by and by in his preſence, they piked a quarrell to the Lorde Richarde Grey, the Kings other brother by his mother, ſaying, that he with yͤ Lorde Marques his brother, and the Lord Riuers hys Vncle, had compaſſed to rule the King and the Realme, and to ſet variance among the ſtates, and to ſubdue and deſtroy the noble blood of the Realme. Towarde the accompliſhing whereof they ſayd that the Lord Marques had entred into the Tower of London, and thence taken out the Kings treaſure, and ſente menne to the Sea.

The Lorde Grey.

All which things theſe Dukes wiſt wel were done for good purpoſes & neceſſarie by the whole counſayle at London, ſauing that ſomewhat they muſt ſay. Unto whiche wordes the Kyng aunſwered. What my brother Marques hathe done I cannot ſay: But in good faithe I dare well aunſwere for mine vncle Riuers and my brother heere, that they be innocent of anye ſuch matter. Yea my liege quoth the Duke of Buckingham, they haue kept theyr dealing in theſe matters farre fro the knowledge of youre good grace. And forthwith they areſted the Lord Richard and Sir Thomas Uaughan Knighte, in the Kings preſence, and brought the King and all backe vnto Northampton, where they tooke againe further Counſell. And there they ſente away from the Kyng, whome it pleaſed them, and ſet new ſeruauntes about hym, ſuche as lyked better them than him. At whiche dealing hee wepte, and was nothing contente, but it booted not. And at dinner, the Duke of Glouceſter ſent a diſh from his owne table to the Lord Riuers, praying him to bee of good cheere, all ſhoulde bee well ynough. And hee thanked the Duke, and prayed the meſſenger to beare it to his nephewe the Lord Richard with the ſame meſſage for his comfort, who hee thoughte hadde more neede of comforte, as one to whome ſuch aduerſitie was ſtrange. But hymſelfe hadde bin all hys dayes in vre therewith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for all thys comfortable curteſie of the Duke of Glouceſter, hee ſente the Lorde Riuers, and the Lorde Richarde, with ſir Thomas Uaughan into the North Countrey, into dyuers places to priſon; and afterwarde all to Pomfraite, where they were in concluſion beheaded.

The death of the L. Riuers and other.

In this wiſe, the Duke of Glouceſter tooke vpon hymſelfe the order and gouernaunce of the yong Kyng, whome with much honor & humble reuerence, hee conueyed vpwarde towarde the Citie. But anone, the tidyngs of thys matter came haſtily to the Queene a little before the midnighte following, and that in ỹ ſoreſt wiſe, that the King hir ſonne was taken, hir brother, hir ſonne, and hir other friendes arreſted, and ſent no man wiſt whither, to bee done with GOD wot what. With whyche tydyngs, the Queene in greate flighte and heauineſſe, bewayling hyr childes raigne, hir friendes miſchance, and hyr owne infortune, damning the tyme that euer ſhe diſſwaded the gathering of power about the King, gate hir ſelfe in all the haſt poſſible with hir yonger ſonne and hir daughters, out of the palace of Weſtminſter, in which ſhe then lay, into the Sanctuarie, lodging hir ſelfe and hir cõpanie there in the Abbots place.

The Q. taketh Sanctuary.

Nowe came there one in likewiſe not long after midnight fro the Lord Chamberlayne, vnto the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke, then Chancellor of England, to his place not farre from Weſtminſter. And for that hee ſhewed his ſeruauntes that he hadde tidings of ſo greate importaunce, that his maiſter gaue him in charge, not to forbeare his reſt, they letted not to wake hym, nor hee to admitte this meſſenger into his beds ſide. Of whome hee hearde that theſe Dukes were gone backe with the Kings grace from Stonie Stratford vnto Northampton. Notwithſtanding Sir (quoth hee) my Lorde ſendeth youre Lordſhippe worde, that there is no feare: for hee aſſureth you that all ſhall bee well. I aſſure him quoth the Archebyſhoppe, be it as well as it wil, it will neuer be ſo well as we haue ſeene it. And thereupon, by and by after, the meſſenger departed, he cauſed in all the haſt all his ſeruauntes to bee called vp, and ſo with hys owne houſhold about hym, and euerye man weaponed, he tooke the greate ſeale with hym, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whome he founde muche heauineſſe, rumble, haſt and buſineſſe, cariage and conueyance of hir ſtuffe into Sanctuarie, cheſtes, coffers, packes, fardels, truſſed all on mens backes, no man vnoccupyed, ſome lading, ſome going, ſome diſcharging, ſome comming for more, ſome breaking downe the walles to bring in the nexte way, and ſome yet drewe to them that holp to carrie a wrong way.

The Queene hir ſelfe ſate alone alowe on the ruſhes all deſolate and diſmayde, whome the Archbyſhop comforted in the beſt manner hee coulde, ſhewyng hir that hee truſted, the matter was nothyng ſo ſore as ſhe tooke it for. And that hee was putte in good hope and out of feare by the meſſage ſent hym from the Lord Chamberlayne. Ah woo worth him (quoth ſhe) for he is one of them that laboureth to deſtroy mee and my bloud.

Madame (quoth he) be yee of good cheere, for I aſſure you, if they Crowne anye other Kyng than youre ſonne, whome they nowe haue with them, wee ſhall on the morrowe Crowne hys brother, whome you haue heere with you. And heere is the greate ſeale, whiche in lykewiſe as that noble Prince youre huſband deliuered it vnto me, ſo heere I deliuer it vnto you, to ỹ vſe and behoofe of your ſonne, and therewith hee betooke hir ỹ greate ſeale, & departed home againe, yet in ỹ dawning of the day. By which tyme, he might in his chamber window, ſee al ỹ temmes full of boates of the D. of Glouceſters ſeruants, watching that no man ſhould goe to Sanctuarie, nor none could paſſe vnſearched. Then was there great commotion and murmure, as well in other places about, as ſpecially in the Citie, the people diuerſly diuining vpon thys dealing. And ſome Lordes, Knyghtes, and Gentlemen, eyther for fauoure of the Queene, or for feare of themſelues, aſſembled in ſundrye companyes, and wente flockemele in harneys: and many alſo, for that they reckoned this demeanoure attẽpted, not ſo ſpecially againſte the other Lordes, as againſt the King hymſelfe in the diſturbance of his Coronation. But then by and by yͤ Lords aſſembled togither at Towarde whyche meeting, the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke fearing that it woulde bee aſcribed (as it was indede) to hys ouermuche lightneſſe, that hee ſo ſuddaynely hadde yeelded vp the greate ſeale to the Queene, to whome the cuſtodie thereof nothing perteyned, without eſpeciall commaundement of the Kyng, ſecretely ſent for the ſeale agayne, and brought it with him after the cuſtomable manner. And at thys meetyng the Lorde Haſting, whoſe trouth toward the king, no man doubted nor needed to doubte, perſwaded the Lordes to beleeue, that the Duke of Glouceſter was ſure and faſtly faythfull to his Prince, and that the Lorde Riuers and Lord Richard with the other Knightes were for matters attempted by them againſte the Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham, put vnder areſt for their ſuretie, not for the Kings ieoperdie: and that they were alſo in ſafegarde, and there no longer ſhoulde remayne than til the matter were, not by yͤ Dukes only, but alſo by al the other Lordes of the kings counſayle indifferently examined, and by other diſcretions ordered and eyther iudged or appeaſed.

But one thing he aduiſed them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forthe, ere they knewe the trueth, nor turning theyr priuate grudges into the common hurte, yrriting and prouokyng men vnto anger, and diſturbing the Kings Coronation, towarde whych the Dukes were commyng vp, that they myght perauenture bryng the matter ſo farre out of ioynt, that it ſhoulde neuer bee broughte in frame agayne. Which ſtrife if it ſhould happe, as it were likely to come to a fielde though both parties were in all other things egall, yet ſhoulde the authoritie be on that ſyde where the King is himſelfe, with theſe perſwaſions of the Lorde Haſtings, wherof parte hymſelfe beleeued, of parte hee wiſt the contrarie, theſe commotions were ſomewhat appeaſed. But ſpeciallie by that that the Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham were ſo neere and came ſo ſhortly on with the Kyng, in none other manner, with none other voyce or ſemblaunce than to hys coronation, cauſing the ſame to be blowen about, that theſe Lordes and Knyghtes which were taken, had contriued the deſtruction of the Dukes of Glouceſter and Buckyngham, and of other the noble bloud of the Realme, to the ende that themſelfe woulde alone, demeane and gouerne the Kyng at theyr pleaſure.

And for the coulourable proofe thereof, ſuche of the Dukes ſeruauntes as rode with the cartes of theyr ſtuffe that were taken (among whyche ſtuffe, no maruell though ſome were harneys, whyche at the breaking vppe of that houſholde, muſt needes eyther bee broughte away, or caſt away) they ſhewed vnto the people al the wayes as they wente: loe heere bee the barrels of harneys that theſe Traytors hadde priuily conueyde in theyr carriage to deſtroye the noble Lordes withall.

Thys deuiſe albeit that it made the matter to wiſe menne more vnlykely, well perceyuing that the intendours of ſuche a purpoſe woulde rather haue hadde theyr harneys on theyr backes than to haue bounde them vppe in barrels, yet muche parte of the common people were therewith verye well ſatiſfyed, and ſayde it were almoyſe to hang them.

When the King approched neere to the Citie, Edmonde Shaa goldeſmith, then Maior, with William White, and Iohn Mathewe Sheriffes, and all the other Aldermen in Scarlette, with fyue hundred Horſe of the Citizens in violet receyued hym reuerently at Harneſey: and riding from thence accompanyed hym into the Citie, whyche hee entred the fourth daye of Maye, the fyrſte and laſte yeare of hys raigne.

The Kings comming to London.

But the Duke of Glouceſter bare hym in open ſyght ſo reuerently to the Prince, with all ſemblaunce of lowlyneſſe, that from the greate obloquie in whych he was ſo late before, he was ſuddaynely fallen in ſo greate truſt, that at the Counſayle nexte aſſembled, hee was made the onely man choſe and thought moſt meete, to be Protector of the King and hys Realme, ſo (that were it deſtenie or were it follie) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to keepe. At whych Counſayle alſo, the Archebyſhoppe of Yorke Chauncellour of Englande whyche hadde deliuered vp the greate ſeale to the Queene, was thereof greately reproued, and the Seale taken from hym, and deliuered to Doctor Ruſſell Byſhoppe of Lincolne, a wiſe man and a good, and of muche experience, and one of the beſte learned menne vndoubtedly that England had in hys tyme. Diuers Lordes and Knyghtes were appoynted vnto diuers roomes. The Lord Chamberlayne and ſome other kepte ſtill theyr offices that they had before.

The protectour made.

The Biſhop of Lincolne made Lorde Chancellour.

The protectors oration.

Now all were it ſo that the Protector ſo ſore thirſted for the furniſhing of that hee hadde begunne, that thoughte euerye daye a yeare, till it were atchieued, yet durſt he no further attempte, as long as hee hadde but halfe his pray in hys hande: well witting. that if he depoſed the one brother, all the Realme woulde fall to the tother, if hee eyther remayned in Sanctuarie, or ſhoulde happely bee ſhortlye conueyd to hys fathers libertie. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lordes at the Counſaile, he propoſed vnto them, that it was a haynous deede of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice towarde the Kings Counſailers, that ſhe ſhould keepe in Sanctuarie the kings brother frō hym, whoſe ſpeciall pleaſure and comforte were to haue his brother with him. And that by hir done to none other intente, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmure of the people. As though they were not to be truſted with yͤ kings brother, that by the aſſente of the Nobles of the land, were appoynted as the kings neereſt friēds, to the tuicion of his owne royall perſon. The proſperitie whereof ſtandeth (quoth he) not all in keeping from enimies, or ill viande, but partlye alſo in recreation, and moderate pleaſure: which hee cannot in this tender youth, take in the companie of auncient perſons, but in the familiar cōuerſacion of thoſe that be neyther farre vnder, nor farre aboue his age. And naytheleſſe of eſtate cōuenient to accompanie his noble maieſtie, wherfore with whome rather, than with hys owne brother? And if any man thinke this conſideration (whiche I thinke no man thinketh that loueth the King) let him conſider, that ſometyme without ſmall thinges, greater cannot ſtande. And verily, it redoundeth greately to the diſhonor both of the Kinges highneſſe, and of all vs that bene about his grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, not in this Realme only, but alſo in other lands (as euill wordes walke farre) that the kings brother ſhoulde bee fayne to keepe Sanctuarie. For euery man will weene, that no man will ſo do for naught. And ſuch euil opinion once faſtned in mens heartes, harde it is to wraſt out, and may growe to more griefe than any man can heere deuine. Wherefore me thynketh it were not worſt to ſende vnto yͤ Queene, for the redreſſe of this matter, ſome honorable truſtie man, ſuche as both tendereth the Kynges weale, and the honour of his counſayle, and is alſo in fauoure and credence with hir. For all whiche conſiderations, none ſeemeth mee more meetely, than our reuerende father heere preſent, my Lorde Cardinall, who maye in this matter doe moſt good of any man, if it pleaſe him to take the payne, whiche I doubte not of hys goodneſſe he will not refuſe for the Kyngs ſake and ours, and wealth of the yong Duke himſelf, the kings moſt honorable brother, and after my ſoueraigne Lorde hymſelfe, my moſte deere nephewe, conſidered that thereby ſhall be ceaſſed the ſlaunderous rumor and obloquie nowe goyng, and the hurtes auoyded that thereof myghte enſue, and muche reſt and quiete growe to all the Realme And if ſhe bee percaſe ſo obſtinate, and ſo preciſelie ſette vppon hir owne will, that neyther hys wiſe and faythfull aduertiſemente, can not moue hir, nor anye mans reaſon contente hir: then ſhall we by myne aduice, by the kyngs authoritie, fetche hym out of that priſon, and bryng him to his noble preſence, in whoſe continuall companie, hee ſhall be ſo well cheriſhed and ſo honorablie intreated, that all the worlde ſhall to our honor and hir reproche perceyue, that it was only malice, frowardneſſe, or follie, that cauſed hir to keepe him there: this is my mynde in this matter for this time, except any of youre Lordſhippes any thing perceyue to the contrarie, for neuer ſhall I by Goddes grace ſo wedde my ſelfe to myne owne will, but that I ſhall be readie to change it vpon your better aduiſes.

When the Protector hadde ſayde, all the Counſayle affirmed, that the motion was good and reaſonable, and to the King and the Duke his brother, honorable, and a thing that ſhoulde ceaſſe great murmure in the Realme, if yͤ mother mighte be by good meanes enduced to delyuer him. Which thing the Archbiſhop of Yorke, whome they all agreed alſo to bee thereto moſt conueniente, tooke vppon hym to moue hir, and therein to doe his vttermoſt deuoire. Howbeit, if ſhe could be in no wiſe intreated with hir good will to deliuer him, then thought he, and ſuch other as were of the Spiritualtie preſente, that it were not in anye wiſe to bee attempted to take him out againſt hir wil. For it would be a thing that ſhould turne to the great grudge of all men, and high diſpleaſure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy place ſhoulde nowe be broken, whyche had ſo manie yeares be kept, whiche both Kings and Popes ſo good had graunted, ſo many hadde confirmed, and whiche holy grounde was more than fyue hundred yeares agoe by S. Peter in his owne perſon in ſpirite accompanyed, with great multitude of Angels by nighte, ſo ſpecially halowed, and dedicate to God (for the proofe whereof, they haue yet in the Abbey Saynt Peters Cope to ſhew) that from that time hytherward, was there neuer ſo vndeuout a King, that durſt that ſacred place violate, or ſo holy a Byſhop, that durſt it preſume to conſecrate. And therefore (quoth the Archebyſhop of Yorke) God forbid that any man ſhuld for any thing earthly enterpriſe to breake the immunitie and libertie of yͤ ſacred Sanctuarie, that hath bin yͤ ſafegard

Sanctu

of ſo many a good mans life. And I truſt (quoth hee) with Goddes grace, wee ſhall not neede it. But for any manner neede, I would not wee ſhoulde doe it. I truſt that ſhee ſhall bee with reaſon contented, and all thynges in good maner obteyned. And if it happen that I bryng it not ſo to paſſe, yet ſhall I towarde it ſo farreforth doe my beſt, that yee ſhall all well perceyue, that no lacke of my deuoire, but the mothers dread and womaniſhe feare, ſhall bee the lette. Womaniſhe feare, naye womaniſhe frowardeneſſe (quoth the Duke of Buckyngham.) For I dare take it vpon my ſoule, ſhe well knoweth ſhee needeth no ſuche thyng to feare, eyther for hir ſonne or for hir ſelfe. For as for hir, heere is no man that will be at warre with women. Woulde God ſome of the men of hir kinne, were women too, and then ſhoulde all be ſoone in reſt. Howbeit, there is none of hir kynne the leſſe loued, for that they bee hir kynne, but for their owne euill deſeruing. And natheleſſe, if we loued neither hir nor hir kinne, yet were there no cauſe to thynke that we ſhould hate the kings noble brother, to whoſe Grace, we oure ſelfe bee of kynne. Whoſe honoure, if ſhe as muche deſired as oure diſhonoure, and as muche regarde toke to hys wealthe, as to hir owne will, ſhee woulde bee as loth to ſuffer hym from the King, as any of vs be. For yf yee haue anye witte, (as woulde God ſhee had as good will as ſhee hathe ſhrewde witte) ſhe reckoneth hir ſelfe no wiſer, than ſhee thynketh ſome that be heere, of whoſe faythfull mynde, ſhee nothyng doubteth, but verily beleeueth and knoweth, that they would bee as ſorie of hys harme as hir ſelfe, and yet woulde haue hym from hir if ſhee byde there: And we all (I thynke) content, that both be with hir, if ſhee come thence and byde in ſuche place where they may with theyr honour be.

Nowe then if ſhee refuſe in the deliueraunce of him, to followe the counſaile of them, whoſe wiſedome ſhee knoweth, whoſe trueth ſhe well truſteth: it is ethe to perceyue, that frowardneſſe letteth hir, and not feare. But go to, ſuppoſe that ſhe feare (as who may lette hir to feare hir owne ſhadowe) the more ſhee feareth to deliuer hym, the more ought we feare to leaue him in hir hãds. For if ſhee caſt ſuch fond doubtes, that ſhe feare his hurt: then will ſhe feare that he ſhall bee fette thence. For ſhe will ſoone thynke, that if menne were ſette (whych God forbidde) vpon ſo greate a miſchiefe, the Sainctuarie woulde little lette them: which good menne myghte as me thynketh, without ſinne, ſomewhat leſſe regard than they doe.

Nowe then, if ſhe doubte, leaſt hee myghte be fetched from hir, is it not lykely ynough that ſhe ſhal ſend hym ſome where out of the realme? Verily I looke for none other. And I doubte not, but ſhee nowe as ſore myndeth it, as we the lette thereof. And if ſhee mighte happen to bryng that to paſſe, (as it were no greate maiſtrie, wee letting hir alone) all the worlde woulde ſaye that we were a wiſe ſorte of Counſailers aboute a Kyng, that lette his brother be caſt away vnder oure noſes. And therefore, I enſure you faythfully for my mynde, I will rather maugre hir minde, fetch him away, then leaue him there, till hir frowardneſſe and fonde feare conuay him away. And yet will I breake no Sainctuarie therefore. For verily, ſith the priuileges of that place and other lyke, haue bene of long continued, I am not hee that would be about to breake them. And in good fayth, if they were now to beginne, I woulde not be he that ſhoulde be about to make them.

Of Sãctuaries.

Yet will I not ſay naye, but that it is a deede of pitie, that ſuch menne as the Sea, or their euill dettours haue broughte in pouertie, ſhoulde haue ſome place of libertie, to keepe theyr bodyes out of the daunger of theyr cruell creditours.

And alſo, if the Crowne happen (as it hathe done) to come in queſtion, whyle eyther parte taketh other as Traytors, I will well there be ſome places of refuge for both.

But as for theeues, of whyche, theſe places bee full, and whyche neuer fall from the crafte, after they once fall thereto, it is pitie the Sanctuarie ſhoulde ſerue them. And much more, mãquellers, whome GOD bade to take from the Aulter and kyll them, if theyr murther were wilfull. And where it is otherwiſe, there neede wee not the Sanctuaries that God appoynted in the olde lawe. For if eyther neceſſitie, hys owne defence, or miſfortune draweth hym to that deede, a pardon ſerueth, whiche eyther the lawe graunteth of courſe, or the King of pitie maye.

Then looke me nowe howe fewe Sanctuarie mẽ there be, whom any fauourable neceſſitie cõpelled to goe thyther. And then ſee on the tother ſyde, what a ſort, there be commonly therein of them, whome wilfull vnthriftneſſe hathe brought to naught.

What a rabble of theeues, murtherers, and malitious heynous Traytors, and that in two places ſpecially. The tone at the elbowe of the Citie, the tother in the verye bowelles. I dare well auowe it, way the good that they doe, with the hurte that commeth of them, and yee ſhall fynde it muche better to lacke both, than haue bothe. And thys I ſaye, although they were not abuſed as they nowe bee, and ſo long haue bee, that I feare me euer they will bee, whyle menne be afrayde to ſette their hands to

Weſtminſter and Saint Martins.

the mendmente, as though God and Saincte Peter, were the patrones of vngratious lyuing.

The abuſe of Sanctuaries.

Nowe vnthriftes riote, and runne in debte, vpon the boldneſſe of theſe places, yea, and rich men runne thither with poore mens goodes, there they buylde, there they ſpende, and bidde theyr creditors goe whiſtle them.

Mens wiues runne thyther with theyr huſbandes plate, and ſaye, they dare not abyde with theyr huſbands for beating.

Theeues bring thither theyr ſtollen goodes, and there lyue thereon.

There deuiſe they newe robberies, nightlie they ſteale out, they robbe, and reaue, and kyll, and come in agayne, as though thoſe places gaue them not onely a ſauegarde for the harme they haue done, but a licence alſo to doe more. Howbeit, much of thys miſchiefe if wiſe menne would ſette theyr handes to it, might be amended, with great thankes of God, and no breache of the priuiledge.

The reſidue, ſith ſo long agoe I wote neere what Pope, and what Prince more piteous than politike, hathe graunted it, and other men, ſince of a certayne religious feare, haue not broken it, lette vs take a payne therewith, and lette it a Goddes name ſtande in force, as farre forthe as reaſon will, whych is not fully ſo farre forthe, as maye ſerue to lette vs of the fetching forthe of thys noble man, to hys honor and wealthe, out of that place, in whyche hee neyther is, nor can be a Sanctuarie man.

A Sanctuarie ſerueth alway to defende the bodye of that man that ſtandeth in daunger abroade, not of greate hurte onely, but alſo of lawfull hurte, for agaynſte vnlawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor Kyng intended to priuiledge any one place, for that priuiledge hathe euerye place: knoweth anye man, anye place, wherein it is lawefull one manne to doe another wrong?

That no man vnlawfully take hurte, that lybertie, the Kyng, the lawe, and verye nature, forbyddeth in euery place, and maketh to that regarde, for euery man euery place a Sanctuarie.

But where a man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuicion of ſome ſpeciall priuiledge, whyche is the onely grounde and cauſe of all Sanctuaries: from whyche neceſſitie, thys noble Prince is farre, whoſe loue to hys Kyng, nature and kindred proueth, whoſe innocencie to all the worlde, his tender youth proueth, and ſo Sanctuarie, as for hym, neyther none he needeth, nor alſo none can haue.

Men come not to Sanctuarie, as they come to Baptiſme, to require it by theyr Godfathers, he muſt aſke it himſelfe, that muſt haue it, and reaſon, ſith no man hathe cauſe to haue it, but whoſe conſcience of his owne fault maketh him fayne, neede to require it, what will then hathe yonder babe? whyche and if hee hadde diſcretion to require it, if neede were, I dare ſaye woulde nowe bee ryght angrie with them that keepe hym there: and I would thynke without anye ſcruple of conſcience, without any breach of priuiledge, to bee ſomewhat more homely with them that be there Sanctuarie menne indeede.

For if one goe to Sanctuarie with another mans goodes, why ſhoulde not the Kyng, leauing his bodye at libertie, ſatiſfie the partie of hys goodes, euen within the Sanctuarie? for neyther Kyng nor Pope can gyue any place ſuche a priuiledge, that it ſhall diſcharge a man of his debtes, beeyng able to pay: and with that, dyuers of the Cleargie that were preſente, whyther they ſayde it for hys pleaſure, or as they thought, agreed playnelye, that by the lawe of God and of the Churche, the goodes of a Sanctuarie man ſhoulde be delyuered in paymente of hys debtes, and ſtollen goodes to the owner, and onely lybertie reſerued hym to gette hys liuing with the laboure of hys handes, verilye (quoth the Duke) I thynke you ſay very trueth, and what if a mans wife will take Sanctuarie, bycauſe ſhee liſt to runne from hir huſbande, I woulde weene if ſhee coulde alledge none other cauſe, hee maye lawfully, withoute anye diſpleaſure to Sainte Peter, take hir out of Sainte Peters Churche by the arme.

And if no bodye maye bee taken out of Sanctuarie, that ſayeth hee will byde there, then if a childe will take Sanctuarie, bycauſe he feareth to goe to Schole, hys maiſter muſt lette him alone.

And as ſimple as that ſample is, yet is there leſſe reaſon in our caſe than in that, for therein, though it bee a childiſhe feare, yet is there, at the leaſtwiſe ſome feare, and herein is there none at all. And verily, I haue often hearde of Sanctuarie menne, but I neuer hearde earſt of Sanctuarie children.

And therefore, as for the concluſion of my mynde, who ſo maye haue deſerued to neede it, if they thynke it for theyr ſuretie, let them keepe it.

But hee can bee no Sanctuarie man, that neyther hathe wiſedome to deſire it, nor malice to deſerue it, whoſe life or libertie, can by no lawfull proceſſe ſtande in ieopardie.

And hee that taketh one out of Sanctuarie to doe hym good, I ſaye playnely, that hee breaketh no Sanctuarie.

When the Duke hadde done, the Temporall menne whole, and a good parte of the ſpirituall alſo, thynkyng no hurte earthely, meant towarde the yong babe, condiſcended in effect, that if hee were not delyuered, hee ſhoulde bee fetched.

Howbeit, they thoughte it all beſt, in the auoydyng of all manner of rumor, that the Lord Cardinall ſhoulde fyrſte aſſay to gette hym with hir good will.

And therevppon, all the Counſayle came vnto the Starre Chamber at Weſtminſter, and the Lorde Cardinall, leauing the Protector with the Counſayle in the Starre Chamber, departed into the Sanctuarie to the Queene, with dyuers other Lordes with hym, were it for the reſpect of hys honoure, or that ſhee ſhoulde by preſence of ſo manye perceyue, that thys errande was not one mans mynde: or were it, for that the protector intended not in thys matter, to truſt anye one manne alone, or elſe, that if ſhee finallye were determined to keepe hym, ſome of that companie hadde happily ſecrete inſtruction incontinente, maugre hir mynde, to take hym, and to leaue hir no reſpite to conuey hym, whyche ſhe was lykelye to mynde after thys matter, broken to hir, if hir time woulde in any wiſe ſerue hir.

When the Queene, and theſe Lordes were come togyther in preſence, the Lorde Cardinall ſhewed vnto hir, that it was thoughte vnto the protector, and vnto the whole Counſayle, that hir keepyng of the Kynges brother in that place, was the thyng, whyche highlye ſounded, not onely to the greate rumour of the people and theyr obloquie, but alſo to the importable griefe and diſpleaſure of the Kynges royall maieſtie, to whoſe grace it were as ſingular comforte, to haue hys naturall brother in companye, as it was their bothe diſhonoure, and all theyrs and hirs alſo, to ſuffer hym in Sanctuarie, as though the tone brother ſtoode in daunger and perill of the tother.

And hee ſhewed hir, that the Counſayle therefore hadde ſente hym vnto hir, to require hir the deliuerie of hym, that hee myghte be broughte vnto the Kynges preſence at hys lybertie, out of that place, whyche they reckoned as a priſon, and there ſhoulde hee bee demeaned, accordyng to hys eſtate, and ſhee in thys doyng, ſhoulde both doe greate good to the Realme, pleaſure to the Counſayle, and profite to hir ſelfe, ſuccoure to hir friendes that were in diſtreſſe, and ouer that (whyche hee wiſt well ſhee ſpecially tendered,) not onely greate comforte and honor to the Kyng, but alſo to the yong Duke hymſelfe, whoſe both greate wealthe it were to bee togyther, as well for many greater cauſes, as alſo for theyr both diſporte, and recreation: whyche thyng, the Lorde eſteemed no ſlighte, though it ſeeme lyghte, well pondering that their youth without recreation and playe, cannot endure, nor anye ſtraunger, for the conuenience of their both ages and eſtates, ſo meetely in that pointe for any of them, as eyther of them for other.

Protector.

The Queenes aunſwere.

My Lorde (quoth the Queene) I ſaye not naye, but that it were very conueniente, that thys Gentleman whome yee require were in companye of the Kyng hys brother: and in good faythe, mee thynketh it were as greate commoditie to them bothe, as for yet awhile, to beene in the cuſtodie of theyr mother, the tender age conſidered of the elder of them both, but ſpecially, the yonger, which beſydes hys infancie, that alſo needeth good lookyng too, hathe awhyle beene ſo ſore diſeaſed, vexed wyth ſickneſſe, and is ſo newly rather a little amended, than well recouered, that I dare putte no perſone earthely in truſt wyth hys keepyng, but my ſelfe onely, conſideryng that there is (as Phiſitians ſaye) and as wee alſo fynde, double the perill in the recidiuation, that was in the fyrſte ſickneſſe, with whyche diſeaſe, Nature beeyng ſore laboured, forweeried and weakened, waxeth the leſſe able to beare out & ſuſteine a newe ſurfette.

And albeit there myghte bee founden other that woulde happely doe theyr beſte vnto hym, yet is there none that eyther knoweth better howe to order hym, than I that ſo long haue kepte hym: or is more tenderlye lyke to cheryſhe hym, than hys owne mother that bare hym.

No manne denyeth, good Madame, (quod the Cardinall) but that youre grace were of all folke moſte neceſſary aboute your chyldren: and ſo woulde all the Counſell not onely bee contente, but gladde that ye were, if it myghte ſtande wyth youre pleaſure to bee in ſuche place as myghte ſtande wyth theyr honoure. But yf you doe appoynte youre ſelfe to tarry heere, then thynke they it more conuenyente that the Duke of Yorke were wyth the King honourably at hys lybertye to the coumforte of them bothe: than heere as a Sanctuarye manne, to their bothe diſhonour and obloquie, ſithe there is not alwaye ſo greate neceſſytie to haue the Chylde to bee with the Mother: but that occaſion maye ſometime be ſuche, that it ſhoulde be more expediente to keepe hym elſe where, whyche in thys well appeareth, that at ſuche time as youre deereſt ſonne then Prince, and nowe Kyng, ſhoulde for hys honor, and good order of the Countrey, keepe houſholde in Wales, farre out of your company: youre grace was well contente therewith youre ſelfe. Not very well contente quoth the Queene: And yet the caſe is not lyke, for the tone was then in healthe, and the tother is nowe ſicke: In whiche caſe, I maruell greately, that my Lord protector is ſo deſirous to haue hym in his keeping, where if the childe in hys ſickneſſe miſcarried by nature, yet myghte hee runne into ſlaunder and ſuſpition of fraude. And where they call it a thing ſo ſore agaynſte my childes honor, and theyrs alſo, that he bydeth in this place: it is all theyr honors there to ſuffer hym byde, where no man doubteth he ſhall bee beſt kepte, and that is heere, whyle I am heere, which as yet intende not to come forth, and ieobarde my ſelfe after other of my friendes, whiche woulde God were rather heere in ſuretie with me, than I were there in ieoperdie with them. Why Madame (quoth another Lorde) knowe you anye thyng why they ſhoulde be in ieoperdie? Nay verily ſir quoth ſhee, nor why they ſhoulde bee in priſon neyther, as they nowe bee. But it is I trow, no greate maruell though I feare, leaſt thoſe that haue not letted to put them in dureſſe withoute couloure, will let as little to procure theyr deſtruction without cauſe.

The Cardinall made a countenaunce to the other Lorde, that hee ſhoulde harp no more vpon that ſtring, and then ſaid he to the Quene, that he nothyng doubted, but that thoſe Lordes of hir honorable kynne, whyche as yet remayned vnder arreſt, ſhoulde vppon the matter examined, doe well ynough: and as towarde hir noble perſon, neyther was, nor could be any manner ieoperdy. Whereby ſhoulde I truſt that (quoth the Queene) in that I am giltleſſe? as though they were giltie, in that I am with theyr enimies better loued than they? when they hate them for my ſake, in that I am ſo neere of kynne to the King? and howe farre they be of, if that would helpe, as God ſende grace it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpoſe not as yet, to depart hence. And as for thys Gentleman my ſonne, I mynde that hee ſhall bee where I am, tyll I ſee further: for I aſſure you, for that I ſee ſome menne ſo greedie, without any ſubſtantiall cauſe to haue hym, thys maketh me much the more fearder to delyuer hym. Truely madame, quoth hee, and the fearder that you bee to deliuer hym, the fearder bin other menne to ſuffer you to keepe him, leaſt your cauſeleſſe feare myghte cauſe you farther to conuey him, and many bee there that thynke he can haue no priuiledge in thys place, whiche neyther can haue will to aſke it, nor malice to deſerue it, and therefore, they recken no priuiledge broken, though they fetche hym out, whyche if yee finally refuſe to delyuer hym, I verily thynke they will. So muche dread hathe my Lorde hys Uncle, for the tender loue hee beareth him, leaſt your grace ſhould hap to ſend him away.

A Syr (quod the Queene) hath the Protector ſo tender zeale, that hee feareth nothyng but leaſte hee ſhoulde eſcape hym? Thynketh hee that I woulde ſende hym hence, whyche neyther is in the plyghte to ſende oute, and in what place coulde I recken hym ſure, if hee bee not ſure in thys Sanctuarie? whereof was there neuer Tyraunt yet ſo diuelyſhe that durſte preſume to breake. And I truſte God is as ſtrong nowe to withſtande hys aduerſaries, as euer he was.

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But my ſonne can deſerue no Sanctuarye, and therefore he can not haue it. Forſoth hee hathe founden a goodlye gloſe, by whyche that place that maye defende a Theefe, maye not ſaue an Innocente. But hee is in no ieopardye, nor hathe no neede thereof, wolde God hee hadde not. Troweth the Protectoure (I praye G O D hee maye proue a Protectoure) troweth hee that I perceyue not wherevnto hys paynted proceſſe draweth? It is not honourable that the Duke byde heere: It were comfortable for them both, that hee were wyth hys brother, bycauſe the Kyng lacketh a playefellowe bee ye ſure. I praye God ſende them bothe better playfellowes than hym, that maketh ſo high a matter vppon ſuche a tryfelyng pretexte: As thoughe there coulde none bee founden to playe wyth the Kyng, but if hys brother that hath no luſte to playe for ſickeneſſe, come out of ſanctuarye out of hys ſafegarde to playe with hym. As though princes as yōg as they be, could not play but with their peeres, or children coulde not play but with their kinred, with whom for the more parte they agree much worſe than with ſtrangers.

But the chylde can not requyre the priuiledge, who told him ſo, he ſhal heare him aſk it, & he wil. Howbeit this is a gay matter, ſuppoſe he coulde not aſke it, ſuppoſe he woulde not aſke it, ſuppoſe he woulde aſke to goe oute, if I ſay he ſhall not, if I aſke the priuiledge but for my ſelfe, I ſay he that agaynſt my will taketh him oute, breaketh the Sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my perſon onely, or for my goodes to? Ye may not hence take my horſe fro me: and maye you take my chylde fro me? He is alſo my ward:

for as my learned counſaile ſheweth me, ſithe hee hath nothing by diſcent holden by knightes ſeruice, the lawe maketh his mother his gardaine. Then may no man I ſuppoſe take my warde fro me out of Sanctuarie, without the breache of the Sanctuarie. And if my priuiledge coulde not ſerue him, nor he aſke it for himſelfe, yet ſith the lawe committeth to me the cuſtodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a gardaine onely for his goodes and landes, diſcharging him of the cure and ſafekeeping of hys bodie, for whiche onely both landes and goodes ſerue.

The Qu

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And if examples be ſufficient to obteyne priuiledge for my childe, I neede not farre to ſeeke. For in this place in which we now be (and which is nowe in queſtion whether my childe may take benefite of it) mine other ſonne nowe king was borne, and kept in his Cradle, and preſerued to a more proſperous fortune, which I pray God lõg to continue. And as all you know, this is not the firſt time that I haue taken Sanctuarie. For when my Lord my huſbande was baniſhed, and thruſt out of hys kingdome, I fled hither, beeing great with childe, and here I bare the Prince. And when my Lorde my huſbande returned ſafe againe, and had the victorie, then went I hence to welcome him home, & from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when he firſt tooke him in his armes. And I pray God that my ſonnes palace may bee as great ſauegarde vnto him now raigning, as this place was ſometyme to the kings enimie. In which place I intende to keepe his brother ſithe. &c. Wherefore here intende I to keepe him, ſince mans law ſerueth the gardaine to keepe the infant. The law of nature will the mother keepe hir childe, Gods lawe priuiledgeth the Sanctuarie, and the Sanctuarie my ſonne, ſithe I feare to put him in the Protectors handes that hath his brother alreadie, and were (if both fayled) inheritor to the crowne. The cauſe of my feare hath no man to do to examine. And yet feare I no farther than the lawe feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euerye man the cuſtodie of them, by whoſe death he may inherite leſſe lande than a kingdome. I can no more, but whoſoeuer he be that breaketh this holy Sanctuarie, I pray God ſhortly ſende him neede of Sanctuarie, when hee may not come to it. For taken out of Sanctuarie would I not my mortall enimie were.

The Lorde Cardinall perceyuing that the Queene waxed euer the longer the farther off, and alſo that ſhe began to kindle and chafe, and ſpake more byting wordes agaynſt the Protector, and ſuch as he neither beleeued, and was alſo loth to heare, he ſayd to hir for a finall concluſion, that he would no longer diſpute the matter: but if ſhe were content to deliuer the duke to him, and to the other Lordes preſent, he durſt lay his owne bodie and ſoule both in pledge, not onely for hys ſuretie, but alſo for his eſtate. And if ſhe woulde giue them a reſolute anſwere to the contrarie, hee woulde forthwith depart therewithall, and ſhyfte who ſo woulde with this buſineſſe afterwardes, for hee neuer intended more to moue hir in that matter, in which ſhe thought that he and al other alſo ſaue hirſelfe lacked eyther wit or truth. Wit if they were ſo dull that they coulde nothing perceyue what the Protector intended: truth if they ſhould procure hir ſonne to be deliuered into hys handes, in whom they ſhoulde perceyue towarde the childe any euill intended.

The Queene with theſe wordes ſtood a good while in a greate ſtudie. And foraſmuche as hir ſeemed the Cardinall more readie to depart than ſome of the remnant, and the Protector himſelfe readie at hande, ſo that ſhee verily thought ſhee coulde not keepe him there, but that he ſhould incontinent bee taken thence: and to conuey hym elſe where, neyther had ſhe time to ſerue hir, nor place determined, nor perſõs appointed, al things vnredie, this meſſage came on hir ſo ſodainly, nothing leſſe looking for, than to haue him ſet out of Sancturie, which ſhe thought to be now beſet in ſuch places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntaken, and partly as ſhee thought it myght fortune, hir feare to bee falſe, ſo well ſhe wyſte it was eyther needleſſe or bootleſſe: wherefore if ſhe ſhould needes go from him, ſhe deemed it beſt to deliuer him. And ouer that, of the Cardinalles fayth ſhee nothing doubted, nor of ſome other Lordes neyther, whom ſhe there ſawe. Whiche as ſhe feared leaſt they might be deceyued: ſo was ſhe well aſſured they woulde not bee corrupted: then thought ſhee it ſhoulde yet make them the more warely to looke to him, and the more circumſpectly to ſee to his ſurety, if ſhe with hir owne handes betooke him to them of truſt. And at the laſt ſhe tooke the yong duke by the hande, & ſayde vnto the Lordes: My Lordes (quoth ſhee) and all my Lordes, I neyther am ſo vnwyſe to myſtruſte youre wyttes, nor ſo ſuſpitious to myſtruſt your truthes: Of which thing I purpoſe to make you ſuche a proofe, as if eyther of both lacked in you, myghte turne bothe mee to greate ſorowe, the Realme to muche harme, and you to great reproch. For loe, heere is (quoth ſhe) thys Gentleman, whome I doubt not, but I coulde heere keepe ſafe, if I woulde, whatſoeuer anye man ſaye: and I doubte not alſo, but there bee ſome abrode ſo deadly enimies vnto my bloud, that if they wyſt where any of it laye in theyr owne bodie, they would let it out. Wee haue alſo experience that the deſire of a kingdom knoweth no kindred. The brother hath beene the brothers bane: and may the nephewes be ſure of theyr vncle? Eche of theſe children is the others defence while they be aſunder, and eche of theyr liues lieth in the others bodie. Keepe one ſafe and both be ſure, and nothing for them both more perillous, than to be both in one place. For what wiſe Marchant aduentureth all his goodes in one ſhip? All this notwithſtanding, here I deliuer him, and his brother in him, to keepe, into youre handes, of whom I ſhall aſke thē both afore god and the world. Faythfull ye be that wote I well, and I know well you be wiſe. Power & ſtrength to kepe him if you liſt, neither lack ye of your ſelf, nor can lacke helpe in this cauſe. And if ye cannot elſe where, then may you leaue him here. But only one thing I beſeech you, for the truſt which his father put in you euer, & for ẏ truſt that I put in you nowe, that as farre as yee thinke that I feare too muche, be you well ware that you feare not as farre too little. And therewithall ſhe ſayde vnto the childe, fare well mine owne ſweete ſon, God ſend you good keeping: let me kiſſe you yet once ere you goe, for God knoweth when wee ſhall kiſſe togither agayne. And therwith ſhe kiſſed him, and bleſſed him, turned hir backe & wept, and went hir way, leauing the childe weeping as faſte.

When the Lorde Cardinall, and theſe other Lordes with him, had receyued this yong duke, they brought him into the ſtarre Chamber, where the Protector tooke him in his armes, and kiſſed him, with theſe wordes: now welcome my Lord euen with all my very heart. And he ſayd in that of likelyhoode as he thought. Thereupon forthwith they brought him vnto the king his brother, into the Biſhoppes Palace at Poules, and from thence throughe the Citie honourably into the Tower, out of the which after that day they neuer came abrode.

O diſſimulation.

This that is heere betwene this marke * and this marke ª was not written by him in engliſh but is tranſlated out of this Hiſtory which he wrete in Latten.

* When the Protector had both the children in his handes, he opened himſelfe more boldely, both to certaine other men, and alſo chiefly to the duke of Buckingham. Although I knowe that many thought that this duke was priuy to al the Protectors counſaile, euen from the beginning, and ſome of the Protectors friends ſayde, that the duke was the firſt mouer of the Protector to this matter, ſending a priuie meſſenger vnto hym, ſtreight after king Edwardes death. But other againe which knew better the ſubtil wit of the protector, denie that he euer opened his enterpriſe to the duke, vntill he had brought to paſſe the things before rehearſed. But when hee had impryſoned the Queenes kinſfolkes, and gotten both hir ſonnes into his owne handes, then he opened the reſt of his purpoſe with leſſe feare to them whō he thought meet for the matter, and ſpecially to the duke, who being won to his purpoſe, he thought his ſtrength more than halfe increaſed.

The matter was broken vnto the duke by ſubtill folkes, and ſuch as were their craft maiſters in the handling of ſuch wicked deuiſes: who declared vnto him that the yong king was offended with him for hys kinſfolkes ſake, and if hee were euer able he would reuenge them. Who woulde pricke him forwarde thereunto if they eſcaped (for they would remember their impriſonmēt) or elſe if they were put to death, without doubt the yong king woulde bee carefull for their deathes, whoſe impriſonment was grieuous vnto him. And that with repenting the duke ſhoulde nothing auaile, for there was no way left to redeeme his offence by benefites, but he ſhoulde ſooner deſtroy hymſelfe than ſaue the king, who with his brother and his kinſfolkes he ſawe in ſuch places impriſoned, as the Protectour myghte wyth a becke deſtroye them all: and that it were no doubt but he would doe it in deede, if there were any newe enterpriſe attempted.

And that it was likely, that as the Protectour had prouided priuie garde for himſelfe, ſo hadde hee ſpyalles for the Duke, and traynes to catche him, if hee ſhoulde be agaynſte hym, and that peraduenture from them, whome hee leaſte ſuſpected. For the ſtate of things and the diſpoſitions of men were then ſuch, that a man coulde not well tell whom he might truſt, or whome he might feare.

Theſe things and ſuch like, beyng beaten into the Dukes mynde, brought him to that point that where hee had repented the way that he had entred, yet woulde he goe forth in the ſame, and ſince he had once begonne, he would ſtoutely go through. And therefore to this wicked enterpriſe which he beleeued coulde not be voyded, he bent himſelfe, and went through and determined, that ſince the common miſchiefe coulde not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

Then it was agreed, that the Protector ſhould haue the Dukes ayde to make him king, and that the Protectors onely lawfull ſonne ſhould mary the Dukes daughter, and that the Protectour ſhould graunt him the quiet poſſeſſion of the erledome of Hertford, which he claymed as his inheritaunce, and could neuer obteyne it in king Edwardes tyme.

Beſides theſe requeſtes of the Duke, the Protector of his owne minde promiſed him a greate quantitie of the kings treaſure, and of his houſeholde ſtuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwene themſelues, they went about to prepare for the coronation of the yong king as they wold haue it ſeme. And that they might turne both the eies & minds of men frō perceyuing of their driftes otherwhere, the lords being ſent for frō all partes of the Realme, came thicke to that ſolemnitie. But the Protectour and the Duke after that, that they had ſent the Lorde Cardinal, the Archbiſhop of Yorke then Lorde Chauncellour, the Biſhop of Elie, the Lorde Stanley, and the lord Haſtings then Lorde Chamberlaine, with many other noble men" to common and deuiſe aboute the coronation in one place, as faſt were they in another place, contriuing the contrarie, and to make the Protector King. To which Councell, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they were ſecrete: yet began there here and there aboute, ſome maner of muttering among the people, as though all ſhould not long be well, though they neyther wyſte what they feared, nor wherefore, were it that before ſuch great things mens hearts of a ſecrete inſtinct of nature miſgiue them.

Is the ſea without wind ſwelleth of himſelf ſometime before a tempeſt: or were it that ſome one man happily ſomewhat perceyuing, filled many men with ſuſpition, though hee ſhewed fewe men what hee knew. Howbeit ſomewhat the dealing it ſelf made men to muſe on the matter, though the Councell were cloſe. For by little and little, all folke withdrewe from the Tower, and drewe to Croſbies in Biſhops gates ſtreet, where the Protector kept his houſhold. The protectour had the reſort, the King in manner deſolate.

While ſome for theyr buſineſſe made ſute to them that had the doing, ſome were by theyr friendes ſecretely warned, that it might happily turne them to no good, to bee too much attendante about the King wythout the Protectors appoyntment, whiche remoued alſo diuerſe of the princes olde ſeruants from him, and ſet new about him.

Thus many things comming togyther, partly by chance, partly of purpoſe, cauſed at length not common people onely, that wound with the winde, but wiſe men alſo, and ſome Lordes eke to marke the matter, and muſe thereon, ſo farre forth, that the Lorde Stanley that was after Earle of Darby, wiſely miſtruſted it, and ſayde vnto the Lorde Haſtings, that he muche miſlyked theſe two ſeuerall Councels. For while wee (quoth hee) talke of one matter in the tone place, little wote wee, whereof they talke in the tother place. My Lorde (quoth the Lorde Haſtings) on my life neuer doubt you: for while one man is there, which is neuer thence, neuer can there be thing once moued, that ſhoulde ſounde amiſſe towarde me, but it ſhoulde bee in mine eares ere it were well out of their mouthes.

This ment he by Cateſby, which was of hys neare ſecrete counſaile, and whome he verie familiarly vſed, and in his moſt weightie matters put no man in ſo ſpecial truſt, reckening himſelfe to no man ſo liefe, ſithe hee well wyſt there was no man ſo muche to him beholden as was thys Cateſbie, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the ſpeciall fauour of the Lorde Chamberlayne, in good authoritie, and much rule bare in all the Countie of Leyceſter, where the Lorde Chamberleynes power chiefely laye.

But ſurely greate pitie was it, yͭ hee had not had eyther more truth or leſſe wit. For his diſſimulation onely, kept all that miſchiefe vp. In whome if the Lorde Haſtings, hadde not put ſo ſpeciall truſt, the Lorde Stanley and he had departed with dyuerſe other Lordes, and broken all the daunce, for many yll ſignes that he ſawe, which he nowe conſtrues all to the beſt. So ſurely thought he, that there coulde be none harme toward him in that Councell intended, where Cateſbie was.

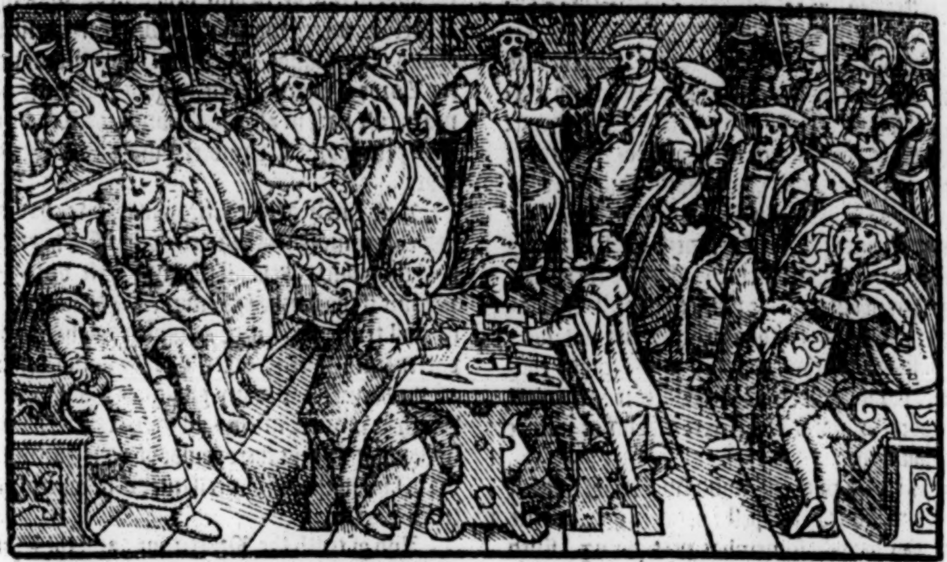
And of truth the Protectour, and the Duke of Buckingham, made verie good ſemblaunce vnto the Lord Haſtings, and kept him much in companie. And vndoubtedly the Protector loued him well, and loth was to haue loſt him, ſauing for feare leaſt his lyfe ſhoulde haue quayled their purpoſe. For which cauſe he moued Cateſbie to proue with ſome wordes caſt out a farre off, whether he coulde thinke it poſſible to win the Lorde Haſtings vnto their part. But Cateſbie whether he aſſayed him, or aſſayed him not, reported vnto them, that he found him ſo faſt, and heard him ſpeake ſo terrible wordes, that hee durſt no further breake.

And of truth the Lorde Chamberlaine of verie truſt ſhewed vnto Cateſbie the diſtruſt that other beganne to haue in the matter. And therfore hee fearing leaſt theyr motion mighte with the Lorde Haſtings miniſhe his credence, whereunto onely all the matter leaned, procured the Protector haſtily to rid him. And muche the rather, for that he truſted by his death to obteyne muche of the rule that the Lorde Haſtinges bare in his Countrey: the onely deſire whereof, was the allectiue that induced hym to bee partner and one ſpeciall contriuer of all thys horrible treaſon.

Thirtenth of Iune.

Wherevpon ſoone after, that is to wit on the Fryday the day of many Lordes aſſembled in the Tower, and there ſate in Councell, deuiſing the honourable ſolemnitie of the Kings Coronation, of which the tyme appoynted then ſo neare approched, that the pageantes and ſubtiltyes were in making, daye and night at Weſtminſter, and much vytayle killed therefore, that afterwarde was caſt away.

Theſe Lordes ſo ſitting togither communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongſt them, firſt about .ix. of the clocke, ſaluting them courteouſly, and excuſing himſelfe that hee had beene from them ſo long, ſaying merily that hee had bene a ſleeper that day.



And after a little talking with them, he ſayde vnto the Biſhop of Elie: My Lorde you haue very good Strawberies at your Garden in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a meſſe of them. Gladly my Lorde (quoth he) woulde God I had ſome better thing as readie to youre pleaſure as that. And therewith in all the haſte hee ſent hys ſeruant for a meſſe of Strawberies.

The Protectour ſet the Lordes faſt in communing, and thereupon praying them to ſpare him for a little while, departed thence. And ſoone after one houre, betweene tenne and eleuen he returned into the Chamber among them al, changed with a wonderful ſoure angrie countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawyng on his lyppes, and ſo ſatte hym downe in his place; all the Lordes muche diſmayde and ſore marueyling of this maner of ſodaine chaunge, and what thing ſhould him ayle. Then, when he had ſitten ſtill a while, thus he beganne: What were they worthie to haue that compaſſe and ymagine the deſtruction of me, being ſo nere of bloud vnto the king, and Protector of his royal perſon and his realme? At this queſtion, al the Lordes ſat ſore aſtonied, muſing much by whom this queſtion ſhould be ment, of whiche euery man wyſt himſelfe cleare.

Then the Lorde Chamberlaine as he that for the loue betwene them thought he might bee boldeſt with him, aunſwered and ſayde, that they were worthie to be puniſhed as heynous traitors, whatſoeuer they were. And all the other affyrmed the ſame. That is quoth he yonder ſorcereſſe my brothers wife, and other with hir, meaning the Queene.

At theſe wordes manye of the other Lordes were greatly abaſhed, that fauoured hir. But the Lord Haſtings was in his minde better content, yͤ it was moued by hir, thã by any other whõ he loued better: Albeit his heart ſomwhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counſail in this matter, as he was of the taking of hir kinred, and of their putting to death, which were by his aſſent before, deuiſed to be beheaded at Pomfret this ſelfe ſame day, in which he was not ware that it was by other deuiſed, that himſelfe ſhould be beheaded the ſame day at London. Then ſayd the Protector, ye ſhall all ſee in what wiſe that ſorcereſſe, and that other Witche of hir counſaile Shores wife with their affinitie, haue by their ſorcerie and witchcraft waſted my bodie. And therewith he plucked vp his dubled ſleeue to hys elbow vpõ his left arme, where he ſhewed a weariſh withered arme, and ſmall, as it was neuer other. And thereupon euery mans minde ſore miſgaue them, well perceyuing that this matter was but a quarell. For they well wyſt that the Queene was to wiſe to goe aboute anye ſuche folly. And alſo if ſhee woulde, yet woulde ſhee of all folke leaſt, make Shores wife of counſaile, whome of all women ſhee moſte hated, as that Concubine whom the king hir huſband had moſt loued.

And alſo, no man was there preſent but well knewe that his arme was euer ſuche ſince hys byrth. Naythleſſe the Lorde Chamberlayne (whiche fro the death of King Edwarde kepte Shores wyfe, on whome hee ſomewhat doted in the Kings lyfe, ſauing (as it is ſayd) he, that while forbare hir of reuerence towarde the king, or elſe of a certayne kynd of fidelitie to his friend) aunſwered and ſayde: certainlye my Lorde, if they haue ſo heynouſly done, they be worthie heinous puniſhment.

What (quoth the Protectour) thou ſerueſt me I wene wyth iffes and wyth andes, I tell thee they haue ſo done, and that I will make good on thy bodie traytour: and therewith as in a greate anger, he clapped his fyſt vpon the bourd a greate rappe. At which token giuen, one cried treaſon withoute the Chamber. Therewith a dore clapped, and in come there ruſhing men in harneſſe, as many as the chamber myght holde. And anone the Protectour ſayd to the Lord Haſtings: I arreſt thee Traytour: What mee my Lorde? (quoth he) yea thee traytour quoth the Protector. And another let flie at the Lorde Stanley, whiche ſhrunke at the ſtroke, and fell vnder the Table, or elſe his heade had beene cleft to the teeth: for as ſhortly as he ſhranke, yet came the bloud about his eares. Then were they all quickly beſtowed in diuerſe Chambers, except the Lorde Chamberlaine, whome the Protectour bade ſpeede and ſhriue him apace, for by Saint Paule (quoth hee) I will not to dinner till I ſee thy head off.

nd Stã-
aied.

It booted him not to aſke why, but heauily tooke a prieſt at auenture, and made a ſhort ſhrift for a longer would not be ſuffered, the Protector made ſo much haſt to dinner, which hee myghte not goe to, till this were done, for ſauing of hys othe. So was hee brought forth into the greene beſide the Chappell within the Tower, and hys heade layd downe vpon a long logge of tymber, and there ſtryken off, and afterwarde his bodie with the heade enterred at Windſore beſyde the bodie of king Edwarde, whoſe both ſoules oure Lorde pardon.

A marueylous caſe is it to heare eyther the warnings of that he ſhoulde haue voyded, or the tokens of that hee coulde not voyde, for the ſelfe night next before his death, the Lorde Stanley ſent a truſtie ſecrete Meſſenger vnto him at midnight in all the haſt, requyring him to riſe and ryde away with hym, for hee was diſpoſed vtterlye no longer to byde, hee hadde ſo fearefull a dreame, in whiche him thought that a Boare with his tuſkes ſo raſed them both by the heades, that the bloud ranne about both theyr ſhoulders. And foraſmuch as the Protector gaue the Boare for his cogniſaunce, this dreame made ſo fearefull an impreſſion in his heart, yͭ he was throughly determined no lõger to tarie. but had his horſe readie, if the Lorde Haſtings would go with him to ride yet ſo farre the ſame night, that they ſhuld be out of daunger ere day. Ha good Lorde (quoth yͤ Lord Haſtings to this meſſenger) leaneth my Lorde thy maiſter ſo much to ſuch tryfles, and hath ſuch faith in dreames, whiche eyther hys owne feare fantaſieth, or doe ryſe in the nyghtes reſt by reaſon of his day thoughtes? Tell hym it is plaine witchcraft to beleue in ſuch dreames, whiche if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh he not that we might bee as lykely to make them true by our goyng, if wee were caughte and brought backe (as friends fayle fleers) for then had the Boare a cauſe likely to race vs wyth hys Tuſkes, as folke that fledde for ſome falſehoode, wherefore eyther is there no perill, nor none there is in deede: or if any bee, it is rather in going than byding. And if wee ſhould needes coſt fall in perill one way or other, yet hadde I lieffer that menne ſhoulde ſee that it were by other mennes falſehoode, than thinke it were eyther by our owne faulte, or faynt heart. And therefore go to thy maiſter man, and commende mee to him, and pray him be merie and haue no feare: for I enſure him I am as ſure of the man that he woteth of, as I am of mine own hande. God ſend grace ſir, quoth the meſſenger, and went his way.

Certaine is it alſo, that in ryding towardes the Tower the ſame morning in which he was beheaded, hys Horſe twiſe or thriſe ſtumbled wyth him, almoſt to the falling, which thing albeit eche man wote wel dayly happeneth to them to whome no ſuch myſchaunce is towarde, yet hath it beene of an olde ryte and cuſtome, obſerued as a token oftentymes notably foregoyng ſome great miſfortune.

Nowe this that followeth was no warning but an enuious ſkorne.

The ſame morning ere hee was vp, came a knight vnto him, as it were of courteſie, to accompanie him to the Councell, but of truth ſent by the Protectour to haſt him thitherwards, with whom he was of ſecret confederacie in that purpoſe, a meane man at that time, and nowe of great authoritie.

This knight when it happed the Lord Chãberlayne by the way to ſtay his horſe, and commune a while wyth a Prieſt whome he mette in the Tower ſtreete, brake his tale, and ſayde merily to him, what my Lord I pray you come on, whereto talke you ſo long wyth that Prieſt, you haue no neede of a Prieſt yet: and therewyth hee laughed vpon him, as though he would ſay, ye ſhall haue ſoone. But ſo little wyſt the tother what he ment, and ſo little miſtruſted, that he was neuer meryer, nor neuer ſo full of good hope in his lyfe, which ſelfe thing is often ſeene a ſigne of chaunge. But I ſhall rather let anye thing paſſe me, than the vaine ſuretie of mannes minde ſo neare his death.

Vpon the verie Tower Wharfe, ſo neare the place where his head was off ſoone after, there met he with one Haſtings a Purſeuaunt of his owne name. And of theyr meeting in that place, hee was put in remembraunce of another tyme, in whiche it had happened them before to meete in

lyke

like maner togither in the ſame place. At which other time the Lorde chamberlaine had beene accuſed vnto King Edwarde by the Lorde Ryuers the Queenes brother, in ſuche wiſe as hee was for the while (but it laſted not long) farre fallen into the kings indignation, and ſtoode in great feare of himſelfe. And foraſmuche as hee now met this Purſeuaunt in the ſame place that ieopardie ſo well paſſed, it gaue him great pleaſure to talke with him thereof, wyth whome he hadde before talked thereof in the ſame place, while he was therein. And therefore he ſayd: Ah Haſtings art thou remembred when I met thee here once with an heauie heart? Yea my Lorde, (quoth he) that remember I well, and thanked bee God, they gat no good, nor you no harme thereby. Thou wouldeſt ſay ſo (quoth hee) if thou kneweſt as much as I knowe, which few know elſe as yet, and mo ſhall ſhortly. That ment hee by the Lordes of the Queenes kyndred that were taken before, and ſhould that day be beheaded at Pomfret: which he well wyſt, but nothing ware that the Axe hung ouer his owne heade. In fayth man (quoth he) I was neuer ſo ſorie, nor neuer ſtoode in ſo greate dreade in my lyfe, as I did when thou and I mette here. And lo howe the worlde is turned, nowe ſtand mine enimyes in the daunger (as thou mayeſt happe to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my lyfe ſo mery, nor neuer in ſo great ſuretie.

O good God the blindneſſe of our mortal nature, when he moſt feared, he was in good ſuretie, when hee reckened himſelfe ſureſt he loſt his life, and that within two houres after.

The diſcriptiõ of the Lord Haſtings

Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of greate authoritie wyth his Prince, of lyuing ſomewhat diſſolute, plaine and open to his enimie, and ſecrete to hys friend, eaſie to beguile, as he that of good heart and courage foreſtudied no perilles, a louyng man and paſſing well beloued: verie faythfull and truſtie ynough, truſting too much.

Nowe flewe the fame of this Lordes death ſwiftly through the Citie, and ſo forth further about like a wynde in euerie mans eare.

But the Protector immediately after dinner, entending to ſette ſome colour vpon the matter, ſent in all the haſt for many ſubſtantiall men out of the Citie into the Tower. And at theyr comming, himſelfe with the Duke of Buckingham, ſtoode harneſſed in olde yll faring Bryganders, ſuche as no man ſhoulde weene that they woulde vouchſafe to haue put vpon theyr backes, except that ſome ſodaine neceſſitie had conſtrayned thẽ.

And then the Protector ſhewed them, that the Lorde Chamberlayne and other of his conſpiracie had contriued to haue ſodainly deſtroyed him, and the Duke there the ſame day in the coũcell. And what they intended further was as yet not well knowne. Of whiche their treaſon hee neuer had knowledge before tenne of the clocke the ſame forenoone, whiche ſodaine feare draue them to put on for theyr defence ſuch harneſſe as came next to hande. And ſo had God holpen thẽ, that the miſchiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it. And this hee requyred them to report.

The pr
Procla

Euery man aunſwered him fayre, as though no man miſtruſted the matter, which of troth no man beleeued. Yet for the further appeaſing of the peoples mynde, hee ſent immediately after dinner in all the haſte, one Heraulte of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the citie in the kings name, conteyning that the Lord Haſtings with diuers other of his traiterous purpoſe, had before conſpired the ſame day, to haue ſlaine the Lorde Protectour, and the Duke of Buckingham, ſitting in the Councell, and after to haue taken vpon them to rule the king, and the Realme at theyr pleaſure, and thereby to pill and ſpoyle whome they lyſte vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that proclamation, deuiſed to the ſlaunder of the Lorde Chamberlain, as that hee was an euill Counſailer to the kings father, intiſing him to manye things highly redounding to the miniſhing of his honour, and to the vniuerſall hurt of his realme by his euil company, ſiniſter procuring, & vngracious enſample, as well in many other things, as in the vicious liuing and inordinate abuſion of his bodie, both with many other, & alſo ſpecially with Shores wife, which was one alſo of his moſt ſecret counſaile of this heynous treaſon, with whome he lay nightly, and namely the night laſt paſt next before his death, ſo that it was the leſſe maruaile, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappie ending, which he was now put vnto, by the moſt dread commaundement of the kings highneſſe, and of his honourable and faythfull counſayle, both for his demerits being ſo openly taken in his falſly conceyued treaſon, and alſo leaſt the delaying of his execution, myght haue encouraged other miſchieuous perſons partners of his conſpiracie, to gather and aſſemble themſelues togither, in making ſome greate commotion for his delyuerance: whoſe hope now being by his well deſerued death, politikely repreſſed, all the realme ſhould by Gods grace, reſt in good quiet & peace.

Now was this Proclamation made within two houres after that he was beheaded, & it was ſo curiouſly indited, and ſo faire written in parchment, in ſo wel a ſet hand, & therwith of it ſelfe ſo long a proces, yͭ euery childe might well perceiue that it was prepared before. For all the tyme betwene his death & the proclayming, could ſcant haue ſufficed vnto the bare writing alone, all had it bene but in Paper, and ſcribled forth in haſte at aduenture. So that vpon the proclayming thereof, one that was ſcholmaiſter of Pauls of chance ſtanding by, and comparing the ſhortneſſe of the time with the length of the matter, ſayd vnto them ꝧ ſtood about him, here is a gay goodly caſt, foule caſt away for haſte: and a marchant aunſwered him, that it was written by prophecie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetiſe, the Protectour ſent into the houſe of Shores wife (for hir huſbande dwelled not with hir) and ſpoyled hir of all that euer ſhe had, aboue the value of two or three thouſand mark, and ſent hir bodie to priſon. And when he had a while layd vnto hir (for the maner ſake) that ſhe went about to bewitch him, and that ſhe was of coũſaile with the Lorde Chamberlaine to deſtroy him: in concluſion when that no colour coulde faſten vpon theſe matters, then hee layde heynouſly to hir charge, that thing that hir ſelfe coulde not denie, that all the world wyſt was true, and that naytheleſſe euerie man laughed at, to heare it then ſo ſodainly, ſo highly taken, that ſhe was naught of hir bodie.

And for this cauſe (as a goodlye continent prince, cleane and faultleſſe of himſelfe, ſent oute of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens maners) he cauſed the Biſhop of London to put hir to open penance, going before the Croſſe in Proceſſion, vpon a Sunday wyth a Taper in hir hande. In whiche ſhee went in countenaunce and pace demure ſo womanlye, and albeit ſhe were out of all array ſaue hir kyrtle onely, yet went ſhe ſo fayre and louely, namely while the wondering of the people caſt a comely rudde in hir cheekes (of whiche ſhee before had moſt miſſe) that hir great ſhame wanne hir much prayſe, among thoſe that were more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir ſoule. And many good folk alſo that hated hir liuing, and glad were to ſee ſinne corrected: yet pityed they more hir penaunce, than reioyced therein, when they conſydered that the Protectour procured it, more of a corrupte intente, than any vertuous affection.

eſcripti-
f Shores

This woman was borne in London, worſhipfully friended, honeſtly brought vp, and verie well maryed, ſauing ſomewhat too ſoone, hir huſbande an honeſt Citizen, yong and godly, and of good ſubſtaunce. But for aſmuche as they were coupled ere ſhe were well rype, ſhe not verie feruently loued, for whome ſhee neuer longed, which was happely the thing that the more eaſily made hir incline vnto the kings appetite, when hee required hir. Howbeit the reſpect of hys royaltie, the hope of gay apparell, eaſe, pleaſure, and other wanton wealth, was able ſoone to pierſe a ſoft tender heart.

But when the King hadde abuſed hir, anon hir huſbande (as hee was an honeſt man, and one that coulde hys good, not preſuming to touche a Kings Concubine) left hir vp to him altogither.

When the king died, the Lorde Chamberlaine tooke hir, which in the kings dayes, albeit he was ſore enamoured vpon hir, yet he forbare hir, eyther for reuerence, or for a certaine friendlye faythfulneſſe. Proper ſhe was and fayre: nothing in hir bodie that you would haue chaunged, but if you would haue wiſhed hir ſomewhat higher.

Thus ſay they that knew hir in hir youth. Albeit ſome that now ſee hir (for yet ſhe liueth) deme hir neuer to haue bene wel viſaged, whoſe iudgement ſeemeth me ſomewhat like, as though men ſhould geſſe the beautie of one long before departed, by hir ſcalpe taken out of the charnell houſe: for now is ſhe old, leane, withered, and dryed vp, nothing left but riueld ſkinne and hard bone. And yet beeing euen ſuch: who ſo well aduiſe hir vyſage, myght geſſe and deuiſe, which partes how filled woulde make it a fayre face. Yet delyted not men ſo much in hir beautie as in hir pleaſant behauiour. For a proper wit had ſhe, and could both read well and write, merrie in companie, readie and quicke of aunſwer, neyther mute nor full of bable, ſomtime taunting without diſpleaſure, and not without diſport.

King Edwards three concubines.

The king would ſay that he had three concubines, which in three dyuerſe properties diuerſly excelled. One the merieſt, another the wilyeſt, the thirde the holyeſt harlot in his realme, as one whome no man coulde gette out of the Churche lightly to any place, but it were to his bed. The other two were ſomewhat greater perſonages, & naytheleſſe of theyr humilitie cõtent to be nameleſſe, & to forbeare the prayſe of thoſe propertyes. But the merieſt was this Shores wife, in whom the King therefore tooke ſpeciall pleaſure. For many he hadde, but hir he loued, whoſe fauour to ſay the troth (for ſinne it were to belie the Diuell) ſhee neuer abuſed to any mannes hurt, but to many a mannes comfort and reliefe: where the king tooke diſpleaſure ſhe woulde mitigat and appeaſe hys mynde: where men were out of fauour ſhee woulde bring them in hys grace. For manye that had highly offended ſhee obteyned pardon. Of great forfeytures ſhee gat men remiſſion. And finallye in many weightie ſuites ſhee ſtoode many men in great ſteade, eyther for none or verye ſmall rewardes, and thoſe rather gaye than riche: eyther for that ſhee was content wyth the deede ſelfe well done, or for that ſhee delyted to bee ſued vnto, and to ſhewe what ſhee was able to doe wyth the King, or for that wanton women and welthie bee not alwayes couetous.

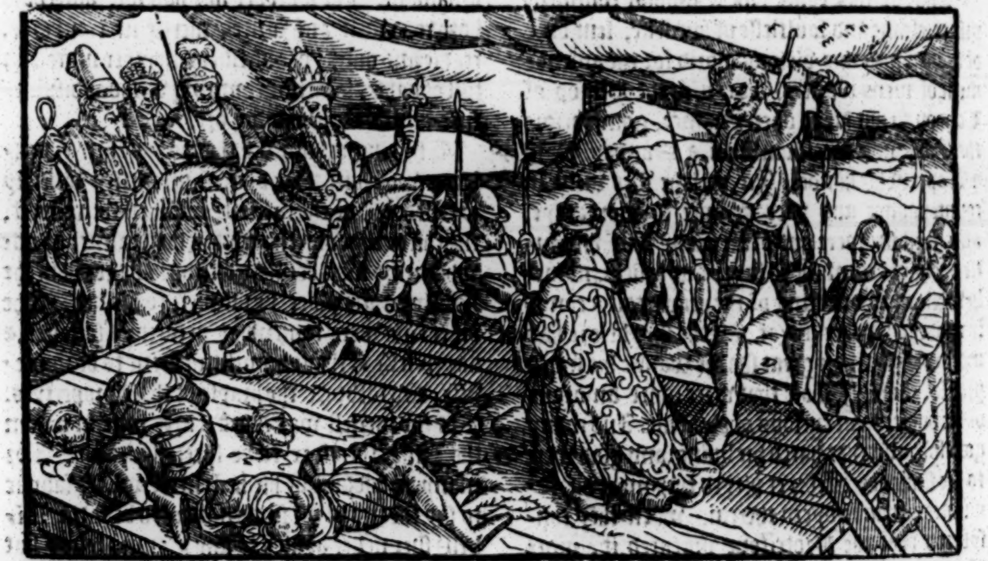
I doubt not ſome ſhall thinke this woman to ſleight a thing to bee written of, and ſet among the remembraunces of greate matters: whiche they ſhall ſpecially thinke, that happily ſhall eſteeme hir onely by that they nowe ſee hir. But me ſeemeth the chaunce ſo muche the more worthie to be remembred, in howe much ſhe is nowe in the more beggerly condition, vnfriended and worne out of acquaintance, after good ſubſtance, after as great fauour with the Prince, after as great ſute and ſeeking to with al thoſe that thoſe dayes had buſineſſe to ſpeede, as many other men were in theyr tymes, which be now famous onely by the infamy of theyr yll deedes. Hir doyngs were not much leſſe, albeit they be much leſſe remembred bicauſe they were not ſo euill. For men vſe if they haue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who ſo doeth vs a good turne, we write it in duſt, whiche is not worſt proued by hir: for at this day ſhee beggeth of many at this day lyuing, that at thys day had begged if ſhee had not beene.

Now was it ſo deuiſed by the Protector and his counſaile, that the ſelfe day in which the Lord Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and aboute the ſelfe ſame houre, was there (not without his aſſent) beheaded at Pomfret, the foreremembred Lordes and Knightes that were taken from the King at Northampton and Stonie Stratforde. Which thing was done in the preſence, and by the order of ſir Rycharde Ratcliffe knight, whoſe ſeruice the Protector ſpecially vſed in that Councell, and in the execution of ſuch lawleſſe enterpriſes, as a man that had beene long ſecrete with him, hauing experience of the worlde, and a ſhrewde wit, ſhort and rude in ſpeech, rough and boyſterous of behauiour, bold in miſchief, as farre from pitie as from all feare of God.

Sir R
Radli

This knight bringing them out of the priſon to the ſcaffolde, and ſhewing to the people aboute that they were traytors, not ſuffring them to declare and ſpeak their innocencie, leaſt their words might haue inclined men to pitie them, and to hate the Protector and his part: cauſed them haſtily without iudgement, proces, or maner of order to be beheaded, & without other earthly gilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the king, and too nigh to the Queene.

The Lo
uers an
behead



Nowe when the Lorde Chamberlaine and theſe other Lordes and knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men muſed what the matter ment, while the Lordes of the Realme were about him out of their owne ſtrengthes, while no man wyſt what to thinke, nor whome to truſt, ere euer they ſhoulde haue ſpace to diſpute and diſgeſt the matter and make partyes, it were beſt haſtily to purſue his purpoſe, and put himſelfe in poſſeſſion of the Crowne, ere men coulde haue tyme to deuiſe any way to reſiſt.

But now was all the ſtudie by what meane this matter being of it ſelfe ſo heynous, might be firſt broken to the people, in ſuche wiſe that it might be well taken.

To this councell they tooke diuerſe, ſuche as they thought meetly to be truſted, likely to be induced to that part, and able to ſtāde them in ſtead eyther by power or pollicie.

Among whom they made of counſaile Edmonde Shaa knight then Maior of London, whiche vpon truſt of his owne aduauncement, whereof hee was of a prowde heart highly deſirous, ſhould frame the Citie to theyr appetite. Of ſpirituall men they tooke ſuch as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people for opinion of theyr learnyng, and hadde no ſcrupulous conſcience.

Edmond
Maior of
don.

Among theſe had they John Shaa Clearke, brother to the Maior, and Frier Penker, prouinciall of the Auguſtine Friers both Doctors of diuinitie, both great Preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. For they were before greatly eſteemed among the people: but after that neuer. Of theſe two the tone had a ſermon in prayſe of the Protector before the coronation, the tother after, both ſo full of tedious flatterie, yͭ no mãs eares could abide thẽ.

Penker in his ſermon ſo loſt his voyce, that he was fain to leaue off & come downe in the midſt. Doctor Shaa by his ſermon loſt his honeſtie, and ſoone after his life, for verie ſhame of the worlde, into which he durſt neuer after come abrode. But the Frier forced for no ſhame, and ſo it harmed him the leſſe. Howbeit ſome doubt and many thinken, that Penker was not of counſaile of the matter before the coronation, but after the common maner fel to flatterie after: namely ſith his ſermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at S. Marie Hoſpitall at the Eaſter after. But certain it is, that Doctor Shaa was of counſaile in the beginning, ſo farre forth that they determined that hee ſhoulde firſt breake the matter in a Sermon at Paules Croſſe, in which he ſhoulde by the authoritie of his preaching, incline the people to the Protectors ghoſtly purpoſe.

But nowe was all the labour and ſtudie, in the deuiſe of ſome conuenient pretext, for which the people ſhoulde bee contente to depoſe the Prince, and accepte the Protectour for King. In whiche dyuerſe things they deuiſed. But the chiefe thing and the weightie of all that inuention, reſted in this that they ſhoulde allege baſtardie, eyther in king Edwarde himſelfe, or in his children or both. So that he ſhould ſeeme diſabled to inherit the crowne, by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.

To lay baſtardie in king Edwarde, ſowned openly to the rebuke of the Protectors owne mother, which was mother to them both, for in that poynt could be none other coulour but to pretẽd that hys owne mother was one aduoutreſſe, which notwithſtanding, to further this purpoſe hee letted not: but naytheleſſe hee woulde that poynt ſhoulde bee leſſe and more fauourably handled: not euen fully playne and directlye, but that the matter ſhoulde bee touched aſlope craftily, as though men ſpared in that poynt to ſpeake all the trothe, for feare of hys diſpleaſure.

But the other poynt concerning the baſtardie that they deuiſed to ſurmiſe in king Edwards children, that woulde he ſhoulde be openly declared and inforced to the vttermoſt. The colour and pretext whereof, cannot bee well perceyued. But if we firſt repeate you ſome things long before done about king Edwards mariage.

After that King Edwarde the fourth had depoſed king Henrie the ſixth, and was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the Realme, determining himſelfe to marrie as it was requiſit both for hymſelfe and for the Realme, hee ſente ouer in Ambaſſade the Earle of Warwike, with other noble men in his companie vnto Spaine, to intreate and conclude a mariage betweene king Edward and the Kings daughter of Spaine. In which thing the Earle of Warwicke founde the parties ſo towarde and willing, that hee ſpeedilye according to his inſtructions wythout any difficultie, brought yͤ matter to verie good cõcluſion

Now happened it, yͭ in the mean ſeaſon there came to make a ſute by petition to the King Dame Elizabeth Gray, whiche was after hys Queene, at that time a Widowe, borne of noble bloud, ſpeciallye by hir mother, whiche was Duches of Bedforde, ere ſhee maryed the Lorde Woodfielde hir father. Howbeit this Dame Elizabeth hir ſelfe, being in ſeruice with Queene Margaret, wyfe vnto King Henrie the ſixth, was maryed vnto one Graye an Eſquire, whome King Henrie made Knight, vpon the fielde that he hadde on at agaynſt King Edwarde. And little while enioyed he that knighthoode: for he was at the ſame field ſlaine.

Dame Elizabeth Gray.

His name was Iohn Gray. Barnard heath by S. Albons.

After whiche done, and the Earle of Warwicke being in his Ambaſſade about the afore remembred maryage, this poore Ladie made humble ſute vnto the king, that ſhe myght be reſtored vnto ſuch ſmall landes as hir late huſbande had gyuen hir in ioynture. Whome when the King behelde, and heard hir ſpeake, as ſhee was both fayre and of a goodlye fauour, moderate of ſtature, well made, and verie wiſe: hee not onely pityed hir, but alſo waxed enamoured of hyr. And taking hir afterwarde ſecretely aſide, beganne to enter in talking more familiarlye. Whoſe appetite when ſhe perceyued, ſhe vertuouſly denied him. But that did ſhee ſo wiſely, and with ſo good maner, and wordes ſo well ſet, that ſhee rather kyndled his deſyre than quenched it.

And finally, after many a meeting, muche wowyng, and many great promiſes, ſhe well eſpyed the Kings affection towarde hir ſo greatly encreaſed, that ſhe durſt ſomewhat the more boldly ſay hir mynde, as to him whoſe heart ſhe perceiued more feruently ſet, than to fall off for a worde.

And in concluſion, ſhee ſhewed him playne, that as ſhe wyſt hirſelfe to ſymple to be his wyfe, ſo thought ſhe hir ſelf too good to be his cõcubine. The King much marueyling at hir conſtancie, as hee that had not beene wont elſe where to be ſo ſtiffely ſayde nay, ſo much eſteemed hir continencie tinence and chaſtitie, that he ſet hir vertue in the ſtead of poſſeſſion and ryches. and thus taking counſaile of his deſire, determined in all poſſible haſt to mary hir.

The Kinges Mother

And after hee was thus appoynted, and had betwene them twaine enſured hir: then aſked he counſaile of his other friendes, and that in ſuche maner, as they might then perceiue, it booted not greatly to ſay nay. Notwithſtanding the Duches of Yorke his mother was ſo ſore moued therwith, that ſhe diſſwaded the mariage aſmuch as ſhe poſſible might, alledging yͤ it was his honour, profite, and, ſuretie alſo, to marie in a noble progeny out of his realme, wherevpon depended greate ſtrength to his eſtate, by the affinitie and greate poſſibilitie of encreaſe of his poſſeſſion. And that he coulde not well otherwiſe doe, ſtanding that the Earle of Warwike had ſo farre moued alreadie, which were not likely to take it well, if all his voyage were in ſuch wiſe fruſtrate, and his appoyntments deluded. And ſhe ſayde alſo, that it was not Princely to marie his owne ſubiect, no great occaſion leading therevnto, no poſſeſſions, or other commodities depending therevpon, but onely as it were a riche man that would marie his mayd, only for a little wanton dotage vpon hir perſon. In which mariage many mo cõmend the maidens fortune than the maſters wiſdome. And yet therein ſhe ſaide was more honeſtie than honor in this mariage. Foraſmuch as there is betwene no marchant and his own mayd ſo great difference, as betwene the king and this widow. In whoſe perſon, albeit there was nothing to be miſlyked, yet was there (ſhe ſayd) nothing ſo excellẽt but that it might be found in diuerſe other that were more meetly (quoth ſhe) for your eſtate, and maydens alſo, whereas the only wydowheade of Elizabeth Gray, though ſhee were in all other things conuenient for you, ſhould yet ſuffice as me ſeemeth to refrayne you from hir mariage, ſithe it is an vnfitting thing, & a verie blemiſh and highe diſparagement to the ſacred maieſtie of a Prince, that ought as nigh to approche prieſthoode in cleanneſſe as he doth in dignitie, to bee defouled with Bigamie in hys firſt mariage.

The Kioges Anſwere to his mother.

The king when his mother had ſayde, made hir anſwere, part in earneſt part in play merily, as he that wyſt himſelfe out of hir rule. And albeit hee woulde gladly that ſhe ſhould take it well, yet was at a poynt in his owne minde, tooke ſhee it well or otherwiſe. Howbeit ſomewhat to ſatiſfie hir, he ſayde, that albeit maryage beeyng a ſpirituall thing, ought rather to bee made for the reſpect of God, where his grace enclineth the parties to loue togither, as he truſted it was in hys, than for the regarde of any temporall aduauntage: yet naytheleſſe, him ſeemed that this mariage euen worldly conſidered, was not vnprofitable. For he reckened yͤ amity of no earthly Nation ſo neceſſarie for him, as the friendſhip of his owne, whiche he thought likely to beare him ſo much the more hartie fauour, in that he diſdeyned not to marie with one of his owne lande. And yet if outwarde alliance were thought ſo requiſite, he woulde finde the meanes to enter therevnto, much better by other of his kinne, where all the partyes could be contented, than to mary himſelf whom he ſhould happely neuer loue, and for the poſſibilitie of more poſſeſſions, leaſe the fruite and pleaſure of this that hee had alreadie. For ſmall pleaſure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beſide, if he be wiued agaynſt his appetite. And I doubt not (quoth he) but there be as yee ſay other, that be in euery poynt comparable with hir. And therefore I let not them that like them to wedde them. No more is it reaſon, that it miſlyke any man, that I mary where it lyketh me. And I am ſure that my couſin of Warwike neither loueth me ſo litle, to grudge at that I loue, nor is ſo vnreaſonable to looke that I ſhoulde in choyſe of a wife, rather be ruled by his eie, than by mine own: as though I were a warde that were bounde to marie by the appoyntment of a Gardaine. I woulde not bee a King wyth that condition, to forbeare mine owne libertie in choyſe of myne owne maryage. As for poſſibilitie of more inheritaunce by newe affinitie in ſtraunge lands, is oft the occaſion of more trouble than profite. And we haue alredie tytle by that meanes, to ſo much as ſufficeth to get and keepe well in one mannes dayes. That ſhe is a Widow, and hath already childrẽ, by Gods bleſſed Ladie, I am a Bacheler and haue ſome to, and ſo eche of vs hath a prouſe that neither of vs is like to bee barraine. And therefore (Madame) I pray you bee content, I truſt in God ſhe ſhall bring forth a yong Prince that ſhall pleaſe you. And as for yͤ Bygamye, let the Biſhoppe hardly lay it in my way when I come to take orders. For I vnderſtande it is forbidden a Prieſt, but I neuer wyſt it yet, that it was forbidden a Prince.

Elizabeth Lucy.

The Duches with theſe wordes nothing appeaſed, and ſeeing the King ſo ſet thereon, that ſhee coulde not pull him backe, ſo highly ſhe diſdeyned it, that vnder pretext of hir duetie to godwarde, ſhe deuiſed to diſturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that hee ſhoulde marie one dame Elizabeth Lucie, whome the King had alſo not long before gotten with child. Wherfore yͤ kings mother openly obiected agaynſt his maryage, as it were in diſcharge of hir conſcience, that the Kyng was ſure to Dame Elizabeth Lucy and hir huſband before God. By reaſon of which wordes, ſuch obſtacle was made in the matter, that eyther the Biſhops durſt not, or the King woulde not proceede to the ſolemnization of this wedding, till theſe ſame were clearly purged, and the troth well and openly teſtified. Whervpon dame Elizabeth Lucy was ſent for.

And albeit that ſhe was by the kings mother and many other put in good comfort, to affirme that ſhee was enſured vnto the king: yet when ſhee was ſolemnly ſworne to ſay the troth, ſhee confeſſed that they were neuer enſured. Howbeit ſhee ſayde his grace ſpake ſo louing wordes vnto hir, that ſhe verily hoped hee woulde haue maryed hir. And that if it had not beene for ſuch kinde wordes, ſhee woulde neuer haue ſhewed ſuche kindneſſe to him, to let him ſo kindly get hir with childe.

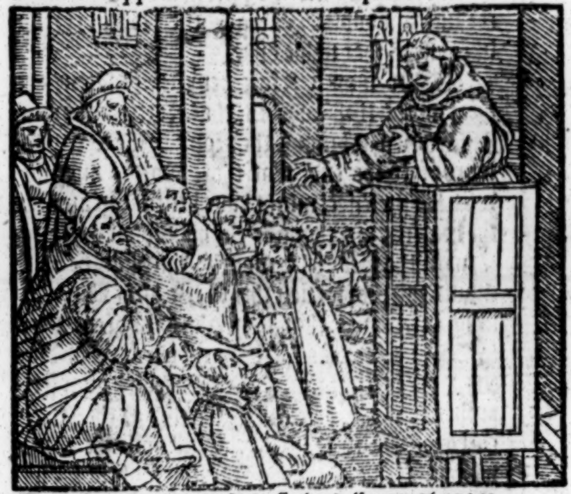
This examination ſolemnly taken, when it was clearly perceyued that there was none impediment: the king with great feaſt and honourable ſolemnitie, maried dame Elizabeth Gray, and hir crowned Queene that was his enimyes wife, and many time had prayed full heartily for his loſſe, in which God loued hir better than to graunt hir hir bone.

But when the Erle of Warwike vnderſtood of this mariage, he toke it ſo highly that his Ambaſſade was deluded, that for very anger and diſdaine, he at his returning aſſembled a great puiſſance againſt the king, and came ſo faſt vpon him or he could be able to reſiſt, that he was faine to voyd the realme, and flee into Holland for ſuccor, where he remayned for the ſpace of two yeares, leauing his new wife in Weſtminſter in Sanctuarie, where ſhe was deliuered of Edwarde the prince, of whom we before haue ſpoken. In which meane time the erle of Warwike toke out of priſon, and ſet vp againe king Henry the ſixt, which was before by king Edwarde depoſed, and that much what by the power of the Earle of Warwike whiche was a wiſe man, and a couragious warrior, and of ſuch ſtrength, what for his lands, his alliance, and fauour with all people, that hee made kings, and put downe kings almoſt at his pleaſure, and not impoſſible to haue atteyned it himſelfe, if he had not reckened it a greater thing to make a king than to be a king. But nothing laſteth alway: for in concluſion king Edwarde returned, and with much leſſe number thã he had at Barnet on the Eaſterday field, ſlue the erle of Warwike, with many other great eſtates of that partie, and ſo ſtably atteyned the crowne againe, that he peacably enioyed it vntill his dying day: and in ſuch plight left it, that it could not be loſt, but by the diſcorde of his verie friends, or falſehoode of his fayned friends. I haue rehearſed this buſineſſe about this mariage ſomewhat the more at length, bycauſe it might thereby the better appeare vppon how ſlipper a grounde the Protector buylded his colour, by whiche he pretended king Edwards children to be baſtards. But that inuention ſimple as it was, it liked them to whõ it ſufficed to haue ſomewhat to ſay, while they were ſure to be compelled to no larger prouſe thã themſelfe lyſt to make.

Doctor Shaes Sermon.

Now then (as I began to ſhew you) it was by the protector & his counſaile concluded, that this doctor Shaa ſhould in a ſermon at Paules croſſe ſignifie to the people, that neyther king Edward himſelfe, nor the Duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten, nor were not the verie children of the duke of Yorke, but gotten vnlawfully by other perſons, by aduoutrie of the duches their mother. And that alſo dame Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of King Edwarde, and ſo the Prince and all his children baſtards, that were begotten vpon the Queene.

According to this deuiſe doctor Shaa the ſunday after, at Paules Croſſe in a greate audience (as alwaye aſſembled greate number to his preaching) he toke for his Theme, *ſpuria vitulamina non agent radices altas*. That is to ſay: Baſtarde ſlippes ſhall neuer take deepe roote.



Thervpon when he had ſhewed the great grace that God giueth and ſecretely infundeth in right generation after the lawes of matrimonie, then declared he that commonly thoſe children lacked that grace, and for the puniſhment of their Parents were for yͤ more part vnhappie, which were gottẽ in baſe, & ſpecially in aduouterie. Of which though ſome by the ignorance of the world & the truth hid from knowlidge inherited for the ſeaſon other mens landes, yet God alway ſo prouideth, that it continueth not in their bloud long, but the truth cõming to light, the rightfull inheritors be reſtored, & the baſtard ſlip pulled vp ere it can be rooted depe. And when he had laid for the proofe and confirmation of this ſentence certain enſamples taken out of the old teſtament, and other ancient hiſtories. Then began he to diſcend into the prayſe of the Lorde Richarde late Duke of Yorke, calling him father to the Lord protector, and declared the title of his heyres vnto yͤ crown, to whome it was after the death of king Henrie the ſixt entayled by authoritie of Parliamẽt. Thẽ ſhewed he that his verie ryght heyre of his bodye lawfully begotten was only the Lord Protector. For he declared then, that King Edwarde was neuer lawfully maryed vnto the Queene, but was before God huſband vnto Dame Elizabeth Lucie, and ſo his children baſtardes. And beſides that, neyther King Edwarde himſelfe, nor the Duke of Clarence, among thoſe that were ſecrete in the houſholde, were reckened verie ſurely for the children of the noble Duke, as thoſe that by theyr fauours more reſembled other knowne men than him. From whoſe vertuous cõditions he ſayd alſo that kyng Edwarde was farre off. But the Lorde Protectour hee ſayde, the verie noble Prince, the ſpeciall paterne of Knightly prowes, as wel in all Princely behauior as in the lineaments and fauour of his viſage, repreſented the verie face of the noble Duke his father. This is, quoth he, the fathers owne figure, this is hys owne countenaunce, the verie print of his viſage, the ſure vndoubted Image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of that noble duke.

Nowe was it before deuyſed, that in the ſpeaking of theſe wordes, the Protector ſhoulde haue comen in among the people to the Sermon warde, to the ende that thoſe wordes meeting with his preſence, might haue bene taken among the hearers, as thoughe the holy ghoſt had put them in the preachers mouth, and ſhoulde haue moued the people euen ther to crie, king Richard, king Richarde, that it might haue beene after ſayde, that hee was ſpecially choſen by God and in maner by myracle. But this deuiſe quayled, eyther by the Protectors negligence or the Preachers ouermuch diligence. For while the Protectour founde by the way tarying, leaſt he ſhould preuent thoſe wordes, and the Doctor fearing that he ſhoulde come ere hys Sermon coulde come to theſe wordes, haſted his matter thereto, he was come to them, and paſſe them, and entred into other matters ere the Protector came. Whome when he behelde comming, he ſodainly left the matter with which he was in hande, and without any deduction therevnto, out of all order and out of all frame began to repeate thoſe wordes againe: this is the verye noble Prince, the ſpeciall patrone of knightly prowes, whiche as well in all princely behauiour, as in the liniaments & fauor of his viſage, repreſenteth the verie face of the noble duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this his owne countenance, yͤ very print of his viſage, the ſure vndoubted Image, the plaine expreſſe likeneſſe of the noble duke, whoſe remembrance can neuer die while he liueth. While theſe wordes were in ſpeaking, the Protector accõpanied with the duke of Buckingham, went through the people into the place where the doctors commonly ſtande in the vpper ſtorie, where he ſtood to hearken the ſermon. But the people were ſo farre fro crying king Richard, that they ſtoode as they had beene turned into ſtones, for wonder of this ſhameful Sermon.

Preach

After which once ended, the Preacher gat him home, and neuer after durſt looke out for ſhame, but kept him out of ſight like an Owle. And when hee once aſked one that had beene his olde friend what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conſcience well ſhewed him that they talked no good, yet when the tother anſwered him, that there was in euery mannes mouth ſpoken of him muche ſhame, it ſo ſtrake him to the heart, that within few dayes after hee withered and conſumed away.

Then on the Tueſday folowing this ſermon, there came into the yeeld hal in London the duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuerſe lords and knights, mo than happily knewe the meſſage that they brought. And there in the Eaſt ende of the hal, where the Maior kepeth the Huſtings, the Maior & all the Aldermen being aſſembled about him, all the cõmons of the Citie gathered before them: after ſilence cõmaunded vpon greate paine in the protectors name: the duke ſtood vp, and (as he was neither vnlerned, and of nature marueylouſly well ſpoken) he ſayd vnto the people with a cleare and a loude voyce in this maner of wiſe.

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FRiends, for the zeale and heartie fauour that we beare you, we be comẽ to break vnto you of a matter right great and weightie, and no leſſe weightie than pleaſing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable, than to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, that thing that we wote wel ye haue long time lacked, and ſore lõged for, that ye would haue giuen great good for, that ye would haue gone farre to fetche, that thing we be come hither to bring you without your labour, paine, coſt, aduenture or ieopardie. What thing is that? Certes the ſuretie of your owne bodies. the quiet of your wiues and your daughters, the ſafegarde of your goodes: of all which things in times paſt ye ſtood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that would recken himſelfe lord of his owne good among ſo many grennes & traps as was ſet therfore, among ſo much pilling and polling, among ſo many taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer ende, & oftentimes no neede: or if any were, it rather grewe of ryot, and vnreaſonable waſt, than any neceſſary or honourable charge. So that there was dayly pilled fro good men and honeſt, great ſubſtance of goodes to be laſhed out among vnthrifts, ſo farre forth that fifteenes ſuffiſed not, nor anye vſuall names of

rare.

knowen

knowne taxes: but vnder an eaſie name of beneuolence and good will, the commiſſioners ſo much of euery man toke, as no man coulde with hys good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence, had ſignified that euery man ſhoulde pay not what himſelfe of his owne good will liſt to graunt, but what the king of his good will lyſt to take. Which neuer aſked little, but euery thing was hawſed aboue the meaſure, amercimentes turned into fines, fines into raunſoms, ſmal treſpaſſe into miſpriſion, miſpriſion into treaſon. Whereof I thinke no man loketh that we ſhould remember you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten, that was for a worde ſpokē in haſt cruelly beheaded, by the miſconſtruing of the lawes of this realme, for the Princes pleaſure: with no leſſe honour to Markam then chiefe Iuſtice, that left his office rather than hee woulde aſſent to that iudgement, than to the diſhoneſtie of thoſe, that eyther for feare or flatterie gaue that iudgement. What Cooke your owne worſhipfull neighbour, Alderman and Maior of this noble Citie, who is of you ſo eyther negligent that he knoweth not, or ſo forgetfull that he remembreth not, or ſo hard hearted that he pityeth not, that worſhipful mans loſſe? what ſpeake we of loſſe? his vtter ſpoyle and vndeſerued deſtruction, onely for that it happed thoſe to fauour him whom the prince fauored not. We need not I ſuppoſe to rehearſe of theſe anye mo by name, ſith there bee (I doubt not) manye here preſent, that either in themſelues, or in their nigh friendes haue knowen as well their goods as their perſons greatly endanngered, eyther by feyned quarels, or ſmall matters agreeued with heynous names. And alſo there was no crime ſo great, of whiche there could lacke a pretext. For ſith the king preuenting the time of his inheritance attayned the crowne by battaile: it ſufficed in a riche man for a pretext of treaſon, to haue bin of kindred or alliance neare familiaritie or lōger acquaintaunce with any of thoſe that were at any tyme ẏ kings enimies, which was at one time and other, more than halfe the realme. Thus were neither your goods in ſurety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardie, beſide the common aduenture of opē warre, which albeit that it is euer the will and occaſion of much miſchiefe, yet is it neuer ſo miſchiuous as where any people fall at diſtaunce among thēſelues, nor in none earthly nation ſo deadly and ſo peſtilent, as when it hapneth amōg vs: and among vs neuer ſo long continued diſſention, nor ſo many battailes in that ſeaſon, nor ſo cruell and ſo deadly foughten as was in that kings days that dead is, God forgiue it his ſoule. In whoſe time, and by whoſe occaſion, what about the getting of the garland, keeping it, leaſing, and winning againe, it hath coſt more Engliſh bloud, than hath twiſe the winning of Fraunce. In which inwarde warre among our ſelues, hath bene ſo great effuſion of the auncient noble bloud of this realme, that ſcarcely the halfe remayneth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land, beſide many a good towne ranſacked & ſpoiled by them, that hath bene going to the fielde or comming from thence. And peace long after not much ſurer than warre. So that no time was therein which rich men for their money, & greate men for their lands, or ſome other for ſome feare, or ſome diſpleaſure were not out of perill. For whō truſted he that miſtruſted his owne brother? whom ſpared he that killed his owne brother? or who could perfitely loue him, if his owne brother could not? What maner of folke he moſt fauored we ſhal for his honor ſpare to ſpeake of, howbeit this wote you well al, that who ſo was beſt, bare alway leaſt rule, and more ſute was in his dayes vnto Shores wife, a vile and an abhominable ſtrumpet, than to al the Lords in Englād, except vnto thoſe ẏ made hir their proctor, which ſimple woman was wel named & honeſt, till the king for his wanton luſt and ſinfull affection bereft hir frō hir huſband, a right honeſt ſubſtantiall yong mā among you. And in that point, whiche in good fayth I am ſorie to ſpeake of, ſauing that it is in vaine to kepe in counſaile that thing that all men know, the kings greedie appetite was inſaciable, and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no woman was there any where, yong or olde, riche or poore, whom he ſet his eye vpon, in whom he any thing lyked, eyther perſon or fauour, ſpeeche, pace, or countenaunce, but wythout any feare of god, or reſpect of his honor, murmure or grudge of the worlde, he woulde importunely purſue his appetite, & haue hir, to the great deſtruction of many a good woman, and great dolor to their huſbande, and their other friendes, which being honeſt people of thēſelues, ſo much regarde the cleanneſſe of their houſe, the chaſtitie of their wiues, and their children, that them were leauer to leaſe all that they haue beſyde, than to haue ſuche a villanye done them. And all were it that wyth thys and other importable dealyng the Realme was in euerye parte annoyed: yet ſpeciallye ye here the Cityzens of thys noble Citye, as well for that amongeſt you is moſte plentye of all ſuche things as myniſter matter to ſuche iniuryes, as for that you were neareſt at hande, ſithe that neare here about was commonly hys moſt abyding. And yet be ye the people whome he had as ſingular cauſe well and kindlye to entreate, as any parte of hys Realme, not onely for that the Prince by thys noble Citie, as hys eſpeciall Chamber, and the ſpeciall well renowmed Citie of hys Realme, muche honourable fame

Ciuill warre.

London the Kings eſpecial chamber.

receyueth among all other Nations: but alſo for that ye not without your great coſt, and ſundrie perils and ieopardies in all his warres, bare euen your ſpeciall fauor to his part, which your kinde mindes borne to the houſe of Yorke, ſith hee hath nothing worthily acquited, there is of that houſe that nowe by Gods grace better ſhall, whiche thing to ſhewe you is the whole ſumme and effect of this our preſente errande. It ſhall not I wote well, neede that I rehearſe you agayne, that ye haue alreadie hearde, of hym that can better tell it,, and of whome I am ſure ye will better beleeue it. And reaſon is that it ſo bee. I am not ſo prowde to looke therefore that yee ſhoulde recken my wordes of as greate authoritie as the Preachers of the worde of God, namely a man ſo cunning & ſo wiſe, that no man better woteth what hee ſhoulde ſaye, and thereto ſo good and vertuous, that hee woulde not ſaye the thyng whiche he wyſt he ſhoulde not ſaye, in the Pulpet namely, into the which no honeſt man commeth to lie, which honourable Preacher yee well remember ſubſtanciallye declared vnto you at Paules Croſſe, on Sunday laſt paſſed, the right and title, that the moſt excellent prince Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, nowe Protectour of thys Realme hath vnto the Crowne and kingdome of the ſame. For as the worſhipfull man groundly made open vnto you, the children of K. Edward the fourth, were neuer lawfully begotten, foraſmuche as the king (leauing his verie wife Dame Elizabeth Lucy)was neuer lawfully maried vnto the Queene their mother, whoſe bloud ſauing that he ſet his voluptuous pleaſure before his honor, was full vnmeetly to bee matched with hys, and the mingling of whoſe blouds togither, hath beene the effuſion of great part of the noble bloud of this realme. Whereby it may well ſeeme the mariage not wel made, of which there is ſo much miſchiefe growne. For lacke of which lawful accoupling, and alſo of other things which the ſayd worſhipfull doctor rather ſignified than fully explayned, and which things ſhall not be ſpoken for me, as the thing wherin euery man forbeareth to ſay that hee knoweth in auoyding diſpleaſure of my noble Lord Protector, bearing as nature requireth a filiall reuerence to the Duches his mother, for theſe cauſes I ſay before remēbred, that is to wit, for lacke of other iſſue lawfully cōming of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke to whoſe royall bloud the Crowne of England and of Fraunce, is by the high authoritie of Parliamen entayled, the right and title of the ſame, is by the iuſt courſe of enheritaunce according to the common lawes of this lande, deuolute and common vnto the moſte excellent Prince the Lorde Protector, as to the very lawfully begottē ſon of the forremembred noble duke of Yorke. Which thing well conſidered, and the greate knightlye prowes pondered, with manifolde vertues which in his noble perſon ſingularly abound, the nobles and commons alſo of this realme, and ſpeciallye of the north part, not willing any baſtarde bloud to haue the rule of the lande, nor the abuſions before in the ſame vſed any longer to continue, haue cōdiſcended and fully determined to make humble petition to the moſte puiſſaunte Prince the Lorde Protectour, that it may lyke his grace at our humble requeſt, to take vpon him the guiding and gouernaunce of this Realme, to the wealth and encreaſe of the ſame, according to his verie right and iuſt tytle. Which thing I wote it well, hee will bee loth to take vppon hym, as he whoſe wiſedome well perceyueth the labor and ſtudie both of minde and bodie, that ſhall come therewith, to whomeſoeuer ſo will occupie the rowme, as I dare ſay hee will if he take it. Which rowme I warne you well is no childes office. And that the great wiſe man well perceyued, when he ſayd: *Veh regno cuius rex puer eſt:* VVo is that Realme that hath a childe to their king. Wherfore ſo much the more cauſe haue we to thanke God, that this noble perſonage which is ſo righteouſly intituled therevnto, is of ſo ſad age, and thereto ſo great wiſedome ioyned with ſo great experience, which albeit hee will bee loth (as I haue ſayd) to take it vpon him, yet ſhall he to our petition in that behalf the more graciouſly incline, if ye the worſhipfull Citizens of this the chiefe citie of this realm, ioyne with vs the nobles in our ſaide requeſt. Which for your owne weale we doubt not but ye wil: and natheleſſe I hartily pray you ſo to do, wherby you ſhal do great profit to all this realme beſide, in chooſing thē ſo good a king, and vnto your ſelfe ſpecial commoditie, to whō his maieſtie ſhal euer after bear ſo much the more tender fauor, in how much he ſhall perceiue you yͤ more prone & beneuolētly minded toward his election. Wherin dere friends what mind you haue, we require you plainly to ſhew vs.

When the Duke had ſayde, and looked that the people whome he hoped that the Maior had framed before, ſhould after this propoſition made, haue cried king Richard, king Richarde, all was huſht and mute, and not one worde anſwered therevnto: wherwith yͤ duke was maruellouſly abaſhed, and taking the Maior nearer to hym, with other that were aboute him priuie to that matter, ſayde vnto them ſoftly, what meaneth this, that this people be ſo ſtill. Sir (quoth the Maior percaſe they perceyue you not well. That ſhall we mende(quoth he)if that will)helpe.

And by and by ſomewhat lowder he rehearſed them the ſame matter agayne in other order and other wordes ſo well and ornatelye, and naytheleſſe ſo euidently and plaine, wyth voyce, geſture, and countenance ſo comly, and ſo conuenient, that euery man much maruelled that heard him, and thought that they neuer had in theyr liues heard ſo euill a tale ſo well tolde.

But were it for wonder or feare, or that eche lookt that other ſhould ſpeake firſt: not one word was there aunſwered of all the people that ſtoode before, but all was as ſtill as the mydnight, not ſo muche as rowning amongeſt them, by which they might ſeeme to commune what was beſt to doe. When the Maior ſawe this, hee with other partners of that Councell drew aboute the duke, and ſayde that the people had not beene accuſtomed there to be ſpoken vnto, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth of the Citie, and happily to him they will aunſwere. With that the Recorder called Fitz William, a ſad man, and an honeſt, whiche was ſo newe come into that office, that he neuer had ſpoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to beginne, notwithſtanding, thereunto commaunded by the Maior, made rehearſall to the Commons of that the Duke had twiſe rehearſed them himſelfe. But the Recorder ſo tempered his tale, that he ſhewed euerie thing as the dukes wordes, and no part his owne. But all this noting, no chaunge made in the people, which alway after one, ſtoode as they had bene men amaſed, wherevpon the duke rowned vnto the Maior and ſayd: this is a maruellous obſtinate ſilence, and then with he turned vnto the people again with theſe words: Dere friends we come to moue you to that thing whiche peraduenture we not ſo greatly needed, but that the Lords of this realme, & the cōmons of other parties might haue ſufficed, ſauing ẏ wee ſuche loue beare you, & ſo much ſet by you, ẏ we would not gladly do without you, that thing in which to be partners is your weale & honor, which as it ſeemeth, either you ſee not, or wey not. Wherefore wee require you giue vs aunſwere one or other, whether you bee minded as all the nobles of the realm be, to haue this noble prince now protector to be your king or not.

At theſe words the people began to whiſper among themſelues ſecretly, that the voice was neither lowd nor diſtinct, but as it were the ſound of a ſwarme of Bees, till at the laſt in the neather end of the Hall, a buſhment of the dukes ſeruants and Naſhfieldes, and other longing to the protector, with ſome prentiſes and laddes that thruſt into the hall among the preaſe, beganne ſodainly at mennes backes to crie out as lowde as theyr throtes woulde giue: King Richard, King Richarde, and threw vp their cappes in token of ioy. And they that ſtood before caſt backe their heads maruelling thereof, but nothing they ſayde.

And when the Duke and the Maior ſaw this maner, they wiſely turnd it to theyr purpoſe, and ſayde it was a goodlye crie, and a ioyfull to heare, euery man with one voyce, no man ſaying nay. Wherefore friendes (quoth the Duke) ſince that we perceyue it is all your whole myndes to haue this noble man for your king, whereof wee ſhall make his grace ſo effectuall report, that wee doubt not but it ſhall redounde vnto your greate weale and commoditie: we require ye that ye to morrow go with vs, and we with you vnto his noble grace, to make our humble requeſt vnto him in maner before remembred. And therewith the Lordes came downe, and the companie diſſolued and departed, the more part all ſad, ſome with glad ſemblance that were not verie merye, and ſome of thoſe that came thither with the duke not able to diſſemble their ſorow, were fain at his backe to turne theyr face to the wall, while the dolour of theyr heart burſt out of theyr eyes.

The Maiors comming to Baynards Caſtell.

Then on the morrowe after, the Maior with all the Aldermen and chiefe comoners of the citie in their beſt maner apparelled, aſſembling thēſelues togither, reſorted vnto Baynardes Caſtell, where the protector lay. To which place repaired alſo according to their appoyntment, the Duke of Buckingham, with diuerſe noble men with him, beſide many knights and other gentlemen. And therevpon the duke ſent worde vnto the L. Protector of the being there of a great and honorable cōpanie, to moue a great matter vnto his grace.

Wherevpon the protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if he firſt knewe ſome part of their errand, as though he doubted & partly diſtruſted the comming of ſuch a number vnto him ſo ſodenly, without any warning or knowledge whether they came for good or harm. Then the duke whē he had ſhewed this vnto the Maior and other, that they might thereby ſee howe little the Protector looked for this matter, they ſent vnto him by the meſſenger ſuch louing meſſage againe, and therewith ſo humbly beſought him to vouchſafe, that they might reſort to his preſence, to purpoſe their intent, of which they would vnto none other perſon any parte diſcloſe, that at the laſt he came forth of his Chamber, and yet not downe vnto them, but ſtoode aboue in a Gallerie ouer them, where they might ſee him, and ſpeake to him, as though he would not yet come too nere them till he wiſt what they ment.

And therevpon the Duke of Buckingham, firſt made hūble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace woulde pardon them, and licence them to purpoſe vnto his grace the intent of their comming without his diſpleaſure, without which pardon obteined, they durſt not be bolde to moue him of that matter. In which albeit they ment as much honour to his grace, as wealth to all the realme beſide, yet were they not ſure howe his grace woulde take it, whome they woulde in no wyſe offende. Then the Protectour (as he was verie gentle of himſelfe, and alſo longed ſore to witte what they ment) gaue him leaue to purpoſe what him lyked, verily truſting for the good minde that he bare them all, none of them any thing woulde intend vnto himwarde, wherewith he ought to be grieued.

When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to ſpeake, then waxed hee bolde to ſhew him their intent and purpoſe, with all the cauſes mouing them thereunto as ye before haue heard, and finally to beſeech his grace, that it wold like him of his accuſtomed goodneſſe and zeale vnto the Realme, now with his eye of pitie, to behold the long continued diſtreſſe and decaye of the ſame, and to ſet his gracious handes to redreſſe and amendment therof, by taking vpon him the crown and gouernaunce of thys Realme, accordyng to hys right and tytle lawfully deſcended vnto him, and to the laude of God, profite of the lande, and vnto his grace ſo muche the more honour, and leſſe paine, in that that neuer Prince reigned vpon any people, that were ſo glad to liue vnder his obeyſaunce, as the people of thys Realme vnder his.

When the Protector had heard the propoſition, he looked verie ſtraungely thereat, and anſwered: that all were it that he partly knew the things by them alledged to be true, yet ſuche entire loue hee bare vnto king Edward and his children, that ſo much more regarded his honor in other realmes about than the crowne of any one of whiche hee was neuer deſirous, that he could not finde in his hart in this point to encline to thier deſire. For in all other Nations where the truth were not well knowne, it ſhoulde peraduenture be thought, that it were his owne ambicious minde and deuiſe, to depoſe the Prince, and take himſelfe the Crowne, with which infamie hee woulde not haue his honour ſtayned for any crowne, in which he had euer perceyued much more labor and paine, than pleaſure to him that ſo would ſo vſe it, as he that would not, were not worthie to haue it. Notwithſtanding he not onely pardoned thẽ the motion that they made him, but alſo thanked them for the loue and heartie fauour they bare hym, praying them for hys ſake to giue and beare the ſame to the Prince, vnder whome hee was, and woulde be content to liue, and with his labor and counſayle as farre as ſhoulde lyke the King to vſe him, he woulde doe his vttermoſt deuoyr to ſet the realme in good ſtate, whiche was alreadie in this little while of his Protectorſhip (the praiſe giuen to God) well begonne, in that the malice of ſuch as were before occaſion of the contrarie, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good policie, partly more by Gods ſpeciall prouidence, than mans prouiſion repreſſed.

Upon this anſwere giuen, the Duke by the Protectours licence, a little rowned, aſwell with other noble men aboute him, as with the Maior and Recorder of London. And after that vpon like pardon deſired and obteyned, he ſhewed alowd vnto the Protector, that for a finall concluſion, ẏ the realm was appointed k. Edwards line ſhuld not any longer raigne vpō thẽ, both for that they had ſo farre gone, that it was nowe no ſuretye to retreate, as for that they thoughte it for the weale vniuerſall to take that way, although they had not yet begon it.

Wherefore if it woulde like his grace to take the Crowne vpon him, they woulde humbly beſeech him thereunto. If he woulde giue them a reſolute aunſwere to the contrarie, whiche they woulde be lothe to heare, then muſte they needes ſeeke and ſhould not fayle to find ſome other noble man that would.

These wordes much moued the Protector, whiche elſe as euerie man may wit, woulde neuer of likelyhoode haue enclyned thereunto. But when hee ſawe there was none other waye, but that eyther hee muſte take it, or elſe hee and hys both goe from it, he ſayde vnto the Lordes and Commons: Sith we perceyue well that all the Realme is ſo ſet, whereof we bee very ſorie that they will not ſuffer in any wiſe King Edwards line to gouerne them, whome no man earthlye can gouerne agaynſt theyr willes, and we well alſo perceyue, that no man is there, to whome the Crowne can by iuſt tytle appertayne, as to our ſelfe, as verie right heyre lawfully begotten of the bodie of our moſte deare father Rycharde late Duke of Yorke, to whiche tytle is now ioyned your election, the Nobles and Commons of thys Realme, whiche we of all tytles poſſible take for moſte effectuall: We be content and agree fauourablye to encline to your petition and requeſt, and according to the ſame, here we take vpon vs the royall eſtate, preeminence and kingdome of the two noble Realmes, Englande and Fraunce, the tone fro this daye forwarde, by vs and our heyres to rule, gouerne, and defende: the tother by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and ſubdue, and eſtabliſhe for euer in due obedience vnto thys Realme of Englande, the aduauncement whereof wee neuer aſke of God longer to liue than we intend to procure.

The p taketh him t king.

With this there was a greate ſhoute, crying King Rycharde, King Richarde. And then the Lordes went vp to the King (for ſo was he from that tyme called) and the people departed, talking dyuerſlye of the matter, euery man as hys fantaſie gaue hym. But much they talked and marueyled of the maner of this dealing, that the matter was on both partes made ſo ſtraunge, as thoughe neyther had euer communed with other thereof before, when that them ſelfe wyſte there was no manne ſo dull that hearde them, but hee perceyued well ynough, that all the matter was made betweene them. Howbeit ſome excuſed that agayne, and ſayde all muſte be done in good order though: And men muſte ſometyme for the manners ſake, not be aknowen what they know. For at the conſecration of a Biſhop, euery man woteth well by the paying for his Bulles, that he purpoſeth to be one, and though he pay for nothyng elſe. And yet muſt he be twyce aſked whether he will be Biſhop or no, and he muſt twice ſay nay, and at the thyrde tyme take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne wil. And in a ſtage play, all the people knowe right well, that hee that playeth the Sowdaine, is percaſe a ſowter, yet if one ſhoulde can ſo little good, to ſhewe out of ſeaſon what aquaintaunce hee hath with him, and call hym by hys owne name while he ſtandeth in his maieſtie, one of hys tormentors myghte happe to breake his head, and worthie for marring of the play. And ſo they ſayde, that theſe matters bee kings games, as it were ſtage playes, and for the more part, played vpon ſcaffoldes. In which poore men be but the lookers on. And they yͤ wiſe be will meddle no further. For they that ſometime ſtep vp, and play with them, when they cannot playe theyr partes, they diſorder the playe, and doe themſelues no good.

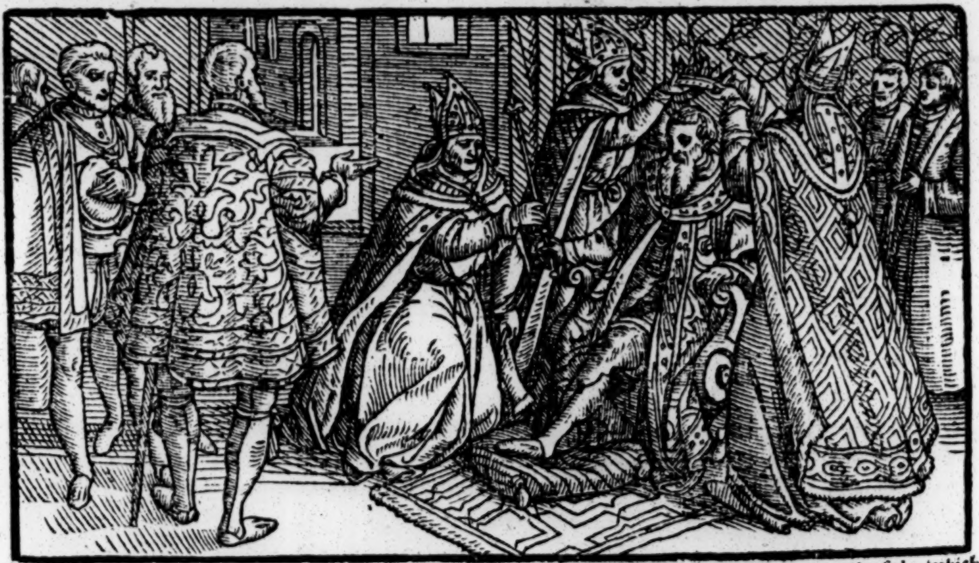
Rich. the.iij.
1483
An. reg. 1.

‟This that is here betweene this mark and this marke* was not written by maiſter Moore in this hiſtorie written by him in Engliſhe, but is tranſlated out of this hiſtory which he wrote in latin.

‟THE next day, the Potectoꝛ wͭ a great trayne, wente to Weſtminſter hall, and there when hee had placed himſelfe in the Court of the Kinges benche, declared to the audience, that he woulde take vpon him the Crowne in that place there, where the King himſelfe ſitteth and miniſtreth the lawe, bycauſe hee conſidered that it was the chiefeſt ductie of a King to miniſter the lawes.

Then with as pleſant an Oration as he could, he went about to win vnto hym, the nobles, the merchantes, the artificers, and in concluſion all kynde of men, but eſpecially the Lawyers of this realme. And finally to the intent that no mā ſhould hate him for feare, and that his deceytfull clemencie myghte get hym the good will of the people, when he had declared the diſcommoditie of diſcorde, and the commodities of concorde and vnitie, he made an open proclamation, that he did put oute of his mynde all enimities, and that he there did openly pardon all offences cōmitted againſt him. And to the intente that hee myghte ſhewe a proofe thereof, he commaunded that one Fogge, whome he had long deadly hated, ſhould be brought then before hym, who being brought out of the Sanctuarie (for thyther had he fledde for feare of him) in the ſight of the people, hee tooke hym by the hande. Whiche thyng the Common people reioyced at, and prayſed, but wyſe menne tooke it for a vanitie. In his retourne homewarde, whome ſo euer he met, he ſaluted. For a mynde that knoweth it ſelfe guiltie, is in a manner deiected to a ſeruile flatterie.

When he had begonne his reigne the daye of Iune, after this mockiſhe election, then was hee Crowned the daye of the ſame moneth. And that ſolemnitie was furniſhed for the moſt parte, with the ſelfe ſame prouiſion that was appoynted for the coronatiō of his nephue.*



From thys mark‟ to this* is not founde in Sir Thomas Moore, but in maiſter Hall and Grafton.

But heere to ſhewe the manner of his Coronation, as the ſame is inſerted in this Pamphlet of Sir Thomas More, by maſter Hall and Richard Grafton, although not found in the ſame Pamphlet, thus we find it by them reported.

‟Firſt to be ſure of all enimies (as he thoughte) he ſent for fyue thouſande men of the Northe againſt his Coronation, which came vp euill apparelled, and worſe harneiſed, in ruſtie harneis, neither defenſable, nor ſcoured to the ſale, which muſtered in Finſeburie field, to the great diſdeine of all the lookers on.

The fourth day of Iuly, he came to the Tower by water with his wife, and the fifth day he created Thomas Lord Haward Duke of Norfolke, and Sir Thomas Haward his ſonne, hee created Earle of Surrey, and William Lorde Barkeley was then created Earle of Nottingham,

ham, and Fraunces Lord Louel, was then made Uicount Louell, and the King his Chamberlayne: and the Lord Stanley was deliuered out of warde, for feare of his ſonne the L. Strange, which was then in Lancaſhire gathering men (as men ſayde) and the ſayde Lord was made Stewarde of the King his houſholde: lykewiſe the Archbyſhoppe of Yorke was deliuered: but Morton Byſhoppe of Elie, was cōmitted to the Duke of Buckingham to keepe in warde, which ſent him to his manor of Brecknock in Wales, from whence hee eſcaped to King Richarde hys confuſion. The ſame nyght, the King made ſeuenteene Knyghtes of the Bathe, whoſe names enſue.

Sir Edmond the Duke of Suffolkes ſonne.
Sir George Grey, the Erle of Kents ſonne.
Sir William, the Lord Souches ſonne.
Sir Henry Burganie.
Sir Chriſtopher Willoughbie.
Sir William Barkeley.
Sir Henrie Babington.
Sir Thomas Arondell.
Sir Thomas Boleyne.
Sir Gerueys of Clifton.
Sir William Saye.
Sir Edmond Bedingfield.
Sir William Enderbie.
Sir Thomas Lekenor.
Sir Thomas of Urmon.
Sir John Browne.
Sir William Barkeley.

The next day, being the fifth day of Julie, the King rode through the Citie of London toward Weſtminſter with great pomp, being accompanied with theſe Dukes, Earles, Lordes, and Knightes, whoſe names followe.

Edward Prince of Wales, the Kings onely ſonne.

Dukes.

The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Buckingham.
The Duke of Suffolke.

Earles.

The Earle of Northumberlande.
The Earle of Arondell.
The Earle of Kent.
The Earle of Surrey.
The Earle of Wilſhire.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Nottingham.
The Earle of Warwike.
The Earle of Lincolne.

Lordes.

The Lord Liſle Uicount.
The Lord Louell Uicount.
The Lord Stanley.
The Lord Audeley.
The Lord Dakers.
The Lord Ferrers of Chertley.
The Lord Powes.
The Lord Scrope of Upſale.
The Lord Scrope of Bolton.
The Lord Gray Codner.
The Lord Gray of Wilton.
The Lord Sturton.
The Lord Cobham.
The Lord Morley.
The Lord Burganie.
The Lord Souche.
The Lord Ferrers of Groby.
The Lord Welles.
The Lord Lomney.
The Lord Matreuers.
The Lord Harbert.
The Lord Becham.

Knightes.

Sir James Tirell.
Sir William Kniuet.
Sir Thomas Aborow.
Sir William Standley.
Sir William Aparre.
Sir George Browne.
Sir Robert Middleton.
Sir John Henningham.
Sir Nicholas Latimer.
Sir Thomas Mongomery.
Sir Thomas Delamer.
Sir Gilbert Debnam.
Sir Terrie Robſart.
Sir William Brandon.
Sir John Sauell.
Sir Henry Wentford.
Sir Edward Standley.
Sir Henry Seyntmont.
Sir William yong.
Sir Thomas Bowſer.
Sir Henry Winkefielde.
Sir Thomas Worſley.
Sir John Seyntlow
Sir Charles of Pilkinton.
Sir James Harington.
Sir John Aſheley.
Sir Thomas Barkley.
Sir Richard Becham.
Sir William Hopton.
Sir Thomas Percy.
Sir Robert Dymocke.
Sir John Cheyny.
Sir Richard Ludlowe.
Sir John Eldrington.
Sir William Sands.
Sir Richard Dudley.

Sir William Scintlowe.
Sir Thomas Twaightes.
Sir Edmond of Dudley.
Sir Rauſe Aſhton.
Sir Richard Charlington.
Sir Thomas Gray.
Sir Phillip Barkeley.
Sir Robert Harington.
Sir Thomas Greſley.
Sir Richard Harecourt.
Sir Wiliam Noris.
Sir Thomas Selenger.
Sir Richard Hodleſten.
Sir John Conias.
Sir William Stoner.
Sir Phillip Courtney.
Sir William Gaſcoigne.
Sir Richard Amedilton.
Sir Roger Fynes.
Sir George Vere.
Sir Henry Percie. Sir John Wood.
Sir John Iparre.
Sir John Gray. Sir John Danby.
Sir Richard Tailebuſhe.
Sir John Rider.
Sir John Herring.
Sir Richard Enderby.
Sir John Barkeley.
Sir James Strangwiſhe.
Sir Rauſe Carnbrecke.
Sir John Conſtable.
Sir Robert Eliarde.
Sir Richard Darell.
Sir John Gilforde. Sir John Lekenor.
Sir John Morley.
Sir John Hewes.
Sir John Boleyne.
Sir Edmond Shaa Alderman.

On the morrowe beeing the ſixte daye of Julye, the King with Quene Anne hys wife, came down out of the White Hall into the great Hall at Weſtminſter, and went directly to the kings bench. And from thence, the king and the Quene going vpon raye clothe barefooted, wente vnto Sainct Edwardes Shrine, and all his nobilitie goyng wyth hym, euery Lorde in his degree. And firſte went the trumpets, and then the Herraultes of armes in their riche coates, and nexte followed the Croſſe with a ſolempne proceſſion, the Prieſtes hauyng fine ſurpleſſes and graye amiſſes vpon them. The Abbottes and Byſhops mitred and in riche Copes, and euery of them caried theyr Croſiers in their handes. The Byſhop of Rocheſter bare the Croſſe before the Cardinall. Then followed the Earle of Huntyngton bearyng a paire of guilt ſpurres ſignifiyng Knyghtehoode. Then followed the Earle of Bedforde bearing Sainct Edwardes ſtaffe for a relique. After them came the Earle of Northumberlande bareheaded, wyth the Pointeleſſe ſworde naked in his hande which ſignifyed mercye. The Lorde Stanley bare the mace of the Coneſtableſhippe. The Earle of Kent bare the ſeconde ſworde on the right hande of the Kyng naked, wyth a pointe, whyche ſignifyed Juſtice to the Temporalitie. The Lord Louell bare the thirde ſworde on the lefte hande wyth a pointe, whyche ſignifyed Juſtice to the Clergye. The Duke of Suffolke followed wyth the Scepter in his hande, whiche ſignifyed peace. The earle of Lincolne bare the Ball and Croſſe, whyche ſignifyed a Monarchie. The Earle of Surrey bare the fourth ſword before the King in a riche ſcabberd, and that is called the ſworde of eſtate. Then went three togither, in the middeſt wente Garter King at armes in his rich cote: and on his left hande wente the Maior of London, bearing a mace: and on his righte hande wente the Gentleman Vſher of the priuie chamber. Then followed the Duke of Norffolke, bearing the Kings Crowne betweene his hands. Then followed King Richard in his robes of purple veluet, and ouer his head a canapie, borne by foure Barons of the fiue portes. And on euery ſide of the King there went one Byſhop, that is to ſay, the Byſhop of Bath, and the Biſhoppe of Durham. Then followed the Duke of Buckingham bearing the Kings trayne, with a white ſtaffe in his hande, ſignifying the office of the high Steward of England. Then there followed a great number of Earles & Barons before yͤ Queene. And then came yͤ Erle of Huntington, who bare yͤ Queenes Scepter, & the Vicount Liſle bearyng the rodde with the Doue. And the earle of Wilſhire bare the Queenes Crowne. Then followed Queene Anne daughter to Richard Erle of Warwicke in robes like to yͤ King, betweene two Byſhoppes, and a Canapie ouer hir heade borne by the Barons of the Ports. On hir head a riche Coronall ſet wyth ſtones and pearle. After hir followed the Counteſſe of Richemonde heire to the Duke of Somerſette, whiche bare vp the Queenes traine. After followed the Ducheſſe of Suffolke and Norffolke, wyth Counteſſes, Baroneſſes, Ladies and many faire Gentlewomen. In this order they paſſed through the Pallaice, and entred the Abbey at the Weſt end, and ſo came to their ſeates of eſtate. And after diuers ſongs ſolempnly ſong, they bothe diſcended to the hyghe Aulter and were ſhifted from their robes, and had diuers places open from the middle vpwarde, in whiche places they were anointed. Then bothe the King and the Queene chaunged them into clothe of golde and aſcended to their ſeates, where the Cardinall of Caunterburye, and other Byſhoppes them

Crowned according to the cuſtome of yͤ realme, giuing him the Scepter in the left hande, and the ball with the croſſe in the righte hande, and the Queene had the Scepter in hir right hande, and the rodde with the doue in the left hande.

On euery ſide of the King ſtoode a Duke, and before hym ſtoode the Earle of Surrey with the ſword in his handes. And on euery ſide of the Queene ſtanding a Biſhoppe and a Lady kneeling.

The Cardinall ſong Maſſe, and after paxe, the King and the Queene deſcended, and before the high Aulter they wer both houſeled, with one hoſt deuided betweene them.

After Maſſe finiſhed, they both offered at S. Edward his Shrine, and there the King left the Crowne of Sainte Edward, and putte on hys owne Crowne. And ſo in order as they came, they departed to Weſtminſter Hall, and ſo to their chambers for a ſeaſon, during which time, the Duke of Norffolke came into the hall, hys horſe trapped to the ground in cloth of golde, as high Marſhall, and voided the hall.

About foure of the clocke, the King & Queene entred the hall, and the King ſate in the middle, and the Queene on the left hand of the table, and on euery ſide of hir ſtoode a Counteſſe, holdyng a cloth of pleaſaunce, when ſhe liſt to drinke. And on the right hand of the King ſate the Byſhoppe of Caunterburie, the Ladyes ſate all on one ſide, in the middle of the hall. And at the Table againſte them, ſate the Chancellor and all the Lordes.

At the table next the cupborde, ſate the Maior of London, and at the table behind the Lords, ſate the Barons of the portes.

And at the other tables ſate noble and worſhipfull perſonages.

When all perſons were ſet, the D. of Norfolke Earle Marſhal, the Earle of Surrey, Coneſtable for that day, the Lorde Stanley Lorde Stewarde, Sir William Hopton Treaſourer, and Sir Thomas Percy comptroller, came in, and ſerued the King ſolemnelie, with one diſhe of golde, and another of ſiluer, and the Queene all in gilte veſſell, and the Biſhop all in ſiluer.

At the ſeconde courſe came into the hall, Sir Robert Dimmocke the Kings Champion, making proclamation, that whoſoeuer woulde ſay, that King Richarde was not lawfull King, hee would fight with him at the vtterance, & threwe downe his gantlet, and then all the hall cryed King Richarde. And ſo he did in three partes of the Hall, and then one broughte him a cuppe of wine couered, and when he hadde dronke, he caſt out the drinke, and departed with the cuppe.

After that the Heraulds cryed a largeſſe thrice in the hall, and ſo went vp to their ſtage.

At the ende of dynner, the Maior of London ſerued the King and Queene with ſweete wine, and had of each of them a cuppe of golde, with a couer of golde. And by that time that all was done, it was darke nighte. And ſo the King returned to his chamber, and euerye man to hys lodging.

When this feaſt was thus finiſhed, the kyng ſente home all the Lordes into their Countreys that woulde departe, excepte the Lord Stanley, whome he reteyned, till he heard what his ſonne the Lorde Strange went about. And to ſuche as went home, hee gaue ſtraighte charge and commaundement, to ſee their Countreys well ordered, and that no wrong nor extorcion ſhoulde be done to his ſubiectes. And thus hee taughte other to execute iuſtice and equitie, the contrarie whereof he dayly exerciſed: he alſo with great rewardes giuen to the Northernemen, whiche he ſente for to his Coronation, ſente them home to their Countrey with great thankes: whereof dyuers of them (as they be all of nature very greedie of authoritie, and ſpecially when they thinke to haue any comforte or fauoure) tooke on them ſo highly, and wroughte ſuche maiſteries, that the King was fayne to ride thither in his fyrſte yeare, and to put ſome in execution, and ſtay the Countrey, or elſe no ſmall miſchiefe had enſued.

Sir Thomas More againe.

Nowe fell there miſchieues thicke. And as the thing euill gotten is neuer well kepte, thorough all the tyme of his reigne neuer ceaſſed there cruell death and ſlaughter, till his owne deſtruction ended it. But as hee finiſhed his tyme with the beſt death and the moſt righteous, that is to wit, his owne, ſo beganne hee with the moſt piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent nephues, the yong kyng and his tender brother: whoſe death and final infortune hath natheleſſe comen ſo farre in queſtion, that ſome remayn yet in doubt, whether they were in his dayes deſtroyed or no. Not for that onely that Perkyn Werbecke by manye folkes malice, and moe folkes folly, ſo long ſpace abuſing the worlde, was as well with princes as the poorer people, reputed and taken for the younger of theſe two, but for that alſo that all things were in late dayes ſo couertly demeaned, one thyng pretended, and another meant, that there was nothing ſo playne and openly proued, but that yet for the common cuſtom of cloſe and couert dealyng, men hadde it euer inwardly ſuſpect: as many well counterfaited Iewels make the true myſtruſted. Howbeit concerning the opinon, with the occaſions mouyng eyther partie, we ſhal haue place more at large to intreate, if we hereafter happen to write the tyme of the late noble Prince of famous memorie King Henrie the ſeauenth, or percaſe that hiſtory of Perkin

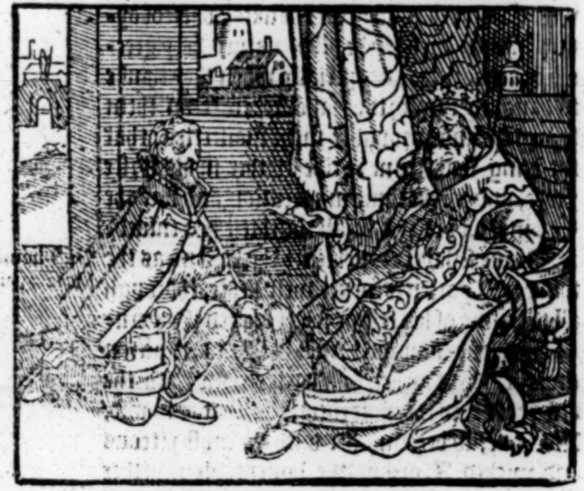
Perkyn Werbecke.

Cloſe dealing is euer ſuſpected.

in any compendious proceſſe by it ſelfe. But in the meane time for this preſent matter, I ſhal rehearſe you the dolorous ende of thoſe babes, not after euery way that I haue heard, but after that way that I haue ſo hearde by ſuche men and by ſuche meanes as me thinketh it were hard, but it ſhould be true.

John Greene. Robert Brakenbery Conneſtable of the Tower.

Sir James Tyrell.



King Richard after his Coronation, takyng his way to Glouceſter to viſit in his newe honour, the towne of which he bare the name of his olde, deuiſed as he rode, to fulfill the thing whiche he before had intended. And for aſmuche as hys minde gaue him, that his nephewes liuing, men would not recken that he could haue right to the Realme, he thought therefore without delay to ridde them, as though the killing of his kinſmen could amend his cauſe, and make him a kindelie King. Wherevpon, he ſent one John Greene, whome hee ſpecially truſted vnto Sir Roberte Brakenbery, Conneſtable of the Tower, with a letter and credence alſo, that the ſame Sir Robert ſhould in any wiſe put the two children to death. This John Greene did his errand vnto Brakenbery, kneeling before our Lady in the tower, who playnely aunſwered, that he would neuer putte them to death to die therefore: with which aunſwere, John Greene returning, recounpted the ſame to King Richard at Warwike yet in hys way. Wherewith he toke ſuch diſpleaſure and thought, that the ſame night he ſaid vnto a ſecret page of his: Ah whome ſhall a man truſt? thoſe that I haue broughte vp my ſelfe, thoſe that I had went would moſt ſurely ſerue me, euen thoſe fayle me, and at my commaundemente will doe nothing for me. Sir (quoth his page) there lyeth one on your pallet without, that I dare well ſay, to do your grace pleaſure, the thing were right harde that he would refuſe, meaning this by Sir James Tirrel, which was a man of right goodly perſonage, and for natures giftes worthy to haue ſerued a much better Prince, if he had wel ſerued God, and by grace obteyned aſmuche trothe and good will as he had ſtrength and witt. The man had an high heart, and ſore longed vpward, not riſing yet ſo faſt as hee had hoped, being hindred and kepte vnder by the meanes of Sir Richarde Ratcliffe, and Sir William Cateſbie, whyche longing for no moe partners of the Princes fauoure, and namely not for him, whoſe pride they wiſt woulde beare no peere, kepte him by ſecrete driftes out of all ſecrete truſt, which thing, thys Page well had marked and knowen: wherefore this occaſion offered, of very ſpeciall friendeſhippe hee toke hys tyme to put him forwarde, and by ſuche wyſe doe hym good, that all the enimies hee hadde excepte the Deuyll, coulde neuer haue doone hym ſo muche hurte. For vpon thys pages wordes Kyng Richarde aroſe. (For thys communication hadde he ſitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for ſuche a counſell) and came oute into the pallet chamber, on which he founde in bed ſir James & ſir Thomas Tyrels, of perſon like and brethren of bloud, but nothing of kin in conditions. Then ſaid the king merily to them, what ſirs be ye in bed ſo ſoone? and calling vp ſir James, brake to him ſecretely his mynde in this miſcheuous matter. In which he founde him nothyng ſtrange. Wherefore on the morow he ſent him to Brakenburye with a letter, by which he was cõmaunded to deliuer Sir James all the keys of the tower for one nighte, to the end he might there accompliſhe the kinges pleaſure, in ſuch thing as he had giuen him commaundement. After whiche letter deliuered, & the keys receyued, ſir James appointed the nyghte next enſuyng to deſtroye them, deuiſing before and preparing the meanes. The prince as ſoone as the protectour left that name, and toke himſelf as king, had it ſhewed vnto hym, that he ſhoulde not reigne, but his vncle ſhould haue the crown. At which word, the Prince ſore abaſhed, began to ſigh, and ſayd: Alas, I wold my vncle wold let me haue my life yet, though I leeſe my kingdome. Then he that tolde him the tale, vſed him with good wordes, and put him in the beſt comfort he could. But forthwith was the prince and his brother both ſhut vp, and all other remoued from them, only one called black Will, or William ſlaughter excepte, ſet to ſerue them and ſee them ſure. After whiche time the Prince neuer tyed his points, nor aught rought of himſelf, but with that young babe his brother, lingred with thought and heauineſſe, till this traiterous death deliuered them of that wretchedneſſe. For Sir James Tyrell deuiſed that they ſhould be murthered in their beds. To the execution wherof, he appoynted Myles Forreſt, one of the foure that kept them, a fellowe fleſhed in murther before time. To him he ioyned one John Dighton his own horſkeeper, a bigge, brode, ſquare, ſtrong knaue,

knaue.

Then all the other beeing remoued from them, this Myles Forreſt, and John Dighton about midnight (the ſelie children lying in theyr beddes) came into the chamber, and ſuddaynly lapped them vp among the clothes, ſo to bewrapped them and intangled them, keeping downe by force the fetherbed and pillowes hard vnto theyr mouthes, that within a while, ſmothered and ſtifled, their breath fayling, they gaue vp to God their innocente ſoules into the ioyes of Heauen, leauing to the tormentors their bodyes dead in the bedde. Which after that the wretches perceiued, firſte by the ſtrugling with the paines of death, and after long lying ſtill, to bee throughly dead, they layde theyr bodyes naked out vppon the bed, and fetched Sir James to ſee them, whiche vpon the ſight of them, cauſed thoſe murtherers to burie them at the ſtaire foote, meetely deepe in the grounde, vnder a greate heape of ſtones.

Then rode Sir James in great haſt to Kyng Richarde, and ſhewed him all the maner of the murther, who gaue him greate thankes, and (as ſome ſay) there made hym Knight. But he allowed not as I haue hearde, the burying in ſo vile a corner, ſaying, that hee would haue them buryed in a better place, bycauſe they were a Kings ſonnes. Loe the honorable courage of a King. Wherevpon they ſay, that a Prieſt of S. Robert Brakenbery tooke vp the bodyes againe, and ſecretely enterred them in ſuche place, as by the occaſion of his deathe, whiche onely knew it, could neuer ſince come to light. Very troth is it, and wel knowen, that at ſuch time as ſir James Tirrell was in the Tower, for treaſon cōmitted againſt the moſt famous Prince King Henrye the ſeauenth, both Dighton and he were examined, and confeſſed the murther in manner aboue written, but whether the bodyes were remoued, they could nothing tell. And thus as I haue learned of thē that much knewe, and little cauſe had to lie were theſe two noble Princes, theſe innocent tender childrē, borne of moſt royal bloud, brought vp in great wealthe, likely long to lyue, raigne, and rule in the Realm, by trayterous titannie taken, depriued of their eſtate, ſhortlye ſhut vp in priſon, and priuily ſlayne and murthered, their bodies caſt God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall vncle and his diſpiteous tormentors. Which things on euery parte well pondered, God neuer gaue thys worlde a more notable example, neyther in what vnſuretie ſtandeth this worldly weale, or what miſchiefe worketh the proude enterpriſe of an high heart, or finally, what wretched ende enſueth ſuch diſpiteous crueltie. For firſt to beginne with the Miniſters, Myles Forreſt, at Saint Martins peecemeale rotted away. Dighton in deede yet walketh on alyue in good poſſibilitie to be hanged ere hee dye. But Sir James Tyrell dyed at the Tower hill beheaded for treaſon. King Richarde himſelfe, as yee ſhall heereafter heare, ſlayne in the fielde, hacked and hewed of his enimies handes, haried on Horſebacke dead, his heare in deſpite torne and tugged like a curre dogge. And the miſchiefe that hee tooke, within leſſe than three yeares of the miſchiefe that hee did. And yet all the meane time, ſpente in muche payne and trouble outwarde, muche feare, anguiſh and ſorowe within. For I haue hearde by credible reporte of ſuche as were ſecret with hys Chamberlayne, that after thys abhominable deede done, hee neuer hadde quiet in hys minde. Hee neuer thoughte hymſelfe ſure. Where hee wente abroade, hys eyen whirled about, hys body priuily fenced, hys hande euer vppon hys dagger, hys countenaunce and manner lyke one, alwayes readye to ſtrike agayne, hee tooke ill reſt anyghtes, lay long wakyng and muſing, ſore wearyed with care and watche, rather ſlumbered than ſlepte, troubled with fearefull dreames, ſuddaynely ſometyme ſtert vppe, lepte out of hys bedde, and ranne aboute the chamber, ſo was hys reſtleſſe hearte continuallie toſſed and tumbled with the tedious impreſſion and ſtormie remembraunce of his abhominable deede. Nowe hadde he outwarde no long tyme in reſt. For heerevpon, ſoone after, beganne the conſpiracie, or rather good confederation, betweene the Duke of Buckingham, and many other Gentlemen agaynſte hym.

The out and inward troubles of tirants.

The occaſion wherevpon the Kyng and the Duke fell out, is of dyuers folke dyuers wyſe pretended.

Thys Duke (as I haue for certayne beene enformed) as ſoone as the Duke of Glouceſter, vppon the deathe of Kyng Edwarde, came to Yorke, and there hadde ſolemne funerall ſeruice for Kyng Edwarde, ſente thither in the moſt ſecrete wiſe he coulde, one Perſall his truſtie ſeruaunte, who came to John Warde a Chamberer of lyke ſecrete truſt with the Duke of Glouceſter, deſiring, that in the moſt cloſe and couerte manner, hee myghte be admitted to the preſence and ſpeeche of hys maiſter. And the Duke of Glouceſter aduertiſed of hys deſire, cauſed hym in the dead of the nyghte, after all other folke auoyded, to bee broughte vnto hym in hys ſecrete Chamber, where Perſall after hys maſters recommendation, ſhewed hym that hee hadde ſecretly ſente hym to ſhewe hym, that in thys newe worlde, hee woulde take ſuche parte as hee woulde, and wayte vppon hym with a thouſande good fellowes, if neede were. The Meſſenger

ſente

ſent backe with thankes, and ſome ſecrete inſtruction of the Protectors minde: yet mette him agayne with farther meſſage from the Duke hys maſter, within few days after at Nottingham: whither the Protector from Yorke with manye Gentlemen of the North Countrey to yͤ number of ſixe hundred horſes, was come on his way to Londonwarde, and after ſecret meeting and communication had, eftſone departed. Whereupon at Northampton, the Duke met with the Protector hymſelfe with three hundred horſes, and from thence ſtill continued with hym partner of all hys deuiſes, till that after his Coronation, they departed as it ſeemed very great friẽds at Glouceſter. From whence aſſone as the duke came home, he ſo lightly turned from him, and ſo highly conſpired againſte him, that a manne woulde maruell whereof the change grew. And ſurely, the occaſion of their variance is of diuers men diuerſlie reported. Some haue (I heard ſay) that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector the Duke of Herefordes lands, to the which hee pretended himſelfe iuſt inheritor. And foraſmuch as the title whiche he claymed by inheritance, was ſomewhat interlaced with yͤ title to the Crowne, by the line of King Henrye before depriued, the Protector conceyued ſuch indignation, that hee reiected the Dukes requeſt with manye ſpitefull and minatorie wordes, whiche ſo wounded hys heart with hatred and miſtruſt, that he neuer after coulde endure to looke a righte on King Richard, but euer feared his own life, ſo farre forth, that when the Protector rode through London towarde his Coronation, hee fayned hymſelfe ſicke, bycauſe he would not ride with hym. And the other taking it in euill part, ſent hym worde to riſe, and come ride, or he would make hym bee carried. Whereupon, he rode on with euill wyll, and that notwithſtanding on the morrowe, roſe from the feaſt, fayning hymſelfe ſicke, and King Richard ſayde, it was done in hatred and deſpite of hym. And they ſayde that euer after continually, eache of them liued in ſuche hatred and diſtruſt of other, that the Duke verily looked to haue bin murthered at Glouceſter. From whych naytheleſſe, hee in faire manner departed. But ſurely ſome right ſecrete at that days denie this: and manye righte wiſe men thinke it vnlikely, (the deepe diſſembling nature of thoſe both men conſidered, and what neede in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what peril the Duke ſtoode, if hee fell once in ſuſpicion of the Tyrant) yͭ eyther the Protector would giue the Duke occaſion of diſpleaſure, or the Duke the Protector occaſion of miſtruſt. And verily, men thinke, that if King Richard had anye ſuch opinion conceyued, he would neuer haue ſuffered him to eſcape his hands. Very troth it is, the D. was an high minded man, and euill coulde beare the glorie of an other, ſo that I haue hearde of ſome that ſay they ſaw it, that the Duke at ſuch time as the Crowne was firſt ſet vpon the Protectors head, his eye coulde not abyde the ſighte thereof, but wried his head another way. But men ſaye, that he was of troth not well at eaſe, and that both to King Richarde well knowen, and not ill taken, nor any demaund of the dukes vncurteouſly reiected, but hee both with greate giftes and high beheſtes, in moſt louing and truſtie manner, departed at Glouceſter. But ſone after his comming home to Brecknocke, hauing there in his cuſtodie by the commaundement of King Richarde Doctor Morton, Byſhop of Elie, who (as ye before heard) was taken in the Counſell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whoſe wiſedome abuſed hys pride to his owne deliuerance and the Dukes deſtruction. The Byſhop was a man of great naturall witte, very well learned, and honorable in behauiour, lacking no wiſe wayes to winne fauour. He had bin faſt vpon the parte of King Henrye, while that part was in wealth, and naytheleſſe, lefte it not, nor forſooke it in woe, but fledde the Realme with the Queene and the Prince, while King Edwarde hadde the King in priſon, neuer came home, but to the fielde. After whiche loſſe, and that part vtterly ſubdued, the tother for hys faſt fayth and wiſedome, not only was contente to receyue hym, but alſo wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in ſecrete truſt, and very ſpeciall fauour, whiche hee nothing deceyued. For he being as ye haue heard after king Edwards death firſte taken by the Tirante for his troth to the King, founde the meane to ſette this Duke in hys toppe, ioyned Gentlemen togither in aide of King Henry, deuiſing firſte the marriage betweene him and King Edwardes daughter, by whiche his faith declared the good ſeruice to both his maſters at once, with infinite benefite to the Realme by the coniunction of thoſe two blouds in one, whoſe ſeueral titles had long enquieted the lande, he fledde the Realme, went to Rome, neuer mynding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King Henry the ſeauenth gate him home againe, made him Archbyſhoppe of Caunterburie, and Chancellor of England, whereunto the Pope ioyned the honor of Cardinall. Thus lyuing many dayes in as much honor as one man mighte well wiſhe, ended them ſo godly, that his deathe with Gods mercie well changed his life.

This man therefore as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate proofe, as well of proſperitie, as aduers fortune, hadde gotten by great experience the very mother and miſtreſſe of wiſedome, a deepe inſighte in politike worldly driftes. Whereby perceyuing now this Duke glad to comune with him, fedde him with faire wordes, and many pleaſaunt prayſes. And perceyuing by the proceſſe of their communications, the Dukes pride, nowe and then balke out a little bredde of enuie, towarde the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him ethe to fall out if the matter were well handled: he craftely ſought the wayes to pricke him forwarde, taking alwayes the occaſion of his commyng, and ſo keeping himſelfe ſo cloſe within his boundes, that hee rather ſeemed to followe hym, than to leade him. For when the Duke firſte beganne to prayſe and boaſt the King, and ſhew how much profite the Realme ſhoulde take by his raigne: my Lorde Morton aunſwered: Surely my Lord, follie were it for me to lie, for if I woulde ſweare the contrarie, your Lordſhip woulde not I weene beleeue, but that if the worlde woulde haue gone as I woulde haue wiſhed, Kyng Henries ſonne had hadde the Crowne, and not King Edward. But after that God had ordered him to leeſe it, and King Edwarde to raigne, I was neuer ſo madde that I woulde with a dead man ſtriue againſte the quicke. So was I to King Edward a faithfull Chaplayne, and glad would haue bin that hys chylde hadde ſucceeded him. Howbeit, if the ſecrete iudgemente of God haue otherwiſe prouided, I purpoſe not to ſpurre againſt a pricke, nor labour to ſette vp that God pulleth downe. And as for the late Protector and now King. And euen there he left, ſaying that he had alreadye meddled to muche with the worlde, and woulde from that day meddle with his Booke and hys beades, and no farther. Then longed the Duke ſore to heare what hee woulde haue ſayd, bycauſe he ended with the King, and there ſo ſuddaynely ſtopped, and exhorted hym ſo familiarly betweene them twayne, to be bolde to ſay whatſoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promiſed, there ſhoulde neuer come hurte, and peraduenture more good than hee woulde wene, and that himſelfe intended to vſe his faithfull ſecrete aduiſe and counſell, whiche hee ſayde was the onely cauſe for which he procured of the King to haue him in his cuſtody, where hee might recken himſelfe at home, and elſe had hee bin putte in the handes of them with whome hee ſhould not haue founden the like fauoure. The Byſhop right humbly thanked him, and ſayde, in good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault, for aſmuch as it ſhall not bee taken as the partie meante it, but as it pleaſeth the Prince to conſtrue it. And euer I thinke on Eſops tale, that when the Lion hadde proclaymed, that on payne of death, there ſhould none horned beaſt abyde in that wood: one that had in his forhead a bunche of fleſhe, fled awaye a great pace. The Foxe that ſaw hym runne ſo faſt, aſked hym whyther he made all that haſte? And he anſwered, In fayth I neyther wote, nor recke, ſo I were once hence, bicauſe of this proclamation made of horned beaſtes. What foole quoth the Foxe, thou mayſt abyde well ynough, the Lion meant not by thee, for it is none horne that is in thine head. No mary (quoth hee) that wote I well ynough. But what and hee call it an horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merily at the tale, and ſayd, My Lorde, I warrant you, neyther the Lion nor the Bore ſhall pyke any matter at any thing heere ſpoken, for it ſhall neuer come neere their eare. In good faith Sir ſayde the Byſhop if it did, the thing that I was about to ſay, taken as well (as afore God, I meant) it could deſerue but thanke. And yet taken as I wene it woulde, mighte happen to turne mee to little good, and you to leſſer. Then longed the Duke yet much more to witte what it was, wherevppon the Byſhoppe ſaide, in good fayth my Lorde, as for the late Protector, ſith he is nowe King in poſſeſſion, I purpoſe not to diſpute his title, but for the weale of this Realm, whereof hys grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and whereof I am my ſelfe one poore member. I was about to wiſhe, that to thoſe good habilities whereof he hath already right many, little needing my prayſe: it mighte yet haue pleaſed God, for the better ſtore, to haue giuen hym ſome of ſuche other excellente vertues, meete for the rule of a Realme, as our Lord hathe planted in the perſon of youre grace: and there lefte agayne.

Here endeth Sir Thomas More, and this that followeth is taken out M. of Hall.

The Duke ſomewhat maruelling at his ſuddayne pauſes, as though they were but parentheſes, with a high countenaunce ſayd: My Lorde, I euidently perceyue, and no leſſe note your often breathing, and ſuddayne ſtopping in youre communication, ſo that to my intelligence, your wordes neyther come to any direct or perfect ſentence in concluſion, whereby either I might perceyue, and haue knowledge what your inwarde intent is now toward the King, or what affection you beare towarde me. For the compariſon of good qualities aſcribed to vs both (for the whiche I my ſelfe knowledge and recogniſe to haue none, nor looke for no prayſe of any creature for the ſame) maketh me not a little to muſe, thynkyng that you haue ſome other priuie imaginatiō, by loue or by grudge, engraued and emprinted in your hart, which for feare you dare not, or for childiſh ſhamefaſtneſſe, you be abaſhed to diſcloſe and reueale, and ſpecially to me being your friend, which on my honour do aſſure you, to bee as ſecrete in this caſe, as the deaffe and dumme perſon is to the ſinger, or the tree to the hunter. The Byſhop beeing ſomewhat bolder, conſidering the Dukes promiſe, but moſt of all animated and encouraged, bycauſe he knew the Duke deſirous to be exalted and magnified, and alſo he perceyued the inwarde hatred and priuie rancor which he bare toward King Richard, was now boldened to open his ſtomacke euen to the very bottome, intending thereby to compaſſe howe to deſtroy, and vtterly confound King Richard, and to depriue him of his dignitie royall, or elſe to ſet the Duke ſo a fyer with the deſire of ambition, that hee himſelfe mighte be ſafe, and eſcape out of all daunger and perill, whiche thing hee brought ſhortly to concluſion, both to the kings deſtruction and the Dukes confuſion, and to his owne ſafegard, and finally, to hys high promotion. And ſo (as I ſayde before) vpon truſt and confidence of the Dukes promiſe, the Byſhoppe ſayd: my ſinguler good Lord, ſith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces cuſtodie, I may rather call it a liberall libertie, more than a ſtraighte empriſonmente, in auoyding idleneſſe, mother and nouriſher of all vices, in reading Bookes and auntient Pamphlets, I haue founde this ſentence written, that no manne is borne free, and in libertie of himſelfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or ſhould owe to his parents for his procreation by a very natural inſtincte and filiall curteſie: another parte, to hys friendes and kinſfolke, for proximitie of bloud, and natural amitie, doth of very duetie chalenge and demaunde: But the natiue Countrey in the whiche hee taſted firſte the ſweete ayres of thys pleaſant and flattering worlde after his natiuitie, demaundeth as a debt by a naturall bond, neyther to bee forgotten, nor yet to be put in obliuion, which ſaying cauſeth me to conſider in what caſe this Realme my natiue Countrey nowe ſtandeth, and in what eſtate and aſſurance before this time it hath continued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler wee mighte haue, for I playnely perceyue the Realme beeing in this caſe, muſt needes decay, and bee broughte to vtter confuſion, and finall exterminion: But one hope I haue encorporate in my breſt, that is, when I conſider, and in my mynd do diligently remember, & dayly behold your noble perſonage, your iuſtice, and indifferencie, your feruent zeale, and ardente loue towarde youre naturall Countrey, and in like manner, the loue of your Countrey toward you, the great learning, pregnaunt witte, and goodly eloquence, which ſo much doth abounde in the perſon of youre grace, I muſte needes thinke this Realme fortunate, yea twice more than fortunate, whiche hath ſuch a Prince in ſtore, meete, and apte to bee a gouernoure, in whoſe perſon beeyng endued with ſo manye princely qualities conſiſteth and reſteth the very vndoubted ſimilitude and image of true honour.

But on the other ſide, when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late Protector, and nowe called King, ſo violated and ſubuerted by Tyrannie, ſo changed and altered by vſurped authoritie, ſo clouded and ſhadowed by blynde and inſaciable ambition, yea, and ſo ſuddaynely (in manner by a metamorphoſis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, tõ deteſtable tyrannie: I muſt needes ſaye, and iuſtly affirme, that hee is neyther meete to be a king of ſo noble a Realme, nor ſo famous a Realme meete to bee gouerned by ſuche a tyraunt: Was not his firſt enterpriſe to obteyne the Crowne begunne and incepted by the murther of diuers noble valiant, true, and vertuous perſonages: O a holy beginning, to come to a miſcheuous ending, did he not ſecondarily procede contrarie to al lawes of honeſtie, ſhamefully againſte his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour, and more vertue, declaring hir openly to bee a woman giuen to carnall affection, and diſſolute liuing? (whych thing if it had bin true as it was not indeede, euery good and naturall childe would haue rather mummed at, than to haue blaſted abroade, and eſpecially ſhee beeing aliue.) Declaring farthermore his two brethren, and his two nephewes to bee baſterdes, and to be borne in auoutrie: yet not with all this content: After that hee had obteyned the garland for the which he ſo long thirſted, hee cauſed the two poore innocentes hys nephewes, committed to him for eſpeciall truſt, to be murthered, and ſhamefully to be kylled. The bloud of which ſely and little babes, dayly crie to God, from the earth for vengeaunce. Alas, my heart ſobbeth, to remember this bloudy butcher, and cruell monſter, what ſuretie ſhall be in thys realme to any perſon, either for life or goodes vnder ſuch a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the deſtruction of his owne bloud, and then leſſe the loſſe of other. And moſt eſpecially as oftentymes it chanceth, where a couetous or a cruell Prince taketh ſuſpicion, the ſmalleſt, ſwaruing that is poſſible (if the thing be miſconſtrued) may be the cauſe of the deſtruction of many giltleſſe perſones: and in eſpeciall of noble and wealthye perſonages, hauing great poſſeſſions and riches: Suche a Lorde is Lucifer when he is entred into the heart of a proude Prince, giuen to couetouſneſſe and crueltie. But nowe my Lord to conclude what I meane toward your noble perſon, I ſaye and affirme, if you loue GOD, youre lygnage, or youre natiue Countrey, you muſt youre ſelfe take vppon you the Crowne and imperiall Diademe of thys noble Empyre, bothe for the maynetenaunce of the honoure of the ſame (whiche ſo long hathe flouriſhed in fame and renowme) as alſo for the deliuerance of youre naturall Countreymen, from the bondage and thraldome (worſe than the captiuitie of Egypt) of ſo cruell a Tyrant and arrogant oppreſſor. For thus I dare ſaye, if any forreyne Prince or Potentate, yea the Turke hymſelfe woulde take vppon him the regiment heere, and the Crowne, the commons would rather admit and obey hym, than to liue vnder ſuche a bloudſupper and childe kyller: but howe muche more ioyful and glad would they be to liue vnder your grace, whome they all knowe to be a ruler meete and conuenient for them, and they to be louyng and obedient ſubiectes, meete to liue vnder ſuch a gouernor: deſpiſe not, nor forſake not ſo manifeſt an occaſion ſo louingly offered. And if you your ſelfe knowing the paine and trauaile that appertayneth to the office of a King, or for anye other conſideration, will refuſe to take vppon you the Crowne and Scepter of this Realme: Then I adiure you, by the faith that you owe to God, by your honour and by your othe made to Saincte George, patrone of the noble order of the garter (whereof you bee a companyon) and by the loue and affectiō that you beare to your natiue Coūtrey, and the people of the ſame, to deuiſe ſome way, how this Realme nowe beeing in miſerie, may by youre high diſcretion and princely policie, bee broughte and reduced to ſome ſuretie and conueniente regimente, vnder ſome good gouernour by you to be appoynted: for you are the very patrone, the only help, refuge, and comfort for the poore amaſed and deſolate commons of thys Realme. For if you could either deuiſe to ſet vp againe the lignage of Lancaſter, or auaunce the eldeſt daughter of King Edward to ſome hygh and puiſſant Prince, not only the new crowned King ſhall ſmall time enioy the glory of his dignitie, but alſo all ciuill warre ſhoulde ceaſſe, all domeſticall diſcord ſhould ſleepe, and peace, profite and quietneſſe ſhould be ſet forth and embraſed. When the Byſhop had thus ended his ſaying, the Duke ſighed and ſpake not of a greate while, which ſore abaſhed the Byſhop, and made him change coulour: which thing when the duke apperceyued, he ſaide, be not afraid my Lord, all promiſes ſhall be kepte, to morow we will common more: lette vs goe to ſupper, ſo that nyghte they cōmoned no more, not alittle to the diſquieting of the Biſhop, whiche nowe was euen as deſirous to know the Dukes mind and intente, as the Duke longed the day before to knowe hys opinion and meaning. So the next day, the duke ſent for the Byſhop, and rehearſed to him in maner (for he was both wittie and eloquent) all the communication had betweene them before, and ſo pauſed awhile, and after a little ſeaſon, putting off his bonet he ſayd: O Lorde God creator of all things, howe muche is this Realme of England, and the people of the ſame bounden to thy goodneſſe, for where we now be in vexation and trouble with greate ſtormes oppreſſed, ſayling and toſſing in a deſperate Shippe, without good maſter or gouernoure: but by thy help good Lorde I truſt or long time paſſe, that wee ſhall prouide for ſuche a ruler, as ſhall bee both to thy pleaſure, and alſo to the ſecuritie and ſauegarde of this noble Realme. And then hee put on hys bonet ſaying to the Byſhop, my Lord of Ely, whoſe true hart and ſincere affection toward me at all times, I haue euidently perceyued and knowen, and nowe moſt of all in our laſt priuie communication and ſecrete deuiſing, I muſte needes in hart thinke, and with mouth confeſſe and ſay, that you be a ſure friend, a truſty counſellour, a vigilant foreſeer, a verye louer of youre Countrey, & a natural Countreyman: for which kindneſſe for my part, I moſt louingly render to you my harty thankes now with wordes, hereafter truſting to recompence and remunerate you with deedes, if life and power ſhall ſerue. And ſith at oure laſt communication, you haue diſcloſed, and opened the very ſecretes and priuities of youre ſtomacke, touching the Duke of Glouceſter now vſurper of the Crowne, and alſo haue a little touched the aduancement of the two noble families of Yorke and Lancaſter: I ſhall likewiſe not only declare and manifeſt vnto you, al my open actes, attemptes, and doings, but alſo my priuie entents, and ſecret cogitations. To the intent that as you haue vnbuckeled youre bouget of your priuie meanings, & ſecrete purpoſes to me: ſo ſhal all my clowdy workyng, cloſe deuiſes, and ſecrete imaginations, bee (as cleere as the ſunne) reuealed, opened, and made lighteſome to you. And to beginne, I declare: That when King Edwarde was deceaſed, to whome I thought my ſelfe little or nothing beholden, (although we two hadde maried two ſiſters) bycauſe he neither promoted, nor preferred me, as I thought I was worthy, and had deſerued, neither fauored nor regarded me, according to my degree and birthe: for ſurely I had by him little authoritie, and leſſe rule, and in effect nothing at all: which cauſed me leſſe to fauour his children, bycauſe I founde ſmall humanitie, or none in their parent. I then began to ſtudy, and with rype deliberation, to ponder and to conſider, howe and in what manner this Realme ſhould be ruled & gouerned. And firſt I remembred an olde prouerbe worthy of memorie, that often ruith the Realme, where children rule, and women gouerne. This olde adage ſo ſanke and ſettled in my head, that I thought it a great error, and extreame miſchiefe to the whole realme, either to ſuffer the yong Kyng to rule, or the Queene his mother to be a gouernoure ouer him, conſidering that hir brethren, and hir firſte children (although they were not extract of hygh and noble lynage) toke more vpon them, & more exalted themſelues, by reaſon of the Queene, than did the Kings brethren, or anye Duke in his Realme: which in concluſion, turned to their confuſion. Then I beeing perſwaded with my ſelfe in this poynt, thought it neceſſarie both for the publique & profitable wealth of this Realme, and alſo for myne owne commoditie and emolument, to take parte with the Duke of Glouceſter: whome I aſſure you I thought to bee as cleane without diſſimulation, as tractable without iniurie, as merciful without crueltie, as now I know him perfectly to be a diſſembler without veritie, a Tyraunt without pitie, yea, and worſe than the tyraunt Phaleres deſtitute of all trueth and clemencie: and ſo by my meanes, at the firſt Counſayle holden at London, when hee was moſt ſuſpected of that thing that after happened (as you my Lord know well ynough) hee was made Protector and defender, both of the King, and of the Realme, whiche authoritie once gotten, and the two children partly by policie brought vnder his gouernaunce, hee beeing moued with that gnawing and couetous ſerpente, deſired to raigne, and neuer ceaſſed priuily to exhort and require (yea and ſometimes with minatorie tearmes) to perſwade mee and other Lordes, as well ſpirituall as temporall, that hee might take vppon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeares, and were able to gouerne the Realme, as a rype and ſufficient King: which thing, when he ſawe mee ſomewhat ſticke at, both for the ſtrangeneſſe of the example (bycauſe no ſuche preſident had bene ſeene) and alſo bycauſe we remembred that men once aſcended to the higheſt tipe of honour and authoritie, will not gladly diſcende againe. hee then brought in inſtruments, autentike doctors, proctors, and notaries of the law, with depoſitions of diuers witneſſes, teſtifying King Edwards children to be baſterds, whiche depoſitiōs then I thought to be as true, as now I knowe them to be fayned, and teſtifyed by perſons with rewards vntruely ſubornate. When the ſaid depoſitions were before vs redde and diligently hearde, he ſtoode vp bareheaded ſaying: Well my lords, euen as I and you ſage and diſcrete counſaylers would that my nephew ſhoulde haue no wrong, ſo I pray you do me nothing but righte. For theſe witneſſes and ſayings of famous doctors being true, I am onely the vndubitate heire to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, adiudged to bee the verye heire to the Crowne of this Realme, by authoritie of Parliament, whiche things, ſo by learned men to vs for a veritie declared, cauſed me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted Prince and ſoueraigne Lord. For well wee knew that the Duke of Clarence ſonne, by reaſon of the attaynder of his father, was diſabled to inherite, and alſo the Duke himſelfe was named to be a baſterd, as I my ſelfe haue heard ſpoken, and that vpon great preſumptions more times than one: ſo agayne, by my ayde and fauoure, hee of a protector was made a King, and of a ſubiect made a gouernor, at whiche time hee promiſed me on his fidelitie, laying his hande in mine at Baynard Caſtell, that the two yong Princes ſhould liue, and that he would ſo prouide for them, and ſo maynteine them in honorable eſtate, that I and all the Realme ought and ſhoulde bee content. But when he was once Crowned Kyng, and in full poſſeſſion of the whole Realme, he caſt away his olde conditions, as the adder doth hir ſkinne, verifying the olde prouerbe, Honours change manners, as the pariſhe Prieſte remembreth that hee was neuer pariſh clearke. For when I my ſelfe ſued to hym for my parte of the Earle of Hartfords landes whiche his brother King Edwarde wrōgfully deteyned and withheld from me, and alſo required to haue the office of the high Conneſtableſhip of Englande, as diuers of my noble aunceſters before this time haue hadde, and in long diſcent continued, in this my firſt ſute ſhewing his good mind toward me, he did not only firſte delay me, and afterward denay mee, but gaue me ſuch vnkynd words, with ſuch taunts and retauntes, yee in manner checke and checke mate, to the vttermoſt proofe of my pacience, as though I had neuer furthered him, but hindered him, as though I had put him downe, and not ſet hym vp: yet all theſe ingratitudes and vndeſerued vnkindneſſe I bare cloſely, and ſuffered paciently, and couertly remembred, outwardly diſſimuling that I inwardly thoughte, and ſo with a paynted countenaunce, I paſſed the laſte ſummer in his laſt companie, not without many faire promiſes, but withoute anye good deedes. But when I was credibly enformed of yͤ death of the two yong innocents, his owne naturall nephewes contrarie to his faith and promiſe, to the which (God be my iudge) I neuer agreed, nor condiſcended. O Lord, how my veynes panted, how my body trembled, and my heart inwardly grudged, in ſomuch, that I ſo abhorred the ſight, and muche more the companie of him, that I coulde no longer abide in his Courte, excepte I ſhould be openly reuenged. The ende whereof was doubtfull, and ſo I fayned a cauſe to depart, and with a merrie countenaunce and a deſpitefull heart, I tooke my leaue humbly of him, (he thinking nothing leſſe, than that I was diſpleaſed) and ſo returned to Brecknock to you.

But in that iourney as I returned, whether it were by the inſpiracion of the holy Ghoſt, or by Melancolous diſpoſition, I had diuers and ſundry imaginacions howe to depriue this vnnaturall vncle, and bloudy Butcher, from his royal ſeate, and princely dignitie. Firſte I fantaſyed, that if I liſt to take vppon me the Crowne, and imperiall Scepter of the Realme, nowe was the time propice and conuenient. For now was the way made playne, and the gate opened, and occaſion giuen, which now neglected, ſhoulde peraduenture neuer take ſuch effect and concluſion. For I ſaw he was diſdeyned of the Lordes temporall, execrate and accurſed of the Lordes Spirituall, deteſted of all Gentlemen, and deſpiſed of all the communaltie: ſo that I ſaw my chaunce as perfectly as I ſaw my own image in a glaſſe, that there was no perſon (if I had bin greedy to attempte the enterpriſe) coulde nor ſhoulde haue wonne the ring, or got the gole before mee. And on this poynt I reſted in imagination ſecretely with my ſelfe, two dayes at Tewkeſberie. And from thēce ſo iourneying, I muſed and thought that it was not beſt nor conuenient to take vpon me as a conquerour, for then I knew that al mē and eſpecially the nobilitie, woulde with al their power withſtande me, both for reſcuyng of poſſeſſiōs, and tenours, as alſo for ſubuerting of the whole eſtate, lawes, and cuſtomes of yͤ Realm: Such a power hath a conquerour as you know well inough my Lord. But at the laſt, in al this doubtfull caſe there ſprang a newe branche out of my head, which ſurely I thought ſhould haue broughte forthe faire floures, but the ſunne was ſo hote, that they turned to drie weedes, for I ſuddaynely remembred that Lorde Edmonde Duke of Somerſet my Grandfather, was with King Henrye the ſixte in the two and three degrees, from Iohn Duke of Lancaſter lawfully begotten: ſo that I thought ſure, my mother being eldeſt daughter to Duke Edmond, that I was nexte heire to King Henrye the ſixte of the houſe of Lancaſter. This title pleaſed well ſuche as I made priuie of my counſaile, but muche more it encouraged my fooliſh deſire, and eleuated my ambicious intente, in ſomuche, that I cleerely iudged, and in mine owne minde was determinately reſolued, that I was indubitate heire of the houſe of Lancaſter, and thereuppon concluded to make my firſte foundation, and erect my new buylding. But whether God ſo ordeyned, or by fortune it ſo chanced, while I was in a maze, other to conclude ſuddaynely on thys title, and to ſet it open amongſt the cōmon people, or to keepe it ſecret a while, ſee the chance: as I rode betwene Worceter and Bridgenorth, I encountred with the Lady Margaret, Counteſſe of Richmond, now wife to the Lorde Stanley, whiche is the very daughter and ſole heyre, to Lord Iohn Duke of Somerſet, my Grandfathers elder brother, whiche was as cleane out of my minde, as though I hadde neuer ſeene hir, ſo that ſhee and hir ſonne the Earle of Richmond, be both bulwarke and portcolice betwene mee and the gate, to enter into the maieſtie royal and getting of the Crowne.

And whē we had cōmuned a little concerning hir ſonne, as I ſhal ſhew you after, and were departed, ſhe to our Ladie of Worceſter, and I to Shrewſbury: I then new changed, and in maner amazed, began to diſpute with my ſelfe, little conſidering that thus my earneſt title was turned to a tittel not ſo good as Eſt Amen. Effſones I imagined whether I were beſt to take vpon me, by the election of the nobilitie and communaltie, which me thought eaſie to be done, the vſurper king, thus being in hatred and abhorred of this whole realm, or to take it by power, which ſtandeth in fortunes chaunce, and difficile to bee atchieued and brought to paſſe. Thus troubling and toſſing in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the ſtone and ſacrifice, I conſidered firſt the office, dutie, and payne of a King, whiche ſurely thynke, I that no mortall man can iuſtly and truly obſerue, except he be called, elected, & ſpecially appoynted by God as king Dauid, and dyuers other haue bin. But farther, I remembred that if I once toke on me the ſcepter, and the gouernaunce of the realme: That of two extreme enimies I was dayely ſure, but of one truſtye frend (which now a days be gone a pilgrimage) I was neither aſſured, nor credibly aſcertayned, (ſuche is the worldes mutation) for I manifeſtly perceiued, that the daughters of king Edward and their alyes, and frendes, whiche be no ſmall number, being both, for his ſake muche beloued, and alſo for the greate iniurie and manifeſte tyrannie done to them by the newe vſurper, muche lamented and pitied, would neuer ceaſſe to barke if they can not byte at the one ſide of me. Semblably, my couſyn the Earle of Richmond, hys aydes and kinſfolke, whiche be not of little power, will ſurely attēpt lyke a fierce grandhound, eyther to byte or to pierce mee on the other ſide. So that my lyfe and rule, ſhould euer hang by a haire, neuer in quiet, but euer in doubt of death, or depoſition. And if the ſayde two lynages of Yorke and Lancaſter, whiche ſo long haue ſtriued for the Imperiall diademe, ſhoulde ioyne in one againſte mee, then were I ſurely matted, and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue cleerely determined, and with my ſelfe concluded, vtterly to relinquiſhe all ſuche fantaſticall imaginations, concerning the obteyning of the Crowne.

But all ſuche plagues, calamities & troubles (which I feared and ſuſpected) might haue chãced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this Realme, I ſhall with a remedie maynt ſo make them rebound to our common enimie that calleth himſelfe King, that the beſt ſtopper that he hath at tenice, ſhall not well ſtoppe without a faulte: for as I tolde you before, the Counteſſe of Richmonde in my returne from the new named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed mee firſte for kinred ſake, ſecondarily for the loue that I bare to my Grandfather Duke Hũfrey, which was ſworne brother to hir father, to moue the King to bee good to hir ſonne Henrye Earle of Richmond, and to licence him with hys fauour to returne agayne into England: and if it were his pleaſure ſo to doe, ſhee promiſed that the Earle hir ſonne ſhoulde marrie one of Kyng Edwardes daughters, at the appoyntmente of the King, without any thing to bee taken or demaunded for the ſayde eſpouſals, but onely the Kings fauoure, which requeſt I ſone ouerpaſſed, and gaue hir faire wordes, and ſo departed. But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate ſtudie, and did circumſpectly ponder them, I fully adiudged, that the holy Ghoſt cauſed hir to moue a thing (the ende whereof ſhe could not conſider) both for the ſecuritie of the Realme, as alſo for the preferment of hir childe, and the deſtruction and finall confuſion of the common enimie King Richard. Which thing, ſhe neither then thought (I am ſure) as I by hir wordes coulde make coniecture, nor I my ſelfe caſt not hir deſire to be ſo profitable to the Realme, as I now doe perceyue, but ſuche a Lord is God, that with a little ſparkle, hee kyndleth a great fire, and ſo finally to declare to you the very cõcluſion, to the which I am both bent and ſet, my minde is, and my power and purſe ſhall help, that the Erle of Richmond, very heire of the houſe of Lancaſter (in the quarell of the which linage, both my father and Graundfather loſt their lyues in battayle) ſhall take to wife Lady Elizabeth eldeſt daughter to King Edward, by the which marriage both the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter maye bee ioyned, and vnited in one, to the cleere ſtabliſhmente of the title to the Crowne of this noble Realme. To which concluſion, if the mothers of both parties, and eſpecially the Earle himſelfe, and the Lady will agree, I doubt not but the bragging Bore, which with his tuſkes rayſeth euery mans ſkinne, ſhall not only be brought to confuſion as he hath deſerued, but that this empire ſhall euer be certaine of an vndubitate heire, and then ſhall all ciuile and inteſtine warre ceaſe, whiche ſo long hathe continued to the paring of many mẽs crownes, and this Realme ſhall be reduced againe to quietneſſe, renoune and glory. This inuentiõ of the Duke, in manner, menne thought after, that it was more imagined for the inwarde hatred that hee bare to King Richard, than for any fauour that he bare to the Earle of Richmond. But of ſuche doubtfull matter, it is not beſt to iudge for erring to farre from the minde and intent of the auctor: But whatſoeuer hee entended, this deuice once opened to King Richard was the very occaſion, that he was rounded ſhorter by the whole head, without arraignement or iudgemente. When the Duke hadde ſaid, the Biſhop whiche fauoured euer the houſe of Lancaſter, was wonderous ioyfull, and muche reioyſed to heare this deuice, for nowe came the winde about euen as hee woulde haue it, for all his imaginacion tended to thys effect to haue King Richarde ſubdued, and to haue the lines of king Edward, and King Henry the ſixth agayne raiſed and aduaunced. But Lorde howe hee reioyced to thinke howe that by this marriage the linages of Yorke and Lancaſter ſhould be conioyned in one, to the very ſtedfaſtneſſe of the publique wealth of this Realme.

And leaſt the Dukes courage ſhoulde ſwage, or his mynde ſhould againe alter, as it did often before, as you may eaſily perceyue by his ſame tale. He thought to ſet vp all the ſayles that hee hadde, to the intent that the ſhip of his pretenſed purpoſe, myghte come ſhortly to ſome ſure port: And ſayde to the duke, My Lorde, ſith by Gods prouiſion and youre incomparable wyſedome and policie, this noble coniunction is firſte moued, nowe is it conuenient, yea & neceſſary to conſider what perſonages, & what frends we ſhal firſt make priuie of this high deuice and politike cõcluſiõ. By my truth, quod the duke, we will begin wt the ladie Richmõd, ye erles mother, which knoweth where he is, eyther in captiuitie, or at large in Britayn. For I heard ſay, yt the duke of Britayn reſtored him to libertie, immediatly after the death of king Edward, by whoſe meanes hee was reſtreyned. Sith you will begin that way (ſaid the Biſhop) I haue an old friend with the Counteſſe, a man ſober, ſecret, and well witted, called Reignold Bray, whoſe prudente policie I haue knowen to haue cõpaſſed thyngs of greate importance, for whome I ſhall ſecretely ſend, if it be your pleaſure, and I doubte not hee will gladly come and that with a good will. So with a little diligence, the Byſhop wrote a letter to Reignold Bray, requiring him to come to Brecknocke with ſpeede, for great and vrgent cauſes, touching his miſtreſſe: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the meſſenger rode into Lancaſhire, where Bray was with the Counteſſe, and Lord Thomas Stanley hir huſband, and deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he tooke it as a ſigne or preſage of ſome good fortune to come, and ſo with the meſſenger he came to the Caſtell of Brecknock, where the Duke and the Byſhop declared what thing was deuiſed, both for to ſet the realme in a quiet ſtedfaſtneſſe, as alſo for the high preferment of the Erle of Richmond, ſon to his Lady & miſtreſſe: willing hir firſte to compaſſe how to obteyne the good will of Q. Elizabeth, and alſo of hir eldeſt daughter bearing the ſame name: & after ſecretely to ſend to hir ſon into Britaine, to declare what high honor was prepared for him, if hee woulde ſweare to marrie the Lady Elizabeth aſſoone as he was K. & in royall poſſeſſion of the Realme. Reignold Bray with a glad hearte, forgettyng nothing giuen to him in charge, in greate haſt & with good ſpeede returned to yͤ counteſſe his Lady & miſtreſſe. Whẽ Bray was departed, & thys great doubtful veſſel once ſet abroche, yͤ Byſhop thirſting for nothing more thã for libertie: whẽ he ſaw yͤ D. pleaſant & wel minded toward him, he told yͤ Duke, that if hee were in his yle of Ely he could make many frẽds to further their enterpriſe, & if he were there & had but foure dayes warning, he little regarded the malice of K. Richard, his countrey was ſo ſtrõg. The D. knew well al this to be true, but yet loth hee was that the B. ſhoulde departe, for he knew well, that as long as the B. was with him, he was ſure of politique aduiſe, ſage counſayle, and circumſpect proceeding. And ſo he gaue the B. faire wordes, ſaying, that hee ſhoulde ſhortly depart, and that wel accompanyed for feare of enimies. The B. being as wittie as the D. was wilie, did not tarrie till the Dukes company were aſſembled, but ſecretly diſguiſed, in a night departed (to yͤ dukes great diſpleaſure) & came to his ſee of Ely, where he found mony and friends, & ſo ſailed into Flãders, where hee did the Earle of Richmond good ſeruice, and neuer returned agayne, till the Earle of Richmond after beeing K. ſente for him, and ſhortly promoted him to the ſea of Canterburye. Thus the B. wound himſelfe from the D. when he had moſt neede of his aide, for if he had taryed ſtil, the D. had not made ſo many blabbes of his counſaile, nor put ſo much cõfidẽce in yͤ Welchmẽ, nor yet ſo temerariouſly ſet forward, without knowledge of his friendes as hee did, whyche things were his ſuddayne ouerthrowe, as they that knew it did report.

When Reignold Bray had declared his meſſage & priuie inſtruction to the cõunteſſe of Richmond his miſtreſſe, no maruell though ſhe were ioyous and glad, both of the good newes and alſo for the obteining of ſuche a high friende in hir ſonnes cauſe as the D. was, wherefore ſhe willing not to ſlepe this matter, but to farther it to the vttermoſt of hir power and abilitie, deuiſed a meanes how to breake this matter to Q. Elizabeth then beeing in Sanctuarie at Weſt. And therevpon, ſhe hauing in hir family at that time for the preſeruatiõ of hir health a certain Welſhman called Lewes, learned in phiſicke, which for his grauitie and experience, was well knowen, and much eſteemed amongſt great eſtates of the Realm: with whome ſhe vſed ſometime liberally & familiarly to talke, now hauing opportunitie and occaſion to breake hir minde vnto him of this weighty matter, declared that the time was come that hir ſonne ſhould be ioyned in mariage with Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heire to K. Edward, and that K. Richard being taken and reputed of all men for the common enimie of the Realme, ſhould out of all honoure and eſtate bee deiected, & of his rule & kingdome be cleerely ſpoiled and expulſed: and required him to goe to Q. Elizabeth (with whome in his facultie he was of counſaile) not as a meſſenger, but as one yͭ came friendly to viſite & conſolate hir, and as time and place ſhoulde require, to make hir priuie of thys deuiſe, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpoſe by him imagined. This phiſician did not long linger to accompliſh hir deſire, but with good diligence repared to the Q. being ſtil in the ſanctuary at Weſt. And whẽ he ſaw time propice and conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſaid vnto hir: Madame, although my imaginatiõ be very ſimple, & my deuice more foliſh, yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you & your childrẽ, I am ſo bold to vtter vnto you a ſecrete & priuie conceit yͭ I haue caſt & cõpaſſed in my fantaſtical braine. Whẽ I wel remẽbred and no leſſe conſidered the greate loſſe & dammage that you haue ſuſteyned by the death of your noble and louing husbande, & the great doloure and ſorow that you haue ſuffered and tollerated, by yͤ cruell murther of youre innocent children: I can no leſſe do both of bounden duetie and chriſtian charitie, than dayly to ſtudie, & hourely imagine, not only how to bring your heart to comfort and gladnes, but alſo deuiſe how to reuẽge the righteous quarell of you & your children on that bloudy bloudſupper, and cruel tyrant K. Richard. And firſt cõſider, what battaile, what manſlaughter, what miſchief hath riſen in this Realme by the diſſention betweene the two noble houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter, which two families (as I haue contriued) if they may bee ioyned in one, I thinke, yea and doubte not, but youre line ſhalbe againe reſtored to the priſtinate eſtate and degree, to your great ioy and cõfort, and to yͤ vtter cõfuſion of your mortall enimie the vſurper K. You know very well Madame, yͭ of the houſe of Lancaſter, yͤ erle of Richmond is next of bloud, which is liuing, & a luſtie yõg batcheler, & to yͤ houſe of York your daughters now are heires: if you could agree and inuẽt the meane howe to couple youre eldeſt daughter with the yong erle of Richmond in matrimonie, no doubt but the vſurper of the Realme ſhoulde be ſhortly depoſed, and your heire againe to hir right reſtored.

When the Queene had hearde this friendely motion (which was as farre from hir thought, as the man that the rude people ſay is in yͤ Moone) lord how hir ſpirites reuiued, and how hir hearte lept in hir body for ioy and gladneſſe, and firſte giuing lawde to Almightie G O D, as the chiefe author of hyr comfort, ſecondarily to maſter Lewes, as the deuiſer of the good newes and tydyngs, inſtantely beſought hym, that as hee hadde bin the firſte inuenter of ſo good an enterpriſe, that nowe hee woulde not relinquiſhe nor deſiſt to follow the ſame: requiring hym farther (bycauſe he was apperteyning to the Counteſſe of Richmonde mother to the Earle Henry) that he would with all diligente celeritie reſort to hir, then lodging in hir huſbandes place, within the Citie of London, and to declare on the Queenes behalfe to the Counteſſe, that all the friends and fautors of King Edwarde hir huſband, ſhoulde aſſiſt and take parte with the Earle of Richemond hir ſonne, ſo that he would take a corporall othe after the Kingdome obteined, to eſpouſe and take to wife the Lady Elizabeth hir daughter, or elſe Lady Cecyle, if the eldeſt daughter were not then liuing.

Maiſter Lewes with all dexteritie ſo ſped his buſineſſe, that he made and concluded a final end and determination of this enterpriſe, betweene the two mothers, and bycauſe he was a Phiſition, and out of all ſuſpicion, and miſdeeming, hee was the common curter and dayly meſſenger betweene them, ayding and ſetting forth the inuented conſpiracie againſt King Richarde. So the Lady Margaret Counteſſe of Richmonde, broughte into a good hope of the preferment of hir ſonne, made Reignold Bray hir moſt faithfull ſeruaunt, chiefe ſoliciter and priuie procurer of this conſpiracie, giuing him in charge ſecretely to enuegle and attract ſuch perſons of nobilitie to ioyne with hir & take hir part, as he knewe to be ingenious, faithfull, diligent, and of actiuitie. This Reignold Bray within few dayes, brought vnto his lure, (firſte of all taking of euery perſon a ſolemne othe, to be true and ſecret) ſir Giles Daubeney, ſir John Cheyney Knight, Richard Guylford and Thomas Ranie Eſquiers, and diuers other. The Counteſſe of Richemond was not ſo diligente for hir parte, but Q. Elizabeth was as vigilant on the other ſide, and made friends, and appoynted Counſellors to ſet forward and aduaunce hir buſineſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon, the Counteſſe of Richmonde tooke into hir ſeruice Chriſtopher Vrſwike, an honeſt and a wiſe Prieſte, and after an othe of him for to bee ſecrete taken and ſworne, ſhe vttered to him all hir minde and counſayle, adhibiting to hym the more confidence and trueth that hee all his life had fauoured and taken partee with King Henrye the ſixte, and as a ſpeciall iewell put to hir ſeruice by Sir Lewes hir Phiſition. So the mother ſtudious for the proſperitie of hir ſonne, appoynted this Chriſtopher Vrſwike to ſayle into Britaine to the Earle of Richmonde, and to declare and to reueale to him all pactes and agreementes betweene hir and the Queene agreed and concluded: but ſuddaynely, ſhee remembring that the Duke of Buckingham was one of the firſte inuentors, and a ſecret founder of thys enterpriſe, determined to ſend ſome perſonage of more eſtimation than hir Chaplayne, and ſo elected for a meſſenger Hugh Conwey Eſquier, and ſente him into Britaine with a greate ſumme of money to hir ſonne, gyuing him in charge, to declare to the Earle the greate loue and eſpeciall fauoure that the moſt part of the nobilitie of the Realme bare towarde him, the louing heartes and beneuolent mindes whiche the whole communaltie of theyr owne free will frankely offered and liberally exhibited to him, willing and aduiſing him not to neglect ſo good an occaſion apparantly offered, but with all ſpede and diligence to addict and ſettle his mind and ful intẽtion how to returne home againe into Englãd, where hee was both wiſhed and looked for, gyuing him farther monicion and councell to take land and arriuall in the principalitie of Wales, where he ſhould not doubt to finde both aid, cõfort, & friẽds. Richard Guilford leaſt Hugh Cõwey mighte fortune to bee taken or ſtopped at Plimmouth, where he intẽded to take his nauigatiõ, ſent out of Kẽt Tho. Rame with yͤ ſame inſtructions: & both made ſuch diligence, and had ſuch wind & weather, yͤ one by land frõ Calais, & the other by water from Plimmouth, yͭ within leſſe than an houre, both arriued in yͤ D. of Britaines court, & ſpake with the Erle of Richmõd, which frõ the death of K. Edward, went at hys pleaſure and libertie, & to him counted & manifeſted yͤ cauſe & effect of their meſſage and ambaſſade. When yͤ Erle had receiued this ioyful meſſage, whiche was the more pleaſaunt, bycauſe it was vnloked for, he rendred to Jeſu his ſauioure his moſt humble & harty thãkes, being in firme credence & beliefe yͭ ſuch things as he with buſie mind & laborious intent had wiſhed and deſired, coulde neuer haue taken any effect, without the help & preferment of almightie God. And nowe being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate and breake to the D. of Britaine all his ſecretes, and priuie meſſages, which were to him declared, aduertiſing him that he was entered into a ſure and ſtedfaſt hope, to obteyne, and get the crowne and kingdome of the realme of England, deſiring him both of his good wyll and friendly helpe toward the atchieuing of hys offred enterpriſe, promiſing him when he came to his intented purpoſe, to render to him againe equall kindneſſe and condigne recompence.

Although the Duke of Brytaine before that day by Thomas Hutton Ambaſſador from king Richard, had both by money and prayers beene ſolicited and moued to put again into ſafe cuſtodie the Erle of Richmonde, he neuertheleſſe promiſed faythfully to ayde him, and his promiſe he truely performed.

Wherevpon the Earle with all diligence ſent into England again Hugh Conway, and Thomas Rame, whiche ſhould declare his comming ſhortly into England, to the intent that al things which by counſaile might be for his purpoſe prouided, ſhould be ſpeedily and diligently done, and that all things doubtfull ſhould of his friends bee prudently foreſeene, in auoyding all engines and ſnares which king Richarde had or might ſet in diſturbance of his purpoſe: and hee in the meane ſeaſon woulde make his abode ſtill in Brytaine, till all things neceſſarie for his iourney were prepared and brought in a readineſſe.

In the meane ſeaſon, the chieftaines of the coniuration in Englande, began togither many enterpriſes: Some in conuenient fortreſſes put ſtrong garniſons: ſome kept armed men priuily, to the intente that when they ſhoulde haue knowledge of the Earles landing, they woulde beginne to ſtyrre vppe the warre: Other did ſecretly moue and ſolicite the people to riſe and make an inſurrection: Other (amongſt whome John Morton Biſhop of Elie then being in Flãders was chiefe) by priuie letters and cloked meſſengers, did ſtirre and moue to this new coniuration, al ſuch which they certainly knew to haue a rooted hatred, or to beare a cãkred malice toward king Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterpriſe were neuer ſo priuily handled, and ſo ſecretly amongſt ſo circumſpect perſons treated, compaſſed and conueyed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of king Richard, who with the ſodaine chaunce was not a little moued and aſtonied. Firſt bycauſe he had no hoſt readie prepared, ſecondly, if he ſhoulde raiſe an army ſo ſodainlye, hee knewe not were to meete his enimies, or whither to go, or where to tary. Wherfore he determined to diſſemble the matter, as though hee knew nothing, till hee had aſſembled his hoſte, and in the meane ſeaſon eyther by yͤ rumor of the cõmon people, or by the diligence of his eſpials to ſearch out all the counſailes, determinations, entents and compaſſes of his cloſe aduerſaries, or elſe by policie to intercept and take ſome perſon of the ſame coniuration, conſidering that there is no more ſecrete nor hid eſpiall, than that which lurketh in diſſimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in name and ſhadowe of counterfeyte humanitie and feyned kindneſſe. And bycauſe hee knewe the Duke of Buckingham to be the chiefe heade and ayde of the coniuration, he thought it moſte neceſſarie to plucke him from that parte, eyther by fayre promiſes, or open warre.

The duke of Buckingham conſpireth agaynſt King Richard.

Wherevpon he addreſſed his louing letters to the Duke, full of gentle wordes, and moſt friendly ſpeech, giuing further in charge to the meſſenger that caried the letter, to promiſe the duke on his behalfe, golden hilles, and ſiluer riuers, and with all gentle and pleaſaunt meanes to perſwade and exhorte the Duke to come to the Court.

But the Duke as wily as the King, miſtruſting the fayre flattering wordes, and the gaye promiſes to him ſo ſodainly without any cauſe offred, knowing the craftie caſtes of K. Richards bow, which in diuerſe affayres before time he had ſeene practiſed, required the king to pardon hym, excuſing himſelfe that hee was ſo diſeaſed in hys ſtomacke, that ſkant he could eyther take refection or reſt.

King Richarde not being content with thys excuſe, would in no wiſe admit the ſame, but incontinent directed to the duke other letters, of a more rogher and hawtier ſort, not without tanting and byting tearmes, and checking wordes, commaunding him (all excuſes ſet apart) to repayre wythoute any delaye to hys royall preſence.

The duke made to the meſſenger a determinate anſwere, that hee woulde not come to hys mortall enimie, whom hee neither loued, nor fauoured: and immediately prepared open warre againſt him, and perſwaded al his complices and partakers, that euerie man ſhould in his quarter with all diligence rayſe vp the people and make a commotion. And by this meanes almoſt in one moment Thomas Marques Dorſet came oute of Sanctuarie, where hee ſithe the beginning of King Richards dayes had continued, whoſe life by the onely helpe of ſir Thomas Louell, was preſerued from all danger and perill in this troublous worlde, gathered togither a great bande of men in Yorkeſhire.

Sir Edward Courtney, and Peter his brother Biſhop of Exeter, rayſed an other army in Deuonſhire & Cornwall. In Kent Richard Guilford and other gentlemen collected a great companie of ſouldiers, and openly began warre. But king Richard which in the meane time had gottẽ togither a great ſtrength and puiſſance, thinking it not moſt for his part beneficiall to diſperſe and deuide his greate armye into ſmall braunches, and particularly to perſecute any one of the coniuration by himſelfe, determined all other things being ſet aſide, with his whole puiſſaunce to ſette on the chiefe head, which was the Duke of Buckingham. And ſo remouing from London, hee tooke his iourney toward Saliſburie, to the entent that in his iourney hee myght ſet on the Dukes armie, if he might knowe him in any place encamped or in order of battaile arrayed. The king was ſcarce two dayes iourney from Saliſburie, when the Duke of Buckingham accompanied wyth a great power of wilde Welchmen, whom hee beeing a man of greate courage and ſharpe ſpeeche, in maner againſt their willes had rather thereto inforced and compelled by Lordly and ſtrayte commaundement, than by liberall wages and gentle reteynour, whiche thing was the verie occaſion why they left him deſolate, and cowardly forſooke him.

The Duke wyth all his power marched thorow the Foreſt of Deane, intending to haue paſſed the riuer Seuerne at Glouceſter, and there to haue ioined his armie with the Courtneis, and other Weſterne men of his confederacie and affinitie, which if he had done, no doubt but king Richard had beene in great ieopardie, eyther of priuation of his Realme, or loſſe of his life, or both. But ſee the chaunce, before hee coulde attaine to Seuerne ſide, by force of continuall rayne and moyſture, the riuer roſe ſo high that it ouerflowed all the Countrey adioyning, inſomuch that men were drowned in their beds, and houſes with the extreme violence were ouerturned, children were caryed about the fieldes ſwimming in Cradels, beaſtes were drowned on hilles, whiche rage of water laſted continually tenne dayes, inſomuch that in the Coũtrey adioyning they call it to this day the great water, or the Duke of Buckinghãs great water. By this floud the paſſages were ſo cloſed, that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to him: during the which time, the Welchmen lingring ydlely, and without money, vytaile, or wages, ſodainly ſcattered and departed: and for all the Dukes fayre promiſes, threatnings, and enforcements, they woulde in no wiſe neither go further nor abyde. The Duke being thus left almoſt poſt alone, was of neceſſitie compelled to flie, and in his flight was with this ſodaine fortune marueilouſly diſmayde: and beeing vnpurueyed what counſaile he ſhould take, and what way he ſhuld follow, like a man in diſpayre, not knowing what to doe, of verie truſte and confidence conueyed himſelfe into the houſe of Humfrey Banaſter his ſeruant beſide Shrewſbury, whom he had tenderly brought vp, and whom he aboue al men loued, fauored, and truſted, now not doubting but that in his extreme neceſſitie he ſhould find him faythfull, ſecrete, and truſtie, intending there couertly to lurke, till either he might rayſe againe a new army, or elſe ſhortly to ſayle into Brytaine to the Erle of Richmond.

The great water.

But when it was knowne to his adherents, which were readie to giue battaile, that his hoſt was ſcattered, and had left him almoſt alone, and was fled, and could not be founde, they were ſodainly amaſed and ſtryken with a ſodaine feare, that euery man like perſons deſperate ſhifted for himſelfe and fled, ſome went to Sanctuarie, and to ſolitarie places, ſome fled by Sea, whereof the moſt part within a few dayes after arriued ſafely in the Duchie of Brytaine. Among which nũber were theſe perſons, Peter Courtney Biſhop of Exceter, & ſir Edmond Courtney his brother, by king Henrie the ſeuenth after created Earle of Deuonſh. Thomas Marques Dorſet, John lord Wells, ſir John Bourchier, ſir Edward Woodnile, a valiant man in armes, brother to Queene Elizabeth, ſir Robert Willoughbie, ſir Gyles Daubeney, ſir Thomas Arũdel, ſir John Cheyney and his two brethren, ſir William Barkeley, ſir William Brandon, and Thomas hys brother, ſir Richarde Edgecombe: all theſe for the moſte parte beeing Knightes, John Halwell, and Edwarde Ponings, a politike captaine.

At this verie ſeaſon, John Morton Biſhop of Ely, and Chriſtofer Urſwike prieſt, and an other companie of noble men ſoiourned in Flaunders, and by letters and meſſengers procured many enimies agaynſt king Richarde, which vſing a vigilant eye, and a quicke remembrance, being newly come to Saliſburie, hauing perfite notice and knowledge how the duke was fled, and how his complices intended to paſſe out of the realme. Firſt he ſent men of warre to all the next portes and paſſages, to keepe ſtraytly the Sea coaſt, ſo that no perſon ſhould paſſe outwarde, nor take lande within the realme without their aſſent and knowledge. Secondarily he made proclamation, that what perſon could ſhewe and reueale where the Duke of Buckingham was, ſhoulde be highly rewarded, if he were a bondman, he ſhoulde be enfranchiſed and ſet at libertie, if he were of free bloud, he ſhould haue a generall pardon, and be rewarded with a thouſand poundes.

Furthermore, bycauſe he vnderſtood by Thomas Huttõ, which (as you haue herd) was newly returned out of Brytaine, that Frances Duke of Britain, not onely refuſed to keepe the Erle of Richmond as a priſoner, at his contemplation, and for his ſake, but alſo that he was readie to aid and ſuccour the ſayde Earle, with men, money, and all things neceſſarie for his tranſporting into England: he therefore rigged & ſent out ſhips of warre, well furniſhed and decked wyth men and artyllerie, to ſkowre and kepe that parte of the ſea that lyeth ouer agaynſt Brytayne, to the entente that if the Earle of Richmonde woulde aduenture to ſayle towarde Englande, either he ſhould be taken captiue, or be beaten and driuen from the coaſt of England.

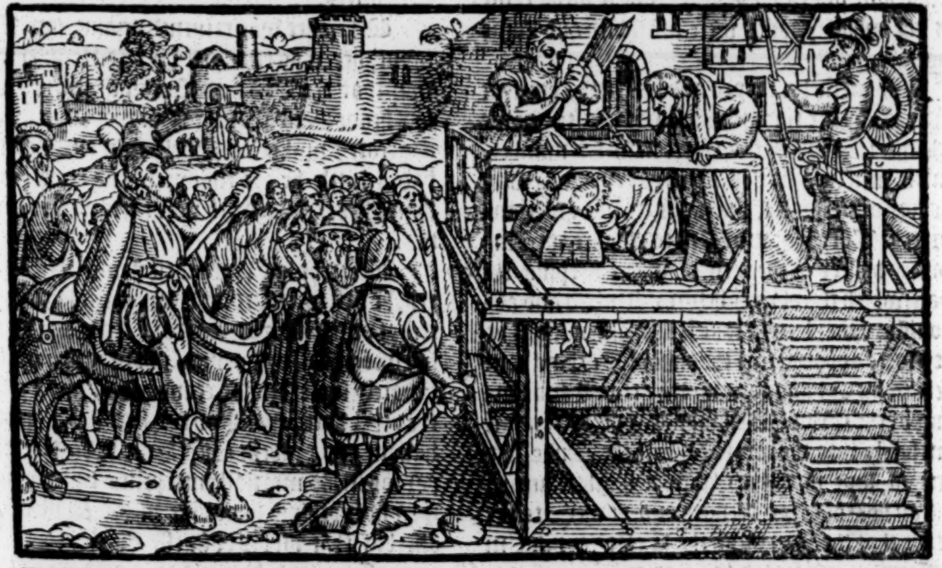
And moreouer, to the entent that euery coaſt, way, paſſage, and corner, ſhoulde bee diligently watched and kept, he ſet at euery doubtfull and ſuſpected place men of warre, to ſeeke, ſearch, and inquire, if anye creature coulde tell tydings of the Duke of Buckingham, or of any of his confederation, adherentes, fautours or partakers.

ey Ba- ſeruant e Duke king- tr.yed ſter.

While this buſie ſearche was diligently applyed and put in execution, Humfrey Banaſter (were it more for feare of lyfe and loſſe of goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious deſire of the thouſande poundes) hee bewrayed hys gueſt and maiſter to John Mitton then Sherife of Shropſhire, which ſodainly with a ſtrong power of men in harneſſe apprehended the Duke in a little groue adioyning to the manſion of Humfrey Banaſter, and in greate haſte and euyll ſpeede, conueyed hym apparayled in a pylled blacke Cloake to the towne of Shrewſburie, where King Rycharde then kepte hys houſeholde.

Whether this Banaſter bewrayed the duke more for feare than couetous, many menne doe doubt: but ſure it is, that ſhortly after he had betrayed the Duke his maiſter, his ſonne and heyre waxed mad, and ſo died in a Bores ſtie, his eldeſt daughter of excellent beautie, was ſodainly ſtryken with a foule leaprie, his ſecond ſonne marueylouſly deformed of his limmes, and made lame, his yonger ſonne in a ſmall puddle was ſtrangled and drowned, and he being of extreeme age, arraigned, and found guiltie of a murther, and by his cleargie ſaued. And as for his thouſand pound king Richard gaue him not one farthing, ſaying that he which would be vntrue to ſo good a maiſter, would be falſe to all other: howbeit ſome ſay that hee had a ſmall office or a farme to ſtop hys mouth withall. The duke being by certaine of the kings counſaile diligently vpon interrogatories examined what things hee knewe preiudiciall to the Kings perſon, opened and declared frankly, & freely all the coniuration wythout diſſembling or gloſing, truſting bycauſe hee had trulye and plainely reuealed and confeſſed all things that were of him requyred, that he ſhould haue licence to ſpeake to the king, whiche (whether it were to ſue for pardon and grace, or whether hee beeing brought to hys preſence, woulde haue ſtycked him with a dagger as men then iudged) hee ſore deſired and required. But when he had confeſſed the whole fact and conſpiracie, vpon Alſoulne day without arraignment or iudgement, hee was at Saliſburie in the open market place, on a newe ſcaffold behedded and put to death.

The Duke of Buckingham beheaded.



This death (as a reward) the Duke of Buckingham receyued at the handes of king Richard, whom he before in his affayres, purpoſes and enterpriſes, had holpen, ſuſteyned and ſet forwarde, aboue all Gods forbode.

By this all men may eaſily perceyue, that hee not onely loſeth both his labor, trauaile, and induſtrie, and further ſteyneth and ſpotteth his line with a perpetuall ignominie & reproche, which in euill and miſchiefe aſſyſteth and aydeth an euill diſpoſed perſon, conſidering for the moſte part, that hee for his friendly fauour ſhoulde receyue ſome great diſpleaſure or importunate chaunce. Beſide that, God of his iuſtice in concluſion appoynteth to him a condigne paine and affliction for his merits and deſerts.

Whyle theſe things were thus handled and ordred in England, Henrie Earle of Richmonde prepared an army of fiue thouſand manly Brytonnes, and fortie well furniſhed ſhips.

When all things were prepared in a readineſſe, and the day of departing & ſetting forwarde was appoynted, whiche was the .xij. day of the Moneth of October, the whole armie went on ſhipbourd, and halſed vp their ſayles, and wyth a proſperous wind tooke the ſea: but toward night the wind chaunged, and the weather turned, and ſo huge and terrible a tempeſt ſo ſodainly aroſe, that with the verie power and ſtrength of the ſtorme, the ſhips were diſparcled, ſeuered and ſeparate a ſunder: ſome by force were driuen into Normandie, ſome were compelled to returne againe into Brytaine. The ſhip wherein the erle of Richmond was, aſſociate onely with one other Barke, was all night toſſed and turmoyled.

In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempeſt was aſſwaged, and the yre of the bluſtring winde was ſome deale appeaſed, about the houre of noone the ſame day, the Erle approched to the South part of the realm of England, euen at the mouth of the Hauen of Pole, in the Countie of Dorcet, where he might plainly perceyue all the Sea bankes and ſhores, garniſhed and furniſhed with men of warre and ſouldiers, appoynted and deputed there to defende hys arriual and landing (as before is mentioned.) Wherfore he gaue ſtraight charge, and ſore commaundemēt, that no perſon ſhuld once preſume to take lande, and goe to the Shore, vntill ſuche tyme as the whole Nauie were aſſembled and come togither.

And while hee taryed and lyngered, hee ſent out a Shipbote towarde the lande ſide, to knowe whether they which ſtood there in ſuch a number, and ſo well furniſhed in apparell defenſiue, were his foes and enimies, or elſe his friends and comforters. They that were ſent to enquire, were inſtantly deſired of the men of warre keeping the coaſt (which therof were before inſtructed and admoniſhed) to diſcend & take lande, affirming that they were appointed by the duke of Buckingham there to awayt and tarie for the arriuall and landing of the Erle of Richmonde, and to conduct him ſafely into the campe, where the Duke not farre of laye incamped with a mightie armie, and an hoſt of great ſtrength and power, to the intent that the Duke and the Earle ioyning in puiſſaunces and forces togither, might proſecute and chaſe King Richarde being deſtitute of men. and in maner deſperate, and ſo by that meanes, and their owne labors, to obteyne the end of their enterprice which they had before begon.

The Earle of Richmonde ſuſpecting theyr flattering requeſt to be but a fraude (as it was in deede) after hee perceyued none of his ſhippes to appeare in ſight, hee weyed vp his Ancors, halſed vp his Sayles, and hauing a proſperous and ſtreynable winde, and a freſhe gale ſent euen by God to delyuer him from that perill and ieopardie, arriued ſafe and in all ſecuritie in the Duchie of Normandy, where he to refreſh and ſolace hys ſouldiers and people, tooke his recreation by the ſpace of three dayes, and clearely determined with part of his companie to paſſe all by lande againe into Brytaine. And in the meane ſeaſon he ſent Ambaſſadors to the Frenche king, called Charles the eight, which newly ſucceeded his father king Lewes the eleuenth, not long before departed to God, requiring of him a ſafeconduct & licence to paſſe through his country of Normandie into Brytaine.

The yong King hauing compaſſion of the miſfortune of the Earle of Richmond, not onely gently graunted and aſſigned to him a paſport, but alſo liberally diſburſed to him a great ſumme of money for his conduct and expences neceſſarie in his long iourney and paſſage. But the Earle truſting in the French kings humanitie, aduentured to ſende his ſhippes home into Brytaine, and to ſet forward himſelf by land on his iorney, making no great haſt til his meſſengers were returned, which being with that benefit ſo comforted, and with hope of proſperous ſucceſſe ſo encoraged, marched towarde Brytayne, wyth all dyligence entending there to conſult further with his louers and friendes of his affayres and enterprices.

When hee was returned againe into Brytayne, hee was certifyed by credible information that the Duke of Buckingham had loſte hys heade, and that the Marques Dorcet, and a greate number of Noble men of Englande, had a lyttle before enquyred and ſearched for hym there, and were nowe returned to Vannes.

When he had heard theſe newes thus reported, he firſt ſorrowed and lamented his firſt attempt and ſetting forwarde of his friendes, and in eſpecial of the Nobilitie, not to haue more fortunately ſucceeded. Secondarily, he reioyced on the other part, that God had ſent him ſo manye valiant and prudent Captaynes to bee hys companiōs in his martiall enterpriſes, truſting ſurelye and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his buſineſſe ſhoulde bee wiſely compaſſed, and brought to a good concluſion. Wherefore he determining with all diligence to ſet forwarde his new begon buſineſſe, departed to Renes, and ſent certain of his priuie ſeruitors to conduct and bring the Marques and other noble men to his preſence.

When they knew that hee was ſafe returned into Brytayne, Lorde howe they reioyced, for before that tyme they myſſed him, and knewe not in what part of the world to make inquirie or ſearch for him.

For they doubted and no leſſe feared leaſt he had taken lande in Englande, and fallen into the handes of King Richarde, in whoſe perſon they knew well was neyther mercie nor compaſſion. Wherefore in all ſpeedie maner they galoped toward him, & him reuerendly ſaluted, which meeting after great ioy and ſolace, and no ſmal thankes giuen and rendred on both partes, they aduiſedly debated and commoned of their great buſineſſe and weightie enterpriſe, in the which ſeaſon the feaſt of the Natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt happened, on which day all the Engliſh Lordes went with their ſolemnitie to the chiefe Churche of the Citie, and there eche gaue fayth and promiſe to other.

The Erle himſelfe firſt tooke a corporall othe on his honour, promiſing that incontinent after he ſhoulde be poſſeſſed of the Crowne and dignitie of the Realme of Englande, he would be conioyned in matrimonie with the Ladie Elizabeth daughter to king Edwarde the fourth. Then all the companie ſware to him fealtie, and did to him homage as though he had beene that tyme the crowned king, and annoynted Prince, promiſing faythfully, and firmly aſſuring, that they would not onely leaſe theyr worldly ſubſtaunce, but alſo be deprited of their lyues and worldly felicitie, rather than to ſuffer king Richarde that tyraunt longer to rule and raigne ouer them. Which ſolemne othes made and taken, the Earle of Richmonde declared and communicated all theſe doings to Fraunces Duke of Brytayne, deſyring and moſt heartily requiring him to ayd him with a greater armie to conduct him into his Countrey, whiche ſo ſore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the nobilitie and comunaltie called and deſired, (which with Gods ayde, and the Dukes comfort) he doubted not in ſhort time to obtaine, requiring him farther to preſt to him a conuenient ſum of mony, affyrmingthat all ſuch ſummes of money whiche hee had receyued of his eſpeciall friends, were ſpent and conſumed in preparation of his laſte iourney made towarde Englande, which ſummes of money after his enterpriſe once atchieued, he in the worde of a Prince, faythfully promiſed to repay and reſtore againe. The Duke promiſed hym ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof hee rigged his ſhippes, and ſette forth hys Nauye well decked with ordinance, and warlikely furniſhed wyth all things neceſſarie, to the intent to ſaile forward ſhortly, and to loſe no time.

In the meane ſeaſon, king Richard apprehended in diuerſe partes of the realme certain gentlemen of the Erle of Richmonds faction, and confederation, whiche eyther intended to ſayle into Brytayne towarde him, or elſe at his landing to aſſyſt and ayde him. Amongſt whom ſir George Browne, ſir Roger Clifforde, and foure other were put to execution at London, and ſir Thomas Sentliger which had maried the Duches of Exceter the kings owne ſiſter, & Thomas Ram, and dyuerſe other were executed at Exeter. Beſide theſe perſons, diuerſe of his houſhold ſeruants whõ either he ſuſpected, or doubted, were by great crueltie put to ſhamefull death.

The Erle of Richmond attaynted in Parlament.

After this, he called a Parliament, in the which he attaynted the Erle of Richmond and all other perſons which were fled out of the realme for feare, or any other cauſe, as enimies to him, and to their naturall Countrey, and all their landes, goods, and poſſeſſions, were confiſcate and ſeaſed to the kings vſe. And yet not content with thys pray, whiche no doubt was of no ſmall valour and moment, hee layde on the peoples neckes a great tax and tallage, and ſurely neceſſitie to that acte in maner him compelled. For what wyth purging and declaring his innocencie concerning the murther of his Nephewes toward the world, and what with coſt to obteyne the loue and fauour of the comunaltie (which outwardly gloſed, and openly diſſembled with him) he gaue prodigally ſo many & ſo great rewards, that now both he lacked, & ſcarce wiſt honeſtly how to borow.

In this troublous ſeaſon, nothing was more maruelled at, thã that the Lord Stanley had not bene taken, and reputed as an enimie to the King, conſidering the working of the Ladie Margaret his wife, mother to the Earle of Richmond: but foraſmuch as the enterpriſe of a woman was of him reputed of no regard or eſtimation, and that the Lord Thomas hir huſband had purged himſelf ſufficiently to be innocent of all doings and attempts by hir perpetrated & cõmitted, it was giuen him in charge to kepe hir in ſome ſecrete place at home, without hauing any ſeruant or companie, ſo that from thenceforth ſhe ſhuld neuer ſend letter or meſſenger vnto hir ſon, nor any of his friends or cõfederates, by the which the king might be moleſted or troubled, or anye hurt or preiudice might bee attempted agaynſte his realme and comunaltie. Which commaundemẽt was a while put in execution and accompliſhed according to his dreadfull commaundement. Yet the wilde worme of vengeance wauering in his heade, coulde not bee content wyth the death of dyuerſe gentlemen ſuſpected of treaſon, but alſo he muſt extende his bloudy furie agaynſt a poore gentlemã called Collingborne, for making a ſmall rime of three of his vnfortunate counſaylers, which were the Lord Louell, ſir Richard Ratcliffe his miſchieuous Minion, and ſir Williã Catesby his ſecrete ſeducer, which meetre or ryme was thus.

The Cat, the Rat, and Louell our Dogge,
Rule all England vnder an Hogge.

Meaning by the hog, the dreadful wild Bore, which was the kings cogniſance, but bycauſe the firſt line ended in dogge, the Metrician could not obſeruing the regiments of metre, end the ſeconde verſe in Bore, but called the Bore an hog. This Poetical ſcholemaiſter corrector of Breues and Longs, cauſed Collingborne to bee abbreuiate ſhorter by the head, and to be deuided into foure quarters.

Collingburne executed.

Collingborns inditement

Here is to be noted, that beſide the rime which is reported by ſome to be the only cauſe for which this gentleman ſuffred, I finde in a regyſter booke of Inditements concerning felonyes and treaſons by ſundrie perſons committed, that the ſayde Collingborne by the name of Willyam Collyngborne late of Lidyarde in the Countie of Wilkſhire eſquier and other his aſſociates were indited in London for that that they about the tenth day of Julie, in this ſecond yeare of King Richardes raigne in the Pariſhe of Saint Botulphes in Portſoken warde had ſolicited and requeſted one Thomas Yate, offering to him for his paynes eyght pounde, to goe ouer into Brytayne vnto Henrie Erle of Richmond, Thomas Marques Dorſet, John Cheyney Eſquier, and others (whiche in the laſt Parliament holden at Weſtminſter had beene attainted of ſundrie high treaſons by them practiſed wythin the kings dominion) to declare vnto them that they ſhoulde doe verie well to returne into Englande with all ſuch power as they might get before the feaſt of Saint Luke the Euangeliſt next enſuing, for ſo they might receyue all the whole reuenues of the realme due at the feaſt of Saint Michaell nexte before the ſayde feaſt of Saint Luke, and that if the ſayde Earle of Richmonde and his partakers, following the counſaile of the ſayde Collingborne, would arriue at the hauen of Pole in Dorcetſhire, he the ſayd Collingborne and other his aſſociates, woulde cauſe the people to riſe in armes, and to leuie warre agaynſt king Richarde, taking part wyth the ſayde Earle and his friendes, ſo that all things ſhoulde be at theyr commaundements.

Moreouer, to moue the ſayde Earle to ſende the ſayde John Cheyney vnto the French King, to aduertiſe him that his Imbaſſadours ſent into England ſhould be dallyed with, only to driue of the time till the winter ſeaſon were paſt, and that then in the beginning of Sommer king Richarde ment to make warre into Fraunce inuading that realme with all his puiſſance, and ſo by this meanes to perſwade the French king to ayd the Erle of Richmonde & his partakers in their quarell againſt king Richard. Further that the ſayd William Collingborne beeing confederate with the ſayd Erle & other his adherents, aſwell within the Realme as without, the. xviij. day of July, in the ſaid ſecond yeare, within the Pariſhe of S. Gregories in Faringdon ward within, had deuiſed certaine bylles and wrytings in ryme, to the ende that the ſame beeing publiſhed, myghte ſtirre the people to a commotion againſt the king and thoſe billes and writings in rime ſo deuiſed & written, the ſame Collingborne the day and yere laſt mentioned, had faſtened and ſet vppon dyuerſe doores of the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, for the more ſpeedie furthering of hys intended purpoſe. Thus farre the Inditement. But whether he was guiltie in part or in all, I haue not to ſay.

King Richard being thus diſquieted in mind, and doubtfull for the ſuretie of his owne eſtate, called to remembraunce that confederations, honeſt bandes, and pactes of amitie concluded and had betwixt Princes and gouernours, are the efficient cauſe that Realmes and common wealthes are ſtrengthned with double power, that is with ayde of friendes abroade, and their owne forces at home. Whereupon he deuiſed howe to conclude a league and amitie with his neighbour the King of Scottes, who not long before had made diuerſe incurſions and roades into the Realme of Englande. And although he had not much gotten, yet verily hee loſt not much, and nowe euen as King Richard could haue wiſhed he of himſelfe made ſuyte for peace or truce to be had betwixt him and king Richarde, who wyllingly giuing eare to that ſuyte, Commiſſioners were appoynted to meet aboute the treatie thereof, as in the Hiſtorie of Scotlande it maye appeare, at length agreed vpon a truce for three yeares, and withall for a further encreaſe of fyrme frindſhippe and ſure amitie (betwixt hym and the King of Scottes) King Richarde entered into a treatie alſo of alliaunce for the concluding of a maryage betwyxt the Duke of Rotheſay, eldeſt ſonne to the King of Scottes, and the Ladie Anne de la Poole daughter to John Duke of Suffolke and the Duches Anne, Siſter to King Richarde, whiche Siſter hee ſo muche fauoured, that ſtudying by all wayes and meanes poſſible howe to aduaunce hir lynage, hee did not onely thus ſeeke to preferre hir daughter in maryage, but alſo after the death of hys ſonne, hee proclaymed John Earle of Lyncolne hir ſonne and hys Nephewe, heyre apparant to the Crowne of Englande, diſinheriting King Edwards daughters, whoſe brethren (as yee haue heard) hee moſte wickedly had cauſed to be murthered and made away.

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a truce
Englan
Scotla

The King of Scottes ſtanding in neede of friendes, althoughe not ſo greatlye as King Richarde did willyngly conſent to that motion of maryage, fyrſt broched by King Richarde, in ſomuche that it tooke effect, and by Commiſſioners was paſſed and concluded, in maner as in the Hyſtorie of Scotlande it likewyſe appeareth.

But albeit that by this league and amitie thus couenanted and concluded, it mighte bee thought, that all conſpiracies, coniurations, and confederacies agaynſt King Richarde had beene extinct, eſpecially conſidering the Duke of Buckingham and his allyes were diſpatched oute of the way, ſome by death, and ſome by flight and baniſhment into farre Countreys, yet King Richarde more doubting than truſting to his owne people and friendes, was continually vexed and troubled in mynde for feare of the Earle of Richmondes returne, which dayly dreade and hourely agonie, cauſed him to liue in dolefull miſerie, euer vnquiet, and in maner in continuall calamitie.

Wherefore he intending to be relieued and to haue an ende of all his doubtfull daungers, determined clearely to extirpate and plucke vp by the rootes all the matter and grounde of his feare and doubtes.

Wherefore after long and deliberate conſultation had, nothing was for his purpoſe and intent thought eyther more neceſſarie or expedient than once againe with price, prayer, and rewardes, to attempt the Duke of Brytayne, in whoſe territorie the Earle of Richmonde then abode, to delyuer the ſayde Earle into his hands, by which onely meanes he ſhoulde be diſcharged of all feare of perill, and brought to reſt and quietneſſe both of bodie and mynde. Wherefore incontinent he ſent certayne Imbaſſadours to the Duke of Brytayne, whiche tooke vpon them, (beſyde the greate and ample rewardes that they brought wyth them into Brytayne) that king Richarde ſhoulde yearely pay and aunſwere the Duke of all the reuenues, rentes, and profites of the ſeignories, landes, and poſſeſſions, as well belonging and apperteyning to the Earle of Richmonde, as to any other Noble or Gentleman, which then were in the Earles companie, if hee after that tyme woulde keepe them in continuall Pryſon, and reſtrayne them from lybertie.

The Ambaſſadors furniſhed with theſe and other inſtructions, arryued in Brytain, and came to the Dukes houſe, where with him they coulde haue no maner of communication concernyng their weightie affayres, by reaſon that hee beeyng faint and weakned by a long and dayly infirmitie, began a little to wax yole and weake in hys wit and remembrance. For whiche cauſe Peter Landoyſe his chiefe Treaſorer, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritye, ruled and adiudged all things at his pleaſure and commaundement; for which cauſe (as men ſet into authoritye bee not beſt beloued) he excited & prouoked agaynſt him the malice and euill will of the nobilitie of Brytaine, which afterward for diuers great offences by him duryng his authoritie perpetrate committed, by their meanes was brought to death and confuſion.

Peter Landolſe

The Engliſh Ambaſſadors moued their meſſage and requeſt to Peter Landoyſe, and to him declared their maiſters commaundement, inſtantly requiring, and humbly deſiring him (in whoſe power it lay to do all things in Brytayn) that he woulde friendly aſſent to the requeſt of King Richarde, offring to hym the ſame rewardes and landes, that they ſhoulde haue offred to the Duke.

This Peter whiche was no leſſe diſdeyned than hated almoſt of all the people of Brytayne, thought that if he did aſſent and ſatiſfie king Richardes petition and deſire, he ſhould be of power and abilitie ſufficiently to withſtande and reſiſt the malicious attempts and diſdainfull inuentions of his enuious aduerſaries. Wherefore hee faithfully promiſed to accompliſh king Richards requeſt and deſire, ſo that he kept promiſe wyth him, that he might be able to withſtand the cankerd malice of his ſecrete enimies.

This act that he promiſed to doe, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the Erle of Richmond: for (as you haue heard before) he deliuered him from the perill of death at S. Malos, when he was in great doubt of life, and ieopardy: but as cauſe riſeth we euer offende, and that curſed hunger of golde, and execrable thyrſt of lucre, and inwarde feare of loſſe of authoritie, driueth the blinde mindes of couetous men, and ambitious perſons to euilles and myſchiefes innumerable, not remembring loſſe of name, obloquie of the people, nor in concluſion the puniſhment of God for their merites and deſerts.

But fortune was ſo fauourable to the publique wealth of the Realme of Englande, that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while Poſtes ranne, and letters were ſent to and fro for the finiſhing of this greate enterpryce betweene King Richarde and Peter Landoyſe, Iohn Morton Biſhop of Ely ſoiourning then in Flaunders, was of all this craftie conueyaunce certifyed by hys ſecrete and ſure friendes: Wherefore hee ſent Chriſtopher Vrſwike (whiche at that verie ſeaſon was come out of Brytayne into Flaunders) to declare to the Earle of Richmonde howe all the deceyte and craftie working was conueyed and compaſſed, giuing him in charge to counſayle

ſayle and aduiſe the Earle in all haſte poſſible with all his companie to retire out of Brytayne into Fraunce.

When theſe newes were brought to the erle, he then kept houſe in Vannes, and incontinent diſpatched again Chriſtofer Vrſwike, to Charles the French king, requiring him that hee and his, might ſafely paſſe into Fraunce, which deſyre being obteyned, the meſſenger ſhortly returned to his Lorde and Prince. The Erle well perceyuing that it was expedient and neceſſarie, wyth all ſpeede and diligence, to looke to this weighty matter, calling verie fewe to counſaile, hee made inquirie and ſearche of all ſecrete and bywayes, and ſent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiaritie and kindneſſe they ſhoulde viſite and comfort the Duke, which then for recreation and chaunge of ayre, lay on the borders and confines of Fraunce. And ſecretely hee gaue charge to the Earle of Pembroke whiche was the leader and conductor of his companie, that when they approched the Marches and limittes of Brytayne, they ſhoulde diuert and take the next way into Fraunce.

The noble menne ſomewhat ſuſpitious of things newly imagined, withoute any tarying, ſkouring the wayes as faſt as theyr horſes could runne, came out of the Duchie of Brytayne, into yͤ Duchy of Aniou in the dominion of France, where they taryed the Earles comming, which two dayes after departed out of Vannes, onely accompanied with fiue ſeruitours, as though hee had gone ſecretly to viſite a familiar friend of his, in a ſmall village adioyning. No man ſuſpected that he would depart, conſidering that a great multitude of Engliſhe men were left and continued in the Citie, but after that he had paſſed directly fiue miles forwarde, he ſodainly turned into a ſolitarie woodde next adioyning, where clothing himſelfe in the ſimple coate of his poore ſeruant, made and appoynted his ſayd miniſter, leader and maiſter of his ſmall companie, and he as humble page diligently followeth and ſerueth his counterfeyte gouernour, neyther reſting nor themſelues refreſhing, except the bayting of their horſes, tyll they by wayes vnknowne, now thys way, now turning that way, came to their companie, abiding them in Angiers.

The fourth day after the Erle of Richmonde was thus departed, that craftie marchant Peter Landoyſe, thruſting ſtill after his pray, promiſed by king Richarde, was readie to ſet forward hys crew of ſouldiors, which he priuily had conſigned with certaine truſtie captaines for that only purpoſe appoynted and elected, to performe and atchieue his pretenſed enterpriſe, diſſembling and feyning them to be conducted and hyred by hym to ſerue the Earle of Richmonde, and hym to conduct in hys returne towarde his natiue countrey, meaning none other thing but to apprehende him, and the other noble men in hys retinue, which no ſuche fraude ſuſpected, nor yet any treaſon ymagined, vnware and vnprouided, and deſtitute of al ayde, and them to caſt and commit ſodainly into continuall captiuitie and bondage, to the intent that by this his wretched & naughtie acte, he myght ſatiſfie the charitable requeſt, and louing deſire of good king Richarde, more for his owne profite than king Richardes gaine.

But when this craftie diſſembler Peter Landoyſe, which was no wilier than an olde Foxe, perceyued that the Earle was departed, (thinking that to bee true that he ymagined) Lorde howe currours ranne into euery coaſt, how light horſemen galloped in euery ſtreete, to follow and deteyne him, if by any poſſibilitie he could be met with and ouertaken, and him to apprehende and bring captiue into the Citie of Vannes. The horſemen made ſuche diligence, and with ſuche celeritie ſet forwarde theyr iourney, that nothing was more likely than they to haue obteyned, yea and ſeaſed theyr pray. For the Earle of Richmonde was not entered into the Realme of Fraunce, ſcarce one houre, but the folowers came to the limits and confines of Brytaine, and durſt aduenture no further, but vainly without their deſire ſorrowfully returned.

At which ſeaſon were left at Vannes aboute the number of three C. Engliſh men, which not being called to counſaile, & vnware of this enterpriſe, but knowing of the Earles ſodaine departure, were ſo incontinently aſtonied, that in maner they were al in diſpayre both of him and their owne ſuretie and ſauegarde. But fortune turned hir ſaile, and otherwiſe it happened than their feare them encombred. For the Duke of Brytayne nowe being ſomewhat recouered, was ſore diſpleaſed, and nothing contented that the Earle of Richmond was in his dominion ſo vncourteouſly tracted and entreated, that he ſhoulde be by fraud and vntruth compelled to leaue and flie out of his Duchie and Countrey, contrary to his honour. Wherefore he tooke great diſpleaſure with Peter Landoyſe his Treaſorer, to whome (although he knew not and was ignoraunt that all the drift was driuen and deuiſed by him) he layde the fault and imputed the crime. Wherefore he ſent for Edward Wooduile, and Edwarde Ponings valiaunt Eſquiers of Englande, and delyuered vnto them money ſufficient for theyr conduct, willing them to cõuey the reſt of the Engliſh men being in Brytaine, to the Erle of Richmonds preſence.

When the Erle was thus furniſhed, and appoynted with his truſtie companie, & was eſcaped all the daungers, Labirinthes, and ſnares that were ſet for him, no maruayle though hee were iocond and glad of the proſperous ſucceſſe that happened in his affayres. Wherefore, leaſt hee ſhould ſeeme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, hee ſent diuerſe of his Gentlemen to the Duke of Britayne, the which ſhould publiſh and declare to him on the behalfe of the Earle, that he and his, were onelye by his benefite and fauour conſerued and deliuered from the imminent daunger that they were lyke to be trapped in. Wherefore at that time he rendred to him his moſt hartie thankes in wordes, truſting and not doubting but in time to come liberally to recompence him with actes and deedes.

After this the Earle tooke his iourney to Charles the French king, lying then at Langes vpon the ryuer of Leyre, to whom after greate thankes giuen for manifolde pleaſures by him to the Earle ſhewed, he diſcloſed and manifeſted the cauſe and occaſion of his acceſſe and repayre to his perſon.

After that, he required of him helpe and ſuccor, to the intent that by his immortall benefit to him at that time ſhewed, hee might ſafely returne to the nobilitie of his realm, of whō he was generally called to take vpon him the crowne and ſcepter of the Realme, they much hated and abhorred the tyrannie of king Richarde. King Charles promiſed him ayde and comfort, and bade him be of good courage, and make good cheare, for he aſſured him that he would gladly ſhew to him hys beneuolent minde & bountifull liberalitie. Which king from thence remoued to Mountargis, leading with him the Erle of Richmond, and all the noble perſonages of his retinue and faction.

While the Earle was thus attendant in the French court, John Vere Erle of Oxford (which as you haue heard before) was by king Edward kept in priſon within the Caſtell of Hammes) ſo perſwaded James Blunte Captaine of the ſame Fortreſſe, and ſir John Forteſcew Porter of the towne of Calays, that he himſelfe was not onely diſmiſſed and ſet at libertie, but they alſo abandoning and leauing theyr fruitful offices, condiſcended to go with him into Fraunce to the Earle of Richmonde, and to take his part. But James Blunt, like a wiſe captain bicauſe he left his wife remayning in the Caſtell before his departure, he fortified the ſame both with new munitions and newe Souldiours.

When the Erle of Richmonde ſaw the Earle of Oxforde, hee was rauiſhed with an incredible gladneſſe, that he being a man of ſo high nobility, of ſuch knowledge & practiſes in feates of warre, and ſo conſtant, truſtie and aſſured (which alway had ſtudied for the maintenance and preferment of the houſe of Lancaſter) was nowe by Gods prouiſion deliuered out of captiuitie and impriſonment, and in time ſo neceſſarie and conuenient come to his ayde, ſuccour and aduancement, in whom more ſurer than any other he might put his truſt and confidence, and take leſſe paine and trauaile in his owne perſon. For it was not hyd from him, that ſuche as euer had taken parte with King Edwarde before thys tyme, came to doe him ſeruice, eyther for malice that they bare to King Richarde, or elſe for feare to liue vnder hys cruell rule and tyrannous gouernance.

Not long after, the French King returned againe to Paris, whom the Earle of Richmond followed, entending there to ſolicite his matter to the concluſion. Wherevpon hee beſought King Charles to take vpon him the whole tuition and defence of him and his cauſe, ſo that hee and hys companie being by his meanes ayded and comforted, ſhoulde confeſſe and ſaye, theyr wealth, victorie and aduancement to haue flowed & budded forth of his bountifulneſſe & liberalitie, which they would God willing ſhortly reacquite.

In the meane ſeaſon, diuerſe Engliſh men which either fled out of Englād for feare, or were at Paris to learne and ſtudie good literature and vertuous doctrine, came voluntarily and ſubmitted themſelues to the erle of Richmonde, & vowed and ſware to take his part. Amongſt whom was Richard Fox a prieſt, a man of great wit and no leſſe learning, whom the Earle incontinent receiued into ſecret familiaritie, and in briefe time erected and aduaunced him to high dignities and promotions, and in concluſion he made him Biſhop of Wincheſter.

In the meane ſeaſon, king Richarde was credibly aduertiſed, what promiſes and othes the Erle and his confederates had made and ſworne togither at Rennes, & how by the Erles meanes all the Engliſh men were paſſed out of Brytain into France. Wherefore being ſore diſmayd, and in a maner diſperate, bicauſe his craftie chieuance tooke none effect in Brytayne, ymagined and deuiſed how to infringe and diſturbe the Erles purpoſe by another meane, ſo that by the mariage of Ladie Elizabeth his Neece, he ſhould pretend no clayme nor tytle to the crowne. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the Erles chiefe combe had bene clearly cut. And bycauſe that he being blinded with the ambitious deſire of rule before thys tyme in obteyning the kingdome, had commytted and done manye curſed actes, and deteſtable tyrannies, yet according to the olde Prouerbe, let him take the Bull that ſtale away the Calfe, he thought all factes by him committed in times paſſed to be but of ſmall moment and not to bee regarded in compariſon of that miſchieuous imagination, which he now newly began & attēpted.

There came into his vngracious mind a thing not onely deteſtable to be ſpoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to be put in execution. For when he reuolued in his wauering minde, how great a fountaine of miſchiefe towarde him ſhoulde ſpring, if the Earle of Richmonde ſhoulde bee aduaunced to the mariage of his nece, which thing he heard ſay by the rumour of the people, that no ſmall number of wiſe and wittie perſonages enterpryſed to compaſſe and bring to concluſion, he clerely determined to reconcile to his fauour his brothers wife Queene Elizabeth, eyther by fayre wordes, or liberall promiſes, firmely beleeuing hir fauour once obteyned, that ſhee woulde not ſticke to commit (and louingly credite) to hym the rule and gouernance both of hir & hir daughter, and ſo by that meanes the Erle of Richmōd of the affinitie of his Nece, ſhoulde be vtterly defrauded and beguiled.

A ſubtil and lewde practiſe of king Richard.

And if no ingenious remedie could bee otherwiſe inuented, to ſaue the innumerable miſchiefs which were euen at hande, and like to fall, if it ſhoulde happen Queene Anne his wife to depart out of this preſent life, then hee himſelfe woulde rather take to wife his couſin and Nece the Ladie Elizabeth, than for lacke of that affinitie the whole Realme ſhoulde runne to ruine, as who ſayde, that if he once fell from his eſtate and dignitie, the ruine of the Realme muſt needes ſhortly enſue and follow. Wherefore hee ſent to the Queene being in Sanctuarie, dyuerſe and often meſſengers, which firſt ſhoulde excuſe and purge him of all things before agaynſt hir attempted or procured, and after ſhoulde ſo largely promiſe promotious innumerable, and benefites, not onelye to hir, but alſo to hir ſonne Lorde Thomas Marques Dorcet, that they ſhoulde bring hir, if it were poſſible into ſome wanhope, or as men ſay, into a fooles Paradiſe.

The Meſſengers being men both of wit and grauitie, ſo perſwaded the Queene with greate and pregnant reaſons, what with fayre & large promiſes, that ſhe began ſomewhat to relent, and to giue to them no deafe eare, inſomuch that ſhee faythfully promiſed to ſubmitte and yeelde hirſelfe fullye and frankely to the Kings will and pleaſure.

And ſo ſhe putting in obliuion the murther of hir innocent children, the infamie and diſhonor ſpoken by the king hir huſband, the lyuing in adoutrie layde to hir charge, the baſtarding of hir daughters, forgetting alſo the faythfull promiſe and open othe made to the Counteſſe of Richmonde mother to the Earle Henrie, blynded by auaricious affection, and ſeduced by flattering wordes, firſt deliuered into King Richards hands hir fiue daughters, as Lambes once againe committed to the cuſtodie of the rauenous Woolfe.

The inconſtancie of Queene Elizabeth.

After ſhe ſent letters to the Marques hir ſonne being then at Paris with the Erle of Richmond, willing him in any wyſe to leaue the Earle, and without delay to repayre into Englande, where for him were prouided great honours, and honorable promotions, aſcerteyning him further, that all offences on both parties were forgotten and forgyuen, and both he and ſhee highly incorporated in the Kings heart. Surely the inconſtancie of this woman were muche to bee merueyled at, if all women had beene founde conſtant; but let men ſpeak, yet women of the very bond of nature will follow their owne kinde.

After that king Richarde had thus with glorious promiſes and flattering wordes, pleaſed and appeaſed the mutable mynde of Queene Elizabeth, which knewe nothing leſſe than that hee moſt intended, he cauſed all his brothers daughters to be conueyed into hys Palayce wyth ſolemne receyuing, as though with his newe familiar and louing interteynment they ſhoulde forget, and in theyr myndes blotte oute the olde committed iniurie, and late executed tyrannie. Nowe nothing was contrariant and obſtacle to his deuiliſhe purpoſe, but that his mancion was not voyde of his wife, whiche thing hee in anye wiſe adiudged neceſſarie to be done. But there was one thing that ſo muche feared and ſtayed him from committing thys abhominable murther, bycauſe (as you haue hearde before) hee beganne to counterfeyte the Image of a good and well diſpoſed perſon, and therefore hee was afearde leaſt the ſodaine death of his wyfe once openly knowne, he ſhoulde leaſe the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deſert, conceyued and reported.

But in concluſion, euill Counſayle preuayled in a wytte lately mynded to myſchiefe, and turned from all goodneſſe. So that hys vngracious deſire ouercame hys honeſt feare. And fyrſt to enter into the gates of hys imagined enterprice, he abſteyned both from the bed and companie of his wife.

After he complayned to diuerſe noble men of the realme, of the infortunate ſterilitie and barenneſſe of his wife, bycauſe ſhee brought forth no fruite and generation of hir bodie. And in eſpeciall he recounted to Thomas Rotheram Archbiſhop of Yorke (whome lately hee had delyuered out of warde and captiuitie) theſe impedimentes of his Queene and diuerſe other, thinking that he woulde reueale to hir all theſe things, truſting the ſequele hereof to take hys effect, that ſhee hearing this grudge of hir huſband, and taking therefore an inward thought, would not long liue in this worlde.

Of this the Biſhop gathered (whiche well knewe the complexion and vſage of the King) that the Queenes dayes were ſhort, and that he declared to certaine of his ſecret friendes.

After this he procured a common rumor, but he would not haue the authour knowne, to bee publiſhed and ſpred abroade among the common people, that the Queene was deade, to the intent that ſhee taking ſome concepte of this ſtraunge fame, ſhoulde fall into ſome ſodaine ſickneſſe or grieuous maladie, and to proue if afterward ſhee ſhoulde fortune by that or anye other wayes to leaſe hir life, whether the people would impute hir death to the thought or ſickneſſe, or thereof would lay the blame to him.

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When the Queene heard tell that ſo horrible a rumor of hir death was ſprung amongeſt the communaltie, ſhe ſore ſuſpected & iudged the world to be almoſt at an ende with hir, and in that ſorowful agonie, ſhe with lamentable countenance and ſorrowfull cheare, repayred to the preſence of the king hir huſband, demaunding of him, what it ſhoulde meane that hee had iudged hir worthie to die. The king anſwered hir with fayre wordes, and with ſmiling and flattering leaſings comforted hir, and bidde hir bee of good cheare, for to his knowledge ſhe ſhould haue none other cauſe. But howſoeuer that it fortuned, either by inward thought and penſiueneſſe of heart, or by infection of poyſon (which is affyrmed to bee moſt likely) within few dayes after the Queene departed out of this tranſitorie life, and was with due ſolemnitie buried in the Church of S. Peter at Weſtminſter.

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This is the ſame Anne, one of the daughters of the Earle of Warwicke, which (as you haue heard before) at the requeſt of Lewes the French king, was maried to Prince Edwarde, ſonne to king Henrie the ſixth.

The king thus (according to his long deſire) loſed out of the bondes of matrimonie, began to caſt a fooliſh fantaſie to Ladie Elizabeth his neece, making much ſuyte to to haue hir ioyned wyth him in lawfull matrimonie. But bycauſe al men and the mayden hirſelfe moſt of all, deteſted and abhorred, this vnlawfull, and in maner vnnaturall copulation, hee determined to prolong and deferre yͤ matter, till he were in a more quietnes. For all that verie ſeaſon he was oppreſſed wyth great, weaightie, and vrgent cauſes, and buſineſſes on euerie ſide; conſidering that dayly part of the Nobilitie ſayled into Fraunce to the Earle of Richmond: Other priuily fauoured and ayded certaine of the coniuration, ſo that of hys ſhorte ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And the common people for the moſte part were brought to ſuch deſperation, that many of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of hys enimies, than to abyde the chaunce and hazarde to haue theyr goodes taken as a ſpoyle of victorie by his enimies.

Amongſt the noble men whom he moſt miſtruſted, theſe were the principall, Thomas lord Stanley, ſir William Stanley his brother, Gilbert Talbot, and ſix hundred other, of whoſe purpoſes although king Richard were not ignorant, yet he gaue neyther confidence nor credence to anye one of them, and leaſt of all to the Lorde Stanley, bycauſe hee was ioyned in matrimonie with the Ladie Margaret, mother to the Earle of Richmonde, as afterwarde apparantly yee may perceyue. For when the ſayde Lord Stanley woulde haue departed into his Countrey to viſite his familie, and to recreate and refreſh his ſpirites (as he openly ſayde) but the truth was, to the intent to be in a perfite readineſſe to receyue the Earle of Richmonde at his firſt arriuall in Englande: the king in no wiſe woulde ſuffer him to depart, before he had left as an hoſtage in the Court, George Stanley Lorde Straunge, his firſt begotten ſonne and heyre.

While king Richard was thus troubled and vexed with imaginations of the troublous tyme that was like to come: Lo, euen ſodenly he heard newes that fire was ſprung oute of the ſmoke, and the warre freſhly begonne, and that the Caſtell of Hammes was deliuered into the handes of the Earle of Richmonde, by the meanes of the Earle of Oxford, and that not onely he, but alſo Iames Blunt Captaine of the Caſtell, were fled into Fraunce to ayde the Earle Henrie. Wherefore he thinking it great policie to withſtande the firſt brunt, ſent the moſt part of the garniſon of Calais, to recouer againe by force the Caſtell of Hammes. They which were in the Caſtel perceyuing theyr aduerſaries to approche, prepared munitions and Engines for theyr defence, and ſent alſo to the Earle of Richmonde, to aduertiſe him of their ſodaine inuaſion, requiring him of haſtie ayde and ſpeedie ſuccor.

The Earle ſleeping not this firſt begonne aſſault, ſent the Earle of Oxforde, wyth an elected companie of Souldiours to rayſe the ſiege, and reſkue the Caſtell: whiche at theyr fyrſte arriuing, pitched their campe not farre from their enimies.

And while king Rychardes men gaue vigilant eye, wayting leaſt the Earle of Oxforde ſhoulde take any aduauntage of them that laye on that ſyde of the Caſtell, Thomas Brandon with thirtie approued men of warre by a mariſh whiche laye on the other ſide, entered into the Caſtell.

The Souldiours within greatly encouraged, and muche comforted by thys newe ſuccour and ayde, grieued the enimyes, by ſhooting from the walles more than they were accuſtomed to doe.

And they of the Caſtell vexed theyr enimies on the fore part: the Earle of Oxforde no leſſe moleſted and vnquieted them on the other part, whiche was the occaſion that King Richardes men offered of theyr owne mere motion, licence to all being within the Caſtel to depart in ſafety, with bagge and baggage, nothing excepted: whiche condition the Earle of Oxforde comming onelye for that purpoſe to delyuer his louing friendes out of all perill and daunger, and chiefely of all, his olde Hoſteſſe Jane Blunte, wife to James Blunte the Captaine, woulde in no wiſe forſake or refuſe: and ſo leauing the caſtell bare and vngarniſhed, both of vitaile and Artelerie, came ſafely to the Earle of Richmond ſoiourning in Paris.

During this time, King Richarde was credibly infourmed of his inquiſitours and eſpialles, that the Earle of Richmond was with long ſute in the Court of Fraunce ſore wearied, and deſyring great ayde, coulde obteyne ſmall reliefe: Inſomuch that all things went ſo farre backwards, that ſuche things as were with great diligence, and no leſſe deliberation purpoſed, and determined to be ſet forwarde, were nowe daſhed and ouerthrowne to the grounde.

King Richarde either being to light of credence, or ſeduced and deluded by his craftie taletellers, greatly reioyced as though he had obteyned the ouer hande of his enimies with triumphant victorie, and thought himſelfe neuer ſo ſurely deliuered of all feare and dreadfull imaginations, ſo that hee needed nowe no more once for that cauſe eyther to wake, or to breake his golden ſleepe. Wherefore hee called home againe his Shippes of warre, whiche hee had appoynted to keepe the narrowe Seas, and diſpatched all ſuche ſouldiours as he had deputed to keepe certaine garniſons, and to ſtoppe certaine paſſages (as you haue hearde before.) Yet leaſte he might for lacke of prouiſion be ſodainly trapped, he ſtraightly charged and gaue in commaundement to all noblemen, and eſpecially ſuche as inhabited neare to the ſea coaſt, and on the frontiers of Wales, that according to the vſage of the Countrey, they ſhoulde keepe diligent watche and ſtrong warde, to the intent that his aduerſaries in no wiſe ſhould haue any place oportune, eaſily to take lande, without defence or rebutting backe. For the cuſtome of yͤ Countrey adioining neare to the Sea is, (eſpeciallye in the tyme of warre) on euery hill or high place to erect a Beaken with a great Lanterne in the toppe, whiche may bee ſeene and diſcerned a great ſpace of. And when the noyſe is once bruyted that the enimies approche neare the lande, they ſodainelye putte fyre in the Lanternes, and make ſhoutes and outcryes from Towne to Towne, and from Village to Village. Some runne in poſt from place to place, admoniſhing the people to be readie to reſiſt the ieopardie, and defende the perill. And by this policie the fame is ſoone blowne to euerie Citie and Towne, inſomuch that aſwell the Citizens as the rurall people bee in ſhort ſpace aſſembled and armed to repulſe and put backe the newe arriued enimies.

Nowe to returne to our purpoſe, King Rychard thus ſomewhat eaſed of hys accuſtomed penſiueneſſe, beganne to be ſomewhat more meryer, and tooke leſſe thought and care for outward enimies than he was woont to doe, as who ſay, that hee with politique prouiſion ſhoulde withſtande the deſtinie whiche hoong ouer his heade, and was ordeyned in briefe tyme ſodainly to fall. Such is the force and puiſſance of diuine iuſtice, that euery man ſhall leſſe regarde, leſſe prouide, leſſe be in doubt of all things, when he is moſte neareſt puniſhment, and next to his miſchaunce for his offences and crymes.

About this ſeaſon, while the Earle of Richmonde was deſiring ayde of the Frenche kinge, certeyne noble men were there appoynted to rule the realme of Fraunce during the minoritie of King Charles, which amongſt themſelues were not of one opinion. Of which diſſention, Lewis Duke of Orleans was the chiefe ſtyrrer, which bycauſe hee had maryed Ladie Joane ſyſter to the French king, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and adminiſtration of the whole Realme. By reaſon of which controuerſie, no one man was ſuffered to rule all: wherefore the Earle of Richmonde was compelled to make ſuyte to euery one of the Counſaile ſeuerally one after another, requyring and deſiring them of aid and reliefe in his weightie buſineſſe, and ſo hys cauſe was prolonged and deferred.

During which time, Thomas Marques Dorcet, which was (as you haue heard) entiſed by his mother to returne againe into Englande, partly diſpayring in the good ſucceſſe of the Earle of Richmond, and partly ouercome and vanquiſhed with the fayre gloſing promiſes of king Richard: ſecretely in the night ſeaſon ſtale oute of Paris, and with all diligent expedition, tooke his iourney towarde Flaunders.

When relation of his departure was made to the erle of Richmond, and the other noble mẽ, no maruaile though they were aſtonied & greatly amaſed. Yet that notwithſtanding, they required of the French king, that it might bee lefull to them in his name, and by his commaundement, to take and ſtay their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counſaile, in what place within his realm and territorie ſo euer they coulde finde him. Which petition once obteyned, they ſent out Currours into euerye parte, amongſt whom Humfrey Cheyney playing the part of a good Bloudhound, followed the tract of the flier ſo euen by the ſent, that he ouertooke and apprehended him not farre from Compeigne, and ſo what with reaſon, and what with fayre promiſes, being perſwaded, he returned againe to his companions.

The Earle of Richmonde vnburdened of this miſaduenture, leaſt by lyngering of dayes, and prolonging of tyme, he might leaſe the great oportunitie of things to him offered and miniſtred: alſo leaſt hee ſhoulde further wounde and moleſt the myndes of hys faythfull and aſſured friendes, whiche dayly dyd expect and tarie for his comming, determyned no longer to protract and deferre the tyme, but wyth all diligence and celeritie to attempt hys begonne enterprice: and ſo obteyning of King Charles a ſmall crewe of men, and borrowing certaine ſummes of money of him, and of dyuerſe other hys pryuate friendes, (for the whiche hee left as debter, or more likelyer as a pledge or hoſtage) Lord Thomas Marques Dorſet (whome he halfe miſtruſted) and ſir John Bourchier, hee departed from the Frenche Courte, and came to the Citie of Roan.

While he taried there making prouiſion at Harflete in the mouth of the riuer of Seyne for all thinges neceſſary for his nauye, tidinges were brought to him that king Richarde being without children, and now Widower, entended ſhortly to marye the Ladie Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the Ladie Cicile hir ſiſter to a manne founde in a Clowde, and of an vnknowne lynage and familie. Hee tooke theſe newes as a matter of no ſmall moment (and ſo all things conſidered) it was of no leſſe importaunce than he tooke it for. For this thing onely tooke away from him and al his Companions theyr hope and courage, that they had to obteyne an happie enterpriſe. And therefore no marueyle though it nipped him at the verie ſtomacke: when he thought that by no poſſibilie hee might attaine the maryage of any of King Edwardes daughters, whiche was the ſtrongeſt foundation of his buylding, by reaſon whereof he iudged that al his friendes in England would abandon and ſhrinke from hym. Wherefore making not many of his counſaile, after diuerſe conſultations he determined not yet to ſet forwarde, but to tary and attempt howe to get more ayde, more friends, and more ſtronger ſuccors.

And amongſt all other, it was thought moſt expedient to allure by affinitie in his ayde as a companion in armes, ſir Walter Herbert, a man of an auncient ſtocke, and great power amongſt the Welchmen, whiche had with hym a fayre Lady to hys ſyſter, of age ripe to be coupled with him in matrimonie.

And for the atchieuing of this purpoſe, meſſengers were ſecretly ſent to Henrie erle of Northumberlande (which had before maried another ſiſter of ſir Walter Herbertes) to the intent that he ſhould ſet forward all this deuice and purpoſe, but the wayes were ſo narowly watched, and ſo many ſpyes layed, that the Meſſenger proceeded not in his iourney and buſineſſe. But in the meane ſeaſon, there came to the Earle a more ioyfull meſſage from Morgan Kidwelly, learned in the temporall law, whiche declared that Rice ap Thomas, a man of no leſſe valiauntneſſe than actiuitie, and John Sauage an approued Capitaine, woulde with all theyr power be partaker of his quarell. And that Reignolde Brey had collected and gotten togither no ſmall ſumme of money for the payment of the wages to the Souldiours and men of warre: admoniſhing him alſo to make quicke expedition, and to take his courſe directly into Wales.

The Earle of Richmonde bycauſe he would no longer lynger and wearie his friendes, liuing continually betweene hope and feare, determined in all conuenient haſt to ſet forwarde, and caried to his ſhips armor, weapons, vitaile, and al other ordinances expedient for warre.

After that all thing was in a readineſſe, the Earle being accompanied onely with two thouſande men, and a ſmall number of ſhippes, weyed vp his Ancors, and halſed vppe his ſayles in the Moneth of Auguſt, and ſayled from Harfleete with ſo proſperous a winde, that the ſeuenth day after his departure, hee arriued in Wales in the Euening, at a place called Mylforde Hauen, and incontinent tooke lande, and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard ſay that a certaine companie of his aduerſaries were layde in garriſon to defend his arriuall all the laſt winter. And the Earle at the Sunne riſing remoued to Herford weſt, being diſtant from Dalle not fully ten myles, where he was ioyfully receyued of the people, & he arriued there ſo ſodainly, that he was come and entred the Towne at the ſame time when the Citizens had but knowledge of hys comming.

Mylford Hauen

Here he herd newes which were as vntrue as they truely were reported to him in Normandy, that Rice ap Thomas, and John Sauage with bodie and goodes, were determined to ayde king Richard.

While he and his companie were ſomewhat aſtonied of theſe newe tydyngs, there came ſuch meſſage from the Inhabitauntes of the towne of Pembrooke, that refreſhed and reuiued theyr frozen heartes and daunted courages. For Arnolde Butler a valiaunt Captaine, whiche fyrſt aſking pardon for hys offences before tyme

And they of the Caſtell vexed theyr enimies on the fore part: the Earle of Oxforde no leſſe moleſted and vnquieted them on the other part, whiche was the occaſion that King Richardes men offered of theyr owne mere motion, licence to all being within the Caſtel to depart in ſafety, with bagge and baggage, nothing excepted: whiche condition the Earle of Oxforde comming onelye for that purpoſe to delyuer his louing friendes out of all perill and daunger, and chiefely of all, his olde Hoſteſſe Jane Blunte, wife to James Blunte the Captaine, woulde in no wiſe forſake or refuſe: and ſo leauing the caſtell bare and vngarniſhed, both of vitaile and Artelerie, came ſafely to the Earle of Richmond ſoiourning in Paris.

During this time, King Richarde was credibly infourmed of his inquiſitours and eſpialles, that the Earle of Richmond was with long ſute in the Court of Fraunce ſore wearied, and deſyring great ayde, coulde obteyne ſmall reliefe: Inſomuch that all things went ſo farre backwards, that ſuche things as were with great diligence, and no leſſe deliberation purpoſed, and determined to be ſet forwarde, were nowe daſhed and ouerthrowne to the grounde.

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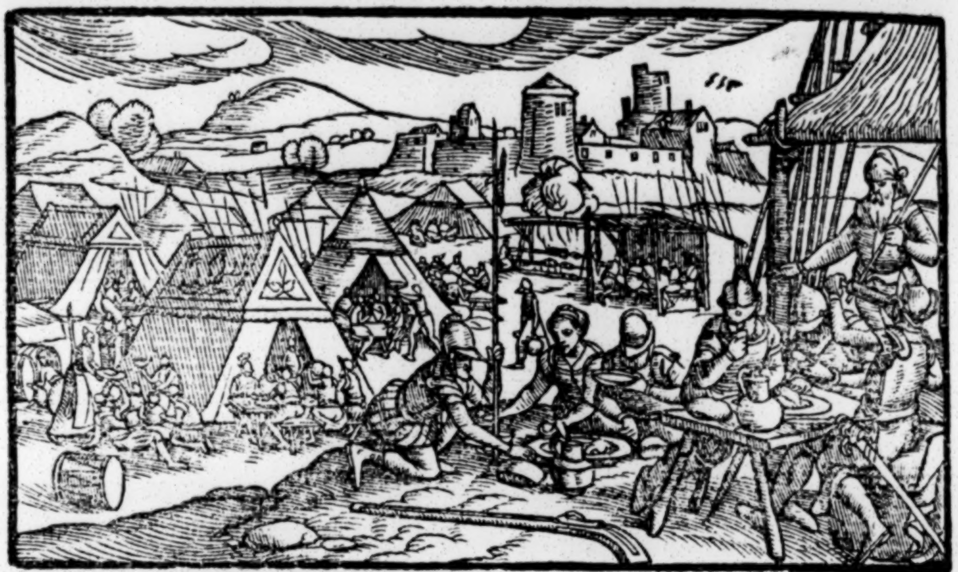
After that all thing was in a readineſſe, the Earle being accompanied onely with two thouſande men, and a ſmall number of ſhippes, weyed vp his Ancors, and halſed vppe his ſayles in the Moneth of Auguſt, and ſayled from Harfleete with ſo proſperous a winde, that the ſeuenth day after his departure, hee arriued in Wales in the Euening, at a place called Mylforde hauen, and incontinent tooke lande, and came to a place called Dalle, where he hearde ſay that a certaine companie of his aduerſaries were layde in garriſon to defend his arriuall all the laſt winter. And the Earle at the Sunne riſing remoued to Herford weſt, being diſtant from Dalle not fully ten myles, where he was ioyfully receyued of the people, & he arriued there ſo ſodainly, that he was come and entred the Towne at the ſame time when the Citizens had but knowledge of hys comming.

Mylford Hauen

Here he herd newes which were as vntrue as they truely were reported to him in Normandy, that Rice ap Thomas, and Iohn Sauage with bodie and goodes, were determined to ayde king Richard.

While he and his companie were ſomewhat aſtonied of theſe newe tydyngs, there came ſuch meſſage from the Inhabitauntes of the towne of Pembroke, that refreſhed and reuiued theyr frozen heartes and daunted courages. For Arnolde Butler a valiaunt Captaine, whiche fyrſt aſking pardon for hys offences before tyme committed agaynſt the Earle of Richmonde, and that obteyned, declared to hym that the Pembrochians were readie to ſerue and gyue theyr attendaunce on theyr naturall and immediate Lorde, Jaſper Earle of Pembrooke. The Earle of Richmonde hauing his armie thus encreaſed, departed from Herford weſt to the towne of Cardigan beeing fiue miles diſtaute from thence.

While the ſouldiours were refreſhing and trimming themſelues in their campe, ſtraunge tidings ſprong among them without any certain authour, that ſir Walter Herbert whiche lay wyth a great crewe of men at Carmarden, was nowe with a greate armie readie to approche and byd them battaile. With whiche newes the armie was ſore troubled, and euerie man aſſayed hys armure and proued his weapon, and were preſt to defende theyr enimies. And as they were in this fearefull doubt, certaine horſemen which the Earle had ſent to make inquirie and ſearche, returned and reported all the Countrey to be quiet, and no let nor impediment to be layde or caſt in their iourney.



And euen at the ſame time, the whole armie was greatlye recomforted, by reaſon that the comming of Richarde Griffyth, a man of great nobilitie, the which notwithſtãding that he was confederate with ſir Walter Herbert, and Richarde ap Thomas, yet at that verie inſtant he came to the Erle of Richmond with all his companie whiche were of no great number. After him the ſame day came John Morgan with hys men.

Then the Earle aduaunced forward in good haſt, making no repoſe or abode in any one place. And to the entent to paſſe forward with ſure and ſhorte expedition, he aſſaulted euerie place where his enimies had ſet any men of warre, whiche with ſmal force, and leſſe difficultie he briefly did ouercome and vanquiſhe. And ſodainly he was by his eſpials aſcertayned, that ſir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas were in harneſſe before him, readie to encounter with his armie, and to ſtoppe theyr paſſage. Wherfore like a valiant Captain, he firſt determined to ſet on them, and eyther to deſtroy or to take them into his fauour, and after with all his power and puiſſance to giue battaile to his mortal enimie K. Richard. But to the intent his friendes ſhoulde knowe in what readineſſe he was, & how he proceeded forward, he ſent of his moſt ſecret & faithfull ſeruãts with letters and inſtructions to the Ladie Margaret his mother, to the lord Stanley & his brother, to ſir Gilbert Talbot, and to other his truſty friends, declaring to them that he being ſuccored and holpen with the ayd and reliefe of his friends, intended to paſſe ouer the Riuer of Seuerne at Shrewesburie, and ſo to paſſe directly to the Citie of London, requiring them, as his ſpecial truſt and confidence was fixed in the hope of their fidelitie, that they woulde meete him by the way with all diligent preparation, to the entent that he and they at time and place conuenient, myght communicate togither the deepeneſſe of all hys doubtfull and weyghtie buſineſſe.

When the Meſſengers were diſpatched with theſe commaundements and admonitions, hee marched forward towarde Shrewſburie, and in his paſſing, there met and ſaluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bande of Welchmen, which making an oth and promiſe to the Earle, ſubmitted himſelfe wholy to his order and commaundement. For the Earle of Richmond two days before made to him promiſe, that if he wold ſweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he wold make him chief gouernor of Wales. which part as hee faythfully promiſed and graunted, ſo after that hee had obteyned and poſſeſſed the realme and Diademe, hee liberally perfourmed and accompliſhed the ſame.

In the meane time, the Meſſengers that were ſent diligently executed theyr charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whom they were ſent, returned to him the ſame day that hee entred into Shrewſburie, and made relation to him that his friends were readie in all poynts to do all things for him, which eyther they ought or might do.

The Erle Henrie brought in good hope with this pleaſant meſſage, continued forth his intended iourney, and came to a little Towne called Newporte, and pytching hys Campe on a little hyll adioyning, repoſed himſelfe there that night.

In the Euening the ſame day, came to him ſir Gylbert Talbot, with the whole power of the yong Earle of Shrewſbury than being in ward, which were accounted to the number of two thouſande men. And thus his power encreaſing, he arryued at the Towne of Stafforde, and there pawſed. To whome came ſir William Stanley, accompanied with a fewe perſons: and after that the Earle and hee had communed no long time togither, he reuerted to his Souldiers which he had aſſembled togither to ſerue the erle, which frõ thẽce departed to Lichfield, & lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning he entred into the towne, and was with all honor like a prince receyued.

A day or two before, the Lorde Stanley hauing in his bande almoſt fiue thouſand men, lodged in the ſame towne, but hearing that the erle of Richmonde was marching thitherward, gaue to him place, diſlodging him and his, and repayred to a towne called Aderſtone, there abiding the comming of the Earle, and this wilye Foxe did this acte to auoyde all ſuſpition, being afrayde leaſt if he ſhould be ſeene openly to bee a fautour or ayder to the Earle his ſonne in lawe before the day of the battayle, that king Richard, which yet did not vtterly putte in him diffidence and miſtruſt, woulde put to ſome cruell death hys ſon and heyre apparant George Lord Strange, whome King Richarde (as you haue hearde before) kept wyth him as a pledge or hoſtage, to the intent that the Lorde Stanley hys father, ſhoulde attempt nothing preiudiciall to him.

King Richarde at this ſeaſon keeping hys houſe in the Caſtell of Notingham, was informed that the Earle of Richmonde, with ſuch baniſhed men as fled out of Englande to him, were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all things neceſſary to his enterprice were vnprouided, vnpurueyed, and verie weake, nothing meete to withſtande the power of ſuche as the King had appoynted to meete him.

This rumor ſo inflated his minde, that in maner diſdayning to heare ſpeake of ſo ſmall a companie, determined at the firſt to take little or no regarde to this ſo ſmall a ſparcle, declaring the Earle to be innocent and vnwiſe, bycauſe that he raſhly attempted ſuch a great enterpriſe, with ſo ſmall and thinne a number of warlike perſons, and therefore he gaue a definitiue ſentence, that when he came to that poynt that he ſhoulde bee compelled to fight agaynſt his wyll, he eyther ſhould be apprehended aliue, or elſe by all likelyhoode he ſhoulde of neceſſitie come to a ſhamefull confuſion: and that he truſted to bee ſhortly done by ſir Walter Herbert, and Rice ap Thomas, which then ruled Wales with egall power and like authoritie. But yet he reuoluing and caſting in his minde, that a ſmall warre begonne and winked at and not regarded, may turn to a great broyle and trouble, and that it was prudent policie not to contemne and diſdaine the little ſmall power and weakeneſſe of the enimie, be it neuer ſo ſmall, thought it neceſſarie to prouide for afterclaps that myght happen and chaunce. Wherefore hee ſent to Iohn Duke of Norffolke, Henry Earle of Northumberlande, Thomas Earle of Surrey, and to other of his eſpeciall and truſtie friendes of the Nobilitie, which he iudged more to preferre and eſteeme his welth and honor than theyr owne ryches and pryuate commoditie, wylling them to muſter and view all theyr ſeruantes and tenants, and to elect and chooſe the moſt couragious and actiue perſons of the whole number, and with them to repayre to his preſence with all ſpeede and diligence. Alſo hee wrote to Robert Brakenburie Lieutenant of the Tower, commaunding him with his power to come to his armie, and to bring with him as fellowes in armes, Sir Thomas Bourchier, and ſir Walter Hungerford, and diuerſe other knights & eſquiers in whom he caſt no ſmall ſuſpition.

While he was thus ordring his affayres, tydings came that the Earle of Richmonde was paſſed Seuerne, and come to Shrewſburie without any detriment or encombraunce. At which meſſage he was ſore moued and broyled wyth Melancholie and dolour, and cryed out, aſking vengeance of them, that contrarie to theyr othe and promiſe had ſo deceyued him. For whiche cauſe he began to haue diffidence in other, inſomuch that he determined himſelfe oute of hande the ſame day to meete with and reſiſt hys aduerſaries. And in all haſte ſente out eſpialles to view and eſpie what waye his enimies kept and paſſed. They diligentlye doing theyr duetie, ſhortly after returned, declaring to the king that the Earle was encamped at the towne of Lichfielde.

When hee had perfite knowledge where the Earle with his armie was ſoiourning, he hauing continuall repayre of his ſubiectes to him, began incontinently without delay to marſhal and put in order his battayles (like a valiaunt Captayne and politike leader) and firſt he made his battails to ſet forward, fiue and fiue in a ranke, marching towarde that way where his enimies (as was to him reported) entended to paſſe. In the middle part of the armie hee appoynted the trafficke and cariage apperteyning to the armie.

Then he (enuironed wyth hys Garde) with a frowning countenaunce and cruell vyſage, mounted on a greate whyte Courſer, and followed with his footemenne, the wings of Horſemen coaſting and raunging on euerie ſyde: and keeping this array, hee with great pompe entred the Towne of Leyceſter after the Sunne ſet.

The Earle of Richmonde rayſed his campe, and departed from Lichfielde to the Towne of Tamworth thereto neare adioyning, and in the midde way paſſing, there ſaluted him ſir Walter Hungerforde, and ſir Thomas Bourchier, knightes, and dyuerſe other whiche yeelded and ſubmitted them to his pleaſure. For they beeing aduertiſed that king Richarde had thē in ſuſpitiō and iealouſie, a little beyonde ſtonie Stratforde left and forſooke priuily their Captaine Robert Brakenburie, and in wandring by night, and in maner by vnknowne pathes & vncertaine wayes ſearching, at the laſt came to Erle Henrie.

A ſtraunge chaunce that happened to the Earle of Richmonde.

Diuerſe other noble perſonages, whiche inwardly hated king Richard worſe than a Toad or a Serpent, did likewiſe reſort to him with all their power and ſtrength.

There happened in this progreſſion to the erle of Richmond a ſtrange chance worthie to be noted: for albeit he was a man of valiant courage, and that his armie encreaſed, and dayly more and more he waxed mightier & ſtronger, yet hee was not a little afeard, bicauſe he in no wiſe coulde be aſſured of his father in law Thomas Lord Stāley, which for feare of the deſtruction of the Lord Straunge his ſonne (as you haue herd) as yet inclined to neither partie. For if he had gone to the Earle, and that notified to king Richarde, hys ſonne had beene ſhortly executed. Wherefore he accompanyed wyth twentie lyght horſemen lyngered in hys iourney, as a manne muſing and ymagyning what was beſt to bee done. And the more to aggrauate his penſiueneſſe, it was ſhewed hym, that King Richarde was at hande, with a ſtrong power and a greate armie.

While he thus heauily dragged behinde hys hoſt, the whole armie came before the Towne of Tamworth, and when hee for the deepe darkeneſſe could not perceyue the ſteppes of them that paſſed on before, and had wandered hither and thither, ſeeking after his companie, and yet not once hearing any noyſe or whiſpering of them, he turned to a verie little Village, being about three myles from his armie, taking great thought, and muche fearing leaſt he ſhoulde be eſpyed, and ſo trapped by king Richardes ſkoutewatch. There hee taryed all nyght, not once aduenturing to aſke or demaunde a queſtion of any creature, hee beeing no more amazed with the ieopardie and perill that was paſſed, than with thys preſent chaunce, ſore feared that it ſhoulde be a prognoſtication or ſigne of ſome infortunate plague afterwarde to ſucceede. As hee was not merie being abſent from his armie, likewiſe hys armie much marueyled, and no leſſe mourned for hys ſodaine abſence.

The next morning early in the dawning of the day he returned, and by the conduct of good fortune, eſpied and came to his armie, excuſing himſelfe, not to haue gone out of the way by ignorance, but yͭ for a policie deuiſed for the nonce, he went from his campe to receyue ſome glad meſſage from certaine of hys priuie friendes and ſecret alyes.

This excuſe made, he priuily departed again from his hoſt to the Towne of Aderſtone, where the Lorde Stanley and ſir William his brother with their bandes were abyding. There the Earle came firſt to his father in lawe, in a lyttle Cloſe where he ſaluted him, and ſir William his brother, and after dyuerſe and many friendlye embracinges, eche reioyced of the ſtate of other, and ſodainly were ſurpriſed with great ioy, comfort, and hope of fortunate ſucceſſe in all their affayres and doings.

Afterwarde, they conſulted togyther howe to gyue battayle to king Richarde if he would abide, whom they knew not to be farre off with an huge hoſt.

In the Euening of the ſame day, Sir John Sauage, ſir Brian Sanforde, Sir Simon Digby, and many other, leauing King Richard, turned and came to the part of the Earle of Richemonde, with an electe companie of men. Which refuſall of King Richardes parte, by menne of ſuche experience, did augment and encreaſe both the good hope, and the puiſſaunce of the Earle of Richmond.

In the meane ſeaſon, King Richard (which was appoynted now to finiſh his laſt labour by the verie diuine iuſtice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne puniſhment for his miſchieuous deſertes) marched to a place meete for two battails to encounter, by a village called Boſworth, not farre from Leyceſter, and there he pitched his field on a hill called Anne Beame, refreſhed hys Souldiours and tooke his reſt.

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The ſame wente, that he had the ſame night a dreadfull and a terrible dreame, for it ſeemed to him beyng a ſleepe, that he did ſee dyuers ymages lyke terrible deuyls, whyche pulled and haled hym, not ſuffering him to take any quiet or reſt. The whiche ſtraunge viſion not ſo ſodaynly ſtrake his hearte wyth a ſodayne feare, but it ſtuffed his heade and troubled his mynde wyth many buſy and dreadfull imaginations. For incontinent after, his heart beyng almoſte damped, he pronoſticated before the doubtefull chaunce of the battayle to come, not vſing the alacritie and mirth of mynde and of countenance as he was accuſtomed to doe before he came toward the battayle. And leaſt that it myghte bee ſuſpected that he was abaſhed for fear of his enimies, and for that cauſe looked ſo piteouſly, hee recited and declared to his familiar friends in the mornyng, his wounderfull viſyon and fearefull dreame. But I thynke thys was no dreame, but a punction and pricke of hys ſinfull conſcience, for the conſcience is ſo muche more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater and more heynous in degree, whyche pricke of conſcience, although it ſtryke not alway, yet at the laſte daye of extreme lyfe, it is wonte to ſhewe and repreſente to vs oure faultes and offences, and the paynes and puniſhementes whych hang ouer our heads for the committing of the ſame, to the intente that at that inſtant, wee for oure deſertes beyng penitent and repentaunt, maye be compelled lamenting and bewayling our ſins lyke forſakers of this worlde, iocunde to depart out of this miſerable lyfe.

Nowe to returne agayne to our purpoſe, the nexte daye after, kyng Richard beyng furniſhed with men and all abiliments of warre, bringing all his men out of their campe into the playne, ordered his forewarde in a meruaylous lengthe, in whyche he appointed both horſemen and footmen, to the intent to imprinte in the harts of thẽ that looked a farre off, a ſodaine terror and deadly feare, for the greate multitude of the armed ſouldiours: and in the fore fronte hee placed the Archers, lyke a ſtrong fortifyed trenche or bulwarke: Ouer this battayle was captaine, John duke of Norffolke, with whome was Thomas Erle of Surrey his ſonne. After this long vantgarde, folowed king Richarde hymſelfe, with a ſtrong companie of choſen and approued men of warre, hauing horſemen for wings on both the ſides of his battayle.

After that the Earle of Richmonde was departed from the communication of his friendes, as you haue heard before, he began to be of a better ſtomacke, and of a more valiante courage, and with all diligence, pitched his field iuſt by the campe of his enimies, and there he lodged yͤ night.

In the morning betime, he cauſed his men to put on theyr armoure, and apparrell themſelues ready to fight and giue battayle, and ſent to the Lord Stanley (which was now come with hys band in a place indifferent betweene both the armies) requiring him with his men to approche neere to his army, and to helpe to ſet the ſoldiers in array, hee anſwered that the Earle ſhoulde ſet his owne men in a good order of battaile, whyle he would array his company, and come to hym in time conuenient. Whiche annſwere made otherwiſe than the Earle thought or would haue iudged, conſidering the opportunitie of the tyme, and the weight of the buſineſſe, and although hee was therewithal a little vexed, began ſomewhat to hang the head, yet he without any time delaying, compelled of neceſſitie, after this manner inſtructed and ordered his men. He made his foreward ſomewhat ſingle and ſlender, according to the ſmall number of his people.

In the frount he placed the archers, of whome he made Captayne John Earle of Oxford. To the right wing of the battaile, he appoynted Sir Gilberte Talbot to be the leader. To the lefte wing, hee aſſigned Sir John Sauage, who had broughte thither with him a crewe of righte able perſonages, cladde in white coates and hoodes, whiche muſtered in the eyes of their aduerſaries right brimly. The Earle of Richmond himſelfe, with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley, gouerned the battaile, accompanyed with the Earle of Pembroke, hauing a good companie of horſemen; and a ſmall number of footemenne: For all hys whole number exceeded not fiue thouſand men, beſide the power of the Stanleys, whereof three thouſand were in the fielde, vnder the Standerd of Sir William Stanley: The Kings number was double ſo much and more. When bothe theſe armies were thus ordered, and all men ready to ſet forward, king Richard called his chieftaines togither, and to them ſaide: Moſt faithful and aſſured fellowes, moſt truſtie and wel beloued friendes, and elected Captaynes, by whoſe wiſedome and policye I haue obteyned the Crowne, and type of this famous Realme, and noble region: by whoſe puiſſance and valiantnes I haue enioyed and poſſeſſed the ſtate royall and dignitie of the ſame, maugre the ill will, and ſeditious attemptes of all my cancred enimies, and inſidious aduerſaries, by whoſe prudent and politike cõuſaile, I haue ſo gouerned my realme, people, & ſubiectes, that I haue omitted nothing apperteyning to the office of a iuſt Prince, nor you haue pretermitted nothing belonging to the ductie of wiſe and ſage counſailers. So that I may ſay, and truely affirme, that your approued fidelitie and tried conſtancy, maketh mee to beleeue firmly, and thinke that I am an vndoub-

The Oration of K. Richard the third.

ted King, and an indubitate Prince. And although in the adeption and obteyning of yͤ Garland, I beeyng ſeduced, and prouoked by ſiniſter counſaile, and diabolicall temptation, did commit a wicked and deteſtable acte. Yet I haue with ſtraite penaunce and ſalt teares (as I truſt) expiated and cleerely purged the ſame offence, which abhominable crime I require you of frẽdſhip as cleerely to forget, as I dayly remember to deplore and lament the ſame. If ye will nowe diligently call to remembraunce in what caſe & perplexitie we now ſtand, and in what doubtfull perill we be nowe intricked: I doubt not, but you in heart will thinke, and with mouthe confeſſe, that if euer amitie and faith preuailed betweene Prince and ſubiectes, or betweene ſubiect and ſubiect: or if euer bond of alegiãce obliged the vaſſail to loue and ſerue his naturall ſoueraigne Lord, or if any obligation of duetie bounde anye Prince to aide and defend his ſubiectes? All theſe loues, bondes, and ducties of neceſſitie are now thys daye to bee tryed, ſhewed and put in experience. For if wiſe men ſaye true, there is ſome policie in getting, but muche more in keeping, the one being but fortunes chaũce, and the other high witte and policie, for whiche cauſe, I with you, and you with me, muſt needs this day take labour and payne, to keepe & defend with force, that preheminence and poſſeſſion, which by your prudente deuiſes I haue gotten and obteyned. I doubt not but you know, how the Deuill continuall enimie to humane nature, diſturber of cõcord, and ſower of ſedition, hath entred into the heart of an vnknowen Welchman, (whoſe father I neuer knew, nor him perſonally ſaw) exciting him to aſpire and couet oure Realme, Crowne, and dignitie, and thereof cleerely to depriue and ſpoyle vs and our poſteritie: ye ſee farther, howe a companie of traytors, theeues, outlawes, and runnegates of our owne nation, be aiders and partakers of his feate and enterpriſe, ready at hand to ouercome and oppreſſe vs: You ſee alſo, what a number of beggerly Britaines and faint harted frenchmen be with him arriued to deſtroy vs, our wiues and children. Whyche imminent miſchiefes and apparante inconueniences, if we will withſtand and refell, wee muſte liue togither like brethren, fighte togither lyke Lions, and feare not to die togither like menne. And obſeruing and keeping this rule and precept, beleeue mee, the fearefull hare neuer fled faſter before the greedy greyhounde, nor the ſillie larke before yͤ ſparowhauke, nor the ſimple ſheepe before the rauenous wolf, than your proud bragging aduerſaries aſtonied and amaſed with the only ſight of your manly viſages, wil flee, runne, and ſkyr out of the field. For if you conſider and wiſely ponder all things in your minde, you ſhal perceyue, that we haue manifeſt cauſes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victory.

And to begyn with the Earle of Richmonde capitayne of this rebellion, he is a Welſh milkeſoppe, a man of ſmall courage and of leſſe experience in martiall actes and feates of Warre, broughte vp by my brothers meanes and myne lyke a captiue in a cloſe cage in the court of Frãcis duke of Britayn, and neuer ſawe armie, nor was exerciſed in martiall affayres, by reaſon whereof he neyther can nor is able by his owne will or experience to guyde or rule an hoſte. For in the witte and policie of the capitayn, conſiſteth the chiefe adeption of the victorie & ouerthrow of the enimies. Secondarily feare not, and put awaye all doubtes, for when the traytoures and runagates of our realme, ſhall ſee vs with banner diſplayed come againſt them, remembryng their othe, promyſe and fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their ſoueraigne lorde and anoynted king, they ſhal be ſo pricked & ſtimulate in the bottome of their ſcrupulous conſciences, that they for very remorſe and dread of the diuine plague, wil either ſhamefully flee, or humbly ſubmit themſelues to our grace and mercie. And as for the Frenchmẽ and Britons, their valiantneſſe is ſuch, that our noble progenitors, and your valiant parẽts haue them oftner vanquiſhed & ouercome in one moneth, thã they in the beginnining imagined poſſible to cõpaſſe and finiſh in a whole yere. What wil you make of them, braggers without audacitie, drunkards without diſcretiõ, ribalds without reaſon, cowards without reſiſting, & in cõcluſion, the moſt effeminate and laſciuious people, yͭ euer ſhewed themſelues in front of batail, tentymes more couragious to flee & eſcape, than once to aſſault the breaſt of our ſtrõg & populous armie. Wherfore conſidering all theſe auauntages, expell out of your thoughts all doubts, and auoyd out of your myndes all feare, and like valiant champions auaunce forth your ſtanderdes, and aſſay whether your enimies can decide and try the title of battaile by dint of ſword, auaunce (I ſay agayne) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither policie, wiſedome, nor puiſſance. Euery one giue but one ſure ſtripe, and ſurely the iourney is ours. What preuayleth a hãdful to a whole realm? deſiring you for the loue that you beare to me, and the affection that you haue to your natiue and naturall countrey, & to the ſafegard of your Prince and your ſelf, that you wyl this day take to you your accuſtomed corage & couragious ſpirites, for the defence and ſafegard of vs al. And as for me, I aſſure you, this day I wil triumph by glorious victorie, or ſuffer death for immortal fame. For they be maymed & oute of the palace of fame diſgraded, dying without renowne, which do not aſmuche preferre and exalte the perpetuall honour of their natiue countrey, as their owne mortall and tranſitorie lyfe.

Now ſent George to borow, let vs ſet forwarde and remember well, that I am hee whiche ſhall with high aduancementes, rewarde and preferre the valiaunt and hardy champions, and puniſhe and torment the ſhamefull cowards and dreadfull daſtardes. This exhortation encouraged all ſuch as fauoured him, but ſuche as were preſente more for dread than loue, kiſſed them openly, whome they inwardlye hated, other ſware outwardly to take part with ſuch, whoſe death they ſecretely compaſſed, and inwardly imagined, other promiſed to inuade the Kinges enimies, whiche fledde and fought with fierce courage againſt the King: other ſtoode ſtill and looked on, intēding to take part with the victors and ouercommers. So was his people to him vnſure and vnfaithful at his end, as he was to his nephewes vntrue and vnnaturall in his beginning.

When the Earle of Richmond knew by hys forriders that the King was ſo neere embattayled, he rode about his army, from ranke to ranke, from wing to wing, giuing comfortable words to all men, and that finiſhed (being armed at all peeces ſauing his helmette) mounted on a little hill, ſo that all his people mighte ſee and beholde him perfectly, to their greate reioycing: For hee was a mā of no great ſtature, but ſo formed and decorated with all giftes and liniaments of nature, that he ſeemed more an Angelicall creature, than a terreſtriall perſonage, his countenaunce and aſpect was cheerefull and couragious, hys heare yellow like the burniſhed golde, hys eyes gray ſhining and quicke, prompte and ready in aunſwering, but of ſuche ſobrietie, that it coulde neuer be iudged whither he were more dull than quicke in ſpeaking (ſuch was his temperaunce.) And when he had ouerlooked his army ouer euery ſide, he pawſed awhile, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde ſpirit, ſpake to his companyons theſe or like words following.

tion Hen- ueth.

If euer God gaue victorie to men fighting in a iuſt quarrell, or if he euer aided ſuche as made warre for the wealth and tuition of theyr owne naturall and nutritiue Countrey, or if hee euer ſuccoured them whiche aduentured their lyues for the reliefe of innocentes, ſuppreſſing of malefactors and apparante offendors, no doubte my fellowes and friendes, but hee of his bountifull goodneſſe, will this day ſend vs triumphant victorie, and a luckie iourney ouer our prowde enemies, and arrogant aduerſaries: for if you remēber and conſider the very cauſe of our iuſt quarrell, you ſhall apparantly perceyue the ſame to be true, godly, and vertuous. In the whiche I doubt not, but God will rather ayde vs (yea and fight for vs) than ſee vs vanquiſhed and ouerthrowē by ſuch as neither fear him nor his laws, nor yet regard iuſtice or honeſtie. Our cauſe is ſo iuſt, that no enterpriſe can be of more vertue, both by the lawes diuine and ciuill, for what can be a more honeſt, goodly, or godly quarrell, than to fight againſt a Captaine, being an homicyde and murtherer of his owne bloud or progenie, an extreame deſtroyer of his nobilitie, and to hys and our Countrey and the poore ſubiectes of the ſame, a deadly malle, a fyrie brand, and a burthen vntollerabl. Beſyde him conſider, who bee of hys band and company, ſuch as by murther and vntrueth committed againſt their owne kinne and linage, yea againſt their Prince and ſoueraigne Lord, haue diſherited mee and you, and wrongfully deteyne and vſurp our lawfull patrimonie and lyneall inheritance. For he that calleth hym ſelfe King, keepeth from me the Crowne and regimente of this noble Realme and Countrey, contrarie to all iuſtice and equitie. Likewiſe, hys mates and friendes occupie youre landes, cutte downe your woods, and deſtroy your manours, letting your wiues and children raunge abroade for theyr liuing: which perſons for their penance and puniſhmente I doubt not, but God of hys goodneſſe will eyther deliuer into our hands, as a greate gaine and booty, or cauſe them beeyng greeued and compuncted with the pricke of theyr corrupt conſciences cowardly to flie, and not abide the battaile: beſide this I aſſure you, that there be yonder in the great battaile, men brought thither for feare, and not for loue, ſouldyers by force compelled, and not with good will aſſembled, perſons which deſire rather the deſtruction than ſaluation of theyr maiſter and Captayne: And finally a multitude, whereof ẏ moſt part will be our friends, and the leaſt part our enimies. For truely I doubt which is greater, the malice of the Soldyers toward theyr Captaine, or the feare of him conceyued of his people: for ſurely this rule is infallible, that as ill men dayly couet to deſtroy the good, ſo God appointeth the good men to confound the ill. and of all worldly goodes the greateſt is, to ſuppreſſe Tyrants, and relieue innocents, whereof the one is as much hated, as the other is beloued. If thys be true (as Clearkes Preache) who will ſpare yonder Tyrant Richarde Duke of Glouceſter, vntruely calling himſelfe King, conſidering that hee hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God and man? what vertue is in him whyche was the confuſion of his brother, and murtherer of his nephewes? what mercy is in him that ſleieth his truſtie friends as well as his extreame enimies? Who can haue confidence in hym whiche putteth diffidence in all menne? If you haue not red, I haue heard of Clearkes ſay, ẏ Tarquine the proude for the vice of the body loſt the Kingdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquine baniſhed the Citie for euer: yet was not hys fault faulte ſo deteſtable as the facte of cruell Nero, whiche ſlewe his owne mother, and opened hyr entrayles, to beholde the place of his conception: Behold yõder Richard, which is both Tarquine and Nero: Yea a Tyrant more than Nero, for he hath not only murthered his nephewe beeyng his King and ſoueraigne Lorde, baſtarded hys noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of hys vertuous and womanly mother, but alſo compaſſed all the meanes and wayes that he coulde inuent, howe to defile and carnally knowe hys owne neece, vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimonie, whiche Lady I haue ſworne and promiſed to take to my make and wife, as you all knowe and beleeue. If this cauſe be not iuſt, and this quarell godly, let God the giuer of victory, iudge and determine. We haue (thankes bee gyuen to Chriſt) eſcaped the ſecret treaſons in Britaine, and auoyded the ſubtill ſnares of our fraudulent enimies there, paſſed the troublous Seas in good and quiet ſafegard, and without reſiſtãce haue penetrate the ample region and large coũtrey of Wales, and are now come to the place, whiche wee ſo muche deſired, for long wee haue ſoughte the furious Bore, and nowe wee haue found him. Wherefore let vs not feare to enter into the toyle where we may ſurely ſley him, for God knoweth that we haue liued in the vales of miſerie, toſſing oure Shippes in daungerous ſtormes: lette vs not nowe dread to ſet vp oure ſailes in faire weather, hauing with vs both him and good fortune. If wee hadde come to conquer Wales and had atchieued it, our prayſe had bin great, and our gayne more: but if wee win thys battayle, the whole riche Realme of Englande, with the Lords and rulers of the ſame, ſhall bee ours, the profit ſhall be ours, and the honour ſhall be ours. Therefore laboure for youre gaine, and ſweate for youre right: while wee were in Brytayne, we had ſmall liuings, and little plentie of wealth or welfare, nowe is the time come to get abundance of riches, and copy of profit, whyche is the reward of your ſeruice, and merit of youre payne. And this remember with your ſelues, that before vs be our enimies, and on eyther ſyde of vs be ſuche, as I neyther ſurely truſte, nor greatly beleeue, backwarde we cannot flie: So that heere wee ſtand lyke Sheepe in a folde, circumcepted and compaſſed betweene our enimies and our doubtfull friends. Therefore let all feare bee ſet aſide, and like ſworne brethren, lette vs ioyne in one, for this day ſhall bee the end of oure trauayle, and the gaine of our laboure, eyther by honorable death or famous victorie: And as I truſt, the battayle ſhall not bee ſo ſowre, as the profit ſhall bee ſweete. Remember that victorie is not gotten with the multitude of menne, but with the courages of heartes and valiantneſſe of mindes. The ſmaller that our number is, ỹ more glory is to vs if we vanquiſh, if we be ouercome, yet no laude is to bee attributed, to the victors, conſidering that ten men foughte againſte one: and if wee ſo die ſo glorious a death in ſo good a quarell, neyther freting tinne, nor cancardyng obliuion, ſhall bee able to darken or race oute of the booke of fame either oure names, or oure godly attempt. And this one thing I aſſure you, that in ſo iuſt and good a cauſe, and ſo notable a quarell, you ſhall finde mee this daye, rather a dead carrion vpon the colde grounde, than a free priſoner on a carpet in a Ladyes chamber. Let vs therefore fight like inuincible Giants, and ſet on our enimies like vntimorous Tygers, and baniſhe all feare like ramping Lyons. And now aduance forwarde true men againſt Traitors, pitifull perſons againſt murtherers, true inheritors againſte vſurpers, the ſcourges of God againſte tyraunts, diſplay my baner with a good courage, march forth like ſtrong and robuſtious champions, and begin the battaile like hardye conquerors: the battaile is at hande, and the victorie approcheth, and if we ſhamefully recule, or cowardly flee, we and all our ſequele be deſtroyed, and diſhonored for euer. This is the daye of gayne, and this is the time of loſſe, get this daye victorie, and bee conquerers, and leſe this dayes battayle and bee villaynes, and therefore in the name of God and Saint George, let euery man couragiouſly aduance forth his ſtanderd.

Theſe cheerefull words he ſet forth with ſuch geſture of his body, and ſmiling countenaunce, as though already he hadde vanquiſhed his enimies, and gotten the ſpoyle.

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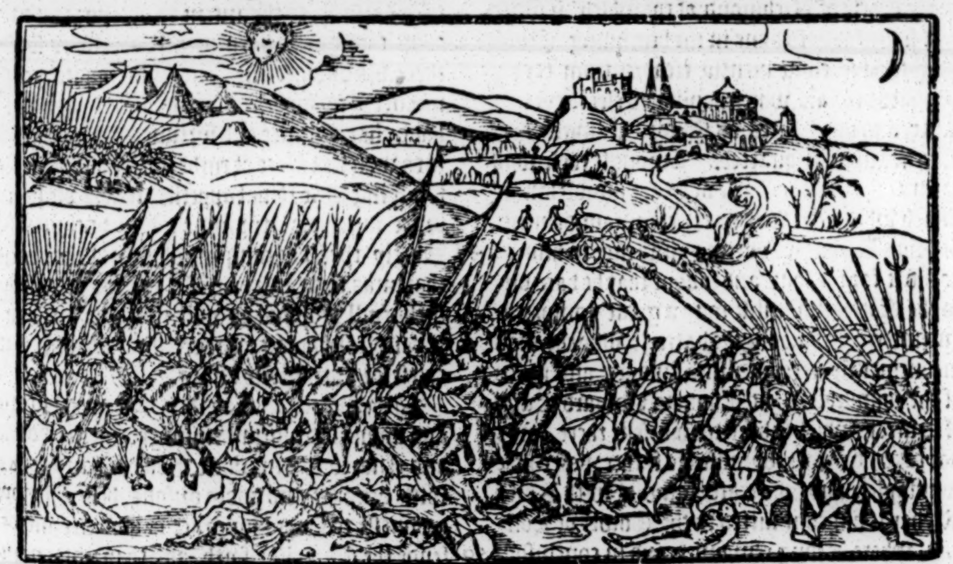
He hadde ſcantly finiſhed his ſaying, but the one army eſpyed the other, lord howe haſtely the ſoldiers buckled their healmes, howe quickly the archers bente their bowes and fruſhed their feathers, how readily the bilmen ſhoke their billes, and proued their ſtaues, ready to approche and ioyne, when the terrible trumpet ſhoulde ſounde the bloudy blaſt to victorie or death. Betweene both armies, ther was a great marreſſe then (but at this preſent, by reaſon of diches caſt, it is growen to be firme ground) which ỹ Earle of Richmond left on his right hand, for this intent, that it ſhould be on that ſide a defence for hys parte, and in ſo doing, he hadde the ſunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When Kyng Richard ſawe the Earles companie was paſſed the marreſſe, he commaunded with all haſt to ſet vppon them: then the trumpettes blewe, and the ſoldiers ſhowted, and the Kings archers couragiouſly let flie their arrowes, the Earles bowmẽ ſtode not ſtill, but payed them home agayne. The terrible ſhot once paſſed, the armies ioyned, and came to handſtrokes, where neyther ſword nor bill was ſpared: at whiche encounter, the L. Stanley ioyned with the Earle. The Earle of Oxford in the meane ſeaſon, fearing leaſt whyle his company was fighting, they ſhould be compaſſed and circumuented with the multitude of the enimies, gaue commaundemente in euerye ranke, that no man ſhould be ſo hardy, as goe aboue tenne foote from the ſtandard, which commaundemente once knowen, they knitte themſelues togither, and ceaſſed a little from fighting: the aduerſaries ſuddaynely abaſhed at the matter, and miſtruſting ſome fraude or deceyte, began alſo to pauſe, and lefte ſtriking, and not againſt the willes of many, whiche had leuer haue had the King deſtroyed, than ſaued, and therfore they foughte very fayntly, or ſtoode ſtill. The Earle of Oxforde bringing all his band togyther on the one parte, ſet on his enimies freſhely againe: the aduerſaries perceyuing that, placed their men ſlender and thinne before, and thycke and broad behinde, beginning againe hardely the battayle. While yͤ two forwardes thus mortally fought, eache intending to vanquiſh and conuince the other, King Richard was admoniſhed by his exploratours and eſpials, that the Earle of Richmond accompanyed with a ſmall number of men of armes, was not farre off, and as he approched and marched toward him, he perfectly knewe his perſonage, by certayne demonſtrations and tokens, which hee had learned and knowen of other. And beeing inflamed with ire, and vexed with outragious malice, he putte hys ſpurres to his Horſe, and rode out of the ſyde of the range of his battayle, leauing the auantgarde fighting, and like a hungrye Lion, ranne with ſpeare in reſt toward him. The Earle of Richmond perceyued well the King furiouſlye comming towarde him, and bycauſe the whole hope of his wealth and purpoſe was to be determined by battayle, he gladly profered to encoũter with him body to body, and man to man. K. Richard ſet on ſo ſharply at the firſte brunt, that hee ouerthrewe the Earles Standerd, and ſlewe Sir William Brandon his Standard bearer (which was father to Sir Charles Brandon by King Henry the eyghte, created Duke of Suffolke: and matched hand to hand with ſir John Cheynie, a man of greate force and ſtrengthe, which would haue reſiſted him, and yͤ ſaid John was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and ſo hee making open paſſage by dint of ſworde as hee went forward, the Erle of Richmond withſtood his violence, and kept him at the ſwords poynt, without aduantage, longer than his companiõs either thought or iudged, which being almoſt in deſpaire of victory, were ſuddaynely recomforted by ſir Williã Stanley, whyche came to his ſuccours with three thouſand tall men, at which very inſtant, King Richards men were driuen backe and fledde, and he himſelfe manfully fighting in the middle of his enimies, was ſlaine and broght to his death as he worthily had deſerued.



In the meane ſeaſon, the Earle of Oxforde, with the ayde of the Lorde Stanley, after no long fight, diſcomfited the forward of King Richard, whereof a greate number were ſlayne in the chaſe and fight, but yͤ greateſt number which (compelled by feare of the King and not of theyr meere voluntarie motion) came to the field, gaue neuer a ſtroke, & hauing no harme nor damage, ſafely departed, whiche came not thither in hope to ſee the king proſper and preuayle, but to heare that hee ſhoulde be ſhamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battayle dyed fewe aboue the number of a thouſande perſons: And of the nobilitie were ſlayne John Duke of Norffolke, whyche was warned by diuers to refraine from yͤ fielde, in ſo muche that the night before he ſhoulde ſette forwarde towarde the King, one wrote on hys gate.

Jacke of Norffolke be not to bolde
For Dikon thy maſter is boughte and ſolde.

Yet al this notwithſtãding, he regarded more his othe, his honor and promiſe made to Kyng Richard, lyke a Gentleman & as a faithfull ſubiect to his Prince, abſented not himſelfe from his maiſter, but as he faithfully liued vnder him, ſo he manfully dyed with him, to his greate fame and laude.

There were ſlayne beſyde hym, Water Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richarde Radcliffe, and Roberte Brakenburie, Lieutenante of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen moe. Sir William Cateſbey, learned in the lawes of the Realme, and one of the chiefe counſaylers to the late King, with diuers other, were two days after beheaded at Leyceſter. Amongſt them that ran away, were Sir Francis Vicount Louell, and Humfrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother, whiche toke Sanctuary in Saincte Johns at Glouceſter. Of captiues and priſoners there was a great number, for after the death of King Richard was knowen and publiſhed, euery man in manner vnarming himſelfe, and caſting away his abilimentes of warre, meekely ſubmitted themſelues to the obeyſance and rule of the Earle of Richmond: of the which, yͤ more part had gladly ſo done in the beginning, if they mighte haue conueniently eſcaped from Kyng Richards eſpials, which hauing as cleere eyes as Linx, and open eares as Mydas, raunged and ſearched in euery quarter. Amongſt theſe was Henrye the fourth, Earle of Northumberlande, which whether it was by the commaundemente of King Richarde, putting diffidence in him, or he did it for the loue and fauour that he bare vnto the Earle, ſtoode ſtill with a great company, and intermitted not in the battaile, whyche was incontinently receyued into fauoure, and made of the counſayle. But Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, which ſubmitted himſelfe there, was not taken to grace, bycauſe his father was chiefe counſayler, and hee greatly familiar with Kyng Richard, but committed to the Tower of London, where he long remayned, and in concluſion deliuered, and for his trueth and fidelitie after promoted to high honors, offices and dignities. On the Earle of Richmondes part, were ſlayne ſcarce one hundred perſons, amongſt whom the principal was Sir William Brãdon his ſtanderd bearer.

This battaile was foughte at Boſworth in Leyceſterſhire, the two and twentith daye of Auguſt, in the yeare of our redemption. 1485. the whole conflicte endured litle aboue two houres.

King Richard as the fame went, mighte haue eſcaped and gotten ſafegard by fleeing. For whẽ they which were next about his perſon ſaw and perceyued at the firſte ioyning of the battayle the ſouldiers fayntly and nothing couragiouſly to ſet on their enimies, and not only that, but alſo that ſome withdrewe themſelues priuily out of the preaſe and departed, they began to ſuſpect fraude and to ſmell treaſon, and not only exhorted, but determinately aduiſed him to ſaue himſelfe by flight: and when the loſſe of the battaile was imminent and apparãt, they brought to him a ſwift and a light horſe, to conuey hym away.

He whiche was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the commõ people bare toward him, caſting away all hope of fortunate ſucceſſe and happie chance to come, aunſwered (as men ſay) that on that day he would make an ende of all battailes, or elſe there finiſhe his life. Suche a great audacitie and ſuch a ſtout ſtomacke raigned in his body, for ſurely he knew that to be the day in the which it ſhould be decided and determined whither he ſhould peaceably obteyne and enioy his kingdome during his life, or elſe vtterly forgoe and be depriued of the ſame, with whiche to much hardineſſe, he being ouercome, haſtily cloſed his helmet, and entred fiercely into the hard battaile, to the intent to obteyne that daye a quiet raigne and regimente, or elſe to finiſhe there his vnquiet life, and vnfortunate gouernaunce. And ſo this miſer at yͤ ſame very pointe, hadde like chaunce and fortune, as happeneth to ſuch which in place of right iuſtice and honeſtie, folowing their ſẽſual appetite, loue, & vſe to embrace miſchiefe, tyrannie, and vnthriftneſſe. Surely theſe be examples of more vehemencie, than mãs tong can expreſſe, to feare and aſtone ſuche euill perſons, as will not lyue one houre vacant from doing and exerciſing crueltie, miſchiefe, or outragious liuing.

When the Earle had thus obteyned victorie, and ſlayne his mortall enimie, he kneeled downe and rendred to almightie God his harty thãks, with deuoute and godly oriſons, beſeeching hys goodneſſe to ſende him grace to aduance and defende the Catholike faith, and to mainteyne iuſtice and concord amongſt his ſubiectes and people, by God now to his gouernaunce committed and aſſigned.

Which prayer finiſhed, hee repleniſhed with incomperable gladneſſe, aſcended vppe to the toppe of a little Mountaine, where hee not onely prayſed and lawded his valiante ſoldiers, but alſo gaue vnto them his harty thankes, with promiſe

promiſe of condigne recompence for their fidelitie and valiante factes, willing and commaunding all the hurt and wounded perſons, to be cured, and the dead carcaſes to bee deliuered to the ſepulture. Then the people reioyced, and clapped theyr handes, crying vp to heauen, King Henry King Henry.

When the Lord Stanley ſawe the good will and gladneſſe of the people, he toke the crowne of King Richard whiche was founde amongſt the ſpoyle in the field, and ſet it on the Earles head, as though he had ben elected king by the voice of the people, as in auncient tymes paſt in dyuers realmes it hath bene accuſtomed: and this was the firſte ſigne and token of his good lucke and felicitie.

I muſt put you here in remembrance, howe that king Richard putting ſome diffidence in the Lord Stanley, whiche had with him as an hoſtage the Lord Strange, his eldeſt ſonne, which lorde Stanley (as ye haue heard before) ioyned not at the firſt with his ſonne in lawes armye, for feare that king Richard wold haue ſlayn the Lord Straunge his heyre. When king Richard was come to Boſworth, he ſente a purſiuant to the lorde Stanley, commaundyng him to aduaunce forward with his companie, and to come to his preſence, which thing if he refuſed to do, he ſware by Chriſtes paſſion, that he woulde ſtryke off his ſonnes head before hee dyned. The Lorde Stanley anſwered the purſiuant that if the king did ſo, he had more ſonnes alyue, and as to come to hym, he was not then ſo determined. When king Richarde hearde this anſwere, he commanded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be beheaded, which was at that very ſame ſeaſon, when both the armies had ſight eche of other. The coũſaylors of king Richard pondering the time and cauſe, knowing alſo the Lorde Straunge to be innocẽt of his fathers offence, perſuading the K. that it was now tyme to fyght, and not time for execution, aduiſing him to kepe the lord Strange as a priſoner till the battayle were ended, & then at leyſure his pleaſure myght be accompliſhed. So (as God wold) king Richard brake his holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kinges Tentes, to be kepte as a priſoner: which when the fielde was done, and theyr maiſter ſlaine, and proclamation made to knowe where the chyld was, they ſubmitted themſelues as priſoners to the Lorde Strange, and he gently receiued them, and brought them to the newe proclaymed King, where of him and of his father, hee was receued with great ioy and gladneſſe.

After this the whole campe remoued wyth bagge and baggage, and the ſame night in the Euening King Henry with great pompe came to the Towne of Leyceſter. Where aſwell for the refreſhyng of hys people and ſouldiours, as for preparing all thynges neceſſarie for his iourney towarde London, hee reſted and repoſed hymſelfe twoo dayes. In the meane ſeaſon, the deade corps of king Rycharde was as ſhamefully caryed to the Towne of Leyceſter, as he gorgeouſly the day before wyth pompe & pryde departed out of the ſame Towne. For his body was naked and dyſpoiled to the ſkin, and nothing left about him, not ſo muche as a clowte to couer hys priuie members, and was truſſed behinde a Purſyuant of armes called *Blaunche Senglier*, or white Bore, like a hog or a Calfe, the head and armes hanging on the one ſide of the horſe, and the legs on the other ſide, and all beſprinckled with mire & bloude was broughte to the gray Friers Churche within the Towne, & there lay like a miſerable ſpectacle: but ſurely conſidering hys miſcheuous actes and vngracious doyngs men may worthely wonder at ſuche a captiue: and in the ſayde Churche he was wyth no leſſe funerall pompe and ſolemnitie enterred, than he woulde to be done at the buriyng of his innocent Nephewes, whom he cauſed cruelly to be murthered, & vnnaturally to be quelled.

When hys deathe was knowne, fewe lamented, and manye reioyſed: the proude bragging white Bore (whiche was his badge) was violently raſed and plucked downe from euery ſigne and place where it might be eſpied, ſo ill was his life, that men wiſhed the memorie of hym to be buried wyth hys carren corpſe. Hee reigned twoo yeares, twoo monethes, and one day.

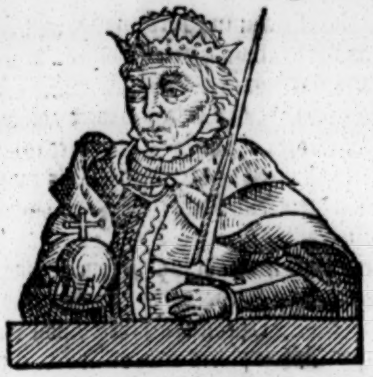
As he was ſmall & little of ſtature, ſo was he of bodie greatly deformed, the one ſhulder higher than the other, his face ſmall, but his countenãce was cruell, and ſuche, that at the firſte aſpect a man would iudge it to ſauour and ſmell of malice, fraude and deceit: when he ſtode muſing, he would byte and chawe buſily his nether lippe, as who ſayde, that his fierce nature in his cruell bodie, alwais chafed, ſtirred, and was euer vnquiet: beſyde that, the dagger whiche he ware, he wold when he ſtudyed, with his hande plucke vp and downe in the ſheath to the mids, neuer drawing it fully out: he was of a ready, pregnant & quicke witte, wyly to fayne, and apt to diſſemble: he had a proude mynde and an arrogant ſtomacke, the whiche accompanied him euen to his death, rather chuſing to ſuffer the ſame by dint of ſword, than being forſaken and left helpleſſe of hys vnfaithfull companyons, to preſerue by cowardly flight, ſuche a frayle and vncertayn lyfe, whiche by malice, ſicknes, or condigne puniſhment was lyke ſhortly to come to confuſion.

Thus ended this Prince his mortall life, with infamy & diſhonor, whiche neuer preferred fame or honeſtie before ambition, tyrannie and miſchiefe. And if hee had continued ſtill Protector, and ſuffered his Nephewes to haue liued and raigned, no doubt but the Realm had proſpered, and he much prayſed and beloued, as he is nowe abhorred, and had in hatred: but to God whyche knew his inwarde thoughtes at the houre of hys death, I remitte the puniſhment of his offences committed in his life.

King Henry the ſeauenth cauſed a Tombe to bee made and ſet vp ouer the place where hee was buried in the Churche of the grey Friers at Leyceſter, with a picture of alablaſter, repreſenting his perſon, doing that honor to his enemie, vpon a princely regard and pitifull zeale whyche King Richard (moued of an hypocriticall ſhewe of counterfaite pitie) did to King Henry ye ſixte, whome he had firſt cruelly murthered, and after in the ſecond yeare of his vſurped raigne, cauſed his corpes to bee remoued from Chertſey vnto Windeſore, and there ſolemnely enterred.

And nowe to conclude wyth this cruell Tyrant King Richarde, wee maye conſider in what ſorte the ambitious deſire to rule and gouerne in the houſe of Yorke, was puniſhed by Gods iuſt prouidence: for although that the right myghte ſeeme to remayne in the perſon of Richard duke of Yorke, ſlayne at Wakefielde, yet may there bee a faulte worthyly reputed in hym ſo to ſeeke to preuent the tyme appoynted hym by authoritie of Parliamente to attayne to the Crowne, entayled to hym and hys iſſue, in whome alſo, and not onely in hymſelfe that offence (as may bee thoughte) was duely puniſhed: for although his eldeſt ſonne Edwarde the fourthe, beeyng a Prince right prouidente and circumſpect for the ſuretie of hys owne eſtate and his children, in ſo muche, that not contented to cut off all his armes and apparant enimyes, he alſo of a iealous feare, made awaye his brother the Duke of Clarence, and ſo thoughte to make all ſure. But Gods vengeaunce myght not bee diſappoynted, for as ye haue partely hearde, he didde but further therby the deſtruction of his iſſue in takyng awaye hym that onely myghte haue ſtayed the Turkiſhe crueltie of his brother of Glouceſter, who enraged for deſire of the kingdome, berefte his innocent nephues of their lyues and eſtates. And as it thus well appeared, that the houſe of Yorke ſhewed it ſelfe more bloudye in ſeeking to obteyne the kyngdom, than that of Lancaſter in vſurping it: So it came to paſſe, that the Lords vengeaunce appeared more heauie towardes the ſame than towardes the other, not ceaſſyng tyll the whole iſſue male of the ſayd Richarde duke of Yorke was extinguiſhed. For ſuche is Gods Iuſtice, to leaue no vnrepentant wickednes vnpuniſhed, as eſpecially in thys caytife Richarde the thirde, not deſeruing ſo muche as the name of a man, muche leſſe of a kyng, moſte manifeſtly appeared.

But nowe of learned menne that lyued, and wrote in the dayes of this vſurper and hys nephew king Edward the fyfth, theſe we fynde recorded by Iohn Bale: firſte Iohn Penketh an Auguſtine Frier of Warington in Lancaſhire, a right ſuttle fellow in diſputation, folowing the footeſteppes of his Maiſter Iohn Duns, whom he chiefly ſtudied. He wrote diuers treatiſes, and made that infamous ſermon at Poules croſſe, in fauour of the Duke of Glouceſter then protector, to the diſenheriting of Edward the fifth, his lawfull king and gouernour: Iohn Kent or Cayley borne in Southwales: George Riplay firſt a Chanon of Bridlington, and after a Carmelite Frier in Boſton, a greate Mathematician, Rhetorician and Poet: Iohn Sppyne a Carmelite Frier of Briſtowe, that proceeded Doctour of diuinitie in Cambridge, and ſuche lyke.



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KIng Henry hauing thus got the victorie at Boſworth, & ſlayn his mortal enimie there in field, he ſente before his departure from Leyceſter, ſir Rob. Willoughby knighte, to the manour of Sheriffehuton in the coũtie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwik, ſon and heire to George duke of Clarence then being of the age of xv. yeares, whom king Richard had kept there as priſoner during the tyme of his vſurped reigne.

e Earle of Varvicke and heire to orge duke Clarence mitted to Tovver.

Sir Robert Willoughby receyuing the yong Earle of the Conſtable of that Caſtel, conueyed him to London, wher he was ſhut vp in the Tower, for doubt leaſt ſome vnquiet and euill diſpoſed perſons might inuent ſome occaſion of newe trouble by this yong Gentleman, and therefore king Henry thought good to haue him ſure.

There was beſide him in the caſtell of Sheriffehutton the Ladye Elizabeth eldeſt daughter to Kyng Edward the fourth, whome Kyng Rycharde, as yee haue hearde, meant to haue marryed, but God otherwyſe ordeyned for hir, and preſerued hir from that vnlawfull copulation and inceſtuous bedde.

g Henrye meth to don.

Shortly after, ſhe being accompanyed with a greate number as well of noble men, as honorable matrones, was wyth good ſpeed conueyed to London, and brought to hir mother. In the meane ſeaſon kyng Henry remoued forwarde by ſoft iourneys toward London, the people commyng in from all ſides to behold him, and exceedingly reioycing at his preſence, as by their voyces and geſtures it well appeared.

At his approching nere to the citie, the Mayre and his brethren, with other worſhipfull Citizens, being cloathed in violet, met him at Shordiche, and reuerently ſaluted hym, and ſo wyth greate pompe and triumph, he rode through the citie to the cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, where he offred three ſtandards: In the one was the image of Saint George, in an other was a red fyerie dragon beaten vpon white and greene ſarcenet; and in the third was paynted a Dunne cowe, vpon yealow tarterne. After his prayers ſayd, and *Te deum* ſong, he departed to the Biſhops palaice, and there ſoiorned a ſeaſon. Anon after, he aſſembled togither yͤ ſage counſellors of the realme, in which counſel lyke a Prince of iuſt fayth and true of promiſe, to auoyde all ciuile diſcorde, he apointed a day to ioyne in mariage with the Lady Elizabeth, heire of the houſe of Yorke, with his noble perſonage, heire to the line of Lancaſter, whiche thing not onely reioyced the heartes of the nobles and Gentlemen of the realme, but alſo gayned the fauours and good willes of all the commons.

Henry the ſeuenth crovvned King.

1485

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto Weſtminſter, and there the thirtith day of October, was with all ceremonies accuſtomed, anoynted, and crowned king, by the whole aſſent as well of the commons as of the nobilitie, and cleped Henry the ſeuenth of that name, whiche was in the yeare of the worlde. 5452. and after the birth of our Lorde. 1485. in the. xlvi. yeare of Frederike the thirde then Emperour of Almayne Maximilian his ſonne being newly elected K. of Romaines, in the ſeconde yeare of Charles the eyght then king of Fraunce, and in the. xxv. of king Iames, then ruling the realm of Scotland. For the eſtabliſhing of all things, as well touching the preſeruation of his owne eſtate, as the commendable adminiſtration of iuſtice and preferrement of the common wealth of his realme, he called his hygh court of Parliament at Weſtminſter the ſeuenth day of Nouember, wherein was attainted Richarde late Duke of Glouceſter, calling and namyng himſelfe by vſurpation, King Richard the thirde: likewiſe there was attainted as chiefe ayders and aſſiſtants to him in the battayle at Boſworth, aduaunced againſte the preſent Kyng, Iohn late Duke of Norffolke, Thomas Earle of Surrey, Francis Louell knyght Vicont Louell, Water Deuereux knight late lorde Ferrers, Iohn lorde Souche, Robert Harrington, Richarde Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Barkley of Weley, Robert Midleton, Iames Harrington, Roberte Brakebury, Thomas Pilkinton, Walter Hopton, William Cateſby, Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the countie of Huntington, Humfrey Staffoorde, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geoffrey Sainte Germaine, Richarde Watkyns Herraulde of Armes, Rycharde Reuell of Darbyſhire, Thomas Polter of the countie of Kente, Iohn Walche, otherwyſe called Haſtynges, Iohn Kendall late Secretarie of the ſayde Richarde late Duke of Glouceſter, Iohn Bucke, Andrewe Rat, and Willyam Brampton of Burforde, in whiche atteynder neuertheleſſe there were dyuers clauſes and Prouiſos for the benefyte of their wiues and other perſons

A Parliament at VVeſtminſter, and a generall Pardon that hadde or myghte clayme any ryghte, title, or intereſt lawfully vnto any caſtels, manours, lordſhips, townes, townſhips, honors, landes, tenementes, rentes, ſeruices, fee fermes, annuities, knights fees, aduouſons, reuerſions, remainders, and other hereditaments, wherof the ſaid perſons atteynted were poſſeſſed or ſeyſed, to the vſes of ſuche other perſons, with a ſpeciall prouiſo alſo, that the ſayd atteynder ſhould not be preiudiciall to John Cateſby knight, Tho. Reuell, and William Aſhby eſquiers, in, of, and vpon the manor of Kirkeby vpon Wrethcke in the Countie of Leyceſter, nor in of and vppon any other landes and tenementes in Kirkby aforeſayde, Melton, Somerby, Thropſeghfield, and Godeby, whiche they had of the gift & feoffement of Tho. Dauuers, and John Lye. And further notwithſtanding this attainder, dyuers of the ſayde perſons afterwardes were not only by the Kīg pardoned, but alſo reſtored to their lands & liuings: and moreouer in this preſente Parliamente, hee cauſed poclamation to be made, that al mē were pardoned and acquited of their offences, whiche woulde ſubmit themſelues to his mercy, and receiue an othe to be true and faithfull vnto hym: wherupon many that came out of Sainctuaries and other places were receiued to grace, and admitted for his ſubiectes. After this, hee began to remember his eſpeciall frends, of whom ſome he aduaunced to honor and dignitie, and ſome hee enriched with goodes and poſſeſſions, euery man according to his deſerts and merites. And to begin his vncle Jaſper erle of Pembroke, he created duke of Bedford: Tho. lorde Stanley was created erle of Darby, & the L. Chandew of Britain his eſpecial frend, he made erle of Bath: Sir Giles Daubeny was made lord Daubeney: ſir Robert Willoughby was made L. Broke: And Edward Stafforde eldeſt ſonne to Henrye late Duke of Buckingham, he reſtored to his name, dignitie and poſſeſſions, which by king Richard were confiſcate and attainted.

Beſide this, in this parliament was this notable act aſſented to and concluded as followeth.

An Acte for the eſtabliſhing of the Crovvne.

To the pleaſure of Almightye God, wealth, proſperitie and ſuretie of this Realme of England, and to the ſingular comfort of all the kinges ſubiectes of the ſame, in auoyding all ambiguities and queſtions: Be it ordeined, eſtabliſhed, and enacted by this preſent parliament, that the inheritaunce of the crowne of this realme of England, and alſo of Fraunce, with all the preeminence and dignitie royal to the ſame apertaining and all other ſeigniories to the king belongyng, beyond the ſea, with the appurtenaūces therto in any wiſe due or apertaining, ſhal reſt remaine & abide in the moſt royal perſon of our nowe ſoueraigne lord K. Henry the ſeuenth, and in the heires of his body laufully coming, perpetually, with ẏ grace of god ſo to endure, & in none other. And beſide this act, al atteynders of this K. enacted by king Edward and Kyng Richard were adnichilate, and the recorde of the ſame adiudged to be defaced, and all perſones atteinted for his cauſe and occaſion were reſtored to their goods landes and poſſeſſions.

Diuers acts alſo made in this time of king Edward and king Richard were reuoked, and other adiudged more expedient for the cōmon wealthe were put in their places and concluded. After the diſſolution of this parliament, the king remembring his frends left in hoſtage beyonde the ſeas, that is to wit, the Marques Dorſet, and ſir Jo. Bourchier, he with all conueniēt ſpede redemed them, & ſente alſo into Flanders for John Morton Biſhop of Ely. Theſe actes performed, he choſe to bee of his counſayle, a conuenient number of right graue and wyſe counſellours.

Although by this meanes al things ſeemed to be brought in good and perfect order, yet ther lacked a wreſt to the harpe, to ſet all the ſtrings in a monacorde and perfecte tune, which was the matrimonie to be finiſhed betwene the king and the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward, which like a good Prince, according to his othe, & promiſe, did both ſolemniſe & cōſummate ſhortely after, that is to ſaye, on the .xviij. day of Januarie, by reaſon of whych mariage, peace was thought to deſcende out of heauen into Englād, conſidering that the lynes of Lancaſter & Yorke were now brought into one knot, and connexed togither, of whoſe two bodies, one heire myghte ſucceede to rule and enioye the whole monarchie and realme of Englande. Shortly after, for the better preſeruation of his royall perſon, he conſtituted and ordeyned a certaine number, as well of good Archers, as of dyuers other perſons, hardie, ſtrong, and actiue, to giue dayly attendance on his perſone, whome he named yeomen of his garde, which preſident men thought that he lerned of the French king, when he was in France.

King Hen
the ſeuent
keth tovv
Elizabeth
deſte daug
of Edvva
fourthe.

1486

Yeomen of garde firſte brought in.

For it is not remembred, that any Kyng of Englande before that daye vſed any ſuch furniture of dayly ſouldiours.

Another pa
ment the ſa
yeare.

In the ſame yeare a newe kynde of ſickneſſe inuaded ſodeynly the people of this lande, paſſing thorough the ſame from the one ende to the other. It began about the .xxj. of September, and continued till the latter end of October, beyng ſo ſharpe and deadly, that the lyke was neuer hearde of to any mannes remembraunce before that tyme. For ſodeynely a deadely burnyng ſweate ſo aſſayled theyr bodies, and diſtempered their bloud wyth a moſte ardent heat, that ſcarſe one amongſt an hundred that ſickned did eſcape with life: for all in maner as ſone as the

The ſvveati
ſickeneſſe.

the ſweat toke them, or within a ſhort tyme after yelded vp the ghoſt: beſyde the great number which deceaſſed within the citie of London two Mayres ſucceſſiuely died within viij. days & vj. Aldermē. At length by the diligent obſeruatiō of thoſe that eſcaped (whiche marking what things had done thē good, & holpen to their deliuerance, vſed the lyke agayne: when they fell into the ſame diſeaſe, the ſecond or thirde tyme, as to dyuers it chaunced, a remedie was founde for that mortall maladie, which was this: If a man on the daye tyme were taken with the ſweate, then ſhould he ſtreight lye downe with al his clothes and garments, and continue in hys ſweat. xxiiij. houres, after ſo moderate a ſort as might bee. If in the nyghte hee chaunced to be taken, then ſhoulde he not ryſe out of his bedde for the ſpace of xxiiij. houres, ſo caſtyng the cloathes that he myght in no wyſe prouoke the ſweate, but ſo lye temperately, that the water mighte diſtyll out ſoftly of the owne accord, and to abſtein from all meat if he might ſo long ſuffer hunger, & to take no more drinke neyther hot nor colde, thā wold moderatly quench & aſſuage his thirſtie appetite. And thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and meaſurable clothes manye eſcaped: fewe whiche vſed this order after it was founde out dyed of that ſweat. Mary one point diligētly aboue all other in this cure is to be obſerued, that he neuer put out his hande or feete out of the bed, to refreſhe or coole himſelf, which to do is no leſſe ieopardie than ſhort and preſent death.

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Thus this diſeaſe comming in the firſt yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of ſome) to be a token and ſigne of a troublous reigne of the ſame king, as the profe partly afterwardes ſhewed it ſelfe.

The king ſtanding in neede of money to diſcharge ſuche debtes, and to maynteyn ſuch port as was behouefull, ſente the Lorde Treaſourer with Maiſter Reignold Bray, and others, vnto the Lord Mayre of London, requiryng of the Citie a preſt of ſixe thouſand markes. Wherevpon the ſayd Lord Mayre and his brethren, with the Commons of the Citie, graunted a preaſt of two thouſande poundes, whiche was leuyed of the companies, and not of the wardes: and in the yeare next enſuyng, it was well and truly agayne repayde euery penny, to the good contentation and ſatiſfying of them that diſburſed it.

The king conſidering that the ſuretie of his royall eſtate and defence of the realme conſiſted chiefly in good lawes and ordinaunces to bee hadde and obſerued among his people, ſummoned eftſones his highe courte of Parliamente, therein to deuiſe and eſtabliſhe ſome profitable actes and ſtatutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people, and then after hauyng ſette thinges in quiet about London, hee toke his iorney into the North partes, there to purge all the dregges of malicious treaſon that myghte reſt in the heartes of vnquiet perſons, and namely in Yorkeſhire, where the people bare more fauour vnto king Richarde in his lyfe tyme, than thoſe of any other part of the realm had cōmonly doon. He kept the feaſt of Eaſter at Lincolne, where hee was certified that the Lorde Louell and Humfrey Stafforde, and Thomas Stafforde, his brother were departed out of the Sanctuarie at Colcheſter, to what place or whether no man as yet could tell.

The King little regarding the matter, kept on his iourney, and came to Yorke, where as ſone as he was once ſetled, it was openly ſhewed and declared for a truthe to the King hymſelfe, that Fraunces Lorde Louell was at hande wyth a ſtrong and mightye power of men, and woulde with all diligence inuade the citie: alſo that the forenamed Staffords were in Worceſterſhire, & had reyſed a greate bande of the countrey people and commons there, and hadde caſte lottes what parte ſhould aſſault the gates, what men ſhould ſcale the walles of the Citie of Worceſter, and who ſhould let the paſſages for lettyng of reſcues and aiders.

A rebellion made by the Lord Louell and others.

Humfrey Stafforde.

Thomas Stafforde.

The Kyng coulde not beleeue thys reporte to bee true at the firſte, but after that by Letters of credence ſente from hys friendes, hee was fully perſwaded that it was too true, hee was put in no ſmall feare, and not without greate cauſe, for hee wiſely conſidered, that hee neyther hadde any competent army ready, nor conuenient furniture to arme them that were preſent. And alſo hee was in ſuche place, where hee coulde not aſſemble anye power, but of thoſe whome hee ſore miſtruſted, as friendes to them that were moſte his enemies, the memorie of King Richarde as yet being not amongſt thē forgotten nor worne out of minde.

But bycauſe the matter required quicke expedition, hee appoynted the Duke of Bedforde wyth three thouſande men not altogyther the beſte armed (for theyr breaſt plates for the moſt parte were of tanned leather,) to marche forth agaynſt the Lorde Louell, and to ſette vppon him without any lingring of tyme.

The Duke haſtyng forewarde, approched to the Campe of hys enimyes, and before hee woulde aſſayle them, hee cauſed the Herraldes to make proclamation, that all thoſe that wold departe from theyr armure, and ſubmitte themſelues as ſubiectes vnto theyr naturall Prince and ſoueraigne Lorde, ſhould be pardoned of all former offences.

The Lord Louel vppon this Proclamation,

eyther putting myſtruſt in hys Souldiours, or fearyng himſelfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuily in a nyght from his companie, and lefte them as a flocke of ſheepe without a ſhepeherd: which departure when his armie vnderſtoode, it put the ſouldiours in ſuche diſpayre of atchieuing anye further enterpriſe, that they immediatly put off their armour, and came directly vnto the Duke, euery man humbly ſubmitting himſelfe, and deſiring pardon of his offences.

Sir Homfrey Stafforde taken out of Colnehā Sanctuary, and executed.

So in this wyſe was that dangerous ſtorme and cruell rage of thoſe furious rebelles appeaſed, whiche was doubted to haue growne to the deſtruction of many a man. The Lord Louell the procurer of this buſineſſe, eſcappyng awaye, got him into Lancaſhyre, and there for a certain ſpace laye lurkyng in ſecrete with Sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in thoſe parties was a man of no ſmall authoritie & power. Sir Humfrey Stafforde alſo hearyng what hadde happened to the Lorde Louell, in great diſpleaſure and ſorrowe, and for feare leſte his enterpryſe, and in lyke manner fledde, and tooke Sainctuarie at Colnham, a village not paſte two myles from Abyndon. But bycauſe that Sainctuarie was not a ſufficient defence (as was proued before the Iuſtices of the Kings benche) for traytours, hee was taken from that place, and broughte to the Tower, and after put to execution at Tyborne: but his brother Thomas that was with hym, was pardoned, bycauſe hee was thought not to haue attempted anye thyng of hym ſelfe otherwyſe than by the euill counſell and perſwaſion of his elder brother.

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After that the Kyng hadde quieted all theſe commotions and tumultes, and reformed the rude & brabblyng people of the North partes, he retourned to London, and ſhortly after he went to Wincheſter, where his wyfe Queene Elizabeth was brought to bedde of a fayre Prince, named at his baptiſme Arthur.

The birth of Prince Arthur.

In thys meane tyme, of a ſmall matter and the ſame altogether falſe and fayned, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconuenience to enſue: the whyche matter myghte ſeeme verye ſtraunge howe ſuche trouble and myſchiefe ſhoulde growe thereof, if the tyme were not conſydered, in whyche it happened: for in thoſe dayes manye perſons, eyther borne in the wombe of continuall diſſention, or nouryſhed wyth the mylke of Ciuile ſedition, coulde not forbeare theyr vſuall Cuſtome of mouyng ſtryfe, and ſowyng debate, euer gladde to haue any occaſion, thoughe neuer ſo ſmall, to ſtyrre vprores of warre, and ſlaughter of people.

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Amongeſt other ſuche monſters and lymmes of the Diuell, there was one Sir Richard Symond Prieſt, a man of baſe byrthe, and yet well learned, but not ſo learned as wyly, nor ſo wylye as vngracious, delightyng in fraude and deceyte, euen from hys youthe vppe, had a ſcholer called Lamberte Symenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnaunt witte, to bee the organe and chiefe Inſtrument, by the whych he might conueye and bryng to paſſe hys myſchieuous attempte.

The diuell chiefe maiſter of ſuche practiſes, put in the venemous brayne of this diſloyal and trayterous Prieſte, to deuyſe howe hee myghte make his Scholler the foreſayde Lamberte to bee reputed as ryght inheritour to the Crowne of thys realme: namely for that the fame went that Kyng Edwardes chyldren were not dead, but fledde ſecretely into ſome ſtraunge place, and there to be lyuyng: and that Edward earle of Warwyke, ſonne and heyre to the Duke of Clarence, either was, or ſhortly ſhould be put vnto death.

Theſe rumors though they ſemed not to be grounded of any lykelyhoode to the wyſer ſorte of men, yet encouraged this deuiliſhe Prieſte to thinke the tyme come, that his Scholer Lambert might take vpon him the perſon and name of one of king Edwardes children, and herevpon at Oxforde, where their abyding was, the ſaid Prieſt inſtructed his pupil both with princely behauiour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaryng to hym of what lynage he ſhould affirme himſelfe to be deſcended, and omitted nothing that might ſerue for his purpoſe.

Soone after, the rumour was blowne abrode, that the Earle of Warwike was broken out of priſon. And when the Prieſt ſir Richarde Symonde hearde of this, he ſtreight intended now by that occaſion to bryng his inuented purpoſe to paſſe, and chaungyng the chyldes name of baptiſme, called him Edward, after the name of the yong Earle of Warwike, the whiche were both of lyke yeres, & of like ſtature, and then he with his ſcholer ſayled into Irelande, where hee ſo ſette forth the mater vnto the nobilitie of that countreye, that not onely the Lorde Thomas Gerardine Chauncellour of that lande deceiued through his craftie tale, receyued the counterfaite Earle into his Caſtell, with all honour and reuerence, but alſo many other noble men, determined to ayde hym (with all their powers) as one deſcended of the bloud royall, and lyneally come of the houſe of Yorke, whiche the Iriſhe people euermore hyghly fauored, honoured and loued aboue all other.

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By this meanes euery manne throughout all Irelande, was willyng and ready to take his parte, and to ſubmit themſelues to him, already reputing and calling him of all handes king. So that nowe they of this ſecte by the aduice of the prieſte ſente into England certayn priuie meſſangers to get friendes here, & alſo they ſent into Flanders to yͤ Ladie Margarete, ſiſter to King Edward, & late wyfe to Charles Duke of Burgogne, to purchaſe ayde, and helpe at hir handes.

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Thys Ladie Margarete bare no ſmal rule in the low countreys, and in verie deede ſore grudged in hir heart, that Kyng Henrye being deſcended of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſhould reigne and gouerne the realme of Englande: and therfore though ſhe well vnderſtode, that thys was but a coloured matter, yet to worke hir malicious intention againſt K. Henry, ſhe was glad to haue ſo fitte an occaſion: and therefore promiſed the meſſengers all the ayde that ſhe ſhould bee able to make in furtheraunce of the quarell, and alſo to procure al the frendes ſhe could in other places to be aiders and partakers of the ſame conſpiracie.

Kyng Henrye aduertized of al theſe doings, was greatly vexed therwith, and therefore to haue good aduiſe in the matter, hee called togyther his counſell at the Charterhouſe beſyde his manour of Richmond, and there conſulted with thē, by which meanes beſt this begon conſpiracie might be appeſed and diſappointed without more diſturbaunce. It was therfore determined, that a generall pardon ſhould be publiſhed to all offenders that were content to receyue the ſame.

This pardon was ſo freely graunted, that no offence was excepted, no not ſo muche as high treaſon committed agaynſte the Kinges royall perſon.

It was further agreed in the ſame Counſell for the tyme then preſent, that the Erle of Warwike ſhould perſonally be ſhewed abroade in the citie, and other publike places, whereby the vntrue reporte falſly ſpred abroade, that he ſhoulde be in Irelande, myght be amongeſt the communaltie proued and knowen for a vayne imagined lye.

In this ſolemne counſel diuers & many things for the wealth of the realme were debated & concluded, and amongeſt other it was determyned, that the Lady Elizabeth wyfe to King Edward the fourth, ſhould leeſe and forfayte all hir lands and poſſeſſions, bycauſe ſhe had voluntarily ſubmitted hir ſelfe, and hir daughters wholly to the handes of king Richarde, contrarye to hir promiſe made to the Lordes and nobles of thys realme in the beginnyng of the conſpiracie made againſt king Richard, wherby ſhe did inough to haue quayled all the purpoſe of them that ioyned with hir in that mater: But thoughe hir faulte was greeuous, yet was it iudged by ſome men that ſhee deſerued not by equitie of Iuſtice ſo greate a loſſe and puniſhement.

…Eliza- …te vvife …g Ed. …e the …e, adiud- …o forfeit landes.

But ſuche was hir chaunce by that hir lightneſſe and inconſtancie, ſhe wanne the diſpleaſure of many menne, and for that cauſe lyued after in the abbey of Bermondſey beſyde Southwarke, a wretched and a miſerable lyfe, where not manye yeeres after ſhe deceaſſed, and is buryed with hir huſband at Windſore.

Though Fortune thus ruleth many thynges at hir pleaſure, yet one worke that this Quene accompliſhed, can not bee forgotten: For in the lyfe tyme of hir huſbande Kyng Edwarde the fourth, ſhee founded and erected a notable Colledge in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge for the fynding of Scholers and ſtudentes of the ſame vniuerſitie, and indowed it with ſufficient poſſeſſions for the long mayntenaunce of the ſame, whyche at thys daye is called the Queenes Colledge.

Queenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the Lady Elizabeth Kyng Edvvarde the fourthe hys vvife.

When all thyngs in thys counſell were ſagely concluded and agreed to the kings mynde, he retourned to London, giuing in commaundement, that the next Sunday enſuyng, Edward the young Earle of Warwike ſhuld be brought from the Tower thorough the moſte publyque ſtreetes in all London, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, where hee wente openlye in Proceſſion, that euery man myght ſee him, hauing communication with many noble men, and with them eſpecially, that were ſuſpected to bee partakers of the late begonne conſpiracye, that they myght perceyue howe the Iriſhmenne vppon a vayne ſhadowe moued warre againſte the Kyng and his realme.

But this medicine little auayled to euill diſpoſed perſons. For the Earle of Lincolne ſonne to Iohn de la Poole Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edwarde the fourth, thynking it not meete to neglect and omitte ſo ready an occaſion of newe trouble, determyned to vpholde the enterpriſe of the Iriſhmenne, and other complices of this conſpiracie: Wherupon conſultyng wyth Syr Thomas Broughton, and certayne other of hys moſte truſtye friendes, purpoſed to ſayle into Flaunders to his Aunte the Lady Margaret ducheſſe of Burgogne, truſting by hir helpe to make a puiſſant armie, and to ioyne with the companions of the newe raiſed ſedition.

Therefore after the diſſolution of the Parliamente, whiche then was holden, he fledde ſecretly into Flaunders vnto the ſayd Ladie Margarete, where Francis Lorde Louell landed certaine dayes before. Here after long conſultation had howe to proceede in their buſineſſe, it was agreed, that the Earle of Lyncolne, and the Lorde Louell ſhoulde goe into Irelande, and there to attend vpon the ducheſſe hir counterfaite nephue, & to honor him as a K. and with eyther putting myſtruſt in hys Souldiours, or fearyng himſelfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuily in a nyght from his companie, and lefte them as a flocke of ſheepe without a ſhepeherd: which departure when his armie vnderſtoode, it put the ſouldiours in ſuche diſpayre of atchieuing anye further enterpriſe, that they immediatly put off their armour, and came directly vnto the Duke, euery man humbly ſubmitting himſelfe, and deſiring pardon of his offences.

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An. reg. 2.

The birth of Prince Arthur.

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Kyng Henrye aduertized of al theſe doings, was greately vexed therwith, and therefore to haue good aduiſe in the matter, hee called togyther his counſell at the Charterhouſe beſyde his manour of Richmond, and there conſulted with thē, by which meanes beſt this begon conſpiracie might be appeſed and diſappointed without more diſturbaunce. It was therfore determined, that a generall pardon ſhould be publiſhed to all offenders that were content to receyue the ſame.

This pardon was ſo freely graunted, that no offence was excepted, no not ſo muche as high treaſon committed agaynſte the Kinges royall perſon.

It was further agreed in the ſame Counſell for the tyme then preſent, that the Erle of Warwike ſhould perſonally be ſhewed abroade in the citie, and other publike places, whereby the vntrue reporte falſly ſpred abroade, that he ſhoulde be in Irelande, myght be amongeſt the communaltie proued and knowen for a vayne imagined lye.

In this ſolemne counſel diuers & many things for the wealth of the realme were debated & concluded, and amongeſt other it was determyned, that the Lady Elizabeth wyfe to King Edward the fourth, ſhould leeſe and forfayte all hir lands and poſſeſſions, bycauſe ſhe had voluntarily ſubmitted hir ſelfe, and hir daughters wholly to the handes of king Richarde, contrarye to hir promiſe made to the Lordes and nobles of thys realme in the beginnyng of the conſpiracie made againſt king Richard, wherby ſhe did inough to haue quayled all the purpoſe of them that ioyned with hir in that mater: But thoughe hir faulte was greeuous, yet was it iudged by ſome men that ſhee deſerued not by equitie of Juſtice ſo greate a loſſe and puniſhement.

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But ſuche was hir chaunce by that hir lightneſſe and inconſtancie, ſhe wanne the diſpleaſure of many menne, and for that cauſe lyued after in the abbey of Bermondſey beſyde Southwarke, a wretched and a miſerable lyfe, where not manye yeeres after ſhe deceaſſed, and is buryed with hir huſband at Windſore.

Though Fortune thus ruleth many thynges at hir pleaſure, yet one worke that this Queene accompliſhed, can not bee forgotten: For in the lyfe tyme of hir huſbande Kyng Edwarde the fourth, ſhee founded and erected a notable Colledge in the vniuerſitie of Cambridge for the fynding of Scholers and ſtudentes of the ſame vniuerſitie, and endowed it with ſufficient poſſeſſions for the long mayntenaunce of the ſame, whyche at thys daye is called the Queenes Colledge.

Queenes colledge in Cambridge founded by the Lady Elizabeth Kyng Edvvarde the fourthe hys vvife.

When all thyngs in thys counſell were ſagely concluded and agreed to the kings mynde, he retourned to London, giuing in commaundement, that the next Sunday enſuyng, Edward the young Earle of Warwike ſhuld be brought from the Tower thorough the moſte publyque ſtreetes in all London, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, where hee wente openlye in Proceſſion, that euery man myght ſee him, hauing communication with many noble men, and with them eſpecially, that were ſuſpected to bee partakers of the late begonne conſpiracye, that they myght perceyue howe the Iriſhmenne vppon a vayne ſhadowe moued warre againſte the Kyng and his realme.

But this medicine little auayled to euill diſpoſed perſons. For the Earle of Lincolne ſonne to John de la Poole Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edwarde the fourth, thynking it not meete to neglect and omitte ſo ready an occaſion of newe trouble, determyned to vpholde the enterpriſe of the Iriſhmenne, and other complices of this conſpiracie: Wherevpon conſultyng wyth Syr Thomas Broughton, and certayne other of hys moſte truſtye friendes, purpoſed to ſayle into Flaunders to his Auntе the Lady Margaret ducheſſe of Burgogne, truſting by hir helpe to make a puiſſant armie, and to ioyne with the companions of the newe raiſed ſedition.

Therefore after the diſſolution of the Parliamente, whiche then was holden, he fledde ſecretly into Flaunders vnto the ſayd Ladie Margarete, where Francis Lorde Louell landed certaine dayes before. Here after long conſultation had howe to proceede in their buſineſſe, it was agreed, that the Earle of Lyncolne, and the Lorde Louell ſhoulde goe into Irelande, and there to attend vpon the ducheſſe hir counterfaite nephue, & to honor him as a K. and with the power of the Iriſhemen to bryng hym into Englande, and if their doyngs hadde good ſucceſſe, then the foreſayde Lamberte, (myſnamed the Erle of Warwike) ſhoulde by the conſente of the counſell bee depoſed, and Edwarde the true Earle of Warwike to bee delyuered out of priſon and anoynted king.

King Henry ſuppoſyng that no man woulde haue bin ſo madde as to haue attempted anye further enterpriſe in the name of that new found counterfayted Earle, hee onely ſtudyed howe to ſubdue the ſeditious conſpiracie of the Iriſhmen: But hearyng that the Earle of Lincolne was fledde into Flaunders, he was ſomwhat moued therwith, and cauſed Souldiors to bee put in a readyneſſe out of euery part of his Realme, and to bring them into one place aſſigned, that when his aduerſaries ſhoulde appeare, hee mighte ſodeynely ſette vppon them, vanquiſhe and ouercome them.

The Marques Dorſet committed to the Tovver.

Thus diſpoſing things for his ſuretie, he went towardes Saint Edmundes Burye, and beeing certifyed, that the Marques Dorſet was comming towardes his Maieſtie, to excuſe himſelfe of thinges that hee was ſuſpected to haue doone when he was in Fraunce, hee ſente the Earle of Oxford to arreſt the ſayde Marques by the way and ſo conueye hym to the Tower of London, there to remayne till his truthe might be tryed.

1487

From thence the King wente forth to Norwiche, and tarying there Chriſtmaſſe daye, departed after to Walſingham, where he offered to the Image of our Ladye, and then by Cambridge, he ſhortly retourned to London.

Martin Svvard a valiant capitaine of the Almaines.

In this meane tyme, the Earle of Lincolne had gotten togyther by the ayd of the lady Margaret about .ii. M. Almayns, with one Martine Swarde, a noble capitaine to leade them With this power the Erle of Lincolne ſayled into Ireland, and at the citie of Diuilyn, cauſed young Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of Englande, after the moſte ſolemne faſhion, as though he were the verie heire of the bloud royal lineally borne and deſcended.

The counterfet arle of VVarvicke vvith ll his adherētes andeth in Engande.

And ſo with a greate multitude of beggerly Iriſhmenne, almoſte all naked and vnarmed, ſauyng ſkaynes and mantelles; of whome the Lorde Thomas Gerardine was Capitayn and conductour, they ſayled into Englande wyth thys newe founde kyng, and landed for a purpoſe at the pyle of Fowdreye, wythin a little of Lancaſter, truſtyng there to fynde ayde by the meanes of ſir Thomas Broughton, one of the chiefe companyons of the conſpiracie.

The Kyng hadde knowledge of the enimies intente before theyr arriuall, and therefore hauyng aſſembled a greate Armye, (ouer the whyche the Duke of Bedforde, and the Earle of Oxforde were chiefe Capitayns,) hee wente to Couentrye, where hee was aduertiſed, that the Earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaſter with his newe kyng.

Here he tooke aduice of his counſellors what was beſt to be doone, whether to ſette on the enimyes wythoute further delaye, or to protracte tyme a whyle, but at length it was thoughte beſte to delaye no tyme, but to gyue them battayle before they ſhoulde encreaſe their power, and therevppon hee remoued to Notyngham, and there by a little woodde called Bowres, hee pitched hys felde, vnto whome ſhortely came the Lorde George Talbot Earle of Shrewſburye, the Lorde Straunge, Sir John Cheynye, ryght valyaunt Capitaynes, with manye other noble and experte menne of warre, namely of the countreyes neere adioyning, ſo that the Kynges armie was wonderfully increaſed.

In this ſpace the Earle of Lincolne beyng entred into Yorkeſhyre, paſſed ſoftely on hys iourney without ſpoyling or hurting of anye manne, truſtyng thereby to haue ſome companye of people reſorte vnto hym, but after hee perceyued fewe or none to followe hym, and that it was too late nowe to retourne backe, he determyned to try the matter by dynt of ſword, and herevppon directed hys waye from Yorke to Newarke vppon Trente, but before he came there, Kyng Henrye knowing all hys enemies purpoſes, came the nighte before the day of the battayle to Newark, and tarrying there a little, went three myles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night.

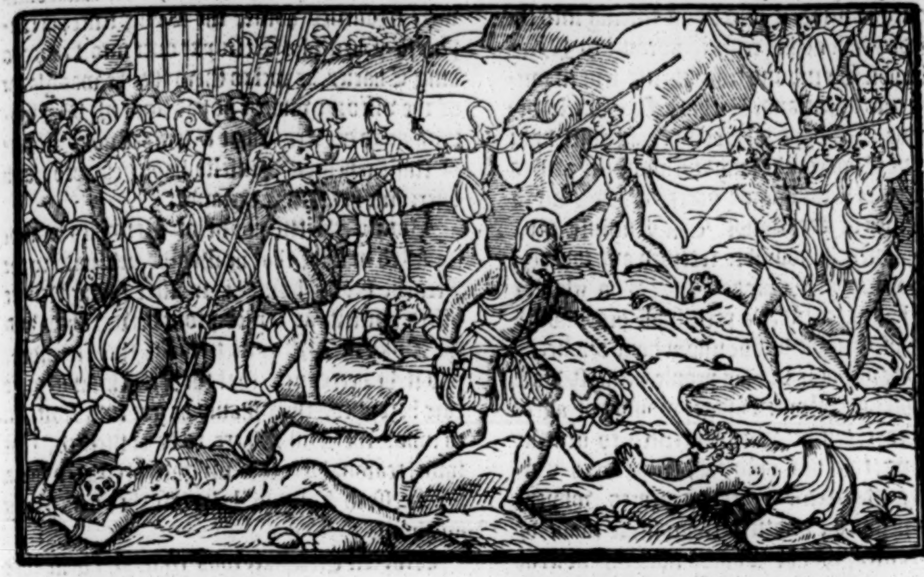
The Earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abaſhed, but kepte ſtill on his iourney, and at a little village called Stoke, nighe to the Kyng and his armye, ſette downe his campe.

The
ioyne.

The nexte daye the King deuided his whole power into three battayls, and after in good array, approched nygh to the towne of Stoke.

The batta
of Stoke.

The Earle likewyſe ſet forth his army, & encountring with the kings people in a faire playn there, meete for the tryall of ſuche a conflict, ſet vppon them with a manly courage, deſiring his ſouldiors to remember his honor and their owne liues. And ſo both the armies ioyned and fought verye earneſtly, in ſo muche that the Almaynes, beeyng tryed and experte menne of warre, were in all thynges, as well in ſtrengthe as pollicie, egall and matches to the Engliſhemenne. But as for Martine Swarde theyr Coronell, fewe of the Engliſhemen, eyther in valyaunt courage or ſtrength, and nymbleneſſe of bodye was to hym comparable. On the other ſyde, the Iriſhmen, although they fought manfully, and ſtucke to it valiantly, yet bicauſe they were after the maner of their countrey, almoſt naked, without anye conuenable furniture of armour they were ſtriken downe and ſlayn lyke dull and brute beaſtes, which was a great diſcouragemẽt to the reſidue of the companie.



Thus they foughte for a ſpace ſo ſore and ſo egrely on both partes, that no manne coulde well iudge, to whome the victorie was lyke to enclyne.

But at lengthe the Kings fore warde beyng full of people, and well fortifyed wyth winges, whiche only both began and continued the fight, ſet vpon the aduerſaries with ſuch force and violence, that firſt they oppreſſed and killed ſuch capitaynes one by one as reſiſted their mighte and puiſſaunce. And after that, put all the other to flyghte, the whiche were eyther apprehended as Priſoners in their running away, or els ſlayne and broughte vnto confuſyon in a ſmall momente.

ioyne.

But when thys battayle was ended, and fought out to the extremitie, then it wel appered, what hyghe prowes, what manfull ſtomackes, what hardie and couragious heartes reſted in the kings aduerſaries. For there the chiefe captaines the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lorde Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martine Swarde, and the Lorde Gerardine capitain of the Iriſhmen were ſlaine and found dead in the verie places whiche they hadde choſen alyue to fighte in, not giuing one foote of grounde to theyr aduerſaries. Howbeit ſome affirme, that the lord Louell tooke his horſſe, and would haue ridde ouer Trente, but was not able to recouer the further ſide for the highneſſe of the banke, and ſo was drowned in the ryuer.

capt- ſlayne.

The battail of Stoke.

There were killed at that battaile with theyr fiue captains before reherſed, of that partie about foure thouſand. Of the kings part there were not half of them which fought in the fore warde, and gaue the onſet, ſlayne or hurt. Then was Lambert the youngling, whiche was falſly reported to be the ſonne of the duke of Clarence, and his maiſter ſir Richard Symond Prieſt both taken, but neyther of them put to death, bycauſe that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares inſufficient of hymſelfe to doe any ſuch enterpriſe, and the other was pardoned of lyfe, bycauſe hee was a prieſt, and annoynted man, but yet was committed to perpetuall pryſon.

Lambert and his maiſter Symonds taken.

Lamberte was at lengthe made one of the kings Faulconers, after that he had bin a turnebroache for a ſpace in the kings kitchen.

This battayle was foughte on a Saterdaye beyng the ſixteenth day of Iune, in thys ſecond yeare of this kings reygne.

In whiche yeare alſo dyed Thomas Bourchier Archebiſhoppe of Canterburye: and Iohn Morton Biſhoppe of Elye, a manne of excellente learnyng, vertue and policie, ſucceeded in his place, whome Alexander Pope of Rome, the ſixte of that name, created a Cardinall, and the Kyng created hym hygh Chauncellour of England.

Morton Byſhop of Elye made Archebiſhop of Canterbury, & chauncellour of Englande.

After that the King had got the vpper hand of his enimies, hee remoued to Lincolne, and there tarryed three dayes, cauſyng euery of the ſame dayes ſolemne proceſſions to bee made in rendryng thankes to GOD for his fortunate victorye.

Thankeſgiuing to God after victorie.

Then cauſed he execution to be done of ſuche rebels and traytors, as were taken in the field either at the battaile, or in the chaſe. And ſhortely after he went into Yorkſhire, and there coaſted the countrey ouerthwart, ſearching out ſuche as had ayded his enimies, and were thought to bee ſeditious perſons, whome he puniſhed, ſome by impriſonmẽt, ſome by fines, and ſome by death, according to the qualitie of their offences, and as was thought moſt expedient.

An. reg. 3.

Fox Biſhoppe of Exceſter ſent Ambaſſador into Scotlande.

About the middeſt of Auguſt entring into the the thirde yeare of his reigne, he came to Newcaſtell vpon Tyne, and from thence ſent in ambaſſade into Scotland, Richard Foxe, lately before made Biſhoppe of Exceſter, and with hym Richarde Edgecombe knight Controller of hys howſe, to conclude ſome peace or truce wyth king James of Scotlande. The Engliſhe ambaſſadors were honourably receiued and louingly entertayned of the ſayde King, who gladlye woulde haue concluded a perpetuall peace wyth the king of England if he might haue bin licenced ſo to haue done, but his people being ſtedfaſt in their olde accuſtomed vſage, would not agree to any peace, but yet were contented to gratifie their kyng, that he ſhould take truce wyth Englande for the terme of ſeauen yeares, whyche was concluded, and ſecrete promyſe made by King James, that he woulde not only obſerue peace, and continue in perfecte amitie with the king of England during his life, but alſo would renew againe this truce now taken for other ſeuen yeares before the firſt ſeuen yeares wer fully expired.

A truce vvith Scotlande for ſe uen yeares.

The King of Scottes in deed was as deſyrous of the Kyng of Englandes friendſhippe as the Kyng of Englande was of his, bicauſe that his ſubiectes bare him much euill will, miſlyking wyth all things that eyther he coulde do or ſay.

King Henry after the returne of his Ambaſſadors out of Scotland, came back again from Newcaſtell to Yorke, and ſo towarde London, and in the way being at Leyceſter, there came to him Ambaſſadoures from Charles the Frenche king, which declared both the recouerie of certain townes out of the handes of Maximilian kyng of Romains which he had wrongfully deteined from the crowne of Fraunce before that tyme, and alſo that their Maiſter kyng Charles, had nowe warres in hande agaynſt Fraunces duke of Britayn, bicauſe that he ſuccored and mainteyned diuers noble men, as the Duke of Orleans and others that were rebelles and traytors againſt him and the realm of France. Wherfore his requeſt was, that for the olde familiaritie whiche hath bin betwixt them, he woulde nowe eyther aſſiſt and helpe him, or elſe ſtand as neuter betwixte them, neyther helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

Vpon good and deliberate aduice takẽ in this matter, bicauſe it was iudged weightie, the king for anſwere told the French Ambaſſadors, that he woulde neyther ſpare payne nor coſte, to ſette ſome reaſonable ſtaye betwixte their ſoueraigne Lord king Charles, and the duke of Britayne, ſo that a finall ende and ſome perfect concluſion of frendſhippe myght be hadde betwixt them. And ſo as ſone as the Frenche Ambaſſadoures were retourned home, the Kyng ſente his chaplayne Chriſtofer Vrſwyke ouer into France to king Charles, as wel to ſhew that he was gladde of the victorye whiche he had agaynſt Maximilian, as to declare what a tempeſtuous ſtorme of ciuile rebellion hymſelfe hadde eſcaped, and ouercome heere in Englande,

But the chiefeſt poynt of Vrſwikes erande conſiſted in this, that he ſhoulde intimate to the Frenche Kyng howe his maiſter Kyng Henrye offred himſelfe as a mediatour betwixt him and the Duke of Britayne, to make them friendes, and if he perceyued that the French king gaue eare herevnto, then ſhould he goe into Britain, to moue the Duke there to be contented, that ſome reaſonable order myghte bee taken for a quietneſſe to be hadde betwixte the French king and hym.

Chriſtofer Vrſvvicke

Whyleſt Vrſwike was trauaylyng in thys matter according to his Commiſſion, the King came backe againe to London, where hee was receyued of the Citizens wyth greate ioye and triumphe, they beeing hartyly gladde and greatly reioycing that hee wyth ſuche good ſucceſſe ſubdued his enimies.

Shortly after, he delyuered the Lorde Thomas Marques Dorſet out of the Tower, receyuing him agayn to his former fauor & old familiaritie, bicauſe his truth and loyaltie by diuers aſſays and ſundry arguments had bin throughly tryed and ſufficiently proued.

In whyche meane tyme the Kyng for the greate loue that hee bare to hys wyfe Queene Elizabeth, cauſed hir to be crowned and anointed Queene on Sainct Catherins daye in Nouember, wyth all ſolemnitie, as in ſuche caſes appertayneth.

In the meane ſeaſon Chriſtofer Vrſwyke according to hys Commiſſion, trauayleth betweene the Frenche Kyng and the Duke of Britayne in the Kyng of Englandes name to make them friendes: But although the French Kyng ſeemed wyllyng ynough to haue peace, yet meante hee nothyng leſſe, in ſo muche that whyleſt hee goeth aboute with fayre wordes, courteous Letters, and ſweete promiſes to keepe the King of Englande in hande to laboure a peace betwixte hym and the Brytaynes, he enforceth his whole puiſſance to ſubdue them, and beſiegeth the citie of Nauntes. And on the other part, the Duke of Orleans being withdrawn to the duke of Britain, and one that ruled moſte about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he coulde to hinder it.

The Engliſh ambaſſador Chriſtofer Vrſewike hauyng thus paſſed from the Frenche king to the Duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French King, retourned ſhortely after into Englande, and ſhewed vnto King Henrye what hee hadde done betwixt them.

Immediatlye after came from the Frenche King the Lorde Bernarde Daubeney a Scot borne, whyche on the Frenche Kings behalfe required King Henry to make ſome maner of ende of thoſe Brittiſhe warres, whatſoeuer it were. King Henry being deſirous of the ſame, ſent ouer againe into Fraunce, Iohn the Abbot of Abingdon, ſir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Chriſtofer Vrſwicke wyth full and perfect commiſſion and long inſtructions howe to proceede in driuyng of ſome agreement beetwixt the Frenchmenne and the Britons.

riſtofer
rſvvicke

Theſe orators accordyng as they hadde in commaundement, firſt went vnto the Frenche king, and after they had communed wyth him, Sir Richarde Edgecombe, & Chriſtofer Vrſwicke departed ſtraight to the duke of Britain in full hope to conclude a peace vpon ſuche offers and articles as they had to propone vnto hym. But al their hope was vaine, for the duke refuſed to agree vppon any ſuche articles and conditions as they offered, and ſo without cōcluding any thyng with the Duke, they returned backe into Fraunce, and from thence ſignified to the King of Englande by letters, all that they knewe or had done. But in the mean time Edwarde Lorde Wooduille vncle to the Queene, ſued to King Henrye that hee myght haue a power of men apointed to him, with the whiche hee woulde ſteale priuily ouer without licence or paſſeport, ſo that euery man ſhoulde thinke that he was fledde the Realme, without knowlege of the king, for that no warre ſhould ariſe by his meanes beetwixt the Realmes of Fraunce and England, and yet ſhuld the duke of Britaine bee aided agaynſte the power of the Frenchemen, whiche ſought to vanquiſhe hym that they myght ioyne hys countrey vnto the dominion of Fraunce, which in no wiſe ought to be ſuffred, conſideryng what annoyaunce & hurte the ſame myght bryng to the Realme of Englande in time to come.

1488
vvard lorde
oodville ai-
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Britaine,
thout the
s conſent.

Althoughe this requeſte was vtterly denyed, and that the Lord Wooduile was ſtraightly commaunded by the kyng to make no ſuche attempt, yet coulde not all that ſtaye hym, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capitaine, hee there gatherd togyther a crewe of talle and hardy perſonages, to the number of .iiij.C. and with proſperous winde and weather arriued in Britaine, and ioined himſelf with the Britons againſte the Frenchemen.

The Frenche King aduertiſed hereof, was not wel pleaſed in his minde towards the king of Englande, till king Henry by newe meſſengers enformed hym how guiltles he was in the matter, and that by plaine and euidēt proues. With the whiche excuſe the Frenche King ſeemed to be better pacifyed, and was content to diſſimule the matter. And ſo the Engliſh ambaſſadors renewing the league and amitie betwixt King Henry, and the Frenche kyng, for the ſpace of twelue Monethes they retourned into England, and ſhewed the king all things that they had eyther hearde or ſeene, ſo that he perceyued that the Frenche king dealt craftelye in this matter of Britayne, ſtyll motionyng peace when hee ment nothyng elſe but warre. He therefore called his highe courte of Parliament, in the which it was not only determined that the Duke of Britaine ſhuld be aided with a power of men, againſte the wrongfull inuaſions of the Frenchemen, but alſo there were diuers ſummes of mony granted to the furniſhing forth and maintaynaunce of the ſame.

The league renued betvvixt Englande, and Fraunce.

And immediatly hereupon, the kyng ſente his Ambaſſadours into Fraunce to certifye the Frenche Kyng what the eſtates aſſembled in Parliament here in Englande had decreed, and therefore hee required hym eyther to ſurceaſſe the warres whiche he had in hande againſt the Britons, or elſe not to be greeued, thoughe hee condiſcended to the iudgement & determination of the Lordes, bothe ſpirituall and temporall, and commons of hys Realme, in takyng vpon him the defence of the Duke of Britaine, promyſing neuertheleſſe that the Engliſhe armye ſhoulde onely take lande wythin the Dutchie of Britayne, and ſeeke to defende the ſame agaynſte all thoſe that didde inuade it, and not to make anye warre wythin anye of the Frenche dominions.

This meſſage was nothyng regarded of the Frenche King, in ſo muche that the French army proceeded in oppreſſing the Britons, deſtroying the country, and beſieging Townes.

At lengthe on the ſeuen and twentith, or as the Chronicles of Aniowe haue the eighte and twentith daye of July, the Duke of Britons armye gaue battaile to the Frenche hoſte neare to a towne called Saint Aulbin, hauing apparelled a thouſande and ſeuen hundreth of the Britons in coates wyth redde croſſes, after the Engliſhe faſhion, to make the Frenchemen beleeue that they had a great number of Engliſhemen, althoughe they hadde but foure hundrethe onely wyth the Lorde Wooduille.

The battaile of Saint Aulbin in Britaine.

The victory in this battell fell to the frenchmen, ſo that almoſte all the engliſhemen were ſlain with the Lord Wooduile, beſide .vi.M.

Britons. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orainge were taken priſoners, whiche were ther on the Bretons part. The frenchmenne loſte twelue hundred men, and amongſt other, that valiant Italian Capitaine James Galeot.

Theſe newes being brought into England, cauſed King Henrye to make haſte in ſendyng forthe his army, and therefore was the Lorde Brooke, wyth Syr John Cheynye, Syr John Middleton, Sir Raufe Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leighton, Sir Richard Laton, and Sir Edmunde Cornewall ſent ouer into Britaine wyth all conuenient ſpeede, hauyng wyth them an eyghte thouſande men, well armed and furniſhed in warrelike wiſe, to ayde the Duke of Britayne agaynſte the Frenchemen.

Theſe luſtye Capitaines beyng arriued in Britaine, after they had a little refreſhed them, marched forward, and commyng neare to their enemies, pitched downe their fielde, not farre from the Frenchmens campe.

The Frenchemen by experience knowyng the Engliſhemenne (ſo long as they bee freſhe and luſtie) in maner to be inuincyble, thought not good to matche wyth them in open battell, till they were ſomewhat wearyed wyth lying and lingeryng abroade in the fielde, and therefore at the firſt they ſought to weary them with light ſkirmiſhes, appointyng their horſemenne to giue them alarmes, and ſome ſkirmiſhes, in the whiche the Frenchemen by reaſon of the Engliſhe archers (which galled bothe men and horſes) were euer put to the worſe.

But beholde the mutabilitie of worldelye chaunces, whiles this warre was thus ſet forwarde, Fraunceis Duke of Britaine departed this life, and then the chiefe rulers of Britayne falling at diſſention amogſt themſelues, tendred not the defence of their countrey, but rather minded the deſtruction thereof, ſo that the Engliſhemenne perceyuyng in what daunger they were, and conſidering that it was in the middeſt of Winter, a time not meete for men of warre to lye in the colde and froſtie fieldes, they retourned into England, within fiue Monethes after their firſt ſettyng forth. So that finally the French king got the vpper hand of the Britons. and didde incorporate that Dutchie to hys Realme and Crowne of Fraunce, as in the hiſtorye of Fraunce it maye appeare at large.

Stow,

In July this yeare was a Preſt leuyed for the Kyng in the Citie of London, of foure thouſande pounde whiche was repaide the yere nexte followyng.

In Siptember, the Queene was deliuered of hir firſte ſonne, named Prince Arthur, and the fiue & twentith of Nouember nexte enſuing ſhee was crowned at Weſtminſter with al due ſolemnitie.

An. reg.

Yee haue hearde, howe there was in the laſte Parliament mony graunted for the furniſhyng forthe of the armye into Britayne. That is to wit, it was agreed, that euery man ſhoulde be taxed after the rate of his ſubſtaunce to paye the tenth penye of his goodes, which money the moſt part of them that dwelled in the Biſhopricke of Durham, and in the parties of Yorkeſhire refuſed vtterly to paye, eyther for that they thought thẽſelues ouercharged with the ſame, or were procured to ſhewe themſelues diſobedient, throughe the euill counſaile of ſome ſeditious perſones, whyche conſpired agaynſte the King, to put him to newe trouble. Therefore ſuche as were appoynted Colectours, after that they could not get the mony, according to their extreites delyuered to them by the Commiſſioners, they made their complaint priuily to Hẽrye the fourthe Earle of Northumberlande, chiefe ruler of the Northe partes.

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The Earle forthwith ſignifyed to the king all that matter, and the Kyng not willing to pardon them of any one peny (leaſt the example might do hurt by encouragyng others to ſhewe the like ſtubburnes in other parts of the realme) commaunded the Erle eyther by diſtreſſe, or otherwiſe, to leuy the mony, as he ſhould thinke moſte meeteſt. The rude beaſtly people hearing of this aunſwer from the king, by and by wyth greate violence ſet vppon the Earle by the exityng of a ſimple fellow named John a Chãber, whom the Earle with faire wordes ſought to appeaſe, but they like vnreaſonable vilains, aledging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the taxe, furiouſlye and cruelly murthered bothe hym and dyuers of hys houſholde ſeruaunts.

The Earle Northumb land murthe by the Nor thern rebel

Diuers affirme that the Northerne menne bare againſte this earle continuall grudge euer ſince the deathe of King Richard, whome they entirely fauoured.

Although this offence was greate and hainous, yet there ſucceeded a more miſchiefe: for incontinently to cloke thys preſumptuous murther, the Northerne men gotte them to armoure, and aſſembling togyther, choſe them a Capitaine, no leſſe ſeditious then deſirous of trouble, called Sir John Egremonde Knight, and paſſing by the countreys, they publiſhed & declared that they woulde bidde the kyng battaile only in defence of their liberties, and common freedome, of the whiche hee went aboute to bereeue them. But when the matter ſhoulde come to bee tried wyth blowes, theyr hartes ſo

A rebellion the North a taxe gran by parliame fainted that they ſcattered awaye, euery man ſeekyng to ſaue hymſelfe by flight, but that little auailed them: for the king hearing of this buſines, ſent forthe Thomas Earle of Surrey (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his ſpeciall fauour) wyth a crewe of men, to chaſtice thoſe rebelles of the Northe partes, who ſkirmiſhed wyth a certain company of them, & them diſcomfited, and tooke aliue John a Chamber, the firſte beginner of this rebellion.

The King himſelfe roade after into Yorkeſhire, of whoſe commyng the ſturdye rebelles were ſo abaſhed and afrayde, that they fledde more and leſſe: whyche afterwarde were apprehended, and puniſhed accordyng to their demerites. Yet the King of his clemency pardoned the innocente people, & executed the chiefe procurers. For John a Chamber was hanged at Yorke vpon a gibbet ſet vpon a ſquare paire of gallowes like an archtraytor, and his complices and lewde diſciples, were hanged on the lower gallowes rounde aboute their Maiſter, to the terrible example of other. But ſir John Egremonde fledde into Flaunders to the Lady Margaret Dutcheſſe of Burgougne, that euer enuied the proſperitie of King Henry.

After this, the king retourned to London, leauing the Earle of Surry to rule the North partes, and appointed Sir Richard Tunſtall, a man of greate witte and pollicy to gather the Subſidye to hym due of the people,

This yeare the king borrowed of euery Alderman of London two hundred pounde, and of the Chamber nine thouſād eightie two poūd ſeuenteene ſhillings foure pence, whiche be repaied againe, to the vttermoſte, wyth greate equitie and thankfulneſſe.

rebellion in
unders.

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In this ſeaſon, the Emperour Fredericke made warre againſte the Flemings, namely againſt Bruges and certaine townes of Flaunders, which had rebelled againſt his ſon Maximilian, Kyng of Romaynes, theyr liege and ſoueraigne Lord, in ſo muche that they of Bruges had not only ſlayne hys officers but impriſoned him within their Towne, till they hadde cauſed him to pardon all their offences, and alſo to ſweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the ſame in time to come. But his father Fredericke the Emperor coulde not ſuffer ſuche a reproche and diſhonor done to his ſon, to paſſe vnreuenged, and therefore ſcourged the countrye of Flanders with ſharpe and cruell warre. The lorde of Rauenſtein being driuen to take the ſame othe, that his Maſter Maximiliā tooke at Bruges, to ſhewe that the warre was not begon with his aſſent, forſooke Maximilian his Lord, and tooke the Towns of Ipre & Scluiſe with bothe the Caſtels of the ſame hauen, and further dyd not onlye ſtirre the Gauntois, and Brugeans, and other Townes of Flaunders, to rebell agaynſt their ſoueraine lord, but alſo ſent to the French kings lieutenāt in Picardy, the Lorde Cordes, to aide him to conquer ſuch Townes of Flaunders, as were not of hys opinion.

The Lorde Cordes, otherwiſe called Monſieur de Querdes, was glad to haue ſo good occaſion to ſet foote in Flaunders, as he that had ſufficient inſtructions of his Maiſter, the french King, vpon any ſuche offerd occaſion ſo to do, ſent forthwith to the aide of the Flemings viij. M. Frenchmen, commaunding them to conquere ſuche Townes, as were in the way beetwixt Fraunce and Bruges.

The capitaines according to his deuiſe beeſieged a little walled towne, called Dixemew, to whome came .iiij. M. Flemings with victuall and artilerie, ſent from the Lord of Rauenſtein. They laide ſiege on the North ſide of the towne, in a mariſhe grounde than beeyng drye, and ſo deepely ditched, and rampired their campe about (on which rampire they laide their ordinaunce) that it was in manner impoſſible to enter their campe, or do them any diſpleaſure or domage.

The king of Englande was daily aduertiſed of theſe doings, whiche nothyng leſſe deſired than to haue the Engliſhe Pale enuironed wyth Frenche fortreſſes, wherefore to preuent that miſchiefe in time, with all expedition he ſet ouer to the Lorde Daubeney, and his deputye of Calais, the Lord Morley, with a crue of valiant archers and ſouldiours, to the number of a thouſande men, with priuy inſtructions what they ſhould do.

At their commyng ouer, it was bruited abroade, that they were ſent only to defende the Engliſh Pale, againſt al attempts that might vpon the ſuddaine in any wiſe be made by the Frenchemen, or Flemings: but their enterpriſe was all otherwiſe. For on a Tuiſdaye at the ſhutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubney chieftaine of the army, the Lorde Morley, Sir James Tirrell capitaine of Guiſnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and ſir Humfrey Talbot Marſhall of Calais, wyth diuers other Knightes, and Eſquiers, and other of the gariſons of Hammes, Guyſnes, and Callais, to the number of two thouſand men, or thereaboutes, iſſued priuily out of Callais, & paſſed the water of Grauelyng, in the morning betimes, and lefte there for a ſtale, and to keepe the paſſage, Sir Humfrey Talbot, with ſixe ſcore archers, and came to Newport, where they founde the ſoueraigne of Flaunders with ſixe hundred Almaines, and there they ſtayed that night.

On the nexte day they went toward Dixemewe, and by the guidyng of a priſoner, that ſhould haue bin hanged on the nexte morning, they iſſued out of the Southe gate of the town of Dixemew, & were conueyed by their ſayde guide by an high banke ſet wyth willowes, ſo that the Gantois coulde not well eſpye them, & ſo ſecretly to the end of their enemies campe, and there pauſed.

The Lorde Daubeney commaunded all men to ſend their horſes, and wagons backe, but the Lorde Morley ſaide hee would ride till hee came to hande ſtrokes.

Thus they marched forthe till they came to a lowe banke, and no deepe ditche, where the ordinaunce laye, and there the archers ſhot altogyther, euery man an arrowe, and ſo fell proſtrate to the grounde. The enemies herewyth diſcharged their ordynaunce and ouerſhotte them. The Almains leapt ouer the ditche with their moris pikes. The Engliſhemenne in the forefront, waded the ditche, and were holpen vp by the Almaines, and ſet on their enemies, & tooke many priſoners. The other Engliſhmen haſted by the cauſey to enter in at the Northe gate of the campe, where the Lord Morley being on horſebacke in a riche coate, was ſlayne wyth a gunne.

The Lorde Morley ſlaine.

When his deathe was knowen, euery man killed his priſoner, and ſlewe all ſuche as didde wythſtande them, to the number of eight thouſande men, in ſo muche that of two thouſande that came out of Bruges (as the Flemiſh chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundreth. On the Engliſhe parte was ſlayne the Lorde Morley, and not an hundreth mo. The Engliſhemen tooke their ordinaunce, and ſent it to Newporte, wyth all the ſpoile and greate horſes. And by the way hearing certaine frēchmen to be at Oſtend, they made thitherwarde: but the Frenchemen fled, & ſo they burned parte of the towne, and came againe to Newporte, where the Lord Daubney left al yͤ Engliſhmen that were hurte and returned to Calais, where he buried the body of the Lord Morley.

The Engliſhemen got greate riches at this fielde, for they that went forthe in clothe, came home in ſilke, and thoſe that went out on foote, came home on great horſes. The Lord Cordes being at Ipre with twenty thouſand men was ſore diſpleaſed wyth this ouerthrow, & therfore thinking to be reuenged, beſieged the towne of Newport right ſtrongly, and ſhot daily at the walles, breaking them in many places. But the Engliſhmen that were hurte at Dixemew field before, and might eyther ſtande or drawe bowe neuer came frō the walles. One day the frenchmenne gaue a greate aſſault to a Tower, and perforce entred it, and ſet vp the banner of the Lorde Cordes: but ſee the chaunce, during the time of the aſſaulte, there arriued a barke wyth foure ſcore freſhe Engliſh archers, which came ſtraight to the Tower, and did ſo muche, that what wyth the helpe of ſuche as before were wounded, and burſemen, and of the couragious hartes of the newe come archers encouraged greatly by the women of the towne crying, ſhoote Engliſhmen, ſhoote, the Tower was regained out of the Frenchemens handes, and the banner of the Lorde Cordes rent in peeces, and in place therof, the penon of Saint George ſet vp. Then the Frenchmen ſuppoſing a great aide of Engliſhemen to haue bene come to the towne by ſea, lefte the aſſault.

Nevvport beſieged by the Frenchemen.

Engliſhe archers.

And the night folowing, the enuious Lord Cordes (whiche ſo ſore longed for Calais, that hee woulde commonly ſaye, that hee coulde be content to lye ſeuen yeares in Hell, ſo that Calais were in poſſeſſion of the Frenchmen) brake vp his ſiege, and retourned to Heldyng wyth ſhame. And the Engliſhmen glad of this victorie returned to Calais. This yeare Iames the thirde of that name, King of Scots, was ſlaine by his owne Subiectes, after they had vanquiſhed hym in a pight fielde.

Iames king
Scottes, ſla
by his ovv
Subiectes.

Aboute the ſame time one Adrian an Italian was ſente in Ambaſſade from Pope Innocent the eight, into Scotland, to haue taken vp the variaunce betwixte the King there, and his people. But being arriued here in Englād, he was enformed that king Iames was ſlaine, and therefore taryed here certaine Monethes, & for that hee was a man of excellent learnyng, vertue, and humanitie, i the Archebiſhoppe of Canterbury Iohn Morton, ſo commended him to the King, that he made him firſte Biſhoppe of Hereforde, and ſhortely after, that reſigned and giuen ouer, hee promoted him to the Biſhopricke of Welles, and Bathe. And after that wyth theſe honours he was retourned to Rome, hee was aduaunced by all the degrees of Spirituall dignities into the Colledge of the Cardinalles: and worthie ſure he was of great preferrement, for by hys meanes learned men were moued to ſeeke out the vſe of eloquent writyng, and ſpeaking in the latine tongue, he being the firſte in the tyme of our fathers that taught the trade to chooſe and vſe apte wordes and fitte termes.

Adrian an I
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1490

An.reg

In the ſixte yeare of King Henries raigne there came Ambaſſadors to him frō the frenche king the lord Fraūcis of Lutzenburg, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine Miniſter of the Bonnehommes of the Trinitie. The effect of their comming, was to haue concluded a peace with King Henrye, and that with good will the French King might diſpoſe of the mariage of the yong Dutcheſſe of Britaine, as he ſhoulde thinke good, and to make void the contract, and former mariage, which by proxie the deputie of Maximilian, king of Romains had before time contracted, and made with hir. But thereto woulde not King Henry giue his conſent, euer harping on this ſtring, that the maidẽ being once lawfully combined in matrimonye with Maximilian, ought not to be compelled againſte hir will and promiſſe, yea and contrary to all lawe, right and equitie, to take any other perſon than him to hir ſpouſe and huſbande.

In deede Kyng Henry was lothe that the Frenche King ſhoulde marry the Dutcheſſe of Britaine hymſelfe (as he perceued his meaning was) and ſo ioyne the Dutchie of Britayne to the Crowne of Fraunce, and therefore hee did what he coulde to hinder that bargaine.

At lengthe yet it was agreede that a forme of a league ſhould be drawen with conditions, clauſes, and couenauntes, and for the full concludyng of the ſame, it was thought expedient that the King of Englande ſhoulde ſend Ambaſſadours to the Frenche Kyng to finyſhe all matters beetwyxte them. Whereuppon the Frenche Ambaſſadours beyng diſmiſſed wyth great rewardes, ſtraight waies Thomas earle of Ormonde, and Thomas Goldenſton Prior of Chriſtes Churche in Canterbury were appointed by the king to folow them into France inſtructed fully in all things that he wold haue on his behalfe, either moued or determyned.

el Bishop
oncordia.

In this meane ſpace, Lionell the Biſhop of Concordia was ſente as Oratour from Pope Alexander the ſixte, to the Frenche Kyng for certaine matters: and amongſt other things he hadde in chardge to conclude a peace and vnitye betwixte the Frenche Kyng and the King of Englande. Hee mouyng thys matter to the Frenche King, founde hym nothyng ſtrange to encline to his motion. Wherupon the Biſhop of Concordia conceyuyng good hope, and therwith deſyrous (as became hym beſte bearyng that title) to ſet an attonement beetwixte thoſe two Kings, tooke his iourney towardes Englande, to the intent he might moue King Henry to bee agreable therevnto, and ſo comming to Calais, found the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours there, beeing ſo farre on their way towards the Frenche King, and being honourably receiued of them into that Towne, after they had communed togither, the Biſhoppe tooke the ſea, and was trãſported ouer into England, & the Ambaſſadors departed toward the Frenche King.

After the Biſhoppe of Concordia had talked with King Henry, and perceyued that vpon reaſonable conditions he coulde be content to conclude a peace wyth all Chriſten Princes, and to lyue in reſte after ſo many troubles aforetime ſuſtained, the ſaide Biſhop retourned backe into Fraunce to ſollicite thys purpoſe to ſome perfect concluſion. But the Frenchmen ſo handled the matter, that whileſt they outwardly ſhewed how they deſired nothyng but frendſhip & amitie, they alured the yong Dutcheſſe of Britayne, to ſubmit hirſelfe wholy to their diſcretion, ſo that ſhortly after ſhee was maried to King Charles. And the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours, after they perceyued whiche waye the winde would vire, returned again to their countrey, and nothing done or agreed vpon in their matter. King Henry ſore troubled in hys mynde therewyth, determined no more wyth peaceable meſſages, but with open warre to determine all controuerſies betwixt hym and the Frenche King, called his highe courte of Parliament, & there declared the cauſe why he was iuſtely prouoked to make warre agaynſte the frenchemen, and therfore deſired thẽ of their beneuolent aide of men and money towarde the maintenaunce thereof. The cauſe was ſo iuſte that euery man allowed it, and to the ſettyng forthe of the warre taken in hande for ſo neceſſarie an occaſion, euery man promiſed his helping hand. The king commẽded them for their true and faithfull hartes, and to the intent that he might ſpare the poorer ſorte of the commons (whome he euer deſired to keepe in fauour) hee thought good firſte to exact mony of the richeſt ſorte by way of a beneuolence, whiche kinde of leuying money was firſt deuiſed by King Edwarde the fourthe, as it apeareth beefore in hys hiſtorie. King Henry folowing the like example, publiſhed abroade, that by their open giftes he would meaſure, and ſearche their beneuolent heartes and good mindes towardes him, ſo that he, that gaue moſte, ſhoulde be iudged to be his moſte louing friende, and he that gaue litle, to be eſteemed accordyng to hys gifte. By thys it appeareth that whatſoeuer is practiſed for the princes profit, & brought to a preſident by matter of record, may be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rulers in auctoritie will ſo adiudge and determine it.

A Parliament.

But by this meanes King Henrye got innumerable great ſummes of money, with ſome grudge of the people, for the extremitie ſhewed by the commiſſioners in diuers places. Ye haue hearde before howe the Lorde of Rauenſtein by the ayde of Bruges, and Gaunt, hadde taken the Towne, and two Caſtels of Scluiſe, whiche hee kepte againſt his ſoueraigne lorde Maximilian, and gettyng into the hauen certaine

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taine ſhips and barkes, robbed ſpoiled and toke priſoners, the ſhippes and veſſelles of all nations, that paſſed alongeſt by that coaſt towards the Marte at Andwarpe, or into any parte of Brabant, Zeland, or Friſeland, and was euer ſufficiently vittailed out of Fraunce, and Picardye.

There was a little Towne alſo two miles from Bruges towarde the Sea, called Dam, whyche was a Bulwarke to Bruges, and an headſpring to Sluiſe. The King of Romains hadde attempted the winnyng of this Towne diuers times, but miſſed his purpoſe, til at lẽgth Albert Duke of Saxony, a great friende to the King of Romaines, by policye found meanes to gette it. This Duke fainyng hymſelfe as a Newtre betwixte the King of Romaines, and the rebelles of Flaunders, required of the lordes of Bruges that hee myght enter peaceably into their Towne accordyng to hys eſtate, wyth a certaine number of men of armes to communicate with thẽ diuers maters of great weight, and ſent before his carriages and herbengers to make prouiſion. They of Bruges were in no doubt of hym, ſo that his men of warre entred into the Cytie in good order, and he followed. They that wente beefore, enquired for Innes, and lodgings, as though they would haue reſted there all the night, and ſo went forthe ſtill in order aſkyng after lodgings, till they came to the gate that leadeth directly toward Dam, diſtant from Bruges a Flemiſhe mile, whyche is called the Bulwarke of Bruges. The Captaines and inhabitantes of Dam ſuſpecting no harme to come out of Bruges, thought theyr friendes (knowyng ſome daunger towardes) had ſent them aide, and ſo nothyng miſtruſting thoſe that approched their towne, ſuffred them to enter, and ſo was the Towne of Dam taken by ſleight, whiche coulde not be wonne by open force. This chaunce ſore diſpleaſed them of Bruges, for nowe coulde they haue no recourſe to the Sea, ſo that they muſte needes fall into ruine and decay. The Duke of Saxonye thus hauing won the towne of Dam, ſente to the King of Englande, that if it would pleaſe hym to miniſter any aide by ſea, he would beſiege Sluiſe by lande. The king well remembring that Sluiſe was a roueſneſt, and a very denne of theues to them that trauerſed the ſeas towardes the Eaſte partes, incontinentlye diſpatched ſir Edward Poinings a right valiant Knight, and hardye Capitayne wyth twelue ſhippes well furniſhed with bolde ſouldiours, and ſufficient artillerie. Whiche Sir Edward ſailed into the Hauen, and kepte the Lorde of Rauenſtein from ſtarting by ſea.

Dam taken by policy.

The Duke of Saxony beſieged one of the caſtels, lying in a Churche ouer againſt it, and the Engliſhemen aſſaulted the leſſe Caſtell, and iſſued out of theyr ſhippes at the ebbe, neuer ſuffering theyr enemies to reſte in quiet one daye togither, for the ſpace of twenty dayes, and euery daye ſlewe ſome of their aduerſaries, and on the Engliſh parte were ſlaine one Vere brother to the Earle of Oxforde, and fiftye mo.

The Lorde of Rauenſtein hadde made a brydge of Boates betweene both Caſtelles, to paſſe from the one to the other, whyche brydge the Engliſhemen one night ſet on fyre. Then hee perceiuyng that he muſte loſe his Caſtelles by force, and that the Flemings coulde not aide hym, yelded the Caſtelles to Syr Edwarde Poinings, and the towne to the duke of Saxony vpon certaine conditions, Sir Edwarde Poinings kepte the caſtelles a while, of whom the Almaines demaunded their wages, bycauſe the duke hadde nothyng to paye. Then theſe two Capitaynes ſo handled them of Bruges, that they not only ſubmitted thẽſelues to their Lord Maximilian, but alſo were contented to paye, and diſpatche the Almaines.

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And ſo Syr Edwarde Poynyngs tarryed there a long ſpace, and at lengthe retourned to the King before Bolongne.

The ſixte daye of Aprill this preſent yeare, the nobles of the Realme aſſembled in the Cathedrall Churche of Saynct Paule in London, where *Te Deum*, was ſolempnely ſong, and thankes rendred to God for the victorie that the King of Spaine hadde gotte of the Saraſins, in conquerying on them the whole Realme of Granado.

Maximilian King of Romaines entendyng to bee reuenged on the Frenchemenne for the many iniuries done to hym of late (and eſpeciallye for that Kyng Charles hadde forſaken hys daughter the Ladye Margaret, and purpoſed to take to wyfe the Ladye Anne of Britayne:) bycauſe he was not ryche inoughe to maintayne the warre of hymſelf, he ſent his Imbaſſadour one Iames Contibald, a man of great wiſedome, to require the King of Englande to take hys parte agaynſte the Frenche King, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it ſhould pleaſe hym ſo to do.

King Henry no leſſe deſirous than Maximilian to put the Frenche Kyng to trouble, and chieflye to ayde the Britons in the extremitye of theyr buſineſſe, gladdelye conſented to the requeſt of Maximilian, and promiſed to prepare an armye wyth all ſpeede, and in time conuenient to paſſe the ſeas with the ſame and inuade the Frenche territories.

Anno.

In this very ſeaſon Charles the french King receyued the Ladye Anne of Britayne, as hys pupill into his handes, and wyth great ſolempnitie hir eſpouſed, hauyng wyth hir in dower, the whole Dutchye of Britayne. Thus was Maximilian in a greate chafe towardes the Frenche King, not only for that he had refuſed his daughter, but alſo had bereeued hym of hys aſſured wife the ſayd Lady Anne, contrarie to all right and conſcience. Wherefore hee ſente vnto king Henry, deſiryng hym with al ſpeede to paſſe the ſeas with his army, that they might purſue the warre againſt their aduerſarie wyth fyre, ſworde, and bloude. King Henry hearing this, and hauing no miſtruſt in the promiſſe of Maximilian, with all ſpeed leuied an army, and rigged his nauye of ſhips, and when all things were readye, he ſente his Aulmoner Chriſtofer Vrſwicke, and ſir Iohn Riſeley Knyght vnto Maximilian to certifye hym, that the king was in a readineſſe, and would arriue at Calais, as ſoone as hee ſhoulde bee aduertiſed that Maximilian and his men were readye to ioyne wyth hym.

These Ambaſſadors comming into Flaunders, perceyued that Maximilian was neyther purueyed of men, money, nor armoure, nor of any other thyng neceſſarie for the ſetting forth of warre, ſaue only that his will was good, althoughe his power was ſmalle.

King Henry being aduertiſed hereof by letters ſente to hym from hys ſaid Ambaſſadors, was ſore diſquieted in his minde, and was almoſte broughte to his wittes ende, to conſider howe his companion in armes ſhuld thus faile hym at neede, but takyng aduiſe of his counſel, at lengthe hee determined not to ſtaye his prepenſed iourney, and therefore hee ſo encreaſed his numbers before he tooke ſhippe, that he with his owne power might bee able to matche with his aduerſaries.

When hee hadde thus gathered and aſſembled his army, he ſailed to Calais the ſixte day of October, and there encamped hymſelfe for a ſpace to ſee all hys men and prouiſion in ſuche redineſſe, as nothing ſhoulde bee wanting.

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In this place all the army hadde knowledge by the Ambaſſadours (whiche were newly retourned out of Flaunders) that Maximilian coulde not ſette forthe any army, for lacke of money, and therefore there was no ſuccour to bee looked for at his hand, but the Engliſhemen were nothyng diſmayd therewith, as they that iudged themſelues able inough to matche with the Frenchmen without the helpe of any other nation.

In the meane ſeaſon, althoughe the Frenche King hadde an army togither, bothe for number and furniture able to trye in battaile wyth the Engliſhemen, yet hee made ſemblaunce as though he deſired nothing more thā peace, as yͤ thing muche more profitable to him than warre, conſidernig the minds of the Britons were not yet wholy ſettled: and again, he was called into Italy to make warre agaynſte the Kyng of Naples, whoſe Kingdom he pretended to appertaine to hym by lawfull ſucceſſion from his father King Lewes, to whome Reigne Duke of Aniowe laſte King of Sicill, of the houſe of Aniowe, hadde transferred hys ryghte to that kingdome (as partely beefore yee haue hearde) wrongfully and wythout cauſe diſinherityng his couſin, godſonne and heyre, Reigne Duke of Lorraine, and Bar: The Lord Chordes hauing commiſſion from his Maiſter the Frenche king to make ſome entry into a treatie for peace with the King of Englande, wrote letters to him before he paſſed ouer to Calais, ſignifying to hym, that if it might ſtand with his pleaſure to ſende ſome of his counſellours to the borders of the Engliſh Pale adioining to France, there ſhoulde bee ſo reaſonable conditions of peace profered, that he doubted not but his grace might with greate honor breake vp his campe, and retire hys army home againe.

The King of Englande conſideryng that Britaine was clearely loſte, and paſte recouerye, and that Maximilian for lacke of money, and miſtruſte which he had in his owne Subiects, lay ſtill like a Dormouſe dooing nothing, and herewith waying that it ſhoulde be honorable to hym, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloudeſhed, appointed the Biſhoppe of Exceter, and Giles Lorde Daubney to paſſe the Seas to Calais, and ſo to commen with the Lord Chordes of articles of peace, whiche tooke effect as after ye ſhal perceiue.

Bolongne beſieged by the Englyshemen.

In the meane time, whyleſt the commiſſioners were commenyng of peace on the Marches of Fraunce, the Kyng of Englande, as yee haue heard, was arryued at Calais: from whence after all things were prepared for ſuch a iourney, hee remoued in foure battailes forwarde, till he came neare to the towne of Bolongne, & there pitched his tentes before it in a conuenient place for hys purpoſe, meaning to aſſaile the towne with his whole force and puiſſaunce. But there was ſuche a ſtrong gariſon of warlyke Souldyours wythin that fortreſſe, and ſuche plentye of artillerye, and neceſſarye munityons of warre, that the loſſe of Engliſhmē aſſaulting the town (as was doubted) ſhuld bee greater domage to the Realme of Englande, than the gaynning thereof ſhould be profite. Yet the daily ſhotte of the kings battering peeces brake the walles, and ſore defaced them:

But when euerye man was readye to giue the aſſaulte, a ſodaine rumor roſe in the army that peace was concluded: whyche bruite as it was pleaſaunt to the Frenchman, ſo was it diſpleaſaunt to the Engliſhmenne, bycauſe they were preſt and ready at all times to ſette on theyr enemies, and brought into greate hope to haue bene enryched by the ſpoyle and gayne, to haue fallen to their lottes of their enemies goods, beſide the glorious fame of renowmed victorye. And therefore to be defrauded hereof by an vnprofitable peace, they were in a great fume, and very angrye: And namelye for that diuers of the captaines to ſet themſelues and their bands the more gorgeouſly forward, hadde borrowed large ſummes of money, and for the repaiment had morgaged their landes and poſſeſſions, and ſome happely had made through ſales thereof, truſtyng to recouer all againe by the gaines of this iourney. Wherefore offended wyth thys ſoddayne concluſion of peace, they ſpake euill bothe of the Kyng and his counſell. But the King like a wiſe prince aſſwaged their diſpleaſure in parte with excuſing the matter, alledgyng what loſſe, and bloud ſhedde was like to enſue bothe of Captaines and ſouldiours if the aſſault ſhould haue bin giuen to the vtterance, eſpecially ſith that the towne was ſo well furniſhed with men and munitions. When he had ſomewhat appeaſed their minds with theſe and many other reaſons, hee retourned backe again to Calais.

Polidore.

Sir John Sauage ſlayne at this ſiege.

There were not many of the Engliſhe armye loſte at this ſiege of Bolongne, and fewe or no men of name, ſauyng that valiant Capitaine ſir John Sauege Knight, the whyche as hee and ſir John Riſely rode aboute the walles of the towne, to viewe in what place it might bee eaſlieſt aſſaulted, was compaſſed aboute by certaine Frenchmen that were iſſued out of the towne, and there ſlain ſtanding at defence, and vtterly refuſing to yelde hymſelfe as priſoner. But ſir John Riſley eſcaped by fleeing away.

When the King was thus returned to Calais, he began to ſmell a certayne ſecrete ſmoke, whiche was lyke to tourne to a greate flame, wythout wiſe foreſight, and good lookyng to. For by the craftye inuention, and diueliſhe imagination of the Lady Margaret Ducheſſe of Burgongne, a newe Idoll was ſette vp in Flaunders, and by a forged name called Rycharde Plantagenet ſecond ſonne to king Edwarde the fourthe, as though he had bin reyſed from deathe to life. The newes hereof ſomewhat troubled hym, ſo that hee was with better will content to receiue the honourable conditions of peace offered of his enemie bycauſe hee ſhoulde not be conſtrained at one time to make warre bothe at home, and alſo in a forrein Region.

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The concluſion of this agreement made with the Frenchmen, was this. That the peace ſhoulde continue bothe their liues, and that the Frenche Kyng ſhoulde paye to the Kyng of Englande a certaine ſumme of money in hand, according as the commiſſioners ſhuld appoynt for his charges ſuſteined in this iourney.

Whiche as the King certifyed the Maior of London by his letters the ninth of Nouember, amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen hundred fortie fiue thouſande duckets, whiche is of ſterling money one hundred foure ſcore and fiue thouſande two hundred and fiftie pounds, and alſo ſhoulde yearely for a certayne ſpace, paye or cauſe to be paide, for the mony that the king hadde ſpent and expended in the defence of the Britons fiue and twenty thouſande crownes, whiche yearely tribute the French King afterwardes continually occupied wyth the warres of Italy yearely, ſatiſfied and payde ſo long as King Henry liued, who after he hadde tarried a conuenient ſpace at Calais, tooke the ſea, and ariued at Douer, and ſo came to his Mannor of Greenewiche.

Immediatlye after hys retourne thus into England, he elected into the felowſhip of ſaynt George commonly called the order of the Garter, Alfonſe Duke of Calabre ſonne and heire to Ferdinando K. of Naples, Chriſtofer Urſwicke the Kyngs Aulmoner was ſente to him vnto Naples with the garter, coller, Mantel, and other habillementes appertainyng to the companiõs of that noble order, the which was reuerently receiued of the ſayd Duke who in a ſolemne preſence reueſted hymſelfe wyth that habite, ſuppoſing by the countenaunce of that apparell to bee able to reſiſte his aduerſarye the French King, ſith he was nowe made a friend and companiõ in order wyth the king of Englande: but that little auailed hym, as after it was ryght apparant.

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King.

This yeare the two and twentye of June, was borne at Greenewiche the Lorde Henry, ſeconde ſonne of thys Kyng Henrye the ſeuenth, whiche was created Duke of Yorke, and after Prince of Wales, and in concluſion ſucceeded hys father in gouernaunce of this Realm by the name of Henry the eight, father to our gracious ſouerayn Queene Elizabeth.

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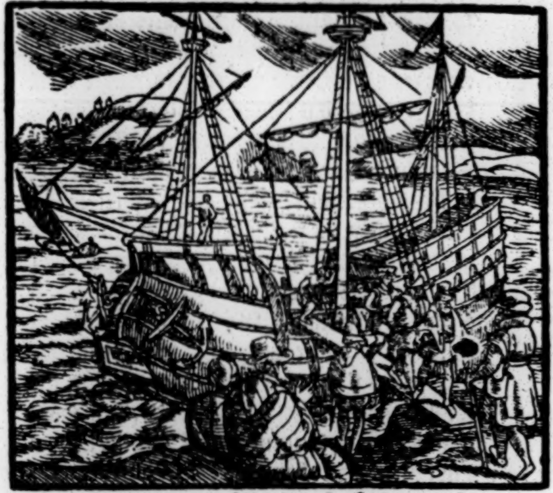
But now to returne to the new found ſonne to King Edwarde, coniured by mens policies from death to life: Ye ſhall vnderſtand that the Ducheſſe of Burgongne euer deſiryng to caſt a Scorpion in the boſome of Kyng Henrye, not for anye diſpleaſure by hym towardes hir wroughte or done, but onely bycauſe he was diſcended of yͤ houſe of Lancaſter, being an enimie to hir line, began to ſpin a new webbe like a ſpider, that daily weaueth when his call is torne: for after that the Erle of Lincolne, whiche was by hir ſet forth, had miſſed yͤ quiſſhen, ⁊ loſt both horſe and ſpurres, ſhe could not be quiet, till ſhe had practiſed a new deuiſe to put K. Henrye to trouble. And as the Deuill prouideth venemous ſauſe to corrupt ſtomackes, ſo for hir purpoſe, ſhe eſpyed a certayne yong man of viſage beautifull, of countenance demure, of wit craftie ⁊ ſubtile, called Peter Warbecke, ⁊ for his faintneſſe of ſtomacke, of the Engliſhmen in deriſion called Perkin Warbecke, according to yͤ Dutch phraſe, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yonglings and little boyes, which for wãt of age, lacke of ſtrength and manlyke courage, are not thoughte worthy of the name of a man. This yong man trauelling many Countreys, could ſpeake Engliſh and diuers other languages, ⁊ for his baſeneſſe of birthe and ſtocke, was almoſt vnknowen of all men, and driuen to ſeke liuing frõ his childhood, was conſtreined to ſeeke and trauaile through many coũtreys. The Duches glad to haue got ſo meete an organe for the conueying of hir inuented purpoſe, as one not vnlike to bee taken and reputed for the Duke of Yorke, ſonne to hir brother K. Edward, whych was called Richarde, kepte him a certaine ſpace with hir priuily, and him with ſuche diligence inſtructed, both of the ſecretes and common affaires of the Realme of England, and of the lignage, diſſent and order of the houſe of Yorke, that like a good ſcoller, not forgetting his leſſon, hee could tel al that was taught him promptly without any ſtackering or ſtay in his wordes, and beſides that, he kept ſuch a princely countenaunce, and ſo counterfaite a maieſtie roiall, that all mẽ in manner did firmely beleeue, that hee was extracted of yͤ noble houſe, and family of yͤ Dukes of Yorke: for ſurely, it was a gifte giuen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted in the roote, that all the ſequeale of that line and ſtocke, dyd ſtudie and deuiſe how to be equiualẽt in honour and fame with their forefathers, and noble predeceſſors. Whẽ yͤ Duches had framed hir cloth meete for the market, ſhe was enformed that K. Henry prepared to make warre againſt Charles the Frenche King, wherefore, ſhee thinking that the time ſerued well for the ſetting forthe of hyr malicious inuentions, ſent this Perkyn hir new inuented mawmet, firſt into Portingale, and ſo craftily into the Countrey of Ireland, to the intent, that he being both wittie and wilie, mighte inuegle the rude Iriſhmen (being at thoſe dayes more enclined to Rebellion, than to reaſonable order) to a new ſeditious commotion. Shortely after his arriuall in Irelande, whether by hys ſhrewde witte, or the malicious exhortation of the ſauage Iriſhe gouernours, he entred ſo farre in credite with the people of that Ile, that hys wordes were taken to be as true as hee vntruely with falſe demonſtrations ſette forth and publiſhed them. The French King aduertiſed hereof, then being in diſpleaſure with King Henry, ſent for Perkin into Irelande, to the intent to ſende him againſte King Henry, which was then inuading Fraunce (as ye before haue heard.) Perkin thought himſelfe aloft now, that he was called to the familiaritie of Kings, and therefore with all diligence, ſailed into Fraunce, and comming to the Kings preſence, was of him royallie receiued, and after a princely faſhion enterteined, and had a gard to him aſſigned, wherof was gouernour the Lorde Congreſhall, and to hym being at Paris, reſorted Sir George Neuill baſterd, Sir Iohn Tailer, Rowland Robinſon, and an hundred Engliſh Rebels. But after that a peace as before is ſaid was concluded betwixte the French King, and the king of Englande, the Frenche king diſmiſſed Perkin, and woulde no longer keepe him. But ſome haue ſaid whyche were there attending on him, that Perkin, fearing leaſt the french king ſhould deliuer hym to the king of Englande, beguiled the Lord Congreſhall, and fled frõ Paris by night. But whether the French King knewe of his departure or not, the troth is, that hee being in manner in deſpaire, returned to his firſte founder the Ladye Margaret, of whome he was ſo welcomed to all outward appearance, that it ſeemed ſhe could not haue reioyced at any earthly thing, more than ſhe did at his preſence (and as ſhe could well diſſimule) ſhe made ſemblaunce as though ſhe had neuer ſeene him before that time. And as ſhe had ſore longed to knowe not once, but diuers times in open audience, and in ſolemne preſence, ſhee willed him to declare and ſhew by what meanes he was preſerued from death and deſtruction, ⁊ in what countreys he had wandred and ſoughte friend-

Perkin ſaileth into Fraunce.



friendſhip. And finally, by what chance of fortune he came to hir court, to the intente, that by yͤ open declaration of theſe fained phantaſies, the people might be perſwaded to giue credite, & beleeue, that he was the true begottẽ ſon of hir brother K. Edward. And after this, ſhee aſſigned to him a guard of thirtie perſõs in Murrey, & blew, & highly honored him, as a great eſtate, and called him the white roſe of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all reuerence. In England, yͤ brute of him being blowen throughout the Realm, ſore diſquieted the people, in ſomuch, that not only the meaner ſort, but alſo many of the nobles & worſhipful perſonages belieued and publiſhed it abroade, yͭ all was true whiche was reported of him. And not only they that were in Sainctuaries, but alſo many other that wer fallẽ in debt, aſſembled in a cõpany, & paſſed ouer the Seas into Flanders, to their counterfaite Duke of York, otherwiſe rightly named Perkin Werbeck. Truely, the realm of England was in maner deuided (with yͤ rumor, & vaine fable ſpred abroade of this twice borne duke) into partakings & contrarie factions. And ſome of the noble men conſpired togither, purpoſing to aid yͤ foreſayde Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to bee the very ſonne of Kyng Edward, and that the matter was not feigned, but altogither true, iuſt, & not imagined of any malitious pretẽce or purpoſe: and bicauſe the thing was weightie, and required greate aide & aſſiſtance, therefore they determined to ſend meſſengers vnto yͤ Lady Margaret, to know whẽ Richard D. of York might conueniently come into England, to the intent, that they being thereof certified, might be in a redineſſe to helpe and ſuccoure him at his arriuall.

Perkin named by the Duches of Burgoigne, the white roſe of Englande.

1493

Such long and looked for alteration of ſtates.

Falſe rumors, occaſions of great diſquietues.

An. reg. 8.

So by yͤ cõmon conſent of the conſpirators, ſir Rob. Clifford knight, & Wil. Barley, wer ſẽt into Flanders, which diſcouered to yͤ Duches, all the ſecret intents & priuie meanings of the friẽds & fautors of yͤ new foũd D. The Duches gladly receiued this meſſage, & after ſhe had heard their errand, ſhe brought the meſſenger to the ſight of Perkin, who ſo well counterfeited the geſture, countenãce, and maner of Richard D. of Yorke, that ſir Robert Clifford beleeued verily, that hee was the ſecõd ſon of K. Edward, & thereof wrote a letter of credit into England to his complices, & to put thẽ out of doubt, he affirmed yͭ he knew him to be K. Edwards ſon by his face, & other liniaments of his body. Upon this letter, the chiefe doers in this buſineſſe ſpred the ſignificatiõ thereof abroade through the Realme, to the intent to ſtirre the people to ſome newe tumulte and commotion, but it was done by ſuche a ſecret craft, yͭ no man coulde tell who was the author of that rumor. The K. perceyuing that this vayne fable was not baniſhed out of the mad braines of the common people, to prouide therefore againſte all perils yͭ might therby enſue, ſent certain knights that were ſkilfull mẽ of war, with cõpetẽt bands of ſoldiers, to keepe the ſea coaſtes, and hauens, to vnderſtand who came in, and went out of the Realme, doubting leaſt ſome greate conſpiracie were in brewing againſt him. He alſo ſent into yͤ low countreys certain perſons to learne yͤ troth of this forged dukes progenie, where ſome of thẽ that were ſo ſente, comming to Tourney, gote knowlege that he was borne in that citie of baſe lignage, & named Perkin Warbecke. The king then aduertiſed not only by his eſpials vpõ theyr returne, but alſo from other his truſty friendes, determined with al ſpeede to haue the fraud publiſhed, both in Englande and forraine parties, and for the ſame cauſe, ſente ſir Edwarde Poinings Knight, and ſir Wil. Warram, Doctor of the lawes, vnto Phillip Archduke of Burgoigne, & to his counſailers (bycauſe he was not yet of age able to gouerne of himſelfe) to ſignifie to him and them, that the yong man being with the Lady Margaret, had falſely and vntruely vſurped yͤ name of Rich. D. of Yorke, which long before was murthred wͭ his brother Edw. in the Tower of London, by yͤ cõmandement of theyr vncle King Richard as many men then liuing, could teſtifie.

Perkin lignage.

The Ambaſſadors cõming to yͤ court of the Archduke, Philip, were honorably entertayned of him, & of his counſaile, & willed to declare the effect of their meſſage. Wil. Warrã made before thẽ an eloquẽt Oratiõ, & in the later ende ſomewhat inueighed againſt the Lady Margaret, not ſparing to declare, how ſhe now in hir later age, had brought forth (within yͤ ſpace of a few yeres togither) two deteſtable monſters, that is to ſay, Lãbert (of whom ye heard before) and this Perkin Warbecke, and being conceiued of theſe two great babes, was not deliuered of them in eyght or nine monethes, as nature requireth, but in the C. and. 80. monethes, for bothe theſe at the leaſt, wer. 15. yeres of age, ere ſhe would be brought in bed of them, & ſhew thẽ openly, & whẽ they were newly crept out of hir womb, they wer no infãts but luſty yõglings, & of age ſufficiẽt to bid battell to kings. Although theſe tãũts angred yͤ Lady Margaret euen at yͤ hart, yet Perkin was more vexed with the things declared in this Oration, and eſpecially bycauſe his cloked iuggling was brought to light. The Duches intẽding to caſt hote ſulphure, to yͤ new kindled fire, determined wͭ might & main to arme and ſet forward pretie Perkin againſt the K. of Englãd. Whẽ yͤ Ambaſſadors had done their meſſage, & that yͤ Archdukes counſel had long debated the matter, they made anſwere, that to haue the K. of Englãds loue, yͤ Archduke & they would neither aide nor aſſiſt Perkin nor his complices in anye cauſe or quarrell. Yet notwithſtãding, if the Lady Margaret, perſiſting in hir rooted malice towards the K. of Englande, would bee to him aiding & helping, it was not in their power to withſtande it, for bycauſe in the landes aſſigned to hir for hyr dower, ſhee mighte frankely and freely order all things at hir will and pleaſure, without contradiction of any other gouernour.

reg. 9.
anders.

After that yͤ Ambaſſadors wer returned with this aunſwere, the K. ſtraight ſent forth certaine eſpials into Flanders, which ſhould faigne thẽſelues to haue fled to the D. of Yorke, and thereby ſearch out the whole intent of the conſpiracie, and after what ſort they meant to proceede in yͤ ſame. Other were ſent alſo to entice ſir Roberte Clifford, and Wil. Barly to returne into Englande, promiſing to them pardon of all their offences, and high rewards, for obeying the kings requeſt. They that were ſent, did ſo earneſtly and prudently apply their buſines, that they brought al things to paſſe at their owne deſires. For firſt they learned, who were the chiefe conſpirators, and after perſwaded ſir Robert Clifford to giue ouer that enterpriſe, which had no grounded ſtay to reſt vppon. Albeit. Wil. Barley at the fyrſte woulde not leaue off, but continued his begunne attempt, til after two yeares, he repenting him of his folly, and hauing pardon graunted him of yͤ K. returned home into his natiue coũtrey. Whẽ the K. had knowledge of the chiefe captaines of this cõſpiracie (by yͤ ouerture of his eſpials which were returned) he cauſed them to bee apprehended, and brought to London before hys preſence. Of the which, the chiefe were John Ratcliffe, L. Fitzwater, ſir Simon Mounforde, Sir Tho. Twhaitz knightes, Wil. Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Tho. Creſſenor, & Tho. Aſtwood. Alſo certaine prieſts & religious mẽ, as ſir Wil. Richford, doctor of diuinitie, & ſir Tho. Poynes, both friers of S. Dominikes order, doctor Wil. Sutton, ſir Wil. Worſeley, Deane of Paules, Robert Layborne, & ſir Richard Leſſey. Other which were giltie, hearing yͭ their fellowes were apprehended, fled and tooke Sainctuarie. The other that were taken, were condemned, of the which, ſir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, & Wil. Daubeney, wer beheaded. The other had their pardons, and the prieſts alſo for their order ſake, but yet fewe of them liued long after. The L. Fitz Water pardoned of life, was conueyed to Calais, & ther laid in hold, & after loſt his head bycauſe he went about to corrupt his keepers wͭ rewards, that he might eſcape, intending as was thought, to haue gone to Perkyn. King Henrye taking diſpleaſure with the K. of Romaines, for that he kept not touch in aiding him agaynſt the frẽch K. & partly diſpleaſed with yͤ Flemmings, but ſpecially wͭ the Lady Margaret, for keeping & ſetting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onely baniſhed al Flemmiſh wares, & merchãdiſes out of his dominiõs, but alſo reſtreined all Engliſhe merchants frõ their repaire & traffike, into any of the lands & territories of the K. of Romaines, or of yͤ Archduke Philip, ſon to the ſame K. of Romaines, cauſing yͤ mart to be kept at Calais, of al Engliſh merchãdices & commodities. Wherfore, the ſaid K. and his ſon baniſhed out of their lãds & ſeigniories al engliſh clothes, yarne, tinne leade, & other cõmodities of this Realm. The reſtraint made by the K. ſore hindred yͤ merchants aduenturers, for they had no occupying to beare their charges, & to ſupporte their credite withall. And yͭ moſt greeued thẽ, the Eaſterlings beeing at libertie, brought into yͤ Realm ſuch wares as they were wont, and ſo ſerued their cuſtomers through out yͤ realme, whervpon, there enſued a riot by the ſeruãts of yͤ mercers, haberdaſhers, & clothworkers within the Citie of London, the Tewſday before S. Edwards day: for they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maiſters in that they were not able ſo wel to keepe thẽ, as before they had done, aſſembled togither in purpoſe to reuenge their malice on yͤ Eaſterlings, & ſo came to yͤ Stiliard, & began to rifle and ſpoile ſuch chambers & warehouſes as they coulde get into. So yͭ the Eaſterlings had much ado to wͭſtand them, & keepe thẽ backe out of their gates, which with help of Carpẽters, Smithes, & other yͭ came to thẽ by water out of Southwark, they ſhored, & ſo fortified, yͭ the multitude of the ſeruants and prentiſes, being aſſembled, coulde not preuaile: & at length, came the Maior wͭ a nũnumber of men, defenſibly weaponed, to remoue yͤ force, at whoſe approche, thoſe riotous perſons fled away like a flocke of ſheepe, but diuers of thẽ were apprehended, & vppon inquirie made before yͤ kings commiſſioners, aboue. 80. ſeruants and apprentiſes were found to be conſpired togither, & ſworne not to reueale it, of whome ſome of the chiefe beginners were cõmitted to the Tower, & there long continued, but in concluſion, by cauſe none of their maſters, nor anye one houſholder was found culpable, the K. of his clemencie pardoned their offence and reſtored them to libertie.

Flemmiſhe wares forbidden.

The mart kept at Calais.

Engliſh commodities baniſhed out of Flanders.

A riot made vpon the Eaſterlings.

1494

An. reg. 10.

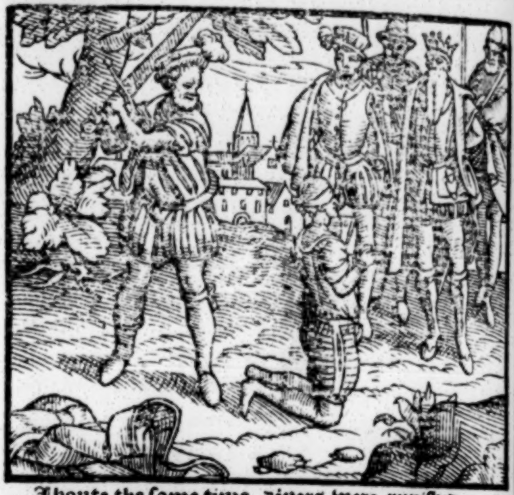
Shortly after ſir Rob. Clifford partly truſting on yͤ kings promis, & partly miſtruſting yͤ deſperat begon enterpriſe, returned ſodenly again into Englãd. The K. being certified before of his cõming, wẽt ſtreight to yͤ toure of Lõdõ yͤ morow after the day of the Epiphanie, & there taried till ſuche tyme that ſir Roberte Clifforde was there preſented to his perſon. This was done for a policie, that if ſir Robert accuſed any of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without ſuſpition of any euill, and there attached and layd faſt.

Sir William Stanley a fauourer of Perkin.

Some thought alſo, that for a policie, Kyng Henry did ſend ſir Roberte Clifford ouer, as an eſpie, or elſe he would not ſo ſoone haue receyued him into fauour agayne. Neuertheleſſe, ther were greate preſumptions that it was nothing ſo, for both was he in great daunger after his begunne attempt, and neuer was ſo much eſteemed with the K. afterward, as he was before. But thys is true, vpon his cōming to the kings preſence, hee beſought him of pardon, and obteyned it, ⁊ therewith opened all the maner of the conſpiracie, ſo far as he knewe, and who were aiders, fautors, and chief beginners of it, amongſt whome, hee accuſed ſir Wil. Stanley, whom yͤ K. had made his chiefe Chamberlaine, and one of hys priuie counſell. The K. was ſorie to heare this, ⁊ could not be enduced to belieue that there was ſo much vntroth in him, til by euident prooues it was tried againſt him. Then the K. cauſed him to be reſtreined from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrate tower, and there appoynted him by his priuie counſaile, to bee examined, in which examinatiō, he nothing denyed, but wiſely and ſagely agreed to all things layde to hys charge, if hee were therein faultie and culpable. The report is, that this was his offence. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned ſir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkyn, which falſely vſurped the name of K. Edwardes ſon, Sir Wil. Stanley ſaid, that if he knew certainely that the yōg man was the indubitate heire of K. Edwarde the fourthe, hee would neuer fight nor beare armor againſt him. This point argued, that hee bare no hartie good wil toward K. Henry as then, but what was the cauſe that he had cōceyued ſome inward grudge towards yͤ king, or how it chanced that the K. had withdrawen his ſpeciall fauour from hym, many haue doubted. Some indeede haue geſſed, that ſir Wil. Stanley, for the ſeruice whiche hee ſhewed at Boſworth field, thought that al yͤ benefites which he receyued of the K. to be far vnder that which he had deſerued in preſeruing not only the kings life, but alſo in obteyning for him the victorie of his enimies, ſo that his aduerſarie was ſlaine in the fielde, and therefore deſiring to be created Earle of Cheſter, and thereof denyed, he began to diſdeine the K. and one thing encouraged him much, which was the riches ⁊ treaſure of K. Richard, which he only poſſeſſed at yͤ battaile of Boſworth, by reaſon of which riches and greate power of men, he ſet naught by the king his ſoueraigne Lord and maiſter. The king hauing thus an hole in his coate, doubted firſt what hee ſhould doe with him, for loth hee was to loſe the fauour of his brother the Erle of Derby, and againe to pardon him, he feared leaſt it ſhould be an euil example to other that ſhould goe about to attempt the like offence, and ſo at lēgth, ſeueritie gote the vpper hand, and mercy was put backe, in ſo much, that he was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and adiudged to die, and according to that iudgement, was brought to the Tower hill the ſixteenth day of February, and there had his head ſtriken off.

1495

Sir Wilia Stanley beheaded.



Aboute the ſame time, diuers were puniſhed alſo, that had vpon a preſumptuous boldnes ſpoken many ſlaunderous words againſt the kings maieſtie, hoping ſtill for the arriuall of the feygned Richard Duke of Yorke.

Anno

After the deathe of ſir Wil. Stanley, Gyles L. Daubeney, was elected and made the kings chiefe Chamberlaine. Alſo, the K. ſent into Ireland (to purge out the euill and wicked ſeedes of Rebellion, amongſt the wild and ſauage Iriſhe people, ſowed there by the craftie conueyance of Perkin Warbecke) ſir Henry Deane, late Abbot of Langtonie (whom he made chancellor of that Iſle) and ſir Edward Poinings knight, with an army of men. The fauourers of Perkin, hearing that ſir Edwarde Poynings was come with a power to perſecute them, withdrewe ſtraighteways, and fled into the woods ⁊ mariſhes, for the ſafegard of themſelues.

Sir Edwa Poinings into Irela with an a

Sir Edwarde Poynings according to his commiſſion, intending to puniſhe ſuche as had aided and aduanced the enterpriſe of Perkin, with his whole army marched forward againſt the wild Iriſhmē, bycauſe that all other being culpable of that offence, fled and reſorted to them for ſuccour. But when hee ſaw that his purpoſe ſucceeded not as he would haue wiſhed it, both bycauſe the Iriſhe Lordes ſent him no ſuccour according to their promiſes, and alſo for that his owne number was not ſufficient to furniſh his enterpriſe, bycauſe his enimies were diſperſed amongſt woddes, Mountaines, and mariſhes, hee was conſtreined to recule backe, ſore diſpleaſed in his minde agaynſte Geralde Earle of Kildare, being then the Kings deputie, whome he ſuſpected to bee the cauſe that

Gerald E of Kilda deputy o land app hended.

he had no ſuccours ſent him, & was ſo enformed indede by ſuch as bare to yͤ erle no good wil. And therfore ſuddainely he cauſed yͤ erle to be apprehended, & as a priſoner brought him in his company into Englande. Whiche earle being examined, & ſundry points of treaſon laid to him, he ſo auoided thẽ all, and laid the burthen in other mens neckes, that he was diſmiſſed, and ſente into Ireland againe, there to be deputie & lieutenant as he was before. The King being now in ſome better ſuretie of his eſtate, did take his progreſſe into Lancaſhire the .25. day of June, there to make merrie with his mother the Coũteſſe of Derby, whiche then laye at Lathome in that Countrey.

In this meane while, Perkin Warbeck, being in Flanders, ſore troubled that his iuggling was diſcouered, yet he determined not to leaue of his enterpriſe, in hope at lengthe to attayne the crowne of England, and ſo gathering a power of al nations, ſome banquerouts, ſome falſe Engliſh ſainctuarie men, ſome theeues, robbers, and vacabunds, whyche deſiring to liue by rapine, wer glad to ſerue him. And thus furniſhed, toke ſuch ſhips as his frendes had prouided for him, & departing frõ Flanders towards England, ariued vpon yͤ Kẽtiſh coaſt, & there caſt anker, purpoſing to proue how yͤ people there were affected towards him, & therfore he ſent certayne of his men to lande, to ſignify to the Countrey his ariual with ſuche a power, that the victorie muſte needs encline to his part. The Kentiſhmen vnderſtanding yͭ Perkyn was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make accompt of) but ſtrangers borne, like faithful ſubiects, determine to fal vpon thoſe that were thus newe come to lande, & eke to trie if they myght allure yͤ whole number out of their ſhippes, ſo to giue them battaile. But Perkyn wiſely conſidering yͭ the maner of a multitude, is not to conſult & ſagely to aduyſe with themſelues in any deliberate ſorte, but ſodeynly & raſhly to run headlong into Rebellion, would not ſet one foote out of his ſhip till he ſaw al things ſure. Yet he permitted ſome of his ſouldiors to goe on land, which being trayned forth a pretie way frõ their ſhips, were ſodainly compaſſed about & beſet of yͤ Kentiſhmen, and at one ſtroke vanquiſhed & driuen backe to their ſhips: of whom ther wer taken priſoners an C.lx. perſons, whereof fiue, Mountfort, Corbet, White, Belt, Quintine, or otherwiſe Genin, being captaines, were brought to Londõ by ſir John Pechy, ſheriffe of Kent, railed in ropes like horſes, drawing in a cart, and after vpon their arrainment, cõfeſſed their offẽce, & were executed, ſome at London, & other in the townes adioining to yͤ ſea coaſt. And thus Perkyn, miſſing of his purpoſe, fled backe into Flãders. In this very ſeſon departed to God Cicilie Duches of Yorke mother to K. Edward yͤ .iiij. at hir caſtel of Berkhãſtede, a womã of ſmal ſtature, but of much honor & high parentage, & was buried by hir huſbãd in yͤ colledge of Fodringey. The K. being aduertiſed yͭ his enimies were landed, leauing off hys progreſſe, purpoſed to haue returned to London, but being certified the next day of yͤ lucky ſpeede of his faithfull ſubiects, cõtinued his progreſſe, & ſent ſir Rich. Guylford both to cõmend the fidelitie & manhod of the Kentiſhmen, & alſo to render to thẽ moſt harty thãks for yͤ ſame. He alſo cauſed order to be takẽ for yͤ erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that hee ſhoulde not bee receiued in Englande, ſailed into Ireland, truſting there to augment his nũbers, and then to returne towards yͤ coaſt of England again, and to take land in the Weſt cõtrey, if occaſion ſerued, but if not, thẽ he determined to ſaile ſtraight into Scotl. to ſeeke frẽdſhip ther. After he had therfore ſtayed a while in Irelãd, and perceiued yͭ the hope of victory conſiſted not in yͤ Iriſh nation, being naked people, wͭout furniture of armour or weapon, he toke yͤ ſea againe at Corke, & ſailed into Scotlande, where cõming to the preſence of K. James, he forged ſuche a painted proceſſe, to moue him to beleeue that he was the very ſonne of K. Edward, that the Scottiſhe King, whether blinded by error, or vſing diſſimulatiõ, yͭ he mighte vnder a colourable pretext, make war againſt England, begã to haue Perkin in great honour, and cauſed him openly to bee called Duke of Yorke. And to perſwade yͤ world yͭ ſo he was indeede, he cauſed the Lady Katherine, daughter to Alexander Erle of Huntley, his nigh kinſmã, to be eſpouſed to him. And ſhortly after, hauing this Perkin with him in cõpany, he entred into England with a puiſſant army, & cauſed proclamation to be made, to ſpare al thoſe yͭ would ſubmit thẽſelfs vnto Richarde D. of Yorke, & herewith, they began the war in moſt cruel maner, wͭ ſlaughter of men, brenning of Townes, ſpoiling of houſes, and committing of all other deteſtable enormities, ſo that all the Countrey of Northumberlande, was by them in manner waſted, and deſtroyed.

The death of Cicely Duches of Yorke

Perkin ſailleth into Irelande.

Katherine daughter to the Earle of Huntley maried to Perkin

1496

The Scottiſhe K. inuadeth England with a great army in Perkin his behalfe.

At length, when the ſouldiers were ladẽ with ſpoile, and ſaciate with bloud, perceiuing that no ſuccoures came out of Englãd vnto the new inuented Duke, contrary to that whiche he had made them to beleeue would come to paſſe, they determined to returne, rather with aſſured gaine, than to tarrie yͤ vncertaine victorie of that counterfaite Duke, and ſo thervpon, they withdrew backe into Scotland, enriched with prayes and booties.

It is ſaide, that Perkin Warbecke beeyng retourned into Scotlande with the Kyng of Scottes, vnder a cloked pretence, ſhould ſore lamente the greate ſlaughter, ſpoyle, and domage, which had bin dōne at this laſt roade made into Englande, and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue towarde his natiue Countrey, beſoughte the King of Scottes, that from thenceforth, hee woulde no more ſo deface his naturall Realme, and deſtroy his ſubiects with ſuche terrible fire, flame, and hauocke, as who ſhould ſay, he beeing ouercome now with compaſſion, dyd bewayle the cruell deſtruction of his naturall Countrey of England. But the Scottiſh King told him, that he ſeemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, ſith that not ſo much as one Gentleman or yeoman for ought that he coulde ſee, would once ſhewe themſelues ready to ayde hym in the warre begunne for his cauſe, and in his name, within that realme whiche he pretended ſo cleerely to appertaine to him.

The Kyng of Englande beeing certyfied of this inuaſion, prepared an armye with all diligence to haue reſiſted the Scots, but they were returned ere the Engliſhe power could aſſemble togither.

An. reg. 12.

When the King was truely certified that the Scottiſhe King was returned home, hee ſtayed all the preparations made at that time to goe againſt him, but yet meaning to bee reuenged of the wrongs done to hym by King James and his people, he firſt called a Parliament, and in that aſſemblie of the three eſtates of his Realm, he declared the cauſe of the inſtant warre, & how neceſſarie it ſhould be for the ſuretie and welth of the realme of England to haue that war purſued againſt thoſe enimies that had begon it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholly agreed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a ſubſidie was by whole aſſent of the parliament freely giuen and graunted. Which payment though it was not great, yet manie of the cōmon people ſore grudged to pay yͤ ſame, as they that euer abhorre ſuch taxes & exactions. At the ſame parliament were diuers acts & ſtatutes made, neceſſarie and expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realm.

1497

In the meane ſeaſon the K. of Scots perceyuing that the Engliſhmen would ſhortly goe about to reuenge the iniuries done to them by him and his people, aſſembled eftſoons a puiſſant armie, that he might either defende his realme againſt the Engliſh power, attempting to inuade his countrey, or elſe a freſh to enter into the Engliſh borders. And thus theſe two mightie princes mynded nothing more than the one to endomage the other. But the king of England wold not deferre one houre by his good will til he were reuenged, and therfore prepared a mightie army to inuade Scotland, and ordeyned for chieftayn therof yͤ lord Daubeney. But as this army was aſſembled, and that the lord Daubeney was forward on his iourney towards Scotland, he was ſodainly ſtayed and called backe again by reaſon of a new commotion begon by the Corniſhmen for the paimēt of the Subſidie which was granted at the laſt parliament.

A Rebell in Corne for the ment of ſubſedie

These vnruly people the Corniſhmen inhabiting in a barreyn countrey and vnfruitful, at the firſte ſore repined that they ſhould be ſo greuouſly taxed, and burdened the kings counſell as the only cauſe of ſuch polling & pilling. And ſo being in their rage, menaced the chiefe authors with death and preſent deſtructiō. And thus being in a roare, two perſōs of yͤ ſame affinitie, the one called Thomas Flammocke, a gentleman, lerned in the lawes of the realme, and the other Mighel Joſeph a Smith, men of ſtout ſtomacks and high courages, toke vpon them to be captains of this ſeditious cōpanie. They laide the fault & cauſe of this exaction vnto Jo. Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury, & to ſir Reinold Bray, bicauſe they wer chief of the kings coūſel. Such rewards haue they cōmonly yͭ be in great authority wͭ kings & princes. The captains Flāmock and Joſeph exhorted the cōmon people to put on harneis, & not to be afeard to follow them in that quarell, promiſing not to hurte any creature, but only to ſee them puniſhed that procured ſuch exactions to be layd on the people without any reſonable cauſe, as vnder the color of a little trouble with the Scottes, whiche (ſith they were withdrawne home) they toke to be well quieted and appeaſed. So theſe Captaines bent on miſchiefe (were their outward pretēce neuer ſo finely couloured) perſwaded a great number of people to aſſemble togither, & condiſcended to do as their Captaines would agree and appoint. Then theſe captaines praiſing much the hardineſſe of the people, whē al things were ready for their infortunate iourney, ſet forwarde with their army, and came to Taunton, where they ſlew the prouoſt of Peryn, which was one of yͤ cōmiſſioners of yͤ ſubſedie, & from thēce came to Welles, ſo intēding to goe to London, where the K. then ſoiourned. Whē the K. was aduertiſed of theſe doings, he was ſomewhat aſtonyed, & not without cauſe being thus troubled wͭ the war againſt yͤ Scottes, and this ciuil cōmotiō of his ſubiects at one inſtant, but firſte meaning to ſubdue hys rebellious ſubiects, & after to proceede againſt the Scots as occaſiō ſhould ſerue, he reuoked the L. Dawbeney (which as you haue hearde) was going againſt the Scottes, & encreaſed his army wͭ many choſen & piked warriors. Alſo miſtruſting that the Scots might now (hauing ſuch oportunitie) inuade yͤ realme again, he appointed the L. Tho. Howard Erle of Surrey (which after the death of the L. John Dinham, was made hygh treaſorer of Englãd) to gather a band of mẽ in yͤ countie Palatine of Durham, yͭ they with yͤ aid of yͤ inhabitãts adioining, & the borderers might keepe back yͤ Scots if they chanced to make any inuaſiõ. The nobles of yͤ realme hearing of yͤ rebelliõ of yͤ Corniſhmẽ, came to Lõdon euery mã wͭ as many mẽ of war as they could put in a readines to aid yͤ K. if neede ſhould be. In yͤ which number were yͤ erle of Eſſex, & the L. Montioy, wͭ diuers other.

Twi- Lorde ey chief ne o: rnith

In yͤ mean time, James Twichet L. Audeley, being confederate with the Rebels of Cornewall, ioined with thẽ, being come to Welles, & toke vpon him as their chief Captain, to leade them againſt their natural L. and K. Frõ Welles, they went to Saliſbury, & from thẽce to Wincheſter, & ſo into Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceiued in that their expectation. For the Earle of Kente, George L. of Burgeiny, John Brooke, L. Cobham, ſir Edw. Poinings, ſir Rich. Guilford, ſir Tho. Bourchier, Jo. Peche, Wil. Scot, & a great nũber of people, wer not only preſt and ready to defend yͤ countrey, to keepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fighte with ſuche as would lift vp ſword, or other weapon agaynſt their ſoueraigne Lord, in ſo much, that the Kentiſh mẽ would not once come neere the Corniſh men to aid or aſſiſt them in any maner of wiſe. Which thing marueillouſly diſmaid the heartes of yͤ Corniſhmẽ, whẽ they ſaw themſelues thus deceiued of the ſuccours which they moſt truſted vpõ, ſo yͭ many of thẽ (fearing yͤ euil chance that might happen) fled in the night frõ their cõpany, & left thẽ, in hope ſo to ſaue thẽſelues. The Captaines of the Rebels perceiuing they coulde haue no help of the Kentiſhmen, putting their onely hope in their owne puiſſance, brought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles diſtaunte from London, and there in a playne on the toppe of an hill, they ordered their battailes, either readye to fight with the K. if he would aſſayle them, or elſe to aſſault the Citie of London, for they thought the K. durſt not haue encountred with them in battaile: but they were deceyued: for the K. althogh he had power ynogh about to haue fought with them before their comming ſo neere to the Citie, yet hee thoughte it beſt to ſuffer them to come forward, till he had them farre off frõ their natiue countrey, and then to ſet vpon them being deſtitute of aid in ſome place of aduantage. The Citie was in a great feare at the firſt knowledge giuen, how the Rebels were ſo neere encamped to the Citie, euery man getting himſelfe to harneys, and placing thẽſelues, ſome at the gates, ſome on the walles, ſo that no parte was vndefended: but the K. deliuered yͤ Citie of that feare: for after that he perceyued how the Corniſhmen were all day ready to fight, and that on the hill, he ſent ſtraight John Earle of Oxford, Henrye Bourchier, Erle of Eſſex, Edmond de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke, ſir Ryſe ap Thomas, and ſir Humfrey Stanley, noble warriors, with a great companye of archers and horſemen, to enuiron the hill on the righte ſide, and on the lefte, to the intent that all bywayes being ſtopped and foreclosed, al hope of flight ſhould be taken from thẽ, and incontinently, he himſelfe being as well encouraged with mãly ſtomacke as furniſhed with a populous army and plenty of artillerie, ſet forward out of the Citie, and encamped himſelfe in S. Georges field, where he the Friday at nighte then lodged. On the Saterday in the morning, he ſent the L. Daubeney with a great company to ſet on thẽ early in the morning, which firſt gote the bridge at Dertford Strand, which was manfully defended by certaine archers of the rebels, whoſe arrowes as is reported were in lẽgth a full clothyard.

Blackheath field.

While the Earles ſet on them on euery ſide, the Lord Daubeney came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Corniſhmen were ouercome, but firſte they tooke the Lorde Daubeney priſoner, and whether it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let him goe at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There were ſlaine of the rebels whyche fought & reſiſted, aboue two thouſand menne, as Hall noteth, and taken priſoners an infinite nũber, and amongſt them the blacke Smith, and other the chiefe Captaines, which were ſhortely after put to death.

Three hundred ſlayne, and a thouſand fiue hundred taken priſoners, as Iohn Stowe hath.

When this battel was ended, the K. wanted of al his numbers but three hundred, which were ſlayne at that conflict. Some affirme, that the King appointed to haue fought with them, not till the Monday, and preuenting the time, ſet on thẽ on the Saterday before, taking them vnprouided, and in no aray of battel, and ſo by that policie obteyned the field and victory. The priſoners as well captaines as other, were pardoned, ſauing the chiefe captaynes and firſt beginners, to whome hee ſhewed no mercye at all.

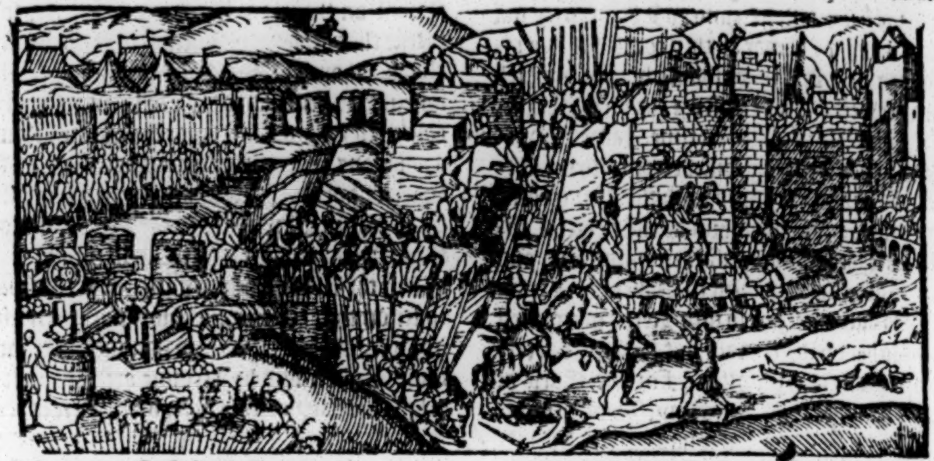
Iames Lorde Audeley beheaded.

The L. Audeley was drawen frõ Newgate to the Tower hill in a coate of hys owne armes, paynted vppon paper reuerſed and all torne, and there was beheaded the four and twẽtith of June. Tho. Flammock & Mighel Joseph were hanged drawen and quartered after yͤ maner of Traitors, and their heads and quarters were pitched vpon ſtakes, and ſet vp in Londõ, and in other places. Although at the firſt, the K. meant to haue ſent thẽ into Cornewal, to haue bin ſet vp there for a terror to all others, but hearing that the Corniſhmen at home were readie to begin a new cõſpiracy, leaſt he ſhould yͤ more irritate and prouoke them by that diſpleaſaunte ſight, he changed his purpoſe for doubte to wrap himſelfe in more trouble than needed.

An. reg. 13.

The Scots inuade the Engliſh borders.

While theſe things were adoing in England, the K. of Scots beeing aduertiſed of the whole matter ⁊ rebellion of the Corniſhmē, thought not to let paſſe that occaſion, ⁊ therefore hee eftſones inuaded the frontiers of Englande, waſting the countrey, burning townes, and murthering the people, ſparing neither place nor perſon: ⁊ whyle his light horſemen were riding to forray and deſtroy the Byſhopricke of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his army, beſieged the Caſtell of Norham.



Foxe biſhop of Durham.

The Biſhop of Durham Richard Foxe, being owner of that Caſtell, had well furniſhed it, both with men and munitions aforehand, doubting leaſt that would follow which came nowe to paſſe.

The Byſhoppe after that the Scottes made this inuaſion, aduertiſed the King (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the North parts, and ſent in all poſt haſt to yͤ Erle of Surrey, to come to the reſcue.

The Earle being then in Yorkeſhire, and hauing gathered an army vpon knowledge giuen to hym from the Byſhop, with al diligence marſhed forward, and after him folowed other noble men out of all the quarters of the North, euerye of them bringing as many men as they coulde gather, for defence of their countrey. Amongſt whom, the chiefe leaders were theſe, Raufe Erle of Weſtmerlād, Thomas Lord Dacres, Raufe Lord Neuill, George Lord Straunge, Richard Lorde Latimer, George Lorde Lumley, John Lorde Scrope, Henrye Lorde Clifford, George Lord Ogle, William Lord Conyers, Thomas Lord Darcy. Of Knightes, Thomas, Baron of Hilton. Sir William Percy, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Gaſcoigne, Sir Raufe Bigod, Sir Raufe Bowes, Sir Tho. a Parre, Sir Raufe Ellecker. Sir John Conneſtable, Sir John Ratclif, Sir John Sauill, Sir Tho. Strangweys, ⁊ a great nūber of other knightes and Eſquiers beſydes. The whole armye was little leſſe than twentie thouſand men, beſide the nauie, whereof the Lord Brooke was Admirall. When the Scottes had diuers wayes aſſaulted and beaten the Caſtell of Norham, but coulde make no batrie to enter the ſame, they determined of their owne accorde to reyſe the ſiege, and returne, and that ſo much the ſooner in very dede, bycauſe they heard that the Erle of Surrey was within two dayes iourney of them, with a great puiſſance. Wherefore, King James reyſed hys ſiege, and returned home into his owne Realme.

When the Earle knew of the Kings returne, he followed him with all haſt poſſible, truſtyng ſurely to ouertake him, and to giue him battayle. When the Earle was entred Scotlande, he ouerthrewe and defaced the Caſtell of Cawdeſtreymes, the tower of Hetenhall, the tower of Edingtō, the tower of Fulden, and he ſent Norrey King at armes, to the Captayne of Hayton Caſtel, whiche was one of the ſtrongeſt places betwixt Berwike and Edēburgh, to deliuer him the Caſtel, which he denied to do, affirming, that he was ſure of ſpeedie ſuccours. The Erle heereupon layde his ordinance to the Caſtel, and continually beate it, from two of the clock, till fiue at night, in ſuch wiſe, that they within rendered vp the place, their liues only ſaued. The Earle cauſed his miners to raſe and ouerthrow yͤ fortreſſe to the playn groūd. The Scottiſh K. was wᵗin a mile of the ſiege, ⁊ both knew it, ⁊ ſawe yͤ ſmoke, but would not ſet one foote forward to yͤ reſcue. While the Earle lay at Hayton, the K. of Scottes ſent to him Machemont, and an other Herrauld, deſiring him at his election, eyther to fight with whole puiſſance againſt puiſſance, or elſe they two to fight perſon to perſon, requiring, that if the victorie fell to the Scottiſh K. that then the Earle ſhould deliuer for his raunſome, the town of Berwike, with the fiſhgarthes of the ſame. The Earle made aunſwere heereto, that the Towne of Berwike was the Kyng his maiſters, and not his, the whiche hee neyther oughte nor woulde lay to pledge, without the King of Englands aſſent, but he woulde guage his bodie which was more precious to him than all the townes of the worlde, promiſing on hys honour, that if he toke the king priſoner in that ſingular combate, he would releaſe to him all his part of his fine and raunſome, and if it chaunced the king to vanquiſh him, hee woulde gladly pay ſuch raunſome as was conuenient for the degree of an Earle, and thanked him greatly for the offer: for ſurely he thought himſelfe much honored, that ſo noble a Prince woulde vouchſafe to admit ſo poore an Erle to fight with him body to body. When he had rewarded and diſmiſſed the Heraulds, he ſet his armie in a readineſſe to abide the comming of the king of Scots, and ſo ſtoode all day.

But K. James not regarding his offers, wold neyther performe the one nor the other, fearing to cope with the Engliſh nation in anie cōdition and ſo therevpon fled in the night ſeaſon with all his puiſſance.

Whē the Erle knew that the king was reculed and had beene in Scotlande ſixe or ſeuen dayes, being dayly and nightly vexed with continuall wind and raine, vpon good and deliberate aduiſe returned backe to the town of Berwik, and there diſſolued his armie, tarying there himſelf, till hee might vnderſtande further of the Kings pleaſure.

In the meane time there came an Imbaſſadour to the King of Scottes, from the king of Spaine, one Peter Hyalas, a man of no leſſe learning than witte and policie, to moue and intreate a peace betweene the two kings of Englande and Scotland.

lia-
the
Spaine
peace
Eng-
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This Spaniſh Imbaſſador ſo earneſtly trauailed in his meſſage to the king of Scottes, that at length he found him conformable to his purpoſe, and therfore wrote to the king of England, that it would pleaſe him to ſende one of his Nobilitie or counſayle, to be aſſociate with him in concluding of peace with the Scottiſh king. The king of England was neuer daūgerous to agree to any reaſonable peace, ſo it might ſtand with his honour, and therfore appoynted the Biſhop of Durham doctor Fox, to go into Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hyalas had begon.

The Biſhoppe according to his commiſſion, went honorably into Scotland, where he, & Peter Hyalas at the town of Jedworth, after lōg arguing and debating of matters with the Scottiſhe Commiſſioners, in ſteade of peace concluded a truce for certaine yeares, vppon condition that James king of Scottes ſhoulde conuey Perkyn Werbecke out of his Realme, ſeigniories, and dominions.

About the ſame time, king Henrie receyued the Ambaſſadours that were ſente to him from the French king, and had bene ſtayed at Douer, tyll the Corniſh Rebelles were vanquiſhed and ſubdued.

Alſo the lord of Camphire, and other Orators of Philippe Archduke of Auſtriche, and Duke of Burgongne came to him for the concluſion of amitie, and to haue the Engliſh marchantes to reſort againe into their Countrey, whiche requeſt being verie agreable to the quietneſſe and wealth of his Realme, and eſpecially at that tyme, he did fauourably graunt and agree vnto. And ſo did the Engliſhmen reſort again into the Archdukes dominions, and were receyued into Andwerpe with generall Proceſſion: ſo glad was that town of their returne.

The Engliſh marchaunts receyued into Anwerp with generall Proceſſion.

Shortly after the concluding of the truce betwene Englande and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke, being willed of the king of Scottes to depart out of the Scottiſh dominions, ſayled with his wife and and familie into Irelande, there determining with himſelfe eyther to repayre into Flaunders to his firſte ſetter vp the Duches of Burgongne, or elſe to ioyne and take part wyth the Corniſhmen.

But howſoeuer it came to paſſe, whileſt hee lay in Ireland, he had knowledge from the Corniſh men, that they were readie to renue the warre againe. Wherevpon he minding not to let paſſe ſo fayre an occaſion, hauing with him foure ſmal ſhippes, and not aboue ſixeſcore men, ſayled into Cornwall, and there landed in the Moneth of September, and came to a Towne called Bodman, and there did ſo prouoke the wauering people, what with fayre wordes and large promiſes, that hee gathered to him aboue three thouſande perſons, which immediatly called him their captaine, promiſing to take his part, and follow him to the death.

Perkyn Warbeck arriueth in Cornwell.

Then Perkin well encouraged, made Proclamations in the name of king Richarde the fourth, as ſonne to king Edward the fourth. And by the aduice of his three coūſailers, John Heron Mercer, a bankrupt, Richard Scelton a Tayler,

Another rebellion by the Corniſhmen.

Exceter aſſaulted by Perkyn and the Corniſhmen.

and John Aſtely a Scriuener determined firſte of al to aſſay the winning of Exceter, and ſo haſting thither he layd ſiege to it, and wanting ordinaunce to make batterie, ſtudyed all wayes poſſible how to breake the Gates, and what with caſting of ſtones, heauing with yron barres, and kindling of fire vnder the gates, hee omitted nothing that could be deuiſed for the furtherance of his purpoſe.

The Citizens perceyuing in what daunger they ſtode, firſt let certaine Meſſengers downe by coardes ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of theyr neceſſitie and trouble.

Fire repulſed by fire.

And herewith taking vnto them boldneſſe of courage, determined to repulſe fire with fire, and cauſed fagottes to be brought and layd to the inwarde part of the gates, and ſet them all on fire, to the intent that the fire being enflamed on both ſides the gates, might as well keepe out their enimies from entring, as ſhut in the Citizens from fleeing oute, and that they in the meane ſeaſon might make Trenches and Rampires to defende theyr enimies in ſteade of gates and Bulwarks. Thus by fire was the Citie preſerued from fire.

Then Perkyn being of verie neceſſitie compelled to forſake the gates, aſſaulted the towne in dyuerſe weake and vnfortified places, and ſet vp Ladders to take the citie. But the Citizens with helpe of ſuch as were come forth of the Countrey adioining to theyr ayde ſo valiantly defended the walles, that they ſlue aboue two hũdred of Perkyns ſouldiers at that aſſault.

The king hauing aduertiſement of this ſiege of Excetter, haſted forth with his hoſt, in as much ſpeede as was poſſible, and ſent the Lorde Dawbeney with certaine bandes of lyght horſemen before, to aduertiſe all men of his comming at hande.

But in the meane ſeaſon, the Lord Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonſhire, and the valiaunt Lorde William his ſonne, accompanyed wyth ſir Edmond Carew, ſir Thomas Trencharde, ſir William Courtney, ſir Thomas Fulford, ſir John Halcwel, ſir John Croker, Water Courtney, Peter Egecombe, William Saint Maure, with all ſpeede came into the Citie of Exceter, and holp the Citizens, and at the laſt aſſault was the Earle hurt in the arme with an arrowe, and ſo were many of his companie, but verie fewe ſlaine.

When Perkyn ſaw that he could not winne the Citie of Exceter, ſith the ſame was ſo well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the .xx. day of Septẽber he muſtred his mẽ, as though hee were readie to giue battaile: But perceyuing his number to be miniſhed, by the ſecrete withdrawing of ſundrie companies from him, he began to put miſtruſt in all the remnant. In deede when the people that followed him in hope that no ſmall number of the Nobilitie wold ioyne with him, ſawe no ſuche matter come to paſſe, they ſtale away from him by ſecrete companies.

When the king heard that hee was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all ſpeede. And by the way ther came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a yong Prince of greate towardneſſe, and him folowed a great companie of noble men, knightes and eſquiers, as ſir Alexander Baynam, ſir Maurice Barckley, ſir Robert Tame, ſir John Guiſe, ſir Roberte Poyntz, ſir Henrie Vernon, ſir John Mortimer, ſir Thomas Tremaile, ſir Edward Sutton, ſir Ampſe Pawlet, ſir John Bickneil, ſir John Sapcotes, ſir Hugh Lutterell, ſir Fraunciſ Cheyney, and diuerſe other.

At the kings approching to the Towne of Taunton, hee ſent before him Robert Lorde Brooke Lorde Stewarde of his houſe, Giles lord Dawbney his chiefe Chamberlaine, and ſir Rice ap Thomas. But as ſoone as Perkyn was informed that his enimies were readie to giue him battaile, hee that nothing leſſe mynded than to fight in open field with the kings puyſſance, diſſembled all the day tyme with his companie, as though nothing could make him afrayde, and about mydnight being accompanied with threeſcore horſemen, departed from Taunton in poſt to a Sanctuarie town beſide Southampton, called Beaudley, and there he and John Heron with other, regiſtred themſelues as perſons priuileged.

Perki
and tak
Beaud
ctuarye

When king Henrie knewe that Perkyn was thus fled, he ſent after him the Lorde Dawbney, with fiue hundred horſemen, toward the ſea ſide, to apprehende him before he ſhould get away.

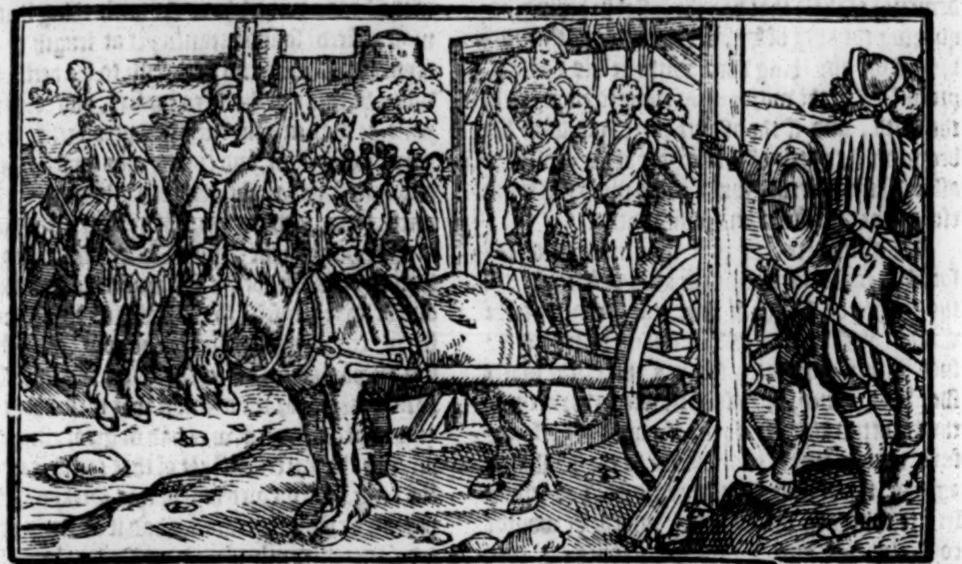
Although Perkyn eſcaped (as I haue ſayde) vnto Sanctuarie, yet many of his chiefe Captaynes were taken and preſented to the king.

Alſo the horſemen that were ſent, without a ſtoppe or ſtay came to Saint Michaels Mount, and there (as chaunce was) found the Lady Katherin Gorden, wife to Perkyn, and brought hir ſtreight to the king. At whoſe beautie and amiable countenance the king much marueyled, and thought hir a pray more meete for a Prince, than for the meane ſouldiours, and ſent hir incontinently vnto London to the Queene, accõpanied with a ſort of ſage matrones and gentlewomen, bycauſe ſhe was but yong.

The common people that had followed Perkyn, after that their chieftaine was fled, threwe away theyr armour as people amazed, and ſubmitted thẽſelues to the king, humbly beſeeching him of mercie, which hee moſt gently graunted, and receyued them to his fauour.

After this the king road to Excefer, and there not onely commended the Citizens, but alſo hartily thanked them for doing ſo well their duties in defending theyr citie from his enimies.

He alſo put there to execution diuerſe Corniſh men which were the authours and principall beginners of this new conſpiracy and inſurrection.



And whileſt he remayned at Excefer, he conſidered with himſelfe, that hee had done nothing if he could not get into his handes the chiefe head of this trouble and ſeditious buſineſſe. Wherefore he cauſed the Sainctuarie wherein Perkyn was encloſed; to bee enuironed with two bandes of lyght horſemen, to watch diligently that Perkyn ſhoulde not eſcape by any meanes forth of that place vntaken. And withall attempted by fayre promiſes of pardon and forgiueneſſe, if Perkyn woulde ſubmit himſelfe to him and become hys man.

Perkyn perceyuing himſelf ſo ſhutte vp, that hee coulde no way eſcape, of his owne free will came out of the Sanctuarie, and cõmitted himſelfe to the Kings pleaſure.

When the king had thus atchieued his purpoſe, he returned to London, and appoynted certaine keepers to attend on Perkyn, which ſhould not (the breadth of a nayle) go from his perſon, leaſt he ſhoulde conueigh himſelfe by any meanes out of the land.

After this the king cauſed enquiries to bee made of all ſuch as had ayded with men or mony the Corniſh rebels, ſo that diuerſe perſons aſwell in Somerſetſhire, as Deuonſhire, were detected of that offence, whiche hee mynded for example ſake, ſhoulde taſte ſome part of due puniſhments for theyr crymes, according to the quantitie thereof. And therefore he appoynted Thomas Lorde Darcie, Amys Pawlet knight, & Robert Sherborne Deane of Poules (that was after Biſhop of Chicheſter) to be Commiſſioners for aſſeſſing of their fines that were founde culpable.

These Commiſſioners ſo beſturred themſelues, in toſſing the Coffers and ſubſtaunce of all the Inhabitants of both thoſe ſhyres, that there was not one perſon enbrewed or ſpotted with the filth of that abhominable crime, that eſcaped the paine which he had deſerued: but to ſuch yet as offended rather by conſtraynt than of malice, they were gentle and fauourable, ſo that equitye therein was verie well and iuſtly executed.

An. reg.

In this yeare the warre had like to haue bene renued betwixte the Realmes of Englande and Scotland, by a ſmall occaſion, as thus.

Certaine yong men of the Scottes came armed before Norham Caſtell, and beheld it wonderous circumſpectly, as though they would fain haue beene of counſaile to know what was done therein. The keepers not perceyuing any domage attempted agaynſt them for the firſt time, determined not to moue any queſtion to them, or once to ſtyrre out.

But when they came againe the nexte daye, and vewed it likewiſe, the keepers of the Caſtell ſuſpecting ſome euill meaning, demaunded of them what their intẽt was, and why they vewed and adniſed ſo the Caſtell. The Scottes anſwered them roughly with diſdainfull wordes, ſo farre forth that the Engliſhmen fell to and replyed with ſtrokes, and after many blowes gyuen and receyued, diuerſe Scots were wounded, and ſome ſlaine, and the reſidue ouermatched with multitude of the Engliſhmen, fled as faſt as their horſes could cary them.

The Scottiſh king hereof aduertiſed, was highly diſpleaſed, and in all haſt ſignified to king Henrie by his Heraulde Marchemount, in what ſort his people to the breache of the truce were vſed and handled.

King Henrie being not in wil to breake with any of his neighbours, excuſed the matter, affyrming that he was not of knowledge to the miſdemenor of thoſe that had the caſtel in keping, requyring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for any thing done without his conſent, promiſing in the worde of a King to enquyre of the truth, and if the offence were founde to bee begon on the partie of the keepers of the Caſtel, he aſſured him that they ſhuld for no meed nor fauor eſcape due correction and puniſhment.

This anſwere though it was more than reaſonable, could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the Biſhop of Durham that was owner of the Caſtell of Norham, and ſore lamented that by ſuch as hee appoynted keepers there, the warre ſhould be renued, with ſundrie letters written to the Scottiſh king, at lẽgth aſſwaged his diſpleaſure, that he wrote courteouſly to the Biſhoppe agayne, ſignifying that bycauſe hee had many ſecrete things in hys mynde, whiche he woulde communicate onelye with hym touching thys matter nowe in variaunce, hee therefore requyred him to take the payne to come into his countrey, truſting that hee ſhoulde thinke hys labour well beſtowed.

The Biſhop was glad, and ſent word hereof to the king his maiſter, who willed him to accompliſh the deſire of the Scotiſh king whiche hee tooke to be reaſonable.

At his comming into Scotland, he was curteouſly receyued of the king himſelfe at the Abbey of Melroſe. And there after the king had for a countenance complayned muche of the vniuſte ſlaughter of his mẽ lately committed at Norhã, vpon the Biſhops gentle anſweres therevnto, hee forgaue the ſame, and after began to talke ſecretly without witneſſes alone with the biſhop. And firſt declared what iuſt cauſes mooued him in tymes paſt to ſeeke amitie with the king of England, which now he deſired muche more to haue confirmed, for the further maintenance & increaſe thereof, which he doubted not but ſhoulde ſort to a fortunate concluſion, if the king of Englande would vouchſafe to giue to him in matrimonie his firſt begotten daughter the Lady Margaret, vppon whiche poynt hee purpoſed lately to haue ſent his Ambaſſadors into Englãd, which thing he would the ſooner do if he knew the Biſhoppes mynde therin to be readie to further his ſute. The Biſhop anſwered but fewe wordes, ſauing that when he were returned to the king his maiſter, he would do the beſt in the matter that he could.

Margaret eldeſt daughter to king Henry the ſeuenth.

When the Biſhop was returned into England, and come to the king, he declared to him al the communication had betweene king James and him, from poynt to poynt in order.

The king liked well thereof, as he to whome peace was euer a ſoueraigne ſolace and comfort.

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In this meane time Perkin Warbecke diſappoynted of all hope to eſcape out of the Engliſhe mens hands (which was the onely thing that he moſt deſired) found meanes yet at length to deceyue his keepers, and tooke him to his heeles: but when he came to the Sea coaſtes, and could not paſſe, he was in a marueylous perplexitie, for euery byway, lane, and corner was layd for hym, and ſuch ſearch made, that being brought to hys wittes ende, and cut ſhort of hys pretenced iourney, he came to the houſe of Bethlem, called the Priory of Shene beſide Richmond in Southery, and betooke himſelfe to the Prior of that Monaſterie, requiring him for the honour of God to beg his pardon for life, of the kings Maieſtie. The Prior which for the opinion that men had conceyued of his vertue, was had in great eſtimatiõ, pitying the wretched ſtate of that caitife, came to the king, and ſhewed him of this Perkyn, whoſe pardon he humbly craued, & had it as freely granted. Incontinently after, was Perkyn brought to the Court againe to Weſtminſter, and was one day ſet fettred in a paire of ſtocks, before the doore of Weſtmynſter hal, and there ſtood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks, and ſcornings. And the next day he was caryed thorow London, & ſet vpon a like ſkaffold in Cheape by the ſtandard, with like ginnes and ſtocks as he occupied the day before, & there ſtood al day, & read openly his own confeſſion, written with his own hand, the very copie wherof here enſueth.

Perkin W becke el from his pers.

FIrſt it is to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turny in Flanders, & my fathers name is John Oſbeck, which ſaid J. Oſbek was Cõptroller of yͤ ſayd town of Turney, & my mothers name is Katherin de Faro. And one of my Grandſires vpõ my fathers ſide was named Dirick Oſbeck, which died, after whoſe death my grandmother was maried vnto Peter Flamin, yͭ was receiuer of the fornamed town of Turney, & dean of the botemen yͭ row vpõ the water or riuer called le Scheld. And my grandſire vpõ my mothers ſide was Pet. de Faro, which had in his keping the keyes of the gate of S. Johns within the ſame towne of Turney. Alſo I had an vncle called M. John Stalin, dwelling in the pariſh of S. Pias within yͤ ſame town, which had maried my fathers ſiſter, whoſe name was Joan or Jane, wᵗ whõ I dwelt a certaine ſeaſon. And after I was led by my mother to Andwarpe for to learn Flemiſh, in a houſe of a couſin of mine, an officer of the ſayde towne, called John Stienbecke, with whom I was the ſpace of halfe a yere. And after that I returned againe to Turney, by reaſon of warres that were in Flanders. And within a yere folowing I was ſet wᵗ a marchãt of yͤ said town of

The co on of Pe as it wa ten wit owne h

of Turney named Berlo, to the Marte of Andwarpe, where I fell ſicke, which ſickneſſe continued vpon mee fiue Monethes. And the ſayde Berlo ſet me to borde in a ſkinners houſe, that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſh Nation. And by him I was from thence caried to Barow Mart, and I lodged at the ſigne of the Olde man, where I abode for the ſpace of two Monethes. And after this the ſayd Berlo ſet me with a marchant of Middleborow to ſeruice, for to learne the language, whoſe name was Iohn Strew, with whom I dwelt from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, & then I went into Portingal in cōpany of ſir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ſhip which was called the Queenes ſhip. And when I was come thither, thē I was put in ſeruice to a knight that dwelled in Luſhborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which ſayde knight had but one eye. And bycauſe I deſired to ſee other Countreys, I tooke licenſe of him, and then I put my ſelf in ſeruice with a Briton, called Pregēt Meno, which brought me with him into Irelande: and when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the town, (bicauſe I was arrayed with ſome clothes of ſilke of my ſayde maiſters) came vnto me, and threatned vpon me, that I ſhould be the duke of Clarence ſon, that was before time at Dublin. And foraſmuch as I denied there was brought vnto me the holy Euāgeliſts, and the croſſe, by the Maior of the towne, which was called Iohn Lewellin, & there in the preſence of him & other, I toke mine oth as the truth was, that I was not the foreſayd dukes ſon, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto mee an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Steuē Poitron, and one Iohn Water, and layd to me in ſwearing great othes, that they knew wel that I was king Richards baſtard ſon: to whom I anſwered with like othes, that I was not. And then they aduiſed me not to be afearde, but that I ſhoulde take it vpon me boldly, and if I would ſo do, they would ayd and aſſyſt me with all theyr power againſt the king of England, & not only they, but they were aſſured well, that the Earles of Deſmond and Kildare ſhould do the ſame. For they forced not what parte they tooke, ſo that they might be reuenged vpō the king of England: and ſo agaynſt my will made me to learne Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, ſeconde ſonne to king Edward the fourth, bycauſe king Richardes Baſtarde ſonne was in the handes of the king of Englande. And vpon this the ſayde Water, Stephen Poytron, Iohn Tyler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the foreſayde Erles, entred into this falſe quarell; and within ſhort time other. The frēch king ſent an Ambaſſadour into Irelande, whoſe name was Loyte Lucas, and maiſter Stephen Friham, to aduertiſe me to come into France. And thence I went into France, and from thence into Flanders, and from Flanders into Irelande, and from Irelande into Scotland, and ſo into England.

When the night of the ſame day (being the .xv. of Iune) was come, after hee had ſtand all that day in the face of the Citie, he was committed to the Tower, there to remaine vnder ſafe keeping, leaſt happily he might eftſoones runne away, and eſcape out of the lande, to put the king and realme to ſome new trouble.

An.reg.15.

Patrik an Auguſtine Frier.

In this yeare there was an Auguſtine Frier called Patricke in the Parties of Suffolke, which hauing a ſcholer named Raufe Wilford (a Shoomakers ſonne in London, as Stow noteth) had ſo framed him to his purpoſe, that in hope to worke ſome greate enterpriſe, as to diſappoynt the king of his crowne and ſeate royal, tooke vpon him to be the Earle of Warwike, inſomuch that both the maiſter and ſcholer hauing counſayled betwene themſelues of their enterpriſe, they went into Kent, and there began the yōg Mawmet to tel priuily to many, that he was the very Erle of Warwicke, and lately gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this Frier Patrike. To which ſayings when the Frier perceyued ſome lyght credence to be giuen, he declared it openly in the pulpet, and deſired all men of helpe. But the daunger of this ſeditious attempt was ſhortly remoued and taken away, the maiſter and ſcholer being both apprehēded and caſt into priſon and attainted. The ſcholer was hanged on Shrouetueſday at S. Thomas Waterings, & the Frier condemned to perpetuall priſon. For at that time ſo much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that to a prieſt although he had committed high treaſon agaynſt his ſoueraigne lorde, his life was ſpared, in like caſe as to any other offender in murder, rape, or theft, that had receiued any of the three higher holy orders.

Rauf Wilford the counterfeit erle of Warwike.

Perkin corrupted his keepers.

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in holde, by falſe perſwaſions & great promiſes corrupted his keepers, Strangueys, Blewet, Aſtwood, and long Roger, ſeruants to ſir Iohn Digby lieutenant of the Tower. Inſomuch that they (as it was at their arraignment openly proued) intended to haue ſlaine their maſter, and to haue ſet Perkin and the erle of Warwike at large. Which Erle of Warwik had bene kept in priſon within the tower almoſt from his tender yeares, that is to wit, from the firſt yere of the king, to this .xv. yeare, out of all company of men, & ſight of beaſts, inſomuch that he could not diſcerne a gooſe from a capon, and therefore by cōmon reaſon and opē apparance could not of himſelf, ſeeke his owne death and deſtruction, but yet by the driſt & offence of another he was brought to his death and confuſion, for beeing made priuie of this enterpriſe deuiſed by Perkyn and hys complyces, thereunto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he aſſented and agreed. But thys craftie deuiſe, and ſubtill ymagination beeing reuealed, ſorted to none effect, ſo that Perkyn and John Awater ſometyme Maior of Corke in Irelande, one of his chiefe founders, and his ſon, were the .xvj. daye of Nouember arreigned and condemned at Weſtminſter. And on the .xxiij. day of the ſame moneth, Perkyn and John Awater were drawne to Tyburne, and there Perkyn ſtanding on a little ſkaffolde, read his confeſſion as before he had done in Cheape ſide, taking it on his death to bee true. And ſo hee and John Awater aſked the king forgiueneſſe, and dyed paciently.

Perkin and John Awater executed at tiborne.

This was the rewarde of the feyned gloſe and counterfeyte coment of Perkyn Warbecke, the whiche as by his falſe ſurmiſes in his life tyme, had brought many honorable perſonages to their deathes, & vndone many an honeſt man: ſo nowe at his death hee brought other of the ſame ſort to theyr not altogyther vndeſerued puniſhment. And amongeſt other Edwarde Plantagenet the forenamed Earle of Warwicke, which (as the fame went) conſented to breake priſon, and to depart out of the Realme with Perkyn (which in priſoners is high treaſon) was the .xxj. day of the ſayde Moneth arraigned at Weſtmynſter before the Earle of Oxforde then high Stewarde of Englande of the ſayde treaſon, which whether it were by inticement and perſwaſion of other, or of his owne free will many doubted, (bycauſe of his innocencie) confeſſed the fact, & ſubmitted himſelf to the kings mercie. And vpõ his cõfeſſion had his iudgement, and according thereunto the .xxviij. day of Nouember in the yeare. 1499. was brought to the Skaffolde on the tower hill, and there beheaded.

Edward Erle of Warwick beheaded.

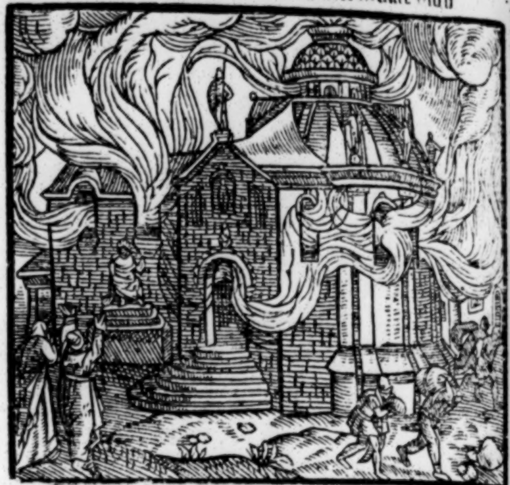
The fame after his death ſprang abrode that Ferdinando king of Spaine would make ful cõcluſion of the matrimonie to bee had betweene Prince Arthure and the Ladie Katherin daughter to the ſayde Ferdinando, nor ſende hir into England as long as this erle liued. For he ymagined that ſo long as any Earle of Warwike lyued, Englande ſhoulde neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuie ſedition. ſo much was the name of Warwike in other regions had in feare & ialouſie. The next yeare after there was a greate plague whereof men died in manye places verie ſore, but ſpecially and moſt of all in the Citie of London where died in that yeare .xxx. thouſande.

1500

A great plague

The .xxiiij. of Februarie in this .xv. yeare of this kings raigne his thirde ſonne was chriſtened and named Edwarde.

Alſo in this yeare was burned a place of the kings called the Manour of Sheene ſituate nigh the Thames ſide, which he after buylded againe ſumptuouſly, and chaunged the name of Shene and called it Richmond, becauſe his father and he were Earles of Richmond.



The mano
of Shene b
and Rich
built in p
thereof.

The king whether to auoyde the daunger of ſo great and perillous ſickneſſe, then raigning, or to take occaſion to common with the Duke of Burgongne, he perſonally tooke his ſhip at Douer in the beginning of May, and ſayled to Calais, whether the Duke of Burgongne, ſent to him honourable perſonages in Ambaſſade to welcome him into thoſe partyes, and to declare that the ſayde Duke woulde gladly repayre perſonally to his preſence with ſuche a number as the King ſhoulde appoynt, ſo that it were within no walled towne nor fortreſſe. For hauing denyed the Frenche king to enter into anye of hys fortreſſes to talke with him, hee woulde be loth nowe to giue a preſident to him to deſire the lyke meeting. The kng enterteyning the Ambaſſadours, and thanking the Duke of hys courteous offer, appoynted the place at Saint Peters Church without Calais.

King He
the ſeuen
ſayleth to
Caleys.

Vpon Tueſday in Witſon weeke the Archduke Philippe came thither with a conuenient companie. The King and the Queene with many a luſtie Lorde and Ladie road thither to welcome him, and after moſte louing enterteynments, banquettings, myrth and paſtime ſhewed amongeſt them there was communication of maryages, treating of further ſtrengthning of leagues, requeſtes of tolles in Flaunders to be miniſhed, with many other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countreys. And when all things were ſet in order, the two Princes tooke theyr leaue and departed, the King to Calays, and the Archduke to Saint Omers.

The king
Englãd &
Duke of
gongne m
at ſaint Pe
church wi
out Caleſ

After hys departyng, there came Ambaſſadours from the French King the Lorde Cronthouſe gouernour of Pycardie, and the Lorde Meruiliers bailiffe of Ampyens, which declared to the king the getting of Millane and taking of the Duke, the Kyng highly feaſted them, and rewarded them princely at their departing.

Sone after when the death was ſlaked, the king returned againe into Englande aboute the ende of June. Shortly after there came to him one Gaſper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and moſt ciuill behauiour, ſent from Alexander the Biſhop of Rome to diſtribute the heauenly grace (as he termed it) to all ſuche as letted by any forcible impedimẽt, could not come to Rome that yeare to the Jubile, whiche was there celebrate, being the yeare after the byrth of our Sauiour. 1500.

This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogyther freely gyuen. For Alexander looking to the health of mennes ſoules, thought to do ſomewhat for his owne priuate commoditie, and therfore he ſet a certaine price of that his grace and pardon, and to the ende that the king ſhoulde not hynder his purpoſe, he offred part of his gaine to the king. And to colour the matter with ſome fauourable pretext, and to make men the better willing and more readie to gyue frankly, hee promyſed wyth that money to make warre agaynſte the Turke.

By this meanes the Pope got a great maſſe of money, and yet nothing done agaynſte the Turke, whith in the meane ſeaſon did much hurt to the Chriſtians: but God amende all that is amiſſe.

About this time died thre Biſhops in England John Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Thomas Langton Biſhop of Wyncheſter, and Thomas Rotheram Archbiſhop of Yorke. After him ſucceded Thomas Sauage Biſhop of Lõdon, a man of great honour and worthineſſe: in whoſe place ſucceeded William Warham, of whõ before is made mention. And Henry Deane Biſhop of Saliſburie, was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and Richarde Foxe was remoued from Durham to the ſea of Wincheſter.

Alſo this yeare two notable mariages were concluded, but not conſummate till afterwards, as you ſhall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie graunted his daughter Ladie Margaret to James the fourth king of Scottes. And Ferdinando king of Spaine, gaue his daughter Ladie Katherine to Arthure Prince of Wales, ſon and heyre apparaunt to the king of Englande.

Among other articles of the maryage concluded with the Scottiſh king this was one, that no Engliſh men ſhoulde be receyued into Scotlãd without letters cõmendatorie of their ſoueraigne Lord or ſafeconduct of his Wardaine of the Marches, and the ſame prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scottes.

An. reg. 17.

The fourth of October as Stow hath noted.

This yeare the Ladie Katherine of Spaine was ſent by hir father King Ferdinando with a puiſſant nauie of ſhippes into Englande, where ſhe arriued in the Hauẽ of Plimmouth the ſecond day of October then being Saterday.

Upon the .xij. of Nouember ſhe was conueyed from Lambeth through London with all tryumph and honour that myght be deuiſed to the Biſhops Palaice, the ſtreetes beeing hanged and Pageants erected after the maner as is vſed at a coronation.

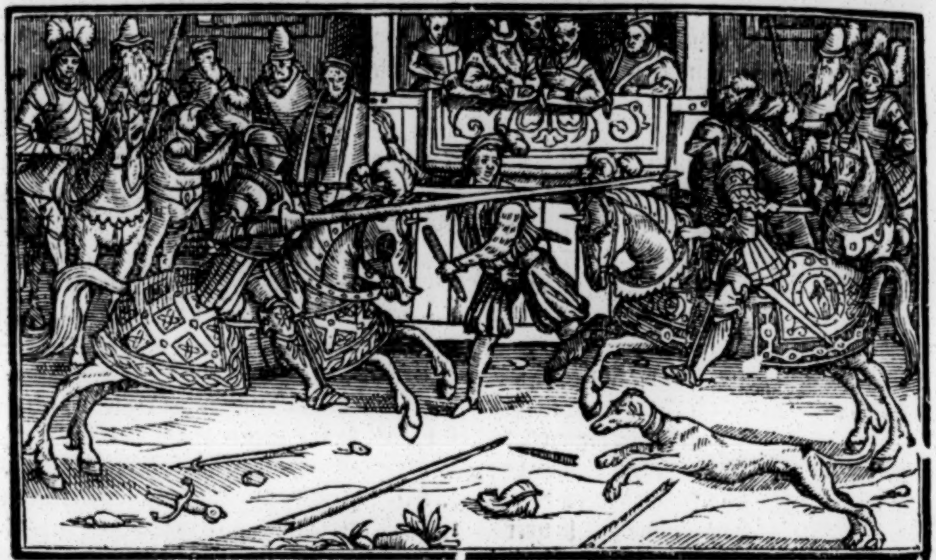
Whileſt this Ladie ſoiourned for hir recreation in the Biſhops Palaice of London, being in the meane time viſited of the king, the Queene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Pauls Church a long bridge made of Tymber, extending from the Weſt dore of the Churche to the ſteppe at the entring into the Queere, which was ſixe foote from the grounde. On the ſayd bridge or ſtage, euen directly before the cõſiſtorie of the church was a place raiſed like a Mount for eight perſons to ſtand vpon, cõpaſſed round about with ſteps to aſcend and deſcend, which was couered with fine red worſted, and in like wiſe were all the rayles of the ſayd ſtage. On the north ſide of this mount was a place decked & trymmed for the King and Queene, and ſuch other as they appoynted to haue. On the South ſide the ſame Mounte ſtoode the Maior and the Magiſtrates of the Citie.

The ſolemnization of the mariage betwene Arthur prince of Wales & Katherin daughter to the king of Spaine.

When all things were prepared and ſet in order vpon the .xiiij. of Nouember then being Sunday, the foreſayde Ladie was ledde to the ſayde Mounte, and there Prince Arthur openly eſpouſed hir, both being clad in White, both luſtie and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and ſhe of the age of .xviij. or thereaboutes, the King and Queene ſtanding priuilye on theyr ſtage.

After the matrimonie celebrate, the prince and his wife went vp into the Queere, and there heard a ſolemne Maſſe ſung by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſociate with .xix. Prelates mytred. And after the Maſſe finiſhed, the Bryde was ledde homewardes to the Biſhoppes Palayce by the Duke of Yorke, being then a goodly yong prince, and the Legate of Spaine. Next after followed the Ladie Cicile, ſiſter to the Queene, ſupporting the trayne of the ſpouſe. But to ſpeake of all the ſolemnẽ pompe, noble companie of Lordes and Ladies, and what a ſumptuous feaſt and plentifull, was kept with dauncing and diſguiſings, wordes myght ſooner fayle than matter worthye of rehearſall. But euery day endeth, and nyght enſueth, and ſo when nyght was come, the Prince and his beautifull Bride were brought and ioyned togyther in one bedde, where they lay as man and wife all that night.

Shortly after the king and the Queene, with the newe wedded ſpouſes went from Baynards Caſtell by water to Weſtminſter, on whom the Maior and communaltie of London, in barges gorgeouſly trymmed gaue their attendance. And there in the Palace were ſuch martiall feates, valiant iuſtes, vygorous turneys & ſuch fierce fight at the barriers as before that time was of no man had in remembraunce. Of this royall triumph Lord Edward Duke of Buckingham was chief chalenger, and Lorde Thomas Gray Marques Dorcet cheife defender, which with their aydes & companions bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that they got great praiſe and honor, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne countrymen.



During the time of theſe iuſtes and triumphs, were receyued into London, an erle, a biſhop, and diuerſe noble perſonages ſente from the king of Scots into England for concluſion of the mariage betwene the Lady Margaret and him, which Erle by proxie, in the name of king Iames hys maiſter, affyed and contracted the ſayde Ladie. Which affiance was publiſhed at Paules croſſe, the day of the conuerſion of Saint Paule, in reioycing whereof *Te Deum* was ſong, and great fiers made through the Citie of London.

Margaret eldeſt daughter to king Henry affied to Iames king of Scots.
1502

These things being accompliſhed, the Ambaſſadours as well of Spaine as Scotland, toke their leaue of the King, and not without great rewardes returned into their countreys.

When the Ambaſſadours were departed, he ſent his ſon Prince Arthur again into Wales, to keepe that Country in good order, appoynting to him wiſe and expert Counſaylers, as ſir Rycharde Poole his kinſman, which was his chiefe Chamberlayne, alſo ſir Henrie Vernon, ſir Rycharde Croftes, ſir Dauid Philip, ſir William Vdall, ſir Thomas Englefield, ſir Peter Newton, knightes, Iohn Walleſton, Henry Marion, and Doctor William Smith, preſident of his counſaile, and doctor Charles, of the which two doctors, the one was after Biſhop of Lincolne, and the other Biſhop of Hereford.

A few monethes before the maryage of prince Arthur, Edmonde de la Poole Earle of Suffolke ſonne to Iohn Duke of Suffolke, and Ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to king Edward the fourth, beeing bolde and raſhe withall, was indyted of murther, for ſleaing of a meane perſon in his rage and furie, and although the king pardoned him whom hee might iuſtly haue put to death for that offence, yet bycauſe he was brought to the barre afore the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he toke as a greate maime and blemiſhe to hys honour) ſhortly after vpon that diſpleaſure hee fledde into Flaunders vnto his Aunte the Ladie Margaret, the king not being priuie to his going ouer. Neuertheleſſe, whether he was perſwaded by his friends thereunto, whom the king hadde wylled to deale with hym therein, or whether vpon truſt of his innocencie, true it is that he returned againe, and excuſed himſelfe to the king, ſo that he thought hym to be guiltleſſe of anye cryme that myght bee obiected agaynſt him.

Edmo
Erle of
flieth i
flaund

But when the maryage betwixt the prince and the Ladie Katherin of Spaine was kept at London, this Erle eyther for that he had paſſed hys compaſſe in exceſſiue charges and ſumptuouſneſſe at that great tryumph and ſolemnitie, and by reaſon thereof was farre run into debt, eyther elſe through the procurement of his aunt the foreſayd Lady Margaret, or pricked with ſome priuie enuie, which could not paciently with open eyes behold king Henry, being of the aduerſe faction to his lignage ſo long to reigne in wealth and felicitie in concluſion with his brother Rycharde fled again into Flaunders.

This departure of the Erlee ſore vexed the king, doubting of ſome newe trouble to enſue thereof. But yet to vnderſtande the full meaning of the ſayd Erle, the King vſed his olde fetche: for immediatly after the Erle was fled, he appointed ſir Robert Curſon whom he had aduanced to the order of knighthoode, and made Captaine of Hammes Caſtell, a valiant man, and a circumſpect, to diſſemble himſelfe to bee one of that conſpiracie, went into Flaunders, to eſpie what was done there by the Ladie Margaret, and hir Nephewe the Earle of Suffolke.

After that the ſayde ſir Robert Curſon was thus gone into Flaunders, the king to put hym out of al ſuſpition with the ſaid ladie Margaret & the Earle, cauſed the ſayde Earle, and ſir Robert Curſon, and fiue perſons more to be accurſed at Paules Croſſe, the firſt Sunday of Nouember, as enimies to him and his realme.

To be briefe, the king by this meanes, and other ſuch diligent inquiſition as hee made, tryed out ſuch as he ſuſpected partly to be deuiſers of miſchiefe agaynſt him, and partly to beare no ſincere affection towardes his perſon, ſo that hee coulde readilye name them, whereof a greate parte were within fewe dayes apprehended and taken.

And amongeſt them William Lorde Courtney, ſonne to the Earle of Deuonſhire, whiche had maryed the Ladie Katherine, daughter to king Edwarde the fourth, Lorde William de la Pole, brother to the foreſayde Erle of Suffolk, ſir James Tyrrell, ſir John Wyndam. Both the Williams were rather taken of ſuſpition, bicauſe they were ſo neare of kinne to the Conſpyrator, than for any proued matter. But Sir James Tyrrell, and John Windam, bycauſe they were traytours, and ſo attaynted, the ſixt day of May after theyr apprehenſihn, they were on the tower hill beheaded.

When the Earle of Suffolke hearde what fortune thus happened to his friendes as one in vtter diſpayre to haue anye good ſucceſſe in hys pretenſed enterprice, wandred about all Germanie, and France, to purchaſe ſome ayde and ſuccour, if by any meanes hee myght. But when hee perceyued no ſtedfaſte grounde to catche anchor holde vpon, he ſubmitted himſelfe vnder the Protection of Philip Archduke of Auſtriche. But his brother Richarde being a politique man, ſo wiſely ordred himſelf in this ſtormy tempeſt, that he was not entrapped either with net or ſnare.

The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill ſedition, bycauſe a great number of euill diſpoſed perſons partakers of this conſpiracie, were fledde into ſundrie Sainctuaries, deuiſed to haue al the Gates of Sainctuaries and places priuiledged ſhutte and locked vp, ſo that none ſhoulde iſſue out from thence to perturbe and vnquyet him. And for that intent he wrote vnto Pope Alexander, deſiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Engliſh menne being fledde to Sainctuarie for the offence of treaſon as enimyes to the Chriſtian fayth, interdyting and prohybiting the refuge and priuiledge of Sainctuarie, to all ſuch as once had enioyed the libertie and protection of the ſame, and after had fledde out, and eftſoones returned againe. Whiche thing after that the Pope had graunted, turned to the great quietneſſe of the King and his Realme. For manye that had offended, for feare to fall into daunger, returned to the due ſubiection of theyr Prince, and other that were yet free from peryll, durſte not hazarde themſelues ſo boldely as they durſt haue done before, vpon hope of ſuche ſtartyng holes.

Sanctuaries reſtrayned.

When the king had thus ſetled things to his owne contentation and pleaſure, there ſodainly happened to him a lamentable chaunce. For that noble Prince Arthure, the kings firſt begotten ſonne, after he had beene maryed to the lady Katheryn his wife, the ſpace of fiue monethes, departed out of this tranſitorie life, in his caſtel of Ludlow, and with great funerall obſequie, was buried in the Cathedrall Church of Worceſter.

The death of Arthur Prince of Wales.

His brother the Duke of Yorke was ſtayed from the tytle of Prince by the ſpace of a month, till to women it might appeare whether the Ladie Katheryn wyfe to the ſayde Prince Arthure was conceyued with childe or not.

An. reg.18.

1503

In this .xviij. yeare, the .xxiiij. day of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after noone of the ſame day, the firſt ſtone of our ladie Capel within the Monaſterie of Weſtmynſter, was layde by the handes of John Iſlip Abbot of the ſame Monaſterie. Sir Reignalde Bray knight of the Garter, Doctor Barnes maſter of the Rolles, Doctor Wall Chaplayne to the kings Maieſtie, Maiſter Hugh Oldham, Chaplayne to the Counteſſe of Derbie & Richmond the kings mother, ſir Edwarde Stanhope knight, and diuerſe other.

Upon the ſame ſtone was this ſcripture engrauen. *Illuſtriſſimus Henricus ſeptimus rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, poſuit hanc petram in honore beatæ virginis Mariæ.24. die Ianuarij, anno domini 1502. Et anno dicti Regis Henrici ſeptimi, decimo octauo.*

Queene Elizabeth lying within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a fayre daughder on Candlemaſſe day. which was there chriſtened and named Katherin, and the .xj. of the ſame month the ſayd Queene there deceaſed, and was buryed at Weſtminſter, whoſe daughter alſo lyued but a ſmall ſeaſon after hir mother.

The .xviij. of Februarie the king at his Palace of Weſtminſter created his onely ſonne Henrie Prince of Wales, Earle of Cheſter, &c. who afterwardes ſucceeded his father in poſſeſſion of the regall Crowne of this realme.

Moreouer, this yeare alſo, after the deceaſſe of that noble Queene, for hir vertue commonlye called good Queene Elizabeth, departed oute of thys worlde alſo ſir Reignalde Bray knight of the Garter, a very father of hys Countrey, for his high wiſedome and ſingular loue to iuſtice well worthie to beare that tytle. If any thing had beene done amyſſe, contrarie to lawe and equitie, hee woulde after an humble ſorte plainely blame the King, and giue hym good aduertiſement, that he ſhould not onelye refourme the ſame, but alſo bee more circumſpect in any other the lyke caſe.

Sir Reignold Brey his death

Juſt commendacions of Morton Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Sir Reynold Bray.

Of the ſame vertue and faythfull plainneſſe was John Morton Archbiſhop of Canterburie, whiche dyed (as is ſhewed aboue) two yeares before.

So theſe two perſõs were refrainers of yͤ kings vnbrydeled libertie, where as the common people ignorant altogyther of the truth in ſuche matters, iudged and reported, that the counſayle of thoſe two worthie perſonages, corrupted yͤ kings cleane and immaculate conſcience, contrarie to his princelye diſpoſition and naturall inclynation. Suche is euer the errour of the common people.

About this tyme dyed Henrie the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, whoſe rowmth Doctor William Warham Biſhop of London ſupplyed. And to the Sea of London William Barnes was appoynted, and after his death ſucceded one Richard FitzJames.

This yeare alſo the Lorde Cazimire Marques of Brandenburg, accompanyed with an Erle, a Biſhop, and a great number of gentelmẽ well apparailed, came in ambaſſade frõ the Emperor Maximilian, & were triumphantly receiued into Lõdon, & lodged at Croſbies place.

Theyr Meſſage was for three cauſes, one to comfort the King in hys tyme of heauineſſe for the loſſe of hys wyfe. The ſeconde for the renuing of amitie, and the olde league. The thirde (which was not apparant) was to moue the king to marrye the Emperours daughter, the Ladie Margaret, Duches dowager of Sauoy. The two firſt tooke effect. For the King vpon Paſſion Sunday road to Paules in great triumph, the ſayd Marques ryding on his left hand. And there the Bi. made to the K. an excellent conſolatorie oration concerning the death of the Queene. And there alſo the king openly ſware to keepe the new renouate league & amitie during their two liues. But the third requeſt (whether the let was on the mans ſide, or the womãs) neuer ſorted to any cõcluſion. The Ladie Margaret the kings daughter, affied (as ye haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conueyed into Scotland, by the Erle of Surrey: and the Erle of Northũberland, as wardẽ of the Marches, was cõmaunded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And ſo herevpon after hir comming to Berwike, ſhe was cõueied to Lamberton kirke in Scotlãd, where the king of Scots, with the flower of al the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland was readie to receyue hir, to whom the Erle of Northumberland (according to his commiſſion) deliuered hir.

The ſayd Erle of Northumberland that day, what for the ryches of his coat being goldſmithes work, garniſhed with pearle and ſtone, and what for the gallant apparell of his Henxmen, & braue trappers of his horſe, beſide foure .C. tal men well horſed and apparailed in his colours, was eſtemed both of the Scots and Engliſh men, more like a Prince than a ſubiect. From Lamberton, the foreſayd Ladie was conueyed to Edenbourgh, & there the day after, king James the fourth, in the preſence of all his nobilitie, eſpouſed hir, & feaſted the Engliſh Lordes, and ſhewed iuſtes and other paſtimes very honorably, after the faſhion of that coũtrey. And after all things were finiſhed according to their cõmiſſion, the erle of Surrey with al yͤ engliſh lords & ladies, returned into their cũtry.

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In this yere the king kept his high Court of Parliament, in the which, diuers acts eſtemed neceſſarye for the preſeruation of the cõmon wealth were eſtabliſhed, & amongſt other, it was enacted, that theeues & murderers duely conuicted by the law to die, and yet ſaued by theyr bookes, ſhoulde be committed to the Biſhops cuſtodie.

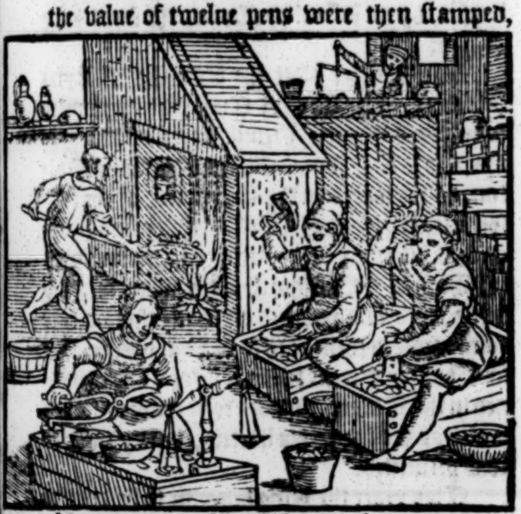
An. r

After this, a ſubſedie was granted, both of the temporaltie, and ſpiritualty, & ſo that Parliamẽt ended. But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his cheſts with abundance of treaſure, was not ſatiſfied with this only ſubſedie, but deuiſed an other meane how to enrich himſelfe, as thus. He conſidered that the Engliſh men little regarded the keeping of penal lawes, and pecunial ſtatutes, deuiſed for the good preſeruation of the common welth, wherfore he cauſed inquiſition to be made of thoſe that had tranſgreſſed any of the ſame lawes, ſo that there were but few noble mẽ, marchants, farmers, huſband men, graſiers, or occupiers, that coulde clearely proue themſelues faultleſſe, but had offended in ſome one or other of the ſame lawes.

150

At the firſt, they that were found guiltie were eaſily fined. But after there were appointed two maſters & ſuruēyers of his forfeyts, the one ſir Ri. Empſon, & the other Edmõd Dudley, both lerned in the lawes of the realme, who, meanyng to ſatiſfie their princes pleaſure and to ſee their commiſſion executed to the vttermoſt ſeemed, litle to reſpect the perill that might enſue. Whereupon they beeing furniſhed with a ſort of accuſers, commonly called Promoters, or as they themſelues will be named Enformers, troubled many a man, whereby they wanne them great hatred, and the King by ſuche rigorous proceedings loſt the loue and fauour, which the people before time had borne towardes him, ſo that he for ſetting thẽ a worke, ⁊ they for executing of it in ſuch extreeme wiſe, ran into obloquie of the ſubiectes of this realme.

A newe coyne of ſyluer was ordeyned of Grotes and halfe Grotes, and ſome peeces of the value of twelue pens were then ſtamped, althoughe verye fewe of that ſorte came abroade.



The king after he had gotten a greate maſſe of money togyther, hauing pitie of the people which oppreſſed with the ſharp proceedings of his greedie officers, cried dayly to God for vẽgeance, ment to haue depriued them of theyr offices (as ſome write) and that ſuche money as had beene violently exacted, ſhoulde haue beene reſtored and deliuered againe, if hee had not beene preuenby death. And yet by his laſt will, he commaunded that it ſhould be duly and truly perfourmed, but in the meane ſeaſon manye mens Coffers were emptied.

In this verie ſeaſon, and the yeare of our lord 1506. Elizabeth Queene of Caſtile dyed without iſſue male, by reaſon whereof the inheritaunce of Caſtile (bycauſe that kingdome is not partible) deſcended to Ladie Iane hir eldeſt daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was maryed to Philippe Archeduke of Auſtriche. Wherefore the yeare following, about the ſixth day of Ianuarie, hauing a great nauie prepared, he intituled nowe king of Caſtile, ſayled out of Flaunders with his wife towardes Spaine, but by a mightie tempeſt of winde and foule weather, the whole nauy was diſperſed and ſperkled abrode in diuerſe places on the coaſt of Englande, the kings ſhippe with two other Veſſelles, were blowne by tempeſt on the weſt part of the Realme, to the Port of Weymouth in Dorcetſhyre.

The king beeing awearied with the toſſing of the ſea, as one not accuſtomed therto, contrary to the minde of his Counſaylers, came a lande to refreſh himſelfe.

Philip Archduke of Auſtrich landeth in the weſt partes of Englande.

When it was knowne that ſtraunge ſhippes were arriued in that place, there came thither a great number, as well of Gentlemen as cõmons of the countrey, to beat them backe if they proued to be enimies. But when they perceyued that the king of Spaine was there driuen a land by force of weather, ſir Thomas Trenchard knight, chief of that company, went with great hũbleneſſe vnto him, and did what he could to haue him to his houſe, being not farre off, and ſo to cauſe him to ſtay, till ſuch time as king Henrye might be certified of his arriuall, to whome with all ſpeede he ſent diuerſe poſts to aduertiſe him of K. Philips landing.

In this meane while came people in from all ſides, vppon knowledge giuen of this ſtraunge Princes comming. And among other, ther came ſir Iohn Carew, with a goodly band of piked mẽ. Which ſir Iohn, and ſir Thomas Trenchard intreated the king of Caſtile not to depart vntil ſuch time as he had ſpoken with the king.

The king of Caſtile excuſed him by neceſſitie of his weightie enterprice: but when he perceyued that if he would proffer to go once abourde to his ſhips againe, he might bee letted, and was like ſo to be, hee thought good rather to aſſent to their humble requeſt, and ſo ſeeme to gratifie them, than by denying it, to procure their euill willes, and yet neuer the nearer of his purpoſe.

When king Henrie was enfourmed of hys landing, hee was ryght glad therof, and wrote vnto Sir Iohn Carew, and to Sir Thomas Trencharde, that they ſhoulde enterteyne hym in the moſt honourable ſort they coulde deuiſe, till he might come himſelf in perſon to welcom him.

Beſide this, he ſent the Earle of Arundel with many Lordes and knights to attende vpon him. Which Erle according to the kings letters receiued him with three hundred horſes, all by torche light, to the great admiration of the ſtrangers.

King Philip ſeeing no remedie but that hee muſt needes tary, woulde no longer gaſe after King Henryes comming, but tooke hys iourney towardes Wyndſore Caſtell, where the King lay, and fiue myle from Windſore the Prince of Wales accompanied with fiue Erles, ⁊ diuerſe Lordes and knights, and other to the number of fiue hundred perſons gorgeouſlye apparayled, receyued him after the moſt honourable faſhion. And within halfe a myle of Wyndſore, the king accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, and a great parte of the nobilitie of thys Realme welcomed him, and ſo conueyed him to the Caſtell of Wyndſore, where hee was made companion of the noble order of the Garter.

After him came to Wyndſore his wife Queene Iane, ſiſter to the Princes Dowager, late wife to Prince Arthure.

After the two kings had renued and confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, King Henrie deſired to haue Edmond de la Poole Erle of Suffolke to be deliuered into hys handes. To whome the King of Caſtile aunſwered, that he verily was not wythin hys Dominion, and therefore it lay not in him to delyuer hym. In deede he was loth to be the authour of his death, that came to him for ſuccour, and was receyued vnder his protection, yet vppon the earneſt requeſt and aſſured promiſe of king Henrie (that he would pardon him of all executions and paynes of death) he graunted to king Henryes deſire. And ſo incontinently cauſed the ſayde Earle ſecretly to be ſent for.

After this to protract tyme, till he were poſſeſſed of his pray, king Henrie conueyed the king of Caſtile vnto the Citie of London, that hee might ſee the heade Citie of his Realme, & there ledde hym from Baynards Caſtell by Cheape to Barking, and ſo returned by Watling ſtreete againe, during whiche tyme there was ſhot out of the Tower a wonderfull peale of Ordinance. But he woulde not enter into the Tower, bycauſe (as ye haue hearde before) hee had aduowed not to enter the Forteſſe of of any forraine Prince, in the which a garniſon was mainteyned.

From London the King brought him to Richmonde, where many notable feates of armes were prooued both of tylte, tourney, and barriers.

In the meane ſeaſon the Earle of Suffolke perceyuing what hope was to be had in forraine Princes, and truſting that after hys lyfe to him once graunted, king Henrie would briefly ſet him at his full libertie, was in maner contented to returne agayne into his natiue countrey.

When all pactes and couenaunts betweene the kings of Englande and Caſtile were appoynted, concluded, and agreed, king Philippe tooke hys leaue of king Henrie, yeelding to hym moſt heartye thankes for hys highe cheare and Princely entertaynment. And being accompanyed with dyuerſe Lordes of Englande, came to the Citie of Exceter, and ſo to Falmouth in Cornwale, and there taking ſhippe ſayled into Spaine, where ſhortly after hee dyed being .xxx. yeares of age.

The dea
deſcrip
Philip
Spaine.

He was of ſtature conuenient, of countenance amiable, of bodie ſomewhat groſſe, quick witted, bolde and hardie ſtomacked.

The tempeſt that he ſuffered on the Sea, was huge and wonderfull alſo vpon the lande, inſomuch that the violence of the wynde blew downe an Eagle of Braſſe, being ſet to ſhewe on which part the wynde blewe, from a pynacle or Spire of Paules Churche, and in the falling the ſame Eagle brake and battered an other Eagle that was ſet vppe for a ſigne at a Tauerne dore in Cheape ſide. And herevpon men that were giuen to geſſe things that ſhoulde happen by marking of ſtraunge tokens, deemed that the Emperour Maximilian which gaue the Eagle ſhould ſuffer ſome greate myſfortune, as hee did ſhortly after by the loſſe of hys ſonne, the ſayde king Philip.

Alſo ſhortlye after the departing of Kyng Philippe, the King of Englande beganne to ſuſpect Sir George Neuill Lorde of Burgeyny, and Sir Thomas Greene of Greenes Norton, as partakers in the begynning of the conſpiracie, wyth the Earle of Suffolke, and ſo vpon that ſuſpition, they were commaunded to the Tower. But ſhortly after, when they had beene tryed and pourged of that ſuſpition, hee commaunded them both to be ſet at libertie. But ſir Thomas Greene fell ſicke before, and remayned in the Tower, in hope to be reſtored to hys health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was preuented.

Ann

This yeare the King beganne to be diſeaſed of a certayne infyrmitie, whiche thriſe euerye yeare, but eſpecially in the Spring tyme ſore vexed him, and bycauſe for the moſte parte the harme that chaunceth to the Prince, is parted wyth his Subiectes, the ſweating ſickeneſſe, whiche (as yee haue hearde) in the fyrſt yeare of this king, fyrſt afflicted the people of this realme, nowe aſſayled them agayne, howbeeit by the remedie founde at the begynning of it, nothyng the lyke number dyed thereof, nowe thys ſecond time as did the firſt time, til the ſaid remedie was inuented.

The ſw
ſickneſ
ſoone
oeth.

But nowe the thirde plague egall to the Peſtilence enſued, by the working of the Maiſters of the forfeytures, and ſuche informers as were appoynted thereto. By whoſe meanes many a riche and wealthie perſon by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme, were cōdemned and brought to great loſſe and hinderance. A greate part of which theyr vndoyngs proceeded by the inconuenience of ſuche vnconſcionable officers, as by the abuſe of exigentes outlawed thoſe that neuer hearde, nor had knowledge of the ſuytes commenced agaynſt them, of whiche harde and ſharpe dealyng (the harme that thereof enſueth conſidered)

conſidered) if the occaſion might be taken away by ſome other more reaſonable fourme and order of lawe deuyſed, whereby the partie myght haue perſonall warning, it woulde both preſerue many an Innocent manne from vndeſerued vexation and daunger of vnmercifull loſſe of goodes, and alſo redounde highly to the commendation of the Prince, and ſuch other as chaunced to bee refourmers of that colourable law, where they be called only in the counties without other knowledge giuẽ to thẽ or theirs at their dwelling houſes. But now to returne: ſuch maner of outlawries, olde recogniſaunces of the peace, and good abearings, eſcapes, riottes, and innumerable ſtatutes penall, were put in execution and called vpon, that euerie man both of the Spiritualtie and Temporaltie, hauing eyther lande or ſubſtance, were inuited to that plucking banket. Sir Gilbert Talbot Knight, and Richard Bere abbot of Glaſtenburie, and Doctor Robert Sherborne Deane of Pouls, were ſent as ambaſſadors from the king vnto Rome, to declare vnto Pius the third of that name newly elected Pope, what ioy and gladneſſe had entred the Kings heart for his preferment, but hee taryed not the comming of thoſe Ambaſſadours, for within a Moneth after that he was inſtalled, hee rendred his debt to nature, and ſo had ſhort pleaſure of his promotion.

507

rd
äieth.

At the ſame time dyed Gyles Lord Dawbeney the kings chiefe Chamberleyne, whoſe office Charles, baſtarde ſonne to Henrie laſt Duke of Somerſet occupied and enioyed, a man of good wit, and great experience.

g.23.
id
Vrbin
made
of the

Soone after the king cauſed Guidebalde duke of Vrbyne to be elected knight of the order of the Garter, in like maner as his father Duke Frederike had beene before him, which was choſen and admitted into yͤ order by K. Edward the fourth.

Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two Ambaſſadors being appointed to keepe on their iourney vnto Pope Iuly the ſeconde, elected after the death of the ſayde Pius the thirde, bare the habite and coller alſo vnto the ſayde Duke Guidebald, which after he had receyued yͤ ſame, ſent ſir Balthaſer Caſtalio, knight, a Mantuan borne, as his Orator vnto king Henrie, whiche was for hym enſtalled, according to the ordinãces of the order.

This yere that worthie prelate Thomas Sauage Archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life at his Caſtel of Cawood, a man beſide the worthineſſe of his birth highly eſteemed with his Prince for his faſt fidelitie and great wiſdome. He beſtowed greate coſt in repayring the Caſtell of Cawood and the Manor of Scroby. His body was buried at Yorke, but he appoynted by his teſtament, that his hart ſhould be buried at Maccleſfield in Cheſhire, where hee was borne, in a Chapell there of his foundation, ioyning to the Southſide of the Churche, meaning to haue founded a Colledge there alſo, if his purpoſe had not beene preuented by death. After him ſucceeded doctor Benbridge in the Archbiſhops ſea of Yorke the. 56. Archbiſhop that had ſit in that ſea.

About this ſame time Lewes the French king maried his eldeſt daughter named Clare, vnto Frances de Valois Dolphin of Vienne, and duke of Angoleſme, which Ladie was promiſed vnto Charles the king of Caſtile: wherevpon by Ambaſſadors ſent to and fro betwixt K. Henrye and the ſaid king of Caſtile, a mariage was cõcluded betwixt the ſaid K. of Caſtile, & the ladie Marie, daughter to K. Henry, being about the age of ten yeres. For concluſion of which mariage, the lord of Barow, and other Ambaſſadors wer ſent into England from the Emperor Maxilian which with great rewardes returned.

1508

An. reg. 24.

The ſickneſſe which held the king dayly more and more encreaſing, he well perceyued that hys end drew nere, and therfore meaning to do ſome high pleaſure to his people, graunted of his free motion a general pardon to all men, for al offences done and cõmitted againſt any his lawes or ſtatutes, theeues, murtherers, and certaine other were excepted. He payed alſo the fees of all priſoners in the Gales in and about London, abiding there only for that dutie. He payed alſo the debts of all ſuch perſons as lay in the Cõters or Ludgate, for. xl. ß. & vnder, & ſome he relieued that wer condemned in. x. li. Herevpon were proceſſions generally vſed euery day in euery citie & pariſh, to pray to almightie God for his reſtoring to health & long cõtinuãce of yͤ ſame. Neuertheleſſe he was ſo waſted wͭ his long malady, yͭ nature could no lõger ſuſtein his life, & ſo he departed out of thys world the. xxij. of April, in his palace of Richmõd in the yere of our lord. 1509. His corps was conueied wͭ al funeral pompe to Weſtm. & there buried by the good Q. his wife in a ſumptuous chapel which he not lõg before had cauſed to be builded. He reigned. xxiij. yeres, & more thã. vij. Moneths, & liued. lij. yeres. He had by his Q. Elizabeth, foure ſonnes, & foure daughters, of yͤ which three remained aliue behind him. Hẽry his ſecond ſon prince of Wales, which after him was king, Margaret Q. of Scots, & the lady Mary promiſed to Charles k. of Caſtile. He was a mã of body but leane and ſpare, albeit mighty & ſtrong therewith, of perſonage & ſtature ſomwhat higher thã the mean ſort of mẽ, of a wõderful beauty & faire complexion, of countenance mery & ſmyling eſpecially in his communication, his eies gray, his teeth ſingle, & heare thin, of wit in al things quick & prompt, of a princely ſtomack & haute courage. In gret perils, doubtful affaires, & matters of importance ſupernatural & in maner diuine, for hee ordred all his doings aduiſedly and with greate

1509

The death of King Henrie the ſeuenth

The deſcription of King Henry the ſeuenth.

deliberation.

Iuſtice mingled with mercye.

Beſides this, he was ſober, moderate, honeſt, courteous, bounteous, and ſo muche abhorring pride and arrogancie, that he was euer ſharpe and quicke to them that were noted with that fault. Hee was alſo an indifferent and vpryght Iuſticier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the heartes of many people, and yet to thys ſeueritie of hys, hee ioyned a certayne mercyfull pitie, whiche he did extende to thoſe that had offended the penall lawes, and were put to theyr fynes by hys Iuſtices. Hee dyd vſe hys rygour onelye (as hee ſayde hymſelfe) to daunte, bryng lowe, and abate the highe myndes and ſtoute ſtomacks of the wealthie and wylde people nouriſhed vp in ſeditious factions and ciuill rebellions, rather than for the greedie deſyre of money, although ſuch as were ſcourged wyth amerciamentes, cryed oute and ſayde, it was rather for the reſpect of gaine, than for any politike prouiſion.

In deede he left his Coffers well ſtuffed, for hee was no waſtfull conſumer of his ryches by any inordinate meanes.

Out of the Biſhoppe of Rocheſters funerall ſermon preached in Poules church at London.

To conclude, he had aſmuch in him of giftes both of bodie, minde and fortune, as was poſſible for any king to haue, his politique wiſedome in goueraunce was ſinguler, his wytte alwaye quicke and ready, his reaſon pithie and ſubſtanciall, his memorie freſh and holding, his experience notable, his counſailes fortunate and taken by wiſe deliberation, his ſpeche gratious in diuerſe languages, his perſon, (as before ye haue hard) right comlie, his natural complexion of the pureſt mixture, leagues and cōfederations he had with all Chriſtian Princes. His mightie power was dread euery where, not onely wythin hys Realme but without.

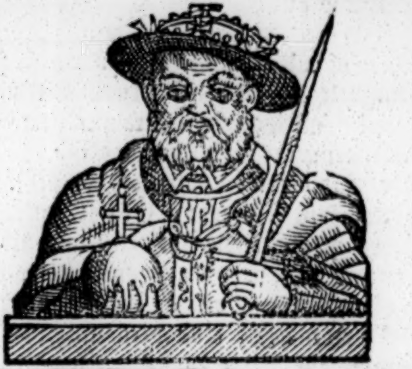
Alſo his people were to him in as humble ſubiection as euer they were to King, his lande many a daye in peace and tranquilitie, hys proſperitie in battayle agaynſte his enimyes was maruellous, hys dealing in tyme of perilles and daungers was colde and ſober, with great hardyneſſe. Manye treaſon were conſpired agaynſte hym, it came oute wonderfully. Hys buyldings moſt goodly, and after the neweſt caſt, all of pleaſure.

And ſo thys King lyuing all his tyme in fortunes fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for hys noble actes and prudent policies, is worthy to bee regyſtred in the Booke of fame, leaſt tyme (the conſumer of all worthie things) ſhoulde blotte out the memorie of his name here in Earth, whoſe ſoule wee truſte lyueth in Heauen, enioying the fruition of the Godhead, and thoſe pleaſures prepared for the faythfull.

Of learned menne that lyued in hys dayes, (as Maiſter Bale noteth them) theſe are recorded. Firſte George Rippeley a Carmelite Frier at Boſton, ſeene in the Mathematikes, and wrote dyuerſe Treatiſes, and after hys deceaſe was accounted a Nigromancien: Iohn Erghom borne in Yorke, a blacke Frier, a doctour of Diuinitie profeſſed in Oxforde, ſtudious of Propheſies, as by the tytle of the workes whiche hee wrote, it maye appeare: Iohn Parceuall a Chartreux Monke: Thomas Maillorie a Welchman borne, wrote I wote not what of King Arthure, and of the rounde Table: Iohn Rouſſe, borne in Warwikeſhyre, a diligent ſearcher of antiquities, wherevpon few Libraries were any where to bee ſeene in Englande and Wales, where he made not ſearche for the ſame, and wrote ſundrye Treatiſes of Hyſtoricall Argumentes. He deceaſſed at Warwicke the fourtenth of Ianuarye in the yeare 1491. and was buryed in our Ladye Churche there: Thomas Scrope, otherwiſe ſurnamed Bradley, deſcended of the noble familye of the Scropes, profeſſed ſundrie kyndes of Religion, as that of the order of Saint Benette, and Saint Dominicke, and likewyſe hee became a Carmelite, and laſt of all hee fell to and preached the Goſpell in heare and ſackecloth, tyll hee vnderſtoode hymſelfe to bee in the diſpleaſure of Walden and other (that coulde not away with ſuch ſingularitie in hym or other, ſounding, as they tooke it to the daunger of bringing the doctrine of the Romiſhe Church in miſlyking with the people) for then hee withdrewe hymſelfe to his houſe agayne, and there remayned twentie yeares, leading an Ankers lyfe, but yet after that tyme hee came abroade, and was aduaunced to bee a Biſhoppe in Irelande, and wente to the Roades in Ambaſſade, from whence being returned, hee went bareſooted vp and downe in Norffolke, teaching in townes and in the countrey abroade the tenne commaundementes. Hee lyued tyll hee came to bee at the poynte of an hundred yeares olde, and departed thys lyfe the fiftenth daye of Ianuarie in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1491. and was buryed at Leſtolfe in Suffolke: Iohn Tonneys a Diuine, and an Auguſtine Frier in Norwiche, wrote certaine Rules of Grammer, and other things printed by Richarde Pynſon: Geffrey ſurnamed the Grammarian: Iohn Alcock Biſhoppe of Elie, chaunged a Nunrie at Cambridge into a Colledge named Ieſus Colledge, aboute the yeare of Chryſt. 1496. The chiefe cauſe of ſuppreſſing the Nunrie is noted to bee, for that the Abbeſſe and other of the Conuent lyued diſſolute liues: Stephen Hawes a learned Gentleman, and of ſuche reputation, as hee was admitted to bee one

Dromin Episcop

of the priuie Chamber to King Henrie the ſeauenth: William Byntre ſo called of a towne in Norffolke where he was borne, by profeſſion a Carmelite Frier in Burnham, a great diuine: William Gallion an Auguſtine Frier in Linne and at length became prouinciall of his order: Roberte Fabian a Citizen and Marchaunt of London, an Hyſtoriographer, hee was in his time in good eſtimation for his wyſedome and wealthe in the Citie, ſo that hee bare office and was Sheriffe in the yere. 1493: William Celling, borne beſide Feuerſham in Kente, a Monke of Canterburie: Thomas Bourchier diſcended of the noble lignage of the Earles of Eſſex, was firſt Byſhoppe of Ely, and after remooued from thence to Canterburye ſucceeding John Kempe in that Arbiſhoppes Sea, at length created by Pope Paule the ſeconde a Cardinal: Philippe Bromierde a Dominicke Frier, a deuine: John Myles a Doctor of both the lawes, Ciuill and Canon, he ſtudyed in Oxforde in the Colledge of Braſennoſe, newly founded in the days of this King Henrye the ſeuenth by William Smyth Biſhoppe of Lyncolne: Richarde Shirborne Biſhop of Chicheſter, and imployed in Ambaſſade to diuerſe Princes, as a manne moſte meete thereto for his ſingular knowledge in learning and eloquence: Robert Widuus Vicar of Hakeſteede in Eſſex, and a Prebendarie Canon of Welles, an excellent Poete: Peter Kenighale a Carmelite Frier, but borne of Worſhipfull lygnage in Fraunce, hauing an Engliſheman to his father, was ſtudent in Oxforde, and became a notable Preacher: John Morton, fyrſt Biſhoppe of Elie, and after Archbiſhoppe of Canterbury the .lxiiij. in number that ruled that Sea, he was aduaunced to the dignitie of a Cardinall, and by King Henrie the ſeuenth made Lorde Chauncellour, a worthye Counſaylour and a modeſt, hee was borne of worſhipfull Parentes in Dorſetſhire, and departed this life in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1500. Henrye Medwall Chaplaine to the ſayde Morton: Edmunde Dudley borne of noble Parentage, ſtudyed the lawes of this lande, and profited highly in knowledge of the ſame, hee wrote a booke intituled *Arbor Reipublicæ*, the tree of the common wealth, of this man yee haue heard before in the life of this king, and more God wylling ſhall be ſaide in the beginning of the nexte king, as the occaſion of the Hiſtorie leadeth: John Bokingham an excellent Schoolman: William Blackney a Carmelite Frier, a doctor of diuinity and a Nigromancien.



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1509.
An.Reg.1.

Nowe after the death of this noble Prince Henrie the ſeuenth, his ſonne Henrie the viij. began his raigne the .xxij. day of April in the yeare of the worlde. 5475. after yͤ byrth of our ſauioure 1509. and in the xviij. yere of his age, in the .xvj. yeare of Maximilian then being Emperour, in the. xj. yeare of Lewes the. xij. that then raigned in Fraunce, and in the. xx. of king James the fourth as then ruling ouer the Scottes. Whoſe ſtyle was proclaymed by the blaſte of a trumpet in the Citie of London, the xxiij. daye of the ſayde Moneth, with muche gladneſſe and reioyſing of the people.

enry the eight
oclamed king

And the ſame day he departed from his manour of Richmonde, to the Tower of London, where he remained cloſely and ſecretely wyth hys Counſayle, till the funeralles of his father were finiſhed.

lidor.

Although this king nowe comming to the Crowne was but yong (as before is ſayde) yet hauing beene in his firſte yeres trained vp in lerning dyd for reſpect of hys owne ſuretye and good gouernement of his people, prudently by aduice of his graundmother, the Counteſſe of Richmonde and Darbie, elect and choſe forth diuers of the moſte wiſe and graue perſonages to bee of his priuie Counſayle, namely ſuch as he knewe to bee of his fathers right deare and famyliar friendes, whoſe names were as followeth. William Warham Archebiſhop of Canterburie and Chauncellour of Englande, Richard Foxe Biſhop of Wincheſter, Thomas Howarde Earle of Surrey, and Treaſorer of Englande, George Talbot Earle of Shrewſeburie, and Lorde ſteward of the kings houſeholde, Charles Somerſet Lorde Chamberlaine, Sir Thomas Louell, ſir Henrie Wiat, doctor Thomas Ruthall, ſir Edward Poynings. These graue & wiſe counſailors, fearing leaſt ſuch aboundance of riches and wealth as the king was nowe poſſeſſed of, might moue his yong yeres vnto riottous forgetting of himſelfe, for vnto no king at any time before was lefte greater or the like riches, as well in readie coine, as in iewels and other moueables, as was left to him by his father. And therefore hys ſaide counſaylers trauayled in ſuch prudent ſorte with him, that they got him to bee preſent with them when they ſate in counſaile, ſo to acquaynt hym with matters pertaining to the politike gouernment of the Realme, that by little and little hee might applie himſelfe to take vppon him the rule and adminiſtration of publike affayres, with the whiche at the firſt he coulde not wel endure to be muche troubled, being rather inclined to followe ſuche pleaſaunt paſtimes as his youthfull yong yeares did more delight in, and therefore could be verie wel contented, that other graue perſonages ſhould take paines therein.

nnſailers to
g Henry the
ht.

The ſame day alſo that the king came to the Tower, the Lorde Henrie Stafforde brother to the Duke of Buckingham was arreſted, and cōmitted to the Tower: and the ſame day alſo doctor Ruthal was named Biſhop of Durham.

The .xxv. day of Aprill was proclaimed, that the kings grace ratified all the pardons graunted by his father, and alſo pardoned al ſuche perſons as were then in ſuyte for any offence whatſoeuer it was, treaſon, murther, and fellonie onely excepted.

A proclam

And nowe wheras the perfourmance of the deceaſſed kings will was thoughte right expedient with al ſpeede to be perfourmed, a Proclamation was alſo ſette forth and publiſhed throughe the Realme, that if any man coulde proue himſelf to be hurt, and depriued of his goods wrongfully by the Commiſſioners of the forfeytures, he ſhoulde come and preſent his plaint to the king, being redie to ſatiſfie euerie one of all iniuries ſuſtained.

After this Proclamation was notified abrode, all ſuche as had beene conſtrained eyther by right or wrong (as Polidor ſayth) to pay any thing for anye forfeytures of lawes and cuſtomes by them tranſgreſſed, came flocking to the Court, & there declared their griefs, in what ſort they had wrōgfully bin compelled (as they ſurmiſed) to pay this or that ſumme. The counſaile heard euery mans complaint, & ſuche as were founde to haue paide any thing without plaine proof of iuſt cauſe, they tooke ſuch order for them that they had their money again. Which being once knowen, it was a ſtrange thing to ſee how thick other came in, yea euen thoſe that had bin worthily fined & puniſhed for their diſorderly tranſgreſſions, making erneſt ſuit for reſtitutiō, feining, & forging many things to make their cauſe ſeme good, and to ſtand with equitie: and the better to be hearde in their ſuyte, they made friends as wel with brybes and large giftes as otherwiſe, leauing no wayes vnaſſayed to compaſſe their deſires, whiche greedineſſe in ſuch multitude of ſuters, brought the commiſſioners, and other that had delt in the forfeytures into daunger, and did themſelues no good: for the counſell perceyuing that it was not poſſible to ſatiſfie them all, refuſed to heare anye further complayntes or ſuites for reſtitution, but thought it beſt to committe thoſe to priſon, by whom the compleynantes pretẽded themſelues to haue bin wrõged, & hereupon was ſir Rich. Empſon knight, and Edmonde Dudley Eſquier, great counſellours to the late Kyng attached, and broughte to the Tower, thereby to quiet mens myndes, that made ſuche importunate ſuite to haue their money agayne reſtored, whiche in the late Kynges dayes they hadde beene compelled to diſburſe, through the rigorous proceedings, as they alledged, of the ſayd two counſellours, and others.

Truely greate exclamation was made agaynſt them, as it often happeneth, that where anye thyng is donne contrarye to the lykyng of yͤ people, thoſe that be dealers vnder the Prince, & by hys commaundemente procede in the execution thereof, runne in hatred of the multitude.

But howe ſo euer it was, theyr apprehenſion and committyng to priſon, was thoughte by the wyſe to bee procured by, the malice of them that in the late Kynges dayes, were offended with theyr authoritie.

Shortely after, as Edwarde Halle ſayeth) were apprehended dyuers other perſones, that wer called promoters, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derbye, Wrighte, Symſon, and Stocton, of the whyche, the more parte ware papers, and ſtoode on the Pillorie.

When all things were prepared ready for the funeralles of the late Kyng, his corps with all ſumptuous pompe and ſolemne Ceremonyes, was conueyed from Richmont to Saint Georges fielde, where the Clergie of the Citie mette it, and at the Bridge the Mayre and hys brethren wyth many Commoners all cloathed in blacke lykewyſe mette it, and gaue theyr attendaunce on the ſame thorough the Citie, to the Cathedrall Churche of Saincte Paule, where was ſong a ſolemne Dirige and Maſſe, and a Sermon made by the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter John Fyſher.

The nexte daye the corps was had to Weſtminſter, and there the daye followyng, put into the earth wyth all due ſolemnities as apperteyned.

After that the funeralles of the ſayde late Kyng were once ended, great preparation was made for the Coronation of thys new King, whiche was appoynted on Midſomer daye next enſuyng: Duryng the tyme of whyche preparation, the Kyng was aduyſed by ſome of his counſell to take to wyfe the Ladye Katherine, late wyfe to hys brother Prince Arthur, leaſt ſhe hauing ſo greate a dowrie as was appoynted to hir, might marrye out of the realme, whiche ſhould be to his hinderaunce.

The Kyng beeyng hereto perſwaded, eſpouſed the ſayd Ladye Catherine the thirde daye of June, the whyche maryage was diſpenſed with by Pope July, at the ſuite of hir father, kyng Ferdinando.

Lady Katherin Prince Arthure his widow, maried to his brother King Henry the eyght.

On the eleuenth day of this moneth of June, the King came from Greenewiche to the Tower ouer London bridge, and ſo by Gracechurche, with whome came many a Gentleman rychely apparelled, but ſpecially the Duke of Buckingham, whiche had a gowne all of Goldeſmithes worke, very coſtly.

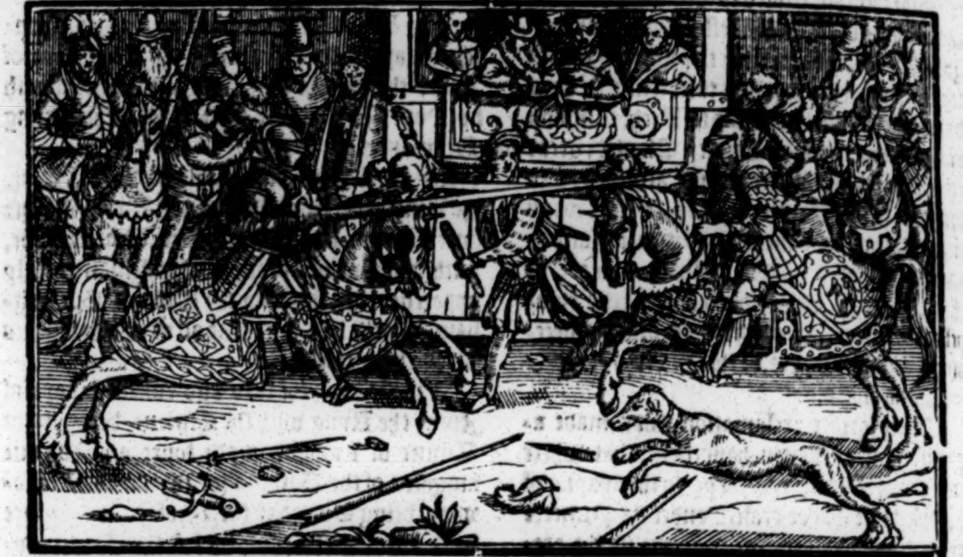
On Friday, the two and twentith daye of June, the Kyng with the Queene, being in the Tower of London, made foure and twentie knightes of the Bath. And the morrowe following, being Saterday the .24. of June, his grace with the Queene departed frõ the Tower thorough London, the ſtreetes being hanged with tapeſtrie, & cloth of arras very richly. And a great parte of the South ſide of Cheape with clothe of gold, and ſo was ſome part of Cornehill. But to ſpeake of al yͤ ſolemne ſhew ſet forth that daye, & how yͤ crafts, Aldermen, and Lord Maior ſtoode in their appointed places, or of the rich & ſumptuous apparel, which not only yͤ K. and Queene ware that day, but alſo other eſtates whiche dyd attẽd their maieſties, it would aſke a long time, & yet I ſhoulde omit many things, & faile of the nũber. The trappers & rich furnitures of horſes, palfreys, & charets were wonderfull. Of cloth of tiſſew, golde, ſiluer, embroderies, & goldſmithes worke there was no want, beſide the great number of chaynes of gold & bauderikes, both maſſy & greate, righte gorgeous to behold. And thus wͭ great ioy and honor, they came to Weſtminſter.

The morrow following being Sunday, & alſo Midſomer day, that noble Prince, wͭ his wife Q. Katherine, wente from the Palaice, to the Abbey of Weſtmin. where according to the auncient cuſtome, they were annointed & Crowned by the Archb. of Cant. with other Prelates of the Realm there preſent, & the nobilitie, and a greate multitude of the cõmons. After with the ſolemnity of yͤ ſaid coronation, according to the ſacred obſeruances vſed in that behalf ended, the Lords Spirituall and temporall, did to him homage, and then he returned to Weſtminſter Hall with the Queene, where they dined, all the ſolemne cuſtomes and ſeruices being vſed & done, whiche in ſuch caſes apperteined, euery L. & other noble manne, according to their tenures before claymed, viewed, ſeene, and allowed, entring into

The coronation of Kyng Henry, and Q. Katherine.

Homage done to the King at his coronatiõ, by the lordes ſpirituall and temporall.

their roomths and offices that day to execute the ſame accordingly. When the feaſt or diner was ended, and the tables auoyded, the King and the Quene went vnto their chambers. For the more enobling of this coronation, there was prepared both iuſtes and tourneys, whiche within the palaice of Weſtminſter were performed and done, with great triumph and royaltie.



The enterpriſers of which martiall feats, wer theſe perſons whoſe names enſue: Thomas Lord Howard, ſonne and heire apparant to the Erle of Surrey: ſir Edward Howard Admirall his brother: the Lorde Richarde Gray brother to the Marques Dorſet: ſir Edmunde Howarde: ſir Edmunde Kneuet: and Charles Brandon Eſquier.

And on the other ſide as defendauntes were theſe eight perſones, Sir John Pechye, ſir Edwarde Neuill, ſir Edwarde Guilforde, ſir John Carre, Sir Willyam Parre, Sir Giles Capell, Sir Griffeth Doun, and Syr Roulande. The King pardoned the Lorde Henrye brother to the Duke of Buckingham committed to the Tower (as yee haue heard) vppon ſuſpition of treaſon: But when nothyng coulde bee proued agaynſte hym, hee was ſette at libertie, and at the Parliament after created earle of Wilſhire.

Alſo this yeare the kyng ordeyned fifty Gentlemen to bee ſpeares, euerye of them to haue an Archer, a Demplaunce, and a Cuſtrell, and euerye ſpeare to haue three great horſes to be attendaunt on his perſon, of the whiche bende the earle of Eſſex was lieutenaunt, and Sir John Pechy Capitaine. Thys ordynaunce continued but a while, the chardges was ſo greate, for there were none of them, but they and their horſes were apparayled and trapped in clothe of golde, ſiluer and Goldſmithes worke.

A great plague in Calais.

This yeare alſo was a greate peſtilence in the Towne of Calais, ſo that the King ſente one Syr John Pechie wyth three hundreth men to tarrye there vppon the defence of that Towne til the ſickeneſſe was ceaſſed.

A Pa

Furthermore, this yeare the King ſommoned his Parliament in the Monethe of Nouember, to begin in the Monethe of Januarye nexte enſuyng. Wherof Sir Thomas Inglefielde was choſen ſpeaker.

Empſo Dudle attaint treaſo

At this Parliament Syr Rycharde Empſon Knight, and Edmond Dudly eſquier late counſellours to Kyng Henrye the ſeuenthe were atteynted of highe treaſon.

Polid

They were chardged with many offences cōmitted in the late kings dayes, as partely beefore you haue hearde, and being broughte before the counſell, as they were graue and wiſe perſonages, and bothe of them learned and ſkilfull in the lawes of this realm, they alledged for themſelues right conſtantlye in their owne defences muche good & ſufficient matter, in ſo muche that Empſon being the elder in yeres, had theſe wordes: I know (right honorable) that it is not vnknowne to you, how profitable and neceſſarie lawes are for the good preſeruation of mans lyfe, withoute the which neither houſe, town, nor citie can long continue or ſtand in ſafetie, which lawes here in Englande thorough negligence of magiſtrates were partly decayed, and partely quite forgotten and worne out of vſe, the miſchief wherof dayly increaſing, Henry the .vij. a moſt graue and prudent Prince, wiſhed to ſuppreſſe, & therfore appointed vs to ſee that ſucke lawes as were yet in vſe might continne in their ful force, and ſuch as were out of vſe might againe be reuiued and reſtored to their former ſtate, and that alſo thoſe perſons which tranſgreſſed the ſame, mighte bee puniſhed according to theyr demerites, wherein we diſcharged oure ducties in moſte faythfull

wiſe,

wyſe, and beſte manner we coulde, to the greate aduauntage and cōmoditie no doubt of yͤ whole common wealthe: wherefore wee moſt humbly beſeech you in reſpect of your honours, courteſie, goodneſſe, humanitie, and iuſtice, not to decree any greeuous ſentence againſt vs, as though wee were worthy of puniſhmente, but rather to appoint how wͭ thankefull recompence our paines and trauaile may be worthily conſidered. Many of the counſell thoughte that hee had ſpoken well, and ſo as ſtoode with greate reaſon, but yet the greater number ſuppoſing that the reuiuing of thoſe lawes had proceeded rather of a couetous meaning in the King and them, than of anye zeale of Iuſtice, and hauing alſo themſelues felte the ſmart lately before for their owne offences, and tranſgreſſions, hadde conceiued ſuch malice towardes the men, that they thoughte it reaſon, that ſuche as hadde bene dealers therein; were worthy to loſe their heads in like ſorte, as they had cauſed others to loſe their money. Heerevpon, their accuſers were mayntey ned, and many odde matters narrowly ſought out againſt thē, as by two ſeuerall inditementes framed againſt Sir Richarde Empſon (the copies whereof, I haue ſeene) it may well appeare.

In the one hee is charged, that to winne the fauoure and credite of the late King, not waying hys honour, nor the proſperitie of him, or wealthe of his Realme, hee hadde in ſubuerſion of the lawes of the lande, procured dyuers perſons to be endited of diuers crimes and offences ſurmiſed agaynſte them, and therevpon to bee committed to priſon, without due proceſſe of lawe, and not ſuffered to come to theyr aunſweres, were kept in durance, till they had compounded for their fines, to their great importable loſſes, and vtter empoueriſhment.

Alſo diuers vntrue offices of intruſions and alienations, made by ſundrye the late Kyngs liege people, into manors, lands, and tenementes were found, it being vntruely alledged, that they held the ſame of the Kyng *in capite*. And when ſuch perſons as were thus vexed, offered to trauerſe thoſe offices, they coulde not bee admitted thereto, in ſuche due and lawfull forme, as in ſuche cauſes the lawe prouideth, till they hadde compounded to paye greate fynes and raunſomes.

Moreouer, the kings Wardes, after they had accompliſhed their full age, could not be ſuffered to ſue theyr lyueries, tyll they hadde paide exceſſiue fynes and raunſomes, vnto their greate anoyance, loſſe, and diſquieting, and to no leſſe contempte of the ſayde late King.

And further, where as dyuers perſons had bin outlawed, as well at the ſuite of theyr aduerſaries, as of the ſayde late Kyng, they coulde not be allowed to purchaſe theyr charters of pardon out of the Chancery, according to the lawe of the Realme, till they were driuen to aunſwere halfe the iſſues and profites of all theyr landes and tenementes by the ſpace of two yeares, whiche the Kyng receyued to hys vſe, by the ſayde Richarde Empſons procuremente, who enformed hym that hee myghte lawfully take the ſame, although hee knewe that it was contrarie to the lawes and cuſtomes of the Realme: wherevppon, the people vexed and moleſted by ſuche hard dealings, ſore grudged agaynſte the ſayde late Kyng, to the greate perill and daunger of hys perſon and Realme, and ſubuerſion of the lawes, and auntiente cuſtomes thereof.

Alſo, it was alledged againſte the ſaid Empſon, that he hadde ſente forth preceptes directed vnto dyuers perſons, commaundyng them vpon greate penalties, to appeare before him, and other hys aſſociates, at certayn dayes and times within hys houſe in Sainte Brydes Pariſhe, in a warde of London, called Farringdon without, where they makyng theyr appearances, accordyng to the ſame preceptes, were impleaded afore hym and other his ſayde aſſociates, of dyuers murthers, felonies, outlaries, and of the articles in the ſtatute of prouiſors conteyned, alſo of wilfull eſcapes of Felons, and ſuch like matters and articles apperteyning to the plees of the Crowne, and common lawes of the Realme. And that done, the ſayde perſons were committed to dyuers priſons, as the Fleete, the Tower, and other places, where they were deteyned, tyll they hadde fined at hys pleaſure, as well for the commoditie of the ſayde late Kyng, as for the ſingular aduauntage of the ſayde Sir Richarde Empſon.

Moreouer, whereas the ſayde Empſon, beeing Recorder of Couentrie, and there ſate with the Maior and other Iuſtices of the peace, vpon a ſpeciall gaole delyuerie within yͤ Citie, on the Monday before the feaſt of S. Thomas the Apoſtle, in the ſixteenth yeare of the late kyngs raigne, a priſoner that hadde beene endited of felonie, for takyng out of an houſe in that Citie, certayne goodes, to the value of twentie ſhillings, was arraigned before them, and bycauſe the Iurie would not finde the ſayde priſoner giltie, for wante of ſufficient euidence, as they after alledged, the ſayde Sir Richarde Empſon ſuppoſing the ſame euidence to be ſufficient, cauſed them to be committed to ward, wherein they remayned foure dayes togyther, till they were contented to enter band in fortie pound a peece, to appeare before the Kyng and hys Counſell, the ſecond returne of the tearme then nexte enſuing, being *Quindena Hillarij*, and therevppon, they keeping their day, and appearing before the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, and other of the kings counſell, according to their bandes, were adiudged to pay euery of them eyght pound for a fyne, and accordingly made payment thereof, as they were then thought well worthy ſo to do. But nowe this matter ſo long paſt, was ſtill kepte in memorie, and ſo earneſt ſome were to enforce it to the vttermoſt againſt the ſayd Empſon, that in a Seſſions holden at Couentrie nowe in thys firſt yere of this kings raigne, an inditemēt was framed againſt him for this matter, and thereof he was found giltie, as if therein he had committed ſome great and heynous offence againſte the Kings peace, his Crowne and dignitie.

Thus haue I thought good to ſhew what I find hereof, to the end ye may perceiue how glad men were to find ſome coulour of ſufficiēt matter, to bring the ſaid ſir Richard Empſon, & maſter Edmonde Dudley, within daunger of the lawes, whereby at lengthe, they were not onely condemned by acte of Parliament, through malice of ſuch as might ſeeme to ſeeke their deſtruction for priuate grudges, but in the end alſo, they were arreigned, as firſt the ſaid Edmond Dudley in the Guild Hall of London, the ſeuententh of July, and ſir Richarde Empſon at Northāpton, in October nexte enſuing, and beeing there condemned, was from thence broughte backe againe to the Tower of London, where hee remained till the time of his execution, as after yee ſhall heare.

This yeare, the plague was greate, and raigned in diuers parts of this Realme.

1510

The King kepte hys Chriſtmas at Richemond.

The twelfth of January, dyuers Gentlemen prepared to iuſt, and the Kyng and one of hys priuie chamber, called William Compton, ſecretely armed themſelues in the little Parke of Richmond, and ſo came into the iuſtes, vnknowen to all perſons.

The Kyng neuer ranne openly before, and did exceedinglye well.

Maſter Compton chaunced to be ſore hurt by Edward Neuill Eſquier brother to the Lord of Burgeinie, ſo that he was lyke to haue dyed.

One perſon there was that knew the Kyng, and cryed God ſaue the Kyng, and with that, all the people were aſtonyed, and then the Kyng diſcouered hymſelfe, to the great comfort of the people.

The Kyng ſoone after came to Weſtminſter, and there kepte his Shrouetide with greate banquettings, dauncings, and other iolly paſtimes.

Ambaſſadors.

This yeare alſo came Imbaſſadors, not only from the Kyng of Arragon and Caſtile, but alſo from the Kynges of Fraunce, Denmarke, Scotlande, and other princes, whych were highly welcomed, and nobly enterteyned.

An. re

Thys yeare, the Kyng celebratyng the feaſt of Pentecoſt at Greenewiche, the Thurſeday in that weeke, with two other, whome hee choſe of purpoſe to aſſiſt hym as aydes, chalenged all commers, to fyghte with them at the barriers, with target, and punching ſtaffe of eyghte foote long, and that done, to fyghte eache of them twelue ſtrokes with two handed ſwordes, with and againſt all commers, none except, beyng a Gentleman, where the Kyng behaued hymſelfe ſo well, and deliuered hymſelfe ſo valiauntlye, that through hys manly prowes and greate ſtrengthe, the laude and prayſe of that martiall paſtime was gyuen to hym and his aydes, notwithſtandyng that dyuers valiante and ſtrong perſonages had aſſayled them.

The ſe
day hath
Stowe.
Empſon
Dudley
beaded.

In this ſeconde yeare, the Kyng beeing forth on his progreſſe, hearde euerye daye more and more complayntes of Empſon and Dudley (ſet forthe and aduaunced no doubte by the drifte of theyr deadly enimies) wherefore, he ſent writtes to the Sheriffes of London, to putte them to execution, and ſo the ſeauenteenth daye of Auguſt, they were both beheaded at the Tower hil, and both theyr bodyes and heads buryed, yͤ one at the white Friers, and the other at the blacke Friers.

The Kyng beeyng in hys luſtie youthe, and muche deſirous to ſee the nobles and Gentlemen of hys Courte exerciſed in warlyke feates, cauſed thys yeare dyuers iuſtes and Torneys to be enterpriſed, and he himſelfe for the moſt part made euer one amongſt them, acquiting himſelfe ſo worthely, that the beholders toke paſſing pleaſure to ſee hys valiaunte demeanoure in thoſe martiall feates.

151

The birt
the firſt b
gotten ſo
o: K. Hen
the eygh

Upon New yeares day, thys yeare, at Richmonde, the Queene was deliuered of a Prince, to the great gladneſſe of the Realme, for the honoure of whome, fyers were made, and dyuers veſſels with wyne ſette abroache, for ſuche as woulde take thereof, in dyuers ſtreetes in London, and generall Proceſſions made thervpon to laude God.

Godfathers at the Chriſtenyng, were the Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburye, and the Earle of Surrey: Godmother, the Lady Katherine, Counteſſe of Deuonſhire, daughter to Kyng Edwarde the fourth, his name was Henry.

Ambaſſ
fro the
of Spayne
and again
Moores.

In the moneth of Februarye thys yeare, came Imbaſſadors from the Kyng of Arragon and Caſtile, to require an ayde of fifteene hundred archers, to be ſent to the ſame king, hauing at that time warre agaynſte the Mores, enimies of the Chriſtian faith.

The Kyng hearing theyr meſſage, gently graunted theyr requeſt: and bicauſe the Lord Thomas Darcy, a Knight of the garter, made humble ſuite to the King to be generall of that crue, that ſhoulde bee thus ſent into Spayne, the Kyng vppon truſt of his approued valiancie, graunted his deſire.

There were appoynted to goe with him the Lorde Anthony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorſet, Henry Guilford, Weſton Browne, and William Sidney Eſquiers of the Kings houſe, Sir Roberte Conſtable, Sir Roger Haſtings, and ſir Rauſe Elderton, wͭ diuers other gentlemen to be Captaynes.

The King aboute thys ſeaſon was muche giuen to play at tenice, and at the dice, which appetite, certayne craftie perſons aboute hym perceyuing, brought in Frenchmen and Lombards to make wagers with him, and ſo hee loſt muche money, but when hee perceyued theyr crafte, hee eſchued their company, and let them goe.

xx.j. Greene- king hicle er.

On May daye, the Kyng lying at Greenewiche, rode to the woode to fetch May, and after on the ſame day, and the two dayes nexte enſuing, the King, Sir Edwarde Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edwarde Neuill as chalengers, held iuſtes againſt all commers.

On the other parte, the Marques Dorſet, the Earles of Eſſex and Deuonſhire, with other as defendauntes, ranne agaynſte them, ſo that many a ſore ſtripe was giuen, and manye a ſtaffe broken.

On the third day, the Queene made a greate banquet to the Kyng, and to all them that had iuſted, and after the banquet done, ſhee gaue the chiefe price to the Kyng, the ſecond to the Earle of Eſſex, the thirde to the Earle of Deuonſhire, and the fourth, to the Lord Marques Dorſet.

On the fifteenth daye of the ſame moneth, was another iuſtes begonne by the Kyng on the one partie, and the Earle of Eſſex on the other. Many that feared leaſt ſome euill chance might happen to the King, wiſhed that hee ſhoulde rather haue beene a looker on, than a doer, and thereof ſpake as much as they durſt, but his courage was ſo noble, that hee woulde euer be at the one ende.

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In this meane time, the Lord Darcy, and other appoynted to the viage agaynſt the Mores, made ſuche diligence, that they and al theyr people were ready at Plymmouth by the middes of May, and there muſtered theyr ſouldyers before the Lord Broke, and other the Kings commiſſioners.

The Lord Darcy as Captayne general, ordeyned for his prouoſt Marſhall, Henry Guylford Eſquier, a luſty yong man, and welbeloued of the King.

On the Monday in the Rogation weeke, they departed out of Plimmouth hauen with foure ſhippes royall, and the winde was ſo fauourable to them, that the firſt day of June, being the euen of the feaſt of Penticoſt, he arriued at the port of Cales in South Spayne, and immediatly, by the aduice of his counſaile, hee diſpatched meſſengers to the Kyng, whome they founde beſyde the Citie of Ciuil, where hee then lay, and declared to him, how the Lord Darcye by the King theyr maiſters appoyntmente, was come thither with ſixteene hundred archers, and lay ſtill at Cales to know his pleaſure.

The Kyng of Caſtile aunſwered them gentlie, that the Lorde Darcie, and all other that were come from hys louyng ſonne, were welcome, and hartily thanked them of theyr paines, requiring the meſſengers to returne to their captaine, and tell him that in all haſt he would ſend certaine of hys counſell to him. And ſo vpon Saterday, the eyght of June, a Byſhop and other of the Kings counſell came to Cales, and there abode till Wedneſday, beeing the euen of Corpus Chriſti, at which day, the Lord Capitayne toke lande, and was honorably receiued of the King of Aragons counſell, and on the morrow, was highly feaſted at dinner and ſupper. And at after ſupper, the Byſhop declared the Kyng hys maiſters pleaſure, giuing to the Lord Captayne as hartie thankes for hys paynes and trauell, as if hee hadde gone forward with his enterpriſe againſt the Mores: but whereas by the aduice of his counſell, circumſpectly conſidering the ſuretie of his owne realme, vpon perfect knowledge hadde, that the Frenchmen meant to inuade hys dominions in his abſence, he had altered his former determinatiō, & taken an abſtinence of war with the Mores, till an other time. He therefore required the Lorde Darcy to be contented to returne home againe, promiſing him wages for all hys ſouldyers, and if it ſhould pleaſe hym to come to the Court, he ſhould receyue high thākes of the Kyng, and ſuche cheere, as there coulde bee made him.

The Lord Darcy was nothing pleaſed wyth thys declaration, but ſith hee ſawe there was no remedie, he ſayd, that whatſoeuer the Kyng had concluded, he could not bee againſte it, conſidering hee was ſente to him: but ſurely it was againſt his mind to depart home, without doing any thyng agaynſt Gods enimies, with whome he had euer a deſire to fight. And as for his comming to the Court hee ſaide, he coulde not leaue his men whome hee hadde broughte out of theyr Countrey, without an head, and as for ẏ kings banquette, it was not the thing that hee deſired.

On the nexte daye in the morning, money

was ſent to pay the Souldiers their wages, for their conduction againe into England with dyuers gifts giuen to the Lorde Darcy, and other Gentlemen, yet notwithſtanding, he was hyghly diſpleaſed, howbeit, like a wiſe man, hee diſſimuled the matter.

A ſhrewde fray begun vpon a ſmall occaſion.

The ſame day, beeing the fourtenth daye of June, and Friday, there chanced a fray to be begunne in the towne of Cales, betwixt the Engliſhmen, and them of the towne, by reaſon that an Engliſhman would haue had for his money a loſe of bread from a mayd that had bin at the Bakers to buy bread, not to ſell, but to ſpende in hir miſtreſſe houſe. The cōmon bell was rong, and all the Towne wente to harneys, and thoſe few Engliſhmenne that were a lande, wente to their bowes.

The Spanyardes caſt dartes, and the Engliſhmen ſhotte, but the Captaynes of England, and the Lordes of the Counſell for their parte, tooke ſuche payne, that the fray was ceaſſed, and but one Engliſhman ſlayne, though diuers were hurte: and of the Spaynardes, dyuers were ſlayne.

After this, vppon requeſt made by the Lordes of Spayne, the Lord Darcy, and all his men the ſame night, went aborde their Shippes, but Henry Guilforde, Weſton Browne, and William Sidney, yong and luſty Eſquiers, deſired licence to ſee the Courte of Spayne, which being granted, they wente thyther, where they were of the King highly enterteyned,

Henry Guilford, and Weſton Browne, were made Knightes by the King, who alſo gaue to Sir Henrye Guilforde, a Canton of Granado, and to Sir Wolſton Browne, an Egle of Sycill on a chiefe, to the augmentation of theyr armes.

William Sidney ſo excuſed hymſelfe, that he was not made Knight.

When they had ſoiourned there awhile, they tooke theyr leaue of the King and Queene, and returned through Fraunce into England.

The Lorde Darcy returneth out of Spayne.

During which ſeaſon, the Lord Darcy made ſayle towarde England, and arriuing at Plimmouth, came to the King at Windeſore, and ſo this iourney ended.

During the time that the Lorde Darcy was in Spaine, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy, and daughter to Maximilian the Emperoure, and gourernour of Flaunders, Brabante, Holland, Zeland, and other the low Countreys apperteyning to Charles the yong Prince of Caſtile, ſent in the ende of May to the Kyng of Englande, to haue fifteene hundred archers, to aide hir againſte the Duke of Gelders, whiche ſore troubled the countreys aforeſaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the requeſt of ſo noble a Ladie, moſt gently granted hir requeſt, and appointed ſir Edwarde Poynings, Knighte of the garter, and comptroller of his houſe, a valiant Captayne, & a noble warriour, to be Lieutenant and leader of the ſaid fifteene C. archers, whiche accompanyed with his ſon in law the Lord Clinton, ſir Mathew Browne, ſir John Digby, Jo. Wertō, Richard Whethill, and Shelley Eſquiers, with other Gentlemen and yeomen, to yͤ foreſayd number of fiftene C. tooke theyr ſhippes a mile beſide Sādwich, the eightenth day of July, and landed at Armew the nineteenth daye, not without ſome trouble, by reaſon of a litle ſtorme. From thence, they were conducted to Barowe, whether the Lady Regēt came to welcome thē. On the Sunday, being the .27. of July, they departed to Roſſindale, & on Thurſday the laſt of July, they came to Bulduke. And the nexte day, the whole army of Almaynes, Flemmings, and other apperteining to the ſaid Lady, mette with the Engliſhmen without Bulduke, where they ſet forth in order, the Lady Regente beeing there preſent, which tooke hir leaue of all yͤ Captaines, and departed to Bulduke. The army, to the nūber of ten M. beſide the fifteene C. Engliſhe archers paſſed forwarde, and the tenth day of Auguſt, being S. Laurēce day, came before a little Caſtel, ſtanding on the higher ſide of the Maſe, called Brimuoiſt, belōging to yͤ baſtard of Gelderland. The ſame nighte, Tho. Hert, chiefe gouernoure of the ordinance of the Engliſhe parte, made his approch, and in yͤ morning, made batterie ſo, that the aſſault therevpon being giuen, yͤ fortreſſe was wonne, and the Captaine and .80. and odde men were ſlaine, and nineteene taken, of yͤ which, eleuen were hanged. John Morton, Captaine of C. Engliſhmen, and one Guyot an Eſquier of Burgoigne, crying S. George, were the firſte that entred, at which aſſault, there was but one Engliſhman ſlaine. On Thurſeday, the fourtenth of Auguſt, the army feryed ouer the riuer of Maſe into Gelderland. The next day, they came to a little Towne called Ayſke. The people were fled, but there was a little Caſtell raſed, and caſt downe, which was newly builte vppon the ſide of the ſayd riuer. Vpon the twentith day of Auguſt, they brent yͤ foreſaid towne of Aiſke, and al the coūtrey about it, and came at the laſt to a towne called Straulle, beyng very ſtrong, double diked, and walled. Within it were three C. 50. good men of warre, beſide the inhabitants. At the firſt, they ſhewed good countenance of defence, but when they ſawe their enimies approch neere vnto them with rampiers and trenches, they yeelded by compoſition, ſo that the ſoldyers might depart with a little ſticke in their handes. But the townesmen reſted priſoners, at the will of the Prince of Caſtile. And ſo on S. Bartholmewes day, the Admirall of Flanders, and Sir Edwarde Poynings entred the Towne with great triumph.

The ſixe and twentith day, the army came before Venlow, and ſent an Herrault called Arthoys, to ſommon the Towne: but they within would not heare, but ſhotte gunnes at him.

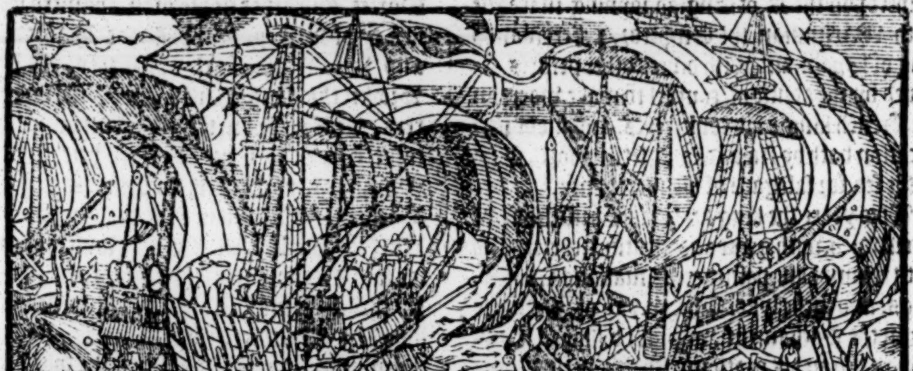
The eyghte and twentith daye, the army remoued vnto the Northe ſide of Venlowe, and part went ouer the water, and made trenches to the water, and ſo beſieged the towne as ſtraightly as theyr number would giue them leaue, but yet for al that they could doe without, they within kept one gate euer open.

At length, the Engliſh Captaines perceiuing that they laye there in vayne, conſidering the ſtrength of the towne, & alſo how the army was not of nũber ſufficient to enuiron yͤ ſame on each ſide, wrote to the K. who willed them with all ſpeede to returne, and ſo they dyd. Sir Edwarde Poynings went to yͤ court of Burgogne, where he was receiued right honorably of yͤ yõg prince of Caſtil & of his aunt yͤ lady Margaret. Iohn Norton, Iohn Fogge, Io. Scot, & Tho. Lynde, were made knightes by the Prince. And yͤ Lady Margarete perceiuing the ſouldiors coates to be worne & foule with lying on the ground (for euery man lay not in a tent) gaue to euery yeoman a cote of wollen cloth of yealowe, red, white and grene colors, not to hir litle laud & praiſe among the Engliſhmẽ. After yͤ ſir Edw. Poynings had him highly feaſted & more praiſed of al mẽ for his valiantnes & good order of his people, he returned wͭ his crue into Englãd, & had loſt by war & ſickenes not fully an C. perſons. Whẽ yͤ Engliſhmẽ wer departed, the Gelders iſſued out of the gates of Venlow, daily ſkirmiſhed with yͤ Burgongnions, & aſked for their archers: & herewith winter began ſharply to approch, & the riuer of Maze by abũdance of rain roſe ſo high, that it drowned vp the trenches, ſo that all things conſidered, the captains without determined to raiſe their ſiege, and ſo they did, and after they had waſted al the countrey aboute Venlowe, they returned euery man to his home.

Sir Edwarde Poinings.

Andrew Barton a Scottiſh Pirate.

In Iune the K. being at Leiceſter, heard tydings, that one Andrew Barton a Scottiſhman and pirate of the ſea, ſaying that the K. of Scots had war with the Portingals, robbed euery nation, & ſtopped the kings ſtreames, that no merchant almoſt could paſſe. And when he toke Engliſhmens goods, he bare thẽ in hand yͤ they were Portingales goods, and thus he haunted & robbed at euery hauẽs mouth. The king diſpleaſed herewith, ſent ſir Edmund Howard lord Admiral of England, & lord Thomas Howard, ſonne & heir to the erle of Surrey in all haſt to the ſea, which haſtily made ready two ſhippes, & taking ſea, by chaunce of weather were ſeuered. The Lorde Howard lying in the Downes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotland, and ſo faſt yͤ ſaid lord chaſed him, that he ouertoke him and there was a ſore battaile betwixt them. Andrew euer blew his whiſtle to encourage his mẽ, but at length the L. Howard and yͤ Engliſhmen did ſo valiantly, that by cleane ſtrength they entred the Mayne deck. The Scots fought ſore on the hatches: but in concluſion Andrew was taken, & ſo ſore wounded, that he dyed there. Then all the remnant of the Scots were taken wyth their ſhippe called the Lyon.



A cruell fight on the Sea.

Bartõ

All this while was the lord Admirall in chaſe of the Barke of Scotlande called Ienny Pirwyn, which was wonte to ſayle with the Lyon in companie, & ſo much did he with other, that he layd him abord, and though the Scots manfully defended themſelues, yet at length yͤ engliſh men entred the Barke, ſlew many, and toke all the reſidue. Thus were theſe two ſhippes taken, and brought to Blackewall the ſeconde of Auguſt.

The Scottes that were taken priſoners, wer pardoned of their liues, and ſent home into their Countrey. The King of Scottes hearing of the death of Andrew Barton, and the taking of his two ſhippes, was wonderfully wroth, and ſente letters to the King, requiring reſtitution, according to the league & amitie. The K. wrote to the K. of Scots againe with brotherly ſalutation, of the robberies done by yͤ ſayd Andrew, and that it became not a Prince to lay breache of peace to his confederate, for doing iuſtice vpon a Pirate and theefe: and that all the Scots that were taken, had deſerued to die by iuſtice, if hee had not extended his mercy. And with this aunſwere, the Scottiſh Herrault departed. About this ſeaſon, the Frenche K. made ſharp warre againſt Pope Iuly: wherefore the K. of England wrote to the french K. that he ſhould leaue off to vexe the Pope in ſuche wiſe, being his friend, and confederate: but when the French K. ſeemed litle to regarde that requeſt, the king ſent him worde to deliuer him his lawfull inheritance both of the duchie of Normandy and Guyenne, & the countries of Aniou & Mayne, and alſo of his crown of France, or elſe he woulde come with ſuche a power, that by fine force he wold obteyne his purpoſe: but notwithſtanding thoſe writings, the French King ſtill purſued his warres in Italye. Wherupon the K. of Englãd, ioyning in league with Maximilian the Emperor, & Ferdinando king of Spain, and with diuers other princes, reſolued by the aduiſe of counſel to make warre on the French king & his countreyes, and made preparation both by ſea and land, ſetting forth ſhips to the ſea, for ſafegard of his merchants.

King Henry the eyght taketh the popes part againſt the french K.

1512

A Parliament.

This yeare the king kepte his Chriſtmaſſe at Grenewich, with great and plentiful cheere, alſo with triumphant paſtimes, as maſkings, dauncings, and ſuche lyke. The .xv. day of Ianuarie began the Parliament, wher the biſhop of Canterbury began his oration with this verſe *Iuſtitia & pax oſculatæ ſunt*, vppon whiche hee declared how iuſtice ſhould be miniſtred, & peace ſhould be nouriſhed, & by what meanes Iuſtice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And thervpon he ſhewed how the French K. wold do no iuſtice in reſtoring to the king his righte inheritaunce, wherefore for lacke of Iuſtice, Peace of neceſſitie muſt be turned into warre. In this Parliament was graunted two fifteenes of the temporaltie, & of the Cleargie two diſmes. After that it was concluded by the whole body of the realme in the high court of Parliament aſſembled, that warre ſhuld be made on the French K. & his dominiõs, wherupon was wonderful ſpede made in preparing all thinges neceſſarie bothe for Sea and lande.

The K. of Aragon alſo hauyng at that tyme warre with the Frenche king wrote to his ſon in law king Henry, that if he wold ſend ouer an armie into Biſkay, and ſo to inuade Frãce on that ſide, for yͤ recouerie firſt of his duchie of Guyẽne, he would ayde them with ordinaunce, horſemen, beaſtes & cariages, with other neceſſaries appertaining to the ſame. The king and his counſell putting their affiance in this promiſe of K. Ferdinando, prepared a noble armie all of footmen, and ſmall artillerie, appoyntyng the noble Lord Thomas Greye Marques Dorſet to bee chiefe conductour of the ſame.

An.re

The kyng dayly ſtudying to ſet forth his war which he had begon againſt the French K. cauſed Sir Edmund Haward his Admirail, wyth diligence to make readie diuers goodly tall ſhips, as the Souerain & other, to the number of .xviij. beſide other ſmaller veſſels, and therwith hauing in his companie ſir Weſton Browne, Griffyth Doune, Edwarde Cobham, Thomas Windham, Thomas Lucy, William Perton, Henry Shirebourne, Stephen Bull, George Witwange, Iohn Hopton, William Gunſtõ, Thomas Draper, Edmonde Cooke, Iohn Burdet, and diuers other, he tooke the Sea, and ſcowring the ſame, about the middes of May he came before Porteſmouth.

About the very ſelfe time the Lord Marques Dorſet, and other noble men apointed for the iorney of Biſkey, as the Lorde Hawarde ſon and heire to the Earle of Surrey, the Lorde Brooke, the Lord Willoughby, the lord Ferrers, the lord Iohn, the lord Anthony, and the lorde Leonarde Grey, all three brethren to the Marques Syr Griffeih ap Riſe, Syr Morris Barkely, ſir William Sandes, the Baron of Burforde, ſir Richarde Cornewall brother to the ſaid Baron, William Huſe, Iohn Melton, William Kingſton eſquiers, ſir Henry Willoughby, and diuers other, with Souldiors to the number of .x. M. (amongſt the which were fiue .C. Almaynes clad all in white, vnder the leading of one Guiot a Gentleman of Flaunders) came to Southampton, and there muſtered their bandes whyche were appoynted and trimmed in the beſt maner. The ſixteene daye of May they were al beſtowed abourd in Spaniſh ſhippes furniſhed with victual, & other neceſſaries for that iourney. The winde ſerued ſo well for their purpoſe, yͭ they came all in ſafety on the coaſte of Biſky at the Port of Paſſaghe Southweſt of Fonteraby, and ſo the third day of Iune they landed, tooke the fielde, embattailing themſelues for their ſafegarde righte ſtrongly.

Within thre days after that the army was thus a land there came to the Marques an erle and an other noble man to welcome him and his companie. Then the Lord captain remoued his field and toke an other place nerer to Fonterabye, where he lay a long tyme looking euery day to haue ayde of horſemen and artillerie of the King of Arragon, but none came. Syr John Style cauſed to bee boughte two hundred Mulettes and Aſſes of ſuche price as the Spanyardes gained greatly, and when they were put to cary and drawe, they woulde not ſerue the turn, for they were not exerciſed therto before that tyme, and ſo for want of beaſts to drawe ſuch ordinance as the Engliſhemen had there with thẽ, they loſt the doing of ſome greate exployte againſt the Frenchmen on the frontiers of Gaſcoygne, for they mighte haue runne a great waye into that countrey, being as then deſtitute and vnpurueyed of men and munitions. One day the Frenchmen made a ſkrye toward the Engliſhe campe, but the Engliſhmen perceyuing them, paſſed the riuer that was betwixt them, and with Arrowes chaſed the Frenchmen, ſo that for haſte many of theyr horſſes foundered, and fell, ere they came to Bayonne: If there had bene any horſemenne amongſt the Engliſhmen, they hadde ſore endomaged their enimies.

englishe ye greatly ered for t of beasts rawe their ance.

The King of Nauarre doubtyng leaſt the Engliſhmen were come into thoſe parties for no good meaning towardes him, ſent to the L. Marques a biſhop, and diuers other, offering to miniſter victuals vnto the Engliſhmẽ for their money, if it ſhould ſtand ſo with his pleaſure.

gentle offer the king of arre to the glishmen.

The Lord Marques thanked him for the offer, and promiſed that if they of Nauarre wold vittaile his people, they ſhould pay them well and truly for the ſame, and alſo he wold warrant their paſſing and repaſſing in ſafetie, and that by the Engliſhemen no preiudice ſhoulde be done to his realme. Hereupon were the Engliſhmen vittailed oute of Nauerre, to theyr great comfort. After that the armie had layne xxx. days in the ſecond camp, there came from the King of Arragon a Biſhop and other nobles of his counſell.

This biſhop was the ſame that made the anſwere to the Lorde Darcy at Cales, the laſte yeare. The effect of his meſſage was to deſire the Lord Captayne and his people to take patience for a while, and they ſhould ſee that ſuch preparation ſhould be made for the furniſhing of their enterpriſe, as ſhuld ſtand with the honour of his maiſter and their aduancements.

The Engliſhmen ſore diſcontented with their idle lying ſtill in the field, miſliked wyth his excuſes, ſuppoſing the ſame (as they proued in deed) to be nothing but delayes. In the meane tyme that the Engliſhmen thus lingered without attemptyng any exployte, theyr victuall was muche parte Garlyke, and they eating thereof with all theyr meates, and drinking hotte wynes, and feeding alſo on hot frutes, procured their bloud to boyle within their bellies, that there fell ſicke thre thouſande of the flixe, and therof dyed an eighteene hundred perſones.

Great death of the flixe by vnvvonted dyet.

The Lord Marques perceyuing this myſchief, ſent to the king of Spayne, certain of his capitaines to know his pleaſure. The K. tolde them that ſhortely the duke of Alua ſhoulde ioyne with them, bringing with him a mightye power, ſo that they mighte the more aſſuredly procede in theyr enterpriſe.

The L. Marques sendeth to the king of Spayne to performe promise.

With this anſwer they returned to the Lord Marques, who liked it neuer a deale, bycauſe he iudged that the king ment but to driue time with him, as after it proued.

In the meane tyme there beganne a mutenie in the Engliſhe campe thorough a falſe reporte, contriued by ſome malicious perſone, whiche was, that the Capitaines ſhould be allowed eight pens for euery common ſouldior, where the truth was, that they had allowed to them but onely ſix pens.

The Lord generall aduertized that the ſouldiours began to gather in companyes, founde meanes to apprehend the chiefe beginner, and deliuered him vnto Williã Kingſton eſquier, then prouoſt Marſhall, and ſo was hee put to death to the terror of all other.

Whileſt the Engliſhmen lay thus in camp on the borders of Biſkay towardes Guyenne, the archers went oftentymes a forraging into the French confines almoſte to Bayonne, and brent many pretie villages. The K. of Spain reyſed an armie, and ſent forth the ſame vnder the leading of the Duke of Alua, whiche came forwarde as thoughe hee mente to haue come to the Engliſhmen, who being aduertized of his approche, were merueylouſly glad thereof, in hope that then they ſhoulde be employed about the enterpriſe for the whiche they were come.

But the Duke entendyng an other thing, when he was aduaunced forth within a days iourney of them, ſodeynly remoued his army towarde the realme of Nauerre, and entryng the ſame, chaſeth out of his realme the Kyng of that lande, and conquereth the ſame to the K. of Spayns vſe, as in the hiſtorie of Spayn more playnly it doth appeare.

After that the Kyng of Spayn was thus poſſeſſed of the Kyngdome of Nauerre, hee ſente vnto the Lorde Marques, promyſyng

The kingdo of Nauerre gotten to the K. of Spayne.

to ioyne with him ſhortly, and ſo to inuade the borders of Fraunce, but he came not, wherfore the engliſhmen thought themſelues not wel vſed: for it greued them muche, that they ſhuld lye ſo long idle, ſith there was ſo great hope cōceyued at their ſetting forth, that there ſhoulde be ſome great exployte atchieued by them thorough the aide that was promiſed by the kyng of Spayne.

Thus whileſt the armie lyngered without remouing, there chanced an affraye to riſe betwixt the Engliſhmen and the townes men of *Sancta Maria*, a village ſo called, wherunto ſuch Engliſhmen as fell ſicke, had their reſorte, and therupon the alarm being brought to the camp, the Engliſhmen and Almains ran in great furie to the ſuccor of their fellowes, and notwithſtanding all that the captains could do to ſtaye them, they ſlew and robbed the people without mercie. The Biſcayans that could get away, fled ouer ỷ water into Guyenne. The capitaines yet ſo ordred the matter, that all the pillage was reſtored, and .xxj. ſouldiors were condemned, which wer apprehended as they were fleing awaye with a bootie of .x. M. ducates into Gaſcoigne, ſeuen of them were executed, and the reſidue pardoned of lyfe, at the ſuite of certayn Lordes of Spayne, whiche were as then preſent. The Frenchmen hearing of this ryot, came forth of Bayonne to ſee and vnderſtand the maner therof, but perceiuing that the Engliſhmen had eſcried them, they ſodenly returned. The Engliſhmen followed, and cōming to the towne of Sainte Iehan de Lucy, they brent and robbed it, and ſlew the inhabitantes. Diuers other villages they ſpoyled on the borders of Guyenne, but bicauſe they wanted both horſſes of ſeruice, and horſes to drawe forth their ordinance, they could not do any ſuch domage as they might and wold haue done, if they had bene furnyſhed accordyng to their deſires in that point.

S. Iehan de Lucy brent by the Engliſhe.

Thus continued the Engliſh armie in ſuch wearyſome ſorte tyll the moneth of October, and then fell the Lord Marques ſicke, and the Lorde Howard had the chiefe gouernaunce of the armie, vnto whome were ſent from the K. of Spayne dyuers Lordes of his priuie counſell to excuſe the matter for that hee came not accordyng to his promyſe, requiring them that ſith the tyme of the yeare to make warre was paſte, it mighte pleaſe them to breake vp theyr campe, and to deuide themſelues abroade into the Townes and villages of his realme til the Spring tyme of the yeare, that they might then goe forwarde with theyr fyrſte pretenced enterpryſe.

The Lorde Howard ſhewed well in wordes that the Engliſhmen could not think well of the king of Spaynes fayned excuſes, and vnprofitable delayes, to his ſmall honoure and their great hinderance and loſſe, hauyng ſpente the King their maiſter ſo muche treaſure, and doon ſo little hurt to his aduerſaries. The Spanyardes gaue faire wordes, and ſo in courteous maner departed.

Then about the ende of October it was agreed amongſt all the Lordes of the Engliſhe hoſt that they ſhould breake vp their campe, & ſo they did. The L. Marques and his people wēt to Saynt Sebaſtian, the Lorde Howard and his retinue to Rendre, the Lord Willoughby to Garſchang, and ſir William Sandes, with many other capitayns repaired to Fonterabie, and ſo euery captaine with his retinue was placed in one towne or other.

The Englis campe in Bi key breake vp.

The armie d perſed to ſ dry villages.

The K. of England aduertiſed of the king of Spayne his meaning, ſent an herrauld called Windſore, with letters vnto his armye, willyng his men there to tarry, promyſing to ſend ouer to them right ſhortly a new ſupplye, vnder the guydyng of the Lorde Herberte his chamberlain. When this letter was read, & the contents therof notified, the ſouldiors began to be ſo highly diſpleſed, and ſpake ſuch outragious wordes, as it was maruell to heare, and not contented with wordes, they were bente to haue don outragious dedes, in ſo muche that in their furie they had ſlain the lord Howard and diuers other, if they had not followed their intentes, & herevpon they were glad to hyre ſhips and ſo embarked themſelues in the moneth of Nouember. When the Lorde Marques was brought a bord, he was ſo weake & feeble of remembrance through ſickneſſe, ỷ he aſked where he was.

Vnappeaca ble rage amo geſt the English ſould

In the beginning of December they landed here in Englande, and were gladde to be at home, and got out of ſuche a countreye, where they hadde little health, leſſe pleaſure, & muche loſſe of tyme.

The Englis army retourneth aute of Biskay.

The king of Spayne ſeemed to be ſore diſcontented with their departure, openly affirming, ỷ if they had taried till the next Spring he would in their cōpanie haue inuaded Frāce.

About the ſame time that the Marques went into Spayn, that is to wit, about the middeſt of May, ſir Edward Howard lord Admirall of Englande being on the ſea afore Porteſmouth, made forth again to the ſea, and directing his courſe towards Britayn, on Trinitie Sunday arriued at Berthram bay with .xx. great ſhips, and ſodeinly ſet his men on land, & there wan a bulwarke which the Britaynes kept and defended a whyle, but beyng ouercome, fled oute of their holde, and left it to the Engliſhmen.

The L. Admiral in Britayn.

The

Then the Lord Admirall paſſed, ſeuen myle into the countrey, brenning and waſting townes and villages, and in returning he ſkirmyſhed with diuers men of armes, and ſlew ſome of them: and notwithſtonding that the Britons fought valiantly in defence of their countrey, yet they were put to the worſſe, and ſo the Lorde Admirall returned to his ſhips.

The .23. of May being Monday, he landed in the morning, and commaunded to burne the houſe of the Lorde Piers Moguns, wyth the towne of Conket, and diuers other places, and chaſed the Britons into the caſtel of Breſt, and notwithſtanding al the aſſemblies and ſhewes that ye Britons made, yet they ſuffred the engliſhmen peaceably to returne with their prays and booties. The firſt of June the Engliſhmē toke land in Croyton Bay, & then the lords of Britain ſent word to the L. Admiral, that if he wold abide, they would giue him battail. The Admiral rewarded the meſſenger, & willed him to ſay to them that ſent him, yt all that day they ſhould find him in that place tarying their cōming. Then to encourage diuers gentlemen yt more earneſtly to ſhew their valiancie, he dubbed them knights, as ſir Edward Broke, brother to the lord Cobham, ſir Griffyth Doune, ſir Tho. Windhā, ſir Tho. Lucy, ſir Jo. Burdet, ſir William Pyrton, ſir Henry Shirborn, & ſir Stephen Bull. Whē the L. Admiral ſaw ye Frenchmē come, he cōforted his men wt pleaſant words, therby the more to encourage thē. The whole nūber of the Engliſhemen was not much aboue .xxv. C. where the Frenchmē were at the leaſt .x. M. and yet when they ſaw ye order of the Engliſhmen, they were ſodeinly aſtonnyed. Then a gentleman of good experience & credit amōgſt thē, aduiſed the other captains not to fight, but to retire a little, & to take a ſtrong ground, there to remain till the Engliſhmen returned towards their ſhips, & then to take ye aduātage. And ſo ye captains began to retire, which whē the cōmons ſaw, they al ran away as faſt as they might, ſuppoſing yt theyr captains had ſeene or knowne ſome great peril at hande, bycauſe they were not priuie to the purpoſe of their captains. The Lord Admirall ſeing what hapned, when night came departed to his ſhips. After this, the gentlemen of Britain ſent to the Admirall for a ſafeconduct for diuers perſons which they ment to ſend to him about a treatie. The Lorde Admirall was of his gentleneſſe content to graunt their requeſt.

Then certayne Lordes of Britayne toke a boate and came to the ſhippe of the Lorde Admyrall, where he was ſette wyth all his counſell of the armie about him.

The requeſte of the Brittons was, that it might pleaſe him to ſurceaſſe his cruell kynd of warre in brenning of towns and villages: but the Admirall playnly tolde them that he was ſent to make warre and not peace. Then they required a truce for ſix dayes, which would not be graunted, and to their reproke, the Admiral told them that gentlemē ought to defend their countrey by force, rather than to ſue for peace. And thus (makyng them a bankette) he ſente them away, and after hearyng that there were ſhips of warre on the ſeas, he coaſted frō thence alongſt the countrey of Normandie, ſtill ſkouring the ſea, ſo that no enimie durſte appeare. And at lengthe he came and laye by the Iſle of Wight, to ſee if any enimies would appeare, during which time, diuers ſhippes kepte in the northſeas, vnder the conduct of ſir Edwarde Ichingham, John Lewes, John Louedaye, and other.

Iuſtes at Grenvviche.

This yeare alſo in June the King kepte a ſolemne iuſtes at Grenewiche, the king and ſir Charles Brandon taking vpon them to abyde all commers. After this, the kyng hauing prepared men and ſhips ready to go to the ſea vnder the gouernance of ſir Anthonie Oughtred, ſir Edward Ichyngham, William Sydney, & diuers other Gentlemen, apointed them to take the ſea, and to come before the Iſle of Wight, there to ioyne with the L. Admiral, which they did but in their paſſage, a galey was loſt by negligence of the Maſter. The K. hauing a deſire to ſee his nauie together, rode to Portſmouth, and ther appointed captains for one of the chiefeſt ſhips called the Regent, ſir Thomas Kneuet maſter of his horſes, and ſir John Carow of Deuonſhire, and to the Soueraine hee appointed for captains ſir Charles Brandon, and ſir Henry Gylforde, and with them in the Soueraigne were put .lx. of the talleſt yeomen of the kings garde. Many other gentlemen were ordeyned capitains in other veſſels And the K. made them a bankette before their ſetting forward, and ſo committed them to God. They were in number .xxv. faire ſhippes, of greate burdeyne, well furniſhed of all thinges neceſſarye.

The Kings n nye ſetteth ou

The Frenche king in this meane whyle had prepared a Nauie of .xxxix. ſayle in the hauen of Breſt, and for chiefe hee ordeyned a greate Carrike of Breſt, apperteyning to the Quene his wife, called Cordelier, a verie ſtrong ſhip, and well appointed. This nauie ſet forwarde out of Breſt the tenth of Auguſt, and came to Britayne Bay, in the which the ſame day was the Engliſhe fleet arriued. When the Engliſh men perceiued the Frenchmen to be iſſued forth of the hauen of Breſt, they prepared themſelues to battail, & made forth toward their enimie.,

The Engliſhe nauye encountreth vvith the Frenche vpon the coaſte of Britaine.

which came fiercely forward, and comming in ſight eche of other, they ſhotte of their ordinaunce ſo terribly togetber, that all the Sea coaſt ſounded of it. The Lord Admirall made with the great ſhippe of Depe, and chaſed hir. Sir Henry Guylforde and Sir Charles Brādon made with the great Carricke of Breſte, beyng in the Soueraine, and layde ſtemme to ſtemme to the Carricke, but by negligence of the maiſter, or elſe by ſmoke of the Ordinance, or otherwiſe, the Soueraigne was caſt at the ſterne of the Carrike, with whyche aduauntage the Frenchmen ſhouted for ioy: but when Sir Thomas Kneuet whyche was readye to haue boorded the greate ſhippe of Depe ſawe that the Soueraigne miſſed the Carricke, ſodeynly he cauſed the Regent (in the whiche he was aborde) to make to the Carricke, & to craple with hir a long borde, and when they of the Carrike perceyued they coulde not departe, they let ſlippe an ancre, and ſo with the ſtreame the ſhippes tourned, and the Carrike was on the weather ſyde, and the Regente on the lye ſide. The fight was cruell betwixt thoſe two ſhippes, the Archers on the Engliſhe ſide, and the Croſſebowes on the Frenche parte doyng their vttermoſt to annoy eche other: but finally the Engliſhmen entred the Carricke whyche being perceiued by a Gunner, he deſperatly ſet fyre in the gunpowder, as ſome ſaye, thoughe there were that affirmed, howe ſir Anthonye Oughtred following the Regent at the ſterne, bowged hir in diuers places, and ſet hir powder on fire.

A cruell fight betvvixt the tvvo Nauies.

The Engliſhe Regent, and the Frenche Carricke brent togither.

But howe ſoeuer it chaunced, the whole ſhip by reaſon of the powder was ſet on fyer, and ſo both the Carrike & the Regent being crappled togyther, ſo as they coulde not fall off, were bothe conſumed by fier at that inſtant.

The Frenche nauie perceiuyng this, fled in al haſt, ſome to Breſt, and ſome to the Iles adioynyng. The Engliſhmen made out boates to helpe them in the Regent: but the fire was ſo terrible, that in maner no man durſt approche, ſauing ỹ by the Iames of Hull certain frenchmen that could ſwim were ſaued. Captain of this Carrike was ſir Piers Morgan, & with him he had in the ſame ſhip .ix. C. men: & with ſir Thomas Kneuet, and ſir Iohn Carowe were .vij. C. al drowned and brent. The engliſhmen that night lay in Berthram Bay, for the Frenche fleete was diſparpled as ye haue heard. The L. Admirall after this miſchaunce thus hapned to theſe two worthy ſhips, made agayn to the ſea, and ſkoured all alongeſt the coaſtes of Britayne, Normandie and Picardie, taking many Frenche ſhips, and brenning ſuche as they could not well bring away wyth them. The K. of England hearing of the loſſe of the Regent, cauſed a great ſhip to be made, ſuch one as the like had neuer bin ſene in Englād, & named hir *Henrie grace de dieu*.

Henry g
de Dieu.

The Frenche Kyng aboute the ſame tyme ſent to a Knighte of the Rhodes called Prioure Iehan, a Frenchman borne, of the countrey of Guyenne, requiring him to come by the ſtraytes of Marracke into Britaine, the whiche he did, bringing wͭ him .iij. Galeis of force with diuers foiſts & rowgaleys ſo wel ordinanced & trimmed, as the like had not bin ſeene in theſe parties before his cōming. He had layn on the coaſts of Barbarie to defend certeine of the religion as they came from Tripolie.

This yeare in the Moneth Nouember the king called his high courte of Parliamente in the which it was concluded, that the K. himſelf in perſon with an army royall ſhoulde inuade Fraunce wherupon notice therof being giuē to

A Parli
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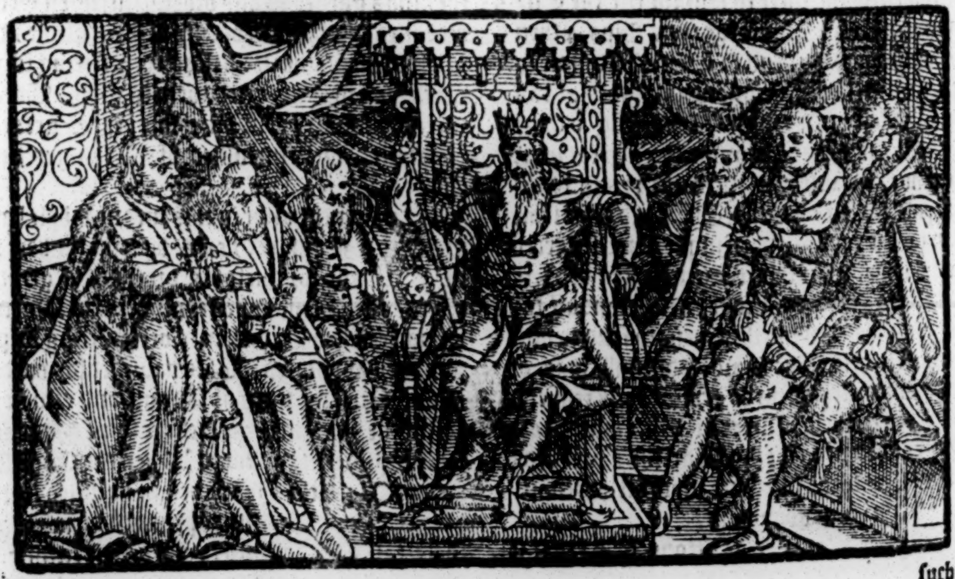

ſuche

ſuch as ſhould attend, they made their purueyance with all diligence that myght be.

1513 After that this Parliament was ended, the king kept a ſolemne Chriſtmaſſe at Grenewich, with daunces and mummeries in moſt princely maner. After Candelmaſſe the King created ſir Charles Brandon vicounte Liſle. In Marche following, was the kings nauie of ſhippes royall and other ſet forth to the number of. xlij. beſide other balengers vnder the conducte of the Lorde Admirall, accompanied with ſir Water Deuereux, Lord Ferrers, ſir Wolſtan Browne, Sir Edward Ichyngham, ſir Anthony Poyntz, ſir Iohn Wallop, Sir Thomas Wyndam, Syr Stephen Bull, William Fitz William, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sydney Eſquiers, and diuers other noble and valiant capitains. They ſayled to Porteſmouth, and there laye abyding wynde, and when the ſame ſerued their tourne, they weyed anker, and makyng ſayle into Britayne, came into Berthram Bay, and there laye at anker in ſight of the French nauie, which kept it ſelfe cloſe within the hauen of Breſte, wythout proferyng to come abroade.

Charles
ndon crea-
Viſcount

nauie ſet
out againe.

The Engliſhmen perceyuing the manner of the Frenchmen, determined to ſet on them in the hauē, and making forward in good order of batayl, at their firſt entrie one of their ſhips wherof Arthur Plantagenet was captain, fell on a blind rock, and braſt in ſunder, by reaſon wherof, all the other ſtayed, and ſo the engliſh captains perceyuing that the hauen was dangerous to enter without an expert lodeſman, they caſte aboute, and returned to their harborough at Berthram Bay againe. The Frenchemen perceyuing that the Engliſhmen meant to aſſayle them, moored their ſhips ſo neere to the caſtell of Breſt as they coulde, and placed bulwarkes on the land on euery ſide to ſhoote at the Engliſhmen. Alſo they trapped togither. xxiiij. greate hulkes that came to the Bay for ſalte, and ſet them on a rowe, to the intent that if the Engliſhmen hadde come to aſſault them, they would haue ſet thoſe hulks on fire, and haue let them driue with the ſtreame amongeſt the Engliſh ſhipps. Priour Iehan alſo lay ſtill in Blank ſable Bay, and plucked his galeys to the ſhore, ſetting his baſiliſkes and other ordinance in the mouth of the Bay, which baye was bulwarked on euery ſyde, that by water it was not poſſible to be wonne. The L. Admirall perceiuyng the French nauie thus to lye in fear, wrote to the king to come thyther in perſon, and to haue the honour of ſo high an enterpriſe: whiche writing the kings counſell nothing allowed, for putting the king in ieopardie vpon the chance of the ſea. Wherefore the kyng wrote to hym ſharply againe, commaundyng him to accompliſhe that which appertained to his dutie: which cauſed hym to aduenture thyngs further than wiſedom would he ſhould, as after ye ſhal heare.

Englishe
pur po-
to ſet vpon
in
hauen are
ated by a
haunce.

Priour Iehan keping him ſtil within his hold as a priſoner in a dungeon, did yet ſomtime ſend out his ſmall foyſts to make a ſhewe before the Engliſh nauie, which chaſed them to their Bay: but bicauſe the Engliſh ſhips were myghtie veſſels, they coulde not enter the Bay, and therfore the L. Admiral cauſed certain boates to be manned forth, which toke one of the beſt foyſts that Prior Iehan had, and that with great daunger: for the galeys and bulwarks ſhot ſo freſhly al at one inſtant, that it was maruel how the engliſhmen eſcaped. The L. Admirall perceiuing that the Frenchmen would not come abroade, called a counſel, wherin it was determined, ẏ firſt they would aſſaile Prior Iehan and his galeys lying in Blanke ſable Bay, & after to ſet on the reſidue of the French fleete in the hauen of Breſt. Then firſt it was appointed, that the Lord Ferrers, ſir Stephen Bull, and other, ſhould go a land with a conueniente number to aſſault the bulwarkes, while the Admirall entred with row barges and little Galeys into the Baye, and ſo ſhoulde the Frenchmen be aſſayled both by water and land.

An.reg.5.

The Lord Admirall by the counſel of a Spaniſhe knight called Sir Alfonſe Charant, affirming that he might enter the Bay with litle ieopardie, called to him William Fitz William, William Cooke, Iohn Colley, and ſir Wolſtan Browne, as his chiefe and moſt truſtie frendes, making them priuie to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterpriſe, with their aſſiſtance, and ſo on Saint Markes day, whiche is the. xxv. of Aprill, the ſayde Admirall put hymſelfe in a ſmall rowe barge, appoynting three other ſmall rowing ſhippes, and his owne ſhypboate to attend him, and therwith vpon a ſodain rowed into the Bay, where Prior Iehan hadde moored vp his galeys iuſt to the grounde, whiche galeys with the bulwarkes or the lande ſhot ſo terribly, that they that folowed were afrayd, but the Admirall paſſed forwarde, and as ſone as he came to the Galeys, he entred & droue out the Frenchemenne. William Fitz William within his ſhippe was ſore hurt with a quarell. The Bay was ſhallow, and the other ſhips could not enter, for the tyde was ſpent: Which thyng the Frenchmen perceyuing, they entred the galeys agayn with Moris pikes, and foughte with the Engliſhemen in the galeys. The Admirall perceyuing their approche, thought to haue entred agayne into his rowe barge, whiche by violence of the tide was dryuen downe the ſtreame, and wyth a pike hee was throwen ouer the borde, and ſo drowned, and alſo the forenamed Alfonſe was there ſlayne: All the other boates and veſſelles eſcaped verye hardlye awaye:

Sir Edvvarde
Lord Admiral
drovvned.

for if they had taryed, the tyde had fayled them, and then all had bin loſt. The Lord Ferrers and the other captaines were right ſorowfull of thys chance, but when there was no remedy, they determined not to attempte anye further, till they might vnderſtand the kings pleſure, and ſo they returned into England.

The Frenche galies land in Suſſex, and brent certayne cotages.

The Frenchmen perceyuing that the Engliſh flete departed from the coaſts of Britayne, and drewe towardes Englande, they came forth of their hauens, and Prior Iehan ſet forth his galeys and foyſts, and drawing alongſt the coaſts of Normandie and Britayn, coaſted ouer to the borders of Suſſex with all his company, & there landed, and ſet fire on certaine poore cotages.

The Gentlemen that dwelte neere, reyſed the countrey, and came to the coaſt, and droue Prior Iehan to his galeys.

The Lorde Thomas Havvarde made Admirall.

The King was right ſory for the death of his Admirall, but ſorrowe preuaileth not when the chaunce is paſt. Therfore the king hearyng that the French nauie was abrode, called to hym the lord Thomas Howard eldeſt brother to the late Admirall, and ſonne and heire apparante to the Erle of Surrey, whom he made Admiral, willing him to reuenge his brothers death. The lord Howard humbly thanked his grace of the truſte that he put in him, and ſo immediatly wente to the ſea, and ſkoured the ſame, that no Frenchman durſt ſhew himſelf on the coaſt of Englād, for he fought with them at their owne portes.

The Earle of Shrevvesbury ſent into Frāce vvyth an army.

The king hauing all his prouiſions ready for the warre, and meaning to paſſe the ſea in hys owne perſon, for the better taming of the loftye Frenchemen, appoynted that worthy counſellor and right redoubted chieftayne, the noble George Talbot erle of Shrewesburie, hygh Steward of his houſehold to be capitayn generall of his foreward, and in his companie were appoynted to goe, the Lord Thomas Stanley erle of Derby, Lorde Decowrey Prior of Saint Iohans, ſir Robert Ratcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Haſtings the Lorde Cobham, ſir Rice ap Thomas, ſir Thomas Blunt, ſir Richarde Sacheuerell, Sir Iohn Digby, ſir Iohn Aſkewe, ſir Lewes Bagot, ſir Thomas Cornwal, and many other knights, and eſquiers and ſouldiors, to the number of eight thouſande men. Theſe paſſed the ſea, and came to Caleys about the middle of May.

The Lorde Herbert called ſir Charles Somerſet, Lorde Chamberlayn to the kyng, in the ende of the ſame moneth folowed the ſayd earle of Shrewesbury, with ſixe thouſande menne: in whoſe companie were the Earles of Northumberlande Percye, of Kent Graye, of Wylſhyre Stafforde, the Lorde Dudley, the Lorde Delaware, and his ſonne Sir Thomas Weſte, Syr Edwarde Huſſey, ſir Edwarde Dymmocke, ſir Dauy Owen, with many other knights, eſquyers, and Gentlemen. After they had ſoiorned certayn days in Caleys, and that all their neceſſaries were readye, they iſſued forth of the towne, ſo to begin their camp. And firſt the erle of Shrewesburie & his cōpany toke the fielde, & after him, the Lord Herbert with his retinues in maner of a rereward. Then folowed that valiant knight ſir Ryce ap Thomas, with .v. C. light horſmen and archers on horſbacke, who ioyned himſelf to the forewarde. Theſe two Lordes thus embattailed did remoue the .xvij. of Iune to Sandifield, and on the .xviij. they came to Marguyſon, on the further ſide of the water, as though they woulde haue paſſed ſtreightways to Bolongne: but they meaning an other thing, the next day took an other way, and ſo coaſted the countrey with ſuche diligence, that the .xxij. of Iune they came before the ſtrong citie of Terrouanne, and pight theyr tents a mile from the town. The ſame night (as certain captains were in counſell within the lord Herberts tent,) the baron of Carew was ſlayne with a bullet ſhotte oute of the towne, whyche ſodain aduenture muche diſmayed the aſſemble, but the lord Herbert comforted them with manly words, and ſo his death was paſſed ouer. All the countrey of Arthoys and Picardie fortifyed their holdes, and made ſhewes as the Engliſhe armie paſſed, but they durſt not once aſſayle thē.

The Engli armie marc vnto Terr

The Baro Carevv ſl

The Lorde Pontremy c tayne of T vvin.

The citie of Terrouanne was ſtrongly fortified with walles, rampiers, bulwarks, and large ditches. The Lorde Pontremy was gouernour within it, hauing with him .vj. C. horſmen, and 2500. Almaynes, beſide the inhabitauntes. The walles and towers were full of ordinance which oftentimes did much diſpleaſure to the Engliſhmē. The Erle of Shrewſbury planted his ſiege on the Northweaſt ſyde of the towne, and the Lorde Herbert on the Eaſt ſide, cauſing greate trenches to be made to couer his people withall: for on that ſide there was no hyll to ſuccoure or defend him.

Tervvyn be ſieged.

The Frenchemen and Almaynes would dyuers tymes iſſue oute, but the Archers were euer readie to beat them into the Citie agayne.

The Erle of Shrewſbury got into an hollow ground or valey neare to the Citie, & likewiſe the Lorde Herbert by reaſon of his trenches approched likewiſe very neare to the ditches.

The ſeuen and twentith day of Iune being Monday. Sir Nicholas Vaux and ſir Edward Belknappe hauyng with them .iiij. C. and .lx. men, ſette from Guyſnes to conducte foure and twentie Cartes laden with victuals towardes the ſiege at Terrouanne, but the Duke of Vandoſme Lieutenaunt of Picardye with eyghte hundred horſemen ſette on them as they paſſed through Irot: and founde them ſo out of order, that notwithſtanding al yͤ the Engliſh captains coulde do to bring men into array, it would not be: for the Frenchmen ſet on ſo redily, that they kept the Engliſhmen in ſunder: yet the horſmen of Guyſnes, beyng not paſſe foure and twentie in all, tooke theyr ſpeares, and ioyned with the Frenchemen ryght manfully, and lykewiſe three ſcore Archers ſhotte freſhly at their enimies, but the Frenchmen were ſo many in number, that they obteyned the place, ſlewe. viij Gentlemen, and dyuers archers. Sir Nicholas Vaux, and ſir Edward Belknappe fled towarde Guyſnes.

Thus were the victualles loſte, and yet the Frenchemen went not away with cleere hands, for thoſe fewe archers that cloſed together, ſhotte ſo egrely, that they ſlew and hurte diuers Frenchemen, and on the fielde lay. lxxxviij. great horſes, whiche dyed there in the place, and neuer went further.

King in paſſeth into ce.

The.xv. day of Iune the king departed from Grenewiche, taking his iorney towardes Douer, whether he came by eaſye iorneys, and the Queene in his companie. After hee had reſted a ſeaſon in the Caſtell of Douer, and taken order for the rule of the realme in his abſence, he tooke leaue of the Queene, and entring his ſhippe the laſt day of Iune, being the day of Saint Paule: he ſayled ouer to Caleys, where he was receyued with great ioye by the deputie ſir Gilbert Talbot, and all other there. At his entryng into Caleys, all the baniſhed men entred with hym, and were reſtored to the libertie of the towne.

The king laye in Caleys a certayn tyme, till al his prouiſions were ready, but the army laye in campe at Newnham bridge.

order of ings army.

On the.xxj.of Iuly, the kings Maieſtie paſſed forth of Caleys, and tooke the field, deuiding the armie which he had there with him into three battayles. The Lorde Liſle Marſhal of the hoſt was captaine of the forewarde, and vnder hym iij.thouſand men: ſir Richard Carewe with.iij. hundred, kept on the right ſyde of the ſame forewarde, as a wing thereto: and the Lord Darcye with other three hundred men, was a wyng on the lefte hande. The foreryders of this battayle were the Northumberland men on light geldinges. The Erle of Eſſex was Lieutenant generall of the Speares, and ſir Iohn Pechye was vicegouernor of all the horſemen, and ſir Iohn Burdet ſtanderd bearer to the Kings ſpeares. An eyghte hundred Almayns went on a plumpe by themſelues before the Kings battayle, and the Duke of Buckingham with ſixe hundred men was on the kings lefte hande, egall with the Almayns, in like maner as Sir Edward Poyninges was on the ryght hande, with other vj. hundred men egall with the Almayns.

In the kings battayl where was the ſtanderd of the armes of Englande borne by ſir Henrye Guylforde, there was. iij.thouſand, and the lord of Burgaynye with.viij.C.men, was wing on the right hand, and ſir William Compton with the retinue of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and of maiſter Wolſey the kings almoner, being in nũber viij.C.was in maner of a reregard. Sir Anthonie Oughtred and ſir Iohn Neuill with the kings ſpeares that folowed wer.iiij.C.and ſo the whole armie conteined.xj.M.and three hundred men. The number of yͤ cariages wer.xiij.C.and the number of them that attended the ſame were xix.C.men, and all theſe were reckened in the battayle: but of good fighting men and ſouldiors appoynted for the purpoſe, there were not full.ix.M. In this order the king wͭ his armie marched forward through the confines of his enimies to the ſiege of Terrouanne, entring into the French ground the.xxv.of Iuly being Monday. On the morrowe after, as the armie marched forwarde, by negligence of the Carters that myſtooke the way, a great Curtall called the Iohn Euangeliſt, was ouerthrowne in a deepe ponde of water and coulde not quickely bee recouered. The king being aduertiſed, that the Frenchmen approched to fight with him, left the gunne (bicauſe yͤ maiſter Carpenter vndertooke to wey it ſhortly out of the water) & ſet forwarde, paſſing on by Tornohan, whiche he left on his right hand, and a little beyond pitched downe his fielde, abyding for his enimies, the which (as hee was informed) were not farre off. On the morow after, being Wedneſday, the Relief of the ſpeares brought worde that they had aſcryed the French army cõming forward in order of battaile, to the number of.xj, M.footemen, and iiij.thouſand horſemen. Capitains of this armie were the Lorde de la Palyce, the lorde de Priennes, the Duke of Longuile, the Earle of Saint Paule, the Lord of Floringes, the lorde of Cleremont, and Richard de la Poole, a baniſhed man, ſonne to Iohn duke of Suffolke. They came within two miles of the kings armie, and there the footmen ſtaled, & came no further. But certayn of the horſemen to the number of. iij.M.came forward, and at the end of a wood ſhewed themſelues in open ſight of the Engliſhe army. And thus they ſtood countenancing the Engliſhmen. Some of the Northerne prickers made to them, and in ſkirmiſhing with them, tooke ſome of them priſoners. About noone the ſame day, that valiant Welche knight Syr Ryce ap Thomas with his retinue of horſemen beeing departed from the ſiege of Terrouanne, came to the king, and ſtreight ways was ſent to the erle of Eſſex, which with. ij. C.ſpeares was layde in a ſtale, if the Frenchmen had come neerer. When they were ioyned togither, they drew

This man vvas afteryvarde Cardinall.

The French army approcheth.

The Northern rickers.

aboute the hill, hauyng with them ſir Thomas Guylford, with .ij. C. archers an horſback, meaning to ſet on the Frenchmen, the which perceyuing that, & doubting leaſt more companye had followed, they ſodenly drewe backe, and ioyned them with their great battayle. Then the erle of Eſſex, and the Engliſh horſmen followed them til they came nere to the armie of France, & then ſcaled and ſente forthe light horſemen to viewe the demeanor of the Frenchmenne. When the Frenchmen of armes were retorned to their battaile, then bothe the horſmen and footmen withdrewe in order of battayle and ſtill the Engliſhe ſcurrers followed them for the ſpace of three leagues, and then retourned to the Earle, makyng report to hym of that they hadde ſeene, who then brake vp his ſtale, and came to the Kyng, declaring to hym howe the Frenchemenne were gone backe. This was called the drye Wedneſdaye, for the daye was wonderfully hote, and the king with his armye ſtoode in order of battaile, from ſixe of the clocke in the mornyng till three of the clocke in the after noone. And ſome dyed for lacke of moiſture, and generally euery man was burned about the mouthe with heate of the ſtomacke for drinke lacked, and water was not neare. After this yͤ king remoued toward Trerobanne and as he was ſetting forward, the Lord Walon of Flanders came to him with his horſmen, which were already in the kings wages.

The drye Wedneſdaie.

As the armie paſſed, by negligence the ſame day in a lane was ouerthrowne one of the kings Bombards of yron, called the redde gonne, and there lefte. The king lodged that night two miles from S. Omers on the north ſide the towne.

On the thurſdaye being the .xxviij. of Julye the maiſter Carpenter with an hundred carpenters & laborers, without knowledge of the Marſhal, wēt to way vp the great gonne that was in the ponde, as ye haue heard, & by force of engins drew it vp, and carted it redy to bring away: but ſodeinly there came an .viij. C. Frenchmen with ſpeares, croſſebowes and handgons, which ſet on the labourers ſo fiercely, that not withſtanding their manful defence, the moſt part of them were ſlayne, and the reſidue taken, end both they and the peece of ordinance conueyed to Bolongne.

The great gunne gotten by the Frenche, by the foliſhe hardynes of the Maiſter Carpenter.

The Frenchmen glad of this chaunce, aſſembled a great number to fetch the other gonne alſo the which lay yet in the lane. But the lorde Berners being captain of the Pioners, and hearing all theſe things, prepared to recouer that gonne, & ſo on the morow went to fetche it. There were appointed to goe back to ſee him ſafe conduited, the Erle of Eſſex with his company of ſpeares, ſir Richard ap Thomas with his retinue, and ſir John Neuill with the Northumberlande men. The Almayns alſo were commaunded to retire backe to the ſuccours of them that were gone for the gunne. The Almayns went forth tyll they came within two myles of the place where the gunne lay, and further they would not go. The Frenchmē to the number of nine or ten thouſād men, as ſome eſteemed, were abrode, & came toward the place where the Engliſhemen were a carting the peece of ordinance. The Northumberland horſmen hauing eſpyed thē, gaue knowledge to the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, who prepared themſelues to defend their ground againſt the enimies, and the earle of Eſſex ſente to the Lord Walon, willing him with his companye to come to his ayde, but the lorde Walon ſente worde agayn, that he was come to ſerue the K. of England more than for one day, and therfore he wiſhed, that al the Engliſhmen would return ſith that with the great power of Fraunce they were not able to matche. Thys aunſwere was muche diſpleaſant to the Earle of Eſſex, and the other captains. In this meane tyme the foreryders of the Frenche part were come to the handes of the Engliſhmen, and ſo they fell in ſkirmiſhe verie hotly: but at length all things conſidered, and ſpecially the ſmall number of the Engliſhe men, being not aboue .vij C. horſemen, it was thought beſt that they ſhould returne, and folow the gunne, whiche they had ſent forward: and ſo they retreyted in order, & not in any fleeing maner, ſtill folowyng the gunne. The Frenchmen perceyuing that, pricked forwarde to the number of two thouſand horſemen, and came iuſt to the backes of the Engliſhmen, who therwith caſt about, and made returne to the Frenchmen. Syr William Tyler, and ſir John Sharpe were the firſte that charged, and after all the other Engliſhe men. The Frenchmen fledde immediatly ſo faſt backe, that happie was he that myghte be foremoſt. The whole hoſt ſeyng theyr horſmen thus had in chaſe, ſodeinly retourned.

The erle of Eſſex withdrewe to an hill, and ther cauſed his trumpet to blow to the ſtanderd, for feare of ſuttle dealing, and when his mē wer come in, and gathered togither, he returned.

The ſame day beyng Friday, the .xxix. of July, the king came to Arkes, and there encamped, whither the erle of Eſſex came to him, and declared what had bin done that day, the King thanking him and other the capitains for their pains and diligence. The king laye here at Arkes till Monday the firſt of Auguſt, and then remoued to a village mydwaye betwixte Tyrwyn, and Sainte Omers, where he laye tyll Thurſdaye the fourth of Auguſt, and came that day in good order of battaile before the citie of Tyrwyn, and there pight vp his tents and pauillions in moſte royal maner, fencing his campe righte ſtrongly with ordinance, and other warlyke deuiſes.

The King e campeth at Arkes.

The K. cā to the ſiege.

The ordinaunce that was planted againſt the walles did ſore beate and breake the ſame, and on the other ſide they within the town were no niggardes of their ſhotte wherewyth they hurt & ſlew many of the Engliſh men in their trenches. Alſo the Frẽche army lay houering a looſe to take what aduantage they coulde of the Engliſhe forragers, and other that went abroade. There were certaine light horſemen amongeſt the Frenchmẽ of the parties of Greece, and Albany, called Eſtradiotes, with ſhorte ſtirropes, bener hattes, ſmall ſpeares, and ſwordes lyke Turkiſhe Cimiteries: with theſe Eſtradiotes or Albanoiſes, the Northerne lyght horſemen oftentymes ſkirmiſhed and tooke dyuers of thẽ priſoners. Whileſt the Engliſhemen thus laye before Terrouanne, the Captaine of Bolongne aſſẽbled to the number of a. M. men, the which ſetting forward one Euening came to Newnhã bridge by thre of the clock in the morning, & findyng the watchmen a ſlepe, entred the bulwarke and ſlew them. Then letting the bridge fall, all entred that were appointed. The capitaine of Bolongne kepte .vj. C. men for a ſtale at the bridge, and ſente the other into the Mariſhes and Medowes to fetche away the beaſts and cattaile which they ſhould finde there. This was done, and ſome of them came ſo neare the walles of Calais, that they were eſcried, and about a ſixeſcore Coupers, Bakers, Shipmen, and other whych lay without the town hearing the alarme got togyther, and ſetting on thoſe Frenchemen whiche were aduaunced ſo neare the town, ſlew them downe that abode, chaſed them that fled euen into Newnham bridge, and recouered the ſame, and put backe their enemies. About fiue of the clock in the morning the gate of Calais called Bolongne gate was opened, and then by permiſſion of the deputie one Culpeper the vnder Marſhall wyth .ij. C. archers vnder a banner of ſainte George iſſued forthe, and in great haſte came to Newnham bridge, where they founde the other Engliſhmen that had won the bridge of the Frenchemen, and ſo altogither ſet forward to aſſaile the Frenchmen that kepte the ſtale, and tarried till the reſidue of their company which were gone a foraging vnto Calais walles were come, for the other that had ſpoiled the Mariſhes were retourned with a great booty. At the firſt whẽ the frenchmen ſaw the Engliſhmẽ approch, they thought they had bin their owne fellowes. But when they ſaw the banner of ſaint George, they perceyued howe the matter went, and ſo determined to deffẽd themſelues againſt their enemies: but the Engliſhemen ſet ſo fiercely on, that finally the Frenchemenne were diſcomfited, and foure and twenty of them ſlaine, beſide twelue ſcore that were taken priſoners, & all the ordynaunce, and bootie againe recouered. The eleauenth day of Auguſt the king, & the Emperour Maximilian met togither betwixte Ayre and Terrouanne, and after they had moſte frendly ſaluted eyther other, and talked a while togyther, they departed for yͤ time. He that deſireth to vnderſtande howe richely the Kings Maieſtie, the Duke of Buckingham, and other the nobles of Englande were apparayled at this enteruiewe, he may reade thereof in the Chronicles of Maiſter Hall. The Emperour and his retinue were all in blacke as mourners, for the Empreſſe lately before was deceaſſed.

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per vn-
arſhall of

The Emperour
Maximilian,
and the King
of Englande
meete.

Wythin a daye or two after thys enterviewe, and that the King was retourned to his campe, thither came a King at armes of Scotlande called Lion, wyth his coate of armes on his backe, who within ſhort time was by Garter King of armes broughte to the Kyngs preſence, where hee being almoſte diſmaide to ſee the Kyng ſo noblye accompanyed, wyth fewe wordes and meetely good countenaunce deliuered a letter to the King, which his grace receyued, and readde it himſelf, and therwith hauyng conceyued the whole contentes thereof, made aunſwere immediatly to the Herrault, after a ſharpe ſorte reprouing the great vntruth in the Kyng of Scottes hys Maiſter, whyche nowe accordyng to the cuſtome of dyuers hys anceſtours woulde ſo diſhonourablye breake hys faithe and promyſſe: But ſithe hee hadde myſtruſted no leſſe, and that nowe his vniuſte dealyng well appeared, hee badde the Herrault tell hys Mayſter that hee ſhoulde neuer bee compriſed in anye league wherein hee was a confederate, and that he hadde lefte an Earle in hys Realme that ſhoulde bee able to defende hym, and all hys power: and further that where hee was the verye owner of Scotlande, as of whome it was holden by homage, he woulde not faile at hys retourne to expulſe hym out of his Realme, and ſo (ſaythe hee to the Herrault) tell thy Mayſter.

A letter of
defiaunce ſent
by the Scottish
King to King
Henry.

Sir ſaid the Kyng of armes, I am hys naturall ſubiect, and hee my naturall Lorde, and that he commaundeth me to ſay, I may boldely ſay wyth fauour, but the commaundements of other I maye not nor dare ſaye to my ſoueraigne: But your letters, with your honoure ſent, maye declare your pleaſure, for I may not ſay ſuch wordes of reproche to hym, vnto whom I owe only myne allegiance and faith.

Then ſaide the Kyng, wherefore came you hither, will you receiue no anſwere. Yes ſaide Lion, but your aunſwer requireth doyng and no writyng, that is, that immediatly you ſhuld retourne home. Well ſayde the Kyng, I will aboute the hill, hauyng with them ſir Thomas Guylford, with .ij. C. archers an horſback, meaning to ſet on the Frenchmen, the which perceyuing that, & doubting leaſt more companye had followed, they ſodenly drewe backe, and ioyned them with their great battayle. Then the erle of Eſſex, and the Engliſh horſmen followed them til they came nere to the armie of France, & then ſcaled and ſente forthe light horſemen to viewe the demeanor of the Frenchmenne. When the Frenchmen of armes were retorned to their battaile, then bothe the horſmen and footmen withdrewe in order of battayle and ſtill the Engliſhe ſcurrers followed them for the ſpace of three leagues, and then retourned to the Earle, makyng report to hym of that they hadde ſeene, who then brake vp his ſtale, and came to the Kyng, declaring to hym howe the Frenchemenne were gone backe. This was called the drye Wedneſdaye, for the daye was wonderfully hote, and the king with his armye ſtoode in order of battaile, from ſixe of the clocke in the morning till three of the clocke in the after noone. And ſome dyed for lacke of moiſture, and generally euery man was burned about the mouthe with heate of the ſtomacke for drinke lacked, and water was not neare.

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On the thurſdaye being the .xxviij. of Iulye the maiſter Carpenter with an hundred carpenters & laborers, without knowledge of the Marſhal, wēt to way vp the great gonne that was in the ponde, as ye haue heard, & by force of engins drew it vp, and carted it rety to bring away: but ſodeinly there came an .viij. C. Frenchmen with ſpeares, croſſebowes and handgons, which ſet on the labourers ſo fiercely, that not withſtanding their manful defence, the moſt part of them were ſlayne, and the reſidue taken, and both they and the peece of ordinance conueyed to Bolongne.

The great gunne gotten by the Frenche, by the foliſhe hardynes of the Maiſter Carpenter.

The Frenchmen glad of this chaunce, aſſembled a great number to fetch the other gonne alſo the which lay yet in the lane. But the lorde Berners being captain of the Pioners, and hearing all theſe things, prepared to recouer that gonne, & ſo on the morrow went to fetche it. There were appointed to goe back to ſee him ſafe conduited, the Erle of Eſſex with his company of ſpeares, ſir Richard ap Thomas with his retinue, and ſir Iohn Neuill with the Northumberlande men. The Almayns alſo were commaunded to retire backe to the ſuccours of them that were gone for the gunne. The Almayns went forth tyll they came within two myles of the place where the gunne lay, and further they would not go. The Frenchmē to the number of nine or ten thouſād men, as ſome eſteemed, were abrode, & came toward the place where the Engliſhemen were a carting the peece of ordinance. The Northumberland horſmen hauing eſpyed thē, gaue knowledge to the reſidue of the Engliſhmen, who prepared themſelues to defend their ground againſt the enimies, and the earle of Eſſex ſente to the Lord Walon, willing him with his companye to come to his ayde, but the lorde Walon ſente worde agayn, that he was come to ſerue the K. of England more than for one day, and therfore he wiſhed, that al the Engliſhmen would return ſith that with the great power of Fraunce they were not able to matche. Thys aunſwere was muche diſpleaſant to the Earle of Eſſex, and the other captains. In this meane tyme the forrydders of the Frenche part were come to the handes of the Engliſhmen, and ſo they fell in ſkirmiſhe verie hotly: but at length all things conſidered, and ſpecially the ſmall number of the Engliſhe men, being not aboue .vij. C. horſemen, it was thought beſt that they ſhould returne, and folow the gunne, whiche they had ſent forward: and ſo they retreyted in order, & not in any fleeing maner, ſtill folowyng the gunne. The Frenchmen perceyuing that, pricked forwarde to the number of two thouſand horſemen, and came iuſt to the backes of the Engliſhmen, who therwith caſt about, and made returne to the Frenchmen. Syr William Tyler, and ſir Iohn Sharpe were the firſte that charged, and after all the other Engliſhe men. The Frenchmen fledde immediatly ſo faſt backe, that happie was he that myghte be foremoſt. The whole hoſt ſeyng theyr horſmen thus had in chaſe, ſodeinly retourned.

The erle of Eſſex withdrewe to an hill, and ther cauſed his trumpet to blow to the ſtanderd, for feare of ſuttle dealing, and when his mē wer come in, and gathered togither, he returned.

The ſame day beyng Friday, the .xxix. of Iuly, the king came to Arkes, and there encamped, whither the erle of Eſſex came to him, and declared what had bin done that day, the King thanking him and other the capitains for their pains and diligence. The king laye here at Arkes till Monday the firſt of Auguſt, and then remoued to a village mydwaye betwixte Tyrwyn, and Sainte Omers, where he laye tyll Thurſdaye the fourth of Auguſt, and came that day in good order of battaille before the citie of Tyrwyn, and there pight vp his tents and pauillions in moſte royal maner, fencing his campe righte ſtrongly with ordinance, and other warlyke deuiſes.

The King
campeth at
Arkes.

The K. cō
to the ſiege.

The ordinaunce that was planted againſt the walles did ſore beate and breake the ſame, and on the other ſide they within the town were no niggardes of their ſhotte wherewyth they hurt & ſlew many of the Engliſhmen in their trenches. Alſo the Frēche army lay houering a loofe to take what aduantage they coulde of the Engliſhe forragers, and other that went abroade. There were certaine light horſemen amongeſt the Frenchmē of the parties of Greece, and Albany, called Eſtradiotes, with ſhorte ſtirropes, beuer hattes, ſmall ſpeares, and ſwordes lyke Torkiſhe Cimiteries: with theſe Eſtradiotes or Albanoiſes, the Northerne lyght horſemen oftentymes ſkirmiſhed and tooke dyuers of thē priſoners. Whileſt the Engliſhemen thus laye before Terrouanne, the Captaine of Bolongne aſſēbled to the number of a. M. men, the which ſetting forward one Euening came to Newnhā bridge by thre of the clock in the morning, & findyng the watchmen a ſlepe, entred the bulwarke and ſlew them. Then letting the bridge fall, all entred that were appointed. The capitaine of Bolongne kepte .vj. C. men for a ſtale at the bridge, and ſente the other into the Mariſhes and Medowes to fetche away the beaſts and cattaile which they ſhould finde there. This was done, and ſome of them came ſo neare the walles of Calais, that they were eſcried, and about a ſixeſcore Coupers, Bakers, Shipmen, and other whych lay without the town hearing the alarme got togyther, and ſetting on thoſe Frenchemen whiche were aduaunced ſo neare the town, ſlew them downe that abode, chaſed them that fled euen into Newnham bridge, and recouered the ſame, and put backe their enemies. About fiue of the clock in the morning the gate of Calais called Bolongne gate was opened, and then by permiſſion of the deputie one Culpeper the vnder Marſhall wyth .ij. C. archers vnder a banner of ſainte George iſſued forthe, and in great haſte came to Newnham bridge, where they founde the other Engliſhmen that had won the bridge of the Frenchemen, and ſo altogither ſet forward to aſſaile the Frenchmen that kepte the ſtale, and tarried till the reſidue of their company which were gone a foraging vnto Calais walles were come, for the other that had ſpoiled the Mariſhes were retourned with a great booty. At the firſt whē the frenchmen ſaw the Engliſhmē approch, they thought they had bin their owne fellowes. But when they ſaw the banner of ſaint George, they perceyued howe the matter went, and ſo determined to defēd themſelues againſt their enemies: but the Engliſhemen ſet ſo fiercely on, that finally the Frenchemenne were diſcomfited, and foure and twenty of them ſlaine, beſide twelue ſcore that were taken priſoners, & all the ordynaunce, and bootie againe recouered. The eleuenth day of Auguſt the king, & the Emperour Maximilian met togither betwixte Ayre and Terrouanne, and after they had moſte frendly ſaluted eyther other, and talked a while togyther, they departed for ẏ time. He that deſireth to vnderſtande howe richely the Kings Maieſtie, the Duke of Buckingham, and other the nobles of Englande were apperayled at this enteruiewe, he may reade thereof in the Chronicles of Maiſter Hall. The Emperour and his retinue were all in blacke as mourners, for the Empreſſe lately before was deceaſſed.

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The Emperour Maximilian, and the King of Englande meete.

Wythin a daye or twoo after thys enterviewe, and that the King was retourned to his campe, thither came a King at armes of Scotlande called Lion, wyth his coate of armes on his backe, who within ſhort time was by Garter King of armes broughte to the Kyngs preſence, where hee being almoſte diſmaide to ſee the Kyng ſo noblye accompanyed, wyth fewe wordes and meetely good countenaunce deliuered a letter to the King, which his grace receyued, and readde it himſelf, and therwith hauyng conceyued the whole contentes thereof, made aunſwere immediatly to the Herrault, after a ſharpe ſorte reprouing the great vntruth in the Kyng of Scottes hys Maiſter, whyche nowe accordyng to the cuſtome of dyuers hys anceſtours woulde ſo diſhonourablye breake hys faithe and promyſſe: But ſithe hee hadde myſtruſted no leſſe, and that nowe his vniuſte dealyng well appeared, hee badde the Herrault tell hys Mayſter that hee ſhoulde neuer bee compriſed in anye league wherein hee was a confederate, and that he hadde lefte an Earle in hys Realme that ſhoulde bee able to defende hym, and all hys power: and further that where hee was the verye owner of Scotlande, as of whome it was holden by homage, he woulde not faile at hys retourne to expulſe hym out of his Realme, and ſo (ſaythe hee to the Herrault) tell thy Mayſter.

A letter of defiaunce ſent by the Scottiſh King to King Henry.

Sir ſaid the Kyng of armes, I am hys naturall ſubiect, and hee my naturall Lorde, and that he commaundeth me to ſay, I may boldely ſay wyth fauour, but the commaundements of other I maye not nor dare ſaye to my ſoueraigne: But your letters, with your honoure ſent, maye declare your pleaſure, for I may not ſay ſuch wordes of reproche to hym, vnto whom I owe only myne allegiance and faith.

Then ſaide the Kyng, wherefore came you hither, will you receiue no anſwere. Yes ſaide Lion, but your aunſwer requireth doyng and no writyng, that is, that immediatly you ſhuld retourne home. Well ſayde the Kyng, I will returne to your domage, and not at thy Maiſters ſummoning. Then the king commaunded Garter to take him to his tent, and to make hym good cheare, whiche ſo did, and cheriſhed hym well: for hee was ſore abaſhed.

The effect of the Scottiſhe Kings letter to King Henry.

After hee was departed, the King ſent for all the Capitaines, and before them, and hys counſell, cauſed the letter to be redde, the contentes whereof were, that King Henry hadde not delt wyth hym vprightly in ſundry points, as in maintainyng of thoſe whiche had ſlayne hys people of Scotland by ſea, and alſo in ſuccouryng baſterde Heron wyth his complices, whiche hadde vnder truſte of dayes of meeting for Juſtice, ſlaine his Wardein. Alſo his wifes legacie was by hym withhoulden: And moreouer, where firſte hee hadde deſired hym in fauour of his deare couſin the duke of Gelder not to attempt any thyng agaynſte hym, yet hadde hee ſente his people to inuade the ſayde Dukes countrey, whiche did what in them laye to deſtroye and diſinherite the ſaide Duke, that had nothyng offended agaynſte hym. And nowe againe, where hee hadde made the lyke requeſt for his brother and couſin the moſte Chriſten Kyng of Fraunce, yet notwythſtandyng, had the King of Englande cauſed hym to loſe hys Datchie of Millaine, and at this preſent inuaded hys Realme wyth all his puiſſance, to deſtroy hym and hys Subiectes, where as yet the ſaide Kyng of Fraunce hadde bene euer friend to hym, and neuer giuen hym occaſion thus to doe. In conſideration of whiche iniuries receyued in his owne perſon, and in his frends, he muſte needes ſeeke redreſſe, and take part with hys brother and couſin the ſaid king of France, Wherefore hee requyred hym to deſiſte from further inuaſion and deſtruction of the Frenche dominions, which to do if he refuſed, he plainlye declared by the ſame letters, that he would do what hee coulde to cauſe him to deſiſte from further porſute in that hys enterpriſe, and alſo giue Letters of Marque to hys Subiectes for the denial of Juſtice made to them by the king of Englande.

The letters thus ſent to the Kyng of Englande, were dated at Edenburghe the ſixe and twentith daye of Julye, and gyuen vnder the ſignet of the ſaide Scottiſhe King.

King Henry his aunſvvere to the Scottiſhe Kings letters

When the King had thus cauſed theſe letters to bee readde, and throughly conſidered of them as apperteyned, hee ſente them ſtraight vnto the Earle of Surrey, whiche then laye at Pomfret, and cauſed other letters to bee deuiſed to the Kyng of Scottes, the effect wherof was, that althoughe hee well perceyued by the Kings letters, whiche he hadde receyued from hym, in what ſorte vnder colour of contriued occaſions and fained quarrells, hee ment to breake the peace, hee didde not muche meruaile thereat, conſideryng the auncient accuſtomed manners of ſome his progenitours: Howbeit if loue and dreade of God, nigheneſſe of bloud, honour of the worlde, lawe and reaſon, hadde bounde hym, it myght bee ſuppoſed that hee woulde neuer ſo farre haue proceeded, wherin the Pope and all princes chriſtened might well note in hym diſhonourable demeanor, whiche hadde dyſſimuled the matter, whileſt hee was at home in hys Realme, and nowe in hys abſence thus went aboute vppon forged cauſes to vtter his olde rancor, whiche in couert manner hee hadde long kept ſecrete: Neuertheleſſe vpon miſtruſte of ſuche vnſtedfaſteneſſe, hee had put his Realme in a readineſſe to reſiſt his enterprices, as hee doubted not through gods fauour, and the aſſiſtaunce of hys confederates, hee ſhoulde bee able to reſiſte the malice of all Sciſmatickes, and their adherentes, beyng by generall counſell expreſſelye excommunicate, and interdited, truſtyng alſo in tyme conuenient to remember hys frendes, and to requite his foes.

Moreoeurr, hee willed hym to ſette before his eyes the example of the King of Nauarre, who for aſſiſtaunce gyuen to the French King was nowe a King wythout a Realme. And as touchyng aunſwere to bee made to the manifolde griefes in the Scottiſhe Kings letters ſurmiſed, if Lawe or Reaſon coulde haue remoued hym from hys ſenſuall opinions, he had bene many times already aunſwered ſufficientlye to the ſame, onleſſe to the pretended grieues therin amongſt other compriſed for the denying of a ſafeconduit to the Scottiſhe Ambaſſadour to haue bene laitely ſente vnto hym: whereunto thus hee aunſwered, that the ſame ſafeconduit hadde bene graunted if the Scottiſh Herrault woulde haue taken it with hym.

And finally, as touching the Scottiſh kings requeſte to deſiſte from further attemptyng againſte the Frenche King: he ſignifyed to him, that hee knewe hym for no competent Judge of ſo high authoritie, as to require hym in that behalfe, and therefore God willyng he mente wyth the ayde and aſſiſtaunce of hys confederates and alies to proſecute his begon attempt, and as the Scottiſhe King ſhoulde do to hym, and to hys Realme, ſo it ſhoulde bee hereafter remembred and acquited.

Theſe letters were written in the campe before Tirwin the twelfth of Auguſte, and giuen vnder the Kings ſignet, and therwith deliuered to Lyon Kyng of armes, who hadde giuen hym of the Kyng, an hundred Angelles in reward, and ſo departed with his letters into to Flaunders, there to take ſhyppe to ſaile into Scotlande: but ere he coulde haue a veſſell and winde for his purpoſe, hys Maiſter was ſlain, as after yee ſhall heare.

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In this meane while the Frenchemen beeing aſſembled and lodged in camp at Blangie on this ſide Amiens, the French King appointed that all the horſmen to the number of eight thouſande (as Paulus Iouius recordeth) ſhuld go with victuals vnto Terrouanne, & put the ſame into the Towne, if by anye meanes they might, for that thoſe wythin ſtoode as then in greate neceſſitie for want of victualls.

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The chardge of this conuey was committed vnto Monſieur de Piennes, bycauſe he was lieutenaunt of thoſe Marches, notwythſtandyng there were amongeſt the number, other noble men of more highe degree in honor, and alſo of great prowes, fame and experience, furniſhed wyth ſundry bandes of men at armes of long approued valiauncye, and vſed to go awaye with victory in many a dangerous conflict and battaile, wantyng at this preſent nothyng but their olde accuſtomed good fortune.

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Whileſt the Frenchemen were thus prepared to come with victuals to Terrouanne, the Emperour Maximilian came from Ayre to the kings camp before Terrouanne the xij. of Auguſt, wearing a croſſe of Saint George as the kings ſouldioure, hee was honorably receyued, and lodged in a riche tent of cloth of gold prepared for hym, accordyng as was conuenient for his eſtate. He tarried til Sonday being the xiiij. of Auguſte, and then returned to Ayre, & on the morrow after came againe being Monday the .xv. of Auguſte, on whyche daye there chaunced a great fray betwixt the Almaines of the Kings campe, and the Engliſhemen, in ſo muche that many were ſlayne. The Almaines ranne to the Kynges ordinaunce and tooke it, and embattailed themſelues, and bent the ordinaunce againſte the King and his Campe. The Engliſhemen prepared their bowes, and the Almaines made ready their pikes: But the captains tooke ſuche paines in the matter, that the fray was appeaſed: and as this trouble was in hande, the Emperour came from Ayre, and ſaw all the demeanor of bothe partes, and was glad to beholde the diſcreete behauioure of the captaines. After that the Emperour was thus come to the kings field, the king called a counſell, at the whiche the Emperour was preſent, where it was debated, by whiche meanes they might beſt conſtraine them wythin to deliuer vp the Towne, and eſpecially howe to keepe them from victuals and other ſuccours, which the Frenche armye (as it was knowen) ment very ſhortly to miniſter vnto them. Some wer of this minde, and namely the Emperour, that bridges ſhoulde be made ouer the riuer to paſſe ouer a parte of the army to beſiege the town on that ſide, where otherwiſe the Frenche armye might victuall the towne at their pleaſures: other were of a contrary minde, doubting what might happen, if the army ſhuld be ſo deuided, leſt the Frenchmen ſetting on the backe of yͤ one part of the army, and they within the towne to ſally out in their faces, ſome miſfortune myght happen ere the other part coulde paſſe the riuer to the ſuccour of their felows. Yet at length the former purpoſe was allowed as moſt neceſſary, and therefore commaundement was gyuen to the Maiſter of the ordinaunce, that in all haſte he ſhuld cauſe fiue bridges to be made ouer the water for the armye to paſſe. The Carpenters ſo applied their worke that night, that the bridges were made by the next morrowe, and all the horſemen firſte paſſed ouer, and then the Kyng wyth hys whole battaile, and the greate ordinaunce followed and paſſed ouer to the other ſide of the water. This was on the ſixeteenth daye of Auguſte being Tueſdaye. The ſame morning the Frenchmen were comming with their conuey of victualles to refreſhe the Towne, hauyng appoynted one parte of their troups to keepe on that ſide the riuer where the Engliſh army was firſt encamped, & where the Earle of Shrewſbury ſtill kept hys fielde, that in offering the ſkirmiſh on that ſide, the reſidue of the horſmen might with more eaſe and ſafetie, put the victuals and other neceſſary things into the towne on the other ſide. Here might a man haue ſeene of what force in warres ſuddayne chaunce is oftentimes, for the king thus wyth his bataile paſſing the riuer, meaning to beſiege the town on euery ſide, and the frenchmen at that ſame inſtant hauing alſo paſſed the riuer wyth other carriages laden wyth victualls, purpoſing to releue the town on that ſide, cauſed no ſmall doubte to be conceyued of eche others meaning, on bothe partes, leaſte that the one hauyng knowledge of the others, purpoſe hadde bin prepared for to hinder the ſame: and yet was it nothyng ſo, for neyther the Kyng knewe of the Frenchemens approche that day, neither they, of his paſſing ouer the water. But when the King had aduertiſement giuen hym (by the light horſmen that were ſent abrode to diſcouer the countrey) how the Frenchemenne were at hande, he prepared hymſelfe to the battaile, and firſte ſette forthe hys horſemen, and then followed himſelfe with his battell of footmen. The Frenche Capitaynes beeing hereof aduiſed, determined not to fight without their footmen, and therfore with all ſpeede ſent backe their carriages, and ſtaied with their horſemen

Fiue bridges made in one uyght for the armye to paſſe ouer the riuer at Tirvvinne.

Polidore.

Hall and Polidore.

till the carriages might haue leaſure to get out of daunger.

In the meane tyme the Engliſhemen aduaunced forwarde, and their horſemen mounted vp the hill, where the French horſmen were in troupe with .xxx, iij. ſtanderts ſpredde and myght ſee the Engliſhemenne commyng, and the Kings battaile marchyng forwarde wyth the Almaines. There were amongſt the frēchmen certaine companies of Eſtradiottes, whiche being placed before the French hoſt, as they came downe the hill to ſkirmyſh wyth the Engliſhemen ſawe where the banners of the Engliſhe horſemen were comming, and the kings battaile followyng vpwarde, weenyng verely that all hadde bene horſemen, whereuppon they caſte themſelues aboute and fled. The Frenchmen were ſo faſte in array, that the Eſtradiots could not enter, and ſo they ran ſtil by the ends of the Frenchmens ranges. Herewith the Engliſhe horſemen ſette on, and aboute an hundred archers on horſe backe, being lighted beſide their horſes, and ſet by an hedge all alongſt a village ſide called Bomy, ſhotte freſhelye at their enemies, and alſo certaine culuerines being placed on the top of an hill were diſcharged amongſt thickeſt preaſſe of the Frenchemen, ſo that finally the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, for thoſe that were behind ſawe the fall of ſome of their ſtandertes, which the Engliſhemen ouerthrew, and their Eſtradiotes alſo (in whom they hadde greate confidence) returne, they that were furtheſt off fledde firſte, and then the Engliſhemen and Burgongnyon horſemen whiche were wyth them, egerly followed the chaſe, in the whiche were taken the Duke of Longuile brother to the Earle of Dunois that hadde maried the daughter and heire to the Marques of Rothloys, the Lorde of Cleremont, Captaine Bayarde, Monſieure de Buſie, and other to the number of twelue ſcore priſoners, and all brought to the Kinges preſence wyth ſixe ſtandertes, which were likewiſe taken. The Burgongniõs brought not their priſoners to ſight. Monſieur de la Palyce, and Monſieure de Imbrecourt being taken of them and knowen, were put to theyr raunſomes, and licenced mayntenantlye to departe vppon their worde.

The Eſt
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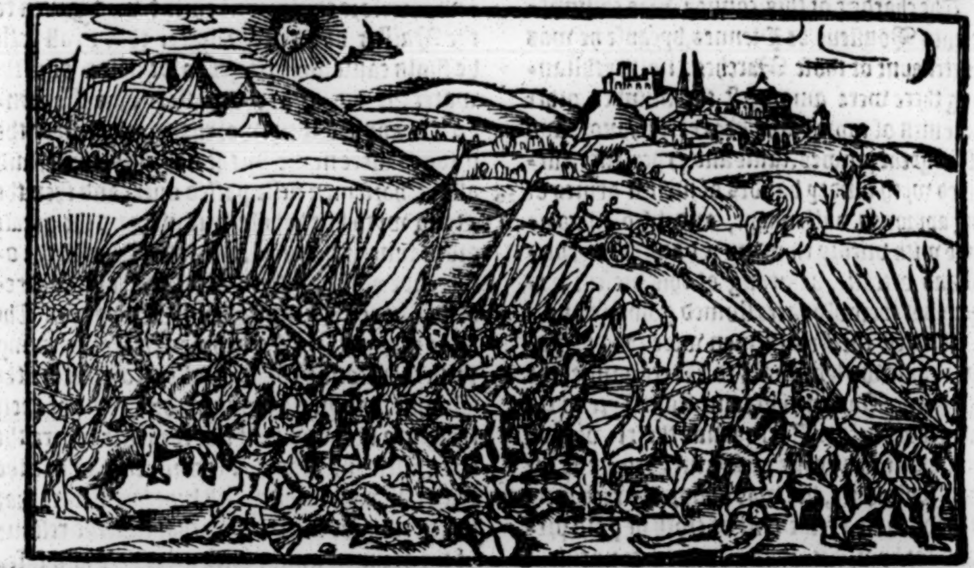
men fled



Thus was the power of the Frenche horſemenne by the ſharpe encounter of the Engliſhe horſemen, and full ſight of the battayles of the footemen following in array at the backes of the horſemen, and the diſchardgyng of certain culuerines amongſt them, quickly put to flight wythout any greate reſiſtaunce. The Emperor Maximilian was preſent wyth the King, and ware a Sainct George croſſe, greately encouraging the Almaines to ſhewe themſelues like men, ſith the place was fortunate to hym and them, to try the chaunce of battayle in, as they might call to remembraunce by the victory ther obteyned againſte the Frenchemen a foure and thirtie yeres paſte. This encounter chauncyng thus on the ſixteenth daye of Auguſte, beeyng Tuiſday, in thys fift yeare of Kyng Henryes raigne, whyche was the yeare after the incarnation 1513. was called the battaile *Des Eſprons* by the Frenchemen themſelues, that is to ſaye, the battaile of Spurres, forſomuche as they in ſteede of ſworde and launce vſed their ſpurres, with all might and maine to pricke forthe their horſes to gette out of daunger. That wing of horſemen alſo, whiche was appointed to ſkirmiſhe with the Engliſhemen on the other ſide the riuer, whileſt the other might haue conueied the victualles into the Towne, was fiercely beaten backe by the martiall prowes of the valiaunt erle of Shrewſbury, Sir Riſe ap Thomas,

The battay
of Spurres

Thomas, and other worthie capitaynes, whiche laye on that ſide the water. The Duke of Alanſon, the Earle of ſaint Paule, and Monſieure de Florenges, had the leadyng of thoſe Frenchemen. They wythin the Towne were in greate hope of ſuccour this daye, and when they ſawe the Frenche power approche, they ſallied forth on that ſide where the Lorde Herbert laye, and ſkirmiſhed with his people very prowdly, but they were repulſed to the gates of their Towne, and many of them ſlayne by the highe valiauncye of the ſaide Lorde Herbert and his capitaines.

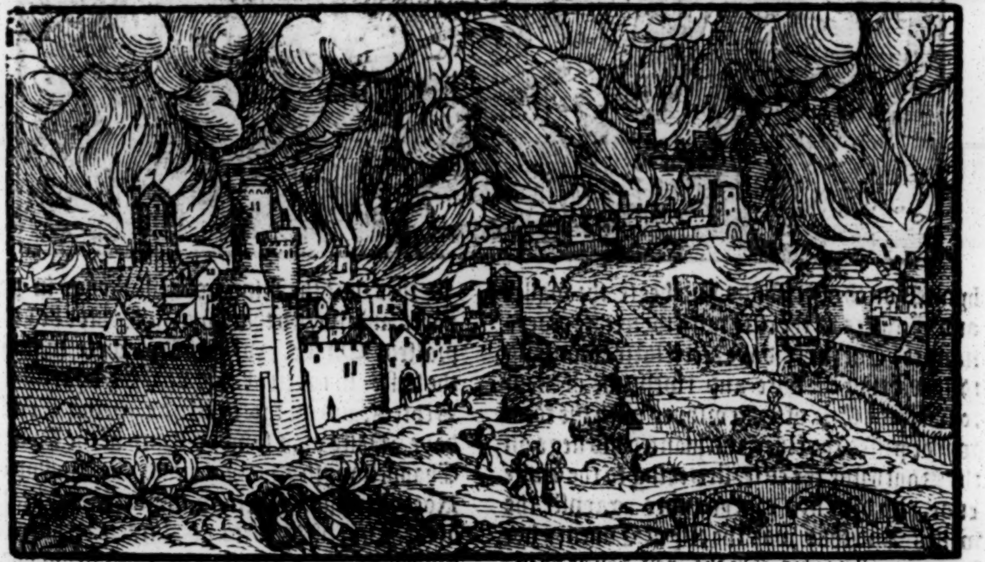
ohn Peche
e baneret,
ohn Carre
ght.

After that the Engliſhemen were retourned from the chaſe of the Frenchemen, whome they had followed a three long miles from the fielde, the Kyng made ſir John Peche a baneret, ~~and John Carre Knight, whiche was ſore~~ hurt: Sir John Peche had his guydon taken, and diuers of hys men hurte, they followed ſo farre in the chaſe. After this ouerthrowe of the French horſmen the King compaſſed the towne more ſtraightlye on eche ſide, and the batterye was brought ſo nighe the walles as might be, wherwyth breaches were made in ſundry places, by meanes whereof the Lorde Pontremy diſpairyng any long time to keepe the Town, fell to a compoſition, and yeelded it vp to the Kings handes, with condition that the Souldiours might departe wyth horſe and armour, and that ſuche Townſemen as woulde there remayne, myght haue their liues and goods ſaued. And thus was the Citie of Terwin deliuered vp to the King of Englande, wyth all the ordinaunce and munitions, as then beeing found within the ſame. This was on the .xxij. of Auguſte. The earle of Shrewſbury entred the ſame night, and cauſed the banner of ſaincte George to bee ſet vp in the higheſt place of the Towne in ſigne of victorie. When the Lorde Pontremy, and all the ſouldiours were departed, and that the earle of Shrewſbury had ſerched all the towne to ſee that euery thyng was ſure, hee called the townſemen afore hym, and ~~ſware them to be true to the king of England~~. The .xxiiij. of Auguſte the king hymſelfe entred the town with great and royall triumphe, and dined in the Biſhoppes Palaice. At after noone hee returned to his campe, & on the .xxvj. daye of Auguſte hee remoued againe to Guinegate, where he firſt encamped after the chaſe of the Frenche horſmen. Here it was determined in counſell that the walles and fortifications of Terwin ſhoulde be raſed, whych was done,

Tervvin yeelded vp to Kyng Henry.

The citizens of Tervvin ſvvorne to Kyng Henry.

The Kyng entreth into Tervvin.



ervvin brēt.

and the Towne brenned, except the Cathedrall Churche and the Palaice. All the ordinaunce was ſent to Ayre to be kepte there to the kings vſe. After this, it was concluded that the kyng ſhuld lay ſiege to the citie of Tourney, whereuppon hee ſet forwarde in three battayles, the earle of Shrewſbury leadyng the vaward, the K. and the Emperour gouernyng the battaile and the Lord Chamberlayne following with the rerewarde. The firſte night they encamped beſide Ayre. Diuers Engliſhemen taryng behinde at Terwin for pillage, were ſurpriſed by the Frenchemen, whiche ſlewe ſome of them, caſte ſome into the fire. Thoſe that fled eſcaped very narrowlye. The Kyng with his armye paſſed forwarde towardes Tourney, and by the way he viſited the yong Prince of Caſtell, & the Lady Margaret gouernors of the prince in the Towne of Liſlen, whileſt his army lay abroade in the fieldes beyonde Pount Auaundieu.

yng Henry
archethe on
yth his army
o beſiege
ervvin.

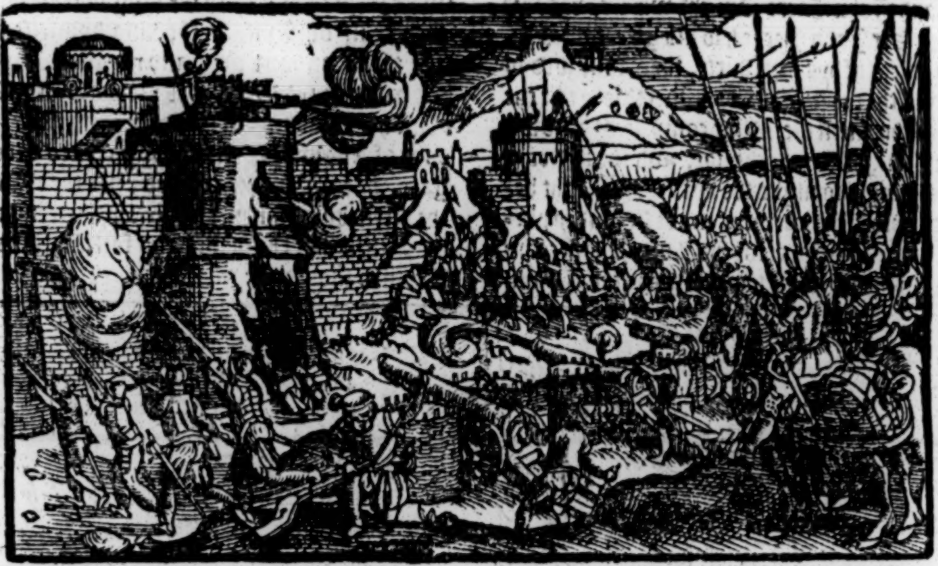
The Kyng goeth to Liſle to viſite the yong Prynce of Caſtill.

There was appointed to attende the kyng vnto Liſley the Duke of Buckyngham, the Lorde Marques Dorſet, the Earle of Eſſex, and

The Emperor and the Palſgraue of the Rhine came to the King in his campe.

Tourney ſommoned by Garter King of armes.

and the Lorde Liſle wyth dyuers other. Hee was receyued wyth all honour that myght bee deuiſed, and feaſted in moſte royall maner: he taried there three dayes, and then he returned to his camp, which was lodged at that preſent in a cõuenient place betwixt Liſle and Tourney. The day after being the xxj. of Septẽber he remoued his camp to a place within 3. miles of Tourney, and thither came to hym the Emperour, and the Palſegraue of the Rhine, which hadde bin with hym at Liſle, and there holpe to receyue hym. Hee cauſed firſte his horſemen to viewe the Towne, and the demeanor of them within, and after ſent Garter Kyng of armes to ſommon thẽ to yelde it ouer into his handes, to whom they made anſwere, that they receyued no Citie of the king of England to keepe, nor any would they render to hym, wyth whiche aunſwere he departed.



Tourney be ged by Kyn Henry.

After this, he approched the Citie wyth hys whole army, and they of the citie iſſued forthe to proffer the ſkirmiſhe, but the Archers beate them backe. Alſo the carriage men that came with the Herbengers, ſaw where certaine wagons were entryng the Citie, vnto the whyche they ran, and toke ſome of them. At this ſkirmiſhe the horſe of the Lorde John Graye was ſlaine vnder hym as he came to defende the carriage men, but hee himſelfe had no hurte. The King with his battaile planted his ſiege on the North ſide the citie. The Erle of Shrewſbury with the foreward lodged toward yͤ South ſide of the riuer, and there lay that night. The Lorde Herbert with the rerewarde encamped hymſelf on the Weſt ſide, and beate the walles and Towers of the citie with the greate ordeynaunce. The nexte daye after their commyng thither, being the three and twentithe of September, the Erle of Shrewſbury with the forewarde paſſed the riuer, and planted his ſiege on the South ſide the citie, ſtretching to the Eaſte ende, and bent hys ordeynaunce agaynſte the walles. And thus was the city of Tourney beſieged on all partes. On the .xxv day of September the King receued letters from the earle of Surrey wyth the Scottiſhe Kings gantlet, wherby he was certified of the ſlaughter of the ſaide King, and howe all thynges hadde bene handled at the battayle of Floddon, whereof hereafter yee ſhall finde further mention. The King thanked God of the newes, and highely commended the prowes of the Earle, and other the captaines: Howbeit he had a ſecrete letter, that Cheſſhiremen and other fledde from Syr Edmunde Howard in the battaile, which letter cauſed greate harteburnyng, and many wordes, but the King toke all thyngs in good parte, and would that no man ſhoulde be diſpraiſed. On the .xxvj. day fiers were made in the hoſte, in token of that victorye agaynſt the Scottes, and on the .xxvij. day being Tewſdaye, Maſſe was ſong by them of the Kyngs Chappell wyth *Te Deum*, and the Byſhop of Rocheſter made a ſermon, declaryng the death of the King of Scottes, and lamentyng hys euill happe, and periurie: But now to our purpoſe of the ſiege of Tourney. The citizẽs within did valiantly defende themſelues: though at the firſte they were maruailouſlye amazed. They diſpatched a meſſenger to the Frenche King for ſuccour, but in fine, when they ſawe themſelues enuironed on eche ſide, and perceyued in what danger they ſtood if they ſholde be ouercome by force of aſſault, they concluded to yelde the Citie vnto the Kyng of Englande, and ſo gettyng a ſafeconduit, the prouoſte, and a xj. other of the chiefe citizens came forth, and firſt talking with the kings counſel, were after

brought

ry yel-
ty into
Henry.

brought to his Maieſties preſence, and ſurrendred the Citie into hys handes, requiryng hys grace to receyue the ſame, ſo as all their auncient lawes, cuſtomes, liberties, and franchiſes, might remaine to them in ſuche ſorte and maner, as they had vſed the ſame vnder other Princes, and with that condytyon they were contented to become his vaſſals and ſubiectes. The Kyng remitted them to hys counſell, and ſo entring into the tent of counſell, the Tourneſines fell at a poynt to yelde the Citie, and to paye .x.M.li. ſterlyng for the redemption of their liberties.

itizens
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me ſub-
nto the K.
nglande.

The .xxix. daye of September the citizens came to the Kyng, where hee ſate in his tent, and were ſworne to hym, and ſo became his ſubiectes. Then the king appointed the lords Liſle, Burgueny, & Willoughby to take poſſeſſion, which wt .vj.M. men entred the citie, and toke the market place & the walls, and ſearched the houſes for doubt of treaſon. And then maiſter Thomas Woulſy the kings Almoner called all the citizens before him, yong and olde, whom he ſwore to be true to the king of England, the number of them was .80.M. On Sunday the ſeconde of October, the king entred the Citie at Porte Fontayne in triumphant wiſe. The ſame day the king made new Knightes, as Edwarde Guilforde: William Fitz William: John Sauage: John Daunſey: John Hampden: William Tiler: John Sharp: William Huſſie: Chriſtofer Garniſh: Edwarde Ferrers, and dyuers other.

Prince of
ll, and the
ſſe of
y come to
ney to
Henry.

On Monday the .xj. of October, the king without the citie receiued the Prince of Caſtell, and the Lady Margaret, with manye other nobles of the lowe countryes, and them with greate honour broughte into the citie of Tourney. The noiſe went, that the Lord Liſle was a ſuter in way of mariage vnto the ſaide Lady Margaret, which was Dutcheſſe of Sauoy, & daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, which Emperour was departed from the king before this time with manye riche rewardes, and money borrowed. The prince of Caſtell, and the ſaide Lady Margaret remained in Tourney wyth the king for the ſpace of .x. dayes, duryng which time a great Juſts was holdē on the .xviij. of October, the king and the lord Liſle anſwering all cōmers.

u Tour-

The .xx. daye of October the prince of Caſtell, & the Lady Margaret retourned to Liſle, with all their train highly rewarded to their great contentatiō. Whē all things were ſette in order, for the ſure keepyng of the citie of Tourney, the king betoke it to the gouernance of ſir Edward Poinings, the which kept it in good order and Juſtice, to his hyghe cōmendation and praiſe.

Edvvarde
ngs made
nour of
ney.

After this the king, and all other, ſauyng ſuche as were appoynted to remaine with ſir Edward Poinings departed from Tourney the .xx. day of October. The King and the noble men that were wyth hym made ſuch ſpede, that they were ſhortly at Calais, and on the .xxiiij. daye of October, the king toke his ſhip, and came ouer the ſame day vnto Douer, and from thence roade in poſte to Richemonde, where the Queene as then laye.

The King retourneth into England.

Aboute the ſame ſeaſon a great mortalitie and death of people began in London, and in other places, ſo that much people died. Al this Winter the kings nauy kept the ſeas, and robbed & ſpoiled the Frenchemen on their owne coaſtes. But now I muſte returne to ſpeake of the doings in the North parts betwixt the Engliſhmen, and Scottes, whileſt the king was occupied in hys warres againſt France in the Sōmer of this yeare, as before is mentioned: Yee haue hearde how the king of Scottes ſent his letters vnto the king, as then lying at ſiege before Terrouāne, and what anſwer was made thereto by the king.

Lorde Humes entreth the bourders of Englande.

Immediatly vpon the ſendyng of thoſe hys Letters conteyning in effecte a defyance, the king of Scots aſſembled his people to inuade the Engliſhe confines: But before his whole power was come togyther, the Lorde Humes that was lorde Chamberlaine of Scotland one day in Auguſte entred England with a .vij. or viij. M. men, and gettyng togyther a greate bootie of cattel, thought to haue returned therewith into his countrey. But as hee came to paſſe through a field ouergrowen with broome, called Mill fielde, the Engliſhemen vnder the leadyng of Sir William Bulmer, and other valiant captaines, hauing with them not paſſe a .M. ſouldiors being laide within that fielde in buſhementes, brake forthe vppon hym: and though the Scots on foote defended themſelues right manfully, yet the Engliſhe archers ſhot ſo wholly togither, that the Scots were conſtreyned to giue place.

Englyshmenne aſſaile the Scots.

Scottes put to flight.

There were of them ſlaine at thys bickering a fiue or ſixe hundrethe, and a foure hundrethe or more taken priſoners, the Lorde Chamberlayne hymſelfe eſcaped by flight, but his banner was taken.

Lorde Chamberlaine eſcapeth.

This was called by the Scots the Jll road.

The ill roade.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scotlande aſſembled, with the which king James approching to the borders, and comming to Norham Caſtell, laide ſiege thereto, hauyng there wyth hym an hundreth thouſand men. After he had beaten this caſtell with hys ordinaunce for the ſpace of ſixe dayes togyther the ſame was deliuered vp into his handes, for the Captaine was ſo liberall of his ſhotte, and powder, ſpendyng the ſame to freely be-

Norham caſtel beſieged.

Norham caſtel deliuered.

fore he had cauſe ſo to do, that when it ſhoulde haue ſtande hym in ſteede, he had none lefte to ayde hym, ſo that in the ende hee yelded hymſelfe without more reſiſtaunce.

The Earle of Surrey lieutenaunt of the North leuieth an army.

In whiche meane time, the Earle of Surrey being lieutenaunt of the Northe partes of Englande, in abſence of king Henry, had giuen order to aſſemble a power of a. xxvj. M. men, and comming to Alnewicke the thirde of September being Satterday, tarryed there all the nexte day till the whole number of his people were come, whyche by reaſon of the foule way were ſtayed, and could not come forward with ſuch ſpeede as was apointed. This fourth day of September then being Sunday, his ſon the Lorde Admirall with a. M. ſouldiours, and able men of warre, whiche had bin at ſea, came to his father, wherof he greatly reioyced for the great wiſedom, manhood, & experience, which he knewe to be in hym.

The Lorde Admirall ioyneth vvyth the Earle of Surrey his father.

The Lord Hovvarde Admirall Capitayne of the vauvvarde.

Then the Earle, and hys counſell wyth greate deliberation appointed his battailes in order, wyth wings, and wyth horſmen neceſſarie. Firſte of the forewarde was ordayned Capitayne the Lorde Howarde Admirall of England, aſwell with ſuch as came with him from the Sea, as others.

Fyrſte the Lorde Clyfforde : the Lorde Coniers : the Lord Latimer : the lord Scrope of Vpſall : the Lorde Ogle : the Lorde Lomley : Sir Nicholas Appliarde Maiſter of the ordinaunce : ſir Stephan Bull : ſir Henrye Shirborne : ſir Wyllyam Sidney : ſir Edwarde Echingham : ſir Wyllyam Bullmer, wyth the power of the Byſhopricke of Durham : ſir Wyllyam Gaſcoygne : ſir Chriſtofer Warde : ſir John Eueringham : ſir Thomas Metham : ſir Walter Griffith, and many other : Of the wyng on the ryght hande of the forewarde was Capitayne ſir Edmunde Howarde Knyght Marſhall of the hoſte, and with him Brian Tunſtall : Rauſe Brearton : Jo. Laurence : Rich. Bold, eſquiers : ſir John Bothe : ſir Thomas Butler Knyghtes : Richarde Done : John Bigod : Thomas Fitz Wyllyam : John Claruys : Bryan Stapulton : Roberte Warcoppe : Richard Cholmley, with the men of Hulle, and the Kings tenauntes of Hatfielde, and other. Of the wyng on the lefte hande was capitayne ſir Marmaduke Conneſtable with his ſonnes and kinſemen : ſir Wyllyam Percye, and of Lancaſhire a thouſande men.

Of the rerewarde was capitayne the earle of Surrey hymſelfe, and with hym the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, ſir Phillyppe Tilney, ſir George Darcy, ſir Thomas Berkely, ſir John Rocliffe, ſir Chriſtofer Pikeryng, Richarde Tempeſte, ſir John Stanley with the Biſhop of Elies ſeruauntes, ſir Bryan Stapulton, Lionell Percye, with the Abbot of Whitbies tenanntes, Chriſtofer Clapham, ſir William Gaſcoygne the yonger, ſir Guy Dawney, Maiſter Magnus, Maiſter Dalbies ſeruants, ſir John Normanuile, the Citizens of Yorke, ſir Ninian Markanuile, ſir John Willoughby, with other. Of the wing on the right hand was capitaine the Lorde Dacres with his power. Of the lefte hande wing was captayne ſir Edward Stanley Knyght with the reſidue of the power of the two countyes Palantine of Cheſter and Lancaſter.

Thus was the hoſte appointed and deuided into Wardes and wynges at the firſte, thoughe afterwarde vppon occaſion, this order was ſomewhat altered. And nowe that euery man knew what to do, the Erle of Surrey commyng wyth hys power towardes the place where hee thought to finde the Scottiſhe hoſte, hee was enformed howe King James being remoued a ſix miles from Norham, lay embattailed vppon a greate mountaine called Flodden, a place of ſuche ſtrengthe, as it was not poſſible for the Engliſhmen to come neare hym, but to their greate diſaduantage : for at the foote of the ſame hill on the lefte hand, there was a great mariſhe grounde full of reed and water. On the ryght hande it was defended with a riuer called Til, the courſe whereof being ſo ſwifte, and the chanell in ſome places ſo deepe, that it myght not conuenientlye bee paſſed.

The fir
of the p
vvhere
Iames la
camped o
Flodden.

On the backe halfe there were ſuch craggy rockes and thicke woods, that it was not poſſible to aſſayle hym to anye aduauntage that way forthe. And on the fore parte of the campe where Nature hadde lefte an eaſye entry for men to come to the ſame, all his ordinaunce was planted alofte vpon the ſides of ſuch trenches, as hee had cauſed to bee caſte for defence on that parte.

The Earle of Surrey hereuppon, conſydering with hymſelf that onleſſe he might deuiſe ſome policie to cauſe the Scottiſhe armye to diſcend the hil, it wer not poſſible for him to accompliſh his deſire, he calling about him his counſell, and with them taking aduice in this point, at length it was cõcluded & determined among other things, to ſend Rouge Croſſe, Purſeuaunt of armes, wyth a trumpet to the Kyng of Scottes, wyth a Meſſage and certain Inſtructions, whych in ſubſtance was to ſhewe and declare vnto the ſayde Kyng of Scottes, that where hee contrarye vnto hys othe and league, and vnnaturallye agaynſt all reaſon and conſcience, hadde entred, and

An Her
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to King Ia

inuaded this his brothers Realme of England, and done greate hurte to the ſame, in caſtyng downe Caſtels, Towers, and houſes, brenning, ſpoyling, and deſtroying the ſame, and cruelly murthering the Kyng of England his brothers ſubiectes, he the ſayde Earle woulde bee readie to trie the rightfulneſſe of the matter with the king in battayle, by Friday next comming at the fartheſt, if he of his noble courage would giue him tarying and abode. And the ſame, the ſaid Earle promiſed, as he was a true Knight to God, and the Kyng of Englande hys maiſter. And before Rouge Croſſe ſhould departe with the ſayde inſtructions, the Lorde Admirall gaue him in credence to ſhewe the ſayde Kyng of his comming, and parte of hys companye from the Sea with him, and that hee had ſoughte the Scottiſhe nauie then beeing on the Sea, but hee coulde not meete with them, bycauſe they were fledde into Fraunce by the coaſt of Ireland.

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age to the
e Scottes

And in as muche as the ſayde Kyng, hadde diuers and many times cauſed the ſayde Lorde, to bee called at dayes of truce, to make redreſſe for Andrewe Barton, a Pirate of the Sea, long before that, vanquiſhed by the ſame Lorde Admirall, hee was nowe come in hys owne proper perſon, to be in the vantgard of the field, to iuſtifie the death of the ſayde Andrew againſt hym, and all hys people, and woulde ſee what coulde be layde to hys charge the ſayde day, and that he nor none of his company ſhould take no Scottiſhe noble man priſoner, nor any other, but they ſhould dye if they came in his daunger, vnleſſe it were the Kings owne perſon, for hee ſayde, hee truſted to none other curteſie at the hands of the Scottes.

rewe
ro.

And in thys manner, hee ſhould finde hym in the vantgard of the fielde, by the grace of God, and Sainte George, as he was a true Knight.

Yet before the departing of Rouge Croſſe, with the ſayde inſtructions and credence it was thought by the Earle and his counſayle, that the ſayde King woulde fayne and imagine ſome other meſſage, to ſend an Herrault of his with the ſame, onely to view and ouerſee the manner and order of the Kyngs royall army, ordinance, and artillerie, then beeing with the Earle, whereby myghte haue enſued greate daunger to the ſame, and for the eſchuing thereof, hee hadde in commaundemente, that if anye ſuche meſſage were ſente, not to bryng any perſon commyng therewith within three or two mile of the fielde at the nigheſt, where the ſayde Earle woulde come, and heare what hee woulde ſaye. And thus departed Rouge Croſſe, with hys Trumpette, apparrelled in hys coate of armes.

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On Monday, the fifth daye of September, the Earle tooke hys fielde at Bolton in Glendale, as he hadde appoynted, where all the noble men and Gentlemen mette hym with their retinues, to the number of ſixe and twentie thouſande menne.

And about midnight nexte enſuing, came the Trumpette, whiche wente to Rouge Croſſe, and declared howe the Kyng of Scottes, after the meſſage done to hym by Rouge Croſſe, accordyng to hys inſtructions, the ſayde Kyng deteyned hym, and ſente one Ilay a Herrault of hys with hym vnto the Earle, to declare to hym the Kyngs pleaſure, to whome the Earle ſente Yorke Herraulte at armes, to accompanye the ſayde Ilay, at a Village called Milo, two myles from the fielde, vntyll the commyng thyther of the ſayde Earle the nexte morrow.

The ſixthe daye of September, earely in the morning, the Earle accompanied with the moſt parte of the Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of the fielde, euery man hauing with him but one ſeruaunte to holde hys Horſe, rode to the place, and ſo the ſayde Herrault mette with the Earle, and with blunte reuerence, declared to him, that hee was come from hys maiſter the Kyng of Scottes, whiche woulde knowe, whether the Earle ſente any ſuch meſſage by Rouge Croſſe, the Earle iuſtifyed the ſame, ſaying further, that Rouge Croſſe, hadde the ſame meſſage of hym in writing, ſigned with his owne hand, whereunto, the ſaide Ilay ſayde. As to the abydyng for battayle betweene that and Friday, then nexte following, the Kyng hys maiſter bade hym ſhewe to the Earle, that hee was as welcome, as anye noble man of Englande, vnto the ſayde Kyng, and that if hee hadde beene at home in hys Towne of Edenburgh, there receyuing ſuche a meſſage from the ſaide Earle, hee woulde gladly haue come, and fulfilled the ſayde Earles deſire.

And the Herrault aſſured the Earle, on the Kyng hys maiſters behalfe, that the ſame kyng would abyde hym battaile at the daye prefixed, whereof the ſayde Earle was right ioyous, and muche praiſed the honorable agreemente of the ſaid royall King, and eſteemed the ſame to proceede of an high and noble courage, promiſing the Herrault, that he and good ſuretie with hym ſhould be bounde in tenne thouſande pound ſterling, to keepe the ſayde day appoynted, ſo that the Kyng woulde fynde an Earle of hys, and thereto a good ſuretie wyth hym to bee bounde in lyke ſumme, for the performaunce of the ſame.

And furthermore, the Erle bade the Herrault to ſaye vnto hys maiſter, that if hee for hys

Baffulling what it is.

parte kepte not his appoyntmente, then he was contente that the Scottes ſhoulde Baffull him, whiche is a greate reproch among the Scottes, and is vſed, when a man is openly periured, and then they make of him an Image, painted, reuerſed, with hys heeles vpwarde, with hys name, wondering, crying, and blowing out on him with hornes, in the moſt deſpitefull maner they can, in token that hee is worthie to bee exiled the companye of all good creatures.

Thē Ilay deliuered to the Erle a little ſcedule, written with the Kings Secretaries hande vnſigned, the tenor whereof followeth.

AS to the cauſes alledged of oure commyng into Englande agayne our band and promiſe (as is alledged) thereto we aunſwere, oure brother was bounde als farre to vs, as wee to him. And when wee ſware laſt before his Ambaſſador, in preſence of our counſaile, we expreſſed ſpeciallie in an othe, that wee would keepe to oure brother, if oure brother kepte to vs, and not elſe: wee ſweare oure brother brake firſte to vs, and ſith his breake, wee haue required dyuers tymes hym to amende, and lately, we warned our brother as hee did not vs, or hee brake, and thys we take for oure quarrell, and with Gods grace, ſhall defende the ſame at youre affixed tyme, whyche with Goddes grace wee ſhall abyde.

And for aſmuche as the King kepte Rougecroſſe with hym, who was not yet returned, the ſame Earle cauſed the ſame Ilay to bee in the keeping of Sir Humfrey Liſle, and Yorke Herauld in the ſame village, vntill the time that a ſeruaunte of the ſame Ilay, myghte ryde in all haſt to the Kyng of Scottes, for the deliuering of the ſayde Rougecroſſe.

Then the Erle ioyous of the Kings anſwer, returned to hys campe, and ſette forwarde fyue mile, to a place called Woller Haugh, in ſuche order of battaile, as euen then hee ſhoulde haue foughte, and there lodged for that nighte, three little miles from the King of Scottes. And betweene the Kyng and hym, was a goodly and large corne fielde, called Milfield, whiche was a conueniente and faire grounde for two hoſtes to fighte on: there eyther hoſt myghte perceyue other.

The Erles deſire was, to procure the Scottes to diſcend the hill into ſome euen ground, where he mighte fighte with them, without diſaduauntage of place.

But the King, though he had a great deſire to fight, yet vppon diuers conſiderations, by aduice of his counſayle, hee ſtill kept his ground, & ment not to remoue at al out of his ſtrenght, wherevpon, the Earle of Surrey not able long to continue in ſuche groundes of diſaduantage, by reaſon of myres, and marriſhes, amongſt the which he was lodged with hys army, that was almoſt famiſhed for lacke of ſufficient victuals, whyche coulde not bee recouered in ſuch a barren Countrey, determined to ſeeke all wayes poſſible, if hee mighte conſtreyne the Scottiſhe King to come downe beſide the hill. Hee therefore reyſed hys camp, and leauing his enimies on the left hand, and paſſing ouer the water of Till, he drew into a more commodious ground, at the end of Barmore wood, to the end he mighte refreſh hys ſoldiers ſomewhat heereby, after they had bin toyled for the ſpace of three dayes togither, in claggie mires, and foule filthy wayes, to their greate diſeaſe and wearineſſe.

The Ear Surrey r ueth his ouer the ter of T

The Earle of Surrey beeing thus lodged, the water of Till ran betwixte the two campes of Scottes and Engliſhmenne, deuiding them in ſunder, and ſtill by reaſon the one was within the ſhotte of a culuering of the other, they ceaſſed not to beſtowe ſhotte and pouder, either at other, though without doyng anye greate hurt at all.

For the Engliſh camp on that parte, whyche lay towarde the Scottes, was couered with an hill, riſing from the hither banke of Til water, with an eaſie ſtepeneſſe, to the heigth of a miles, ſpace or thereaboutes.

Thomas Lord Howarde, ſonne and heire to the Earle of Surrey, from the toppe of thys hill beholding all the Countrey on euery ſide aboute him, declareth to his father, that if hee did eftſoones remoue his camp, and paſſe the water of Till agayne in ſome place alittle aboue, and by fetching a ſmall compaſſe come and ſhew himſelfe on the backe halfe of hys enimies, the Scottiſhe King ſhoulde eyther bee enforced to come downe forth of his ſtrength, and giue battaile, or elſe bee ſtopped from receiuing victuals, or anye other things out of Scotland.

The Lor ward ta view o Scottiſ

The Earle of Surrey deſirous of nothing ſo much as to ioyne with the Scottes in battayle, after hee vnderſtoode that hys ſonne had enformed him nothing but trueth, he reyſed hys field, and marching a three myles vpward, by the ryuer ſide, paſſed ouer his army in two partes at two ſeuerall bridges, all at one time.

The Ear Surrey r neth ag ouer the of Till.

King Iames when hee ſaw this manner of hys enimies, and perceiuing what theyr meaning was, by coniecture of theyr doyngs, thought it ſtoode not with his honor to ſitte ſtill, and ſuffer hymſelfe to bee foreſtalled forthe of hys owne Realme: and againe, that it might ſore deminiſhe the opinion of his princely power, if hee ſeemed to remaine, as it were, beſieged within a fortreſſe, hauing more confidence in ſtrength of the place, than in the manhood of his people: wherevpon immediately, he reyſed hys campe,

and

get an hill, which he doubted leaſt the enimie ſhould haue taken before him. But by ſuch diligence as he vſed, and by reaſon of the great ſmoake, whyche was reyſed and ſpreade ouer all the countrey by brennyng of the litter and cabanes wherin the Scottes hadde lodged, purpoſely ſette on fyre to the ſame intente, hee was gotte to the place whyther hee intended, before the Engliſhe menne knewe for anye certainetie that hee was diſlodged, though they were as then within a myle of hym.

Thus Kyng Iames keepyng the toppes of the hylles, the Earle of Surrey, with the Engliſhe Armye came to the foote of the ſame hylles, and ſtaying there a whyyle, for ſo much as he ſawe howe the hylle to the whyche the Scottes were gotten, was neyther ſtiepe nor harde to aſcende, hee determined to mount the ſame, and to fyght wyth the Scottiſhe hoſte ere they ſhoulde haue leyſure to fortifie theyr campe.

And heerewyth callyng his people togyther, hee made vnto them a briefe Oration, declaryng vnto them both what neceſſitie there was for them to ſhew their manhod, and what iuſt cauſes they had alſo to fyght agaynſt thoſe enemies, that againſt both the Lawes of God and man had moſt cruelly inuaded the realm of Englande, in the quarell of a Sciſmatik, and one that was accurſed and excommunicate by the cenſures of the Churche.

The Engliſhemen kyndeled wyth deſire to fighte, the more thorough thoſe wordes of the Earle, required incontinently to be led forthe againſt the Scottes, that they might ſhew what earneſt willes they had to bee reuenged, not onely of newe receyued wrongs, but alſo of auncient iniuries, for there ſhoulde neyther heyghte of hill, nor any other obſtacle, hinder them, but they woulde eyther returne with victory, or elſe loſe theyr liues in the payne.

ordering the engliſh ie.

The Earle of Surrey conceyued no ſmall hope of victorie in this chearefull readyneſſe of hys ſouldiours, and therevpon with all ſpeede (as the occaſyon then moued hym at that inſtant) deuided his army into three battailes, or rather foure, vnto the vauntgarde wherof, the Lorde Howarde was capitayne, his brother ſir Edmunde Howard was ioyned as a wing, the Earle hymſelfe ledde the middle warde, and the rerewarde was guyded by Sir Edwarde Stanleye, afterwardes created Lorde Mont egle.

The L. Dacres with a number of horſemen was ſette a parte by hymſelfe to ſuccor where neede ſhould ſeme to appeare. The ordinance was placed in the fronte of theſe battayles, and in places betweene, as was thought expedient.

In this order, forward they make with manly courages towardes the Scottes a good marching pace.

In the meane time, King Iames beholding all the demeanor of the Engliſhmen, from the height of the hill, thoughte with himſelfe, that there was offered him that daye a goodly occaſion of victory, if he might come to fight with the enimies at ſuche aduantage of place and number, and therefore, beyng haſtned forward thorough the ſtrenable force of deſtiny, or rather Gods ordinance, he commaunded his ſtanderds to bee reyſed and ſpred, and euery man to reſort to hys appoynted place, that they myghte forthwith encounter the enimies, that preſumed thus to ſeeke battaile, and herewith torning hym to the Lords and Captaines that ſtoode aboute him, hee ſpake vnto them manye comfortable wordes touchyng the occaſion offered them at that preſente to gayne bothe a famous victorye, and to reuenge ſo manyfolde iniuries and diſpleaſures as they hadde ſuſteyned dyuers ways forthe at the Engliſh mennes hands.

Hee had vnneth made an ende of his tale, but the ſoldiers with great noyſe and clamor cryed forward, vpon them, ſhaking their weapons, in ſigne of an earneſt deſire they had, as then they ſhewed, to buccle with the Engliſhmen. Wherevpon, without delay, King Iames putting hys horſe from him, al other as wel nobles as meane men, did the like, that the daunger beeing equall, as well to the greateſt as to the meaneſt, and all hope of ſuccour taken away, whiche was to bee looked for by flight, they might be the more willing to ſhew their manhoode, ſith their ſafegarde onely reſted in the edges and poyntes of theyr weapons.

King Iames and al the reſt alight from horſebacke.

Then was the whole army deuided into fiue wards or regiments, to this intent that the battaile wherein the King himſelfe ſtoode with hys ſtandert, might be encloſed as it were with two wings, on eyther ſide one.

The order of the Scottiſhe hoſte.

In the righte wing, the Earles of Huntley, Craforde, and Mont roſe, were placed as chiefe leaders thereof, and in the lefte were the Earles of Lenox, and Argile, with the Lorde Hume, Lord Chamberlaine of Scotland, being men of great ſkill in warlike affaires as was reported.

Moreouer, in euery bande (almoſte generally thoroughout) there was a knyght appointed for Captayne and guyder, and amongeſt them certain French capitayns, the whiche king

Frenche capitaynes in the Scottiſh hoſt.

Lewes hadde ſent ouer into Scotland lately before, to trayne the Scottes in the practiſe of warres.

The ordinance was lodged in places moſt conueniente, though by reaſon they marched downe the hill, theyr ſhotte dyd ſmall domage to the Engliſhmen comming vpwardes towardes them, and yet they beſtowed it freſhly on eyther ſide one at another.

The battaile is begun.

And herewith, ſir Edmond Howard with his wing, was got vp on the hill ſide, with whome the Lorde Hume, and the two foreſayde Earles of Lenox and Argile encountred with ſuche violence, that this battaile of Scottes with ſpeares on foote on that parte, beate downe and broke that wing of the Engliſhmen, in ſuch wiſe, that Sir Edmond Howard was in manner lefte alone, and felled to the earth, that had not baſterd Heron come to his ſuccours at that inſtant, hee hadde bin ſlayne there without all remedy.

And on the other part, the Lord Dacres, watching to ayde where neede appeared, came in on the ſydes of the Scottes, and gaue a charge on them with his Horſemen, whereby Sir Edmond Howarde being ſomewhat relieued, eſcaped to the Engliſh vauntgard, which was ledde as before is mentioned by his brother the Lorde Howard, who beyng nowe alſo got aloft on the hill, preſſed ſtill forwarde to renue the battayle, and to ſuccoure thoſe whome he ſawe put to the worſe, ſo that thereby they tooke new courages, and layd about them agayne.

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Lord Dac
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Herewith the Erles of Crawfort and Montros came with their battaile of Speares alſo on foot, and encountring with the ſayde Lorde Howarde after ſore fighte on both ſides continued with more malicious hatred than force of the parties, both the ſayde Earles were ſlayne, beſydes a greate number of other, the whole battayle whyche they ledde, beyng put to flyghte, and chaſed out of the field.

The Scot
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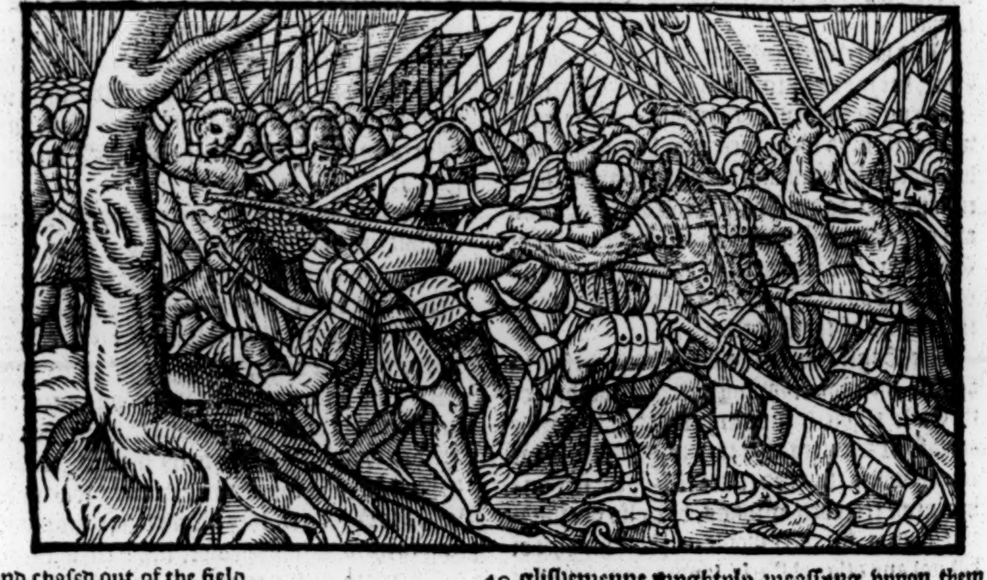

On the left hande at the ſame inſtant, ſir Edward Stanley hauing begon to encounter with the Scottes on that ſyde, forced them to come downe into a more euen grounde, and broughte to that pointe with ſuche inceſſaunt ſhot of arrowes, as his archers beſtowed amongeſt them, that to auoyde the daunger of that ſore & ſharpe ſtorme, the Scottes were conſtrained to breake their arraye, and to fyghte not cloſed together in order of battayle, but in ſunder, one ſeparated from an other, ſo that their ſtanderdes beganne to ſhrynke here and there: Whiche thing when ſir Edward Stanley perceyued, forthwith bringing about three bandes, which he had kepte in ſtore for ſuche lyke purpoſe, he inuaded the open ſydes of his enimies by a freſhe onſette, and put them in ſuche diſorder, that they were not able anye longer to abyde the violence of the Engliſhemenne myghtyly preaſſyng vppon them, ſo that taking themſelues to flighte, and renning headlong downe the ſtiepe diſſente of the mountayne, they eſcaped to the woddes, and there ſaued them ſelues, but the Earles of Argyle and Lenox, doing what they coulde to ſtay their people from renning away, were ſlayne in the ſame place.

The left
of the Scot
is diſcom

In the meane tyme, the Kyng who a little before hadde ioyned wyth the Earle of Surrey, perceyuing that the wings of his battaile were diſtreſſed, and that his enimyes began to encloſe him on eche ſyde, he baſhed nothing at the matter, but wyth aſſured countenaunce, exhorted thoſe that were aboute him to ſticke to him, and to remember their worthy aunceſtours, in committing nothing that mighte any wayes forth ſound to their reproche.

And herewith, ruſhing forthe vppon his enimies, ſight.

mies, a newe battaile more egre than the fyrſte began to ariſe, for that battaile beeing well appoynted and armed, paſſed little for the Engliſh mens arrowes, in ſo muche, that perſing the Earles battayle, they entred well neere ſo farre within the ſame, that they were at poynte to haue ouerthrowen his ſtandertes.

There were on eyther parte a number of tall mens bodies, choſen forth of purpoſe by the captaynes, for the good opinion conceyued of theyr hardy valiancie, and the battaile betwixte them ſeemed long time doubtfull and variable, nowe one while fauourable to the one parte, and an other while to the other.

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y.

The King himſelfe on foote euen in the foremoſt ranke, fought right valiantly, encouraging hys people, as well by example as exhortation, to do their deuoires.

Neyther did the Earle of Surrey for hys part fayle in the duetie of a righte worthy generall, but whileſt the battaile was thus foughten in moſt earneſt maner about the ſtanderts with doubtfull chance of victory, the Lorde Howarde and ſir Edward Stanley hauing vanquiſhed the enimies in eyther wing, returned to the middlewarde, and finding them there thus occupyed, they ſet on, in two partes ſeuerally, with greate violence, and at the ſame time, the Lord Dacres came with his horſemen vpon the backes of the Scottes, ſo that they beeyng thus aſſayled behinde and before, and on eyther ſyde, were conſtreyned (as enuironed about) to fight in a round compaſſe.

ſout ſto-
ke of king

King James as hee behelde Sir Adam Forman hys ſtandert bearer beaten downe, thought ſurely then, ther was no way for him but death, and that euen out of hand, wherefore to deliuer hymſelfe from ſuche deſpitefull reproche, as was like to followe, hee ruſhed forthe into the thickeſt preaſe of his enimies, and there fighting in moſt deſperate wiſe, was beaten downe and ſlayne.

ſlayne.

And a little beſide hym, there dyed with lyke obſtinate wilfulneſſe, or if yee liſt ſo to tearme it manhoode, diuers honorable Prelates, as the Archebyſhop of Sainte Andrewes, and two other Byſhops, beſydes foure Abbots. Alſo, of Lords and Knightes of honor a ſixe and thirtie.

battailes
cottes
ht not,
gaue the
ing on.

The Lorde Hume and the Earle of Huntley got Horſes, and eſcaped away togither with certayne bandes, placed in two the hindermoſt wardes, whiche of all that daye, neuer came to handſtrokes, but ſtoode ſtill, and gaue the looking on.

Thus through the power of God, on Friday being the ninth of September, in the yeare.1513. was James, the fourth of that name, King of Scottes ſlayne at Bramxſton, and his armye diſcomfited by the Earle of Surrey, Lieutenant to Henry the eyght Kyng of Englande, whyche alittle before hadde wonne the Towne of Turwan, and was then preparing to goe to beſiege Tourney.

Ionius.
Hall.

There were ſlayne in thys battaile on the Scottiſh part, of all ſortes, the number of eyght thouſande perſons at the leaſt, ſome ſaye twelue thouſand, beſide priſoners that were taken, as Sir William Scotte, Chancellor to the ſayde Kyng, and Sir John Forman his ſergeaunte porter, with diuers other.

Alſo in manner, all the Scottiſhe enſignes were taken, and a two and twentie peeces of greate ordinance, amongſt the whiche were ſeauen culuerings of a large aſſiſe, and verye fayre peeces.

The ſeauen ſiſters.

King James named them (for that they were in making one very lyke to an other) the ſeauen ſiſters.

Though the victory thus remayned with the Engliſhmen, yet they bought it deere, loſing no ſmall number of their people, as well of thoſe that were ſlayne in the fielde, as of other that were taken priſoners, for the Scottes foughte very ſtoutely, and gaue it not ouer for a little, in ſo muche, that there were ſlayne and taken about a fifteene hundred men, as appeared by the booke of wages, when the ſoldyers were payde.

Hall.

Many Engliſhmen that followed ouer raſhly in chaſe of the Scottes, went ſo far, that they wiſt not whiche way to returne, and ſo were taken of the Scottes that were in the two battailes that wente away with cleere handes, and neuer fought.

Alſo, diuers were taken by the Lord Chamberlaine, whiche foughte with the wing of Sir Edmonde Howarde, and were caried away by hym and his company into Scotland, as John Fitton Eſquier, and others. During the tyme of the fight, and the night after, manye Engliſhmen loſt their horſes, & ſuch ſtuffe as they left in their tents and pauilions, by the robbers of Tindale and Tiuidale.

When yͤ field was done, and that the ſkoutes brought word yͭ there was no more appearance of yͤ Scots, but that they were all auoided and gone, the Erle gaue thankes to God, & called to him certaine Lordes and Gentlemen, and them made knights, as ſir Edmond Howard his ſon, the L. Scrope, ſir Wil. Percy, ſir Edw. Gorge, and diuers other. The Erle and the Lord Admiral, departed to Bermar wood, & there lodged that night, leauing ſir Philip Tilney knight & diuers other worthy captaines, with a conueniente power of men to keepe the place where the field had bin fought, for ſafegard of the ordinance.

The body of King Iames found.

The body of the King of Scottes was not foūd til the next day, and then being founde and knowen by the Lord Dacres, there appeared in the ſame diuers deadly woundes, and eſpecially, one with an arrow, and an other with a bill.

The ſame day, there appeared ſome Scottes on an hill, but one William Blacknall that had the chiefe rule of the ordinaunce, cauſed ſuche a peale to be ſhot off at them, that the Scots fled, or elſe the L. Admiral, which was come to view the fielde, had bin in great daunger as was ſuppoſed: but now that the Scottes were fled, and withdrawen, all the ordinance was broughte in ſafetie to Eytil, and there remayned for a tyme. After that the Earle of Surrey had taken order in al things, and ſet the North parts in good quiet, he returned to the Queene with the dead body of the Scottiſh King cired.

When the King was returned into Englãd from his conqueſt made in Fraunce of the Cities of Tirwine and Tourney, hee forgate not the good ſeruice of thoſe that hadde bin with the Erle of Surrey at the battaile of Bramxton, wherefore hee wrote to them hys louing letters with ſuch thankes and fauourable wordes, that euery man thought himſelfe well rewarded.

1514

And on the day of the purification of our Lady, at Lambeth, the K. created the Erle of Surrey Duke of Norffolke, with an augmentation of the armes of Scotlande, & ſir Charles Brandon vicount Liſle, he created Duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Howard high Admirall, he created Earle of Surrey, and ſir Charles Sommerſet Lord Herbert his chief Chamberlaine, he created Erle of Worceſter: and after this, hee alſo made ſir Edward Stanley for his good ſeruice ſhewed at Bramxſton field, Lorde Mountaigle, and in Marche following, was maiſter Tho. Wolſey the Kings Almoner, conſecrate Byſhop of Lincolne. This man was borne at Ypſwich, & was a good Philoſopher, very eloquent & ful of witte, but paſſingly ambitious, as by his doings it wel appeared. In yͤ time of K. Henry the ſeauenth it was agreed betwixt the ſaid K. and Philip K. of Caſtile, that Charles, King Philips eldeſt ſon ſhoulde marrie the Lady Mary, daughter to the ſaid K. Henrye, with a dower to hir appoynted: but for want of ſufficiẽt aſſurance of the dower, the reſt of the couenaunts were made voyd, and yet had the K. highly prouided for the ſending of hir ouer, now after his cõming from Tourney.

Wolſey deſcribed.

This yeare, the Citizens of London, finding themſelues greeued with the incloſures of yͤ cõmon fields about Iſlington, Horſton, Shordich & other places neere to the Cities, whereby they could not be ſuffered to exerciſe their bowes, nor other paſtimes in thoſe fields, as before time they had bin accuſtomed, aſſembled themſelues one morning, and wente with ſpades and ſhouels vnto the ſame fields, and there like diligẽt workmen, ſo beſtirred themſelues, that within a ſhort ſpace, al the hedges about thoſe townes wer caſt downe, and the ditches filled. The kings counſaile comming to the grey Friers, to vnderſtand what was meant by this doing, were ſo anſwered by the Maior & counſaile of the citie, that the matter was diſſimuled, and ſo when the workemen hadde done their worke, they came home in quiet maner, & the fields were neuer after hedged.

Encloſures of the fields about London, caſt downe & ouerthrowẽ

In the moneth of May, the K. and the newe D. of Suffolke, were defenders at the tilte againſt al commers. At thoſe iuſtes were broken a C. and. 14. ſpeares in a ſhort ſeaſon. The nineteenth day of May, was receiued into London, a cap of maintenance, ſent from Pope Iuly, with a great company of nobles & Gentlemen, whych was preſented to the K. on the ſonday thẽ nexte enſuing, with great ſolemnitie in the Cathedrall Churche of S. Paule. About the ſame time, the warres yet continuing betwene Englande and France, Prior Iehan (of whome ye haue hearde before in the fourth yeare of this Kings raigne) greate Captaine of the Frenche nauie, with hys galeis & foiſtes, charged with great baſiliſks and other artillerie, came on the bordure of Suſſex in the nighte ſeaſon, at a poore village there called Brighthelmſton, & brente it, taking ſuche goodes as he found. But when people began to gather, by firing the beacons, Prior Iehan ſounded hys trumpet, to call his menne aboorde, and by that time it was day. Then certain archers that kept the watch, followed Prior Iehan to yͤ ſea, & ſhot ſo faſt, yͭ they bet the galey men from the ſhore, & wounded many in the foiſt, to the whiche Prior Iehan was cõſtreined to wade, and was ſhot in the fece with an arrow, ſo that he loſt one of hys eyes, & was like to haue died of the hurt, & therefore he offered his image of waxe before our Lady at Bulleine, with the Engliſhe arrow in the face, for a miracle. The L. Admiral offended wͭ this proude parte of the french men, in makyng ſuch attempt on yͤ Engliſh coaſtes, ſent ſir Iohn Wallop to the ſea with diuers ſhippes, whyche ſayling to the coaſts of Normandie, lãded there, & brente. 21. villages & townes, with diuers ſhips in yͤ hauẽs of Treaport, Staples, & other where. Men maruelled greatly at the manfull doyngs of ſir Iohn Wallop, conſidering he had not paſt an eight C. men, and tooke land there ſo often.

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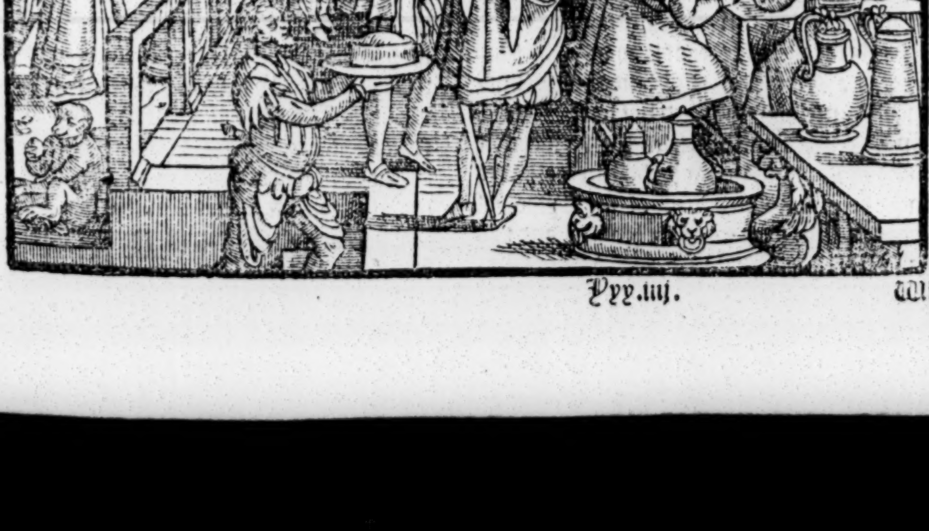
In June, Sir Tho. Louel was ſent ouer to Calais with ſixe hundred mẽ, to ſtrengthen that towne, & other the fortreſſes within the Engliſh pale, for doubt of any ſuddaine attempte to bee made by the Frenchmen, bycauſe Monſ. de Põtremie, with a mighty army & great ordinance, was come downe neere to Arde, howbeit, he taried not long, but reiſed his camp within a while after his cõming thither, and returned without any more doing. The frēch K. perceiuing what loſſes he had ſuſteined by ȳ warres againſt Englād, and doubting leaſt one euil luck ſhould ſtill followe in the necke of an other, determined to make ſute for peace, and firſt agreing with Pope Leo, deſired him to beé a meane alſo for ȳ procuring of ſome agreement betwixte him and the K. of England. Herevpō, the veſſell of amitie being firſt broched by the Popes letters, the french K. by an Herrault at armes ſent to the King of England, required of him a ſafeconduit for his Imbaſſadors, which ſhould come to entreate for a peace & atonement to be concluded betwixt thē and their realmes. Upon grant obteined thereof, the french K. ſent a commiſſion with the preſidēt of Roan and others, to intreate of peace and aliance betwixte both the Princes. And moreouer, bycauſe they vnderſtood that the marriage was broken betweene the Prince of Caſtile and the Lady Mary, they deſired ȳ the ſaid Lady might be ioyned in mariage with ȳ french K. offering a great dower and ſureties for ȳ ſame. So muche was offered, that the K. moued by his counſayle, & namely by the Biſhop of Lincolne Wolſey, conſented vpon condition, that if the French K. dyed, then ſhe ſhould if it ſtood with hir pleaſure, returne into England againe with al hir dower & riches. After that they were accorded vppon a ful peace, & that the french K. ſhould marrie thys yong Lady, the indentures were drawen, engroſſed, and ſealed, & peace therevpon proclaimed the ſeuenth day of Auguſt, & the K. in preſence of the french Imbaſſadors, was ſworne to keepe ȳ ſame, & likewiſe there was an Imbaſſade ſente out of England to ſee the french King ſweare ȳ ſame. The dower that was aſſigned vnto the bride to be receiued after hir huſbands deceaſſe if ſhe ſuruiued him, was named to be.12.crownes of yeerely reuenues & to be receiued out of certain lands aſſigned forth therefore during all hir naturall life. And moreouer, it was further agreed and couenanted, that the frenche K. ſhould content & pay yerely vnto K. Henry, during ȳ ſpace of fiue yeres, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand crownes. By concluſion of this peace, was the D. of Longuile with the other priſoners delyuered, paying their raunſoms, and the ſaid D. affyed the Lady Mary, in the name of his maiſter K. Lewes. In September following, the ſayde Lady was conueyd to Douer by the K. hir brother, and the Queene, and on the ſeconde day of October, ſhe was ſhipped, and ſuche as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, as the Duke of Norffolke, the Marques Dorſet, the Biſhop of Durham, the Earle of Surrey, the L. de la Ware, the L. Berners, the Lord Montaigle, the four breethren of the ſaid Marques, ſir Maurice Barkeley, ſir Iohn Peche, ſir William Sandes, ſir Tho. Bulleyne, ſir Iohn Car, and many other knightes, Eſquiers, Gentlemen and Ladyes. They had not ſailed paſt a quarter of the Sea, but that the wind aroſe, and ſeuered the ſhippes, driuing ſome of them to Calais, ſome into Flanders, and hir ſhippe with great difficultie was brought to Bulleyne, not without great ieoperdie at the entring of the hauen, for the maſter ranne the ſhip hard on ſhore, but the boates wer ready, & receiued ȳ Lady out of the ſhip, & ſir Chriſtopher Garniſh ſtood in the water and toke hir in his armes, & ſo caried hir to land, wher the D. of Vandoſme, & a Cardinall, with many other great eſtates, receiued hir with great honor. From Bullein with eaſie iourneys ſhe was cōueid vnto Abuile, and there entred the eyghth of October, and the morrow following being Mōday, and S. Deniſe daye, the mariage was ſolemniſed betwixte the French King, & the ſayde Lady, with all honour, ioy, and royaltie.

The Ladie Mary affyed to K. Lewes of Fraunce.

The mariage ſolemnized betwene the French king, and the Lady Mary, ſiſter to King Henrye.



When the feaſt was ended, the Engliſh lords returned with great rewardes back into Englād.

Solemne iuſtes proclaymed at Paris.

Before their departure from Abuile, the Dolphin of France, Francis Duke of Valoys, cauſed a ſolemne Iuſtes to be proclaymed, whyche ſhould be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouember next enſuing, the ſaid Dolphin with his nine aydes to aunſwere all commers, being Gentlemen of name and armes.

When this Proclamation was reported in England, by the noble men that returned from the marriage, the D. of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, and his four brethren, the Lord Clintō, Sir Edwarde Neuill, Sir Giles Capell, Tho. Cheinie, and other, got licence of the K. to goe ouer to this chalenge, and therevpon, preparyng themſelues for the purpoſe, departed towarde Fraunce, and did ſo much by iourney, that they came to Paris about the later ende of October, and were hartily welcome to the King ⁊ Dolphin, but moſt of al to the french Queene, which then lay at S. Deniſe, and was not yet crowned, nor entred into Paris.

The Dolphin deſired the Duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Marques Dorſet, to be two of his immediate aydes, which thereto gladly aſſented.

The Coronation of the french Quene.

In the meane time, whileſt all thyngs were a preparing for the Iuſtes, the fifth of Nouember, being Sonday, the Queene was Crowned with greate ſolemnitie in the Monaſterie of S. Deniſe.

And on the morrow following, the ſayde Q. was receyued into the Citie of Paris, with all honour that might be deuiſed.

On yͤ ſeuenth day of October, being Tewſday, began the Iuſtes, which cōtinued the ſpace of three dayes, in the whiche were aunſwered three hundred and fiue men of armes, and euery man ranne fyue courſes with ſharp ſpeares.

The Engliſhe Lordes and Knightes did as well as the beſt, not only in the iuſtes, but alſo at the tourney and barriers, namely, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, and his brother, that worthy yong Gentleman the Lorde Edward Gray.

When all the greate triumph was done, the Lordes of England toke theyr leaue, and were highly thanked of the king, the Queene, yͤ Dolphin, and all the Lordes, and ſo departed, and came into England before Chriſtmas.

In this meane time, that is to ſaye, in Nouember, the Queene of Englande was deliuered of a Prince, whych lyued not long after.

Richard Hun hanged in Lollards tower

In December, one Rychard Hun a merchāt Taylor of London, that was layd in Lollardes Tower by commaundemente of the Byſhop of London, called Richarde Fitz Iames, and hys Chancellor, Doctor Horſey, was founde dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of ſilke within the ſaid Tower. That ye may vnderſtande the cauſe of his empriſonmente, the beginning was this. The ſame Hun had a child that dyed in his houſe, being an infant, the curate claymed yͤ bearing ſheete for a mortuarie, Hun aunſwered, yͭ the infant had no propertie in the ſheete. Wherevpon, the prieſt aſcited him in the ſpiritual court. He taking to him counſaile, ſued the Curate in a premunire, and when this was knowen, meanes was found, that Hun beeing accuſed of Hereſie, was attached, ⁊ laid in Lollards tower, wher he was founde dead, as ye haue heard. Muche adoe was made about his death, for the Byſhop ⁊ the Chancellor ſaid, that he hanged himſelf, but many of the temporalty affirmed, that he was murthered, greatly lamenting yͤ caſe, for he was wel beloued, ⁊ namely of yͤ pore, whiche cryed out againſt thē that were ſuſpected to haue made him away. He was a good almes man, and greately relieued the needy. The queſtiō of his death was ſo farre put forth, that vpō the ſuſpitiō he ſhould be murthered, twelue men were charged before yͤ coroner. After they had taken view of the body, yͤ ſame was brēned in Smithfield by the byſhops apointment, notwithſtādyng the coroners queſt indited doctor Horſey, with one Io. Spalding, otherwiſe called belringer, ⁊ Charles Ioſeph the ſomner of the murthered, howbeit, vpon his arreignement, through great ſuite, and corruption of money, as many iudged, the Kings attorney declared Doctor Horſey not to be giltie.

151
Iuſts at
minſter

The thyrd day of February, the King made a ſolemne iuſtes at Weſtminſter, where hee and the Lord Marques Dorſet toke vpon them to anſwer all commers, and ſo did, acquiting themſelues right worthily.

This yeare alſo, was a Parliamente called, whiche began the fifth of October, and helde tyll Eaſter, in the which, diuers actes were made, as yͤ acte of apparell, and that of labourers, with other. Alſo in this Parliament, were diuers ſubſedyes graunted to the King, toward his greate coſtes and charges that hee hadde ſuſteyned by his voyage into Fraunce. and his other warres.

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This yeare dyed at Roane by poiſon as was reported, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Cardinall called Doctor Benbricke, whiche was the Kings Ambaſſador there. This was a wyſe man, and of a iolly courage. Then was the Biſhop of Lincolne preferred to the Archbyſhopricke of Yorke, who in that ſeaſon bare al yͤ rule about the King, ſo that what he ſayd, was obeyed in all places.

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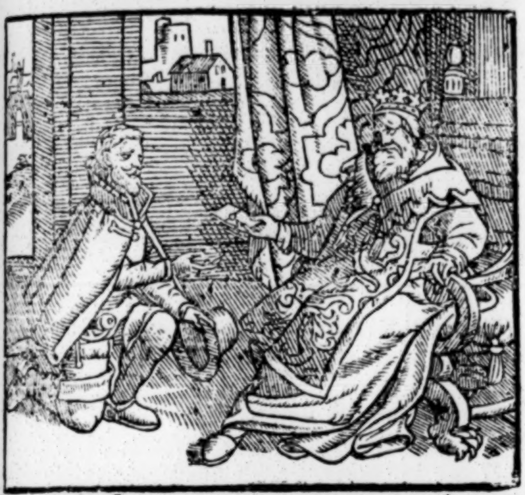
The firſt day of Ianuary, the Frenche Kyng departed this life, after he had bin married to the Lady Mary of Englande, the tearme onely of fourescore and two dayes.

The king of England being therof aduertiſed, cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to bee kept for him in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, wyth a coſtly hearſe. At the whiche many nobles were preſent.



After this hee ſent a letter to comfort the Q. his Syſter, requyring to knowe hir pleaſure, whether ſhee woulde continue ſtill in Fraunce, or returne into England. And when he was aduertiſed of hir minde, which was to returne into Englãd, the duke of Suffolk, ſir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calais, and Doctor Weſt, with a goodly bande of Gentlemen, and yeomen all in blacke, were ſent into Fraunce, and comming to Paris, were well receyued of the newe Frenche king Fraunces the firſt of that name, to whome they declared the effect of their commiſſion, which was to receyue the Queene Dowager, according to the couenants of the mariage.

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England.

The counſaile of Fraunce by the kings appoyntment, aſſigned fourth hir dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the Queene deliuered to the duke by Indenture, who behaued himſelfe ſo towards hir, that he obteyned hir good will, to be hir huſband.

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It was thought, that when the king created him Duke of Suffolke, he perceyued hys ſyſters good will towarde the ſayde duke, and that he ment then to haue beſtowed hir on him, but that a better offer came in the way. But howſoeuer it was now, he wanne hir loue, ſo as by hir conſent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meeklye beſeeching him of pardon in his requeſt, whiche was humbly to deſire him of his good will and contentation.

The king at the firſt ſtayed, but after long ſuyte, and ſpeciallye by meane of the Frenche Queene hirſelfe, and other the Dukes friendes, it was agreed that the Duke ſhoulde bring hir into England vnmaried, and at his returne to marie hir in Englande: but for doubt of change he maried hir ſecretly in Paris at the houſe of Clugny, as was ſayde.

An. reg. 7.

The French Queene maried to the Duke of Suffolke.

After he had receyued hir with hir dower appoynted, and all hir apparell, iewels, and houſeholde ſtuffe delyuered, they tooke leaue of the new Frenche king, and ſo paſſing through Fraunce, came to Calais, where ſhe was honorably enterteyned, and after openly maryed with great honor vnto the ſayde Duke of Suffolke. Doctor Weſt as then nominated Biſhop of Elie, remained behinde at Paris, to go through with the full concluſion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke elected Cardinall.

This yere in September, the king being at his manour of Oking, after his returne from his progreſſe which he made that yeare into the weſt partes, the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke came thither to him: whileſt hee ſoiourned there, a letter was brought to the ſayde Archbiſhop from Rome, aduertiſing him that hee was elected Cardinall, which letter incontinently he ſhewed to the king, diſabling himſelfe in wordes, though his intent was otherwiſe, and ſo the king did encourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie vppon him, and called him from thenceforth my Lorde Cardinal. But his Hat, Bul, nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

A Parliament at Weſtminſter.

In Nouember, the king aſſembled his highe Conrt of Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherein diuerſe actes made in the ſixth yeare were reformed and altered, and eſpicially the act of apparel, and the act of laborers, as by the booke of ſtatutes more plainly appeareth.

Cardinall Wolſey made L. Chancellor.

At the ende of this Parliamēt, Doctor Warham Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and as then lord Chauncellour, perceyuing nowe the new Lorde Cardinall medled further in his office of Chauncellourſhip than he could well ſuffer, except hee ſhould aduenture the kings diſpleaſure, for thys and for other conſiderations gaue vp his office of Chauncellor into the kings handes, and deliuered to him the great ſeale, which incontinently was deliuered by the king vnto the Lorde Cardinall, and ſo was he made Lorde Chauncellor. He was no ſooner in that office, but hee directed forth Commiſſions into euerie ſhire, for the execution of the ſtatutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings ſhewed himſelfe more loftie and preſumptuous than became him, which cauſed him to be greatly miſlyked of many, and the more, for that his baſe byrth was knowne of all men, ſo that the nobilitie (as reaſon was) diſdeyned to be at his correction.

The Cardinals hatte receyued by the Kentiſhe Gentlemen with great ſolemnitie.

In the end of Nouember, the Cardinals hat was ſent into Englande, which the Gentlemen of Kent receyued, and brought to London, wyth ſuch tryumph as though the greateſt Prince in Europe had bene come to viſit the king. And on a Sunday in Saint Peters Church at Weſt-

When the feaſt was ended, the Engliſh lordes returned with great rewardes back into Englãd.

Solemne iustes proclaymed at Paris.

Before their departure from Abuile, the Dolphin of Fraunce, Francis Duke of Valoys, cauſed a ſolemne Juſtes to be proclaymed, whyche ſhould be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouember next enſuing, the ſaid Dolphin with his nine aydes to aunſwere all commers, being Gentlemen of name and armes.

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Richard Hun hanged in Lollards tower

In December, one Rychard Hun a merchãt Taylor of London, that was layd in Lollardes Tower by commaundemente of the Byſhop of London, called Richarde Fitz James, and hys Chancellor, Doctor Horſey, was founde dead, hanging by the necke in a girdle of ſilke within the ſaid Tower. That ye may vnderſtande the cauſe of his empriſonmente, the beginning was this. The ſame Hun had a child that dyed in his houſe, being an infant, the curate claymed ye bearing ſheete for a mortuarie, Hun aunſwered, yt the infant had no propertie in the ſheete. Wherevpon, the prieſt aſcited him in the ſpiritual court. He taking to him counſaile, ſued the Curate in a premunire, and when this was knowen, meanes was found, that Hun beeing accuſed of Hereſie, was attached, & laid in Lollards tower, wher he was founde dead, as ye haue heard. Muche adoe was made about his death, for the Byſhop & the Chancellor ſaid, that he hanged himſelf, but many of the temporalty affirmed, that he was murthered, greatly lamenting ye caſe, for he was wel beloued, & namely of ye pore, whiche cryed out againſt thẽ that were ſuſpected to haue made him away. He was a good almes man, and greately relieued the needy. The queſtiõ of his death was ſo farre put forth, that vpõ the ſuſpitiõ he ſhould be murthered, twelue men were charged before ye coroner. After they had taken view of the body, ye ſame was brẽned in Smithfield by the byſhops apointment, notwithſtãding the coroners queſt indited doctor Horſey, with one Jo. Spalding, otherwiſe called belringer, & Charles Joſeph the ſomner of the murthered, howbeit, vpon his arreignement, through great ſuite, and corruption of money, as many iudged, the Kings attorney declared Doctor Horſey not to be giltie.

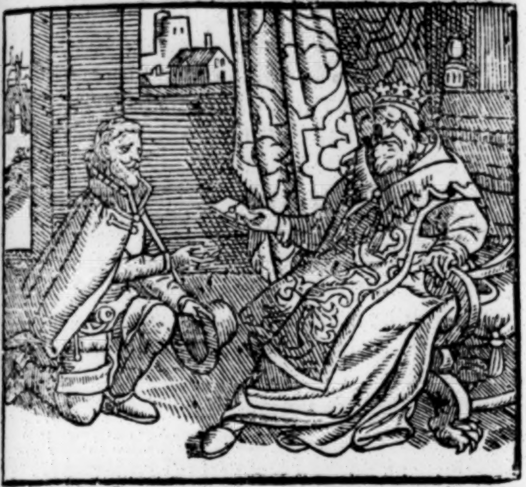
The thyrd day of February, the King made a ſolemne iuſtes at Weſtminſter, where hee and the Lord Marques Dorſet toke vpon them to anſwer all commers, and ſo did, acquiting themſelues right worthily.

This yeare alſo, was a Parliamente called, whiche began the fifth of October, and helde tyll Eaſter, in the which, diuers actes were made, as ye acte of apparell, and that of labourers, with other. Alſo in this Parliament, were diuers ſubſedyes graunted to the King, toward his greate coſtes and charges that hee hadde ſuſteyned by his voyage into Fraunce, and his other warres.

This yeare dyed at Roane by poiſon as was reported, the Archbyſhop of Yorke, and Cardinall called Doctor Benbricke, whiche was the Kings Ambaſſador there. This was a wyſe man, and of a iolly courage. Then was the Biſhop of Lincolne preferred to the Archebyſhopricke of Yorke, who in that ſeaſon bare al ye rule about the King, ſo that what he ſayd, was obeyed in all places.

The firſt day of January, the Frenche Kyng departed this life, after he had bin married to the Lady Mary of Englande, the tearme onely of fourescore and two dayes.

The king of England being therof aduertiſed, cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to bee kept for him in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, wyth a coſtly hearſe. At the whiche many nobles were preſent.



After this hee ſent a letter to comfort the Q. his Syſter, requyring to knowe hir pleaſure, whether ſhee woulde continue ſtill in Fraunce, or returne into England. And when he was aduertiſed of hir minde, which was to returne into Englãd, the duke of Suffolk, ſir Richard Wingfield deputie of Calais, and Doctor Weſt, with a goodly bande of Gentlemen, and yeomen all in blacke, were ſent into Fraunce, and comming to Paris, were well receyued of the newe Frenche king Fraunces the firſt of that name, to whome they declared the effect of their commiſſion, which was to receyue the Queene Dowager, according to the couenants of the mariage.

Duke of
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England.

The counſaile of Fraunce by the kings appoyntment, aſſigned fourth hir dower, and the Duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then was the Queene deliuered to the duke by Indenture, who behaued himſelfe ſo towardes hir, that he obteyned hir good will, to be hir huſband.

Duke of
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It was thought, that when the king created him Duke of Suffolke, he perceyued hys ſyſters good will towarde the ſayde duke, and that he ment then to haue beſtowed hir on him, but that a better offer came in the way. But howſoeuer it was now, he wanne hir loue, ſo as by hir conſent, he wrote to the king hir brother, meeklye beſeeching him of pardon in his requeſt, whiche was humbly to deſire him of his good will and contentation.

The king at the firſt ſtayed, but after long ſuyte, and ſpeciallye by meane of the Frenche Queene hirſelfe, and other the Dukes friendes, it was agreed that the Duke ſhoulde bring hir into England vnmaried, and at his returne to marie hir in Englande: but for doubt of change he maried hir ſecretly in Paris at the houſe of Clugny, as was ſayde.

An. reg. 7.

The French Queene maried to the Duke of Suffolke.

After he had receyued hir with hir dower appoynted, and all hir apparell, iewels, and houſeholde ſtuffe delyuered, they toke leaue of the new Frenche king, and ſo paſſing through Fraunce, came to Calais, where ſhe was honorably enterteyned, and after openly maryed with great honor vnto the ſayde Duke of Suffolke. Doctor Weſt as then nominated Biſhop of Elie, remained behinde at Paris, to go through with the full concluſion of a new league betwixt the king of England, and the new French king.

The Archbiſhop of Yorke elected Cardinall.

This yere in September, the king being at his manour of Oking, after his returne from his progreſſe which he made that yeare into the weſt partes, the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke came thither to him: whileſt hee ſoiourned there, a letter was brought to the ſayde Archbiſhop from Rome, aduertiſing him that hee was elected Cardinall, which letter incontinently he ſhewed to the king, diſabling himſelfe in wordes, though his intent was otherwiſe, and ſo the king did encourage him, and willed him to take that dignitie vppon him, and called him from thenceforth my Lorde Cardinal. But his Hat, Bul, nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

A Parliament at Weſtminſter.

In Nouember, the king aſſembled his highe Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, wherein diuerſe actes made in the ſixth yeare were reformed and altered, and eſpicially the act of apparel, and the act of laborers, as by the booke of ſtatutes more plainly appeareth.

Cardinall Wolſey made L. Chancellor.

At the ende of this Parliamēt, Doctor Warham Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and as then lord Chauncellour, perceyuing howe the new Lorde Cardinall medled further in his office of Chauncellourſhip than he could well ſuffer, except hee ſhould aduenture the kings diſpleaſure, for thys and for other conſiderations gaue vp his office of Chauncellor into the kings handes, and deliuered to him the great ſeale, which incontinently was deliuered by the king vnto the Lorde Cardinall, and ſo was he made Lorde Chauncellor. He was no ſooner in that office, but hee directed forth Commiſſions into euerie ſhire, for the execution of the ſtatutes of apparell and labourers, and in all his doings ſhewed himſelfe more loftie and preſumptuous than became him, which cauſed him to be greatly miſlyked of many, and the more, for that his baſe byrth was knowne of all men, ſo that the nobilitie (as reaſon was) diſdeyned to be at his correction.

The Cardinals hatte receyued by the Kentiſhe Gentlemen with gret ſolemnitie.

In the end of Nouember, the Cardinals hat was ſent into Englande, which the Gentlemen of Kent receyued, and brought to London, wyth ſuch tryumph as though the greateſt Prince in Europe had bene come to viſit the king. And on a Sunday in Saint Peters Church at Weſtminſter

minſter, he receyued the habite, hat, piller, & other ſuch tokens of a Cardinal. And now that he was thus a perfite Cardinall, he looked aboue all eſtates, whiche purchaſed him great hatred and diſdaine on all ſides.

The Lorde Mõtioy made gouernour of Tourney.

After the ende of the Parliament, ſir Edward Poynings labored to be diſcharged of the keping of Turney, bicauſe he could not haue helth there: and ſo he was diſcharged, and ſir Williã Blunt Lorde Mountioy was ſent thither to haue that rowmth, and for Marſhall was appoynted ſir Sampſon Norton.

A mutenye amõgſt the ſoldiers at Tourney.

Immediately vppon their comming thither, chaunced a great ryot rayſed by the ſouldiers, ſo that to appeaſe thẽ, the Lord Mountioy was put in ieopardie of his life. In concluſion, to quiet thẽ ſir Sampſon Norton was baniſhed the towne for euer, but what the matter was I haue not found reherſed by any wryter.

After that the Citie was appeaſed, and euery thing thought to bee forgotten, diuerſe of the offenders were executed, and diuerſe baniſhed the towne, Some fled, and were confined both out of Englande and the towne.

This yeare the new league accorded betwixt the king and the French king was openly proclaimed through the Citie of London by a trumpet. Margaret Queene of Scottes, eldeſt ſiſter to the king, came this yeare into England, and at Herbottell Caſtell was deliuered of a daughter, begot by hir ſecond huſbande, the Lord Archymbalde Dowglas Erle of Angus. This daughter was cleped at the Font ſtone after hir mother Margaret.

The birth of Margaret daughter to the Queene of Scottes and of the Earle Angus maried afterwards to the Erle of Leneuxe.

The ſayde Queene after the death of hir late huſband king Iames, maried the ſayde Earle of Angus, without conſent of hir brother king Henrie, or other of hir friendes, chiefely as ſome haue thought, for hir ſonnes ſake, doubting if ſhee ſhoulde not haue taken hir choyſe at home, ſhee ſhould haue maryed in ſome other place, and ſo haue beene ſequeſtred from hir ſonne, whoſe bringing vp apperteyned now chiefely vnto hir. But ſuch contention roſe ſhortly after in Scotlande amongeſt the Lordes, that both ſhee and hir huſbande were glad to ſeeke ſuccour in Englande at hir brothers hande, who was contented to relieue them, aſſigning them the ſayde Caſtell of Herbottell to lie in, till his further pleaſure ſhould be knowne.

Hall.

The Queene of Scottes and the Earle of Angus hir huſband come into England.

1518

The birth of ladie mary the kings daughter afterwards Queene.

An. reg. 8.

The.xviij. day of Februarie this yeare, the Ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie the.viij. was borne at Greenwich. This was ſhe that afterwards was Queene of this realme, and maried the king of Spaine. This yere alſo died the king of Aragon father to the Q. for whõ was kept a ſolemne obſequie in yͤ cathedral church of Pauls.

The king ſent for his ſiſter the Queene of Scots & hir huſbãd to come to the court for their ſolace: wherupon comming vp to London, they lay at Saint Iohns without Smithfielde barres for a time, and after at Baynardes Caſtell, from whence the Queene was conueied to Greenwich where ſhe was ioyfully receyued of the king, the Queene his wife, and of the French Queene hir ſiſter.

Thus was ſhe ſometime at the Court, and ſometyme at Baynards Caſtell, and ſo continued in England all this yeare.

The king for the honour of his ſiſter the.xix. and.xx. day of May, prepared two ſolemne days of Iuſtes, wherein the king himſelfe, the Duke of Suffolke, the Earle of Eſſex, and Nicholas Carew Eſquier, anſwered all commers.

At length the Earle of Angus returned into Scotlande, leauing the Queene his wife behinde him.

About the ſame time were ſent out of Englande twelue hundred Maſons, and Carpenters, and three hundred laborers to the Citie of Tourney to beginne the foundation of a Caſtell, which the king had determined to buylde there, for the better chaſtiſing of the Citie, if they ſhoulde attempt any rebellion.

A caſtell
ded by t
king at
Toiney.

This yeare the Cardinal cauſed all thoſe to be called to accoũts that had medled with the kings money, and had the occupying thereof, in the warres or elſe where.

This audite troubled manye, for ſome were founde in arrerages, and ſome ſaued themſelues by policie and briberie, and waxed rich, and ſome were wrongfully puniſhed. And ſurely he ſo puniſhed periurie with open infamie, cauſing the offenders to weare Papers, and ſo forth, that in his time it was leſſe vſed. He puniſhed alſo Lordes, knights, and men of all degrees, for riots, for bearing out wrongs, and for maintenance practiſed in their country, that the poore men liued quietly, ſo that no man durſt vſe ſuche bolſtring, for feare of impriſonment.

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These doings were worthie of commendation in him, but ſurely much more, if hee had beene a man that coulde haue kept a meane, which hee coulde not doe, but through his pompe and preſumptuous pride, wanne him high diſdaine in the ende, of al men, not only offending the nobles, and high eſtates of the realme, but alſo the whole multitude of people, which could not away with his vaineglorious pride, and namely for that hee tooke vppon him the gouernaunce of the whole realme, in maner into his only handes.

It was a ſtraunge matter to ſee, a man not ſkilled in the lawes to ſit in the ſeat of iudgement to pronounce the law, being ayded at the firſt by ſuch as according to the auncient cuſtome, dyd ſit as aſſociate with him: but he would not ſticke to determine ſundrie cauſes, neyther rightly decided nor adiudged by order of law, and againe ſuche as were cleare caſes, hee would ſometime prohibite the ſame to paſſe, call them into iudgement, frame an order in controuerſies, and puniſh ſuch as came with vntrue ſurmiſes afore the Iudges, and ſharply reproue the negligence of the Iudges themſelues, whiche had receyued ſuch ſurmiſes, and not well conſidered of the controuerſies of the parties. Hee ordeyned by the kings Commiſſion, diuerſe vnder Courtes, to heare complaynts by byll of poore men, that they might the ſooner come by iuſtice.

And ſuch was the adminiſtration of the Cardinall vnder a colour of Iuſtice at the firſt: but bycauſe the ſame ſeemed at length to be but a verie ſhadow or colour in deed, it quickly vaniſhed away; he taking vpõ him the whole rule himſelf, for that he ſaw how the king made ſmall accoũt of any other but onely of him. Whereby it came to paſſe that many of the Peeres and high eſtates of the realme withdrew them from the Court, as firſt the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Byſhop of Wincheſter, which got them home into their Dioceſſes, but yet before their departure, as good fathers of their Countrey, they inſtantlye beſought the king, that he woulde not ſuffer any ſeruant to exceede and paſſe his maiſter, borowing that ſentence out of the Goſpell of Saint Iohn, where our Sauiour ſpeaking to his diſciples ſayth to them, Verily, verily, I ſay vnto you the ſeruãt is not greater thã his maſter. Herevnto the king knowing that they mẽt this by the Cardinal, made this anſwere, that he would diligently ſee that euery ſeruaunt ſhoulde obey and not commaund.

After this the Duke of Norffolke departed home into his Countrey, and laſt of all the duke of Suffolke alſo followed the other. For hee hauing ſpent liberally in his iourneys when hee went as Ambaſſadour into Fraunce, alſo in the ſolemnization of his mariage, and in houſekeeping, ſithe hee was maryed, borrowed greate ſummes of money of the king whiche hee hoped ſhoulde haue beene forgyuen him: but the Cardinall would not haue it ſo, to the intent that the Duke being behind hande in debt, ſhoulde bee the more at commaundement. For as wealth maketh menne loftie, ſo dooth wante make them lowly.

In the moneth of October, in this. viij. yeare of king Henry, Mathew Biſhop of Sion or Sitten, a Cardinal (commonly called the Cardinal of the Swiſſes) came into England from the emperor Maximilian.

At the cõtemplation of this Cardinall, the king lent to the Emperor a great ſumme of money. But the chiefeſt matter that moued the king to be ſo free to Maximilian, was bycauſe the ſame money ſhoulde be imployed on men of warre agaynſt the French king, towardes whome the king, or rather Cardinal Wolſey of late had cõceyued a grudge, as thus: True it is that the king beſtowed the reuenues of the Sea of Tourney on the Cardinall, at what tyme that citie came into the kings handes: and therefore the Cardinall being deſirous to aſſure to himſelfe the ſame, made ſuyte to the Frenche king, that hee would prouide Guillarde the former Biſhop of Tourney of ſome other Biſhoprike in Fraunce, ſo that he might reſigne the Biſhoprike of Tourney clearly into his handes.

The French king perceyuing how much this ſhoulde make agaynſt his purpoſe, that vpon occaſion hoped euer to recouer the poſſeſſion of Tourney, would not gratifie the Cardinal herein: wherevpon the Cardinall turning the kings minde at his pleaſure, perſwaded him that the next way to abate the Frenche kings puiſſance (whiche in the beginning of his raigne had recouered Myllaine, and grewe euerie day in power more than other) ſhoulde bee to mainteyne the Emperour with money agaynſt him, ſo as the Frenchmen ſhould be chaſtiſed without the trauaile of him or his people.

Herevpon was Richarde Pace ſent firſt into Germanie with a greate ſumme of money to wage the Swiſſes, whiche vnder the conducte of the Emperour Maximilian, inuaded the duchie of Myllaine, but without any great gaine returned from thence, leauing Myllaine in the French mens handes at that tyme: and now for a newe reliefe was this Cardinall of Sion ſente from Myllaine, at whoſe inſtance money was aſſigned to bee delyuered, and certayne Genewayes vndertooke the exchaunge, which made not payment therof at the day, although they had receyued it of the king.

Hall.

1507

About this ſeaſon, there grew a great heartburning and malicious grudge amongeſt the Engliſh men of the Citie of London agaynſte ſtraungers, and namely the Artificers founde themſelues ſore grieued, for that ſuch numbers of ſtraungers were permitted to reſort hyther wyth their wares, and to exerciſe handie craftes, to the great handerance and impoueriſhing of the kings liege people.

This malice grewe to ſuch poynt, that one Iohn Lincolne a Broker, buſied himſelfe ſo farre in the matter, that about Palme Sunday in this eight yeare of the Kings raigne, hee came to one doctor Henrie Standiſhe with theſe wordes: Sir I vnderſtande that you ſhall preach at the Sanctuarie Spittle on Monday in Eaſter weeke, and ſo it is, that Engliſhmen, both Marchants and other are vndone, for ſtraungers haue more li-

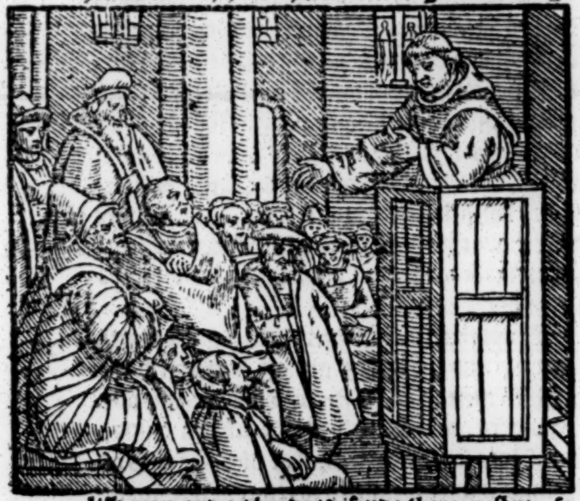
Iohn Lincolne the author of inſurrection vpon yll may daye.

bertie in this lande than Engliſh men, which is agaynſt all reaſon, and alſo againſt the common weale of the realme, I beſeech you therefore to declare this in your Sermon, and in ſo doing ye ſhall deſerue great thankes of my Lorde Maior, and of all his brethren: and herewith he offred vnto the ſayde Doctor Standiſh a bill, conteyning this matter more at large.

But Doctor Standiſhe (wiſely conſidering that there might more inconuenience riſe thereof, than he would wiſh, if he ſhould deal in ſuch ſort) both wiſely refuſed the Bill, and tolde Lincolne plainly that he ment not to meddle with any ſuch matter in his Sermon, wherevpon the ſayde Lyncolne went vnto one Doctor Bele a Canon of the foreſayde Spittle, that was appoynted to preache likewiſe vppon the Tueſday in Eaſter weeke at the ſame Spittle, whome he perſwaded to read his ſayde byll in the Pulpet. Which Bill in effect conteyned the griefes that many founde with ſtraungers for taking the liuings awaye from artificers, and the entercourſe from marchants, the redreſſe whereof muſt come from the commons knit in one: for as the hurt touched all men, ſo muſt all ſet to theyr helping handes.

An vndiſcrete Preacher.

When hee had read this letter, or the chiefeſt part therof, comprehending much ſeditious matter, he began with this ſentence, *Cœlũ cœli domino, terram aute dedit filys hominum*, & vpon this text hee entreated, how this land was giuen to Engliſh men, and as byrdes defende theyr neſtes, ſo ought Engliſh men to cheriſhe and mainteine themſelues, and to hurt and greeue aliens for reſpect of their common wealth: and vpon this text *Pugna pro patria*, hee brought in howe by Gods law it was lawfull to fight for theyr Countrey: and thus he ſubtilly moued or rather vndiſcretely prouoked the people to rebell agaynſt ſtraungers.



By this fooliſh ſermon, many a light perſon tooke courage, and openly ſpake agaynſt ſtraungers. And as vnhappe woulde, there had beene diuerſe euill partes played of late by ſtraungers, in and about the Citie of London, which kindled the peoples rancour the more furiouſly agaynſte them.

Anrog

The .xxviij. day of Aprill, dyuerſe yong men of the Citie pyked quarels to certaine ſtraungers as they paſſed by the ſtreets, ſome they did ſtrike, ſome they buffeted, and ſome they threwe into the Canell: wherefore the Maior ſent ſome of the Engliſh men to priſon, as Stephen Studley Skinner, Bettes, Stephenſon, and diuerſe other. Then ſodainly roſe a ſecrete rumour, and no man coulde tell how it began, that on May day nexte the Citie would rebell and ſlea all the aliens, inſomuch that dyuerſe ſtraungers fledde out of the Citie.

This bruite ranne ſo into euery mans eares, that it came to the knowledge of the kings counſayle, wherevpon the Lord Cardinall ſent for the Maior, and other of the counſayle of the Citie, giuing them to vnderſtande what he had hearde. The Maior as one ignorant of the matter, tolde the Cardinall that he doubted not but ſo to gouerne the Citie, as peace ſhould be obſerued. The Cardinall willed him ſo to doe, and to take good heede, that if any ſuch ryotous attempt was intended, hee ſhoulde wyth good policye preuent it.

The Maior came from the Cardinals houſe at foure of the clocke in the after noone on May euen, and in all haſt ſent for his brethren to the Guildhall, yet was it almoſt ſeuen of the clocke ere the aſſemble was ſet. Vpon conference had of the matter touching the rumour that was ſpred abrode of the rebellion agaynſt ſtraungers, ſome thought it neceſſarie that a ſubſtanciall watche ſhould be ſet of the honeſt citizens houſholders which myght wythſtande the euill doers, if they went about any myſrule: but other were of this opinion, that it was daungerous to rayſe men in armour, bycauſe it was harde to tell whome they myght truſt: but rather they thought it beſt that commaundement ſhoulde bee gyuen to euery man through euery warde, to ſhutte in his doores, and to keepe his ſeruantes within. Before .viij. of the clocke the Recorder was ſent to the Cardinall with theſe opinions, who hearing the ſame, allowed the latter for beſt and moſte ſureſt. And then the Recorder and ſir Thomas More late vnderſhiriffe of London, and nowe of the kings counſaile, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre before nine of the clocke, and there ſhewed the pleaſure of the Kings Counſayle, wherevpon euerye Alderman ſent to hys warde that no man ſhould ſtyrre after ſeuen of the clock out of his houſe, but to keepe his doores ſhut, and his ſeruants within, tyll nine of the clocke in the morning.

Counſayl ken by th Maior a brethren to preue ſtirre a;

After this commaundement gyuen in the Euening, as ſir Iohn Mundie Alderman came from his warde, and founde two yong men in Chepe playing at the Buclers, and a great meyny of yong men looking on them (for the cōmaūdement was then ſcarce knowne) he commaunded them to leaue off: and for that one of them aſked him why? hee woulde haue hadde him to the Counter. Then all the yong prentiſes ſtept to and reſiſted the Alderman, taking the yong fellow from him, and cryed prentiſes and clubbes. Then out at euery doore came clubbes and weapons. The Alderman fled and was in great daunger. Then more people aroſe oute of euery quarter, and forth came ſeruing men, watermen, courtiers and other, ſo that by .xj. of the clocke, there were in Cheape, ſix or ſeuen.C. and out of Pauls Church yeard came three.C. which knew not of the other. So out of all places they gathered, and brake vp the counters, tooke out the priſoners that the Maior had thither committed for hurting the ſtraungers, and came to Newgate, and tooke out Stucley and Petit committed thither for that cauſe.

The Maior and Sherifes were preſent there, and made proclamation in the kings name, but nothing was obeyed. Herewith being gathered in plumpes, they ran through S. Nicholas Shambles, and at Saint Martines gate, there mette with them ſir Thomas More, and other, deſiring them to go to their lodgings. And as they were thus entreating, and had almoſte perſwaded the people to departe, they within Saint Martyns threw out ſtones and battes, ſo that they hurt diuerſe honeſt perſons, that were ther with ſir Thomas More, perſwading the rebellious perſons to ceaſſe, inſomuche as at length one Nicholas Downes a Sergeant of armes being there with the ſayde ſir Thomas More, and ſore hurt amongſt other, in a furie, cryed downe with them, and then all the miſruled perſons ranne to the doores and windowes of the houſes within ſaint Martines; and ſpoiled all that they found.

After that they ran headlong into Cornehil, and there likewiſe ſpoiled diuerſe houſes of Frēch men that dwelled within yͤ gate of maſter Mewtas houſe called greene gate. This maſter Mewtas was a Picard borne, and reputed to be a great bearer of Frenchmen in their occupyings & trades contrarie to the lawes of the Citie. If the people had found him, they would ſurely haue ſtriken off his head, but when they found hym not, the watermen and certaine yong prieſtes that were there fell to ryfling, and ſome ranne to Blanchchapelton, & brake vp the ſtraungers houſes, and ſpoyled them.

Thus from tenne or eleuen of the clocke, theſe ryotous people continued in theyr outragious doings tyll aboute three of the clocke, at what tyme they beganne to withdrawe, and went to theyr places of reſort, and by the way they were taken by the Maior and the heades of the Citie, and ſent, ſome of thē to the tower, ſome to Newgate, and ſome to the Counters, to the number of three.C. Many fled, and ſpecially the watermen, prieſts, and ſeruing men, but the prentiſes were caught by the backes and had to priſon. In the meane time whileſt the hoteſt of this ruffling laſted, the Cardinall was aduertiſed thereof by ſir Thomas Parre, wherevpon the Cardinal ſtrengthened his houſe with men and ordinance, and ſir Thomas Parre rode in all haſt to Richmonde, where the king lay, and enfourmed him of the matter, who incontinently ſent forth haſtilye to London, to vnderſtand the ſtate of the Citie, and was truly aduertiſed howe the ryot was ceaſed, and many of the myſdoers apprehended.

The Lieutenant of the Tower ſir Roger Cholmeley, during the time of this hurling, ſhot off certaine peeces of ordinance agaynſt the Citie, and though they did no great harme, yet hee wanne muche euill will for his haſtie doing, bycauſe men thought he did it of malice, rather than of any diſcretion.

About fiue of the clocke the Erles of Shrewſburie, and Surrey, Thomas Dokerey Lorde of Saint Iohns, George Neuill Lorde of Burgeyny, and other, which had heard of thys ryot, came to London, with ſuche ſtrength as they coulde make vpon that ſodaine, and ſo did the Innes of Court: but before they came, whether with feare of the bruyte of theyr comming, or otherwyſe, the ryotous aſſemble was broken vp, and manye of the miſdoers taken (as ye haue heard.) Then were the priſoners examined; and the Sermon of Doctour Bele called to remembrance, and he taken and ſent to the Tower.

A Commiſsiō of Oier add determiner.

The ſtatute of quinto of H. the fifth.

Herewith was a Commiſſion of Oyre and determiner directed to the duke of Norffolke, and to diuerſe other Lordes, to the Lorde Maior of London, and the Aldermen, and to all the Iuſtices of Englande, for puniſhment of this inſurrection: wherevpon all the Iuſtices, with al the kings Counſaile learned in the lawes, aſſembled at the houſe of ſir Iohn Fineux Lorde chiefe Iuſtice of Englande neare to S. Brides by Fleeteſtreete, to take aduice, and conclude vpon the order which they ſhoulde followe in this matter, and firſt there was read the Statute of the thirde of Henrie the fifth, the effect whereof enſueth in theſe wordes following: bycauſe that dyuerſe Nations compriſed within the truſes concluded as well by oure ſoueraigne Lorde the King that nowe is, as by his ryght noble father, haue beene robbed and ſpoyled by the Kings Lieges and ſubiectes, as well on the mayne Seas as wyth in the portes and coaſtes of Englande, Irelande, and Wales, by reaſon whereof, the truſes and ſafeconductes haue beene broken and violated, to the domage, diſhonour, and ſlaunder of the king, and agaynſt hys dignitie, and the manſleyers, ſpoylers, robbers, and violaters of the ſame truſes and ſafeconductes, (as before is declared) haue beene recetted, procured, counſayled, vpholden, and mainteined by diuerſe of the kings liege people vpon the coaſtes: our ſayde ſoueraigne Lorde the king by the aduice and aſſent aboueſayde, and at the prayer of the ſayd Commons, hath ordeyned and eſtabliſhed that all ſuch manſlears, robbers, ſpoylers, breakers of truſes, and ſafecõducts graunted by the king, and the wilfull recetters, abetters, procurers, counſaylers, ſuſteyners and mainteyners of ſuch perſons, hereafter in time to come, being any of the lieges and ſubiectes of thys Realme of Englande, Irelande, and Wales, are to be adiudged and determined as guiltie of high treaſon cõmitted agaynſte the Crowne and dignitie of the king. And further in euerie Hauen and port of the ſea, there ſhall be from henceforth made and aſſigned by the king, by his letters patents, one lawfull officer named a conſeruator of truſes and ſafeconductes graunted by the king, which officer ſhall diſpend at the leaſt tenne pound in land by yeare. &c. as in the ſtatute more at large is expreſſed.

The which ſtatute being read and well conſidered of, bycauſe there were diuerſe leagues of truſes betwixt the king and diuerſe other princes, as one betwixt him & the French king, an other betwixt him and the Archeduke of Burgongne, and an other betwixt him and the king of Spain, (all the which truces were violated by the ſayd inſurrection) it was determined by the whole cõſaile there aſſembled, that the kings ſergeants and Attourneyes ſhould go to the L. Chauncellor to haue a ſight of all the ſayde leagues and charters of truſes, to the intent they might frame their indytements according to the matter.

And note that iudge Fineux ſayd, that al ſuch as were parties to the ſaid inſurrection, were giltie of high treaſon, as wel thoſe that did not commit any robberie, as thoſe that were principall doers therein themſelues, bycauſe that the inſurrection in it ſelfe was highe treaſon, as a thing practiſed againſt the regal honor of our ſoueraign lord the king, and the ſame law holdeth of an inſurrection (ſaid Fineux) made agaynſt the ſtatute of laborers, for ſo (ſayd he) it came to paſſe, that certaine perſons within the Countie of Kent, began an inſurrection in diſobedience of the ſtatute of labourers, and were attainted therefore of high treaſon, and had iudgement to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. He ſhewed where, and when this chaunced. &c.

It was further determined by the ſame Fineux, and all the Iuſtices of the lande, that vpon the ſayde Commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, in London, the Iuſtices named in the ſame commiſſion, might not arraigne the offenders, and proceed to their tryall in one ſelfe day, no more than myght the Iuſtices of peace. But Iuſtices in Eyre myght ſo doe, as well as the Iuſtices of Gaole deliuery, and as the ſufficiencie of the Iurours wythin the Citie to paſſe betwyxte the King and the ſayde Traytours, the Iuſtices determined, that hee that hadde landes, and goodes to the valewe of an hundred Markes, ſhoulde bee inhabled to paſſe vppon the ſayde indytementes.

And thys by the equitie of the Statute of Anno vndecimo Henrici ſeptimi, the which wil, that no manne bee admytted to paſſe in any Inqueſt in London in a Plea of landes, or other action in which the damages ſhall paſſe the value of fortie ſhillings, excepte hee bee worth in landes or goodes, the valew of an hundred Markes.

On Saterday the ſeconde of May, in thys ninth yeare, all the Commiſſioners wyth the Lorde Maior, Aldermen and Iuſtices, wente to the Guylde hall, where manye of the offendours were indyted as well of the Inſurrection as of the robberyes by them committed agaynſt the truſes.

Hereuppon they were araigned, and pleading not guiltie, hadde day gyuen till the Monday nexte enſuyng.

On which day being the fourth of May, the Lorde Maior, the Duke of Norffolke, the Earle of Surrey and other, came to ſitte in the Guilde hall to proceede in theyr Oyer and Determiner as they were appoynted.

The Duke of Norffolke entred the Citye with thirtene hundred armed men, and ſo when the Lordes were ſette the Pryſoners were brought throughe the Streetes tyed in Ropes ſome menne, and ſome laddes of thirtene yeares of age.

Among them were dyuerſe not of the Citie, ſome Prieſtes, ſome Huſbande menne, and labourers. The whole number amounted vnto two hundred three ſcore and eyghtene perſons.

This daye was Iohn Lyncolne indyted as a principall procurour of this miſchieuous inſurrection, and thereuppon hee was arraigned, and pleading not guiltie, had day giuẽ ouer til Wedneſday, or as Hall ſayth tyll Thurſday next enſuyng.

He was charged with ſuch matter, (as before ye haue hearde) concerning his ſuyte vnto Doctor Standiſh, and Doctor Bile, for the reading of this bil in their ſermons, and opening the matter (as before yee haue heard) all whiche matter with the circumſtances he had confeſſed on ſunday the thirde of May, vnto ſir Richard Cholmley, ſir John Daunſie, & ſir Hugh Skeuington. Diuerſe other were indited this Monday, and ſo for that time the Lordes departed.

The next day the Duke came againe, and the Erle of Surrey with two. M. armed men, which kept the ſtreetes. It was thought that the Duke of Norffolk bare the citie no good will, for a lewd prieſt of his which the yeare before was ſlaine in Cheape. When the Maior, the duke, the erles of Shrewſburie and Surrey, were ſet, the priſoners were arreyned, & .xiij. found guiltie & adiudged to be hãged, drawne, & quartered, for executiõ whereof were ſet vp .xj. paire of galowes in diuerſe places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchchapelton, Gracious ſtreete, Leaden hall, and before euery Counter one, alſo at Newgate, at Saint Martins, at Alderſgate, and at Biſhopſgate.

Then were the priſoners that were iudged brought to thoſe places of executiõ, and executed in moſt rigorous maner, in the preſence of the L. Edmond Howard ſon to the duke of Norffolke, and knight Marſhall.

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On Thurſday the ſeuenth of May, was Lyncolne, Shyrwin, and two brethren called Bets, and diuerſe other adiudged to die. They were layd on Hardels, and drawne to the Standert in Cheap, and firſt was John Lincolne executed, and as the other had the rope aboute theyr neckes, there came a commaundement from the king to reſpite the execution, and then was the Oyer and determiner deferred till an other day, & the priſoners ſente againe to warde, and the armed men departed out of London, and all things were ſet in quiet.

The king cõmeth to Weſt minſter Hal & there ſate in iudgement himſelfe.

Thurſday the .xxij. of Maye, the king came into Weſtminſter hall, and with him was the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, yͤ erles of Shrewſbury, Eſſex, Wilſhire, & Surrey, with many lords, & other of the kings cõuſell.

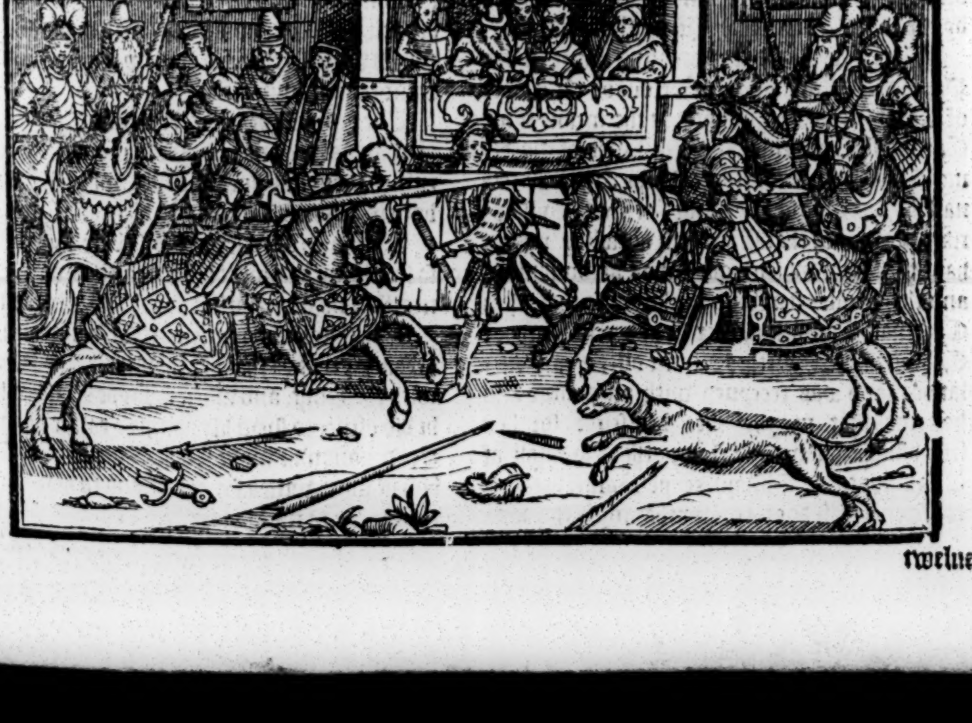
The king pardoneth al the rebels.

The Maior and Aldermen, with other of the chief Citizens were there in theyr beſt liuereys by nine of the clocke in the morning, according as the Cardinall had appoynted them. Then came in the priſoners bound in ropes, in ranke one after another in their ſhirtes, and euery one had an halter about his necke, being in number foure. C. men, & .xj. women. When they were thus come before the kings preſence, the Cardinall layd ſore to the Maior and Aldermen their negligence, and to the priſoners he declared howe iuſtly they had deſerued death. Then all the priſoners togither cryed to the king for mercie, and therewith the Lordes with one conſent beſought his grace of pardon for theyr offences, at whoſe requeſt the king pardoned them all. The Cardinal then gaue to them a good exhortation, to the great reioyſing of the hearers. And when the general pardon was pronounced, all the priſoners ſhouted at once, & caſt vp their halters into the roofe of the hal. This company was after called the blacke Wagon.

The Quene of Scots retourneth into Scotlande.

After that theſe priſoners were thus pardoned, All the gallowes within the Citie were taken downe, and the Citizens tooke more heed to their ſeruants than before they had done. The .xviij. of May, yͤ Q. of Scots departed out of Londõ toward Scotlãd, richly appoynted of all things neceſſarie for hir eſtate, through the kings greate liberality & bountiful goodneſſe. She entred into Scotland the .xiij. of June, and was receiued at Berwik by hir huſbãd. Al hir charges within the realme both in cõming abiding, and returning, were borne by the king.

In June there were wͭ the K. diuers Ambaſſadors frõ foraine parts, in honor of whõ, & for their ſolace he prepared a coſtly iuſtes, he himſelfe and



twelue other, taking vpon them to iuſt with the Duke of Suffolke, and twelue of hys partakers. There were broken betwene the parties fiue hundred and eight ſpeares.

The ſweeting ſickneſſe.

The ſweating ſickneſſe this yeare inuading the people of this lande, brought great numbers to theyr ende.

Many died in the kings Court, as the Lorde Clynton, the Lorde Gray of Wilton, and many knights, Gentlemen and officers. By reaſon of this contagious ſickneſſe, Michaelmaſſe terme was adiourned: and bycauſe the death continued from Iuly to the myddeſt of December, the king kept himſelfe with a ſmall companie aboute him, willing to haue no reſort to the Court for feare of infection, the ſweate was ſo feruent and infectious, that in ſome townes halfe the Inhabitants died thereof, and in ſome a thirde part.

1519

An. reg. 10.

The terme begon at Oxford and adiourned to Weſtminſter.

In the begynning of this yeare, Trinitie terme was begon at Oxford, where it continued but one day, and was again adiourned to Weſtminſter.

Cardinal Campeius ſent frō the Pope.

Polidor.

This yeare came to Calais from Pope Leo, a Legate *de Latere* called Laurence Campeius borne in Bologna la Graſſe, commonly called Cardinall Campeius, to require the king of ayde agaynſt the Turke.

Hall.

At the requeſt of the King of Englande, and alſo of the French king (which ſought now to be receyued into friendſhip with the King of England chiefly by Cardinal Wolſeis meanes) Pope Leo conſtituted the ſayd Cardinall Woolſey his Legate in England, ioyning him in commiſſion with the ſayde Campeius, the whiche ſtayed at Calais till the Bulles were brought from Rome touching that matter.

There was alſo an other cauſe that ſtayed Campeius at Calays, and that was a ſuyte whiche Cardinall Woolſey hadde moued for the obteyning of the Biſhoprike of Bathe, which benefice Cardinall Adrian Caſtalian enioyed by the collation of King Henry the ſeuenth.

Cardinal Campeius receiued with great pompe.

This Cardinall Adrian being fallen in the Popes diſpleaſure, wythdrewe out of the Court of Rome vnto Venice, and in the meane tyme Cardinall Campeius, at the inſtance of Cardinall Woolſey, wrote to the Pope, that Cardinall Adrian myght be depriued of that Byſhoprike, to the ende that Cardinall Woolſey myght haue the ſame, which requeſt was accompliſhed, and the Bulles ſent vnto Calays, ſo that then Cardinall Campeius, after he had remayned at Calays three Monethes, came ouer into Englande, and was receyued with all pompe and honoure that myghte bee deuiſed: for hys friendſhippe ſhewed in helpyng the Cardinall of Englande to the Biſhoprike of Bathe, hee was conſidered (beſyde other rewardes) wyth the Byſhoprike of Saliſburie, the profites wherof hee receyued tyll the acte was eſtabliſhed, that no forreyner ſhoulde enioy anye ſpirituall benefice within this Realme. But for the chiefeſt errand, yͤ this Cardinall Campeis came, he coulde haue no towarde aunſwere, whiche was, to haue leuyed a ſumme of money by waye of tenthes in thys Realme, to the mainteinaunce of the warre in defence of the Chriſtian confines agaynſte the Turke.

A craſti

There were at the ſame tyme other Legates ſent into other partes of Chriſtendome aboute the ſame matter, as into Fraunce, Spaine, and Germanie: For Pope Leo, calling to remembraunce, that the feare conceyued of the Turkes had brought no ſmall gaynes to dyuerſe of hys Predeceſſours, hee beganne to feare too, but for yͤ ſuch feare was now too well knowne to bee vſed as an ordinarie ſhyfte of the Popes, when they ſtoode in neede of money, this practiſe was at this tyme vſed in vayne, ſo that Campeius hearing that it tooke not place in other partyes, left off his earneſt ſuyte about it, and with great rewardes receyued of the King and Cardinall, returned to Rome, not wythoute hope *yet* (by reaſon of promiſes made to him by hys friends,) that the Popes requeſt might hereafter be graunted according to his motion.

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There attended him to Rome one Iohn Clearke a Lawyer, as Imbaſſadour from the King, which obteyned for the Cardinall authoritie to diſpenſe with al mē for offences committed agaynſt the ſpirituall lawes, which parte of his power legantine was verie profitable and gainfull. For then he ſet vp a Court, and called it the Court of the Legate, in the whiche he proued teſtaments, and hearde cauſes, to the great hynderance of al the Biſhops of this Realme.

He viſited Biſhops, and all the Cleargie exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformation hee got much treaſure, for through brybes and rewards, notorious offendours were diſpenſed with, ſo that nothing was reformed but came to more miſchiefe.

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The example of his pride, cauſed Prieſtes and all ſpiritual perſons to waxe ſo prowde, that they ruffled it out in veluet and ſilkes, which they ware both in gownes, iackets, doublets and ſhooes.

They vſed open lechery, and bare themſelues ſo ſtoute by reaſon of his authorities and faculties, that no man durſt reproue any thing in thē.

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The Cardinall himſelfe grew ſo into ſuch exceeding pryde, that hee thought himſelfe egall with the King, and when he ſayde Maſſe (which he did oftner to ſhew his pompe, rather than for any deuotion) he made Dukes and Erles to ſerue him of wine, with a ſay taken, and to hold to him the Baſon at the Lauatorie.

Thus was the pride of the Cardinall and other prieſts ſo paſt the compaſſe of reaſon, that in maner al good perſons abhorred and diſdeyned it.

It fortuned that the Archbiſhop of Canterburie wrote a letter to the Cardinal, anon after that he had receyued his power legantine, the whiche letter after his olde familiar maner, he ſubſcribed thus: Your brother William of Canterburie. With which ſubſcription, bycauſe the Archbiſhop wrote him brother, he was ſo much offended, as though the Archbiſhop had done him great iniurie, that he could not temper his mood, but in high diſpleaſure ſayde, that he would ſo worke within a while, that he ſhould well vnderſtand howe he was his ſuperior, and not his brother.

When the Archbiſhop (beeing a ſober wiſe man) hearde of the Meſſenger that bare the letter how the Cardinall tooke it not well, but ſo as it might ſeeme there was a great fault in the letter, and reported the tale as one that miſlyked the Cardinals preſumption herein: peace (ſayde the Archbiſhop) knoweſt thou not howe the man is become madde with too muche ioy. And thus the Cardinall forgetting to hold the right path of true laude and prayſe, ſought to be feared rather than beloued of all good men.

In this meane time the French king greatly coueting to redeeme the Citie of Tourney out of the handes of the king of Englande, & knowing that he muſt make way thereto through the Cardinals friendſhip, ceaſſed not with high gifts to winne his good will, and moreouer in often wryting to him, exalted him with titles of honor and ſo magnified him, that the Cardinall, as one tickled with vainglorie more than can be ymagined, thought that he coulde not doe pleaſure ynough to the Frenche King, that did eſteeme ſo much of him.

Hereupon the French king hoping to compaſſe his deſire, after he perceyued the Cardinals good will towardes him, ſignified his meaning vnto ẏ ſayd Cardinall, who founde meanes to breake thereof to the King, in ſuche wiſe as hee was contented to heare the French Kings Ambaſſadours, that ſhoulde be ſent hyther to talke of that matter.

The Frenche king then vnderſtanding the King of Englande his pleaſure, ſent ouer the Lorde Boniuet high Admirall of Fraunce, and the Biſhop of Paris as chiefe Ambaſſadors, accompanied with a great ſort of luſtie gentlemen of the French kings court, to the number of .lxxx. and aboue, on whome attended ſuch a companie of other of the meaner ſorte, that the whole number amounted to twelue hundred one and other, whiche were thought to be many for an Ambaſſade.

ſſadours
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On Monday the .xxvij. of September, the Earle of Surrey high Admirall of Englande, with an hundred and threeſcore gentlemen richly apparayled, receyued theſe Ambaſſadours of Fraunce on blacke Heath, and brought them to London, and ſo through the Citie vnto Taylers hall, where the chiefe Ambaſſadors lodged, and the reſidue in marchants houſes about.

When theſe Lordes were in theyr lodgings, then the French harder men that came with theſe Ambaſſadors opened their wares, & made Taylers hall like the Paunde of a Marte. At whiche doing many an Engliſh man grudged, but it auayled not.

The laſt of September, the French Ambaſſadors tooke theyr Barge, and came to Greenewich where the Court then lay. They were brought to the Kings preſence, and there the Biſhop of Paris made a ſolemne oration, which ended and anſwere made thereto, the king highly enterteyned the Admirall and his companie, and ſo did all the Engliſh Lordes and gentlemen.

The Ambaſſadors after this were dayly in counſaile, till at length an agreement was concluded vnder pretence of a maryage to be had betwene the Dolphin of Fraunce, and the Ladie Marie, daughter to the king of Englande, in name of whoſe mariage mony, Tourney ſhould be deliuered to the French king, he paying to the king of England for the Caſtell whiche hee had made in that citie, ſix hundred thouſand crownes, to be payed in .xij. yeares ſpace, that is to ſay, fifty thouſande euery yeare during that terme. And if the mariage chaunced not to take effect, then ſhould Turney be againe reſtored to the king of Englande, for performance of which article, hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, that is to wit, Monſieur de Montmorancie, Monſieur de Montpeſac, Monſieur de Moy, Monſieur de Morret.

Articles of agreement for the deliuerie of Tourney.

Moreouer the French king ſhoulde pay to the Lord Cardinal of England, a thouſand markes of yearely penſion in recompence of his reuenues before time receyued of the Biſhoprike of Tourney, and likewiſe to other of the kings counſayle he ſhoulde alſo giue certaine ſummes of money as yearly penſions, in lyke maner as his auncetours had done to the Counſaylors of the kings of Englande afore time.

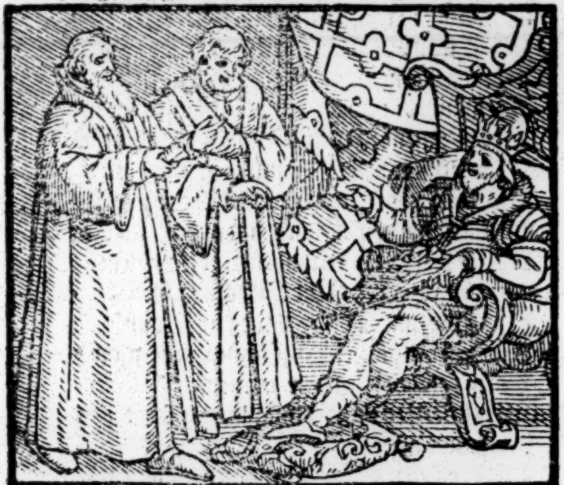
Alſo the French king couenanted to call backe the duke of Albany out of Scotlande, that the ſuretie of king Iames might the better be prouided for, and leſſe occaſion of trouble miniſtred to the king of Englande.

And further the French king was contented that the ſaide king Iames ſhould be receyued as a confederate in this peace.

When al things were concluded, the king and the Ambaſſadors roade to the cathedrall Church of S. Paule in London from Durham place, where the Cardinal of England ſang the Maſſe in moſte pompous maner: and after that Maſſe was ended, Doctor Pace the kings Secretarye, made an eloquent Oratiō in praiſe of peace: and that done, the king and his nobles and the Ambaſſadors went to the Biſhops Palace, and ther dined, and after dinner, the king roade againe to Durham place. The eight of October at Grenewich, was ſong a ſolemne Maſſe by the Biſhop of Durham, and after Maſſe, Doctor Tunſtall, maiſter of the Rolles, made an eloquent propoſitiō in praiſe of the matrimony to be had betwixt the Dolphin and the Ladye Marye. But to bee ſhorte, after that theſe Ambaſſadors had bin feaſted, and enterteined, with all paſtime, diſporte, and ſolace, in moſte royall ſorte by the King, the lord Cardinal, & other of the peares of the realme, and alſo of the lord Maior of Londō, they finally tooke their leaue of the King and Queene, and of the Counſell, and then departed wyth high rewardes, beſtowed on them of the Kyngs greate and bountifull munificence.

Ambaſſadours ſent from king Henrie to the French King.

Shortly after their departure, the Earle of Worceſter, L. Chamberlaine, the Byſhop of Ely, the Lorde of S. Johans, ſir Nicholas Vaux, ſir John Pechy, ſir Tho. Bulleine, as Ambaſſadors from the King of Englande, accompanyed with .70. Knightes, and Gentlemen and yeomē, to the number of four hundred and aboue, paſſed the Sea to Calais, and ſo from thence wente to Paris, where they were nobly receiued, and beeing broughte to the Frenche kings preſence, the Biſhop of Ely made a ſolemne Oration, touching the mariage and peace concluded. Heere is to be remembred, that immediately after the concluſion of the mariage, a rumor was reyſed, that the Dolphin was dead before, and that this mariage was but a colourable pretext, deuiſed of the frenchmen for a policie, to come by their purpoſe: and therefore, after that the Engliſhe Ambaſſadors had bin feaſted and enterteined, with banqueting and Princely paſtime, the B. of Ely, with ſir Tho, Bulleine, and ſir Rich. Weſtō, were appointed to goe vnto Conyacke to ſee the Dolphin, where they were honorably receyued, & brought to the preſence of the Dolphin, beeing a goodly yong child, whom they kiſſed and embraced in moſt louing wiſe. The Earle of Worceſter, and with him ſir Nicholas Vaux, ſir John Pechy, ſir Edw. Belknap, and diuers other at yͤ ſame time, toke leaue of the french K. and roade to Tourney to ſee the Citie deliuered to yͤ frenchmen, whervpon, the eyghth of February, the L. Chatillon came thither with one and twenty C. men, and after ſome controuerſie moued about yͤ deliuery of his commiſſion, and ſealing an Indenture, whiche the Erle had there ready engroſſed, conteining the articles of agreement, in conſideration wherof it was deliuered, the Captain ſir Richard Jerningham was diſcharged, and the frenchmen ſuffered to enter with drunſleddes and minſtrelſie, but not with ſtanderts nor banners, which the Engliſhmen cauſed them to rolle vp greatly agaynſt theyr willes.



Tour liuered Frnch

Before they came to the gates, they ſealed the Indenture, confeſſing howe they receyued the City as a gyfte, and not as a righte, and deliuered theyr cōmiſſion, whereby they were authorized to receaue it, which at the firſte they refuſed to do, affirmyng, that it was ſufficient for them to ſhewe it.

Thus was Tourney deliuered in this tenthe yeare of the Kyngs reigne, on the eighte daye of Februarye, and the Engliſhmen returned into England, ſore diſpleaſed in their myndes, for therby many a tall yeoman lacked liuyng, the whiche would not labour after their retourne, but fell to robbyng. The eighte of Marche, ſolemne Juſtes were holden, the King hymſelfe and eight young Gentlemen, takyng vppon them to aunſwere the Duke of Suffolke, and eighte of hys companyons, all of them beeyng gorgeouſlye trymmed, and runnyng exceedingly well, for the which, they wer highly cōmended of yͤ ſtrangers.

A ſole Iuſtes.

Aboute the ende of Marche, the Kyng ſente for all the yeomen of the garde that were come from Tourney, and after many good wordes gyuen to them, he graunted to euerye of them foure pence the daye without attendaunce, except they were ſpecially commaunded.

The ſol of Toun rewarde

This yeare, the twelfthe of Februarye, dyed the Emperor Maximilian, for whome, the King cauſed a ſolemne obſequie to be kept in Paules Churche.

The dea the Emp Maximi

This yeare, the Kyng helde the Feaſt of S. George at Windeſor with all ſolemnity, where were preſent all the Knyghts of the order then beeing within the realme.

An re

The K. S.Georg feaſt at W ſor with ſolemni

The King was ſolemnelye ſerued, and the ſurnappe caſt like as at the feaſt of a coronation.

It

At the Maſſe of *Requiem* was offered the baner and other hachements of honor, belonging to Maximilian the Emperour lately deceaſſed.

Shortly after, certaine Gentlemen of the priuie chamber, which through the kings gentle nature & great curteſie in bearing with their lewdneſſe, forgat themſelues and their dutie toward his grace, in being too familiar with him, not hauing due reſpect to his eſtate and degree, were remoued by order taken by the Counſayle, vnto whom the king had giuen authoritie to vſe theyr diſcretion in that behalfe, and then were foure ſad and auncient knightes put into the kings priuie Chamber, whoſe names were theſe, ſir Richarde Wingfield, ſir Richard Jerningham, ſir Richard Weſton, and ſir William Kingſton, and beſide theſe diuerſe officers were chaunged in al places.

In the moneth of Nouember the king came from Lambeth to Weſtminſter hall, & ſo to the ſtarre Chamber, & there wer brought before him yͤ Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Howarde, ſir Mathewe Browne, ſir William Bulmer, and John Scot of Camerwel, for diuerſe riots, miſdemeaners, & offences by them committed: but the king ſpecially rebuked ſir Wil. Bulmer knight, bicauſe he being hys ſeruaunt ſworne, refuſed the kings ſeruice, and became ſeruant to yͤ Duke of Buckingham: yet at length vppon his humble crauing of mercie, ſtill kneeling on his knees before his grace, the king pardoned him his offence, and likewiſe he pardoned the Lorde Howarde, and Sir Mathewe Browne, theyr offences: but bycauſe the Lorde Ogles matter concerned murther, he remitted hym to the common law. And then he roſe and went to his Barge, and by the way made James Yarforde Meior of the Citie of London Knight, and ſo returned to Lambeth.

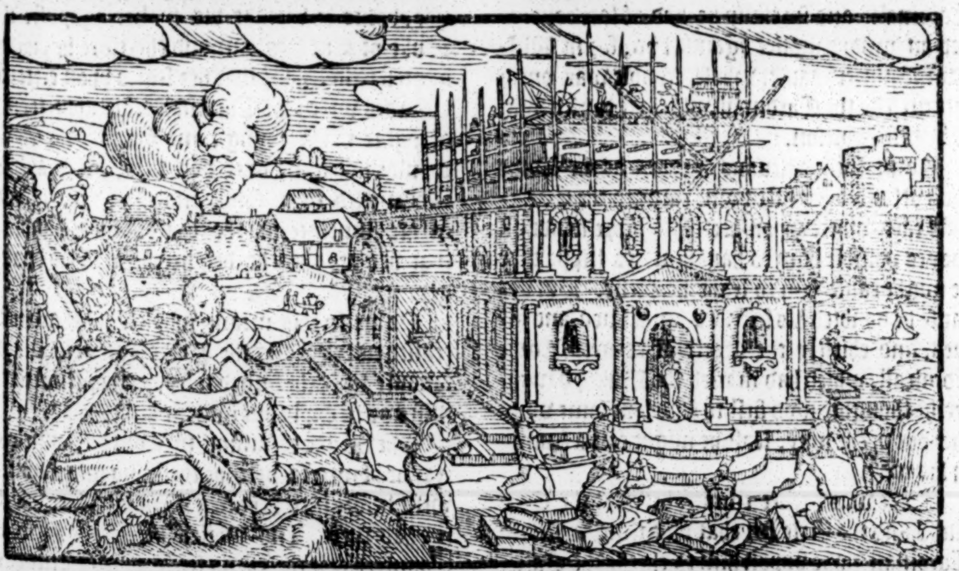
1520

The Frenche King deſirous to continue the friendſhippe lately begunne betwixt him and the king of Englande, made meanes vnto the Cardinall, that they might in ſome conuenient place come to an enterview togither, that hee myght haue further knowledge of king Henrie, and likewiſe king Henrie of him.

But the fame went that the Cardinall deſired greatly of himſelfe, that the two Kings might meete, who meaſuring by his will what was conuenient, thought it ſhoulde make much with his glorie, if in Fraunce alſo at ſome high aſſemble of noble men, he ſhoulde bee ſeene in his vaine pompe and ſhew of dignitie: he therefore breaketh with the king of that matter, declaring howe honorable, neceſſarie, and conuenient it ſhoulde be for him to gratifie his friende therein, and thus with his perſwaſions the king beganne to conceyue an earneſt deſire to ſee the Frenche King, and therevpon appoynted to goe ouer to Calays, and ſo in the marches of Guiſnes to meete wyth the French king.

Hall.

Then were ther ſent vnto Guiſnes, vnder the rule of ſir Edward Belknap three M. artificers, which buylded out of the earth on the playne before the Caſtell of Guiſnes, a moſt pleaſant palayce of tymber, ryght curiouſly garniſhed without and within.



Herewith were letters alſo written to all ſuch Lords, Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, which ſhould giue their attendance on the king, and the Queene, which incontinently put themſelues in a readineſſe after the moſt ſumptuous ſort. Alſo it was appointed that the king of Englande, and the French king, in a campe betweene Arde and Guiſnes, with .xviij. aydes, ſhoulde in June next enſuing, abide al commers being gentlemen, at the tilt, at tourney, and at barriers, whereof Proclamation was made by Orleans King of Armes of Fraunce here in the Courte of Englande, and by Clarenceaux king of armes of Englande, in the Court of Fraunce, and in the Court of Burgongne, and in diuerſe other courts and places in Almaine and Italy.

The whole maner of the enteruiew committed to the Cardinall.

Moreouer now that it was concluded, that the kings of England and France ſhould meete (as ye haue hearde) then both the kings committed the order and manner of their meeting, and how manye dayes the ſame ſhoulde continue, and what preheminence eche ſhoulde gyue to other, vnto the Cardinall of Yorke, whiche to ſette all things in a certainetie, made an inſtrument conteyning an order and direction concerning the premiſſes by him deuiſed and appoynted.

The Peeres of the Realme receyuing Letters to prepare themſelues to attende the Kyng in thys iourney, and no apparaunt neceſſarie cauſe expreſſed why nor wherefore, ſeemed to grudge that ſuche a coſtly iourney ſhoulde bee taken in hande to theyr importunate charges and expences, withoute conſente of the whole bourde of the Counſaile: but namely the Duke of Buckingham, beeyng a manne of a loftye courage, but not moſt liberall, ſore repyned that he ſhoulde bee at ſo greate charges for his furniture forth at thys tyme, ſaying, that hee knewe not for what cauſe ſo muche money ſhoulde bee ſpent about the ſight of a vayne talke to bee had, and communication to be miniſtred of things of no importance. Wherefore he ſticked not to ſay, that it was an intollerable matter to obey ſuch a vile and importunate perſon.

Great hatred betweene the Cardinall, and the Duke of Buckingham.

The Duke indeede coulde not abyde the Cardinall, and ſpecially he had of late conceyued an inward malice againſt him, for ſir William Bulmers cauſe, whoſe trouble was onely procured by the Cardinall, who firſt cauſed hym to be caſt in priſon.

Nowe ſuche grieuous wordes as the Duke thus vttered agaynſte hym, came to the Cardinals eare, whervppon hee caſte afore hande all wayes poſſible how to haue him in a trippe, that he might cauſe him to leape headleſſe. But bycauſe he doubted his friendes, kinneſmen, and allyes, and chiefely the Earle of Surrey Lorde Admirall, which had maried the Dukes daughter, he thoughte good firſt to ſend him ſome whyther out of the way, leaſt he might caſt a trumpe in his way.

There was greate enmitie betwixt the Cardinall and the Erle, for that on a time, when the Cardinall tooke vppon him to checke the Earle, hee hadde lyke to haue thruſt his Dagger in the Cardinall.

At length, there was occaſion offered hym to compaſſe his purpoſe, by occaſion of the Earle of Kildare hys commyng out of Irelande. For the Cardinall knowing that he was well prouided of money, ſought occaſions to fleece him of part thereof.

The Earle of Kyldare beeyng vnmaried, was deſirous to haue an Engliſhe woman to wyfe, and for that he was a ſuyter to a Wydow contrary to the Cardinalles minde, hee accuſed hym to the King, of that he had not borne hymſelfe vprightly in his office in Irelande, where he was the kings lieutenant.

Suche accuſations were framed agaynſte hym when no brybes woulde come, that he was committed to priſon, and then by the Cardinals good preferment the Earle of Surrey was ſent into Irelande as the Kings Deputie, in lieu of the ſayde Earle of Kyldare, there to remaine rather as an exile, than as lieutenant to the King, euen at the Cardinals pleaſure, as hee hymſelfe well perceyued.

And ſo in the beginning of Aprill, the ſayde Earle paſſed ouer into Irelande, and had with him dyuerſe Gentlemen that hadde beene in the garniſon of Tourney, and one hundred yeomen of the Kinges Garde, and other, to the number of a thouſande menne, where he by hys manhoode and policye, brought the Earle of Deſmonde, and diuerſe other Rebelles to good conformitie and order. Hee continued there two yeares, in whyche ſpace, he hadde manye bickerings and ſkirmiſhes wyth the wylde Iriſhe.

There reſted yet the Earle of Northumberland, whome the Cardinall doubted alſo, leaſte hee myght hynder hys purpoſe, when he ſhoulde goe aboute to wreake his malice agaynſte the Duke of Buckingham: and therefore he piked a quarell to hym, for that hee ſeaſed vpon certaine Wardes which the Cardinall ſaide apperteyned of ryghte to the Kyng, and bycauſe the Earle woulde not gyue ouer hys title, hee was alſo commytted to priſon, and after tooke it for a greate benefyte at the Cardinalles handes, that hee myghtee be delyuered out of his daunger.

Nowe in this meane whyle, the Cardinall ceaſſed not to bryng the Duke oute of the kings fauoure, by ſuchr forged tales, and contriued ſurmiſes as he dayly put into the kings head.

The Duke comming to London, with hys trayne of men to attende the King into France, went before into Kēt to a Manour place which hee had there. And whileſt hee ſtayed in that Countrey tyll the Kyng ſet forwarde, grieuous complayntes were exhibited to him by hys Fermours and Tenauntes agaynſte Charles Kneuet his Surueyour, for ſuche brybing as he had vſed there amōgſt thē, wherevpon the duke toke ſuche diſpleaſure agaynſt hym, that hee depriued hym of his office, not knowing how that in ſo doing he procured his owne deſtruction, as after it appeared.

The Kings Maieſtie perſeuering in purpoſe to meete with Fraunces the French King, remoued with the Queene, and all his Court the. xxj. day of May being Monday, from his Manour of Greenewiche towards the Sea ſyde, and ſo on the Fryday the. xxv. of May, hee arriued at the Citie of Canterburie, intending there to kepe his Whitſuntide.

On the morrow after, the Emperour being on the Sea returning oute of Spaine, arryued wyth all hys nauie of ſhippes royall on the coaſt of Kent, direct to the Porte of Hyeth the ſayde day by Noone, where hee was ſaluted by the Viceadmirall of Englande, ſir William Fitzwilliam, with ſixe of the Kings greate ſhippes well furniſhed, which lay for the ſafegarde of paſſage betwixte Calays and Douer.

Towardes Euening the Emperour departed from his ſhippes, and entred into his Boate, and comming towardes lande was met and receyued of the Lorde Cardinall of Yorke wyth ſuche reuerence as to ſo noble a Prince apperteyned.

Thus landed the Emperour Charles the fifth at Douer, vnder his clothe of eſtate of the blacke Eagle, all ſpredde on riche cloth of golde. He had with him many noble men, and many fayre Ladyes of his bloud.

When he was come to lande, the Lord Cardinall conducted him to the Caſtell of Douer, whiche was prepared for him in moſte royall maner.

In the morning, the king rode with all haſt to the Caſtell of Douer to welcome the Emperor, and entring into the Caſtell alighted, of whoſe comming the Emperor hauing knowledge, came out of his chamber, and met him on the ſtayres, where either of them embraced other in moſt louing maner, and then the king brought the Emperor to his chamber.

On Whitſunday early in the morning, they tooke theyr horſes, and rode to the Citie of Canterburie, the more to keepe ſolemne the feaſt of Pentecoſt, but ſpecially to ſee the Q. of England his aunt, was the Emperor his intent, of whō ye may bee ſure, he was moſt ioyfully receyued and welcomed.

Thus the Emperour and his retinue both of Lords and Ladies, kept their Whitſuntide with the king and Queene of Englande, in the Citie of Canterburie with all ioy and ſolace.

The Emperor yet himſelf ſeemed not ſo much to delite in paſtime and pleaſure, but that in reſpect of his youthfull yeres, there appeared in him a great ſhewe of grauitie: for they coulde by no meanes bring him to daunce amongſt the reſidue of the Princes, but onely was contented to be a looker on. Peraduenture the ſight of the Ladye Marie troubled him, whom he had ſometime loued, and yet through fortunes euill happe might not haue hir to wife.

The chiefe cauſe that moued the Emperour to come thus a lande at this tyme, was to perſwade that by worde of mouth, which he had before done moſt earneſtly by letters, whiche was, that the King ſhoulde not meete the French king at anye enteruiew: for hee doubted leaſt if the King of England and the French King ſhoulde growe into ſome greate friendſhippe and faythfull bonde of amitie, it might turne him to diſpleaſure. But nowe that he perceyued howe the king was forwarde on his iourney, hee did what he coulde to procure that no truſt ſhould be committed to the fayre wordes of the French men, and that if it were poſſible, the great friendſhippe that was nowe in breeding betwixte the two kings might be diſſolued.

The emperor laboureth to hinder the purpoſed enteruiew.

And forasmuch as he knewe the Lorde Cardinall to be wonne with rewardes, as a fiſh with a bayte, he beſtowed on him greate gyftes, and promyſed him much more, ſo that he woulde be his friende, and helpe to bring hys purpoſe to paſſe.

The Cardinall not able to ſuſteyne the laſte aſſault, by force of ſuch rewardes as hee preſently receyued, and of ſuche large promiſes as on the Emperours behalfe were made to him, promiſed to the Emperour, that he woulde ſo vſe the matter, as his purpoſe ſhould be ſpedde, onely hee required him not to diſallow the Kings intent for enteruiew to be had, which he deſired in any wiſe to goe forwarde, that hee myght ſhewe hys high magnificence in Fraunce, according to his firſt intention.

Hall.

The Emperour remayned in Canterburie til the Thurſday, being the laſt of May, and then taking leaue of the King, and of hys Aunte the Queene, departed to Sandwich, where hee tooke his ſhips and ſayled into Flaunders.

The ſame daye the King made ſayle from the Porte of Douer, and landed at Calays about eleuen of the Clocke, and with him the Queene and Ladies and many Nobles of the Realme, his grace was receyued into the checker, and there reſted.

The king landeth at Calais.

The fourth of June, the King and Queene with all their trayne remoued from Calays to his princely lodging newly erected beſide the towne of Guiſnes.

This princely Palayce was buylt quadrant euerie ſquare conteyning three hundred. xxviij. foote long of a ſiſe, ſo that the compaſſe was. xiij. hundred and. xij. foote about.

The deſcriptiõ of the new palace before Guiſnes.

The ſame Palayce was ſet on Stages by

great cunning and ſumptuous worke, moſt gorgeouſly decked, trymmed, and adourned, both within and without, with ſuch ſumptuous and royall furniture of all ſortes neceſſarie for the receyuing of ſuch highe eſtates, that the like might vneth bee ymagined or deuiſed, by the wytte of man.

The French king was likewiſe come to the Towne of Arde, neare to the which his lodgyng was alſo prepared, but not fully finiſhed. And like as diuerſe of the French Nobilitie had viſited the King of Englande whyleſt hee lay in Calays, ſo lykewiſe nowe the Lorde Cardinall as Ambaſſadour to the King, roade wyth a noble repayre of Lordes, Gentlemen, and Prelates, to the towne of Arde, where hee was of the French king highly enterteyned, with great thankes, for that by his meanes hee had ioyned in friendſhip wyth the King of England, to his high contentation and pleaſure, as hauing obteyned the thing which he had long deſired.

The greate pompe of Cardinal Wolſey.

The noble port, ſumptuous ſhew, and great trayne of Gentlemen, Knightes, Lordes, and number of ſeruaunts, in riche apparell and ſuyte of leuereys attendant on the Cardinall, made the Frenchmen greatly to wonder at his triumphant doings.

Great credite committed to the Cardinall by both the kings.

The king of Englande had giuen vnto the ſayde Cardinall full authoritie, power, and libertie, to affirme and confirme, binde and vnbind, whatſoeuer ſhoulde be in queſtion betweene him and the Frenche king, and the lyke authoritie, power, and libertie, did the French king by hys ſufficient letters patent, graunt to the ſame Cardinall, which was reputed to be a ſigne of great loue, that he ſhoulde commit ſo greate a truſt to the king of Englands ſubiect.

The enterview of the two kings in the vale of Andren.

The day of meeting was appoynted to bee on the Thurſday the ſeuenth of Iune, on whiche day the two kings met in the vale of Andren, accompanied with ſuche a number of the Nobilitie of both the Realmes, ſo richely appoynted in apparayle, and coſtlye Iewelles, as Chaynes, Collors of SS, and other the lyke ornamentes to ſet forth theyr degrees and eſtates, that a wonder it was to beholde and viewe them in theyr order and rowmethes, which euerie man kept according to his appoyntment.

The two Kinges meeting in the fielde, eyther ſaluted other in moſte louing wyſe, firſt on horſebacke, and after alyghting on foote eftſoones embraced with courteous wordes, to the greate reioyſing of the beholders, and after they had thus ſaluted eche other, they went bothe togither into a riche Tente of clothe of golde, there ſet vp for the purpoſe, in the whiche they paſſed the tyme in pleaſaunt talke, banquetting, and louyng deuiſes, till it drewe towarde the Euening, and then departed for that nyght, the one to Guiſnes, and the other to Arde.

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Saterday the ninth of Iune, in a place within the Engliſh Pale, were ſet vp in a fielde called the Campe, two trees of muche honour, the one called the *Aubeſpine*, that is to ſay, the Hauthorne in Engliſhe, for Henrie, and the other the *Framboiſter*, whiche in Engliſhe ſignifieth the Raſpis berie, after the ſignification in French.

Theſe trees were curiouſly wrought, the leaues of greene Damaſke, the braunches, boughes, and wythered leaues, of cloth of golde, and all the bodyes and armes of the ſame clothe of golde layde on tymber: they were in heigth from the foote to the toppe. xxxiiij. foote of aſſiſe, in compaſſe about an C. twentie and nine foote, and from bough to bough. xliij. foote: on theſe trees were flowers and fruites in kyndly wyſe, with ſiluer and Veniſe golde: their beautie ſhewed farre.

The ſame daye the two kings came to thoſe trees of honour, nobly accompanied, in ſuch royal ſort as was requiſite. The Campe was in lēgth nine hundred foote, and in bredth three. C. and xx. foot, ditched rounde about (ſauing at the entries) with brode and deepe ditches. Diuerſe ſkaffoldes were reared about this campe for the eaſe of the Nobles.

On the right ſide of the field ſtood the Queene of England, & the Queene of France, with many Ladies. The campe was ſtrongly rayled and barred on euerie end: in the entrie there were two lodgings prepared for the two kings, wherin they might arme themſelues, and take their eaſe.

Alſo in the ſame cōpaſſe there were two great ſellers couched full of wine, which was liberally beſtowed to all men.

The two kings as brethren in armes, vndertooke to deliuer all perſons at iuſtes, tourney, and barriers, and with them were aſſociate by the order of armes, the duke of Vandoſme, the duke of Suffolke: the Counte S. Paule, the Marques Dorcet: M. de Roche, ſir Williā Kingſton: M. Brian, ſir Richard Iarningham: M. Cauaan, ſir Giles Capell: M. Bukkal, maiſter Nicholas Carew: M. Montafilion, & ma. Antony Kneuet.

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Mondaye the eleuenth of Iune, the two Queenes of Englande, and of Fraunce, came to the Campe, where eyther ſaluted other righte honourably, and went into a ſtage for them prepared.

At the houre aſſigned, the two kings armed at all peeces mounted on horſebacke, and with their companyes entred the fielde, preſented themſelues to the Queenes, and after reuerence done, toke their places, abiding the anſweres whiche were deliuered in order as they came in moſt knightly wiſe, to the great contentation and pleaſure of all the beholders.

Thoſe iuſtes and martiall feates laſted till Fryday the. xv. of Iune, and on the Saterdaye being the. xvj. of the ſame moneth, the Frenche King with a ſmall number came to the caſtell of Guiſnes, aboute the houre of eyght in the morning.

French commeth isnes, e king and go- Arde.

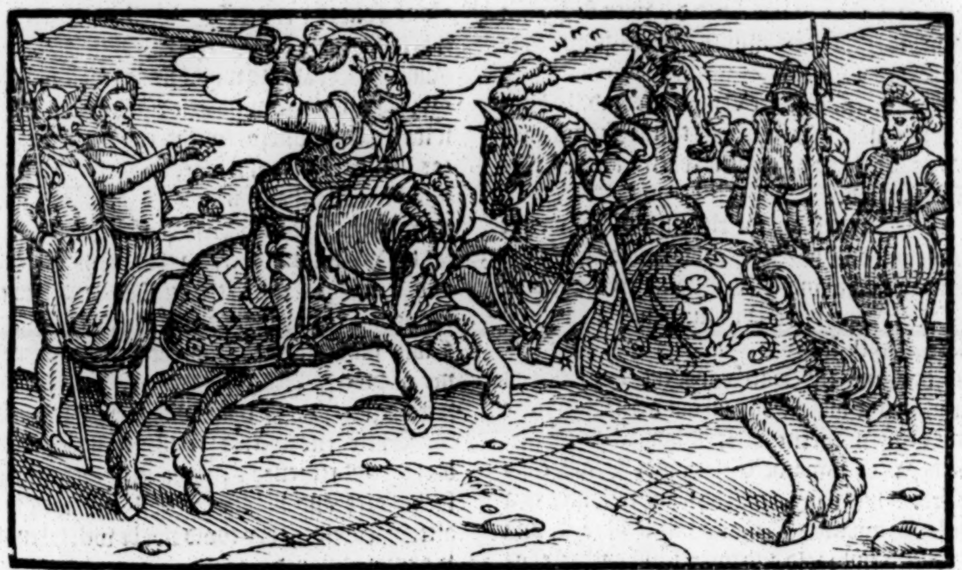
The king hauing thereof knowledge (as then being in his priuie chamber) with all haſt in gladſome wiſe went to receyue him. And after he had welcomed him in moſt louing maner, he departed and road to Arde, leauing the Frenche king ſtill at Guiſnes, and ſo comming to Arde was ioyfully receyued of the French Queene and other nobles of the realme of Fraunce, with al honour that might be deuiſed. And thus were theſe two kings, the one at Guiſnes, and the other at Arde, highly entertеined, feaſted, and banquetted, in ſuch royall and princely ſort, that wonder it is to heare, and more meruaile to conſider, of the great plentie of fine and delicate viandes, the huge ryches of ſiluer and golde in plate and veſſell, and all other furniture of ineſtimable value there preſent, and ſet forth that day, as well in the one place as in the other.

Towarde the Euening at time conuenient, they tooke their leaues and returned, the Frenche King to Arde, and the King of Englande to Guiſnes.

Monday the. xviij. of Iune was ſuch an hideous ſtorme of winde and weather, that manye coniectured it did prognoſticate trouble and hatred ſhortly after to follow betweene princes.

Tueſday the. xix. of Iune, the two kings came to the campe againe armed at all peeces, and there abode them that woulde come, ſo that then began the iuſtes a freſh.

On Wedneſday the. xx. of Iune, the two kings began to holde tourneys with all the perteyners of theyr chalenge armed at all peeces.



The Queene of Fraunce, and the Queene of Englande, were in the places for them prepared; and there was many a goodly battayle perfourmed, the Kings doing as well as the beſt, ſo that all the beholders ſpake of them honor.

Thurſday the. xxj. of Iune, the two Kings likewiſe kept the tourneys, ſo that all thoſe noble men that woulde proue their valiancies, were deliuered according to the articles of the tourneys, which this day tooke ende.

Fryday the. xxij. of Iune, the two kings with their retinue did battaile on foote at the Barriers, and there deliuered all ſuch as put forth themſelues to trie their forces.

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On Saterday the. xxiij. of Iune the Lorde Cardinall ſang an highe and ſolemne Maſſe by note aloft vpon a pompous ſtage before the two Kings and Queenes, the which being furniſhed, Indulgence was giuen to all the hearers.

The two kings dyned in one Chamber that day, and the two Queenes in another.

After dinner, the two kings with their bende entred the field on foote before the Barriers, and ſo began the fight, which continued battaile after battaile, till all the commers were anſwered.

There were deliuered this day thus at the barriers by battaile, an. C. and ſixe perſons: the two laſt battails did the kings. And ſo that Saterday the whole chalenge was performed, and all men deliuered of the articles of iuſtes, tourneys, & battayles on foote at the Barriers, by the ſayde two kings and their aydes.

Maſkes.

After this, there folowed royall maſkes, and on the Sunday the. xxiiij. of Iune, the King of Englande with foure companyes, in euerie companie tenne, trymlye appoynted in maſkyng apparell rode to Arde, and lykewiſe the Frenche king accõpanied with. xxxviij. perſons, as maſkers repayred to Guiſnes. They met on the way, and eche company paſſed by other without any countenance making or diſuiſering.

They were honourably receyued, as well at the one place as the other, and when they had ended theyr paſtime, banquetting, and daunces, they returned and met againe on the way homewardes, and then putting off their viſers, they louingly embraced: and after amiable communication togyther, they tooke leaue either of other, and for a remembraunce gaue giftes eyther to other, verie rich and princely.

King Henry departed from Guiſnes to Caleys, and from thence to Graueling to viſite the Emperour.

On the Morrow after being Monday, the xxv of Iune, the king with the Queene remoued from Guiſnes to Calays, where hee remayned till the tenth of Iuly, on whiche day he roade to Graueling, and was receyued on the waye by the Emperor, and ſo by hym conueyed to Graueling, where not onely the king, but alſo all his traine was cheared and feaſted, with ſo louing maner, that the Engliſhmen highly prayſed the Emperors Court.

This meeting of the Emperour and the king of Englande, was a coroſie to the French king and his people, as by euident tokens afterwardes well appeared.

The emperour commeth to Caleys to king Henrye.

On Wedneſday the eleuenth of Iuly, the Emperour and his Aunte the Ladie Margaret came wyth the king of Englande to the towne of Calays, and there continued in great ioy and ſolace, wyth feaſting, banquetting, daunſing and maſking till Saterdaye the fourtenth of Iuly, on the whiche day about noone, hee tooke leaue of the Queene of Englande hys Aunte, and departed towarde Graueling, beeing conducted on his way by the king of England, to a Village towardes Flanders called Waell, and there they embraced and tooke leaue eyther of other in moſt louing maner.

They did not altogither ſpend the tyme thus whileſt they were togither, in vayne pleaſures, and ſporting reuels, for the Charters before time concluded, were there read, and all the Articles of the league tripartite, agreed betwixt the Emperour, the King of Englande, and the French king, were at full declared, to the whiche the French king had fully condeſcended: and for the more prouffe thereof, and exemplyfication of the ſame, he ſent Monſieur de Roche with letters of credence to ſignifie to the Emperour, that in the worde of a Prince he woulde obſerue, fulfil, performe, and keepe all the ſame articles, for him his realme and ſubiectes.

The king returneth into England.

Shortly after that the Emperour and the King had taken leaue eche of other, and were departed, the king ſhipped, and with the Queene and all other the Nobilitie returned ſafely into England.

The King kept hys Chriſtmaſſe at Grenewiche this yeare, with much nobleneſſe and open Court.

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Polidor.

About the ſame tyme, the King hauing regarde to the common wealth of his realme, conſidered how for the ſpace of fiftie yeares paſt and more, the Nobles and Gentlemen of Englande being giuen to graſing of cattell, and keeping of ſheepe, had inuented a meane howe to encreaſe their yearely reuenues to the great decay and vndoing of the huſbandemen of the lande. For the ſayde Nobles and Gentlemen after the maner of the Numidians, more ſtudying how to encreaſe their paſtures, than to mainteyne tyllage, beganne to decay huſbande tackes and tenements, and to conuert errable grounde into Paſture, furniſhing the ſame with beaſtes and ſheepe, and alſo deare, ſo encloſing the fieldes with hedges, dytches, and pales, whiche they helde in theyr owne handes, engroſſing woolles, and ſelling the ſame, and alſo ſheepe and beaſtes at theyr owne pryſes, and as might ſtande moſt to theyr owne pryuate commoditie, whereof a threefolde euill chaunced to the common wealth, (as Polidore noteth:) one, for that thereby the number of huſband men was ſore diminiſhed, the whiche the Prince vſeth chiefely in his ſeruice for the warres: an other, for that many Townes and Vyllages were left deſolate, and became ruynous: the thirde for that both Wooll and Cloth made thereof, and the fleſhe of all maner of beaſtes vſed to bee eaten, was ſolde at farre higher pryces than was accuſtomed.

Theſe enormityes at the fyrſt beginning beeyng not redreſſed, grewe in ſhorte ſpace to ſuche force and vigour by euyll cuſtome, that afterwarwardes they could not be well taken away nor remoued.

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The King therefore cauſing ſuche good ſtatutes as had beene deuiſed and eſtabliſhed for reformation in thys behalfe, to be reuyued and called vppon, taketh order by directing forth hys Commiſſion vnto the Iuſtices of peace, and other ſuche Magyſtrates, that preſentmente ſhoulde bee hadde and made of all ſuche Incloſures, and decay of huſbandrye as had chaunced within the ſpace of fiftie yeares before that preſent tyme. The Iuſtices and other Magiſtrates according to their commiſſion executed the ſame.

And ſo commaundement was giuen that the decayed, houſes ſhould be buylt vp again, that the huſbandmen ſhould be placed eftſoones in yͤ ſame, and that incloſed grounds ſhuld be laid open, and ſore puniſhment appointed agaynſte them that diſobeyed.

Theſe ſo good and wholeſome ordinances, ſhortely after were defeated by meane of bribes giuē vnto the Cardinal: for when the nobles and Gentlemen, whiche had for their pleaſures imparked the common fieldes, were loth to haue the ſame againe diſparked, they redemed their vexation with good ſummes of money, and ſo had licence to keepe their parkes and groundes encloſed as before.

Thus the great expectation whiche men had conceiued of a generall redreſſe, proued voyde, howbeit, ſome profite the huſbandmen in ſome partes of the realme gotte by the mouing of this matter, where the incloſures were already layde open, ere miſtreſſe money coulde preuente them, and ſo they enioyed their commons, whiche before had bin taken from them.

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After that thys matter for incloſures was thus diſpatched, the Cardinall boyling in hatred againſt the duke of Buckingham, and thirſting for hys bloud, deuiſed to make Charles Kneuet, that had bin the Dukes ſurueyour, and put from hym (as yee haue hearde) an inſtrumente to bring the Duke to deſtruction.

Thys Kneuet beyng had in examination afore the Cardinall, diſcloſed all the Dukes lyfe, and firſte hee vttered, that the Duke was accuſtomed by way of talke, to ſay, howe he meante ſo to vſe the matter, that hee woulde atteyne to the Crowne, if King Henrye chanced to dye without iſſue, and that hee had talke and conference of that matter one tyme with George Neuil, Lord of Burguennye, vnto whom hee hadde giuen his daughter in marriage, and alſo that he threatned to puniſh the Cardinall for his manifolde miſdoings, beeing without cauſe his mortall enimie.

The Cardinall hauing gotten that, that hee ſought for, encourageth, comforteth, and procureth Kneuet with manye comfortable wordes, and greate promiſes, that hee ſhoulde with a bolde ſpirite and countenance, obiecte, and laye theſe thyngs to the Dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required.

Then Kneuet, partely prouoked with deſire to bee reuenged, and partely moued with hope of rewarde, openly confeſſeth, that the Duke hadde once fully determined to deuiſe meanes, how to make the Kyng away, beeyng broughte into a full hope, that hee ſhoulde bee King, by a vayne prophesie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a Monke of an houſe of the Chartreux order, beſyde Briſtow called Henton, ſometime his confeſſor had opened vnto him.

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The Cardinall hauing thus taken the examination of Kneuet, wente to the Kyng, and declared vnto hym, that hys perſon, was in danger by ſuche trayterous purpoſe, as the Duke of Buckingham hadde conceyued in his heart, and ſheweth how that nowe there is manifeſt tokens of hys wicked pretence, wherefore, hee exhorteth the Kyng to prouide for hys owne ſuretie with ſpeede.

The King hearing the accuſation, enforced to the vttermoſt by the Cardinall, maketh thys aunſwere, if the Duke haue deſerued to bee puniſhed, lette hym haue according to hys deſertes.

Hall.

The Duke herevppon is ſente for vp to Lōdon, and at his comming thither, is ſtraightewayes attached, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henry Marney, Captayne of the garde, the ſixtenth of Aprill.

There was alſo attached the foreſayde Chartreux Monke, maiſter John de la Kar, alias de la Court, the Dukes confeſſor, and Sir Gilbert Perke prieſt, the Dukes Chancelloure.

An. reg. 13.

The Duke of Puckingham indited of treſon.

After the apprehenſion of the Duke, inquiſitions were taken in dyuers Shires of England of hym, ſo that by the Knightes and Gentlemen, he was endited of high treaſon, for certaine wordes ſpoken, as before yee haue hearde, by the ſame Duke at Blechingly, to the Lorde of Burguennie, and therwith was the ſame Lorde attached for concelement, and ſo likewiſe was the Lord Montagew, and both led to the Tower.

Sir Edwarde Neuill, brother to the ſayde Lorde of Burguennie, was forbidden the kings preſence.

The effect of the Dukes inditement.

Th Duke is indited of treſon in Londō.

This Hopkins had ſent one of the Prior of Hētōs ſeruātes to the Duke the day afore, to will hym to ſende ouer to hym hys Chauncellour as by an other inditement it appeareth.

Moreouer, in the Guild Hall, within ẏ Citie of London, before John Brugge Knyghte, then Lorde Maior of the ſame Citie, by an inqueſt whereof, one Miles Jerrard was foreman, the ſaid Duke was endited of dyuers poyntes of high treaſon, as by the ſame Inditemēt it appeareth, inferring that the ſayde Duke, intendyng to exalt himſelfe, and to vſurp the Crowne. the royall power, and dignitie of the Realme of England, and to depriue the Kings maieſtie thereof, that he the ſayd Duke myght take vpon hym the ſame againſte his allegiance, had the tenthe daye of Marche, in the ſecond yeare of the kings maieſties raigne, and at diuers other tymes before and after, imagined and compaſſed the Kings death and deſtruction at London, and at Thornebury, in the Countie of Glouceſter, and for the accompliſhment of his wicked intent and purpoſe, (as in the enditemente is alledged) the 24. of Aprill, in the fourthe yeare of the Kynges raigne, he ſent one of his Chaplaynes called Jo. de la Court, vnto the priorie of Henton in Somerſetſhire, whiche was an houſe of Chartreux Monkes, there to vnderſtande of one Nicholas Hopkins, a Monke of the ſame houſe (who was vaynely reputed by way of reuelation, to haue fore-apparell rode to Arde, and lykewiſe the Frenche king accōpanied with. xxxviij. perſons, as maſkers repayred to Guiſnes. They met on the way, and eche company paſſed by other without any countenance making or diſuiſering.

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Polidor.

About the ſame tyme, the King hauing regarde to the common wealth of his realme, conſidered how for the ſpace of fiftie yeares paſt and more, the Nobles and Gentlemen of Englande being giuen to graſing of cattell, and keeping of ſheepe, had inuented a meane howe to encreaſe their yearely reuenues to the great decay and vndoing of the huſbandemen of the lande. For the ſayde Nobles and Gentlemen after the maner of the Numidians, more ſtudying how to encreaſe their paſtures, than to mainteyne tyllage, beganne to decay huſbande tackes and tenements, and to conuert errable grounde into Paſture, furniſhing the ſame with beaſtes and ſheepe, and alſo deare, ſo encloſing the fieldes with hedges, dytches, and pales, whiche they helde in theyr owne handes, engroſſing woolles, and ſelling the ſame, and alſo ſheepe and beaſtes at theyr owne pryſes, and as might ſtande moſt to theyr owne pryuate commoditie, whereof a threefolde euill chaunced to the common wealth, (as Polidore noteth:) one, for that thereby the number of huſband men was ſore diminiſhed, the whiche the Prince vſeth chiefely in his ſeruice for the warres: an other, for that many Townes and Vyllages were left deſolate, and became ruynous: the thirde for that both Wooll and Cloth made thereof, and the fleſhe of all maner of beaſtes vſed to bee eaten, was ſolde at farre higher pryces than was accuſtomed.

Theſe enormityes at the fyrſt beginning beeyng not redreſſed, grewe in ſhorte ſpace to ſuche force and vigour by euyll cuſtome, that afterwarwardes they could not be well taken away nor remoued.

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The King therefore cauſing ſuche good ſtatutes as had beene deuiſed and eſtabliſhed for reformation in thys behalfe, to be reuyued and called vppon, taketh order by directing forth hys Commiſſion vnto the Iuſtices of peace, and other ſuche Magyſtrates, that preſentmente ſhoulde bee hadde and made of all ſuche Incloſures, and decay of huſbandrye as had chaunced within the ſpace of fiftie yeares before that preſent tyme. The Iuſtices and other Magiſtrates according to their commiſſion executed the ſame.

And ſo commaundement was giuen that the decayed, houſes ſhould be buylt vp again, that the huſbandmen ſhould be placed eftſoones in yͤ ſame, and that incloſed grounds ſhuld be laid open, and ſore puniſhment appointed agaynſte them that diſobeyed.

Theſe ſo good and wholeſome ordinances, ſhortely after were defeated by meane of bribes giuẽ vnto the Cardinal: for when the nobles and Gentlemen, whiche had for their pleaſures imparked the common fieldes, were loth to haue the ſame againe diſparked, they redeemed their vexation with good ſummes of money, and ſo had licence to keepe their parkes and grounds encloſed as before.

Thus the great expectation whiche men had conceiued of a generall redreſſe, proued voyde, howbeit, ſome profite the huſbandmen in ſome partes of the realme gotte by the mouing of this matter, where the incloſures were already layde open, ere miſtreſſe money coulde preuente them, and ſo they enioyed their commons, whiche before had bin taken from them.

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After that thys matter for incloſures was thus diſpatched, the Cardinall boyling in hatred againſt the duke of Buckingham, and thirſting for hys bloud, deuiſed to make Charles Kneuet, that had bin the Dukes ſurueyour, and put from hym (as yee haue hearde) an inſtrumente to bring the Duke to deſtruction.

Thys Kneuet beyng had in examination afore the Cardinall, diſcloſed all the Dukes lyfe, and firſte hee vttered, that the Duke was accuſtomed by way of talke, to ſay, howe he meante ſo to vſe the matter, that hee woulde atteyne to the Crowne, if King Henrye chanced to dye without iſſue, and that hee had talke and conference of that matter one tyme with George Neuil, Lord of Burguennye, vnto whom hee hadde giuen his daughter in marriage, and alſo that he threatned to puniſh the Cardinall for his manifolde miſdoings, beeing without cauſe his mortall enimie.

The Cardinall hauing gotten that, that hee ſought for, encourageth, comforteth, and procureth Kneuet with manye comfortable wordes, and greate promiſes, that hee ſhoulde with a bolde ſpirite and countenance, obiecte, and laye theſe thyngs to the Dukes charge, with more if he knew it when time required.

Then Kneuet, partely prouoked with deſire to bee reuenged, and partely moued with hope of rewarde, openly confeſſeth, that the Duke hadde once fully determined to deuiſe meanes, how to make the Kyng away, beeyng broughte into a full hope, that hee ſhoulde bee King, by a vayne prophecie which one Nicholas Hopkins, a Monke of an houſe of the Chartreux order, beſyde Briſtow called Henton, ſometime his confeſſor had opened vnto him.

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The Cardinall hauing thus taken the examination of Kneuet, wente to the Kyng, and declared vnto hym, that hys perſon, was in danger by ſuche trayterous purpoſe, as the Duke of Buckingham hadde conceyued in his heart, and ſheweth how that nowe there is manifeſt tokens of hys wicked pretence, wherefore, hee exhorteth the Kyng to prouide for hys owne ſuretie with ſpeede.

The King hearing the accuſation, enforced to the vttermoſt by the Cardinall, maketh thys aunſwere, if the Duke haue deſerued to bee puniſhed, lette hym haue according to hys deſertes.

The Duke hereupon is ſente for vp to Lõdon, and at his comming thither, is ſtraightewayes attached, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henry Marney, Captayne of the garde, the ſixtenth of Aprill.

Hall.

There was alſo attached the foreſayde Chartreux Monke, maiſter Iohn de la Kar, alias de la Court, the Dukes confeſſor, and Sir Gilbert Perke prieſt, the Dukes Chancelloure.

*An.reg.*13.

After the apprehenſion of the Duke, inquiſitions were taken in dyuers Shires of England of hym, ſo that by the Knightes and Gentlemen, he was endited of high treaſon, for certaine wordes ſpoken, as before yee haue hearde, by the ſame Duke at Blechingly, to the Lorde of Burguennie, and therwith was the ſame Lorde attached for concelement, and ſo likewiſe was the Lord Montagew, and both led to the Tower.

The Duke of Buckingham indited of treſon.

Sir Edwarde Neuill, brother to the ſayde Lorde of Burguennie, was forbidden the kings preſence.

Moreouer, in the Guild hall, within ẏ Citie of London, before Iohn Brugge Knyghte, then Lorde Maior of the ſame Citie, by an inqueſt whereof, one Miles Ierrard was foreman, the ſaid Duke was endited of dyuers poyntes of high treaſon, as by the ſame Inditemẽt it appeareth, inferring that the ſayde Duke, intendyng to exalt himſelfe, and to vſurp the Crowne, the royall power, and dignitie of the Realme of England, and to depriue the Kings maieſtie thereof, that he the ſayd Duke myght take vpon hym the ſame againſte his allegiance, had the tenthe daye of Marche, in the ſecond yeare of the kings maieſties raigne, and at diuers other tymes before and after, imagined and compaſſed the Kings death and deſtruction at London, and at Thornebury, in the Countie of Glouceſter, and for the accompliſhment of his wicked intent and purpoſe, (as in the enditemente is alledged) the 24. of Aprill, in the fourthe yeare of the Kynges raigne, he ſent one of his Chaplaynes called Io. de la Court, vnto the priorie of Henton in Somerſetſhire, whiche was an houſe of Chartreux Monkes, there to vnderſtande of one Nicholas Hopkins, a Monke of the ſame houſe (who was vaynely reputed by way of reuelation, to haue fore-

The effect of the Dukes inditement.

Th Duke is indited of treſon in Londõ.

This Hopkins had ſent one of the Prior of Hẽtõs ſeruãts to the Duke the day afore, to will hym to ſende ouer to hym hys Chauncellour as by an other inditement it appeareth.

foreknowledge of things to come) what ſhoulde happen, concerning this matter, whiche hee hadde ymagyned, whiche Monke, cauſing the ſaid de la Courte firſte to ſweare vnto him, not to diſcloſe his wordes to anye manner of perſon, but only to the Duke his maiſter, therewith declared, that his maiſter the ſayde Duke, ſhoulde haue all, willing him for the accompliſhment of his purpoſe, to ſeeke to winne the fauour of the people. De la Court came backe with this aunſwere, and tolde it to the Duke at Thorneburye the morrow after, being the. 25. of Aprill.

Alſo, the. 22. of July in the ſame fourth yeare, the Duke ſente the ſame de la Court, with letters vnto the ſaide Monke, to vnderſtand of him further of ſuch matters, and the Monke tolde to him againe for aunſwer, that the Duke ſhoulde haue all, and being aſked as well now as before, at the firſte time howe hee knewe this to be true, he ſayd, by the grace of God, and with this aunſwere, de la Court now alſo returning, declared the ſame vnto the D. the. 24. of July at Thornebury aforeſaid.

Moreouer, the ſaid Duke ſent the ſame de la Court againe vnto the ſayde Monke with hys letters, the ſixe and twentith of Aprill, in the fifth yeare of the Kings raigne, when the Kyng was to take hys iourney into Fraunce, requiring to vnderſtande, what ſhoulde become of theſe warres, and whether the Scottiſh King ſhoulde in the Kings abſence inuade this Realme or not. The Monke among other things for anſwere of theſe letters, ſent the Duke worde, that the King ſhould haue no iſſue male.

Againe, the ſaide Duke the twentith daye of February, in the ſixth yeare of the Kings raigne, beeing at Thorneburye, ſpake theſe wordes vnto Rauſe Earle of Weſtmerlande, Well, there are two new Dukes created heere in Englande, but if ought but good come to the King, the Duke of Buckingham ſhould be next in bloud to ſucceed to the Crowne.

After this, the ſaide D. on the ſixtenth daye of Aprill, in the ſaid ſixth yeare of the kings raigne, went in perſon vnto the priorie of Henton, and there had conference with the foreſaide Monke, Nicholas Hopkins, who tolde him, that he ſhuld be K. whereunto the D. ſaide, that if it ſo chanced, he would ſhew himſelfe a iuſt and righteous prince. The Monke alſo tolde the Duke, that he knew this by reuelation, and willed hym in anye wiſe to procure the loue of the commõs, the better to atteine his purpoſed intention. The Duke the ſame time, gaue and promiſed to giue yerely vnto the ſaid priorie, ſixe pound, therwith to buy a tun of wine. And further, hee promiſed to giue vnto the ſame Priorie, in ready money twentie pound, whereof ten pounde he gaue in hand, towards the conueying of water vnto the houſe by a conduit. And to yͤ ſaid Monke Nicholas Hopkins, he gaue at that preſente in reward three li. and at another time, fortie ſhillings, at an other time a marke, and at an other time ſixe ſhillings eight pence. After this, yͤ twentith day of March, in the tenth yere of the Kings raigne, he came to the ſame Priorie, and eftſoones had conference with the ſaid Monke, to be more fully informed by him in the matters aboue ſpecified, at what time, the Monke alſo told him, that he ſhould be King, and the D. in talke tolde the Monke, that he hadde done very well to binde his Chaplayne John de la Court, vnder the ſeale of confeſſion, to keepe ſecret ſuch matter, for if the king ſhould come to the knowledge thereof, it would be hys deſtruction. Likewiſe, the twentith daye of October, in the ſeuenth yeare of the kings raigne, and at diuers other times, as well before as after, the ſaid D. had ſent his Chancellor Robert Gilbert Chaplaine, vnto London, there to buy certayne clothes of golde, ſiluer, and veluets, euery tyme ſo much as amounted to the worth of three C. li. to the intent that the ſaid D. might beſtow yͤ ſame, as wel vpon knightes, eſquiers, Gentlemẽ of the kings houſe, and yeomen of his gard, as vpon other the kings ſubiects, to winne theyr fauours and friendſhippes to aſſiſt him in his euill purpoſe, which clothes the ſaid Gilbert did buy, & brought the ſame vnto the ſaid D. who yͤ twentith day of January, in the ſaid ſeuenth yere, and diuers other dayes and yeares before and after, did diſtribute & giue the ſame vnto certayne of yͤ kings ſubiects, for the purpoſe afore recited, as by the inditemẽt it was inferred. Furthermore, the ſaid duke, the tenth of July, in yͤ tenth yere of the kings raigne, & diuers other dayes and times, as well before as after, did conſtitute more ſeuerall & perticuler officers in his Caſtels, honors, lordſhips, & lands than he was accuſtomed to haue, to the ende they might be aſſiſtant to him vnder coulour of ſuch offices, to bring his euill purpoſe to paſſe. Moreouer, the ſame D. ſent to the K. the tenth of May, in the ninth yere of his raigne, for licence to reteine any of the kings ſubiects, whom it ſhould pleaſe him, dwelling within the ſhires of Hereford, Glouceſter, and Somerſetſhire, and alſo, that he might at his pleaſure, conuey diuers armures, and habiliments for war into Wales, to the intẽt to vſe the ſame againſt the K. as the enditemente imported, for the accompliſhing of his naughtie purpoſe, whiche was to deſtroy the K. and to vſurp the royal gouernement and power to himſelfe, whiche ſute for licence to haue reteiners, & to conuey ſuche armours and habiliments of war, the ſaid Gilbert, the twentith day of May, in the ſaide ninth yere, and diuers other days before and after, at Lõdon, & Eaſt Greenewich did followe, labouring earneſtly, both to yͤ K. and counſaile, for obteining yͤ ſame. And the twentith day of Iuly in the ſaid ninth yeare, the ſaid D. ſent the ſaid Gilbert vnto Henton aforeſaid, to vnderſtād of the foreſaid Monke Nicholas Hopkins, what he heard of him: and yͤ Mōke ſent him word, that before Chriſtmas next, there ſhoulde bee a change, and that the Duke ſhoulde haue the rule and gouernement of all England. And moreouer, the twentith of February, in the eleuenth yere of the kings raigne, at Blechinglee in the countie of Surrey, the ſaid Duke ſaid vnto the ſaid Robert Gilbert his Chancellor, that he did expect and tarrie for a time more conuenient to atchieue his purpoſe, and that it myghte eaſily be done, if the nobles of this Realm would declare their mindes togither: but ſome of them miſtruſted, and feared to ſhew their minds togither, and that marred all. He ſaid further yͤ ſame time vnto the ſaid Gilbert, that what ſoeuer was done by the kings father, was done by wrong: & ſtill the D. murmured againſt all that the Kyng then preſently reigning did. And further he ſaid, that he knew himſelfe to be ſo wicked a ſinner, yͭ he wanted Gods fauour, and therefore he knew, that whatſoeuer he tooke in hand againſt the K. had the worſe ſucceſſe. And furthermore, yͤ ſayd D. (to alienate the minds of the kings ſubiects, from their dutiful obeiſance towards the ſaid K. and his heires (the twētith day of September, in the firſt yere of his raigne) being then at Londō, reported vnto yͤ ſaid Robert Gilbert, that he had a certaine writing ſealed with the Kings greate ſeale, comprehending a certaine acte of Parliament, in the which it was enacted, that the D. of Somerſet, one of the kings progenitors was made legitimate: and further, that the ſaid Duke meante to haue deliuered the ſame writing vnto K. Henry the ſeuenth, but (ſaid he) I woulde not that I had ſo done, for ten thouſand pound. And furthermore, the ſame D. the fourth day of Nouember, in the eleuenth yere of the kings raigne, at Eaſt Grenewich, in yͤ countie of Kent, ſayde vnto one Charles Kniuet Eſquier, after that the K. had reproued the D. for reteining Wil. Bulmer Knighte, into his ſeruice, that if hee hadde perceiued that hee ſhould haue bin committed to the tower, as he doubted he ſhould haue bin, hee would haue ſo wrought, that the principal doers therein ſhould not haue had cauſe of great reioicing, for he would haue plaid the part which hys father intended to haue put in practiſe againſte K. Richarde the thirde at Saliſburie, who made earneſt ſute to haue come vnto the preſence of the ſame K. Richard, whiche ſuite, if hee might haue obteined, he hauing a knife ſecretely about hym, would haue thruſt it into the body of K. Richard as hee had made ſemblance to kneele downe before him, and in ſpeaking theſe words, he maliciouſly laid his hand vpon his dagger, and ſayde, that if he were ſo euil vſed, hee would do his beſt to accompliſh his pretenſed purpoſe, ſwearing to confirme his worde by the bloud of our Lorde. And beſide all this, the ſame D. the tenth daye of May, in the twelfth yeare of the kings raigne, at London, in a place called the Roſe, within yͤ pariſh of S. Laurēce Poultney in Canwike ſtreete ward, demanded of the ſaid Charles Kniuet eſquier, what was the talke amōg the Londoners, concerning the kings iourney beyond the ſeas: & the ſaid Charles told him, yͭ many ſtood in doubt of yͤ iourney, leaſt the frenchmen meant ſome deceit towards yͤ K. whereunto the D. anſwered, yͭ it was to be feared, leaſt it would come to paſſe, according to the words of a certaine holy Mōke. For ther is (ſaith he) a certain Chartreux Mōke, that diuers times hath ſent to me, willing me to ſend vnto him my Chancellor, and I did ſende vnto him Iohn de la Court my Chaplain, vnto whom he would not declare any thing, til De la Court had ſworne vnto him to keepe al things ſecret, and to tel to no creature liuing, what he ſhould heare of him, except it were to me, and thē the ſaide Monke tolde to De la Court, neither yͭ the K. nor his heires ſhould proſper, and that I ſhoulde endeuour my ſelfe to purchaſe the good willes of the cōmunaltie of England, for I the ſame D. and my bloud ſhould proſper, & haue the rule of the realm of Englād. Then ſaid Charles Kniuet, the Monke may be deceiued through yͤ Diuels illuſion, and that it was euil to medle wͭ ſuch matters. Well ſaide the D. it can not hurte me, and ſo (ſaith the enditement) the D. ſemed to reioyce in the dukes wordes. And further, yͤ ſame time, the D. told the ſaid Charles, that if the K. had miſcaried now in his laſt ſickneſſe, he would haue chopped off the heads of the Cardinall, of ſir Tho. Louel knight, & of others, and alſo ſaid, that he had rather die for it, than to be ſo vſed as he had bin. Moreouer, the tenth day of September, in the ſaid eleuēth yere of this kings raigne, at Blechinglie, in the Countie of Surrey, walking in the gallerie there with George Neuill Knight, L. of Burgauenny, the D. murmuring againſt the kings counſellors, and their gouernment, ſaid vnto the ſaid George, that if the kyng dyed, hee woulde haue the rule of the Realme in ſpite of who ſo euer ſaid the contrary, and withal ſaid, that if the ſaid L. of Burgauennie woulde ſay, that the D. had ſpokē ſuch words, he would fight with him, and lay his ſword vpon his pate, and this he bound vp with many great othes.

Theſe were the ſpeciall articles and poyntes compriſed in the enditemente, and laide to hys charge, but how truely, or in what ſort proued, I haue not further to ſay, eyther in accuſing or excuſing him, other then as I fynde in Hall and Polidor, whoſe wordes in effect, I haue thoughte good to impart to yͤ reader, & without any parcial wreſting of the ſame, eyther too or fro: ſauing yͤ (I truſt) I may without offence ſay that as yͤ rumor then went, the Cardinal chiefly procured yͤ death of this noble man, no leſſe fauoured and beloued of the people of this realme in that ſeaſon, than the Cardinall himſelfe was hated and enuyed, whiche thing cauſed the Dukes fall the more to be pitied & lamented, ſith he was the mã of all other, that chiefly went about to croſſe the Cardinall in his lordly demeanour, and heady proceedings. But to the purpoſe. Shortly after that the D. had bin endited (as before yee haue hearde) he was arraigned in Weſtminſter Hal, before the Duke of Norffolke, being made by yͤ kings letters patents, high ſteward of Englãd, to accompliſh yͤ high cauſe of appeale of yͤ peere, or peeres of the realme, and to decerne and iudge the cauſes of the peeres. There were alſo appoynted to ſitte as peeres and iudges vpon the ſaide D. of Buckingham, the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, the Erles of Worceſter, Deuonſhire, Eſſex, Shreweſburie, Kent, Oxford, and Derby, the Lord of Saint Iohns, the Lord de la Ware, the lord Fitz Warren, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Brooke, the Lorde Cobham, the Lord Herbert, and the Lord Morley. There was made within the Hall at Weſtminſter a Scaffolde for theſe Lordes, and a preſence for a Iudge, rayled and counterrayled about, and barred with degrees. When the lordes had taken their place, the Duke was brought to the barre, and vppon his arraignemente pleaded not giltie, and put hymſelfe vpõ his peeres. Thẽ was the enditement read, which the D. denied to be true, and (as he was an eloquent man) alledged reaſons to falſifye the enditement, pleadyng the matter for his owne iuſtification very pithely, and earneſtly. The Kings attourney againſt the Dukes reaſons alledged the examinations, confeſſions, and proues of witneſſes. The D. deſired that yͤ witneſſes might be brought forth, & then came before him Charles Kneuet, Perke, de la Court, & Hopkins the Monke of the Priory of the Charterhouſe beſide Bath, which like a falſe Hypocrite, had enduced the Duke to the treaſon, with his falſe forged propheſies. Diuers preſumptions and accuſations were layd to him by Charles Kneuet, which he would faine haue couered. The depoſitions were redde, and the deponents deliuered as priſoners to the officers of the Tower.

The Duke of Buckingham araigned at Weſtminſter.

The names of the Dukes peeres for hys triall.

Polidor. *Hall.*

Finally to conclude, there was he found giltie by hys peeres, and hauing iudgemente to ſuffer as in caſe of treaſon is vſed, was led agayne to his Barge, and ſo conueyed by water to the Temple, where he was ſet a land, and there Sir Nicholas Vaux, and ſir Wil. Sands Baronets receiued him, and led him through the ſtreetes of the Citie to the Tower as a caſt man. On Friday the ſeuententh of May, he was with a great power deliuered to the Sheriffes of Lõdon, who led him to the Scaffold on Tower hill about a eleuen of the clocke, and there he was beheaded.

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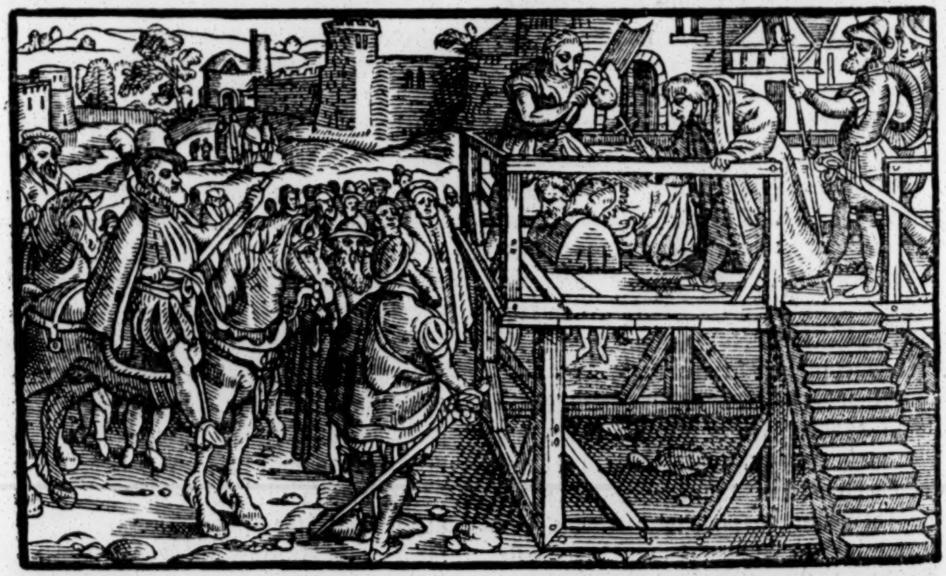

The Auſteyne Friers tooke his head and body, and buried them.

Great lamentation was made for his death, but ſuch is the ende (ſaid ſome) of ambition, falſe prophecies, euill life, and naughty counſell.

In this meane while, were the Emperoure and the Frenche King fallen at variance, ſo that the warre was renued betwixt them: for the pacifying whereof, the Cardinall of Yorke was ſent ouer to Calais, where the Ambaſſadors of both thoſe princes were appoynted to come vnto him. He arriued there the ſecond of Auguſt.

Cardin
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There went ouer with him the Erle of Worceſter, then L. Chamberlain, the L. of S. Johns, the Lord Ferrers, the L. Herbert, the B. of Dureſme, the B. of Ely, the primate of Armarcane, ſir Tho. Bulleigne, ſir John Peche, ſir Jo. Huſſey, ſir Rich. Wingfield, ſir Henry Guilford, and many other knightes, eſquiers, Gentlemen, doctors, & learned men. Shortly after his ariuall at Calais, thither came the Chancellor of France, and the counte de Palice, with foure C. horſe, as Ambaſſadors from the French K. and likewiſe from the Emperoure came great Ambaſſadors, either partie beeing furniſhed with ſufficient cōmiſſions, to treate & conclude of peace as ſhould appeare, but yet whē it came to the point, as the one partie ſeemed conformable to reaſonable offers, ſo the other would not encline that way, in ſo much, that they were neuer at one time agreeable to anye indifferente motion that coulde bee made. Ther were alſo the Popes Ambaſſadors, whereupon, the Cardinall would haue furthered a league betwixte the Emperour, the K. of England, the King of France, and the Pope: but the Popes Ambaſſadors wanted commiſſion thereto, and therefore were letters ſent to Rome in all haſt, and the frenchmen taried ſtil in Calais, till anſwere came from thence. The Cardinall rode into Flanders to ſpeake with yͤ Emperour, whiche as thē lay in Bruges. A mile without Bruges the Emperoure receiued him, and did to hym as much hononr as could be deuiſed. The cheere was great which was made to the Engliſhmen, and of euery thing there was ſuche plentie, that there was no wante of things neceſſary. The Cardinal after he had ſoiourned in Bruges by yͤ ſpace of thirtene dayes, & concluded diuers matters with the Emperour, & accompliſhed his cōmiſſion, he tooke leaue of his maieſtie, and by cōuenient iourneis, returned to Calais, where the Ambaſſadors of France tarried his comming, & immediately after his returne to Calais, he treated with them of peace, but not ſo earneſtly as he did before. In fine, nothing was concluded, but only that fiſhermen of both the Princes, myght freely fiſhe on the ſeas without diſturbance, till yͤ ſecond of February next. When no concluſiō of agreement could be accorded, the Cardinall ſent to the Emperour the Lord of S. Johns, and ſir Tho. Bullein Knight, to aduertiſe his maieſtie what had bin done, and likewiſe to the Frēch K. (as then lying in camp with a mightie army in the marches about Cambrey) the Erle of Worceſter, and the B. of Ely were ſente to enforme him of all things that had bin mocioned, exhorting him to encline to peace, but hee gaue little eare thereto: and then after they had bin a nynetene or twenty dayes in his hoſt, they returned. During the cōtinuance of the Cardinall in Calais, all writtes and patents were there by hym ſealed, and no Sheriffes choſen for lacke of hys preſence, hauing there with him the great ſeale, & ful power in things, as if the King had bin there in perſon. Ambaſſadors comming from the K. of Hungary towardes the K. of England, were receiued honorably of the Cardinall during his abode in Calais. After the returne of the Engliſh Ambaſſadors, which the Cardinall had ſent to yͤ Emperour, and to the french K. he returned into Englande, hauing (as ſome write) concluded a new league with the Emperour, and ſignified by way of intendment to the french K. in the treatie with his Ambaſſadors, that the K of Englād meant him not ſo muche friendſhip, as of late he had done, for diuers cauſes, but ſpecialy this was vttered, that where it was concluded that the K. of Scottes ſhould be included within the league (as before ye haue heard) contrary to that agreement, the ſaide K. refuſed to enter as a confederate into the ſame league: and this no doubt proceded through counſell of yͤ french, by whome he was wholly guided. This quarrell was layd as an occaſion, why to moue the K. of Englande (perceiuing himſelfe to bee diſſembled with) to withdraw his good wil from the French K. who when he vnderſtood the drifts of the Cardinall, & concluſion of the new league confirmed betwixt the K. of Englande and the Emperour, he condemneth the Cardinall of vntroth, accuſeth hym of diſſimulation, abhorreth his practiſes, as by yͤ whiche he loſt the fruition of the K. of Englande his friendſhip, and might no longer enioy it: and herewith hee determined with himſelfe neuer to put confidence in any Engliſh man after, nor to beſtow any giftes or penſions vpon them, for he vſed yearely to ſende vnto diuers of the Kynges counſaile after the maner of his predeceſſors ſundry giftes and ſummes of money: and bicauſe he had imployed more on the Cardinall than on yͤ reſidue, he was the more offended towarde hym, as the head of all this iniurious doing. Yet hee found not himſelfe ſo muche greeued, as to vtter any bitter wordes towards the K. but contrarily within a while after, directed his leters vnto him, ſignifying, that he meant to continue the league as his friend: but it may be he did this after a diſſembling ſort, bicauſe he would not be at warres with two ſo mightie Princes at one tyme.

Cardinall Wolley carieth the great ſeale with him to Calais, and there ſealeth writtes and patents.

Polidor.

In this meane while, the warre was purſued betwixt the Emperour, and the French Kyng, as well on the confynes towards Flanders, as beyond the Mountaynes in the parties of Lombardy. Tourney was beſieged by the Lorde Hugh de Moncada, a Spanyard, the whyche commyng vppon the ſuddayne, tooke manye abrode in the fields, ere they knew of his approch, & after this, comming afore yͤ Citie, he enuironed

Hote warres betweene the Emperor and the french K.

Tourney beſieged by the Emperor hys men.

it with a ſiege, to keepe the Citizens from ſtirring forth, and ſet part of his army with yͤ light horſemẽ, to forley the ſtreetes and paſſages, that no ſuccour ſhould come to them within.

The Frenche Kyng aſſembled an armye, in hope to ayde them of Tourney, with men, munitions, and vittailes, the whiche armye aſſayed twice or thrice with all indeuour, to haue approched the Citie, but in vayne, for with no ſmall loſſe the Frenche were repulſed by the imperials, which neuertheles, felt their part of ſlaughter, loſing ſundry of their Captaynes, as baſterd Emery, and the Captaine of Eaunt. Finally, the French army brake vp, and was diſperſed into fortreſſes, wherevppon, they of Tourney perceiuing the ſuccours which they hoped for, to faile them thus at neede, rendred the Citie to the Emperour the laſt of Nouẽber, in this thirteenth yere of King Henries raigne.

Hall.

Tourney deliuered vp to the Emperor.

Polidor.

Cardinal Wolſey maketh meanes to be elected Pope.

Pope Leo died this yere, and doctor Richarde Pace was ſent to Rome, to make friends in the behalfe of yͤ Cardinal of Yorke, who was brought into a vayne hope, through the kings fauour and furtherance, to be elected Pope, but Adrian yͤ ſixthe of that name was choſen before Doctor Pace could come to Rome, and ſo that ſute was daſhed. Yet Pace kept forthe his iourney according to his commiſſion. This Pace was a right worthye man, and one that gaue in counſayle faithfull aduice. Learned he was alſo, & endowed with many excellent good giftes of nature, courteous, pleaſant, and delighting in muſicke, highly in the kings fauour, and well heard in matters of weight. But the more the Prince fauoured him, the more was he miſliked of the Cardinall, who ſought only to beare all the rule himſelf, and to haue no partner, ſo that he procured that this doctor Pace vnder coulour of Ambaſſades, to be ſent forth of the Realme, that his preſence about the King, ſhould not win him too muche authoritie and fauour at the kings hands.

The deſcription of Doctor Pace.

Hall.

Doctor Tunſtall made Byſhop of London.

This yeare was a great death in London and other places of the Realme. Many men of honor and great worſhip dyed, and amongſt other, the Biſhop of London, doctor Fitz James, in whoſe place was doctor Tunſtall elected. The Earle of Surrey returned out of Ireland, and came to the court the fiue and twentith of January. Many complaintes were made by the Merchaunts to the King and his counſaile of the Frenchmen, which ſpoyled them by ſea of their goodes, for by reaſon that the warres were open betwixte the Emperour, and the French King, many ſhippes of warre were abroade on both partes, and nowe and then the Engliſhmen fell into their handes, and were vſed as enimies, namely by the Frenchmen, which naturally hated the Engliſhmen.

1522

The Frenche Kings Ambaſſadors promiſed reſtitution of euery thing, but little was reſtored.

In this moneth of January therefore, the King commaunded all his Shippes to be rigged, and made ready, whiche was done with all diligence.

The ſeconde daye of February, the King as then being at Grenewich, receiued a Bull from the Pope, whereby hee was declared defendor of the Chriſtian faith, and likewiſe his ſucceſſors for euer.

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The Cardinal of Yorke ſang the high Maſſe that day with all the pompous ſolemnitie that might be, and gaue cleane remiſſion of ſinnes to all that heard it. In this meane time, grudges and diſpleaſures ſtill grew and increaſed betwixt the King of England and the French King, ſo that their greefes rancled dayly more and more, till at length the Duke of Albany returned into Scotlande, contrary to that whiche was couenaunted by the league. The french King indede alledged, that hee was not priuie to his going thither, and wrote to the King, that the ſayde Duke was entred Scotland without his aſſent, but it was otherwiſe iudged and knowen, that he had commiſſion of the French K. to goe thyther. Hereupon, the K. was ſore offended, and prepared for warres, muſters were made of able men, and a note taken of what ſubſtance men were of. The King alſo ſente ſixe ſhippes to the ſea, wel trimmed, mãned, and vitailed. The Admirall was one Chriſtopher Coo, an expert ſeaman. His commiſſion was, to ſauegard yͤ merchants, & other the kings ſubiects, that were greeuouſly ſpoyled and robbed on the ſea, by Frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers. The eighth of February, the Lord Dacres, warden of the marches fore ageinſt Scotlande, entred into Scotland with fiue C. men by the kings commaundemente, and there proclaimed, that the Scottes ſhould come in, to the kings peace, by the firſt of March following, or elſe to ſtand at their perils, the D. of Albany being then within fiue miles with a mighty power of Scottes. The eleuenth of Februarye, the L. Aburgeuẽnie was brought from the Tower to Weſtminſter, and there in the kings bench confeſſed his enditement of miſpriſion. The Lord Montagewe was aboute the ſame time reſtored to the kings fauour. The ſecond of Marche, certaine noble men of the Empire, arriued in Englande, to paſſe into Spayne, who were honorably receyued, and in honor of them, greate iuſtes and triumphes were made, which beeing finiſhed and done, they tooke theyr leaue and departed on their iourney. A Scottiſh rouer called Duncane Camell, after long fight, was taken on the Sea by John Arundell an eſquier of Cornewall, who preſented hym to the K. He was committed to the Tower, and there remay-

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remayned priſoner a long ſeaſon. All the Kings ſhippes were putte in a readineſſe, ſo that by the beginning of Aprill, they were rigged and trimmed ready to make ſaile. This yeare, dyed the L. Broke, ſir Edward Poinings, Knight of the garter, ſir John Pecby, & ſir Edw. Belknap, valiant Captaines, which were ſuſpected to be poiſoned at a banket made at Arde, when the two kings met laſt. Wheate was ſolde this yeare in the Citie of Londō, for twenty ſhillings a quarter, and in other places for. 26. ſhillings eyghte pence.

In this yeare, Gawan Dowglas, Biſhop of Dunkell fled out of Scotland into England, bicauſe the D. of Albany being come thither, had takē vpon him the whole gouernement of the R. and Realme there, the ſequale of whoſe doings, this B. ſore miſtruſted. The K. aſſigned to thys B. an honeſt penſion to liue on. And ſhortly after, was Clarēceaux yͤ Herrault ſent into Scotland, to the D. of Albany, to commaund him to auoid that Realme for diuers conſiderations, & if he would not, then to defie him, ſith contrary to the articles of the league concluded betwixte France and England, he was entred Scotland without his licence. The D. refuſed to accompliſh the kings commandement, and was therefore defyed by the ſaide Clarenceaux. The ſixth of Marche, the french K. commanded all Engliſhmens goods, being in Burdeaux, to bee attached, and put vnder arreſt, and reteined not only the money due to bee paide for the reſtitution of Tourney, but alſo withheld the french Queenes dower.

The Cardinall vnderſtanding that he was euill ſpoken of, for vſing his power legantine to ſuche aduantage as he did, in ſelling graces and diſpenſations, he thought to beſtowe ſome parte therof amongſt the people freely, without taking any thing for the ſame: and thereuppon, when Lent drew neere, he appointed the Preachers at Paules croſſe, to declare, that it ſhould be lawful to all perſons for that Lent ſeaſon, to eate milke, butter, cheeſe, and egges, and to the ende that no man ſhoulde haue any ſcrupulouſneſſe of conſcience in ſo doing, hee by his authoritie graunted remiſſion of ſinnes to all thoſe that did eate ſuch white meates, knowing as it were afore hande, that the people gyuen to the obſeruance of theyr religious faſt, woulde not eaſily bee broughte to breake the ſame, contrarye to the auntiente cuſtome vſed in their countrey.

Neyther was he deceiued therein, for ſo farre were the people from receiuing or accompting this as a benefyte, that they tooke it rather for a wicked and curſed dede in thoſe yͭ receiue it, and fewe or almoſt none coulde he enduce to breake their olde order, and ſcrupulous trade in that behalfe.

An. reg. 14.

The Frenche Ambaſſador is called before the counſell.

The King vnderſtanding howe his ſubiectes were handled at Burdeaux by the Frenche kings commandement in breach of the league, the Frenche Ambaſſador was called afore the Counſell, and the Cardinall layde ſore to hys charge, that contrarie to his promiſe at all tymes made on the Frenche kyng his maſters behalf, affirming that he ment nothing but peace and amitie to be obſerued in all poyntes with the Kyng of England, yet nowe the Engliſh Merchaunts had not onely theyr goods ſtayed at Burdeaux, but alſo they and theyr factors were layde in priſon, in full breach of all peace and amitie afortime concludad.

The Frenchemen in Londō are all areſted, and put to their fines.

Polidor.

The ambaſſador in wordes ſo wel as he could excuſed his maſter, but in the end he was commaunded to kepe his houſe, and the French hoſtages that were appoynted here to remain for the money to be payde for the deliuerie of Turney were committed to the ſafe keeping of the Lord of Saint Johns, ſir Thomas Louell, ſir Andrew Windſor, and ſir Thomas Neuill euery of them to haue one. Herewith alſo all the Frenchmen in London wer arreſted, committed to priſō, & put to their fines: but they wer more curteouſly vſed than the Engliſhemen were in Frāce, for after they had bin in durāce x. days, they wer ſet at libertie, vpon finding ſureties to appere before yͤ Maior, or elſe afore the coūſel at a certain day, & to pay yͤ fine vpon thē aſſeſſed, which fine the King pardoned to diuers of the poreſt ſort. But in cōpariſon of the Scottiſhe nation, you would haue ſaide, the Frenchemen were in ſmall diſpleaſure: for not only thoſe that were borne in Scotlande, but alſo diuers Northernmen borne within Engliſh ground, for enuious ſpyte called Scottes, were apprehended, impriſoned, and grieuouſly fined, although ſome of them by ſtrayte enquirie tryed to be Engliſhmen, eſcaped without payng the fyne. Ther were ſent to the ſea vnder the conduite of ſir William fitz William viceadmiral. xxviij goodly ſhips wel manned and trimmed for the warres, and. vij. other ſhips were ſente towardes Scotlande, whiche entred the Forth, and profered to enter the Scottiſh ſhips that laye in the hauens, but the Scots ranne theyr ſhippes a lande, and the Engliſhmenne followed with boates, landed, and ſette the ſhippes on fyre, and at Lith tooke certain priſoners, which they brought into Englande: and ſtill the kings great Nauie kepte the narowe ſeas: for then was neither peace betwixt England and France nor opē warres. The K. vnderſtanding yͭ the emperor wold come to Caleis ſo to paſſe into Engl. as he went towardes Spayn, appointed the Lord Marques Dorſet

All the Scottes in Englande apprehended and fined.

The nauy ſetteth forthe.

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Cardinall Wolſey hys pomp, when he receiued the Emperour at Douer.

to goe ouer to Calais, there to receiue him, and likewiſe the Lord Cardinall was appoynted to receiue him at Douer. The Cardinall takyng his iourney forward the twentith of May, rode through Lōdon, accompanied with two Erles, ſixe and thirtie knightes, and an hundred Gētlemen, eyght Byſhops, ten Abbots, thirtie Chaplaynes, all in veluet and ſattin, and yeomen ſeauen hundred. The Marqueſſe Dorſet was gone ouer before vnto Calais, and the fiue and twentith of May being Sonday, the ſaid Marqueſſe, with the Byſhop of Chicheſter, the Lorde de la Ware, & diuers other at ẏ water of Graueling, receiued the Emperoure in the name of the K. of England, and with all honor brought him to Calais, where he was receiued with proceſſion, & by the L. Berneis lieutenant of the towne, by the Maior and Merchantes of the Staple in the beſt maner that might be deuiſed. On the Monday hee tooke ſhippe at Calais, and landed at Douer, where the Cardinall with three hundred Lords, Knightes, and Gentlemen of England, was ready to receiue him, and with al honor that mighte bee, brought him to the Caſtell where he was lodged. On the Wedneſday, beeing the Aſcention euen, the king came to Douer, and there with great ioy and gladneſſe, the Emperour and he met. On the Friday in the after noone, they departed from Douer, and came that night to Canterbury, and ſo from thence by eaſie iourneys to Greenewiche, where the Queene receiued hir nephew with all the ioy that might be. Heere the Emperour tarried certaine dayes in great ſolace and pleaſure. And the more to honor his preſence, royall iuſtes and tourneys were appoynted, the which were furniſhed in moſt triumphant maner. The K. and the Earle of Deuonſhire, and ten aydes with them, keeping the place againſte the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorſet, and other tenne aydes vppon theyr part. On Friday the ſixth of June, the King and the Emperoure with all their companies, marched towards London, where the City was prepared for their entrie, after the maner as is vſed at a coronation, ſo that nothing was forgotten that might ſet forth the honor of the Citie.

The Marques Dorſet receyueth the Emperour at Graueling.

The Emperor landeth at Douer.

Iuſtes and Tourneys at Grenewich.

Sundry pageants were deuiſed, and ſtages very faire and excellent to behold, with ſuch melodie of inſtruments, and other tokēs of ioy and gladneſſe, that wōder it was to conſider the maner thereof.

The Emperor was lodged at the blacke Friers, and all his nobles in ẏ new palace of Bridewell.

On Whitſonday beeing the eyght of June, the Emperour and the King rode to the Cathedrall Churche of Saint Paule, and there hearde Maſſe, whiche was ſong by the Cardinall, that had his trauers, and cupbord.

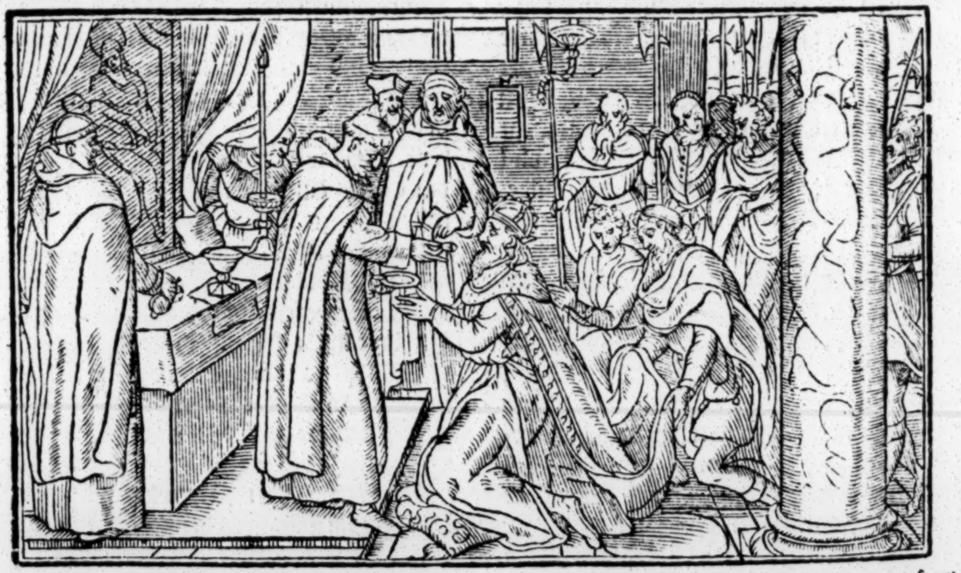
Note … of Car… Wolſ…

Before Maſſe, two Barons gaue him water, and after the Goſpell, two Earles, and at ẏ laſt lauatorie, two dukes, which pride, the Spanyards ſore diſdeyned.

The Emperoure thus remained with the K. certaine dayes, and rode to diuers places wyth him, beeing ſtil feaſted and banquetted, and had all the pleaſure ſhewed to him that mighte be imagined. At Windeſor they tarried a whole weeke and more, where on Corpus Chriſti day, the Emperoure ware his mantell of the garter, and ſate in his owne ſtall.

…e Empe… …arteth … Englan… …ards Sp…

The ſame day, both the Princes receyued the



The Emperor and the King of England ſweare each to other to obſerue the league made betwixt them.

Sacramente, and after that ſeruice was ended, they tooke their corporall othes to keepe and obſerue the league, which was concluded betwixte them. On the morrow after, they departed from Windeſor, and by ſoft and eaſie iourneys, they came to Wincheſter, the. 22. of June.

…e mane… …e winni… … Motley… …taine b… …e Earle… …rey.

Before the Emperour was thus come to Wincheſter, the Earle of Surrey being highe Admirall of Englande, was come to Hampton with all the Kings nauie, and with him the L. Fitzwater, the baron Curſon, ſir Nicholas Carewe, ſir Richard Wingfielde, ſir Richard Jerningham, Francis Brian, ſir William Barentine, ſir Adrian Foſkew, ſir Edward Donne, ſir Edwarde Chamberlaine, ſir Richarde Cornwall, ſir Anthonie Poynes, ſir Henrie Sherborn, and the Viceadmirall ſir William Fitzwilliam, ſir Edmunde Bray, ſir Gyles Capell, ſir Williã Pirton, John Cornewalles, ſir John Walop, ſir Edward Echingham, ſir William Sidney, Anthonie Browne, Gyles Huſey, Thomas More, John Ruſſell, Edwarde Bray, Henrie Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Wodhall, Thomas Louell, Robert Jerningham, Anthonie Kniuet, ſir John Tremayle, and ſir William Skeuington the Maiſter of the kings ordinance, and John Fabian ſergeant at armes, by whome this enterpriſe was chiefly moued, with diuers other, the which in the ende of June departed from Hampton, noyſing that they ſhould onely ſcoure the ſeas for ſafegarde of the Emperour and his nauie.

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The firſt of July, the Emperours nauie came before Hampton, conteyning Clxxx. goodlye ſhippes. Then the Emperour tooke leaue of the King, of whome he had many great gifts, and notable ſummes of money by way of loane, and ſo the vj. of July, he tooke his ſhyppe, and made ſayle towardes Spayne, where he arriued in ſafetie the x. day after.

e Emperor
ſſeth out
Englan e
wards Spain

The king borowed of the citie of London xx. M. poundes, and deliuered priuie ſeales for warrant of the repayment. None were charged but men of good wealth. The lyke loane was practiſed through al the Realme, not without grudge of many perſons, that were called vpon for the ſame.

The Earle of Surrey hauing wafted the Emperour ouer to the coaſt of Biſcay, vpon hys returne finding the wynde fauourable, according to his inſtructions, made to the coaſt of Britain, & landing with his people (in number vij. M.) about v. miles from Morleys, marched thither, and aſſaulting the towne, wan it, for the maiſter gunner Chriſtopher Morreys hauing there certaine fawcons, with the ſhotte of one of them, ſtroke the locke of the wicket in the gate, ſo that it flewe open, and then the ſame Chriſtopher & other gentlemen, with their ſouldiers, in the ſmoke of the gunnes preſſed to the gates, and finding the wicket open, entred, and ſo finallye was the towne of Morleys wonne, and put to ſacke. The ſouldiers gayned much by the pillage, for the towne was exceeding riche, and ſpecially of lynnen cloth. When they had rifled the towne throughly, and taken their pleaſure of all things therein, the Earle cauſed them by ſound of trumpet to reſort to their ſtandardes, and after they had ſet fire in ye towne, & burned a great part thereof, the Earle retreated with his armie towardes his ſhippes, burning the villages by the way, and all that night lay on lande.

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e winning
Morleys in
itaine by
e Earle of
rrey.

On the morowe after they tooke their ſhips, and when they were beſtowed on borde, the Earle commaunded xvj. or xvij. ſhippes ſmall and greate, lying there in the hauen, to bee brent.

When the L. Admirall had thus wonne the towne of Morleys, he called to him certayne eſquires, and made them knights, as ſir Fraunces Brian, ſir Anthony Browne, ſir Richard Cornwale, ſir Thomas More, ſir Giles Huſey, ſir John Ruſſell, ſir John Reynſforde, ſir George Cobham, ſir John Cornewalles, ſir Edwarde Rigley, and diuers other.

Diuers gentlemen knighted by the Earle of Surrey vpon the winning of Morleys.

After this they continued a whyle on the coaſt of Britaine, and diſquieted the Britons, by entring their hauens, and ſometimes landing and doing diuerſe diſpleaſures to the inhabitantes about the coaſt. After that the Earle had lyen a whyle thus on the coaſt of Britaine, hee was countermaunded by the Kings letters, and thervpon brought backe his whole fleete to a place called the Cow, vnder the Jle of Wight, and then went a lande himſelfe, diſcharging the more part of his people, and leauing the reſidue with certayne ſhyppes vnder the gouernaunce of the Veccadmirall ſir William Fitzwilliam, to kepe the ſeas againſt the French.

Polidore.

In this meane whyle, diuerſe exploytes were atchieued betwixt them of the garriſons in the marches of Caleys, and the Frenchmenne of Bollongne and Bollongnoys, but ſtill the loſſe ranne for the more part on the French ſide. For the Engliſhe frontiers were well and ſtronglye furniſhed with good numbers of men of warre, and gouerned by right ſage and valiant Captaynes which dayly made inuaſions vppon the Frenche confines, and namely Sir Willyam Sandes treaſurer of the towne of Caleys, and ſir Edward Guilforde Marſhall, were two that did the Frenchmen moſt diſpleaſure.

The thirde of Julye, three hundreth Frenche horſemen coming neare to the caſtell of Guiſnes, kept themſelues in couert, appointing viij. or x. of their companie to ſhewe themſelues in ſight to the Engliſhmen within, whervpon there went forth viij. archers, and fell in ſkirmiſh with thoſe horſemen, til there came three other to the reſkew of the Frenchmen, and ſkirmyſhed wyth the Archers on foote. Herewith iſſued forthe of Guyſnes, twelue Demilaunces all Welchmen, in reſcue of the footmen, and then all the troupe of the French horſmen brake forth and ſet on the Welchmen, the footemen ſo long as they had any arrowes to beſtowe, ſhot luſtily, and in the ende were driuen to defende themſelues with their ſwordes, the Welchmen keeping togither, entred into the bende of the Frenchmen, brake their ſpeares, and after fought and layde aboute them with their ſwordes, ſo that they made a waye, and eſcaped from thoſe three hundreth French horſmen: of the French ſide were ſlayne three men and fiue horſes, the Engliſhe archers on foote ſelling their liues dearly, were all ſlaine, for the Frenchmen woulde not take any of them priſoners, they were ſo angrie for the loſſe of their fellowes.

The valiancie of the Welchmen.

The xxv. of July, the Treaſurer and Marſhall of Caleis with fourtene hundred footemen, entred the French pale, and finding not Monſieur de Foyat for whom they ſought, they went to Whitſande bay, ſet the towne on fire, and aſſaulting the Church, into the which the people were withdrawn, wan it, & afterwards ſet fire on the ſteeple; bicauſe that diuers hauing ſhut vppe themſelues therein through counſell of a Prieſt that was with them, refuſed to yeelde till the fire cauſed them to leape downe, and ſo manye of them periſhed, and the reſt were taken priſoners, and led to Caleis.

About two days before this, to wit, the xxiij. of July, one Thwaites a Captaine of an Engliſhe ſhip, with vj. ſcore men, archers and other, tooke lande beſide Bolongne, and paſſing vp into the countrie three myles to a towne called New caſtell, forrayed all the partes as he went, and in his returne ſet fire on that towne, and burnt a great part thereof, and came agayne to his ſhippe in ſafetie, notwithſtanding lxxx. hagbutters, and three hundreth other men of warre of the countrie, came forth and purſued the Engliſhmen very fiercely, but the Engliſhmen putting them backe, got to their ſhippe, and loſt not a man.

The Lordes Roſſe and Dacres of the north inuade Scotlande, and ſpoyle the countrey.

Moreouer, whyleſt the warres were thus followed in Fraunce, the Lorde Roſſe, and the Lorde Dacres of the North, whiche were appoynted to keepe the borders againſt Scotland, burnte the towne of Kelſie, and foure ſcore villages, and ouerthrewe eyghtene towers of ſtone, with all their barnekines.

Alſo the King appointed the earle of Shrewſburie to be his Lieutenant generall of the north partes, agaynſt the inuaſion which was intended by the Duke of Albanie, which Earle directed his letters to all the ſhires lying from Trent Northwarde, that all men ſhoulde be in a readyneſſe.

Order was taken by the Cardinall, that the true value of all mēs ſubſtance might be knowen, and he woulde haue had euerye man ſworne to haue vttered the true valuation of that they were worth; and required a tenth part thereof to be graunted towardes the Kings charges nowe in his warres, in lyke caſe as the Spiritualtie had graunted a fourth part, and were content to liue on the other three partes. This demaunde was thought grieuous to them of the Citie of London, where the Cardinall firſt moued it, ſo that many reaſons were alledged by them why they iudged themſelues ſore delt with. In the ende they brought in their billes, which were receyued vpon their honeſties.

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is worth.

The King in this meane tyme, being nowe entred into warres with Fraunce, thought not to ſuffer his enimies to reſt in quiet, and therefore leuied an armie which he ſent ouer to Caleys, appoynting the Earle of Surrey to be generall of the ſame. When the Earle was come to Caleys, and had taken order in his buſineſſe for that iourney, he ſet forwarde with his armie, being deuided into three battayles or wards, of the which, the firſt was led by ſir Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwater, the middle ward or battayle, the Earle himſelfe guyded, and with him was his brother the Lorde Edmunde Howarde. The rerewarde was gouerned by Sir William Sandes, and Sir Richarde Wingfielde both being knightes of the Garter. Captaine of the horſemen was Sir Edward Guilforde.

The Earle
Surrey ſe
with an ar
to inuade
Fraunce.

They entred into the French grounde the ſeconde of September being Tueſday, and tooke their iourney towarde Heding: by the way there came vnto them a great power of Burgonions from the Ladie Margaret, as then Regent of Flaunders, according to the Articles of the league.

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the Engliſ
hoſte.

All the townes, villages, and caſtelles in the countrie through the which they marched, were burned, waſted, and deſtroyed on euerye ſide of their way, as the towne and Caſtell of Selloys, the townes of Brume bridge, Senekerke, Botingham, and Manſtier, the towne and caſtell of Nerbins, the towne of Dauerne, the Caſtels of Columberge, and Rew, the towne and Church fortified of Boardes, Saint Marie de Boys, the towne of Vaus, the Towne and Caſtell of Fringes.

The xvj. daye of September, the Earle of Surrey with his armie of Engliſhmē and Burgonions, came before the Caſtell of Heding, and planted his ſiege before it. The towne was entred, and parte thereof burned by the Burgonions. Within the Caſtell was Captayne, Monſieur de Biez hauing prouided for defence of the place, all thynges neceſſarye, ſo

The caſtell
Heding be
ged by the
Engliſhme

ſo that the Earle of Surrey, & other the captayns of the hoſte, perceyuing they could not within any ſhort time win it, after they had bene before it xj. dayes, they rayſed their ſiege, chiefely bycauſe they had no great battering peeces to ouerthrowe the walles, for the wether was ſuch, and the wayes waxed ſo deepe towarde the later ende of that Sommer, that they coulde not conuey with them any great ordinance.

From Heſding they paſſed forwarde, and cõming to Dorlens, burned the towne, and raced the Caſtell. From thence they came to the town of Darrier, which they burnt alſo and ſpoyled. Thus they burned and ſpoyled all the waye as they paſſed, but the weather ſtill waxed worſe and worſe, ſo that manye fell ſicke through intemperancie thereof, and the Burgonions and Spanyardes which were in the armie, returned into Flaunders, and then the Earle of Surrey perceyuing that he coulde no longer keepe the fielde in that ſeaſon of the yeare, turned backe towardes Caleys in good order of battayle, and came thither the xvj. of October. He woulde gladly in deede before the departure of the Burgonions and Spanyardes, haue paſſed the water of Somme: but other captaynes conſidering the time of the yeare to be paſt, and that the whole armie conteyned not aboue xviij. M. men, iudged it more wiſedome to returne, and ſo in the ende their opinions were followed.

he Earle of urrey retur eth with his mie to Ca-

After that the Engliſhe armie was returned to Caleys, the Earle of Surrey ſent forth Sir William Sandes, Sir Morice Barkley, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and with them three thouſande men, which burnt Marguyſon, the towne of Saint Iehans Rhode, and Temple towne, with many villages, and brought a marueylous great bootie of goodes out of the countrey, which they got at this roade, as xiiij. M. ſheepe, a M.iiij C. Oxen and Kyne, and other great cattell, a M iij. C. Hogges, and viij. C. Mares and Horſes, beſide priſoners. When the Earle of Surrey had ſet things in order, and appointed forth ſuch as he woulde haue remaine in the garriſons on that ſide the ſea, he returned, and all the reſidue of the armie, ſauing thoſe that were commaunded to tarie, came ouer alſo with the nauie, and arriued in the Thames, and ſo euery man into his countrie at his pleaſure.

great bootie onne by the glishmen.

he Earle of urrey retur- eth with his mie into glande.

There remayned alſo behinde a companie of men of warre called aduenturers, which ſerued without wages, liuing only of that which they coulde catch and winne of the enimies. There were foure hundreth of them that went with the armie now this laſt time into Fraunce, and did much hurt to the Frenchmen, for they were by practiſe become expert and ſkilfull in the poynts of warre, and daily exployted one enterprice or other, to their aduauntage, and hinderaunce to the enimie.

duenturers.

The Duke of Albanie being in this meane whyle eſtabliſhed gouernour of Scotland, rayſed an armie of lxxx. M. men and aboue, with the which he approched to the Engliſhe borders: but he made no inuaſion. The miſtruſt that he had in the Scottes cauſed him to ſtay, and therefore he ſent to the French king for ſixe thouſande Almaynes, the which he daily looking for (and that in vaine) droue off time till the ende of Sommer was nowe at hande, and then requiring a truce for certaine monethes, obteyned it at the Kings hands. The Earle of Shrewſburie had in a redineſſe xxviij. M. men to haue reſiſted him if he had entred vpon the Engliſhe confines.

The D. of Albanie leuieth an armie of Scots to inuade England.

Polidore.

Truce betwixt Englande and Scotlande.

Hall.

After that an abſtinence of warre was taken betwixt Englande and Scotland, & in October following, there came into Englande three perſonages of ſmall behauior (as it ſeemed) Ambaſſadors out of Scotlande: they were ſmally regarded, and ſhortly departed. Their Commiſſion was only to vnderſtande whether the King had aſſented to the truce or not. Whervpon it was thought that they were ſent rather for a countenance only of fulfilling the promiſe made by the Duke of Albanie at that preſent when the truce was graunted, than for any true meaning to accompliſhe that which was promiſed, that is to witte, to agree vnto ſome vnfeyned and perfect concluſion of peace.

A meane ambaſſade out of Scotlande.

The king hereupon doubting their old pranks, ordeyned the Earle of Northumberland Henrie Percie the v. of that name, Warden of the whole Marches, which thankfully receyued the honor thereof, & ſo he departed. But whatſoeuer matter it was that moued him, ſhortly after he began to make ſuite to the king, and ceaſed not, til he was of that office diſcharged, and then the Earle of Surrey Lorde Admirall of England was made general Warden, and the Lord Marques Dorſet was made Warden of the Eaſt and middle marches, and the Lord Dacres of the weſt marches. The Earle of Northumberlande was for this refuſall of exerciſing the office of L. warden, greatly blamed of his owne tenants, and accoũted of all men, to be voyde of the loue and deſire that Noblemen ought to haue to honor and chiualrie. The L. Marques Dorcet accompanied with ſir William Bulmer, & ſir Arthur Darcie, with many other of the Nobilitie, the ſeconde of April then being Thurſday before Eaſter, entred into Tindale, & ſo paſſing forward x. miles into Galoway, brent on euery ſide townes & villages. All ẏ night he taried within the Scottiſh groũd, & on the morow being Goodfriday, he withdrew back into England with iiij. M. neate, hauing burned Grimſley, Mowehouſe, Doufforde

1523

The Marques Dorcet entreth into Scotland and burneth diuerſe townes there.

Mylles, Ackforth, Crowling, Nowes manor, Mydder, Crowling, Marbottell, Lowbog, Seforth manor, Myddell right, Primſted, Broket, Shawes Harwell, Wyde open haugh, with other.

A parliament holden at the blacke Friers in London.

The xv. of Aprill beganne the Parliament, which was holden as then at the blacke Friers.

Cardinall Wolſey made biſhop of Durham.

This yeare was the Citie and the whole Iſle of the Rhodes conquered by the Turke, and all the chriſtians diſplaced out of the ſame. Alſo the Biſhop of Dureſme departed this lyfe, and the king gaue that Biſhopricke to the Cardinall, who reſigned the Biſhopricke of Bathe to Doctor John Clerke maſter of the Rolles, and Sir Henrie Marney that was vicechamberlain was made Lorde priuie ſeale, and ſhortly after was created Lorde Marney.

Polidor.

In the ende of this yeare, Doctor Blythe biſhop of Cheſter was attached for treaſon, but he acquit himſelfe. And about this ſeaſon, the Cardinall exerciſed his authoritie (whiche he pretended by his power Legantine) very largely, not onely in prouing of Teſtamentes in his Court, calling the Executors and Adminiſtrators before him, of what Dioceſſe ſo euer they were, but alſo by prouiſions he gaue al benefices belonging to ſpirituall perſons, and ran thereby within danger of the Premunire, as afterwards was layd to his charge: but after that he perceiued his owne folly, and raſhe doing herein, contrarie to the lawes, which woulde not permitte that any ſuch things as were moued, within the Prouince of Canterburie, might be concluded without the authoritie of the Archbiſhop, he ſent them agayne to Paules, and ſate himſelfe at Weſtminſter with his Clergie of the prouince of Yorke. And euen as there was much ado amongſt them of the Common houſe about their agreement to the ſubſidie, ſo was there as harde holde for a whyle amongſt them of the Clergie in the Conuocation houſe, namelye Richarde Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and John Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, helde ſore agaynſt it, but moſt of al, Sir Rowlande Philips Vicar of Croydon, and one of the Canons of Paules, being reputed a notable Preacher in thoſe dayes, ſpake moſt againſt that payment. But the Cardinall taking him aſide, ſo handled the matter with him, that he came no more into the houſe, willingly abſenting himſelfe, to his great infamie, and loſſe of that eſtimation which men had of his innocencie. Thus the Bellweather giuing ouer his holde, the other yeelded, and ſo was graunted the halfe of all their ſpirituall reuenues for one yeare, to be payde in fiue yeares following, that the burthen might ẏ more eaſily be borne.

An.reg.15.

A great ſub die demand by the Card nall in the c mon houſe.

The Parliament being begonne, as ye haue hearde, the Cardinall the xxix. daye of Aprill came into the Common houſe, and there ſhewing the great charges that the king neceſſarilye was at, and dayly muſt be at, in maintenaunce of his warres againſt the French and Scottes, demaunded the ſumme of eyght hundreth thouſande pounde to be raiſed of the fift part of euery mans goodes and landes, that is to wit, iiij.s. of euery pounde. This demaunde was enforced on the morowe after, by Sir Thomas More then Speaker of the Parliament: but he ſpake not ſo much in perſuading the houſe to graunt it, but other ſpake as earneſtlye againſt it, ſo that the matter was argued to and fro, and handled to the vttermoſt. There were that proued howe it was not poſſible to haue it leuied in money, for men of landes and great ſubſtance had not the v. part of the ſame in coyne, and ſythe the king by the loane had receyued two ſhillings of the pounde, which by this rate amounted to foure hundred thouſand pound, and now to haue iiij. ſhillings of the pounde, it woulde amount in the whole vnto twelue hundreth thouſande pounde, which is firſt and laſt vj. ſhillings of the pound, being almoſt a third part of euery mans goods, whiche in coyne might not be had within this Realme: for the proofe whereof was alledged, that if there were in England but twentie thouſand pariſhes, and euery pariſhe ſhould giue an C. marks, that were but xv. C. M. marks, which is but a C. M. poundes, and there be not verye many pariſhes in Englande one with another, able to ſpare an hundreth markes, out of cities and townes, & where it is written that in Englande there be xl. M. pariſhe Churches, it was proued that there were not xiij. M. at this day.

Hard holde bout the gr of the grea ſubſidie.

There are no 10000. pari ſhes in Engl as Stowe ha truly noted.

The obſtina anſwere of th Cardinall to the motion o the commo houſe in the parliament.

Harde holde there was about this demaunde, and certaine wyſe and diſcrete perſons were ſent to the Cardinall, to moue him to be a meane to the king, that a leſſe ſumme might be accepted: but he aunſwered that he woulde rather haue his tongue plucked out of his heade with a payre of pynſons, than to moue the king to take any leſſe ſumme: and ſo with that anſwere they departed, reporting to the houſe the Cardinalles wordes. Then euery daye was reaſoning, but nothing concluded. Whereupon the Cardinall came agayne into the lower houſe, and deſired that hee might reaſon with them that were againſt the demaunde: but he was anſwered, that the order of that houſe was to heare, and not to reaſon, except among themſelues. Then he began to ſhew arguments of the great wealth of the Realme, ſo that it might be thought that he repyned and diſdayned that any man ſhoulde be welthye but himſelfe.

After he was gone, the Commons debated the matter according to their former maner, & ſo in the ende concluded of ij.s. of the ℔. from xx. ℔. vpwards,

ardinall came into the lower house

note the order of the house

vpwardes, and from xl.s.to xx.℔.of euery xx.s xij.d. and vnder xl.s. of euery head of xvj.yeres and vpwarde.iiij.d.to be payde in two yeares.

When this was notified to the Cardinall, he was much therewith offended, ſo that to pleaſe him, at length, the Gentlemen of fiftie pounde lande and vpwarde, by the liberall motion of ſir John Huſey a knight of Lincolneſhire, were burthened with xij.d. more of the pounde of the ſame landes, to be payde in three yeares.

John Husey

The Cardinall to moue them thereto, bare them in hande that the Lordes had agreed to foure ſhillings of the pound, which was vntrue, for they had graunted nothing, but ſtayed till they might vnderſtande what the Commons would do. The king therfore hauing knowledge of this, and ſuch other notable lyes vttered by the Cardinal, reproued him therfore very ſharply, and ſayde that ere it were long he would looke to things himſelf without any ſubſtitute. A maruellous matter to conſider how much the Cardinall was cooled herewith, and how lowly for a whyle he bare himſelfe, ſo that thereby it well appeared howe the maſters ſharpeneſſe now and then, doth much to refrayne the euill nature of the ſeruaunt. But the Cardinall within a fewe dayes after, pacifying the kings diſpleaſure towards him, became nothing the better.

lidore.

linal Wol
reproued
the king.

After that the foreſayde graunt was paſſed and accorded, the Parliament was proroged til the x.of June.

In this ſeaſon, the Cardinall by his power Legantine diſſolued the conuocation at Paules, called by the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, calling him and all the Clergie to his conuocation at Weſtminſter.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne, the Gentlemen that perceyued themſelues charged with xij.d.more of ẏ pound for their landes, did ſo much, that it was graunted, that men of fiftie pounde and vpwarde in goodes, ſhoulde alſo pay xij. pence of euerye pounde in the fourth yeare, which coulde not be brought about, but with great a do, and much grudging of the Burgeſſes and Commons.

The xxxj. of July, the Parliament was adiourned to Weſtminſter, and there continued till the xiij.of Auguſt, and that daye at nyne of the clocke at night diſſolued.

During the time of this Parliamẽt, the xxvij. of Aprill, was ſir Arthur Plantagenet baſtarde ſonne to king Edwarde the fourth, at Bridewel created Vicount Liſle in right of his wyfe, which was wyfe to Edmunde Dudley beheaded.

thur Plan-
genet crea-
d vicount
iſle.

This yeare the xv. of June, Chriſterne king of Denmarke, with his wyfe, and a ſmal traine with them, landed at Douer, where he was nobly receyued by the Earle of Deuonſhire, the biſhoppes of Exceter and Rocheſter, and diuerſe Knights and Eſquires whiche brought them to Greenewich, where the King and Queene receiued them with all honor, and after he had remayned at the Court certaine dayes, he was brought to London, and lodged at Bathe place. He ſawe the watche on S. Peters euen, beyng brought vnto the Kings heade in Cheape, accompanied with the Duke of Suffolke, the erles of Oxeforde, Eſſex, and Kent, and diuers other Lordes and Ladies. The Citie made to him and to his wyfe a coſtly banket that night, and after he had paſſed the time a while in London, he reſorted againe to the king, and had of him great giftes, and ſo likewiſe had his wyfe of the Queene hir aunt, and then taking their leaue, departed and were conueyed to Douer. And thus after this king had bene in Englande xxij.days, he tooke ſhipping, and ſayled againe into Flaũders, where he remayned as a baniſhed man out of his countrey.

he king of
enmarke ar-
ueth in Eng-
nde.

The citie of London banketteth the k. of Denmarke.

The king of Denmark departeth out of England into Flaunders.

About the ſame time, the Earle of Kildare being reſtored to the Cardinals fauour, & taking to wife the Lady Elizabeth Grey, was ſent ouer again into Irelande, to occupy his former office, where by the aſſiſtaunce of his faithfull frende Hugh Hinke Archbiſhop of Dublin, and Chancellour of that lande, he brought the countrie into reaſonable good order ſo farre as the rebellious doings of the wilde Iriſh woulde permit.

Polidore.

The Earle of Kildare reſtored to his office of Deputieſhip of Irelãd

In this meane whyle, the warre was earneſtly purſued betwene England and Fraunce, and Englande and Scotlande, inſomuch that eche part did what in them lay to hurt other. On the borders toward Scotlande lay the Earle of Surrey highe Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorſet, with his brethren, ſir Williã Compton, and ſir William Kingſton, with diuerſe other Knights and Eſquires ſent to them by the King, which dayly inuaded the Realme of Scotlande, and threwe downe the caſtell of Wederborne, the caſtel of Weſt Neſgate, the caſtell of Blackater, the tower of Mackwalles, ẏ tower of Eaſt Neſgate, and manye other, and burnt to the number of xxxvij. villages, and haried the coũtrie from the eaſt marches to ẏ weſt, and neuer had ſkirmiſh: for the Scottes, albeit they ſhewed themſelues in plumpes, wayting ſome aduauntage, they durſt not yet approch to the mayne battaile of the Engliſhmen, ſo that in all this iourney there were but few Engliſhmen loſt. When the Lords perceiued that the Scots ment not to make any inuaſion into Englande this yeare, they tooke order for the fortifying of the frontiers, and ſo returned.

Hall.

Scotland ſore ſpoyled.

It was thought that the Cardinall perceyuing in what fauour Sir William Compton

Polidor.

was with the king,and doubting leaſt the ſame might deminiſhe his authoritie, deuyſed to ſende him thus into the warres agaynſt the Scots,for the ſayde ſir William coulde not well broke the Cardinals preſumption, in taking vpon him ſo highly to the derogation of the Kings ſupreme gouernement, and therefore the Cardinall in his abſence thought to worke him out of fauour,but it would not be, for ſhortly after was ſir William Compton called home to the Court againe.

The French men meaning to deſtroy Caleis hauen are diſapointed by miſsing the chanell.

The Frenchmenne burned a ſhippe fraught with ſtone in the hauen of Caleys, vpon hope to haue deſtroyed the hauen, but they miſſed the chanell in bringing in their ſhippe, and ſo after that the ſhippe was conſumed with fire, the ſtones were recouered out of the water, & brought into Caleys, which ſerued the Engliſhe to good vſe. Diuers enterpriſes were atchieued betwixt them of the garriſons French and Engliſhe in thoſe marches. In July the Lord Sandes treaſurer of Caleys, with other captayns and ſouldiers,to the number of xij. C.entred into the confines of their enimies, and came before Bullein, where they had a great ſkirmiſhe, and put their enimies to the worſe, and after, marching into the countrey,toke diuers churches & other places which the Frenchmē had fortified,as the church of Oderſael, the ſteeple of Odingham, and the caſtel of Hardinghā, & ſo after they had ben within the enimies countrie almoſt two nightes & two dais, they came back to Caleys,hauing not loſt paſt a dozen of their men. The king of Englande being aduertiſed that the duke of Albany woulde returne ſhortly into Scotlande by ſea, and bring with him a power of Frenchmen,prepared a fleete of tall and ſtrong ſhippes meete to encounter with the ſame Duke and his power, and appoynted for Admirall,ſir William Fitzwillyam,and with him ſir Frauncis Bryan, ſir Anthony Poynes, ſergeant Rot,John Hopton, William Gunſton,Anthony Kneuet,Thomas Weſt, & other,which vſed great diligēce to haue met with the ſayd Duke of Albanie, and as they lay on the French coaſt, the xxiij. of Auguſt being Sunday,at vij. of the clock in the morning, they landed in the hauen of Tre[illegible]t, and aſſaulted the Frenchmē that were in certaine bulwarks on the ſhore,& did what they could to impeach the Engliſhmens landing: but the Engliſhmen encouraged by their Captaines, did ſo valiantly(although they were but an handful of men in compariſon of their enimies, as vij. C. to vj. M.) that in the end they repulſed the Frenchmen, & wan their bulwarks of thē,& in the ſame founde diuers peeces of ordinaunce, which they ſeazed,& perceyuing that the Frenchemen fled to the towne of Treyport,they followed,and ſhot at them right egrely, ſo that many of the French men were ſlayne and wounded, ere they coulde get to the towne. The Engliſhmen aſſaulted the gates,but coulde not breake them open, but they ſet fire on the ſuburbes, and alſo brent.vij. ſhips which lay in the hauen.The Engliſh captains perceyuing how the people of the countrie came downe in great numbers to the reſcue of the towne,cauſed their men to get togither ſuch ſpoile as they might bring away in that ſodain, and then after they had bene on lande v.houres, with lyke ſpeede as they came, they retyred back againe to their ſhips, not without ſome loſſe & domage of men both hurt and ſlayne, as it often happeneth when thoſe be not founde vnprouided which a man vnaduiſedly aſſayleth. In this ſeaſon the King hauing put an armie of men in a redyneſſe,cauſed the ſame to be tranſported ouer to Caleys,and appointed the D. of Suffolke to haue the leading therof, and to make a iourney into Fraunce. The duke according to his commiſſion, came to Caleys the xxiiij.of Auguſt, and there abyding the armie,cauſed all things to be prepared neceſſarie for the ſame, as vittayles, munition,and ſuch lyke.There were appoynted to attend him in this iourney,the Lord Montacute, and his brother ſir Arthur Pole, the Lorde Herbert ſonne to the Earle of Worcetter,the L. Ferrers, the L.Marney, the L.Sandes,the L. Barkley. the L.Powes, and the Baron Curſō, and of Knights, ſir Richard Wingfield chauncellor of the duchie of Lancaſter, ſir John Veer, ſir Edwarde Neuile, ſir Willyam Kingſton, ſir Richarde Weſton , ſir Andrewe Winſor, ſir Robert Wingfielde,ſir Anthonie Wingfield,ſir Edward Guylford,ſir Edward Greuile,ſir Edwarde Chamberlaine,ſir Thomas Lucie,ſir Euerarde Digby,ſir Adrian Foſkew, ſir Richarde Cornewall, ſir Willyam Courtney,ſir William Sidney, ſir Henry Owen and many other. The whole armye (as appeared by the muſters taken therof) conſiſted in 600. dimilaunces, 200. archers on horſeback,iij. M. archers on foote,and v. M. byl men. To theſe alſo were adioined xvij. C. whiche were taken out of the garriſons and crewes of Hammes,Guyſnes,& Caleys,ſo that in all they werk x. M. v. C. well armed and appoynted for the warre. Beſide them, there were alſo two thouſand vj. C. labourers and pioners. When this army was come ouer to Caleys, & all things redy for the iourney,they iſſued out of Caleys, and toke the fields. The vantgard was led by the L. Sands. Captain of the right wing was ſir Willyam Kingſton, and on the left, ſir Euerarde Digby. The Marſhall of Caleys ſir Edwarde Guilford was captaine of all the horſmen. The Duke himſelfe gouerned the battaile, and Sir Richarde Wingfielde was Captaine of the Rerewarde.

A rode made into the Frēch grounde.

The Engliſh fleete landeth in Treyport hauen.

Polidore.

Polidore.
Hall.

The Duke
Suffolke e
treth into
Fraunce wi
an armie.

ll caſtell
aulted.

The firſt enterpriſe that they attempted, was the wynning of a Caſtell called Bell caſtell, to the which the Lorde Sandes and the Lord Ferrers being ſent, did ſo much by the power of battrie, that after the walles were beaten, thoſe that were appointed to giue the aſſaulte, prepared them thereto, which when the Frenchmen within perceyued, they yeelded the place into the Engliſhmens hands, and themſelues to the mercye of the Duke, which receyued them as priſoners, and deliuered the Caſtell to ſir William Scanington, the which he cauſed to be raced downe to the grounde the xxvij. of September.

ll caſtel yel-
ded vp to the
nglilhmen.

dore.

ir Iohn
ſſell.

dore,
ll.

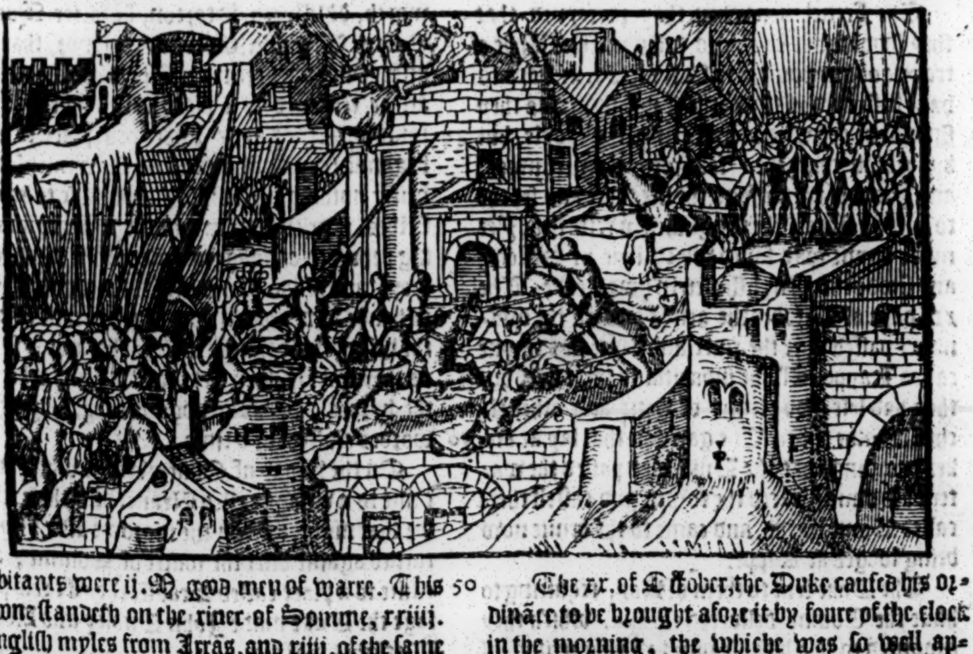
e Duke
folke e
h into
unce wi
armie.

In this ſeaſon was the Duke of Burbon high Conſtable of Fraunce reuolted from the French king to the ſeruice of the Emperour, and the king of Englande. For after it was knowne that this Duke had his mynde alienated from the French king, ſir John Ruſſell that was after created Earle of Bedford, was ſent into Fraunce vnto the ſayd Duke, which in diſguyſed apparel ordered himſelfe ſo wiſely and fortunately in his iorney, that in couert maner he came to the Duke, and ſo perſwaded him, that he continued in hys former determination, and auoyded the Realme of Fraunce, as in the French hiſtorie ye maye more at large perceyue. The more to encourage the Engliſhe ſouldierrs, there was a proclamation made in the hoſte the xxviij. of September, how the ſayde Duke of Burbon was become enimie to the French king, & frende to the king of Englande, ſo that hauing in his wages x. M. Almaynes, he was ready to inuade Fraunce in another part, the more to let and diſturbe the French kings purpoſes. For the accompliſhing whereof there was ſent to him money in no litle ſumme. After this proclamation the xxix of September the D. of Suffolke remoued to Arde, & ſo forward into Picardie. At Corders a village betwene Tirwyne and S. Omers, there came to him the Lorde of Iſilſteyn, and with him of Spanyardes, Almaynes, Cleueners, and other, ii M. footmen, and v. C. horſemen. The Duke being thus furniſhed with newe ayde, marched forward in wet weather, and made bridges, and mended the wayes where he paſſed, as wel as he might, ſending out diuers companies of his mē of warre, to take townes, and fetch in booties on euery ſide. The Frenchemen were ſo afrayde of the Engliſhmen, that they fled out of their houſes, and left the townes and villages voyde, conueying ſuch goodes as they coulde, awaye with them, but oftentimes they left good ſtore behynde them, ſo that the Engliſhmen gayned greatly, & namely at Anker, which was a rich towne, and vpon the Engliſhmens approch, thinhabitants fled out of it, and then the Engliſhmen entred. They tooke alſo the Caſtell of Bonnegarde, and put therein a garriſon, whereof was Captain the Lorde Leonard Grey, brother to the Marques Dorſet, to conduct vittailers to the army, which now was farre from any ſuccors of the Engliſh part. The Duke paſſed forwarde till he came to the towne of Bray, in the whiche were xvj. C. men of warre, vnder the gouernance of Captain Adrian, and beſide his retinue, there came to the ſuccors of the towne, Monſieur Pontdormie, yͤ Vicount Lauerdam, the Vicount Tourrayne, Monſieur Applingcourt, & Mōſieur Dampney, with v. C. horſmen, ſo yͭ in the town beſide yͤ inhabitants were ij. M. good men of warre. This towne ſtandeth on the riuer of Somme, xxiiij. Engliſh myles from Arras, and xiiij. of the ſame myles aboue Amiens.

The Spanyardes ioine with the engliſh armye.

The caſtel of Bonnegarde manned by thengliſhmen.

The towne of Bray beſieged.



The xx. of October, the Duke cauſed his ordināce to be brought afore it by foure of the clock in the morning, the whiche was ſo well applyed in making batterye to the walles of the towne that by nine of the clocke the towne was made aſſaultable, and then the Engliſhmenne, Flemmings and Burgonions, made forwarde, and by the good comfort of the Lorde Sandes and other Captaynes, they got the dyches, and after entred vpon the walles. The Frenchmen ſtoode at defence with Pikes, Croſſbowes, Hand gunnes, and Halbards, but they were to weak, for on all partes entred the Engliſhmen, and ſodainly the Frenchmen fled, and the Engliſhmen followed. On the further ſide of the towne there was a bulwarke fortified with ordinaunce very ſtrongly to defende the paſſage ouer the water of Somme, which there is deuided into diuerſe braunches.

Bray wonne by aſſault.

The French horſemen being withdrawne to the paſſage, defended it till the footemen were got ouer the bridge, and then they plucked away the plankes of the bridge, ſo that no man ſhould followe: but the Engliſhmen caſt plankes on the bridge, and got ouer, in which paſſing, diuers were drowned: but ſuch diligence and enforcement was vſed, that they all paſſed, both horſemen and footemen. Then was the Bulwarke fiercely aſſaulted, and finally taken by the Engliſhmen, with all the ordinaunce. There was alſo taken Captaine Adrian and Captaine Vtterlieu. The Engliſhe horſemen followed the Frenchmen, and ſlewe and tooke many of them. Sir Robert Ierningham brake a ſpeare on the Lorde Pontdormie. The Lord Leonarde Grey did valiauntly that day, which was come from the caſtell of Bonne garde, and was here at the winning of Bray, which was taken in maner aboue rehearſed the xx. of October.

The Frenchmen when they perceyued that they ſhoulde not be able to defende, had layde a trayne of gunpowder to ſet it on fire, in hope to haue deſtroyed many of the Engliſhmen as they ſhoulde be occupied in gathering the ſpoyle, but by reaſon that they followed their enimies, and got ouer the paſſage, the fire tooke and ſet the towne on fire ere the Engliſhmen returned. Yet much wyne was ſaued which laye in Sellers, and ſtoode the Engliſhmen in good ſteade. The xxj. daye of October the armie and all the ordinance paſſed ouer the riuer, and came to a towne called Kappe. All the inhabitants were fled, but they had left good plentie of wine and other riches behinde them. The garriſon that lay at anker knowing that the Duke was paſſed the water of Somme, raced the towne and caſtell there called Bonnegarde, and came to the armie now being lodged at Kappe.

A trayne of gunpowder layde.

Kappe taken.

The Duke ſent to them of Roy, requiring to haue the Towne deliuered to him, which they graunted to doe, bicauſe they had no garriſon of ſouldiers within to defende the towne. Thither was ſent ſir Richarde Cornewall, with foure hundreth menne which receyued the towne and kept it in good quiet till the Duke came thither with his whole armie.

Roy yeelded to the Duke of Suffolke.

The xxv. day of October, the Duke remoued to a village called Lyhome where the ſouldiers had great pillage. The next daye they wente to Dauenker, and the xxvij. day they came before the towne of Montdedier, in the whiche were a thouſande footemen, and v. C. horſemen vnder the gouernaunce of Monſieur de Roche baron, purpoſing to defende the towne to the vttermoſt, but after that Sir Willyam Scauington had made batterie from foure of the clock in the next morning till eyght in the ſame forenoone, wyth ſuch force that the wals were ouerthrowne and made aſſaultable, they within yeelded the towne into the Dukes handes, with condicion they might go with bagge and baggage.

Lyhome ta

Montdedi beſieged.

Montded yeelded.

The Frenchmen made ſuch haſte, and were ſo glad to be gone, that they left much houſholde ſtuffe behinde them, and great plentie of wyne. Thengliſhmen alſo wold not ſuffer thẽ to beare their ſtandardes vnſpredde, but rent the ſame in peeces, wherewith the Lorde Roche baron was highlye diſpleaſed, but he coulde not amende it. The Duke remayned in Montdedier till the laſt of October, and then remoued to Roy, where he reſted a whyle with all his armie.

On Alhalowen day, the Duke of Suffolke in the chiefe Churche of Roye made knightes, the Lord Herbert, the Lord Powes, Oliuer Manners, Arthur Pole, Richarde Sandes, Robert Ierningham, Robert Saliſburie, Edmond Beningfielde, Richarde Corbet, Thomas Wentworth, Willyam Storton, Walter Mantell, George Warram, Edward Seymor, that was after Duke of Somerſet. The morowe after the armie remoued to a place called Neele. The ſouldiors being thus ledde from place to place, beganne to grudge bicauſe of the winter ſeaſon, being nothing meete for their purpoſe to kepe the fieldes, it grieued them that the Burgonions being prouided of wagons, made ſhift to ſende the ſpoyle and pillage home into their countrie being at hande, and they to want ſuch meane to make the beſt of thoſe things whiche they got, ſo that as they tooke it, they bet the buſhe and other had the byrdes. This grudge was yet by gentle wordes ceaſſed for a time.

Knights m by the Du of Suffolke Fraunce.

Murlole amongſt the Engliſh ſo diors.

On the vj. day of Nouember the whole army came to a village called Veane, and there reſted for that night, and on the morowe after they returned againe ouer the water of Somme, and came to a place called Beaufforde. At this paſſage the Duke made Iohn Dudley and Robert Vtreight knightes.

The viij. of Nouember the Duke remoued

to a place called Mont Saint Martine, & from thence was ſent the Lorde Sandes to the king in poſte to aduertiſe him in what caſe the armye ſtoode, and the armie remoued to Permont, and there reſted for a time. The Welchmen ſtill murmured that they might not returne home now that the wynter was thus far entred. But there were a ſort of mē of war, to the number of a thouſand perſons vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, which had little wages or none, liuing only on their aduenture, and were therefore called aduenturers, and of ſome they were called Kreckers, which had as good will to be ſtill abroade, as the Welchmen had deſire to returne home. For theſe Kreckers by ſpoyling of townes, taking of priſoners, and other ſuch practiſes of warlike exploytes, made their hauntes, and dayly brought to the campe, horſes, mares, vittayle, cloth, corne, and other neceſſaries, which might not haue bene miſſed.

Iohn Wal-
lop.

uenturers
kreckers.

After great raynes and wyndes which had chaunced in that ſeaſon, there followed a ſore froſt, which was ſo extreme, that many died for colde, and ſome loſt fingers, and ſome loſt toes, and many loſt nailes beſide their fingers, ſo extreme was the rigour of that froſt.

bitter and
ipping froſt.

The xiiij. day of Nouember the Duke remoued to a place within two myles of Boghain caſtell, and ſtill it froſe. The Welchmen in the morning ſet out a ſhoute and cryed home, home, & the Kreckers hearing that, cryed hang, hang. Hereof buſineſſe was lyke to haue enſued, but by policie it was ceaſſed. Sir Edwarde Guilforde Captaine of the horſemen viewing the caſtell of Boghan, perceyued that the mariſhes (wherewith it was enuironed) were ſo hard froſen that great ordinãce might paſſe ouer the ſame, which he ſignified to the Duke, and therwith the Duke was contented that he ſhoulde trye what ſucceſſe woulde come of giuing the attempt to wynne it. So was the ordinance brought ouer the maryſh grounde, whereof they within being aduertiſed, immediatlye after three ſhottes of Cannon diſcharged againſt them, they yelded the Caſtell, and all the artillerie within it, of the which there was good ſtore, as lxxvj. peeces great & ſmall. The keeping of this Caſtel was deliuered to the Seneſhall of Hennegow.

oghan caſtell
ſaulted and
elded.

In this meane whyle the Lord Sandes was come to the Court, and enformed the king of the ſtate of the armie. The king had before his comming hearde that his people in the ſayde armye were in great miſerie, both by reaſon of the intemperate weather, the vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, the lacke of vittayles, and ſuch other diſcommodities, wherfore he cauſed a newe power of ſixe thouſand men to be prepared to be ſent vnto the Duke of Suffolke for a reliefe, vnder the leading of the Lorde Mountioy. But ere thys power coulde be put in order to paſſe the ſea, and before the Duke coulde haue knowledge againe from the king of his further pleaſure, he was conſtreyned to breake vp his armie, and returned by Valencennes, and ſo through Flaunders vnto Caleys. He left at Valencennes all the great artillerie.

The Duke of Suffolke breaketh vp the armie and commeth to Caleis

The king was ſomewhat diſpleaſed with the breaking vp of the armie thus contrarie to hys mynde, but hearing the reaſonable excuſes which the Duke and the Captaines had to alledge, he was ſhortly after pacified, and ſo after they had remayned in Caleys a certaine tyme, till their friends had aſſwaged the kings diſpleaſure, they returned, and all things were well taken, and they receyued into as much fauour as before.

But nowe to returne to the doings in other partes, as betwixt the Engliſhmen and Scots) which chaunced in this meane whyle that the D. of Suffolke was thus in Fraunce. Ye ſhall vnderſtande that the Scots hearing that the warre was thus turned into Fraunce, thought that nothing ſhoulde be attempted againſt them, and therefore wared more bolde, and beganne to rob and ſpoyle on the marches of Englande, wherefore the king ſent agayne thither the Earle of Surrey Treaſurer and high Admirall of Englande, the which with all ſpeede comming to the weſt borders, ſent for an armie of vj. thouſande men, with the which entring into Scotlande by the vre marches, he ouerthrewe certaine caſtels, pyles, and ſmall holdes, till he came through the Dales to Iedworth, wherein lay a great garriſon of Scottes which ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhmen right ſharply at their firſt comming, but yet at length the towne, abbey, and caſtell were wonne, ſpoyled, and burnt.

The Scottes ſpoyle the Engliſh marches.

The Earle of Surrey inuadeth Scotland.

Iedworth brẽt

After this the Earle encamped within the Scottiſhe grounde from the xxij. of September till the xxv. of the ſame moneth, and then returned backe againe into England. During which time the Lord Dacres wanne the caſtel of Fernyherſt. The French king perceyuing that the Scottes did not worke any notable trouble to the Engliſhmen to ſtay them from yͤ inuading of Fraunce, and the cauſe was, as he tooke it, for that they lacked the Duke of Albanie, whome they named their gouernour: he therefore prouided a nauie of ſhippes to haue tranſported him ouer into Scotlande, ſo that all things were redy for his iourney, but yͭ the Engliſhmē were ready on the ſea vnder the conduct of Sir William Fitzwilliam to ſtoppe his paſſage if he had ſet forwarde, wherefore he cauſed his ſhippes to be brought into Breſt hauen, and bruited it abroade, that he woulde not go into Scotlande,

The caſtel Fernyherſt wonne by the Lorde Dacres.

that yeare. The king of Englande being certified that the Duke meant not to depart out of Fraunce of all that yeare, about the myddeſt of September, commaunded that his ſhips ſhould be layde vp in hauens till the next ſpring. The duke of Albanie being thereof aduertiſed, boldly then tooke his ſhippes, and ſayled into Scotlande with all conuenient ſpeede, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye may reade more at large.

Shortly after his arriuall there, he wrought ſo with the Scottes, that an armie was leuyed, with the which he approched to the borders of Englande, and lodged at Cawde ſtreame, ready to enter into Englande.

The king of England hauing aduertiſement giuen to him from tyme to tyme of the proceedings of his aduerſaries, with all diligence cauſed to be aſſembled the people of the North parts beyonde Trent, in ſuch numbers that there were three thouſande Gentlemen bearing coates of armes with their powers & ſtrength, which were all commaunded to repayre to the Earle of Surrey with ſpeede.

Barwick chiefly regarded.

The noble Marques Dorſet was appoynted with vj. thouſande men to keepe Barwicke, leaſt the Scots ſhoulde lay ſiege thereto.

The Duke of Albany hearing of the preparation which the Earle of Surrey made againſt him, ſent to him an Herault, promiſing him of his honor to giue him battayle, and if he tooke him priſoner, he woulde put him to courteous raunſome, and his bodie to be ſafe. To whome the Earle aunſwered, that much he thanked the Duke of his offer, promiſing him to abyde battayle if he durſt gyue it, and that if the ſayd duke chaunced to be taken by him or his men, he wold ſtryke off his heade, and ſende it for a preſent to his mayſter the king of Englande, and bade him that he ſhoulde truſt to none other. At this aunſwere the Duke and the Scottes tooke great deſpite.

The Earle of Surrey being at Alnewicke, there came to him the Earles of Northumberlande and Weſtmerlande, the Lordes Clifford, Dacres, Lumley, Ogle, and Darcie, with many Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and other ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of fortye thouſande. And from the Court ther came the Maiſter of the horſe, ſir Nicholas Carewe, ſir Fraunces Brian, ſir Edwarde Baynton and others.

The caſtel of Warke aſſaulted by the Scots.

The laſt of October being Saterday, in the night before the ſame day, the Duke of Albanie ſent two or three thouſand men ouer the water to beſiege the Caſtel of Warke, which comming thither with their great ordinance, bet the caſtell very ſore, and wanne the vttermoſt Warde called the Barnekynnes.

Sunday and Monday being the firſt and ſeconde of Nouember, they continued their batterie, and then thinking that the place was ſaultable, courageouſly ſet on the Caſtell, and by ſtrength entred the ſeconde Warde. Sir William Liſle that was Captaine of this Caſtle, perceyuing the ennimies to haue wonne the falſe Brayes, and that nothing remayned but onely the inner Warde or Dungeon, encouraged hys men to the beſt of his power, with wordes of great comfort and manhoode, and therwith iſſued forth with thoſe fewe that he had lefte aboute him (for he had loſt many at other aſſaults) and what with couragious ſhooting and manfull fighting, the ennimies were driuen out of the place, and of them were ſlayne, and namely of thoſe Frenchmen which the Duke had brought forth of Fraunce, to the number of three hundreth, which laye there deade in fight when the Earle of Surrey came thither, beſide ſuch as dyed of woundes, and were drowned.

The Scots a
French driu
backe from
Warke caſt

Then the Scottes and Frenchmen remoued their ordinaunce ouer the water in all haſte, and by that time that they were got ouer, the earle of Surrey was come with fiue thouſand horſmen, and all his great armie followed. He was ſorie that his enimies were gone, and much prayſed ſir William Liſle for his valiancie.

The Earle woulde gladly haue followed his enemies into their own borders, but his Cōmiſſion was onely to defende the Realme, and not to inuade Scotland, and therfore he ſtayed, not onely to the great diſpleaſure of himſelfe, but alſo of many a luſtie Gentleman, that wold gladly haue ſeene further proofe of the Scottiſh mens manhoode.

Shortly after, the Queene of Scots, mother to the king, ſent to hir brother the king of Englande, for an abſtinence of warre, till further communication might be had about the concluſion of ſome good agreement betwixt the two Realmes of Englande and Scotlande, whiche requeſt to hir was graunted, and ſo the Engliſh armie brake vp, and the Earle of Surrey returned to the court.

Whyleſt the Earle of Surrey was in the marches of Scotlande, and the Duke of Suffolk in Fraunce, as before ye haue hearde, the Cardinall ſent out Commiſſions in the month of October, that euery man being worth fortie pound, ſhoulde pay the whole ſubſidie before graunted, out of hande, not tarying till the dayes of payment limitted. This was called an Anticipation, that is to meane, a thing taken before the tyme appoynted, and was a newe terme, not knowen before thoſe dayes: but they payd ſweetely for their learning.

An Anticipation.

In December were taken certayne traytors in the Citie of Couentrie, one called Frauncis Philip, ſchoolemaſter to the Kings henxmen, and one Chriſtopher Pickering Clerke of the Larder, and one Anthonie Mainuyle gentleman, which by the perſuaſion of the ſayd Francis Philippe, intended to haue taken the Kings treaſure of his ſubſidie, as the Collectors of the ſame came towardes London, and then to haue reyſed menne and taken the Caſtell of Kelingworth, and to haue arreared warre againſt the king. The ſayd Fraunces, Chriſtopher, and Anthonie, were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyborne the eleuenth day of Februarie, and the other were ſent to Couentrie, and there executed.

he archduke Auſtrich ke knight the garter.

In this yeare the King ſent the Lord Morley, Sir Willyam Huſey knight, and Doctor Lee his Almener to Don Ferdinando the Archduke of Auſtriche, with the order of the garter, which in the towne of Nuremberg receyued the ſame, where all the Princes of Germanie were then aſſembled at a Dyet or Counſell.

In this meane whyle, diuers enterpriſes and feates of warre were practiſed and atchieued by them of the garriſons in the marches of Caleys, and the Frenchmen of Bulleygne, and the borders thereabouts: but the Frenchmen commonly were put to the worſe.

reton cap- ine of the uenturers ken and yne.

Amongſt other exploytes, it chaunced that one Brereton a gentleman, and Captaine of a number of the Aduenturers, as he went about to ſpoyle the towne of Waſte, was taken by the French horſemen, and ſolde to the Peſauntes of the Countrie, the which vnmercifully ſlew him and xvj. mo which were taken with him, after that the men of warre had deliuered them, and were departed. But this murther was reuenged ſhortly by other of the aduenturers, which comming to the ſame town of Waſte, tooke xxxvij. priſoners of the inhabitautes, and ſlewe of them xxxvj. and burned the towne.

1524

lton Prior S. Bartholo- ewes buil- th a houſe Harowe on hill to a- yde floudes ognoſtica- d that yeare.

In this yeare through bookes of Ephimerides, and Prognoſtications, foreſhewing much hurt to come by waters and floudes, many perſons vittayled themſelues, and went to highe groundes for feare of drowning, ſpeciallye one Bolton Prior of Saint Bartholomewes in Smithfielde, builded him an houſe vpon Harow on the hill, only for feare of this floude, and thither he went, and made prouiſion of all things neceſſarie for the ſpace of two monethes. Thys great rayne and waters ſhoulde haue fallen in Februarie, but no ſuch thing happened, whereby the folly of men was ſhewed. The Aſtronomers for their excuſe ſayde, that in their computation they had miſcounted in their number an hundred yeares.

n reg. 16.

A legate from Rome to treat a peace betwene king Henry and the French king.

A Legate was ſent from the Pope to the king to moue him to peace: but the king declared to him the whole circumſtance of his tytle, for the which he made warres againſt the Frẽch men, and thereof deliuered notes to the ſayd Legate, the which departed with the ſame backe to Rome in poſt. He had bene firſt with the French king, and with the Emperor, but coulde not bring them to any good conformitie, as his deſyre was to haue done, ſo that his trauayle was without fruite in maner, as it appeared.

Many enterpriſes, ſkirmiſhes, forreys, and other feates of warre were attempted and put in vre betwixt the Engliſhmẽ of Caleys, Guiſnes, and other fortreſſes there in thoſe marches, and the Frenchmen of Bulleygne, and other of the garriſons in the frontiers of Picardie, and ſtyll Sir Willyam Fitzwillyam as then Captaine of Guyſnes, Sir Robert Ierningham Captaine of Newnam bridge, Sir Iohn Walloppe, and Sir Iohn Gage were thoſe that did to the Frẽch men moſt dammage. And Monſieur de Bees being Captaine of Bulleygne, did for his parte what he coulde to defende the frontires there, and to annoy his enimies. Yet one day in May, Sir Willam Fitzwilliam, and Sir Robert Ierningham, with ſeauen hundreth men (accounting in that number the Kreekers) went to Bulleygne, and there ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, whileſt Chriſtopher Coo a Captaine of foure Engliſhe ſhippes tooke lande, and fought with them of baſe Bulleigne on the one ſide, as the Kreekers aſſayled them on an other. There was a ſharpe bickering, and in the ende the Frenchmen were driuen backe, and diuerſe of them ſlayne and taken, ſpecially by the Kreekers, that wanne the barriers of them, and ſo when the tyde turned, Chriſtopher Coo with his men withdrewe to his ſhippes, and the Kreekers returned to Sir Willyam Fitzwilliam, the which ſtayed for them, and then gathering hys men togither by ſounde of a trumpet, ſent forth ſuch as might fetch the driftes of beaſts and cattayle in the countrey neare adioyning, and with the ſame returned backe in ſafetie.

Chriſtophes Coo.

The Kreekers good ſeruitors

The eyght of Auguſt Monſieur de Bees accompanied with diuers French Lords and men of warre, to the number of eyght hundreth footmenne, and as manye horſemen, came verye earely in a morning to a village called Bonnings, within the Engliſhe pale, and leauing there three hundreth horſemen in embuſhe, roade to Kalkewell, and there appoynted to tarie with other three hundreth men, and the reſidue of the horſemen and footemen with banner diſplayed, went forth and forrayed all the countrie.

Sir Robert Ierningham with lxxx. horſemen iſſued forth of Caleys to vnderſtande the demeanor of the Frenchmen, but being not able to reſiſt the great number of the Frenchmen, he was chaſed, and ſaued himſelfe by flight. But this diſpleaſure was ſhortlye after reuenged by the ſayde Robert, the which comming to Marguiſon the twelfth of Auguſt with three hundreth footemen, and three ſcore horſmen, ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen that ſtoode at defence, chaſed them into the Church, and fired them out of the ſame, ſo that the Frenchmen leapt out of the Church to their deſtruction, for of thre hundreth there was ſaued but three ſcore aliue.

The Scots enter into Englande and rob the Market folks going to Barwick faire.

The xxj. of May being Trinitie Sunday, v. hundreth Scottiſhe men in the morning verye early, entred by ſeuerall fourdes into England, and lay couertly by the high ways, in purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed ſuch market men as came to the Fayre that day kept at Barwicke. They tooke diuers, but finally being eſpyed, the alarme roſe, and they were fought with right ſharply, who defended thẽſelues with ſuch manhode in drawing backe to their aduauntage, that if the yong Lorde of Fulberie had not come to the ſuccours of the Engliſhmen, the Scottes had gone away with their bootie. Notwithſtanding in the ende they were glad to ſeeke refuge by flight, loſing two hundreth of their number which were taken in the chaſe.

The v. of Iulye next enſuing, Sir Iohn a Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and baſtarde Heron, with diuerſe other Engliſhe Captaynes, hauing with them nine hundreth men of warre, entred the Mers, minding to fetch out of the ſame ſome bootie, and encountring wyth the Scots being in number two thouſande, after ſore and long fight, cauſed them to leaue their grounde, and to flie, ſo that in the chaſe were taken two hundreth Scottes, and many ſlaine, and amongſt them were diuers Gentlemen: but ſir Rauſe a Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and the baſtarde Heron with xxx. other Engliſhmen well horſed, followed ſo farre in the chaſe, that they were paſt reſcues of their companie, whereof the Scottes being aduiſed, ſodainly returned, and ſet on the Engliſhmenne, which oppreſſed with the multitude of their enimies, were ſoone ouercome, and there was taken ſir Rauſe a Fenwike, Leonarde Muſgraue, and ſixe other, and baſtarde Heron, with ſeauen other were ſlayne. The reſidue by chaunce eſcaped. The other Engliſhmen with their two hundreth priſoners, returned ſafely into Englande.

The ſeuenth of Iuly, the Engliſhmen fought with like fortune againſt the Scottes that were entred Englande at the Weſt marches, for in the beginning they put the Scots to the worſe, and tooke three hundreth of them priſoners, but afterwardes, bicauſe the Engliſhmen that had taken thoſe priſoners, withdrewe out of the field with the ſame priſoners, the Scots perceyuing the number of the Engliſhmen to be diminiſhed, gaue a newe onſet on the Engliſhmen, and them diſtreſſed.

After this, the Scots ſued for a truce, and had it graunted to endure till the feaſt of Saint Andrewe.

The Popes a baſſadour p ſenteth the with the go den Roſe.

This yeare the firſt of September was Doctor Thomas Hanniball maiſter of the Rolles receyued into London with Earles, and Biſhoppes, and diuerſe other Nobles and Gentlemẽ, as Ambaſſadors from pope Clement, which brought with him a Roſe of golde for a token to the King, and on the daye of the Natiuitie of our Ladie, after a ſolemne Maſſe ſong by the Cardinall of Yorke, the ſayde preſent was deliuered to the King, which was a tree forged of fine golde, and wrought with branches, leaues, and floures reſembling Roſes. This tree was ſet in a pot of golde which had three feete of anticke faſhion. The pot was of meaſure halfe a pynte, in the vppermoſt Roſe was a fayre Saphire loupe pierced, the bigneſſe of an Acorne, the tree was of heygth halfe an Engliſh yarde, and a foote in bredth.

This yeare in Iuly the Lorde Archimbalde Douglas Earle of Angus, whiche had maryed the Queene of Scots ſiſter to the king of Englande, eſcaped out of Fraunce (where he had remayned for a ſeaſon, in maner as a baniſhed man) and came into Englande to the king, as then being at Grenewich, and was of him curteouſly receyued.

Commiſſio ners ſent i Ireland to orme the countrey.

Sir Anthonie Fitzherbert one of the Iuſtices of the common place, ſir Rauf Egerton knight, and Doctor Denton Deane of Lichfield, being ſent in the beginning of this yeare into Irelande as Commiſſioners, behaued thẽſelues ſo ſagely, that they reformed diuers wrongs, brought ſundry of the wylde Iriſhe by fayre meanes vnto obedience, and made by the kings authoritie, the earle of Kildare, Deputie of the lande, before whome the great Oncle bare the ſworde. And the Lord Piers Butler earle of Ormond, which before was Deputie, was now made high treaſurer of Ireland. In September the ſayd Commiſſioners returned.

The Erle Kildare m Deputie of Irelande.

During all this ſeaſon, there were dayly attemptes made and practiſed by the Engliſhmen in the lowe countrie, namelye the Engliſhe horſemen and the Aduenturers reſted not, but daily made inuaſions vpon the French confines. But the Aduenturers about the beginning of winter made an enterpriſe to fetch ſome bootie from a village lying towarde Muttrell. They were not fully two hundreth men, and of thoſe there were xxv. horſemen. The Frenchmen by chaunce the ſame time were abroade vnder the conduct of the Earle of Dammartine, whiche was going to S. Omers with xv. hũdred horſmen, and viij. C. footemen, and perceyuing where the Aduenturers were comming made towardes them, and after long and cruell fight ouercame them, and ſlue moſt part of them, for that in defending themſelues moſt ſtoutly, they had ſlayne and wounded a great number of the Frenchmen ere they coulde be ouercome, keping themſelues cloſe togither, and might not be broken ſo long as they had any arrowes to ſhoote.

ende of
Kr.ekers.

This was the ende of the Aduenturers otherwiſe called Kreekers, being as hardie men as euer ſerued Prince.

In December there came to London diuers Ambaſſadors out of Scotlande about a peace to be had, and a mariage concluded betweene the King of Scottes, and the Ladie Marie daughter to the King of Englande, as in the Scottiſhe hiſtorie ye ſhall finde more at large expreſſed.

Before the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the Lorde Leonarde Grey, and the Lorde John Grey, brethren to the Marques Dorſet, ſir George Cobham, ſonne to the Lorde Cobham, Willyam Cary, ſir John Dudley, Thomas Wyat, Frãcis Pointz, Francis Sidney, ſir Anthonie Browne, ſir Edwarde Seymor, Oliuer Manners, Perciuall Hart, Sebaſtian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen, Eſquires of the Kings houſholde, enterpriſed a chalenge of feates of armes againſt the feaſt of Chriſtmas, which was proclaymed by Winſore the Herault, and perfourmed at the time appointed after the beſt maner, both at Tylt, Turney, Barriers, and aſſault of a Caſtell erected for that purpoſe in the Tilte yarde at Greenewiche, where the King helde a royall Chriſtmas that yeare, with great myrth and Princely paſtime.

1525

iers ob-
ot im-
the Car
t autho.

In the Moneth of Januarie, the Cardinall by his power Legantine, would haue viſited the Friers obſeruants, but they in no wyſe woulde thereto condiſcende, wherefore ninetene of the ſame Religion were accurſed at Paules croſſe, by one of their owne Religion, called Frier Foreſt.

John Jokin Stewarde of houſholde to the French kings mother, this yere whyleſt the French king was in Italy, came into Englãd, and was receyued in ſecret maner into the houſe of one Doctor Larke, a Prebendarie of S. Stephens, and oftentimes talked with the Cardinal about the affayres betwixt the Kings of Englande and Fraunce, motioning ways for a peace to be concluded. When this was knowen abrode as at the length it was, Monſieur de Prate the Emperors ambaſſador miſliked ſuch courte doings, and ſore grudged thereat.

The xxiiij. of Januarie, the Preſident of Roan called Monſieur Brinion, came to London as Ambaſſador from the French king, and was lodged with the ſayde John Jokin.

Ambſſadours from the Emperour and their requeſts.

Sunday the v. of March, were receyued into London Monſieur de Beuer Lorde of Campher, Admirall of Flaunders, and maiſter John de la Cos preſident of Malines, & Maſter John de la Gache, as ambaſſadours from the Ladie Margaret in the name of the Emperor. Theſe Ambaſſadors required thre things in their ſuite. Firſt they demaũded the Ladie Marie the kings onely daughter to be deliuered out of hande, and ſhe to be named Empreſſe, and to take poſſeſſion of all the lowe countreys, and to be gouernor of the ſame. Alſo that all ſuch ſummes of money as the king ſhoulde giue with hir in mariage for a dower to be made to hir, ſhoulde be payde incontinently. Thirdly, that the king of Englãd himſelfe ſhoulde paſſe the ſea, and make warre in Fraunce the next Summer. The two firſt demaunds were not agreed to for cauſes, & as to this laſt, the king ſayde he woulde take aduiſement.

Thurſday the ix. of March, at vij. of the clock in the morning, there came a gentleman in poſt from the Ladie Margaret gouerneſſe of Flaunders, which brought letters conteining how that the xxiiij. of February, the ſiege of Pauia where the French king had lyen long, was rayſed by force of battayle, and the French king himſelfe taken priſoner.

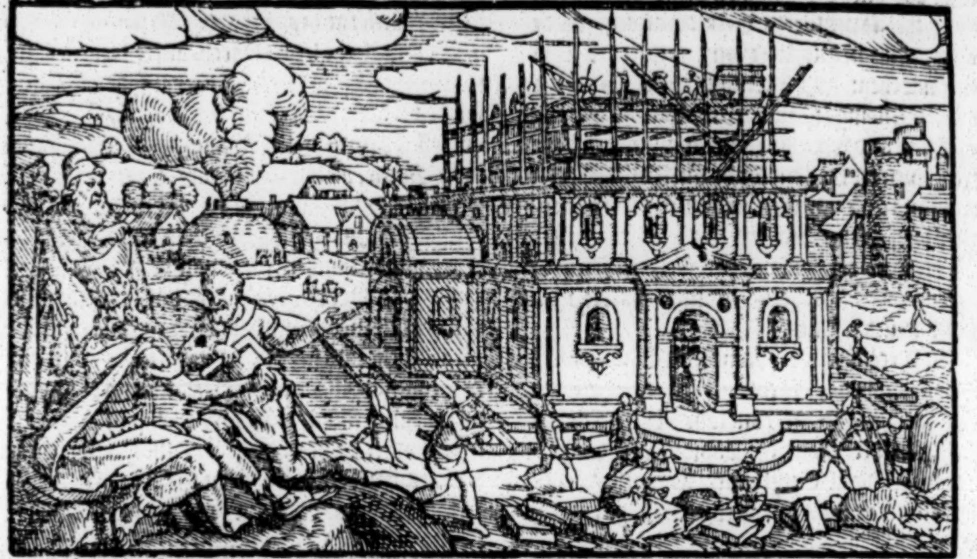
The ſame day the Preſident of Roan, & John Jokin were going to the Court: for they had not yet ſpoken with the king, & in Holborne in their way, hearde theſe tydings, wherevpon they returned to their lodging right ſorowfull, and within ſhort ſpace after returned to the Regent of Frãce.

It was thought the king woulde haue agreed with the French king, if this chaunce had not happened, for all the people of England grudged againſt Flaunders, for the euill demeanor of the Flemmings in time of the warre. Alſo the king was diſpleaſed with them for enhauncing hys coyne there, which cauſed much money to be cõueyed out of this Realme dayly ouer into that countrey. Bonefires & great triumph was made in London for the taking of the French king, on Saterday the xj. of March, and on the morowe after being Sunday the xij. of March, the king came to Paules, & there hearde a ſolemne Maſſe, and after the ſame was ended, the Quere song *Te Deum*, & the Minſtrels playde on euery ſide.

The Cardinall being ſtill moſt highly in the kings fauour, obteyned licence to erect a Colledge at Oxforde, and another at Ipſwich, the towne where he was borne, the which foundations he began rather of a vayne deſire of glorie and

The Cardinal erecteth two new Colleges.

and worldly prayſe, than vpon the inſtinction of true religion, & aduauncement of doctrine, and therefore ſithe he was not moued therto in reſpect of true godlyneſſe and bountifull liberalitie, he



went about to clothe Peter and rob Paule: for he firſt got licence of the king to ſuppreſſe certaine ſmall Monaſteries, and after got a confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the goodes, landes, and reuenues belonging to thoſe houſes, to the maintenance of thoſe his two colledges, whereby not only he, but alſo the Pope were euil ſpoken off through the whole Realme.

Polidor.

Hall.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Emperour.

In March the king ſent Cuthbert Tunſtall biſhop of London, and ſir Richarde Wingfield, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancaſter, and Knight of the Garter, into Spaine, to common with the Emperor for great cauſes, concerning the taking of the French king, and for warres to be made into Fraunce on euery ſide.

The king being determined thus to make warres in Fraunce, & to paſſe the ſea himſelfe in perſon, his Counſell conſidered that aboue all things great treaſure and plentie of money muſt needes be prouided. Wherefore by the Cardinal there were deuiſed ſtraunge Commiſſions, and ſent in the ende of Marche into euery ſhire, and Commiſſioners appoynted, and priuie inſtructions ſent to them howe they ſhoulde proceede in their ſittings, and order the people to bring them to their purpoſe, which was, that the ſixt part of euery mans ſubſtance ſhould be payde in money or plate to the King without delay, for the furniture of his warre. Herof folowed ſuch curſing, weeping, & exclamation againſt both King and Cardinall, that pitie it was to heare. And to be briefe, notwithſtanding all that coulde be ſayd or done, forged or deuiſed by the Commiſſioners to perſuade the people to this contribution, the ſame would not be graunted, & in excuſe of their deniall it was alledged, that wrong was offered, and the auncient cuſtomes and lawes of the Realme broken, which woulde not any man to be charged with ſuch payment, except it were graunted by the eſtates of the Realme in Parliament aſſembled. The like anſwere was made by them of the Spiritualtie, of whom was demaunded the fourth part of their goodes.

The ſixt part of euery mans ſubſtance demaunded.

Monſieur de Prate the Emperors ambaſſador, whether offended for admitting of John Jokin into the Realme, as before ye haue heard, or for ſome other cauſe, the ix. of Aprill he departed out of Englande, not taking leaue of the K. nor of the Cardinall, and ſo much did by ſafeconduct, that he paſſed through Fraunce in poſt, and came to the Emperour before the Ambaſſadors of Englande came thither, and whether it was by his report, or otherwiſe, the accuſtomed fauour that the Emperor and his counſel ſhewed to the Engliſhmen, beganne then to decay, as was wel perceiued, whatſoeuer the matter was. This yeare at Whitſontide died Thomas D. of Norfolke, & was honorably buried at Thetford.

The Cardinall trauailed earneſtlye with the Maior and Aldermen of London, about the ayde of money to be graunted, and likewiſe the Commiſſioners appoynted in the ſhires of the Realme, ſate vppon the ſame, but the burthen was ſo grieuous, that it was generally denyed, & the Commons in euery place ſo moued, that it was lyke to growe to rebellion. In Eſſex the people would not aſſemble before the Commiſſioners in no houſes, but in open places, and in Huntingtonſhire diuerſe reſiſted the Commiſſioners, and woulde not ſuffer them to ſit, which were apprehended, and ſent to the Fleete. The Duke of Suffolke ſitting in Commiſſion about this ſubſidie in Suffolke, perſuaded by courteous meanes the riche Clothiers to aſſent thereto: but when they came home, and went about to diſcharge & put from thẽ their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weauers, and other artificers, whiche they kept in worke afore time, the people began to aſſemble in companies, whereof when the D. was aduertiſed, he commaunded the Conſtables that euery mans harneſſe ſhoulde be taken from them: but when that was knowne, then the rage of the people encreaſed, rayling openly on the D. and ſir Robert Drurie, and threatening them with death, and the Cardinal alſo, and herewith there aſſembled togither after the maner of Rebels, iiij. M. men of Lanam, Sudberie, Hadley, and other townes thereabout, which put themſelues in harneſſe, and rang the belles alarme, and began ſtill to aſſemble in great number.

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The Duke of Suffolke perceyuing this, began to gather ſuch power as he coulde, but that was very ſlender. Yet the Gentlemen that were with the Duke, did ſo much that all the Bridges were broken, ſo that the aſſemble of thoſe rebels was ſomwhat letted.

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The Duke of Norfolke being thereof aduertiſed, gathered a great power in Norfolke, and came towarde the Commons, and ſending to them to knowe their intent, receyued aunſwere, that they woulde lyue and die in the Kings cauſes, and be to him obedient. Herevpon he came himſelf to talke with them, and willing to know who was their Captaine, that he might anſwere for them all: it was tolde him by one John Greene a man of fiftie yeares of age, that Pouertie was their Captaine, the which with his couſin Neceſſitie, had brought them to that doing: for whereas they and a great number of other in that countrey, liued not vpon themſelues, but vpon the ſubſtantiall occupiers, nowe that they through ſuch payments as were demaunded of them, were not able to maintaine them in worke, they muſt of neceſſitie periſhe for want of ſuſtenance. The Duke hearing this matter, was ſorie for their caſe, and promiſed thẽ that if they would depart home to their dwellings, he would be a meane for their pardon to the king. Wherevppon they were contented to depart.

Anno reg.

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After this, the D. of Norfolke, and the D. of Suffolke came to Burie, and thither reſorted much people of the countrie in their ſhertes, and halters about their neckes, mekely deſiring pardon for their offences. The Dukes ſo wiſely demeaned themſelues, that the commons were appeaſed, and the demaunde of money ceaſed in all the Realme, for well it was perceyued, that the Commons none woulde paye. Then went the two Dukes to London, & brought with them the chief Captaines of the rebellion, which were put in the Fleete.

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The king then came to Weſtminſter to the Cardinalles place, and aſſembled there a great counſell, in the which he openly proteſted, that his mynde was neuer to aſke any thing of hys Commons which might ſound to the breach of his lawes, wherefore he willed to know by whoſe meanes the Commiſſions were ſo ſtraitly giuen forth, to demaunde the vj. part of euerye mans goodes. The Cardinall excuſed himſelf, and ſaid that when it was moued in Counſaile howe to leuie money to the kings vſe, the kings Counſel, and namely the Judges, ſaid, that he might lawfully demaund any ſumme by Commiſſion, and that by the conſent of the whole Counſel it was done, and toke God to witneſſe that he neuer deſired the hinderaunce of the Commons, but like a true Counſaylor deuiſed how to enrich the king. The king in deede was much offended that his Commons were thus intreated, and thought it touched his honor, that his Counſell ſhoulde attempt ſuch a doubtful matter in his name, and to be denied both of the Spiritualtie and Temporalitie. Therefore he woulde no more of that trouble, but cauſed letters to be ſent into all ſhires, that the matter ſhoulde no further be talked off, and he pardoned all them that had denied the demaunde openly or ſecretly.

The Cardinall to deliuer himſelfe of the euill will of the Commons, purchaſed by procuring and aduauncing of this demaunde, affirmed, and cauſed it to be bruted abrode, that through his interceſſion the king had pardoned and releaſed all things.

The rebels pardoned.

Thoſe that were in the Tower and Fleete for the rebellion in Suffolke, and reſiſting the Commiſſioners aſwell there as in Huntington ſhire, and Kent, were brought before the Lordes in the Star chamber, and there had their offences opened & ſhewed to them, and finally the kings pardon declared, and thervpon they were deliuered.

In this ſeaſon, a great number of men of war lay at Bollongne, and in other places therabout, which diuerſe times attempted to endomage the Engliſhmen, and to ſpoyle the Engliſh pale, but they coulde neuer ſpoyle the mariſhes where the greateſt part of the cattell belonging to the inhabitants, was kept.

Tyndale men great robbers.

Tyndale men with ayde of the Scottes, did much hurt in Englande by robberies, which they exerciſed, and therefore were ſent thither, ſir Richarde Bulmer, and ſir Chriſtopher Dacres, to reſtraine their doings. Diuerſe came to them, & ſubmitted themſelues, but the greateſt theeues kept them in the mountaines of Cheuiot, and did much hurt, yet at length they ſeuered, and many of them were taken.

The Cardinall by his power Legantine ſent one of his Chapleins called Doctor John Allen, to viſit the religious houſes of this realme about this ſeaſon, whiche Doctor practiſed amongſt them greatly to his profite, but more to the ſlaũder both of himſelfe and of his maiſter.

Creations.

The xviij. day of Iune, at the manor place of Bridewel, the Kings ſonne (which he had begot of Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to ſir Iohn Blunt knight) called Henrie Fitzroy, was created firſt Earle of Notinghã, and after on the ſelfe ſame day he was created Duke of Richmonde & Somerſet. Alſo the ſame day the L. Henrie Courtney Earle of Deuonſhire, and coſin germane to the king, was created Marques of Exceter, and the Lord Henrie Brandon ſonne to the Duke of Suffolke and the French Queene, a childe of ij. yeares olde, was created Earle of Lincolne, and ſir Thomas Manners Lorde Roos was created Earle of Rutlande, and ſir Henrie Clifforde Earle of Cumberlande, and the L. Fitzwater ſir Robert Ratcliffe was created vicount Fitzwater, and Sir Thomas Bulleyne treaſurer of the kings houſeholde, was created Vicount Rochefort.

A truce betwene Englãd and Fraunce for xl. dayes.

The French kings mother as then Regent of Fraunce, procured a ſafeconduct for an ambaſſador to be ſent into Englande to treate of peace, and therewith ſent Iohn Iokin called Monſieur de Vaux, which as ye haue heard in the laſt yeare was kept ſecret in maſter Larks houſe. By his procurement a truce was graunted to endure from the xiij. of Iuly for xl. days betwene Englande and Fraunce both by ſea and lande.

In the later end of Iuly came into England yͤ chief preſident of Roan with ſufficient authoritie to conclude any agreement that ſhoulde be graunted. At his ſuite the king was contented that a truce ſhoulde be taken to endure from the xiiij. of Auguſt, till the firſt of December.

Ambaſſadors ſent into Denmarke.

This yere the king ſent Doctor Henry Standiſhe biſhop of Saint Aſſe, and Sir Iohn Baker knight into Denmarke, to intreate with the nobles of that countrie for the reduction of their K. Chriſtierne to his Realme and former dignitie: but the Danes hated him ſo much for his crueltie, that they coulde not abyde to heare of anye ſuch matter, and ſo theſe Ambaſſadors returned without ſpeeding of their purpoſe for the which they were ſent.

A peace proclaymed betweene England & France

But the French ambaſſadors did ſo much both by offers and intreaties, that the king condiſcended to a peace, which being concluded, was proclaymed in London with a Trumpet the viij. of September. By the couenants of this peace the King of Englande ſhoulde receyue at certayne dayes xx. C. thouſande Crownes, which then amounted in ſterling money to the ſumme of iiij. C. M. ꝉ. ſterling, of the which, one payment of fiftie thouſand pounde was payde in hande.

The Ladie
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In October were ſent into France, ſir William Fitzwilliam treaſurer of the Kings houſe, and Doctor Taylor, as ambaſſadors from the king of Englande, to the Ladie Regent, whom they founde at the Citie of Lion, where of hir they were honourably receyued, and in their preſence the ſayde Ladie Regent tooke a corporall othe in ſolemne wiſe, and according to the cuſtome in ſuch caſes vſed, to performe all the articles and couenants paſſed and concluded in the league and treatie of peace by hir Cõmiſſioners.

The Emperour was nothing pleaſed, in that the king of Englande had thus concluded peace with the Frenchmen, and therefore the Engliſh merchants were not ſo courteouſly dealt with as they had bene afore time.

The ſtill Chriſtmas.

In this winter was great death in London, ſo that the Terme was adiourned, and the king kept his Chriſtmas at Eltham, with a ſmall uumber, and therefore it was called the ſtill Chriſtenmas.

1526

In Ianuarie was a peace concluded betwixt the Realmes of Englande and Scotland for iij. yeares and ſixe monethes.

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The Cardinall about this time comming to the Court, which then laye (as before ye haue hearde) at Eltham, tooke order for altering the ſtate of the Kings houſe. Many officers and other ſeruaunts were diſcharged, and put to their pencions and annuities. In which number were lxiiij. yeomen of the garde, which before hauing xij. d. the day with checke, were nowe allowed vj. d. the day without checke, and commaunded to go home into their countries. Diuers ordinãces were made at that ſeaſon by the Cardinall touching the gouernãce of the kings houſe, more profitable than honorable, as ſome ſayde, & were called long after, the ſtatutes of Eltham.

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On Shrouetueſdaye there was a ſolemne iuſtes helde at the manor of Grenewich, the king and xj. other on the one part, and the Marques of Exceter with xj. other on the contrarie parte. At thoſe iuſtes by chaũce of ſhiuering of a ſpeare ſir Frauncis Brian loſt one of his eyes. The xj. of Februarie being Sunday, the Cardinall with great pompe came to the Cathedrall Church of Paules, where he ſate *in Pontificalibus* vnder his cloth of eſtate of rich cloth of gold, and there D. Barnes an Auguſtine frier bare a fagot for certaine points of hereſie, alledged againſt him, and two merchants of the Stilyarde bare fagots for eating fleſh on a Friday, and there the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter Doctor Fiſher made a ſermon againſt Martine Luther, which certaine yeares before, that is to witte, about the yeare 1518. had begonne to preach and write againſt the authoritie of the Pope.

All this yeare was continuall ſuite made to the Emperour and his Counſell by the Ladye

Regent of France & other, for the deliueraunce of the French king, and finally vpō certaine articles there was a peace and league cōcluded, & the king of Englande included in the ſame. Amongſt other articles, it was couenāted, and the French king promiſſed to diſcharge yͤ Emperor againſt the king of Englande for the ſum of .200000. crowns, which the emperor ought then to the king of England, and to deliuer to the Emperour a ſure acquittance for the ſame. The king of England hearing that the French K. ſhuld now be deliuered, ſent to him a knight of his chamber, called ſir Tho. Cheney to ſignifie to him the great ioy & gladnes, which he cōceiued for his reſtitution to libertie, & yͤ concluſion of the generall peace, for which kindnes & curteous remēbrance, the French king thought himſelfe much bound to the king of Englande, & thanked him greatly therfore. After that this peace was accorded, & the French king deliuered, yͤ Emperor maried yͤ Lady Iſabell daughter to Emanuell king of Portingal, & had wyth hir xj.C.M. ducats. Ye muſt here note, that yͤ Emperor being at Winſor in the .14. yeare of the kings raigne couenaunted amongeſt other things to take to wife yͤ Lady Mary daughter to the king of England, but now vpon cōſiderations his minde changed, for the whiche the Engliſhemen ſore murmured againſt him.

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The .29. of Aprill being Sundaye yͤ Cardinall ſong a ſolemne Maſſe in the kings Chapell at Greenwich, & after the ſame was ended, the king ſware in preſence of the Ambaſſadors of France, & of the Ambaſſadors of Rome, of yͤ Emperor, of Venice, & of Florence, to obſerue, & keepe the peace & league concluded beetwixte him, and his louing brother, & perpetuall allie yͤ Frenche king, during his life & one yeare after. In this mean while, there was a ſecrete league concluded betwixt the Pope, the Venetians, yͤ Florentins, & Francis Sforza duke of Millan, into the which league the French king alſo entred, after he was returned into France. Ther was alſo place lefte to the king of England to enter into the ſame league, and likewiſe to all other kings & princes, & if the King of Englād wold, he ſhould be admitted as protector of the ſame. But the Emperor might not be admitted till he had deliuered the French kings children (hauing a reaſonable ſum of mony for the ſame) and hadde reſtored the Duke of Millan to his whole Dutchy. It was thought in dede that the Emperor being wrongfully enformed againſt this Duke rather through enuy of ſome of the Emperors Captaines, than for any cauſe miniſtred by the Duke, dealte very ſtraightlye with him, and ment to defeat him of his Duchie. For redreſſe whereof, and alſo to prouide that the Emperour ſhould not grow to ſtrong in Italy to the daunger of other eſtates, this league was deuiſed by force whereof, he might bee brought to reaſon, if he wold refuſe conuenient offers, & indifferent ways of agreement.

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This league was concluded the twoo and twentith of May in this yeare. What followed thereof, yee maye reade more at large in the hiſtories of Italy and Frāce, where the warres are more at large touched, whiche chaunced in that ſeaſon bettwixte the Emperour, and the Confederates, and howe the Imperiall armye tooke the Citie of Rome, and beſiegyng the Pope in Caſtell Sainct Angelo, conſtrayned him to yeelde.

This yeare in the citie of London a greate grudge was conceiued agaynſt merchāt ſtrangers, for that they by vertue of licences, whiche they hadde purchaſed, to bring woade into the realme contrary to a ſtatute thereof prouided, broughte ouer ſuch plentie thereof, and vttered it aſwell in the citie, as abroade in the country, ſo frankely, that Engliſhemennes woade laye vnbought.

Great grudge againſte ſtraungers for procuring licence to ſell vvoad.

At length the Maior called a counſel, wherin to bridle thoſe ſtrangers, it was enacted, that no citizen, nor freeman, ſhould buy or ſell, nor exchange, or haue to doe wyth certayne ſtrangers, whoſe names were expreſſed.

In this ſeaſon the angell noble was iuſt the ſixt part of an ounce Troy, ſo that .vj. Angels were iuſt an ounce, which was .xl. ſ. ſterling, and the angell was worth two vnces of ſiluer, ſo that ſixe Angelles were worth. xij. ounces, which was but .xl. ſ. in ſiluer. By reaſon of the good weight, and lowe valuation of the Engliſhe coigne, Merchauntes dayly carryed ouer great ſtore, bicauſe the ſame was much enhaūced there, ſo that to meete with this inconuenience, in September proclamation was made through all Englande, that the angell ſhoulde go for .vij. ſ. iiij. d. the royall for .xj. ſ. and the crowne for .iiij ſ. iiij. d., and the fift of Nouember following by proclamation againe the angell was enhaunſed to .vij. ſ. vj. d. and ſo euery ounce of golde ſhoulde be .xlv. ſ. and an ounce of ſiluer at iij. ſ ix d in value.

Valuation of certain coyne.

The king kepte a ſolempne Chriſtmaſſe at Greenewiche wyth reuelles, maſkes, diſguiſings, and banquets.

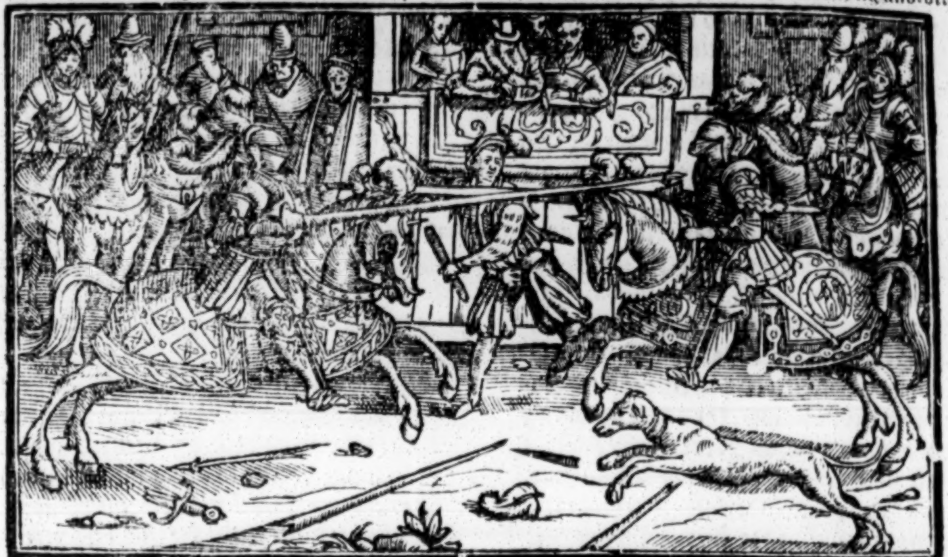
1527

The fourteenthe of Ianuarye came to the court Don Hugo de Mēdoſa, a man of a noble familye in Spaine: he came as Ambaſſadour from the Emperor to the king, with large commiſſiō, for the Emperor put it to yͤ kings determinatiō whether his demaūds which he required of the French king were reaſonable or not.

An Ambaſſadour from the Emperour.

This noble man tarried here two yeres full.

The ſeconde of Marche were receyued into London the Biſhop of Tarbe, Frauncis Vi-



counte of Thurayne, & maſter Anthony Veſcy ſeconde preſident of Paris, as Ambaſſadors frō the french king. They were lodged in Tailors hall. On Shrouetweſday the Kyng and .viij. with him [illegible] Iuſtes againſt the Marques of Excester, & .viij on his parte. There were broken betwixt them 286. ſpeares according to the accompt thereof taken. The French Ambaſſador ſued (as was ſaide) to haue the Ladye Mary daughter to the King of England, giuen in mariage to the Duke of Orleaunce ſecond ſon to their maiſter the French king, but that matter was put in ſuſpence for dyuers conſiderations, & one was for that the Preſident of Paris doubted whether yͤ mariage betwene the king and hir mother (ſhe beeyng hys brothers wife) was lawfull or not. The .xiiij of March were conueied from London to Greenewiche by the earle of Rutlande, and other, the Lord Gabriell de Salamanca earle of Ottenburg: Iohn Burgraue of Siluenberg: & Iohn Faber a famous clerk after Biſh. of Vienne as Ambaſſadors frō Don Ferdinando brother to yͤ Emperor newly elected king of Hūgary & Bohem, after the death of his brother in lawe king Lewes, whiche was ſlayne by the Turke the laſte Sommer, as in the hiſtorie of Hūgarie, it doth appeare. Maiſter Faber made before the kyng an eloquent Oration touchyng the purpoſe of their comming, which was to deſier the King of aide againſt the Turke. To the which Oration the king by the mouth of Sir Tho. More made anſwere as was thought conuenient for the time. In the Winter ſeaſon of this yere fell great abundaunce of raine, & namely in Septēber, Nouember, and December. And on the xvi. of Ianuary it rained ſo aboundantly that great floudes thereof enſuing, deſtroied corne, fieldes, paſtures, and drowned many ſheepe, and beaſtes. Then was it drye till the .xij. of Aprill, and from thence it rayned euery day or night till the thirde of Iune, and in Maye it rained .xxx. houres continually without ceaſſing, whiche cauſed greate floudes, & did muche harme, namely in corne, ſo that the nexte yere it failed within this realme, and great darth enſued. The French Ambaſſadors at Greenwich on Sunday the .v. of May ſware in the name of their maiſter the French king to obſerue the peace & league concluded betwene thē, for term of the .ij. Princes liues. Theſe Ambaſſadours had great cheare, & Iuſtes were enterpriſed for the honor & pleaſure of them at the kings commaundement by ſir Nicholas Carew, ſir Robert Iernyngham, ſir Anthony Browne, and Nicholas Haruy Eſquier chalengers. Againſt whom ran the Marques of Excester, and .xij. with him as defendants When theſe Ambaſſadors ſhould returne, they had great rewards giuen them of the king, and ſo toke their leaue and departed. Shortly after the king ſente ſir Thomas Bollongne Vicounte Rochforde, & ſir Anthony Browne knyght as Ambaſſadors from him into Fraunce, whiche came to Paris to the Biſhoppe of Bathe that lay there, for the king as legier, and then theſe .iij. wente to the Courte, and ſawe the Frenche Kyng in perſon ſweare to keepe the league, & amitie concluded betwene him and the King of Englande. Alſo the king ſent ſir Fraunces Pointz knight Ambaſſador from him to Charles the Emperour, & with him went Clarenceaux kyng of armes to demaunde the one halfe of the treaſure and ordinaunce, whiche was taken at Pauia, forſomuche as yͤ warre was made aſwell at yͤ kings charge as at the Emperors. Alſo they were cōmaunded to demaund one of the french kings ſonnes whiche lay in hoſtage wyth the Emperour, that is to wit, the duke of Orleance to be deliuered to the king of Englande, and further

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Ambaſſa into Fra

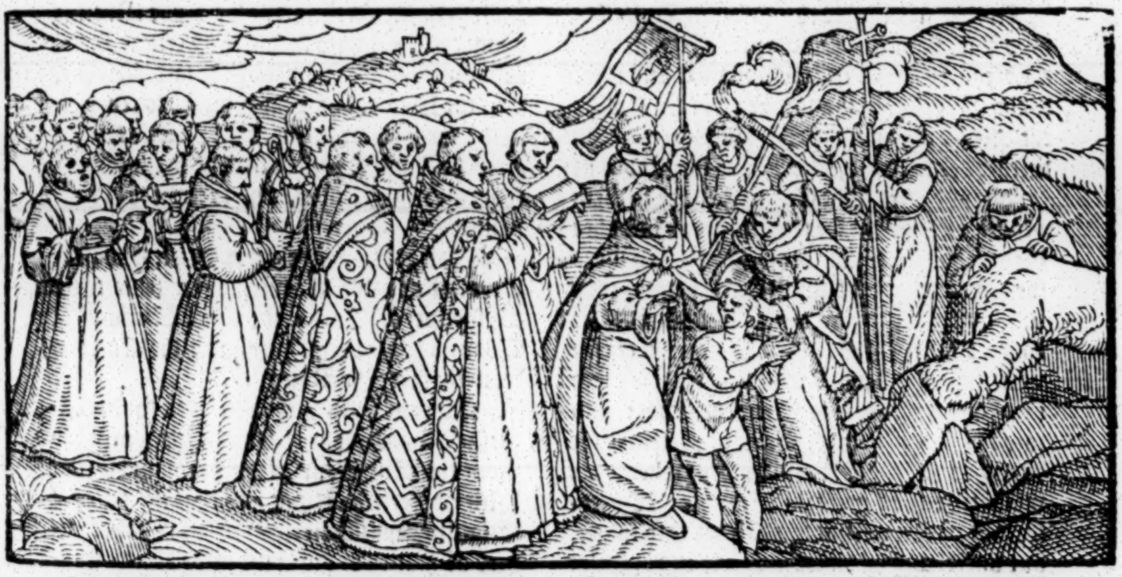
An Amb to the E perour.

ther that he ſhoulde call backe his army out of Italy, and if ſo were that hee refuſed theſe ſo reaſonable requeſtes, then ſhoulde they in the kings name denoūce open warre againſt him. The engliſhe marchantes liked the matter nothing at all, that there ſhoulde bee any warres betwixte the Emperour, and the king of Englande, and where they wer deſired by the Cardinal to kepe their marts at Calais, they wold not aſſent thereto.

In this mean time was Rome taken by the Imperialls, and the Pope broughte into captiuitie, wherwyth the Kyng was ſo incenſed againſt the Emperour by the inſtigation of the Cardinall, that he had determined not to ſpare any treaſure for the Popes deliuerānce. There roſe a ſecret bruit in London that the kings cōfeſſor Doctor Longlād, and diuers other great Clerkes had tolde the King that the marriage betweene hym, and the Ladye Katherine late wife to hys brother Prynce Arthur was not lawfull: whereupon the king ſhoulde ſue a diuorce, and marry the Dutcheſſe of Alanſon ſiſter to the Frenche King at the towne of Calais this Sōmer, and that the Vicount Rocheforte had broughte wyth hym the picture of the ſaide Lady.

The Kyng was offended wyth thoſe tales, and ſente for ſir Thomas Seimer maior of the citie of London, ſecretely chardging him to ſee that the people ceaſſed from ſuche talke.

But whatſoeuer the commons talked, it was determined that the Cardinall ſhould go ouer into Fraunce as high Ambaſſador for the king, and to take with him .xij. ſcore thouſand pound to be emploied on the warres to be made by the confederates againſt the Emperor, if he would not condiſcende to ſuche demaundes as the Engliſh Ambaſſadors on the kings behalfe ſhoulde exhibite vnto him.



The Cardinall goeth Ambaſſadour into Fraunce.

A Proceſſion. A newe deuiſed Letany.

The thirde of July this triumphant Cardinall paſſed throughe London wyth .xij. C. horſe toward the ſea ſide, and cōming to Canterburye reſted there, and declared to the people what hadde chaunced to the Pope, and cauſed the Monkes of Chriſtes Churche to ſing their Letany after this maner. *Sancta Maria ora pro Clemente Papa. &c.* Then he exhorted yͤ people to faſt & pray for the Popes delyueraũce accordingly as he had already ſent commiſſions to al the biſhops within the realme to follow that order, which was to faſt .3. days in the weeke & to vſe in euery pariſh ſolemne proceſſiōs. The .xj. of July yͤ Cardinall tooke ſhipping at Douer, & landed the ſame day at Caleis, frō whence he departed the .22. of July, and with him was the Byſhop of London Cutbert Tunſtall, the Lord Sands Chamberlain to yͤ king, the earle of Darby, ſir Henry Guilforte, Sir Thomas More, with many other knightes & eſquiers, in all to the number of .xij. C horſe, and of carriages there were .80. wagons, & .60. moiles and ſumpter horſes. He that is deſirous to vnderſtande wyth what honor this triumphaunt Cardinall was receyued in al places as he paſſed throughe Picardie by order giuen by the French King, may reade thereof at large in the chronicles of maiſter Hall. At Amiēs he was receyued by the french K. himſelfe, & by his mother with al other the chiefe Peeres of France. There was nothing forgot that might do hym honor or pleaſure. But to the effect of his buſines, after he had ſhewed his cōmiſſion, they fell in counſell, & in the end grew to a full concluſion of a league to be accorded & eſtabliſhed betwixt the kings of Englād & France, the couenaunts and articles wherof were drawen and written vp in a faire charter which was ſealed

The Cardinall is honorablye receiued by the French kyng.

A league betweene Englande, and Fraunce.

in ſolempne wiſe & deliuered to the Cardinalls by the kings owne hand. After this, it was agreed, yͤ Odet de Fois cõmonly called Monſieur de Lawtrecke ſhould go into Italy with a puiſſaunt army to procure the Popes deliueraunce, and expulſe the Emperours power out of all yͤ parties of Italy, if he refuſed ſuch reaſonable offers and articles of agreement as were drawen, and ſhuld be exhibited to him. In this army went ſir Robert Iernynghã, and Iohn Carew of Hakam & 80. other engliſh gentlemẽ, whiche were ſent by the Cardinall frõ Amiens.

Monſieure de
Lavvtrecke.

Sir Robert
Ieringham.

When the armye was aſſembled, the Cardinall deliuered yͤ mony which he had brought out of Englãd with him in barrells, with the which the armye was paide two Monethes beefore hãd, and yͤ ſurpluſage was deliuered to ſir Robert Iernyngham, whyche was called Threaſourer of the warres.

The name of
the army ſent
into Italy.

This armye was called in latine *Exercitus Angliæ & Gallorum Regum pro Pontifice Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to ſay, the army of the kings of England and France, gathered for the deliueraunce of the Byſhoppe of Rome, and ſo was it reputed.

In this meane time the Engliſh Ambaſſadors Sir Frauncis Pointz and Clarenceaux the herault were come into Spaine, and there to the Emperor in the towne of Vale Doliſſe the vj. of Iuly deliuered the kings letters, and further declared their meſſage as they hadde in commaundemẽt. The Emperor made to them a courteous anſwer for that time, and ſaide hee would take counſell in the matter, & then ſhuld they receiue further aunſwer, and in the meane time they might repoſe them. Within a day or two after, hee called to hym Doctour Lee that was the kings Ambaſſadour legier there wyth hym, and the ſaide Syr Frauncis Pointz, and ſaid to them, My lordes we haue perceiued the Kyng your Mayſters demaundes, whyche are weightie and of great importaunce. Wherefore we intend with al ſpeed to write to the K. our vncle, and when we haue receiued anſwere frõ him, we ſhall deliuer you of ſuch things as you require, praying you in the meane time to take patience. The Emperour protracted tyme of purpoſe bycauſe he was lothe to anſwer directly to ſuch greuous and moſt irkeſome complaints bycauſe he geſſed by yͤ courſe of things that the French king would ſhortly be cõſtrained to agree to thoſe conditions of peace, whiche he at the firſte had offered.

But the Frenche King, and the Cardinall being togither at Amiẽs, amongſt other things determined there betwixt them in counſell, deuiſed further what articles of offer ſhoulde bee ſente to the Emperor, which if he refuſed, then open defyaunce to be made to hym in name of both the Kings. The articles were theſe in effecte.

Articles prop
ned to the E
perour.

Fyrſt that the French king ſhuld pay for his ranſom 25000. crowns, one writer called it. ij. millions. 2 Alſo that hee ſhoulde releaſe all the penſiõ that he had in Naples, with all the right of the ſame. 3 Alſo that he ſhoulde neuer claime title to the Dutchie of Millane. 4. Alſo hee ſhulde releaſe the ſuperioritie of Flaunders for euer, and the right whiche hee had to the Citie of Tourney ; 5. Alſo hee ſhoulde releaſe all the homages of all perſones within thoſe cõtryes 6. Alſo to withdrawe his armye out of Italy. 7. Alſo to forſake the ayde of the Switzers againſte the Emperour. 8. Alſo to take no more part wyth Robert de la Marche agaynſte the Emperour .9. Alſo neuer to aide the Kyng of Nauarre againſte him, althoughe he had married the Kings ſiſter .10. Alſo neuer to aide the Duke of Gelderland, nor to chalenge the ſame Dutchie .11. Alſo to aide the Emperour wyth ſhippes and men to hys Coronation. 12. Alſo to mary the Lady Elenore Quene of Portingale ſiſter to the Emperor. 13. Alſo that the Dolphyne ſhoulde marrye the ſayde Queenes daughter. 14. Alſo that if the Frenche Kyng hadde anye children male by the ſaid Queene, then the Dutchye of Burgongne, to remayne to the ſaide childe being male. 15. Alſo that the Frenche King ſhould be friende to the Emperour, and hys friendes, and enemye to hys ennemies.

Theſe with manye other articles, whyche were not openlye knowen, were ſente to the Byſhoppe of Tarbe, and to the Vicounte of Thuraine Ambaſſadours wyth the Emperor from the Frenche Kyng.

Other articles were alſo ſente to the Engliſhe Ambaſſadours beyng in Spayne, as to moue the Emperour to ſome reaſonable ende with the Frenche King, and that the Kyng of Englande woulde releaſe to hym all the ſummes of money due to hym, aſwell by the Emperour Maximilian his Grandefather as himſelfe, and take the Frenche King as debter for the ſame.

If hee woulde not agree to theſe offers, then was it accorded that the Frenche K. ſhuld marrie the Ladie Mary daughter to the kyng of Englande, and they bothe to bee enemyes to the Emperoue.

The Cardy
retourneth o
of Fraunc

When all theſe thynges were concluded, the Cardinall tooke hys leaue of the Frenche Kyng and hys mother, and wyth greate rewardes retourned, commyng to Rychemonte where the Kyng then laye, the laſte of September.

In October, there came Ambaſſadoures from the French King into England, the lord Annas de Montmorancy, great Maſter of the ſaid French kinges houſe, the Biſhoppe of Baionne chiefe preſidente of Roan, and Monſieur de Humieres accompanied wyth .lx. Gentlemen well appointed. Theſe Ambaſſadors were receyued with all honor that might be deuiſed.

On Alhallon daye the Kyng commyng to the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paule, where the Cardinall ſang Maſſe, ſware before the high Aultar in the preſence of the French Ambaſſadors to keepe and performe the league.

On Sunday the .x. of Nouember, the king being elected knight of the order of Saint Michaell, receiued at Greenewich the ſaide order by the handes of the greate maiſter of Fraunce, and Monſier Humieres that wer companions of the ſame order, in like caſe as the French K. the ſame day at Paris receiued the order of the Garter by the handes of the lorde Liſle, Doctor Tailor maiſter of the Rolls, ſir Nicholas Carew knight maiſter of the kings horſes, ſir Antony Brown knight, ⁊ ſir Thomas Wriotheſley Knight, otherwiſe called Garter Kyng of armes, the whiche were ſente thither wyth the whole habite, coller, and other habillements of the order as appertained. After that the French Ambaſſadors had ben highly feaſted, banqueted, ⁊ entertained, with al honor ⁊ paſtime conuenient, the great maiſter and all his company toke leaue of the king, ⁊ wyth great rewardes returned into Fraunce, leauing the Biſhop of Baionne behind them, who abode ambaſſador legier in Englãd. In this Moneth of Nouember Arthur Bilney, Geffrey Lome, ⁊ one Garret yͭ ſpake againſt the Popes auctoritie, were abiured by the Cardinall. By reaſõ of the gret weet that fell in the ſowing time of the corne, ⁊ in the beginning of the laſte yeare, now in the beginning of this, corne ſo failed, that in the citie of Londõ for a while breade was ſcant, by reaſon that commiſſioners appointed to ſee orders taken in ſhires aboute, ordeined that none ſhuld be cõueied out of one ſhire into an other, which order had like to haue bred diſorder, for yͤ euery cuntry ⁊ place was not prouided a like, and namely London, that maketh her prouiſiõ out of other places, felte great inconuenience hereby, till the marchants of the Stiliarde, and other out of the Theutſch countryes, broughte ſuch plẽtie, yͭ it was better cheap in Londõ thã in any other part of England, for the king alſo releeued the citizens in time of their nede with a .M. quarters by way of lone of his own prouiſion. The ſcarcetie at the firſt was more than the derth, for in the beginning of their wante, wheate was only at .xv. ß. a quarter, and from thence it roſe to .xx. ß. ⁊ after to xxvj. ß. viij. d. the quarter, till remedy by outward prouiſion was procured and had. In this meane while, yͤ Lorde Lautrec with his army was entred into Italy, where howe he ſped, and what came of that expedition, ye ſhall finde in the hiſtories of Fraunce and Italy, and therefore in this place I paſſe it ouer. Sir Francis Poines knight in the end of Decẽber returned out of Spain into England leauing Clarenceaux behind him, to bring further anſwer. The Emperor at the requeſte of this ſir Fraunces Poines, who made yͤ ſame in name of his maiſter the K. of England, was contented to releaſe .12. articles, whiche wer reputed moſt preiudiciall to the French king, only to gratifie the king of England: but the Cardinall kepte the kyng ſtill in diſpleaſure towarde the Emperor for the fauor whiche hee bare to the French king, whoſe only purpoſes he ſought to aduaunce. The articles whiche were drawẽ at Amiẽs whẽ the Cardinal was there, were exhibited to yͤ Emperor by the Frẽch Ambaſſadors, ⁊ bycauſe he refuſed the ſame, worde was ſẽt to Clarenceaux king of arms, to make defiaunce to the Emperor. Whervpon on the Wedneſday the .xxij. of Januarie, Guyenne king of arms to the French king and Clarẽceaux king of arms to the king of England, being in the citie of Bourgues in Spain, came to the Court of Charles the elect Emperor, about 9. of the clocke in the morning, and there did requeſt of his maieſtie, that it wold pleaſe him to appoint thẽ an houre of audience. The lord de Chaour by ordinaunce from hys maieſtie, gaue them anſwer that it ſhuld be about x of yͤ clocke before none the ſame daye. And at the ſame houre his Maieſtye came into the greate hall of his Courte, accompanyed wyth diuers Prelats, Dukes, Marquiſes, Erles, Barons, ⁊ other great lords and good perſonages, of diuers nations of his kyngdome ⁊ ſeigniories in great number.

The Emperour ſittyng in a chayre prepared accordyng to his dignitye, the two kinges of armes of Fraunce and Englande, being in the nether end of the hall, holdyng vpon their left arms eche one his coate of armes, did make .3. ſolemne reuerences accuſtomed, wyth knee to the ground. And whẽ they were at the loweſt ſteire before hys Emperiall Maieſtie, Clarenceaux king of armes of Englande, hauing the wordes in bothe their names, ſpake as followeth.

Sir, following the three Edictes inuiolably kept and obſerued by your predeceſſours Emperours of Rome, Kings, Princes, and Captaynes, Guyenne Kyng of armes of the moſte Chriſtened Kyng, and alſo Clarenceaux

King of armes to the Kyng of Englande our ſoueraigne and naturall lords, wee preſentyng our ſelues before your ſacred maieſty, for to declare certaine things from the ſaide kings our maiſters, beſeching your maieſtie, that hauing regarde vnto the ſaide laws according to your benignitie and mercy, that it would pleaſe you to gyue vs ſure acceſſe and good intreatyng in your countreis, lands and ſeigniories attẽding your aunſwere, with ſure conducte to retourne vnto the coũtreis, lands, and ſeigniories of our ſaide ſoueraigne Lordes. The Emperour then bad them ſaye on whatſoeuer the Kyngs your maiſters haue giuen you in chardge, your priuiledges ſhall be kepte, none ſhall do you any diſpleaſure within my kingdomes or territories.

After thys, Guyenne read in wrytyng that whych followeth, ſigned wyth yͤ hand of yͤ ſaid Guienne king of armes: Sir, the moſt chriſtned Kyng my ſoueraigne and naturall Lorde hathe commaunded me to ſaye to you, that hee hath conceyued a maruellious griefe and diſpleaſure of that, that in place of amitie, whiche hee ſo muche deſired to haue with you, the former enmytie in full force ſtill remaineth. By the whiche he ſeeth and perceyueth, that the euils and inconueniences long ſince begon, ſhal continue and augment, not only vnto you, and vnto him, & your vaſſals & ſubiectes, but alſo vnto all Chriſtendom, and that the forces & youths whyche the one and the other oughte to employ againſt the enimyes of the faith, ſhall bee ſpent to the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, and in offence vnto God, and that you and he endowed with ſo many gracious gifts ſhall not inioye the benefits, which it pleaſed the ſonne of God to leaue to vs, by his teſtament, which is peace, whereof all goodnes proceedeth. And in place of the ſame ſhall haue warre: whereof followeth all calamities, daungers, inconueniences, pouerties, and myſeries. And heerewith, you ſhall ſubmitte your ſelfe vnto them whome you maye commaunde, and ſhall hazarde the bloud and ſubſtaunce of your ſubiectes in the purſſes of ſtraungers: euery one as for himſelfe ought to haue regarde therto, and for the ſhorte tyme that we haue heere to lyue, not to goe aboute to depriue hymſelfe of that tranquillitie, ioye, good regarde and paſtyme, that the Princes maye haue by peace: And by followyng the warre, to bee in pouertie, heauineſſe, and hazarde of loſſe of goodes, honours, and lyues, and that worſſe is, after they haue hadde euyll dayes in thys world, to be in daunger of eternall payne in the worlde to come, thorough them that haue bene the cauſe therof, and that woulde not yeelde vnto reaſon.

The Kyng my ſoueraigne Lorde is ready to put hymſelfe for his parte in all deuoir, and more than ſo, to haue peace and amitie wyth you: and by this meanes peace ſhall be procured throughout all Chriſtendom, wherby men myght doe God good ſeruice, in making warre on the Infidelles, whyche will bee ſo thankefull to hym, that it wyll put off the puniſhement of faultes, whyche haue bene committed heeretofore by reaſon of the warres, whyche haue too long indured betweene you two, and not yet lyke to ceaſſe, conſideryng the termes whyche you holde and ſeeke to mayntayne, ſith on the one parte, certaine aduowyng them ſelues on you, haue aſſailed and taken by force the Citie of Rome, whyche is the place of the holy and Apoſtolike Sea, where they haue cõmitted and doone all the myſchiefe that might be deuiſed.

The Churches and relikes were prophaned, the Pope holding Saint Peters ſeate, as Vicare of God on earth, taken and put oute of his libertie: By the meanes wherof, they that haue committed and executed the ſaid execrable dedes and wickedneſſe, wyth theyr authours and fautours, be fallen and run in paines of right, & they that hold them captiue, beare themſelues on you, and he that dothe keepe them, hath bin and is of the principall capitaynes, of whome you haue bene ſerued in your warres in Italy and other partes: And on the other ſyde, the difference whiche at this time reſteth betweene you and the king my ſoueraine & naturall lord, is principally vpon the raunſome and recouery of the Princes hys ſonnes, whyche you holde for hoſtages of the ſame: hee hathe oftentimes offered, and yet dothe offer to pay to you, and giue to you, not only that whiche may be ſaide to be reaſonable, and in ſuch caſes accuſtomed, but alſo more largely. And you oughte not to ſtand vppon thynges whych by force and conſtraint he hath promiſed, the whiche iuſtly and honeſtly he may not performe nor accompliſh: you had a great deale more gained to haue taken the ſaide raunſome which was offered vnto you, than to continue the war, and to giue occaſion of all the euilles and inconueniences that dayly happen thereby through Chryſtendome.

You ſee the king of England, with whom he hath brotherlye amitie for euer, and alſo the Venetians, Florentins, and Duke of Bar, and other Princes and Potentates, following and holding the partie of the ſaid Chriſten king, for that they ſee he yeldeth to reaſon, & by reaſõ you wil not therto encline, yͤ vniuerſal peace cãnot be cõcluded in Chriſtendom. The enemies of yͤ faith gain coũtries: Al Italy is in arms, blud &

repine, and the Apoſtolicall Sea in trouble, ſo that if on your parte, you ſeeke not remedie, and that things doe thus continue as they haue begonne, it is to bee feared, that God will bee angrie.

And for as muche (ſir) as to the declarations which the abouesaid princes haue offered vnto you, and the preſentations which the ſaid chriſtian king hath made vnto you, you haue refuſed to giue eare, therby to come to ſome accorde with him, and to content your ſelf with a ranſome more than reaſonable: alſo for that you will not render vnto his good brother, perpetuall allie and confederat, the king of England, that whiche is his, ſet the Pope at libertie, and leaue Italie in peace and tranquilitie, he hathe commaunded me to declare, ſignify, and notifye vnto you to his great griefe and diſpleaſure, with his ſaid good brother the king of Englãd, that they will holde & take you for their enemy, declaring al maner of treaties and couenaunts heretofore paſſed betweene them and you, in all that concerneth your profit & vtility to bee nothing, and that of his parte he will not obſerue nor keepe the ſame: But by all meanes that he may imagine with his good friendes allies and confederates, & wyth all his forces endommage you, your countries, landes, & vaſſals by warre, or other wiſe, in ſuch ſort as he may deuiſe, vntill the tyme that you haue reſtored to hym hys children, wyth honeſt meanes and couenaũnts touching his ranſome, deliuered the Pope, rendred vnto the king of Englande that you hold of hym, and acquitted the ſumme whiche you owe hym, and ſuffer his allies and confederates to liue in peace, reſt, and tranquilitie, and proteſteth before god and all the worlde, that he doth not wiſhe nor deſire the warre, but that it wholly diſpleaſeth hym, and is not therefore the cauſe of the euill that is or maye come thereof, conſidering that he hath put, and will put himſelfe vnto all reaſon, as he hath offered and ſignified vnto you and to all other chriſtiã princes, and yet doth, and of all this he calleth god who knoweth al things to witnes, and for that vnder colour of the publication of the pretended treaty of Madril made, he being yet priſoner in Spaine, diuers of your ſubiectes, and of them of the King of Englande, and of hys haue carried their marchãdiſes & others goods into the kingdomes, ſtraights and ſeigniories the one of the other, whereby may enſue great domages if of them no mention ſhoulde bee made in this preſent declaration and ſignification, my ſoueraine Lord and the ſaid King of Englãd be contented that liberty be giuen vnto all ſubiectes being in the ſaide Kyngdomes, countreis, ſtraightes and ſeigniories, to retire & departe from thence with all their goods & marchandiſes within .xl. days after this intimation made, prouided that you ſhall do the like vnto their ſubiectes in all and euery their marchandiſes giuen the .xj. day of Nouember. Anno 15 7. and ſigned Guienne king of armes. The Emperor after the defiance giuē by Guienne ſpake in this ſorte: I do vnderſtand that whiche you haue redde from the King your Mayſter, I do muche maruell why he doth defye me, for he being my priſoner by right war, and I hauyng his faithe by reaſon hee cannot do it: It is vnto me a nouelltie to bee defied of hym, ſeeing it is ſix or ſeuen yeares that he hath warred againſte mee, and yet giuen me no defyaunce, and ſithe that by the grace of God I haue defended my ſelfe from hym, as he hath ſeene, and euery one elſe, without that he hathe giuen mee any warnyng, or conſidering the reaſon and iuſtification whereon I do reſt my ſelfe, for the whiche I thinke I haue not otherwyſe deſerued towards God, I hope that at this time now you aduertiſe me of it, being aduertiſed I ſhall defend myſelf the better, in ſuch ſort that the king your maiſter ſhall do mee no hurte, for ſince hee doth defy me, I am halfe aſſured.

And touchyng that whyche you ſpake of the Pope, none hathe bin more ſorowfull than I of that which was done, and it was without my knowledge or cõmaundement: and that which hathe bene done, was done by vnruly people, without obedience to any of my Captaines. And yet I aduertiſe you, that the Pope long ſince is ſet at libertie: and yeſterdaye I hadde certayne newes of it. And as touchyng the ſonnes of youre Maiſter, hee knoweth that I haue them for pledges, and alſo my Lordes his Imbaſſadours knowe well that the faulte hath not layne in mee that they haue not beene delyuered.

And as for that of the Kyng of Englande my good brother and vncle, I beleeue if it bee ſo as you doe ſaye, that hee is not well infourmed of thynges paſſed, and if hee were, yet could I not ſaye as your writyng conteyneth, I deſire to ſende hym my reaſons for to aduertiſe hym of all the truthe. And I beleeue when he ſhall knowe it, that hee will bee vnto me as he hathe bene. I neuer denied the money whyche I borrowed of hym, and I am readye to pay it as by reaſon and right I am bound: and thanked be God I haue enoughe to doe it. Neuertheleſſe if he will make warre againſte mee, it will bee to my greate diſpleaſure, and cannot but defend myſelfe. I pray to God that he gyue mee no more occaſion than I thinke I haue giuen vnto him.

And to the reſte, for that your writyng is great, and the paper ſheweth it ſelf to be gentle, ſeing that they haue written what they would: You ſhall giue mee the writing, wherby more particularly I may anſwer in an other paper, wherin ſhall be nothing but truth.

This aunſwere being made by his Maieſtie with his own mouth vnto Guyenne K. of armes, the ſayd Guyenne toke his cote of armes that he had on his lefte arme (as before is ſaid) and put it on, and then Clarenceaux Kyng of armes of England, ſayd vnto his maieſtie not by writing but by mouth, as foloweth.

Syr, the king my ſoueraigne Lord hath cōmaunded me to ſaye vnto you, that ſeyng the neceſſitie of peace in the Chriſtian religion, as wel by reaſon of the enforcement many yeeres paſt, begonne by the great Turke enimie vnto our faythe, whiche by force of armes hath taken away from the Chriſtians the citie and Ile of the Rhodes, one of the principall bulwarkes of Chriſtendom, and in Hungarie the fortreſſe of Belgrade, ⁊ part of the cōtrey there, as alſo by hereſies and newe ſectes, of late riſen in diuers places of Chriſtendome. And likewiſe knowing the greate warres being kindeled in al parts, by meanes of which, al chriſtendome is in trouble, cōfuſion, and marueilous deuiſion, and not long ſince by your people and miniſters and ſouldiers in your armie, and vnder your captains the holie citie of Rome, hath bin ſacked, and robbed, the perſon of our holy father yͤ Pope taken priſoner, ⁊ kept by your people: The Cardinals likewiſe takē ⁊ put to ranſom, yͤ churches robbed, Biſhops, prieſts ⁊ people of religion put to the ſworde, and ſo many other euils, cruelties, ⁊ inhumain facts cōmitted by your people, that the ayre ⁊ the land are infected therwith. And it is very like, yͭ God is greatly ſtirred and prouoked vnto ire: ⁊ to ſpeak after the maner of men, if by amendment it be not pacified, innumerable euils ⁊ inconueniences ſhall happen vnto al Chriſtendom. And for that the rote ⁊ encreacement of the ſaid warres proceedeth of the cōtentions ⁊ debates betwene you, ⁊ the moſt chriſtened K. his good brother ⁊ perpetuall allie: to make an end of which debates, the K. my ſoueraine lord hath ſent his ambaſſadors ⁊ others, vnto the moſt chriſtened K. his good brother, with whom hee hath done ſo much, that for the loue that he hath borne him, he hath made vnto you ſo great offers, and ſo reſonable, that you can not, nor ought not reaſonably to refuſe thē, as conditions ⁊ offers for his raunſome exceeding the raunſom accuſtomed of all kings. And if in this, the conſideration of peace had not bin, an euil exāple might therof growe for other kings ⁊ chriſtened princes ſubiecte vnto the like fortune: Of whiche offers and conditions he hath lykewiſe aduertiſed you by his Embaſſadors, prayed and beſought you for the honor of God, and the welth of all chriſtendome, for the benefits ⁊ pleaſures that he hath done vnto you diuers wayes, and that in tyme of your great neede, that it would pleaſe you to accept the ſayde offers, and make an ende of the ſayd warres, that haue to long endured. Lykewyſe as a Chriſtened Prince bounde to the protection of the Pope, and Sea Apoſtolike, and conſequently, to the deliuerance of his holyneſſe, (which you can not, nor ought to kepe priſoner, without great offence,) that you woulde reſtore his holyneſſe vnto a full and entier libertie. Alſo hee hath oftentymes ſhewed by diuers obligations and other meanes howe you are indebted vnto him in diuers great ſummes of money, that he hath giuen and lent you in your neceſſitie, requiring you to make payment: of all whiche thinges you haue made no accompte from tyme to tyme, but deferred it, and helde in ſuſpence the embaſſadours of the king my ſoueraine, without hauing regard to gods honor, and the neceſſitie of all chriſtendome, and the reuerence that you ought to haue vnto the holy ſeate and perſon of our holy father the Pope, the vicare of God on earthe, or vnto the pleaſures that you haue receyued of hym, or vnto your faithe and promiſe, that you ſo oftētimes haue made.

And for this cauſe the King my ſaide ſoueraigne by honeſt reaſon and iuſtice, conſtrayned by great and ripe deliberation of his counſell, hopyng for a finall concluſion, hathe cauſed agayne to bee preſented offers more larger and to greater aduauntage than the others before, to put you in deuoir, and to auoyde and take away all occaſion to deferre and diſſimule to come to reaſon, whych offers and the augmentyng of the ſame, haue bene made and made agayne with all remonſtrances and honeſt reaſons, that hathe bin poſſible, and in the end there hathe bin made vnto you inſtance for the deliuerie of our ſaid holy father, whoſe holyneſſe you haue reſtrayned, or cauſed to be reſtrayned in place of deliuerye, whyche is verye ſtraunge, and againſte the true eſtate and dutye of a chriſtian Prince. So that the king my ſoueraign and the moſt chriſtian king his brother and perpetual allie, cannot no lenger indure it wyth theyr honours and duty towards God and the Churche.

And ſeing you wil not condeſcend to reaſon, nor accept the ſaid offers being more thā reſonable, nor ſatiſfie the king my ſaid ſouerain of the debts by you due, as you are bound, he hath concluded with the ſaide moſte chriſtened king his good brother and perpetuall allie, and other of hys confederates, to doe his endeuor to conſtraine you by force and might of armes to delyuer our holy father, & lykewiſe the children of Fraunce, whiche you hold, in paying you a reſonable raunſome, & to ſatiſfie him of that you owe hym. Therefore the King my ſoueraigne Lorde, as a true and conſtant prince, willing to keepe inuiolable his faithe, whiche he hathe promiſſed vnto the ſaid chriſtian prince, and other his allies, & not willing to leaue the perſon of our ſaide holy father the Pope in captiuitie, as alſo will not the ſaid chriſtian king, they two do ſommon you this tyme for all, to accepte theſe laſte offers, for the deliueraunce of the ſaid children of France, and for the wealth of an vniuerſall peace, and to deliuer the perſon of our ſaide holy father, and alſo to paye ſpeedely and without any more delay, the debts by you due vnto the King my ſoueraigne, and if you doe refuſe theſe finall offers, & alſo to delyuer the perſon of our ſaide holy father, and pay the ſaid debtes, as a good Chriſtian Prince and louer of peace is bound to do, the King my ſoueraigne, and the ſaid chriſtian king his good brother, not without great ſorrowe and diſpleaſure, do declare to be your enemyes, and ſo hereafter do holde and repute you for ſuche one, denouncyng vnto you warre by ſea and lande, defying you with all their forces. Neuertheles cõſidering that there is diuers of your ſubiectes, & great quantitie of their goodes in the realmes of Englande and Fraunce, and other landes and lordſhips of the ſaid princes: likewiſe ther be diuers of the ſubiectes of the kings of Englande and France, and of their goods in your kingdomes, countreis, landes, and lordſhips, the whiche may receiue aſwell of the one parte as on the other, great and vnrecouerable hurts and domages, if wythout aduertiſements and monition they ſhould be taken and deteyned, the kings Maieſtie my ſoueraigne, & the moſte chriſtian K. of Frãce his good brother be willyng that libertye be giuen vnto your ſubiectes being in their kingdomes, countries, and lordſhips, for to retire & depart with all their goods & merchandiſe, within 40. days after this intimation, ſo that the like libertie and permiſſion, be in like ſorte graunted to their ſubiectes. To this defiaunce of the king at armes of Englãd the Emperors Maieſtie did aunſwere in theſe words: I haue vnderſtood that which you haue declared, and I cannot thinke that if the kyng of Englãd were throughly aduertiſed of thinges as they haue paſſed, & of the reaſon to which I haue yeelded, he would not ſaye that which you haue ſaide, and therfore my intentyon is to aduertiſe hym. As to that which you ſpeake of the Pope, I was neuer cõſenting to his deſtruction, which was neuer done by my commaũdement, & I giue you to vnderſtãd, that he is deliuered; and I am ſorie for the harmes that wer done at the time when he was taken, of yͤ which I take my ſelfe not to be in fault, as I haue told the king of armes of Frãce. And as to the deliueraunce of the French kings ſons, wher meanes hathe bin made for their deliueraunce, I haue bin ready to giue eare therto, & the fault reſteth not in me, for that the peace hathe not bin concluded, but nowe that ye tell me that the king your maiſter will force me to deliuer thẽ, I will anſwer therto in other ſorte than hitherto I haue done; and I truſt to kepe thẽ in ſuch wiſe, that by force I ſhall not neede to deliuer thẽ: for I am not accuſtomed to bee forced in things which I do. As to yͤ debt which the King of Englande hath lent me, I haue neuer denied it, neither do I deny it, but am redy to pay it as right requireth, as I haue cauſed it to be declared vnto hym, and I my ſelfe haue ſhewed no leſſe to his Ambaſſadors, and deliuered my ſaying by writing, & I cannot beleeue, that for ſuch thing (which I refuſe not to accompliſhe) he will make warre againſte me, and if he will ſo do, it will greeue me, but yet I muſte defende my ſelfe: and I pray god that the king your maſter giue me not greater occaſion to make him warre, than I haue giuẽ to him. You ſhall deliuer me in wrytyng, that which you haue ſaide, to the which I will alſo anſwer by wrytyng particularly. This anſwer made by the Emperor to the K. of armes Clarenceaux. the ſaid Clarenceaux tooke his coate of armes which hee had lying on his lefte arme (as before is ſayd) and put it vpon hym. The Emperor herwith commaunded him to deliuer by writing into the hands of the Lord of Bouclans all that he had vttered by word of mouth as is aboue expreſſed, which Clarenceaux promiſſed to do, and ſo he did afterwards, ſigned with his owne hand, word for word. Clarenceaux hauing thus done his duty, incontinently wythdrewe: but before hys departure, the L. of Bouclans ſaid to him & alſo to Guyẽne, theſe words inſuing. Behold here this writing in my hand. This is the copy of the capitulatiõ, made touching yͤ deliuerance of the Pope, and howe hee is deliuered, and departed from Caſtell ſaint Angelo, the .x. of December laſte paſte: put it in your relatiõ. The ſaide king of armes anſwered, we will ſo do, & at the ſame inſtãt the Emperor called before hym the ſayd Guienne king of armes of France, and ſaid to him as followeth: Sith it is reaſõ that you enioye your Priuileges, you ought alſo to do your dutie, and therefore I pray you declare to your maiſter, yea euen to hys owne perſon that which I ſhall tell you, which is this: that ſith the treatie of Madril cōtrarie to the ſame, diuers of my ſubiectes haue bin taken going about their buſineſſes, & other alſo going to ſerue me in Italy, which haue bē deteined priſoners euill intreated, and by force thruſt into the galleis: & bycauſe I haue of his ſubiectes the whyche I might likewiſe take, yee ſhall aduertiſe hym, that if hee deliuer vnto me mine, I will deliuer his, if not, as he ſhall intreate mine, I will intreate his, and that hee ſende me aunſwer hereof within .xl. days: if not, I will take the refuſall for an anſwer. The king of armes Guienne aſked if his maieſtie ment this, concerning the marchantes: wherevnto the Emperor anſwered: This is beſide that which is conteyned in your writyng, touchyng the Marchants, to which point (ſaid he) I will anſwer by writyng: and herewith Guyenne makyng iij. obeiſances, ſaide, ſir I will gladly doe it. Then ſaide the Emperor, Tell the King your maiſter further, that I beleeue that he hathe not bene aduertiſed of that whyche I tolde to hys Ambaſſador in Granado, which toucheth him neare, for I holde him in ſuche a caſe ſo noble a Prince, that if he had vnderſtood the ſame, he woulde haue made me an anſwere, he ſhall do well to know it of his Ambaſſador, for by that he ſhall vnderſtande that I haue kepte better faith to him in that I haue promiſed at Madril than he to me and I pray you ſo tell hym, and faile not hereof: Guienne anſwered, without doubt ſir I will do it, and ſo making his obeyſance he departed. The Emperor appointed Iohn l'Alemāt the baron of Bouclans to ſee that no diſpleaſure nor euill ſpeache were vſed to the ſaid kings of armes, but that they ſhuld bee well vſed, whiche was done to their good contentation. After this, the .xxvij. of Ianuary the ſaide kings of armes came to the ſaide lord of Bouclans, who by the emperors apointment deliuered an anſwer vnto eyther of them in writyng accordingly as the Emperor hadde promiſed, the copies whereof are ſette forth at large in the Annales of Aquitaine, & for breefneſſe heere omitted. To conclude, the French king tooke ſuch diſpleaſure with the Emperors anſwers made vnto his king of arms Guyēne, wherby he was chardged to do otherwiſe than by his faithe giuē he ought to haue done, that the .xxviij. day of Marche being in the citie of Paris accompanyed wyth a greate number of the princes of his bloude, Cardinalles and other Prelats and nobles of his realme, and alſo the Ambaſſadors of diuers princes and Potentates, he called before hym Nicholas Perrenot lorde of Grannelle, vnto whom he ſaid in effect as followeth. My Lorde Ambaſſadors, it hathe greeued me and dothe greeue me, that I haue bin cōſtrained to handle you not ſo courteouſly and graciouſly as for the good and honorable behauiour, which you haue ſhewed in doing your duty being here with me, you haue deſerued at my hands, for I muſt needes ſay, ye haue acquite your ſelfe in euery behalfe, aſwell to the honor of your mayſter, as good contentatiō of eche man elſe, ſo that I am aſſured yͤ fault reſteth not in you, why thynges haue not come to better end & purpoſe than they haue done, for the good zeale and affection, whiche I haue euer proued in you to the aduauncement of peace and quietyng of things, wherein I doubte not but you haue done your duetie to the full: but being enformed what your maſter the elect Emperor, against all right and law, aſwell diuine as humain, had cōmaunded to be done vnto my Ambaſſadors, and likewiſe to the other of the league remaynyng wyth hym, for the furtheraunce of things towards a peace, and cōtrary to all good cuſtomes, which hitherto haue bin obſerued betwixt princes, not only Chriſtians, but alſo Infidels, me thought I coulde not otherwiſe doe, for the behoof of my owne Ambaſſadors, arreſted and againſt reaſon kept in warde, but to do the ſame to you, althoughe I had no minde to vſe you euill, for the reaſons aboue ſaid, for yͤ which, & for yͤ duty you haue ſhewed in doing that appertained, I aſſure you my lorde Ambaſſador, that beſide that I doubt not but your maiſter will recompence you for the ſame, yee may be aſſured that wher particulerly in any thing I may pleaſure you, I wil do it with as good a will as you can require me. And to make anſwer to that whiche your Maiſter by worde of mouth hath ſaid vnto Guyenne and Clarenceaux kings of arms of the king my good brother and perpetuall and beſt allie, and of me vpō the intimation of the warre whiche hath bin made by vs, conſiſting in viij. points, I will that eche one vnderſtande it. Firſt as to yͤ which he ſaith he merueileth of that he hauyng mee a priſoner by iuſte warre & hauing alſo my faith, I ſhulde defie hym, & that in reaſon I neyther may nor ought to do it. I anſwer therto, that if I were his priſoner here, & that hee hadde my faith, he had ſpoken true: but I knowe not that the Emperor hath euer at any time had my faithe, yͤ may in any wiſe auaile him: for firſt in what warre ſoeuer I haue bene, I know not that I haue either ſeene him or encountred with him: whē I was priſoner garded with .iiij. or .v. C. harquebuſiers ſick in my bedde, and in danger of death, it was an eaſy matter to cōſtraine me, but not very honorable to him that ſhuld do it, and after that I returned into Frāce, I knowe not any that hath had power to compell me to it, and to do it willingly without cõſtraint, it is a thing whiche I way more than ſo lightly to bind my ſelfe therto. And bicauſe I will not that my honor come in diſputation, althoughe I know well that euery manne of warre knoweth ſufficiently, that a priſoner garded is not bound to any faith, nor can bind himſelf therto in any thing. I do neuertheleſſe ſende to your Mayſter this writing ſigned with mine owne hande, the which my lord Ambaſſador, I pray you reade, and afterwards to promyſe mee to deliuer it vnto your maiſter, and not to any other, and herewith the king cauſed it to be deliuered to the ſaid Ambaſſador by Maiſter Iohn Robertet one of the Secretaries of the eſtate, & of his chamber. The Ambaſſador tooke yͤ writing in his hande, and after excuſed himſelfe to yͤ king, ſaying, yͭ as to him, by the letter whiche his maiſter and ſouerain lorde had written vnto him now laſtly, his commiſſion was already expired, & that he had no further commaundement nor inſtructions from his maieſtie, but to take leaue of the king wyth as muche ſpeed as he might, & to returne home, whych he moſt hũbly beſought him to permit him to do wythout further charge or commiſſion, althoughe he knew that hee was at hys commaundement, & that he might at his pleaſure conſtraine him, as ſeemed to him good. Hereunto the king anſwered: my lord Ambaſſador, ſith you will not take vpon you to reade this writing, I will cauſe it to be red in this company, to the end that euery one may vnderſtand, and know that I am cleered in that whereof againſt truthe hee goeth about to accuſe me, and if you afterwardes will not beare it, and deliuer it to him, I will ſend one of my heraults here preſẽt to go in company with you, for whom you ſhal procure a good & auailable ſafeconduct, that he may paſſe vnto your maiſter, & preſent vnto him the ſame writing, proteſting and demaundyng that an acte may be regiſtred before this company, that if he will not that it ſhuld come to his knowledge, that I am diſcharged, in that I do my beſt to cauſe him to vnderſtande it accordinglye as I ought to do, & in ſuche ſorte as hee cannot pretende cauſe of ignoraunce. After he had made an end of theſe wordes, he called to him the ſaid Robertet, and with loud voice he commanded him to reade the ſaid writing, which was done worde for worde, in maner as followeth.

WE Frauncis, by the grace of God, king of Fraunce, Lorde of Genes &c. to you Charles by the ſame grace, choſen Emperor of Rome, & King of Spaine: we do you to wit, that being aduertiſed, that in al the anſwers that you haue made to our Ambaſſadors and heraults, ſent to you for the eſtabliſhing of peace, in excuſing your ſelf wͭout al reaſon you haue accuſed vs, ſaying yͭ wee haue plight you our faith, and that therevpon (beſides our promiſe) we departed out of your hands & power. In defence of our honor, whiche hereby might be burthened to muche againſte all truthe, wee thought good to ſend you this writing, by whiche we giue you to vnderſtand, (that notwithſtanding that no man being in ward is bound to keepe faith, & that the ſame might be a ſufficient excuſe for vs: yet for the ſatiſfiyng of all men, and our ſaid honor (which we mynde to keepe, and will keepe, if it pleaſe God, vnto the death) that if ye haue charged, or will chardge vs, not only with our ſaid faith, & deliuerãce, but that euer wee did anye thyng, that became not a Gentleman that had reſpect to his honor, that yee lye falſly in your throte, and as ofte as yee ſay it, ye lye, and do determine to defende our honor, to the vttermoſt drop of our bloude. Wherefore ſeeing ye haue charged vs agaynſt all truth, write no more to vs hereafter, but appoint vs the fielde, and wee will bring you the weapons, proteſting that if after thys declaration ye write into any place, or vſe any wordes againſt our honor, that the ſhame of the delay of the combate ſhall light on you, ſeeing that yͤ offering of combat is the ende of all writyng. Made at our good Town and Citie of Paris, the. 28. daye of Marche. *Anno*. 1528. before Eaſter: Thus ſigned. Frauncis.

After that Robertet had redde this writing there in preſence of the Emperors Ambaſſador, the king made further replie vnto the poynts conteyned in the Emperors anſwers to the defiance, and withall to conclude, tolde the ſaid Ambaſſador, that his maiſter the Emperor had conſtreined him by ſuch meſſage as he had ſent to him, to make yͤ anſwer in truth, which he had made, and further willed him to deliuer vnto yͤ Emperor yͤ writing which he had ſigned with his hand, and to ſay to him, that hee tooke him for ſo honorable a prince, that cõſidering yͤ matter wherewith he chardged him, & the anſwere that he made, he wold not faile but to anſwer him like a Gentleman, and not by writing like an aduocate, for if he otherwiſe do (ſaid the K.) I will anſwer his Chãcellor by an aduocate, and a man of his eſtate, and a more honeſt man than he. Shortly after the Emperors Ambaſſadors returned home into Spaine in ſafetie, and well entreated, and vpõ their returne the Ambaſſadors of France were ſet at libertie, & deliuered beyõd Fonterabie, & ſo came ſafely home into Frãce, & a French herault appointed to accõpanie the Ambaſſador Grandeuell, brought the writing of the combat, vnto the Emperor, bicauſe Granduelle refuſed to medle with it, to the which the Emperor v. months after, or therabouts, ſent an anſwer by one of his Heraulds, who being ariued at Paris, mẽt vpon yͤ ſodain to preſent his letters vnto yͤ frẽch K. but the K. getting intelligẽce therof, the .x. of September, ſitting wͭin his great hall of his palace at Paris aforſaid: before yͤ table of marble in a royal ſeat adreſſed & ſet vp for him .16. ſteps in heigth appointed to giue audiẽce to yͤ ſaid herald: On his right hand ſat in chaires yͤ K. of Nauarre, the duke of Alanſon & Berry, the erle of Foix & Arminack, & on yͤ ſame ſide ſat alſo vpon a bẽch the D. of Vandoſme a pere of Frãce, lieutenãt general & gouernor of Picardie, Don Hercules d'Eſte, eldeſt ſon to yͤ duke of Ferrare duke of Chartres & Montarges, who lately before had maried yͤ lady Renee, a daughter of Frãce, the D. of Albanie regent & gouernor of Scotlãd, the duke of Longueuille great chamberlain of France, & nere to thẽ vpon an other bench ſat yͤ preſidents & cõuſellors of yͤ court of Parliamẽt, & behind them many gentlemẽ, doctors & lerned men: on the left hand wer ſet in chaires prepared for thẽ, the Cardinal Saluarie yͤ Popes legate, the Cardinal of Bourbõ & duke of Laon, a peere of Frãce, the Cardinall of Sens Chancellour of France, the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Archb. of Narbõne, yͤ ambaſſadors of yͤ kings of England & Scotlãd, of the ſigniorie of Venice, of Milan, of the cantons of yͤ Suyſſes, & of Florẽce: on an other bench ſat yͤ biſh. of Trãſiluania, ambaſſador for the K. of Hũgarie, the Biſhop & duke of Langres, one of the peeres of Frãce, the biſh. & erle of Noyon, an other of the peeres of Frãce, the Archb. of Lyon, primate of al France, the Archbiſh. of Bourges primate of Aquitain, yͤ archbiſhops of Aux & Rouen, yͤ biſhops of Paris, Meaux, Lizeux, Maſcon, Limoges, Vabres, Cõſerãs & Terbe, & behind thẽ ſat the maſters of the requeſts & the cõuſelors of the great counſel. On either ſide the kings ſeat ſtode the erle of Beaumont great maiſter and Marſhal of France, the L. de Brion admirall of Frãce lieutenãt general, & gouernor of Burgogne, & behind yͤ ſame ſeat wer many knights of the order, yͭ is to wit, the erle of Laual, lieutenant general & gouernor of Britayn, the lord of Montmorancy, yͤ L. Daubigny captain of an .C. launces, and of the Scottiſh garde, the erle of Bryenne, Ligny & Rouſſy, the Lord of Fleuranges marſhal of France, the L. of Ruffoy, the L. of Genoillyac great eſquier & maſter of the artillerie of France, Loys monſier d'Elenes, the L. of Humieres, & the erle of Carpy, & behind thẽ was the Erle of Eſtãpes prouoſt of Paris, & with him many gentlemen of yͤ kings chãber, among the which was the erle of Tancarnille, the L. of Guyenne, the ſon of the erle of Rouſſy, the ſon of the lord of Fleuranges, yͤ L. de la Rochepot, the lord Douarty great maſter of the waters & foreſts, yͤ L. of Lude, yͤ lord of Iauly, the L. de Villebonne, baily of Rouẽ, the baron of Chaſteau Morãt, yͤ L. de la Loue the vicoũt de la Mothe au groing, & the L. of Vertes, & beſides theſe, the maſters & officers of the houſhold & gentlemen waiters, wͭ the more part of yͤ ij. C. gentlemen, or penſioners as we terme thẽ. At the entrie into the ſaide throne or tribunall ſeat, were the captains of the gards, & the prouoſt of yͤ houſhold, & before the K. kneled yͤ Vſhers of the chãber vpon yͤ one knee, & at the foot of the ſtep yͭ went vp to the kings ſeat were the prouoſts of the merchãts & Eſchevins of the town of Paris. Beneath in the hall (the gates wherof were ſtil open) ther was an infinit nũber of people of al natiõs, & in preſence of them al, yͤ K. made this declaratiõ. The cauſe wherfore I haue made this aſſẽbly, is for yͭ the emperor elect hath ſent to me an herault of armes, who as I cõiecture, & as the ſame herault hath ſaid, & as his ſafeconduit importeth, hath brought me letters patents & autentike cõcerning yͤ ſuertie of the field for the combat yͭ ſhuld be betwixt the ſaid elected Emperor and me: And forasmuche as the ſaid Herauld, vnder color to bring the ſuretie of yͤ field, may vſe certain fictions, diſſimulatiõs or hipocriſies to ſhift off yͤ matter, wheras I deſire expeditiõ, & to haue it diſpatched out of hand, ſo yͭ by the ſame an end of the warres which haue ſo lõg cõtinued, may be had, to yͤ eaſe & cõfort of all Chriſtendom, to auoyd the effuſion of bloud & other miſchieues which come thereof, I haue wiſhed it knowne to al Chriſtendom, to the end yͭ euery one may vnderſtand the truth, from whence procedeth yͤ miſchief & the long continuance therof, I haue alſo cauſed this aſſẽblie to be made, to ſhewe yͭ I haue not wͭout great cauſe enterpriſed ſuche an act: for the right is on my ſide: & if I ſhould otherwiſe haue don, mine honor had bẽ greatly blemiſhed: A thing, which my lords yͭ ar of my bloud, & other my ſubiects, wold haue takẽ in euil part: And knowing yͤ cauſe of yͤ cõbat and my right, they will beare wͭ it, as good & loyall ſubiects ought to do, truſting by Gods helpe to proceed in ſuch ſort therin, yͭ it ſhal plainly appere if yͤ right be on my ſide or not, and how againſt truth I haue bin accuſed for a breaker of my faith, which I wold be loth to do, nor at any time haue ment ſo to do. The kings my predeceſſors & anceſtors whoſe pictures ar engrauẽ & ſet here in order wͭin this hall, which in their days haue ſucceſſiuely atchieued glorious acts & greatly augmented yͤ realm of France, wold think me vnworthy & not capable to be their ſucceſſor, if againſt myne honor I ſhuld ſuffer my ſelf to be charged wͭ ſuch a note by yͤ emperor, & ſhuld not defẽd my perſon & honor in yͤ maner and form acuſtomed. And herwith he declared the whole caſe as it ſtode: firſt how being taken at Pauia by fortune of warre, he neuer gaue his faith to any of his enimies, & conſenting to be led into Spayne, cauſed his owne galeys to be made redie to conuey him thither, where at his arriual, he was cōmitted to ward wͭin yͤ caſtell of Madrill, garded wͭ a great nūber of harquebuſiers and others: which vncurteous dealing found in the emperor, ſo muche greued him, yͭ he fel ſick, & lay in danger of death. Wherupō the Emperor cōming to viſite him after his recouerie of helth, an accord was made betwixt yͤ deputies of the Emperor & the ambaſſadors of the Lady his mother then regent of France, which accord was ſo vnreaſonable, that no prince being in libertie wold haue conſented therto, nor for his deliuerāce haue promiſed ſo great a raūſome: Which treatie yet they conſtrained hym (as he ſaid) to ſwear to perform being priſoner, againſt yͤ proteſtation, whiche he diuers times had made, yea as yet being ſicke, & in danger of recidiuation, & ſo conſequently of death. After this, he was cōueyd forth on his iorney homewards, ſtil garded & not ſet at libertie, & it was told him, yͭ after he came into Frāce, it was cōuenient yͭ he ſhould giue his faith, for yͭ it was known wel enough, yͭ what he did or promiſed in Spain it nothing auailed, and further he remembred not yͭ the Emperor had tolde him at any time, yͭ if he performed not the contents of the treatie, he wold hold him for a breker of his faith, & though he had, he was not in his libertie to make any anſwer: Two things therfore ſaid he, in this caſe ar to be cōſidered, one, yͭ the treatie was violētly wrong out frō them yͭ coulde not bind his perſon, and yͭ which (as to yͤ reſidue) had bin accōpliſhed by his mother, deliuering his ſons in hoſtage: The other thing was his pretēded faith, on whiche they can make no groūd, ſith he was not ſet at libertie. And hereto he ſhewed many reaſons to proue yͭ his enimies could not pretende in right yͭ they had his faith. Further he ſaid, that in matter of combat there was the aſſailant whiche oughte to giue ſuretie of yͤ field, & the defendant the weapons. Herwith alſo he cauſed a letter to be red, which the Emperor had written to Maiſter Iehan de Caluymont preſidēt of Burdeaux, yͤ ſaid kings ambaſſador in the courte of the ſaid Emperor: The tenor of which letter imported, that yͤ emperor put the ſaid ambaſſador in remēbrance of ſpeech which he had vttered to yͤ ſayd ambaſſador in Granado, repeting the ſame in ſubſtance as followeth, that the Kyng his maiſter hadde done naughtily in not keping his faith, which he had of him, acording to the treatie of Madril, and if the K. wold ſay the contrary, I wil (ſaid the Emperor) maintein the quarel with my bodie againſt his: and theſe bee the ſame wordes that I ſpake to yͤ king your maſter in Madril, that I wold hold him for a lewd and naughtye mā if he brake the faith which I had of him &c. Then after the ſaid letter had bin red, he cauſed alſo his anſwer made by way of a cartel to be red, the tenor wherof ye haue heard before, & yͭ don, he continued his tale in declaring what order he had obſerued to procure the emperor to the combat, without all ſhifting delays: ſo as if the Herald now come frō the Emperor wold vſe any talk other than to deliuer him an autentike writing for ſurtie of the field, & not obſerue the contents of his ſafeconduct, he ment not to giue him audience: and herevpon was yͤ herald called to come in, and declare his meſſage: who apparelled in his coat of armes, made his apearāce before the king there ſitting, accompanied as ye haue heard, vnto whom the King ſayde:

Herauld, doeſt thou bring the ſuertie of the field, ſuche one as thy maſter being the aſſaylāt ought to deliuer vnto the defendāt, being ſuch a perſonage as I am. The Heraulde herevnto ſaid: Sir, may it pleaſe you to giue me licence to do myne office: Then ſaid the K. Giue me yͤ patēt of yͤ field, & ſay what thou wilt. The Herauld beginning his tale: The ſacred: Tuſhe (ſaid the K.) ſhew me the patēt of the field: for I hold thy maſter for ſo noble a Prince, that he hath not ſent thee without the ſuertie of yͤ field, ſith I haue demaunded it, and thou knoweſt yͭ thy ſafeconducte conteineth no leſſe but yͭ thou ſhouldeſt bring it. The Herauld anſwered, yͭ he truſted he had brought yͭ which might contente, his maieſtie. The K. replied & ſayde: Heraulde giue me the patent of yͤ field, giue it me: & if it be ſufficient, I will receiue it, & after ſay what thou wilt. The herauld ſaid, that he had in cōmandemēt not to deliuer it, except he might declare yͭ which he had firſt to ſay. The king ſaid: Thy maſter can not giue laws to vs in Frāce. To conclude, he told the Herald, yͭ he peraduēture might ſpeake things yͭ his maiſter would not auouch, and that he had not to deale with him, but with his maſter. The Herald then required yͭ he might haue licence to depart, which the K. granted, and withall, the K. cōmanded yͭ it might be regiſtred what had paſſed in thys behalf, for a teſtimonie that the fault reſted not in him, in that he receiued not the patent. The herauld likewiſe for his diſcharge, required a copie in writing of that which had paſſed, and the ſame was graunted.

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Thus far haue I ouerpaſſed the cōmon boūdes of my purpoſe, in ſpeking ſo largely of this matter of combat, bicauſe of the rareneſſe therof, chauncing betwixt two ſo mighty princes, although it came not to the effect of triall. And now to returne vnto that which followed further vpon the defiance, denoūced to the emperor by the two Kings of armes, Guyenne & Clarenceaux

1528

The Emperour defied by the kinges of Englande and France.

renceaux, ye ſhal vnderſtand that the lords and nobilitie, to the nūber of vij. C. in whoſe preſence it was giuen, toke it ſo offenſiuely, yͭ drawing forth their ſwords, they ſware yͭ the ſame ſhuld be reuenged, for otherwiſe they proteſted, that the infamie wold redound to them & their heires for euer. Herewith the warre was proclaimed through al Spayn wͭ baners diſplayed in which wer painted a red ſword, with a brenning creſſet againſt yͤ Frenche K. & his partakers, but not mentioning the K. of Englād by expreſſe name, but it was recited in the proclamation yͭ the king of England had menaced & defyed yͤ Emperor in the French kings quarel.

Engliſhe marchants ſtaied in Spayne.

Then were yͤ engliſh merchants in Spayn attached, & their goods put in ſafetie, til it might be known how the Emperors ſubiects wer ordred in Englande. Then likewiſe were all the ſhips of the Emperors ſubiects here arreſted: & in ſemblable maner all the Engliſhmen & their goods & ſhips were areſted by the Lady regent in the low countreys. The common people in England much lamented that warre ſhuld ariſe betwene the emperor & the K. of England ſpecially bicauſe the Emperors dominions had holpen and relieued them wͭ grain in tyme of their neceſſitie & want. But chiefly this matter touched the merchants, which haunted the emperors dominions. At length yet were thoſe of the low countreys ſet at libertie, & their goodes to thē deliuered, in fauor of entercourſe of merchandiſe: but foraſmuch as yͤ Spanyards were ſtil deteined, the lady Regent alſo deteyned the ſhips & goods of the engliſh merchants though ſhe ſet their perſons at libertie. By this means the trade of merchandiſe was in maner forlet here in England, & namely the clothes laye on their handes, wherby the cōmon welth ſuffered great decay, and great numbers of Spinners, carders, tuckers, and ſuche other that liued by clothworking, remained ydle to their great impoueriſhment.

The incommodities ryſing of lacke of entercourſe for trafficke.

And as this warre was diſpleaſant to the Engliſhmen, ſo was it as muche or more diſpleaſant to the townes & people of the low cuntreis, & in eſpecial to yͤ towns of Andwerpe and Barrow, where the marts ar kept, ſo that at length ther came Ambaſſadors from the Lady Regent, the which aſſociating themſelfe with Don Hugo de Mendoſa ambaſſador for the Emperor, came to the king to Richmōt the .29. of March, and there moued their ſuite ſo effectually, that an abſtinence of warre was graunted, til time that a further cōmunication might be had: and vpon this point letters wer ſent into Spayn, Fraunce, and Flanders, and ſo this matter cōtinued til anſwers wer brought from thence again. The emperors ambaſſadors entreated not ſo earneſtly to moue the King to haue peace with their maiſter, but the Frenche ambaſſadors ſollicited the K. as earneſtly to enter into the warre againſt him, and ſurely they had the Cardinal on their ſide: but yet the king wiſely conſidering with other of his counſell what damage ſhoulde enſue therby to his ſubiects, & ſpecially to the merchaunts and clothiers, wold not conſent ſo eaſily to the purpoſe of the Frenchmē, though he had .xx. M. pound ſterling out of Frāce, of yerely pencion, to continue frende & allye to the French K. but he proteſted euer that he wold ſee the realme of France defended to his power, & ſtudy no leſſe to haue a peace concluded, whiche might be as honorable to the French king as to himſelfe.

1529

Creation the Earle Oſſerie.

The .xxij. of Februarye the king created at Windſore ſir Piers Butler of Ireland erle of Oſſerey. Alſo a Dutche Crayer of Armew chaſed a French Crayer vp the Thames from Margate to the Toure wharf, & ther as they fought ſir Edmund Walſinghā lieutenant of yͤ toure perceiuing them, called his men togither, & entring the ſhips toke both the captains. The kinges counſell toke vp the matter betwixt them, for the Flemyng chalenged the Frencheman as a lawfull priſe.

Sir Edmun VValſingh

An. reg.

An abſtinence of the warre was takē in yͤ beginning of this yere betwixte Flanders, & the countryes of Picardie on this ſide the riuer of Some, to begin yͤ firſt of May, to endure til the laſt of February. By meanes of this truce all Engliſhemen might lawfully paſſe into the low cōtreys, but not into Spain whiche ſore greued the merchants that haunted thoſe parties. It was further agreed, that if no generall peace could be had during the time of this truce, then all merchants ſhould haue reſpite .ij. moneths after to paſſe into their owne countreis wͭ their wares & merchādiſes in ſafetie.

The ſweat ſickeneſſe.

In the end of May, began in yͤ citie of Lōdon yͤ diſeaſe called yͤ ſweating ſicknes, which afterwards infected al places of the realm, and ſlew many wͭin .v. or .vi. houres after they ſickned. By reaſon of this ſickneſſe, the term was adiorned, & the circuit of the aſſiſes alſo. There died diuers in the court of this ſickeneſſe, as ſir Francis Pointz, which had bin ambaſſador in Spayn, & diuers other. The K. for a ſpace remoued almoſt euery day till he came to Tyntynhangar, a place of the Abbot of S. Albons, and there he with the Quene, & a ſmall companie about them, remained til the ſickneſſe was paſſe.

Sir VVillia Compton.

In this great mortalitie died ſir Williā Comptō knight, & Williā Cary eſquier, which were of the kings priuie chāber.

Doctor Long lande Biſhop of Lincolne.

Ye haue heard how the people talked a little before the Cardinals goyng ouer into Fraunce the laſte yeare, that the king was tolde by Doctor Longland Biſhop of Lincolne & other, that his marriage with Queene Katherine coulde not bee good nor lawfull: the trouth is, that wheather this

VVhy the Cardinall vvas ſuſpected to be agaynſt the mariage.

doubt was firſt moued by the Cardinall, or by the ſayd Longland, being the kings confeſſor, the king was not only brought in doubt, whether it was a lawfull marriage or no, but alſo determined to haue the caſe examined, clered, & adiudged by lerning, lawe, and ſufficient authoritie. The Cardinall verely was put moſte in blame for this ſcruple now caſt into ẏ kings conſcience, for the hate he bare to the Emperor, bycauſe he would not graunt to him the Archbyſhoprike of Toledo, for the whiche hee was a ſuiter, and therefore he did not onely procure the Kyng of Englande to ioygne in frendſhippe with the Frenche king, but alſo ſoughte a diuorſe betwixte the Kyng and the Queene, that the king mighte haue had in mariage the Ducheſſe of Alanſon, ſiſter to the French king, and as ſome haue thought, he trauailed in that matter with the Frenche king at Amiens, but the Ducheſſe wold not giue eare therto.

Polider.

Hall.

But howe ſoeuer it came about, that ẏ king was thus troubled in conſcience concernyng his mariage, this folowed, that like a wiſe prudent Prince, to haue the doubt clearely remoued, he called together the beſte learned of the realme, which were of ſeueral opinions, wherfore he thought to know the trouth by indifferent iudges, leaſt peraduenture the Spanyardes, and other alſo in fauor of the Queene, wold ſay, that his owne ſubiects were not indifferent Iudges in this behalfe, and therefore he wrote his cauſe to Rome: and alſo ſente to all the Uniuerſities of Italy and France, and to the greate Clerkes of all Chriſtendome, to knowe their opinions, and deſired the Court of Rome to ſende into his realme a Legate, which ſhuld bee indifferente, and of a greate and profounde iudgement to heare the cauſe debated.

Cardynall Campeius ſente into Englande.

At whoſe requeſte, the whole Conſiſtorie of the College of Rome, ſente thither Laurence Campeius, a prieſt Cardinall, a man of great wit and experience, whiche was ſent hither before in the tenth yeare of this King, as ye haue heard, and with him was ioyned in cõmiſſion the Cardinall of Yorke, and legate of England.

The matter touchyng the Kings marriage debated.

This Cardinall came to London in October, & did intimate bothe to the king & Queene the cauſe of his cõming, which being knowne, great talke was had therof. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſent for ẏ famous doctors of both the vniuerſities to Lambeth, and there were euery daye diſputations and commonings of this matter: and bicauſe the king ment nothing but vprightly therein, and knewe well that the Queene was ſomewhat wedded to hir owne opinion, and wiſhed that ſhe ſhoulde doe nothyng without counſell, he bad hir chooſe the beſte clearkes of his realme to be of hir counſell, and licenced them to do the beſt on hir part that they coulde, according to the truth.

The Quene choſeth lavvyers for hir part

Then ſhe elected William Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Weaſt Biſhop of Ely, doctors of the laws, and Iohn Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Henry Standiſhe biſhop of Saint Aſaph, doctors of Diuinitie, and many other doctors and well lerned men, which for a ſuretie lyke men of great learnyng, defended hir cauſe as farre as learnyng might mayntayne and hold it vp.

Polidor.

This yere was ſir Iames Spencer Maior of London, in whoſe time the watche in London on Midſomer night was layd downe.

Doctor Stephen Gardiner.

1530

Doctor Pace.

Aboute this time the king receiued into fauor Doctor Stephen Gardiner, whoſe ſeruice he vſed in matters of great ſecrecie & weighte, admitting him in the roumth of Doctor Pace, the which being continually abrode in ambaſſades, and the ſame oftentymes not muche neceſſarie, by the Cardinalles appointemente, at length he toke ſuch greefe therwith, that he fell out of his right wittes.

An. reg. 21.

Hall.

The King and Quene aſcited

The place where the Cardinals ſhould ſit to heare the cauſe of Matrimonie betwixt the king and the Queene, was ordeined to be at the blacke Friers in London, where in the greate Hall was preparation made of ſeates, tables, & other furniture, accordyng to ſuche a ſolemne Seſſion and apparãce. The king & the Queene were aſcited by Doctor Sampſon to appeare before the Legates at the forenamed place, the xxviij. of May, being the morowe after ẏ feaſt of Corpus Chriſti.

Polidore.

The King at the day aſſigned, came fyrſt to the court, and there ſtanding vnder his cloath of eſtate, had theſe wordes to the Legates:

The Kinges vvordes to the legates.

Ye reuerend fathers, I haue in marriage a wyfe to me moſt deare & entierly beloued, both for hir ſingular vertues of mynde, and alſo for hir nobilitie of birth: but ſith I am the king of a mightie kingdome, I muſte prouide that it may be lawfull for me to lyue with hir duely, lawfully, iuſtly, and godly, and to haue childrẽ by hir, vnto the whiche the inheritance of the kingdome may by righte moſte iuſtly deſcende, which two things ſhall followe, if you by iuſte iudgement approue our mariage lawful. But if there be any doubte in it, I ſhall deſyre you by your authoritie to declare the ſame, or ſo to take it awaye, that in this thing, both my conſcience & the myndes of the people may be quieted for euer. After this, cometh in the Queene, the which there in preſence of the whole courte moſte greuouſly accuſeth the Cardinall of vntrouth, deceyt, wickedneſſe, and malice, which had ſowen diſſention betwixt hir and the king hir huſband, and therfore openly proteſted, that

The Queen occuſeth Ca dinall VVo

ſhe did vtterly abhorre, refuſe, and forſake ſuche a iudge, as was not onely a moſt malicious enimie to hir, but alſo a manifeſt aduerſarie to all right and Iuſtice, and therwith did ſhe appeale vnto the Pope, committyng hir whole cauſe to bee iudged of him: and thus for that day the matter reſted.

She appealeth to the Pope.

But notwithſtanding this appeale, the Legates ſate weekely, and euery day were argumentes brought in on bothe partes, and proues alledged for the vnderſtanding of the caſe, and ſtill they aſſayed if they coulde by any meanes procure the Queene to call backe hir Appeale, whiche ſhe vtterly refuſed to doe.

The king myſtruſteth the legates of ſeking delayes.

The King woulde gladly haue had an ende in the matter, but when the Legates droue tyme, and determined vpon no certaine point, he conceyued a ſuſpition, that this was done of purpoſe, that their doings might draw to none effect or concluſion.

Whyleſt theſe thinges were thus in hande, the Cardinall of Yorke was aduiſed that the King had ſet his affection vpon a yong Gentlewoman named Anne, the daughter of Syr Thomas Bulleyn, vicount Rochfort, whiche did wayt vpon the Queene.

This was a great grief vnto the Cardinal, as he that perceyued aforehande, that the king woulde marie the ſayd Gentlewoman if the diuorce toke place, wherefore he began wyth all diligence to diſappoynt that matche, which by reaſon of the myſlyking that he had to the woman, he iudged ought to be aduoyded more than preſent death.

The ſecrete working and diſsimulation of Cardinall Volſey.

Whyleſt the matter ſtoode in this ſtate, and that the cauſe of the Queene was to be hearde and iudged at Rome, by reaſon of the appeale which by hir was put in: the Cardinall required the Pope by letters and ſecrete meſſengers that in any wiſe he ſhuld deferre the iudgemēt of the diuorce, till hee might frame the Kinges minde to his purpoſe: but he went aboute nothing ſo ſecretly, but that the ſame came to the kings knowledge, who toke ſo highe diſpleaſure with ſuche his cloaked diſſimulation, that he determined to abaſe his degree, ſith as an vnthankfull perſon, he forgotte himſelfe and his dutie towardes him, that had ſo highly aduanced him to all honor and dignitie.

The king conceyueth diſpleaſure againſt the Cardinall.

Hall.

Articles exhibited againſte the Cardinall.

When the nobles of the realme perceyued the Cardinall to bee in diſpleaſure, they began to accuſe him of ſuche offences, as they knewe myght be proued againſt him, and therof they made a booke conteyning certayne articles, to whyche diuers of the kings counſell ſet their handes.

The king vnderſtanding more playnly by thoſe articles, the great pride, preſumption and couetouſneſſe of the Cardinall was ſore moued againſt him, but yet kepte his purpoſe ſecrete for a whyle, and firſt permitted Cardinal Campeius to departe backe agayne to Rome, not vnrewarded.

Shortly after, a Parliament was called to beginne at Weſtminſter the third of Nouember next enſuyng.

In the meane tyme the King being infourmed, that all thoſe thyngs that the Cardinall had done by his power Legantine within this realme were in the caſe of the Premunire and prouiſion, cauſed his attorney Chriſtofer Hales, to ſue out a writte of Premunire againſte hym, in the whiche he licenced him to make his attourney.

The Cardinall ſued in a Premunire.

And farther the .xvij. of Nouēber the King ſent the two Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke to the Cardinalles place at Weſtminſter, to fetche a way the greate Seale of Englande, Sir William Fitz William knighte of the Garter and Treaſorer of his houſe, and doctor Stephen Gardiner newely made Secretarie, were alſo ſent to ſee that no goodes ſhoulde be conueyed out of his houſe. The Cardinall him ſelfe was appointed to remoue vnto Aſhere, beſyde Kingſton, there to tary the kings pleaſure, and had things neceſſarie deliuered vnto hym for his vſe.

The great ſeale taken from the Cardinall.

After this, in the Kings benche his matter for the Premunire, beyng called vpon, two atturneys whiche he had authoriſed by hys warrant ſigned with his owne hande, confeſſed the action, and ſo had iudgement to forfeit all hys landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattelles, and to be out of the Kings protection: but the king of hys clemencie ſente to hym a ſufficient protection, and lefte to hym the Byſhoprickes of Yorke and Wincheſter, wyth plate and ſtuffe conuenient for his degree.

The Cardinall condemned in a Premunire.

The Biſhopricke of Dureſme was gyuen to Doctor Tunſtall Biſhoppe of London, and the Abbey of Sainct Albons to the Priour of Norwiche. Alſo the Biſhopricke of London being nowe voyde, was beſtowed on Doctor Stokeſley, then Ambaſſadoure to the Vniuerſities beyonde the Sea for the Kyngs maryage.

The Ladye Margarit ducheſſe of Sauoye aunte to the Emperour, and the Ladye Loyſe Ducheſſe of Angoleſme, mother to the French Kyng, mette at Cambreye in the beginnyng of the Moneth of Iune, to treate of a peace, where were preſente Doctour Tunſtall Biſhoppe of London, and Sir Thomas More then Chancellour of the Duchie of Lancaſter, cōmiſſioners for the K. of Englād. At length through diligence of the ſayde Ladies a peace was cõcluded betwixt the Emperour, the Pope, the Kings of Englande and France. This was called yͤ womans peace, & proclaimed by Heralts with ſound of trumpets, in yͤ City of London, to yͤ great reioycing of the Merchauntes, who during the warres, had ſuſteyned much hinderance.

The frenche King was bound by one article among other, to acquite the Emperour of fourescore and ten thouſand crownes, which he ought to the King of England.

The four and twentith of Nouember, was Sir Thomas More made Lorde Chancellor, and the nexte day led into the Chancerie by the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, & ther ſworne.

Parlia-
begũ.

At the day appointed, the Parliament began, and Tho. Audeley Eſquier attorney of the Duchie of Lancaſter, was choſen ſpeaker for the cõmons of the lower houſe.

commõs
lower
com-
against
Clergie.

In this Parliament, the commons of the nether houſe beganne to common of their greefes, wherwith the ſpiritualtie had ſore oppreſſed thẽ, and namely ſixe great cauſes wer ſhewed, wherin the Cleargie greatly abuſed the temporaltie. The firſt in the exceſſiue fines, whiche the ordinaries tooke for probate of Teſtamentes. The ſecond in the extreame exactions vſed for takyng of corps preſentes, or mortuaries. The thyrde, that Prieſts, contrary to their order, vſed the occupying of Fermes, graunges, and paſtures, for graſing of Catell. &c. The fourth that Abbots, Priors, and other of the Cleargie, kepte tanne houſes, and bought and ſolde woolle, cloth, and other merchandiſes, as other common merchants of the temporaltie did. The fifth cauſe was, the lacke of reſidence, whereby both the poore wanted neceſſary refreſhing for ſuſtenance of their bodyes, and all the pariſhoners, true inſtructions, needefull to the health of their ſoules. The ſixth was the pluralitie of benefices, and the inſufficiencie of the incumbents, where diuers well learned ſchollers in the Uniuerſities, had neyther benefice nor exhibition. Herewith were three billes deuiſed for a reformation to be had in ſuch caſes of great enormities, as firſte one bill for the probate of teſtaments, alſo an other for mortuaries, and the third for none reſidence, pluralities, and taking of Fermes by ſpirituall men.

Biſhops
hard a-
the
s.

There was ſore hold about theſe billes, before they might paſſe the vpper houſe, for yͤ Biſhops replyed ſore againſte them, yet after the ſame were qualified after an indifferent and reaſonable ſorte, they paſſed and were eſtabliſhed for actes.

Alſo there was a bill agreed vnto, touchyng the releaſſe of all the ſummes of money whyche the King hadde receyued by way of lone, in the fiftenth yeare of his raigne, as before yee haue hearde.

Articles exhibited againſte the Cardinall.

There was alſo a Booke ſente downe to the commons, conteyning articles which the Lords had put to the King againſt the Cardinall, whiche Booke was redde in the common houſe, and was ſigned by the Cardinals owne hande.

Alſo there was a writing ſhewed, which was ſealed with his ſeale, by the which he gaue to the King all his mouables and vnmouables.

Creations.

On the daye of the conception of our Lady, the King lying at Yorke place at Weſtminſter, in the Parliamente time, created the Uicounte Rochfort, Earle of Wilſhire, and the Uicounte Fitz Water, Earle of Suſſex, and the Lord Haſtings Earle of Huntington.

The ſeuententh of December, the King gaue his royall aſſent to all things done by the Lords and cõmõs, and ſo proroged his court of Parliament, till the next yeare.

The K. whiche all this while ſith the doubte was moued touching his marriage, abſteyned frõ the Queenes bedde, was nowe aduertiſed by his Imbaſſadors, which he hadde ſent to dyuers Uniuerſities, for the abſoluing of his doubt, that the ſayde Uniuerſities were agreed, and cleerely concluded, that the one brother mighte not by Gods lawe marrie the other brothers wife, carnally knowen by the firſt mariage, and that neither the Pope nor yͤ court of Rome, could in any wiſe diſpenſe with the ſame. For ye muſt vnderſtand, that amõgſt other things alledged for diſproofe of the mariage to be lawfull, euidence was giuen of certaine wordes, whiche Prince Arthur ſpake the morrowe after he was firſt married to the Queene, whereby it was gathered, that hee knew hir carnally yͤ night thẽ paſſed. The wordes were theſe, as we finde thẽ in yͤ Chronicle of maſter Edward Hall. In the morning after, he was riſen from the bedde, in which he had layne with hir all night, he called for drinke, whych hee before time was not accuſtomed to doe. At whiche thing, one of his Chamberlaynes maruelling, required the cauſe of his drought. To whome hee aunſwered merily, ſaying, I haue this nighte bene in the middeſt of Spayne, whiche is a hote region, and that iourney maketh me ſo drie, and if thou haddeſt bene vnder that hote climate, thou wouldeſt haue bin drier than I.

Agayne, it was alledged, that after the deathe of Prince Arthur, the King was deferred from the title and creatiõ of Prince of Wales, almoſt halfe a yeare, whiche thing could not haue bene doubted, if ſhe had not bin carnally knowen.

Alſo, ſhe hir ſelfe cauſed a Bull to be purchaſed, in the which were theſe wordes *vel forſan cognitam*, that is, and peraduenture carnally knowen, whiche wordes were not in the firſt Bull graunted by Pope July at hir ſeconde mariage to the King, which ſecond Bull with that clauſe was only purchaſed to diſpenſe with the ſeconde matrimony, although there were carnall copulation before, which Bull needed not to haue bin purchaſed, if there had bin no carnal copulation, for then the firſt Bull had bin ſufficient.

To conclude, when theſe and other matters were layd forth to proue that which ſhe denyed, the carnall copulation betwixte hir and Prince Arthur, hir Counſellers left that matter, and fell to perſwaſions of naturall reaſon, and laſtly, when nothing elſe would ſerue, they ſtoode ſtiffe in the appeale to the Pope, and in the diſpenſation purchaſed from the Court of Rome, ſo that the matter was thus ſhifted off, and no end likely to be had therein. The King therefore vnderſtanding now that the Emperour and the Pope were appointed to meete at the Citie of Bonony alias Bologna, where the Emperour ſhoulde be crowned, ſente thither in Ambaſſade from hym the Earle of Wilſhire, Doctor Stokeſley, elected Byſhop of London, and his Almoner, Doctor Edward Lee, to declare both vnto the Pope and Emperour, the law of God, the determinations of Vniuerſities in the caſe of his mariage, and to require the Pope to do iuſtice accordyng to trueth, and alſo to ſhewe to the Emperoure, that the King did moue this matter, onely for diſcharge of his conſcience, and not for anye other reſpect of pleaſure, or diſpleaſure earthelye.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Italy.

The Emperors aunſwere to the Ambaſſadors.

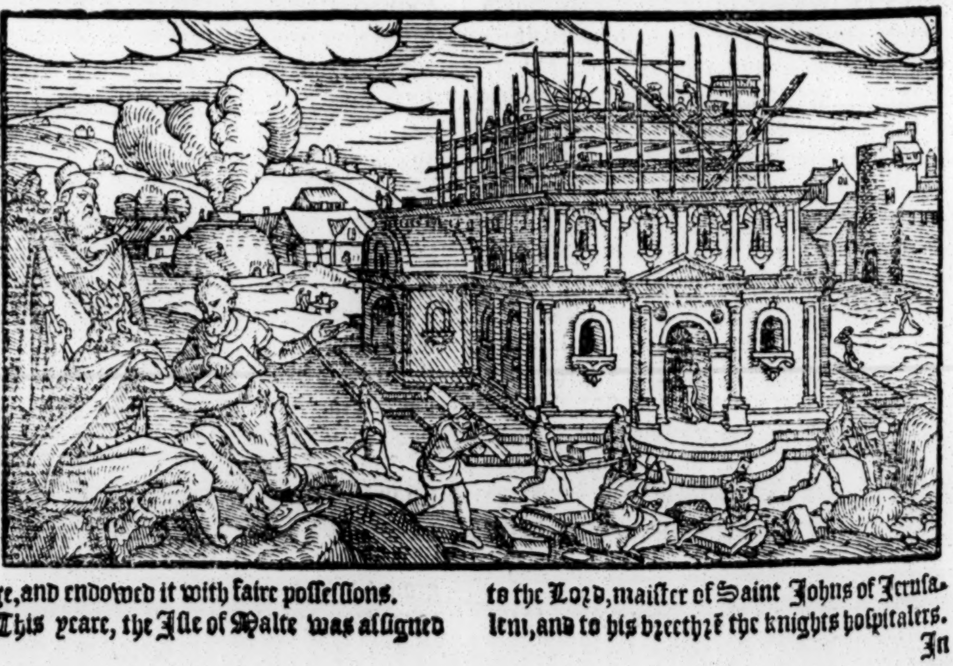
Theſe Ambaſſadors comming to Bonony, were honorably receyued, and firſt doyng theyr meſſage to the Pope, had aunſwere of him, that he would heare the matter diſputed whē he came to Rome, and according to right he woulde do iuſtice. The Emperour aunſwered, that he in no wiſe woulde be againſte the lawes of God, and if the Court of Rome would iudge that the matrimony was not good, he could be content: but he ſolicited both the Pope and Cardinals, to ſtand by the diſpenſation, whiche he thought to be of force ynough to proue the mariage lawfull. With theſe aunſweres, the Ambaſſadors departed, and returned homewardes, till they came on this ſide the Mountaynes, and then receyued letters from the King, which appoynted the Earle of Wilſhire, to goe in ambaſſade to the French King, which then lay at Burdeaux, making ſhift for money for redeeming of hys children: and the Byſhop of London, was appoynted to goe to Padoa, and other Vniuerſities in Italy, to know their full reſolutions and determinate opinions in the Kings caſe of matrimony: and the Kinges Almoner was commaunded to returne home into England, and ſo he did.

In the Lente ſeaſon of this yeare, the Kyng licenced the Cardinall to repaire into his dioceſe of Yorke, commanding him after his comming thither, not to returne Southward, without the Kings ſpeciall licence in writing.

Aboute the ſame time, Thomas Cromwell, that had ſerued the Cardinall, was admitted to the kings ſeruice.

The Cardinall comming to Southwell, which is within the dioces of Yorke, lay there all this yeare.

The lands which he had giuen to his colledges in Oxford and Ipſwich, were now come to the Kings hands by the Cardinals attainder in the premunire, and yet the King in fauoure of learning, erected againe the Colledge in Oxforde, and where it had bin called the Cardinals Colledge, he cauſed it to be called the Kings colledge, and endowed it with faire poſſeſſions.



This yeare, the Iſle of Malte was aſſigned to the Lord, maiſter of Saint Iohns of Ieruſalem, and to his brethrē the knights hoſpitalers.

In the beginning of this yeare was the hauing and reading of the new Teſtament in Engliſhe tranſlated by Tyndall, Ioy, and others, forbidden by the King, with the aduice of hys counſell, and namely the Byſhoppes, which affirmed, that the ſame was not truely tranſlated, and that therein were prologues and prefaces, ſounding to hereſie, with vncharitable rayling againſt Biſhops and the Cleargie.

The King therefore commaunded the Byſhops, that they calling to them the beſt learned men of the Vniuerſities, ſhould cauſe a new trãſlation to be made, that the people without danger might reade the ſame for their better inſtruction in the lawes of God, and his holy worde. Diuers perſons that were detected to vſe reading of the new Teſtament and other Bookes in Engliſh, ſet forth by Tindale, and ſuch other as were fled the Realme, were puniſhed by order taken againſt them by Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, who helde greatly agaynſte ſuche Bookes, but ſtill the number of them dayly encreaſed.

The nineteenth of September, in the Citie of London, a Proclamation was made, that no perſon, of what eſtate or degree ſo euer hee was, ſhould purchaſe or attempt to purchaſe from the court of Rome, or elſe where, nor vſe and put in execution, diuulgue or publiſh any thing within that yeare paſſed, purchaſed, or to bee purchaſed hereafter, conteyning matter preiudiciall to the high authoritie, iuriſdictiõ, and prerogatiue royall of this Realme, or to the hinderance and impeachmente of the King his maieſties noble and vertuous intended purpoſes.

Some iudged, that this Proclamation was made, bycauſe the Queene (as was ſayde) hadde purchaſed a new Bul for ratification of hir mariage, other thought, that it was made, bycauſe the Cardinall had purchaſed a Bull to curſe the King, if he would not reſtore him to his old dignities, and ſuffer hym to correct the ſpiritualtie, the King not to meddle with the ſame.

In deede many coniectured, that the Cardinall grudging at his fall, from ſo high dignities, ſticked not to write things ſounding to yͤ kings reproche, both to the Pope, and other princes, for that many opprobrious wordes were ſpoken to Doctor Edwarde Keerne the kings Orator at Rome, and that it was ſaide to hym, that for the Cardinals ſake, the King ſhoulde haue yͤ worſe ſpeede in the ſute of his matrimony.

But the King diſſembled the matter all thys yeare, till that the Cardinall made his preparation to be inſtalled at Yorke, after ſuch a pompous manner, as the lyke hadde not bin ſeene in that Countrey, whereby hee did but procure to himſelfe new enuy, whoſe late fall, mercy began to relieue, and had ſet him againe in good ſtate, if hee could haue ruled hys loftie pride, but hee to ſhewe hymſelfe what hee was, wanting nowe ſuche riche and precious ornamentes and furniture, as might aduance hys honor, and ſette him oute in ſo ſolemne a doyng, was not abaſhed to ſende to the Kyng, requiring him to lend hym the Mytre and Pall whiche hee was wonte to weare, when he ſang Maſſe in any ſolemne aſſembly.

The King vpon ſight of hys letters, coulde not but maruel at the proude preſumptuouſneſſe of the man, ſaying, what a thing is this, that Pride ſhoulde thus reigne in a perſon that is quite vnderfoote. But euen as there was greate preparation made in that Countrey of them that were required of hym to attende hym to Yorke at the daye appoynted of that ſolemne feaſt and intronization, the King not able to beare with his high preſumption anye longer, directed hys letters to the Earle of Northumberlande, commaundyng hym with all diligence, to arreſt the Cardinall, and to delyuer him vnto the Earle of Shrewesbury, high Steward of his houſe.

The Kings words to the Cardinall.

The Earle of Northumberland appoynted to apprehend the Cardinall.

The Earle according to that commaundemente, came with a conuenient number vnto the manor of Cawood, where the Cardinall as then lay, and arreſted hym there in his owne chamber the fourth of Nouember, and from thence conueyd hym the ſixth of Nouember vnto Shefield Caſtell, and there delyuered hym vnto the Earle of Shrewesbury, who kept him, till Sir William Kingſton, Captayne of the gard, and Conneſtable of the Tower, came downe with a certayne companye of yeomen of the gard, to fetche hym to the Tower, who receyuing hym at the handes of the Earle of Shrewesbury, diſeaſed as hee was in his body, occaſioned through ſorrowe and griefe of mynde, broughte hym forwarde with ſoft and eaſie iourneys, til hee came to the Abbey of Leiceſter the ſeauen and twentith of Nouember, where through verye feebleneſſe of nature, cauſed by a vehemente laſke, hee dyed the ſeconde nyghte after; and in the Churche of the ſame Abbey was buryed.

The Cardinall deliuered to the Earle of Northumberlande.

Sir William Kingſton.

Suche is the ſuretie of mans brittle ſtate, vncertayne in birthe, and no leſſe feeble in lyfe.

Thys Cardinall, when hee beganne wyth the buſineſſe of the Kynges marriage, was in hygh degree of honor & worldly felicitie, and ſo that whyche hee hoped ſhoulde haue made for hys aduauncemente, turned to hys confuſion.

The deſcrip-tion of Car-dinal Wolſey.

This Cardinall, as Edmonde Campion in his hiſtorie of Irelande deſcribeth him, was a mã vndoubtedly borne to honor: I thinke (ſayth he) ſome Princes baſterd, no Butchers ſonne, exceeding wiſe, faire ſpoken, high minded, full of reuenge, vitious of his body, loftie to his enimies, were they neuer ſo bigge, to thoſe that accepted and ſought his friendſhip wonderfull courteous, a ripe ſcholeman, thrall to affections, brought a bedde with flatterie, inſaciable to gette, and more princely in beſtowing, as appeareth by hys two Colledges at Ipſwich and Oxforde, the one ouerthrowen with his fall, the other vnfiniſhed, and yet as it lyeth for an houſe of Studentes, conſidering all the appurtenances incomparable through Chriſtendome, wherof Henry the eigth is now called founder, bycauſe he let it ſtand. He helde and enioyed at once the Biſhopricks of Yorke, Dureſme, and Wincheſter, the dignities of Lord Cardinal, Legate, and Chancellor, the Abbey of Saint Albons, diuers Priories, ſundry fatte benefices, *in commendum* a greate preferrer of his ſeruauntes, an aduauncer of learning, ſtout in euery quarrell, neuer happy till this hys ouerthrow. Therein he ſhewed ſuch moderatiõ, and ended ſo perfectly, that the houre of his death did him more honour, than all the pomp of hys life paſſed. Thus farre Campiõ. After his death, the whole Cleargie of England was in danger to haue bin atteinted in the ſtatute of premunire for that they had mainteyned his power legantine.

The Cleargie in daunger of a premunire.

The ſpirituall Lordes were called by proceſſe into the Kings bench to aunſwere, but before their day of appearance, they in their conuocation concluded an humble ſubmiſſion in writing, and offered an hundred thouſand pounds to be graunted by acte of Parliament to the K. to ſtand their good Lord, and to pardon them of all offences, touching the premunire, the whiche offer with much labour was accepted.

The offer of the Cleargie to the Kyng.

The King nominated ſupreme head of the Church.

In this ſubmiſſion, the Cleargie called the King ſupreme head of the Church of England, which thing they neuer before confeſſed.

1531

When the Parliament was begun the ſixth of January, the pardon of the Spirituall perſons was ſigned with the Kings hand, and ſent to the Lords, which in time conuenient aſſented to the bill.

Then went it downe to the commons, where it coulde not paſſe, bycauſe diuers froward perſons woulde needes that the King ſhoulde alſo pardon the laytie, as well as the ſpiritualtie, ſaying, that all men which had delt with the Cardinall, were in the ſame danger.

This their ſtay and bold demand, was thought more than reaſon would beare, for that they dyd not only ſeeme to enuy other mens wealthe, but alſo to reſtreine the King of his libertie, and to enforce him to ſhew mercie at their appoyntment.

They ſeemed yet at length to be ſorowfull, in that they hadde delte ſo vnaduiſedly, and then the King ſente them their pardon alſo, for the which they humbly thanked him.

The thirtith day of March, the Lord Chancellor, and diuers other Lords, both of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie, came into the common houſe, and there the Lorde Chancellor declared what the King had done, touching the doubt of his marriage, to knowe the opinions of dyuers Vniuerſities in chriſtendome, and of great learned men beſide.

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And there were ſhewed and redde the determinations of the ſame Vniuerſities, which they had publiſhed, written and ſealed, for ſufficiente proofe of the ſame, concluding by their ſaide determinations, that the kings mariage could not be lawfull: and therewith were ſhewed aboue an hundred Bookes drawen by Doctors of forreine regions, whiche agreed vppon the inualiditie of the ſame mariage, but were not redde, for that the day was ſpent.

Theſe were the Vniuerſities, which had thus determined of the vnlawfulneſſe of this marriage, Orleans, Paris, Aniou, Bourges in Berry, Bononie, Padua, and Tholouſe.

When Eaſter beganne to drawe neere, the Parliamẽt for that time brake vp, and was proroged till the laſt of Marche in the nexte yeare.

Ann

The Kyng wylling to gyue the Queene to vnderſtande, what the vniuerſities and learned men of foreyn parties had determined of the mariage betwixte them two, ſente vnto hir dyuers Lordes of the counſell, the laſt of May being the Wedneſdaye in Whitſon weeke, the whiche Lordes in hir Chamber at Greenewiche, declared to hir all the determinations aforeſaide, and aſked hir whether ſhe woulde for the quietneſſe of the Kyngs conſcience, put the matter to foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lordes of thys Realme, or abyde by hir appeale.

The Queene alledged many arguments of preſumption, that the marriage ſhould bee lawfull, as the wiſedome and circumſpection of both their fathers, the licence of Pope July graunted at the ſuite of hir father at the time of the ſame mariage: and to be briefe, ſhe affirmed, that ſhee was his lawfull wife, as ſhe verily beleeued, and would therefore abide in that poynt, til ẏ Court of Rome (whiche was priuie to the beginning) had made a finall end therein.

For ſo muche as Merchant ſtrangers bringing their wares into the Realme, did receyue ready money for them, and euer deliuered the ſame money to other merchants by exchange, not employing it vppon the commodities of the Realme, a Proclamation was ſet forth & made, that no perſon ſhould make any exchange, contrary to the meaning of a ſtatute ordeyned in the time of King Richarde the ſecond, by reaſon wherof, clothes and other commodities of thys Realme ſhortly after were well ſolde, till they fell to exchange agayne, and that this Proclamation was forgotten.

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After Whitſontide, the King and yͤ Queene remoued to Windeſore, and there continued tyll the fourtenth of July, on the whiche day, the K. remoued to Woodſtocke, and left the Queene at Windeſore, where ſhe remayned awhile, and after remoued to the More, and from thence to Eſtamſteede, whither the King ſente to hir dyuers Lordes, to aduiſe hir to bee conformable to the lawe of God, ſhewing diuers reaſons to perſwade hir to their purpoſe, but ſhee ſtoode ſtiffely in hir firſte opinion, that ſhee was his true and lawfull wife, and from the ſame woulde not by any meanes be remoued.

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The Prieſtes of London beeing called afore the Byſhoppe that would haue hadde them contributaries to the payment of the hundred thouſande pounde graunted to the Kyng for his pardon of the premunire, kept ſuche a ſtirre in breaking into the Chapiter houſe (where the Byſhop ſate) all at once, and ſtriking and buffeting the Byſhoppes ſeruauntes whiche gaue them euill language, that the Byſhoppe was fayne to gyue them his bleſſing, and ſuffer them to depart in quiet for that time. But after, vpō complainte made to the Lorde Chancellor, diuers of them and of their partakers were arreſted, and committed to priſon, to the number of fifteene Prieſtes, and fiue lay men, ſome to the Tower, and ſome to the Fleete, and to other places, where they remayned long after.

Thomas Bilney, Bacheler of law, was brent at Norwiche the ninetenth of Auguſt, and the fourth of December, Sir Rees Griffin was beheaded at the Tower hill, and his man named John Hewes, was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered.

The fiue and twentith of May, betweene London and Grenewich, were taken two greate fiſhes called Horle pooles, male and female.

In this ſeaſon, there was in the Realm much preaching, one learned man holding agaynſt an other, namely in the matter of the Kyngs mariage.

532

After Chriſtmas, the Parliament began to ſitte agayne, in the which, the commons founde themſelues ſore greeued with the crueltie of ordinaries, that called menne afore them *Ex officio.*

tie of
aries.

At length, a Booke was drawen of all the grieſes of the commons, for the cruell demeanour of the Cleargie, and the ſame deliuered to the King by the ſpeaker, humbly beſeeching him in name of all the commons, to take ſuche direction therein, as to his high wiſedome myghte ſeeme moſt expedient.

The King aunſwered, that he woulde take aduice, and heare the partie accuſed ſpeake.

He was not ſo ready to gratifie the commons in their requeſts, as ſome thought that he would haue bin, if they had not ſticked and refuſed to paſſe a ſtatute, whiche hee had ſent to them touching wardes and primer ſeaſons.

After this, was the Parliament proroged tyll the tenth of Aprill.

The Parliament proroged.

In this Parliament was an acte made, that Byſhops ſhoulde pay no more annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope, for it was proued that there had bin paide for Bulles of Byſhoppes, ſith the fourth yeare of Henry the ſeauenth, 160. thouſand pound ſterling, beſide other diſpenſations and pardons.

Annates forbidden to bee paide.

When the Parliamente was begun agayne after Eaſter, there was a motion made to helpe the King with money towarde his charges about the edifying of houſes, piles, and other fortifications, vpon yͤ borders fore anenſt Scotlande, both for better habitation to be had there, and alſo for the reſtreint of the Scottes that vſed to make inuaſions. There was therefore a fifteenth graunted, but not enacted at this ſeſſion, bycauſe that ſuddenly begā a peſtilēce in Weſtminſter, wherefore the Parliament was proroged as ye ſhall heare in the next yeare. In thys yeare, was an old tolle demaunded in Flanders of Engliſhmen called the toll of the hound, whiche is a riuer and a paſſage. The toll is twelue pence of a fardell. It had ben often demaunded, but neuer paid, in ſo much that K. Henry the ſeuenth for the demaund of that toll, prohibited all his ſubiects to keepe any marte at Andwerp or Barrow, till it was promiſed, that vpon theyr returne, the ſayd tolle ſhoulde neuer be demaunded.

A fifteenthe graunted.

A tolle demaunded in the lowe countrey.

The K. ſent doctor knight, and other to Calais, whither came the Emperoures commiſſioners, and there vpon talke, the matter was put in ſuſpenſion for a time. The K. hauing purchaſed of the Cardinall after his attendure in the premunire his houſe at Weſtminſter, called Yorke place, and gote a confirmation of the Cardinals feoffement thereof made of the Chapitre of the Cathedrall Churche of Yorke, purchaſed thys yeare alſo all the medowes about Saint James, and there made a faire manſion and a Parke for his greater commoditie and pleaſure, and bycauſe hee hadde a greate affection to the ſayde houſe at Weſtminſter, hee beſtowed greate

Yorke place or white Hall nowe the Palaice of Weſtminſter.

Saint James.

coſt in going forwarde with the building thereof, and changed the name, ſo that it was after called the Kings Palaice of Weſtminſter.

An.reg.24. The Parliament proroged.

The fourtenth day of May, the Parliament was proroged till the fourth of Februarye nexte comming. After which prorogation, Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of Englande, after long ſutes made to the King to bee diſcharged of hys office, the ſixtenth of May he deliuered to the K. at Weſtminſter the greate Seale of Englande, and was with the Kinges fauour diſcharged, whiche Seale, the Kyng kepte till Monday in Whitſon weeke, on which day, he dubbed Thomas Audeley, ſpeaker of the Parliamēt, knight, and made him Lord keeper of the greate Seale, and ſo he was called.

Sir Thomas More deliuereth vp the great ſeale.

Sir Thomas Audley lorde keeper of the great Seale.

The King being enformed, that the Pope and the French King ſhould meete in the beginnyng of the next ſpring at Marſeiles, he thought good for diuers cōſideratiōs, to ſpeake with yͤ frenche K. in his owne perſon, before the Pope and hee came togither: wherupon it was concluded, that in October following, both the Princes ſhoulde meete betwixte Calais and Bulleigne. Wherefore, the King of England ſent out his letters to his nobles, Prelates, and ſeruauntes, commanding them to bee ready at Caunterbury the ſixe and twentith of September, to paſſe the Seas with him, for the accompliſhmente of the enteruiew betwixt him and the French Kyng.

The Ladye Anne Bolleign created Marchioneſse of Penbrooke.

The firſt of September beeing Sonday, the King being come to Windeſor, created the Lady Anne Bulleigne Marchioneſſe of Pembroke, and gaue to hir one thouſand pound land by the yeare, and that ſolemnitie finiſhed, he rode to the Colledge, where after that ſeruice was ended, a new league was concluded and ſworne betwene the King, and the french King, Meſſire Pomoray the french Ambaſſador then being preſente.

The kyng paſſeth ouer to Calais.

The tenth of October, the Kyng came to Douer, and on the eleuenth day in the morning at three of the clocke, he toke ſhipping at Douer Rode, and before tenne of the ſame day, he with the Lady Marchiones of Pembroke, landed at Calais, where he was receyued with all honour, and lodged at the Exchecker.

There came to hym whileſt hee lay in Calais, diuers Lords from the French Court, and amongſt other, the Lord great maſter of France, and the Archbiſhop of Roan whiche were honorably of him receiued, and with them hee toke a daye and place of meeting with the King theyr maiſter.

Wherevpon, the one and twentith of October, hee marched out of Calais, accompanyed with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marqueſſes of Dorſet and Exeter, the Earles of Arundell, Oxforde, Surrey, Eſſex, Derby, Rutland, Huntington, and Suſſex, with dyuers Vicountes, Barons, Knightes of the Garter, and other of the nobilitie and Gentlemen freſhly apparelled, and richly trimmed, and comming to the place apointed, he there met with yͤ french King, who was come to receiue him with all honour that might be, and after ſalutations and embraſings vſed in moſt louing maner, the K. of England went with the Frenche K. to Bulleigne, and by the way, was encountred by the Frenche Kinges three ſonnes, and other greate Lords that attended them, which welcomming the K. of England, he them gently receiued, and ſo all this noble company came to Bulleigne, where the K. of England and his nobles were ſo nobly enterteyned, feaſted, banqueted, and cheared, that wonder it was to conſider the greate plentie of viaundes, ſpices, wines, and all other prouiſion, neceſſary for man and horſe, ſo that there was no more but aſke and haue, and no man durſt take any money, for the french Kyng payd for all.

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The fiue and twentith of October, whileſt yͤ K. lay thus in Bulleigne, the Frenche King called a chapiter of the companions of his order called S. Michell, of whome the K. of Englande was one, and ſo ther elected the Dukes of Norfolke and Suffolke, to be companions of yͤ ſame order, and being broughte to the chapitre, hadde their collers deliuered to them, and were ſworne to the ſtatutes of the order, their obeyſance to their ſoueraigne Lord alwayes reſerued.

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Thus the two kings lay in Bulleigne, Monday, Tewſday, Wedneſday, & Thurſeday, and on Friday the. 25. of October, they departed out of Bulleigne to Calais. Without the Towne of Calais, about the diſtance of two miles, the D. of Richmond the Kinges baſe ſonne, with a great company of noble men, which had not bin at Bulleigne, met them, & ſaluting the frēch K. embraſed him in moſt honorable and courteous maner. Thus they paſſed forwarde, and came to Newnham bridge, and ſo to Calais, where was ſuche prouiſion made for the receiuing of them, as well for lodgings, plate, and all ſuche other furniture of houſholde, as alſo of all ſortes of viands, wines, and other neceſſaries, that it ſeemed wonderful, in ſo much as the proportion aſſigned to the French Lords, oftentimes was ſo abundante, that they refuſed a greate parte thereof.

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The French Kings trayne was twelue hundred horſes, or rather aboue. But there was lodging ynough in Calais, not onely for them, but alſo for manye other, ſo that there were aboue eight thouſand perſons lodged within the towne in that ſeaſon.

The french K, comming thither on yͤ Friday, taried there till Tewſday the thirtith of October, and then departed the Kyng of Englande accompanying hym out of the Towne, till hee came to enter into the French grounde, and there eyther toke leaue of other, with right princely countenaunce, louing behauiour, and ſo hartie wordes, that all men reioyced that ſawe them.

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Whileſt the two kings lay in Calais, the L. Innas de Montmorancie Earle of Beaumont, great maiſter of the french kings houſe, and Philip de Chabot Earle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, were admitted into the order of the Garter, the K. calling a chapitre for that purpoſe of the knightes of that order, at the whiche, the Frenche King was preſente, and ware a blew mantel, bycauſe he was one of the ſame order.

While the King was in the French Kyngs dominion, hee hadde the vpper hand, and likewiſe had the French King in his dominion, and as the French King payd all the Engliſhmens charges at Bulleigne, ſo did the King of Englande at Calais.

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There roſe aboute the ſame ſeaſon, ſuche ſore weather, ſtormes and rigorous windes, continuing for the more part at North and Northweſt, that the King ſtayed at Calais for a conuenient winde, till Tewſday the thirtenth of Nouember at midnight, and then taking his Ship, landed at Douer the nexte daye aboute fiue of the clocke in the morning.

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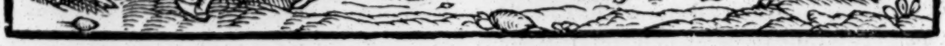
And herewith, vpon his returne, hee married priuily the Lady Anne Bulleigne the ſame day, being the fouretenth of Nouember, and the feaſt day of Saint Erkenwald, which marriage was kept ſo ſecrete, that very fewe knewe it till Eaſter next enſuing, whē it was perceiued that ſhe was with childe.

When the King ſhould paſſe ouer the ſea, he conſidered that the Scottes woulde happely attempt ſomewhat, to the preiudice of his ſubiectes in his abſence, which ſticked not, he being within the Realme, to robbe both by ſea and land, wherfore to reſiſt their malice, he appointed ſir Arthur Darcy with three hundred mē, to goe vnto Berwike to defend the borders from inuaſions of the Scottes, the whiche ſhortly after by the middle marches entred the Realme, and came to a place called Fowbery, and fyering certaine villages in their way, returned.

Scots diſcomfited by the Engliſhemen.

The Earle of Angus as then was at Berwike as a baniſhed man, and the ſaide Sir Arthur determined to reuenge this diſpleaſure, and thereupon with four hundred men, made a roade into Scotland, and ſet a village on fire. Then immediately aſſembled togither eight hundred Scottes, and began to approch neere to the Engliſh menne, who perceyuing them, cauſed their Trumpette to blowe the retreat, and the Earle and twentie with him, ſhewed hym ſelfe on an hyll, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the Trumpette blewe at theyr backes, ſo that the Scottes thought that there hadde bin two companyes, whyche cauſed the Scottes to flee, and the Engliſhmenne followed and ſlewe a greate number of them, and toke many of them priſoners.



1533
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After Chriſtmas, Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord keeper of the greate ſeale, was made hygh Chancelloure of England.

And when the Parliamente began, bycauſe the office of the ſpeaker was voyde, Humfrey Wingfielde of Greis Inne, was choſen ſpeaker.

In this Parliamente was an acte made, that no perſon ſhoulde appeale for anye cauſe out of this Realme, to the Courte of Rome, but from the commiſſarie to the Byſhop, and from the Byſhoppe to the Archebyſhoppe, and from the Archbyſhoppe to the Kyng, and all cauſes of the King, to bee tryed in the vpper houſe of the conuocation.

Queene Katherine to be named Princeſſe Dowager.

It was alſo enacted the ſame tyme, that Queene Katherine ſhoulde no more bee called Queene, but Princes Dowager, as the widow of Prince Arthur.

In the ſeaſon of the laſt Sommer, dyed William Warham, Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie, and then was named to that ſea Thomas Cranmer the Kings Chaplayne, a man of good learning, and of a vertuous life, whiche lately before hadde bin Ambaſſador from the King to the Pope.

Queene Anne.

After that the King perceyued his newe wife to be with childe, he cauſed all officers neceſſary to be appointed to hir, and ſo on Eaſter euen, ſhe went to hir cloſet openly as Queene, and then the King appoynted the day of hir coronation to be kept on Whitſonday nexte following, & writings were ſente to all Sheriffes, to certifie the names of men of fortie pound, to receiue the order of knighthood, or elſe to make fine. The aſſiſement of the fine was appointed to Thomas Cromwell, maiſter of the kings iewel houſe, and counſellor to the Kyng, and newly receiued into hygh fauour. He ſo vſed the matter, that a great ſumme of money was reyſed to the Kings vſe by thoſe fynes.

The matter of the Queenes appeale whereunto ſhe ſtill ſticked, and by no meanes could be remoued from it, was communed of both in the Parliamente houſe, and alſo in the conuocation houſe, where it was ſo handled, that many were of opinion, that not only hir appeale, but alſo all other appeales made to Rome, were voyde, and of none effect, for that in auncient counſelles it had bin determined, that a cauſe riſing in one prouince, ſhould be determined in the ſame.

An.reg.25.

This matter was opened with all the circumſtance to the Lady Katherin Dowager (for ſo was ſhe then called) the which perſiſted ſtill in hir former opinion, and woulde reuoke by no meanes hir appeale to ẏ Court of Rome: wherevpon, the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, accompanyed with the Byſhops of London, Wincheſter, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuers other learned men in great number, rode to Dunſtable, which is ſixe mile from Ampthill, where the Princes Dowager lay, and there by one Doctor Lee, ſhe was aſcited to appeare before the ſayde Archbyſhop in cauſe of Matrimony in the ſayde towne of Dunſtable, and at the day of appearance, ſhee appeared not, but made default, and ſo ſhee was called peremptorie euery daye fifteene dayes togither, and at the laſt, for lacke of appearance, by the aſſent of all the learned men there preſent, ſhe was diuorſed from the King, and the mariage declared to be voyde and of none effect.

The Lady Katherine Dowager called peremptoryly.

Of this diuorſe, and of the Kinges mariage with the Lady Anne Bulleine, menne ſpake dyuerſly, ſome ſayd the King had done wiſely, and ſo as became him to doe in diſcharge of his conſcience.

Other otherwiſe iudged, and ſpake theyr fanſies as they thoughte good: but when euerye man had talked ynough, then were they quiet, and all reſted in good peace.

In May, Pope Clemente ſente an orator to the King, requiring hym to appeare perſonally at the generall counſell, which he had appoynted to be kept the yere following: but when his commiſſion was ſhewed, at the earneſt requeſt of the King, there was neyther place nor time ſpecified for the keeping of that councell, and ſo with an vncertayne aunſwere to an vncertaine demaund he departed, but not vnrewarded.

Ambaſ
to the
King.

The King vnderſtanding that the Pope, the Emperour, and the Frenche King ſhould meete at Nice in June following, hee appoynted the Duke of Norffolke, the Lord Rochfort brother to Queene Anne, ſir William Paulet Comptroller of his houſe, Sir Anthony Browne, and ſir Francis Brian Knightes, to goe in ambaſſade to the French King, and both to accompany him to Nice, and alſo to commune with the Pope there concerning his ſtay in the kyngs diuorſe.

Theſe worthy perſonages made their prouiſion readye, and ſo with the number of eyghte ſcore horſes, they wente to Douer, and paſſing ouer to Calais, tooke their way through France, to accompliſhe their ambaſſage as they hadde in commaundement.

The. 29. of May, being Thurſeday, Queene Anne was conueyed by water frō Greenewiche to the Tower, with all honor that might be deuiſed, and there of the King ſhe was receyued, and ſo lodged there till Saturday, on the which daye, were made Knightes of the Bath by the King, according to the ceremonies thereto belonging, the Marques Dorſet, the Erle of Derby, the Lorde Cliffor de, the Lorde Fitz Water, the Lord Haſtings, the L. Mont egle, Sir John Mordant, the Lord Vaux, Sir Henry Parker, Sir William Winſor, Sir Francis Weſton, Sir Thomas Arondell, Sir John Hudoleſton, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir Henrye Sauell, Sir George Fitz William, Sir John Tindall, Sir Thomas Jermey.

Knightes
the Bath

The ſame daye, the Queene paſſed through London to Weſtminſter, in ſuche ſolemne wiſe as is vſed, the Citie beeing prepared, and the ſtreetes garniſhed with Pageants in places accuſtomed, the houſes on euerye ſide richely hanged, with clothes of great value, and great melodie made with inſtruments, appoynted in places conuenient.

Queene
crowned.

On the morrowe after beeing Whitſonday, and the firſt of June, ſhe was crowned at Weſtminſter, with all ſuche ceremonies, ſolemnitie, and honour, as in ſuche a caſe apperteyned, nothing was lette paſſe or forgotten that mighte aduaunce the eſtimation of that high and royall feaſt, euerye man clayming to exerciſe ſuche office and ſeruice, as by way of anye tenure, graunte, or preſcription hee coulde proue to be belongyng vnto hym at ſuch a coronation.

On Monday were the Juſtes holden at the Tylt, but there were but fewe ſtaues broken, bycauſe theyr horſes would not cope.

On Mydſommer day after, dyed the French Queene, then wife to the duke of Suffolke.

The ſeuenth of September being Sunday, betweene three and foure of the clocke in the after noone, the Queene was deliuered of a fayre yong Ladie, on which day the Duke of Norffolk came home to the Chriſtening, which was appoynted on the Wedneſday next following, and was accordingly accompliſhed on the ſame day, with all ſuch ſolemne ceremonies as were thought conuenient.

The Godfather at the Font, was the Lorde Archbiſhop of Canterburie, the Godmothers, the olde Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchioneſſe Dorcet wydow: at the confyrmation the Marcioneſſe of Exceter was Godmother: The childe was named Elizabeth, whiche after with great felicitie and ioy of all Engliſh heartes atteyned to the Crowne of this Realme, and now reigneth ouer the ſame, whoſe heart the lord direct in his wayes, and long preſerue hir in lyfe, to his godly will and pleaſure, and the comfort of all hir true and faythfull ſubiects.

About this ſeaſon, the craftie practiſes of one Elizabeth Barton, named the holy Mayde of Kent, came to light and were diſcouered, ſo that ſhee and hir adherentes in Nouember following were brought to the Starre Chamber, and there before the Kings Counſayle confeſſed their feyned hypocriſie and diſſimuled holineſſe, traiterous purpoſes and intents.

The names of thoſe hir adherents, whiche were preſented with hir before the Lordes in the Starre Chamber, were as followeth: Richarde Maſter prieſt, parſon of Aldington in Kent: Edwarde Bocking doctor in Diuinitie, a Monke of Canterburie, Richarde Dering Monke alſo of Canterburie, Edwarde Twaytes Gentleman, Thomas Laurence, regyſter to yͤ Archdeacon of Canterburie: Henrie Golde parſon of Aldermary, Batchler of Diuinitie: Hugh Rich Frier Obſeruant, Richarde Riſby, and Thomas Gold gentleman.

They were adiudged vpon their confeſſion aforeſayde, to ſtande at Poules Croſſe in the ſermon time, where they with their owne handes ſhoulde ſeuerally deliuer eche of them to the preacher that ſhoulde be appoynted, a Byll, declaring theyr ſubtile, craftie and ſuperſtitious doings. Which thing they did the Sunday nexte following, ſtanding vpon a ſtage at the croſſe erected for that purpoſe.

But for their treaſons committed, the order was reſpited till the Parliament next following, in the which they were atteynted, and ſuffred (as after ye ſhall heare.)

The Scottes moue warre.

In this meane time the Scottes were not quiet, but ſtill robbed the kings ſubiectes both by ſea and lande; wherevpon the king cauſed them to be requited, not onely by the borderers and other to them aſſociate, which entring by the marches, burnt many of their ſtrong piles, but alſo he ſet forth certaine ſhippes which entred into theyr ſtreames, and fetched out many of thoſe pryſes, whiche they had taken out of theyr hauens and creekes, mawgre of their heades. Yet was there no warre proclaymed, and ſtill Commiſſioners ſet and comuned of agreement, and amendes to be made on either part. But in the ende when the Scottes had much demaunded, and little or nothing granted, they for that time being wearie of war, deſired peace, which was cōcluded to endure both the kings liues. And ſo the. xx. day of May in the yeare next following, it was openly proclaymed, to the comfort of all them that delyted in peace and godly quietneſſe.

A curſe procured from the Pope.

At the ſuyte of the Ladie Katherin Dowager, a curſſe was ſent from the Pope, which accurſed both the King and the Realme. This curſſe was ſet vp in the towne of Dunkyrke in Flaunders (for the bringer thereof durſt no nearer approche) where it was taken downe by one William Locke a Mercer of London.

Bycauſe it was knowne that the Ladie Katherin Dowager had procured this curſe of the Pope, all the order of hir Court was broken, for the Duke of Suffolke beeing ſent to hir as then lying at Bugden beſide Huntingdon, according to that he had in commaundement, diſcharged a great ſort of hir houſholde ſeruants, and yet left a conueniēt number to ſerue hir like a Princeſſe, which were ſworne to ſerue hir not as Queene, but as Princeſſe Dowager. Such as toke that othe ſhe vtterly refuſed, and would none of theyr ſeruice, ſo that ſhe remayned with the leſſe number of ſeruants about hir.

1534

Elizabeth Barton attaynted.

After Chriſtmaſſe the Parliament beganne, wherein the forenamed Elizabeth Barton, and other hir complices were attaynted of treaſon for ſundry practized deuiſes & tales by them aduanced, put in vre, and told, ſounding to the vtter reproch, perill, and deſtruction of the kings perſon, his honor, fame, and dignitie: for they had of a diueliſh intent, put in the heades of manye of the kings ſubiects, that to the ſayde Elizabeth Barton was giuen knowledge by reuelation from God and his Saints, that if the King proceeded to the diuorſe, and maried another, he ſhould not be king of this Realme one Moneth after, and in the reputation of God not one daye nor houre.

This Elizabeth, firſt through ſickneſſe, being oftentymes brought as it were into a traunce, whereby hir viſage and countenaunce became maruellouſly altered at thoſe times whẽ ſhe was ſo vexed, at length, by the encouraging, procurement and information of ẏ forenamed Richard Maſter perſon of Aldington, ſhe learned to counterfaite ſuch maner of traunſes (after ſhe came to perfect health) as in hir ſickeneſſe by force of the diſeaſe ſhe hadde bin aquainted with, ſo that ſhee practiſed, vſed, and ſhewed vnto the people, diuers maruellous and ſundry alterations of the ſenſible partes of hir body, craftely vttering in hir ſayde feygned and falſe traunces, diuers & many counterfaite vertuous and holy words, tending to the rebuke of ſinne, and reprouing of ſuche new opinions as then began to riſe.

And to bring the people the more in beliefe with hir hypocriticall doings, ſhe was counſelled to ſay in thoſe hir traunſes, that ſhe ſhould neuer be perfectly whole, till ſhee had viſited an Image of our Lady, at a place called Court at Streete, within the pariſh of Aldington aforeſaid.

Thither was ſhe brought, and by the meanes of the ſayd Richard Maſter, and Edward Bocking, that was now made of counſel in the matter, there aſſembled a two thouſand perſons at the day appointed of hir thither comming, to ſee the miracle.

A forged miracle.

At which day, ſhee being thither brought afore all that aſſemble and multitude of people, ſhe falſely feigned and ſhewed vnto the people in the Chappel of our Lady there at Court at Streete, many alteracions of hir face, and other outwarde ſenſible partes of hir body, and in thoſe traunces, ſhe vttered wonderous words, as ſhe was before ſubtilly and craftely induced and taughte by the ſaid Edward Bocking and Richard Maſter.

And amongſt other things ſhe vttered, that it was the pleaſure of God, that the ſayde Bocking ſhould be hir ghoſtly father, and that ſhe ſhould be a religious woman.

And within a while after ſuche feigned and counterfeite traunſes, ſhee appeared to the people to be ſuddaynely relieued from hir ſickneſſe and afflictions, by the interceſſion and meane of the Image of our Lady, being in the ſame Chappel. By reaſon of whiche hipocriticall diſſimulation, the ſaid Elizabeth was broughte into a maruellous fame, credite, and good opinion of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme, and to encreaſe the ſame, by the counſell of the ſaid Edward Bocking ſhe became a Nunne in the priorie of S. Sepulchres at Canterbury, to whome the ſaid Edwarde Bocking had commonly hys reſorte, not withoute ſuſpition of incontinencie, pretending to be hir ghoſtly father by Gods appoyntment. And by conſpiracie betwene hir and him, ſhe ſtill continued in practiſing hir diſſimuled trannſes, alledging, that in the ſame ſhe had reuelations from almightie God & his Saincts, and amõgſt other, that which as before we haue mentioned, touching the Kinges mariage as ye haue heard.

Elizabeth Barton becommeth a Nunne.

This mater proceeded ſo farre, that ther was a booke writtẽ by hir complices, and namely, by Thomas Laurence, regiſter to the Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, of hir feigned and counterfaite miracles, reuelations, and hipocriticall holyneſſe. All things were handled ſo craftely, that not only the ſimple, but alſo the wiſe and learned were deceiued by the ſame, in ſo muche, that William Warham the late Archbyſhop of Caunterbury, and Iohn Fiſher Byſhop of Rocheſter, and dyuers other, beeing enformed therof, gaue credite thereto. All whiche matters and many other, had bin traiterouſly practiſed and imagined amongſt the parties many yeares, chiefly, to interrupt the diuorſe, and to deſtroy the King, and to depriue him from the Crowne and dignitie royall of this Realme, as in the acte of their atteinder made, more at large it may appeare, and likewiſe in ẏ Chronicles of maiſter Edward Hall.

The Ar
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terbury,
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criticall
ties.

Therefore to conclude with hir and hir adherents, the one and twentith of Aprill nexte following, ſhee with diuers of them before condemned, was drawen to Tiborne, and there executed, as iuſtly they had deſerued.

Elizabe
Barton
cuted.

At the very time of hir deathe ſhee confeſſed howe ſhe had abuſed the world, and ſo was not only the cauſe of hir own death, but alſo of theirs that there ſuffred with hir, and yet they could not (as ſhee then alledged) bee worthy of leſſe blame than ſhe, conſidering that they being learned and wiſe enoughe, myght eaſily haue perceyued, that thoſe things which ſhe did were but fained. Neuertheleſſe bycauſe the ſame were profitable to them, they therefore bare hir in hand, that it was the holy Ghoſt that did them, and not ſhe, ſo that puffed vp wyth their praiſes, ſhee fell into a certayne pryde and fooliſhe fantaſie, ſuppoſing ſhee might faine what ſhe would, whiche thyng had brought hir to that ende, for the whiche hir miſdoings ſhe cried God and the Kyng mercy, and deſired the people to praye for hir, and all them that there ſuffred with hir.

In this Parliament alſo was made the acte of ſucceſſion, for the eſtabliſhing of the Crowne, to the whiche euery perſon beyng of lawfull age ſhoulde be ſworne.

The acte
the eſtabli
ſhing of
Crowne.

On Monday the three & twentith of Marche in the Parliament time, were ſolemnely receyued into London Ambaſſadors from Iames the fifth King of Scottes, the Byſhop of Aberdine, the Abbot of Kynlos, and Adam Otterborne the Kings attourney, with diuers Gentlemen on them attendaunte, whiche were broughte to the Taylers Hall, and there lodged. And on the day of the

Ambaſſa
forth of
land.

of the Annunciation they were brought to the kings Palayce at Weſtminſter, where they ſhewed their commiſſion and meſſage, for the which the king appoynted them dayes to counſayle.

During the Parliament time, euery Sunday at Paules Croſſe preached a Biſhop, declaring the Pope not to bee ſupreeme heade of the Church.

Lordes to the sion.

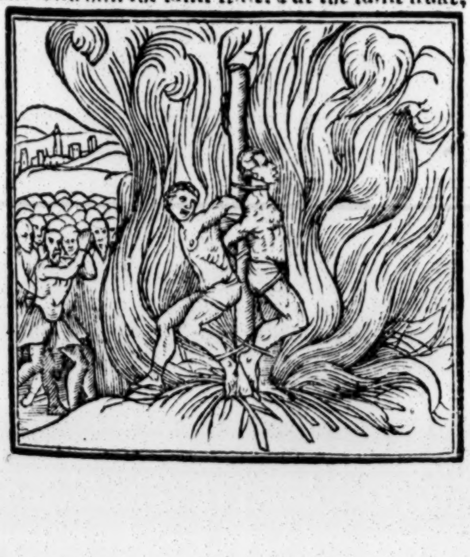
The.xxx.day of March was the Parliament proroged, and there euerie Lorde, knight, and burges, and all other were ſworne to the Acte of ſucceſſion, and ſubſcribed their handes to a parchment fixed to the ſame. The Parliament was proroged till the thirde of Nouember next.

After this were Commiſſioners ſent into all parts of the realme, to take the othe of al men and women to the act of ſucceſſion. Doctor John Fiſher, and ſir Thomas Moore knight, and doctor Nicholas Wilſon Parſon of Saint Thomas Apoſtles in London, expreſſely denied at Lābeth before the Archbiſhop of Canterb. to receyue that oth. The two firſt ſtood in their opinion to the verie death (as after ye ſhall heare) but doctor Wilſon was better aduiſed at length, & ſo diſſembling the matter eſcaped out of further daunger.

reg.26.

The.ix. of July was the Lord Dacres of the North arraigned at Weſtminſter of high treaſon, where the Duke of Norffolke ſat as Judge, and high ſteward of England. The ſayd Lorde Dacres being brought to the barre, with the Axe of the Tower before him, after his Inditement read, ſo improued the ſame, anſwering euery part and matter therein conteyned, and ſo plainly and directly confuted his accuſers, whiche were there readie to auouch their accuſations, that to theyr great ſhames, and his high honor, he was founde that day by his Peeres not guiltie, whereof the Commons not a little reioiſed, as by their ſhowt and crie made at thoſe wordes, not guiltie, they freely teſtified.

The.xxij. of July was John Frith burned in Smithfield, for the opinion of the Sacrament: and with him the ſame time, & at the ſame ſtake, ſuffred alſo one Andrew Hewet, a yong man, by his occupation a Tayler.



Stow.

The.xj. of Auguſt were all the places of the obſeruant Friers ſuppreſſed, as Greenwich, Canterburie, Richmont, Newarke, and Newcaſtell, and in their places were ſet Auguſtin Friers, and the obſeruant Friers were placed in the rowmths of the gray Friers.

The. xxj. of September Doctor Taylor maiſter of the Rolles, was diſcharged of that office, and Thomas Cromwell ſworne in hys place the.ix. of October.

The Parliament againe beginneth.

Moreouer the thirde of Nouember, the Parliament began againe, in the which was concluded the Act of Supremacie, which authorized the kings highneſſe to be ſupreme head of the church of England, and the authoritie of the Pope aboliſhed out of the realme,

In the ſame Parliament alſo was gyuen to the king, the firſt fruites and tenthes of all ſpirituall dignities and promotions.

The Admirall of France cōmeth in Ambaſsade into England.

This yeare came the great Admiral of France into Englād, Ambaſſador from the French king, and was honorably receyued.

1535

In this time dyed the Earle of Kildare, priſoner in the Tower, and his ſon Thomas Fitz-Garet began to rebell, and tooke all the kings ordinance, and ſent to the Emperor, requiring him to take his part. Alſo he ſlue the biſhop of Dublyn, and robbed all ſuche as woulde not obey him.

An. reg.27.

In the beginning of this yeare, the Duke of Norffolke, and the Biſhop of Elie went to Calays, and thither came the Admirall of Fraunce.

Stow.

The.xxij. of Aprill, the Prior of the Chartereux at London, the Prior of Beuall, the Prior of Exham, Reynalds a brother of Sion, & John Vicar of Thiſtleworth, were arraigned and condemned of treaſon, and therupon drawne, hanged and quartered at Tiburne, the fourth of May. Their heades & quarters were ſet ouer the bridge and gates of the citie, one quarter excepted, which was ſet vp at the Chartereux at London.

The eight of May, the king commaunded that all belonging to the Court ſhould poll theyr heades, and to giue enſample, cauſed his owne heade to be polled, and his beard from thenceforth was cut round, but not ſhauen.

Monkes of the Charterhouſe executed.

The.xix. of June were three Monkes of the Charterhouſe hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tyburne, and their heades and quarters ſet vp about London, for denying the king to bee ſupreme heade of the Church. Their names were, Exmew, Middlemoore, and Nudigate.

The Biſhop of Rocheſter beheaded.

Alſo the.xxj. of the ſame Moneth, and for the ſame cauſe, doctor John Fiſher Biſhop of Rocheſter was beheaded, and his heade ſet vppon London bridge. This Biſhop was of many ſore lamented, for hee was reported to bee a man of great learning, and of a verie good life. The Pope had elected him a Cardinall, and ſent hys hatte as farre as Calais, but his head was off before his hat could come.

Sir Thomas Moore beheaded.

The ſixt of Iuly was ſir Thomas Moore beheaded for the like crime, that is to wit, for denying the king to be ſupreme head. This man was both learned and wiſe, but giuen much to a certaine pleaſure in merye tauntes and ieaſting in moſte of his communication, whiche manner hee forgatte not at the verye houre of hys death.

The king of Scots knight of the garter.

The Biſhop of Winchester Ambaſſador into France.

This yeare in the tyme that the king went his progreſſe to Glouceſter, and to other places Weſtwarde, the king of Scottes was inſtalled knight of the Garter at Windſore by his procurator the Lorde Erſkyn: and in October following, Stephen Gardiner (whiche after the Cardinalles death was made Byſhoppe of Wyncheſter) was ſente Ambaſſadoure into Fraunce, where hee remayned three yeares after.

Stow.

In Auguſt the Lorde Thomas Fitzgerarde, ſonne to the Erle of Kyldare, was taken in Ireland, and ſent to the tower of London.

In the Moneth of October, Doctor Lee and other were ſent to viſite the Abbayes, Priories, and Nunries in Englande, who ſet all thoſe religious perſons at liberty that would forſake their habite, and all that were vnder the age of. xxiiij. yeres, and the reſidue were cloſed vp that would remaine.

Further, they tooke order that no men ſhoulde haue acceſſe to the houſes of women, nor women to the houſes of men, except it ſhould bee to heare theyr ſeruice. The Abbot or Prior of the houſe where any of the brethren was willing to depart, was appoynted to giue to euerie of them a prieſtes gowne for his habit, & .xl.ſ. in mony, the Nunnes, to haue ſuch apparell as ſecular women ware, and to go whither them liked beſt.

The. xj. of Nouember was a great Proceſſion at London for ioy of the French kings recouerie of health from a daungerous ſickneſſe.

In December a ſuruey was taken of al Chãteryes, and the names of them that had the gyft of them.

1536

The Lady Katherin dowager deceaſeth.

The Princes Dowager lying at Kimbalton, fell into hir laſt ſickneſſe, whereof the King being aduertiſed, appoynted the Emperours Ambaſſadour that was leger here with him, named Euſtachius Caputius, to go to viſite hir, and to doe his commendations to hir, and will hir to bee of good comfort. The Ambaſſadour with all diligence doth his dutie therein, comforting hir the beſt hee myght: but ſhee within ſixe dayes after, perceyuing hir ſelfe to waxe verie weake and feeble, and to feele death approching at hande, cauſed one of hir Gentlewomen to write a letter to the King, commending to him hir daughter and his, beſeeching him to ſtande good father vnto hir, and further deſired him to haue ſome conſideration of hir Gentlewomen that had ſerued hir, and to ſee them beſtowed in maryage. Further that it woulde pleaſe him to appoynte that hir ſeruaunts might haue their due wages, and a yeares wages beſide.

This in effect was all that ſhee requeſted, and ſo immediately herevpon ſhee departed thys life the. viij. of Ianuarie at Kimbalton aforeſaid, and was buried at Peterborow.

The fourth of Februarie the Parliamente beganne, in the whiche amongſt other things enacted, all Religious houſes of the value of three hundred Markes and vnder, were gyuen to the King, with all the landes and goodes to them belonging.

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The nũber of theſe houſes were. 376. the value of their lãds yerely aboue. 32000. li. their mouable goodes one hundred thouſand. The religious perſons put out of the ſame houſes, amounted to the number of aboue ten thouſand.

This yeare was William Tindall burned at a towne betwixt Bruſſels and Maclyn called Willefort.

This Tyndal otherwiſe called Hichyns, was borne in the Marches of Wales, and hauing a deſire to tranſlate and publiſhe to his Countrey dyuerſe bookes of the Byble in Engliſh, & doubting to come in trouble for the ſame, if he ſhoulde remaine here in Englande, got him ouer into the parties of beyond the ſea, where he tranſlated not onely the newe Teſtament into the Engliſhe tongue, but alſo the fiue bookes of Moſes, Ioſua, Iudicum, Ruth, the bookes of the kings, & Paralipomenon, Nehemias, or the firſt of Eſdras, & the Prophet Ionas. Beſide theſe tranſlations, he made certain treatiſes, and publiſhed the ſame, which were brought ouer into Englande, & read with great deſire of diuerſe, and of many ſore deſpiſed and abhorred, ſo that Proclamations were procured forth for the condemnation and prohibiting of his bookes (as before you haue hearde.) Finally; hee was apprehended at Andwarpe by meanes of one Philips an Engliſhman, and then ſcholer at Louaine.

After hee had remayned in priſon a long time, and was almoſt forgotten, the Lorde Cromwel wrote for his deliuerance, but then in all haſte bycauſe hee woulde not recant any part of hys doctrine, hee was burned (as before you haue heard.)

On May day were ſolemne iuſtes kept at Greenwich, and ſodainly from the iuſtes the king departed, not hauing aboue ſix perſons with him, and in the Euening came to Weſtminſter. Of this ſodaine departing many men muſed, but moſt chiefely the Queene, who the next day was apprehended, and brought from Grenewich to the Tower of London, where ſhee was arraigned of high treaſon, and condemned.

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Alſo at the ſame tyme were apprehended the Lorde Rochford, brother to the ſayde Queene, and Henrie Norrice, Marke Smeton, William Brereton, and ſir Francis Weſton, all beeing of the kings priuie Chamber. Theſe were likewiſe committed to the tower, aud after arraigned and condemned of high treaſon.

All the Gentlemen were beheaded on the ſkaffold at the Tower hill, but the Queene with a ſworde was beheaded within the Tower. And theſe were the wordes whiche ſhee ſpake at the houre of hir death the. xix. of May. 1536. Good chriſtian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the lawe I am iudged to die, and therefore I will ſpeake nothing againſt it. I am come hither to accuſe no man, nor to ſpeake any thing of yͤ whereof I am accuſed & condemned to die, but I pray God ſaue the king and ſend him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler, nor a more mercifull prince was there neuer, and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, and a ſoueraigne Lorde. And if any perſon will meddle of my cauſe, I require them to iudge the beſt. And thus I take my leaue of the worlde, and of you all, and I heartily deſire you all to pray for me, Oh Lorde haue mercie on me, to God I cōmende my ſoule, Ieſu receyue my ſoule, diuerſe tymes repeting thoſe wordes, till that hir heade was ſtriken off with the ſworde.

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Bycauſe I might rather ſay much than ſufficiently ynough in prayſe of this noble Queene, as well for hir ſingular witte and other excellent qualities of mynde, as alſo for hir fauouring of learned men, zeale of religion, and liberalitie in diſtributing almes in reliefe of the poore, I wyll referre the reader vnto that which maſter Foxe in his ſeconde volume of Actes and Monumentes, doth write of hir, where he ſpeaketh of hir maryage. Pag. 1198. and. 1199. and alſo where hee maketh mention of hir death. Pag. 1233. and. 1234. of the impreſſion. 1570.

Immediately after hir death, in the weeke before Whitſuntide, the King maryed the Ladie Iane Seymer, daughter to ſir Iohn Seymer knight, whiche at Whitſuntide was openly ſhewed as Queene.

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And on the Tueſday in Whitſunweeke, hir brother ſir Edwarde Seymer was created Vicont Beauchampe, and ſir Water Hungerforde, Lorde Hungerford.

The. viij. of Iune beganne the Parliament, during the which the Lorde Thomas Howarde, without the kings aſſent, affied the Ladie Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Queene of Scottes, and Neece to the King, for which acte he was attainted of treaſon, and an acte made for like offenders, and ſo he dyed in the Tower, and ſhe remayned long there as priſoner.

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The Lord Th. Howard attainted of treaſon.

In the time of this Parliament, the Biſhops and all the Cleargie of the Realme helde a ſolemne conuocation at Paules Church in London, where after much diſputation and debating of matters, they publiſhed a booke of religion, intituled Articles deuiſed by the kings highneſſe. &c. In this booke is ſpeciallye mentioned but three Sacraments.

A booke publiſhed concerning religion by the king.

Alſo beſide this booke, certaine Iniunctions were giuen forth, whereby a number of their holy dayes were abrogated, and ſpecially thoſe that fell in harueſt time.

Thomas Cromwel Secretarie to the king, and maiſter of the Rolles, was made Lorde keeper of the priuie Seale, and the ninth of Iuly the Lorde Fitzwarren was created Earle of Bath, and the morrow after the ſayd Lorde priuie ſeale Thomas Cromwell, was created Lorde Cromwell. The. xviij. of Iuly he was made knight, and Vicar generall vnder the King ouer the ſpiritualtie, and ſat dyuerſe times in the conuocation amongeſt the Byſhoppes as head ouer them.

The. xxij. of Iuly, Henrie duke of Richmont and Somerſet, erle of Northampton, baſe ſonne to the King, begot of the Ladie Tailebois, departed this life at Saint Iames, and was buryed at Thetford in Norffolke.

In September, Thomas Cromwell Lorde priuie ſeale and Vicegerent, ſent abroade vnder the kings ſpirituall priuie Seale, certayne Iniunctions, commanding that the Parſons & Curates ſhoulde teach theyr Pariſhioners the *Pater Noſter*, the *Aue* and Creede, with the ten Commaundements, and Articles of the fayth in Engliſhe.

Theſe Articles and Iniunctions being eſtabliſhed by authoritie of Parliament, and now to the people deliuered, bred a greate miſlyking in the heartes of the common people, whiche had beene euer brought vp and trayned in contrary doctrine, and herewith diuerſe of the Cleargie as Monkes, Prieſtes, and other, tooke occaſion hereby to ſpeake euill of the late proceedings of the King, touching matters of Religion, affyrming that if ſpeedie remedie were not in tyme prouided, the fayth would ſhortly be vtterly deſtroyed, and all prayer and diuine ſeruice bee quite abolyſhed and taken away.

Many ſiniſter reportes, ſlaunderous tales, and feigned fables were blowne abroade, and put into the peoples eares, and diuerſe of the Nobilitie did alſo what they could to ſtyrre the commons to rebellion, faythfully promiſing both ayde and ſuccor agaynſt the king.

A trayterous conſpiracie.

The people thus prouoked to miſchiefe, and deceyued through ouer light credence, incontinently as it were to maintayne that Religion, whiche hadde ſo manye yeares continued, and beene eſteemed, they ſtiffely and ſtoutly conſpired togither, and in a part of Lincolnſhyre they firſt aſſembled, and ſhortly after ioyned into an armie, being (as it was ſuppoſed) of men apt for the warres, in number about twentie thouſande. Agaynſt theſe rebels with all the haſt that might be, the king in proper perſon vppon intelligence thereof had marched towardes them, being furniſhed with a warlike armie, perfectly appoynted of all things that to ſuche a companie ſhoulde appertayne.

The Lincolnſhiremen in armes agaynſt the king.

The rebels hearing that his perſon was preſent with his power to come thus agaynſt them, began to feare what woulde follow of theyr doings: and ſuche nobles and gentlemen as at the firſte fauoured theyr cauſe, fell from them, and withdrew, ſo that they beeing deſtitute of Captaynes, at length put certaine petitions in wryting, which they exhibited to the King, profeſſing that they neuer intended hurt towardes his royal perſon.

The king receiued theyr petitions, which conſiſted in choyſe of Counſaylers, ſuppreſſion of religious houſes, maintenance of the ſeruice of Almightie God, the ſtatute of vſes, the releaſe of the fiftenth, and receiuing of the firſt fruites, with ſuche other matters as nothing appertayned to them: whereupon he made them anſwere in pythie ſentence, reprouing them of theyr preſumptuous folly and rebellious attempt, to meddle in any ſuch matters and weightie affayres, the direction whereof onelye belonged to him, and to ſuch noble men and counſaylers as his pleaſure ſhoulde be to elect and chooſe to haue the ordring of the ſame. And therefore he aduiſed them to remember theyr raſh and inconſiderate doings, and that now in any wiſe they ſhould reſort home to their houſes, and no more to aſſemble contrary to his lawes and their owne allegiances, and alſo to cauſe the prouokers to this miſchiefe to bee deliuered to the handes of his Lieutenant, & further to ſubmit themſelues wholy to ſuch puniſhment as hee and his nobles ſhoulde thinke them worthie to receyue: for otherwiſe he woulde not ſuffer that iniurie at theyr handes to goe vnreuenged.

After the Lyncolnſhire men had receyued the kings anſwere thus made to theyr petitions, eche miſtruſting other who ſhoulde be noted the greateſt medler, ſodainly they beganne to ſhrinke, and got them home to their houſes withoute longer abode.

The Lincolnſhiremen gaue ouer their rebellious enterpriſe.

Herewith the Duke of Suffolke the Kings Lieutenant, was appoynted to goe with the armye to ſee the Countrey ſet in quiet, accompanied with the Lord Admirall, ſir Frances Brian, and ſir John Ruſſell, that were ioyned with him alſo in yͤ cōmiſſiō for the ordring of things there within the Countie of Lincolne. The Duke entred into the Citie of Lincolne the ſeuententh of October.

On the .xix. al the Inhabitants of Louth (according to order giuen by the duke) came to Lincolne, and there in the Caſtell made theyr ſubmiſſion, holding vp their handes, and crying for the kings mercie. And herewith were choſen forth Nicholas Melton, Captaine Cobler, and .xiiij. mo, which were commaunded to warde, and all the reſidue were newe ſworne to the king, renoūcing their former othe receyued in tyme of theyr rebellion, and then departed home to their houſes in the kings peace.

After this were Proclamations made abrode in the Countrey in euery Market towne by the Heraulds at armes, Somerſet, and Wynſore, that the Captaines and Souldiers of the Dukes armie ſhuld not take any mans goodes, catailes, or vitayles, except they payed or agreed with the owners for the ſame. And further commaundement was giuen, that al Inhabitants and dwellers within the townes and villages about, ſhould repayre to the Citie of Lyncolne, with all maner of vytaile as well for men as horſes, where they ſhould receyue payment at reaſonable pryſes for the ſame.

After this, there was likewiſe Proclamation made, for the apprehending of all ſuch lewde perſons, as had ſowne any falſe rumors abroade in the Countrey, the chiefe occaſion of this rebelliō, bruting that the king pretended to haue the golde in the handes of his ſubiectes brought into the Tower to be touched, and all their cattaile vnmarked, the Chalices goodes and ornamentes of pariſh Churches, fines for chriſtnings, weddings, and buryings, for licences to eate white meate, bread, pigge, gooſe, or Capon, with many other ſlaunderous, falſe, and deteſtable tales and lyes, forged of diueliſh purpoſe to encourage the people to rebellion. If therefore any man could apprehende ſuch as had bene the ſetters forth & ſowers of ſuche ſeditious reportes, they that brought them in ſhoulde bee ſo rewarded, as they ſhoulde thinke their labor well beſtowed.

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Moreouer, if there were any aſſemblies made in any part of the realme without the Kings licence, by any vnruly perſons, and would not departe to theyr houſes vpō warning by his graces Proclamations, they ſhould not looke for further mercie at the kings hande, but to bee perſecuted with fire and ſword to the vttermoſt.

To cõclude, by the wiſe & ſage directiõ takẽ in appraſing the Countrey by that noble Duke, all things were quieted in thoſe parties. Diuerſe of yͤ principal offenders were ſent vnto London. He that tooke vpon him as chief Chaptain of the rowte, was the ſame that called himſelfe Captaine Cobler, but he was in deede a Monke named Doctor Makarell, which afterwardes wyth diuerſe other was executed.

But nowe in the meane tyme whyleſt the Duke was ſente forwarde into Lincolneſhyre, wythin ſixe dayes after the King was truely informed, that there was a newe ſturre begonne in the North partyes by the people there, whiche had aſſembled themſelues into an huge army of warlike men and well appoynted, both with captaynes, horſe, armor, and artillarie to the number of fortie thouſand men, which had encamped thẽſelues in Yorkſhire.

These men declared by their Proclamations ſolemnely made, that this theyr ryſing and commotion ſhoulde extende no further, but onely to the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Chriſt, and delyueraunce of holy Church, ſore decayed and oppreſſed, and alſo for the furtheraunce as well of priuate as publike matters in the Realme, touching the wealth of all the kings poore ſubiectes.

They named this theyr ſeditious voyage, an holy and bleſſed Pylgrimage: They had alſo certayne Banners in the fielde, in which was paynted Chriſte hanging on the Croſſe on the one ſide, and a Chalice with a paynted Cake in it on the other ſide, with diuerſe other Banners of like hypocryſie and feigned holineſſe.

The Souldiers had alſo embrodered on the ſleeues of theyr coates in ſteade of a Badge, the ſimilitude of the fiue woundes of our Sauiour, and in the myddeſt therof was written the name of our Lord.

Thus had the Rebelles hoſt of Sathan with falſe and counterfeyte ſignes of holyneſſe ſet out themſelues onely to deceyue the ſimple people in that theyr wicked and rebellious enterpryce agaynſte theyr liege Lorde and naturall Prince.

The ſpeedie diligence and loyall duetie which was founde at yͤ preſent in yͤ worthie Counſaylour George Earle of Shrewesburie, is not to bee forgotten, who immediately after hee vnderſtoode howe the Northern menne were thus vppe in armes, conſidering howe muche it imported to ſtoppe them of theyr paſſage before they ſhoulde aduaunce to farre forwardes, whereby they might both encreaſe in power, and put all other partes of the Realme in hazard through feare or hope to enclyne to theyr wicked purpoſes, hee ſent abroade with all ſpeede poſſible to rayſe ſuche power of his Seruauntes, Tenants, and friendes, as by any meanes he myght make, and withall diſpatched one of hys ſeruauntes to the King, both to aduertiſe hym what hee hadde done, and alſo to purchaſe his pardon, for making ſuche leuie of a power, before hee hadde receyued his Maieſties Commiſſion ſo to do.

I haue hearde by relation of men of good credite that were preſent, that when ſuch Knightes and Gentlemen as were of his Counſayle, and other of his eſpeciall friendes were come vnto him, hee put forth thys queſtion vnto them, whether his facte in rayſing a power of armed menne withoute the Kinges Commiſſion (although hee had done it to reſyſt the Rebelles) were treaſon or not, whereunto when aunſwere was made by ſome that were knowne to haue ſkill in the lawes of the Realme, howe that by no meanes it coulde bee intended treaſon, ſithe his intent was good, and no euill therby ment, but contrarily the aduauncement of the Kings ſeruice duetifully ſought. Ye are fooles (quoth the Earle) I knowe it in ſubſtaunce to bee treaſon, and I woulde thinke my ſelfe in an hard caſe, if I thought I hadde not my pardon comming.

Suche a reuerende regarde had this noble Earle vnto his bounden allegiance towardes his Prince, that whatſoeuer ſeemed but as it were to ſounde in any behalfe to the breache thereof, it ſo troubled his loyall mynde, that he coulde not be ſatiſfyed, till as it were in confeſſing his faulte, where according to the truth there was none at all, hee hadde ſignifyed his aſſured fidelitie in crauing pardon, where otherwiſe hee might haue looked for thankes, which indeed he receyued with his pardon, according to his petition, and a commiſſion to proceed as he had begon.

Moreouer, where as there were dyuerſe ſpeaches amongeſt the Souldiours in the armie vttered, by ſome not altogyther happily well dyſpoſed, that the ſayde Earle had ſo good lyking of the Northern mennes cauſe, that when it came to the poynt of tryall, hee woulde ſurelye ioyne with them agaynſt that part, whiche he yet pretended to maintayne: to put that matter oute of doubt, he cauſed the multitude of hys Souldiours to come before him, and there declared to them, that hee vnderſtoode what lewde talke hadde beene rayſed of hys meanyng amongeſt them in the Campe, as if he had fauoured the part of the Rebelles: but (ſayeth hee) whatſoeuer theyr colourable pretence may be, true it is, that Traitours they are in this their wicked attempt, and where as my aunceſters haue bene euer true to the crowne, I meane not to ſtaine my bloud now in ioyning wͭ ſuch a ſort of traytors, but to liue & die in defence of yͤ crown, if it ſtood but vpõ a ſtake, and therefore thoſe that will take my part in this quarell, I haue to thanke them, and if there be any that be otherwiſe mynded, I woulde wiſh them hence. And herewith hee cauſed hys Chaplaine to miniſter an othe to him, whiche hee receyued to the effect aforeſayde, in preſence of them all. And verily this was thought to be done not without great cauſe that moued him therto: for where, as the more part of his ſouldiors conſiſted of the Countrey people, and with forged tales, and wicked ſurmiſes were eaſily ledde to beleeue, whatſoeuer was reported in fauour of the rebelles, and diſfauour of ſuche as were then chiefe Counſaylours to the King, againſt whome they pretended to ryſe (although there was no reaſonable occaſion leading them therevnto) it was greatly to bee ſuſpected, leaſt they myght through ſome trayterous practiſe haue beene induced to forget theyr dutifull allegiance to theyr ſoueraigne, and ſouldierlyke obedience to theyr leaders, inſomuche that the Captaynes of the Rebelles, were perſwaded (and ſome of them reported no leſſe) that they myghte haue foughte wyth the Duke of Norffolke, and the Earle of Shrewesburie, on this hither ſyde of the Riuer of Dun, euen with theyr owne men, not nedding to haue brought a man of theyr army with them. Therefore it was thought, that the othe whiche the Earle of Shrewſburie in that ſort receyued before all hys people there openly in fielde, ſerued to great purpoſe, to put out of hys Souldiers wauering heades, all ſuche lewde expectation that he woulde turne to the enimyes, ſtaying thereby theyr fickle myndes, ſithe they were now aſſured, that he being theyr Chieftaine ment no diſſimulation, a matter truly of no ſmall importaunce, conſidering the fauour whiche the Commons bare towardes him, and the opinion they had conceyued of hys highe prowes, ſo that whiche way he inclyned, it was thought verilye the gaine were likely to go.

But nowe after the King was aduertiſed of that perilous commotion of the Northern men, he appoynted not only the ſaid Erle of Shrewſburie to rayſe a power to reſyſt them, but alſo ordeyned the Duke of Norffolke his Lieutenant generall with the Marques of Exceter, and the ſayde Earle of Shrewſburie, the Earles of Huntingdon and Rutlande, accompanied wyth a mightie power to go againſt them.

The Duke of Norffolke the kings Lieutenant.

These Lordes rayſing ſuch retinues of ſouldiours and men of warre as were to them aſſigned, made forwarde to the place where the armye of the Rebelles was then encamped, whiche was beyonde the Towne of Doncaſter, in the high way towardes Yorke.

But fyrſt the ſayde Earle of Shrewſbury, with the Earles of Huntington, and Rutlande, and ſuch other that were next adioyning to thoſe parties, with theyr powers aſſembled oute of the Shires of Salop, Stafforde, Leyceſter, Rutlande, Notingham and Darby, came to a place in Notinghamſhire called Blithlowe, and there taking the muſters of their people, ſtreightwayes paſſed forth to Dancaſter, and appoynted certaine bandes of theyr men, to lie in places where anye fourdes or paſſages laye ouer the Ryuer of Dun, that runneth by the Northſyde of Dancaſter, to ſtay the enimies if they ſhoulde attempt to come ouer.

Shortly after came the Duke of Norffolke, and finally the Marques of Exceter with a toyly company of Weſterne men, well and perfectly appoynted.

When theſe Captaynes and ſage Counſaylers being here aſſembled, vnderſtoode the matter of the Northern men, theyr number, and readyneſſe to battayle, they firſt practiſed with greate policie, to haue pacified the matter withoute bloudſhedding: but the Northern men were ſo bent to maynteyne theyr wylfull enterpryſe, that there was no hope to take vp the matter without battaile: therfore a day was ſet on the which they ſhould trie the quarell betwixt them with dint of ſworde.

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Iude.

But ſee the chaunce, the night before the day aſſigned for this bloudye and vnnaturall battayle, to haue beene fought betwyxt men of one Nation, and ſubiectes to one King, there fell a raine not great to ſpeake of, but yet as it were by myracle, the Riuer of Dun roſe ſodainely on ſuch a heigth, that ſeldome had beene ſeene there the like hugeneſſe of water, ſo that the day when the houre of battayle ſhoulde come, it was not poſſible for the one armie to come at the other, and ſo the appoyntment made betweene both the armyes for tryall of the matter by force of armes, was by Gods good prouidence diſappoynted, and many an innocent mans life preſerued, that ſhould haue died, if their purpoſes had taken place.

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After this, by the great wiſedome and policie of the Nobles and Captaynes, a communication was had, and an agreement made vppon the Kings pardon, obteyned for all the Capitaynes and chiefe doers in this inſurrection, and promiſe made that they ſhoulde bee gentlye heard, to declare ſuch things as they found themſelues agreeued with, and that vppon theyr Articles preſented to the King, theyr reaſonable petitions ſhoulde be graunted, as by hym and hys Counſaile it ſhoulde be thought expedient, whereby all troubles might bee quieted, and eche thing brought to a good concluſion.

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Herewith euerye man departed, and thoſe whiche before bent as hote as fire to fight, letted of theyr deſperate purpoſe, by Gods mercifull prouidence, went now peaceably to their houſes without any more buſineſſe.

The ſelfeſame time that theſe Northern men were lodged neare to Dancaſter, and the Kings power readie to ſtoppe them of theyr paſſage (as before ye haue hearde) there was an other army readie to haue marched Southwardes through Lancaſhyre, but by the faythfull diligence of the Earle of Darbie, who with the forces of Lancaſhyre and Cheſſhyre was appoynted to reſyſt them, they were lykewiſe kept backe and brought to quiet. Notwithſtanding they were a verie great number aſſembled togyther of the Commons oute of Cumberland, Weſtmerland, and of the north partes of Lancaſhire.

The Earle of Suſſex was ſente downe by the King, to ioyne in aſſyſtaunce wyth the Earle of Darbie, who cauſing dyuerſe of the chiefe procurers of that Rebellion in thoſe parties to be apprehended and arraigned, they being founde guiltie had iudgement, and were executed, as the Abbottes of Walley, Saulley, and others.

In tyme of this rebellion, a Prieſt that by a Butcher dwelling within fiue myles of Wyndſore had beene procured to preach in fauour of the Rebelles, and the butcher (as well for procuring the Prieſt thereto, as for wordes ſpoken as hee ſolde his meate in Wyndſore) were hanged, the Prieſte on a Tree at the foote of Wyndſore Bridge, and the Butcher on a payre of newe Gallowes ſet vp before the Caſtell gate, at the ende of the ſame bridge.

The wordes whiche the Butcher ſpake were theſe. When one bad him leſſe for the carkaſſe of a Sheepe than he thought hee coulde make of it: Nay by Gods ſoule (ſayde hee) I hadde rather the good fellowes of the North had it, and a ſcore more of the beſt I haue, than I woulde ſo ſell it.

This Prieſt and Butcher being accuſed on a Monday in the morning whyleſt the Kings armie was in the fielde, and the king himſelfe lying at Wyndſore, they confeſſed theyr faultes vpon theyr examinations, and by the lawe martiall, they were adiudged to death, and ſuffred as before is mentioned.

This yeare in December, the Thames was froſen ouer. And in Chriſtmaſſe the King by his meſſengers and Heraultes ſente downe into the North his generall pardons to all the offenders, and ſhortly after Aſke that had beene the principall procurer, and as it were chiefe Captaine of the Northern Rebelles, came to London, and nowe was both pardoned and receyued into fauour, receyuing of the Kings bounteous liberalitie, apparayle, and dyuerſe other rewardes, whereof hee was moſte vnworthye, for there lyued not (as Hall ſayeth) a veryer Wretche, as well in perſon as conditions and deedes, ſpecially towardes the Kings Maieſtie, as after it appeared.

The Earle of Kildare executed. Selbie.

The thirde of Februarie, Thomas Fitzgaret late Earle of Kyldare, and fiue of hys Uncles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne for treaſon.

A newe rebellion.

In the ſame Moneth Nicholas Muſgraue, Thomas Tylbie, with other, beganne a newe rebellion at Kyrkbie Stephan in Weſtmerland, who hauing got togither eight thouſande men, beſieged the Citie of Carlile, from whence they were beaten with the onely power of the Citie, and in returning from thence, the duke of Norfolke, who then was Lieutenant of the North, encountred with them, tooke the Captaynes, and according to the law Martiall arraigned. lxxiiij. of them, whome hee hanged on Carleyl walles, but Muſgraue eſcaped.

Sir Frances Bygot.

In the ſame Moneth of Februarie began a newe Commotion, by the procurement of Sir Fraunces Bigod, who being entiſed to that miſchieuous enterpriſe by certaine wicked perſons, forgat his dutie to his Prince, although hee had bene a man (as Hall ſayth) that vndoubtedly loued God, and reuerenced his Prince with a right obedient & louing feare: but ſuche are men when God leaueth them, and that they will take in hande things whiche Gods moſte holye worde vtterly forbyddeth. This laſt Rebellion began in Setrington, Pikering Leigh, and Skarborowe, but it was quickly ſuppreſſed, and the ſayde ſir Fraunces Bigod apprehended, and brought to the Tower.

The ſayde ſir Fraunces, and one Halam hauing rayſed a great companie of Rebelles, ment to haue taken the Towne of Hull, there to haue fortifyed themſelues, and to haue aſſembled more power, but by the wiſedome of Sir Raufe Ellerkar, and the Maior of the Towne of Hull, the ſayde Halam, and threeſcore other of the Rebelles without any ſlaughter were taken, which Halam was afterwardes hanged in Chaynes, and two other wyth hym, at the ſayde Towne of Hull. Sir Fraunces Bygod fled, and coulde not be hearde of for a tyme, but at length he was alſo apprehended.

Aske and other practiſe to rayſe a new rebellion.

Moreouer, aboute the latter ende of thys xxviij. yeare, the Lord Darcy, Aſke, ſir Robert Coneſtable, ſir John Bulmer and his wyfe, ſir Thomas Percye brother to the Earle of Northumberlande, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempeſt Eſquier, William Lomley, ſonne to the Lorde Lomley, beganne eftſoones to conſpire, although euerie of them before had receyued theyr pardons: and nowe were they all taken and brought to the Tower of London as priſoners.

Robert Packington murthered.

This yeare Robert Packington a Mercer of London, a man both riche, wiſe, and of good credite, dwelling at the ſigne of the legge in Cheapeſide, one morning going (as his cuſtome was) aboute foure of the clocke to heare Maſſe, in the Churche then called Saint Thomas of Acres, and nowe the Mercers Chapell, as hee croſſed the ſtreete from hys houſe to the Churche, was ſodaynly murthered wyth a Gunne, the cracke whereof was hearde of the neighbours, and of a great number of labourers that ſtoode at Soper Lane ende, and ſawe the ſayde Packington goe forth of his houſe, but there was ſuch a thicke myſt that morning, as the lyke had not beene ſeene, by couert whereof the murtherer founde ſhyft the more eaſily to eſcape.

Many were ſuſpected, but none founde in fault, albeit for ſo muche as hee was one that woulde ſpeake hys mynde freely, and was at the ſame tyme one of the Burgeſſes of the Parliament for the Citie of London, and had talked ſomewhat agaynſt the couetouſneſſe and crueltie practiſed by the Cleargie, it was miſtruſted leaſt by ſome of thē he came thus to his ende. At length the murtherer in deede was condemned at Banburie in Oxfordſhyre, to die for a felonie which he afterwardes committed, and when hee came to the Gallowes on whiche hee ſuffered, he confeſſed that he did this murther, and till that tyme hee was neuer had in anye ſuſpicion thereof.

The.xxix.of Marche, were twelue of the Lincolneſhyre Rebelles drawne to Tyborne, and there hanged and quartered, fiue of them were prieſtes, the reſidue lay men. One of the prieſtes was Doctour Makarell, and another was the vicar of Louth.

Grafton.
The inuention of caſting pipes.

About this ſeaſon the maner of caſting pipes of leade for the conueyaunce of water vnder the ground, without occupying of ſouder to the ſame, was inuented by Robert Brocke Clearke, then one of the kings Chaplaynes, an inuention right neceſſarie for the ſauing of expenſes, for two men and a boy, will doe that in one day, which before could not be done by many men in many dayes. Robert Cowper Goldſmyth was the fyrſt that made the inſtruments, and put this inuention in practiſe.

An.reg.29.

In the verie beginning of this yeare, certaine Commiſſioners beeing ſent into Somerſetſhyre to take vp corne, the people beganne to make an Inſurrection, but by the wiſedome and diligence of yong maſter Paulet and others, the ſame was ſuppreſſed, and the begynners therof, to the number of.lx. were apprehended and condemned, and xiiij. of them were hanged and quartred. One of the number being a woman. The reſidue were ſaued by the kings mercifull pardon.

Execu

In Iune the Lorde Darcie, and the Lorde Huſey, were arraigned at Weſtmynſter before the Marques of Exceter then high Stewarde, where they were found guiltie, and had iudgemēt as in caſes of high treaſon.

Arraig

Shortly after alſo were arraigned ſir Robert Coneſtable, ſir Thomas Percie, ſir Frances Bigot, ſir Stephen Hamilton, ſir Iohn Bulmer, and his wife, or rather (as ſome report) his paramour: alſo William Lomley, Nicholas Tempeſt, William Thurſt Abbot of Fountaynes, Adam Sudburie Abbot of Ierueux, William Wolde Prior of Birlington, alſo the Abbot of Ryuers and Robert Aſke. They were all found guiltie of high treaſon, & al put to death. Sir Robert Coneſtable was hanged in Chaynes ouer Beuerley gate at Hul, and Robert Aſke was alſo hanged in chaynes on a tower at Yorke, and Margaret Cheyney ſir Iohn Bulmers paramor burnt in Smithfield in London. The other ſuffered at Tiborne.

Exec

In the latter end of Iune, was the lord Darcy beheaded at the tower hill, & ſhortly after the lord Huſey was likewiſe beheaded at Lincolne.

This yeare at Saint Georges feaſt, was the Lord Cromwell made knight of the Garter.

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In October on Saint Edwardes euen, which falleth on the twelfth of that Moneth, at Hampton court the Queene was deliuered of hir ſonne named Edward, for whoſe byrth great ioy was made through the Realme, with thankes giuing to almightie God, who hadde ſent ſuche a yong Prince to ſucceede his father in the Crowne of this Realme, as afterwarde he did by the name of king Edward the ſixt.

His Godfathers at the Font ſtone, were, the Archbiſhoppe of Canterburie, and the Duke of Norffolke. The Ladie Marie was his Godmother. And at the Biſhopping, the Duke of Suffolke was his Godfather.

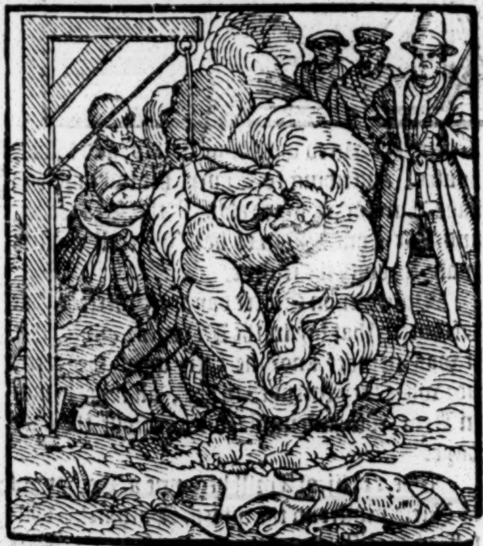
The d
Quee

But as ioy is often myxed with ſorrowe, ſo at that tyme it came to paſſe by the death of his mother, that noble & vertuous Lady Queene Iane, whiche departed out of thys lyfe the fourtenth day of this Month of October, to the great grief of the whole realme, but namely the king hir huſband tooke it moſt grieuouſly of all other, who remouing to Weſtminſter, there kept himſelfe cloſe a great while after. The.viij. of Nouēber, the corps of the Queene was caried to Winſore, with great ſolemnitie, & there buried in the midſt of the Quiere in the caſtell Church. There was alſo a ſolemn herſe made for hir in Pauls church, & funeral exequies celebrate, as well as in al other churches within the Citie of London.

The king held his Chriſtmas at Greenewich, and as well he as all the Court ware mourning apparell, till the morowe after Candlemaſſe day, and then he and all other chaunged.

This yeare the vicount Beauchampe was created Earle of Hertfort, and ſir William Fitzwilliam Lorde high Admiral, was created Earle of Southampton.

In May a Frier obſeruant called Frier Foreſt was apprehended for that he was knowne in ſecrete confeſſions to haue declared to many of the Kings liege people, that the king was not ſupreme heade of the Church, where he had by hys othe neuertheleſſe affyrmed him ſo to be. Whereupon in his examination, that poynt beyng layde to hys charge, he anſwered that hee tooke his othe with his outwarde man, but hys inwarde man neuer conſented therevnto. But beeyng further accuſed of dyuerſe hereticall and damnable opinions that he helde and mainteyned contrarie to the Scripture, at length beyng not able to defende the ſame, he ſubmitted himſelf to the puniſhment of ẏ Church. But whē vpon thys hys ſubmiſſion hauing more libertie thā before he had to talke with whom he would, and other hauing libertie to talke with him, he was incēſed by ſome ſuch as had conference with him, that the Frier when his abiuration was ſent him to read & peruſe, he vtterly refuſed it, and obſtinately ſtood to al his hereſies & treaſons, thervpon he was cōdemned, and afterwardes on a paire of new gallowes prepared for him in Smithfield, he was hāged by the middle and armholes al quicke, and vnder the gallowes was made a fire wherewith hee was conſumed and burnt to death.



There were diuers of the counsell preſent at his death ready to haue graunted him pardon, if any ſpark of repentance would haue appeared in him.

There was alſo a Pulpet prepared, in whiche that renowmed preacher Hugh Latimer then biſhop of Worceſter, by manifeſt Scriptures confuted the Friers errors, and with many godly exhortations moued him to repentance, but hee would neither heare nor ſpeake.

A little before the execution, an huge and great Image was brought to the gallowes. This Image was fetched out of Wales, which ẏ Welchmen had in great reuerēce. It was named Daruell Gatherne. They had a propheſie in Wales that this Image ſhoulde ſet a whole Forreſt on fire, which prophecie was nowe thought to take effect, for he ſet this Frier Forreſt on fire, and conſumed him to nothing. The Frier when he ſaw the fire come, caught hold on the ladder, which he would not let goe, but in that ſort vnpaciently tooke his death, ſo as if one might iudge him by his outward man, he appeared (ſaith Hal) to haue ſmall knowledge of God, and leſſe truſt in hym at his ending.

A prophecie.

In July was Edmonde Coningſbie attainted of treaſon, for counterfeyting the kings ſigne manuell, and in Auguſt was Edward Cliffor de for the ſame cauſe attainted, and both put to execution as traytors at Tiborne.

Execution.

In Septēber by the ſpecial motion of the L. Crōwel, all the notable Images, vnto the which were made any eſpeciall pilgrimages & offrings, were vtterly takē away, as the Images of Walſingham, Ipſwich, Worceſter, the lady of Willſdon with many other, and likewiſe the ſhrines of counterfeyte Saintes, as that of Tho. Becket, and other. And euen forthwith, by meanes of the ſayde Cromwell, all the orders of Friers and Nunnes, with their cloyſters and houſes, were ſuppreſſed and put downe.

Certaine Images takē away and remoued from their places.

In this ſeaſon, ſute was made to the king by the Emperour, to take to wife the Ducheſſe of Millaine: but ſhortly after that ſuite brake off, bicauſe (as was thought) the Emperors counſaile ment by a cautell to haue brought the King in mind to ſue for a licence of the Pope. Then the Duke of Cleue began to ſue to the King that it would pleaſe him to match with his ſiſter the ladie Anne, which after tooke effect.

In Nouember, one John Nicholſon, otherwiſe called Lambert, a prieſt, was accuſed of hereſie, for holding opinion agaynſt the bodily preſence in the ſacrament of the Aulter. He appealed to the kings Maieſtie, who fauourably conſented to heare him at a day appoynted, againſt whiche day, in the kings Palace at Weſtmynſter, within the Kings Hall, there was ſet vp a throne or ſiege royall for the King, with ſkaffoldes for all the Lordes, and a ſtage for Nicholſon to ſtande vpon.

Iohn Nicholſon alias Lambert.

This Nicholſon was eſteemed to bee a man wel lerned, but that day he vttred no ſuch knowledge (ſaith Hal) as was thought to be in a mā of that eſtimation, diuers argumēts were miniſtred to him by the Biſhoppes, but namely the King preſſed him ſore, and in the ende offred him pardon if he woulde renounce his opinion, but hee woulde not conſent thereto, and therefore he was there condemned, and had iudgement, and ſo ſhortly after he was drawne into Smythfielde, and there burnt to Aſhes.

The Marques of Exceter cō-demned.

The thirde of Nouember, Henrie Courtney Marques of Exeter and Earle of Deuonſhyre, Henrie Poole Lord Montagew, and ſir Edward Neuill brother to the lord of Burgueuenny, were ſent to the Tower, being accuſed by ſir Geffrey Poole, brother to the Lorde Montagew, of high treaſon. The Marques, and the Lorde Montagew were arraigned the laſt of December at Weſtminſter before the Lorde Audley that was Chauncellor, and for that preſent time high ſteward of Englād, & there were they founde giltie.

The third day after were arraigned ſir Edward Neuill, ſir Geffrey Poole, two Prieſtes called Croftes and Collyns, and one Holland a Mariner, and all attaynted.

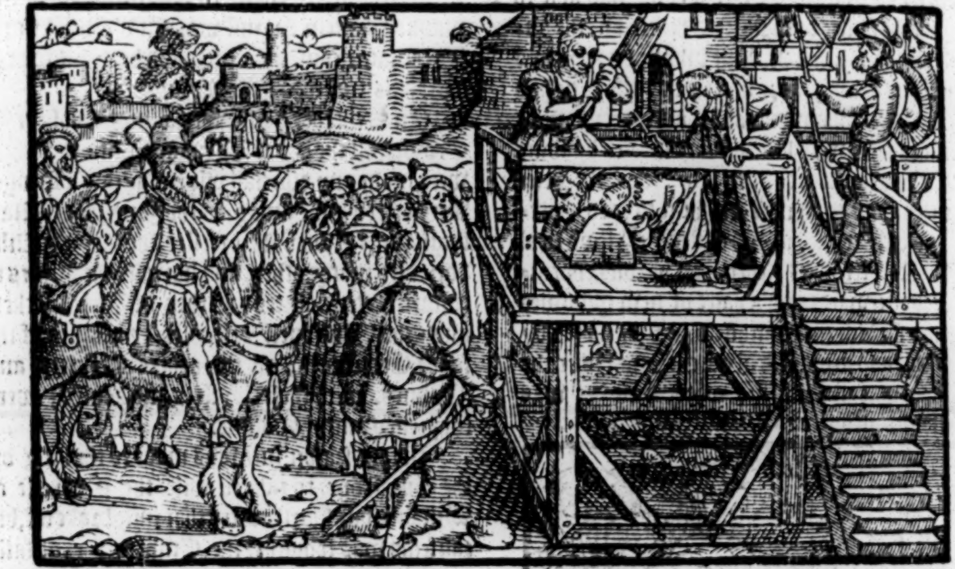
The ques

The ninth of Ianuarie, the Lord Marques, and the Lord Montagew, with ſir Edward Neuell loſt their heades on the Tower hill. The two prieſtes and Holland, were drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered. Sir Geffrey Poole had his pardon.

On Aſhwedneſday, Iohn Iohnes, Iohn Potter, and William Manering, were hanged in the Princes liuereys (bycauſe they were the Princes ſeruants) on the ſouthſide of Poules church yard, for killing Roger Cholmeley Eſquier in that place of malice prepenſed.

Sir N Carew cuted.

The thirde of March, ſir Nicholas Carew of Bedington in the Countie of Surrey knight of the Garter, and maſter of the kings horſe, cōdemned before of treaſon, was beheaded on the tower hill, where he made a godly confeſſion, both of his fault, and ſuperſtitious fayth, giuing God thankes, for that his happe was to be priſoner in the Tower, where he firſt ſauored the pleaſaunt taſt of Gods holy worde, meaning the Byble in Engliſh, which there hee read by the exhortation of one Thomas Philippes then keeper of that Priſon, and ſometyme a Citizen and Poyntmaker of London, who had beene in ſome trouble for Religion, and examined before Doctour Stokeſley Biſhop of London, and ſir Thomas More, but through his wiſe demeanor and colde anſwers, he eſcaped their handes.



Creations.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir William Paulet knight Treaſorer of his houſe, Lord Saint Iohn, and ſir Iohn Ruſſell Comptroller of his houſeholde Lorde Ruſſell. Alſo either then or ſhortly after, was ſir William Par created Lord Par.

Bulwar Blockh buylde

The ſame time the King cauſed all the Hauens to bee fenced with Bulwarkes, and Blockhouſes, and riding to Douer, hee tooke order to haue Bulwarkes made alongſt the Sea coaſtes, and ſent Commiſſion to haue generall muſters made through the realme.

Moreouer on Eaſter day there were. lx. ſaile diſcouered that lay in the Downes, and for that it was neyther knowne then what they were, nor what they intended to doe, all the able men in Kent, roſe and muſtred in armour the ſame daye.

An

A Parl Attaint

The. xxviij. of Aprill beganne a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which, Margaret Counteſſe of Saliſburie, Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Exeter, Reignalde Poole Cardinall, brother to the Lord Montagew, ſir Adrian Foſkew, and Thomas Dingley Knight of Saint Iohns, and diuerſe other were attainted of high treaſon, which Foſkew and Dingley the tenth of Iuly were beheaded.

Execut

In this Parliament, the Act̃ of the ſixe Articles was eſtabliſhed. Of ſome it was named the bloudie ſtatute, as it proued in deede to many, and euen ſhortly after the making therof, when the fyrſt inqueſt for inquirie of the offenders of the ſame Statute, ſate in London at the Mercers Chappell, thoſe that were of that inqueſt were ſo choſen forth for the purpoſe, as there was not one amongeſt them, that wiſhed not to haue the ſayde Statute put in execution to the vttermoſt, inſomuche that they were not contented onely to inquire of thoſe that offended in the ſixe Articles conteyned in that Statute, but alſo they deuiſed to inquyre of certayne braunches, (as they tooke the matter) belonging to the ſame, as of thoſe that came ſeldome to heare Maſſe, that helde not vp theyr handes at the ſacryng tyme, who tooke no holy breade, nor holy water, who vſed to reade the Byble in Churches, or in communication ſeemed to deſpiſe prieſtes, or Images in the Church. &c.

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The Marques of Exceter cō-demned.

The thirde of Nouember, Henrie Courtney Marques of Exeter and Earle of Deuonſhyre, Henrie Poole Lord Montagew, and ſir Edward Neuill brother to the lord of Burgueuenny, were ſent to the Tower, being accuſed by ſir Geffrey Poole, brother to the Lorde Montagew, of high treaſon. The Marques, and the Lorde Montagew were arraigned the laſt of December at Weſtminſter before the Lorde Audley that was Chauncellor, and for that preſent time high ſteward of Englād, & there were they found giltie.

The third day after were arraigned ſir Edward Neuill, ſir Geffrey Poole, two Prieſtes called Croftes and Collyns, and one Holland a Mariner, and all attaynted.

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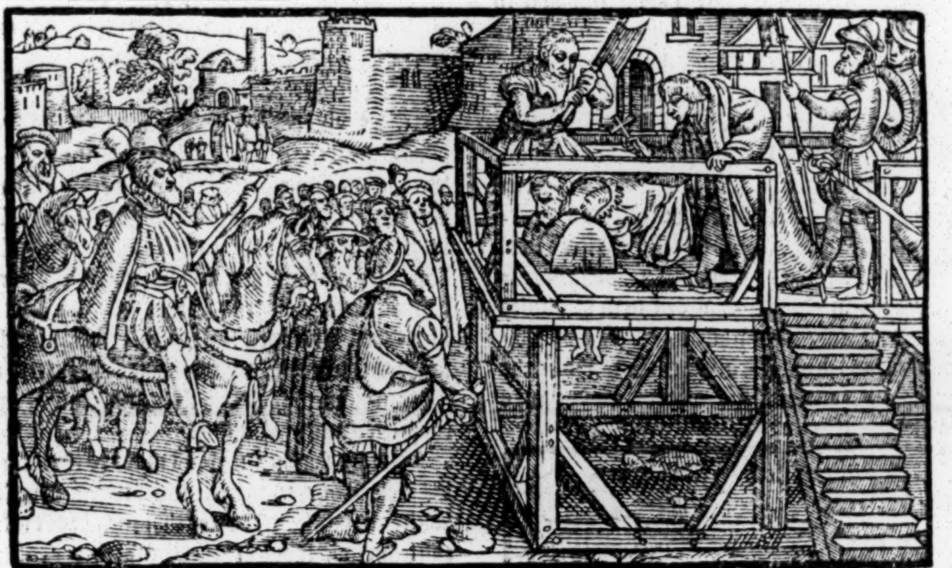
The ninth of Januarie, the Lord Marques, and the Lord Montagew, with ſir Edward Neuell loſt their heades on the Tower hill. The two prieſtes and Holland, were drawne to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered. Sir Geffrey Poole had his pardon.

On Aſhwedneſday, John Johnes, John Potter, and William Manering, were hanged in the Princes liuereys (bycauſe they were the Princes ſeruants) on the ſouthſide of Poules church yard, for killing Roger Cholmeley Eſquier in that place of malice prepenſed.

Sir Ni Carew cuted.

The thirde of March, ſir Nicholas Carew of Bedington in the Countie of Surrey knight of the Garter, and maſter of the kings horſe, cōdemned before of treaſon, was beheaded on the tower hill, where he made a godly confeſſion, both of his fault, and ſuperſtitious fayth, giuing God thankes, for that his happe was to be priſoner in the Tower, where he firſt ſauored the pleaſaunt taſt of Gods holy worde, meaning the Byble in Engliſh, which there hee read by the exhortation of one Thomas Philippes then keeper of that Priſon, and ſometyme a Citizen and Poyntmaker of London, who had beene in ſome trouble for Religion, and examined before Doctour Stokeſley Biſhop of London, and ſir Thomas More, but through his wiſe demeanor and colde anſwers, he eſcaped their handes.



Creations.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir William Paulet knight Treaſorer of his houſe, Lord Saint John, and ſir John Ruſſell Comptroller of his houſeholde Lorde Ruſſell. Alſo either then or ſhortly after, was ſir William Par created Lord Par.

Bulwa Blockh buylde

The ſame time the King cauſed all the Hauens to bee fenced with Bulwarkes, and Blockhouſes, and riding to Douer, hee tooke order to haue Bulwarkes made alongſt the Sea coaſtes, and ſent Commiſſion to haue generall muſters made through the realme.

Moreouer on Eaſter day there were. lx. ſaile diſcouered that lay in the Downes, and for that it was neyther knowne then what they were, nor what they intended to doe, all the able men in Kent, roſe and muſtred in armour the ſame daye.

A Parli Attain

The. xxviij. of Aprill beganne a Parliament at Weſtminſter, in the which, Margaret Counteſſe of Saliſburie, Gertrude wyfe to the Marques of Exceter, Reignalde Poole Cardinall, brother to the Lord Montagew, ſir Adrian Foſkew, and Thomas Dingley Knight of Saint Johns, and diuerſe other were attainted of high treaſon, which Foſkew and Dingley the tenth of July were beheaded.

Executi

In this Parliament, the Act of the ſixe Articles was eſtabliſhed. Of ſome it was named the bloudie ſtatute, as it proued in deede to many, and euen ſhortly after the making therof, when the fyrſt inqueſt for inquirie of the offenders of the ſame Statute, ſate in London at the Mercers Chappell, thoſe that were of that inqueſt were ſo choſen forth for the purpoſe, as there was not one amongeſt them, that wiſhed not to haue the ſayde Statute put in execution to the vttermoſt, inſomuche that they were not contented onely to inquire of thoſe that offended in the ſixe Articles conteyned in that Statute, but alſo they deuiſed to inquyre of certayne braunches, (as they tooke the matter) belonging to the ſame, as of thoſe that came ſeldome to heare Maſſe, that helde not vp theyr handes at the ſacryng tyme, who tooke no holy breade, nor holy water, who vſed to reade the Byble in Churches, or in communication ſeemed to deſpiſe prieſtes, or Images in the Church. &c.

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The Wiflers on foote being in number foure hundred proper light perſons, were clad in white Ierkins of leather cut, with white hoſe & ſhooes, euery man with a Iauelin or ſlaughſworde in his hands, to keepe the people in array. They had Chaynes aboute theyr neckes, and feathers in theyr cappes. The Minſtrels were in white, with the armes of the Citie, and ſo was euery other perſon at this muſter without any diuerſitie, the Lorde Maior, Recorder, and Aldermen, onely excepted, who had Croſſes of Veluet or Satyn pirled with golde. The ſtandart bearers were the talleſt men of euery warde, for whome were made.xxx.new ſtandarts of the deuiſe of the Citie, beſide baners. Euery Alderman muſtred hys own ward in the fields, to ſee that euery mā were in furniture prouided as was requiſite.

The.viij. of May beeing the day appoynted for to ſhew themſelues before the king, euery Alderman in order of battayle, with thoſe of hys warde, came into the fieldes at Mile ende, and then all the Gunners ſeuered themſelues into one place, the Pykes into an other, and the Archers into an other, and likewiſe the Bylmen, and there caſt themſelues in Rings, and other fourmes of battayle, whiche was a beautifull ſight to beholde, for all the fieldes from whyte Chapell, to Mile ende, and from Bednal greene to Ratcliffe and Stepney, were all couered wyth armour, men, and weapons, and eſpecially the battayle of Pykes ſeemed to bee as it had beene a great Foreſt. Then was euery part deuyded into three battayles, a forewarde, a middlewarde, and a rerewarde.

The order of the Londoners in their muſters.

About.viij.of the clocke, marched forwarde the light peeces of ordinance, with ſtone & powder. After them followed the Drummes and Fyfes, and immediately after them a guydon of the armes of the Citie. Then followed maiſter Sadler Captaine of the Gunners, on horſebacke armed, and in a coate of Veluet, with a chaine of gold, and foure Halberders about him apparayled as before is recited. Then followed the Gunners foure in a ranke, euery one going fiue foot in ſunder, which ſhot altogither in diuerſe places verie liuely, and in eſpecially before the kings maieſty, which at that time ſate in his new gate houſe at his palayce of Weſtminſter, where he viewed all the whole companie. In like maner paſſed the other companies of all the three battailes in good and ſeemely order. The foremoſt Captaine at.ix. of the clocke in the morning, by the little cunduit came and entred into Paules church yard, & from thence directly to Weſtminſter, and ſo through the Sanctuary, and round about the parke of S. James, and vp into the fielde, comming home through Holborne, and as the firſt captain entred againe to the little conduite, the laſt of the muſter entred Paules Church yard, which was then about foure of the clocke in the after noone. The number beſide the Wiflers, and of other wayters was.xv.thouſand.

The king taketh view of the Londoners in their muſters.

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This yeare the.xvj. of September came to London, Duke Fredericke of Bauiere, the Palſgraue of the Rhine, and the.xviij. of the ſame Moneth, came to London the Marſhal of Hans Fredericke Prince elector of Saxonie, and the Chauncellor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulick, Gelderland, and Berghen.

The Palſgraue was receyued and conducted to Wyndſore by the Duke of Suffolke, and the other were accompanied with other noble men, and the.xxiij.of the ſame moneth they all came to Windſore, where eight dayes togither they were continually feaſted, & had paſtime ſhewed them, in hunting and other pleaſures, ſo muche as might be.

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The Palſgraue ſhortly after departed homewardes, and was Princely rewarded, and at that preſent was the mariage concluded betwixt the King and the Ladie Anne, ſiſter to Duke William of Cleue, and great preparation was made for the receyuing of hir.

The.xiiij.of Nouember, Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Reding, &.ij.prieſts, the one called Rug, and the other Onion, attainted of high treaſon, for denying the ſupremacie of the king ouer the Church of England, were drawne, hanged, and quartred at Reding. The ſame day was Richard Whiting Abbot of Glaſtenburie likewiſe hanged & quartred on tower hil beſide his monaſtery, for yͤ ſame matter & other treaſons whereof he had bin cõuicted. The firſt of Decēber was Iohn Beche Abbot of Colcheſt.put to death for yͤ like offence.

Pencion inſtitu

In December were appointed to waite on the kings perſon fiftie gentlemen called Pencioners, or ſpeares, vnto whõ was aſſigned the ſumme of fiftie poundes yearly a peece, for the maintenance of themſelues, and two horſes, or one horſe and a gelding of ſeruice.

The.xj.day of December at the turne pyke on this ſyde Graueling, was the Ladie Anne of Cleue receiued by the Lord Deputie of the towne of Calais, and with the Speares and horſemen belonging to the retinue there.

When ſhee came within little more than a myle of the towne of Calais, ſhe was met by the Erle of Southampton high Admiral of Englād, who had in his companie.xxx. gentlemen of the Kings houſeholde, as ſir Fraunces Brian, ſir Thomas Seymer, and others, beſide a greate number of Gentlemen of his owne retinue clad in blewe Veluet, and Crimoſyn Satyn, and hys yeomen in Damaſke of the ſame colours.

The Mariners of his ſhippe were apparelled in Saten of Bridges, coates and ſloppes of the ſame colour. The Lord Admirall brought hir into Calais by the Lanterne gate. There was ſuch a peale of ordinaunce ſhotte off at hir entrie, as was marueylous to the hearers. The Maior preſented hir with an hundred Markes in golde, the Marchants of the Staple with an hundred Soueraignes of golde in a rich purſe. She was lodged in the kings place called the Checker, and there ſhe lay fiftene dayes for want of proſperous winde.

During which time, goodly iuſtes and coſtly bankets were made to hir, for hir ſolace and recreation. And on Saint Johns day in Chriſtmaſſe, ſhee with fiftie ſayle tooke paſſage aboute Noone, and landed at Dele in the Downes about fiue of the clock, where ſir Thomas Cheyny lord Warden of the portes receyued hir. She taryed there a certaine ſpace in a Caſtell newly buylt, and thither came the Duke of Suffolke, and the duches of Suffolke, and the Biſhop of Chicheſter with a great number of Knightes and Eſquiers, and Ladies of Kent & other, which welcomed hir grace, & brought hir that night vnto Douer Caſtell, where ſhe reſted til Monday, on which day notwithſtãding it was very foule & ſtormy weather, ſhe paſſed towards Cãterburie, & on Baram downe, met hir the Archb. of Cant. with the Biſhops of Elie, S. Aſſe, S. Dauies, & Douer, and ſo brought hir to S. Auſtens without Canterburie, where ſhe lay yͤ night. The next day ſhe came to Sittingborne, and lay there that night. As ſhe paſſed towards Rocheſter on Newyeares euen, on Reynam downe met hir the duke of Norffolk and the Lord Dacre of the South, and the Lord Montioy, with a great companie of knights, and eſquiers of Norffolk and Suffolke, with the Barons of the Eſchequer which brought hir to Rocheſter, where ſhee lay in the Palayce all Newyeares day. On which day, the king (longing to ſee hir) accompanied with no more but. viij. perſons of his priuie chamber, both he and they all apparayled in Marble coates, priuily comming to Rocheſter, ſodenly came to hir preſence, whereof at the firſt ſhe was ſomwhat aſtonied, but after hee had ſpoken to hir and welcomed hir, ſhee with louing countenance and gracious behauior him receyued, and welcomed him on hir knees, whom he gently tooke vp and kiſſed, and all that after noone comuned and deuiſed with hir, ſupped that night with hir, and the next day he departed to Greenewich, and ſhee came forwarde to Dartford.

On the Morrow the thirde of Ianuarie being Saterday, in a fayre plaine on Blackheath, more neare to the foot of Shooters hill, than the aſcendent of the ſame, called Blackheath hill, was pitched a Pauilion of rich cloth of gold, & diuerſe other tents and pauilions, in which were made fiers and perfumes for hir: and ſuche Ladies as were appoynted to receyue hir, and from the tents to the park gate of Greenwich, all the buſhes and Firres were cut downe, and a large open waye made for the ſhew of all perſons. And firſt next to the Parke pale on the Eaſt ſide, ſtoode the Marchants of the Stilyard, and on the weſt ſide ſtood the Marchants of Genoa, Florence, and Venice, and the Spaniards in coats of Veluet. Then on both ſides the way ſtoode the Marchantes of the Citie of London, and the Aldermen, with their counſaylors of the ſayde Citie, to the number of Clx. whiche were mingled with the Eſquiers: then the fiftie gentlemẽ Pencioners: and al theſe were apparelled in veluet & chaynes of gold, truly accounted to the nũber of xij. C. & aboue, beſyde them that came with the king & hir, which were ſix. C. in veluet cotes and chaines of gold. Behind the gentlemen ſtood the ſeruingmen in good order wel horſed & apparelled, that whoſoeuer had well viewed thẽ, might haue ſaid, that they for tal and comly perſonages, & cleane of lim & body, were able to giue the greateſt prince in chriſtendome a mortal breakefaſt, if he had bin the kings enimie. About. xij. of the clock, hir grace with al the companie which were of hir own nation, to the number of an. C. horſe, accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Archb. of Cant. and other Biſhops, Lordes, & knightes, which had receyued & conueyed hir, came downe Shooters hill towards the tẽts, & a good ſpace frõ the tents met hir the Erle of Rutland, appointed L. Chamberlaine to hir grace, ſir Th. Deniſe hir Chancellor, and al hir counſailers & officers, amongeſt whom doctor Day (appointed to be hir Almoner,) made to hir an eloquent oration in latine, preſenting to hir on the kings behalf al the officers and ſeruãts, which oratiõ was anſwered vnto by the duke hir brothers ſecretary, there being preſent: which don the Lady Margaret Dowglas, daughter to the Q. of Scots, the lady Marques Dorcet, daughter to the French Q, being neeces to the K. & the duches of Richmont, the counteſſes of Rutland & Hereford, with diuerſe other ladies & gentlewomẽ to the nũber of. lxv. ſaluted & welcomed hir grace, who alighted out of hir chariot in the which ſhee had rid al hir long iourney; and with courteous demeanor and louing countenaunce, gaue to thẽ harty thãks, & kiſſed thẽ al; & after al hir cõſailers & officers kiſſed hir hãd, which don, ſhe with al the ladies entred the tents, and there warmed them a ſpace. When the king knewe that ſhe was aryued in hir Tent, he with all diligence ſet oute through the Parke. And firſt iſſued the Kings Trumpets, then the Kings officers ſworne of

The order of receyuing hir on Blackheath

The Ladies that receiued hir on Blackheath.

his Counſayle, next after came the Gentlemen of his priuie Chamber, after them followed Barons, the yongeſt fyrſt, and ſir William Hollis Lorde Maior of London, rode with the Lorde Par that was the yongeſt Baron. Then followed the Biſhoppes, and immediately after them the Earles, and then the Duke of Bauiere, and Countie Palatine of the Rhyne, wyth the liuerey of the Toyſon or golden fleece about his necke.

Then came the Imbaſſadours of the French king and Emperour, next to whome followed the Lorde priuie Seale Lorde Cromwell, and the Lorde Chauncellour, then Garter King at armes, and the other officers and Sergeantes of armes, gaue their attendaunce on eche ſide the Lordes. The Lorde Marques Dorſet, bare the ſword of eſtate, and after him a good diſtance followed the Kings highneſſe, mounted on a goodly Courſer.

To ſpeake of the riche and gorgeous apparell that was there to bee ſeene that daye, I haue thought it not greatly neceſſarie, ſithe eche man may well thinke it was right ſumptuous, and as the time then ſerued, very fayre and coſtly, as they that are deſirous to vnderſtande the ſame maye reade in Maiſter Halles Chronicle, more at large, which in this part I haue thought good to abridge.

After the King, followed the Lord Chamberlayne, then came ſir Anthonie Browne maiſter of his horſe, a goodly gentleman, and of perſonage very ſeemely, richly mounted, and leading the kings horſe of eſtate by a long reyne of Gold. Then followed his Pages of honour ryding on great Courſers, and laſtly followed ſir Anthony Wingfielde Captaine of the Garde, and then the Garde well horſed, and in their rich coates.

In this order roade the king till hee came to the laſt ende of the ranke of the Pencioners; and there euery perſon that came with him placed him ſelfe on the one ſyde or the other, the King ſtanding in the middeſt.

When hir Grace vnderſtoode that the King was come, ſhe came forth of hir Tent, and at the doore thereof being ſet on a fayre and beautifull horſe richly trapped, road forth towards the king, who perceyuing hir to approch, came forwarde ſomewhat beyonde the Croſſe on Blackheath, and there ſtayed tyll ſhee came nearer, and then putting of his cap, he made forwarde to hir, and with moſt louing countenance and princely behauiour, ſaluted, welcomed and imbraced hir, to the great reioyſing of the beholders, and ſhe likewiſe not forgetting hir dutie, with moſt amiable aſpect and womanly behauior, receiued him with many apt wordes and thankes, as was moſt to purpoſe. Whileſt they were thus talking togyther, the 50. Pencioners with the gard departed to furniſh the hall at Greenwich.

The meeting of the king & the lady Anne of Cleue on Blackheath.

After the king had talked with hir a ſmal while he put hir on his right hãd, and ſo with their footmen they road togither, and with their companies being thus met, returned in this maner through the rankes of the knightes and Eſquiers (which ſtood ſtill all this while and remoued not.)

Firſt hir Trumpets ſet forwarde being .xij. in number, beſide two ketle drummes on horſeback. Then followed the Kings Trumpetters, then the Kings Counſaylers, then the Gentlemen of the priuie Chamber, after them the Gentlemen of hir Graces Countrey in coates of Veluet, and all on great horſes. Then the Maior of London with the yongeſt baron, then all the barons: next them the Biſhops, then the Erles, with whõ road the Earles of Ouerſteyne, and Waldec hir Countrymen, then the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and duke Philip of Bauier: next folowed the Imbaſſadors, then the Lorde priuie ſeale, and the Lorde Chancellor, then the Lord Marques Dorcet that bare the ſword, next folowed the king himſelfe equally riding with the Lady Anne, and behinde hir roade ſir Anthonie Browne with the Kings horſe of eſtate as ye haue hearde, and behinde him road ſir John Dudley maiſter of hir horſes, leading hir ſpare horſe trapped in rich tiſſue down to the ground. After them followed Henxmen, and pages of honor. Then followed the Lady Margaret Dowglas, the Lady Marques Dorcet, the ducheſſes of Richmont & Suffolke, the counteſſes of Rutland & Hertford, and other coũteſſes. Thẽ came hir chariot in which ſhe had rid all hir iourney wel carued & gylt with the armes of hir coũtry curiouſly wrought and couered with cloth of gold, al the horſes were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them roade pages of honor, in which chariot rode two ancient Ladies of hir countrey, next after the chariot, folowed ſix ladies & gentlewomen of hir countrey very beautiful and richly apparelled, & with them roade ſix ladies of Englande. Then folowed an other chariot, gilt & furniſhed like to the other, & then came .x. Engliſhe Ladies, & next thẽ an other chariot couered wyth black cloth, & therin rode foure gentlewomen that were hir chamberers. Then folowed all the remnant of the Ladies, gentlewomen & damoſels in great nũber: and laſt of all came an other chariot al blacke, with three laũders apperteyning to hir grace, next after followed an horſlitter of cloth of glold and crimoſen veluet vpõ veluet paled, with horſes trapt accordingly, which the king had ſent to hir. Thẽ folowed the ſeruingmẽ of hir train, all clothed in black, moũted on great horſes.

In this order they road through the rankes and through the Parke, till they came at the late Friers wall, where all menne alighted excepte the King, the two maſters of the horſe, and the Henrmen, whiche rode to the Hall dore, and the Ladyes rode to the Court gate, and as they paſſed, they might beholde on the Wharfe how the Citizens of London were rowing vp and downe on the Thames righte before them, euery crafte with his Barge garniſhed with baners, flagges, ſtreamers, pencels, and targets, painted and beaten with the kings armes, ſome with hir armes, and ſome with yͤ armes of their craft & miſterie.

There was alſo a Barge called the Batchelers barke, richly decked, on the which wayted a foiſt that ſhot greate peeces of artillerie, and in euerye Barge was great ſtore of inſtruments, of diuers ſorts and men and children ſinging and playing altogither, as the K. and the Lady Anne paſſed by on the Wharfe. When the K. and ſhe were within the vtter court, they alighted from theyr horſes, and the K. louingly embraſed hir, kyſſed hir, and bade hir welcome to hir owne, leadyng hir by the left arme through the Hall, which was furniſhed beneath the harth with the garde, and aboue the harth with the fiftie pencioners, with their battaile axes, and ſo the King broughte hir vp to hir priuie chamber, where hee lefte hir for that time. Aſſone as the K. and ſhe were entred the Court, was ſhot off frõ the Tower of Grenewich, and there about, a great peale of artillerie.

King ommeth Greene-

When the Kinges companye and hirs were once come within the Parke (as before yee haue heard) then all the Horſemen on Blacke heathe brake their aray, and hadde licence to depart to London or otherwhere to their lodgings.

riage noiſed e King nd the ae of

On the Tewſday following, being the daye of the Epiphany, the mariage was ſolemniſed betwixt the K. and the ſaid Lady. She was fetched from hir chamber by the Lords, ſo that ſhee going betweene the Earle of Oureſteyne, and the graund maſter Hoſconder, which had the cõduit, and order to ſee the mariage performed, ſhe paſſed through the Kings chamber, al the Lords before hir, til ſhe came into the galerie, where the K. was ready, ſtaying for hir, to whome ſhee made three low obeiſances and courteſies. Then the Archb. of Canterbury receiued thẽ, and maried them togither, and the Earle of Oureſteine did giue hir. When the mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the kings cloſet, and there hearing Maſſe, offered their tapers, and after Maſſe was ended, they had wine and ſpices. And that done, the K. departed to his chamber, and al yͤ Ladyes waited on hir to hir chamber, the D. of Norffolke goyng on hir righte hande, and the D. of Suffolke on hir left hande.

After nine of the clocke, the K. hauing ſhifted his apparell, came to his cloſet, and ſhee likewiſe in hir heare, and in yͤ ſame apparell ſhe was maried in, came to hir cloſet with hir Sergeant at armes, and all hir officers before hir like a Q. and ſo the K. and ſhe went openly in proceſſion, and offered and dined togither. After they hadde ſupped togither, there were bankets and Maſkes and diuers diſportes ſhewed, till time came, that it pleaſed the King and hir to take reſt. On the Sunday after, were kept ſolemne Juſtes, which greatly contented the ſtrangers. This daye ſhee was apparelled after the Engliſh manner, with a french hood, which became hir exceedyng well.

Iuſtes.

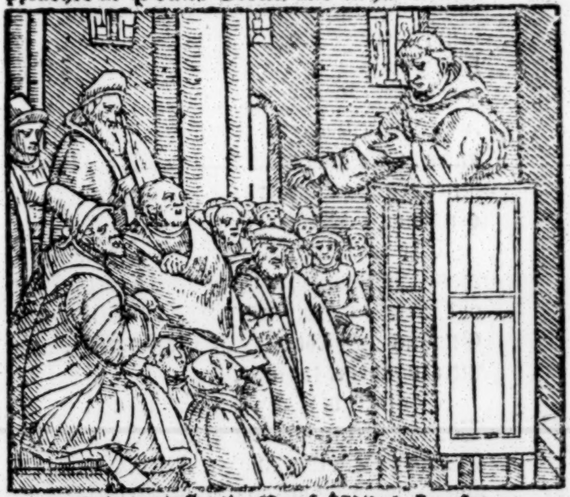
When the Erle of Oureſteine and the other Lordes and Ladyes whiche had giuen their attendance on hir grace all that iourney, had bene highly feaſted and enterteyned of the K. and other of the nobles, they tooke leaue, and had great giftes giuen to them, both in money and plate, and ſo returned towarde their countrey, leauyng behind them the Earle of Waldecke, and dyuers Gentlemen and damoſels to remaine with hir, til ſhe were better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth of February, the King and ſhe remoued to Weſtminſter by water, on whom, the L. Maior and his brethren, and twelue of the chiefe companies of the Citie, al in Barges gorgeouſly garniſhed with baners, penons, and targets, richly couered, and furniſhed with inſtruments, ſweetely ſounding, gaue their attendãce, and by the way, all the ſhippes ſhot off, and likewiſe from the Tower, a great peale of ordinãce wente off luſtely. The twelfth of February, the D. of Norffolke was ſente in Ambaſſade to the french K. of whom he was wel enterteined, and in the ende of the ſame moneth, hee returned again into England.

The Duke of Norffolke Ambaſſador into France.

The third ſonday in Lent, one doctor Barnes preached at Poules Croſſe, and in his ſermon enueyghed againſte the B. of Winchester; for doctrine by him preached in the ſame place, the firſt ſonday of that Lent, intreating of iuſtification. Among other taunts that Barnes vttered againſte the B. this was one, that if hee and the B. wer both at Rome, he knew yͤ great ſummes

Doctor Barnes



of money woulde not ſaue his life, where but for the Byſhop, there was no great feare, but ſmall entreatance would ſerue. The B. offended herewith, compleyned to the K. of Barnes, and had him examined. and at length, by the kings commaundement, hee came to the Biſhoppes houſe, where the matter was ſo handled at this tyme, ÿ Barnes, with two other Preachers, the one named Hierome, and the other Garret (of whome hereafter more ſhall be ſaide) were appoynted to preache at S. Mary Spittle by London in the Eaſter weeke. In that ſermon whiche Barnes made before all the people, he aſked the Byſhop forgiueneſſe, for ſpeaking ſo vnreuerently of him in his former Sermon, and he required the B. if he did forgiue him in token thereof to hold vp his hand, which like as it was long before he did, ſo as many thought afterwardes, it was but a feigned forgiueneſſe. The twelfth of Aprill, began a Parliamente, and Sir Nicholas Hare was reſtored to the office of ſpeaker, who togither with ſir Humfrey Browne Knight, and Wil. Cognesby Eſquier, the three and twentith of February laſt paſt, had bin called before the Lordes into the Starre Chamber, for being of counſell wt ſir John Shelton knight, in making a fraudulēt wil of his lands, to the hinderance of the Kings prerogatiue, and contrary to the ſtatute of anno 27. for the which offence, they were at that tyme diſmiſſed of their offices and ſeruices to the king, and the two knights were immediately ſent to ÿ Tower, and a three dayes after, Cognesby was committed thither alſo. They remained there in warde about ten dayes, and were then deliuered. Sir Humfrey Browne was the kings ſeriaunt at law, ſir Nicholas Hare was one of the kings counſellors, and ſpeaker of the Parliament, who being then depriued, was now againe thereto reſtored. Wil. Cognesby was attorney of ÿ Duchie of Lancaſter. In this Parliament, wer freely granted without contradictions, foure fiftenes and a ſubſedie of two ſhillings of lāds, & twelue pence of goodes, toward the kings great charges of making Bulwarkes.

Sir Iohn Shelton, Sir Nicholas Hare, Sir Humfrey Browne.

The eyghtenth of Aprill at Weſtminſter, was Thomas Lorde Cromwell created Earle of Eſſex, and ordeyned great Chamberlayne of Englande, whiche office the Earles of Oxforde were wont euer to enioy.

An. reg. 32.

Iuſtes.

The firſte of May, Sir John Audeley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir George Carewe, Sir Thomas Poinings knightes, Rich. Cromwell, and Anthony Kingſton Eſquiers, enterpriſed a royall Juſtes, Torney, and barriers. The Juſts beganne the firſt of May: the ſecond of May, the ſayde Richard Cromwell, and Anthony Kingſton were made Knightes. The Torney began the third day, and the barriers the fifth of ÿ ſame moneth, whiche chalenge they valiantly performed againſt al commers: and at Dureſme place they kept open houſholde, feaſting the King, the Q. and all the Lordes. Beſide this, on Tewſday in the rogation weeke, they feaſted all ÿ knights and burgeſſes of the common houſe, and the morow after, they had the Maior, the Aldermen, and all their wiues to dinner, and on the Friday after, they brake vp houſhold. In the Parliamente which began the eightenth of Aprill laſt paſt, the religion of S. Johns in Englande, commonly called the order of Knightes of the Rodes, was diſſolued, and on the aſcentiō day, being the fifth of May, ſir Wil. Weſton Knight, prior of S. Johns departed this life for thought as was reported which he toke to heart, after hee heard of that diſſolution of his order.

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The ſame moneth were ſente to the Tower Doctor Sampſon, Biſhoppe of Chicheſter, and Doctor Wilſon, for releuing of certayne trayterous perſons: and for the ſame offence, was one Richard Farmer, a grocer of London, a rich and welthie man, and of good eſtimatiō in the Citie, committed to the Marſhall See, and after at Weſtminſter Hall arreigned, and atteynted in the premunire, ſo that he loſt all his goodes.

The By Chiche and Do Wilson mitted Tower.

The nineteenth of July, Tho. L. Cromwell, late made Earle of Eſſex, as in the laſt yeare yee may reade, being nowe in the counſel chamber, was ſuddainely apprehended, & committed to ÿ Tower of London, which his miſfortune many lamented, but mo reioyced thereat, ſpecially ſuche as either had bin religious men, or fauoured thē. The nineteenth of July, he was by Parliamente atteinted, & neuer came to his aunſwere, both of hereſie & high treaſon, as in ÿ record it appeareth.

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The. 28. day of July, hee was brought to the ſcaffold on the Tower hill, where he ſpake theſe wordes following. I am come hither to die, and not to purge my ſelfe as may happen ſome think ÿ I will, for if I ſhoulde ſo doe, I were a very wretch and miſer. I am by the law condemned to die, and thanke my L. God, that hath appointed me this death for mine offence, for ſithēce the time ÿ I came to yeares of diſcretion, I haue lyued a ſinner, and offended my L. God, for ÿ whiche I aſke him hartily forgiuenes. And it is not vnknowen to manye of you, that I haue bene a great traueyler in the worlde, and being but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithēce the time I came thereunto, I haue offended my prince, for the which I aſke him hartily forgiueneſſe, and beſech you al to pray to God with me, that he wil forgiue me, O father forgiue me, O ſonne forgiue me, O holy Ghoſt forgiue me, O three perſons in one God forgiue me, and nowe I pray you that be here, to beare me recorde, I die in the Catholike faith, not doubting in anye article of my faith, no nor doubting in any ſacrament of the church. Many haue ſlandered me, and reported that I haue bin a bearer of ſuch as haue mainteined euil opinions, which is vntrue, but I confeſſe, yͭ like as God by his holy ſpirite doth inſtruct vs in the truth, ſo the deuil is ready to ſeduce vs, and I haue bin ſeduced: but beare me witneſſe, that I die in the Catholike faith of the holy Churche, and I hartily deſire you to pray for the kings grace, that hee may long liue with you in health and proſperitie, and after him that his ſonne prince Edward, that goodly impe may long raigne ouer you. And once againe, I deſire you to pray for me, that ſo long as life remaineth in this fleſhe, I wauer nothing in my faith. And then made he his prayer, which was long, but not ſo long as godly and learned, and after committed his ſoule to the hands of God & ſo patiently ſuffered the ſtroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miſer, which euil fauouredly performed the office. This man beeyng borne in Putney, a village in Surrey by the Thaimes ſide, four miles diſtant from London, was ſonne to a Smith, after whoſe deceaſſe, hys mother was maried to a Shereman: but notwithſtanding, the baſeneſſe of his birth and lacke of maintenance was at the beginning (as it happeneth to many other) a great let and hinderance for vertue to ſhew hir ſelfe, yet through a ſingular excellencie of wit, ioined with an induſtrious diligence of mind, and help of knowledge, gathered by painefull trauaile, and marking the courſes of ſtates and gouernements as wel of his natiue countrey at home, as in foraine parties abroade, hee grewe to ſuche a ſufficient ripeneſſe of vnderſtãding & ſkill, in ordering of weightie affaires, that hee was thought apt and fitte to anye roomth or office wherevnto hee ſhould be admitted, which being apperceiued of the Cardinall of Yorke Wolſey, he tooke him to his ſeruice, and making him his ſolicitor, imployd him aboute buſines oftentimes of moſt importance, wherein he acquit himſelfe with ſuche dexteritie, as aunſwered alwayes the credite committed to hym. After the Cardinals fall, he was aduanced to yͤ Kings ſeruice, behauing himſelfe ſo aduiſedly in matters whiche hee tooke in hande, that within a ſmall time hee roſe to high authoritie, and was admitted to bee of the priuie Counſell, bearyng moſt rule of all other vnder the king, as partely ye haue hearde, ſo that by him it well appeared, that the excellencie of heroycall vertues, whyche aduance menne to fame and honour, reſteth not only in birth and bloud, as a priuilege appropriate, and all onely annexed to noble houſes, but remaineth at the diſpoſition of the Almightye God, the giuer and diſpoſer of all giftes, who reyſeth the poore many times from the baſeſt degre, and ſetteth him vp with Princes.

Neuertheleſſe, concerning the Lorde Cromwell Earle of Eſſex, if we ſhal conſider his comming vp to ſuch high degree of honor as hee atteined vnto, wee maye doubte whether there bee cauſe more to maruell at his good fortune, or at his worthy and induſtrious demeanor. But ſith in the Booke of actes and monuments yee maye find a ſufficient diſcourſe hereof, we neede not to ſpende more time aboute it, ſaue only as maiſter Foxe hathe truely noted, ſuch was his actiuitie & forward ripeneſſe of nature, ſo ready and pregnant of wit, ſo diſcrete and wel aduiſed in iudgement, ſo eloquent of tong, ſo faithfull and diligẽt in ſeruice, of ſuche an incomparable memorie, ſo bold of ſtomacke and hardie, and coulde doe ſo wel with his penne, that being conuerſant in the ſight of men, he could not long continue vneſpyed, nor yet vnprouided of fauour & help of friẽds, to ſet him forward in place and office. Thãkeful he was and liberall, not forgetting benefites receiued, as by his great courteſie ſhewed to Friſcobald the Italian, it well appeared: a fauourer of the poore in their ſutes, and readye to relieue them that were in daunger to bee oppreſſed by their mightie aduerſaries: a fauourer to yͤ Goſpel, and an enimie to yͤ pride of Prelates, very ſtout, and not able well to put vp iniuries, which wan him ſhrewde enimies, that ceaſſed not (as was thoughte) to ſeeke his ouerthrowe, till at length they had broght it to paſſe as they wiſhed. Carefull he was for his ſeruants, and ready to doe thẽ good, ſo that fearing the thing whiche came to paſſe, he prouided wel for the more part of them, notwithſtanding his fall. And thus much for the Lord Cromwell. The morrowe after Midſomer day, the K. cauſed the Queene to remoue to Richmonde, purpoſing it to bee more for hir health, and more for hir pleaſure: but the ſixth of July, certaine Lordes came downe into the nether houſe, and expreſſely declared cauſes, for the which, the mariage was not to be taken lawfull: and in concluſion, the matter was by the conuocation cleerely determined, that the King might lawfully marrie where he would, and ſo mighte ſhe. And thus were they clearely diuorſed, and by the Parliament it was enacted, that ſhee ſhoulde bee taken no more for Q. but called the Ladye Anne of Cleue. In this yeare, the L. Leonard Gray, brother to Tho. Marques Dorſet, beyng the kings Lieutenant in Ireland, was reuoked home, and vpon his comming to London, was ſent to the Tower. In July, the Prince of Salerne, & the L. Lois Dauola came into England to ſee the K. and after they were departed, Don Frederike, Marques of Padula, brother to the D. of Ferrara, the Prince of Macedonie, the Marques of Terra Noua, and Monſ. de Flagy, with

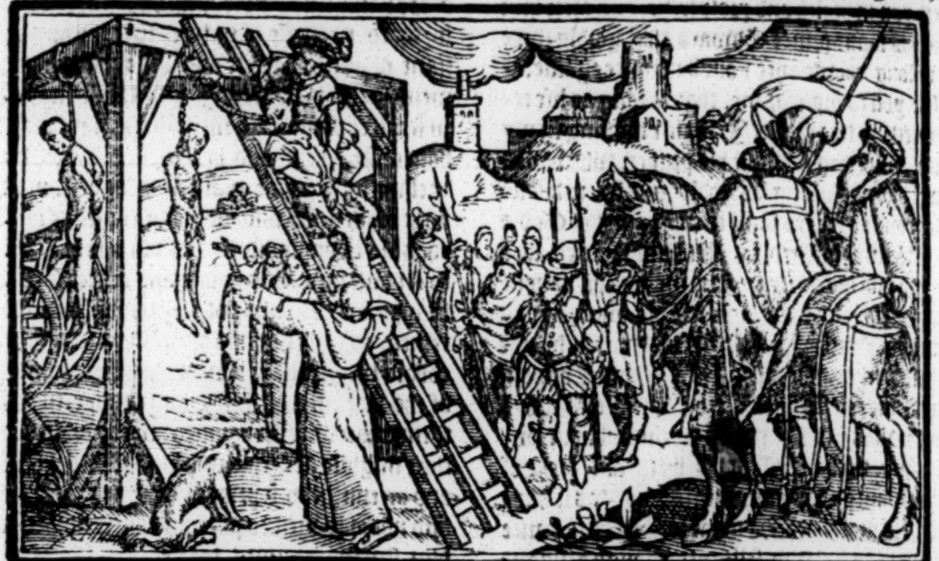
The mariage betwixt the King and the Lady Anne of Cleue, adiudged vnlawfull.

The Lorde Leonard Grey committed to the tower.

The prince of Salerne.

with other, came from the Emperors court into England to ſee the King, the whiche on Marye Magdalens daye came to the Courte at Weſtminſter, & after they had bene highly feaſted, and nobly entertained, they were highly rewarded as the other, and ſo departed. The .xxviij. of Iulye as you haue heard before, the Lorde Cromwell was beheaded, and likewiſe with him the Lorde Hungerford of Heyteſburye, who at the houre of his deathe ſeemed vnquyet as many iudged hym rather in a frenzie than otherwiſe: hee ſuffered for buggerie. The thirtith of Iuly were drawen on hurdles from the Towre to Smithfield, Robert Barnes doctor of Diuinitie, Thomas Garard, & William Ierom bachelers in diuinitie. Ierome was vicar of Stepney, and Garard was perſon of Honylane, alſo Powell Fetherſton, and Abell prieſts. The firſte three were drawne to a ſtake, there before ſet vp, and were brent. The other .iij. were drawne to the galowes, and hanged beheaded and quartred. The three firſt as is founde in their atteynder, were executed for diuers hereſies, but none alledged, whereat (ſayeth Hall) I haue muche meruayled, that their hereſies were ſo manie, and not one alledged as a ſpeciall cauſe of their death: and verily at their deathes they aſked the Sheriffes what was their offence for whiche they wer condemned? who anſwered, they could not tell: but moſt men ſayd it was for preaching againſt the doctrine of Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who chiefly (as the ſame Hall ſayth) procured their deaths. The laſt .iij. to wit, Powel, Fetherſton and Abell ſuffred for treaſon, as in their atteinder was ſpecial mention made, to wit, for denying the kings ſupremacie, and affirming his marriage with the Lady Catherine Dowager to be good.

Execu
Barne
other.



The .iiij. of Auguſt Thomas Empſam ſomtime a Monke of Weſtminſter whiche had bin in priſon for treaſon in Newgate nowe for the ſpace of .iij. yeares and more, came before the Iuſtices of Gaole deliuerie at Newgate, and for that he would not aſke the Kings pardon, nor bee ſworne to be true to hym, his Monkes garment was plucked from his backe, and he repriued till the king were enformed of his malicious obſtinacie: & this was the laſt Monke that was ſeene in his clothing in England till Queene Maries dayes. The .iiij. of Auguſte were drawen from the Tower of London vnto Tiborn Giles Heron Gentleman, Clemẽt Philpot gentleman, late of Calais, and ſeruãt to the lorde Liſle, Darby Gennyng, Edmund Brindholm prieſt, chapleyne to the ſaide lorde Liſle, Williã Horne late a laye brother of the Charterhouſe of London, and an other offendour, which .vj. perſons were there hanged, & quartered, & had bin attainted of treaſõ by parliament. The ſame daye alſo was one Charles Carow gentleman, hanged for robbing of the Lady Carow. The .8. of Auguſt was the Lady Katherin Howarde neece to the duke of Norfolke, & daughter to the lorde Edmũd Howard ſhewed openly as Queene at Hãpton courte. In yͤ later end of this ſommer was vniuerſally through yͤ moſt parts of this realme great death by a ſtrange kinde of hot agues & fluxes, & ſome peſtilẽce, in whiche ſeaſon was ſuch a drought, yͭ welles & ſmall riuers were clean dried vp, ſo that much cattel died for lack of water & the Thames was ſo ſhallow, and the freſhe water of ſo ſmall ſtrength, yͭ the ſalt water flowed aboue London bridge, til the rain had increaſed the freſh waters.

Thomas Empſam an obſtinate Monke.

A deat
drougt
Stow.

On the .22. of September, Rafe Egerton ſeruant to the Lord Audley, lord Chancellor, & one Tho. Harman were drawne, hanged and quartered, yͤ one for counterfaiting of yͤ kings ſeale, in a ſignet, wherwͭ he ſealed licences, for denizens, vnder the name of the clerkes of yͤ chancerie, and the other, yͭ is to ſay Harman, for writing them.

In

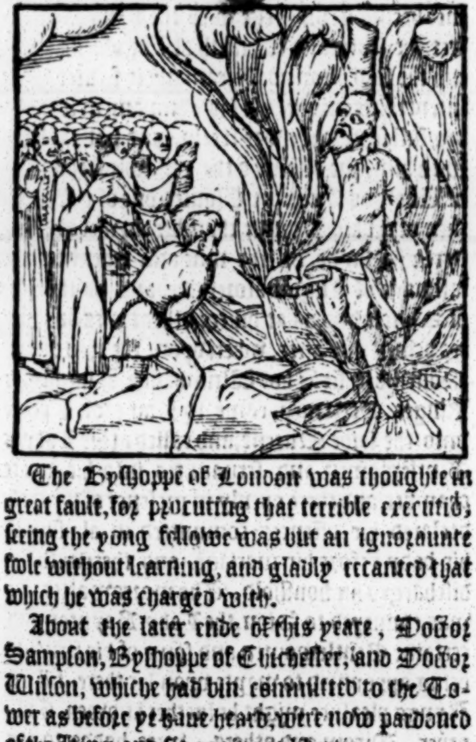
built de.

In the ende of this yeare, the Frenche Kyng made a ſtrong Caſtel at Arde, and alſo a bridge ouer into the Engliſhe pale, whiche bridge, the crew of Calais did beate downe, and the French men builte it vp agayne, and the Engliſh men beate it downe agayne. After this, the King ſente a fiftene C. workemen to fortifie the Towne of Guiſnes, and ſente with them a fiue C. men of war to gard them. It was reported in Fraunce, that a mightie armye was come ouer forthe of Englãd with great ordinance, which brute cauſed the Frenche K. to ſend to the fronters of Picardie, the D. of Vandoſme, and other captaines with all ſpeede to defend the ſame. The Kyng of Englande hearing thereof, ſente the Earles of Surrey and Southhampton, and the Lorde Ruſſell, high Admiral, into the Marches of Calais, to ſet order there, and after them he lykewiſe ſent two C. light horſemẽ of yͤ borders of Scotland, whome the Frenchmen called Stradiotes. The Lordes hauing ſet order in things, ſhortly returned. A boy, one Richarde Mekins, not paſt a fifteene yeres of age, was brent in Smithfield, for ſpeaking againſt the Sacramente, and contrary to the ſtatute of [illegible] ſixe articles.

es for- d.

Earles of y and amp- n.o

d Me- ect.



The Byſhoppe of London was thoughte in great fault, for procuting that terrible executiõ, ſeeing the yong fellowe was but an ignoraunte foole without learning, and gladly recanted that which he was charged with.

41

About the later ende of this yeare, Doctor Sampſon, Byſhoppe of Chicheſter, and Doctor Wilſon, whiche had bin committed to the Tower as before ye haue heard, were now pardoned of the King, and ſet againe at libertie.

g.33. ebel- actiſed eſhire.

In the beginning of this yeare, fiue prieſtes in Yorkeſhire began a newe rebellion, with the aſſente of one Leigh, a Gentleman, and nine temporall men, all which perſons were apprehended, and in diuers places put to execution. The ſayde Leigh, and two other, the one named Taterſall a clothyer, and the other Thorneton a yeoman, the ſeuententh of May, were drawen through London to Tiborne and there executed. And ſir Iohn Neuil knight, and ten other perſons, dyed for yͤ ſame cauſe at Yorke. The ſame day, Mar[illegible]et, Counteſſe of Saliſbury, that had remayned a long tyme priſoner in the Tower, was beheaded there within the Tower. She was the laſt of the right line and name of Plantagenet.

Sir Iohn Neuill executed. The counteſſe of Saliſburie beheaded.

Execution.

The ninth of Iune for enſample ſake, two of the kings gard, the one named Damport, and the other Chapman, were hanged at Greenewiche by the Friers wall, for robberies whiche they hadde committed. The Lord Leonard Gray, beeyng endited of certain points of treaſon by him committed as was alledged againſte him, during the ſeaſon that he was the kings Lieutenant in Irelande, to witte for deliuering his nephew Girald Fitz Garard, brother to Thomas Fitz Gararde before executed, and alſo for that hee cauſed certain Iriſhmen to inuade the lands of the Kings friendes, whome hee fauoured not, the fiue and twẽtith of Iune, he was araigned at Weſtminſter in the Kinges benche, and appoynted to bee tryed by knightes, bycauſe he was a L. by name, and no L. of the Parliament, but hee diſcharged the Iury, and confeſſed the enditemente, whereupon he had iudgemente, and on the eyghte and twentith of Iune, being Saint Peters euen, hee was beheaded at Tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly and godly. This noble man as he was come of high lignage, ſo was he a ryghte valiant and hardy perſonage, hauing in his time done his Prince and countrey good ſeruice, both in Irelande, France, and other places, greately to his commendation, although now his happe was thus to loſe his head.

The Lorde Leonard Grey beheaded.

The ſame day that he ſuffered, there were executed at S. Thomas Waterings three Gentlemen, Iohn Mantel, Iohn Frowds, and George Roydon.

They dyed for a murther committed in Suſſex (as their inditement imported) in company of Thomas Fines, Lorde Dacres of the Southe. The troth whereof was thus: the ſayde Lorde Dacres, through the lewde perſwaſion of ſome of them, as hath ben reported, meaning to hunt in the Parke of Nicholas Pelham Eſquier, at Laughton, in the ſame countie of Suſſex, beyng accompanyed with the ſayd Mantel, Frowdes, and Roydon, Iohn Cheyne, and Thomas Iſley Gentlemen, Richarde Middleton, and Iohn Goldwell yeomen, paſſed from his houſe of Hurſtmonſeux, the laſt of April, in the night ſeaſon, towarde the ſame parke, where they intended ſo to hunt, and coming vnto a place called Pikehay in the pariſh of Hillingley, they founde one Iohn Buſbrigge, Iames Buſbrigge, and Richard Somener, ſtanding there togither: and as it fell out through quarelling, there enſued a fray betwixte the ſayde Lorde Dacres, and hys company on the one partie, and the ſayde John and James Buſbrigge, and Richard Somener on the other, in ſo muche, that the ſayde John Buſbrigge receiued ſuch hurt, that he dyed thereof the ſecond of May next enſuing, wherevpon, as well the ſayde L. Dacres, as thoſe that were there with him, and diuers other likewiſe that were appointed to goe an other way, to meete them at the ſaid parke, were endited of murther, and the ſeauen and twentith of June, the Lorde Dacres himſelfe was araigned before the Lorde Audeley of Walden, then Lord Chancellor, ſitting that daye as high Stewarde of Englande, with other Peeres of the Realme aboute hym, who then and there condemned the ſayde Lorde Dacres to die for that tranſgreſſion, and afterwards, the nine and twentith of June, being S. Peters daye, at eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, the Sheriffes of London, accordingly as they were appointed, were ready at the Tower to haue receiued the ſaide priſoner, and hym to haue led to execution on the Tower hill, but as the priſoner ſhoulde come forthe of the Tower, one Heire, a Gentleman of the L. Chancellors houſe came, and in the Kings name, commaunded to ſtay the execution, till two of the clocke in the afternoone, whiche cauſed many to thynke, that the King would haue graunted his pardon. But neuertheleſſe, at three of the clocke in the ſame afternoone, he was brought forth of yͤ Tower, and deliuered to the Sherifes, who led him a foote betwixt them vnto Tiborne, wher he dyed. His body was buryed in the Churche of S. Sepulchers: hee was not paſt four and twentie yeare of age, when he came thus through great miſhappe to his ende, for whome manye ſore lamented, and likewiſe for the other three Gentlemen, Mantell, Frowdes, and Roydon, but for the ſaid yong L. being a right towardly Gentleman, and ſuche a one, as many hadde conceyued greate hope of better proofe, no ſmall moane and lamentation was made, the more indeede, for that it was thought he was induced to attempt ſuch follie whiche occaſioned his deathe by ſome light heads that were then about him.

The King goeth in progreſſe into Yorkeſhire.

This Sommer, the King kept his progreſſe to Yorke, and paſſed through Lincolneſhire, where was made to him an humble ſubmiſſion by the Temporaltie, and confeſſing their faults, they humbly thanked him for his pardon, which he had graunted them. The Towne of Stanford gaue to him twenty pound, the citie of Lincolne fortie pounde, Boſton fiftie pounde, that parte of the Shire whiche is called Linſey, gaue three C. pound, and Keſterne and the Church of Lincolne preſented him with fiftie pound. At his entring into Yorkeſhire, hee was met with two hundred Gentlemen of the ſame ſhire, in coates of veluet, and foure M. tall yeomen and ſeruing menne well horſed, whiche on their knees made their ſubmiſſion, by the mouth of Sir Roberte Bowes, ⁊ gaue to the K. nine hundred pounde. On Barneſdale, the Archb. of Yorke, with three C. Prieſtes and more, met the K. and makyng a like ſubmiſſion, gaue to him ſixe C. pounde.

Giftes giuen to him by them of Lincolneſhire.

The like ſubmiſſion was made by the Maiors of Yorke, Newcaſtell, and Hull, and eache of them gaue to the King an hundred poundes.

After he had bin at Yorke twelue dayes, hee came to Hull, where he deuiſed certayne fortifications. This done, he paſſed ouer the water of Humbre, and ſo through Lincolneſhire, returned towards the South parts, and at Alhallowen tide, came to Hampton Court.

About the ſame time, the Kyng had knowledge, that the Queene lyued diſſolutely, in vſing the vnlawfull companye of one Fraunces Diram, with whome ſhe had bin too familiar before hir marriage with the King, and not meaning to forgoe his company now in time of hir mariage, without regard had, eyther to the feare of God, or the King hir huſband, the laſt Sommer beeing in progreſſe with the King at Pontfret, the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt, ſhe reteyned the ſaid Francis Diram in hir ſeruice, to the intente ſhee mighte vſe his company in ſuch vnlawfull ſorte the more freely, and not ſatiſfyed with him, ſhe alſo vſed the vnlawfull company of Thomas Culpeper Eſquier, one of yͤ Gentlemen of the kings priuie chamber, as wel at Pontfret aforeſayde, on the nine and twentith and laſt daye of Auguſt aforeſaide, and on the firſte of September, as at diuers other times and places before and after, wherevpon, the thirtenth of Nouember, ſir Tho. Wriotheſley Knighte the Kinges Secretary, came to Hampton Courte vnto the ſaide Queene, and called al hir Ladyes Gentlewomen and ſeruauntes into hir greate chamber, and there openly in preſence of them al, declared hir offences committed in abuſing of hir body before hir mariage, and therewith hee diſcharged hir houſholde. The morrow after, ſhe was conueyed to Sion, the Lady Baynton and certaine Gentlewomen and ſome of hir ſeruants being appoynted to wayte vpon hir there, till the Kyngs pleaſure might be farther knowen. Culpeper, Diram and others, were hadde to the Tower.

Diram in his examination beeing charged with the familiaritie which had bin betwixt them before ſhee was maried to the King, confeſſed, that he and the ſaid Queene had made a precontract togither, and that he concealed it for hir preferment in mariage to the King, after he vnderſtoode the K. began to caſt a liking towards hir, The firſte of December, Culpeper and Diram were araigned at the Guild Hall in London before the L. Maior, ſitting there in iudgemẽt as chief iudge, hauing the L. Chãcellor vppon his right hande, and the Duke of Norffolke vppon his lefte hande, the Duke of Suffolke, the Lord priuie ſeale, the Earles of Suſſex and Hereford, with dyuers other of the Counſayle, ſitting there alſo as Iudges in commiſſion that day: the priſoners in the ende confeſſed the inditement, and had iudgement to dye as in caſes of treaſon.

The tenth of December, the ſayde Culpeper and Diram were drawen from the Tower vnto Tiburne, and there Culpeper hadde his head ſtriken off, and Diram was hanged, diſmembred and headed. Culpepers body was buryed in Sainte Sepulchers Churche, but both theyr heads were ſet on London bridge.

The two and twentith of December, were arraigned in the Kings benche at Weſtminſter, the Lady Margaret Howard, wife to the Lorde William Howarde, Katherine Tilney, Alice Reſtwold Gentlewomen, Ioane Bulmer, wife to Anthony Bulmer Gentleman, Anne Howard, wife to Henry Howard Eſquier, and brother to the late Queene, Maleyn Tilney Widdowe, Margaret Benet, wife to Iohn Benet Gentleman, Edwarde Walgraue Gentleman, William Aſhby Gentleman, all theſe were condemned of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealyng the Queenes miſdemeanour.

And the ſame day in the afternoone, the Lorde William Howarde, and Damporte, a Gentleman, were likewiſe araigned, and condemned of the ſame offence, and as well theſe as the other, were adiudged to loſe their goodes, and the profites of their lands during life, and to remayne in perpetuall priſon.

The ſixtenth of Ianuary, the Parliament began at Weſtminſter, in the whiche, the Lordes, and commons exhibited certaine petitions to the King.

Firſte, that hee woulde not vexe himſelfe with the Queenes offence, and that ſhe and the Lady Rochfort might bee atteinted by Parliament: and to auoyd protracting of time, they beſought him to giue his royall aſſent thereto, vnder his greate ſeale, without ſtaying for the ende of the Parliamente. Alſo, that Diram and Culpeper before atteinted by the cõmon law, might alſo be atteinted by Parliament, and that Agnes Duches of Norffolke, and Katherin Counteſſe of Bridgewater hir daughter, which for concealing the ſayd offence, were committed to ỹ Tower, and indited of miſpriſion, and the Lorde William Howard arreigned of the ſame, might likewiſe be atteynted.

Alſo, that who ſo euer had ſpoken or done any thing in deteſtation of hir naughtie life, ſhoulde be pardoned.

To theſe petitions, the King granted, thanking the commons, for that it appeared they tooke his griefe to bee theirs, whereupon, the Queene and the Lady Rochford were atteynted by both the houſes.

The Queene and other atteynted by Parliament.

On the tenth of February, the Queene was conueyd from Sion to the Tower by water, the Duke of Suffolke, the Lord priuie ſeale, and the Lord great Chamberlayne, hauing the conduction of hir.

The Queene ſent to the Tower.

The next day after beyng Saterday, and the eleuenth of February, the King did ſend his royall aſſent by his great ſeale, and then all ỹ Lords were in their robes, and the common houſe called vp, and there the acte was redde, and his aſſente declared. And ſo on the thirtenth daye, thoſe two Ladyes were beheaded on the greene within the Tower with an axe, where they confeſſed their offences, and dyed repentant.

She is beheaded.

Before this, on the three and twentith day of Ianuary, was the King proclaymed Kyng of Irelande, as it was enacted both by authoritie of the Parliament here, and alſo of an other Parliamente holden at Dublin in Ireland, there begun the thirtenth of Iune laſt paſt, before Sir Anthony Saintleger Knighte, and the Kinges deputie there, where as till that time, the Kyngs of England were onely entituled Lords of Irelande.

The King proclaymed K. of Irelande.

In the beginning of March dyed Sir Arthur Plantagenet Vicount Liſle, baſterde ſonne to Edwarde the fourth, in the Tower of London vnatteynted, when he ſhoulde haue bin deliuered and ſet at libertie.

The occaſion of his trouble for the which hee was committed to the Tower, roſe vppon ſuſpition, that he ſhould be priuie to a practiſe, whiche ſome of his men (as Philpot and Brindeholme executed the laſt yeare as before ye haue hearde) had conſented vnto, for the betraying of Calais to the French, whileſt he was the Kings Lieutenant there. But after that by due triall it was knowen that hee was nothing giltie to the matter, the kyng appoynted Sir Thomas Wriothſley his Maieſties Secretarie, to goe vnto hym, and to deliuer to hym a ring, with a riche diamond for a token from him, and to will hym to be of good cheare, for although in that ſo weightie a matter hee woulde not haue done leſſe to hym if hee hadde bene hys owne ſonne, yet nowe vpon through triall had, ſith it was manifeſtlye proued, that hee was voyde of all offence, hee was ſory that hee hadde bene occaſioned ſo farre to trie his troth, and therefore willed hym to bee of good cheere and comforte, for he ſhould find that he woulde make accompt of him as of hys moſt true and faithfull kinſman and not onely reſtore hym to his former libertie, but otherwiſe forthe be ready to pleaſure hym in what he could. Maſter Secretary ſet forth thys meſſage with ſuch effectuall words, as hee was an eloquent and well ſpoken man, that the Lord Liſle tooke ſuche immoderate ioy thereof, that his heart beeing oppreſſed therewith, hee dyed the night following through too much reioycing. After his deceaſſe, the twelfth of the ſame moneth of Marche, ſir Iohn Audeley, ſonne and heire to the ſaid Lord Liſles wife, was at Weſtminſter created Vicount Liſle. The ſeuentēth of March one Margaret Dauie, a yong woman, being a ſeruant, was boyled in Smithfield for poyſoning of hir miſtres with whome ſhe dwelt, and diuers other perſons.

The Lord Liſle died through immoderate ioy.

In the Lent ſeaſon, whileſt the Parliamente yet continued, one George Ferrers Gentleman, ſeruannt to the K. being elect a Burgeſſe for the Towne of Plimmouth, in the Countie of Deuon, in going to the Parliament houſe, was arreſted in Londō by a proces out of yͤ kings bench at the ſute of one White, for the ſumme of two C. markes or thereabouts, wherein he was late afore condemned, as a ſuretie for the debt of one Weldon of Saliſburie, which arreſt being ſignified to ſir Tho. Moyle knight, then ſpeaker of the Parliament, and to the knights and Burgeſſes there, order was taken, that the Sergeant of the Parliamente, called S. Iohn, ſhoulde forthwith repaire to yͤ Counter in Bredſtreete (whither the ſaid Ferrers was caried) and there to demaunde deliuerie of yͤ priſoner. The Sergeant (as he had in charge) went to the Counter, and declared to the Clearkes there what he had in commaundement. But they & other officers of yͤ Citie, were ſo far from obeying the ſaid commandement, as after many ſtout words they forcibly reſiſted the ſaid Sergeant, wherof enſued a fray within the Counter gates, betwene the ſaid Ferrers, and the ſaid officers, not without hurt of eyther part, ſo that the ſaide Sergeante was driuen to defende himſelfe wͭ his mace of armes, & had yͤ Crowne therof broken by bearing of a ſtroke, and his man ſtriken downe. During this braule, the Sherifes of London, called Rowlande Hill, and Henrye Suckliffe, came thither, to whome the Sergeant complayned of this iniurie, and required of them the deliuerie of the ſaide Burges as afore. But they bearing with their officers, made little accompt, either of his complaint or of his meſſage, reiecting the ſame contemptuouſly, with much proude language, ſo as the Sergeāt was forced to returne without the priſoner. And finding the ſpeaker, and al the knightes and burgeſſes ſette in their places, declared vnto them the whole caſe as it fell, who tooke the ſame in ſo ill parte, that they altogither (of whome there were not a fewe, as wel of the kings priuie counſayle, as alſo of his priuie chamber) would ſit no longer without their burges, but roſe vp wholly, and repaired to the vpper houſe, where the whole caſe was declared by the mouth of the ſpeaker, before ſir Tho. Audeley knight, then L. Chancellor of Englande, and all the Lordes and Iudges there aſſembled, who iudging the contempt to be very greate, referred the puniſhmente thereof to the order of the common houſe. They returning to their places againe, vpon new debate of the caſe, tooke order, that their Sergeant ſhould eftſoones repaire to the Sheriffes of London, and require deliuerie of the ſaid Burges, without any writte or warrant had for the ſame, but only as afore. Albeit, the Lorde Chancellor offered there to graunt a writte, which they of the cōmon houſe refuſed, beeing in a cleare opinion, that all commaundements and other actes proceeding from the nether houſe, were to bee done and executed by their Serieant without writte, only by ſhew of his mace, which was his warrant. But before the Serieantes returne into London, the Sheriffes hauing intelligence howe heynouſly the matter was taken, became ſomewhat more milde, ſo as vpon the ſayd ſecond demaund, they deliuered the priſoner without any denyall. But the Serieant hauing then further in commaundemente from thoſe of the nether houſe, charged the ſayde Sheriffes to appeare perſonally on the morrow by eyght of the clocke before the Speaker in the nether houſe, and to bring thither the Clearkes of the Counter, and ſuch other of their officers as were parties to the ſayde affray, and in like manner, to take into his cuſtody the ſayd White, which wittingly procured the ſayde arreſt, in contempte of the priuiledge of the Parliamente. Whiche commanndemente beeing done by the ſayde Serieant accordingly, on the morrowe, the two Sheriffes, with one of the Clearkes of the Counter (whyche was the chiefe occaſion of the ſayde affray) togyther with the ſayde White, appeared in the common houſe, where the ſpeaker charging them with theyr contempte and miſdemeanoure aforeſayde, they were compelled to make immediate aunſwere, withoute beeyng admitted to any counſayle. Albeit, Sir Roger Cholmeley, then Recorder of London, and other of the Counſayle of the Citie there preſent, offered to ſpeake in the cauſe whiche were all put to ſilence, and none ſuffered to ſpeake, but the parties themſelues: wherevpon in concluſion, the ſaid Sheriffes and the ſame White, were committed to the Tower of Londō, & the ſaid Clearke (whiche was the occaſion of yͤ fray) to a place there called

orge Ferrers.

little

litle eaſe, & yͤ officer of Londõ which did yͤ arreſt, called Tailor, wͭ iiij. other officers, to Newgate, where they remained frõ the xxviij. vntill yͤ xxx. of March, & thẽ they were deliuered, not without hũble ſuit made by the Maior of London & other their frends. And forasmuch as the ſayd Ferrers being in execution vpon a cõdemnation of debt, and ſet at large by priuiledge of Parliament, was not by lawe to be brought againe into execution and ſo the partie without remedie for his debt, as well againſt him as his principall debter, after long debate of the ſame by the ſpace of ix. or x. dayes togither, at laſt they reſolued vpon an Acte of Parliament to be made, and to reuiue the execution of the ſayde debt agaynſt the ſayde Welden which was principall debter, and to diſcharge the ſayde Ferrers. But before this came to paſſe, the Common houſe was deuided vpon the queſtion: but in concluſion, the Acte paſſed for the ſayde Ferrers, wonne by xiiij. voyces. The King then being aduertiſed of all this proceeding, called immediatlye before him the Lord Chauncelor of England and his Iudges, with the Speaker of the Parliament, and other of the graueſt perſons of the nether houſe, to whome he declared his opinion to this effect. Firſt commending their wiſedome in maintayning the priuiledges of their houſe, (which he woulde not haue to be infringed in any poynte) alledged that he being heade of the Parliament, and attending in his owne perſon vpon the buſineſſe thereof, ought in reaſon, to haue priuiledge for him and his all ſeruauntes attending there vpon him. So that if the ſayde Ferrers had bene no Burgeſſe, but onely his ſeruant, that in reſpect thereof, he was to haue the priuiledge as well as any other. For I vnderſtand (quoth he) that you not onely for your owne perſons, but alſo for your neceſſarie ſeruauntes, euen to your Cookes and Horſekepers, enioy the ſayde priuiledge, inſomuch as my Lorde Chancelour here preſent, hath informed vs, that he being Speaker of the Parliament, the Cooke of the Temple was arreſted in London, and in execution vpon a ſtatute of the Staple. And forasmuche as the ſayde Cooke, during all the Parliament, ſerued the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution, by the priuiledge of the Parliament. And further we be informed by our Iudges, that we at no time ſtand ſo highly in our eſtate royall, as in the time of Parliament, wherein we as heade, and you as membres, are conioyned and knit togither into one bodie politike, ſo as whatſoeuer offence or iniurie (during that time) is offered to the meaneſt member of the houſe, is to be iudged, as done againſt our perſon, & the whole court of Parliament, the which prerogatiue of yͤ court is ſo great (as our lerned counſel informeth vs) as all actes & proceſſes comming out of any other inferiour Courtes muſt for the time ceaſe and giue place to the higheſt. And touching the partie, it was a great preſumptiõ in him, knowing our ſeruant to be one of this houſe, and being warned thereof before, would neuertheleſſe proſecute this matter out of time, and therefore was well worthie to haue loſt his debte (which I would not wiſh) and therfore do commẽd your equitie, that hauing loſt the ſame by lawe, haue reſtored him to the ſame againſt him who was his debter. And if it be well conſidered, what a charge hath it bene to vs and you all, not onely in expence of our ſubſtaunce, but alſo in loſſe of time, which ſhoulde haue bene employed about the affaires of our Realme, to ſitte here welnigh one whole fortnight about this one priuate caſe, he may think himſelfe better vſed than his deſert. And this may be a good example to other to learn good maner, and not to attempt anye thing againſt the priuiledge of this Courte, but to take their time better. This is mine opinion, and if I erre, I muſt referre myſelfe to the iudgement of our Iuſtices here preſent, and other learned in our lawes. Wherupon ſir Edward Mountague then L. chiefe Iuſtice, very grauely declared his opinion, confirming by diuerſe reaſons all that the King had ſayd, which was aſſented vnto by all the reſidue, none ſpeaking to yͤ contrary. The acte in deede paſſed not the higher houſe, for the Lordes had not time to conſider of it, by reaſon of the diſſolution of the Parliament, the feaſt of Eaſter then approching. Bicauſe this caſe hath bene diuerſly reported, and is commonly alledged as a preſident for the priuiledge of the Parliament, I haue endeuored my ſelfe to learn the troth thereof, & ſo ſet it forth with the whole circumſtance at large according to their inſtructiõs who ought beſt both to know and remember it.

An.reg.34.

A loane.

This yere in May the K. tooke a lone of mony of all ſuch as were valued at l. ℔. & vpward in yͤ ſubſidie bookes. The L. priuy ſeale, yͤ B. of Wincheſter, ſir Iohn Baker, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſley were cõmiſſioners about this lone in Lõdon, where they ſo handled the matter, yͭ of ſome head citizens they obteyned a M. marks in preſt to the kings vſe. They that layde forth any ſum in this wiſe, had priuie ſeales for the repayment therof within two yeares next enſuing. Diuerſe of yͤ Iriſh nobilitie came this yere into Englãd, & made their ſubmiſſion to yͤ K. as in the Iriſhe Chronicle it is more particularly touched. Alſo warres fell out betwixt England & Scotland, yͤ cauſes wherof, as appeareth by a declaration ſet forth by yͤ K. of Englãd, at this preſent in effect, were theſe. Firſt there were diuers of yͤ Engliſhe rebels, ſuch as had moued yͤ cõmotion in yͤ north & Lincolnſhire, fled into Scotland & there maintained, & although requeſt had bene made yͭ they might be deliuered, yet it would not be graũted.

Submiſsion of the Iriſh nobilitie.

The cauſes of the warres betwixt England and Scotland.

Moreouer, where the King of Scottes had promiſed to repayre vnto Yorke the laſt yeare, and there to meete his vncle the King of Englande, whervpon the king of Englande to his great charges, had made preparation for their meeting there, the ſame was not onely diſappoynted, but alſo at the kings being at Yorke, in lieu thereof an inuaſion was made by the Scots as it were, in contempt and deſpite of the king of Englande, who notwithſtanding imputing the default of meeting to the aduiſe of his Nephewes counſell; and the inuaſion to the lewdneſſe of his ſubiectes, was contented to gyue courteous audience vnto ſuch Imbaſſadors as the ſame king of Scottes ſent into Englande, which came to the king at Chriſtmas laſt; and with many ſweete and pleaſant wordes excuſed that that was done amyſſe, and ſought to perſwade kyndeneſſe and perfect amitie in tyme to come. And for the better accompliſhment thereof, they offered to ſende Commiſſioners to the borders, there to determine the debate betwixte them of the confines, if it woulde pleaſe the king likewiſe to ſende Commiſſioners for his parte, which to doe he graciouſly condiſcended, deſirous to make triall of his nephewe in ſome correſpondence of deedes, to the fayre and pleaſant meſſages in wordes, which he had receiued from him. Herevpon Commiſſioners were ſent from eyther king, the which mette and talked: but where the Engliſhmenne chalenged a peece of grounde, vndoubtedly vſurped by the Scottes, being for the ſame ſhewed ſuch euidence as more ſubſtantial, or more autentike can not be brought forth for anye grounde within the Realme, the ſame was neuertheleſſe by the Scottes denyed and reiected, only for that it was made (as they alledged) by Engliſhmen, and yet was it ſo ancient, as it coulde not be counterfeited now, and the value of the grounde ſo little, and of ſo ſmall weyght, as no man woulde attempt to falſifie a wryting for ſuch a matter. But yet this deniall notwithſtanding, the Engliſh Commiſſioners departed from the Scottiſhe Commiſſioners as freendes, taking order, as hath bene accuſtomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time to be obſerued.

The wilfull obſtinateneſſe of the Scottiſh cõmiſsioners.

After their departure, the Lorde Maxwell warden of the weſt marches in Scotland, made proclamation in deede for good rule to be kept. But neuertheleſſe added therewith that the borderers of Scotlande ſhoulde withdrawe their goodes from the borders of Englend, and incontinently after the Scottiſhmen borderers, the iiij. of July, entred into England ſodenly, and ſpoyled the Kings ſubiectes, contrarie to the league, and euen after the playne maner of war. Wherevpon the King of Englande greatly maruayling, was driuen to furniſhe his borders with a garriſon for defence of the ſame.

James Leirmouth.

Then was James Leirmouth Maiſter of the Scottiſhe kings houſholde ſent into Englande with letters deuyſed in the beſt maner, offering a good redreſſe of all attemptes, and yet neuertheleſſe at the entrie of the ſayde Leirmouth into Englande, a great number of Scottes then not looked for, made a roade into Englande, to the great annoyance of the Engliſhe borders, which dealing, though it much moued the king of Englande to take diſpleaſure againſt the Scottes, yet he gaue gentle audience vnto Leirmouth at his comming vnto him, and by hys fayre wordes and promiſes, was partly pacified. But in the meane time, the dedes of the Scottiſhe borderers were as extreame as might be, and in a roade made by ſir Robert Bowes for reuenge thereof, the ſame ſir Robert, and many other with him, were taken priſoners, and could not be deliuered, nor admitted to paye their fine and raunſome, as hath bene euer accuſtomed betwixt them on the borders.

K. Henrie fo
ced to take
mes againſt
the Scots.

And where at the ſame time, an aſſuraunce was made on both ſides for a time, at the ſuite of the ſayde Leirmouth, the Scots ceaſed not to make ſundrie inuaſions into Englande, in ſuch wiſe, as the king no longer truſting to their fayre wordes, but weying their deedes, put an armie in a readyneſſe for defence of his ſubiectes, as the due meane to attayne ſuch a peace, as for the ſafetie of his people he thought it ſtoode with his honor to procure.

After whiche preparation made, and knowledge thereof had, the king of Scots made newe ſuite to haue the matter taken vppe by treatie. Wherevpon the king cauſed the armie to ſtaye about Yorke, and appointed the D. of Norffolk his Lieutenant generall, the Lorde priuie ſeale, Biſhop of Durham, and ſir Anthonie Browne Maiſter of his horſes, to treate and conclude with the Ambaſſadors of Scotland, ſome frendly peace, vpon reaſonable and indifferent condicions, as ſhoulde be thought requiſite, for the auoyding of warres, then by ſundrie inuaſions of the Scottes made open and manifeſt.

But after they had vewed eche others Commiſſions, and beganne to propone articles, the Scottiſh commiſſioners, to protract time, at the firſt ſeemed to like ſuch articles as the Engliſhe commiſſioners had propoſed, & made ſemblance as if there were no doubt, but that in caſe their k. & ours might mete, all matters ſhould be quietly cõpounded & ended, & ſo taking it as for a thing ſure and certaine, they only deſired vj. dayes to obtaine anſwere from their Maiſter, and our armie for that time to ſtaye, wherevnto the Engliſhe Commiſſioners accorded.

The double dealing of the Scots in the negotiation about an agreement.

After thoſe ſixe dayes, was ſent a Commiſſion out of Scotlande, to conclude a meeting preciſely, at ſuch a place as they knew well could not in the Winter ſeaſon be obſerued nor kept. Wherewith when the Engliſh Commiſſioners ſeemed nothing content, the Scottiſh Commiſſioners ſhewed forth inſtructions, wherein libertie was giuen to them to exceede their Commiſſion in the appoynting of a place, and to conſent to any other by the Engliſhe Commiſſioners thought meete and conuenient: but when the Engliſh Commiſſioners refuſed to deale with men wanting ſufficient Commiſſion to warrant their doings, the Scottiſhe Commiſſioners required other vj. days reſpite to ſend for a larger commiſſion, which being graunted, at the end of thoſe ſix dayes, they brought forth a commiſſion made in good forme, and without exception or reſtraint of place. But therwith they ſhewed inſtructions conteyning a lyke reſtraint, as in the former Commiſſion was expreſſed. And thus driuing forth the matter by trifling, vppon purpoſe onely to winne tyme, they hoped thereby through the Winter comming on, that the Engliſhe armie ſhoulde not be able much to annoye their Countrie for that yeare. And ſo their talke brake vp without any concluſion of agreement at all, and forthwith was the armie ſet forward, a good part whereof had lien all this time of treatie in Yorke, and in the Countrie thereabouts.

Engliſh
ie entreth
Scotland.

When the whole power was aſſembled, the Duke of Norffolke Lieutenaunt generall, accompanied with the Earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberlande, Surrey, Hertford, Angus, Rutlande, and the Lordes of the Northe partes, and ſir Anthonie Browne Maſter of the Horſe, Sir John Gage Comptroller of the Kings houſe, and others, hauing with them twentie thouſande men well and warrelike appointed, entred Scotlande the xxj. of October, and taried there eyght dayes without hauing any battayle offered vnto them, in whiche ſpace they brent theſe townes and villages, Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skitſhell, Newthorne, Smellem ſpittle, the two Merdens, Sledericke, and the two Broxlawes, Floris, and the fayre croft, Ednem Spittle, Roxborough, Kelſey and the Abbay, long Spronſtowe, Ryden, and Hadenſton. And while the Duke was at Farneton, the fourth day after his comming into Scotlande, there came to ſpeake with him halfe a myle from the Campe, the Biſhoppe of Orkeney, and James Leirmouth ſent from the king of Scottes to intreate of peace, but they agreed not.

The Earle of Southamptons ſtandart.

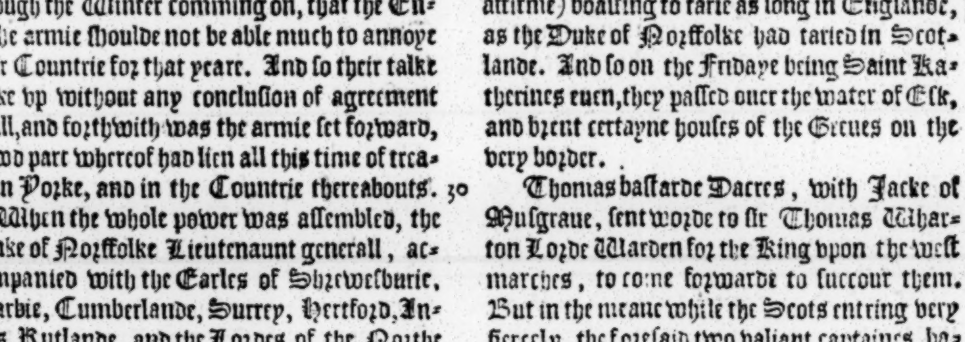
Finally, after the Engliſhmen had lyen ſo long within Scotlande as they might recouer vittayle, at length for neceſſitie they returned to Berwicke. In all which iourney the ſtandert of the Earle of Southhampton, late Lorde priuie ſeale (which dyed at Newcaſtell before their entring into Scotlande) was borne in the foreward, bicauſe he was appoynted captaine of the ſame. The king of Scots hearing that the Engliſh armie was returned, rayſed a power of fiftene thouſande menne forth of all partes of hys Realme, vnder the guiding of the Lorde Maxwell (or rather of Oliuer Sincler, as the Scots affirme) boaſting to tarie as long in Englande, as the Duke of Norffolke had taried in Scotlande. And ſo on the Fridaye being Saint Katherines euen, they paſſed ouer the water of Eſk, and brent certayne houſes of the Greues on the very border.

An armie of Scots inuade Englande.

The error of the Scottes.

The Scots flee

Thomas baſtarde Dacres, with Jacke of Muſgraue, ſent worde to ſir Thomas Wharton Lorde Warden for the King vpon the weſt marches, to come forwarde to ſuccour them. But in the meane while the Scots entring very fiercely, the foreſaid two valiant captaines, baſtard Dacres and Muſgraue, manfully ſet vpon the Scots with C. light horſes, ⁊ left a ſtale on the ſide of the hill, wherewith the Scottes were wonderfully diſmayed, thinking that either the D. of Norffolke with his whole armie had bene come to thoſe weſt marches, or that ſome other great power had bene cōming toward thē, when they ſaw only ſir Thomas Whartō with iij. C. men marching forwards towards thē. But ſo it fortuned at that time vndoubtedly, as God would haue it, that the Scots fledde at the firſt brunt, whom the Engliſhmen followed, and tooke priſoners at their pleaſure. For there was ſmall reſiſtance, or none at all ſhewed by the Scottes.



Scottiſh Lords taken at Solem Moſſe.

The number of priſoners and artillerie taken.

Amongſt other that were taken, wee finde theſe men of name, the Earle of Caſſill & Glencarne, the Lorde Maxwell Admirall of Scotlande, and Warden of the Weſt marches, the Lorde Flemming, the Lorde Sommerwell, the Lorde Oliphant, the Lorde Graye, ſir Oliuer Sincler the Kings minion, John Roſſe Lorde of Gragy, Robert Erſkin ſonne to the Lorde Erſkin, Carre Larde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwels two brethren, John Leſley baſtarde ſonne to the Earle of Rothus, George Hume Larde of Hemitton, John Mattelande Larde of Wike caſtell, James Pringel, James Sincler brother to Oliuer Sincler, John Carmell Captayne of Crayforth, Patricke Heborne Eſquire, John Seton Eſquire ſonne in lawe to the Lorde Erſkin, William Seton Eſquire, John Steward couſin to the King, John Morrowe Eſquire, Henrie Droumont Eſquire, James Mitton Eſquire, John Cormurth Eſquire Captaine of Gainſforth, James Mitton Eſquire, and other Eſquires and Gentlemen, (beſide the Earles and Lordes before mencioned) to the number of two hundreth and aboue, and more than viij. C. other perſons of meaner calling, ſo that ſome one Engliſhman, yea ſome women had three or foure priſoners. They tooke alſo foure and twentie peeces of ordinance, foure Cartes laden with ſpeares, and ten pauilions, ſo that this might well be ſayde to be the handie worke of God, and the verſe of the Pſalme verified, *Nunc vidi & dixi, hæc eſt mutatio dextræ excelſi.*

The death of the king of Scotlande.

The King of Scottes tooke ſuch griefe and inwarde thought for his ouerthrow, and alſo for the murther of an Engliſhe Herault that was ſlayne at Dunbar, by one Leeche an Engliſhe man (the whiche for the rebellion in Lincolne ſhire, was fledde into Scotlande) that he fell into a hote ague, and therof dyed, although many reported that he was at the byckering, and receyued there his deathes wounde, and fledde therewith into Scotlande. But of his death, and of the birth of his daughter, ye may ſee more in the hiſtorie of Scotlande.

xxiiii. hath Hall.

Scottes priſoners brought to London

Of theſe priſoners before named, xxj. of them were brought vp to London, and on the xix. of December entred into the Citie by Biſhops gate, and ſo were conueyed to the Tower, where they remained for the ſpace of two dayes, and vpon Saint Thomas daye the Apoſtle, being the xxj. of December, they were conueyed to Weſtminſter, ſir John Gage Conſtable of the Tower ryding before them, and the Lieutenant of the ſame Tower ryding behinde them. They roade two and two togither, and eyght of them being Earles and Lordes, had newe gownes of blacke Damaſke furred with black Conie, cotes of blacke Veluet, and doublets of Sattin, with ſhirtes and other apparell bought newe for them at the Kings charges. Thus being ſolemnelye conueyed through the ſtreetes of London vnto Weſtminſter, they came before the Counſell ſitting in the Starre Chamber, and there the Lorde Chauncellour declared to them their vntruth, vnkindeneſſe, and falſe diſſimulation, declaring further howe the King had cauſe of war agaynſt them, both for the denying of their homages, and alſo for their trayterous inuaſions made into his Realme without defiance, and alſo for keeping his ſubiectes priſoners without redemption, contrarie to the auncient lawes of the Marches, for whiche doings, God, as they might perceyue, had ſcourged them. Howbeit the King more regarding his honour than his Princelye power, was content to ſhewe them kyndeneſſe for vnkyndeneſſe, & right for wrong. And although he might keepe them in ſtrait priſon by iuſt lawe of armes, yet he was content that they ſhoulde haue libertie to be with the nobles of his Realme in their houſes, and ſo according to their Eſtates, they were appoynted to Dukes, Earles, Biſhoppes, Knights, and Gentlemen, which ſo entertayned them, that they confeſſed themſelues neuer to be better vſed, nor to haue had greater cheare in all their life times. The Earle of Caſſils was appointed to be with the Archbiſhoppe of Caunterburie, the Earle of Glencarne with the Duke of Norffolke, the L. Flemming with the Lorde priuie ſeale, the Lord Maxwell with ſir Anthonie Browne, the Lord Somerwel with the Lord Chancelor, the Lord Oliphant with ſir Thomas Lee, Oliuer Sencler with the Duke of Suffolke, Robert Erſkin with the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, the lord Monteth with ſir Anthonie Wingfielde, the Lorde Mounteth with ſir Rauſe Sadler, George Hume with the Earle of Hertforde, the Lorde of Gragie with ſir Thomas Cheiney, the Larde of Eredon with maiſter Goſtwike, Henrie Maxwell with ſir Richarde Long, Thomas Craiforde with ſir Arthur Darcy, Patrick Hebborne with ſir Thomas Wriotheſley, James Pringel with ſir Richard Rich, John Matlād, with ſir Edwarde North, the Lorde Grey, James Sencler and John Leſley were apointed to men of ſuch credit, as were thought meete to aunſwere for their ſafe keping. The xxij. of Decēber tidings came of the king of Scottes death, and vpon S. Johns day in Chriſtmas weeke, yͤ foreſaid lords of Scotlād were brought to yͤ court, which was then at Grenewich, where they had great chere, & went before the King to yͤ chappel, & were lodged within the court. Hereupō ye muſt cōſider, yͭ where as the K. of Scots had left no iſſue behind him in life but only one daughter, yͤ King & hys Counſell

The Sco priſoners fore the C ſell in the Chamber.

Counſell perceyuing a meane nowe offered, wherby without warre the two Realmes might be vnited, theſe Scottiſhe Lordes hauing firſt made the motion themſelues for a mariage to be had betwixt Prince Edwarde and their yong Queene, the king required them to helpe to the furtherance of that matter, which myght be ſuch a benefit to themſelues, and their countrie. This they promiſed faithfully to doe, and aſwell by themſelues as their friendes, to bring the ſame to effect, ſo muche as the king coulde require. Wherevpon the king was not only contented to releaſe them home, but alſo highly rewarded them with rich gyftes in moſt bountifull wiſe.

The xxx. of December, they departed from the Court, and the morrow after, eyght of them dyned with Sir John Coates then Lorde Maior of London, and the reſt with the Sherifes, and had very great cheare.

1543

On Newyeares daye they departed from London homewardes towardes Scotlande, and roade to Enfelde to ſee the Prince, and there dyned that daye, greatly reioycing, as by their wordes and countenance it ſeemed, to beholde ſo proper and towardly an ympe.

From thence they kept on their iourney till they came to the North partes, where they founde the Duke of Suffolke the Kings Lieutenant there, and with him remayned till ſuche pledges were come forth of Scotlande, as it was couenanted they ſhould leaue behind them.

The Duke then after he had receyued the hoſtages, permitted them to depart, and ſo they returned into Scotlande, where they were gladlye welcommed by their kinſemen and frendes. With them went alſo the Earle of Angus, who had bene baniſhed Scotlande, and hauing remayned here in Englande a long time, receyued of the Kings fee, a thouſande marke by yeare, and likewiſe his brother Sir George Douglas, who had fiue hundreth markes yearely, likewiſe of the Kings gift. They were nowe both reſtored home into their countrie, and that as was ſayde, by the laſt Kings will. The ſayde Earle of Angus, and diuerſe of the Lordes that had bene priſoners here in Englande, were made of the priuie Counſell of the Realme, by the Earle of Arrayne, that was choſen gouernour to the yong Queene, and of the Realme, as next heire apparent. Notwithſtanding that the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, and Cardinall of the ſea of Rome, enimie mortall to the King of Englande for the Popes cauſe (and partlye ſet on by the French king, had forged a will, expreſſing howe the king had made him gouernour, (aſſociate with two Earles of his affinitie) as well of the Queene as Realme, contrarie to the lawes of Scotland. Wherevpon the ſaid Earle of Arreyne, according to his right, as he pretended, with the helpe of his frendes, toke vppon him the authoritie of Gouernour, and put the ſayde Cardinall in priſon, and deliuered Sir Robert Bowes, and the other Engliſhe priſoners, by their bandes, according to the cuſtome of the marches.

The Earle of Arraine.

Sir Robert Bowes deliuered.

All this yeare was neyther perfect peace nor open warre betwixt Englande and Fraunce, but the merchants ſhippes were taken and robbed on both partes, and at length merchantes goodes were ſeazed, and the Imbaſſadors of both Realmes ſtayde. Howbeit ſhortly after the Imbaſſadors were deliuered: but the merchants ſtil were robbed, and no warre proclaymed.

Ambaſſadors from Scotland

In the ende of this yeare came from the Gouernor of Scotlande as ambaſſadors, ſir William Hamelton, & James Leirmouth the ſecretarie of Scotlande, whoſe meſſage was ſo meanely liked, that they were fayne to ſende an Heralt into Scotlande for other Imbaſſadors, and ſo hither came the Earle of Glencarne, and Sir George Douglas: but whatſoeuer their anſwere was, ſir George returned in poſte, and within xx. dayes came backe agayne with an aunſwere that was well liked off. But ſhortly after they brake promiſe, and went from that which they had couenanted, greatly to their reproche.

A dearth.

Woode was ſolde very deare in the Winter ſeaſon of this yeare, and likewyſe vitayles both fleſhe and fiſhe grewe to an high price towardes the Spring, by reaſon, as was thought, of the vntemperate wette Summer laſt paſt, cauſing great death among cattayle. A quarter of Mutton was ſolde for two ſhillings, and viij. grotes. A lambe at three ſhillings, and three ſhillings and foure pence. Which afore that time was eſteemed ſcant worth ſixtene pence. Againſt Eaſter at a Court of Aldermen kept in the Guylde hall the xx. of Marche 1542. it was enacted by the Lorde Maior and his brethren, that the Maior and Sherifes ſhoulde be ſerued at their tables but with one courſe at dinner and ſupper in their houſes, the Maior to haue but ſeuen diſhes at the moſt at one meaſe for his owne table, and the Sherifes and euery other Alderman but vj. diſhes, vpon payne to forfeyt for euery diſhe fortie ſhillings at euery time when they offended in this ordinance. Alſo that the ſerieants and yeomẽ of their houſes ſhould haue but thre diſhes at diner or ſupper, the ſwordbearers meſſe only excepted, which ſhould be alowed to haue one diſh more. Moreouer it was enacted, that from the feaſt of Eaſter then next enſuing, neyther the Maior nor his brethren ſhould buie any Crane, Swan or Buſtarde, vpon payne to forfeyte for euery fowle by them ſo bought, xx.s. the offence to be tried by othe if it ſhoulde be preſented.

A neceſſarie and holeſome ordinance.

An. reg. 35.

A league betwixt the king of Englande and the Emperour.

In the beginning of this yeare, on Trinitie Sundaye was a newe league ſworne betweene the King and Emperour at Hampton Court, eyther of them to be frendes to the others frends, and enimie to the others enimies.

The thirde of Iune came to the Court from the Realme of Irelande, three Iriſhe Lordes, Obrin, Mack William a Burgh, and Mack Gilpatrik.

Creations.

In Iuly the ſayde Obrin was created Earle of Towmon, Mack William a Burgh, Earle of Clanrickford, and Sir Dunon Obrin was made Baron of Ebranky, and ſo with rewardes they tooke leaue, and returned.

The ſame Moneth alſo, the Scottiſhe Ambaſſadors returned with great rewardes.

The king marieth the Lady Katherin Par.

The xij. of Iuly, at Hampton Courte, the King married the Ladie Katherine Parre widowe, late wife to the Lorde Latimer deceaſed, and then ſhe was nominated Queene, and ſo proclaymed.

In the Parliament holden this yere at Weſtminſter, a ſubſidie was graunted to the king, to be payde in three yeares. Euery Engliſhman being worth in goodes xx.s. and vpwarde to fiue pounde, payde foure pence of euery pound. From fiue pounde to ten pounde, eyght pence. From ten pounde to twentie pound, ſixtene pence. Frõ twentie pounde and vpwarde, of euery pounde, two ſhillings. Straungers aſwell Denizens as other, being inhabitants, doubled this ſumme, and euery ſtraunger not being an inhabitant, that was xvj. yeares of age and vpwards, payde foure pence for euery poll. And for landes, fees, and annuities, euery one borne within the kings dominions payde eyght pence of the pound from twentie ſhillings to fiue pounde. And from fiue pounde to ten pounde, ſixtene pence. From ten pounde to twentie pounde, two ſhillings. And from twentie pounde and vpwardes, three ſhillings, Straungers ſtill doubling this ſumme. The Clergie graunted a ſubſidie of ſixe ſhillings the pounde, to be payd of their Benefices in perpetuities in three yeares enſuing, and euery prieſt hauing no perpetuitie, but an annuall ſtipende, payde yearely during the ſayde three yeares, ſixe ſhillings and eyght pence.

Corporations, fraternities, & communalties payde more as well of their landes as goods as appeareth by the ſtatute.

Articles demanded of the French king.

About the ſame time, the King and the Emperour ſent Garter and Toyſon dor, Kings at armes, to demaunde the performance of certaine Articles of the French king, which if he denyed, they were commaunded then to defie him; but he woulde not ſuffer them to come within his land, and ſo they returned. Where the king cauſed the ſayde demaundes to be declared vnto the French ambaſſador at Weſtminſter.

And in Iuly the king ſent ouer ſixe thouſande men, vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, appoynted to haue the generall conduction of them, accompanied with diuerſe other Knights, Eſquires and gentlemen right hardie and valiant. Sir Thomas Seymor was Marſhall of that armie, ſir Robert Bowes treaſurer, ſir Richarde Cromwell Captayne of the horſemen, and ſir George Carewe his Lieutenant. There were likewiſe ſir Thomas Palmer, ſir Iohn Reynſforth, ſir Iohn Saint Iohn, and ſir Iohn Gaſcogne, knights, that were Captains of the footemen. They were appoynted to ioyne with the Emperours power, and ſo to make warre into Fraunce. They departed from Calais the xxij. of Iuly. The thirde of Auguſt open war was proclaymed in London betwixt the Emperour and the king of Englande on the one part, and the French king on the other, as enimie mortall to them both, and to all other Chriſtian princes beſide, as he that had confederated himſelfe with the Turke.

Landerſey b ſieged.

The French king comet to the reſcu of Landerſe

The armie that was ſent ouer vnder the leading of ſir Iohn Wallop, paſſed forth from the marches of Caleis, and keeping alongſt betwixt the borders of the French and Burgonion pales and confines, and ioyning with the Emperors forces, Spanyards, Wallons, and Dutch, came at length before Landerſey, a towne lately fortified by the French, within the borders of the Emperors dominions, to the which they layd a ſtrong ſiege. At length the Emperor hauing diſpatched his warres againſt the Duke of Cleue, who had ſubmitted himſelf vnto him, came now to the ſiege of Landerſey, with a mightie power of ſundrie nations, ſo that the towne was ſore conſtreyned, & in danger to haue bene loſt, if at that preſent the French K. had not likewiſe with an huge armie of Frenchmẽ, Swiſers, Lãſquenets, Italians, & other, come to the reſkew, pitching downe his campe, making countenance, as if he ment preſently to giue battaile: & verily it was thought that two ſuch powers as were there at that time ſo neare togither, ſhould neuer haue departed without battayle. The Emperor thinking ſurely to fight, rayſed his ſiege, & drew his people into the fielde. The French men thereby eſpying their aduauntage, put as well freſhe men as vitailes, and all kinde of munition neceſſarie, into the towne, and in the meane whyle kept yͤ Emperors people occupied with hote ſkirmiſhes.

But nowe after the towne was thus relieued, which thing the French king only wiſhed to accompliſh, the next day when the Emperor was readie with his armie arranged in battailes to haue fought with his aduerſaries, yͤ French k. put his armie alſo in order, but hauing no minde to come forward, he trifled forth that day, and in the night following, ſecretly departed wyth as

much

e French ng retireth ke with his mie,

much haſte as was poſſible. When the nexte morning had diſcouered the Frenchmens flight (for ſo many termed this their ſodaine retire) it was no neede to byd diuers troupes of the Emperours armie to hye after them: but ſome made to much haſte: for the French king ſuſpecting what woulde enſue, appoynted his eldeſt ſonne Henrie the Dolphin to remayne behinde with the rerewarde, accompanied with diuerſe noble Captaynes, which ordered their people in their retire, with ſuch waryneſſe and heedefull ſkill, as the reaſon of warre required, that ſuch of the Emperours campe as aduentured ouer raſhly, and ſhewed themſelues more forwarde than wyſe, fell within daunger of ſuch embuſhments as were by the waye couertly layde in places of aduauntage: and ſo diuers were taken, as Sir George Caroe, Sir Thomas Palmer Knight-porter of Caleys, Edwarde Bellingham, and others. But neuertheleſſe a great number of ſuch Frenchmen as coulde not make waye, and keepe pace with their mayne troupes, were ſnapped vp, ſlayne, and taken in no ſmall numbers by their enimies yͤ folowed thē as egre as tigres.

he Emperor eaketh vp s campe.

This was after Alhalowentyde, ſo that now by reaſon the Winter was farre entred, and the weather waxing extreame foule, and contrarie to an armie that ſhoulde lye in the fieldes, the Emperour brake vp his campe and licenced the moſt part of his people to departe home into their countries, for all hope to wyn Landerſey at that time was cleane cut off, ſithe it was vittayled & newly furniſhed with freſh men & munitiō.

After that the warres were once open betwixt Englande and Fraunce, ſundrie enterprices were attempted by the parties on eyther ſide in the marches of Caleys and Bollognoys, in which, for the more part, the Engliſhmenne got the vpper hande of their enimies.

At one time the Frenchmen, to the number of eyght hundred comming in the night ſeaſon to enter into the Engliſhe pale by the turne pike at Hammes, in purpoſe to make ſome ſpoyle in the countrey there, were aſſayled vppon the ſodaine by ſir George Somerſet, and Sir William Walgraue, lately before come ouer wyth two hundreth men out of Suffolke, to ſtrengthen the Engliſhe pale againſt the enimies, and at this time did behaue themſelues ſo valiantly, that they diſappoynted the enimies of their purpoſe: for where as they were entred into a lane encloſed with hedges on eyther ſide, ſixtene Archers getting into the groundes on the backe ſide of the hedges lying alongſt the lane, through whiche the French menne were marching, placed themſelues as they ſawe their aduauntage, and ſo beſtowed their ſhotte, that they galled the French menne, in ſuch wyſe, that they were forced to recule in ſo great diſorder, that other of the Engliſhmenne comming vpon them, eaſily ſlew and tooke of them no ſmall number.

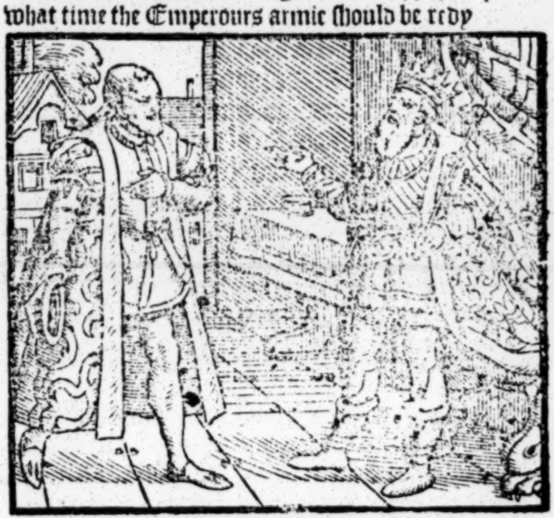
Beſide this, at ſundrie times the Engliſhe menne inuading the Countrie of Bollognoys, waſted the townes and villages, brought away great booties of goodes and cattayle, to the great impoueriſhing of the Countrie.

They burnt at one time the towne of Iudinghen, and tooke the Steeple of the Churche there, into the which were fled vj. ſcore peiſants, with their wyues and children, whome the Engliſhmenne threwe downe headlong out of the ſteeple, bicauſe they had moſt ſtubbornely refuſed to yeelde.

A great death in London.

In this yeare a great death of the Peſtilence reigned in London, and therfore Michaelmas terme was adiourned to Saint Albons, and there kept till the ende thereof.

Ambaſſadors from the Emperour.



In Chriſtenmas weeke came to the king lying at Hampton court, Ferdinando Gonzaga Viceroy of Scicilie, prince of Malfeta, Duke of Iuano, the Emperors captaine generall. The chiefeſt cauſe of his comming, was to appoynt what time the Emperours armie ſhould be redy to inuade France, he had great cheare, and at his departure was rewarded with Cliij. ounces of golde in plate, & iiij. M. iij. ounces in gylt plate, all verye curiouſly wrought, and all the time of his being here, his charges were borne by the king. The ſunday before Chriſtmas the L. William Parre brother to the Queene, who had maried yͤ daughter & heire of Henrie Burchier earle of Eſſex, at Hampton Court was created earle of Eſſex, & ſir William Par knight, vncle to thē both, was made Lord Par of Hortō, and chamberlaine to the Queene. On New yeares day, was ſir Thomas Wriotheſley the kings ſecretarie, made L. Wriotheſley of Tichefield. In this meane while was the Cardinal of Scotland deliuered forth of priſon, & ſhortly after got into his hāds again al ſuch cōcluſions as were made tou-

The Lord Par created Erle of Eſſex.

1544

The Lorde Wriotheſley.

ching the mariage betwixte the Queene of Scots and Prince Edwarde, procuring in maner all the Lordes and Nobles of the Realme, to renounce that, whiche they had promiſed to the King of Englande, as well diuerſe of thoſe whome the ſayde king had releaſed home out of captiuitie, as other, wherwith the king tooke ſuch ſore diſpleaſure, yͭ he prepared an armie to paſſe into Scotlande by ſea, and ordeyned the Earle of Hertforde to be Lieutenant of the North partes, and to haue the leading of the ſame armie, who went thither in Marche, as well for defence of yͤ borders, as to foreſee al things in order for the armie that ſhould thus go into Scotlande, whereof he was appoynted generall.

The Earle of Hertforde Lieutenant of the North.

When all things were in a readineſſe for the nauie which was rigged to ſet forward towards Scotlande, and that the ſouldiers were come whiche were appointed to goe with Sir Iohn Dudley Lorde Liſle, and high Admirall of Englande in that voyage, they were imbarked, and ſo the xxij. of March the ſayde Lorde Admirall, with ſir Nicholas Pointz, and diuerſe other Knights and Captaynes departed from the port of London towards the North parts, and comming to Newcaſtell, founde the Earle of Hertforde readie with ſuch power as was appoynted to be there at a day aſſigned, forth of thoſe coũtries that lye from Trent northwards, and now wanted nothing to further their iourney, but a conuenient wynde which cauſed them to ſtaye certaine dayes at the ſayde towne of Newcaſtel, and in the villages thereabouts.

The Lord admiral Dudley ſetteth forth from London towards Scotlande.

An. reg. 36.

After that the Earle of Hertforde, and the Lord Admirall, accompanied with the Earle of Shrewſburie, the Lordes Cobham, Clinton, Conyers, Sturton, the Lorde William Howarde, and many other right valiant Knights, Gentlemen, and Captaynes, had lyen with the armie and nauie readie at Newcaſtell a certaine tyme, looking for a proſperous wynde to ſet forwarde on their purpoſed iourney, at length the ſame came about very fitte to ſerue their turne, and then with all ſpeede the ſouldiers were beſtowed abourd, euery companie in their appointed veſſels, and herewith vp went the ſayles, and forth they got into the maine ſeas, making their courſe directly towardes the Forth, a gulfe or riuer in Scotland, able to beare veſſels fiftie miles vp within the countrie. There were at the leaſt two hundred ſayle which the Lorde Admiral had cauſed to come togither, according to his Commiſſion, rigged, trimmed, and furniſhed wyth all things neceſſarie for the conduction of ſuch an armie. The number whereof was eſteemed to be about x. M. men.

The army ſetteth forwarde by ſea towards Scotland.

The number of the Engliſh armie.

The thirde of May they arriued in the Forth, entring betwene two Iſlands, the Bas and the Maye.

The Engliſh armie landeth in Scotland.

The next day being the fourth of Maye, the whole armie was landed two myles beweſt the towne of Lythe, at a place called Grantham cragge, and forthwith the Lord Lieutenant putting his people in good order of warre, marched on towardes the ſayde towne of Lythe. The Lorde Admirall led the forewarde, the Lorde Lieutenant the battayle, & the Earle of Shrewſburie gouerned the rerewarde.

Before they came to the towne of Lythe, they founde in their way readie to impeache their paſſage, vj. M. horſemen beſide footemen.

At the firſt the Scottes made towardes the Engliſhmen as if they had ment to ſet vpon the vowarde: but being manfully aſſayled by the harquebutters, fiue hundred in number, and ſhrewdly by them curried and galled, they had no mynde to come forwarde, but perceyuing how willing the Engliſhmen were to encounter with them, after certaine ſhot on both ſides, they made a ſodaine retreate, and leauing their artillerie behinde them, they fled to Edenburgh.

The Scots ſet to imp the Engliſ mens paſ

The Scots to Edenbu

The firſt man that fled, as the talke went, was the Cardinall, who perceyuing the deuotion which the Engliſhmen had to ſee his holyneſſe, had no minde to tarie. With him alſo fled the Gouernour, the Earles of Huntley, Murrey, and Bothwell.

The Engliſhmen thus hauing put their enimies to flight, and ſeazed vpon their artillerie, made ſtreyght to the towne of Lythe, and entred it without any great reſiſtance, wherein they encamped themſelues the ſame night to their moſt eaſe and aduantage, and afterwardes landed their vittayles and great artillerie. They founde alſo in this towne ſuch plentie of riches as they looked not to haue founde in anye one towne of Scotlande.

The Engliſ armie en into Lythe.

The ſixt of May they went towards Edenburgh, and as they approched neare the towne, the Prouoſt of the ſame towne accompanied with one or two Burgeſſes, and two or three officers at armes, deſired to ſpeak with the kings Lieutenant, & in the name of all the towne, ſayde that the keyes of the towne ſhoulde be deliuered vnto his Lordſhip, condicionally that they might go with bagge and baggage, and the towne to be ſaued from fire. Whereunto aunſwere was made by the ſayde Lord Lieutenant, that where the Scots had ſo manifeſtly broken their promiſes confirmed by othes and ſeales, and certified by the whole Parliament, as was euidentlye knowne to the world, he was ſent thither by the Kings highneſſe to take vengeance of their deteſtable falſhoode, to declare and ſhewe the force of his highneſſe ſworde to all ſuch as ſhoulde make any reſiſtance vnto his Graces power ſent thither

The prouoſt Edenburghs requeſt.

The Earle of Hertfords anſwere.

The names of the Knightes made at Leith after the brenning of Edenburgh by the Earle of Hertforde, generall of the Kings army there, on ſunday the eleuenth of May, in the ſixe and thirtith yeare of the raigne of Kyng Henry the eight, Anno Chriſti. 1544. as they were deliuered to me by Sir Gilbert Dethike Knight, alias Garter, King of armes.

The Lord Clinton.
The Lord Conyers.
Sir William Wroughton.
Sir Thomas Holcroft.
Sir Edward Dorrell.
Sir John Luttrell.
Sir John Jenins.
Sir Thomas Waterton.
Sir Charles Howard.
Sir George Blount.
Sir Peter Mewtas.
Sir Edward Warner.
Sir Raufe Bulmer.
Sir Hugh Cholmeley.
Sir Tho. Lee, commonly called Doctor Lee.
Sir Richard Legh.
Sir Peter Legh.
Sir John Legh of Boothe.
Sir Laurence Smith.
Sir William Vauaſour.
Sir Richarde Shirburne.
Sir Robert Stapleton.
Sir Thomas Holt.
Sir William Dauenport.
Sir Raufe Leyceſter.
Sir Humfrey Bradborne.
Sir Thomas Maliuerey.
Sir Fraunсis Hothome.
Sir John Maſſy.
Sir Leonard Beckwith.
Sir Thomas Cokayne.
Sir Peter Freſhwell.
Sir Richard Egerton.
Sir Anthony Neuill.
Sir John Neuill.
Sir William Radcliffe.
Sir George Bowes.
Sir Urian Brereton.
Sir William Brereton.
Sir Roger Brereton.
Sir Edward Waren.
Sir Brian Leyton.
Sir Robert Wurſeley.
Sir Thomas Talbot.
Sir Hugh Caluerley.
Sir John Clere.
Sir Richard Holland.
Sir Thomas Venables.
Sir John Conneſtable.
Sir Edmund Trafford.
Sir John Atherton.
Sir Richard Cholmeley.
Sir Philip Egerton.
Sir Hugh Willoughby.
Sir Thomas Conneſtable.
Sir William Woodhouſe.
Sir Edmond Sauage.
Sir Thomas Gerard.

Theſe names muſt come in at the. 1593. page, ſecond Collome and ſecond line.

ther for that purpoſe. And therefore he told them reſolutely, that vnleſſe they woulde yeelde vp their towne frankly without condicion, and cauſe man, woman and chylde to iſſue forth into the fields, ſubmitting them to his will and pleaſure, he would put them to the ſworde, and their towne to the fire. The Prouoſt aunſwered that it were better to ſtand to their defence. Wherevpon commaundement was giuen to the ſayde Prouoſt and officer at armes, vpon their perill to depart, and forthwith the Lorde Lieutenant ſent to the vowarde, commaunding that they ſhoulde marche towarde the towne, which right hardily they did, and the Engliſh gunners manfully aſſayled the gates, namely ſir Chriſtopher Morice Maiſter of the ordinaunce, inſomuche that the Scottes were beaten from their ordinance, and the gate called Canogate beaten open with ſhot of the great artillerie, & therewith the Engliſhmen entring the ſame gate by fine force, bet towne & ſlew a great nūber of Scots, and continually without ſtaying was the great ordinance drawne vp the ſtreete to the Caſtell gates, but thoſe that were within the Caſtell ſhot ſo freely at the Engliſhmenne thus approching with their great artillerie, that diuerſe were ſlayne. the artillerie of the Caſtell beate ſo directly alongſt the high ſtreete, as the Engliſhe men came vp the ſame. At length alſo one of the Engliſhmens Caluerings was ſtriken, and diſmounted, and therevpon they were forced to retire backe and giue ouer their enterpriſe of making batterie to the Caſtell, wanting Pioners, baſkets, and other things neceſſarie for ſuch a purpoſe.

Sir Chriſtopher Morice.

ēburgh en- ed by force.

This daye the Engliſhmen ſet fire in diuers partes of the towne, but they had not leyſure to maintaine it, by reaſon of the ſmoke ryſing and troubling them ſo extremely, that no great hurt coulde be done that daye, for that the night alſo came on, and ſo they departed backe againe to their campe at Lythe. But the next daye, a certaine number of Engliſhmen vnder the leading of Doctor Leigh, went againe to Edenburgh, and did what they coulde vtterly to deſtroye the whole towne with fire, and ſo continued all that day and the two dayes next following.

he L. Euers rought a ower of horſ- en from the orders.

In the meane time, foure thouſād light horſmen, vnder the leading of the Lord Euers, came from our borders, as order was taken afore, and ioyned themſelues with the armie thus lying in Lythe, where after their comming, they did ſuch exploytes, in ryding and waſting the countrie, that within ſeauen myles euery waye of Edenburgh, they left fewe places, eyther pyle, village, or houſe vnbrent. And beſide this, they brought great numbers of cattell dayly into the armie, and met with much good ſtuffe, which the inhabitants of Edenburgh had for the ſafetie of the ſame conueyed out of the towne.

The xiiij.day, the Engliſh men brake downe the pyre of the hauen of Lythe, and brent euerye ſticke of it. This done, and hauing ſhipped their great artillerie, and taken forth all ſuch Scottiſh ſhippes as were meete to ſerue, appointing them to attende on their ſhippes, they tooke vpon them to returne home by lande. Amongſt other ſhips which the Engliſhmen had in Lythe hauen there were two of notable fayreneſſe, the one called the Salamander, giuen by the French king at the mariage of his daughter into Scotland, and the other called the Vnicorn, made by the late Scottiſhe king. The balaſt of theſe two ſhippes was Canon ſhot, which they founde in the towne, to the number of foure ſcore thouſande. The reſt of the Scottiſh ſhippes being taken away togither with their owne ſhips, which they brought with them, were for the more part peſtered with the ſpoyle and booties of the ſouldiers and mariners.

Lythe burnt.

On the xv. of Maye, their armie and their fleete departed from Lythe both in one houre, the towne being ſette on fire and burned to the grounde.

The Engliſhe armie encamped that night at a place called Seton, ſeuen myles from Lythe, where they burnt the caſtell, and deſtroyed the orchards and gardens with the more deſpite, for that the Lorde Seton owner of the place, was the chiefe labourer to helpe the Lorde Cardinall out of priſon.

The Lord Seton.

Hadington burnt.

The ſame daye was Hadington burnt, with a great Nunrie and houſe of Friers there.

Dunbar brent.

The next night they encamped beſide Dunbar, where they had an alarme giuen them, but in the morning they burnt the town of Dunbar, and marched forth, though ſomewhat ſtayde by the way, by reaſon of the myſt and fogge, which was very thicke, continuing all the forenoone, and bicauſe alſo they vnderſtoode how yͤ Lords of Seton and Hume, with the Larde of Boucclough, and others, had aſſembled a power of mē of warre, and were minded to impeach their paſſage, at a ſtrait named the Peaſe. But after that the myſt brake vp, which was about two of the clocke in the afternoone, the Engliſh men came forwarde, & paſſed the ſame ſtraite without any reſiſtance, for the Scottiſhe Lordes perceyuing that they were not of power ſufficient to encoūter with the Engliſhmenne, mynded not to put their people in further danger, but wiſely retired, ſuffering the Engliſhmen to paſſe at their pleaſure, who that night lodged at Ranton, eyght myles diſtant from our borders, where hauing ouerthrowne a pyle which ſtoode there, they diſlodged the next morowe, and the ſame daye being the xviij. of Maye, they entred into Bar-

The ende of this voyage.

wicke, ſo ending their voyage with great ioye and gladneſſe, not hauing loſt paſt fortie perſons in all this iourney.

Townes brent in the ſame voyage.

The names of the chiefe townes, Caſtels and places burnt in this voyage, were theſe: the borowe and towne of Edenburgh, with the Abbay called holy Roode houſe, and the kings palace adioyning to the ſame. The town of Lythe brent, and the hauen and pire deſtroyed. The Caſtell and village of Cragmiller. The abbay of Newbottell. Part of Muſkelborow towne, with the Chappell of our Ladie of Lauret. Preſton towne, and the Caſtell. Seton Caſtel, Hadington towne, with the Friers and Nunrie. A Caſtell of Oliuer Sanklers. The towne of Dunbar, Lanreſton with the grange.

Drilaw.
Weſter crag.
Enderligh, the pyle, and the towne.
Broughton.
Theſter fieldes.
Crawnend.
Dudiſton.
Stan houſe.
The Ficket.
Beuerton.
Tranent.
Shenſton.
Markle.
Trapren.
Kirklande hill.
Hatherwike.
Belton.
Eaſt barnes.
Bowlande.
Butterden.
Quickwoode.
Blackburne.
Ranton.
Byldy and the Tower.

Kynkorne, Saint Minees, the Queenes ferry, part of Petin Waynes, & the brent Ilande, were brent by the fleete on yͤ ſea For during the continuance of the armie at Lythe, the ſhippes laye not ydle, but ſcouring the riuer, brent diuerſe places, and left neyther ſhip, Crayer, nor Boate belonging to any village, towne, creeke, or hauen, vpon eyther ſide of the Forth, betwene Sterling, and the mouth of the riuer, vnbrent, or brought awaye, whiche ſpace conteyneth fiftie myles in length.

See more hereof in Scotland.

About the ſame time, the Earle of Lenoxe fled out of Scotlande into this Realme of Englande, where he was right gladly receyued by K. Henrie, and ſhortly he obteyned in mariage the Ladie Marie Douglas, Neece to the king of Englande, and returned ſoone after into Scotlande by ſea, accompanied with a good competent crewe of Engliſhmen, but finding no ſuche friendſhip among his countrymen as he looked to haue done, he was conſtreyned to returne without atchieuing the enterpriſe which he had taken in hande, in hope of ſuch aſſiſtance by his frends, as nowe fayled him at neede.

An armie leuied to inuade Fraunce

About the ſame time that the armie before remembred, was ſet forwarde into Scotland vnder the guyding of the Earle of Hertforde, as before ye haue hearde, the King by aduiſe of his Counſell, tooke order for the leuying of a mightie armie, to paſſe ouer into Fraunce, according to the appoyntment taken with his confederate, frend and colleague, the Emperour, againſt the French king, at that preſent, common aduerſarie to them both. There were appointed three battayles, the vowarde vnder the leading of the Duke of Norffolke, the battaile vnder the guiding of the Duke of Suffolke, which alſo was reckened to be the Kings battaile, bicauſe his Maieſtie ment to be preſent with the ſame in perſon, and the rerewarde was led by the Lorde Ruſſell Lord priuie ſeale. Thoſe of the foreward were apparailed in blewe cotes garded with red, and had cappes and hoſen after the ſame ſuite, partie blewe and partie red, their cappes made fit for their ſculles, which were put into the ſame. The battaile in coates, cappes, and hoſen, after the like faſhion, but their colours were red and yelowe, and the rerewarde blewe and yelowe.

Thre battailes apointed with their ſeuerall Lieutenants.

The Duke of Norfolke and the Lord priuie ſeale.

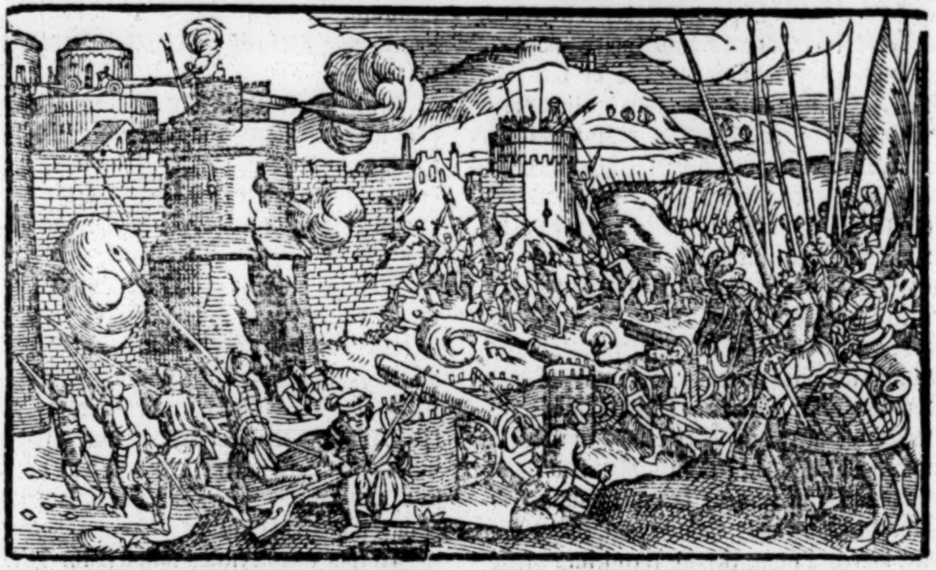
The Duke of Norffolk and the Lord priuie ſeale, accompanied with diuerſe other noble men, as the Earle of Surrey ſonne to the ſayde Duke of Norffolke, marſhall of the fielde, the Earle of Oxforde, the Lorde Grey of Wilton Lieutenant of Hammes, whoſe name euen then began to growe famous, the Lorde Ferrers of Charteley, and ſir Richarde Deuereux his ſonne and heire, that brought with them a great number of Welchmen, ſir Thomas Cheiny Lorde Warden of the Cinque ports, the Lord Mountioy a towardly yong gentleman, well learned, and for his time perfect in all pointes and qualities fit for a noble man, Sir Fraunceis Brian knight, one of the Kings priuie chamber, and no leſſe affectioned to his ſeruice, than of him fauored and well eſteemed, ſir Thomas Poynings Captaine of Guiſnes, and diuerſe other beſide, no leſſe worthie to be remembred for their valure and merites, if time woulde permitte to rehearſe them, paſſed ouer to Caleis about Whitſuntide, and from thence marching forward into France, left Bologne on their right hande, and keeping forth towards Muttrell, ioyned with an armie whiche the Emperour had rayſed for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of the Counte de Buren, Admirall of the lowe countries, and ſo theſe armies being vnited in one, came before Muttrel, and there layde ſiege to that towne, being well manned and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for defence, as well in vittayles as munition. The chiefe Captaine of which towne, was Mõſieur de Biez one of the Marſhals of Fraunce, and gouernour alſo in the abſence of Monſieur de Vandoſme, of Picardie, who being within Bullogne, and hearing howe the Engliſh armie was paſſed by, and driue towards Muttrell, he left Bullogne, and with all ſpeede got him into Muttrell, not miſtruſting any thing of that po-

The Conte de Buren.

Monſieur de Biez.

licie

licle which the king of Englande went about, which was, to ſende this armie to beſiege Muttrell, to the ende the Frenchmenne mighte bee kept occupied further off, while he with the reſidue of his power ſhould come and beſiege Bollogne, which towne ſtanding moſt commodious for his purpoſe, he ment by force to bring vnder his ſubiection.



he Duke of
ffolke.

Bollogne beſieged.

Hereupon was the Duke of Suffolke appoynted with the kings armie to paſſe ouer, accompanied with the Earle of Arundell marſhall of the fielde, the Lorde Saint Iohn, and the biſhop of Winchester, ſir Iohn Gage Comptroller of the Kings houſe, ſir Anthonie Browne Maiſter of the Kings horſe, with diuerſe other worthie Captaines, the which the xix. of Iulye came before Bollogne, encãped on the Eaſt ſide of the ſame towne aloft vpon the hill, and after for his more ſafetie remoued into a valley, where after many ſharpe ſkirmiſhes they firſt entred the baſe towne being left and forſaken by the inhabitants, which hauing ſet fire on their fiſhing nets, and other ſuch baggage, vnder couert of the ſmoke, got them vp into the high towne, before the Engliſhmen coulde eſpie them.

After this, the Olde man, otherwiſe called *le toure dordre*, ſtanding without the towne for a direction to them that were to enter the hauen, and nowe being kept by xvj. ſouldiers, was yeelded vp by them vpon preſenting the Canon before it.

The Frenchmen within the towne, being diſpoyled of thoſe two places, yet ſpared not to ſhoote off from their walles and bulwarkes, doing what domage they might deuiſe, and namely from the Caſtell and greene Bulwarke they did much hurt to the Engliſhmenne with their ſhotte, whereof they made no ſpare, til at length they were forced to be quiet, for the Engliſhmen ſo applyed thẽ with ſuch plentie of their ſhot, that the Frenchmen had no oportunitie to doe them any great hurt with their artillerie.

king paſ-
the ſeas to
ogne.

The xiiij. of Iuly, the King in perſon, accompanied with diuerſe of the Nobilitie, paſſed the ſeas from Douer to Caleys, and the xxvj. day of the ſame Moneth, encamped himſelfe before Bologne on the North ſide, within leſſe than three quarters of a myle of the towne, where he remayned, till the towne was ſurrendred into his hands.

Beſide the trenches whiche were caſt, and brought in maner rounde about the towne, there was a mount raiſed vpon the Eaſt ſide, and diuerſe peeces of artillerie planted aloft on the ſame, the which togither with the morter peeces, ſore annoyed them within, battered downe the ſteeple of our Ladie Church. To conclude, the batterie was made in moſt forcible wiſe in three ſeuerall places, and the walles, towers, and caſtell were vndermined, and the towne within ſo beaten with ſhot out of the campe, and from the mount and trenche by the Morter peeces, that there were very fewe houſes left whole therein. The towne thus ſtanding in great diſtreſſe, there were two hundred French men and Italians, which enterpriſed vnder the conduct of Ioncurtio to enter the towne in couert of the night, which exployt they ſo warily atchieued, that by meanes of a Prieſt that could ſpeake the Engliſh tongue, they paſſed by the ſcowtes, and through the watch, ſo as the moſt part of them were got ouer the trenches ere it was knowen what they were: to the number of ſixe ſcore of them got into the towne, but the reſidue after they were once diſcried, being intercepted, were taken or ſlaine. Although this ſmal ſuccours ſomewhat relieued them within, and put them in ſome hope to defende the towne ſomewhat longer againſt the

Kings power, yet at length when a peece of the Caſtel was blowne vp, and the breaches made, as was thought reaſonable, the aſſault was giuen by the Lorde Admirall Dudley, that was come thither from the ſea, which he had ſcoured after his returne forth of Scotland. This aſſault was couragiouſly giuen, and to ſpeake a troth, no leſſe manfully defended, ſo that when the aſſaylants had perceyued in what ſtate the breaches ſtoode, and what prouiſion they within had made for defence of their towne, which vndoubtedly was great, for nothing was by them omitted, that might eyther aduauntage the defendants, or annoy the aſſaylants, thoſe that were appoynted in this ſort to giue the aſſault, were called backe, and ſo they retyred, but not without loſſe on both ſides, and namely of thẽ within: for during the time of the aſſault, the great artillerie did beate ſtill vpon them that preſented themſelues at the breaches, to repulſe the aſſaylantes, and ſo diuerſe of their valiant Captaines and braue ſouldiers were ſlayne at this aſſault, and among other, Captaine Philip Corſe.

Boullogne aſſaulted.

Shortlye after, the Captaynes within the towne, doubting to be eftſoones aſſaulted, and perceyuing themſelues in extreme daunger to loſe the towne by force, if they prouided not the ſooner, by rendring it, to ſaue themſelues: they ſent forth two of their chiefe Captaynes, Monſieur Semblemont, and Monſieur de Hayes, which declared vnto the King, that Monſieur de Veruine gouernour of the towne, with his retinue, was contented to deliuer the towne vnto his Grace, with condicion that they might paſſe with bagge and baggage, whiche requeſt, the king lyke a noble and mercifull Prince, freely graunted, and ſo the next daye, the Duke of Suffolke roade into Boullogne, vnto whom in the Kings name the keyes of the towne were deliuered, and in the afternone departed out of Bologne all the Frenchmen.

Boullogn deliuered.

The number of them that went forth of Bollogne.

The number of the men of warre that were ſtrong and able to ſerue, were of horſemen ſixtie ſeuen, of footemen fiftene hundred, lxiij. of which number eyght hundred were Harquebuſſers, of hurt men, foure ſcore and ſeauen, of women and children, ninetene hundred and twentie ſeauen, beſide a great number of aged and ſicke perſons, not able to depart with the other. The laſt perſon that came forth, was Monſieur de Veruine him ſelfe, who vpon his approche to the place where the King ſtoode, alighted from his horſe, and came to the King, and after he had talked with him a ſpace, the King tooke him by the hande, and he reuerently kneeling vpon his knees, kiſſed his hande, and afterwarde mounted vpon his horſe, and ſo departed, following his companie.

The eyght of September, the King hauing the Sworde borne afore him, by the Lord Marques Dorſet, like a puiſſant Conquerour roade into Bollogne, and the Trumpetters ſtanding on the walles, ſounded their Trumpettes at the time of his entring, to the great comfort of the beholders.

In the entring, there mette him the Duke of Suffolke, and deliuered vnto him the keyes of the towne, and ſo he roade forth to his lodging that was prepared for him on the South ſide of the towne.

The King eth into Bollogne.

Within two dayes after, the King roade about the towne within the walles, and appointed that our Ladie Church of Boullogne ſhould be taken downe, and in the place therof a mount to be made, for the more ſtrengthening of the towne.

Finallye, after he had ſet things in order for the ſafe keeping of this his towne of Bollogne, by his Princely force thus wonne out of the poſſeſſion of his aduerſaries handes, he appoynted the Lorde Liſle high Admirall of the ſeas, to be his Deputie of the ſame towne, and then determining not to ſtaye there any longer, he tooke the ſeas, and returned into Englande, landing at Douer the firſt of October.

The king turneth in Englande.

In this meane time, whyleſt the King of Englande lay, as ye haue hearde, with his ſiege about Bollogne, and the Duke of Norffolke, and Lorde priuie ſeale about Muttrel, the Emperour inuaded Fraunce by Champaigne, winning diuerſe Caſtelles and townes, as Comerſis, Ligny, Saint Deſir, Chaſteau Thiery, and others. But at the length meane was made by treatie to haue the matter taken vppe, as in the ende it was, and a peace concluded, without the conſente of the King of Englande, although there was place left for him, and other Princes, to enter into this agreement of peace: but the Kyng of Englande hauing nowe defreyed no ſmall quantitie of treaſure in theſe warres, beſide the trauayle of his owne perſon and his people, and hauing the thing nowe in a maner ſure in his poſſeſſion, whiche he chieflye went about to obteyne, that is to wit, the ſtrong towne of Bollogne, he woulde not agree vnto any peace, except he might enioy that towne, at that inſtant readie to be deliuered into his handes, and euen nowe after it was to him deliuered, hearing that for certaine, the peace was concluded betweene the Emperour and the Frenche King: he determined to breake vp his Campes: but neuertheleſſe to keepe Bollogne in his poſſeſſion, in deſpite of all his aduerſaries.

The Em concludet peace with French ki

But here, before wee proceede anye further, we haue thought good ſomewhat to ſpeake touching the ſiege which all this whyle continued afore Muttrell, where the Engliſhe men and Burgonions enforced themſelues by all wayes and meanes they coulde deuyſe, howe to conſtrayne their enimies within the towne. On the other parte, Monſieur de Biez, and thoſe that were with him in garde of the ſame towne, lefte nothing vndone that might ſerue for their defence, and make to the annoyance of their enimies.

The number of the men of arre in Mut- rell.

There were with Monſieur de Biez within the towne, an hundred men at armes of the retinue of the Conſtable of Fraunce, vnder the leading of the Lorde de la Guiche, an experte man of warre. There were alſo with the Lorde of Genly, foure enſignes of Frenche footemen. Counte Berenger a Neapolitane, with a thouſande footemen Italians. Captaine Franciſco de Chiaramont, a Neapolitane alſo, with the lyke number of Italian footemen: ſo that the towne might ſeeme ſufficiently furniſhed wyth men, and they wanted neyther ſhotte nor powder requiſite, ſo that there was no ſpare thereof when occaſion ſerued on eyther part.

mount raiſed

The Duke of Norffolke and the Lord priuie ſeale cauſed a mount to be rayſed, and alofte thereon were certayne peeces of artillerie planted to ſhoote into the towne. Moreouer, they compaſſed the walles ſo on eche hande with their ſeuerall Campes and trenches, that hardlye might any eſcape eyther in or out, vneſpied.

ir Frauncis ian.

Sir Frauncis Brian was appoynted with certayne bandes conteyning about the number of a thouſande men, to lodge in a Campe fortified, by himſelfe, ouer agaynſt one parte of the towne, to ſtoppe certaine paſſages on that ſide, that no ſuccours ſhoulde enter by the ſame to the reliefe of them within.

There were ſkirmiſhes dayly betwixt them that ſallyed forth of the gates, and the Engliſhe men that watched and warded in the trenches, and other places.

iberio that tor ſerued e king of glande.

One daye as ſir Thomas Poynings ſouldiers were warding in one of the trenches, an Italian ſecretly comming forth of the towne, fetched awaye the ſayde ſir Thomas Poynings his enſigne, and notwithſtanding the purſuite that was made after him, he eſcaped and got into the towne with it, to the great diſpleaſure of the whole campe.

But as the enimies ſometimes went awaye with the aduauntage of their attempted enterpriſes, ſo oftentimes againe, they payde for their aduenturing ouer raſhlye, aboue the common pryce of the market.

But here I cannot but lament the negligence vſed in that ſeaſon: for there is not one Engliſh writer to be founde extant, that hath written any thing effectually of the exploytes atchieued in that iourney, ſo as we are driuen to borowe of the aduerſaries that haue written thereof, wanting other helpes of our owne Nation to furniſh our booke herein according to our wiſhed purpoſe. But neuertheleſſe to giue occaſion to thoſe that yet liue, and can beſt doe it, to ſette forth hereafter a more perfect diſcourſe thereof, I haue thought it not amiſſe to recite in parte what I haue read & learned of ſuche things as then were accounted worthie of relation, and nowe lyke to be buried in the dymme booke of obliuion, vnleſſe ſome fauourer of notable euentes chauncing in the aſſiegement of thoſe two townes, Boulogne and Muttrell, will put to his helping hande, to report the ſame to poſteritie.

Negligence of Engliſhmen for not putting their valiant doings in writing.

Among other ſtratagemes, one I remember, deuiſed and put in practiſe by the Lorde Mountioy, as thus. The enimies had eſpyed a place of aduauntage without the towne, where vnder fauour of the ſhotte of certayne peeces of their great artillery lodged vpon ſome platforms or Bulwarkes within the towne, they mighte lye without the walles, betwixte the Engliſhe mennes trenches and the towne ditches, and there couer themſelues within a little trenche or Counterſcarpe made for the purpoſe, and out of the ſame bee readie with their harquebuſſes, to ſhoote at the Engliſhe menne, ſo ſoone as anye of them ſhoulde once ſhewe his heade out of the trenches, to the great daunger of them that warded in the ſame.

The Lorde Mountioye perceyuing this, deuiſed with himſelfe howe to rowſe the enimies out of that lurking place, and with all came to the Duke of Norffolke, and deſired licence to put the deuiſe (which he had alreadie forecaſt in his mynde) in practiſe: but the Duke being not willing that he ſhoulde putte himſelfe in ſuche daunger, was lothe to graunt thereto, but rather perſwaded with him not to attempt it: for (ſayde he) my Lorde, ye may doe the King better ſeruice, than ſo to hazarde your lyfe, and caſt your ſelfe away, as it is very like you ſhoulde, in aduenturing vppon ſuch a deſperate peece of ſeruice, and therefore I woulde not wyſhe you to meddle therewith, for we ſhall otherwyſe prouyde for the matter well ynough. But the Lorde Mountioy ſtill perſiſted in his ſuite very earneſtlye, declaring that he doubted not by Gods helpe but to atchieue his purpoſe to hys good contentation without any great daunger, if that were executed which he tooke to be neceſſarie for the accompliſhment of his deuiſe, and that was to haue certaine peeces of the great ordinance ſhot of that way forth, at what time the winde ſtoode meete to carie the ſmoke full vppon the place where the Frenchmen lay.

A politike fea atchieued by the L. Montioy.

At length vpon his earneſt ſuite, the Duke

gaue

the Duke gaue him licence to trie what he could doe, commaunding the great ordinaunce to be layd and charged ready to ſhoote off as he ſhould appoynt it. Herewith the Lorde Mountioye, taking with him fouretene of his owne ſouldiers (of the which number, one of them forſooke to go through with him when it came to the poynt) immediatly vpon the ſhooting off of the artillerie, and that all the grounde about was couered ouer with ſmoke, he ranne to the place where thoſe Frenchmenne laye vnder couert of their trenche, and ſo diſplaced them, that they had no lyking eftſoones to lodge ſo neare vnto ſuch vnfrendly neighbors.

The L. Montioy a noble yong gentleman.

Many other valiant and politike feates, no doubt, were atchieued during this ſiege, and happily as worthie the rehearſall as this: but ſithe it was the inuention of ſo noble a yong Gentlemanne, I haue eſteemed it not impertinent to ſpeake thereof, and withall to lament the loſſe of the inuentor, who being taken awaye ſhortlye after, in his returne homewardes, by vntimely death, was lyke (if he had liued to greater yeres of experience) to haue proued comparable in valure to any of his noble progenitors.

But nowe to ſpeake of other incidentes that chaunced whyleſt this ſiege remayned before Muttrell, you muſt vnderſtande that the moſte part of the vittayles that was ſpent in the campe was brought to them eyther from the Kings campe at Boullogne, or elſe from Saint Omers, and to conuey the ſame ſo farre off, it was needefull to haue the cariage garded with good troupes and bandes both of horſemen and footemen: for the Frenche fortreſſes were ſtronglye furniſhed with great numbers of men of warre, which vppon occaſions were readie to take aduauntages offered.

And as it fortuned at one time among other, there was a conuoy of certayne wagons loaden with vittayles, appoynted to come from Saint Omers, the ſame being garded with diuerſe bandes of Engliſhmenne and Burgonions, ſent thither for that purpoſe, the which marching forwarde from Saint Omers, kept not ſo good order as had bene requiſite, whereof certayne companies of Frenche horſemen (that were abroade) being aware, ſet vpon the Burgonions that were attendant vpon the foremoſt cariages, and finding them in ſome diſorder, eaſily diſcomfited them, followed, and ſlewe them in the chaſe, till they came to the hyndermoſt cariages, where ſixe hundreth Engliſhe men that attended on the ſame, empaled themſelues with their wagons, ſo as the Frenchmen coulde take no aduauntage: but with ſhot of the Englyſhe archers were ſo curried and galled, that they were driuen to retire, and that in ſuch haſte, as they lefte diuerſe of their cõpanie captiues in the Englyſhmens handes, beſide thoſe yͭ were fayre layd to take their laſt ſleepe there on the ground.

he Engliſh chers gall e French orſemen.

Neuertheleſſe, of the Burgonions there were ſlayne foure hundreth, and much good vitayles loſt, the bottomes of the hoggeſheades and other veſſels being beaten out, and many a good Flemmiſh Mare killed or taken. For the Frenche men founde ſmall reſiſtance, as before ye haue hearde, till they approched to the Engliſh men, by whoſe accuſtomed manhoode, ſome parte of the vittayles of that conuoye was ſaued, to the reliefe of the Campe, which notwithſtanding, by loſſe of the reſidue ſuffered great want for the time.

Moreouer, ſomewhat towardes the latter ende of this ſiege, the Earle of Surrey ſonne to the Duke of Norfolke, and Marſhall of his fielde, accompanied with the Lorde Warden of the Cinque portes, and diuerſe other valiant Captaines Englyſhe and Burgonions, marched forth into the countrey towardes Abbeuile, where they tooke and brent a proper towne called Saint Requiers, and after comming to an other towne called Rieu, they founde no bodie at home, but women and children, for the men were departed oute of it before their comming thither.

Saint Requiers brent by the Engliſh

Rieu ſacked.

When they had taken their pleaſure in ſacking all ſuch goods as they found there fit to be caried away, they ſpared the town from fire, & ſo departed. And thus after they had bene two dayes and two nights abroade in the Countrie, they returned home to the Campe with a great bootie of beaſtes, ſheepe, and other things which they had got in that voyage.

But nowe to conclude with this ſiege of Muttrell, after the King had wonne Boulogn, and vnderſtoode howe the Emperour had agreed with his aduerſarie the French King, he reſolued to haue his armie to rayſe that ſiege, whiche thus had lyen before Muttrell, and with all conuenient ſpeede to drawe towardes Caleys, and bicauſe it was ſignified that the Dolphin of Fraunce Henrie was comming forwarde with a great power whiche had bene rayſed by his father the Frenche king, to reſiſt the Emperour, and nowe was ſent vnder the conduct of the ſayde Dolphin, to the ſuccours of them that were beſieged in Muttrell, the King ſent the Earle of Arundell, ſir John Gage, ſir George Caroe, ſir John Reynsforth, and other, with a choſen number of luſtie ſouldiers vnto Muttrell, to reenforce his armie there, that in leuying the Campe, and withdrawing back, they might be the better able to withſtande anye attempte whiche the enimies might put in execution to their annoiance. And verily this was done with

The ſiege at Muttrell broken vp.

good adviſe, and neceſſarie conſideration, for the Engliſhmenne that had lyen ſo long a tyme at the ſiege before Muttrell, wanting ſuche behouefull refreſhment as thoſe were ſtored with that laye before Boullogne (hauing the ſeas open, and all things at pleaſure brought vnto them forth of Englande) were ſore weakened and decayed by death and ſickeneſſe, and nowe in rayſing their Campe had manye things to looke vnto, as well for the conueying of their ordinaunce, truſſe and baggage, as their feeble and diſeaſed perſons, ſo that if the Dolphin with his armie, might haue made ſuch ſpeede forwarde, as to haue ouertaken them with his mayne power, before they had come to Boullogne, it was to be feared leaſt he myght haue put them in daunger of a playne diſtreſſe. But with ſuch timely foreſight as was vſed, the ſiege was rayſed, and the armie retired firſt to Boullogne, and after to Caleys without loſſe, although the French horſemen in great number folowed, and ſundrie times made proude profers to giue the charge vpon the hindermoſt companies: but nothing was done to make great account of, except certayne ſkirmiſhes that were procured, and alarmes giuen, as in ſuche caſes it fortuneth.

Do'phin meth be- Boulog e his great et.

The Dolphin notwithſtanding that the ſiege was thus rayſed from Muttrell, ere hee coulde come thither, yet he kept forwarde his iourney to proue what he might doe to recouer Boullogne, whiche towne, the King of Englande, as ye haue heard, had left in the keeping of the Lord Liſle high Admirall. The ſame towne being then weake, God knoweth, on all ſides, through batterie and mynings, whiche by the Kings power had bene made, to bring it into his ſubiection, and the trenches not caſt downe, nor the ordinance mounted.

miſado to baſe logne.

The Dolphin being come before the towne, ſent certayne bandes of his beſt ſouldiers by night to giue a Camiſado vnto the baſe towne. They that thus were ſent, entred the ſame the ninth of October, about two of the clocke in the morning, where they tooke the ſtande watches, and ſlewe beſide a greate number of ſicke and weake perſons, as well ſouldiers as other, before they coulde array themſelues, or well gette out of their beddes. But after, the Frenchmen and Italians fell to ryfling and breaking vp of cofers, ſcattering here and there abroade, and beganne to fall to their vittayles whiche they founde there in good plentie, the Engliſhmen that were driuen vppe to the gates of the hyghe towne, got weapons that were throwne downe vnto them forth of the ſame, and aſſembling togither, fiercely entred in amongſt the preaſe of their enimies. And herewith there ſallyed forth of the highe towne, Sir Thomas Poynings with a bande of two hundreth Souldiers, the which togither with the other, ſo beſtirred themſelues, that they manfullye beate backe the enimies, ſlewe to the number of eyght hundreth of them, and chaſed the reſidue out of the towne, which fledde ouer the ſandes vp to the hill, where the Dolphin himſelfe ſtoode with a great troupe of horſemen about him, and durſt not once come downe to the reſkewe of his people, for feare of the greate artillerie that with plentie of bullets ſaluted the enimies, after that the breake of the daye had once diſcouered them in ſight.

An ouerthrow giuen to the French at baſe Boulogne.

Amongſt other that were ſlayne in this repulſe, of the Frenchmenne, le Seigneur de Foqueſſolles, an other of the Marſhall de Biez his ſonnes in lawe, and Seneſchall of Boullogne was one.

Thus the Dolphin perceyuing that it would nothing auayle him to make anye further attempt againſt Boullogne, paſſed forth towards Guyſnes, and ſhortly after through want of vitayles, and ſickeneſſe whiche ſore infeſted hys Campe, brake vp his armie, and returned into Fraunce.

Monſieur de Biez cometh before Bologn with an armie.

But ſhortly after Chriſtmas, came downe an armie of fouretene thouſande, vnder the conduction of Monſieur de Biez, the which the xxvj. of Ianuarie, encamped on the Weſt ſide of Boullogne beyonde the hauen, where they laye tenne dayes: but on the ſixth of Februarie, the Earle of Hertforde, the Lorde Admirall, as then L. Lieutenant of the town of Boulogn, the Lorde Greye of Wilton, Sir Thomas Poynings and others, hauing aſſembled out of the garriſons on that ſide the ſeas, to the number of foure thouſande footemen, and ſeauen hundreth horſemen, whereof an hundreth or foure ſcore were Albanoytes, iſſued forth of Boullogne aboute foure of the clocke in the morning, and comming to the place where the King had encamped during the time of the ſiege, they ſtayde there, and put themſelues in order of battayle, and about ſixe of the clocke, it being then a lowe water, Captaine Edwarde Braye with three hundreth ſhotte, was appoynted to paſſe ouer, and to giue the enimies an alarme in their camp. At which inſtant the Trumpettes ſounded, and the Drummes ſtroke vp in the Engliſhe armie, and herewith they being deuided into three battayles, and to eche one his garde of two hundreth horſemen, beſide the odde hundreth that attended as a defence to the reſidue, they ſhewed themſelues to their enimies.

The French men diſlodge out of their campe.

The Frenchmen perceyuing this, packed away with all haſte poſſible, marching towarde Hardilowe in two battayles. Wherevpon the

Engliſhe Captaynes leauing their footemen behinde them, & taking only with them the horſemenne, followed with all ſpeede after their enimies, and comming to the Bridge commonlye called Pont de Bricque, which certayne Engliſhe Carpenters garded, with a number of harquebuſiers, and foure ſmall fielde peeces, had forced and repaired the ſame that night, and ſo the horſemen finding it ſufficiently repayred, paſſed ouer, and comming to Saint Eſtienne, they founde fiue there hundreth Dutche horſemen, commonlye called Swart Reiſters, that were lodged there to keepe that paſſage: but being ſurpriſed on the ſodaine by the Englyſhe horſemen, and ſharply aſſayled, they were wholy diſtreſſed, and the moſt parte of them taken priſoners, and therewith left with the followers of the armie, were after ſlayne, bicauſe they knewe not where to beſtowe them.

But nowe the hill of Saint Eſtienne being thus gayned by the Engliſhe horſemenne, they put themſelues in order of battayle againe, appoynting an hundreth of their men at armes to followe and keepe aloofe as a ſtale to relieue their fellowes in tyme of neede, when they ſawe them in any daunger.

The comfortable wordes of the Engliſh Captaines.

The Lordes to encourage euery one to doe his dutie, roade vp and downe about the troups, and vſing manye comfortable wordes, deſired them that although they were but an handfull in compariſon, to the number of their enimies, they woulde yet in regarde of the honour of the Realme of Englande, make a profer of an onſet to the enimies, that they might perceyue that there they were to giue them battayle, and to folowe, as they ſhoulde ſee them their Captaynes and gouernours to leade them the waye. Herewith forwarde they make towardes the enimie, and ouertaking them three myles on the hyther ſide of Hardilo ſandes, they valiantly gaue the charge, and thruſting in betwixt the two Frech battayles, ouerthrewe their cariages, tooke their ordinaunce and munitions, ſlewe and bare downe manye of them that preaſed forth to defende the ſame.

The Engliſhe horſmẽ charge the Frenche battayles.

The valiant order of Monſieur de Biez.

Monſieur de Biez being in the forewarde, brought backe the ſtrongeſt and beſt armed men he had, to reſiſt his enimies, raunging them in order ſo, as he ment to haue encloſed the Engliſhe horſemen betwixt his battailes and the ſea, and ſo to haue diſtreſſed them. But this purpoſe being eſpyed firſt of all by the Lorde Admirall, the Engliſhmenne by his valiant encouragement, gaue a newe charge, and breaking through their rankes by force, came backe again vnto their hundreth men of armes that kept aloofe, and there ſtayed till their footemen might come to them, who by this time were aduaunced within ſight of them, but diſtant yet by the ſpace of two Engliſhe myles, or little leſſe.

The Lord Admirall his readie cõceyuing the meaning of the enimies

Monſieur de Biez perceiuing that the Engliſhe footemen began thus to approch, made forwarde agayne with his armie ſo faſt as was poſſible for his people to marche, drawing ſtill his armed men and beſt ſouldiers to the hindermoſt rankes, there to be readie to withſtande the Engliſhe menne as they ſhoulde offer to aſſayle them, and in this order, the Frenchmen made awaye, and reſted not till they came to Hardilo ſandes, being a place of ſuche ſtrength and aduauntage, by reaſon of the ſtraite, that after they were once got thither, they might account them ſelues out of all daunger, and therfore there they ſtayed, and diſpatched an Herault vnto the Chiefetaynes of the Engliſhe armie, to ſignifie vnto them that there they ment to abyde and to giue them battayle, if they woulde aduance forwarde to fight with them: but yet they would not in any wiſe come forth of their ſtrength vnto ſome euen grounde, although they were earneſtly required therevnto. Wherevpon the Engliſhmen, to light them a candle that they might ſee where they were, ſet all the villages & houſes about on a light fire, continuing the ſame al that afternoone, and moſt parte of the night following, and the next morning betwixt foure and fiue of the clocke, they came backe agayne vnto Boullognie with all their ſpoyle and priſoners.

Hardilo ſ

Artillerie gayned.

They tooke in this encounter ſeauen peeces of artillerie, two of Braſſe, and fiue of Iron. Alſo the peeces of aduanntage of the armour of Monſieur de Biez, beſide apparell, plate, and furniture in great plentie, as well taken in the field, as alſo in their campe, where they left their tents ſtanding, & all their prouiſion of vittayles wholy vnremoued. The ſame peeces of armour were ſent ouer into Englande to the King for a wytneſſe of the good ſucceſſe that had thus happened to his people in this famous enterpriſe, in the atchieuing whereof there were not paſt halfe a dozen Engliſh men ſlayne, beſide thoſe that were hurt, which neyther were many, as vnder halfe a ſcore at the moſt.

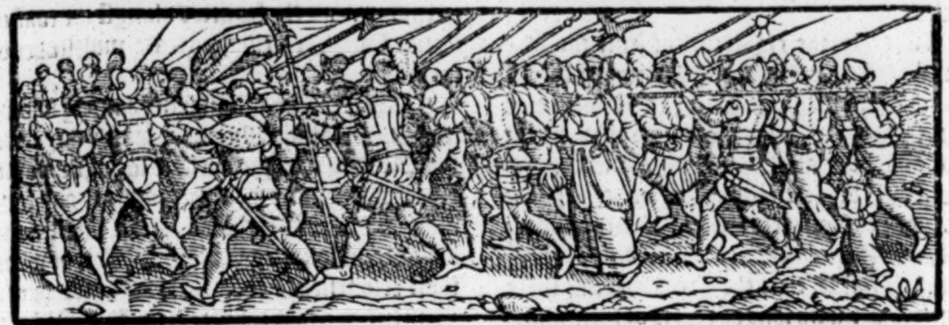
Stow.

Whyleſt ſuche things were a doing aboute Boulogne, and other places, as before ye haue hearde in this xxxvj. yeare, the ſhippes of the weſt countrey and other coaſtes of this Realme, wafted abrode on the ſeas, and tooke to the number of three hundred and odde French ſhippes, ſo that the Grey friers Churche in London, was layd full of wyne, the Auſtine friers, and Black friers full of herring, and other fiſh that was taken as the ſame ſhoulde haue bene conueyed into Fraunce.

Great pri
French go
taken by
weſtern

About the ſame ſeaſon, the King demaunded uolence

ded a beneuolence of hys ſubiectes ſpirituall and temporall, towardes the mayntenaunce of his warres agaynſte the Frenchmenne and Scottes.



ttcomſ- gotten by Scottes at enrigge.

In the beginnyng of Marche ſir Rauſe Euers Lord wardeyn of the marches after manye fortunate roades and forreyes made into Scotland, aſſembled now about four thouſand men, and entryng with the ſame into Scotlande, was encountred at Halydon rigge by the Earle of Arrayn and other Scottiſhmen, which ſo beſet the Engliſhmen with three battayles on eche ſyde, that in the ende they ſlewe the ſayd Lord Warden, with the Lord Ogle, and a great number of other Gentlemen and commons, beſyde priſoners, whiche they tooke, ſo that fewe eſcaped the Scottiſhmens hands.

The valiaunt ſir Rafe Euers ſlayne.

Alder- of Lōdon.

Among other Priſoners taken, Richarde Read an Alderman of London was one, who for that hee refuſed to paye ſuche a ſumme of money as the cōmiſſioners for the beneuolence demaunded of him, was cōmanded forthwith to ſerue the King in hys warres agaynſte the Scottes, and ſo was taken nowe at thys ouerthrowe. The death of Sir Rauſe Euers was greatly bemoned: for he had ſhewed great profe of his valiant prowes at ſundry tymes before, namely in thys yeare paſt, as at the taking and brenning of the towne of Iedworth, which enterpriſe was atchieued the. x. of Iune, beſide dyuers other exploytes fortunately brought to paſſe by his highe valiancie and manhoode, till his hap was at this preſent to finiſhe his dayes.

reg 37. ſton.

This yeare on Saincte Georges daye Syr Thomas Wriotheſley Lorde Chauncellor of England was made knight of the garter: alſo Trinitie Terme was adiourned by reaſon of the warres, but the Eſcheker and the Court of the Tenths were open, for thoſe that were accomptable in eyther of the ſayd courtes.

Aſkue & arreig- & acquitte

The. xiij. of Iune Robert Luken ſeruaunt to ſir Humfrey Browne one of the Iuſtices of the kings benche, Anne Aſkew gentlewoman, otherwyſe called Anne Kyme, wyfe to one Kyme, a Gentleman of Lyncolneſhire, and Ioane Sauterey, wyfe to Iohn Sauterey of London, were arraigned in the Guyld Hall of London, for ſpeaking againſt the Sacrament of the Aultar (as they tearmed it) contrarie to the eſtatute of. the. vj. articles: but bicauſe no witneſſe appeared againſt the women, nor againſte Lucane, one onely excepted, who was thought to accuſe him rather of malice, than otherwyſe, they were by. xij. honeſt ſubſtantiall men of the Citie (ſworne to paſſe vppon their Inditements) clearely acquit and diſcharged.

Thomas Days Pewterer.

The ſame daye alſo was a Pewterer named Thomas Day diſcharged, by the pardō granted in the laſte Parliament, after hee hadde remayned in pryſon in Newgate the ſpace of three yeares nowe paſte, condempned long before the date of the ſame pardon, for the article of auriculer confeſſion compryſed wythin the ſame ſtatute.

Martin du Bellay.

The new fort before Bulleyn

The Engliſhe fleete cōmeth before Newe hauen.

Aboute the ſame tyme, to wytte the ſeuenth of Iune a greate armye of Frenchemen came downe to Boullongne, and neare vnto the hauen encamped themſelues. In this army were recconed to bee. xij. M. Lanſquenetz. xij. M. Frenche footmen. vj. M. Italians, iiij. M. of Legeonarie ſouldiers of France, & a. M. or. xij. hūdred men of armes, beſide. vij. or. viij. C. light horſmen. After ſome ſkirmiſhes not greatlye to their aduantage, they began yet to build a forte, whiche at length they accompliſhed, as after ſhall appeare. The ſame moneth alſo the lord Liſle Admirall of England with the Engliſhe fleete entred the mouthe of Sayne, and came before Newe hauen, where a greate nauy of the Frenchmen lay, to the number of a. ij. C. ſhips, and. xxvj. galeys. whereof the Pope (as was reported) had ſent. xx. well furniſhed with men and mony, to the aide of the Frenche kyng. The Engliſhmen being not paſt an. C. and. lx. ſaile, and all greate ſhippes, determined not to ſet vpon the Frenchmen where they lay, but yet approching neare vnto them, ſhotte off certaine peeces of ordinance at them, and therby cauſed the galeis to come abroade, whiche chaunged ſhot agayn wyth the Engliſhmen.

The Galleis at the fyrſte hadde greate aduantage, by reaſon of the great calme. Twiſe eyther parte aſſaulted other with ſhotte of theſe greate artillerye, but ſuddainelye the wynde roſe ſo high, that the Galeys could not endure the rage of the ſeas, and ſo the Engliſhmenne for feare of flattes wer compelled to enter the mayne ſeas, and ſo ſayled vnto Porteſmouthe where the Kyng laye, for he hadde knowledge by hys eſpialles that the Frenchemen intended to lande in the Iſle of Wyght, wherefore hee repaired to that coaſte, to ſee his Realme defended.

The Frenche fleete landeth in the Iſle of VVight.

The Frenchemen lande in Suſſex.

After this, the eighteenth of Iuly the Admirall of France Monſieure Danebalte halſed vppe ſayles, and wyth his whole Nauie came forthe into the Seas, and arryued on the coaſt of Suſſex afore Bryght Hamſteede, and ſet certaine of his ſouldiours a lande, to burne and ſpoile the countrey: but the Beacons were fired, and the inhabitantes thereaboutes came downe ſo thicke, that the Frenchemenne were driuen to flee with loſſe of diuers of their number, ſo that they did little hurte there.

Immediatly hervpō they made to the point of the Iſle of Wight called ſaint Helens point, and there in good order vpon their arriuall they caſte ankers, and ſent daily .xvj. of their galleis to the verye hauen of Portſmouth.

The Engliſhe nauie lying there in the ſame hauen, made them readye, and ſet out towardes the ennemyes, and ſtill the one ſhotte hottelye at the other, but the winde was ſo calme, that the kyngs ſhippes could beare no ſaile, whiche greatly greeued the minds of the Engliſhmen, and made the ennemies more bolde to approch wyth their galleis, and to aſſayle the Shippes with their ſhot euen within the hauen. Yet the twentith of Iuly, the whole nauie of the Engliſhemen made out, and purpoſed to ſette on the Frenchmē, but in ſetting forward, through to much follye, one of the Kings ſhippes called the Marye Roſe was drowned in the myddeſt of the hauen, by reaſon that ſhe was ouer laden with ordinaunce, and had the Portes lefte open, whiche were very lowe, and the great artillerie vnbreeched, ſo that when the ſhip ſhold tourne, the Water entred, and ſoddainely ſhee ſunke. In hir was ſir George Carewe knight and foure hundreth ſouldioures vnder his guidyng. There eſcaped not paſſe fortie perſons of all the whole number.

The Marye Roſe drovvned by negligence.

Frenchmen diſtreſſed in the Iſle of VVight

The morrowe after aboute two thouſand of the Frenchmen landed in the Iſle of Wight, where one of their chiefe Capitaynes named le Cheualier Daux, a Prouancoys was ſlayne with manye other, and the reſidewe wyth loſſe and ſhame driuen backe agayne to their galleyes.

The King perceyuyng the greate Armada of the Frenchmen to approche, cauſed the beacons to be fiered, & by letters ſent into Hampſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Wilteſhire, and into diuers other countries adioining, gaue knowledge to ſuche as were appointed to bee ready for that purpoſe, to come with all ſpeede to encounter the ennemies. Wherevpon they repaired to his preſence in greate numbers well furniſhed with armour, weapon, vittualles, and all other things neceſſarie, ſo that the Iſle was garniſhed, & all the fronters alongſt the coaſtes fortified wyth exceedyng greate multitudes of men.

The Frenche Capitaynes hauyng knowledge by certaine Fiſhermen, which they tooke, that the king was preſent, and ſo huge a power readie to reſiſte them, they diſancred and drew along the coaſte of Suſſex, and a ſmall number of them landed againe in Suſſex, of whom fewe retourned to their Shyppes, for dyuers Gentlemen of the countrey, as Sir Nicholas Pellham, and others, with ſuch power as was reyſed, vpon the ſuddayn, tooke them vp by the way and quickly diſtreſſed them.

When they had ſearched euery where by the coaſte, and ſaw men ſtill readie to receiue them with battaile, they tourned ſterne, and ſo gotte them home agayne wythout any acte atchieued worthie to be mencioned.

The numb
in the Fre
nauie.

The number of the Frenchmen was greate, ſo that diuers of them that were taken priſoners in the Iſle of Wyght, and in Suſſex, dyd reporte that they were three ſcore thouſande.

The Frenche King aduertiſed the Emperour moſte vntruely by letters, that his armye had gotten the Iſle of Wight with the Ports of Hampton, and Porteſmouth, and diuers other places.

The Earle
Hertford f
rayeth the
middle ma
ches of Sc
lande.

In Auguſte following, the Earle of Herteford entred againe into Scotland with twelue thouſande men, and deſtroyed all the Towns in the myddle Marches, brente Coldyngham Abbey, and paſſed to the Weaſte Marches, ſore annoying and endomagyng the Scots, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen, that were ſente into Scotlande this yeare to the ayde of yͤ Scots vnder yͤ ledyng of Monſieur de Lorges, Montgomerie his father, durſt once come forth into the field to encounter with him.

The Lo
ners ſet f
a povver
Fraunce.

Alſo in the beginnyng of this Moneth the Citie of London ſet forthe a thouſande Souldiors of archers, barquebuſiers pikes, and bills, whiche went to Douer, and ſo paſſed ouer vnto Callais, to ſerue the King in his warres on that ſide the ſeas.

The dea
the valia
Poynings

The ſame Moneth that valiant Capitaine Sir Thomas Poinyngs Knyght, Lorde Poinings, and the kings lieuetenant of his town & Marches of Bolongne departed this lyfe, after hee hadde to hys great honour atchieued many worthye enterpriſes in ſeruyce of hys Prynce agaynſte the ennemyes, ſo that hys deathe was muche lamented. A Gentleman vndoubtedlye deſeruing to bee hadde in perpetuall memory: and pitie it is, that diuers ſuche valiant feates as he in his life time atchieued, were not committed to writing, to remain for examples ſake to poſteritie.

Alſo the ſame moneth at Guilford died the noble and valiaunt Duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon Lorde greate Maiſter of the Kings houſholde, a ryght hardie Gentleman, and yet not ſo hardye, as almoſte of all eſtates and degrees of men, hygh and lowe, ryche and poore, hartely beloued, and his deathe of them greatly lamented: hys body was honorably buryed at Windſore, at the Kyngs coſtes. This man in his daies had done to the king and Realme, ryght agreable ſeruyces, as well in peace, as in warres, both in England, France, Scotland, and Irelande, he died the kyngs generall lieuetenaunt of his armye then appoynted to reſiſte the Frenchemen, if they durſte haue landed.

he death of Duke of olks.

ſt com- dations.

But nowe wheras, in this meane time we haue ſpoken nothing of the doings in Scotlād, where the warre was ſtill continued, the King of France ſent thither certain bands of Frenchmen, vnder the gouernement of Monſieure de Lorges to aide the Scottes againſte the Engliſhemen, and the Kyng of Englande waged many ſtrangers, and ſent them wyth certayne Engliſhemen to the borders, for defence of the ſame againſte the inuaſions of the enemies: For after the arriuall of the Frenchmen, a great armye of Scots was reiſed, and approched neare to the borders, where for a certayne tyme they encamped, ſo that many thought ſome notable enterprice would haue ben attempted. But after they had laine in campe a certaine time they brake vp, & departed without attempting any further exploite.

ſieur de pes ſente Scotlande h certayne h bandes.

Shortely after the Earle of Hertforde lying on the borders, as lieuetenaunt of the Northe partes of Englande, callyng to hym an armye of .xij.M.men or thereabouts, what of Engliſhmen and ſtraungers, entred Scotland with the ſame, and brent a greate parte of the Mers, and Teuidale, as Kelſay Abbey and the town, Melroſe Abbey, and Driborn Abbey, alſo Iedworth Abbey, and diuers other places, towns, and villages, to the number of fiue ſcore.

Earle of forde in th ſcotlād.

Kelſay abbey was defended a while by three hundred Scottes, but in the ende the moſt part of them were ſlaine, and taken by the ſtrangers and other that gaue the aſſaulte. Thus the erle of Hertforde ſore endomaged the Scots by this inuaſion, and yet neither they, nor the Frenchmen theyr aſſiſtantes, durſt come forth into the fielde once to encounter with hym.

On the ſixteenth of September a number of Scots and Frenchemen attempted to enter into Englande on the Eaſte borders. But the Engliſhemen perceyuyng them aboute to paſſe by a certayne ſtraite, ſette vppon them, and ſlewe and tooke of them to the number of ſeuen ſcore. Among the priſoners that were taken, the lorde of Humes ſonne, and a French Captaine were accompted chiefeſt. Alſo in an other roade made into the Weſt borders, the Lorde Maxwels ſonne, & dyuers other were taken. But at an other time, aboute the ſame ſeaſon, alſo certaine Engliſhmen to the number of .v.C. making their entrye by the Weaſte borders into Scotland, were diſcomfited by the Scots, and the more parte of them eyther taken or ſlayne. Thus were they occupyed as well on the borders betwixt Englande and Scotlande, in this ſeaſō, as alſo in the marches of Calais, Guines and Bullognois, where the garniſons lying in thoſe places, made contynuall roades and forreis into the marches of the enemies countrey, and oftentymes chaunced to encounter wyth ſome of their troupes.

Ouerthrovves on both ſides, betvvixt the Engliſhe and ſcottes.

The Captaine of Arde Monſieur de Dampierre hauing got for a ſupplie from the french campe at Boullogne, the companye of the men of armes that belonged vnto the duke of Orleans, led by his lieuetenāt Monſieur de Tauannes, chanced one day to encoūter with ẏ Engliſhmen guyded by that valiāt Baron the L. Grey of Wylton, captaine of the Towne of Guines, who being accompanied with a number of valiant Gentlemen and Souldiors, diſtreſſed their ennemyes, and ſlew the Captayn of Arde the forſayd Lord de Dampierre there in fielde. Diuers other ſkirmiſhes and encounters chaunced in that Sommer, on the further ſide the ſeas: and moreouer, now after that the Frenche Nauie was withdrawen, as yee haue hearde from the coaſtes aboute Porteſmouthe, that Martiall chieftain, ſir Iohn Dudley, lord Liſle, and high Admirall of England, hauing all his ſhyppes, men, munition, and furniture readie, ſet forwarde from Porteſmouth hauen, to haue fought with the Frenchmen, if they had ſtill kept the Seas, but they were withdrawne home into harburgh.

Wherevpon the lorde Admirall meanyng to reuenge theyr brauades, and preſumptuous attemptes made at Porteſmouthe, and in the Iſle of Wight, approched to the coaſts of Normandye, and landed wyth ſixe thouſande men at Treyporte, brente the Suburbes of that towne, wyth the Abbey, and certayne villages & houſes therabouts. Alſo they deſtroyed .xxx. ſhips and a Barke there found in the hauen, &

after they hadde wrought their pleaſures, they returned to the ſea, and ſo home, not hauyng loſt paſte fourteene perſons in the execution of this whole enterpriſe. In thys meane whyle Monſieur de Biez beeing encamped neere to Bullongne wyth ſuche a puyſſaunt armye as beefore yee haue hearde, buſied aboute the buildyng of a forte, there was not ſuche dilligence vſed therein, as was promyſſed on hys parte in accompliſhing the ſame, to the Frenche Kyngs great diſpleaſure, as ſome write, who had ment wyth that armye if this forte had bene finiſhed at the appointed time) to haue gone to beſiege the towne and Caſtel of Guiſnes: But nowe the time beeyng prolonged, and not wythout ſome ſuſpition leaſte Monſieure de Biez cared not how long the warres endured in that ſorte, ſo as he might commaunde ouer ſo many princes and greate Lordes as were there vnder hys gouernaunce, at lengthe beefore the forte were fully finiſhed, hee remoued to Mont Lamberte wyth the more parte of the armye, pretendyng as thoughe hee ment to fight wyth the Engliſhemen, the whiche as he ſaide hee vnderſtoode were purpoſed to come wyth a conuaye of victuals from Callais to Bullongne. Whyleſt he there remained, many princes and great Lords came from the court that lay at an Abbey called Forreſt Montier. xj. leagues from Bollongne, beyonde Muttrell, on the waye towardes Abuille, in hope that battaile ſhould haue folowed betwixt the Engliſhe and Frenche armies. Among other that came thither are theſe remembred as principall, Monſieur Danguien, Monſieure Daumalle, Monſieure le Duc de Neuers, Monſieur le Conte de Lauall, and Monſieure de la Trimouille, Monſieure Daumalle eldeſt ſonne to the duke of Guiſe being lodged in the vantgarde that was gouerned by Monſieur de Briſſac chaunced one day to be preſent at a ſkirmiſhe, where ſhewyng hymſelfe verye forewarde he was ſtryken throughe the ſight of his helmet, with a light horſemans ſtaffe, that pearcyng in betwixte his noſe and his eye, entred halfe a foote into hys heade, as Monſieure de Langey wryteth, and breakyng off a twoo fingers beneath the yron, the ſame yron remained ſtill within his heade, but yet eſcaping out of the Engliſhemens handes, hee came backe to the campe, hadde the truncheon and yron pulled out of his head, and being dreſſed was conueied in a litter to Piquignye, where hee laye for two or three dayes, in ſuche daunger, that no manne looked that hee ſhoulde haue eſcaped wyth life.

Martin du Bellay, ſeigneur Lāgey in his memoires.

There wer many of theſe ſkirmiſhes wherin the Engliſhmen bare themſelues ſo valiantly, that the Frenchemen wente away oftentymes with loſſe of many of their noble men and beſte Souldiours. At one time they loſte the Lorde Menaineuille brother to the Lorde de Villebonne, being ſlaine wyth ſtroke of Launce and pike. At an other time, they loſt likewiſe a yong Lorde of Picardye called le Seigneur de Fretoye.

At length, after their newe forte or Baſtillion was brought in ſome ſtrengthe, they furniſhed it in moſt defencible wiſe with mē, munition and vittualls, namyng it Monpleaſire: herewyth Monſieure de Biez departyng from Mont Lambert with parte of the armie, came downe towardes Calais, and entring into the Engliſhe Pale beſide Grauelyn, wanne certaine Bulwarks, and encountring diuers new bandes of Leiceſterſhiremen and other, latelye before ſent ouer, diſtreſſed them, and after brent certaine villages, forreyed the countrey almoſt to Marke, and afterwards in great haſte with their bootie and pillage they returned. This enterprice was exployted by the Frenchemenne aboute Saincte Matthewes daye in September.

Monſieur
Biez forr
the Engl
pale abo
Caleys.

There were with Monſieur de Biez at this enterprice the Lorde of Briſſac, who gouerned the vauntgarde, and had wyth hym his owne companye of men of armes, and the light horſemen of whome hee had the generall conducte. There was alſo the company of men at armes that belonged to the Conſtable of Fraunce, led by the lorde of Guiche and fifty men of armes, vnder the gouernaunce of the Lorde of Heiley, the compagnye alſo of the Lorde of Boiſy, the compagnye of the Lord Eſcars, and that of the lord de la Roche du Maine and others. There was alſo Monſieure de Tayes generall of the Frenche footemen, and many yong princes and Lordes of highe eſtate, as Monſieure Francis de Bourbon, Duc Danglien, Francis de Loraine Duke Daumalle lately recouered of hys hurte, the Duke of Neuers, and the Earle de Lauall that in this voyage was hurte with an harquebuſhe ſhotte in the arme.

Martin du Bellay.

The three and twentieth of Nouember, a Parliament beganne at Weſtminſter, in the which was granted to the King a Subſidie of the Spiritualtie of ſixe ſhillyngs the pounde, to bee paide in twoo yeares nexte enſuing: and of the Temporaltie two ſhillings & eight pence of the pounde in goodes, and foure ſhillings of the pound in landes, to be paide likewiſe wythin twoo yeares.

A Parliam
A Subſidie graunted

Alſo in this Parliamente all Colledges, Chauntries, and Hoſpitals were committed to the king, to order, by altering or tranſpoſing, the ſame as to hym ſhoulde ſeeme expediente, which at the prorogation of the ſame Parliament he promiſſed ſhould be done to the glorye of God, and the common profit of the realme. The. xxiiij. of December the ſaide parliament was proroged, on whiche day the King commyng into the houſe to gyue hys royall aſſente vnto ſuch acts as were paſſed, the ſpeaker made vnto him an eloquent Oration, to the whyche althoughe the cuſtome hathe euer bene that the Lorde Chauncellor ſhoulde make aunſwere, it pleaſed the king at that preſent to make the anſwer himſelf, whych he vttered as here enſueth.

Althoughe my Chauncellor for the time being, hath before this time vſed verye eloquently and ſubſtancially, to make aunſwer to ſuche Orations, as hathe ben ſet forthe in this hyghe Courte of Parliament, yet is hee not ſo able to open and ſette forthe my minde and meaning, and the ſecreates of my harte, in ſo plaine and ample manner, as I my ſelfe am and can doe: wherefore I taking vpon me to aunſwer your eloquent Oration Mayſter ſpeaker, ſay, that where you in the name of our welbeloued commons, haue both prayſed and extolled me, for the notable qualities that you haue conceyued to bee in mee, I moſte hartilye thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraunce of my duty, which is to endeuour myſelfe to obtaine and gette ſuch excellent qualities, and neceſſarie vertues, as a Prince or Gouernour ſhoulde or ought to haue, of whiche giftes I recogniſe my ſelfe both bare and barren, but of ſuch ſmall qualities as God hathe endewed me withall, I render to his goodnes my moſt humble thanks, entending with all my witte and diligence to get and acquier to me ſuch notable vertues and princely qualities, as you haue alledged to be incorporated in my perſone: theſe thankes for your louing admonition and good counſell firſt remembred, I eftſoones thank you: again, bycauſe that you conſidering our greate chardge, not for our pleaſure, but for your defence, not for our gaine, but to our greate coſte, whiche wee haue lately ſuſteined, aſwell in defence of our and your ennemies, as for the conqueſte of that fortreſſe, whiche was to this realme moſte diſpleaſant and noyſome, and ſhall be by gods grace hereafter, to our nation moſte profitable and pleaſant, haue freely of your owne mindes graunted to vs a certaine Subſidye, here in an acte ſpecified, whyche verilye wee take in good parte, regarding more your kindenes, than the profite thereof, as hee that ſetteth more by your louyng hartes than by your ſubſtance. Beſide thys harty kindeneſſe, I can not a little reioyce when I conſider the perfecte truſte and confidence, which you haue put in mee, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfained beleefe in my good doings, and iuſt proceedings for you, without my deſire or requeſte, haue committed to mine order & diſpoſition al Chauntries, Colledges, Hoſpitalles, and other places ſpecified in a certayne acte, firmly truſting that I will order them to the glorye of God, and the profit of the common wealth. Surely if I contrarie to your expectatiõ ſhuld ſuffer the miniſters of the Church to decay, or learning, which is ſo greate a Iewell, to bee miniſhed, or poore and miſerable, to bee vnreleeued, you myght ſaye that I beeing put in ſo ſpeciall a truſte, as I am in this caſe, were no truſtye friende to you, nor charitable to mine euen Chryſtian, neyther a louer of the publyke wealthe, nor yet one that feared God, to whome accompt muſt be rẽdred of all our doings. Doubt not I pray you, but your expectation ſhall be ſerued, more godly and goodly than you will wiſh or deſire, as hereafter you ſhall plainly perceiue.

Nowe ſithens I finde ſuche kindeneſſe on your parte towardes mee, I cannot choſe, but loue and fauour you, affirmyng that no Prince in the world more fauoreth hys Subiectes than I doe you, nor no ſubiectes or commons more loued and obeied their ſoueraigne Lorde, than I perceyue you doe mee, for whoſe defence my treaſure ſhall not bee hidden, nor if neceſſitie require, my perſone ſhall not bee vnaduentured: yet although I wiſhe you, and you with mee, to be in this perfect loue and concord, this friendely amitie cannot continue, except bothe you my Lordes Temporall, and my Lordes Spirituall, and you my louing ſubiectes, ſtudy and take payne to amende one thyng, whyche ſurelye is amiſſe, and farre out of order, to the whiche I moſte hartyly require you, whiche is, that Charitie and concorde is not among you, but diſcorde and diſſention beareth rule in euery place. Sainct Paule ſaith to the Corinthians, and the thirteenthe Chapiter, Charitye is gentle, Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude, and ſo forthe in the ſaide chapiter. Beholde then what loue and Charitye is among you, when the one calleth an other heretik and Anabaptiſte, and he calleth hym agayn Papiſt, hipocrite & Phariſie? be theſe tokens of charitie amõgſt you, ar theſe ſigns of fraternal loue betwene you? no, no, I aſſure you that this lack of Charitie amongſt your ſelues wil be yͤ hinderãce & aſſuaging of the feruẽt loue betwene vs, as I ſaid before, except this wound be ſalued, & clerely made hole, I muſt needes iudge yͤ faulte & occaſion of this diſcorde, to be partly by negligence of you yͤ fathers & preachers of the ſpiritualtie: For if I know a man, which liueth in adulterie, I muſte iudge him a lecherous, & a carnall perſon: if I ſee a man boaſt & bragge hymſelfe, I can not but deeme hym a proude man: I ſee here dayly that you of the Clergie, preache one againſte an other, teache one contrarie to an other, inueygh one againſt an other without charitie or diſcretion: ſome be to ſtifte in their olde *Mumpſimus*, other be to buſy and curious in their newe *ſumpſimus*: thus all men almoſte bee in varietie and diſcorde, and fewe or none preaches truly and ſincerely the worde of God, accordyng as they ought to do: Shall I iudge you charitable perſones doyng this? no, no, I can not ſo doe: Alas, howe can the pore ſoules liue in concorde, when you preachers ſow amongeſt them in your ſermons debate and diſcorde: of you they loke for light, and you bryng them to darkeneſſe. Amende theſe crimes I exhorte you, and ſet forth Gods worde, bothe by true preachyng, and good example giuyng, or elſe I, whome God hathe appointed his Vicar, and highe Miniſter here, will ſee theſe deuiſions extinct, and theſe enormities corrected, accordyng to my very dutye, or elſe I am an vnprofitable ſeruant, and an vntrue offycer. Althoughe I ſaye the Spirituall men bee in ſome faulte, that Charitie is not kept amongſt you, yet you of the Temporaltie bee not cleare and vnſpotted of malice and enuy, for you raile on Biſhoppes, ſpeake ſlaunderouſlye of Prieſtes, and rebuke and taunte Preachers, bothe contrarye to good order and Chriſtian fraternitye. If you knowe ſurely that a Biſhoppe or Preacher erreth or teacheth peruerſe doctrine, come and declare it to ſome of our counſell or to vs, to whome is committed by God the high auctoritie to reforme and order ſuche cauſes and behauiours, and be not Iudges your ſelues, of your owne fantaſticall opinions, and vayne expoſitions, for in ſuche highe cauſes you may lightlye erre. And although you be permytted to reade holy Scriptures, and to haue the worde of God in your mother tongue, you muſte vnderſtande, that it is licenced you ſo to doe, only to informe your owne conſciences, and to inſtruct your children and family, and not to diſpute, and make ſcripture a raylyng and a tauntyng ſtocke, agaynſt Prieſtes and Preachers, as manye lyght perſons doe. I am very ſory to knowe and heare, howe vnreuerentely that moſte precious iewell the worde of God is diſputed, rimed, ſong, and iangled in euerye ale houſe and Tauerne, contrarye to the true meanyng and doctrine of the ſame: and yet I am euen as muche ſorye, that the readers of the ſame, followe it in doyng ſo faintly and coldly: for of this I am ſure, that charitie was neuer ſo faint amongeſt you, and vertuous and godly liuing was neuer leſſe vſed, nor God himſelfe amongeſt Chriſtians was neuer leſſe reuerenced, honored, or ſerued, therefore (as I ſaide before) bee in charitie one wyth an other, lyke brother and brother: loue, dreade, and ſerue God, to the which I as your ſupreme heade and ſoueraygne Lorde, exhorte and require you, and then I doubt not, but that loue and league, that I ſpake of in the beeginning, ſhall neuer be diſſolued or broken betwene vs. And to the making of lawes whiche we haue now made ⁊ concluded, I exhort you the makers, to bee as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furtheryng of the ſame, or elſe your laboure ſhall be in vaine, and your common wealth nothing releued. Now to your petition, concerning our royall aſſent, to be giuen to ſuche actes as hath paſſed both the houſes, they ſhall bee red openly that ye may heare them: then were they openly redde, and to many his grace aſſented, and diuers he aſſented not vnto. Thus the kings oration was to hys Subiectes there preſent ſuche comforte, that the like ioye coulde not bee vnto them in this world. And thus the acts redde (as the manner is) and hys aſſent gyuen, his grace roſe and departed.

1546

Many proper feats of armes were exploited and done in this meane while betwixt the partyes Englyſh and Frenche aboute Bolongne. On the morrow after the feaſte of the Epiphanie there came a conuoye of victuals towards the Frenche forte, garded wyth three or foure thouſand lancequenetz vnder their coronell the Reingraue and certaine French horſmen. The Erle of Surrey then lieutenant of Bolongne aduertiſed thereof, made out wyth ſuch power as he might conueniently ſpare of them within Boullongne and the old man, to cutte off thoſe victualles: but comming to encounter with the ennemyes at Saynct Eſtiennes hee was put to flyght, Syr Edwarde Poynynges Capteyne of a bande called the Kynges garde of Bollongne was ſlaine in that conflicte, wyth a fifteene or ſixtene other Captains, beſide officers and common Souldiors. About the ſame time the Frenchemen made a voyage vnto the Iſle of Braſill, with a ſhip called the Barke Ager, whiche ſhyppe they hadde taken from the Engliſhemen before: and in their way they mette with a little crayer: of the which one Golding was maiſter, a proper man and an hardy. The Bark perceiuing the Craier to be an Engliſhman, ſhotte at hir and bouged hir. Whereupon ſtraygthwayes the Craier drewe to the greate Barke, and .6. or .7. of the Engliſhemen leapte into hir. In the meane time while the Frenchmen without regarde of perill towardes themſelues loked ouer hatches to beeholde howe the Crayer ſank there at hand before them not miſtruſting any thing yͤ the Engliſhmē might do againſt

The Reingraue.

The Engliſhe men put to flyght.

The Barke Ager an engliſ ship recoue

againſt them it fortuned that thoſe Engliſhmẽ which got vp into the bark, found in the ende thereof a greate number of lime pottes, which they with water quenched, or rather as the nature therof is, ſet them on fier, and threw them ſo thicke at the Frenchmen, whiche were there aborde, that they blinded them, in ſuch wiſe as thoſe fewe Engliſhmen that entred the ſhippe, vanquiſhed the Frenchmen, and driuing them vnder hatches, ſhut the ſame, and brought the barke away with them home into Englande.

The Stewes ſuppreſſed.

In the latter ende of March the bordell houſes called the Stews on yͤ bank ſide in Southwarke were conuerted from ſuch filthie vſes by the kings commaundement, the baudes & ruffians being put out, & other perſons of honeſte behauior placed in their roomths to inhabite in the ſame houſes. This was done by proclamation, & ſound of trũpet by an Herault of armes.

An.reg.38.

This yeare by meanes made by the Emperor, commiſſioners were appoynted to meete to treate of ſome accorde betweene the realmes of Englãd & France, ſo that the kyng of Englande ſent ouer to Guiſnes, Cutbert Tunſtall Biſhoppe of Dureſme, ſir William Paget his Secretarie, and Doctour Tregonell: and the French King ſent to Arde a Biſhop, the chiefe Preſident of Rouen, & a Notarie, but no concluſion followed of their trauaile. Wherevpon the king of Englãd hauing perfect knowledge howe the Frenchmen intended to builde a fortres at ſaint Iohns Road betwene Bollogne and Callais, to the greate annoyance of bothe thoſe places if they might haue compaſſed their purpoſe, hee ment to preuent that deuiſe of his aduerſaries, ſendyng ouer the erle of Hertforde and the lord Liſle highe Admirall of Englande with many valiant Captaynes, which got the road but two dayes before the Frenchmen had appointed to bee there. But when they vnderſtood that the engliſhmen had ſo preuented thẽ, they ſtayed about Hardilow, where Monſieur de Biez their generall, gaue order to encampe, and durſt not once come forwarde to aſſay the Engliſh forces, ſo that without any impeachment by lande, the Engliſhmen builte certaine fortreſſes, to wit, two at the ſame place of S. Iohns Road, otherwiſe called Hamble Tewe, & an other aboute a two miles from thence, at a place called Blank Neſſe. There was in the earle of Herefordes campe beſide Engliſhmen diuers ſtrangers, Almaines, Spaniardes, and Italians, and bicauſe it is not much impertinẽt to the matter, we haue thought good here to ſet downe the whole number of all the Kyngs forces at that preſent in his paye that were there vnder the ſaide Earle of Herforde the Kinges generall Lieutenant.

Hamble Thewe fortified by the Engliſhmen.

Firſte the ſayde earle, two hundreth.
The lord William Sturton, three hundred.
The lorde Iohn Greye, brother to the Marques Dorſet, two hundred.
The lord Braye, one hundred.
Sir Thomas Seymar knight Marſhall of the hoſte, one hundred.
Sir Henry Kneuet captain of the horſmen, one hundred.
Sir Iohn Harrington threaſourer of the army one hundred.
Sir Thomas Wiat mayſter of the ordeinance one hundred.
Sir Maurice Barkeley, three hundred.
Sir Thomas Holcrofte, two hundred.
Sir Walter Dennis, two hundred
Sir George Blewet, two hundred.
Sir Richard Greenefielde, two hundred.
Sir George Cornewall, two hundred.
Sir Iohn Lutterell, onehundred.
Sir Edmund Huſſy, one hundred.
George Throckmarton, two hũdre
Captaine Broughton, two hũdred
Captaine Palmer, two hundred.
Captaine Chaũcie, two hundred.
Captaine Windam, two hũdred.
Captaine Stukeley, one hũdred.
Captaine Blewet, one hũdred.
Captaine Sidnam, one hundred.
Captaine Breat, one hundred.
Captaine Dier, one hundred.
Captayne Euans, one hundred,
Spaniardes, fifteene hundred,
Italians, two hundred.
Cleueners, three hundred.
Launcequenetz vnder the Gouernemente of their Coronell Conrade Phennyng, commonly called Courtpeny. 3000.
Summe of all the Souldiours in Boullogne and Boullongnoys. 93000.

Here muſte you note, that whyleſt the Engliſhe armye laye thus in the fielde till the fortes of Hamble Thewe, and Blanke neſſe were in buildyng, the Frenche galleis were on the ſeas, and nowe and then came and approched neare to the ſhore, where the Engliſhe armye laye in campe, at the which they ſhotte off their ordinaunce, and the Engliſhemen aunſwered them againe with the like. They came alſo before Callais, and ſhotte off at the towne. But the lorde Admirall being there, made out to encounter them, notwithſtandyng they did firſte much hurte, and toke away diuers of the Engliſhe veſſells laden with vittuals.

The .xviij. daye of Maye, there were foure of the Kyngs ſhippes, and foure Pinaſes abroade on the ſeas afore the Hauen of Hamble Tewe, and there came an. 18. of the Frenche

A french galey taken

galeys to ſet vpon them, and ſo there was great ſhooting betwixt them, and at lengthe one of their galeys was taken, in the whiche were aborde fourteene ſcore ſouldiours, and .vij. ſcore rowers: the reſt of their galeys packed away.

A mutinie in the Englishe campe.

Moreouer, whyleſt the Campe laye thus at Hamble Thewe, it chanced that one day a mutinie roſe amōg the Lanſquenetz againſt their Captaine, ſo that they got themſelues into order of battayle, ſeyzed vpon the great artillerie, and ſhewed coūtenāce as if they wold haue ſet vpon the reſidue of the whole campe.

Hereupon euery ſouldior was commaunded to repaire to his enſeigne, and the Spanyardes came and ioyned themſelues with the Engliſh men, ready to take ſuche parte as they did. At length by the diligence of the chieftaynes and good countenance of the Engliſh ſouldiors and Spanyards, the tumult was ſtayed, and ſix of the principall beginners thereof, were hanged.

The .xxj. of Maye the Frenche armie came and encamped beyond Bollongne at the churche on the hill, and the morrow after, the earle of Hertforde marched wyth hys power to a place within two myles of them, and certaine footemen and horſmen went forth and ſkirmiſhed with them, and in the meane tyme, the artillerie ceaſſed not to ſhoot off, as well from the French campe and fortreſſe, as from Bologne, and the old man. This day were ſlayn xiiij. Frenchmen, and two taken priſoners, and .iij. of the Engliſhe parte were likewyſe taken, and ſo the Earle of Hertford returned to his camp, and left the Lanſquenetz vpon the hill, encamped before the enimies faces, not two myles diſtant from them, in whych place a forte was begonne to be reyſed, whiche was after called the forte of Bolongne berg.

A greatt skirmishe.

The next day, to wit, the .xxiij. of May, the ſouldiors of Bolongne, and the Lanſquenetz ſkirmiſhed with the Frenchmen, ſlew and toke of them .vij. ſcore and aboue, of the which there were fortie that were in coates of veluet, and diuers with chaynes.

Here ye muſt vnderſtand, that nowe in thys meane whyle by the motion of diuers princes, a meeting was had of diuers commiſſioners, appoynted to treate of ſome peace to bee concluded betwixt the two kings of England and France. Hereupon there came to Guyſnes for the king of England the Erle of Hertford, the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir Iohn Dudley vicoūt Liſle baron of Maupas, and high Admirall of England, ſir William Paget the kings Secretarie, and doctor Nicholas Wotton Deane of Canterburye. For the Frenche king there came to Arde Monſieur Claude Danebaulte Admirall of France, being alſo one of the foure Marſhals of that realme, the biſhop of Eureux, Monſieur Reymund chiefe preſident of Roan, the Secretarie Bouchetel. Diuers times they met betwixt Arde and Guyſnes, and after long debating of matters, and diuers breakings off, at length yet the ſeuenth of Iune, a peace was concluded, and proclaimed, as well in the court as in the citie of London, on Whitſunday, the xiij. of Iune, with ſound of trumpet, according to the maner: and in lyke ſorte the ſame day it was proclaymed at Paris and at Rouen. The chiefeſt article of whiche peace was this, that the French king paying to the King of England .800000. crowns within the terme of .8. yeares, ſhould haue Boulogne again to hym reſtored, whiche in the meane tyme ſhould remayne in the hands and poſſeſſion of the King of England as a pledge and guage for aſſurance of the ſayd money. Sir Henry Kneuet was ſent ouer to repreſent the Kings perſon, being willed to be godfather at the baptiſme of the Dolphins daughter, that was borne in the later end of March laſt paſt, and now chriſtned at Fountaynbleau with greate ſolemnitie. She was named Iſabell.

A peace concluded and proclaymed.

Syr Henry Kneuet.

The Dolphyns daughter Isabel christened.

The ſame tyme was a combat foughte before the french king betwixt two Spanyards, Iulian Romerou, & one Morowe. They both ſerued the king of England in theſe laſt warres againſt France: but Morowe had reuolted from his ſeruice to the Frenche kings, and for certain ſpeeches which he had vttered, was chalenged to fight the ſayd combat by the ſaid Iulian, for whom ſir Henrye Kneuet vndertooke that he ſhould ſtande to his chalenge, and trye it with his aduerſarie, whiche he nowe did, and vanquiſhed him in liſts, the fight being appointed on horſback. Incontinently after, ſir Henry Kneuet ſickned and dyed at Corbeil, and was buryed in Parys within the churche of Sainct Paule. Moreouer, for the full eſtabliſhment of the peace, and to receiue the french kings othe, the Vicount Liſle Lorde Admirall, with the Biſhop of Dureſme, and diuers other lordes, and gentlemen, to the number of one hundred and aboue, all in veluet coates and chaynes of golde with .xlv. yeomen ryghte ſeemely appointed, went into Fraunce, departing from Boulongne the tenth of Iulye, and came to Mollune, a towne beyonde Paris, where the French kyng then lay, by whom and the Dolphyn his ſonne, they were royally receiued, feaſted, and banketted, and hauyng done that for the whyche hee was ſente, the ſayde Lorde Admirall Dudleye the fyrſte of Auguſte, tooke his leaue of the French Kyng, who rewarded him with a cupborde of plate all gold, valewed at .1500. lb. The lordes alſo and gentlemen

A combate betvvene Iulian Romerou, and Morovve.

The death of sir Henry Kneuet.

The L. Admirall Dudley vvente into France to receyue the Frenche kings othe.

hadde chaines of golde giuen to them, and the yeomen had .200. crownes beſtowed amongeſt them, and ſo the lorde Admirall returned into Englande. In the ſame Moneth of Auguſte Monſieur Dannebalt high Admirall of Frãce, accompanied wyth the Byſhop of Eureux, the earle of Nanteuill knight of the order, the earle of Villiers, the chiefe preſident of Roan, Secretarie Bouchetell, Monſieure de Canaples knight of ye order, Monſieure de Tayes knight of the order, Monſieure de Maillerie Viceadmirall of France, Monſieur de Deſſe, the Baron de la Gard, with diuers other lords & captains of honor, beſide .ij.C. Gentlemen well apointed, leuſed from Dieppe with .xij. galleis & a right faire ſhip, called the Sacre of Dieppe, and ſo making ſaile he ſtaied not any where to take land, till he came into the Thames, where at Blacke wall he was receyued into the kings Barge by the earles of Darby, and Eſſex, who brought him to Grenewich, where he landed, & lodged there that night. The next day he came vp with all his galleis, & landed at the Tower Wharfe. Vpon all the banks by the water ſide were laide peeces of artillerie, which ſhotte off freely, & ſo lykewyſe did all the artillerie in the ſhips, but in eſpeciall frõ the Tower was ſhot a marueilouſe great peale of ordinaunce. From whence being lãded, they roade through Londõ in great triumph (the Maire and the crafts ſtanding in the ſtreetes in very good order) vnto the Biſhoppes palace, by Poules, where the Frenche Admirall lodged till Bartholmew euen, on whiche day hee was conueied towarde Hampton Court, where in the way the Prince hauing with him the Archbiſhop of Yorke, the earles of Hertforde, & Huntington, and aboue .ij.M. horſe, mette him & embraced hym in ſuch curteous and honorable wiſe, that all the beholders greately reioyſed, & much merueilled at the ſaid princes high wit & great audacitie, and ſo the Frenche Admirall came to the Courte, giuing the prince the vpper hande as they roade. And at the vtter gate of the Courte, the Lorde Chauncellor, and all the Kings counſell receyued him, and brought him to his lodging. On Bartholmew day the king admittyng hym to his preſence, welcomed him, and in greate triumphe wente to the Chappell, where the Kyng receiued hys othe to performe the articles of the league, as it was couenaunted.

mbaſſade
of Fraunce.

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The Frenche Admirall receiued by Prince Edwarde.

The Admirall of Fraunce receiueth an othe

To ſpeake of the banquettyngs, huntings, and ſuch like honourable ſortes of enterteignementes, it were muche to vtter, and harde to beleeue.

But on Friday folowing, being the .xxvij. of Auguſt, he being rewarded wyth a cupbord of plate to the valewe of twelue hundreth pounde, retourned to London, and on the Sundaye nexte enſuyng tooke his Galleis and departed.

His giftes that he had of the king and other.

Beſide the kings giftes, hee hadde giuen to hym by the Citie of London two Flaggons guilte, and two other that were parcell guilt, valewed at one hundreth thirtie ſixe pounde, beſide wine, waxe, and torches.

There were diuers of his company alſo that wente not awaye vnrewarded, hauyng bothe plate, and alſo many horſes, and greyhoundes giuen them.

Althoughe this peace pleaſed bothe the Engliſhe and Frenche Nations, yet ſurely bothe miſtruſted the continuance thereof, and verely the olde prouerbe, ſeemed to be throughly verified, whiche ſayth, That what the eye ſeeth, the hearte rueth: for the Frenchemen ſtill longed for Boulongne, and the Engliſhmen ment not willingly to giue it ouer. For during ye French Admirals being in Englãd, Monſier de Chatillon capitain of Montplaiſier began to make a new baſtilion euen at the verye mouth of the hauen, naming it Chatillons gardeyn. Wherevpon that noble Gentleman the Lord Grey of Wilton, ſhortly after appointed to bee deputie of the towne and countie of Boulongne, perceiuing the great inconuenience that this new buylding would bring to the towne if it went forwards, did aduertiſe the king thereof, earneſtely beſeechyng his grace, that the matter might be throughly cõſidered of. Sir Thomas Palmer was the meſſenger.

The lord Grey of VVilton.

Sir Thomas Palmer.

The king vppon the intelligence, aſked hys counſels aduice, which only went wholly, that the conditions of the peace were not in anye wiſe to be infringed. This reſolued, Secretarie Paget then knight, and afterwards Lord, was commaunded accordingly to drawe a letter to my Lord Grey, the which the kyng him ſelfe did ſigne, willing that the meſſenger ſhuld further knowe of his pleaſure before he departed. Wherevpon ſir Thomas Palmer hauing his diſpatche at the Secretaries handes, did get word to be giuen to the K. who preſently ſent for him into his priuie chamber, and betwixte them two, vſed theſe words: Palmer, you haue there a letter from vs to the L. Grey, that he do in no wyſe deale in the matter that he hath by you aduertiſed vs of. Notwithſtãding, I will that you deliuer him this meſſage from vs. Bid him call to minde howe that his brethren and himſelfe not a ſhorte time, but euen from tender yeres, nor farre off, but ſtill nere to our perſon, we haue broght him vp, which (tel him) not vniuſtly, if that be in him that we conceyue doth breede in vs an odde truſt of feruencie to ſerue vs of him, more than a common ſeruant or ſubiect. By that token wil him whatſoeuer I haue written to the cōtrary, that he preſently impeache the fortification of Chatillons garden, & raſe it if it be poſſible: and this my meſſage ſhall be his clearing therein, and the ſeruice gratefully accepted. Sir Thomas Palmer ſomwhat aſtonied herat, cōſidering yͤ weightineſſe of the cauſe, and the contrarietie of the letter & meſſage, began to put the king in mind of the ſmall credite that his bare errād of right was like to haue, ſo flatte againſt that whiche his Maieſties letters imported. But the kyng cutting off his tale, Deliuer thou the meſſage (quod he) at his choyce then bee the executyng thereof. Sir Thomas thus diſpatched, wyth great ſpeed arriued at Boulongne immediatly vpon the openyng of the gates at after noone. His letters and meſſage deliuered, the Lorde Grey ſtreighte aſſembled the counſell, ſhewed vnto them the kings letters, which red, he cauſed ſir Tho. to pronounce before them the meſſage alſo. Euery man was to ſay his aduice: It went roundly thorough the borde without anye queſtion, that the letter was to be followed, the meſſage not to be ſtayed on. The lord Grey hauing herd, and not replying any thing, willed ſir Thomas to be called in agayne, bad him repete his meſſage, and therwhileſt made a clerke of the counſel to write yͤ ſame *verbatim*. This don, he prayed the whole table to ſet their handes vnto it, which they did, and my Lorde Grey taking the ſame into his hands, without further opening, declaring his reſolution, brake vp counſell, commaunded ſtreight the gates to be ſhut, gaue priuie warning, that certain bandes with armour and weapon, and lykewyſe Pioners ſhould that night by an houre be in a readineſſe. The houre comen, himſelf with the warned cōpanie, iſſued out, paſſed ouer the water, & without any alarme of the enimie, ouerthrew in iij. or four houres, what in .ij. or three monethes had bin reyſed, and ſo in great quietnes returned into the towne. Preſently he diſpatched Sir Thomas Palmer back againe to the king with the newes, whoſe returne was ſo ſodeyn, as the king hymſelf being in the chamber of preſence, & ſeing him, ſayd aloude: What wyll he do it or no? Sir Thomas giuing none other anſwer, but preſenting his letters, & ſaying, that therby his Maieſtie ſhuld know. The king again in earneſt mood, Nay tell vs I ſay, whether he wil do it or not? Then ſir Thomas tolde him, that it was doone, and the whole fortification cleane raſed. Wherat the king taking great ioy, preſently called to certain of the Lordes of the counſel that were by, and ſayd: How ſay you my Lords, Chatillons garden the new forte is layd as flat as this floore. One ſtreight amongſt them gaue iudgement: That he that had done it, was worthy to loſe his head. The king ſtreight replyed, he had rather loſe a dozen ſuch heads as his was that ſo iudged, than one ſuch ſeruants as had done it: And herewᵗ he cōmanded, yͭ the L. Greys pardon ſhuld preſently be made, yͤ which with a letter of great thankes, and promiſe of rewarde, was returned by the ſayd ſir Thomas Palmer to the ſayd Lord Grey, but the reward fayled, the king not continuyng long after in lyfe, the like happe wherof had oftentymes happened vnto diuers of his worthie aunceſtors vpon their due deſertes to haue bin conſidered of, and therfore the caſe the leſſe ſtraunge.

Chatillons garden ouerthrovven and raſed dovvne.

This haue I ſet downe the more willyngly, for that I haue receiued it from them, which haue herd it reported, not only by the L. Greys owne mouthe, but alſo by the relation of Syr Thomas Palmer, and others that were preſent: The ſame not tendyng ſo muche to the Lord Greys owne prayſe, as to the betokening of the kings noble courage, and the great ſecret truſt which he worthyly repoſed in the ſayde Lord Grey.

Here is to be noted alſo, leaſt any man ſhuld miſtake the matter, as if the K. dealt indirectly herein, that his Maieſtie knowyng howe the Frenchmen in goyng about to buyld this fort, did more than they might, by the couenāts of yͤ peace, & therfore was reſolued at the firſt aduertiſement thereof, to haue it raſed. But yet for yͭ it might haply haue bin ſignified ouer vnto the frēchmen before my L. Grey could haue accōpliſhed the feate, he therfore wiſely wrote one thing in his letters, wherunto many might be priuie, & ſent ſecrete knowledge by words contrarie to the contents of the ſame letters, ſo as if the meſſenger were truſtye, hys pleaſure mighte not bee diſcouered to the hinderance or diſappointing of the ſame: but nowe to oure purpoſe.

The French king after this, bycauſe as yet he woulde not ſeeme to breake the peace, commaunded the trenches and newe fortifications made aboute thys fortreſſe, called Chatillons Garden thus caſt down, to be filled by his own people, and ſo it reſted, during the lyfe of king Henry: but afterwardes it was begon againe, and finiſhed, as after ye ſhall heare.

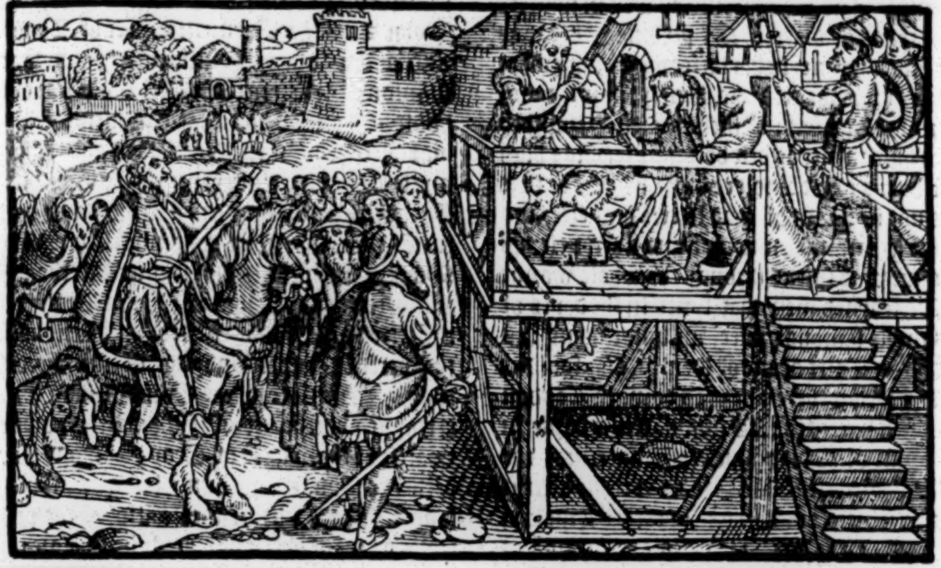
The Duke of Norfolke cōmitted to the Tovver.

1547

Aboute Michaelmaſſe in this preſent yeare, Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Henry Earle of Surrey that was his ſonne and heire, vpon certaine ſurmiſes of treaſon, were committed to the Towre of London, and immediatly after Chriſtmaſſe, the .xiij. of Ianuarie, the king then lying in extremities of deathe, the ſayde Earle was arraigned in the Guylde hall of

London, before the Lorde Mayre, the Lorde Chauncellour, and dyuers other Lordes and Iudges being there in commiſſion. Where if he had tempered his anſwers with ſuch modeſtie as he ſhewed token of a righte perfecte and ready witte, his prayſe had bin the greater. Some things he flatly denyed, ſeking to weaken the credite of his accuſers by certaine circumſtances: Other he excuſed with interpretatiōs of his meaning, to proue the ſame to be farre otherwyſe than was alledged agaynſte him. And one eſpeciall matter amongeſt other wherewith he was charged, was, for bearing certaine Armes that were ſayde to belong to the King and to the Prince. The bearing whereof hee iuſtifyed and maynteyned, that as he tooke it, he mighte beare them as belonging to diuers of his aunceſtors, and withall affirmed, that he had the opinion of Heralds therein. But yet to his inditement he pleaded not giltie: And for that he was no lorde of the Parliament, he was enforced to ſtande to the tryall of a common Inqueſt of his countrey, whiche found him giltie, and therupon he had iudgement of death, and ſhortly after, to wit, the .xix. of Ianuarie, he was beheaded on the Tower hyll.

The Earle of Surrey beheaded.



The Duke was atteynted by Parliament, and the Atteynder after reuerſed in the fyrſte yeare of Queene Mary. The euill hap as well of the father, as of the ſonne, was greately lamented of many, not onely for the good ſeruice which the Duke had done in his dayes in defence of this realme, but alſo, for that the Erle was a Gentleman well learned, and knowne to haue an excellent witte, if he had bin thankfull to God for the ſame, and other ſuche good giftes as he had endued him with.

The king maketh his Teſtament.

The King now lying at the point of death, made his laſt wil and teſtament, wherin he not onely yelded himſelfe to Almightie God, but alſo tooke order, that during the minoritie of his ſonne Prince Edward, his executors ſhuld be counſellors and ayders to him in all things, as well concerning priuate as publike affairs. They wer .xvj. in number, whoſe names were as here foloweth.

His executors.

Thomas Cranmer Archebiſhop of Canterbury.
Thomas Wriothſley Lord Chancellor.
Sir William Paulet knight of the order, lord Saint Iohn, & great maiſter of yͤ houſhold.
Sir Edward Seimer knight of the order, erle of Hertford, & high Chāberlain of England.
Sir Iohn Ruſſell knighte of the order, Lorde Priuie ſeale.
Sir Iohn Dudley knighte of the order, vicont Liſle, and baron of Maupas, high Admirall of Englande.
Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Durham.
Sir Anthony Brown knight of the order, and maiſter of the horſſe.
Sir Edmund Montacute knight, chiefe Iuſtice of the common place.
Sir Thomas Bromeley knighte, one of the Iuſtices of the kings benche.
Sir Edward North knighte, Chauncellour of the Augmentation.
Sir William Paget knight of the order.
Sir Anthonie Denny knight.
Sir William Herbert knight.
Sir Edwarde Wotton knighte, Treaſourer of Caleys.
Nicholas Wotton deane of Canterburye and Yorke.

The deceaſſe of king Henry the eyght.

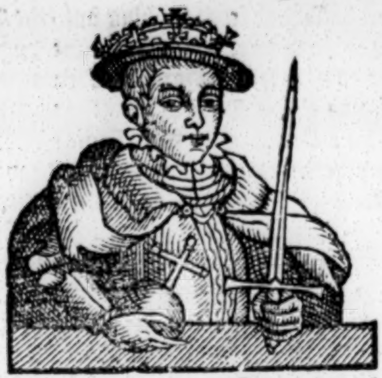
So ſoone as the ſayde noble King had finiſhed his laſte wyll and teſtamente, as afore is ſayde, he ſhortly therupon yelded vp his ſpirite to Almightie

mightie God, departing this world, the xxviij. daye of Januarie, in the thirtie and eyghte yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our lord 1546. after the accompt of the churche of England, but after the accompt whiche we follow here in this booke. 1547. begynning our yeare the firſt of Januarie. He reigned. xxxviij. yeares. ix. monethes and odde days. His body according to his will in that behalf, was conueyd to Wyndſore with all funerall pompe, and in the Colledge there enterred.

This noble Prince was ryght fortunate in all his doings, ſo that cōmonly whatſoeuer he attempted, had good ſucceſſe, as well in matters of peace as of warres. Of perſonage hee was tall and mightie, in his latter dayes ſomewhat groſſe, or as we terme it, bourly: in wit & memorie verie perfect: of ſuche maieſtie tempered with humanitie, as beſt became ſo noble & high an eſtate: a great fauorer of learning, as he that was not ignorant of good letters himſelfe, and for his greate magnificence and liberalitie, his renoune was ſpread through the whole world.

Of learned men that lyued in the dayes of this moſte famous prince, we fynde many: as firſt John Colet deane of Paules, and founder of the Schoole there: he was borne in London of honeſt parentes: William Lillie borne in the towne of Odiham in Hampſhire, was the firſt Schoolemaiſter of Paules Schoole after it was erected: Tho. Linacer, or rather Linaker, borne in Derbyſhire, a learned Phyſitian, and well ſeen in the toungs: John Skelton, a pleaſant Poet: Richard Pace that ſucceded John Colet in the roome of Deane of Poules: John Fiſher Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, of whome yee haue herd before: Tho. More born in London, of whom likewiſe mētion is made in the life of this kyng: Will. Horman born in Saliſburie, viceprouoſt of Eaton Colledge, a lerned man, as by his workes it appeareth: John Frith borne in London: William Tyndall, of whiche two perſons ye haue hearde lykewyſe in the hiſtorie of this King: Roberte Wakefield excellently ſeene in the toungs: John Raſtell, a citizen and Stacioner of London: Chriſtofer Saint German an excellente Lawyer: Roberte Barnes, of whome alſo wee haue made mention beefore: Syr Thomas Eliot knight: Edward Lee Archebiſhop of Yorke: John Leylande, a diligente ſearcher of Antiquities: Anne Aſkewe wrote certayne treatiſes concernyng hir examinations. Sir John Bourchier knyght Lorde Berners tranſlated the Chronicles of ſir John Froiſſarte out of Frenche into Engliſhe: William Chubbes: Henry Standyſhe, a Frier Minor and biſhop of ſaint Aſaph, wrote agaynſte Eraſmus for his Tranſlation of the newe Teſtament, to his ſmall praiſe as he handled the matter: Thomas ſurnamed Philomelus a Londoner, an excellent Poet: William Grocine verye experte in bothe toungs Greeke and Latine: Thomas Spencer a Carmelite Frier born in Norwich: Henry Bullocke: William Latymer: Young, a Monke of Rameſey: Arnolde of London, wrote certayne collections touchyng Hiſtoricall matters: Thomas Lupſet, a Londoner, a learned young man, departyng thys lyfe in the xxxvj. yeare of his age, aboute the yeare of our Lorde. 1532. he wrote ſundry vertuous treatiſes: William Melton Chancellour of Yorke, John Sowle a Carmelite Frier of London, and a Doctour of Diuinitie: John Batemanſon a Chartreux Monke, and Prior of his houſe at London: Richard Whitford: Thomas Attour borne in Norffolke, and fellowe wyth Bilneye in ſufferyng perſecution vnder Cardinall Wolſey: Henry Bradſhawe borne in Cheſter, where hee was profeſſed a blacke Monke, wrote the lyfe of ſaincte Werbourgh, and a certayne Chronicle: John Paulſgraue a Citizen of London wrote Inſtructions for the perfecte vnderſtandyng of the Frenche tong: John Skuyſhe a Cornyſheman wrote certayne abbreuiations of Chronicles, wyth a treatiſe of the warres of Troy: Anthony Fitzherbert a Judge, wrote an Abridgement of the lawe: John Litleton wrote alſo of the principles of the Lawe: but hee lyued before thys ſeaſon, to wit, in the dayes of

Wilfride Holme, wrote a treatiſe of the rebellion in Lincolneſhire, and in the Northe, after the manner of a Dialogue: John Conſtable an excellent Poet and rhetoritian: John Hilier: Edwarde Foxe ſtudent in the Kings Colledge in Cambridge, was aduanced to the Biſhoppes ſea of Hereford, and was imployed in dyuers Ambaſſades from Kyng Henry the ſeauenth, both into Germanie and Italy: John Lambert, *alias* Nichols, borne in Norffolke, of whome yee haue hearde in the Hiſtorie of thys Kyng, howe hee ſuffered for the controuerſie of the Sacrament: George Fulberye: John Hoker: Thomas Lanquet wrote an Epitome of Chronicles, & alſo of the winnyng of Bollongne: John Shepre: Leonard Coxe, he wrote dyuers treatiſes, one in Engliſh rhetorike wherof Bale maketh no mention: Thomas Soulmon borne in the yle of Gernſey verie ſtudious in hiſtories, as by his writings & notes it appeareth. John Longlande Biſhoppe of Lyncolne: Maurice Chauncy a chartreux Monke: Cutbert Tunſtall biſhop of Dureſme, Richard Sampſon: Alban Hill a Welchman an excellent Phyſition: Richard Croke verye experte in the Greeke toung: Robert Whittington borne in Staffordſhire neere to Lichfielde, wrote dyuers Treatiſes for the inſtruction of Grammarians: John Aldrige Biſhop of Carleil: John Ruſſell gathered a Treatiſe intitled *Super iure Cæſaris & Papæ*: he wrote alſo Cōmentaries in *Cantica*: William Roye: Simon Fiſh a Kētiſhman borne, wrote a booke called the Supplication of Beggers: John Powell, and Edwarde Powell Welchemrn, wrote againſt Luther, Edward died in Smithfield for treaſon in denying the Kings Supremacie in the yeare. 1540. John Houghton gouernour of the Charterhouſe Monks in London dyed lykewyſe for treaſon, in the yeare a thouſand fyue hundred thirtie and fyue. John Rickes being an aged man, forſaking the order of a Frier Minor, whyche he had firſt profeſſed, imbraced the Goſpell: George Bulleyn lorde Rochforde, brother to Queene Anne, wrote dyuers Songs and Sonettes: Frauncis Bigod knyght borne in Yorkſhire, wrote a booke agaynſt the Clergie, entituled *De impropriationibus*, and tranſlated certain bookes from Latin into Engliſh, he died for rebellion in the yere a thouſand fiue hundred thirtie and ſeuen: Richarde Wyſe: Henry Morley Lorde Morley, wrote diuers treatiſes, as Comedies and tragedies, the lyfe of Sectaries, and certain rithmes: William Thynne reſtored Chaucers workes by his learned and painful corrections: John Smith ſomtime Schoolemaiſter of Heyton: Richard Turpine borne of a worſhipfull familie in Englande, & ſeruyng in the garniſon of Caleys, wrote a chronicle of his tyme: he dyed in the yeare a thouſande, fyue hundred fortie and one, and was buryed in Saint Nicholas churche in Caleys. Sir Thomas Wiat knighte, in whoſe prayſe muche myght be ſaid, as wel for his learning as other excellent qualities mete for a man of his calling: he greatly furthered to enriche the Engliſhe tongue: hee wrote diuers matter in Engliſhe metres, and tranſlated the ſeuen Penitentiall Pſalmes, and as ſome write, the whole Pſalter: Hee dyed of the peſtilence in the Weſt countrey, beeing on his iourney into Spayne, whether hee was ſent ambaſſadour from the king vnto the Emperour, in the yeare, a thouſand, fiue hundred fortie and one· Henry Howard Earle of Surrey, ſonne to the Duke of Norffolke, delyted in the lyke ſtudies with Sir Thomas Wyat, wrote diuers treatiſes alſo in Engliſhe metre: he ſuffered at Tower hill, as in the Hiſtorie of this King before ye haue hearde: John Fielde a citizen and Lawyer of London, wrote ſundrye Treatiſes, as hys owne aunſweres vnto certaine articles miniſtred to him by ſir Thomas More, the Byſhoppe of Rocheſter, Raſtell and others. When hee was in priſon for religion, he wrote alſo a treatiſe of mans freewill, *de ſeruo hominis arbitrio*, and Collections of the common lawes of the land &c. Triſtram Reuell: Henrye Brinklowe a Merchaunt of London, wrote a lyttle booke, whiche hee publiſhed vnder the name of Roderik Mors, & alſo a cōplaint vpō London &c. Robert Shingleton, born of a good family in Lancaſhire wrote a treatiſe of the ſeauen Churches, and other thinges, as of certaine prophecies, for the whiche (as ſome write) he ſuffred at London being conuicte of treaſon in the yeare. 1544: William Parrey a Welcheman, wrote a booke intituled *Speculum Iuuenum*. Of ſtrangers that lyued here in thys kings dayes, and for their workes which they wrote were had in eſtimation, theſe we fynd recorded by Maiſter Bale: Bernarde Andreas a Frenche man, borne in Toulouſe, an Auguſtin Frier, and an excellēt Poet: Adrian de Caſtello, an Italian of Corneto a towne in Thuſcayne, he was commended vnto Kyng Henry the ſeuenth, by the Archebiſhoppe Morton, and thereuppon was fyrſte made Biſhop of Hereforde, and after reſigning that ſea, was aduaunced to Bath and Welles. Andreas Ammonius an Italian of the citie of Luca, ſecretarie to the K. wrote dyuers treatiſes: James Calco an Italian alſo of Pauia in Lumbardie, by profeſſion a Carmelite Frier, an erneſt defender of the diuorce betwixt the Kyng and the Ladye Katherine Dowager, diſprouyng the marryage betwixt them to be in any wyſe lawfull.



Edwar. the ſixt.

After it had pleaſed Almightie God to call to hys mercye that famous Prince Kyng Henrye the eigthe, the Parliament as yet continuing, and now by his death diſſolued, the executors of the ſayd Kyng, and other of the Nobilitie, aſſembling themſelues togyther, did firſte by ſounde of trumpet in the palace at Weſtminſter, and ſo through London, cauſe his ſonne and heire Prince Edward to be proclaymed king of this realme by the name of Edward the ſixt, King of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faith, and of the churches of Englãd and Irelande the Supreme head, he beyng yet but nyne yeares and odde Monethes of age, Hee was thus proclaymed the. xxviij. of Ianuarie, in the yeare of the worlde. 5513. and after the birth of our Lord. 1547. accordyng to the accompt of them that beginne the yeare at Chriſtmaſſe: but after the accompte of the Church of England, in the yere. 1546. about the xxix. yere of the Emperor Charles the fift, the. xxxiij. of Frauncis the firſte of that name king of Fraunce, and in the fifthe yeare of the reigne of Mary Queene of Scotland.

King Edvvard proclaymed.

1547

Shortly herevpon the Earle of Hertforde with other of the Lordes reſorted to Hatfield, where the yong King then laye, from whence they conducted him with a great and right honorable companie to the Tower of London. During the tyme of hys aboade there, for the good gouernement of the realme, the honoure and ſuertie of his Maieſties perſon, his Uncle Edward Earle of Hertforde, was by order of the Counſell, and the aſſente of hys Maieſtie, (as one moſte meeteſt to occuppe that roomthe) appoynted gouernoure of hys royall perſone, and protectour of his realmes, dominions and ſubiectes, and ſo proclaymed the fyrſte of Februarye by an Heraulte at armes, and ſounde of Trumpette thorough the Citie of London, in the vſuall places thereof, as it was thoughte expediente.

The Earle of Hertford choſen protector.

The ſixthe daye of Februarie the Earle of Hertforde Lord Protectour adorned king Edwarde with the order of knighthoode, remaynyng then in the Tower, and therewyth the Kyng ſtanding vp, called for Henry Hubblethorne Lorde Maior of the Citie of London, who commyng before hys preſence, the Kyng toke the ſworde of the Lorde Protectour, and dubbed the ſayd Hubblethorne knight, he being the fyrſt that euer he made.

The. xvij. of Februarie, the Lorde Protectour was created Duke of Somerſet, the erle of Eſſex was created Marques of Northampton. The Lorde Liſle high Admirall of Englande, was created Earle of Warwike, and hygh Chamberlayne of Englande. Sir Thomas Wriotheſley Lorde Chauncellour, was created Erle of Southampton. Syr Thomas Seymer was aduaunced to the honoure of Lorde of Sudley and high Admirall of Englande, whyche office the Earle of Warwike then reſigned. Syr Rychard Riche was made Lorde Riche, & Syr William Willoughby was created Lord Willoughby of Parrham. Sir Edmund Sheffield was made lord Sheffield of Butterwike.

The ſame tyme greate preparation was made for the Kynges Coronation, and ſo the foure and twentieth of Februarie next enſewing, his maieſtie came from the Tower, and ſo rode thoroughe London vnto Weſtminſter, with as greate royaltie, as myght be, the ſtreetes beyng hong, and Pageantes in dyuers places erected, to teſtifye the good willes of the Citizens, reioycing that it had pleaſed God to deale ſo fauourably with the Engliſhe nation to graunt them ſuche a towardly yong Prince to their king and ſoueraigne thus to ſuccede in place of his noble father.

The Kyng r deth through London to VVeſtmin

The morrowe after being Shroue Sunday and. xxv. of Februarye, his coronation was ſolemnized in due forme and order, wyth all the royaltie and honoure whyche thereunto appertayned.

King Edvvar crovvned.

Shortly after the Coronation, to witte, the ſixte of Marche, the Earle of Southampton, Lorde Chauncellour of Englande, for his too muche repugnancie (as was reported) in matters of counſell, to the reſidue of the Counſellours about the Kyng, was not onely depriued of hys office of Chancellour, but alſo remoued from his place and authoritie in counſell, and the cuſtodie of the greate Seale was taken from him and deliuered vnto Sir William Paulet Lord Saint Iohn, that was lord great maiſter of the kings houſholde.

The L. Cha cellor diſchar ged of his roomth.

Alſo ſhortly after his Coronation, the kinges Maieſtie by the aduice of hys Uncle the Lorde Protectoure and other of hys pryuie counſell, myndyng fyrſte of all to ſeeke Gods honour and glorie, and therupon intending a reformation, did not only ſet forth by certain Commiſſioners, ſundrye Iniunctions for the remouyng of Images out of all Churches, to the ſuppreſſing and auoydyng of Idolatry and ſuperſtition, within his realmes and dominions, but alſo cauſed certayne Homilies or Sermons to bee drawen by ſundrye godly learned men, that the ſame myght bee redde in Churches to the people, whyche were afterwardes by certayne of theſe Commiſſioners, ſent forth as viſitours, accompanyed with certayn Preachers throughout the Realm, for the better inſtruction of the people, publiſhed and putte in vre.

At Eaſter nexte followyng, he ſette out alſo an order thorough all the Realme, that the Supper of the Lord ſhould be miniſtred to the lay people in both kindes.

Theſe thinges done, the Lorde Protectour and the reſte of the Counſell, calling to mynde the euill dealyng and craftye diſſimulation of the Scottes, concerning the matter of marriage beetwixte the Kynges Maieſtye, and the Queene of Scotlande (whyche marryage as ye haue hearde, in the fyue and thirtith yeare of King Henry the eygthe, was by authoritie of Parliamente in Scotlande fully concluded, thought it not to ſtande wyth the Kings honour to be in ſuche manner by them deluded,) and withall conſidering howe greatly it ſhuld tourne to the quietneſſe and ſafetie of bothe Realmes to haue theſe two Princes conioyned in Matrimonie, they dydde deuiſe ſundry wayes and meanes howe the ſame myghte bee brought to paſſe, and the rather (as ſome doe write) for that Kyng Henry before his death hadde giuen them in ſpeciall charge by all indeuours to procure that the ſayde marriage myghte take place, but the Lordes of Scotlande were ſo inueygled and corrupted by the French Kyng, and abuſed by Cardinall Beton, Archebiſhoppe of Saincte Andrews, and other of theyr Clergie, that they not onely ſhranke from that whyche they hadde promyſed, but alſo ſought to deſtroye thoſe that fauoured the kyng of Englandes parte: wherevppon a great and puiſſaunt armye was now prepared to paſſe by lande into Scotland: and lykewyſe a Nauie to paſſe by ſea to attende vppon the ſame: Whereof the greate Galeye and foure and twentie tall ſhippes were thorougly furnyſhed with menne and munitions for the warre, beſides many merchantes ſhippes, and other ſmaller veſſelles, whiche ſerued for carryage of victualles, and other neceſſaries.

But nowe to ſhewe what noble men and other were ordeyned officers, and aſſigned to haue the conduction as well of the armye by lande, as of the fleete by ſea.

Chieſtaynes in the armye.

Ye ſhall vnderſtande, that firſte the Duke of Somerſette, Lorde Protectour, tooke vpon hym to goe him ſelfe in perſone, as generall of the whole Armie, and Capitayne alſo of the battayle or middle warde, wherein were foure thouſande footemenne. The Martiall Earle of Warwike appoynted Lorde Lieutenaunt of the ſame army, ledde the foreward conteynyng three thouſande footemenne. The Lord Dacres gouerned in the rereward, wherin were other three thouſande footmenne. The Lorde Grey of Wilton was ordeyned hyghe Marſhall of the ſayde armye and Capitayne generall of all the horſemenne, beyng in number ſixe thouſand. Syr Raufe Sadler knight treaſourer of the Armie. Syr Francis Brian knight, capitayne of the lyghte horſemenne, in number two thouſande. Syr Raulfe Auane Knight lieuetenant of all the men of armes and Dymulances. Sir Thomas Darcye Knyght Capitaine of all the Kings Maieſties Pentioners, and men at armes. Sir Rycharde Lee Knight deuiſer of the fortifications. Sir Peter Mewtas Knight Captayne of the Harquebuſiers, whyche were in number ſixe hundred. Sir Peter Gamboa knyght, Captayne of two hundred harquebuſiers on horſbacke. Sir Frãcis Flemmyng Knyght Mayſter of the ordeynaunce. Sir George Blaag, and Sir Thomas Holcroſt Commiſſioners of the muſters. Edwarde Shelley, the Lorde Gryes lieuetenaunt of the men of armes of Bollongne, who was the firſte that gaue the onſet in the day of battayle, and dyed moſte honourablye in the ſame. John Brenne Captayne of the Pioners beeing in number a thouſande foure hundrethe. Thomas Audeley, and Edwarde Chamberlaine Harbengers of the fielde.

The chieſtaynes that commaunded in the nauy by Sea were theſe.

The Lorde Edwarde Clinton Admirall of the fleete: Sir William Woodhouſe knight his Viceadmirall. There were in the army of greate ordeinaunce fifteene peeces, and of carriages nine hundred Cartes, beſide many wagons, whereof the Commiſſarie generall was George Ferrers. As ſoone as the armye by lande was in a readyneſſe, and ſet forwarde to come to Berwycke at a daye appoynted, the nauye likewiſe toke the Sea, and by the helpe of Gods good guydyng hadde ſo proſperous ſpeede in their paſſage, that they arryued at Berwycke in tyme conuenient, whyther vpon the thirtiethe of Auguſte being Tueſday, the Lorde Protectour came, and laye in the Caſtell with Sir Nicholas Strelley knight, Captain there.

The nexte daye commaundement was giuen that euery man ſhuld prouide himſelfe for foure dayes vittuall to be caried forthe with them in Cartes.

On Thurſedaye the firſte of September the Lorde Protectoure, not wyth manye mo than wyth hys owne bande of horſemen, roade to a Towne ſtandyng on the ſea coaſte, a ſixe miles from Berwicke within Scotlande called Aymouthe, whereat there runneth a riuer into the Sea, which he cauſed to bee ſounded, and findyng the ſame well able to ſerue for an Hauen, cauſed afterwards a fortreſſe to bee reiſed there, appoyntyng Thomas Gower, that was Marſhall of Berwike, to bee Capitayne thereof.

On Fridaye, all ſauing the counſell departed the Towne of Berwycke and encamped a twoo flight ſhootes off, by the Sea ſide, toward Scotlande. And the ſame day the Lord Clinton with his fleete took the ſeas from Berwike, to the ende, that in caſe the Winde ſhoulde not ſerue them, to keepe courſe wyth the Armye by lande, yet were it but wyth the dryuyng of tides, they might vppon any neede of munition or vittualls be ſtill at hand, or not long from them.

The ſame daye the Earle of Warwycke, and Sir Raulfe Saddeler Threaſourer of the armye, came to Berwicke from Newecaſtell, where they had ſtayed till then, for the full diſpatch of the reſte of the army, and the next day the Erle of Warwike encamped in field with the army.

On whiche day a proclamation with ſound of Trumpette was made by an Herraulte in three ſeuerall places of the camp, ſignifying the cauſe of the comming of the Kynges armye at that preſente into Scotlande, whyche in effect was, to aduertiſe all the Scottiſh nation, that their comming was not to depriue them of their liberties, but to aduaunce the mariage already concluded and agreed vppon betwixte the kings maieſtie of England & their Quene, and no hoſtilitie ment to ſuche as ſhould ſhew themſelues furtherers therof.

The fourthe of September beeing Sundaye, the Lorde Protectoure came from out of the Towne, and the army reiſed, and marched that daye a ſixe miles, and camped by a village called Roſtan in the Baronrie of Boukendale.

The order of their Marche was this. Sir Frauncis Brian Capitayne of the light horſemen, with foure hundreth of his bande, tended to the ſkowte a mile or two before.

The order
the armie in
marching fo
vvarde.

The carriages kept a long by the ſea coaſt, and the men at armes and Dimylances deuided into three troupes, aunſweryng the three wards ridde in arraye directly agaynſt the carriages a twoo flyghtſhote a ſunder from them. The three foote battayles kepte order in place betwixte them bothe. The fore warde formoſte, the battaile in the middeſt, and the rereward hindermoſt, eche ward hauing his troup of horſemenne, and garde of ordinaunce, hys ayde of Pyoners, for amendement of wayes, where neede ſhoulde be.

The Peathes.

The fifte of September they marched an 8. miles, till they came to the peathes, a clough or Valley, runnyng for a ſixe myles Weaſte ſtrayght Eaſtewarde, and towarde the Sea a twenty ſcore brode from banke to banke aboue, and a fiue ſcore in the bottome, wherein runnes a little Riuer. Steepe is thys valley on either ſide, and deepe in the bottome. The Scots had caſte Trenches ouerthwarte the ſide wayes on either ſide, in many places, to make the paſſage more cumberſome, but by the Pioners the ſame were ſoone fylled, and the waye made playne, that the armye, carriage, and ordinaunce were quite ſette ouer ſoone after Sunne ſette, and there they pight downe their campe.

Whyleſt the armye was thus paſſyng ouer this comberſome paſſage, an Herraulte was ſente from the Lorde Protectoure, to ſommon a Caſtell, that ſtood at the ende of the ſame valley, a myle from the place, where they paſſed downe towardes the Sea. Matthewe Hume Capitaine thereof, a brothers ſonne of the lord Humes, vppon his ſommons required to ſpeak with the Lorde Protectoure, it was graunted, and hee came, whome the Protectoure handled in ſuche ſorte wyth effectuall wordes puttyng hym in choice wheather hee woulde yeelde, or ſtande to the aduenture, to haue the place won of hym by force, that hee was contented to render all at his graces pleaſure.

And ſo beeyng commaunded to goe fetche hys companye out of the houſe, hee wente and broughte them, beeyng in all one and twentye perſones. The Capitayne and ſixe other were ſtaied and commaunded to the keeping of the Marſhall, the reſidue were ſuffered to departe, whither they thought good.

After this ſurrender, my Lorde John Grey brother to the Marques Dorſet, beeyng Capitayne of a greate number of Demylaunces, (as for hys approued worthyneſſe & valiancie right well hee mought) was appoynted to ſeaze and take poſſeſſion of the houſe.

The ſpoyle was not riche ſure, but of white bread, oten cakes, and Scottiſhe ale indifferente good ſtore, and ſoone beſtowed among my lords Souldiers, for ſwordes, bucklers, pikes, pottes, pannes, yarne, linnen, hempe, and heapes of ſuch baggage, whiche the Countrey people there about hadde broughte into that pile, to haue it in more ſurety, the Souldiers would vnneth ſtoupe to take the ſame vp.

dell of
lſe o-
wen.

In the meane tyme, the Lord Protector appoynted the houſe to be ouerthrowen, whiche by the Captayne of the pioners was done, though with ſome trauayle, by reaſon the walles were ſo thicke, & the foundation ſo deepe, and therto ſet vpon ſo craggy a plotte.

Tewſday the ſixth of September, the armye diſlodged, and marched forwarde.

ton &
ike.

In the way as they ſhoulde goe, a myle and an halfe from Dunglas Northwarde, were two pyles or holdes, Thornton and Anderwike, ſet both on craggy foũdatiõs, & deuided a ſtones caſt aſunder by a deepe gut, wherin ran a little riuer.

Trot-

Thorneton belonged to the Lord Hume, and was kepte by one Thom Trotter, who vppon ſommonance giuen to render the houſe, lockt vp a ſixteene poore ſoules, lyke the Souldiers of Dunglas, faſt within the houſe, tooke the keys with him, commaundyng them to defende the place till hys returne, whiche ſhoulde bee on the morrowe, with munition and reliefe: and thys done, he and his prickers prickt (as ſayth maiſter Paten) quite their wayes.

orde of
ton.

Anderwike perteined to the Lord of Hambleton, and was kepte by his ſon and heire, whome of cuſtome they call the maiſter of Hambleton, and eyghte more Gentlemen for the moſt parte as was reported.

The Lorde Protector at his commyng nye, ſent vnto both theſe places, which vpon ſommonance, refuſing to render, were ſtraight aſſayled.

le of
wike

Thorneton, by baterie of four great peeces of ordinance, and certayne of Sir Peter Mewtas Hackbutters, and Anderwike by a ſorte of the ſame hackbutters, who ſo well beſturred them, that where theſe keepers had rammed vp theyr outer doores, cloyed and ſtopt their ſtaires within, and kept themſelues, for defence of their houſe about the battlementes, the hackbutters gote in, and fyered them vnderneath, whereby beeyng greatly troubled with ſmoke, they cryed for mercy, whych the Lord Protector meant to graunt them, but ere the meſſenger came, the hackbutters were gote vp to them, and killed eyghte of them aloft: one lept ouer the walles, and running more than a furlong, after was ſlayne without in a water.

All this while at Thorneton, was the aſſalte on the Engliſhe parte, and the defence by them within ſtoutely continued, but at length, when they perceyued in what daunger they ſtoode, and how little able they were to help themſelues, or to annoy the aſſailants, they pluckt in a banner whiche they hadde hung forth, in token of defyance, and put forth a white linnen clout, tyed to a ſtickes ende, crying all with one tune for mercye: but hauyng aunſwere by the whole voyces of the aſſaylers, that they were traytors, and that it was too late, they pluckt in theyr ſticke, and ſette vppe agayne theyr banner of defyance, and ſhotte off, hurled ſtones, and dyd what elſe they could with great courage of theyr ſide, and ſmal hurt of the aſſailants. Wherefore perceyuyng that they could not long keepe out, being on the one ſide battred, and myned on the other, kepte in with hackbutters on each ſide, and ſome of the Engliſhmen beeing gote into the houſe belowe, for they hauing ſhopt vp themſelues alſo in the higheſt of their houſe, pluckte in againe theyr banner, and cryed eftſoones for mercy, but being aunſwered generally by the aſſailants, that they ſhoulde neuer looke for it, they fell to make thys petition, that if they ſhoulde needes dye, they myghte rather ſuffer by hanging, and ſo reconcile themſelues to God, than to dye in malice, with ſo great daunger of theyr ſoules.

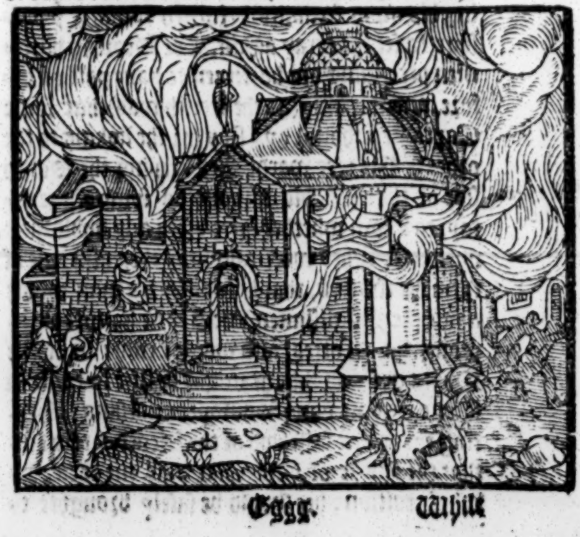
Sir Miles Partrige.
Thorneton yeelded.

This ſuite was ſo furthered to the Dukes grace by Sir Miles Partrige, that was neere at hand when they made this ſuite, that it was graunted, and they comming forthe, humbled themſelues, and without more hurt, they were but commaunded to the prouoſt Marſhall, who kept them for a time, and were after releaſſed.

The piles of Thorneton and other defaced.

The houſe was ſhortly after ſo blowen with pouder, that more than the one halfe of it, fell ſtraight downe to duſt and rubbiſh, the reſt ſtood all to ſhaken with riftes and chinkes.

Anderwike was alſo burned, and all yͤ houſes of office, and ſtackes of corne about them both.



While this was in doing, yͤ dukes grace, in turning but about, ſaw the fall of Dunglas, which likewiſe was vndermined, & blowen wͭ pouder.

This done, about noone, the army marched, and paſſing by Dunbar, the Caſtell ſente them diuers ſhottes of Artillerie, but all in vayne.

The Scottiſh prickers ſhewed themſelues in the field with proffer of ſkirmiſh, but to no great purpoſe, one of thē beeing killed wͭ a ſhot of one of Barteuilles men, an hackbutter on horſeback.

Tantallon.

The army hauing marched yͤ day a ten mile, lodged at nighte nere to Tātallon, & had a blind alarme. Marching yͤ next morning a .ij. miles, they came to a riuer called Lin, where there is a ſtone bridge, named Lintō bridge of a towne thereby on the right hand, as yͤ army marched, & ſtāding Eaſtward vpō the ſame riuer, yͤ horſemē & cariages paſt through the water, for it was not very deepe, yͤ footemen ouer the bridge. The paſſage was ſtraight for an army, and therefore yͤ lōger in ſetting ouer. Beyonde this bridge about a myle Weſtward vppon the ſame riuer, on the South ſide, ſtāds a proper Caſtel, called Hayles, perteining to the Erle of Bothwell, but kepte as then by the gouernours appointment, who helde the Erle in priſon. Out of this Caſtell as the L. Protector paſſed forwarde in following the fore ward, there were roundly ſhot off (but withoute hurt) ſixe or ſeauen peeces, the which before that, (though ſome of the armye had bin very nye) yet kepte they all couert. In the meane time, roſe a thicke miſt, which cauſed great diſorder in yͤ rere warde, by reaſon they could not ſee about them. The Erle of Warwike therefore doubting leaſt the enimies, who had bin pricking vp & downe neere to the army, and offered ſkirmiſh the ſame morning, ſhould now by occaſion of the miſt, attempt ſome feate, to the annoyance of the Engliſhmen in their paſſage, his Lordſhippe hymſelfe ſcant with ſixteene horſe (whereof Barteuille, and John de Ribaud Frenchmen, were two; ſeuen or eight light horſemen moe, and the reſt being his owne ſeruants) returned towarde yͤ paſſage, to ſee the array again. The Scottiſh horſemen perceiuing our horſemen to haue paſt on before, and thinking (as the trouth was) that ſome Captaine of honor dyd ſtay for the looking to the order of this rere warde, they keeping the South ſide of the riuer, did call ouer to ſome of the army, to know whether there were any noble man nye there. They were aſkt why they aſkt: one of them aunſwered, that he was ſuch a man, whoſe name the Engliſhmen knew to be honorable among the Scottes, and woulde come in to the Dukes grace, ſo that he might be ſure to come in ſafetie. Some yong Souldyers nothing ſuſpecting the craftie falſehood of the Scottes, told him that the Earle of Warwike was nie there, by whoſe tuition, hee ſhould be ſafely broughte to my L. Protectors preſence, they had cand theyr leſſon, and fell to their practiſe, which was thys: hauyng comen ouer the water, in the way as the Earle ſhoulde paſſe, they had cowched behinde a hillocke, aboute two hundred of their prickers, and had ſente a fortie beſide, to ſearche where my Lorde was, whome when they had found, parte of them prickt very nye, whom tenne or twelue of the Earles ſmall company did boldly encoūter, and droue them welnie home to their ambuſhe, flying perchance not ſo much for feare, as for falſehood, to bring them within their daunger: but heereby enformed that the Earle was ſo nye, they ſent out a bigger number, and kept the reſt more ſecret, vpō this purpoſe, that they might eyther by a playne onſet diſtreſſe him, or elſe by feyning of flighte, to haue trayned hym within daunger of theyr ambuſh, and thus inſtruct, they came pricking toward his Lordſhip apace, why (quoth he) and will not theſe knaues bee ruled, giue me my ſtaffe, the whiche then with ſo valiante a courage, hee charged at one (as it was thought) Dandy Car, a Captayne among thē, that he did not only cōpell Car to turne, & himſelfe chaſed him aboue twelue ſcore togyther al yͤ way at the ſpeare poynte (ſo yͭ if Cars horſe had not bin exceeding good & wyght, his lordſhip had ſurely run hym through in this raſe) but alſo with his little band, cauſed all the reſt to flee amayne. After whom as Henry Vane, a gentlemā of yͤ ſaid erles, & one of this cōpanie, did fierſly purſue .iiij. or .v. Scots, ſodenly turned, & ſet vpon him, and though they did not altogether eſcape his hands free, yet by hewyng & mangling his head, body, & many places elſe, they did ſo cruelly intreat him, as if reſkue had not come the ſooner, they had ſlayn him outright. Here was Barteuile run at ſideling, & hurt in the buttock & one of yͤ Engliſhmē ſlain: Of Scots again, none ſlain, but .iij. taken priſoners, wherof one was Rich. Maxwel, & hurt in the thigh: who had bin long in Englād not long before, & had receyued ryght many benefites both of the late kings liberality, & of the erle of Warwike, & of many other nobles & gētlemē in yͤ court beſide. But to cōclude, if the erle of Warwik had not thus valiantly encountred them ere they could haue warned their ambuſhe, howe weakely he was garded, he had bin beſet roūd about by thē ere euer he could haue bin aware of thē, or reſkued of other: where hereby his Lordſhip vndoubtedly ſhewed his wonted valure, ſaued hys companye, and diſcomfited the enimie. As Barteuille the frenchman that day had right honeſtly ſerued, ſo did the Lords right honorably quite it, for yͤ Erle of Warwike did get him a ſurgeō, and dreſt he was, ſtreight after leyd and conueid in the Lorde Protectors owne chariot. The reſt that wer hurt, wer here alſo dreſt, Scots & other.

Linton bridge

Hayles Caſtel.

A ſubtile practiſe of the Scottes.

The m
courag
the Ea
Warw
Dandy

Henry

Barteui
hurte.

The armye hauyng marched that ſame daye nine myles, encamped at nyghte by a Towne ſtanding on the Fryth called Lang Nuddrey.

Nud-

The nexte morning beeyng Thurſeday, the eyghte of September, in tyme of the diſlodging of the Engliſhe Camp, ſigne was made to ſome of the Shippes (whereof the moſt part and chiefeſt lay a tenne or twelue miles in the Forth, beyond vs, ouer againſte Lieth and Edinburgh) that the Lorde Admirall ſhould come a ſhore, to ſpeake with the Lorde Protector.

In the meane time, ſomewhat earely, as oure Galley was comming toward vs, about a mile and more beyonde our camp, the Scottes were very buſie, awafting heere a ſhore toward them with a banner of Sainte George that they had, ſo to trayne them to come alande there, but the Earle of Warwike ſoone diſappoynted the policie, for making towarde that place where the Lorde Admirall ſhould come a ſhore, the Engliſhmen on the water by the ſighte of his preſence, did ſoone diſcerne their friendes from their foes.

The Lord Admirall herevpon came to land, and riding backe with the Earle vnto the Lord Protector, order was taken, that the great Ships ſhoulde remoue from before Lieth, and come to lye before Muſkelburgh and the Scottiſh camp which lay there in field already aſſembled, to reſiſt the Engliſhe power that marched thus towards them.

aken
pla-
the
s.

The ſmaller veſſelles that were vittaylers, were appoynted to lye neerer to the army.

The Lord Admirall heerevpon, being returned to the water, and the armye marching onwarde a mile or two, there appeared aloft on a hill, that lay longwiſe Eaſt, and Weſt, and on the South ſide of them, vppon a ſixe hundred of their horſemen prickers, whereof ſome within a flight ſhoote, directly againſte the Engliſhmen, ſhewed themſelues vpon the ſame hill, and more further off.

Scottiſhe
s ſhewe
elues,

Towarde theſe, ouer a ſmall bridge that laye ouer a little riuer there, very hardly did ride about a doſen hackbutters on horſebacke, and held them at bay ſo nye to their noſes, that whether it were by the goodneſſe of the ſame hackbutters, or the badneſſe of them, the Scottes dyd not only not come downe to them, but alſo very courteouſly gaue place, and fledde to theyr fellowes.

The armye wente on, but ſo muche the ſlowlyer, bycauſe the way was ſomewhat narrowe, by meanes of the Forth on the tone ſyde, and certayne Mariſhes on the other.

The Scottes kept alwayes pace with them, till there were ſhotte off two field peeces twice, wherwith there was a man killed, and the legge of one of their horſes ſtriken off, which cauſed them to withdraw, ſo that the Engliſhmen ſaw no more of them, till they came to the place where they meante to encampe, for there they ſhewed themſelues agayne aloft on the fore remembred hill, ſtanding as it were to viewe and take muſter of the armye: but when the Lorde Gray made towardes them, minding to knowe theyr commiſſion, they wiſely went their way, and woulde not once abyde the reaſoning. Little elſe was done that day, but that George Ferrers, one of the Duke of Somerſettes Gentlemen, and one of the commiſſioners of the cariages in the armye, perceyuing where certayne Scottes were gote into a caue vnder the earth, ſtopping ſome of the ventes, and ſettyng fyre in the other, ſmolthered them to death as was thought it could be none other, by coniecture of the ſmoke breakyng forth at ſome of the other ventes.

Scottes ſmolthered in a caue.

The Engliſhe Shippes alſo takyng theyr leaue from before Lieth, with a ſcore of ſhotte or more, and as they came by ſalutyng the Scottes in theyr Camp alſo, with as manye, came and lay according to appoyntmente.

The armye hauyng marched thys day about a fyue myles, encamped at Salt Preſton by the Forth.

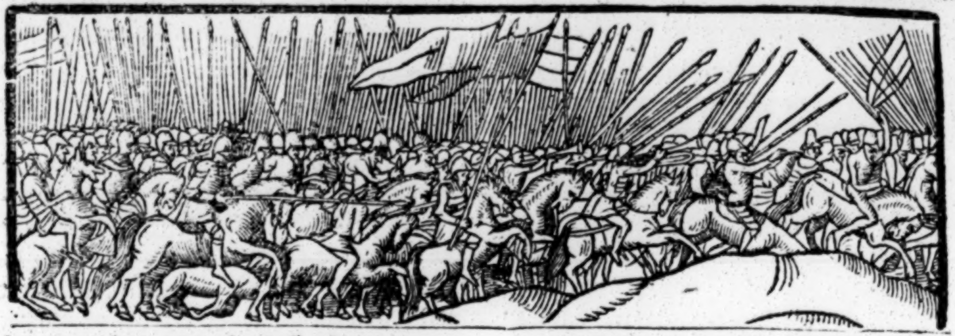
Salt Preſton.

On Friday the ninth of September, the Engliſh army lying in ſight and view of the Scottiſh Camp, that lay two myles or there aboutes from them, hadde the Forth on the North, and the hill laſt remembred on the South, the Weſt ende whereof is called Fauxſide Bray, on the whiche ſtandeth a ſory Caſtell, and halfe a ſcore houſes of lyke worthyneſſe by it, and hadde Weſtwarde before the Engliſhmen, the Scottes lying in campe.

Fauxſide Bray

About a mile from the Engliſh Camp, were the Scottes horſemen very buſie, pranking vp and downe, and fayne woulde haue bin a counſell with the Engliſh mens doyngs, who again, bycauſe the Scottes ſeemed to ſitte to receyue them, dyd dyligently prepare that they myghte ſoone goe to them, and therefore kepte within theyr Camp all that day.

The Lord Protector and the Counſel, ſitting in conſultation, the Captaynes and officers prouiding theyr bandes, ſtore of vittayles, and furniture of weapons, for furtherance whereof, oure veſſels of munition and vittayles were heere all ready come to the ſhore. The Scottes continued theyr brauerie on the hill, the whyche the Engliſhmen not beeyng ſo well able to beare, made out a bande of light horſemenne, and a



troupe of demelances to backe them: the Engliſhmen and ſtrangers that ſerued among thẽ, gate vppe aloft on the hill, and thereby of euen grounde with the enimie, rode ſtraighte towarde them with good ſpeede and order, whome at the firſte, the Scottes did boldly countenãce and abide: but after, when they perceyued that oure men would needes come forward, they began to pricke, and woulde fayne haue bin gone, ere they hadde told their errand, but the Engliſhmen haſted ſo ſpeedily after, that euen ſtreight they were at their elbowes, and dyd ſo ſtoutely then beſturre them, that what in the onſet at the fyrſte, and after in the chaſe, which laſted a three miles welnie to as farre as the furtheſt of their camp, on the South ſide, they had killed of the Scots within a three houres, aboue the number of thirteene hundred, and taken the maiſter of Hume, the Lord Humes ſon and heire, two Prieſts and ſixe Gentlemen, whereof one by Sir Iaques Granado, and all vpon the higheſt and welneere nigheſt of the hill towarde the Scottes, within the full ſight of their whole camp.

The Scot horſemen comfited, put to fli

Scottes ſlayne. Priſoners taken.

On the Engliſh parte, one Spaniſh Hackebutter hurt, and takẽ, ſir Raufe Bulmer knight, Thomas Gower Marſhall of Berwike, & Robert Crouch, all Captaines of ſeuerall bands, of the Engliſhe light horſemen, and men of ryghte good courage, and approued ſeruice, and at thys time diſtreſt by their owne too muche forwardneſſe, and not by the enimies force. To cõclude, of fifteene hundred horſemen for ſkirmiſhe, and fiue C. footemen, to lie cloſe in ambuſhe, and to be ready at neede, which came that morning out of their camp, there turned not home aboue ſeauen C. and diuers of thoſe ſore hurt, and among other, the L. Hume himſelfe, for haſt in the flight, had a fall from his horſe, and burſt ſo the canell bone of his necke, that he was fayne to be caryed ſtraight to Edinburgh, and finally there departed this life of that hurt. Then after this, the L. Protector, and the Earle of Warwike, and other of the counſell, with a ſmall gard, mounting vp the hill, where the ſlaughter had bin made, about halfe a mile Southeaſt from the Scottiſh campe, tooke full viewe thereof, the plotte where they laye, ſo choſen for ſtrengthe, as in all theyr country (ſome thought) not a better, ſaue on the South by a great Mariſh, and on the North by the Forth, whiche ſyde they fenced with two fielde peeces, and certayne hackbuttes a crooke, lying vnder a turfe walle, Edenburgh on the Weſt at their backes, and Eaſtward betweene the Engliſhmen and them ſtrongly defended by the courſe of a riuer called Eſke, running North into the Forth, whiche as it was not very deepe of water, ſo were the bankes of it ſo hygh and ſteepe, as a ſmall ſort of reſiſtants myghte haue bin able to keepe downe a great number of commers vp.

Engliſhmen taken.

The Lorde Hume hurt with a fall in the chaſe.

About a twelueſcore from the Forth, ouer the ſame riuer, is there a ſtone bridge, which they did keepe alſo well garded with ordinance. When the Lord Protector, and the Earle of Warwike had viewed euery thing, as they thoughte expedient, they returned home towards their camp, alongſt before the camp of the enimies, within leſſe than two ſlighte ſhootes, entring into a lane of thirtie foote broade, fenced on eyther ſide with a wall of turfe, an elle of heigth.

The Scottes did often ſhoote at them in the way as they paſſed thus homewards, withoute hurt, ſauing the killing of an horſe among three hundred, the rider eſcaping elſe harmeles. And as the Dukes grace was paſſed welnie halfe the way homewardes, a Scottiſhe Herrault with a cote of his princes armes vpon him (as the manner is) and with him a Trumpetter, ouertooke them.

The Herraulte declaring his meſſage to the L. Protector, pretẽded to come from the gouernour, to enquire of priſoners taken, and therwith to proffer honeſt conditions of peace, and after he had tolde his tale, thẽ began the Trumpetter, that ſayde, howe hee was ſent from the Earle of Huntley. My L. my maiſter (ſaith he) hath willed me to ſhewe your grace, yͤ bycauſe this matter may bee the ſooner ended, and with leſſe hurt, he will fight with your grace for the whole quarrel, twentie to twentie, ten to ten, or elſe hymſelfe alone with your grace man to man. The Lorde Protector hauing kept with him the Lord Lieutenant, had heard them both throughly, and then in anſwering, ſpake ſomwhat with louder voice, than they had done their meſſages, wherevpon, they that were the riders by, thinking that hys grace woulde haue it no ſecrete, were ſomewhat the bolder to come neerer, the wordes whereof, were vttered ſo expeditely with honor, and ſo honorably with expedition, that the ſtanders by were moued to doubt whether they myghte rather note in them the promptneſſe of a ſingular prudency, or the boldneſſe of a noble courage: and they wer thus. Your gouernour may know, that the ſpeciall cauſe of oure comming hither, was not to fighte, but for the thing that ſhoulde bee the weale, both of vs and you, for God wee take to recorde, wee minde no more hurte to the Realme of Scotland, than we doe to the Realm of England, and therefore oure quarrell beeyng ſo good, we truſt God will proſper vs the better. But as for peace, hee hathe refuſed ſuch conditions at oure handes, as wee will neuer profer agayne: and therefore lette him looke for none, tyll this way we make it: and thou Trumpette, ſaye to thy maiſter, hee ſeemeth to lacke witte ſo to make thys chalenge to me, beyng of ſuch eſtate, by the ſufferance of God, as haue ſo weightie a charge of ſo pretious a iewell, the gouernaunce of a Kings perſon, and then the protection of all his Realmes, whereby in thys caſe I haue no power of my ſelfe, which if I had, as I am true Gentleman, it ſhoulde bee the firſte bargayne I would make: but there be a great ſort among vs his equals, to whome he mighte haue made thys chalenge without refuſall. Quoth the Lorde Lieutenant to them both, hee ſheweth his ſmall witte to make this chalenge to my Lords grace, and hee ſo meane, but if his grace will gyue mee leaue, I ſhall receyue it, and Trumpette bryng me worde thy maſter will ſo do, and thou ſhalte haue of me an hundred Crownes. Nay quoth my Lordes grace, the Earle of Huntley is not meete in eſtate with you my Lord: but Herault ſay to the gouernoure, and hym alſo, that wee haue bin a good ſeaſon in this Countrey, and are heere now, but with a ſober company, and they a great number, and if they will meete vs in field, they ſhall bee ſatiſfyed with fighting ynough, and Herrault bring mee word they will ſo doe, and by my honor I will giue thee a thouſande Crownes. Yee haue a proude ſort among you, but I truſt to ſee youre pride abated ſhortely, and of the Earle Huntleys too: ywis hee is a glorious yong Gentleman.

This ſayd, the Earle of Warwike continued hys requeſt, that hee myghte receyue this chalenge, but the Lorde Protector would in no wiſe graunt to it.

Theſe meſſengers had their aunſweres, and therewith leaue to depart.

The Scottes in middes of this meſſage, doyng contrary to the order of warre, whiche as it graunteth ſafetie to Herraults and Trumpetters, to paſſe betwixt army and army, ſo during the tyme of any ſuche meſſage, as this was, hoſtilitie on both parts ought to ceaſſe, but it ſkilled not.

On the morrow after, they had their gunnes taken from them (as ſayth maiſter Paten) and put into theyr handes that coulde vſe them with more good manner.

The vayne doubt of the Scottes.

But nowe concerning the meſſage of yͤ Herrault, it was thought that he was ſent therwith, not for yͭ it was beleeued of them, that it would be accepted, but rather that whileſt he was doing his errand, he might ſuruey the Engliſh power, or elſe for that vppon refuſall of the offer, they myghte vſe the victory (whereof they accompted themſelues aſſured) with more crueltie. Of nothing they doubted more, than leaſt the Engliſhmen woulde haue bin gone backe, and gotten to the water, before they ſhould haue encountred them, and therefore they had appoynted to haue giuen the Engliſh army a camiſado in yͤ night before the day of the battayle: but peraduenture, vnderſtanding that the Engliſhmen had warning of theyr intention, and were prouided for them if they had come, they ſtayed and came not at all.

But in the morning, they were vp very timely, and beeyng putte in order of battayle, they marched ſtraight towardes the Engliſh Camp, againſt whome then, though they ſaw the Engliſh horſemen readily to make, yet could not bee perſwaded, but that it was for a policie to ſtay them, till the Engliſhe footemen and cariages myghte fully be beſtowed a Shipborde, and that for the ſame purpoſe, the Engliſh Shippes were come backe from before Lyeth.

In the nyghte of this daye, the Dukes grace appoynted, that earely in the nexte morning, parte of the ordinance ſhoulde bee planted in the lane (whereof mention before is made) vnder the turfe wall, nexte to theyr campe, and ſome alſo, to bee ſette vppon the hill nye to Undreſke Churche afore remembred, and thys to the intente wee ſhoulde with oure ſhotte, cauſe them eyther whollye to remoue theyr campe, or elſe muche to annoy them in that place where they lay.

It was not the leaſt of the Engliſhmennes meaning alſo, to winne from them certayne of theyr ordinance, that laye neereſt vnto thys Churche.

And heerewith the ſame morning, beeyng the tenth of September, and Saterday, ſomewhat before eyght of the clocke, the Engliſh army diſlodged, and marched ſtraighte towarde the Church of Undreſke, as well for intente to haue

Saterday, the tenth of September, the day of the battayle.

encamped neere the ſame, as for placing their ordinance, and other conſiderations afore remembred.

The Scottes eyther for feare of the Engliſhmens departing, or hope of their ſpoyling, were out of their camp comming toward them, paſſed the riuer, gathered in array, and welneere at this Church, ere the Engliſhmē were halfe way to it, ſo quite diſappoyntyng the Engliſhmens purpoſe, which at the firſte ſeemed very ſtrange in theyr eyes, as altogither beſide theyr expectatiō, as they that thought they would neuer haue forſaken theyr ſtrengthe, ſo meete them in the fielde: but after it was knowen that they dyd not only thus purpoſe to do, but alſo to haue aſſayled them in theyr campe, as they lay, if they hadde not bin ſturring the timelyer, and hauyng cauſed all theyr tentes to bee let flatte downe to the grounde, ere they came out, bycauſe none ſhoulde lye lurking behynde them in their camp, and as well the Nobles as other leauyng theyr horſes behynde them, (excepte ſuche as were appoynted to ſerue on horſebacke) marched on with their Souldiers afoote.

The Engliſhmenne and Scottes march the one army towards the other.

They came ſpeedily forwards on both ſides, the one till then no whit aware of the others intente, but the Scottes indeede with a rounder pace betweene two hillockes, betwixte the Engliſhmenne and the Churche, muſtred ſomewhat brimme, at whome as they ſtayed, the Engliſh galley ſhotte off, and ſlewe the maiſter of Greyme, with a fiue and twentie others neere by him, and therewith ſo ſkarred foure thouſand Iriſhe archers, broughte by the Earle of Arguile, that where (as it was ſayde) they ſhoulde haue bene a wing to the fore warde, they coulde neuer after be made to come forwarde.

The galley.

The Iriſhe archers.

Heereuppon did theyr army haſtily remoue, and from thence declining Southwarde, tooke their direct way toward Fauxſide Bray: of this, ſir Rauſe Vane, Lieutenant of all the Engliſhe Horſemen, firſt of al, or with the firſte, noting it, quickly aduertiſed the Lorde Protector, who thereby did redily conceyue their meanyng, whiche was to winne the hill, and thereby the winde and ſunne, the gayne of which three things as is thought whether partie in fight of battaayle can hap to obteyne, hathe his force doubled agaynſt his enimie.

In all this enterprice, they vſed for haſt ſo little the help of horſe, that they plucked forthe their ordinance by draught of menne, whiche at that preſente began freely to ſhoote off towards the Engliſhe army, whereby it was perceyued, they meant more than a ſkirmiſh. Herewith, euery man began to apply himſelfe in his charge and ductie, whiche hee had to doe, and herewith, the Lord Protector, and other of the Counſayle on horſebacke as they were, fell ſtraight in conſultation. The ſharpeneſſe of whoſe circumſpect wiſedomes as it quickly eſpyed out the enimies intentes, ſo dyd it among other thyngs promptly prouide therein remedie, to preuente them (as needefull it was, for the tyme aſked no leyſure.)

Theyr deuiſe was, that the Lorde Grey of Wilton, Marſhall of the armye with his bande of Bulleyners, and with the Lorde Protectors bande, and the Earle of Warwikes, all to the number of eyghteene hundred horſemen, on the lefte hande on the Eaſt halfe, and Sir Rauſe Vane with Sir Thomas Darcy, Captayne of the Pentioners, and menne of armes, and the Lord Fitz waters, with hys band of demilances, all to the number of ſixteene hundred, to bee readye and euen with the Lorde Marſhall, on the Weſt halfe, and thus all theſe togither afore to encounter the enimies afrount, whereby eyther to breake their aray, and that way to weaken their power by diſorder, or at the leaſt, to ſtoppe them of their gate, and force them to ſtay, whyle the fore warde myghte wholly haue the hylles ſide, and the battaile and rerewarde be placed in grounds next that in order, and beſt for aduantage. And after thys, that the ſame horſemen ſhoulde retire vppe to the hilles ſide to come downe in order afreſhe, and infeſt them on bothe ſides, whyleſt the foote battayles ſhoulde occupye them in fyghte afrunt.

Whiche enterpriſe, though it ſeemed ryghte daungerous to the aſſaylers, yet was it not more wiſely deuiſed by the counſayle, than valiantly and willingly executed of the L. Marſhall and the others, for euen there taking theyr leaues of the Counſaile, the ſayde Lorde Marſhall requiring onely, that if it wente not well with hym, the Dukes grace woulde bee good to his wife and children, hee ſayde hee would meete thoſe Scottes, and ſo, with their bandes, the foreſayde Captaynes tooke theyr waye, and made toward the enimie.

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By thys tyme, were the fore wardes on either part aduaunced within two flightes ſhotes in ſunder.

The Scottes came on ſo faſt, that it was thoughte of the moſt parte of the Engliſhmen, they were rather Horſemen than footemen.

The Engliſhmen againe were ledde yͤ more with ſpeede, to ſhewe that they were as willyng as the Scottes to trie the battell. The maiſter of the ordinance to their great aduantage, pluckt vp the hill at that inſtant certaine peeces, and ſoone after, planted two or three canons of them welnie vppon the top there, whereby hauyng ſo much the help of yͤ hil, he might ouer yͤ Engliſhmens heads ſhoote nyeſt at the enimie. As the

Lorde Protector had ſo circumſpectly taken order for the aray and ſtacion of the army, and for the execution of euery mans office beſide, he being perfectly appointed in faire armoure, accompanyed onely with Sir Thomas Chaloner Knight, one of the Clearkes of the Kings priuie counſayle, gote hym to the height of the hill, to tarrie by the ordinance, where he might beſt ſuruey the whole field, and ſuccour with ayd where moſt hee ſaw neede, and alſo by his preſence to bee a defence to the thing that ſtoode weakeſt in place, and moſt in daunger, the which how much it ſtoode in ſteede, anone yee ſhall heare further. As hee was halfe vp the hill, the Earle of Warwike was ware the enimies were all at a ſuddayne ſtay, and ſtoode ſtill a good while, ſo that it ſeemed to hym that they perceyuing now theyr owne follie in leauing their grounde of aduantage, had no will to come any further forward, but gladly woulde haue bin whence they came. The reaſons were theſe. Firſte bycauſe at that tyme, beſide the full muſter of the Engliſh footemen, of whome they thought there had bin none there in field, but all to haue bin eyther ſhipt or a ſhipping, then they ſawe playne that the Engliſhmen were ſure to haue the gayne of the hill, and they the ground of diſaduantage out of their hold, and put from their hope: and hereto, for that their Herrault gaue the Lord Protector no warning, the whiche by him (if they hadde meante to fight it out) who would not haue preſumed that for the eſtimation of their honoure, they woulde little haue ſtucke to haue ſente, and hee agayne, and it had bin but for his thouſande Crownes, wold right gladly haue brought: and yet how ſo euer their meaning changed, finally conſidering belike the ſtate they ſtoode in, that as they hadde left their ſtrength to ſoone, ſo nowe to be too late to repent, vpon a change of countenaunce, they made haſtely forwarde againe, and as it ſeemed with no leſſe ſtouteneſſe of courage, thã ſtrongly in order, whoſe maner, armour, weapon, and order in fighte in thoſe dayes and before (though nowe ſomewhat changed as well as among other nations) was as enſueth.

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Hackbutters hadde they fewe, and appoynted theyr fyghte moſte commonlye alwayes on foote.

They vſed to come to the field well furniſhed, with iacke & ſkull, dagger, buckler, and ſwordes, all notably brode and thinne, of exceeding good temper, and vniuerſally ſo made to ſlice, as harde it is to deuiſe the better: hereto euery manne hys pike, and a greate kercher wrapped twice or thrice rounde aboute his necke, not for colde, but for cutting.

In their aray towarde the ioyning with the enimie, they thruſt ſo neere in the fore ranke, ſhoulder to ſhoulder, togither with their pikes in both handes, ſtraighte afore them, and their followers in that order ſo hard at theyr backes, laying theyr pikes ouer theyr foregoers ſhoulders, that if they doe aſſaile vndiſſeuered, no force can well withſtand them.

Standyng at defence, they thruſt ſhoulders likewiſe ſo nie togither, the fore rankes welnie to kneeling ſtoupe low before, for their fellowes behynde, holdyng their pikes in bothe handes, and therewith in theyr left theyr bucklers, the one ende of theyr pyke againſte their right foote, the other agaynſte the enimie breſt high, their followers croſſing their pike poyntes with them before, and thus eache with other, ſo nye as place and ſpace will ſuffer, through the whole rankes ſo thicke, that as eaſily ſhall a bare finger pierce through the ſkyn of an angry hedgehogge, as anye encounter the fronte of theyr pikes.

The Lorde Marſhall notwithſtandyng, whome no daunger detracted from doyng hys enterpriſe, with the companye and order afore appoynted, came full in theyr faces from the hill ſide towardes them.

The face of the field at the poynt of ioyning.

Herewith waxed it very hote on both ſides, with pitiful cries, horrible rore, and terrible thundering of gunnes, beſyde the daye darkened aboue head, with ſmoke of the artillerie, the ſighte and appearance of the enimie euen at hande before, the daunger of deathe on euerye ſyde elſe, the bullettes, pellettes and arrowes, flying eache where ſo thicke, and ſo vncertainely lyghting, that no where was there anye ſuretie of ſafetie, euery man ſtriken with a dreadfull feare, not ſo muche perchance of deathe, as of hurte, whyche thyngs though they were but certaine to ſome, yet doubted of all, aſſured crueltie at the enimies handes, without hope of mercy, death to flie, and daunger to fight.

The whole face of the field on both ſides vpon this poynte of ioyning, both to the eye and to the eare ſo heauie, ſo deadly, lamentable, furious, outragious, terrible, confuſe, and ſo quite agaynſte the quiete nature of man, as if to the nobilitie the regarde of theyr honor and fame, to the Knightes and Captaynes, the eſtimation of theyr worſhippe and honeſtie, and generally to them all, the naturall motion of bounden duetie, theyr owne ſafetie, hope of victorie, and the fauoure of God, that they truſted vppon for the equitie of their quarrell, hadde not bene a more vehemente cauſe of courage, than the daunger of deathe was cauſe of feare, the verye horroure of the thyng hadde bene able to haue made anye man to forgette both prowesse and policie. But the Lorde Marſhall and the other, with preſent mind and courage warely and quickly continued their courſe towardes them. The enimies were in a fallow field, whereof the fourrowes lay ſidelong toward the Engliſhmē, next to whom by the ſide of the ſame fourrowes, and a ſtones caſt from the Scottes, was there a croſſe ditch or ſlough, whiche the Engliſhmen muſt needes paſſe to come to thē, wherin many that could not leape ouer, ſtucke faſt, to no ſmall daunger of themſelues, and ſome diſorder of their fellowes.

The order of the Scottiſhe battayles.

The enimie perceyuing the Engliſhmen faſt to approche, diſpoſed themſelues to abide the brunte, and in this order ſtoode ſtill to receyue them.

The Earle of Angus next to the Engliſhmen in the Scottiſhe fore warde, as Captaine of the ſame, with an eight thouſand men, and foure or fiue peeces of ordinance on his right hande, and a foure hundred horſemen on his left.

Behinde hym Weſtwarde, the gouernoure with tenne thouſande Inland men (as they call them) the choyſeſt Souldiers counted of theyr countrey.

The Iriſhe archers on a wing.

And the Earle of Huntley in the rerewarde, welny euē with the battaile on the left ſide with eight thouſande. The four thouſand Iriſh archers as a wing to them both, laſt indeede in order, and firſt (as they ſayd) that ranne away.

The battayle and alſo the rerewarde, were garded likewiſe with their ordinance according.

Edwarde Shelley.

The Lord Iohn Grey.

Edward Shelley, Lieutenant vnder yͤ Lorde Grey of his bande of Bulleners, was the fyrſte that paſſed ouer the ſlough. The lord Grey himſelfe next, with the Lord Iohn Grey and others in the foremoſt ranke, and ſo then after two or three rankes of their former bands. But badly yet could they make their raſe, by reaſon the furrowes lay trauers to their courſe. That notwithſtanding, and though alſo they were nothyng likely well to be able thus a front to come within them to doe them hurte, as well bycauſe the Scottiſhmens pikes were as long or longer thā their ſtaues, as alſo for that their horſes were all naked withoute bardes, whereof though there were right many among them, yet not one put on, for as muche as at their comming forthe in the morning, they looked for nothing leſſe than for battayle yͤ day: yet did thoſe worthy Gentlemen, the Lord Grey of Wilton, the Lord Iohn Grey, and maſter Shelley, with the reſidue, ſo valiantly and ſtrongly gyue the charge vppon them, that whether it were by their prowes or power, the left ſide of the enimies that his Lordſhip did ſette vpon (though their order remayned vnbroken) was yet compelled to ſway a good way backe, and giue grounde largely, and all the reſidue of them beſide, to ſtand much amaſed.

Beſide this, as the Engliſhmen were welnie at their enimies, they ſtoode very braue and bragging, ſhaking their pike poyntes, crying, come Lounds, come heere Tikes, come heretikes and ſuch lyke rethorike they vſed, but though ſayth Maiſter Paten, they meant but ſmall humanitie, yet ſhewed they thereby muche ciuilitie, both of faire play, to warne ere they ſtroke, and of formall order, to chide ere they fought.

The Eng horſem repulſed.

The Engliſh Captaines that were behynde, perceyuing at eye, that both by the vneuenneſſe of the ground, by the ſturdy order of the enimie, and for that their fellowes were ſo nie & ſtraight before them, they were not able to any aduauntage to maynteyne this onſet, did therefore according to the deuiſe in that poynte appoynted, turne themſelues, and made a ſofte retire vp towarde the hill agayne, howbeeit, to confeſſe the trueth, ſome of the number that knewe not the prepenſed policie of the counſayle in this caſe, made of a ſober aduiſed retire, an haſtie, raſhe and vnaduiſed flight, howbeit, without Captain or ſtandert, and vpon no cauſe of neede, but of a meere vndiſcretion and madnes. A madnes indeede, for firſt the Scottes were not able to purſue, bycauſe they were footemen, and then if they could, what hope by flight ſo farre from home, in their enimies lande, where was no place of refuge.

Gentlem ſlaine.

The Lor Grey hu

The valiant Lord Grey, Edward Shelley, little Preſton, Brampton, and Iernyngham, Bulleners, Ratcliffe, the lord Fitzwaters brother, Sir Iohn Cleres ſonne and heire, Rawley a gentleman of ryght cōmendable prowes, Digges of Kent, Ellerker a pencioner, Segraue. Of the duke of Somerſets band Stanley, Woodhouſe, Cooniſbye, Horgil, Norris, Denys, Arthure, and Atkinſon, with other in the forerank, not beeing able in this earneſte aſſault, both to tende to theyr fyght afore, and to the retire behynde: the Scottes agayne well conſidering hereby how weake they remained, caught courage a freſhe, ran ſharply forward vpon them, and without any mercy, ſlewe the moſt part of them that abode furtheſt in preaſe a. vj. moe of Bulleyners, and other then before are named, in all to the number of xxvi. and moſt part Gentlemen. My lord Grey yet & my L. Iohn Grey, & lykewyſe my L. Edw. Seimer (as ſom egrace was) returned agayne, but neyther all in ſafetie, nor withoute euidente markes they had bin there: for the L. Grey wᵗ a pike through the mouth was raſed a long from the tippe of the tong, and thruſt that way very daungerouſly more than two inches within the necke, and the other two had their horſes vnder them with ſwordes ſore wounded. Like as alſo a little before this onſet, ſir Thomas Darcy vpon his approche to the enimies, was ſtryken glannſing wiſe on the ryght ſide, with a bullet of one of their field peeces, and thereby hys bodye bruyſed with the bowing in of his armour, hys ſworde hiltes broken, and the forefinger of hys right hande beaten flat. Euen ſo vpon the parting of this fray, was ſir Arthur Darcy ſlaſht at with ſwordes, and ſo hurt vpon the wedding finger of his right hande alſo, as it was counted for the fyrſt parte of curing to haue it quyte cutte away.

About the ſame tyme, certaine of the Scottes ranne out haſtily to the Kings Standard of the horſemen (the which ſir Andrewe Flammocke bare) and laying faſt hold vpon the ſtaffe thereof, cryed, a king, a king. That if both his ſtrength, his heart, and his horſe, had not beene good, and herewith ſomewhat ayded at this pinche by ſir Rauſe Coppinger a Pencioner, both he had beene ſlaine, and the Standart loſt, which the Scottes neuertheleſſe held ſo faſt, that they brake and bare away the nether ende of the ſtaffe to the burrell, and intended ſo muche to the gayne of the ſtandart, that ſir Andrew (as hap was) ſcaped home all ſafe, and elſe without hurt.

At this buſineſſe alſo my Lorde Fitzwaters, now Earle of Suſſex, and Lorde Chamberlaine to the Queenes maieſtie, Captaine there of a number of Demilaunces was vnhorſt, but ſoone mounted againe, ſcaped yet in greate daunger, and his horſe all hewen. Hereat further were Caluerley the Standert bearer of the menne at armes, and Clement Paſton a Pencioner, thruſt eche of them into the legge with Pykes, and Don Philip a Spaniard into the knee, diuerſe other maymed and hurt, and many horſes ſore wounded beſide.

By this time had the Engliſh forwarde accordingly gotten the full vauntage of the hilles ſide, and in reſpect of theyr marche ſtoode ſideling towarde the enimie: who neuertheleſſe were not able in all partes to ſtande full ſquare in array: by reaſon that at the weſt ende of thẽ vpon their right hande, and towarde the enimie, there was a ſquare plot encloſed with Turfe (as their maner of fencing in thoſe partes, as well as in dyuerſe other is) one corner wherof did let the ſquare of the ſame array.

The battaile in good order next them, but ſo as in continuance of array, the former part thereof ſtoode vpon the hilles ſide, the tayle vpon the plaine, and the rerewarde wholy vpon the plaine. So that by the placing and countenaunce of the Engliſh army in this wiſe, they ſhewed themſelues in maner to compaſſe in the Scots battails, that they ſhoulde no waye eſcape them: but how little able they were to do it with power and number, ye may eaſily coniecture.

Thoſe horſemen that were ſo repulſed, and in theyr comming backe vnorderly brake theyr array from the reſidue, ran ſo haſtily through the rankes of the Engliſh forewarde as it ſtoode, that it did both diſorder many, feared many, and was a great encouragement to the enimie.

The worthie Earle of Warwicke, who had the guiding of this forewarde, right valiantly had conducted the ſame to their ſtanding, and there did very nobly encorage and comfort them with ſuch cheerefull wordes, offring to liue and die among them, that doubtleſſe his preſence, demeaning himſelfe in ſuch manlike ſort, ſtood the whole cõpanie in great ſtead. Neither wanted there the chearefull diligence of thoſe Captaynes, with whom his honor was furniſhed in that forewarde likewiſe to encourage their bandes. nor the worthie behauiour of other in the battaile and rereward euery one according to his calling, ſhewing ſuch proufe of his duetie, as the moſt part certainly deſerued to haue their names regiſtred in the Kalender of fame, where no ruſt of cankred obliuion might fret out the remembrance of their cõmendable demeanours, and therefore if anye among them ſhould haue ſhewed any lack of courage, their diſprayſe had beene the more, ſith by others they ſaw ſuch worthie example giuen. But ſithens there were ſo many that did wel, and therfore deſeruing a lõger proceſſe to be made of their high valiancies ſhewed in that daungerous ſeruice, than this volume may permit, I will procede to the battaile.

The preſence of the Erle of Warwik greatly encouraged the ſouldiers.

The Scottes were ſomewhat diſordred with their comming oute aboute the ſlaughter of the Engliſhmẽ, the which they did ſo earneſtly folow that they tooke not one to mercie. The Dukes grace placeing himſelfe (as ye haue heard) on the hill of Fauxſide bray, and therewith perceyuing the great diſorder of the ſtragling horſemen, that had in theyr retyre broken array, hemmed them in from further ſtraying, whom ſir Rauſe a Vane, and others of the Captaynes, ſoone after wyth great dexteritie brought in good order and array againe, and with all the reſt of the ſtrengthes of the whole armye, by the policie of the Lords, and diligence of euery Captaine and officer beſide, were ſo fitly and aptly applyed in theyr feat, that where this repulſe giuen by the enimy to the horſmen was doubted of many, to turne to the whole loſſe of the field, the ſame was wrought and aduaunced according as it was deuiſed, to the great certaintie of gaine and victorie. For firſt at this ſlough, where moſt of the horſemen had ſtoode, ſir Peter Mewtas Captaine of all the Hagbutters a foote, did verie valiantly conduct & place a good number of his men, in maner hard at the faces of the enimies, wherunto ſir Peter Gamboa a Spa-

Sir Rauſe a Vane.

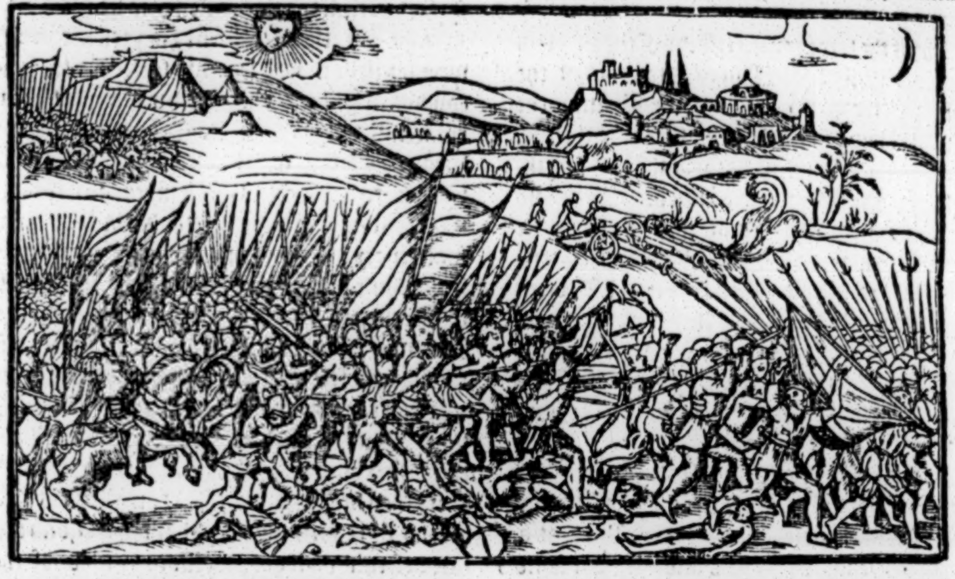
Sir Peter Mewtas.

Sir Peter Gamboa.

The Archers.

The maiſter of the ordinance.

niard, captaine of two hundred Harquebuſiers, Spaniards, and Italians on horſebacke did readily bring his men alſo, who with the hote continuance of theyr ſhot on both partes, did ſo ſtoutly ſtay the enimies, that they coulde not well come further forwarde: then the Archers that marched in array on the right hande of the footmen, and next to the enimies, pricked them ſharpely with arrowes as they ſtoode. Therewith the maſter of the ordinance, to their great annoyance did gall them with haile ſhotte and other out of the great ordinance, directly from the hill toppe, and certaine other Gunners with their peeces a flanke from the rerewarde, moſte of the Artillerie and miſſiue engines then wholy thus at once, with great puiſſance and vehemencie occupied about them, herewith the full ſight of the Engliſh footmen, all ſhadowed from them before by the horſmen, and duſt rayſed, whom then they were ware in ſuch order to be ſo neare vpon them, and to this the perfect array of the horſmen againe comming couragiouſly to ſet on them a freſh, miſerable men, perceyuing thẽſelues then all too late, howe much too much they had ouerſhot themſelues, began ſodainly to ſhrinke.



The Scottes flie.

Their gouernour and other the princiall captaynes that had brought them to the bargaine, tooke their horſes and fled amaine, which other perceyuing, did quickly follow, and with the formoſt their Iriſhmen, and therewith turned al the whole rowte, caſt downe theyr weapons, ranne out of theyr wardes, off with theyr Iackes, and with all that euer they might, betooke them to the race that their gouernour began. The Engliſhe men at the firſt had founde them (as what coulde eſcape ſo many eyes) and ſharpely and quickely with an vniuerſall outcry, they flie, they flie, purſued after in chaſe ſo egrely, and with ſuch fierceneſſe, that they ouertooke many, and ſpared indeed but few, that when they were once turned, it was a wonder to ſee howe ſoone, and in howe ſundrie ſortes they were ſkattered. The place they ſtoode on like a wood of ſtaues ſtrewed on the grounde, as Ruſhes in a Chamber, vnpaſſable (they lay ſo thicke) for either horſe or man. Here at the firſt had they let fall all their pykes.

After that, euery where ſcattred ſwordes, bucklers, daggers, iackes, and all things elſe that was of any weight, or might be any let to their courſe, which courſe among them, three wayes ſpecially they made, ſome along the ſands by the Frith towards Lieth, ſome ſtreight toward Edenburgh, whereof parte through the Parke there (in the walles whereof, though they be rounde about of flint ſtone, yet were there many holes alreadie made) and part of them by the hie way that leadeth along by the Abbay of holy Roode houſe: and the reſidue and moſt part of them towardes Daketh, whiche way by meanes of the Mariſh our horſmen were worſt able to follow.

Sundrie ſhiftes, ſome ſhrewde, ſome ſorie, made they in their running, diuerſe of them in theyr courſes, as they were ware they were purſued but of one, woulde ſodainly ſtart backe, and laſh at the legges of the horſe, or foyne him in the belly, and ſometime did they reache at the ryder alſo, whereby Clement Paſton in the arme, and diuerſe in other partes of their bodies otherwiſe in this chaſe were hurt.

Some other lay flat in a forrow as they were dead, thereby paſt by of the Engliſhmen vntouched, and (as was reported) the Earle of Angus confeſſed he couched in that ſort til his horſe hapt to be brought him. Other ſome were founde to ſtay in the ryuer, cowring downe his bodie vnder the roote of ſome Willow tree, with ſkant his noſe aboue water for breath. Some for lightneſſe caſt away ſhooes and dublets, and ranne in theyr ſhirtes, and ſome were ſeene in this race, all breathleſſe to fall flat downe, and haue runne themſelues to death.

Keeble

Before this, at the time of the onſet whiche the Engliſh horſmen gaue, there came Eaſtward fiue hundred of the Scottiſh horſemen vp along this Faurſide bray, ſtreight vpon the Engliſhe ordinance and cariage. The Lorde Protectour (as ye haue heard) moſt ſpecially for doubt hereof, placing himſelfe by the ſame, cauſed a peece or two to be turned towarde them, with a few ſhots wherof, they were ſoone turned alſo and fledde to Daketh. But had they kept on their purpoſe, they were prouided for accordingly. For one parſon Keble a Chaplaine of his graces, & two or three other, by and by diſcharged foure or fiue of the Cartes of munition, and therewith beſtowed pykes, billes, bowes and arrowes, to as manye as came, ſo that of Carters and other, there were ſoone weaponed about a thouſande, whom parſon Keeble and the other did very handſomly diſpoſe in array, and made a pretie muſter.

ner of
ghter.

To returne now after this notable ſtrewing of their footmens weapons, began a pitifull ſight of the dead corpſes, lying diſperſed abrode, ſome their legges off, ſome but hought, and left lying halfe dead, ſome thruſt quite through the bodie, others their neckes halfe a ſunder, manye theyr heades clouen, with other thouſande kyndes of kylling.

mber
s ſlain.

After that, and further in chaſe all for the moſt part killed, either in the head, or in the necke, for the horſmen coulde not well reache them lower with their ſwordes. And thus with bloud and ſlaughter of the enimie, this chaſe was continued fiue miles in length, weſtward from the place of their ſtanding, which was in the fallow fields of Vndreſke, vntill Edenbourgh Parke, and well nie to the gates of the towne it ſelfe, and vnto Leith, and in breadth nie foure myles, from the Forth ſandes vp toward Daketh Southwards, in all which ſpace, the dead bodies lay as thick as a man may note cattell graſing in a full repleniſhed paſture. The riuer ranne all red with bloud, ſo that in the ſame chaſe were ſlain to the number of tenne thouſande men, ſome ſay aboue fourtene thouſand.

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fewe
were
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ow.

Paniar hough.

The apparel of the Scottes.

To conclude, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of the Engliſh mennes number, and ſhortneſſe of the tyme (which was ſkant fiue houres, from one till well nie ſixe) the mortalitie was ſo great (as it was thought) the like afore time had not beene ſeene. One great cauſe why the Engliſh men ſpared ſo few of them, was thought to be their tyrannous vow by them made (which the Engliſh men certainly hearde of) that when ſoeuer they fought and ouercame, they woulde kill ſo many, and ſpare ſo few: a ſure proufe wherof they plainly had ſhewed at the firſt onſet gyuen, where they killed all, and ſaued not a man that came within their daunger. An other reſpect was, to reuenge their great and cruell tyrannie ſhewed at Paniar hough, where they ſlue the Lorde Euers, whome otherwiſe they might haue taken priſoner and ſaued, and cruelly killed as many elſe of our men as came into their handes. An other occaſion alſo was their armor among them ſo little differing, all clad alike in Iackes couered with white leather, dublets of the ſame, or of Fuſtian, and moſt commonly all white hoſen, not one with eyther Cheyne, brooch, ring, or garment of ſilke, vnleſſe cheynes of Laten drawne foure or fiue tymes along the vpper ſtockes, or to vſe maiſter Patens wordes, the thighes of their hoſen and doublet ſleeues for cutting.

The Earle of Huntley taken

Other priſoners taken.

The number of the priſoners.

This lacke for difference in apparell was the chiefeſt cauſe that ſo many of their great mẽ and Gentlemen were killed, and ſo fewe ſaued. The outwarde ſhewe, the reſemblance or ſigne, wherby a ſtraunger myght diſcerne a poore man from a gentleman, was not among them to be ſeene, as for wordes and goodly proffer of great raunſomes, were as ryfe in the mouthes of the one as the other: and it came hereby to paſſe, that after at the examination and counting of the priſoners, there were founde taken aboue twentie of their common Countrey people, to one of theyr Gentlemen, whom no man neede to doubt, the Engliſhmen had rather haue ſpared than the other, if they coulde haue ſeene any difference betweene them in taking. And yet verily conſidering the caſe as it ſtoode, the Engliſhmen ſhewed more grace, and tooke more to mercie, than the reſpectes afore mencioned, might ſeeme to haue requyred. For beſide the Earle of Huntley, who in good armor appoynted lykeſt a Gentleman of any among them, but coulde not then eſcape bycauſe he lacked his horſe, and happened to bee taken by ſir Rauſe a Vane, and beſide the Lorde of Yeſter, Hobby Hambleton captaine of Dunbar, the maiſter of Sanpoole, the Larde of Wymmes taken by Iohn Bren, a brother of the Earle of Caſſels, and beſides one Montrel, taken by Cornelius controller of the ordinaunce in the armie, and one Camals an Iriſhe Gentleman, and beſide many other Scottiſh Gentlemen mo, taken by diuerſe other. The priſoners reckened in the Marſhalles booke were numbred to about fiftene hundred.

The Lord Protector not deſirous of ſlaughter.

Touching the ſlaughter, ſure they killed not ſo many, as for the tyme and oportunitie, they might, if they had mynded crueltie, for the Lorde Protector moued with pitie of the ſight of the dead bodyes, and rather glad of victorie than deſirous of ſlaughter, ſoone after (by geſſe) fiue of the clocke, ſtayed his ſtandart of his horſemen at the

furtheſt

Syr Rauſe Sadler.

The ſpoyle of the Scottiſh campe.

furtheſt part of their Campe weſtwarde, and cauſed the Trumpets to ſound a retreate, whereat alſo ſir Rauſe Sadler Treaſurer (whoſe great diligence at that tyme, and readie forwardneſſe in the chiefeſt of the fray before, did worthily merite no ſmall commendation) cauſed all the footmen to ſtay, and then with muche trauaile and great payne, made them to bee brought in ſome order againe, which was a thing not eaſily done, by reaſon they all as then were ſomewhat buſie in applying theyr Market, the ſpoile of the Scottiſh campe, where was founde good prouiſion of white breade, ale, Otencakes, otemeale, mutton, butter in pottes, cheeſe, and in dyuerſe tents good wine alſo, and in ſome Tents among them was founde ſome ſiluer plate, and Chalices, whiche with good deuotion ye may be ſure, were plucked out of their colde clowtes, and thruſt into theyr warme boſomes.

A ſhowte in ſigne of victorie.

The feature of the Scottiſh mens perſonages.

The plot of theyr Campe called Edmonſton edge, nie Gilberton a place of the Lord of Brimſtons, halfe a mile beyonde Muſkelbourgh, and foure myles on this ſide Edenbourgh, occupied in largeneſſe with diuerſe Tentes and Tenticles, that ſtoode in ſundrie places out of ſquare, about a myles compaſſe, wherein as the Engliſhmen vpon the ſounde of the retreate were ſomewhat aſſembled, they all with a lowde and entyre outcrie and hallowing, in ſigne of gladneſſe and victorie, made an vniuerſall noyſe and ſhowte, the ſhrilneſſe whereof (as after was reported) was heard vntill Edenbourgh. It was a wonder to ſee, but (as they ſay) many handes make lyght worke, howe ſoone the deade bodyes were ſtripped out of theyr Garmentes ſtarke naked, euen from as farre as the chaſe went, vntill the place of the onſet, whereby the perſonages of the enimies myght by the way eaſily bee viewed and conſidered, the which for the talneſſe of theyr ſtature, cleanneſſe of ſkinne, bigneſſe of bone, with due proportion in all partes was ſuche, as the beholders, if they had not ſeene it, woulde not haue beleeued that there had bene ſo many of that ſort in all that Countrey.

Prieſtes or Kirkmen.

Among them lay many Prieſts, & Kirkemen, as they call them, of whom it was bruyted that there was a whole bande of three or foure thouſande, but it was founde afterwardes not to be altogither ſo.

A Baner of a Papiſts deuice.

Among other baners, ſtandarts, and pennōs, a banner of white Sarcenet was founde, vnder which it was ſayd theſe Kirkemen came, whereupon was paynted a woman with hir heare about hir ſhoulders, kneeling before a Crucifix, and on hir ryght hande a Churche, after that written in great Romaine letters, *Afflictæ ſponſæ ne obliuiſcaris*.

It was ſayde that this was the Abbot of Dunfirmlings Banner, but whether it was his or the Biſhop of Dunkels, the gouernours brother, who (as was ſayde) were both in the fielde, his meaning was, to ſignifie that the Churche made interceſſion to Chriſt hir huſband, not now to forget hir his ſpouſe, being at that tyme afflicted and perſecuted by the Engliſhmen: But whoſe deuiſe ſoeuer it was, it maye ſeeme, that thys Church comming thus to battaile, full appoynted with weapon, and garded with ſuche a ſort of Deacons to fight, howſoeuer in painting he had ſet hir out, a man might well thinke, that in condition, he had rather framed hir like a curſt queane, that woulde plucke hir huſbonde by the pate, except ſhee had hir will, than lyke a meeke Spouſe, that went about humbly by ſubmiſſion and prayer to deſire hir huſbands help, for redreſſe of things amiſſe.

But now to leaue this Prelate wyth his *afflictæ*, and to make an ende with this battayle, there was vpon this Fauxſide bray, a little Caſtell or pyle, which was verie buſie all the tyme of the battayle, as any of the Engliſhmen came nie it, to ſhoote at thē, with ſuch artillerie as they had (which was none other than of handgonnes, and Hagbuttes, and of them not a dozen neither) little hurt they did, but as they ſaw theyr felowes in the fielde thus driuen and beaten away before theyr faces, they plucked in their peeces, and couched themſelues within all muet: but by and by the houſe was ſet on fire, and they for theyr good willes, burnt and ſmoothered within.

Thus (ſayth maiſter Paten) through the fauour of Gods bountie, by the valiancie and policie of the Lorde Protector, by the forwarde indeuour of all the Nobles and Counſaile there beſide, and by the willyng diligence of euery Captaine, officer, and true ſubiect elſe, they moſt valiauntly wanne the victorie ouer their enimies, of whom ſuch ſlaughter was made in field as ye haue hearde, amongeſt whome (as the Pryſoners reported) beſyde the Lorde Flemming, the Larde of Loghenware, the maiſter of Greym, the maiſter of Arſkyn, the maiſter of Ogleby, the maiſter of Iuendale, the maiſter of Rouen, and many other of noble byrth among them, there were of Lordes, Lords ſonnes, and other gentlemen ſlaine aboue .xxvj. hundred, and among the priſoners alſo there were many gentlemen, ſpecially of name theſe: the Earle of Huntley Lord Chancellor of the realme, the lord of Yeſter, Hobby Hamilton Captaine of Dunbar, the maiſter of Sanpoole, the Lorde of Wimmes, and a brother of the Earle of Caſſels. Two thouſand by lurking and lying as they had beene dead ſcaped away in the night al maimed & hurt. Herewith of weapon and armour (more was founde than the Engliſhe men vouchſafe to giue caryage for) and yet were there conueyed thence by ſhip into Englande, of Jackes ſpecially and ſwordes, aboue thirtie thouſand.

This night the Engliſhmen with great gladneſſe and thankeſgiuing to God, (as good cauſe they had) about ſeuen of the clocke pitched theyr campe at Edgebuckling bray, beſide Pynkerſclough, and a mile beyonde the place they camped at before.

Nowe after the battaile, among other queſtions, one was moued who killed the firſt man that day in the field, the glorie whereof one Jeronimo an Italian would gladly haue had, a gentleman ſure that had ſerued that day right valyauntly: howbeit it was after well tryed, that Cutbert Muſgraue, a Gentleman of the Erle of Warwikes, deſerued the prayſe of killing the firſt enimie that dyed that day, who right hardily ſlue a Gunner at his peece in the Scottes forewarde, ere euer they beganne any whitte to turne.

ino an

et Muſ-

The next day being Sunday the eleuenth of September, ſomewhat before Noone, the armie remoued, and marching along the Forth ſyde towarde Lieth, about three of the clocke in the after Noone pyght theyr fielde, a pricke ſhotte on this ſyde that Towne on the Southeaſt halfe, ſomwhat ſhadowed from Edenbourgh by a hill, but yet the moſt part of it lay within the ful ſight and ſhot of the Caſtel there, and in diſtance ſomwhat aboue a quarter of a myle. The Lorde Marſhall, and the moſt parte of the horſemen, were beſtowed and lodged in the Towne of Lieth. The Dukes grace, the Lorde Lieutenant, and the reſt of the armie in the campe.

gliſh
encam-
Lieth.

On Tueſday the .xiij. of September, the ſmaller veſſels of the Engliſh fleete burnt Kinkorne, and a Towne or two ſtanding on the North ſhore of the Forth agaynſt Lieth.

In the after noone, the Dukes grace rowed vp the Forth a ſix or ſeuen miles weſtward as it rūneth into the land, and tooke in his way an Iland there called S. Coomes Ins, whiche lyeth foure miles beyond Lieth, and a good way nearer the north ſhore than the ſouth, yet not within a mile of the neareſt. It is but halfe a mile about, and had in it an Abbay, but the Monkes were gone: freſh water ynough, and ſtore of Conies, and is ſo naturally ſtrong, that but by one way it can be entred, the plot whereof the Lord Protectour conſidering, did quickly caſt to haue it kept, whereby all traffique of Marchandice, all commodities elſe comming by the Forth into theyr lande, and vtterly the whole vſe of the Forth it ſelfe, with all the hauens vpon it, ſhoulde quite bee taken from them.

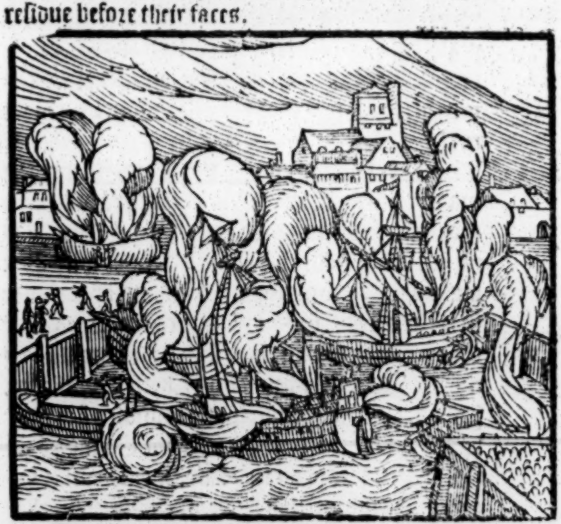
Coomes

The nexte day the Lorde Protectour ryding backe againe Eſtwarde, to view diuerſe things and places, tooke Daketh in his way, where a houſe of George Dowglas did ſtande, and comming ſomewhat neare it, he ſent Somerſet hys Herauld with a Trumpet to know who kept it, and whether the keepers would hold or yeeld it to his grace: aunſwere was made that there were three ſcore perſons within, whom theyr maiſter lying there Saterday at night after the battaile, did will that they, the houſe, and all that was in it, ſhould be at his graces cōmaundement, whervpon the chiefeſt came, and in name of all the reſt, humbled himſelfe to the Dukes will.

aſtell
eth.

From thence his grace paſſed to the place where the battaile had beene ſtriken, and ſo by Muſkelbourge returned backe to the campe.

On Thurſday being the .xv. of this Moneth, my Lorde Clinton high Admirall, taking wyth him ẏ galley, whereof Richard Brooke was captaine, & foure or fiue other ſmaller veſſels beſides, all well appoynted with munition and men, rowed vp the Forth a ten myles weſtwarde, to an hauen towne ſtanding on the South ſhore called Blakneſſe, whereat towarde the water ſide is a Caſtell of a pretie ſtrength, as nie wherunto as the depth of the water would ſuffer, the Scottes for ſafegarde had layde the Mary Willoughbie, and the Anthonie of Newcaſtell, two tall ſhippes, which with extreme iniurie they had ſtollen from the Engliſhmen before time, when no warre was betwixt vs: with theſe lay there alſo an other large veſſell called the Boſſe, and a ſeuen mo, whereof part laden with merchandice. My Lord Clinton and his company with right hardie approche, after a great conflict betwixte the caſtell and his veſſels, by fine force wan from them thoſe three ſhips of name, and burnt all the reſidue before their faces.



The .xvj. of September, the Laird of Brunſton a Scottiſh Gentleman, came to the Dukes grace from their Counſaile, for cauſe of communication, and returned againe to them, hauing with him Norrey an Herauld and king at armes of oures, who found them with the olde Queene

The Lard of Brunſton.

as

at Sterling.

Sir Iohn Luttrell.

On Saterday the.xvij.of Septēber, ſir Iohn Luttrell in the after noone departed towardes S. Coomes Ins, hauing with him an hundred Hacbutters, fiftie Pioners, and two row Barkes wel furniſhed with munition, and.lxx.mariners to remaine there, and keepe that Ile agaynſt the enimies.

S. Coomes Ins kept with a garniſon of Engliſhmen.

In the time whyleſt the armie laye thus in campe betweene Lieth and Edenbourgh, many Lards and Gentlemen came in to the Lord Protector to require his protectiō, the which his grace to whom he thought good did graunt.

The Earle of Bothwell.

This day came the Erle of Bothwell to his grace, who hauing bene kept in priſon by the gouernour, the night after the battayle was ſet at libertie, and comming thus to the Lord Protector, was friendly welcomed and interteyned, and hauing this night ſupped with his grace, hee departed.

Lieth burnt.

Lieth was ſet on fire this Saterday, where it was ment that there ſhould haue beene but one houſe onely burnt, belonging to one Barton that had playde a ſlipper part with the Lorde Protector. But the ſouldiours being ſet a worke to fire that houſe, fired all the reſt. Six great ſhippes alſo that lay in the Hauen, which for age and decay were not ſo apt for vſe, were likewiſe ſet on fire and burnt.

On Sunday, the.xviij. of September, the Lord Protector (for conſiderations mouing him to pitie) hauing all this while ſpared Edēbourgh from hurt, did ſo leaue it, but Lieth and the ſhips burning, ſoone after ſeuen of the clock in the morning, cauſed the campe to diſlodge, and as they were rayſed and on foote, the Caſtell ſhotte off a peale (with Chambers hardly and all) of. xxiiij. peeces. Paſſing that day a ſeuen myles, they cāped early for that night at Crainſton by a place of the Lard of Brimſtons.

The army diſlodgeth.

Crainſton.

The ſame morning the Lorde Protector made maiſter Andrew Dudley knight, brother to the Erle of Warwike, diſpatched my Lord Admirall and him by ſhippes full fraught with men and munition towarde the winning of an holde in the Eaſt ſide of Scotlande called Broughtie Crag, which ſtood in ſuch ſort in the mouth of yͤ riuer of Tay, as yͭ being gottē, both Dundie, S. Iohns towne, and diuerſe other townes ſtanding vpon the ſame ryuer the beſt of the Countrey in thoſe partes, ſet vpon the Tay, ſhould eyther become ſubiect vnto this holde, or elſe be compelled to forgo the whole vſe of the ryuer, for hauing any thing comming in or outwarde.

Broughty crag

My Lorde Admirall, and the ſayde ſir Andrew ſped themſelues with ſuch good ſucceſſe and diligence in that enterprice, that on the Wedneſday following being the.xxj.of September, after certaine of their ſhot diſcharged agaynſt that caſtell, the ſame was yeelded vnto them, the whiche ſir Andrew did then enter, and after kept, as captaine to his high prayſe and commendation.

Brough yeelded Engliſh

But now to the armie: on Monday the.xix. of September, they marched ten myles, and encamped a little on this ſide a Market towne called Lawder. Here as they were ſetled in theyr lodging, the Herauld Norrey returned from the Scottes Counſaile, with the Lard of Brimſton, and Roze their Herruld, who vpon their ſuyte to the Lord Protector, obteyned that fiue of theyr Counſaile ſhoulde haue his graces ſafeconduct, that at any tyme and place within fiftene dayes, during his aboade in their countrey, or at Berwike, the ſame fiue might come and commune with fiue of the Engliſh counſail, touching matters in controuerſie betwene them. Roze the Herauld departed early with his ſafeconduct, the campe rayſed, and that day they went.vij. miles till as farre as Hume Caſtell, where they camped on the weſt ſide of a rockie hil that they cal Harecrag, that ſtandeth about a myle weſtward from the Caſtell.

Lawder.

Hume C

Here they did ſo much by ſhewing that they ment in deed to winne the Caſtell by force, if otherwiſe they might not haue it, cauſing a certaine number of Hacbutters vpon appoyntment before to beſet the caſtell, and to watch that none ſhould paſſe in or out, that in the ende the Ladye of the houſe, & other that were within in charge with it, yeelded it vp to the Lorde Protectours handes: for the Ladie doubting the loſſe of hir ſonne, that was priſoner with the Engliſhmen, hauing the firſt day beene with the Lorde Protector, and got reſpite till the next day at noone, in the meane time conſulted with hir ſonne, and other hir friendes the keepers of the Caſtell, returned at the tyme appoynted the next day, beeyng the.xxj.of that Moneth, and made ſuyte for a longer reſpite till eight of the clocke at night, and therewith ſafeconduct for Andrew Hume hir ſeconde ſonne, and Iohn Hume Larde of Coldan Knowes, a kinſman of hir huſbands, captaines of this caſtell, to come and ſpeake with his grace, in the meane while. It was graunted hir, wherevpon theſe Captaynes about three of the clocke, came to the lord Protector, and after other couenants (with long debating on both partes) agreed vpon, ſhe and theſe Captaynes concluded to giue their aſſent to render the Caſtell, ſo farre forth as the reſt of the keepers would therewith be contented, for two or three within (ſayd they) were alſo in charge with keeping it as well as they, for knowledge of whoſe mindes the Duke ſent Somerſet his Herauld, with this Ladie to the caſtell vnto them: who, as the Herauld had made them priuie to the Articles, would fain haue had leyſure

Hume C beſieged

for .xxiiij. houres longer, to ſende to theyr Lorde to Edenbourgh, where he lay hurt (as before you haue heard) and in daunger of death, which followed of the fall that he caught at the Frydayes ſkyrmiſh before the battaile) to knowe his wyll and pleaſure in thys poynt of rendring vp the Caſtell, but being wiſely and ſharply called vpon by the Heraulde, they agreed to the couenants afore by theyr Ladie and Captaynes concluded on. Whereof parte (as the ſequele ſhewed) were theſe, that they ſhoulde depart thence the nexte day in the morning by tenne of the clocke, with bagge and baggage, as muche as they coulde carye, leauing all munition and vittayle behinde them in the Caſtell: howbeit to bee aſſured of them, the Lorde Protectour prouyding eche waye to bee readie for them, cauſed eyght peeces of Ordinaunce fenced wyth Baſkettes of earth, to bee planted on the Southſyde towarde the Caſtell wythin power of batterie, and the Hacbutters to continue theyr watche and warde.

On Thurſday morning being the .xxij. of September, the Lorde Gray was appoynted to receyue the rendring of the caſtel into his hands, and ſir Edwarde Dudley nowe Lorde Dudley, after to be Captaine there. They both departed to it, and at the tyme ſette Andrew Hume, and foure other of yͤ chiefeſt there with him came out, and yeelding the Caſtell, delyuered the keyes to the ſayde Lorde Gray. Hys Lordſhippe cauſing the reſidue to come out then, ſauing ſixe or ſeuen to keepe theyr baggage wythin (who all were in number ſeuentie and eight) entred the ſame wyth maiſter Dudley, and dyuerſe other Gentlemen with him. He founde there indifferent good ſtore of vittayle, and Wine, and of Ordinance two baſtarde Culuerins, one Sacre, alſo three Fauconets of Braſſe, and of Iron eight peeces beſide. The keeping of thys Caſtell my Lorde Graye betakyng vnto ſir Edwarde Dudley accordingly returned to the campe.

This done, the next day being Fryday, and the .xxiij. of September they diſlodged, and went that morning to Rockeſbourgh, encamping in a great fallow fielde, betwixt Rockeſbourgh and Kelſey, ſtanding Eaſtwarde a quarter of a myle off.

Here at Rockeſbourgh, they beganne to buylde a Forte wythin the compaſſe of an olde ruynous Caſtell, the plot and ſite whereof ſtandeth naturally very ſtrong, vpon a hyll Eaſt and Weſt, of an eight ſcore in length, and three ſcore in breadth, drawing to a narowneſſe at the Eaſt ende, the whole ground whereof the olde walles did yet enuiron.

Beſyde the heigth and hardneſſe to come to, it is ſtrongly fenced on either ſide with the courſe of two greate Ryuers, Tyuet on the Northe, and Twede on the South, both which ioyning ſomewhat nie togyther at the Weſt ende of it, Tyuet by a large compaſſe aboute the fieldes (in the which the Campe lay) at Kelſey doth fall into this Tweede, whiche with greate deapth and ſwiftneſſe runneth from thence Eaſtwarde into the Sea at Berwicke. Ouer this, betwyxte Kelſey and Rockeſbourgh hath there bin a great ſtone Bridge with Arches, the which the Scots in tymes paſte haue all to broken, bycauſe the Engliſhe menne ſhoulde not that waye come to them.

The determination in what ſort Rockeſburgh ſhould be fortified.

Soone after the Lorde Protectours ſuruey of the plotte, and determination to doe as muche in deed for making it defenſible, as ſhortneſſe of the tyme and ſeaſon of the yeare coulde ſuffer (which was) that one great trench of twentie foot brode with deapth according, and a Wall of like depth, breadth and heigth, ſhoulde bee made a Croſſe wythin the Caſtell from the one ſyde Wall to the other, and a fortie foote from the Weſt ende: and that a lyke Trenche and Wall ſhoulde likewiſe bee caſte a trauerſe within, aboute a coytes caſt from the Eaſt ende, and hereto that the Caſtell walles on either ſyde where need was ſhould bee mended with Turfe, and made wyth loupes, as well for ſhooting directly forwarde, as for flanking at hande: the worke of whiche deuiſe dyd make that beſyde the ſauegard of theſe Trenches and Walles, the Keepers ſhoulde alſo be much defended from the enimies force by both the ende Walles of the Caſtell: the Pioners were ſette a worke, and diligently applyed in the ſame.

The Larde of Seſſeforth, and manye other Lards and Gentlemen of Tiuidall, & the Mers, hauing come & cõmuned wyth the L. Protector, and the Counſayle, made an aſſuraunce, or as it were a truce for that daye, tyll the nexte daye at nyght, and on the next day, whyle the aſſurance laſted, theſe Lardes and Gentlemen beeing the chiefeſt in the whole Mers and Tiuidale, came in agayne, whome the Dukes Grace wyth wiſedome and policie wythoute bloudſhedde, did winne then vnto the kings obedience, for the whiche they did willingly then receyue an othe, whoſe names in part enſue.

Scottes that came to the kings obeyſance.

Lardes.

The Larde of Seſſeforth.
The Larde of Fernyhurſt.
The Larde of Greenhead.
The Larde of Hunthill.
The Larde of Hundley.
The Larde of Markeſton by Merſide
The Larde of Boniedworth.

The Larde of Ormeſton.
The Lard of Malleſtaine.
The Lard of Warmeſey.
The Lard of Lynton.
The Lard of Egerſton.
The Lard of Marton.
The Lard of Mowe.
The Lard of Reddell.
The Lard of Reamerſide.

Gentlemen.

George Trombull.
John Hollyburton.
Robert Car of Greyden.
Adam Kyrton.
Andrew Kyrton.
Andrew Meyther.
Sander Spur of Erleſton.
Marke Car of Littleden.
George Car of Faldenſide.
Alexander Makdowell.
Charles Rotherford.
Thomas Car of the yere.
John Car of Meynthorn.
Walter Hollyburton.
Richard Hanganſide.
Andrew Car.
James Dowglas of Cauers.
James Car of Merſington.
George Hoppringle.
William Ormeſton of Endmerden.
John Grimſlow.

Many mo there were beſide, but ouerpaſſed by maiſter Paten, for that they remayned in the regiſter with theſe as he ſayth.

The diligence of the Duke of Somerſet to further the fortification to Rokſbourgh

The Duke of Somerſet tendred the furtherance of the worke ſo much, that he forbare not to lay his owne hande to the Spade and Shouell, thereby to encourage others, ſo as there were but fewe of Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen in the field, but with Spade, Shouel, or Mattock did therein their partes.

The .xxv. of September being Sunday, the Scottes beganne to bring vittayle to the campe, and were ſo well entreated and payed for the ſame, that during the time of the Engliſh mens abode there, they wanted not of the commodities which their countrey could miniſter.

A Scottiſh Herauld.

The .xxviij. of September, a Scottiſh Herauld accompanyed with certayne French men, that were perchaunce more deſirous to marke the armye, than to witte of theyr welfare, came and declared that wythin a ſeuennyght after, theyr Commiſſioners, to whom ſafeconduct had bene graunted, ſhould come and commune with oure Counſaile at Berwike, whoſe comming the erle of Warwike, and ſir Rauſe Sadler with other the Commiſſioners appoynted, did ſo long while there abide: but what the Scottes ment by breaking promiſe, I cannot ſay, howbeit come they did not, and therefore eſcaped not the iuſt note of diſſimulation, howſoeuer elſe they could colour the matter in their owne excuſe.

Creatio

The ſame day after noone, the Duke of Somerſet adourned with titles of dignitie diuerſe Lordes, knights, and gentlemen, the names and promotions of whome, maiſter Paten hath ſet downe out of the Herraulds booke, as foloweth.

Banerets.

Sir Rauſe Sadler Treaſurer.
Sir Fraunces Brian Captayne of the lyght horſemen.
Sir Rauſe a Vane, lieutenant of all the horſmẽ.

Theſe knights were made Banerets, a dignitie aboue a Knight, and next to a Baron.

Knightes.

The Lorde Gray of Wilton high Marſhall.
The Lorde Edwarde Seymer, the Duke of Somerſets ſonne.
The Lorde Thomas Howarde.
The Lorde Waldike a Cleuelander.
Sir Thomas Dacres.
Sir Edwarde Haſtings.
Sir Edmonde Bridges.
Sir John Thynne.
Sir Myles Patriche.
Sir John Conwey.
Sir Gyles Poole. Sir Rauſe Bagnoll.
Sir Oliuer Laurence.
Sir Henrie Gates.
Sir Thomas Chaloner.
Sir Frances Flemming maiſter of the ordinãce.
Sir John Greſham.
Sir William Skipwith.
Sir John Buttes.
Sir George Blaag.
Sir William Fraunces.
Sir Fraunces Knolles.
Sir William Thornburrow.
Sir George Howarde.
Sir James Wilforde.
Sir Rauſe Coppinger.
Sir Thomas Wentworth.
Sir John Meruen.
Sir Nicholas Straunge.
Sir Charles Sturton.
Sir Hugh Aſkue.
Sir Francis Salmyn.
Sir Richarde Tounley.
Sir Marmaduke Conſtable.
Sir George Audeley.
Sir John Holcroft.
Sir John Southworth.
Sir Thomas Danby.
Sir John Talbot.
Sir Rowland Clearke.
Sir John Horſley.

Sir Iohn Forſter.
Sir Chriſtofer Dies.
Sir Peter Negro.
Sir Alonzo de Vile.
Sir Henrie Huſſey.
Sir Iames Granado Brabander.
Sir Walter Bonham.
Sir Robert Brandling Maior of Newcaſtell, and made knight there at the duke of Somerſets returne.

reations

But nowe that Rockeſbourgh was ſufficiently made defenſible (the which to ſee it ſeemed the Duke of Somerſet had vowed before hee woulde thence depart) his grace and the counſail did firſt determine that my Lorde Gray ſhoulde remaine vpon the borders there, as the Kings Lieutenant, and then tooke order for the Fortes: that ſir Andrew Dudley Captayne of Broughtie cragge had left with him two hundred Souldiours of Hacbutters and other, and a ſufficient number of Pioners for his workes: Sir Edwarde Dudley Captaine of Hume Caſtell three ſcore Hacbutters, fortye horſemenne, and a hundred Pioners: Sir Rauſe Bulmer Captain of Rockeſbourgh three hundred ſouldiours of Hacbutters and other, and two hundred Pioners. As things were thus concluded, and warning giuen ouer night, on this Wedneſday being Michaelmaſſe euen, on the nexte morrowe being Michaelmaſſe day euery man fell to packing apace, and gotte them homewardes, paſſing ouer the Twede there with ſome trouble and daunger alſo, by reaſon of rayne that lately fell before, and had rayſed the ſtreame, whiche beeing ſwyft of it ſelfe, and the Chanell vneuen in the bottome wyth great ſtones made the paſſage comberſome, ſo that many as well horſemen as footemen were in no ſmall perill as they paſſed through, and one or two drowned, and many caryages ouerthrowne, and in great hazarde of loſing.

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The Duke of Somerſet roade ſtreight to Newcaſtell, and thence homewardes. The Earle of Warwike, my Lorde Gray, and Sir Rauſe Sadler, with diuerſe other roade to Berwike, to abide the comming of the Scottiſh commiſſioners.

In the meane tyme of theyr tarying there, the Erle of Warwike made ſixe knightes.

s made

Sir Thomas Neuill the Lorde Neuels brother.
Sir Andrew Corbet.
Sir Anthonie Strelley.
Sir Arthure Manering.
Sir Richard Verney.
Sir Iohn Berteuille.

After that the Earle of Warwike had taryed for the comming of the Scottes the full tearme of the appoyntment, which was vntil the fourth of October, and perceyued they came not, the next day he departed homewardes.

Here ye haue to vnderſtande alſo, that in part of the meane time whileſt the Duke of Somerſet was in doing of theſe exploytes in Scotlande, as ye haue hearde rehearſed. The Earle of Lenox, and the Lorde Wharton warden of the Weſt Marches with an armie of fiue thouſande men, entred Scotlande on that ſide, and firſt paſſing two myles after a daye and a nyghtes defence they wanne the Church of Annan, tooke ſeuentie and two priſoners keepers of the ſame, burnt the ſpoyle for cumber of cariage, and cauſed the Churche to bee blowne vp with powder, paſſing thence a. xvj. myles within the lande, they wanne the Caſtell of Mylke, the whiche they left furniſhed wyth munition and menne, and ſo returned. But of this ye ſhall finde more in the Hyſtorie of Scotlande, by the ſufferaunce of God, where we entreate of the doings there in this yeare.

An inuaſion made into Scotlande.

Annan church wonne.

The Caſtell of Milke wonne.

Thus much haue I collected oute of maſter Patens booke, or rather exemplified the ſame, not much digreſſing from his owne wordes, except where I haue beene forced to abridge his worke in places, wiſhing to haue inſerted the whole, if the purpoſe of this volume woulde haue ſo permitted, as well for the full vnderſtanding of euerie particular poynt, by hym remembred, as alſo for his pleſant and apt maner of penning the ſame.

Whileſt the Lorde Protectour was abroade thus in warres agaynſt the Scottes, the Lords of the Counſayle that remayned at home, chiefly by the good and diligent calling on and furtheraunce of the Archebiſhoppe of Canterburie, and other of the Cleargie, tooke order for the aduauncement of Religion, cauſing the bookes of Homilyes and the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, to be ſet foorth and had in Churches.

The Homelies & Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

At the comming backe of the Lorde Protectour from his iourney into Scotlande, the Citizens of London determined to haue receyued him with great tryumphe: but he hearing thereof, forbad them in any wyſe ſo to doe: for (ſayde hee) if any thing hath beene done to the honour of the Realme, it was Gods doyng, and therefore willed them to giue him the prayſe. Neuertheleſſe, the Maior and Aldermen, with certayne of the Commoners in theyr Liueryes with theyr Hoodes, hearing of his approch to the Citie, the eight day of October mette him in Fynneſburie fielde, where he tooke eche of them by the hande, and thanked them for theyr good willes.

The Lord Protectors return.

The Lord Maior did ride with him till they came to the pounde in Smithfielde, where hys grace left them, and roade to his houſe of Shene that night, & the next day to the king to Hampton Court.

The fourth day of Nouember began a Parliament, called and holden at Weſtmynſter, which continued till the .xxiiij. of December, next following, and then proroged.

In thys Parliament, all Colleges, Chaunteries, and free Chapels, were gyuen to the king, and the Statute of the ſixe Articles were repealed, wyth dyuerſe other tending to the lyke ende.

Moreouer, during this Parliament, viſiters beeing appoynted to viſite in London, the ſixtenth of Nouember beganne to take downe the Images in Paules Church, and ſhortly after all the Images in euery Churche, not onelye through London, but alſo throughoute the whole Realme, were pulled downe and defaced.

1547
An. reg. 2.

The Lorde Protector and other of the counſaile, conſidering nowe in what ſort they had got footeholde in Scotlande, by reaſon of ſuch Peeces as they had taken and fortified within the realme, did deuiſe for the more ſuretie of thoſe places, which they had alreadie gotte, and the better to bring the reſt of the Countrey vnto reaſon, to haue ſome holdes alſo more within the land, and therefore firſt they cauſed a fort to be buylded at Lowder, where ſir Hugh Willoughbie was appoynted Captayne with a conuenient garniſon of ſouldiours to keepe it.

Lowder fortified.
Sir Hugh Willoughby.

Beſyde this, it was thought expedient to fortifie the Towne of Hadington, wherevpon the Lord Gray Lieutenant of the North partes, with ſir Thomas Palmer, and ſir Thomas Holcroft, were appoynted to goe thyther wyth a conuenient number of men of warre and Pioners to ſee that towne fenced with Trenches, Rampires, and Bulwarkes, as ſhoulde ſeeme to his Lordſhippe neceſſarie and behouefull, who therefore entring into Scotlande the eightenth of Aprill, paſſed forth to Hadington, where hee beganne to fortifie, and there remayned to ſee the worke brought to ſome perfection.

Hadington fortified by the lord Gray.

During his abode there, diuerſe exploytes were bothe valiauntly attempted and luckilye atchieued by hys martiall conduct and politique direction, as occaſions offered mighte moue him, the whiche I woulde gladlye haue ſette downe at large, if I coulde haue come to yͤ true vnderſtanding thereof, but ſithe I cannot gette the ſame, in ſuche full manner as I haue wiſhed, that yet whiche I haue learned by true report (as I take it) I haue thought good to impart to the reader.

The .xxviij. of May, his Lordſhip wanne the Caſtell of Yeſter, after he had beaten it right ſore with terrible batterie of Canon ſhotte for the tyme it laſted, and therewith hauing made a reaſonable breache for the Souldiours to enter, they within yeelded wyth condition to haue their lyues ſaued, which the Lorde Gray was contented to graunt to them all, one onely excepted, who during the ſiege vttered vnſeemely wordes of the king, abuſing his Maieſties name wyth vile and moſt opprobrious tearmes. They all comming forth of the Caſtell in theyr ſhyrtes, humbled themſelues to my Lorde Gray (as became them, and vpon ſtrayte examination who ſhoulde bee the rayler that was excepted oute of the pardon, it was knowne to be one Newton a Scot: But hee to ſaue himſelfe, put it to one Hamilton, and ſo theſe two Gentlemen accuſing one an other, the truth coulde not be decided otherwyſe than by a combate, whiche they requyred, and my Lorde Gray thereunto aſſented, and pronounced iudgement ſo to haue it tryed.

Yeſter
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At the appoynted tyme they entred the Lyſtes, ſette vppe for that purpoſe in the market place of Hadington, without other apparell ſauing their doublets and hoſen, weaponed wyth ſworde, buckler and dagger.

At the fyrſt entrye into the Lyſtes, Hamilton kneeling downe, made hys heartie prayer to God, that it myght pleaſe him to gyue victorie vnto the truth, wyth ſolemne proteſtation that hee neuer vttered any ſuch wordes of King Edwarde of Englande, as his aduerſarie charged him with. On the other ſyde Newton being troubled (as it ſeemed) wyth his falſe accuſation, argued vnto the beholders hys guiltie conſcience.

A comb
foght b
them.

Nowe were the ſticklers in a readineſſe, and the Combattours with theyr weapons drawne fell to it, ſo that betwyxt them were ſtryken ſixe or ſeuen blowes ryght luſtily. But Hamylton being verye fierce and eagre, vppon truſte of hys innocencie, conſtrayned Newton to gyue ground almoſt to the ende of the Lyſtes, and if he had dryuen him to the ende in deede, then by the law of Armes he had wonne the victorie. Newton perceyuing himſelfe to bee almoſte at poynt to bee thus ouercome, ſtept forwardes agayne, and gaue Hamilton ſuche a gaſhe on the legge, that he was not able longer to ſtand, but fell therwith downe to the grounde, and then Newton falling on him, incontinently ſlue him wyth a dagger.

Hamilt
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There were Gentlemen preſent that knowing as they tooke it for certaine, howe Newton was the offender (although fortune had fauoured him in the Combate) woulde gladlye haue ventured their lyues agaynſt him man for man, if it myght haue beene graunted: but he chalenging the lawe of Armes, had it graunted by my Lorde Gray, who gaue him alſo his owne Gowne beſyde hys backe, and a chaine of golde which he then ware.

re-
by my
Gray.

Thus was he well rewarded howe ſoeuer he deſerued: But he eſcaped not ſo, for afterwardes as he was ryding betwyxt the borders of bothe the Realmes, he was ſlaine and cut in peeces.

ſlaine
uct-

The fourth of Iune, the Towne of Dawketh was burnt, and the Caſtell wonne by force, where fourteene Scottes were ſlaine, and three hundred taken priſoners, among whome were theſe men of name, the maiſter of Morton, ſonne in lawe to ſir George Dowglas, the Larde of Blengaruie, the Larde of Wederburne, and one Alexander Hume, a man of good reputation among them.

The ſame day the Engliſh horſmen burnt al the Milles round about Edenbourgh, within the compaſſe of ſixe miles on eche ſide the towne.

The.vij.of Iune they burnt Muſkelbourgh.

lburgh

Now after that my Lorde Gray had fortifyed Hadington, and furniſhed it with vittayles and munitions ſufficient, the.xij. of Iune he departed from thence homewardes, leauing there in garniſon about two thouſand footmen, and.v.C.horſmen.

French
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Scottes.

In this meane time, Henrie the French king ſucceding his father Fraunces the firſt (who departed this lyfe the laſt of Marche in the yeare laſt paſt, to wit 1547.) made prouiſion of an army, with a nauy of ſhips and galleys, to paſſe into Scotland, to the ayde of the Queene and other of his faction. And firſt he had ſent thither Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron, a Gentleman of good account, to aſſyſt the gouernour wyth hys aduice and counſaile, whiche gouernour deſirous to recouer the Caſtell of Broughtiecragge, and loth to ſee it poſſeſſed by the Engliſh men, rayſed a power of eight thouſande men, and with eight peeces of artillerie came before that Fortreſſe, meaning to winne it by ſiege, but by the valyaunt prowes of Sir Andrewe Dudley, and the hardie manhoode of ſuche Engliſhe Souldiours as ſerued there vnder hym, the Scottes were repulſed and driuen to leuie theyr ſiege with diſhonour.

ghticrag
ed.

Yet not thus contented, the Earle of Arguile with an armie of his Iriſh Scots or Hielande men (if I may ſo call them) after this likewiſe came and beſieged the place, but glad to take truce for a time with ſir Andrew, Before the tearme of the ſame truce was expired, there came newe ſuccours to him, and therevpon the Earle in the ende was conſtrayned to leuie his ſiege, and ſuffer the Engliſhmen to become maiſters of a little hill not farre off from the Caſtel, where afterwards they builded a fortreſſe.

But to returne to the French armie whiche was prepared to paſſe into Scotlande, yee ſhall vnderſtande that when theyr Shippes and prouiſions were once readie, and the Capitaynes wyth theyr bandes come downe to Breſt in Brytayne, where the Nauie was rigged to receyue them, Monſieur de Deſſe Generall of all the armye reconed to conteyne a ſeuen or eight thouſand men, embarqued himſelfe with all his people, and ſayled forth on his iourney, tyll they arriued in the Forth and there toke land at Lieth the.xvj.of Iune.

Monſieur de Deſſe Generall of the French armie.

He landeth at Lieth.

Shortly after hauing got their great artillerie on lande, and taken aduiſe with the Lorde Gouernour and other of the Scottiſh Nobilitie whome they founde at Edenbourgh, howe to procede in proſecuting the warre agaynſt the Engliſhe men, it was reſolued that without delay they ſhoulde trie theyr forces aboute the recouering of Hadington, and goe to beſiege that Towne, before they attempted any other exployte.

The French men reſolue to beſiege Hadington.

The gouernour and other of the Scottes Lordes, hauing with them ſeuen or eight hundred light horſemen, offered to goe with them, to the better aduauncing forwarde of that enterprice. Herevppon ſetting forwarde, and comming to Muſkelbourgh, the Captaynes wyth a certaine number of horſemen and footmen, as well of Scottes as Frenchmen, were appoynted to goe before to viewe the ſayde Towne of Hadington.

Vpon their approche neare to the towne, there iſſued forth certaine Engliſhmen and Italians, that were of Tiberio's bande, which ſkirmiſhed with them right ſtoutly, till at length the French men and Scots retyred backe to Lauret a little from Muſkelbourgh (where their armie encamped for that night) and the Engliſhmen and Italians returned backe to their fortreſſe.

The next day the Frenchmen and Scottes with their whole power came before Hadington, where they were welcomed with a right ſharpe and hote ſkyrmiſh, in which was ſlaine with an harquabuſe ſhot, one of the Frenche Captaynes called Villeneufue. In the meane time whileſt this ſkirmiſh continued, the Reingraue with his Almaines encamped himſelfe on the one ſide of the towne, where the maiſter of the ordinance in the French armie named Monſieur Duno cauſed trenches to be caſt for the ſafe placing of the artillerie, the Engliſhmē ſtill kept them occupied on eche ſide the towne with ſkyrmiſhing, to the annoyance of the aduerſaries.

The French army commeth before Hadington.

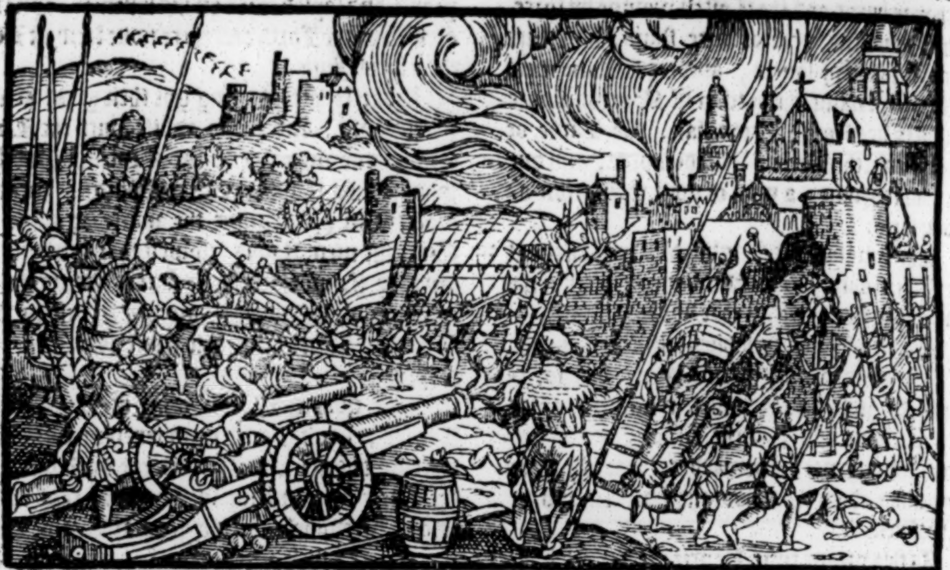
The Reinſgraue.

They plant their artillery.

To conclude, they encamped before the Towne, caſt Trenches, lodged their Ordinance, and layde their ſiege to the moſt aduauntage, ſo farre as they might be ſuffered.

The Earle of Arguile. Monſier de la Chapelle.

Shortly after that this ſiege was planted, there came to the ayde of the French the Earle of Arguyle, with a great number of Iriſh Scottes, and Monſieur de la Chapelle brought an eyght or nine hundred Scottes Pioners, which began a trench on the left hande of the Abbay gate, and likewiſe a trauerſe to couer theyr ſouldiers, that ſhoulde watche and warde, from daunger of the ſhot out of the towne on that ſide.



Piero St hurt.

Hadingt battered.

The Engliſhmen with often iſſues gaue their aduerſaries ſmall reſt, procuring many hote ſkirmyſhes as occaſion ſerued. At one of the whiche ſkirmiſhes, Piero Strozzi, coronell of three Enſignes of Italians, was ſtriken with a Muſket ſhot. Yet Monſieur de Deſſe enforcing the ſiege to the vttermoſt of his power, cauſed one nyght with helpe of baſkets filled with earthe, ſix peeces of artillerie to be planted in batterie faſt at the towne ſide, which at the breake of day began to ſhoote off, and diſcharged that preſent day three hundred and fortie ſhottes. But after they perceyued that they did little hurt to the fortifications of the towne in that place where this battery was layde, the next night the baſkets and peeces of artillerie were remoued lower, and not paſt .lx. paces from the ditches of the towne, where the next day two hundred ſhottes were diſcharged agaynſt the rampyre. To conclude, they made ſuch breaches in ſundrie places for eaſie entrie into the towne, that it was greatly marueyled why they durſt not aſſaye to gyue a generall aſſault.

They lodged ſo neare within the verie dytches, that there were deuiſed certaine plummets of Leade tied with cordes to a truncheon of a ſtaffe, lyke to an hande ſtaffe of a flayle, wherewith the ſouldiours that watched and warded within the towne on the rampire, ſlue dyuerſe of the Frenchmen being there lodged within their ditches.

The valiancie of the Engliſh men.

Succorte tring the towne.

Thus notwithſtanding that the Frenchmen with their artillerie, had broken downe the fortifications, ſo as the breaches were made verie reaſonable and eaſie for them to enter, yet durſt they not preſume once to giue yͤ aſſault, for the Engliſh men although their powder was ſore ſpent, and that for want of matches they were cōſtrayned to teare their ſhyrts, and vſe the ſame in ſtead of matches, yet they ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant in defending the town thus beaten and made weake on eche hande, that there was no hope left to their aduerſaries to win it of them by force. Although the French power on the one ſide, and .viij M. Scottes on an other had ſo enuironed it, that the Engliſh men within were driuen to moſt extreme and hard ſhifts, for want of things neceſſarie and requiſite for their maintenance and defence of that Towne. But yet whileſt they remayned thus in ſuche diſtreſſe and neceſſitie of things, two hundred Engliſhmen vnder the conduct of Captain Windham, Warham Seyntleger, and Iohn Car of Warke, found meanes one night to paſſe through al the watches, on that ſide where the Scottes lay, and entring the towne, and bringing with them great plentie of powder & other neceſſaries, greatly relieued them within, and ſo encoraged them, that they ſeemed to make ſmall account of their enimies forces. Hereupon within few dayes after, the Scottes (fiue or ſixe C. light horſmen onely excepted) brake vp theyr campe and returned home. After this my Lorde Gray remayning at Berwike, ment to make a voyage himſelfe in perſon for the reliefe of them that were thus beſieged in Hadington, and now when all things were ſo far in a readineſſe as the next day he ment to haue ſet forward, letters were brought that night from the Court, willing him to perfourme that ſeruice by a deputie, and to ſtay himſelfe till the comming of the Earle of Shrewſburie, who was appoynted with an armie to come verie ſhortly as generall into thoſe parties. My Lord Gray herevpon appoynted in his ſtead, ſir Robert Bowes, and ſir Thomas Palmer to go thither, who cõming to Dunglas, left there certaine bandes of footemen, and wyth the horſmen being in number .xiij. hũdred (whereof ſeuen hundred launces were appoynted vnder the charge of ſir Thomas Palmer) they rode forwarde to accompliſhe their enterpriſe: but the French Captaynes hauing knowledge of theyr comming, they prouided the beſt they coulde to repulſe them, appoynting foure Wenlyns or enſignes of Lanſquenets to keepe a ſtanding watch that night in the trenches, and the like number of French enſignes to watch about their campe. All the other of their bandes were commaunded to take reſt, but yet wyth theyr armour on theyr backes.

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Their generall Monſier de Deſſe himſelfe, Monſieur de Maillerape admirall of their fleete, Monſieur Dandelot Coronell of the Frenche footemen, Piero Strozzi Coronell of the Italians, the Reinſgraue Coronell of the Lanſquenets, and all other the noble men and Captaines of honour among them, were all nyght long in armour, trauayling vp and downe, ſome on horſebacke, and ſome on foote, to viſite the watches and ſkoutes, ſet in places and wayes by the which they ſuſpected that the Engliſhmen ment would come.

Lorde
e.

The Lorde Hume ryding abroade to learne what he might of the Engliſhmens demeanour, early in the morning returned to the campe, and certified Monſieur de Deſſe, that they were at hande. Herewith were the Scottiſh and French horſemen that kept the ſkout called in, and monſieur Dandelot with great expedition ranged his battaile of footemen in order, and ſo likewiſe did the Reinſgraue his Almaines.

delot

The Engliſhmen deuided into two bendes, came and ſhewed thẽſelues in ſight of the towne, and charging ſuch Scottes and Frenchmen as came forth to encounter them, gaue them the ouerthrow at two ſeueral charges: but finally preſuming too farre vppon theyr good lucke thus chauncing to them in the beginning, followed in chaſe thoſe that fledde before them, tyll at length they were encloſed, and ſhutte vppe betwixte the Frenche footemen on the one ſyde, and the Almaines on the other. And herewyth the Scottiſhe horſemen vnder the conduct of the Lordes, Humes and Dune, and the Frenche horſemen ledde by Monſieur de Etauges theyr Generall, beyng aſſembled togyther eftſoones, after they had beene ſo repulſed, were now readie to come forwarde againe: and perceyuing theyr footemen ſo to haue enuironed the Engliſhmen, that they were not able to recouer themſelues, nor to get oute of daunger, but by diſordering theyr rankes to take them to flyght, followed amayne, ſo that thoſe which eſcaped the French mennes handes, were taken by the Scottes that purſued them in chaſe, ſo that fewe were ſaued that were not eyther ſlayne or taken. My Lorde Gray loſt .lxxij. great horſes, and an hundred Geldings, with all the men vppon them, armed wyth hys Lordſhippes owne furniture, onelye foure or fiue of his menne came home, of the whiche Thomas Cornewalleys nowe groome Porter to the Queenes Maieſtie, was one, and Robert Car Eſquier an other, then Page to my ſayde Lorde Gray.

ſieur E-
s.

The Engliſh horſemen diſcomfited.

The vnaduiſed raſhneſſe of Sir Thomas Palmer, was thought to bee the chiefe occaſion of this diſtreſſe of thoſe horſemen, who after they had done ſufficiently for that tyme, would needes haue them to giue a new charge, and ſo were diſcomfited.

After this ouerthrow and chaſe of our horſemen, the armie that was leuyed to paſſe into Scotlande was haſted forwarde wyth all ſpeede poſſible, for although before the comming of the Engliſh horſemen, the French, vpon aduertiſement giuen that they ment to come, had plucked backe theyr great artillerie, and ſent the ſame vnto Edenbourgh, keeping onely with them ſixe fielde peeces, and herewyth remoued theyr campe further off from the Towne, yet by foreſtalling vittayles and all other neceſſarie things from them within, they were dryuen to ſuch diſtreſſe, that they muſte of force haue left the town to the enimies if ſome power had not come within a while to remoue the ſiege that lay thus to annoy them.

The French men remoue their campe.

When therefore the armie was come to Newcaſtell, and the Earle of Shrewſburie generall Lieutenaunt of the ſame, was there arryued, they paſſed forwarde to Berwike, and from thence marched ſtreyght towardes Hadington.

The Earle of Shrewſburie generall of the armie.

The number of the Engliſh men and ſtrangers, was reported at the poynt of fifteene thouſande, whereof three. M. were Almaines vnder the conduct of a right worthie and expert chieftaine, named Conrad Phenning, commonly called Cortpeny.

The number of ſouldiers in the ſame army

Conrad Phenning captain of the Almaines.

Beſide this armye by lande, there was alſo furniſhed forth a fleete by ſea, vnder the conduct of the Lorde Clinton high admirall of Englande, and other Captaines of greate experience in affayres and ſeruice by ſea.

This fleet was appoynted ſo to keepe courſe with the army by lande, that the one might bee euer in ſight of the other.

The frenchmē diſlodge from before Hadington.

Mounſieur de Deſſe aduertiſed of the comming forward of this armie, durſt not abide their comming, but rayſed his fielde, and retyred wyth his army towarde Edenbourgh, howbeit they were no ſooner diſlodged, but that a great troupe of the Engliſh horſemen were got within ſight of them, and coaſted them all the way as they marched for the ſpace of ſeuen or eight miles, in maner to as farre as Muſkelbourgh, where the French men ſtayed, and encamped in a place choſen forth to their moſt aduauntage.

The French army encampeth at Muſkelbough.

The Earle of Shrewſburie commeth to Hadington.

The Earle of Shrewſburie, and the Lorde Gray with the armye comming vnto Hadington, were ioyfully receyued of the Captayns and ſouldiours within, where it might appeare howe valiauntly they had defended that towne during the ſiege, being ſo deſtitute of all things neceſſarie for their relief, and the fortifications ſo weake, that if the noble prowes of their worthie Generall ſir James Wilforde, and the incomparable manhoode of the reſt of the Captaynes and ſouldiours had not ſupplyed all other wantes, it was thought impoſſible that they ſhould haue defended the place ſo long a tyme agaynſt ſuch forces as had beene there employed agaynſte them: but ſuche was the vndaunted valiauntie of that noble crewe and garriſon, that euen the verie enimies themſelues coulde not but yeelde highe commendations to the Captaynes and ſouldiours for the hardie forwardneſſe and manhoode, which at all tymes they had founde and tryed in them at all poynts of ſeruice, when they came to deale with them: and verily theyr fame deſerueth to be had in memorie for euer, not onely for their worthie atchieued exploytes, done by force of hande, to the beating backe and repulſing of the enimyes, but alſo for theyr pacient ſuſteyning of hunger, thyrſt, continuall watching, nakedneſſe, ſickneſſe, and all other ſuche calamities and miſeries, as want of things neceſſarie for the reliefe and maintenauce of mans life is woont to bring, to thoſe that are encloſed in ſuche wiſe by the enimie.

The pacience of the Engliſhe men in ſuffering all wants of reliefe.

The noble Earle of Srewſburie coulde not forbeare to ſhed teares to vnderſtande and perceyue that ſuch worthie ſouldiers ſhoulde ſuffer ſuch great diſtreſſe, whoſe valiant hearts coulde not be quailed with any afflictions. Thus with mournfull embracings intermixed with pitifull regardes they met. The Erle entring the towne, furniſhed it with new bandes of men, good ſtore of vittails, munition and all other things conuenient, and as then thought requiſite.

Thus hauing refreſhed the towne, within two dayes after he paſſed forth towards the enimies, appoynting by the aduiſe of that noble cheiftaine the Lord Gray, certaine bandes of horſemen to keepe themſelues cloſe togither in ambuſh, and to ſend a few to the French campe, to trie if they might train the Frenchmē forth of their ſtrength. And as they wiſhed it partly came to paſſe, for diuerſe of their horſmen iſſued forth of their campe, and proffered the ſkirmiſh. The Engliſhmen ſuffred themſelues to be chaſed, til they had got their enimies within daunger of their ambuſh, and thē whirling about, gaue them the charge, enforſing them to make their carere backe, with more than an eaſie gallop, ſo that hauing the Frenchmen thus in chaſe, they ſlue and tooke diuerſe, and among the priſoners were two Captaines, Pierre Longue, and one Lucinet. The others that eſcaped returned with this loſſe to their campe.

The Earl Shrewsb marcheth wardes th enimies,

The Fre men cha

In the meane time, whileſt theſe things were thus a doing, there came to the ayde of the Frenchmen. xiiij. or. xv. thouſande Scottes, accounting herewith the Iriſh Scottes which came with the Erle of Arguile. Theſe Scottes were vneath lodged, when ſodainly the Earle of Shrewſbury and the Lord Gray came with their armie deuided into three battailes of footmen, garded wyth two troupes of horſemen, preſenting themſelues before the faces of theyr enimies in the ſame place, where theyr auenteurrers the day before had ſhewed themſelues to draw forth the Frenchmen. Here the armie thus ranged in array of battaile, ſtayed aboue the ſpace of an houre, looking if the enimies durſt haue come forth to haue giuen battaile, but when they perceyued that by no meanes the Frenchmen ment to forſake theyr ſtrength, they returned backe to theyr campe.

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The Ea Shrewsb profere enimies

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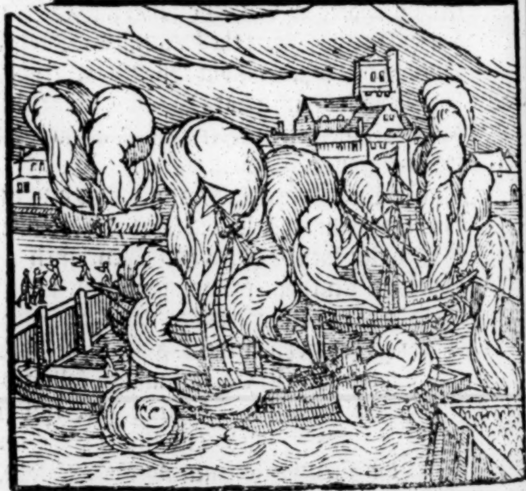
The Engliſh nauie being entred now into the Forth, was not ydle, for comming to Brent Iland they ſet fire on foure ſhips, which they found there, & after paſſing by Lieth ſaluted them within the town with canon ſhot, and after intending to burn S. Minets, were repulſed from thence by the Lord of Dune, and after returned to attende on the armie.



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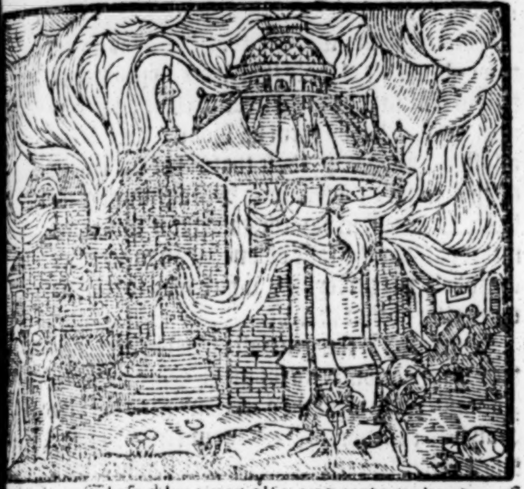
The Earle of Shrewesburie, and my Lorde Gray hauing executed ſo much as theyr Commiſſion woulde beare, and refreſhed Hadington with all things nedefull, departed homwardes, and comming to Dunglas, beganne there to buylde a forteſſe.

The Engliſh Almains as the armie paſſed by Dunbar, burnt the towne.



These Almaines alſo, and certaine bandes of Engliſhmen as well horſemen as footemenne, were left at Dunglas till the Forte there begunne was in ſome ſtrength. The Earle of Shrewesburie with the reſt of the armye came backe into Englande.

My Lorde Gray remayning on the borders Lieutenant of the North partes, after the Earle of Shrewſbury was returned home, aſſembled al the horſemen then lying on the borders, and being backed with the Almaine footemen, entred againe with the ſame horſemen into Scotlande, burning and waſting in the Countreys of Tiuidale, and Liddeſdale, for the ſpace of twentye miles, both houſe, corne, hay, and all other things that came within their reach, and after returned without incounter.

The .ix. of October being Tueſday, Monſieur de Deſſe, with his Frenchmen and Almaines, came in the morning long before daye to Hadington, meaning to haue wonne the towne by ſtealth: and verily the enterpriſe was gouerned in ſuch ſecrete maner, that the Frenchmen had killed the Engliſhe ſkoutes, and were entred the baſe Court, ere anye alarme was rayſed, and hauing ſlayne the watche, ſome of them ranne to a place behynde a Churche, where the Engliſhmen had theyr vittayles and munitions, and ſome thruſt vppe to the Towne Gate, enforcing with great violence to breake it open, crying with noyſe and ſhowtes, victorie, victorie, whereof in deede they accounted themſelues then aſſured: and queſtionleſſe the Engliſhe men beeing thus wakened oute of theyr ſleepes on the ſodain, were in ſome greate diſorder, ſo that manye of them came running foorth wythoute eyther armour or apparell, theyr ſhyrtes excepted, and other ranne they wyſte not well whyther, nor where to take heede. But yet as the Frenche men were thronged togyther at the gate to breake it open (a Frenchman as theyr wryters doe report) that ſerued within the towne, but as other ſay Tiberio Captayne of the Italians, with his matche lyght gaue fire to a double Canon, that lay readie bent agaynſt the gate, ſo that the ſame ſhooting off, made ſuch a lane among the French men, that they were glad to giue place, and with ſuche a fearefull crie, that thoſe whiche were behinde, not vnderſtanding what loſſe theyr fellowes before had ſuſteyned, brake their array and fled amaine.

The French men repulſed.

The Engliſhmen herewith paſſed through a priuie Poſterne into the baſe Court, and comming vpon them with theyr Halberds, & blacke Billes, ſlue of them great plentie, and droue the reſt that eſcaped ouer the Wall in ſuch haſt, that happy was he that could tumble ouer firſt. Monſieur de Deſſe yet gathering them togyther againe, gaue that morning three ſharpe aſſaultes to the Towne, but was repulſed wyth greate loſſe, for they caryed awaye with them ſyxteene Cartes and Wagons laden wyth hurte perſonnes and deade Carcaſſes, beſyde three hundred that were founde in the baſe Courte, whiche they coulde not come to, after they were beaten oute, to take awaye with them. And thus was Monſieur de Deſſe conſtrayned to returne, repenting himſelfe of that his bold attempted enterpriſe, hauing loſt no ſmall number of his Frenchmen and Almaines, beeyng ſlaine in the place.

A Parliament.

In thys meane time, the Kinges Maieſtie ſummoned his highe Courte of Parliament to be holden vpon prorogation at Weſtminſter the fourth of Nouember, where it continued till the fourteenth of March next enſuyng.

In the meane tyme, the proceedings for the Scottiſh warres was not forgotten, whereupon in the deepe of the winter, there were conueyed certaine bandes of the Engliſh Lanſquenets, and ſome number of Engliſhmen, both horſemen and footemen by Sea vnto Broughtiecrag, and paſſing from thence vnto Dundee, a two miles from thence, entred the towne, and began to fortifie it: but ſhortly after by the cõming of ỹ Frẽch army with Monſieur de Deſſe, they left it, fyrſt ſpoyling the houſes, and after ſet them on fire at their departure.

Dundie ſpoyled.

The Reinſgraue coronell of the Almains, and monſieur de Etauges, being ſent by M. de Deſſe before, entred Dundee, and lodged within it. Within two dayes after their comming thither, they tooke certain of their bands, and going forth to view and ſurvey the new fort, which the Engliſh men had begonne to make on the hill, a ſmall diſtance from the Caſtell. But the Engliſh men and their Almaines iſſuing forth agaynſt them, were at their elbowes ere they were halfe wel aduiſed that they were got ſo neare them, whereby being driuen haſtily to retyre, they hardly eſcaped out of daunger, beyng ſo hotely purſued, that if the Reinſgraue had not ſhewed his approued valiancie, guided with no leſſe policie than manhood, the whole troupe had bene (as was thought) vtterly diſtreſſed.

The Reinſgraue conſtrayned to retyre.

In Chriſtmaſſe this yeare the caſtell of Hume was recouered out of the Engliſhmens handes, through treaſon of certaine aſſured Scottes, that vſing to bring vittayles to the Engliſh men that kept it, had marked all the maner of the ſkowtes and watches, with the places of the Wall, where the clime was moſt eaſie. Wherevpon in the night ſeaſon, certain of the Scottes ſecretly comming into the ditches, got vp to the heigth of the walles, and entring the place, ſlue and tooke vpon the ſodaine, all that were within it.

1549

An. reg. 3.

The .xvj. of Ianuarie, ſir Thomas Seymer Baron of Sudley, Lord Admiral, and brother to the duke of Somerſet Lord Protector, was arreſted and ſent to the Tower, and after by authoritie of Parliament he was attainted, & the .xx. of Marche next enſuing, in the thirde yeare of this kings raigne beheaded at Tower hill,

The Maſſe aboliſhed.

Moreouer in this Parliament, the vſe of the Maſſe was clearly prohibited, and a booke for the vniformitie of diuine ſeruice, and right adminiſtration of the Sacraments was ſet forth and eſtabliſhed.

Monſier de Etauges taken priſoner.

Ye haue heard how the French men fortified the towne of Dundee, where Monſieur de Etauges, with his companie of horſemen lying in garniſon chaunced in a ſkyrmiſh to be taken by the Engliſhmen, that lay in Broughty crag, to the great reioyſing of them that tooke hym, and no leſſe griefe of the French and Scots, for the tried valiauncie that was throughly knowen to reſt in him.

Moreouer the Engliſhe men that kept the towne of Hadington all this while againſte the enimies, coulde not come by any vittayles, but onely by a conuey of ſome conuenient power to garde the cariages that brought the ſame from the borders. And as it fortuned at one time when the conuey came and paſſed by Dunbar, a ſkyrmiſhe was proffered by the Frenche whiche lay within that caſtell in garniſon, and as ſir Iames Wilford that was there amongſt other vpō this occaſion (according to his wonted valiancie) ſhewed himſelfe very forward and egre agaynſt the enimie, he was encloſed by an ambuſh, which the Frenchmen had layd on eche ſide the ſtreete within the towne; that he coulde by no meanes eſcape out of their handes, but hauing his horſe there ſlaine vnder him, was taken priſoner by a Gaſcoigne of the Countrey of Baſque named Pellicque, that wan no ſmal commendation for that his good happe, in taking ſuche a priſoner, whoſe name for his often approued prowes was ſo famous euen among the enimies.

Sir Iame Wilford ken priſo

Some haue written that hee was taken through default of thoſe that were appoynted to follow him, ſithe he vndertooke to charge the enimie, in hope that by them he ſhoulde haue beene aſſyſted, but ſurely thoſe that hadde the charge of this conuey, doubting by aduenturing to farre, to put all in hazarde, thought it wiſedome rather to ſuffer the loſſe of one, than to ieoparde the whole, not perceyuing which way to remedie the matter at that preſent.

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Then after yͭ the generall of Hadington was thus taken priſoner, to the great griefe vndoubtedly, not onely of all the garniſon there, but alſo of all ſuch as tendered the aduauncement of the kings Maieſties ſeruice, ſir Iames Croftes was thought a man moſt meeteſt to ſupplie the place, and therefore by the Lorde Protectour and other of the Counſayle was ordeyned Generall of that Towne of Hadington, and the Garniſon there, in whiche rowmth hee bare himſelfe ſo worthilye, as if I ſhoulde not bee ſuſpected of flatterie, for that hee lyueth yet, and in ſuche credite (as the worlde knoweth) I myght moue my ſelfe matter to ſay rather muche than ſufficiently ynough, in his due and right deſerued commendation.

Sir Iam Crofte.

The King by the aduice of his counſayle meaning to proſecute the warres in Scotlande, wyth greate forces reteyned a newe power of Lanſquenets, and other ſtraungers, vnder the conduct of dyuerſe and ſundrie Captaynes: but in the meane tyme the French King meaning to breake wyth the King of Englande, thought to haue ſtolne the Fortreſſe of Bullenberg, ſo that a choſen power of menne of warre, to the number of ſeuen thouſande, vnder the conduction of Monſieur de Chatillon, being ſent downe about that exployte on May day at night came forward with theyr Ladders, and all other furniture meete for the purpoſe, approching about the houre of midnight neare to the Fort, within the which were not at that tyme manye aboue three hundred and fiftie ſouldiers, vnder the gouernement of Sir Nicholas Arnaulte Knight, generall of that peece, a Captayne of greate courage, and no leſſe diligence in hys charge.

Sir Nich Arnault taine of lenberg.

And as it chaunced, there were among the Frenchmen, three or foure Engliſhe men, which

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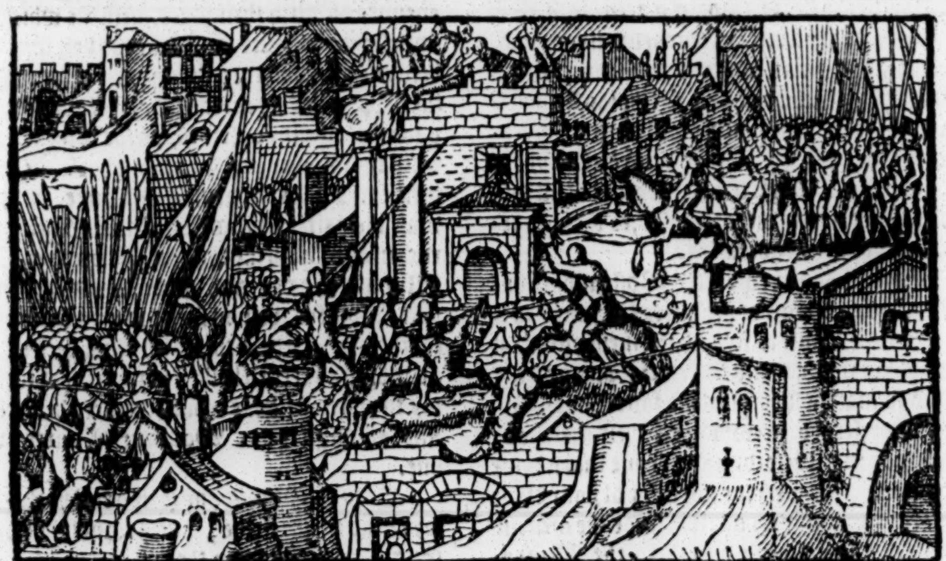
hauing matched themſelues in mariage wyth women of that Countrey, after the peace was concluded betwixt Fraunce and England, were diſcharged out of the King of Englandes wages, and remaynyng with their wiues, gote entertainement among the Frenchmen, and were with Monſieure de Chatillon, nowe comming towardes this enterpriſe: wherevpon one of the ſame Engliſhemen named Carter, that had aforetime giuen intelligence to the ſayde Syr Nicholas of the Frenchmennes doings, ſo farre as hee mighte learne and vnderſtand the ſame, woulde gladly alſo haue aduertiſed hym afore hande of the Frenchmens purpoſe at this time: but Monſieur de Chatillon, kepte the matter ſo ſecrete, that Carter nor anye of the other Engliſhmen had knowledge thereof, till they were now marching forwarde, ſo that Carter coulde not get away from them, till they were approched within leſſe than a quarter of a myle of Bullen Berge, and then ſlipping aſyde from among them, came running ſo faſt as hee mighte towardes the forte, crying bowes, bowes, as lowde as his voyce would ſerue, and ſo gaue the alarme to them within the fort.

One of the Souldiers called Morgayne Deaton, that chaunced to be there at hande in ſkoute wyth three or foure other, ſtraight knew hym, and broughte him to the drawe Bridge, where Sir Nicholas Arnault cauſed him to bee drawen vppe betwixt two pikes, vnto whome hee declared howe the Frenchmenne were at hande, meaning to aſſaulte hys forte nowe vpon the ſuddaine, in hope ſo to ſurpriſe it.

Herewith, it needed not to wil Sir Nicholas to beſturre him, to cauſe euery man to make readye, and place themſelues as was thoughte moſte expediente, and vndoubtedlye, the noble courage of that worthy Gentlemanne, furthered muche, to cauſe euerye Captayne and Souldioure vnder him, to put away all feare, and to haue a regarde to do his duety, in receiuing of ye enemies, ſo as it ſeemed they were gladde of the occaſion, whereby they might ſhewe proofe of theyr accuſtomed manhoode againſt the enemie, yt thus came to ſteale on thẽ without warning, in purpoſe to kill euerye manne that fell into theyr handes, if theyr intention hadde taken place, makyng nowe ſuche haſt forewarde, that before the Engliſhemenne coulde bee well readye wyth theyr armoure and weapons in theyr appointed places, the Frenchmenne were gotte to the ditches, and appointing a number of their beſte ſouldiers, the moſt part Gentlemen and double payes, with targettes, battayle axes, and piſtolles, to haue the firſte ſkale, ſaluted them within vppon theyr very approche, with ſeauen hundred harquebuze ſhot at the firſt volee.

The Frenchmen aſsaulte Bullogne berg

The Engliſhmenne by order giuen by Sir Nicholas, kept themſelues cloſe, till the Frenchmen by their ſkaling ladders (which they broughte with them, and had quickly rayſed againſt the walles) beganne to mounte vppe, and enter vpon them, at which inſtant, off went the Flankers.



Thoſe of Sir Nicholas Arnaults Mounte diſcharged very wel at the firſt, but at the ſecond volee, the morters burſt.

Albeit, there were two braſſe peeces, that were planted alofte on the ſame mount, of the whyche the one diſcharged fiue and twentie ſhotte by the maiſter, and the other ſeauen and twenty by his mate.

Sir Nicholas Arnault here beyng accompanyed with hys Captaines and Souldyers aboute hym, ſtoode at defence ſo ſtoutely as was poſſible, doing ſo valiantly, that theyr fame deſerueth to liue for euer.

There were burſt vppon the faces of the enemies (ouer and beſide the ſhotte that was beſtowed among them) no ſmal ſtore of Pikes and blacke billes. The Frenchmen certainely ſtucke to it manfully, and doing what laye in their vttermoſt power to enter the peece, ſtil ſupplied the places of their dead mẽ & wery, with freſhe ſuccours.

Carter that came to bring word of their comming, with a pike in his hande, ſtanding at the place of the Bulwarke where the aſſaulte was chieflye giuen, fought manfully, and was hurte both in the thigh and arme.

Sir Nicholas Arnault himſelf was alſo hurt with a pike in the noſe, and Captaine Waren ſtanding by him, receiued two ſhottes in his corſelet, hauing twoo or three linkes of his chaine ſtriken into his necke.

Captain Broughton alſo ſhewed himſelf verie valiant: hee hadde ſixteene of his armed men there with him, of whom there was not one that had not his corſelet perced through.

The number of Engliſhmen ſlaine were reconed to bee about fiue and twentie, and hurte eight and fiftie.

The Frenchmen repulſed.

Of Frenchmen many were ſlaine, beſide thoſe yͭ were hurte, & at length hauing continued the aſſault from midnight till ſomewhat after the break of day, they wer forced (with caſting down of ſtones and timber vppon their heades, ſcalding water and handblowes) to giue ouer, and retiring out of the trenches they gather togither their dead menne, and lading fifteene waggons with thier carcaſſes, they returned without making any further attempte at that time, and ſo by the high valiancie of Sir Nicholas Arnault, with the Captaines and ſouldiers that ſerued in that forte vnder him, and chieflye by the aſſiſtaunce of almightie god the giuer of all victories the enemies were repulſed, to the high renowme of the defendauntes.

Within a day or two after, Mõſieur de Chatillon, ſent to knowe of priſoners taken: but Sir Nicholas Arnault anſwered the meſſenger, that he knew of no war, and therefore if any had attẽpted to make a ſurpriſe of his fortreſſe by ſtelth they were ſerued according to their malitious meanings: verily (ſaide he) we haue taken none of your men, but we haue got ſome of your braue gilt armour and weapon: wel ſaide the meſſenger, it is not the Cowle yͭ maketh the Munke, neither, is it the braue armour or weapon that maketh the ſouldier, but ſuche is the fortune of warre, ſometime to gaine and ſometime to loſe. Sir Nicholas made him good cheere, and at his departure gaue him fiftie crownes in rewarde. But concerning the liberalitie of Sir Nicholas I might here ſpeake further thereof, how bountifully hee rewarded the ſouldiers for their ſeruice and high manhood in defending ſo ſharp an aſſault.

The Lor ham depu of Caleis.

The day after the ſame aſſault, there came to Boulogne Berg from Calies and Guynes, by order of the Lord Cobham then Lord deputie of Caleis, two hundred ſouldiers one hundred from Caleis, vnder the leading of his ſonne ſir William Broke, now Lord Cobham, and the other hundred from Guiſnes vnder the guiding of Captaine Smith.

Shortly after, by order of the Lord Clinton then gouernour of Boullongne, there were ſent forth the ſaide Sir William Broke with his hundred, from Bullongue Berg, and Captaine Litton with his hundred, from the baſe towne, and an other Captaine with an other hundred, from one of the other peeces there alſo fiue and twentie horſemen, with certaine cariages, to go vnto a wood diſtant frõ Bullongne Berge about two miles, to fetche from thence certaine timber, for the mounting of yͤ great artillerie and other neceſſarie vſes.

These Captaines with their bandes being come almoſt to the Wood ſide, met with certain of their ſkoutes that hadde bin ſent forth in the morning, who tolde them, howe they had diſcouered the tract of agreate number of horſemen, wherupon the Engliſhmen retired, and herewͭ yͤ French horſemen brake out of yͤ wood, & following them fel in ſkirmiſh with them. The Engliſhmen caſting themſelues in a ring, kepte the enemies off with their pikes, with the which they impaled themſelues, and hauing their ſmall nũber lyned wͭ ſhot, they ſtil galled yͤ Frenchmẽ as they approched. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe horſemenne gaue three maine onſets vpon the Engliſhmen, with the number of fiue hundred horſe, the reſt of their companies remaining in troupe, but ſuche was the valiant proweſſe of the Engliſhmen encouraged with the comfortable preſence of Sir William Broke and other their Captaines, that conducted them in ſuch order as ſtoode moſt for their ſafegarde, & therwith vſing ſuch effectuall words as ſerued beſt to purpoſe, that the enemy to conclude, was repulſed diuers being ſlain and amongſt other Monſieur Cautet was one.

They loſt alſo. 70. of their great horſes that laye dead in the fielde, and a cornet whiche the Engliſhmen got from them.

There were two thouſande footemen French and Almaynes that folowed alſo, but coulde not reache, for the Engliſhmenne ſtill retiring gotte at length within fauour of the ſhotte of Boullongne Berge, whiche after their enemies once perceiued, they marched by and lefte them.

and ſo marching aboute the forte, returned in vayne, after they once perceyued that the Engliſhmen were ſafely retired within theyr forte.

The Counſell thus perceyuing the Frenche kings purpoſe which he had conceyued to worke ſome notable domage to this realme, as well in ſupport of his frendes in Scotland, as in hope to recouer thoſe peeces which the Engliſhe helde at Bullonge, and in thoſe marches, doubted alſo of ſome inuaſion meant by him to be attempted into this realme, bycauſe of ſuch greate preparation as hee had made, for leuying of his forces both by ſea and land.

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The Counſell therefore made likewiſe prouiſion to bee ready to reſiſt all ſuch attemptes, as any way forth might be made, to the annoyance of the Realme. But as things fell out, the ſame ſtoode in good ſteede, not againſte the forayne enimie, but againſte a number of rebellious ſubiects at home, the whiche forgetting theyr duetie and allegiãce, did as much as in them lay (what ſo euer their pretence was) to bring this noble Realme and their natural countrey vnto deſtruction. But firſt, for that it may appeare, that the Duke of Somerſet, then Protector, and other of the Counſell, did not without good grounde and cauſe mainteyne the warres agaynſt the Scots, I haue thoughte good to ſette downe an Epiſtle exhortatorie, as we fynde the ſame in the greate Chronicle of Richarde Grafton, ſente from the ſayd Protector and Counſell vnto the Scottes, to moue them to haue conſideration of themſelues, and of the ſtate of theyr Countrey, by ioyning in that friendly bonde and vnitie with England, as had bin of the Kings part and hys fathers continually ſoughte, for the benefyte of both Realmes. The Copie of which exhortation here enſueth.

Edward by the grace of God Duke of Somerſet, Erle of Hertford, Viſcount Beauchamp, Lord Seymer, Vncle to the Kinges highneſſe of England, gouernour of his moſt royall perſon, and protector of all his Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, Lieutenant generall of all his maieſties armies, both by lande and Sea, Treaſorer and Earle Marſhall of England, gouernour of the Iſles of Gerneſey and Ierſey, and Knight of the moſt noble order of the garter, with others of the counſayle of the ſayde moſt high & noble Prince Edward, by the grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland King, defender of the faith, and in earth vnder Chriſt the ſupreme head of the Churches of Englande and Irelande. To the nobilitie and counſellors, Gentlemen and Commons, and all other the inhabitants of the Realme of Scotlande, greeting and peace.

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Conſidering with our ſelues the preſent ſtate of thinges, and weying more deepely the manner and tearmes wherein you and wee doe ſtande, it maketh vs to maruell, what euill and fatall chance doth ſo diſſeuer your heartes, and maketh them ſo blinde and vnmindfull of youre proffit, and ſo ſtill conciliate and heape to youre ſelues, moſt extreame miſchiefes, the whych wee whome yee will needes haue youre enimies, goe about to take away from you, and perpetually to eaſe you thereof.

And alſo by all reaſon, and order of neceſſitie, it ſhuld be rather more conuenient for you, to ſeeke and require moderate agreements of vs, whom God hath hitherto according to our moſt iuſt, true, and godly meanings and intents, proſpered, and ſet forward, with your affliction and miſerie, then ỹ we being ſuperioures in the field, maiſters of a great part of your Realme, ſhoulde ſeeke vpon you, yet to the intent that our charitable mindes and brotherly loue, ſhould not ceaſe by all meanes poſſible, to prouoke and call you to youre owne commoditie and profite, euen as the father to the ſonne, or the elder brother to the yonger brother. And as the louing Phiſition would doe to the miſtruſtfull and ignorant patient, we are content to call and crie vppon you, to looke on your ſtate, to auoyde the greate calamitie that youre Countrey is in, to haue vs rather brothers than enimies, and rather Countreymen than Conquerors. And if your gouernour or Captaynes ſhall reteyne and keepe from you this our exhortation as heeretofore they haue done our proclamation, tending to the like effect for theyr owne priuate wealth and commoditie, not regarding though you be ſtil in miſerie, ſo they haue profite and gouernaunce ouer you, and ſhall ſtill abuſe you with feigned and forged tales: yet this ſhall bee a witneſſe afore God, and all Chriſtian people, betwixt you and vs, that wee profeſſing the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, according to the doctrine thereof, doe not ceaſſe to call and prouoke you from the effuſion of youre owne bloud, from the deſtruction of the Realme of Scotlande, from perpetuall enmitie and hatred, from the finall deſtruction of youre nation, and from ſeruitude to forrayne nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with vs, to that whiche youre writers hathe alwayes wiſhed might once come to paſſe. Who that hath redde the ſtories in times paſt, and dothe marke and note the greate battayles foughte betweene England and Scotlande, the incurſions, rodes, and ſpoyles, whiche hathe bin done on both parties: the Realme of Scotlande fyue times wonne by one Kyng of Englande, the Scottiſh kings ſome taken priſoners, ſome ſlayne in battayle, ſome for very ſorow and diſcomfort, vpon loſſe dying and departing the worlde: and ſhall perceyue agayne, that all nations in the worlde, that nation onely beſyde Englande, ſpeaketh the ſame language, and as you and wee be annexed and ioyned in one Iſlande, ſo no people are ſo lyke in manners, forme, language, and al conditions as wee are: ſhall not hee thinke it a thing verye vnmeete, vnnaturall, and vnchriſtian, that there ſhoulde bee betwixte vs ſo mortall warre, who in reſpecte of all other nations, bee and ſhoulde bee lyke as two brethren of one Iſland, of greate Britaine, and though hee were a ſtraunger to both, what ſhould he thinke more meete, than if it were poſſible one Kyngdome to bee made in rule, whiche is one in language, and to bee deuided in rulers, whiche is all one in Countrey. And for aſmuche as two ſucceſſors cannot concurre and fall into one, by no other manner of meanes, than by marriage, whereby one bloud, one lignage, one parentage is made of two, and an indefenſible right giuẽ of both to one, without the deſtruction and abolyſhing of eyther. If God ſhoulde graunte that whatſoeuer you woulde wiſhe other than that whyche nowe not by fortune hathe chanced, but by his infinite mercy and moſt inſcrutable prouidence, as carefull for you, he hath gyuen vnto you. The whyche thyng that you ſhoulde alſo thynke to come of hys diſpoſition, and not by blynde fortune, howe vnlyke hathe it bene, and howe ſuddaynely hathe it turned, that the power of G O D myghte bee ſhewed: youre laſt Kyng beeing a Prince of much excellencie and yong, whome you knowe after a promiſe broken contrarye to hys honour and miſfortune by Goddes iuſt iudgemente following vpon it, God eyther by ſorowe or by ſome meanes otherwiſe at hys inſcrutable pleaſure, dyd take away from you, hadde three children, did not almightie God as it were to ſhewe hys will and pleaſure to bee, that the long continued warre and enmitie of both the nations ſhoulde be taken away, and knitte in perpetuall loue and amitie, take the two menne childrẽ of thoſe babes being diſtante the one from the other, and in dyuers places, both as it were at one time, and within the ſpace of foure and twentie houres, leauyng but one mayden childe and Princes.

A matter worthy to be noted.

When the moſt wiſe and victorious Prince late oure Kyng and maiſter, Kyng Henrye the eyght, in other of hys mariages not moſt fortunate, had by his moſt lawfull and moſt vertuous wife, Queene Iane, his other two wiues before that marriage departed thys worlde, and neuer ſurmiſe nor queſtion made of that mariage, ſith that tyme to thys daye, nor ſo muche as all hys lyfe tyme, name or motion to or of anye other wife, one Prince of ſo hygh expectation, of ſo great giftes of God, the righte and vndoubted heyre of the Realme of Englande and hys maieſtie onely of male iſſue left behynde hym to ſucceede the imperiall Crowne. If nothing elſe hadde beene done, what can anye wiſe or anye Chriſtian man that thinketh the worlde to bee gouerned by Goddes prouidence and not by fortune, thynke otherwiſe, but that it was Goddes pleaſure it ſhoulde bee ſo, that theſe two realmes ſhould ioyne in marriage, and by a godly Sacramente, make a godly, perpetuall and moſte friendly vnitie and concorde, whereby ſuche benefytes as of vnitie and concorde commeth, maye through his infinite grace come vnto theſe Realmes. Or if anye man of you or of anye other nation doubteth heereof, excepte you looke for miracles to bee done heerin, and yet if yee marke all the poſſibilities of the natures of the two Princes, the children alreadye hadde, the doubtfull chance, leaſt eache of them ſhoulde haue a ſonne, or both daughters, or not of meete ages, with other circumſtances both of the partie of this Realme of Englande, and that of Scotlande, whyche hathe not chanced in eighte hundred yeares, it muſt needes be reckoned a greate maruell and a miracle. But lette it bee no miracle, ſeeyng that G O D doth not now ſpeake in oracles, as amongſt the Iewes hee dyd: and preſente prophecies nowe adayes bee, but eyther not certayne, or elſe not playne: what more certayntie can bee hadde of Goddes will in thys caſe, than the before rehearſed dothe bryng? but if God hymſelfe ſhould ſpeake, what coulde he ſpeake more, than hee ſpeaketh in theſe?

Call you them prouidences or chances, if you bee ſtill afflicted and puniſhed? maye hee not ſaye I of my infinite mercy and loue to youre nation, hadde prouided a righte heyre and a Prince to the one, and a right heyre and Princes to the other, to bee ioyned in my holye lawes, and by the lawe of nature and the worlde to haue made an vnitie, concorde and peace, in the whyche Iſle of bothe the Realmes you refuſed it, you loued better diſſention than vnitie, diſcorde than agreement, warre than peace, hatred than loue and charitie. If you doe then therefore ſmarte for it, whome can you blame, but youre owne election? But bycauſe ſome of thoſe, who make thereunto impedimentes, cannot but confeſſe, that there appeareth Gods prouidence heerein, and oportunitie and occaſion gyuen to vnitie of bothe the Realmes, yet may heereafter ſaye, and heeretofore haue ſayde, that the faulte heerein is, that wee ſeeke not equalitie, nor the mariage, but a conqueſt: wee woulde not bee friendes but the Lordes. Although oure Proclamation at the laſt warres dothe ynough declare the contrarye, yet heere wee proteſt and declare vnto you and all Chriſtian people, to bee the Kyngs maieſties minde oure maiſters, by oure aduiſe and counſel not to conquere, but to haue in amitie, not to winne by force, but to conciliate by loue, not to ſpoyle and kyll, but to ſaue and keepe, not to diſſeuer and diuorſe, but to ioyne in marriage, from hygh to lowe both the Realmes, to make of one Iſle one Realme, in loue, amitie, concorde, peace and charitie, whyche if you refuſe, and driue vs to conquere, who is giltie of the bloudſhed? who is the occaſion of the warre? who maketh the battayles, the brennyng of houſes, and the deuaſtation whyche ſhall followe? Can it bee denyed, but that wee haue the great ſeale of Scotlande graunted by the Parliamente of Scotlande, for the mariage whiche ſhoulde bee made, with aſſurances and pledges, vntill the performance? And thus in the time that the late king of moſt famous memorie our ſoueraigne Lorde Kyng Henrye the eyght dyd raigne, and in the tyme of the ſame youre gouernour, who nowe is the Earle of Arreigne, who then being a chiefe doer and labourer therein, for the high and ineſtimable benefyte of that Realme, ſo ſoone as he was by the late Cardinall of Sainte Andrewes and others, with certayn vayne feares and hopes and greedineſſe of dignitie peruerted, reuolted from hys firſte agreemente, and putte all the Realme to the loſſe of ſuche holdes and fortreſſes as are nowe taken from you, and to the loſſe of a foughten fielde, for the whiche wee are ſory, if otherwiſe peace might haue bin concluded, for his owne priuate lucre and retchleſneſſe of that noble Realme. And what ende can you looke for of theſe manner of proceedyngs, but ſuche ſucceſſe as heeretofore hathe bin experimented and aſſayed? we offer loue, we offer equalitie and amitie, wee ouercome in warre, and offer peace: wee winne holdes, and offer no conqueſt: wee get in youre lande, and offer Englande. What can be more offered and more proffered, than entercourſe of merchandiſes, and enterchange of mariages, the aboliſhing of all ſuche our lawes, as prohibiteth the ſame, or mighte bee impedimente to the mutuall amitie. Wee haue offered not only to leaue the authoritie, name, title, right or chalenge of Conqueroure, but to receyue that which is the ſhame of men ouercommed, to leaue the name of the nation, and the glory of anye victorye (if any wee haue had, or ſhoulde haue of you) and to take the indifferente olde name of Britaines againe, bycauſe nothing ſhoulde bee lefte on our parte vnoffered, nothing on youre parte vnrefuſed, whereby yee myghte be inexcuſable. And all the worlde myghte teſtifie all other meanes, not beyng able to doe anye thyng, after manye other wayes and remedies attempted, battayle of vs to bee taken as an extreame refuge, to atteyne right and reaſon among Chriſtian men: if anye man maye rightfully make battayle for his eſpouſe and wife. The daughter of Scotlande was by the greate ſeale of Scotlande promiſed to the ſonne and heire of England. If it bee lawfull by Gods lawe to fyght in a good quarrell, and for to make peace, thys is to make an ende of all warres, and to conclude an eternall and perpetuall peace, whiche to confirme, wee ſhall fighte, and you to breake, is it not eaſie to diſcerne who hath the better parte? God and the ſword hath already. & ſhall hereafter, if there be no remedie trie it. Who ſo willeth the mariage to goe forwarde: who ſo mindeth the peace and tranquilitie of both the Realmes: who willeth no conqueſt to bee hadde, but amitie and loue to goe forward, we refuſe no man: let him bring his name and hys pledge of good ſeruice in this quarrell, hee ſhall not onely be receyued to the amitie, but ſhall haue ſufficiente defence agaynſte the aduerſaries, and recompence of hys lyuing, if hee ſuſteyne anye loſſe, wee neyther doe nor intende to putte anye man from hys landes, tacks, or offices, vnleſſe he will needes reſiſt, and ſo compel vs therevnto. What face hath this of conqueſt? we intende not to diſinherite youre Queene, but to make hir heyres inheritors alſo to Englande, what greater honour can yee ſeeke vnto your Queene, than the marriage offered? what more meeter mariage than thys with the Kynges hyghneſſe of Englande? what more ſure defence in the nonage of youre Queene for the Realme of Scotlande, than to haue Englande youre patrone and garriſon. Wee ſeeke not to take from you youre lawes nor cuſtomes, but wee ſeeke to redreſſe youre oppreſſions, whiche of dyuers yee doe ſuſteyne. In the Realme of Englande, dyuers lawes and cuſtomes be according to the auntient vſage thereof. And lykewiſe, Fraunce, Normandy, and Gaſcoigne hath ſundry kynde of orders: hath all the Realmes and dominions that the Emperour now hathe, one cuſtome and one ſorte of lawes. Theſe vayne feares and fantaſies of expulſion of your nation, of changing the lawes, of making a conqueſt, be driuen into your heads, of thoſe who in deede had rather you were all conquered, ſpoyled, and ſlayne, than they would loſe any poynt of their will, of their deſire of rule, of their eſtimation, whiche they knowe in quietneſſe would bee ſeene what it were, as it were in a calme water. Nowe in this tumulte of diſorder, when the Realme is toſſed vppe and downe with waues and ſurges of battaile, famine, and other miſchiefes which the war bringeth, they thinke they cannot bee eſpyed, but looke on them you that haue wit and prudence, and conſider the ſtate of youre Queene and Realme, you will not keepe hir ſole and vnmaried,

ried, the whiche were to you greate diſhonor: if you married hir within the Realme, that cannot extinguiſhe the title whyche wee haue to the Crowne of Scotlande. And what diſſention, enuie, grudge, and malice, that ſhall breede among you, is eaſie to perceiue: you will marrie hir out of the Realme, our title remayneth, you be ſubiectes to a forayne Prince of another countrey, and of another language, and vs yee haue youre enimies, euen at youre elbowe, your ſuccours farre off from you: and bee wee not in the bowels nowe of the Realme? haue wee not a greate parte thereof, eyther in ſubiection or in amitie and loue? who ſhall come into youre Realme, but hee ſhall be mette with, and fought with, if neede be, euen of your owne nation, who bee faythfull and true to the Realme of Englande in the way of thys moſt godly vnion by mariage. And if anye forayne power, Prince or Potentate, or whoſoeuer bee youre ayder to nouriſhe ſtyll diſcorde, ſende you an armye alſo, howe ſhall they oppreſſe you, fyll youre houſes, waſte youre groundes, ſpende and conſume youre vittayle, holde you in ſubiection, and regarde you as ſlaues, whyche withoute them coulde not lyue, and will take youre Queene to beſtowe as they luſt, and ſpecially if theyr ruler or Kyng (as perchance hee maye bee) in other warres be otherwiſe occupyed, to bee a pray to vs, and a true conqueſt, then it ſhall bee too late to ſaye, wee will haue a mariage, and no conqueſt, wee wiſhe peace and amitie, wee are weerie of battayle and miſerie. The ſtubborne ouercommed, muſt ſuffer the victors pleaſure, and pertinacitie will make the victorye more inſolent, whereof you youre ſelfe haue gyuen the cauſe, if they ſende money and Captaynes, but no Souldiers: Firſte if they be Captaynes, who ruleth, and who dothe obey? who ſhall haue the honour of the enterpriſe, and if it bee well atchieued, but whether it bee well atchieued or no, whyche number is that whiche ſhall bee ſlayne? whoſe bloud ſhall bee ſhedde? theyr money peraduenture ſhall bee conſumed, and theyr commaundementes obeyed. But whoſe bodyes ſhall ſmarte for it? whoſe landes ſhall bee waſted? whoſe houſes burned: what Realme made deſolate? Remember what it is to haue a forayne power within you? a ſtrong power of youre enimies vppon you, you as it were the Camp and playne betwixte them to fyght on, and to be troden vpon, both of yͤ victor & of the ouercommed. And imagine you ſee before youre eyes youre wiues and daughters in daunger of wantonneſſe and inſolencie of the Souldyers, the proude lookes of the Captaynes and Souldiers, whome you call to helpe you, the contempte you ſhall bring your nation in, and then take heede leaſt indeede that followe which you feare, that is, that you ſhall bee by them conquered, that yee ſhall bee by them putte from youre holdes, landes, tackes, and offices, that youre lawes by them ſhall bee altered, that youre nation ſhall bee by them deſtroyed. Conſider in thys Realme, dyd not the Britaynes call in the Saxons for helpe, and by them were putte out? Where bee the Pictes, once a greate nation betwixte you and vs? howe dyd the nation of Fraunce putte out the Galles out of all France? howe gote the Turke firſte all Grecia, and now alate all Hungarie, but beeyng called in for to ayde and helpe. And dyd not the Gothes by like meanes gette all Italy, and the Lombardes one parte thereof nowe called Lombardie? what looke you for more? Needie Souldiers, and hauing theyr weapons in theyr handes, and knowing that you cannot lyue without them, what wyll not they commaunde you to doe? what wyll they not encroche vppon you? what wyll they not thinke they maye doe? and what wyll they thynke that you dare doe? thys foraine helpe is youre confuſion, that ſuccoure is youre detrimente, the victorie ſo had is your ſeruitude: what is then to bee thoughte of loſſe taken with them? the ſtraungers and forrayne Souldyers ſhall oppreſſe you within, our power and ſtrength without, and of youre owne nation, ſo many as loue quietneſſe, godlyneſſe, and wealthe of youre Realme, ſhall helpe alſo to ſcourge and afflicte you. Is it not better to compoſe and acquite all thys calamitie and trouble by marriage, to ende all ſorrowes and battayles by ſuche and ſo honorable a peace? hathe the Emperoure Spayne and Burgundye not by title of marriage? howe holdeth the Frenche Kyng Britayne nowe lately annexed to that Crowne, but by title of marriage? howe hathe all the greate Princes of the worlde happily and with quiet, made of two Kyngdomes one, of dyuers Lordſhippes one: of nations alwayes at warre wyth themſelues, or elſe in doubtfull peace, one well gouerned Kingdome, rule, and dominion, but by that godly, moſt quiet, and moſt amiable compoſition of marriage? Two meanes there is of making one rule, whereto title is pretended, and perfect agreemente betwixte two nations, eyther by force and ſuperioritie, whiche is conqueſt, or by equalitie and loue, whyche is by parentage and mariage: you hate the one, that is conqueſt, and by refuſing the other, you enforce vpon you hatred and malice. You will not haue peace, you will not haue aliance, you will not haue concorde: and conqueſt commeth vppon you, whether yee wyll or no. And yet if all things were conſidered, wee feare it wyll appeare that it were better for you to bee conquered of vs, than ſuccoured of ſtraungers, leſſe loſſe to your goodes, leſſe hurt to youre landes, leſſe diſhonour to your Realme, this nation which is one in tong, one in Countrey and birth, hauing ſo little diuerſitie to occupie the whole, than other powers come into you, neyther like in language, ne yet like in behauioure, who ſhoulde rule ouer you, and take you to bee out their ſlaues. But wee eftſoones and finally declare and proteſt vnto you, that although for the better furtherance of this godly purpoſe, of vniting the Realmes, and for the ſure defence of them whiche fauoure the mariage, we are compelled for the time to keepe holdes, and to make fortifications in your Realm: yet the kings maieſties minde and determinate pleaſure is, with our aduice and counſaile to be as before is declared, that where fauour may be ſhewed not to vſe rigour, if by conditions you will receiue this amitie offered, not to followe conqueſt, for we deſire loue, vnitie, concord, peace and equalitie. Let neither your gouernour nor your kirkemen, nor thoſe who ſo often hath falſifyed their faithe and promiſe, and by trecherie and falſehood be accuſtomed to prolonge the time, feede you forth with faire wordes, and bring you into the ſnare, from whence they cannot deliuer you. They wil peraduenture prouide for themſelues with pentions in ſome other Realme, and ſette Souldyers ſtraungers in your holdes to keepe you in ſubiection, vnder the pretence to defend them againſt vs. But who prouideth pentions for you? how are you defēded whē they be fled away? who cōquereth you when the ſtraunge Captaynes haue your holdes? when your land is waſted, and the Realme deſtroyed, and the more part kept from you? who will ſette by the marriage of the Q. to buy a title with the warre of England, to marrie the name, another mightie King holdyng the land? if wee two being made one by amitie, bee moſt able to defende vs againſt all nations, and hauing the ſea for wall, the mutuall loue for garriſon, and God for defence, ſhould make ſo noble and well agreeing Monarchie, that neyther in peace we may be aſhamed, nor in warre afrayde of any worldly or forraine power: why ſhould not you be as deſirous of yͤ ſame, and haue as much cauſe to reioyce at it as we? if this honour of ſo noble a monarchie doe not moue you to take and accept amitie, lette the griefe and the daunger of the aforenamed loſſes feare you to attempte that thing which ſhall diſpleaſe God, encreaſe warre, daunger youre Realme, deſtroy youre land, vndoe youre children, waſt your groundes, deſolate youre Countreys, and bring all Scotlande eyther to famine and miſerie, or to ſubiection and ſeruitude of another nation: we require but your promiſed Queene, your offered agreement of vnitie, the ioyning of both the nations, which God of his infinite clemencie and tender loue that hee hath declared to beare to both the nations, hathe offered vnto vs both, and in manner called vs both vnto it, whoſe calling and prouocation wee haue, and will followe to the beſt of our powers, and in his name, and with his aide, admonition, exhortation, requeſts, and Ambaſſades, not beeing able to doe it, and to finde ſtableneſſe in promiſes, wee ſhall not willing, but conſtreyned purſue the battayle, chaſtiſe the wicked and malitious, by the angrie Angelles of God the fyre and ſworde: wherefore wee require and exhorte you all, who haue loue to the Countrey, pitie of that Realme, a true heart to youre Queene and miſtreſſe, regarde of youre honoures and promiſes made by the greate Seale of Scotlande, and who fauoureth the peace, loue, vnitie, and concorde, and that moſte profytable mariage, to enter and come to vs, and declaryng youre true and godly heartes therevnto, to ayde vs in thys moſt godlye purpoſe and enterpriſe: to be witneſſes of oure doyngs we refuſe no man, Temporall nor Spirituall, Lorde ne Larde, Gentleman ne other, who will ayde this our purpoſe, and miniſh the occaſion of ſlaughter and deſtruction, to whome wee ſhall keepe the promiſes heeretofore declared, and further ſee rewarde and recompence made accordiug to the deſerte. And for a more ſure proofe and playner token of the good mynde and will whyche wee beare vnto you, that whyche neuer yet was graunted to Scotland in any league truce or peace, betwixt England and Scotlande, bycauſe yee ſhall haue proofe of the beginning of loue and amitie of both the Realmes.

The Kyngs highneſſe conſidering the multitude of them which is come to his maieſties deuotion, and of them that bee well willers and ayders of this godly enterpriſe, hath by our aduiſe and counſayle graunted, and by theſe preſentes doe graunte, that from henceforth al maner of merchauntes and other Scottiſhmen, who will enter theyr names with one of the wardens of the marches, and there profeſſe to take parte with vs in thys beforenamed godlye purpoſe, to hys owne commoditie, and to ſerue all ſuch as be of the ſame agreemente, may lawfully and withoute anye trouble and vexation, enter into anye porte, creeke or hauen of Englande, and there vſe their traffique of merchandiſe, buy & ſell, bring in the cōmodities of Scotland, & take and carrie forth the commodities of Englād, as liberally and as freely, and with the ſame & none other cuſtome or payments therefore, than Engliſhmen and the kings ſubiectes doth at theſe preſentes, myndyng further vppon the ſucceſſe heereof, to gratifie ſo the furtherers of this moſt godly enterpriſe and vnion, that all the worlde maye bee witneſſe of the great zeale and loue whyche hys hyghneſſe dothe beare towardes you and your nation. And all thys, the Kings hyghneſſe, by our aduice and counſayle, hath willed to bee declared vnto you, and gyuen in commaundement vnto vs, and all hys Lieutenants, Wardens, Rulers, and other head officers, miniſters, and ſubiects, to ſee executed and done, according to the true purporte, effect, and meaning thereof. Fare you well.

Although this admonition, and wholeſome exhortation mighte haue moued the Scottes to haue regarded their owne eſtate, yet it little auayled, as by the ſequeale it appeared, for hauing both greate promiſes made by the Frenche, and nowe conſidering therewith the hurly burlyes and tumultes that ſprang vp in Englande, they continued in theyr obſtinate purpoſes, not to yeelde vnto ſuche reaſonable motions, as had bin offered if they woulde haue ſhewed themſelues conformable thereto, and not haue ſo ſtubbornely denyed to ſubmitte themſelues to that whych of right they were bound vnto.

A Proclamation for the laying open of incloſures.

[illegible] 1501

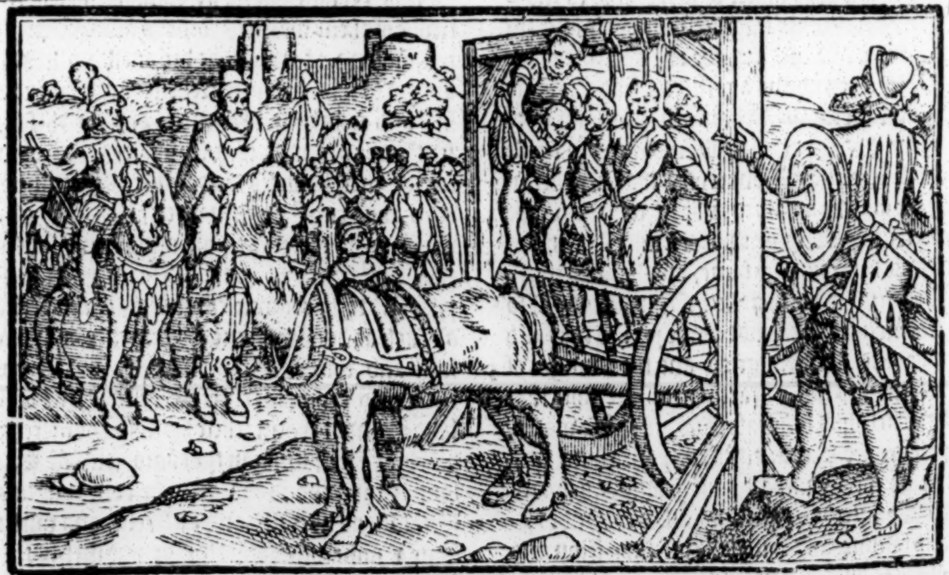
But now to let the Scottes alone for a time, we will returne to the rebellion which followed this yeare, to the whole diſappoynting of the plotte layd by the Counſell, for the preſent ſubduing of the Scottes, as it was very lyke that it ſhoulde haue ſo come to paſſe, if none other lette hadde come: ſo it was, that the Kings maieſtie, by the aduiſe hys Uncle the Lord Protector, and other of the Counſell, thought good to ſette forth a Proclamation agaynſt encloſures, and taking in of fieldes and commons, that were accuſtomed to lye open, for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling neere to ẏ ſame, who had grieuouſlye complayned of Gentlemen and others for taking from them the vſe of thoſe fieldes and commons, and had encloſed them into parkes, and ſeuerall paſtures for their priuate commodities and pleaſures, to the great hinderance and vndoyng of many a poore man.

This Proclamation tending to the benefyte and reliefe of the poore, appoynted that ſuche as hadde incloſed thoſe commons, ſhoulde vppon a payne by a day aſſigned, lay them open agayne: but howe well ſo euer the ſetters forthe of thys Proclamation meante, thinking thereby peraduenture to appeaſe the grudge of the people that found themſelues greeued with ſuche incloſures, yet verily it turned not to the wiſhed effect, but rather miniſtred occaſion of a foule and daungerous diſorder: for where as there were fewe that obeyed the commaundement, the vnaduiſed people preſuming vpõ their Proclamation, thinking they ſhoulde be borne out by them that hadde ſet it forth raſhly without order, tooke vppon them to redreſſe the matter, and aſſembling thẽſelues in vnlawfull wiſe, choſe to them Captaines and leaders, brake open the encloſures, caſt downe ditches, killed vp the Deare whiche they founde in Parkes, ſpoyled and made hauocke, after the manner of an open Rebellion.

Commo
in Som
ſetſhire,
other pl

Firſte they beganne to play theſe partes in Sommerſetſhire, Buckinghãſhire, Northamptonſhire, Kent, Eſſex and Lincolneſhire.

In Sommerſetſhire, they brake vp certayne Parkes of Sir William Herbert, and the Lorde Sturton, but Sir William Herbert aſſembling a power togither by the Kings commiſſion, ſlew and executed many of thoſe rebellious people.



In other places alſo, by the good diligence and policie vſed by the counſell, the Rebels were appeaſed and quieted: but ſhortly after the commõs of Deuonſhire and Cornewall roſe by way of Rebellion,

ebellion in Deuonſhire.

M. Foxe.

rebellion, demaunding not onely to haue encloſures layde open, and Parkes diſparked, but alſo through the inſtigation and pricking forward of certaine Popiſhe Prieſtes, ceaſed not by all ſiniſter and ſubtile meanes, firſt vnder Gods name and the Kings, and vnder colour of religion, to perſuade the people to aſſemble in routes, to chuſe Captaynes to guyde them, and finally to bruſt out in open rebellion.

he names of e captaines the rebels.

Their chiefe Captaynes were theſe, Humfrey Arundell Eſquire, gouernour of the Mount, James Roſogan, John Roſogan, John Payne, Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, and William Segar. Moreouer, of Prieſtes whiche were principall ſtirrers, and ſome of them chiefe gouernours of the Campes, and after executed, there were to the number of eyght, whoſe names we finde to be as follow, Robert Bocham, John Thompſon, Roger Barret, John Wolcock, Willyam Alſa, James Mourton, John Barrowe, Richarde Benet, beſides a multitude of other Prieſtes whiche ioyned with them.

he number the rebels Deuonſhire

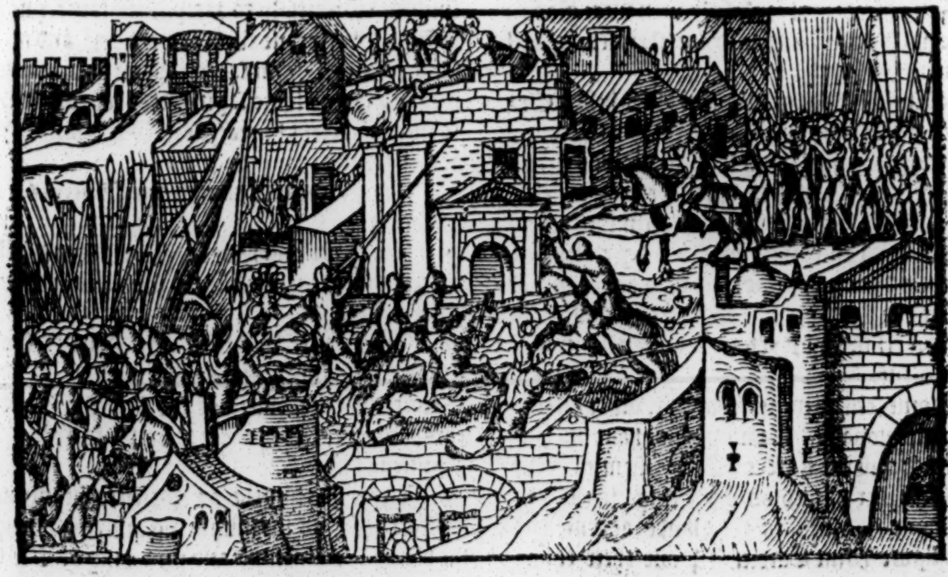
The whole companies of theſe rebels, mounted little leſſe than to the number of tenne thouſand ſtoute and valiant perſonages, able in dede if their cauſe had bene good and fauoured of the Lorde and giuer of victories, to haue wrought great feates. But being as they were, ranke and malicious traytours, the almightie God confounded their deuiſes, and brought them to their deſerued confuſion.

A ſtraunge caſe, that thoſe miſchieuous and wicked traytors coulde not be warned by the euill ſucceſſe of their diueliſh attempted outrage, in the yeare laſt paſt, at what time certaine ſeditious perſons in Cornewale, fell vpon one of the K. commiſſioners named maiſter Body, ſent thither with others for the reformation of matters in religion, in like maner as other were ſent the ſame tyme into other ſhires of the Realme, for the which murther a Prieſt being apprehended, arreygned, and condemned, was drawne into Smithfielde, and there hanged and quartered the vij. day of July, in the ſayd laſt yeare before mencioned, to wit. 1548. Other of his cōplices and aſſociates were executed and put to death in diuerſe other parts of the Realme.

Their hope in others fayled them.

But nowe touching theſe other yͤ roſe in this preſent ſūmer: At yͤ firſt they were in great hope that the other diſordered perſons, that ſtirred in other partes of the Realme, woulde haue ioyned with them, by force to haue diſappoynted and vndone that, which the Prince by law and acte of Parliament, in reformation of religion, had ordeyned and eſtabliſhed: but afterwardes perceyuing howe in moſte places ſuch miſchieuous mutinies and diueliſhe attemptes, as the Commons had begonne, partly by force, and partly by policie were appeaſed, or that their cauſe being but onely about plucking downe of incloſures, and enlarging of Commons, was deuided from theirs, ſo that eyther they woulde not, or coulde not ioyne with them in ayde of their religious quarrell, they began ſomewhat to doubt of their wicked begon enterprice, notwithſtanding, now ſithe they had gone ſo farre in the matter, they thought there was no ſhrinking back, and therfore determining to procede, they fell to newe deuiſes, as firſt afore all things to bring into their hands all ſuch places of force, welth, and defence, as might in any reſpect ſerue for their ayde and furtherance. Hereupon the ij. of July, they came before the city of Exceter, en-

Exceter beſieged.



camping about the ſame in great numbers, and vſed all wayes and meanes they coulde deuiſe howe to winne it by force, ſometimes aſſaulting it right ſharply, ſomtimes firing the gates, other whyles vndermyning the walles, and at other times, as occaſions ſerued, procuring ſkirmiſhes.

Finally, nothing was left vndone whiche the enimie coulde imagine to ſerue his purpoſe for the winning of that Citie.

And albeit there wanted not luſtie ſtomacks among the Citizens to withſtande this outwarde force of the enimie, yet in proceſſe of time, ſuch ſcarcitie of breade and vittayles increaſed, that the people waxed weary, and lothe to abyde ſuch extremitie of famine.

The great loialtie of the citizens of Excecer.

Howbeit the Magiſtrates (though it grieued them to ſee the multitude of the Citizens in ſuch diſtreſſe) yet hauing a ſpeciall regarde of their dutie towarde the Prince, and loue to the common wealth, left no wayes vnſought to quiet the people, and ſtay them in their dutifull obedience to reſiſte the enimies, ſo that comforting the people with fayre promiſes, and releeuing their neceſſities verye liberally, ſo farre as their power might extende, did in ſuch ſorte vſe the matter, that euery of them within reſolued with one generall conſent to abide the ende, in hope of ſome ſpeedie reliefe. And in the meane while, when their corne and meale was conſumed, the Gouernors of the citie cauſed branne and meale to be moulded vp in cloth, for otherwiſe it wold not ſticke togither.

Alſo they cauſed ſome excurſions to be made out of the Citie, to take and fetche into the Citie ſuche cattayle as were founde paſturing abroade neare to the walles, which being brought in, were diſtributed among the poore. To conclude, into ſuche extremitie were the miſerable Citizens brought, that albeit mannes nature can ſcarcely abide to feede vpon any vnaccuſtomed foode, yet theſe ſely men were glad to eate horſe fleſhe, and to holde themſelues well content therewith.

M. Foxe.

Whyleſt the ſiege thus remained before Exceter, the Rebels ſpoyled and robbed the countrie abroade, and laying their trayterous heads togither, they conſulted vpon certaine articles to be ſent vp to the King, but herein ſuch diuerſitie of heades and wits was among them, that for euery kinde of braine there was one maner of article: ſo that neither appeared any conſent in their diuerſitie, nor yet any conſtancie in their agreement.

Some ſeemed more tollerable, other altogither vnreaſonable. Some woulde haue no Iuſtices. Some no ſtate of Gentlemenne. The Prieſtes euer harped on one ſtring, to ring the Biſhop of Rome into Englande againe, and to hallowe home Cardinall Poole their countrieman.

After much a doe, at length a fewe articles were agreed vppon, to bee directed vnto the King, with the names of certayne of their heades ſette therevnto, the copie whereof here enſueth.

The articles of the Commens of Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſent to the King, with anſweres afterwarde following vnto the ſame.

Sacrament of Baptiſme.

FIrſt, forasmuch as man, except he be borne of water, and the holy ghoſt, cannot enter into the kingdome of God, and foraſmuche as the gates of heauen be not open without this bleſſed ſacrament of Baptiſme, therefore we will that our Curates ſhall miniſter this ſacrament at all times of neede, as well on the weeke dayes, as on the holy dayes.

Confirmatio

2 Item, we will haue our children confirmed of the Biſhop, whenſoeuer we ſhall within the Dioces reſort vnto him.

Conſecrati of the Lord bodie.

3 Item, foraſmuch as we conſtantly beleeue that after the Prieſt hath ſpoken the wordes of conſecration being at Maſſe, there celebrating and conſecrating the ſame, there is verye really the bodye and bloude of our Sauiour Jeſu Chriſt God and manne, and that no ſubſtaunce of breade and wine remayneth after, but the verye ſelfe ſame bodie that was borne of the Virgin Marie, and was giuen vpon the Croſſe for our redemption, therefore wee wyll haue Maſſe celebrated as it hath bene in times paſt, without any man communicating with the Prieſtes, for as muche as many rudely preſuming vnworthily to receyue the ſame, put no difference betweene the Lordes bodie and other kinde of meate, ſome ſaying that it is breade before and after: ſome ſaying that it is profitable to no man except he receyue it, with many other abuſed termes.

Reſeruatio of the Lord bodie conſecrated.

4 Item, we will haue in our Churches, reſeruation.

Holy bread and holy w ter.

5 Item, we will haue holye breade and holy water in the remembrance of Chriſtes precious bodie and bloude.

6 Item, wee will that oure Prieſtes ſhall ſing or ſaye with an audible voyce, Gods Seruice in the Quiere of the Pariſhe Churches, and not Gods ſeruice to be ſet forth like a Chriſtmas play.

The ſingle of Prieſts.

7 Item, foraſmuche as Prieſtes be menne dedicated to God for miniſtring and celebrating the bleſſed ſacraments, and preaching of Gods worde, wee will that they ſhall lyue chaſte

without mariage, as Saint Paule did, being the electe and choſen veſſell of God, ſaying vnto all honeſt Prieſtes, bee you followers of me.

The ſixe articles to be re-ued.

Item, we will that the vj. Articles whiche our Souereigne Lorde King Henrie the eyght, ſette forth in his latter dayes, ſhall be vſed and ſo taken as they were at that time.

Item, we pray God ſaue King Edwarde, for we be his both bodie and goodes.

The captaines appointed to go againſt the Deuonſhire rebels.

For the pacifying of theſe Rebelles, were appoynted by the King and his Counſaile, ſir John Ruſſell knight, Lorde priuie ſeale, the L. Grey of Wilton, Sir Willyam Herbert, after Earle of Penbroke, Sir John Paulet, Sir Hugh Paulet, Sir Thomas Speake, and others, with a conuenient power of men of warre both on horſebacke and foote.

Straungers.

Amongſt other, there were certaine Straungers that came with my Lorde Grey, as Captaine Germaine an Hennowyer, with a band of horſemen, moſt part Albanoyſes and Italians. Alſo Captaine Paule Baptiſt Spinola, an Italian borne of a noble houſe in Genoa, with a bande of Italian footemen.

ſeſton,

proclamatiõ

But now the Lorde priuy ſeale that was ordeyned by the King and his Counſayle, Generall of that armie, vpon his firſt approching towardes them, ſent vnto them the Kings Maieſties Proclamation, the effecte whereof was, that all ſuche perſons as were vnlawfullye aſſembled, and did not wythin three dayes nexte after the proclaiming thereof, yeelde and ſubmitte themſelues to the Lorde priuy Seale (the Kings Lieutenaunt) they ſhoulde from thenceforth bee deemed, accepted, and taken for Rebels againſt his royall perſon, and his imperiall crowne and dignitie. And further, the Kings Maieſtie, for a more terrour to the Rebelles, and the encouragement of ſuch other his louing ſubiectes, as ſhoulde helpe and ayde to apprehende anye of the ſayde Rebelles, hee by his ſayde Proclamation, graunted and gaue all the offices, fees, goodes, and poſſeſſions, which the ſayde Rebelles had at and before their apprehenſion.

This Proclamation notwithſtanding, the Rebels continued in their wicked deuiſes and traiterous purpoſes, wherevpon yet once againe the Kings maieſtie, for the auoyding of the ſhedding of Chriſtian bloude, ſent vnto them a moſt gentle and louing meſſage in writing, thereby to reduce them againe to their dutifull obedience: but all woulde not ſerue, nor auaile to moue their obſtinate mindes, to leaue off their deſperate and diueliſh enterpriſe. The meſſage was as followeth.

The Kings meſſage to the rebelles of Cornewal and Deuonſhire.

Although knowledge hath bene gyuen to vs, and our deareſt vnkle the Duke of Somerſet, Gouernour of our perſon, and Protectour of all our Realmes, Dominions, and ſubiectes, and to the reſt of our priuie Counſayle, of diuerſe aſſemblies made by you, whiche ought of dutie to be our louing ſubiectes, againſt all order of lawe, and otherwiſe than euer anye louing or kinde ſubiectes, hath attempted againſt their naturall and liege Souereygne Lorde: yet we haue thought it meete, at this verye firſte time, not to condemne and reiecte you, as wee might iuſtly doe, but to vſe you as our ſubiectes, thinking that the diuell hath not that power in you, to make you of naturall borne Engliſhmen, ſo ſodenly to become enimies to your owne natiue Countrey, of our ſubiectes, to make you traytors, or vnder pretence to relieue your ſelues, to deſtroye youre ſelues, youre wiues, children, landes, poſſeſſions, and all other commodities of this your life. This we ſay, that we truſt, that although ye be ignorantly ſeduced; ye will not be vppon knowledge, obſtinate. And though ſome amongſt you (as euer there is ſome Cockle amongſt good corne) forget God, neglecte their Prince, eſteeme not the ſtate of the Realme, but as careleſſe deſperate men delite in ſedicion, tumult, and warres: yet neuertheleſſe the greater part of you will heare the voyce of vs your naturall Prince, and will by wiſedome and counſell bee warned, and ceaſe your euilles in the beginning, whoſe endes will be euen by God almighties order, your owne deſtruction. Wherefore as to you our ſubiectes by ignoraunce ſeduced, we ſpeake and be content to vſe our Princely authoritie like a father to his Children, to admoniſhe you of your faultes, not to puniſhe them, to putte you in remembraunce of your dueties, not to auenge your forgetfulneſſe.

Diſordor in ſubiectes.

Firſt, your diſorder to ryſe in multitudes, to aſſemble yourſelues againſt our other louing ſubiectes, to arraye your ſelues to the warre, who amongſt you all can aunſwere for the ſame to almightie God, charging you to obeye vs in all things? Or howe can anye Englyſhe good hearte aunſwere vs, oure lawes, and the reſt of oure verye louyng and faythfull ſubiectes, who in deede by their obedience, make our honour, eſtate, and degree.

Abuſing of the Kings name,

Yee vſe oure name in youre writings, and abuſe the ſame againſt our ſelfe, what iniurie herein doe you vs, to call thoſe which loue vs, to your euill purpoſes, by the authoritie of our name? God hath made vs your King by his ordinauce and prouidence, by our bloude and inheritaunce, by lawfull ſucceſſion, and our Coronation: but not to this ende, as you vſe our name. Wee are your moſte naturall Souereine Lorde and King, Edwarde the ſixth, to rule you, to preſerue you, to ſaue you from all your outwarde enimies, to ſee oure lawes well miniſtred, euerye manne to haue his owne, to ſuppreſſe diſordered people, to correct traitours, theeues, pyrates, robbers, and ſuch lyke, yea, to keepe our Realmes from other Princes, from the malice of the Scottes, of Frenchmenne, of the Biſhoppe of Rome. Thus good ſubiectes, our name is written, thus it is honoured and obeyed, this maieſtie it hathe by Gods ordinaunce, not by mannes. So that of this your offence we cannot wryte to muche. And yet doubt not but this is ynoughe from a Prince to all reaſonable people, from a royall King to all kynde hearted and louyng ſubiectes, from the puiſſant King of Englande, to euery naturall Engliſhe man.

False cauſes.

Your pretence, whiche you ſaye, moueth you to doe thus, and wherewith you ſeeke to excuſe this diſorder, we aſſure you is either falſe, or ſo vayne, that we doubt not, that after that ye ſhall hereby vnderſtande the truth thereof, ye will all with one voyce acknowledge your ſelues ignorantly ledde, and by errour ſeduced. And if there be any one that will not, then aſſure you the ſame bee ranke traytours, enimies of oure Crowne, ſedicious people, heretikes, Papiſtes, or ſuch as care not what cauſe they haue to prouoke an inſurrection, ſo they maye doe it, nor in deede can waxe ſo riche with their owne labours, and with peace, as they can doe with ſpoyles, with warres, with robberies, and ſuche lyke, yea, with the ſpoyle of your owne goodes, with the liuing of your labours, the ſweate of your bodies, the foode of youre owne houſholdes, wyues, and Children: Suche they bee, as for a tyme, vſe pleaſaunt perſuaſions to you, and in the ende will cutte your throates for youre owne goodes.

Baptiſme.

You be borne in hande, that youre children, though neceſſitie chaunce, ſhall not be chriſtened but vpon the holy dayes: howe falſe this is, learne you of vs. Our booke whiche we haue ſet forth by the free conſent of our whole Parliament, in the Engliſhe tongue, teacheth you the contrarie, euen in the firſt leafe, yea, the firſt ſide of the firſt leafe of that parte whiche intreateth of Baptiſme. Good ſubiectes (for to other we ſpeake not) looke and be not deceyued. They whiche haue put this falſe opinion into your eares, they meane not the chriſtening of Children, but the deſtruction of you our chriſtened ſubiectes. Be this knowne vnto you, that our honour is ſo muche, that wee maye not bee founde faultie of one iote or worde: Proue it, if by our lawes you maye not chriſten your children when yee be diſpoſed, vpon neceſſitie, euery daye or houre in the weeke, then might you be offended: but ſeeing you maye doe it, howe can you beleeue them that teach you the contrarie? What thinke you they meane in the reſt, whiche moue you to breake your obedience againſt vs, your King, and Souereygne, vpon theſe ſo falſe tales and perſuaſions in ſo euident a matter? Therefore you all whiche will acknowledge vs your Souereigne Lorde, and whiche will heare the voyce of vs your King, maye eaſilye perceyue howe you bee deceyued, and howe ſubtillye traytours and Papiſtes, with their falſehoode ſeeke to atchieue and bring their purpoſe to paſſe with your helpe: Euery traytour will be gladde to diſſemble his treaſon, and feede it ſecretelye, euery Papiſt his Poperie, and nouriſhe it inwardly, and in the ende make you our ſubiectes partakers of Treaſon and Poperie, which in the beginning was pretended to bee a common weale and holyneſſe.

Sacrament of the bodie. &c.

And howe are you ſeduced by them, whiche put in youre heades, the bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſtes bodie, ſhoulde not differ from other common breade? If our lawes, Proclamations, and Statutes be all to the contrarie, why ſhall anye priuate man perſuade you againſt them? Wee doe our ſelfe in our owne heart, our Counſayle in all their profeſſion, our lawes and Statutes in all purpoſes, our good Subiectes in all our doings moſt highlye eſteeme that Sacrament, and vſe the Communion thereof to our moſte comforte. Wee make ſo muche difference thereof from other common breade, that wee thinke no profite of other breade, but to maintayne our bodies: but this bleſſed breade wee take to bee the verye foode of our ſoules to euerlaſting life. Howe thinke you, good ſubiectes, ſhall not we being your Prince, your Lorde, your King by Gods appoyntment, with truth more preuayle, than certaine euill perſons with open falſhoode? Shall anye ſedicious perſon perſuade you that the Sacrament is deſpiſed, whiche is by oure lawes, by our ſelfe, by our Counſayle, and by all our good ſubiectes eſteemed, vſed, participated, and dailye receyued? If euer ye were ſeduced, if euer deceiued, if euer traitors were beleeued, if euer Papiſtes poyſoned good ſubiectes, it is nowe. It is not the chriſtening of children, nor the reuerence of Sacrament, not the health of your ſoules that they ſhoote at, good ſubiects: It is ſedition: It is high treaſon, it is youre deſtruction they ſeeke. Howe craftilye, howe pittouſlye, howe cunninglye ſoeuer they doe it, wyth one rule, iudge yee the end which of force muſt come of your purpoſes.

Diſobedience to a king, is diſobedience to almightie God.

Almightie God forbiddeth vpon payne of euerlaſting damnation, diſobedience to vs your King, and in his place we rule in earth. If wee ſhoulde be ſlowe, woulde God erre? If your offence be towards God, thinke you it is pardoned without repentaunce? Is Gods iudgement mutable? Your payne is damnation, your Iudge is incorruptible, your fault is moſt euident.

Likewiſe are ye euill informed in diuerſe other Articles, as for Confirmation of your Children, for the Maſſe, for the maner of your ſeruice of Mattins and Euenſong. Whatſoeuer is therein ordered, hath bene long debated, and conſulted by many learned Biſhops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in this Realme concluded, in nothing ſo much labour and tyme ſpent of late tyme, nothing ſo fullye ended.

Seruice in the Engliſh tong.

As for the ſeruice in the Englyſhe tongue hath manifeſt reaſons for it, and yet perchance ſeemeth to you a newe ſeruice, and yet in deede is none other but the olde. The ſelfe ſame wordes in Engliſhe whiche were in Latine, ſauing a fewe things taken out, ſo fonde, that it had bene a ſhame to haue hearde them in Engliſhe, as all they can iudge which liſte to report the truth. The difference is, that we ment godlye that you our ſubiectes ſhoulde vnderſtande in Engliſhe, being our naturall Countrie tongue, that whiche was heretofore ſpoken in Latine, then ſeruing only them which vnderſtode Latine, and nowe for all you which be borne Engliſhe. Howe can this with reaſon offende any reaſonable man, that he ſhould vnderſtande what anye other ſayeth, and ſo to conſent with the ſpeaker? If the ſeruice in the Churche were good in Latine, it remayneth good in Engliſhe, for nothing is altered, but to ſpeake with knowledge, that before was ſpoken with ignoraunce, and to let you vnderſtande what is ſayde for you, to the intent ye maye further it with your owne deuotion, an alteration to the better, except knowledge bee worſe than ignoraunce. So that whoſoeuer hath moued you to miſlike this order, can giue you no reaſon, nor aunſwere yours, if ye vnderſtode it. Wherefore you our ſubiectes, remember we ſpeake to you, being ordeyned your Prince and King by almightie God, if anye wyſe we coulde aduaunce Gods honour more than we doe, we woulde doe it, and ſee that ye become ſubiectes to Gods ordinaunce. Obey vs your Prince, and learne of them whiche haue authoritie to teach you, whiche haue power to rule you, and will execute our iuſtice, if we be prouoked. Learne not of them whoſe fruites be nothing but wilfulneſſe, diſobedience, obſtinacy, and deſtruction of the Realme.

Knowledge is better than ignorance.

The Maſſe.

For the Maſſe, we aſſure you, no ſmall ſtudie nor trauaile hath bene ſpent by all the learned Clergie therein, and to auoyde all contention thereof, it is brought euen to the very vſe as Chriſt left it, as the Apoſtles vſed it, as holy fathers deliuered it: in deede ſomewhat altered from that whiche the Popes of Rome for their lucre brought to it. And althoughe you may heare the contrarie, of ſome Popiſhe and euill men, yet our Maieſtie, whiche for our honour may not be blemiſhed nor ſtayned, aſſureth you, that they deceyue you, abuſe you, and blow theſe opinions into your heads, for to furniſh their owne purpoſes.

Confirmation of children.

And ſo likewiſe iudge you of Confirmation of Children, and let them anſwere you this one queſtion. Thinke they that a chylde chriſtened is damned, bicauſe he dyeth before Biſhopping? Marke good ſubiectes, what inconuenience hereof commeth. Our doctrine therefore is founded vpon true learning, & theirs vpō ſhameleſſe errors. To conclude, beſide our gentle maner of information to you, whatſoeuer is conteyned in our booke, eyther for Baptiſme, Sacrament, Maſſe, Confirmation, and Seruice in the Churche, is by Parliament eſtabliſhed, by the whole Clergie agreed, yea by the Biſhops of the Realme deuiſed, and further by Gods worde confirmed. And howe dare you truſt, yea, howe dare you giue eare without trembling, to any ſingular perſon to diſalowe a Parliament? A ſubiect to perſuade againſt our Maieſtie, or any man of his ſingle arrogancie againſt the determination of the Biſhops, and all the Clergie, any inuented argument againſt the worde of God.

But nowe you our ſubiectes, we reſort to a greater matter of youre vnkyndeneſſe, a great vnnaturalneſſe, and ſuche an euill, that if we thought it had not bene begonne of ignoraunce, and continued by perſuaſion of certaine traytours amongſt you, which we thinke fewe in number, but in their doings buſie, we coulde not be perſuaded but to vſe our ſworde, and to doe iuſtice. And as we be ordeyned of God for to redreſſe your errours by auengement. But loue and zeale yet ouercometh our iuſt anger, but howe long that will be, God knoweth, in whoſe hande our heart is, and rather for your owne cauſes, being our chriſtened ſubiectes, we woulde ye were perſuaded than vanquiſhed, taught than ouerthrowne, quietly pacified, than rigorouſly perſecuted.

Sixe articles.

Yee require to haue the Statute of ſixe

Articles reuiued, and knowe you what yee require? Or knowe yee what caſe yee haue with the loſſe of them? There were lawes made, but quicklye repented, too bloudie they were to bee borne of our people: and yet at the firſt in deede made of ſome neceſſitie. Oh ſubiectes howe are ye trapped by euill perſons? Wee of pitie, bicauſe they were bloudie, tooke them away, and you nowe of ignoraunce will aſke them againe. You know full well that they helped vs to extende rigour, and gaue vs cauſe to drawe our ſworde verye often. And ſince our mercie moued vs to wryte our lawes with milke and equitie, howe bee yee blinded to aſke them in bloude? But leauing this maner of reaſoning, and reſorting to the truth of our authoritie, we let you wit, the ſame hath bene adnulled by Parliament with great reioyſe of our ſubiectes, and not nowe to be called in queſtion. And dareth anye of you, with the name of a ſubiect ſtande againſt an Acte of Parliament, a lawe of the Realme? What is our power if lawes ſhoulde be thus neglected? or what is your ſuretie, if lawes be not kept? Aſſure you moſt ſurely that we of no earthly thing vnder the heauen make ſuch reputation as we doe of this one, to haue our lawes obeyed, and this cauſe of God to be throughlye maintained, from the which we will neuer remoue a heares breadth, nor giue place to any creature liuing. But therein will ſpend our owne royall perſon, our crowne, treaſure, Realme, and all our ſtate, whereof we aſſure you of our high honour. For herein reſteth our honour: herein doe all Kings knowledge vs a King. And ſhall anye one of you dare breath, or think againſt our kingdome and crowne?

The authority of a Parliamēt

In the ende of this your requeſt (as we be giuen to vnderſtande) ye woulde haue them ſtand in force vntill our full age. To this we thinke, that if ye knewe what ye ſpake, ye woulde not haue vttered the motion, nor neuer giuen breath to ſuch a thought. For what thinke you of our kingdome? Be we of leſſe authoritie for our age? Be we not your King nowe as wee ſhall be? Shall ye be ſubiectes hereafter, and nowe are ye not? Haue wee not the right wee ſhall haue? If ye woulde ſuſpende and hang our doings in doubt vntill our full age, yee muſt firſt know, as a king we haue no difference of yeares, but as a naturall man and creature of God, we haue youth, and by his ſufferance ſhall haue age. Wee are your rightfull King, your liege Lorde, the ſoueraigne Prince of Englande, not by our age, but by Gods ordinance, not onelye when we ſhall bee one and twentie yeares of age, but when we were of ten yeares. We poſſeſſe our crowne, not by yeares, but by the bloude and diſcent from our father King Henrie the eyght. If it be conſidered, they which moue this matter, if they durſt vtter themſelues, woulde denie our kingdome. But our good ſubiectes knowe their Prince, and will encreaſe, not diminiſhe his honour, enlarge his power, not abate it, knowledge his kingdome, not deferre it to certaine yeares. All is one, to ſpeake againſt our crowne, and to denie our kingdome, as to require that our lawes may be broken vnto one and twentie yeares. Be wee not your crowned, annoynted, and eſtabliſhed King? Wherein be we of leſſe maieſty, of leſſe authority, or leſſe ſtate, than our progenitors Kings of this Realme? Except your vnkindneſſe, your vnnaturalneſſe will diminiſhe our eſtimation? We haue hitherto ſince the death of our Father, by the good aduiſe and counſayle of our deare and entirely beloued vnkle the Duke of Somerſet, and Gouernour and Protector, kept our eſtate, maintained our Realme, preſerued our honour, defended our people from all enimies. We haue hitherto bene feared and dreade of our enimies, yea of Princes, Kings, and nations. Yea herein we be nothing inferiour to any our Progenitours, whiche grace we acknowledge to be giuen vs from God, and howe elſe, but by good obedience, good counſayle of our Magiſtrates. By the authoritie of oure kingdome. Englande hitherto hath gained honour during our Reygne: It hath wonne of the enimie, and not loſt. It hath bene maruayled that we of ſo yong yeares, haue reigned ſo nobly, ſo royally, ſo quietly. And howe chaunceth that you our louing ſubiectes of that our countrie of Cornewall and Deuonſhire, will giue occaſion to ſlaunder this our Realme of Englande, to giue courage to the enimie, to note our Realme of the euill of rebellion, to make it a praye to oure olde enimies, to diminiſhe our honour whiche God hath giuen, our father lefte, our good vnkle and Counſayle preſerued vnto vs: What greater euill coulde yee committe, than euen nowe when our forreyne enimie in Scotlande, and vpon the ſea ſeeketh to inuade vs, to doe oure Realme diſhonour, than to ariſe in this maner againſt our lawe, to prouoke our wrathe, to aſke our vengeance, and to giue vs an occaſion to ſpende that force vppon you, which we ment to beſtowe vpon our enimies, to begynne to ſlay you with that ſworde, that we drewe forth againſt Scottes, and other enimies. To make a conqueſt of our owne people, whiche otherwiſe ſhould haue bene of the whole Realme of Scotlande.

Thus farre we haue deſcended from our high Maieſtie for loue, to conſider you in your ſimple ignorance, and haue bene content to ſende you an inſtruction like a father, who of iuſtice might haue ſent you your deſtructions like a King to rebelles. And nowe we let you know, that as you ſee our mercie abundantly, ſo if ye prouoke vs further, we ſweare to you by the liuing God, ye ſhall feele the power of the ſame God in our ſworde, which howe mightie it is, no ſubiect knoweth, how puiſſant it is, no priuate man can iudge, howe mortall it is, no Engliſhman dare thinke. But ſurely, ſurely, as your Lorde and Prince, your onely king and maiſter, we ſay to you, repent your ſelues, and take our mercie without delay, or elſe we will forthwith extende our princely power, and execute our ſharpe ſworde againſt you, as againſt infidels and Turkes, and rather aduenture oure owne royall perſon, ſtate, and power, than the ſame ſhoulde not be executed.

And if you will proue the example of our mercie, learne of certaine which lately did ariſe, as they perceiuing pretended ſome griefes, & yet acknowledging their offences, haue not only moſt humbly their pardon: but feele alſo by oure order, to whom onely all publike order apperteineth, preſent redreſſe of their griefes.

godly and
ncely ad-
onition.

In the ende, we admoniſhe you of your duties to God, whome ye ſhall aunſwere in the day of the Lorde, and of your duties towardes vs, whome ye ſhall anſwere by our order, and take our mercie whyleſt God ſo enclineth vs, leaſt when ye ſhall be conſtrayned to aſke, we ſhall be to much hardened in heart to graunt it you. And where ye ſhall heare nowe of mercie, mercie, and life ye ſhal then heare of iuſtice, iuſtice, and death. Written the viij. of July, in the thirde yeare of our reigne.

Although the Rebels receiued this Princely meſſage, and holeſome admonition from the Kings Maieſtie, yet would they not reforme themſelues, as dutifull ſubiectes ought to haue done, but ſtoode ſtill in their wicked begon rebellion, offering to trie it at the weapons poynt.

There wanted not Prieſtes and other buſie bodies among them, ſuche as by all wayes and meanes poſſible, ſought to kindle the coles of malice and hatred betwixt the King and his ſubiectes, which as the maner is among all the like wicked diſpoſed people, contriued to rayſe and ſtrewe abroade falſe forged tales, and feyned rumours, giuing it oute, that the people ſhoulde be conſtrayned to pay a ratable taſke for their ſheepe and cattayle, and an exciſe for euery thing that they ſhoulde eate or drynke. Theſe and ſuch other ſlaunderous brutes were ſpredde abroade by thoſe children of Beliall, whereby the cankred myndes of the Rebelles, might the more be hardened and made ſtiffe from plying vnto any reſonable perſuaſion, that might be made to moue them to returne vnto their dutifull obedience, as by the lawes both of God and man they were bounden.

alſe rumors.

Herevpon when no hope was left to procure them by any quiet meanes to laye downe armes, the Lorde priuie ſeale, and the Lorde Grey, with their forces, although not comparable with the rebels in number, about the latter ende of Julye ſet vpon them, and by great manhoode put them from their grounde, notwithſtanding they fought verye ſtoutlye, and gaue it not ouer for a little: and although they were thus driuen to giue place at this firſt onſet, yet they got togither againe, and aboade a newe charge, defending their grounde, and doing what they coulde to beate backe and repulſe thoſe that came to aſſayle them. But neuertheleſſe through the power of the almightie God fauouring the rightfull cauſe, the Rebels were diſtreſſed, and followed in chaſe with great ſlaughter for the ſpace of two miles. This was about the beginning of Auguſt.

The Rebels put from their grounde.

Their chiefe Captaynes, to wit, Humfrey Arundell, Winſlande, Holmes, and Burie, were taken and brought vp to London.

M. Foxe.

The captaines of the rebels, taken.

There were taken alſo other of their Captaines, as Thomas Underhill, John Soleman, W. Segar, Tempſon, & Barret, whiche two laſt were Prieſts. Alſo Boyer and Henrie Lee, two Maiors, all the which were executed in one place or other, as they had well deſerued. The ſaide Boyer being Maior of Bodmin in Cornewall, as Grafton reporteth, had bene a buſie felowe among the rebels, to ſet them forward in miſchief, howbeit ſome that loued him, ſought to excuſe him, as if he had bene forced hereto againſt his will by the rebels, who wold haue killed him, and brent his houſe, if he had not conſented to thẽ. But howſoeuer it was, ſir Anthony Kingſton ẏ was Prouoſt Marſhal in ẏ kings armie vnder ẏ L. priuie ſeale, wrote his letter vnto the ſaid Maior, ſignifying to him, ẏ he and other with him, woulde come and dine with him ſuch a day. The Maior ſeeming to be glad therof, made the beſt purueyance he could, to receiue them, & at the time apointed, ſir Anthony Kingſton came with his cõpanie, & were right hartily welcomed of the Maior: but before they ſate downe to dinner, calling the Maior aſide, he told him ẏ there muſt be executiõ done in that town, & therfore willed him that a paire of gallowes might be framed & ſet vp wͭ ſpeede, ſo ẏ they might be ready by that time that they ſhould make an end of dinner. The Maior with all diligence cauſed ẏ ſame to be done, ſo that when dinner was ended, ſir Anthonie calling ẏ Maior to him, & aſking him whether ẏ gallowes

Sir Anthonie Kingſton Prouoſt marſhall.

were ſet vp accordinglye as he had willed, the Maior aunſwered, that they were readye. Wherewith ſir Anthonie taking the Maior by the hande, deſired him to bring him to the place where they ſtoode, and comming thither and beholding them, he ſayd to the Maior, thinke you maſter Maior, yͭ they be ſtrong ynough? Yea ſir, quoth he, that they are. Well then ſayde ſir Anthonie, get you euen vp vnto them, for they are prouided for you. The Maior greatly abaſhed herewith, ſayd, I truſt you meane no ſuch thing to me. Sir ſayde he, there is no remedie, ye haue bene a buſie rebell, and therefore this is appointed for your rewarde, and ſo without reſpite or ſtay there was the Maior hanged.

The Maior of Bodmin hanged.

The ſame time, and neare to the ſame place dwelled a Miller that had bene a great doer in that rebellion, for whome alſo ſir Anthonie Kingſton ſought: but the Myller being thereof warned, called a good tall fellowe that he had to his ſeruant, and ſayde vnto him, I haue buſineſſe to go from home, if any therefore come to aſke for me, ſay that thou art the owner of the Myll and the man for whom they ſhall ſo aſke, and that thou haſt kept this Mill for the ſpace of three yeares, but in no wiſe name me. The ſeruant promiſed his maiſter ſo to doe, and ſhortly after commeth ſir Anthonie Kingſton to the Myllers houſe, and calleth for the Miller, the ſeruant comming forth, aunſwered that he was the Miller. How long, quoth ſir Anthonie, haſt thou kept this Mill? He anſwered three yeares. Well then ſayd he, come on, thou muſt go with me, and cauſed his men to laye hands on him, and to bring him to the next tree, ſaying to him, thou haſt bene a buſie knaue, and therefore here ſhalt thou hang. Then cried the felowe out, and ſayde that he was not the Miller, but the Millers man. Well then, ſayde ſir Anthonie, thou art a falſe knaue to be in two tales, therefore ſaid he, hang him vp, and ſo incontinentlye hanged he was in deede.

After he was deade, one that was preſent, tolde ſir Anthonie, ſurelye ſir this was but the Myllers man. What then, ſayde he, coulde he euer haue done his maiſter better ſeruice than to hang for him?

Manye other were executed by order of the Martiall lawe, and a great part of the countrie abandoned to the ſpoyle of the ſouldiers, who were not ſlouthfull to gleane what they coulde finde for the time their libertie laſted.

Foxe.

About the ſame time that this rebellion began in the Weſt, the like diſordered hurles were attempted in Oxfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, but they were ſpeedilye appeaſed by the Lorde Grey of Wilton, who comming downe that way to ioyne with the Lorde priuie ſeale, chaſed the rebels to their houſes, of whome two hundreth were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders to him deliuered, whereof certaine afterwards were executed.

Common rebellion.

Moreouer, in diuerſe other partes of the Realme, namely in the South and Eaſt parts, did the people, as before ye haue hearde, aſſemble themſelues in rebellious maner, committing many foule diſorders: but yet by good policie and holeſome perſuaſions they were appeaſed, except in Norffolke, where after there was a rumour ſpred, that the Commons in Kent had throwne downe the ditches and hedges, wherewith certayne paſture groundes were incloſed, and had layde the ſame open, diuerſe ſeditious perſons and buſie fellowes began to complayne that the like had not bene done in Norffolke, and ceaſed not to practiſe howe to rayſe the people to an open rebellion, meaning not onely to laye open Parkes and incloſures, but to attempt other reformations, as they termed them, to the great daunger of ouerthrowing the whole ſtate of the common welth. They chiefly declared a ſpitefull rancour and hatred conceyued againſt gentlemen, whome they maliciouſly accuſed of inordinate couetouſneſſe, pryde, rapine, extortion, and oppreſſion, practiſed againſt their tenants, and other, for the whiche they accounted them worthie of all puniſhment.

Norfolke.

The beginning of the rebellion in Norffolke.

Herevpon diuerſe of them, namely the inhabitants of Atilborough, and other of their neighbors, conceyuing no ſmall diſpleaſure, for that one Greene of Wilby, had taken in, a percell of the common paſture, as was ſuppoſed, belonging to the towne of Atilborough, and adioyning to the common paſture of Harſham, riotouſlye aſſembled togither, and threwe downe certaine newe diches made by the ſayde Greene, to incloſe in the ſayde percell of commons.

This was done before Midſommer, and ſo it reſted till the vj. of Iuly, at which time there ſhould be a publike play kept at Wimondham, a towne diſtant from Norwich vj. myles, whiche playe had bene accuſtomed yearely to be kept in that town, continuing for the ſpace of one night and one day at the leaſt. Wherevpon the wicked contriuers of this vnhappie rebellion, tooke occaſion, by the aſſembling of ſuch numbers of people as reſorted thither to ſee that playe, to enter further into their wicked enterpriſe, and vppon conference had, they immediately aſſembled at Morley, a mile from Wimondham, & there they caſt downe certaine diches of maiſter Hubbords on the Tueſday, and that night they repayred to Wimondham againe, where they practiſed the like feates. But as yet they tooke no mans goods by violence.

Iohn Flowe dew.

Herevpon one Iohn Flowerdew of Hither-ſet Gentleman, finding himſelfe grieued wyth the caſting downe of ſome diches, came vnto ſome of the Rebels, & gaue to them fortie pence to caſt downe the fences of an incloſure belonging to Robert Ket, *alias* Knight, a Tanner of Wymondham (which paſture lyeth neare vnto the faire Wounge, at Wymondham aforeſayde) which they did: and that night conſulting togither, the next morning they tooke their iourney to Hetherſet, by the procurement of the ſayde Robert Ket, in reuenge of the diſpleaſure which he had conceyued againſt the ſaid Flowerdew, and ſet them in hande to plucke vp and caſt downe the hedges and diches wherwith certaine paſture groundes belonging to the ſaide Flowerdew were incloſed.

Robert Ket.

Ket choſen to the captaine of the rebels.

Here was ſomewhat a do, for maiſter Flowerdew did what he coulde to haue cauſ[illegible] them to deſiſt from that attempt, inſomuch that manye ſharpe wordes paſſed betwixt Ket and the ſayd maiſter Flowerdew: but Ket being a man hardie and forwarde to any deſperate attempt that ſhoulde be taken in hande, was ſtreight entred into ſuch eſtimation with the Commons, thus aſſembled togither in rebellious wiſe, that his will was accompliſhed, and ſo thoſe hedges and diches belonging to the paſture goundes of maiſter Flowerdew were thrown downe and made playne.

Hereupon was Ket choſen to be their Captaine and Ringleader, who being reſolued to ſet all on ſixe and ſeauen, willed them to be of good comfort, and to followe him in defence of their common libertie, being readye in the common wealthes cauſe, to hazarde both life and goodes.

Herewith they paſſed the water betwyxte Cringleforde and Eyton, and comming to Bowthorpe, caſt downe certaine hedges and diches in that place, and their number being nowe greatlye encreaſed, they encamped there that night.

Here ſir Edmōd Windam knight, being high ſherife of Norffolk & Suffolk, came & prolaimed them rebels, commaunding them to departe in the Kings Maieſties name, with which proclamation they were greatly offended, and attempted to haue got him into their hands: but he being well horſed, valiantly brake through them that had compaſſed him in, howbeit he eſcaped frō them, and got into Norwich, being not paſt a myle off.

The ſame night there came a great number of lewde people vnto them, as well out of the citie of Norwiche, as out of the countrie, wyth weapon, armor, and artillerie.

The citizens of Norwich.

The day before that Ket came to this place, a great number of the meaner ſort of the Citizens of Norwiche had throwne downe a quickſette hedge, and filled vp the diches, wherewith the foreſayde Commons were, on the one ſide incloſed, to keepe in the cattayle of the Citizens that had the ſame going before their common Neatherde, and ſo that fence which by good and prouident aduiſe of their forefathers, had bene rayſed and made for the common profite of the whole Citie, was thus by a ſorte of lewde perſons defaced and caſt down at that preſent. And vnneth had they throwne downe the dich in the vpper ende of this paſture, but that a companie of euill diſpoſed perſons ſtale out of the Citie, and got them to Kets campe.

Thomas Cod.

The Maior of the Citie named Thomas Codde, aduertiſed hereof, doubting what might followe of this miſchieuous begonne rebellion, thought good to trie if he might perſuade the rebels to giue ouer their trayterous enterpriſes, and therefore taking certayne of the Aldermenne with him, he goeth to Kets campe, vſing what perſuaſions he coulde to reduce them vnto their ductifull obedience, and to departe home to their houſes. But his trauaile was in vaine, and therfore returned backe to the Citie without hope to doe any good with that vnruly route.

After whoſe departure, they conſidering in what daunger they ſtoode to be ſurpriſed, if they ſhoulde ſcatter abroade in ſuch ſort, as till then they had done, ſeeking to waſte and ſpoyle the Countrie about them, without keeping togither in anye warrelike order, thought it ſtoode moſte with their ſuretie to drawe into one place, and to fortifie the ſame for their further ſtrength, and vppon this reſolution, they determine to goe with all ſpeede vnto Mouſeholde, a place as they tooke it, mete for their purpoſe, and therfore ſent to the Maior of Norwiche, requeſting him of licence to paſſe through the Citie, bicauſe it was their neareſt way, promiſing not to offer any iniurie or violence to anye perſon, but quietlye to marche through the Citie vnto their place appoynted: but the Maior did not only denie them paſſage, but alſo with ſharpe and bitter ſpeach reprouing their rebellious doings, told them what woulde followe thereof, if they gaue not ouer in time from further proceeding in ſuche wycked attempts.

The rebels requeſt licence to paſſe thorowe Norwich.

Sir Roger Woodhouſe.

The next daye being Thurſdaye, ſir Roger Woodhouſe, with ſeauen or eyght of his houſeholde ſeruauntes, came to them, bringing with him two cartes laden with Beare, and one cart laden with other vittualles, for a recompence whereof, he was ſtripped out of his apparell, had his horſes taken from him, and whatſoeuer elſe he had, the Rebels accounting the ſame a good pray. He himſelfe was cruelly tugged, and caſt into a diche of one Mores of nether Arlcham by Heyleſdon bridge, where the ſame daye the Rebels

Mont Surrey.

Mouſehol.

bels being diſappointed of their purpoſe, to paſſe through Norwich, found meanes to paſſe, and coming to maiſter Corbets houſe of Sprowſton, intended to haue brent the ſame houſe, but yet being perſuaded to ſpare it from fire, they ſpoyled his goodes, defaced a Doue houſe of his, whiche had bene a Chappell, and afterwardes got them to Mouſeholde, and coming to Saint Leonardes hill, on which the Earle of Surrey had built a right ſtately houſe called Mont Surrey, they enkennelled themſelues there on the ſame hill, and in the woodes adioyning that lie on the Weſt and South ſide of the ſame hil, as the commons or paſture called Mouſehold heath lyeth on the Eaſt ſide, which conteyneth foure or fiue miles in length, and three or foure in bredth.

They put ſir Roger Woodhouſe and other priſoners, whiche they had caught, in ſtreyte warde within the foreſaid houſe of Mont Surrey, on which they ſeazed, and ſpoyled whatſoeuer they founde within it.

In the meane time, the Maior of Norwich taking aduiſe with his brethren the Aldermen, what was beſt to doe in this caſe, whether preſentlye to iſſue forth, and diſtreſſe the Rebelles nowe in the beginning, leaſt time might giue them meane to increaſe in power: or rather to ſtaye, till they had aduertiſed the Counſell of the whole matter, in the ende they agreed that this laſt aduiſe was moſte ſureſt, and ſo they diſpatched a Poſte with all ſpeede to the Courte.

Riſing chaſe.

Watton.

Beſide this great Campe, as they termed it, at Mouſeholde, there was a leſſer at Ryſing chaſe neare to Linne: but the Rebels there, by yͤ good diligence and circumſpect policy of the Iuſtices and Gentlemen of thoſe parts, were ſpeedilye repreſſed, and driuen from thence. Notwithſtanding afterwardes they aſſembled togither at Watton, and there remayned about a fortnight, ſtopping the paſſages alſo at Thetfort, and Brandon ferrie, within nine myles of the ſayde Watton, and at length came and ioined themſelues with theſe other at Mouſehold, by appointment of their generall Captaine, as they tooke him, the foreſaide Robert Ket.

ounterfeyt eligion.

Moreouer, there came flocking from Suffolke and other partes, a great multitude of lewde diſpoſed perſons, rayſed by firing of beacons, and ringing of belles. Alſo a number of raſcals and naughtie lewde perſons, ſtale out of the Citie of Norwich, and went to the campe. And thus being gotte togither in great multitude, they added one wickedneſſe to an other: for to cloake their malicious purpoſe, with a counterfeyt ſhewe of holyneſſe, they cauſe one Conyers Vicar of Saint Martins in Norwich, to ſaye ſeruice morning and euening, to praye to God for proſperous ſpeede in that their vngodly enterpriſe.

Moreouer, they go about to ioyne to their cauſe, diuerſe honeſt men and right commendable for religion, doctrine, vertue, and innocencie of life, amongeſt whome were Robert Watſon a preacher, Thomas Codde Maior of Norwich, and Thomas Aldriche of Mangreene hall. Theſe three, although ſore againſt their willes, were conſtrayned to bee preſent with them in all matters of Counſell, and to take vpon them (as aſſociates with Captaine Ket) the adminiſtratiõ and order of euery thing, whiche happened well for manye, for when eyther Kette himſelfe, or any other of the Captaines, throughe ſetting on of the outragious multitude, purpoſed any miſchiefe (as often it came to paſſe) in one place or other, through their graue aduiſe, and approued induſtrie, their furie was ſundrie times ſtaide and calmed. Although Ket bent to all vngraciouſneſſe, woulde diuerſe times grant forth cõmiſſious, abuſing now and then the names of honeſt men thereby, appointing his vnthriftie mates to fetch in vittayles to furniſh their camp withall. The tenor of one of the which commiſſions here enſueth.

The forme of a warrant graunted out by the rebels to take vp vittailes.

We the Kings frendes and Deputies, doe graunt licence to all men, to prouyde and bring into the Campe at Mouſeholde, all maner of cattaile, and prouiſion of vittayles, in what place ſoeuer they may finde the ſame, ſo that no violence or iniurie be done to any honeſt or poore man, commaunding all perſons as they tender the Kings honour and royall Maieſtie, and the reliefe of the Common welth, to be obedient to vs the gouernours, and to thoſe whoſe names enſue. Signed *ROBERT KET.*

Gentlemen impriſoned.

Then followed in order a long liſt of names, for the number of the gouernors was great, as they that beſide the chiefe Captaines had choſen out of euery hundred two, and there were xxvj. hundreths. By vertue of ſuch cõmiſſions, many that were of good worſhip and credite in the coũtrie, whome the Rebelles in their rage had condemned, were fetched from their houſes, and other places where they might be founde, and being brought to the Campe, were committed to priſon.

Alſo the diches and hedges wherewith the cõmons abrode in the countrie were incloſed, were throwne downe, and many were warned and called forth from ſundrie partes, to come and take part with thẽ in theſe tumultuous vprores: and all theſe things were done, the Maior, maiſter Watſon, and maiſter Aldrich, not only holding their peace and winking thereat, but alſo ſometime after a maner giuing their conſent to the ſame. For to haue reſiſted them had bene but folly, and the way to haue put themſelues in daunger of deſtruction, and their countrie too.

The honeſt Citizens of Norwiche in this meane whyle remayned in greate perplexitie, hearing nothing from the King nor his Counſell. They therefore being vncertaine what to doe, aboade in the Citie till they might vnderſtande what order it ſhoulde pleaſe the King to take for the quieting of theſe troubles.

The cauſe why the Counſell was thus ſlack in prouiding remedie againſt the Norffolke rebels, was, for that they were buſie in quieting the troubles in the inner parts of the Realme about London, and other places, as before ye haue hearde, by meanes whereof, the power of theſe Norffolke rebelles ſtill encreaſed, ſo that there were aſſembled togither into Kettes campe, to the number of ſixteene thouſande vngracious vnthriftes, who by the aduiſe of their captaynes fortified themſelues, and made prouiſion of artillerie, powder, and other abilements, whiche they fetched out of ſhippes, Gentlemens houſes, and other places where anye was to be founde, and withall ſpoyled the countrie of all the cattayle, riches, and coyne, which they might laye handes on.

he number
the rebels.

But bicauſe many (as in ſuch caſes is euer ſeene) did prouide for themſelues, and hid that which they got, laying it vp for their own ſtore, and brought it not forth to further the common cauſe, Kette and the other gouernours (for ſo woulde they be called) thought to prouide a remedie, and by common conſent it was decreed that a place ſhoulde be appointed, where iudgements might be exerciſed, as in a Iudiciall hal. Whervpon they founde out a great olde Oke, where the ſayde Ket and yͤ other gouernours or Deputies might ſit and place thẽſelues to heare and determine ſuche quarrelling matters, as came in queſtion, afore whom ſometime wold aſſemble a great number of yͤ rebels, and exhibite complaints of ſuch diſorders as nowe and then were practiſed among them, and there they wold take order for the redreſſing of ſuch wrongs and iniuries as were attempted, ſo that ſuch greedy vagabondes as were ready to ſpoyle more than ſeemed to ſtande with the pleaſure of the ſayde Gouernors, and further than their Commiſſions woulde beare, were committed to priſon. This Oke they named The tree of Reformation.

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formation.

The Maior, maiſter Alderiche and others, whome they had receyued into the number of their gouernours, woulde oftentimes go vp into this tree, and make diuerſe pithie orations to perſuade the outragious multitude to giue ouer their riotous rapines and ſpoylings.

There were alſo certaine diuines whiche did vſe all wayes poſſible to withdrawe them from their wicked attemptes, and to reduce them to peace and quietneſſe, althoughe this was not done without daunger of their liues. Neuertheleſſe theſe in the daye time vſed to preach in the Churches, and in the night to watche with armour vpon their backes, leauing nothing vndone that might ſeeme to appertaine vnto the dutie of godly and vertuous diuines or faithfull and obedient ſubiects.

Among theſe was Doctor Mathewe Parker, afterward Archbiſhop of Canterburie, whoſe wiſedome, faythfulneſſe and integritie, was moſt apparant.

Doctor Parker.

He comming one day into the Campe with his brother Thomas Parker, that was after Maior of Norwich, founde them before the tree at Common prayer, the forremembred Coniers Vicar of Saint Martins in Norwich, ſaying the Letanie. Whervpon Doctor Parker thinking the time to ſerue for his purpoſe, goeth vp into the tree, where he maketh a ſermon, deuiding it into three ſpeciall parts: in the firſt he exhorted them to vſe with moderation thoſe vittailes which they had prouided and brought into their campe, & not riotouſly nor lauiſhly to waſt & conſume the ſame. In the ſeconde, he aduiſed them in no wiſe to ſeeke reuenge of priuate diſpleaſures, and not to chayne or keepe in prons thoſe perſons which they helde in warde, nor to take any mans life from him. Laſtly, he wiſhed that they ſhoulde haue regarde to themſelues, and leaue off their raſhe begonne enterpriſe, gyuing eare to ſuch Heraultes or other meſſengers as came from the King, and to ſhewe ſuch honour vnto his Maieſtie nowe in his yong and tender yeares, as they might enioy him hereafter, being growen vp in vertue, to their great ioy, comfort, and gladneſſe.

He preacheth to the rebels.

As he was handling this matter, with many good and effectuall reaſons, hauing the auditorie attentiue to his wordes, one lewde fellowe among the reſt, cried out and ſayde, howe long ſhall we ſuffer this hireling Doctor, who being waged by Gentlemen, is come hither with his tongue, which is ſolde and tyed to ſerue their appetite: But for all his prating wordes, let vs bridle them and bring them vnder the orders of our lawe.

Then began the multitude to ſtirre and make a noyſe, threatening the Preacher, ſome of them ſaying, it were well, that for his faire tolde tale we ſhoulde bring him downe with a miſchiefe with arrowes and Iauelings.

The rebels threaten Doctor Parker.

This ſpeache brought Doctor Parker in no ſmall feare, and the more, for that he hearde a noiſe and clattering of weapons vnder him, ſo

that

Doctor Parker conueyeth himſelfe from among the rebels.

The policie of Doctor Parker to beguile the Rebels.

that he looked for preſent death among them. But herein he was deceyued, for there was not a man that ſtoode next him within the compaſſe of the tree, would him any harme, & immediatly the foreſaid vicar of Saint Martins that executed the office of the Miniſter, began with helpe of ſome ſinging men that were preſent, the Canticle *Te deum*, wherewith the vnruly multitude ſeemed partly to quiet themſelues, which occaſion, Doctor Parker perceiuing to ſerue his turne, thought not longer to tarie amongſt them, but quietly gotte himſelfe downe from the tree, and with his brother made haſte towardes the citie, but before he came to enter into Pockthorp gate, there were of the rebels that came to him, and began to queſtion with him aboute his licence, whereby he was authoriſed to preach: but he perceyuing that there was no reaſon to be conceyued of them, ſlipt his wayes, and left his brother to argue the matter with them. Yet the next day he entring into Saint Clements Church, tooke occaſion to expounde ſomewhat oute of one of the Leſſons that was reade that day, concerning theſe wicked hurlyburlies, many of the Rebelles comming about him, but not interrupting him a whit, hearing the ende of his exhortation, although they ſeemed greatly therewith offended. But as he came out of the Church, they followed him, and tolde him that as they vnderſtoode, he had three or foure able Geldings to ſerue the king, and therefore charged him that after dinner they might be readie for them to occupie, but Doctor Parker made them no great aunſwere, but calling to him his horſekeeper, commaunded him to pluck off the ſhoes from ſome of his geldings, and to pare their houes vnto the quicke, and that he ſhoulde anoynt the other with Neruall, as if they had bene lamed with trauaile. The Rebels perceiuing this, when they ſawe the ſame geldings lad forth as it had bene to paſture, made no further buſineſſe. Wherevpon Doctor Parker ſhortly after, feyning as if he went abroade to walke two myles off from the Citie, at Crinkleforde bridge founde his horſes readye as he had appointed with his ſeruaunts, and mounting vp, tooke his iourney towardes Cambridge, with as muche ſpeede as was poſſible, eſcaping thither out of all daunger, although by the way they met with and ſawe diuerſe of the rebels playing their parts in their wonted outragious maner. Thus did Doctor Parker eſcape the handes of the wicked rebels, who deſpiſing his wholeſome admonitions, did afterwards by Gods iuſt iudgemēt proue his words to be moſt true.

But in the meane time proceeding from one miſchiefe to another, after they had practiſed to ſpoyle the Gentlemen of the countrie of their goodes, they began to attache their bodies, and by force to bring them into their campe, ſo that ſuch as eſcaped their handes, were glad to flee, and hyde themſelues in woodes and caues, where they might beſt keepe themſelues out of their aduerſaries reache.

The falſifying of the Kings commiſsions.

But to ſpeake of all the horrible practiſes by theſe vngracious people exerciſed, it woulde be to long a proceſſe. What ſhiftes they founde to cloake their doings, and that euen vnder the Kings authoritie, it is wonderfull: for whereas there were certaine Commiſſions directed vnto diuerſe Gentlemen in the Countrie, to take order for the appeaſing of theſe tumults, they getting the ſame into their handes, tooke vppon them the authoritie committed to the Gentlemen, vnto whome the ſame Commiſſions were ſent, and taking off the ſeales from the other, faſtened the ſame vnto their counterfeyt writings.

The hauocke which the rebels made.

To conclude, they grewe to ſuch vnmeaſurable diſorder, that they woulde not in manye things obey neither their Generall Captaine, nor any of their gouernors, but run headlong into all kinde of miſchiefe, and made ſuch ſpoile of vittayles which they brought out of the coūtrie adioyning vnto their Campe, that within fewe dayes they conſumed beſide a great number of Beefes, xx. thouſande Muttons, alſo Swannes, Geeſe, Hennes, Capons, Duckes, and other fowle ſo manye as they might laye handes vpon. And furthermore they ſpared not to breake into Parkes, and kill what Deare they coulde. Suche hauocke they made of all that came in their wayes, and ſuche number of ſheepe ſpecially they brought into their Campe, that a good fat weather was ſolde for a groate.

The outragious dealing againſt Gentlemen.

The woodes, groues, and trees, that were deſtroyed, I paſſe ouer, and make no mencion thereof. Here with what crueltie was ſhewed by them in fettering and manacling ſuch Gentlemen as they caught, and committed to priſon for ſome miſliking they had conceyued of them, it was a miſerable caſe to beholde. Some there were whome they brought forth, as it had bene to iudgement before the tree of Reformation, there to be tried afore the gouernours, as if they had bene guiltie of ſome heynous and grieuous crime, and when the queſtion was aſked of the commons, what ſhould be done with thoſe priſoners, they woulde crie with one voyce, hang them, hang them: And when they were aſked why they gaue ſo ſharpe iudgement of thoſe whome they neuer knewe, they woulde roundly aunſwere, that other cryed the ſame crie, and therefore they ment to giue their aſſents with other, although they coulde yeelde no reaſon, but that they were Gentlemen, and therfore not worthie to liue.

Whileſt the rebels thus rage abroade in the countrie at Hengham xj. miles from Norwich, ſir Edmond Kneuet knight, with a ſmall companie of his owne menyall ſeruauntes, ſet vpon the night watche of the rebels that were placed there and brake through, ouerthrowing diuerſe of them, and hauing ſome of his owne men alſo vnhorſed by the Rebels, and in daunger to be hewen in peeces among them, yet he recouered them, and eſcaped their handes through greate manhoode.

After whiche nightes good ſeruice, as they woulde haue it eſteemed, they repayred to their great Captaine Ket, to ſhewe their hurts receyued, and to complaine of their griefes. It was talked among them, that they woulde go to ſir Edmonde Kneuets houſe called Buckenham Caſtell, to aſſault it, and to fetche him out of it by force. But it was doubted of ſome, leaſt it were to ſtrong for them, and other feared ſharp ſtripes, if they ſhoulde attempt that exployt, being at the leaſt twelue myles from their mayne Campe, and ſo that enterpriſe went not forwarde, the moſt part thinking it beſt to ſleepe in whole ſkinnes.

rde
therton.

There was at London the ſame time, a Citizen of Norwich, one Leonarde Southerton, fledde from thence for feare of his life, whome the Counſell ſent for, to come and ſpeake with them, and being aſked what he knewe touching the ſtate of the Rebels, he declared to them from poynt to poynt the maner of all their outragious procedings: but yet that as he vnderſtoode, there were many among them that would laye aſide their armour, if they might be aſſured of the Kings pardon, and therefore if it might pleaſe the King to ſet forth a proclamation, that all ſuch as woulde depart from the Campe, and be quiet, ſhoulde haue their pardon for all that was paſt, he doubted not but that thoſe routes ſhoulde be diſperſed.

don pro-
med by
herault at
es.

His aduiſe was allowed, and thervppon was an Herault ſent with all ſpeede in companie with the ſayde Southerton, vnto Norwich, and comming into the Campe the laſt of July, and ſtanding before the Tree of Reformation, apparayled in his coate of armes, pronounced there afore all the multitude, with loude voyce, a free pardon to all that woulde departe to their homes, and laying aſide their armor, giue ouer their trayterous begonne enterpriſe.

After he had made an ende of his Proclamation, in maner all the multitude cried, God ſaue the King. And many of them falling down vpon their knees, could not forbeare with teares guſhing from their eyes, but commende the Kings great and vnſpeakable mercie thus freely offered vnto them, whiche vndoubtedly they had at that time all of them receyued, if the wicked ſpeach of ſome of the raſcall ſort, and namely the traiterous perſuaſions of that wicked caitife Ket himſelfe, had not ſtayd them from their dutifull inclinations.

But after that Ket had with loude voice declared, that Kings and Princes were accuſtomed to graunt pardons to ſuch as are offenders, and not to others, he truſted that he needed not any pardon, ſithe he had done nothing but that belonged to the dutie of a true ſubiect, and herewith he beſought them not to forſake him, but to remember their promiſe, ſithe he was readye to ſpende his life in the quarrell.

The Herault hereupon calleth him traytor, & commaunded John Petibone the ſwordbearer of Norwiche, to attache him for treaſon.

Then began a great hurly burly among the multitude, ſo that the Herault perceyuing they beganne to ſhrinke from their former purpoſe of receyuing the Kings pardon, departed from them with theſe wordes: all ye that be the kings frends, come away with me. The Maior and maiſter Alderiche, with a great number of other Gentlemenne and honeſt yeomen that were readie to obeye the Kings commaundement followed him.

The citizens fauouring the rebels.

The Maior being thus returned to the citie, cauſed the gates to be ſhut, and ſuch Gentlemen as had bene committed to priſon within the caſtell, or other places within the Citie, he cauſed to bee ſet at libertie, and with their aduiſe tooke order howe the Rebels might be kept out. But as he was buſie about ſuch matters, certaine of the Citizens that fauoured the Rebels, had receyued a great multitude of them into the citie, which put the citizens in ſuch feare, that it was thought the moſt ſuretie for the Gentlemen that had bene nowe releaſed out of priſon, to be ſhut vp againe, leaſt the Rebelles finding them abroade, ſhoulde haue murthered them. Yet after this, when the Rebelles were departed out of the Citie againe, the Maior and Aldermen fell in hande to rampire vp the gates, to plant ordinance, and to make all neceſſarie prouiſion that for them was poſſible.

At length they fell to ſhooting off their artillerie as well from the Citie as from the Campe, doing their beſt to annoy eche other. But when the Rebelles ſawe that they did little hurt to the Citie with their great ordinance lying vpon the hill, they remoued the ſame downe to the fote of the ſame hill, and from thence beganne to beate the walles. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after they made ſuite for a truce to endure for a time, that they might paſſe to and fro, through the Citie, to fetche in vittayles, whereof ſome want beganne to pinche them in the Campe.

The Maior and Aldermen flatlye denyed their requeſt, proteſting that they woulde not permit any traytours to haue paſſage through their Citie.

The Rebels ſore kindled in wrath with this aunſwere, and deniall of their ſuite, came running downe from the hil, & aſſaulting the gates, were beaten off with ſhot of arrowes and other weapons, and yet ſuch rage appeared among the Rebelles, that the boyes and yong ladds ſhewed themſelues ſo deſperate, in gathering vp the arrowes, that when they ſawe and felte the ſame ſticking in ſome part of their bodies, they woulde plucke them forth, and deliuered them to their bowe men, that they might beſtowe the ſame againe at the Citizens.

In the meane time whyleſt they were thus buſie vpon one ſide of the Citie, an alarme roſe at the defendants backes, crying that the Rebels were entred the Citie on the contrarie ſide, and ſo euery man ſhrinking awaye, and running thither to repulſe the enimie there, that part was left voyde of defendantes, where the firſt aſſault began, whereof the Rebelles being aduiſed, ruſhed into the riuer that runneth before Biſhops gate, got to the gates, and breaking them open, entred without any great reſiſtance. For all the citizens were withdrawne to their houſes, and other places where they hoped beſt to hide themſelues from the furie of their enimies.

The rebels cōuey artillerie and munition out of the city to their camp.

The Rebelles hauing thus entred the Citie by force, conueyed all the gunnes and artillerie, with other furniture of warre, out of the Citie, into their Campe.

The heraults proclamation in Norwich.

The Herault that was yet abiding in the Citie, to ſee if the Rebelles woulde before the daye prefixed, for their pardons, being not yet expired, giue ouer their wicked enterpriſe, cometh with the Maior into the market place, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people that were come forth and ſtoode about him, he eftſoones gaue commaundement in the kings name, that they ſhoulde laye armes aſide, and gette them home to their houſes, whiche to ſo manye as did, hee pronounced a generall pardon, and to the reſt, extreme puniſhment by death.

The trayterous refuſall of the rebels to accept the Kings pardon.

The Rebels that ſtoode by and hearde him, when he had once made an ende of his Proclamation, bade him get him thence with a miſchiefe, for it was not his faire offers, nor hys ſweete flattering wordes that ſhoulde beguile them, for they made no account of ſuche maner of mercie, that vnder a colour of pardon, ſhoulde cut off al their ſafetie and hope of preſeruation.

The Herault perceyuing howe obſtinatly they were bent, and ſet on all miſchiefe, and that it was impoſſible to bring them from their outragious treaſon, eyther through feare of puniſhment, or hope of pardon, departed without hauing brought that to paſſe, for which he was ſent.

Immediatly after his departure, the Rebels ſought for Leonarde Southerton, purpoſing to haue apprehended him, and committed him to priſon for accompanying the Herault thitherwardes. But he hauing knowledge of their meaning, hid himſelfe from them.

Priſoners
mitted to
warde in
Surrey.

After this, there were by Kets commaundement apprehended diuerſe perſons, as the Maior, Robert Watſon, William Rogers, John Homerſton, William Brampton, and many other, which were brought out of the citie, and committed to priſon in Mont Surrey.

Kets power increaſeth.

Ket perceyuing wel that he muſt eyther now obteyne a bloudie victorie by force againſt his countrie: or elſe to taſte ſuch an ende as his vngracious attempts did wel deſerue, got togither ſo many wicked perſons as he might procure to come vnto him from eche ſide, with great rewardes and faire promiſes, ſo that it was a ſtraunge matter to conſider what a multitude of vnthriftes and raſcals came to him vppon the ſodaine.

The Citizens of Norwiche yet ſore diſpleaſed, that their Maior being an honeſt man, and one greatlye beloued among them, ſhoulde be impriſoned, and ſo remayne in daunger of life among the Rebelles (for they threatened him ſore, and ieaſting at his name, woulde ſay one to another, let vs all come togither to morowe, for wee ſhall ſee a Coddes heade ſolde in the Campe for a penie) whervpon the Citizens fearing leaſt through the malice and rage of the Rebels, their Maior might chaunce to be made awaye among them, procured maiſter Thomas Alderiche (whoſe authoritie was great among them) to be a meane for his deliuerance, who comming to Katte, with ſharpe and bitter wordes reproued him for his cruell dealing, by impriſoning ſo honeſt a man as the Maior was, & withal commaunded him to releaſe him, whiche eyther for ſhame, or rather throughe feare of a guiltie conſcience that pricked him, he cauſed incontinently to be done, who therevpon might nowe and then go and come at his pleaſure to and fro the Citie, but bicauſe hee coulde not ſtill remaine in the Citie, but was conſtreyned to continue for the moſt part in the Campe, he appointed Auguſtine Stewarde to bee his Deputie, who with the aſſiſtaunce of

The Maior
Norwich
at libertie.

Auguſtine Stewarde.

Henrie Bacon, and John Atkinſon ſherifes, gouerned the Citie right orderlye, and kept the moſt part of the Citizens in due obeyſance.

The Counſell aduertiſed nowe vppon the Heraultes returne, that there was no waye to reduce theſe Norffolke rebels vnto quiet, otherwiſe than by force, appoynted the Marques of Northampton with fiftene hundred horſemen, to go downe vnto Norwiche, to ſubdue thoſe ſtubborne traytors that ſo vndutifullye refuſed the kings mercifull pardon, freely offered by his officer at armes and other.

Lorde
rques of
rthampton
into Nor
h to re-
e the
s.

There went with the Lorde Marques, diuerſe honourable and worſhipfull perſonages, as the Lorde Sheffelde, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthonie Dennie, Sir Henrie Parker, Sir Richarde Southwell, Sir Rafe Sadler, Sir John Clere, Sir Rafe Rowlet, Sir Richarde Lee, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Paſton, Sir Henrie Bedingfielde, Sir John Sulyarde, Sir Willyam Walgraue, Sir John Cuttes, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, Knightes, togither with a great manye of other Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen, and a ſmall band of Italians, vnder the leading of a Captaine named Malateſta.

wich
noned,

The Lorde Marques being approched within a myle of Norwiche, ſent Sir Gilbert Dethicke knight, nowe Garter, then Norrey, King at armes, vnto the Citie, to ſommon them within to yeelde it into his handes, or vpon refuſall to proclayme war againſt them.

Herevpon Auguſtine Stewarde the Maiors Deputie, ſent to the Maior that was in the Campe with Kette, aduertiſing him what meſſage he had receyued from the Marques.

The Maior ſent worde againe that nothing was more grieuous vnto him, than to ſee into what miſerie the Citie and Countrie about were brought, by the rage of theſe commotions, and declaring in what caſe he ſtoode, being kept by force among the rebels, where as otherwiſe he would according to his dutie, haue come to his honour. But as for the Citie, he had committed the gouernance vnto Auguſtine Stewarde, who ſhoulde be readie to ſurrender it into his Lordſhips hands, and that if Kette woulde giue him leaue, he woulde come himſelfe to his honor, ſubmitting all things wholy to his Lordſhips order and diſpoſition.

This meſſage being brought backe by the ſayde Norrey, Auguſtine Stewarde the Maiors Deputie, with the Sherifes, and a greate number of the Citizens, came to the Lorde Marques his Campe, and deliuered vp the Sworde to his Lordſhippe, declaring howe the Maior himſelfe woulde gladly haue come, if he coulde haue got from the rebelles, and that although a great route of the lewde Citizens were partakers with the rebels; yet a number of the ſubſtantiall and honeſt Citizens woulde neuer conſent to their wicked doings, but were readye to receyue his Lordſhip into their Citie.

Sir Richarde Southwell.

The Lorde Marques giuing good wordes vnto the Citizens, and willing them to bee of good comfort, ſithe hee truſted to appeaſe theſe troubles verye ſhortlye, deliuered the ſworde vnto Sir Richarde Southwell, who bare it before the Lorde Marques as hee paſſed forth towardes the Citie, entring the ſame by Saint Stephens gate.

And incontinently was proclamation made that they ſhould all reſort into the market place, where they conſulted togither howe they might beſt defende the Citie againſt the enimies, and to repreſſe their furie.

Herevpon was order giuen for the placing of watch and warde about the gates and wals, as might ſeeme expedient.

The Lorde Marques ſupped that night and lodged in the Maiors Deputies houſe, but his Lordſhippe as well as other kepte their armour on their backes all that night, for doubt of ſome ſodeyne aſſault to be made againſt the Citie by the rebels.

The ſtrangers offer ſkirmiſh to the rebels.

Here it chaunced that the Straungers, eyther by appointment or otherwiſe, went forth, and offered ſkirmiſhe to the rebels vpon Magdalen hill.

The Rebelles came forth with their horſemen: but it ſeemed that they were better practiſed to fetch in booties, than to make their manege or Carete, and therefore not able to matche the Straungers, whiche being perceyued of their fellowes that were footemen, they putte forth their archers before their horſemen, and ſuche numbers herewith came ſwarming forth of their Campe, meaning to compaſſe in thoſe Straungers, that they perceyuing the maner and purpoſe of the enimies, caſt themſelues in a Ring, and retired backe into the Citie againe.

An Italian hanged.

But they left one of their companie behinde them, a Gentleman that was an Italian, who more valiantly than warily ventured to farre among the enimies, & through euill happe being ouerthrowne beſide his horſe, he was enuironed about with a great multitude of thoſe Rebelles, that tooke him priſoner, and like vyle wretches ſpoyling him of his armour and apparell, hanged him ouer the walles of Mont Surrey. Which acte well ſhewed what curteſie myght be looked for, at ſuche cruell traytours handes, that woulde thus vnmercifully put ſuch a Gentleman

man and worthie ſouldier to death, for whoſe raunſome, if they woulde haue demaunded it, they might haue had no ſmall portion of money to haue ſatiſfied their greedie myndes: but it ſeemed that their beaſtlye crueltie had bereft them the remembraunce of all honeſt conſideration and dutifull humanitie.

The Marques of Northampton cauſing (as before ye haue hearde) diligent watch to be kept vpon the walles, and at the gates, appointed the ſame to be viſited right often, that through negligence no miſhap ſhoulde followe.

Moreouer, beſide the watch at the gates and walles, the reſidue of the ſouldiers making a mightie huge fire in the market place, ſo as all the ſtreetes were full of light, they remayned there all that night in their armour ready vppon any occaſion to reſiſt the enimies if they ſhoulde make anye attempt. Sir Edwarde Warner Marſhall of the fielde gaue the watche worde, Sir Thomas Paſton, Sir Iohn Clere, Sir Willyam Walgraue, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, and Sir Henrie Bedingfielde were appoynted to the defence of other partes of the Citie.

Sir Edwarde Warner.

And now when euery thing was thought to be ſafely prouided for, & that the L. Marques & other were layde to take their reſt, the rebels about the middeſt of the night began to ſhoote off their great artillerie towards the Citie ſo thick as was poſſible: but the bullettes paſſed ouer their heades that were lodged in the Citie, without doing any great hurt at all.

The Lorde Marques by reaſon of the often alarmes that were giuen, whileſt the enimies thus ceaſed not to rage with continuall ſhotte of ordinaunce, was called vp by the Marſhall ſir Edwarde Warner, and comming into the market place accompanied with the nobles and gentlemen of the armie, fell in counſell wyth them, howe to foreſee that the Citie in ſuche daunger, might be ſafely defended agaynſt the enimies, with ſuch ſmall power as he had there with him.

It was therefore determined, that all the gates whiche were on the contrarye part of the towne from the Rebels campe, and likewyſe the ruinous places of the walles ſhoulde be ramped vp, that if the enimies ſhoulde chaunce to gyue an aſſault to the Citie, they might more eaſilye be repulſed.

But as theſe things were a doing, and almoſt brought to ende, in a maner all the whole multitude of the rebelles came out of their cabanes, running downe in moſt furious maner to the Citie, and with great ſhoutes and yelling cryes went about to ſet fire on the gates, to clymbe ouer the walles, to paſſe the riuer, and to enter the Citie at ſuche places where the walles were through age decayed and ruinous.

The ſouldiers that were there with the Lorde Marques, did ſhewe their vttermoſt indeuour to beate backe the enimies.

This fight in moſt cruell wyſe continued for the ſpace of three houres without ceaſing, the Rebels forcing themſelues to the vttermoſt of their powers to enter perforce vppon them, and they within the citie ſhewed no leſſe courage to repulſe them backe.

The hardie manhoode of diuerſe Knyghtes, and other men of worſhip, was here right apparant.

It was ſtraunge to ſee the deſperate boldeneſſe of the Rebels, that when they were thruſt through the bodies or thyghes, and ſome of them houghe ſinnewed, woulde yet ſeeke reuenge in ſtryking at their aduerſaries, when their handes were vnneth able to holde vp their weapon.

The deſpe
neſſe of th
rebels.

But ſuch was the baliancie of the Gentlemen and ſouldiers whiche were there wyth the Lorde Marques, that in the ende the enimies which were already entred the Citie, were beaten out againe and driuen backe to their accuſtomed kennell holes with loſſe of three hundred of their numbers.

The rebels
beaten bac

They within the towne hauing thus repulſed the enimies, and accounting themſelues in more ſafetie than before, for the reſt of the night that yet remayned, which was not much, they gaue themſelues to refreſhe their wearyed bodies with ſome ſleepe.

The next daye, the Lorde Marques was informed by ſome of the Citizens, that there were no ſmall number in Kettes campe that woulde gladlye come from him, if they might bee ſure of their pardon, and that at Pockethorp gate there were foure or fiue thouſand that wyſhed for nothing more, than for pardon, and that if the ſame were offered them, there was no doubt, as they beleeued, but that they woulde ſubmyt themſelues to the Kings mercie.

The Marques was glad to vnderſtande ſo much, and incontinentlye diſpatched Norrey King at armes, with a trumpettor, to aſſure thẽ on the Kings behalfe, that they ſhoulde be pardoned for all offences paſt, and that had bene committed in tyme of this rebellion, if they woulde laye armes aſide.

Norrey and the Trumpet comming to the gate, founde not a man there, but the trumpetter ſounding his trumpette, there came running;

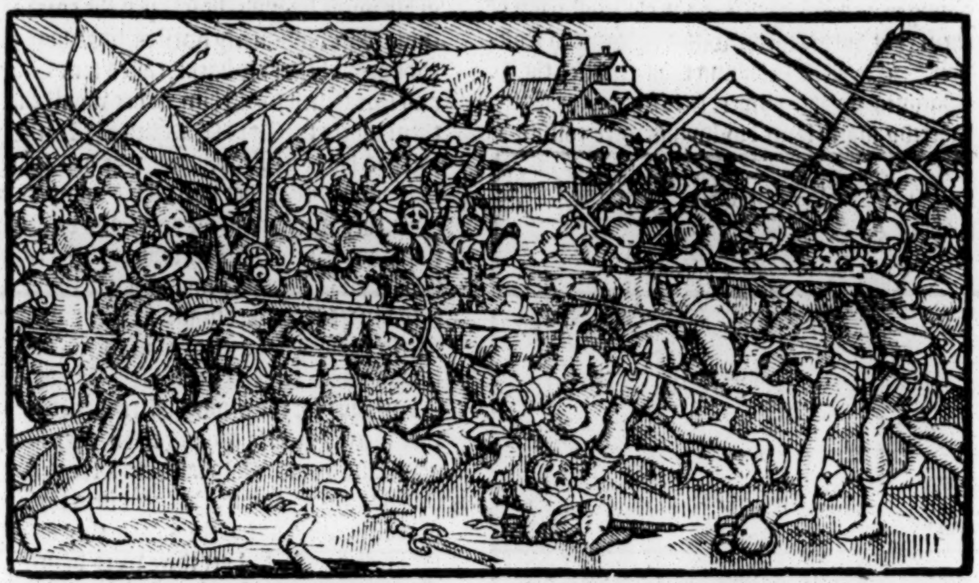
downe from the hill, a great multitude of their people, and amōgſt other as chiefe, one Flotmā, whome Norrey commanded to ſtay, whereupon, the ſayde Flotman aſked him what was the matter, and wherefore he hadde called them togither by ſounde of Trumpet: goe thy wayes (ſayde he,) and tell thy company from my Lord Marques of Northhampton, the Kings maieſties Lieutenant, that hee commaundeth them to ceaſſe from committing any further outrage, and if they will (ſayth hee) obey his commaundement, all that is paſt, ſhall bee forgyuen and pardoned.

Flotman hauing heard Norreys declaration, as hee was an outragious and buſie fellow, preſumptuouſly made aunſwere, that hee cared not a pinnes poynte for my Lorde Marques, and with all, lyke a rebellious Traytor, rayled vpon hys Lordſhippe, and mainteyned, that hee and the reſt of the Rebelles, were earneſt defendors of the Kings royall maieſtie, and that they had taken weapon in hande not againſte the Kyng, but in his defence, as in time it ſhoulde appeare, as they that ſought nothing but to mayntеyne hys maieſties royall eſtate, the libertie of theyr Countrey, and the ſafetie of the common wealth. &c.

To conclude, hee vtterly refuſed the Kynges pardon, and tolde Norrey certaynely, that they woulde eyther reſtore the common wealth from decay, into the whiche it was fallen, beyng oppreſſed through the couetouſneſſe and tyrannie of Gentlemen, eyther elſe would they like men, dye in the quarrell.

Unneth had he made an ende of his tale, whē ſuddaynely a fearefull alarme, was reyſed thorough out the Citie: for whyleſt Flotman was thus in talke with the Kyng of armes at Pockthorpe gate, the Rebelles in a great rage entring the Citie by the Hoſpitall, goe aboute to bring all things to deſtruction, but beeing encountred neere to the Byſhoppes palaice, by the Lorde Marques hys men, there enſued a bloudy conflicte betwixte them, whyche continued long with great fierceneſſe, and eger reuenge on bothe parties.

The Rebelles enter the Citie



There dyed aboute ſeuen ſcore of the Rebels, and of the Souldyers that ſerued againſte them ſome number, beſide a great multitude that were hurte and wounded on both partes: but the pitifull ſlaughter of the Lorde Sheyfeld, who hauing more regard to his honor than ſafetie of life, deſirous to ſhew ſome proofe of his noble valiancie, entring amongſt the enimies, as hee foughte right hardily, though not ſo warely as had bene expediente, fell into a ditche as hee was about to turne his Horſe, and herewith beeyng compaſſed about with a number of thoſe horrible traytors, was ſlayne amongſt them, although hee both declared what hee was, and offered largely to the villaynes, if they woulde haue ſaued hys life: but the more noble he ſhewed himſelfe to be, the more were they kindled in outragious furye againſt him, and as he pulled off hys head peece, that it might appeare what he was, a butcherly knaue named Fulques, that by occupation was both a Carpenter and a Butcher, ſlat hym in the head with a clubbe, and ſo moſt wretchedly killed him, a lamentable caſe, that ſo noble a yong Gentleman, endowed with ſo many commendable qualities as were to bee wiſhed in a man of his calling, ſhoulde thus miſerablye ende hys dayes by the handes of ſo vile a villayne.

The Lord Sheifeld killed.

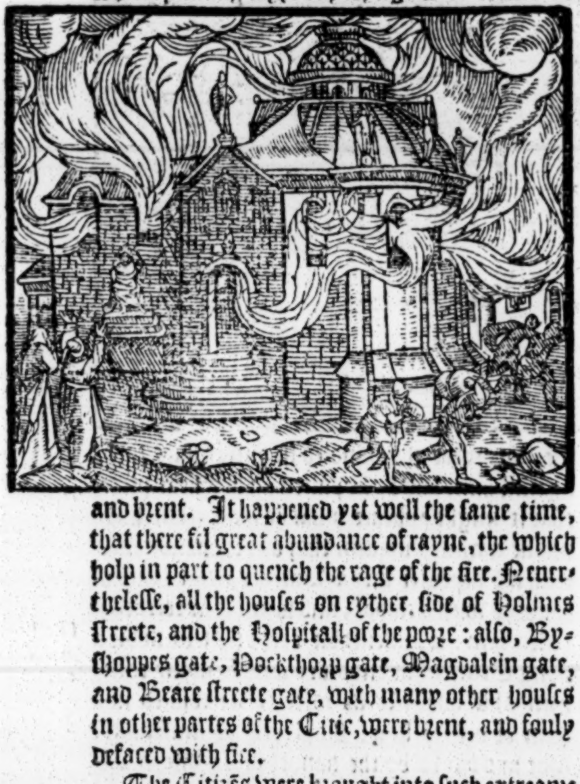
Diuers other Gentlemen and worthy Souldyers, came to the lyke ende among thoſe outragious Rebelles, and amongſt other, Roberte Woluaſton, that was appoynted to keepe the doꝛe of Chriſtes Church, was killed by the ſame Foulkes, that tooke him for Sir Edmond Kniuet, againſt whome the Rebels bare greate malice, for that he ſought to annoy them ſo farre, as by any meanes he might, as partly ye haue heard.

Alex. Neuill.

But the ſlaughter of that noble man the Lord Sheffeld, ſore diſcouraged the reſidue of ẏ Souldiers that were come with the Lorde Marques.

And on the other parte, the Rebelles were aduanced therby, in greater hope to preuaile againſt them, and thervpō, preaſſed forwarde with ſuch hardineſſe, that they cauſed the Lorde Marques and his people to giue place, and to forſake the Citie, euery man making the beſt ſhifte he coulde to ſaue himſelfe: but yet diuers Gentlemē of good accompt and worſhip remayning behind, and abiding the brunte, were taken priſoners, as Sir Thomas Cornewaleys, and others, whome the Rebels afterwards kept in ſtrait durance, till the day came of their ouerthrow by the kings power, vnder the conduction of the Earle of Warwike.

The Lord Marques and the reſidue that eſcaped, made the beſt ſhifte they coulde, to get out of daunger, and at length, hee and the moſt parte of them that wente forthe with him, came to London. The Rebels hauing thus repulſed the L. Marques and his power, ſette fire on the Citie, whereby many fayre buyldyngs were conſumed and brent. It happened yet well the ſame time, that there fel great abundance of rayne, the which holp in part to quench the rage of the fire. Neuertheleſſe, all the houſes on eyther ſide of Holmes ſtreete, and the Hoſpitall of the poore: alſo, Byſhoppes gate, Pockthorp gate, Magdalein gate, and Beare ſtreete gate, with many other houſes in other partes of the Citie, were brent, and fouly defaced with fire.



The Citizēs were brought into ſuch extreame miſerie, that they knew not which way to turne them. Some there were that fled out of the Citie, taking with them their gold, & ſiluer, & ſuch ſhort ware as they might conuey away with them, abandoning wife and children, to reſt at the mercy of ẏ Rebels. Other hid their goodes in welles, priuies, & other ſuch ſecret places out of the way.

The Rebels entring into the houſes of ſuche as were knowen to be welthy men, ſpoiled & bare away al that might be found of any valew. But to ſpeake of all the cruell parts which they playd, it would be tedious to expreſſe the ſame, their doings were ſo wicked and outragious. Ther was ſhowting, howling and ſinging amōg thē, weeping, wailing, & crying out of women & children.

The miſ ſtate of No wiche.

To be ſhort, the ſtate of that citie at that preſente was moſt miſerable. The Maiors deputie kepte himſelfe cloſe in his houſe, and mighte beholde al this miſchiefe and deſtruction of the Citie, but durſt not come abrode, nor goe aboute to ſtay them: at lēgth, a great multitude of the Rebelles that were come downe from their campe, entring by Saint Auſtines gate, came ſtraighte to his houſe, and ſtroue to breake open the dores, but when they coulde not eaſily bring theyr purpoſe to paſſe that way forthe, they began to fyre the houſe, wherevpon for feare to be brente within his owne lodging, he ſet open the dores, and in came thoſe vnmanerly gueſtes, tooke him, pluckt his gowne beſide his backe, called him Traytor, and threatened to kill him, if hee woulde not tell them where the Lord Marques of Northhampton had hid himſelfe, and when he had told them that vndoubtedly hee and all his company were gone, they were in a great rage, and with terrible noyſe and rumbling, they ſought euery corner of the houſe for him, and taking what they founde, they departed, but yet many of them afterwards partly pacified for a peece of money, and other things which they receiued of the Maior, & partly reproued for the wrongfull robberies by ſome that were in credite among them, they broughte againe ſuch packes and fardels as they had truſſed vp togither, and threw them into the ſhoppes of thoſe houſes, out of the which they had taken the ſame before, but yet there were dyuers of the Citizens that were ſpoyled of all that they hadde by thoſe Rebels, that entred their houſes vnder a colour to ſeeke for the Marques of Northamptons men. Namely, the houſes of thoſe Citizens that were fled, were ſpoyled and ranſacked moſt miſerably, for they reputed and called them traytors, and enimies to their Kyng and Countrey, that thus had forſakē their houſes & dwellings in time of ſuch neceſſitie: yet many of the Citizens bringing forth bred, beere, and other vittayles vnto the Rebelles to refreſhe them with, ſomewhat calmed their furious rage, and ſo eſcaped their violent hands, although no ſmall number were ſo fleeſed (as before ye haue heard) that they haue liued the worſe for it al the dayes of their life, ſince that time.

But nowe the Rebels hauing thus gote poſſeſſion of the Citie, and chaſed away the kings people, they take order to haue the gates kepte hourely with watch and warde of the Citizens themſelues, threatning them with moſt ſhamefull death, if they omitted the ſame.

Theſe vnruly perſons were ſo farre ſtept into all kynde of beaſtly outrage, that when it reined, they would kenell vp thẽſelues in the churches, abuſing the place appoynted for the ſeruice and worſhypping of the almightie God, in moſt profane and wicked manner, and neyther prayer nor yet threates of men or women, that adviſed them to modeſtie, could take place.

The Kinges maieſtie aduertiſed therefore, that there was no way to tame theyr diueliſhe and trayterous outrage, but by force, with the aduiſe of hys counſell, cauſed a power to be put in a readyneſſe, as well of hys owne ſubiectes, as of ſtraungers, namely Lanſquenetz, whyche were come to ſerue hys maieſtie agaynſte the Scottes.

But nowe it was thoughte expediente to vſe theyr ſeruice agaynſte theſe Rebelles, whoſe power and deſperate boldneſſe was ſo farre encreaſed, that withoute a mayne armye, guyded by ſome generall of greate experience, and noble conduct, it would be harde and right daungerous to ſubdue them.

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elles.

Herevppon, that noble chiefetayne and valiante Earle of Warwike, lately before appoynted to haue gone agaynſte the Scottes and Frenchmen into Scotlande, was called backe, and commaunded to take vppon hym the conduction of thys armye agaynſte the Norffolke Rebelles: for ſuche was the opinion then conceiued of that honorable Earle, for the hygh manhode, valiante prowes, and great experience in all warlike enterpriſes, ſufficiently tryed, and knowen to reſt in him, that eyther they muſt be vanquiſhed and ouercome by hym, or by none other.

Captayne Ketle and hys Rebellious army, hauing ſome aduertiſement by rumors ſpredde, of thys preparation, and commyng of an armye agaynſte them, they were not ſlacke to make themſelues ſtrong, and readye to abyde all the hazard, that fortune of warre myght bryng.

e Earle of
rwike
meth to
bridge.

The Earle of Warwike then after that hys men and prouiſions were ready, doth ſette forward, and commeth vnto Cambridge, wher the Lorde Marques of Northampton and other mette hys Lordſhippe.

Heere alſo dyuers Citizens of Norwiche came to hym, and falling downe vppon theyr knees before hym, beſought him to be good Lord vnto them, and withall, declared theyr miſerable ſtate, great griefe and ſorrowe, whiche they had conceyued for the wretched deſtruction of theyr Countrey, beſieching hym to haue pitie vppon them, and if in ſuche extremitie of things as had happened vnto their citie, they had through feare or ignorance committed any thing contrarye to their ductifull allegiance, that it might pleaſe his honor to pardon them their offences in ſuche behalf, ſith if any thing were amiſſe on their parts, the ſame came to paſſe ſore againſt their willes, and to their extreame greefe and ſorrow.

The Earle of Warwike tolde them, that hee knew indeede in what daunger they had bin among thoſe vnruly ribauldes, and as for any offence whiche they had committed, he knew not, for in leauing their Citie ſith matters were growen to ſuche extremitie, they were to be borne with, but in one thing they had ouerſhot themſelues, for that in the beginning, they hadde not ſought to repreſſe thoſe tumultes, ſith if they had put themſelues in defence of their Countrey, to reſiſt the Rebelles at the firſt, ſuch miſchiefes as were now growen, myght eaſily haue bin auoided. But neuertheleſſe, vppon this their humble ſubmiſſion, he graunted them all, the kings mercifull pardon, and commaunding them to prouide themſelues of armour and weapon, appointed them to march forth with the army, wearing certaine laces or ribons about their neckes for a difference, that they mighte be knowen from others. There were in this army, vnder the Erle of Warwike, dyuers men of honor and greate worſhip, as Lords, knights, Eſquiers, & Gentlemen in great numbers. Firſt the Lord Marques of Northhampton, and ſundry of them that had bin with him before, deſirous to bee reuenged of his late repulſe, the Lords, Willoughby Powes and Bray, Ambroſe Dudley, ſonne to the ſayde Earle, and at this preſente, worthily adorned with the title (which his father then bare) of Erle of Warwike.

Alſo, Henry Willoughby eſquier, Sir Thomas Treſham, Sir Marmaduke Conneſtable, William Deuerour, ſonne to the Lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Edmonde Kniuet, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Andrewe Flammocke, and diuers other Knightes, Eſquiers & Gentlemen.

The Earle of Warwike, and ſuch as were come with hym to Cambridge, marched dyrectly from thence towardes Norwiche, and came vnto Wimondham the two and twentith of Auguſt, where and by the way, the moſt part of all the Gentlemẽ of Norffolke that were at libertie, came vnto him. The nexte day betimes, hee ſhewed hymſelfe vpon the playne, betwixte the Citie of Norwich, and Eyton wood, and lodged that night at Intwood, an houſe belonging to Sir Thomas Greſham Knighte, a two myles diſtant from Norwiche.

Heere they reſted that daye and nighte following, not once putting off their armoure, but remayning ſtill in a readyneſſe, if the enimies ſhould haue made any ſuddaine inuaſiō againſt them.

Norwiche ſummoned.

The Earle of Warwike in the meane tyme, ſent the aforeremembred King of armes Norrey, to ſummon the Citie, eyther to open the gates, that he might quietly enter, or elſe to loke for warre at his handes that would then aſſay to winne it by force.

When Kette vnderſtoode that the Herraulte was come to the gates, he appointed the Maiors deputy Auguſtine Steward, & Robert Rugge, two of the chiefe Citizens, to goe to him, and to know his errand. They paſſing forth at a poſterne, and hearing his meſſage, made aunſwere, that they were the miſerableſt men that were then lyuing, as they themſelues beleeued, that ſith hauing ſuffered ſuche calamities as they could not but tremble in calling the ſame to remembrance, coulde not nowe haue libertie to declare the loyall duetie whiche they bare and ought to beare to the Kyngs hyghneſſe, ſo that they accompted themſelues moſte vnfortunate, ſith their happe was to liue in that ſeaſon, in which they muſt eyther ieopard loſſe of life, or the eſtimation of their good name, although they truſted the Kings maieſtie would be gracious Lord vnto them, ſith they had giuen no conſente vnto ſuche wicked Rebellion, as was thus reyſed againſt his highnes, but with loſſe of goodes and perill of life ſo farre as in them lay, hadde done what they coulde to keepe the Citizens in duetifull obedience.

One thing more they woulde humbly deſire of my Lorde of Warwike, that where as there was no ſmal number of Kettes army in the Citie without armour or weapon, and as it ſhould ſeeme yrkeſome and weary of that whyche had bene alreadye done, it mighte pleaſe him once agayne to vouchſafe to offer them the kyngs pardon, and if hee ſhoulde thus doe, they had greate hope that the Rebels woulde gladly accepte it, and ſo the matter mighte bee pacifyed withoute more bloudſhed. Norrey returned to the Earle of Warwike, and declared what aunſwere hee had receyued. The Earle deſirous of nothing more than to haue the matter thus taken vppe, as well for other conſiderations as for feare, leaſt the Gentlemen remayning priſoners with the Rebels, ſhoulde bee vnmercifully murthered by theyr keepers, if they came to the vttermoſt triall of battayle, he reſolued to proue if it woulde thus come to paſſe, and heerevpon was Norrey with a Trumpette ſent to offer them a generall pardon, who beeing entred the Citie, mette about fortie of the Rebels on horſebacke, riding two and two togither very pleaſaunte and merrie, and ſo paſſing from Saint Stephens gate vnto Byſhoppes gate, the Trumpetter ſounded hys Trumpette, and with that, a greate multitude of the Rebels came thronging downe togither from the hyll, to whome the horſemen ſpeedily rydyng, commaunded that they ſhould deuide themſelues, and ſtande in order vppon eyther ſyde the way, and as Norrey and the Trumpetter with two of the chiefe Citizens entred betwixte them, they were receyued wyth greate noyſe and clamoure, for euerye of them puttyng off theyr hattes or cappes, cryed God ſaue Kyng Edwarde, God ſaue Kyng Edwarde.

Norrey King of armes, to offer the Rebelles their pardon.

Norrey and the two Citizens highly commendyng them heerein, requeſted them to keepe their place and order wherein they ſtoode for a whyle, and then Norrey paſſing forthe aboute two hundred and fiftie paces, came to the toppe of the hyll, and puttyng vppon his coate armoure, ſtayed awhyle, (for Kette was not yet come) and at length began to declare vnto them in what manner dyuers tymes ſith fyrſte they hadde taken armes in hande, the Kyngs maieſtie by ſundrye perſons, as well Herraultes as other, hadde ſoughte to reduce them from theyr vnlawfull and rebellious tumultes, vnto theyr former duetie and obedience, and yet neuertheleſſe, they hadde ſhewed themſelues wilfull and ſtubborne, in refuſing hys mercifull pardon freely offered vnto them, and deſpiſed the meſſengers whiche hys grace hadde ſente vnto them to pronounce the ſame, hee wylled them therefore to call themſelues nowe at length to remembraunce, and to beholde the ſtate of the common wealthe whyche they ſo often to no purpoſe had ſtill in theyr mouthes, and neuertheleſſe by them miſerably defaced, and broughte in daunger of vtter ruyne and decay, and heerewith diſcourſing at large of the horrible, wicked, and heynous murthers, riots, burnings, and other crimes by them committed, hee wylled them to conſider into what Sea of miſchiefes they had throwen themſelues, and what puniſhment they oughte to looke for as due to them for the ſame, ſith as well the wrath of God as the Kyngs army was hanging ouer theyr heads, and ready at hande, which they were not able to reſiſt, for his grace hadde reſolued no longer to ſuffer ſo greate and preſumptuous a miſchiefe as thys, to be foſtered in the middle of his Realme, and therefore hadde appoynted the righte honorable Earle of Warwike, a man of noble fame and approued valiancie, to bee hys generall Lieutenante of that hys royall armye, to perſecute them with fyre and ſworde, and not to leaue off, tyll hee hadde

Neuy

vtterly diſperſed and ſcattered that wicked and abhominable aſſemble, and yet ſuch was the exceeding greatneſſe of the Kings bountifull mercy and clemency, that hee that was by hym appoynted to be a reuenger of their heynous treaſons committed agaynſt hys maieſtie if they cõtinued in their obſtinate wilfulneſſe, ſhoulde bee alſo the interpretor and miniſter of hys gracious and free pardon, to ſo manye as woulde accept it. Which vnleſſe they now embraſed, the ſayd Earle had made a ſolemne vowe, that they ſhould neuer haue it offered to them agayne, but that he would perſecute them till he had puniſhed the whole multitude according to their iuſt deſertes.

Manye that hearde him, hauing due conſideration of their miſerable eſtate, were touched with ſome remorſe of conſcience, fearing at lẽgth to taſt the reuenge of ſuche horrible crimes as they hadde bin partakers of, with others in committing the ſame. But the more part findyng themſelues highly offended with his wordes, beganne to iangle (as they had done before vnto other that had bin ſent to offer them pardon) that hee was not the Kings Herraulte, but ſome one made out by the Gentlemen in ſuch a gay coate, patched togither of Veſtmentes and Churche ſtuffe, beeing ſente only to deceyue them, in offering them pardon, which woulde proue noughte elſe but halters, and therefore it were well done, to thruſt an arrow into him, or to hang hym vp. Although other ſeemed duetifully to reuerence hym, and dyuers that had ſerued in Scotlande and at Bullongne, remembryng that they hadde ſeene hym there and knewe hym, tolde and perſwaded theyr fellowes, that hee was the Kyngs Herraulte indeede, wherupon, they became more milde, and offered him no further iniurie: but yet they could not be perſwaded that this pardon tẽded to anye other ende, but to bring them to deſtruction, and that in ſteede of pardon, there was prepared for them nought elſe, but a barrell full of halters.

Suche lewde ſpeeche was amongſt them, ſauoring altogyther of malitious miſtruſt, and wilfull treaſon. Norrey neuertheleſſe departing from thence, accompanyed with Kette, came to another place, where hee made the lyke Proclamation: for the multitude was ſuche, that hee coulde not bee hearde of them all in one place.

Heere, before he had made an ende of his tale, there was a vile boy (as ſome write) that turned vp his bare tayle to hym, with wordes as vnſeemely, as hys geſture was fylthy: with whych ſpitefull reproch thus ſhewed towards the kings maieſties officer at armes, one which in company of ſome other (that were come ouer the water to viewe thinges) beeyng greatly offended, with an Harquebuſe ſhotte ſtroke that vngracious ladde through the body a little aboue the reynes.

Neuyll.

Whiche when ſome of the Rebels had ſeene, a dozen of theyr horſemen came galloppyng out of the woodde, crying, wee are betrayed friendes we are betrayed, if you looke not about you: doe you not ſee howe oure fellowes are ſlayne with gunnes before your faces? What may we hope if we diſarme our ſelues, that are thus vſed beeing armed? Thys Herraulte goeth aboute nothing elſe, but to bring vs within daunger of ſome ambuſhe, that the Gentlemen maye kyll and beate vs downe at their pleaſure.

Heereupon, they all ſhranke away, and fled, as they had bin out of theyr wittes: yet did their great Captain Robert Kette, accompany Norrey, meaning as hath bin ſayd, to haue gone to the Earle of Warwike himſelfe, to haue talked with him: but as hee was almoſt at the foote of the hyll, there came running after him a greate multitude of the Rebels, crying to hym, and aſking him whether he went: we are readye (ſayd they) to take ſuche parte as you doe, be it neuer ſo badde, and if hee woulde goe anye further, they would as they ſayd ſurely follow him.

Kette meante to haue talked with the Earle of Warwike.

Norrey then perceyuing ſuche numbers of people following them, deſired Kette to ſtaye them, who returning backe to them, they were incontinently appeaſed, and ſo they all returned with hym backe to their campe.

When the Earle of Warwike vnderſtoode that they were thus altogither ſet on miſchiefe, and neyther with prayer, proffer of pardon, threatning of puniſhmente, nor other meanes they coulde be reduced to quietneſſe, hee determineth to proceede againſte them by force, and heerevppon, bryngyng hys armye vnto Sainte Stephens gate, whiche the Rebels ſtopped vppe with lettyng downe the portculice, he commanded thoſe that hadde charge of the artillerie, to plant the ſame againſt the gate, and with batterie to breake it open.

Saint Stephens gate.

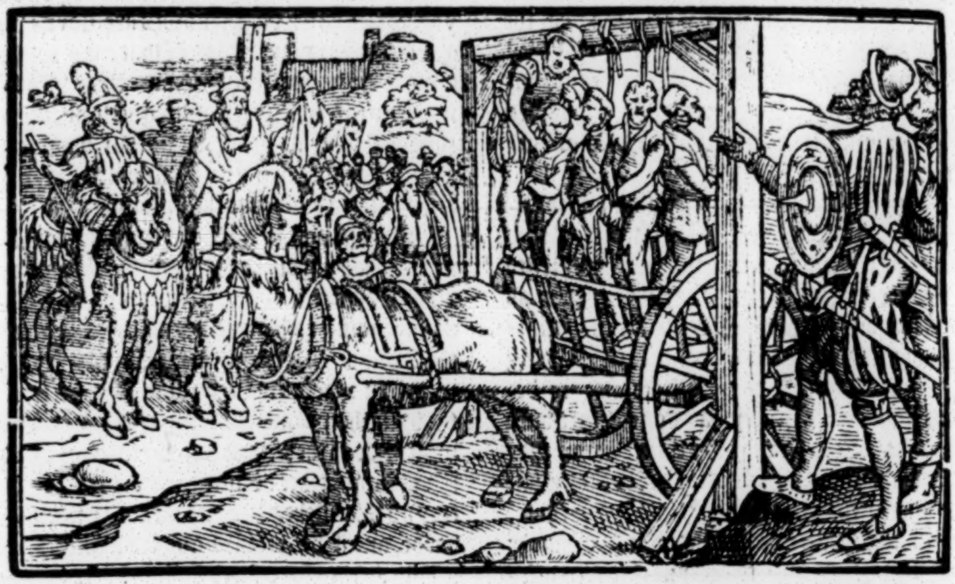
As theſe things were in hand, he vnderſtoode by Auguſtine Stewarde the Maiors deputie, that there was an other gate on the contrarye ſide of the Citie, called the braſen gate, whyche the Rebelles hadde rammed vppe, but yet not ſo, but that it might bee eaſily broken open.

The braſen gate.

Heerewith were the pioners called, and commaunded to breake open that gate alſo, whyche beeyng done, the Souldyers enter by the ſame into the Citie, and ſlewe dyuers of thoſe Rebelles that ſtoode readye to defende and reſiſt theyr entrie.

In the meane time had the gunners alſo broken in ſunder with their ſhotte the portculice, and neere hande the one halfe of the other gate, by the whiche the Marques of Northampton, and Captayne Drurie, *alias* Poignard (that beeyng ſente from London, mette my Lorde of Warwike by the way) entred with theyr bands and droue backe the Rebels with ſlaughter, that were ready there to reſiſt them.

Moreouer, the Maiors deputie cauſed Weſtwike gate to bee ſette open, at the whiche, the Earle of Warwike hymſelfe entring with all his army, and fyndyng in manner no reſiſtāce, came to the market place: heere were taken a threeſcore of the Rebelles, the whiche according to the order of martiall lawe were incontinently executed.



Shortly after, the carriages belonging to the army, were broughte into the Citie by the ſame gate, and paſſing through the Citie by negligence and want of order giuen to them that attended on the ſame cariage, they kept on forward till they were gote out at Byſhoppes gate towards Mouſholde, whereof the Rebels beeyng aduiſed, they came downe, and ſetting vppon the Carters, and other that attended on the cariages, putte them to flighte, and droue away the cartes laden with artillerie, powder, and other munition, bringing the ſame into their Campe, greately reioyſing thereof, bycauſe they hadde no great ſtore of ſuche things among them: but yet Captayne Drury with hys bande commyng in good tyme to the reſcue, recouered ſome of the Cartes from the enimies, not withoute ſome ſlaughter on eyther ſide.

Cartes laden with munition taken by the Rebels.

Moreouer, the enimies as yet being not fully driuen out of the Citie, placed themſelues in croſſe ſtreetes, and were readye to aſſayle the Souldyers as they ſawe theyr aduantage, parte of them ſtanding at Sainte Michaels, parte at Sainte Stephens, and parte at Saint Peters, and ſome of them alſo ſtoode in Wimers ſtreete.

Gentlemen ſlayne.

Here they aſſayling ſuch as vnaduiſedly were entred within their daunger, they ſlewe diuers, and among other, three or foure Gentlemen, before they could be ſuccoured from any part.

The Earle of Warwike aduertiſed heereof, paſſed forth with all his forces to remoue the enimie, and comming to Sainte Andrewe in Iohns ſtreete, was receyued with a ſharp ſtorme of arrowes, but Captayne Drury hys Harquebuſiers, galled them ſo with their ſhotte, that they were gladde to giue place, and ſo fledde amayne.

There were ſlaine a hūdred & thirtie, and dyuers of them ſhrinking aſyde into Churchyards and other places vnder the walles, were taken and executed.

All the reſt gote them vppe to their Camp at Mouſcholde, and ſo the Citie was ridde of them for that tyme.

Then dyd the Earle of Warwike take order for the ſafekeepyng of the Citie, appoyntyng watche and warde to be kept on the walles, and in euery ſtreete.

Alſo that all the gates ſhould be rammed vp, excepte one or two that ſtoode towardes the enimies, at the whiche were planted certaine peces of the greate artillerie.

But the Rebelles vnderſtandyng that the Earle of Warwike wanted powder and other things apperteyning to the vſe of the greate ordinance, and with all perceyuing that the Welchemenne whyche were appoynted to the guarde of the ſayde greate peeces of artillerie,

lerie were no greate number, and therefore not able to reſiſt any greate force that ſhould come agaynſte them, they came downe the hyll vpon the ſuddayne as it were, wholly togither in moſt outragious manner, and withall, one Myles, that was a very perfect gunner, and maruellous ſkilfull in the feate of ſhooting of great artillerie, and at that time remayning among the Rebels, ſhotte off a peece, and ſlewe one of the Kyngs principall gunners, that was attending vpon thoſe peeces of artillerie, whiche ſtoode thus before the gate, whome when the Rebels perceyued thus to bee ſlayne, they made forwarde with more courage, and gaue ſuche a deſperate onſette vppon them that garded the ſayde artillerie, that theyr ſmall number beyng not able to withſtande theyr aduerſaries greate and huge multitude preſſing in ſuche furious rage vppon them, that they were conſtreyned to flee backe, and to leaue the artillerie for a pray vnto the enimies, who ſeaſing vppon the ſame, conueyed them away with certayne cartes laden with all manner of munitiõ for warres vp to their camp, a matter as was thoughte of no ſmall importance, ſith the enimies thereby were furniſhed now with ſuch things whereof before they ſtood moſt in neede, and nowe hauyng ſtore thereof, they ſpared not liberally to beſtowe it agaynſte the Citie, beating downe not onely the higheſt toppe of Byſhoppes gate, but alſo a greate parte of the walles on that ſide.

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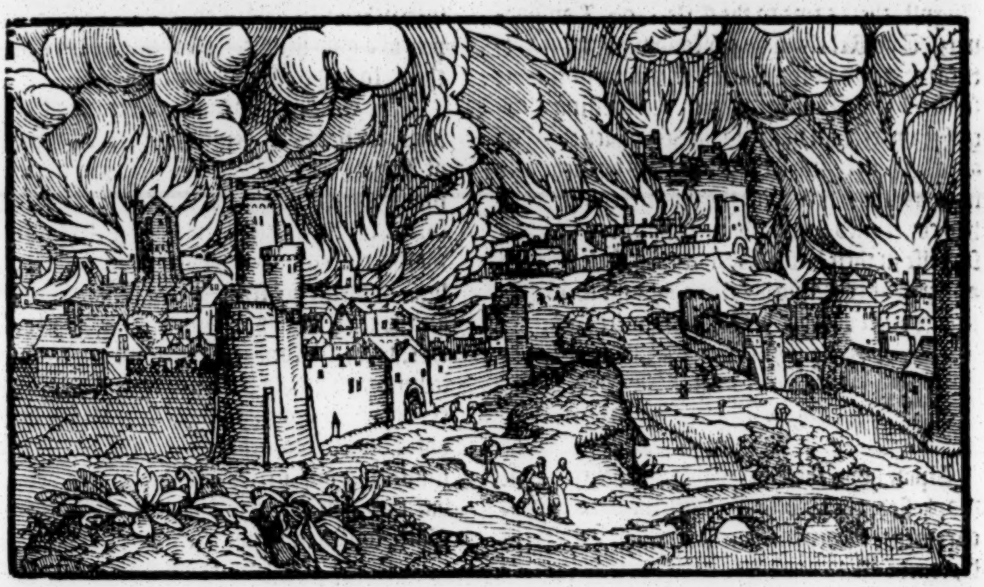
And heere truely the good ſeruice of Captaine Drurie is not to be forgotten, who now as earſt being ready to reuẽge this iniurie, following vppon the enimies, putte them to flyghte, and recouered muche of that whyche they had taken from the Earles Souldiers.

The Earle of Warwike after thys cutte off the entries at the gates, and rampired them vp, placed at the bridges and tournyngs of the wayes and ſtreetes dyuers bandes of Souldyers to keepe the paſſages, brake downe the white Friers bridge, and at Byſhoppes gate hee appoynted the Lorde Willoughby with a greate number of Souldyers to defende that part, and in thys ſorte hee made prouiſion to defende the Citie from the Rebelles, if they ſhoulde attempte to make anye ſurpriſe vppon the ſuddayne.

The next daye yet they paſſing ouer the Riuer, ſette fire on certaine houſes at Conneſforth, brenning the more parte of all the houſes of two



pariſhes, and ſo greate was the rage of the fyre, that catching holde vppon an houſe wherein the merchantes of Norwiche vſe to ley vppe ſuche wares and merchandiſe as they conuey to theyr Citie from Yermouth, the ſame houſe with greate ſtore of wheate and other riches, was miſerably conſumed and defaced.

Thus whileſt euery thyng ſeemed to chance and fall out in fauoure of the Rebelles, there were ſome in the Earle of Warwikes armye, that deſpairing of the whole ſucceſſe of theyr iourney, came to the Earle of Warwike, and beganne to perſwade with hym, that ſith the Citie was large, and their companyes ſmall, (for in deede the whole appoynted numbers as yet were not come, neyther of Straungers nor Engliſhmen) it was vnpoſſible to defẽde it agaynſte ſuche an huge multitude as were aſſembled togither in Kettes campe, and therefore beſoughte hym to regarde hys owne ſafetie, to leaue the Citie, and not to hazard all vpon ſuch an vncertayn maine chance. The Erle of Warwike as he was of a noble & inuincible courage, valiante, hardye, and not able to abyde anye

Counſell giuẽ to the Earle of Warwike to abandon the Citie.

The Earles aunſwere.

ſpotte of reproche, whereby to loſe the leaſt peece of honor that might be, made this aunſwer: why (ſayth he) and do your hearts fayle you ſo ſoone? or are you ſo madde withall, to thinke that ſo long as anye lyfe reſteth in me, that I will conſent to ſuche diſhonour? Should I leaue the Citie? heaping vp to my ſelfe and lykewiſe to you, ſuch ſhame and reproke, as worthily myghte be reputed an infamy to vs for euer? I will rather ſuffer whatſoeuer eyther fire or ſword can worke agaynſt mee.

Theſe words being vttered with ſuch a courage as was maruellous to conſider, he drew out his ſword, whiche other of the honorable & worſhipfull that were thē preſent likewiſe did, whom he commaunded that each one ſhould kiſſe others ſworde, according to an auntient cuſtome vſed amongſt men of war, in time of great daunger, and herewith they made a ſolemne vowe, bynding it with a ſolemne oth, that they ſhould not depart from thēce, till they had either vanquiſhed the enimies, or loſt their liues in māful fight, for defence of the kings honour.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Rebels brake into yͤ citie on that ſide, where was no ſuſpitiō of their entring at all, but being come almoſt to the bridges, they were encountred by the ſouldiers, beaten back, and chaſed by out the ſame way they came. The next day being the .26. of Auguſt, there came to the Erle .1400. Lanſquenetz. The Rebels notwithſtanding that ſuch reenforcemente of the Earles power mighte haue ſomewhat diſcouraged them, yet truſting altogither on certain vain prophecies, which they had among them, and ſet out in verſes by ſuche wiſerts as were there with them in the campe, they had conceyued ſuche a vayne hope of proſperous ſucceſſe in their buſineſſe, that they little eſteemed any power that mighte come againſt them. Among other of thoſe verſes, theſe were two,

The Lance-queniez come to the Earle of Warwike.

The Rebels truſt in vayne prophecies.

The countrey gnuffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubbes and clouted ſhoone,
ſhall fill vp Duſſin dale with ſlaughtered bodies ſoone.

The Rebels remoue.

Vpon hope therefore of this and other vayne propheſies, the Rebels through the Diuels procurement, that had nouriſhed and pricked them forwarde all this while in their wicked proceedings, they determine to remoue thither, to the ende, that they mighte with more ſpeede, make an ende of the matter, before they ſhould be driuen to diſperſe themſelues through famine, for the Earle of Warwike hauing taken order to haue the paſſages ſtopped in ſuch wiſe as no vittayles could eaſily be conueyd to their camp, the want thereof began already to pinch them: hereupon, ſetting fire on their Cabanes, which they hadde reyſed and built heere and there of tymber and buſhes (the ſmoke whereof couered all the groundes about them) they come downe wyth theyr enſignes into the valley called Duſſin dale, where with all ſpeede that might bee, they intrenched themſelues about, and reyſing a rampire of a good height, ſet ſtakes alſo round about them, to keepe off the horſemen.

The Earle Warwike eth forth giue the e mies batai

The Erle of Warwike perceyuing their doings, the next day being the ſeuen and twentith of Auguſt, with all hys horſemen and the Almaines with Captayne Druries bande, iſſued forthe of the Citie, marching ſtraighte towards the enimies: yet before hee approched in ſight of them, hee ſente Sir Edmonde Kneuet, and Sir Thomas Palmer Knightes, with other, to vnderſtande of them, whether nowe at length they would ſubmitte themſelues, and receyue the Kings pardon, whiche if they woulde doe, he offered to graunt it freely to al the whole multitude, one or two of them onely excepted: but they with generall voyces refuſing it, the Earle falleth in hande to encourage his people to the battaile, and hauing appoynted as well the horſemen as footemen in what order they ſhould giue the charge, they paſſe forward in approching the enimies. The Rebels beholdyng them thus to come forwarde, putte themſelues in order of battayle, in ſuch manner, that all the Gentlemen which had bin taken priſoners, and were kepte in irons for ſtarting away, were placed in the fore rāke of their battaile, coupled two & two togither, to yͤ end they might be killed by their own friēds that came to ſeeke their deliuerance: but as God would haue it yet, yͤ moſt part of thē were ſaued. Miles the maiſter gūner amōg yͤ rebels, leuying a peece of ordinance, ſhot it off, & ſtroke him that

Pardon o red.

caried

caryed the Kings ſtandart in the thigh, and the horſe through the ſhoulder. The Earle of Warwike and others ſore grieued therewith, cauſed a whole volee of theyr artillerie to be ſhot off at the Rebelles, and herewith Captaine Drurie with his owne bande, and the Almaines or Lanſquenets, whether ye lyſt to call them, on foote, getting neare to the enimies, hailſed them with their harquebuſe ſhot ſo ſharpely, and thruſt forwarde vpon them with their Pykes ſo ſtrongly, that they brake them in ſunder.

The Gentlemen whome (as we haue ſayde) being placed in the foreranke, founde meanes (as good happe was) to ſhrinke a ſide and eſcaped the danger for the more part, although ſome in deed were ſlaine by the Almaines and other that knew not what they were.

The light horſemen of the Kings part herewith gaue in amongſt them ſo roundly, that the Rebels not able to abide theyr valiaunt charge, were eaſily put to flight, and with the formoſte theyr grand Captaine Robert Ket galloped away ſo faſt as his horſe woulde beare him. The horſemen following in chaſe, ſlue them downe on heapes, euer ſtill as they ouertooke them, ſo that the chaſe continuing for the ſpace of three or four myles, there were ſlaine to the number of three thouſande fiue hundred at the leaſt, beſide a great multitude that were wounded as they fled here and there eche way forth, as ſeemed beſt to ſerue theyr turne for theyr moſt ſpeedie eſcape oute of daunger: yet one part of them that had not bene aſſayled at the firſt onſet, ſeeing ſuche ſlaughter made of theyr felowes, kept theyr ground by their ordinance, and ſhranke not, determining as men deſperately bent, not to die vnreuenged, but to fight it out to the laſt man. They were ſo encloſed with theyr Cartes, cariages, trenches (which they had caſt) and ſtakes pitched in the grounde to keepe off the force of horſemen, that it woulde haue beene ſomewhat daungerous to haue aſſayled them within their ſtrength: but ſure they were yͭ now they could not eſcape, ſeeing no ſmall part of their whole numbers were cut off and diſtreſſed, and they enuironed on eche ſide, without hope of ſuccour or reliefe of vittayles, which in the end muſt needes haue forced them to come forth of their incloſure to their vndoubted ouerthrow and deſtruction.

The Earle of Warwike yet pitying theyr caſe, and lothe that the king ſhoulde loſe ſo many ſtowt mens bodies as were there amongſt them, which might do his Maieſtie and their countrey good ſeruice, if they coulde be reclaymed from this their deſperate folly vnto due obedience, ſendeth Norrey vnto them, offring them pardon of life if they would throw downe their weapons and yeeld, if not, he threatned that there ſhoulde not a man of them eſcape the deſerued puniſhment. Their anſwere was, that if they might be aſſured to haue their liues ſaued they coulde bee contented to yeeld, but they could haue no truſt that promiſe ſhould be kept with them, for notwithſtanding all ſuch fayre offers of pardon, they tooke it that there was nothing ment but a ſubtile practiſe to bring them into the handes of their aduerſaries the Gentlemen, that had prepared a barell of ropes and halters, with which they purpoſed to truſſe them vp, and therefore they woulde rather die lyke men, than to be ſtrangled at the wylles and pleaſures of their mortal enimies. The Erle of Warwicke right ſorie to ſee ſuche deſperate myndes among them, ſent to the Citie, and cauſed the moſte part of the footemen which hee had left there to defende the ſame, to come forth nowe in battaile array, that they myght helpe to deſtreſſe thoſe wilfull Rebels that thus obſtinately refuſed the kings pardon, and hauing brought as well them as the Almaines and the horſemen in order of battaile againe, and readie now to ſette vpon the Rebels, he eftſoones ſendeth to them to knowe that if he ſhould come himſelfe and gyue his worde, that they ſhoulde haue their pardon, whether they would receyue it or not. Hereunto they anſwered, that they had ſuch confidence in his honour, that if he woulde ſo doe, they woulde giue credite thereto, and ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie.

Pardon once againe offred.

Incontinently wherevpon he goeth to them, and commaundeth Norrey to read the Kings pardon freely graunted to all that would yeelde, which being read, euery man throweth down his weapon, and with one whole and entier voyce crie, God ſaue king Edward, God ſaue king Edward. And thus through the prudent policie, and fauourable mercie of the Earle of Warwike, a great number of thoſe offenders were preſerued from the gates of death, into the which they were readie to enter.

They yeeld to the Earle of Warwike.

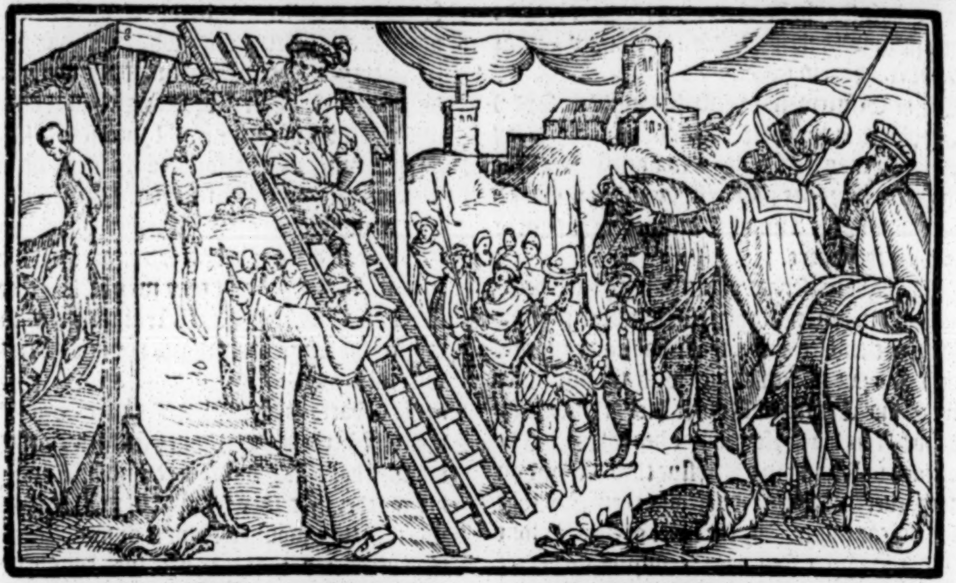
Thus were the Norffolke Rebels ſubdued by the high prowes, wiſedome and policie of the valiant Erle of Warwike, and other the Nobles, gentlemen and faithful ſubiects there in the kings army, but not without loſſe of diuerſe perſonages of great worſhip, beſide other of the meaner ſort, namely maiſter Henrie Willoughby Eſquier, a man ſo welbeloued in his Countrey for his liberalitie in houſekeeping, great curteſie, vpryght dealing, aſſured ſtedfaſtneſſe in friendſhip, and modeſt ſtayedneſſe in behauiour, that the Countreys where his liuings lay, lament the loſſe of ſo worthie a gentleman euen to this day. There dyed alſo Lucie Eſquier, Forſter Eſquier, and Throckmerton of Northamtonſhire, men of no ſmall credite and worſhip in their Countreys.

The battaile being thus ended, all the ſpoyle gotten in the fielde was giuen to yͤ ſouldiers, who ſolde the moſt part thereof openly in the Market place of Norwich.

The nexte day the Erle of Warwyke was aduertiſed that Ket being crept into a barne, was taken by two ſeruants of one maiſter Richeſſe of Swanington, and brought to the houſe of the ſame Rycheſſe. Herevpon were twentie horſemen ſent thither to fetch him, who brought him to Norwich.

Execution.

The ſame day examinations were taken of them that were the principall beginners and ſetters forth of this vnhappie rebellion, and diuerſe being founde guiltie were hanged, and nine of the chiefeſt procurers of all the miſchiefe, (Robert Ket, and his brother William onely excepted) were hanged vpon the Oke of reformation, Myles the Gunner, and two of their Prophets being three of that number. Some others of them were drawen, hanged and quartered, and their heades and quarters ſet vp in publike places for a terror to others. But yet the Earle of Warwike ſpared many, where ſome woulde gladly haue perſwaded him, that there myght haue beene a great number more executed, but his Lordſhip perceyuing them importunate in that vncharitable ſute, tolde them (as it were in fauour of life of thoſe ſillie wretches, whoſe miſerable caſe he ſeemed to pitie) that meaſure muſt be vſed in all things and in puniſhing of men by death (ſayth he) we ought alwayes to beware that we paſſe not the ſame. I knowe well that ſuche wicked doings deſerue no ſmall reuenge, and that the offenders are worthie to be moſt ſharpely chaſtiſed. But how farre yet ſhall we goe? ſhall we not at length ſhewe ſome mercie? Is there no place for pardon? what ſhall we then do? ſhall we holde the Plowe our ſelues? play the Carters and labour the ground with our owne handes. These and ſuche lyke wordes taſting altogither of mercie and compaſſion in that noble Erle, did quench the cruell deſire of reuenge in them that were altogither kindled in wrath, and wiſhed nothing more than to ſee the whole multitude executed: but now moued with the Earles wiſe and mercifull anſwere to their rygorous ſuyte, they became more milde and mercifull towardes the miſerable creatures.



The Earle of Warwike ſheweth mercie.

This alſo is not to be forgotten, that when information was gyuen agaynſt ſome of the rebelles, for that they had beene buſie fellowes, and great doers in tyme of thoſe vprores, ſo as it was thought of ſome, that it ſtoode with good reaſon to haue them puniſhed by death, when the Earle of Warwike vnderſtoode by credible report of Norrey King of Armes, that vppon the offer of the kings pardon, they were the firſt that threw down their weapons, and ſubmitted themſelues to the Kings mercie, the Earle woulde not in any wiſe conſent that they ſhoulde dye, but proteſted frankely that hee woulde keepe promiſe wyth them, and that he woulde bee as good to them as his worde, and ſo they had their lyues ſaued.

The ſlain caſtles bu

The ſame day was order gyuen by the Erle that the bodyes of them that were ſlaine in the field ſhould be buried.

On the Morrow being the .xxix. of Auguſt, the Earle of Warwike, with the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Armie, and others in greate numbers, both men and women, went to Saint Peters Churche, and there gaue prayſes and thankes to God for the victorie obteyned, and this done, hee with all the armie departed oute of the Citie, and returned homewardes wyth high commendation of the Citizens and others that acknowledged the ſayde Earle to be the defender of theyr lyues, and recouerer of theyr wyues, children, houſes and liuings.

It was afterwardes ordeyned, that the ſame day in the which the Rebels were thus ſubdued, that the Citizens yearely ſhoulde repayre to their Churches, and there to heare ſeruice, and to haue a Sermon abroade, to the whiche they ſhoulde come togither, to gyue thankes to God for theyr delyueraunce as that day, and this is obſerued till theſe our times.

cution.

Robert Ket and his brother William Ket, were brought vp to London, where they were committed to the Tower, and ſhortly after arraigned of theyr treaſon and founde guiltie, were brought to the Tower agayne, where they continued till the .xxix. of Nouember, on which day they were deliuered to Sir Edmonde Wyndham high Sherife of Norffolke and Suffolke, to bee conueyed downe into Norffolke where Robert Ket was hanged in Chaynes vpon the top of Norwich Caſtell, and William Ket his brother on the toppe of Wyndmondham Steeple, in which towne they had both dwelled, and conſpyred with others to go forwarde with theyr wicked rebellion.

This William Ket (as was thought) had beene ſure of his pardon, if hee had not played the trayterous Hypocrite: for vpon his ſubmiſſion at the fyrſt to my Lorde Marques of Northampton, at hys commyng downe to ſuppreſſe this rebellion, he was ſent to his brother to perſwade him and the reſt to yeelde, and receyue the Kings pardon: but hee (lyke a diſſembling wretche, although he promiſed to my Lorde to doe what hee coulde in that behalfe) vppon hys comming to his brother into the rebels campe, and behelde the greate multitude that were there aboute hym, hee did not onely not diſwade him and them from theyr trayterous rebellion, but encouraged them to perſyſt and continue in their doyngs, declaring what a ſmall number of Souldiours the Marques brought with him, nothing able to reſyſt ſuche a puyſſaunce as was there aſſembled, ſo that if it had not beene through the wicked perſwaſion of him, and ſome other at that tyme, not onely Robert Ket himſelfe, but alſo all the multitude beſyde, woulde haue ſubmytted themſelues, and receyued the Kings pardon, to the preſeruation of manye a good mans lyfe that after dyed in the quarell.

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But nowe to returne ſomewhat backe to the doings in Scotlande, in the meane while that ſuche hurles were in hande here in Englande, ye ſhall vnderſtande that in the beginning of thys Sommer, the king by aduiſe of his Counſaile, ſent forth a nauie by Sea towardes Scotlande, the which arriuing in the Forth, and comming before Lieth, ſaluted the town with Canon ſhot, and remayning there a tenne or twelue dayes, tooke in the meane tyme the Iſle of Inſketh, leauing therein foure Enſignes of Engliſhe men, and one of Italians, with certaine Pioners to fortifie the place: but the French men as in the Scottiſh Hyſtorie ye ſhall finde more at large, after the departure of the Engliſh nauie, recouered that Iſle againe out of the Engliſh mennes poſſeſſion, (after they had kept it ſixteene dayes,) wyth the ſlaughter of Captaine Cotten theyr Generall, Captayne Appleby, and one Iaſper that was captaine of the Italians, beſide others.

Insketh taken.

After the recouering of this Iſle, Monſieur de Deſſe, returned into Fraunce, leauing hys charge vnto Monſieur de Thermes lately before there, arriued who after the departure of the ſayde Deſſe with a campe volant did what he could to ſtop the Engliſhmen within Hadington frõ vyttayles. But notwithſtanding the Earle of Rutlande being Lieutenant of the North, did not onely vyttayle it, but put the Frenche armye in daunger of an ouerthrowe, as it was thoughte muſte needes haue followed, if they had not with more ſpeede than is vſed in a common marche ſlipt away, after they perceyued the Engliſh armie ſo neare at their elbowes.

Monſieur de Deſſe returneth into Fraunce.

The Erle of Rutlande.

Moreouer, beſide theſe inordinate vprores and inſurrections aboue mentioned, aboute the latter end of the ſayde month of Iuly: the ſame yeare which was. 1549. an other like ſturre or commotion beganne at Semer in the northryding of Yorkeſhyre, and continued in the Eaſt ryding of the ſame, and there ended. The principall doers and raysers vp, whereof was one William Ombler of Eaſtheſlerton yeoman, and Thomas Dale pariſhe Clearke of Semer, with one Steuenſon of Semer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler, which Steuenſon was a meane or meſſenger betweene the ſayde Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted togyther, and dwelling ſeuen myles one from the other, who at laſt by the trauayle of the ſayde Steuenſon, and their owne euill diſpoſitions inclyned to vngraciouſneſſe and miſchiefe, knowing before one the others mynde by ſecrete conference, were brought to talke togyther on Saint Iames day Anno. 1549.

M. Foxe.

An other rebellion or tumult begon in Yorkſhire.

The chiefe ſtirrers of this rebellion.

The cauſes mouing them to rayſe this rebellion were theſe, firſt and principally their trayterous heartes, grudging at the kings moſt godly proceedings, in aduauncing and reforming the true honour of God and his Religion: an other cauſe alſo was for truſting to a blinde and a phantaſticall prophecie, wherewith they were ſeduced, thinking the ſame prophecie ſhould ſhortly come to paſſe, by hearing the rebellions of Norffolke, of Deuonſhyre, and other places, the tenour of which prophecie and purpoſe, to-

The cauſes mouing the Yorkſhiremen to rebellion.

gither

A blinde prophecie amōgſt the Northernmen.

The deuice of the rebels how to compaſſe their purpoſe.

gyther of the traytours was, that there ſhould no King raigne in Englande, the Noble men and Gentlemen to be deſtroyed, and the Realme to be ruled by foure gouernours, to be elected and appoynted by the commons, holding a Parliament in Commotion, to beginne at the South and North Seas of Englande, ſuppoſing that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Deuonſhire men in the Weſt, meeting (as they intended) at one place, to be the meane howe to compaſſe this their trayterous, diueliſh deuiſe. And therefore laying their ſtudies togither, howe they might finde oute more companie to ioyne with them in that deteſtable purpoſe, and to ſet forward the ſturre, this deuiſe they framed, to ſturre in two places, the one diſtant ſeuen myles from the other, and at the firſt ruſhe, to kill and deſtroy ſuch gentlemen and men of ſubſtance about them, as were fauorers of the kings proceedings, or which would reſiſt them. But firſt of al for the more ſpeedie rayſing of men, they deuiſed to burne beacons, and thereby to bring the people togither, as though it were to defende the Sea coaſts, and hauing the ignorant people aſſembled, then to poure out theyr poyſon, fyrſt begynning with the rudeſt and pooreſt ſort, ſuche as they thought were pricked with pouertie, and were vnwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the ſpoyle of riche mens goodes, bloing into theyr heades, that Gods ſeruice was layde aſide, and newe inuentions neyther good nor godly put in place, and ſo feeding them with fayre promiſes, to reduce into the Church againe theyr olde ignorance and Idolatrie, thought by that meanes ſooneſt to allure them to rage and runne, with them in this commotion.

And furthermore, to the intent they woulde giue the more terror to the gentlemen at the firſt riſing, leaſt they ſhuld be reſiſted, they deuiſed that ſome ſhould be murthered in churches, ſome in their houſes, ſome in ſeruing the king in commiſſion, & other as they might be caught, and to picke quarels to thē by alteration of ſeruice on the holy dayes: and thus was the platforme caſt of theyr deuice, according as afterwarde by their cōfeſſion at their examinations was teſtified and remayneth in true record. Thus they being togither agreed, Ombler, and Dale, and others, by their ſecret appointment, ſo laboured the matter in the pariſh of Semer, Wintringham, and the towns about, that they were infected with the poyſon of this confederacie, in ſuch ſort that it was eaſie to vnderſtande wherevnto they woulde encline, if a Commotion were begonne, the accompliſhment whereof did ſhortly follow. For although by the wordes of one drunken fellow of that conſpiracy named Caluerd, at the Alehouſe in Wintringham, ſome ſuſpition of that rebellion began, to be ſmelled before by the Lord Preſident and gentlemen of thoſe parties, & ſo preuented in that place, where the Rebels thought to beginne, yet they gaue not ouer ſo, but drewe to another place at Semer by the Sea coaſt, and there by night road to the Beacon at Staxton, and ſet it on fire, and ſo gathering togither a rude route of raſcals out of the townes neare about, being on a ſtur, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, haſted forthwith with the Rebelles to maſter Whytes houſe to take him, who notwithſtanding being on horſebacke, minding to haue eſcaped their handes, Dale, Ombler, and the reſt of the Rebels tooke him, and Clopton his wiues brother, one Sauage a Marchant of Yorke, and one Berry ſeruaunt to ſir Walter Mildmay. Which foure without cauſe or quarell, ſauing to fulfill their ſeditious prophecie in ſome part, and to giue a terrour to other Gentlemen, they cruelly murthered, after they had caryed them one mile from Semer towarde the Wolde, and there after they had ſtripped them of their clothes and purſes, left them naked behind them in the plain fieldes for Crowes to feede on, vntill Whites wife and Sauages wife then at Semer, cauſed them to be buryed.

Long it were and tedious to recite what reuell theſe Rebels kept in their raging madneſſe, who raunging about the Countrey from towne to towne, to enlarge their vngracious and rebellious bande taking thoſe with force which were not willing to go, and leauing in no town where they came any man aboue the age of .xvj. yeares, ſo encreaſed this number, that in ſhort time they had gathered three thouſand to fauour their wicked attempts, and had like to haue gathered more had not the Lordes goodneſſe through prudent circumſpection of ſome interrupted the courſe of theyr furious beginning. For firſt came the kings gracious and free pardon, diſcharging and pardoning them and the reſt of the Rebelles, of all treaſons, murthers, felonies, and other offences done to his Maieſtie before the .xxj. of Auguſt, Anno. 1549. Whiche pardon althoughe Ombler contemptuouſly reading, perſyſting ſtil in his wilfull obſtinacie, diſſwaded alſo the reſt from the humble accepting of the kings ſo louing and liberall pardon, yet notwithſtanding wyth ſome it did good.

To make ſhorte, it was not long after this, but Ombler as hee was ryding from Towne to Towne, twelue myles from Hummanbie, to charge all the Conſtables and Inhabitaunts where he came, in the Kings name to reſort to Hummanbie: by the way hee was eſpyed, and by the circumſpect diligence of Iohn Worde the yonger, Iames Aſlabey, Rauſe Twinge, and Thomas Conſtable, Gentlemen

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men he was had in chaſe, and at laſt by them apprehended, and brought in the nyght in ſafe cuſtodie vnto the Citie of Yorke, to anſwere to his demerites.

ames of theiſ ca- d execu- Yorke.

After whome within ſhort time, Thomas Dale, Henrie Batton, the firſt Chieftaines, and ringleaders of the former Commotion, whiche Iohn Dale, Robert Wright, Williã Peacocke, Weatherell, and Edmonde Buttrie, buſie ſtyrrers in this ſedition, as they trauayled from place to place, to drawe people to theyr faction, were lykewiſe apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully conuicted, and laſtly executed at Yorke the xxj. of September *Anno. 1549. ex Actis iudicij publici regiſtro exceptis & notatis.*

Whileſt theſe wicked commotions and tumults through the rage of the vndiſcrete Commons were thus rayſed in ſundrie partes of the Realme, to the great hyndraunce of the common wealth, loſſe and daunger of euerye good and true ſubiect, ſundry wholſome and godly exhortations were publiſhed, to aduertiſe them of their ductie, and to lay before them theyr heynous offences, with the ſequele of the miſchiefes that neceſſarily folowed therof, the which if they ſhoulde conſider togyther, with the puniſhment that hanged ouer their heades, they myght eaſily be brought to repent theyr lewde begonne enterprices, and ſubmit themſelues to the kings mercie. Among other of thoſe admonitions, one was penned and ſet forth by ſir Iohn Cheeke, whiche I haue thought good here to inſert, as a neceſſarie diſcourſe for euerie good Engliſh ſubiect.

The hurt of ſedition how grieuous it is to a common wealth, ſet out by ſir Iohn Cheeke Knight. Anno. 1549.

The true ſubiect to the Rebell.

AMong ſo many and notable benefits, wherewith God hath alreadye liberally and plentifully endued vs, there is nothing more beneficiall, than that we haue by his grace, kept vs quiet frõ rebellion at this time. For we ſee ſuch miſeries, hang ouer the whole ſtate of the common welth, through the great miſorder of your ſedition, that it maketh vs much to reioyce, that we haue beene neither partners of your doings, nor conſpirers of your counſayles. For euen as the Lacedemonians for the auoyding of drunkenneſſe, did cauſe their ſonnes to beholde their ſeruants when they were drunke, that by beholding their beaſtlineſſe, they might auoyd the like vice, euen ſo hath God like a mercifull father ſtayed vs from your wickedneſſe, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might iuſtly for offence abhorre you like Rebels, whom elſe by nature we loue like Engliſhmen. And ſo for our ſelues we haue great cauſe to thanke God, by whoſe religion and holy worde dayly taught vs, we learne not only to feare him truly, but alſo to obey our king faithfully, and to ſerue in our owne vocation like ſubiects honeſtly. And as for you, wee haue ſurely iuſt cauſe to lament you as brethren, and yet iuſter cauſe to ryſe againſt you as enimies, and moſt iuſt cauſe to ouerthrow you as rebels. For what hurt could bee done either to vs priuately, or to the whole common wealth generally, that is now with miſchief ſo brought in by you, that euen as we ſee now the flame of your rage, ſo ſhall we neceſſarily be conſumed hereafter with the miſerie of the ſame. Wherefore conſider your ſelues with ſome light of vnderſtanding, and marke this grieuous and horrible fault, which ye haue thus vilely committed, how heynous it muſt needes appeare to you, if ye will reaſonably conſider that whiche for my duties ſake, and my whole Countreys cauſe, I will at this preſent declare vnto you.

Ye which be bounde by Gods worde not to obey for feare lyke men pleaſers, but for conſcience ſake like Chriſtians, haue contrarie to Gods holy will, whoſe offence is euerlaſting death, and contrarie to the godly order of quietneſſe, ſet out to vs in the Kings Maieſties lawes, the breache whereof is not vnknowne to you, taken in hande vncalled of God, vnſent by men, vnfitte by reaſon, to caſte awaye your bounden ductyes of obedience, and to put on you agaynſte the Magiſtrates, Gods office committed to the Magiſtrates, for the reformation of your pretenſed iniuries.

In the which doing ye haue firſt faulted grieuouſly againſt God, next offended vnnaturally our ſoueraigne Lorde, thirdly troubled miſerablie the whole common wealth, vndone cruelly many an honeſt man, and brought in an vtter miſerie both to vs the Kings Subiectes, and to your ſelues being falſe Rebelles: and yet ye pretende that partly for Gods cauſe, and partly for the cõmon welthes ſake, ye do ariſe, when as your ſelues cannot denie, but ye that ſeeke in worde gods cauſe, do breake in deed Gods commaundement, and ye that ſeeke the common wealth, haue deſtroyed the common wealth, and ſo ye marre that ye would make, and break that ye would amend, bycauſe ye neither ſeeke any thing rightly, nor would amend any thing orderly.

He that faulteth, faulteth agaynſt Gods ordinance, who hath forbidden all faultes, and therefore ought againe to be puniſhed by Gods ordinance, who is the reformer of faults. For he ſayth leaue the puniſhment to me, and I will reuenge them. But the Magiſtrate is the ordinaunce of God, appoynted by him with the ſworde of puniſhment, to looke ſtreightly to all euil doers. And therefore that that is done by the Magiſtrate, is done by the ordinance of God, whom the Scripture oftentymes doth call God, bycauſe he hath the execution of Gods office. Howe then do you take in hande to reforme? Be ye kings? By what authoritie? or by what ſucceſſion? Be ye yͤ kings officers? By what commiſſion? Be ye called of God? By what tokens declare ye that? Gods worde teacheth vs, that no man ſhould take in hand any office, but he that is called of God lyke Aaron. What Moyſes I pray you called you? What Gods Miniſter bade you riſe?

Ye riſe for religion. What religion taught you that? If ye were offred perſecution for religion, ye ought to flie, ſo Chriſt teacheth you, and yet you intend to fight. If ye woulde ſtande in the truth, ye ought to ſuffer like Martyrs, and you woulde ſley like tyrants. Thus for religion you keepe no religion, and neither will follow the counſaile of Chriſt, nor the conſtancie of Martyrs. Why riſe ye for religion? Haue ye any thing contrary to Gods booke? Yea, haue ye not al things agreeable to Gods word? But the new is different from the old, and therfore ye will haue the olde. If ye meaſure the old by truth, ye haue the oldeſt: if ye meaſure the olde by fancie, then it is harde, bycauſe mens fanſies chaungeth, to giue that is olde. Ye will haue the olde ſtill. Will ye haue any older than that as Chriſt left, and his Apoſtles taught, and the firſt Church after Chriſt did vſe? Ye will haue that the Canons doe eſtabliſh. Why that is a great deale yonger than that ye haue, of later tyme, and newlyer inuented. Yet that is it that ye deſire. Why, then ye deſire not the oldeſt. And doe you preferre the Biſhoppes of Rome afore Chriſt, mennes inuention afore Gods law, the newer ſort of worſhip before the older? Ye ſeeke no religion, ye be deceyued, ye ſeeke traditions. They that teach you, blinde you, that ſo inſtruct you, deceyue you. If ye ſeeke what the olde Doctors ſay, yet looke what Chriſt the oldeſt of all ſayth. For he ſayth before Abraham was made. I am. If ye ſeeke the trueſt way, he is the verye truth: if ye ſeeke the readieſt way, he is the verie way: if ye ſeeke euerlaſting life, he is the verye life. What religion would ye haue other nowe, than his religion?

You would haue the Bibles in againe. It is no maruaile, your blinde guides would leade you blind ſtil. Why, be ye Howlets and Backes, that ye cannot looke on the light? Chriſt ſayth to euerie one, ſearch ye the Scriptures, for they beare witneſſe of Chriſt. You ſay pull in the ſcriptures, for we wil haue no knowledge of Chriſt. The Apoſtles of Chriſt wil vs to be ſo readie, yͭ we may be able to giue euerie mā an account of our faith. Ye will vs not once to read the Scriptures, for feare of knowing of our faith. S. Paule prayeth that euerie man may encreaſe in knowledge, yee deſire that our knowledge might decay againe. A true Religion ye ſeeke belike, and worthie to be ſought for: For without the ſworde indeede nothing can help it, neither Chriſt, nor truth, nor age can mainteyne it. But why ſhoulde ye not like that which Gods worde eſtabliſheth, the primatiue Church hath authoriſed, the greateſt lerned men of this Realme hath drawen, the whole conſent of the Parliament hath confirmed, the Kings Maieſtie hath ſet forth? Is it not truly ſet out? Can ye deuiſe any truer, than Chriſtes Apoſtles vſed? ye thinke it is not learnedly done, Dare ye Commons take vpon you more learning, than the choſen Biſhops and Clearkes of this Realme haue? Thinke ye follie in it? Ye were wōt to iudge your Parliamēt wiſeſt, & now wil ye ſudainly excell them in wiſedom? Or can ye thinke it lacketh authoritie, which the King, the Parliament, the learned, the wiſe, haue iuſtly approued? Learne, learne, to knowe this one point of Religion, that God will be worſhipped as he hath preſcribed, & not as wee haue deuiſed, and that his will is wholye in his Scriptures, which be full of Gods ſpirite, and profitable to teach the truth, to reproue lyes, to amend faults, to bring one vp in righteouſneſſe, that he that is a Gods man may be perfite and readie to al good workes. What can bee more required to ſerue God withall? And thus muche for Religion Rebels.

The other rable of Norffolke Rebelles, yee pretende a common wealth. How amende ye it, by killing of Gentlemen, by ſpoyling of Gentlemen, by impriſoning of Gentlemen? A marueylous tanned commō welth. Why ſhould ye thus hate them, for their riches or for their rule? Rule they neuer tooke ſo much in hand, as ye doe now. They neuer reſiſted the king, neuer withſtood his counſail, be faithful at this day, when ye be faithleſſe, not onely to the King, whoſe Subiectes ye be, but alſo to your Lordes whoſe tenaunts ye be. Is this your true duetie, in ſome of homage, in moſt of feaultie, in all of allegeance, to leaue your duties, goe backe from your promiſes, fall from your fayth, and contrarie to lawe and truth, to make vnlawfull aſſemblyes, vngodly companies, wicked and deteſtable Campes, to diſobey your betters, & to obey your Tanners, to change your obedience from a King to a Ket, to ſubmit your ſelues to Traytours, and breake your faith to your true King and Lordes? They rule but by lawe, if otherwiſe, the Lawe, the Counſaile, the King, taketh away theyr rule. Ye haue orderly ſought no redreſſe, but yee haue in tyme founde it. In Countreys ſome muſt rule, ſome muſte obey, euerie man may not beare lyke ſtroke, for euerie man is not like wiſe. And they that haue ſeene moſt, and be beſt able to beare it, and of iuſt dealing beſide, be moſt fit to rule. It is an other matter to vnderſtande a mans owne griefe, and to know the common wealthes ſore, and therefore not they that knowe theyr owne caſe, as euery man doth, but they that vnderſtand the common wealthes ſtate, ought to haue in Countreys, the preferrement of ruling. If ye felt the paine that is ioyned with gouernance, as yee ſee, and like the honour, ye would not hurt others to rule them, but rather take great paine to be ruled of them. If ye had rule of the Kings Maieſtie committed vnto you, it were wel done ye had ruled the Gentlemen, but now ye haue it not, and cannot beare their rule, it is to thinke the Kings Maieſtie fooliſh and vniuſt, that hath giuen certaine rule to them. And ſeeing by the ſcripture, ye ought not to ſpeake euill of any Magiſtrate of the people, why do ye not only ſpeake euil of them whom the kings Maieſtie hath put in office, but alſo iudge euill of the king himſelfe, and thus ſediciouſly in field, ſtand with your ſwords drawn againſt him.

If riches offende you, bycauſe ye would haue the like, then thinke that to be no common welth, but enuie to the common wealth. Enuie it is to appayre another mans eſtate, without the amendment of your owne. And to haue no Gentlemen, bycauſe ye be none your ſelues, is to bring downe an eſtate, and to mende none. Woulde ye haue all alike riche? That is the ouerthrow of labour, and vtter decay of worke in this Realme.

For who will labour more, if when he hath gotten more, the ydle ſhall by luſt without right take what him luſt from him, vnder pretence of equalitie wyth hym. This is the bringing in of ydleneſſe, whiche deſtroyeth the common wealth, and not the amendment of labour, that mainteyneth the common wealth. If there ſhoulde be ſuch equalitie, then ye take awaye all hope away from yours, to come to any better eſtate than you nowe leaue them. And as manye meane mennes children commeth honeſtlye vp, and is great ſuccour to all theyr ſtocke, ſo ſhoulde none bee hereafter holpen by you, but bycauſe yee ſeeke equalitie, whereby all can not bee riche, ye woulde that belyke, whereby euerye man ſhoulde be poore. And thinke beſyde that riches and inheritaunce be Gods prouidence, and gyuen to whome of his wiſedome hee thinketh good. To the honeſt for the encreaſe of theyr godlineſſe, to the wicked for the heaping vp of theyr damnation, to the ſimple for a recompence of other lackes, to the wiſe for the greater ſetting out of gods goodneſſe. Why will your wiſedome now ſtop Gods wiſedome, and prouide by youre lawes, that God ſhall not enrich them, whom he hath by prouidence appointed as him liketh? God hath made the poore, and hath made them to bee poore, that he might ſhew his might, and ſet them aloft when he liſteth, for ſuch cauſe as to him ſeemeth, and plucke downe the rich, to this ſtate of pouertie, his power, as he diſpoſeth to order them. Why do not we then being poore beare it wiſely rather than by luſt ſeeke riches vniuſtly, and ſhew our ſelues contented with gods ordinance, which we muſt either willingly obey, and then wee bee wiſe, or elſe we muſt vnprofitably ſtriue withall, and then we be madde. But what meane ye by this equalitie in the common wealth? If one bee wiſer than another, will yee baniſh him bycauſe yee intende an equalitie of all things? If one bee ſtronger than another, will ye ſlay him bycauſe ye ſeeke an equalitie of all things? If one be wel fauourder than another, wil ye puniſh him bycauſe ye looke for an equalitie of all things? If one haue better vtterance than another, will ye pull out his tongue to ſaue your equalitie? And if one be richer than another, will ye ſpoyle him to maintayne an equalitie? If one be elder than another, will ye kill him for this equalities ſake? Howe iniurious are ye to God himſelfe, who intendeth to beſtowe his giftes as hee himſelfe lyſteth, and yee ſeeke by wicked inſurrections to make him giue them commonly alike to al men, as your vaine fanſie lyketh? Why woulde ye haue an equalitie in ryches, and in other gyftes of God? there is no meane ſought. Either by ambition ye ſeeke Lordlyneſſe much vnfitte for you, or by couetouſneſſe yee bee vnſatiable, a thing likely ynough in ye, or elſe by folly ye bee not content with your eſtate, a fanſie to bee plucked out of you. But and we being wearie of pouertie woulde ſeeke to enriche oure ſelues, wee ſhoulde go a farre other way to worke than this, and ſo ſhoulde wee rightly come to oure deſyre. Doeth not Saint Peter teache vs afore God a right way to honour, to riches, to all neceſſarie and profitable things for vs? He ſayeth, humble your ſelues that God might exalt you, and caſt all your care on him, for he careth for you. He teacheth, the waye to all good things at Gods hand, is to be humble, and you exalt your ſelues. Ye ſeeke things after ſuch a ſort, as if the ſeruant ſhould anger his maiſter, when he ſeeketh to haue a good turne on him. Ye woulde haue ryches I thinke, at Gods hande who giueth all riches, and yet yee take the waye cleane contrarie to riches. Knowe ye not that he that exalteth himſelfe, God will throwe him downe? Howe can yee get it then, by thus ſetting out your ſelues? Ye ſhoulde ſubmit ye by humilitie one to another, and ye ſet vp your ſelues by arrogancie aboue the Magiſtrates. See herein howe much ye offende God. Remember ye not that if ye come nigh to god, he will come nigh vnto you? If then ye goe from

God, he will go from you. Doth not the Pſalm ſay, he is holy with the holy, and with the wicked man he is frowarde. Euen as he is ordered of men, he will order them againe. If ye woulde follow his will, and obey his commaundements, ye ſhould eate the fruites of the earth, ſayth the Prophet, if not, the ſworde ſhall deuour you. Yee might haue eaten the fruites of this ſeaſonable yeare, if yee had not by diſobedience rebelled againſt God. Now not onely ye cannot eate that which your ſelues did firſt ſow by labor, and now deſtroy by ſeditiō, but alſo if the kings Maieſties ſworde came not againſt you, as iuſt policie requireth, yet the iuſt vengeaunce of God woulde light among you, as his worde promiſeth, and your cruell wickedneſſe deſerueth.

For what ſoeuer the cauſes bee, that haue moued your wilde affections herein, as they bee vniuſt cauſes, and increaſe your faults much, the thing it ſelfe, the ryſing I meane, muſt needes be wicked and horrible afore God, and the vſurping of authoritie, and taking in hand of rule, which is the ſitting in Gods ſeate of iuſtice, and a prowde clyming vp into Gods high throne, muſt needes be not onely curſed newly by him, but alſo hath beene often puniſhed afore of him. And that which is done to Gods officer, God accounteth it done to him. For they deſpiſe not the Miniſter as he ſayth himſelfe, but they deſpiſe him, and that preſumption of chalenging Gods ſeat, doth ſhew you to haue beene Lucifers, and ſheweth vs that God will puniſh you like Lucifers. Wherefore rightly looke, as ye duely haue deſerued, either for great vengeance, for your abhominable tranſgreſſion. or elſe earneſtly repent, with vnfeyned mindes, your wicked doings, and either wyth example of death bee content to dehorte other, or elſe by faythfulneſſe of obedience, declare howe great a ſeruice it is to God, to obey your Magiſtrates faythfully, and to ſerue in ſubiection truly.

Well, if ye had not thus grieuouſly offended God, whome ye ought to worſhip, what can ye reaſonably thinke it, to be no fault agaynſt the king, whome ye ought to reuerence? Ye be bound by Gods worde to obey your King, and is it no breake of duetie to withſtand your King? If the ſeruaunt be bounde to obey his maiſter in the family, is not the ſubiect bound to ſerue the King in his Realme? The childe is bounde to the priuate father, & be we not all bound to the common wealthes father? If we ought to be ſubiect to the King for Gods cauſe, ought we not then I pray you to be faythfully ſubiect to the king? If wee ought dutifully to ſhew all obedience to heathen kings, ſhall we not willingly and truly be ſubiect to Chriſtian kings? If one ought to ſubmit him ſelfe by humilitie to another, ought we not all by dutie to be ſubiect to our king? If the members of our naturall bodie all follow the head, ſhall not the members of the politicall bodie all obeye the king? If good maners be content to giue place, the lower to the higher, ſhal not religion teach vs alway to giue place to the higheſt? If true ſubiects will die gladly in the kings ſeruice, ſhoulde not all ſubiects thinke it duetie to obey the King with iuſt ſeruice. But you haue not onely diſobeyed like ill ſubiects, but alſo taken ſtoutly rule vpon you like wicked Magiſtrats. Ye haue bene called to obedience, by counſaile of priuate men, by the aduiſe of the kings Maieſties Counſaile, by the Kings Maieſties free pardon, but what counſaile taketh place, where ſturdineſſe is lawe, and churliſhe aunſweres bee counted wiſedome. Who can perſwade where treaſon is aboue reaſon, and might ruleth ryght, and it is had for lawfull whatſoeuer is luſtfull, and commotioners are better than Commiſſioners, and common woo is named common wealth. Haue yee not broken his lawes, diſobeyed his Counſaile, rebelled agaynſt him? And what is the common wealth worth, when the lawe which is indifferent for all men, ſhall be wilfully and ſpitefully broken of headſtrong men, that ſeeke agaynſte lawes to order lawes, that thoſe may take place, not what the conſent of wiſe men hath appoynted, but what the luſte of Rebelles hath determined. What vnthriftineſſe is in yll ſeruaunts, wickedneſſe in vnnaturall children, ſturdineſſe in vnrulye ſubiectes, crueltie in fierce enimies, wildeneſſe in beaſtly mindes, pryde in diſdainfull heartes, that floweth nowe in you, which haue fledde from houſed conſpiracies, to encamped robberies, and are better contented to ſuffer famin, colde, trauayle, to glut your luſtes, than to liue in quietneſſe, to ſaue the common welth, and thinke more libertie in wilfulneſſe, than wiſedome in dutiefulneſſe, and ſo runne headlong not to the miſchiefe of other, but to the deſtruction of your ſelues, and vndoe by follie that yee intende by miſchiefe, neyther ſeeing howe to remedie that ye iudge faultie, nor willing to ſaue your ſelues from miſerie, which ſtifneckedneſſe cannot doe, but honeſtie of obedience muſt frame.

If authoritie woulde ſerue vnder a King, the counſayle haue greateſt authoritie, if wiſedome and grauitie might take place, they bee of moſte experience, if knowledge of the common wealth coulde helpe, they muſt by dayly conference of matters vnderſtande it beſt, yet neither the authoritie that the kings Maieſtie hath giuen them, nor the grauitie which you knowe to be in them, nor the knowledge which with great trauail they haue gotten, can moue ye eyther to keepe you in the duetie ye ought to doe, or to auoyde the great diſorder wherein ye be. For where diſobedience is thought ſtoutneſſe, and ſullenneſſe is counted manhoode, and ſtomaking is courage, and prating is iudged wyſedome, and the eluiſheſt is moſt meete to rule, howe can other iuſt authoritie be obeied, or ſad counſaile be folowed, or good knowledge of matters be hearde, or commaundements of counſailours bee conſidered? And how is the King obeied, whoſe wiſeſt bee withſtanded, the diſobedienteſt obeyed, the high in authoritie not waied, the vnſkilfulleſt made chiefe Captaines, to the nobleſt moſt hurte intended, the braggingeſt brawler to be moſt ſafe. And euen as the viler partes of the bodie, wold contende in knowledge and gouernment with the fiue wittes, ſo doth the lower partes of the common wealth, enterpriſe as highe a matter, to ſtryue agaynſte their ductye of obedyence to the counſaile.

But what talke I of diſobedience ſo quietly, hath not ſuche mad rages runne in youre heades, that forſaking and bruſtyng the quieteneſſe of the common peace, ye haue haynouſlye and Traiterouſly encamped your ſelfe in field, and there like a byle in a bodie, nay like a ſinke in a Town, haue gathered togither all the naſtie vagabondes, and ydle loyterers to beare armour againſte him, with whom all godly and good ſubiects will liue and dye withall. If it be a faulte when two fight togither, and the kings peace broken, & puniſhment to be ſought therefore, can it be but an outragious and a deteſtable miſchiefe, when ſo many Rebelles in number, malicious in minde, miſchieuous in enterpriſe, fight not among themſelues, but againſt al the kings true and obedient ſubiects, and ſeeke to proue whether rebellion maye beate downe honeſtie, and wickedneſſe may ouercome truth or no? If it be treaſon to ſpeake haynouſlye of the kings maieſtie, who is not hurt therby, and the infamye retourneth to the ſpeaker againe, what kinde of outragious and horrible treaſon is it, to aſſemble in camp an armie againſt him, and ſo not onely intende an ouerthrow to him, and alſo to his common welth, but alſo to caſt him into an infamie, through all outward and ſtrange nations, and perſwade them that he is hated of his people, whom he can not rule, and that they bee no better than villaines, whyche will not wyth good orders bee ruled. What deathe can bee deuiſed cruell ynoughe for thoſe rebelles, who with trouble ſeeketh deathe, and can not quenche the thirſt of their rebellion, but with the bloude of true Subiectes, and hateth the Kinges mercifull pardon, when they miſerablye haue tranſgreſſed, and in ſuch an outrage of myſchyefe, wyll not by ſtubburneneſſe acknowledge themſelues to haue faulted, but entendeth to broile the common welth with the flame of their treaſon, and as much as lyeth in them, not onely to anoy themſelues, but to deſtroye all other. He that is miſcontented wyth thinges that happen, and bycauſe hee can not beare the miſerie of them, renteth hys heare, and teareth his ſkinne, and mangleth his face, whiche caſeth not his ſorrowe, but encreaſeth hys miſerie, maye hee not bee iuſtely called madde and fantaſticall, and worthie whoſe wiſedome ſhoulde be ſuſpected? And what ſhall we ſay of them, who beeing in the common wealth, feeling a ſore grieuous vnto the͂, and eaſie to haue bin amended, ſought not the remedy, but hathe increaſed the griefe, and like frantick beaſts raging againſt their heade, doth teare & deface as muche as lyeth in them, his whole authoritie in gouernment, and viole͂tly taketh to themſelues that rule on them, whiche hee by pollicie hathe graunted vnto other. And who waying well the heauineſſe of the faulte, maye not iuſtelye ſaye and holde, them to bee worſe herein than anye kinde of brute Beaſtes. For wee ſee that the ſheepe wyll obey the Sheepehearde, and the nete bee ruled by the Netehearde, and the horſe will knowe his keeper, and the Dogge will be in awe of his Maiſter, and euery one of them feede there, and of that, as hys keeper and ruler dothe appoint hym, and goeth from thence, and that, as hee is forbidden by his ruler. And yet wee haue not hearde of, that anye hearde or companye of theſe, haue ryſen agaynſte their heardman or gouernour, but bee alwayes contented not onely to obey them, but alſo to ſuffer them to take profite of them. And wee ſee furthermore that all heardes and all ſortes, bee more egre in fierceneſſe agaynſte all kynde of ſtraungers, than they bee againe their owne rulers, and wyll eaſier offende hym who hathe not hurte them, than touche their ruler who ſeeketh profite on them. But yee that oughte to bee gouerned by youre Magiſtrates, as the heardes by the heardeman, and ought to be like ſhepe to your king, who ought to be like a ſhepehearde vnto you, euen in the time when youre profite was ſought, and better redreſſe was entended, than youre vpſtirres and vnquietneſſe coulde obtaine, haue beyonde the crueltie of all beaſts, fouly riſen againſt your ruler, & ſhewed your ſelues worthy to be ordred like beaſtes, who in kynde of obedyence wyll fall from the ſtate of men. A Dogge ſtoupeth when hee hys beaten of his maiſter, not for lacke of ſtomack, but for naturall obedience: you beeing not ſtriken of your head but fauoured, not kept down, but ſuccoured, and remedyed by lawe, haue violentlye agaynſte Lawe, not onely barked like beaſts, but alſo bitten like helhoundes.

What is the miſchiefe of ſedition, eyther not knowne vnto you, or not feared? Haue not examples aforetimes, both told the ende of rebels, & the wickedneſſe of rebellion it ſelfe? But as for old examples, let them paſſe for a whyle, as things wel to be conſidered, but at this preſent one thing more to be wayed. Loke vpon your ſelues, after ye haue wickedly ſtepte into this horrible kind of treaſon, do ye not ſee how many bottomleſſe whirlepooles of miſchief ye be goulfft withall, and what lothſome kyndes of rebellion ye be fayne to wade thorowe?

Ye haue ſent out in the kings name, againſt the kings will, precepts of all kinds, and without commaundemente, commaunded his ſubiects, and vnrulyly haue ruled, where ye liſted to commaund, thinking your owne fanſies, the kings commaundements, and rebelles luſts in things, to be right gouernement of things, not looking what ſhuld folow by reaſon, but what your ſelues followe by affection. And is it not a daungerous and a cruell kynde of treaſon, to giue out preceptes to the kinges people?

There can be no iuſte execution of lawes, reformation of faultes, gyuyng oute of commaundementes, but from the Kyng. For in the Kyng onely is the ryghte hereof, and the authoritie of him deriued by his appointment to his miniſters. Ye hauyng no authoritie of the Kyng, but takyng it of your ſelues, what thynke ye your ſelues to be? Miniſters ye bee none, except ye be the Deuils miniſters, for hee is the authour of ſedition. The Kings Maieſtie intendeth to maynteyne peace, and to oppreſſe warre, ye ſtirre vp vprores of people, hurlyeburlies of vagabundes, routes of robbers, is this any part of the kings miniſterie? If a vacabunde woulde doe what him luſt, and call himſelfe your ſeruaunt, and execute ſuche offices of truſt, whether ye would or no, as ye haue committed to an other mans credit, what wold euery one of you ſay or doe herein? Would ye ſuffer it? Ye wāder out of houſes, ye make euery day newe matters as it pleaſeth you, ye take in hande the execution of thoſe things, God by his word forbidding the ſame, which God hath put the Magiſtrates in truſte withall. What can ye ſaye to this? Is it ſufferable think ye? If ye told a priuate meſſage in an other mans name, can it be but a falſe lye I praye ye? And to tell a fayned meſſage to the common welth, and that from the kyng, can it be honeſt thinke ye? To commaunde is more than to ſpeake, what is it then to commaunde ſo trayterous a lye? This then whiche is in worde a deceytfull lye, and in deed a trayterous fact, noyſome to the common welth, vnhonorable to the Kyng, miſchieuous in you, howe can you otherwyſe iudge of it, but to be an vnhearde of, and notable diſobedience to the king, & therfore by notable example to bee puniſhed, and not wyth gentleneſſe of pardon to be forgiuen.

Ye haue robbed euery honeſt houſe, and ſpoiled them vniuſtly, and pitteouſly wrong poore men being no offenders, to their vtter vndoing, and yet ye thinke ye haue not broken the kings Lawes. The Kings Maieſties lawe and hys commaundemente is, that euery man ſhoulde ſafely keepe his owne, and vſe it reaſonably to an honeſt gayn of his liuing. Ye violently take and carrie away from men without cauſe, all things wherby they ſhould maynteyn, not only themſelues, but alſo their familie, and leaue them ſo naked, that they ſhall feele the ſmarte of your curſed enterpriſe, longer thā your own vnnaturall and vngodly ſtomackes would wel vouchſafe. By iuſtice ye ſhoulde neither hurt, nor wrong man, and your pretenſed cauſe of thys monſtrous ſturre, is to encreaſe mennes wealth. And yet howe many, and ſaye truth, haue ye decayed and vndone, by ſpoyling and taking awaye their goods? How ſhould honeſt men liue quietly in the Common welth at any time, if their goods either gotten by their owne labour, or left to them by their frends, ſhall vnlawfully and vnorderly to the feeding of a ſort of rebelles, be ſpoyled and waſted, and vtterly ſcattred abrode? The thing ye take, is not your right, it is an other mans owne. The maner of taking againſt his will, is vnlawfull, & againſt the order of euery good common wealth. The cauſe why ye take it, is miſchieuous and horrible, to fat your ſedition. Ye that take it, be wicked traitors, and cōmon enimies of al good order. If he that deſireth an other mans goodes or cattell doe fault, what dothe he thinke you, whoſe deſire taking followeth, and is ledde to and fro by luſte, as his wicked fanſye voyde of reaſon doth guyde him? He that vſeth not his owne well and charitably, hath muche to anſwere for, and ſhall they be thought not vniuſt, who not onely take away other mens, but alſo miſuſe and waſt the ſame vngodly? They that take things priuyly awaye, and ſteale ſecretely and couertely other mens goodes, be by Lawe iudged worthye deathe. And ſhall they that without ſhame ſpoyle thyngs openly, and bee not afeard by impudēcie to profeſſe their ſpoyle bee thoughte either honeſt creatures to God, or faithful ſubiects to their Kyng, or natural men to their Countrey? If nothing hadde moued you but the example of miſchiefe, and the fowle practiſe of other moued by the ſame, ye ſhoulde yet haue abſteyned from ſo licencious and villanous a ſhewe of robberie, conſydering how manye honeſter there bee, that beyng loth their wickedneſſe ſhoulde be blazed abroade, yet bee founde out by prouidence, and hanged for deſerte. What ſhall we then think or ſay of you? Shall we call you pickers, or bid theeues, nay more than theeues, day theeues, heard ſtealers, hire ſpoylers, & vtter deſtroyers of all kinds of families, both among the poore, & alſo among the riche. Let vs yet further ſee, is there no mo thynges, wherein yee haue broken the Kings lawes, and ſo vylie diſobeyed hym, contrarie to your bounden duetie.

Ye haue not onely ſpoyled the Kyngs true ſubiectes of their goodes, but alſo ye haue impriſoned their bodies, which ſhould be at libertie vnder the King, and reſtrayned them of their ſeruice, which by dutie they owe the kyng, and appaired both ſtrength and health, wherewith they liue and ſerue the King. Is there any honeſt thyng more deſired than libertie? ye haue ſhamefully ſpoyled them therof. Is there anye thing more dutifull than to ſerue their Lorde and maiſter? But as that was deſerued of the one parte, ſo was it hindered and ſtopped on your part. For neither can the King be ſerued, nor families kepte, nor the Common wealth looked vnto, where freedome of libertie is ſtopped, and diligence of ſeruice is hindered, and the helpe of ſtrength and health abated. Mens bodies ought to be free from all mens bondage and crueltie, and only in this realme be ſubiect in publike puniſhment, to oure publike gouernour, and neither be touched of headleſſe Captains, nor holden of brainleſſe rebels. For the gouernement of ſo precious a thing, ought to belong vnto the moſt noble ruler, and not iuſtly to be in euery mans power, which is iuſtly euery liuing mans treſure. For what goodes be ſo deare to euerye man, as his owne bodye is, whiche is the true veſſell of the mynde to bee meaſurably kept of euery man, for all exerciſes and ſeruices of the mynde If ye maye not of your own authoritie, meddle with mẽs goods, muche leſſe you may of your owne authoritie take order with mens bodies For what be goodes in compariſon of helth, libertie & ſtrength, whiche bee all ſettled and faſtned in the body. They that ſtrike other, doe greatly offend, and be iuſtly puniſhable. And ſhall they that cruelly and wrongfully tormente mennes bodyes with yrons, and impriſonmentes, be thoughte not of other, but of them ſelues honeſte, and playne, and true dealyng men? What ſhall we ſay by them who in a priuate buſineſſe, wil let a man to goe hys iourney in the kings high way? Doe they not thinke ye playne wrong? Then in a common cauſe not onely to hynder them, but alſo to deale cruelly with them, and ſhutte them from doyng their ſeruice to the King, and their duetie to the common welth, is it not bothe diſobedience, crueltie, and myſchiefe thinke ye? What an hinderance is it, to haue a good garment hurt, any iewel appaired, or any eſteemed thing to be decayed? And ſeing no earthly thing a man hath more precious thã his bodie, to cauſe it to bee cruelly tormented with yrons, feebled with colde, weakened with ordering, can it be thought any other thing but wrong to the ſufferer, crueltie in the doer, and great diſobedience & tranſgreſſion to the king? Howe then be ye able to defend it? But ſeing ye ſo vnpitifully vexe men, caſte them in priſon, lade them wyth yrons, pyne them with famine, contrary to the rule of nature, contrarye to the Kynges Maieſties Lawes, contrarye to Gods holy ordinaunces, hauing no matter, but pretenced and fayned gloſes, ye be not only diſobedient to the king lyke rebels, but wythſtanding the lawe of nature lyke beaſtes, and ſo worthy to die lyke Dogges, except the kings Maieſtie, without reſpecte of your deſeruing, doe mercifully grant you of his goodneſſe, that as you cannot eſcape by Iuſtice.

Yet ye being not content with this, as ſmall things enterpriſe great matters, and as though ye coulde not ſatiſfye your ſelfe if yee ſhoulde leaue any miſchiefe vndone, haue ſought bloud with crueltie, & haue ſlayn of yͤ kings true ſubiectes many, thinkyng their murder to be your defence, when as ye haue encreaſed the faulte of your vile Rebellion, wyth the horroure of bloudſhead, and ſo haue burdened miſchiefe, wyth miſchiefe, whyle it come to an importable weight of myſchiefe. What coulde we doe more, in the horribleſt kynde of faultes, to the greateſt tranſgreſſours and offendoures of God and men, than to looke ſtraightly on them by death, and ſo to ridde them out of the common wealth by ſeuere puniſhment, whome ye thought vnworthie to liue among menne for their doings. And thoſe who haue not offended the King, but defended hys Realme, and by obedience of ſeruice, ſoughte to puniſhe the diſobedient, and for ſafegarde of euerie man, putte them ſelues vnder duetie of Law, thoſe haue ye myſerably and cruelly ſlayne, and bathed you in theyr bloud, whoſe doynges ye ſhoulde haue followed, and ſo haue appayred the common welth, both by deſtruction of good men, and alſo by increaſe of rebels And howe can that common welth by any means endure, wherein euery mã without authoritie, may vnpuniſhed, ſlea whome he liſt; and that in ſuche caſe as thoſe who be ſlaine, ſhewe themſelues moſt noble of courage, and moſt ready to ſerue the king and the common wealth, and thoſe as doe ſlea, be moſt villanous & traiterous rebelles that any common wealth did euer ſuſteyn. For a Citie and a Prouince be not the faire houſes, and the ſtrong walles, nor the defence of anye engin, but the liuing bodies of men, being able in number & ſtrength, to mainteyn themſelues by good order of iuſtice, and to ſerue for all neceſſary & behouable vſes in the cōmon wealth. And when as mans bodie being a parte of the whole cōmon welth, is wrongfully touched any way, & ſpecially by death, then ſuffereth the cōmon welth great iniurie, and that alway ſo much the more, how honeſter and nobler he is, who is iniuriouſly murdered. Howe was the Lord Sheffelde handled among you, a noble gentleman, and of good ſeruice, both fit for coūſel in peace, & for conduct in warre, conſidering either the grauitie of his wiſedome, or the authoritie of his perſon, or his ſeruice to the common welth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of ſuche, or amōg many notably good, his ſingular excellencie, or the fauour ẏ all men bare toward him, being loued of euery man, & hated of no man. Conſidered ye, who ſhould by duetie be the kings ſubiects, either how ye ſhoulde not haue offended the king, or after offence haue required the kings pardon, or not to haue refuſed his goodneſſe offred, or at length to haue yelded to hys mercie, or not to haue ſlain thoſe who came for his ſeruice, or to haue ſpared thoſe, who in dāger offred ranſom. But al theſe things forgotten by rage of rebellion, bycauſe one madneſſe cannot be without infinite vices, ye ſlewe him cruellye, who offered himſelfe manfully, nor woulde not ſpare for raunſome, who was worthy for nobleneſſe, to haue had honour, & hewed him bare, whome ye could not hurt armed, and by ſlauerie ſlewe nobilitie, in deede miſerably, in faſhiō cruelly, in cauſe diuelliſhly. Oh with what cruell ſpite was violently ſundred, ſo noble a body fro ſo godly a mind? Whoſe death muſt rather be reuenged than lamented, whoſe death was no lacke to himſelfe, but to his countrey, whoſe death might euery way bin better borne, than at a rebelles hande. Violence is in all thinges hurtfull, but in life horrible. What ſhould I ſpeak of others in the ſame caſe, diuers and notable, whoſe death, for manhood and ſeruice, can wāt no worthy praiſe ſo long as theſe vgly ſtirrers of rebellion can be had in mind, God hath himſelf ioyned mās bodie and his ſoule togither, not to be departed aſunder, afore he eyther diſſeuer them hymſelfe, or cauſe them to be diſſeuered by his miniſter. And ſhal rebels and heedleſſe camps, being armed againſt God, and in fielde againſt theyr King, thinke it no fault to ſhead bloud of true ſubiects, hauing neither office of God, nor appointment of miniſters, nor iuſt cauſe of rebellion? He that ſtealeth any part of a mans ſubſtance, is worthy to loſe his life. What ſhal we thinke of them, who ſpoyle men of their lyues, for the mayntenāce wherof, not only ſubſtance and riches be ſoughte for, but alſo all common welths be deuiſed? Now then, your own conſciences ſhould be made your iudges, and none other ſet to giue ſentence againſt yee, ſeing ye haue bin ſuche bloud ſheaders, ſo haynous manquellers, ſo horrible murderers, could ye do any other than playnely confeſſe your foule & wicked rebellion to be greuous againſt god, & traiterous to the king, and hurtfull to the cōmon wealth? So many grieuous faults meetyng togither in one ſinke, might not onely haue diſcoraged, but alſo driuen to deſperation, any other honeſt or indifferent mind. But what fele they, whoſe harts ſo depe miſchief hath hardened, & by vehemencie of affection be made vnſhamfaſt, and ſtop al diſcourſe of reaſon, to let at large the ful ſcope of their vnmeaſurable madneſſe. Priuate mens goods ſemeth litle to your vnſatiable deſires, ye haue waxed greedy now vppon Cities, and haue attempted myghtye ſpoyles, to glut vp and ye could your waſting hunger. Oh howe muche haue they neede of, that will neuer bee contented, and what riches can ſuffiſe any that will attempt high enterpriſes aboue their eſtate? Ye could not mainteyne your campes wyth your priuate goodes, wyth your neyghbours portion, but ye muſt alſo attempt Cities, bicauſe ye ſought great ſpoyles, with other mens loſſes, and had forgotten how ye liued at home honeſtly with your owne, and thought them worthie death that wold diſquiet ye in your houſe, and plucke away that whiche ye by right of lawe thoughte to be your owne. Herein ſee what ye woulde haue done, ſpoyled the Kinges Maieſties Subiectes, weakened the kings ſtrength, ouerthrowne his Townes, taken away his munition, drawne his ſubiectes to like rebellion, yea and as it is among forreyne enimies in ſackyng of Cities, no doubt thereof, ye woulde haue fallen to ſlaughter of menne, rauiſhyng of Wyues, deflouryng of Maydens, choppyng of chyldren, fyeryng of houſes, beatyng downe of ſtretes, ouerthrowyng of altogyther. For what meaſure haue men in the increaſe of madneſſe, when they can not at the beginning ſtay themſelues from fallyng into it. And if the beſetting of one houſe to robbe it, bee iuſtly deemed worthye deathe, what ſhall wee thynke of them that beſiege whole Cities for deſire of ſpoyle? Wee lyue vnder a king to ſerue hym at all tymes, when he ſhall neede our ſtrength, and ſhall ye then not only withdraw your ſelues, whiche oughte as

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much to be obedient as we be, but alſo violently plucke other away too, fro the dutie vnto the which by Gods commaundement, all ſubiectes be ſtraightly bound, and by al lawes euery nation is naturally led? The townes be not only the ornament of the realme, but alſo the ſeat of merchauntes, the place of handycrafts, that men ſcattered in villages, and needyng diuers thynges, maye in little roome knowe, where to fynde their lacke. To ouerthrowe them then, is nothyng elſe but to waſte youre owne commodities ſo, that when ye woulde buye a neceſſarie thyng for money, yee coulde not tell where to fynde it. Munition ſerueth the King, not only for the defence of his owne, but alſo for the inuaſion of his enimie. And if ye will then ſo ſtraightly deale with him, that ye wyll not lette hym ſo muche as defend his owne, ye offer him double iniurie, both that yee let him from doing any notable fact abroade, and alſo that ye ſuffer not him quietly to enioy his own at home. But herein hathe notably appeared, what Cities hath faithfully ſerued and ſuffered extreme daunger, not onely of goodes, but alſo of famine, and death, rather than to ſuffer the kinges enimies to enter, and what whyte liuered Cities hath not onely not withſtande them, but alſo with ſhame fauored them, and with miſchiefe ayded them. And I woulde I might prayſe herein all Cities alyke, whiche I woulde doe, if all were lyke worthie. For then I might ſhewe more faithe in ſubiectes, than ſtrength in rebels, and teſtifie to menne to come, what a generall faith euery Citie bare to yͤ kings Maieſtie, whoſe age although it were not fitte to rule, yet his ſubiectes heartes were willing to obey, thinking not only of his hope, which all men conceyue hereafter to be in him, but alſo of the iuſte kynde of gouernemente, whyche in hys minoritie his Counſayle dothe vſe among them. And heere, howe muche and howe worthily may Exceſter be commended, whiche beyng in the middeſt of rebelles, vnuittayled, vnfurniſhed, vnprepared for ſo long a ſiege, did nobly holde oute the continuall and daungerous aſſaulte of the Rebell, for they ſuſteyned the violence of the Rebell, not only when they had plentie inough of victuall, but alſo eleuen or. xij. dayes after the extreme famine came on them, and liuing without bread, were in courage ſo manfull, and in ductie ſo conſtant, that they thoughte it yet muche better, to dye the extreme death of hunger, ſhewyng truth to their Kyng, and loue to their Countrey, than to gyue anye place to the rebell, and fauoure hym with ayde, althoughe they myght haue doone it wyth their leſſe danger. Whoſe example if Norwiche hadde followed, and hadde not rather gyuen place to traytor Ket, thã to kepe their duetie, & had not ſought more ſafegarde than honeſtie, and priuate hope more than common quietneſſe, they had ended their rebellion ſooner, & eſcaped themſelues better, and ſaued the loſſe of the worthy Lorde Sheffielde, in whome was more true ſeruice for his lyfe, than in them for their goodes. And althoughe this can not bee ſpoken againſt certain honeſt that wer amongſt them, whoſe prayſe was the greater, bicauſe they wer ſo fewe, yet the greate number was ſuche, that they not only obeyed the Rebell for feare, but alſo followed him for loue, and did ſo traiterouſly order the kings bande vnder my Lord Marqueſſe, that they ſuffred more damage out of their houſes by the Towns men, than they did abroade by the Rebelles. Whoſe faulte as the kings maieſtie may pardon, ſo I would eyther the example might be forgotten, that no citie might hereafter folowe yͤ like, or the deed be ſo abhorred, that other hereafter would auoyde the lyke ſhame, and lerne to be noble by Exceſter, whoſe truth dothe not only deſerue long prayſes, but alſo great rewarde.

Who then that wolde willingly defend ye, can ſay any thing for ye, which haue ſo diuerſly faulted, ſo trayterouſly offended, not onely againſt priuate men ſeuerally, but alſo generally againſt whole towns, and that after ſuch a ſort, as outward enimies full of deadly feud, coulde not more cruelly inuade them. And thus the Kyngs maieſtie diſhonoured, his Counſell diſobeyed, the goodes of the poore ſpoyled, the houſes of the wealthie ſacked, honeſt mennes bodies impriſoned, worthie mennes perſonages ſlayne, Cities beſieged and threatened, and all kynde of things diſordered, can yee without teares and repentaunce heare ſpoken off, whiche without honeſtie and godlineſſe ye practiſed, and not fynde in your heartes nowe to returne to duetie, which by witchecraft of ſedition, were drowned in diſorder? Haue yee not in diſorder firſte greuouſly offended God, next traiterouſly riſen againſte your king, & ſo neither worthie euerlaſting life, as lõg as ye ſo remain, nor yet ciuil life, being in ſuch a breach of cõmõ quietneſſe. If euery one of theſe cãnot by themſelues, pluck you backe from this your leude and outragious enterpriſes, yet let thẽ altogether ſtir ye, or at leaſt be a fearfull example to other, to beware by youre vnmeſurable folie, how they do ſo far prouoke God, or offende man, and finde by your miſtemper to be themſelues better ordered, and learne ſtill to obeye, bycauſe they woulde not repente, and ſo to liue with honeſtie, that they woulde neither willingly offend Gods Lawe, nor diſobey mans.

But and ye were ſo muche bleared, that you did thinke impoſſible things, and your reaſon gaue ye agaynſt all reaſon, that ye neyther diſpleaſed God herein, nor offended the king, yet be ye ſo blynde, that ye vnderſtande not youre owne caſe, nor your neighbors myſerie, nor the ruine of the whole common wealth, whyche doth euidently folowe your ſo fowle and deteſtable ſedition? Doe yee not ſee howe for the mayntenaunce of theſe vngodly rablementes, not only Cities and Villages, but alſo Shires and Countreys be vtterly deſtroyed? Is not their corne waſted, their cattell fet away, their houſes ryfled, their goodes ſpoyled, and all to feede youre vpriſyng withoute reaſon, and to maynteyn this tumult of rebellion, inuented of the Deuill, continued by you, and to be ouerthrowne by the power of Gods mightie hand? And why ſhould not ſo hurtfull waſtyng and harrying of countreys, be iuſtly puniſhed with greate ſeueritie, ſeing robbing of houſes, and taking of purſes, do by lawe deſerue the extremitie of death? How many ſuffer iniurie when one hundred of a Shire is ſpoyled, and what iniurie thinke ye is done, when not only whole Shires be deſtroyed, but alſo euery quarter of the realme touched? Haue ye not brought vpon vs al pouertie, weakneſſe, and hatred within the realme, and diſcourage, ſhame, and damage without the realme? If ye miſerably entended not only to vndoe other, but alſo to deſtroye your ſelues, and to ouerthrow the whole realme, coulde ye haue taken a readier way to your owne ruine than this is?

And firſt if ye be any thyng reaſonable, lifte vp your reaſon, and way by wiſedome, if not al things, yet your owne caſes, and lerne in the beginning of matters, to foreſee the end, and ſo iudge aduiſedly, or ye enter into any thing haſtily. See ye not this yeare the loſſe of harueſt? And think ye, ye can grow to wealth that yere, whẽ ye loſe your thrift & profit? Barnes be poore mens ſtorehouſes, wherin lieth a great part of euery mans owne liuing, his wiues & his childrens liuing, wherewith men maynteyne their families, pay their rẽts, and therfore be always thought moſt rich when they haue beſt croppes. And now when ther is neyther plentie of haye, nor ſufficient of ſtraw, nor corne inough, and that through the greate diſorder of your wicked rebellion, can ye thynke ye to do well, when ye vndoe your ſelues, and iudge it a common wealthe, when the commons is deſtroyed, and ſeeke your happe by vnhappineſſe, and eſteeme your owne loſſe, to be your owne forwardnes, and by this iudgement ſhewe your ſelues, how little yee vnderſtande other mennes matters, when ye can ſcarcely conſider the waightieſt of your owne? Hath not the haye this yeare, as it roſe fro the ground, ſo rotted to the grounde againe? and where it was wont by mens ſeaſonable labor to be taken in due time, and then ſerue for the maintenance of horſſe and cattell, wherewith we liue, nowe by youre diſordered miſchiefe, hath bene by mens idleneſſe, and vndutifulneſſe, lette alone vntouched, and ſo neither ſerueth the poore to make money of, nor any cattell to liue with. The corne was ſowne with labour, and the grounde tilled for it wyth labour, and looked to be brought home againe with labour, and for lacke of honeſt labourers, is loſt on the ground: the owners being loyterers, and ſeeking other mennes, haue loſt their owne, and hoping for mountains, lacked their preſent thrift, neither obteining yͤ they ſought, nor ſeeking that they oughte. And howe ſhall men liue when the maintenance of their prouiſion is lacking? For laboring and their old ſtore is waſted by wildnes of ſedition, and ſo neyther ſpare the olde, nor ſaue the newe. Howe can men be fedde then or beaſtes liue, when as ſuche waſtefull negligence is myſerably vſed, and myſpending the tyme of their profite, in ſhameful diſorder of inobedience, they care not greatly what becomes of their owne, bicauſe they intend to liue by other mens? Hay is gon, corne is waſted, ſtrawe is ſpoyled: what reckening of Harueſt can ye make, eyther for the ayde of others, or for the reliefe of your ſelues? And thus hane ye brought in one kinde of miſerie, which if ye ſawe before, as ye be lyke to feele after, although ye had hated the common welth, yet for loue of your ſelues, ye wold haue auoyded the greate enormitie thereof, into the which ye wilfully now haue caſt in your ſelues

Another no leſſe is, that ſuch plentie of victuall, as was abundantly in euery quarter, for the reliefe of vs all, is nowe all waſtfully and vnthriftfully ſpente, in maynteyning you vnlawful rebelles, and ſo with diſorder all is conſumed, whiche with good huſbandrye mighte long haue endured. For, ſo much as wold haue ſerued a whole yeare at home, with diligente and ſkilfull heed of huſbandrie, that is wilfully waſted in a moneth in the campe, thorough the rauening ſpoyle of villanie. For what is vnordred plentie, but a waſtfull ſpoyle? whereof the inconuenience is ſo great, as ye be worthy to feele, and bringeth in more hardneſſe of liuing, greater dearth of all thing, and occaſioneth manye cauſes of diſeaſes. The price of things muſt needes encreace muche, when the number of thinges wareth leſſe, and by ſcarſitie be enhaunced, and compelleth men to abate their liberalitie in houſe, bothe to their owne, & alſo to ſtrangers. And where the riche wanteth, what can the pore fynd, who in a cõmon ſcarcitie, liueth moſt ſcarcely, and feeleth quicklyeſt the ſharpneſſe of ſtaruing, when euery man for lacke is hungerbitten, whiche if ye had well remembred before, as ye nowe maye after perceyue, ye would not I think ſo ſtiffeneckedly haue reſiſted, and endaungered youre ſelfe in the ſtorme of famine, whereof ye moſt lykely, muſt haue the greateſt parte, whyche moſte ſtubburnly reſiſted, to your owne ſhame and confuſion. Experience teacheth vs, that after a great dearth, commeth a greate death, for that when men in great want of meat eate muche yll meate, they fill their bodies wyth yll humors, and caſt them from their ſtate of helth, into a ſubiection of ſickneſſe, bycauſe the good bloud in the body is not able to keepe his temper, for the multitude of the yll humours that corrupteth the ſame. And ſo growe greate and deadly plagues, and deſtroye greate numbers of all ſortes, ſparing no kynde that they lyght on, neyther reſpecting the pore with mercy, nor the ryche with fauour. Can ye therfore thinke herein, when ye ſee decay of victuals, the riche pinche, the pore famiſhe, the following of diſeaſes, the greatneſſe of death, the mourning of widowes, the pitifulneſſe of the fatherleſſe, and all this myſerie to come thorowe your vnnaturall miſbehauior, that ye haue not dangerouſly hurte the commons of your countrey, with a dolefull and an vncurable wound? Theſe thinges being once felt in the common wealth, as they muſt needes be, euery man ſeeth by and by what followeth, a greate diminiſhment of the ſtrength of the Realme, when the due number that the realme dothe mayntayne is made leſſe, and therby we be made rather a praie for our enimies, than a ſafetie for our ſelues.

And howe can there be but a great decay of people at the lengthe, when ſome be ouerthrowen in war, ſome ſuffer for puniſhment, ſome pyne for famine, ſome dye with the camps diet, ſome be conſumed with ſickneſſe. For although ye thynke youre ſelues able to matche wyth a fewe vnprepared Gentlemen, and putte them from their houſes, that ye myghte gayne the ſpoyle, do ye iudge therfore your ſelues ſtrong inough not onely to withſtande a Kings power, but alſo to ouerthrowe it? Is it poſſible that ye ſhoulde haue ſo madde a frenſy in your head, that ye ſhoulde thinke the number ye ſee ſo ſtrong, that all ye ſee not, ſhould not be able to preuayle to the contrarie? With what reſon coulde ye thinke, that if ye bode the hote brunt of battaile, but yee muſte needs feele the ſmart, ſpecially the Kings power comming againſte you, whiche if yee feare not, belyke yee knowe not the force thereof? And ſo muche the greater number is loſt in the Realme, that both the ouercommer and the ouercommed bee parties, althoughe vnlyke, of one Realme: and what loſſe is not only of eyther ſyde, but of both, that doth playnly redounde to the whole.

Then where ſo great and ſo horrible a fault is committed, as worſe can not be mentioned of from the beginning, and bringeth in withal, ſuche penurie, ſuche weakeneſſe, ſuche diſorder in the common wealth, as no miſchiefe beſide coulde doe the lyke: Can any man thinke wyth iuſte reaſon, that all ſhall eſcape vnpuniſhed, that ſhall eſcape the ſworde, and not manie for terrour and examples ſake, ſhould bee looked vnto, who haue bene eyther great doers in ſuche a diſordred villanie, or great counſaylers to ſuche an outgrowne miſchiefe, ſeeyng the only remedie of redreſſing wilfull faultes, is a iuſte & a ſeuere puniſhement of ſuch, whoſe naughtie deedes good men ought to abhorre for dueties ſake, and yll men may dreade for lyke puniſhementes ſake, and a free licence to doe miſchiefe vnpuniſhed, is ſo daungerous, that the ſufferaunce of one, is the occaſyon of the fall of a greate number, and womanniſh pitie to one, is a deceytfull crueltie to the whole, enticyng them to their owne deſtruction by ſufferance, whiche would haue auoyded the danger by fore puniſhment.

And in ſuche a bareynneſſe of victuall, as muſt needes come after ſo rauening a ſpoyle, it muſt needes be, that ſome though fewe, ſhal be ſo nipte with egerneſſe of famine, yͭ they ſhall not recouer again themſelues out of ſo fretting a daunger. So in a generall weakneſſe, where all ſhall be feebled, ſome muſt needes die, and ſo diminiſhe the number, and abate ſuche ſtrength as the realme defended it ſelfe withall afore. Whiche occaſion of neuer ſo few, comming of ſo great a cauſe, if ye ſhuld make iuſt amendes for, not of recõpence which ye could not, but of puniſhment which ye ought, how many, howe diuers and how cruel deathes, ought euery one of ye often ſuffer? Howe manye came to the camps from long labor to ſodayne eaſe, and frõ meane fare to ſtroying of victual, and ſo fell in a maner vnwares, to ſuche a contrary change, that Nature hir ſelfe abyding neuer greate and ſodain changes, cannot beare it without ſome groundes entred of diſeaſes to come, whiche vncircumſpect men ſhall ſooner feele than think of, and then will ſcarcely iudge the cauſe, when they ſhall be vexed wyth the effect. It is little marueyle that Idleneſſe, and meate of an other mannes charge, wyll ſoone feede vp and fatte lykely menne: but it is greate maruell if ydleneſſe & other mens meate doe not abate the ſame by ſickneſſe again, and ſpecially comming from the one, and going to the other, contrarye in thoſe who violently ſeeke to tourne in a momente, the whole Realme to the contrarye. For while their mynde chaungeth from obedience to vnrulyneſſe, and tourneth it ſelfe from honeſtie to wyldeneſſe, and theyr bodyes goe from laboure to idleneſſe, from ſmall fare to ſpoyle of victuall, and from beds in the night to cabins, and from ſweete houſes to ſtinkyng campes, it muſt needes be by changing of affections, which alter the body, & by vſing of reſt that filleth the body, & glutting of meats whiche weakneth the body, and with cold in the nights which accraſeth the body, and with corrupt aire which infecteth the body, that there folow ſome greuous tempeſt, not only of contagious ſickneſſe, but alſo of preſent death to the body.

The greateſt plucke of al is, that vehemencie of plague, whiche naturally foloweth the dint of hunger, which when it entreth once among men, what dartes of pangs, what throwes of paines, what ſhoutes of death doth it caſt out, how many fall, not aſtonyed with the ſickneſſe, but fretted with the pain, how beateth it downe not only ſmal towns, but alſo great countries?

This when ye ſee light, firſt on your beaſts, whiche lacketh fodder, and after fall on men, whoſe bodies gapeth for it, and ſee the ſcarceneſſe of men to be, by this your foule enterpriſe, and not only other men touched with plagues, but alſo your owne houſe ſtong with deathe, and the plague alſo reyſed of your riſyng, to fire your ſelues, cã ye thinke you to be any other but manquellers of other, and murderers of your ſelues, and the principals of the ouerthrow of ſo great a number, as ſhall either by ſworde or puniſhment, famine or ſome plague or peſtilence be conſumed and waſted oute of the Common wealth? And ſeeing he that decayeth the number of Cottages or Plowes in a Towne, ſeemeth to be an enimie to the common wealth, ſhall we not count him, not only an enimie, but alſo a murtherer of his country, who by harbrayned vnrulyneſſe, cauſeth the vtter ruine and peſtilent deſtruction of ſo manye thouſande men? Graunte this folye then and ouerſighte, to be ſuche as worthyly yee maye counte it, and I ſhall goe further in declaryng of other greate inconueniences, whiche your dangerous and furious miſbehauior hath hurtfully brought in, ſeing diuers honeſt and true dealyng men, whoſe lyuing is by their owne prouiſion, haue come ſo afore hande by tyme, that they haue bene able well, to liue honeſtlye in their houſes, and paye beſide the rentes of their fermes truly, and now haue by your crueltie and abhorred inſurrections loſt their goodes, their cattail, their Harueſte, whiche they had gotten before, and wherwith they entẽded to lyue hereafter, and nowe be brought to this extremitie, that they be neyther able to liue, as they were wonte at home afore, nor to paye their accuſtomable rente at their due tyme. Wherby they be brought into trouble and vnquietneſſe, not only muſing what they haue loſt by you, but alſo curſing you by whome they haue loſte it, and alſo in daunger of loaſing their holdes at their Lordes handes, except by pitie they ſhewe more mercie, than the right of the lawe will graunt by Iuſtice. And what a griefe is it to an honeſt man, to labor truely in youth, and to gaine paynfully by labour, wherwith to liue honeſtly in age, and to haue this, gotten in long tyme, to be ſodeinly taughte away by the violence of ſedition, whiche name he ought to abhorre by it ſelfe, although no miſerie of loſſe folowed to him therby. But what greater griefe ought ſeditious rebelles to haue themſelues, who if they be not ſtriken with puniſhmẽt, yet ought to pine in conſcience, & melt away with the griefe of their own faults, when they ſee innocents and men of true ſeruice, hindered and burdened with the hurt of their rebellion, and who in a good common wealthe, ſhoulde for honeſties ſake proſper, they by theſe rebels only meanes, be caſt ſo behind the hand, as they can not recouer eaſily agayne by their own teath, that whiche they haue loſt by thoſe traitors miſchief. And if vniuſt men ought not ſo to be handled at any mans handes, but only ſtãd to yͤ order of a law, how much more ſhuld true and faithfull ſubiects, who deſerue praiſe, feele no vnquietneſſe, nor bee vexed with ſedition, who be obediently in ſubiection, but rather ſeeke iuſt amendes at falſe rebelles hands, and by lawe obtaine that they loſte by diſorder, and ſo conſtrayne you to the vttermoſt, to paye the recompence of wrongfull loſſes, bycauſe ye were the authors of theſe wrongfull ſpoiles.

Then woulde yee ſone perceyue the common wealthes hurt, not when other felt it who deſerued it not, but when you ſmarted, who cauſed it, and ſmoke not and looked vpon other mens loſſes, which ye mighte pitie, but tormẽted with your owne, which ye would lament.

Nowe I am paſt this myſchiefe, whiche yee will not hereafter deny, when ye ſhall praiſe other mennes forſight, rather than your wicked doings, in bewayling the ende of youre furie, in whoſe beginnyng ye nowe reioyce. What ſay ye to the number of vagabũds and loytring beggers, whiche after the ouerthrowe of youre Campe, and ſcatteryng of this ſeditious number, wyll ſwarme in euerye corner of the Realme, and not onely lye loytering vnder hedges, but alſo ſtande ſturdily in Cities, and beg

boldely

boldly at euery dore, leauing laboure whiche they lyke not, and folowyng idleneſſe whyche they ſhould not. For euery man is eaſily and naturallye brought, from labour to eaſe, from the better to the worſe, frō diligence to ſlouthfulneſſe: and after warres it is commonly ſeene, that a greate number of thoſe whiche went out honeſt, returne home againe like roiſters, and as though they were burnt to the warres bottome, they haue all their life after an vnſauerie ſmacke thereof, and ſmell ſtill toward dayſleepers, purſepickers, highwayrobbers, quarrell makers, yea and bloudſheders too. Doe wee not ſee commonly in the ende of warres more robbing, more begging, more murdering than before, and thoſe to ſtand in the high way to aſke their almes, whom ye be afraide to ſay nay vnto honeſtly, leaſte they take it awaye from you violently, and haue more cauſe to ſuſpect theyr ſtrengthe, than pitie their neede? Is it not then daily heard, howe men be not only purſued, but vtterly ſpoyled, and fewe may ryde ſafe by the kings way, except they ride ſtrong, not ſo much for feare of theyr goodes, whyche men eſteeme leſſe, but alſo for daunger of their life, which euery man loueth. Worke is vndone at home, and loiterers linger in ſtreetes, lurck in Alehouſes, raunge in highwaies, valiant beggers play in townes, and yet complayne of neede, whoſe ſtaffe if it bee once hote in their hande, or ſluggiſhneſſe bredde in their boſome, they wyll neuer bee allured to laboure agayne, contentyng themſelues better with idle beggery, than with honeſt and profitable labour. And what more noyſome beaſtes bee in a common wealthe? Drones in Hiues ſucke out the honie, a ſmall matter, but yet to bee looked on by good huſbandes. Caterpillers deſtroy the fruite, an hurtefull thing and well ſhifted for, by a diligent ouerſeer. Diuers vermine deſtroy corne, kill Pulleyne, engines and ſnares bee made for them. But what is a loyterer? A ſucker of Honie, a ſpoiler of corne, a deſtroier of fruite, nay a waſter of money, a ſpoyler of vittayle, a ſucker of bloude, a breaker of orders, a ſeeker of breakes, a queller of life, a baſiliſke of the cōmon welthe, whiche by company and ſight, doth poyſon the whole Countrye, and ſtaineth honeſt mindes wyth the infection of hys venyme, and ſo draweth the common wealth to deathe and deſtruction. Suche is the fruites of your labour and trauayle for your pretēſed common welth, whyche iuſtice woulde no man ſhoulde taſte of but your ſelues, that yee might truelye iudge of your owne miſchiefe, and fraye other by example from preſumyng the lyke. When wee ſee a greate number of flyes in a yeare, we naturally iudge it like to be a greate plague, and hauing ſo greate a ſwarming of loytering vagabondes, readie to begge and brawle at euery mannes dore, whiche declare a greater infection, can wee not looke for a grieuouſer and perillouſer daunger than the plague is? Who can therefore otherwyſe deeme, but thys one deadly hurt, wherewyth the common wealthe of our nation is wounded, beſide all other is ſo peſtilent, that there can bee no more hurtefull thyng, in a well gouerned ſtate, nor more throwne into all kinde of vice and vnrulyneſſe, and therfore this your ſeditiō is not onely moſt odious, but alſo moſte horrible, that hath ſpotted the whole cuntrie, with ſuch a ſtaine of idleneſſe.

There can be none ende of faultes, if a man rehearſe all faultes that doe neceſſarily followe this vnrulye ſturdineſſe. For not onely vagabondes wanderyng and ſcatteryng themſelues for myſchyefe, ſhall runne in a mans eyes, but alſo diſorder of euery degree, ſhall enter in into a mans mind, and ſhall behold hereby the common wealthe miſerablye defaced by you, who ſhould as much as other, haue kept your ſelues in order in it. Neither be the Magiſtrates duly obeyed, nor the lawes iuſtly feared, nor degrees of men conſidered, nor Mayſters well ſerued, nor Parents truely reuerenced, nor Lordes remembred of their tenantes, nor yet either naturall, or ciuill Lawe muche regarded. And it is plainly vnpoſſible that that countrie ſhall well ſtande in gouernment, and the people growe to welth, where order in euery ſtate is not fitly obſerued, and that body can not be wythout muche griefe of inflamation, where any leaſte parte is out of ioynt, or not duely ſette in his owne naturall place. Wherefore order muſte be kept in the common wealthe like healthe in the body, and all the drifte of pollicie looketh to this ende, howe this temper may be ſafely mainteined, without any exceſſe of vnmeaſurableneſſe, either of the one ſide, or of the other. And eaſie ynough it is to keepe the ſame, when it is once brought into the meane, and to holde it in the ſtaye it is founde in, but when it burſteth out once wyth a vehemence, and hathe gotten into an vnruly diſorder, it ſpreadeth ſo faſte, and ouerfloweth all honeſt mens reſiſting ſo violently, that it will be harde to recouer the breath of long time againe, except with greate and wiſe counſayle, which no doubt ſhall be in ſeaſon vſed, there be wonderfull remedies ſought therfore. And euen as a man falling, is eaſier holden vp by ſtay, than when he is fallen downe, he is able to riſe againe, ſo is the common welth ſlippyng, by the foreſight of wiſedome, better kept from ruine, than when it is once fallen into any kinde of miſerie, the ſame may bee called againe to the olde and former ſtate. Doe wee not euidently knowe, that a man maye better keepe hys arme or his legge from breakyng or fallyng out of ioynt, afore hurt come to it, than after the hurt, it may ſafely and quietly be healed, and reſtored to the former ſtrengthe and health againe? And nowe thorowe your ſeditious meanes, things that were afore quiet and in good order, lawes feared and obeyed, Subiectes ruled and kepte in duety, bee all nowe in a greate diſorder, and lyke if it bee not holpen, to growe to wildeneſſe, and a beaſtlineſſe, ſeeing that neyther common dutye can bee kepte, whyche Nature preſcribeth, nor common lawe can be regarded, which pollicie requireth. How can yee keepe your owne if yee keepe no order, your wife and children, howe can they bee defended from other mens violence, if yee will in other thynges breake all order? by what reaſon woulde ye be obeyed of yours as ſeruauntes, if ye will not obey the King as Subiectes? howe woulde ye haue others deale orderly with you, if ye will vſe diſorder againſte all others? Seeing then there is ſuch a confuſion now of thinges, ſuch a turmoyle of men, ſuch a diſorder of faſhions, who can looke to liue quietly a greate while, who can thinke but that yee haue miſerablye toſſed the common wealth, and ſo vexed all men with diſorder, that the inconuenience thereof, can not onely nip others, but alſo touch you.

But nowe ſee howe that not onely theſe vnlooked for miſchiefes, haue heauilye growne on ye, but alſo thoſe commodities, whyche yee thought to haue holpen your ſelues and others by, bee not onely hindered, but alſo hurte thereby. The Kings Maieſtie by the aduiſe &c. entended a iuſte reformation, of all ſuche thyngs as poore men coulde truly ſhewe themſelues oppreſſed wyth, thinking equalitie of iuſtice, to be the Diademe of hys Kyngdome, and the ſafegarde of his commons. Whiche was not onlye entended by wiſedome, but alſo ſet on wyth ſpeede, and ſo entred into a due conſideryng of all ſtates, that none ſhoulde haue iuſte cauſe to grudge agaynſt the other, whē as euery thing rightfully had, nothing coulde be but vnrightfully grudged at. And this woulde haue bene done, not only with your glad and willing aſſent, but alſo bene done by this daye almoſte thorowout the whole Realme, ſo that quietly it had bene obtayned wythout inconuenience, and ſpeedily without delay. And whatſoeuer had bene done by the Kinges Maieſties authoritie, that woulde by right haue remained for euer, and ſo taken in law, that the contrary partee, neither coulde by iuſtice, neither would by boldneſſe, haue enterpriſed the breake thereof. But leaſte wicked men ſhoulde be welthy, and they whoſe hartes bee not truely bent to obedience, ſhoulde obtaine at the Kings hande, that they deſerued not in a common welth, ye haue maruelouſly and worthily hurte your ſelues, and gratiouſly prouided except the kings goodneſſe be more vnto you, than your owne deſerts can claim, that ye be not ſo much worthie as to be benefited in any kind, as ye be worthy to loſe that ye haue on euery ſide. Yee haue thoughte good to be your owne reformers belyke, not onely vnnaturally miſtruſting the Kyngs iuſtice, but alſo cruelly & vnciuilly dealyng with your owne neighbours. Wherein I woulde as ye haue hurt the whole Realme, ſo ye hadde not enterpriſed a thyng moſte daungerous to your ſelues, and moſte contrarie to the thyng ye intended. If yee had let thinges alone, thought good by your ſelues to bee redreſſed, and dutyfully looked for the perfourmaunce of that, the Kinges Maieſtie promiſed reformation, they ſhoulde not haue bene vndone at thys tyme as in a greate ſorte of honeſt places they bee, nor thoſe countries who for their quietneſſe be moſt worthie to be looked on, ſhould haue bin vnprouided for at this daye. But this commoditie hath happened by the way, that it is euidently knowne by youre miſchiefe, and others dutie, who be moſte true to the king, and moſt worthie to be done for, and who be moſte pernitious and traiterous Rebelles. And it is not to bee doubted, but they ſhall be conſidered wyth thankes, and finde iuſte redreſſe without deſerued miſery, and you punyſhed like Rebelles, who might haue had both praiſe and profit like Subiectes. For that as ye haue valiantly done of your ſelues, thinke ye it will ſtande any longer, than men feare your rage, whyche can not endure long, and that ye ſhall not then bide the rigor of the lawe, for your priuate iniuries, as ye vſed the furie of your braynes in other mens oppreſſions? Will men ſuffer wrong at your handes when Lawe can redreſſe, and the right of the common wealthe will maintaine it? and good order in Countreies will beare it? Ye amend faults as yll Surgions heale ſores, whiche when they ſeeme to bee whole aboue, they rankle at the bottome, and ſo bee faine continuallie to bee ſore, or elſe bee mended by newe breaking of the ſkinne. Your redreſſe ſeemeth to you perfit and good, ye haue pulled down ſuch things as ye would, ye thinke now all is well, ye conſider no farther, ye ſeeke not the bottome, yee ſee not the ſore, that yee haue done it by no Lawe, yee haue redreſſed it by no order, what then? If it be none otherwiſe ſearched than by you, it will not tary long ſo, either it will be after continually as it was afore your comming or elſe it muſte bee when all is done amended by the King.

Thus haue ye bothe lacked in the tyme, and miſte in the doing, and yet beſides that ye haue done, whiche is by your doing to no purpoſe, ye haue done the things with ſuch inconueniences, as hathe bene both before rehearſed, and ſhall be after declared, that better it hadde bin for you, neuer to haue enioyed the commoditie if there bee any, than to ſuffer the griefes that will enſue, which be very many. In euery quarter ſome men whome ye ſet by will bee loſte, whiche euery one of you if ye haue loue in ye, woulde rather haue lacked the profit of your encloſures, then cauſe ſuch deſtruction of them, as is like by reaſon and iudgement neceſſarilye to followe. What common wealth is it then, to doe ſuche abhomynable enterpryſes after ſo vile a ſorte, that yee hinder that good ye would doe, and bryng in that hurte yee woulde not, and ſo finde that ye ſeeke not, and followe that ye loſe, and deſtroy your ſelues by folly, rather then yee woulde bee ordered by reaſon, and ſo haue not ſo muche amended youre olde ſores, as brought in newe plagues, whyche ye youre ſelues that deſerue them will lament, and wee whyche haue not deſerued them may curſe you for. For although the Kings Maieſtie &c. entended for youre profites a reformation in his common welthe, yet his pleaſure was not, nor no reaſon gaue it, that euery ſubiecte ſhuld buſily intermedle wyth it of their owne head, but only thoſe whome his counſaile thought moſte mete mē for ſuch an honeſt purpoſe. The kyngs Maieſtie &c. hathe godly reformed an vncleane part of religion, and hath brought it to the true forme of the firſt Churche that folowed Chriſt, thinking that to bee the trueſt, not what latter mens fanſies haue of themſelues deuiſed, but what yͤ Apoſtles & their felows had at Chriſtes hand receyued, & willeth the ſame to be knowen and ſet abroade to all his people. Shall euerye man now that liſteth and fanſieth the ſame, take in hande vncalled, to be a Miniſter, and to ſet forthe the ſame, hauyng no authoritie? Naye, thoughe the thyng were very godlye that were done, yet the perſon muſte needes doe ill that enterpriſeth it, bycauſe hee dothe a good thyng after an yll ſort, and looketh but on a little part of duetie, conſidering the thyng, and leaueth a great part vnaduiſed, not conſidering the perſon, when as in a well and iuſtly done matter, not onely theſe twoo thinges ought well to bee weighed, but alſo good occaſion of tyme, & reaſonable cauſe of the doing, ought alſo much to be ſet afore euery doers eies. Now in this your deede, the manner is vngodlye, the thing vnſufferable, the cauſe wycked, the perſon ſeditious, the time traiterous, and can yee poſſibly by anye honeſt defence of reaſon, or anye good conſcience religiouſlye grounded, denye that thys malicious and horrible fault, ſo wickedly ſette on, is not onely ſinfull afore God, and traiterous to the king, but alſo deadly and peſtilent to the whole common welth of our Countrie, & ſo not only ouerfloweth vs with the miſery, but alſo ouerwhelmeth you wyth the rage thereof?

Yet further ſee, and ye be not wearie, with the multitude of miſeries, whiche ye haue marueylouſly moued, what a yoke ye willfully do bring on youre ſelues, in ſtirryng vp this deteſtable ſedition, and ſo bryng your ſelues into a further ſlauerie, if ye vſe your ſelues often thus inobediently. When cōmon order of the lawe, can take no place in vnrulye and diſobedient ſubiectes, and all men will of wilfulneſſe reſiſt with rage, and thinke their owne violence to be the beſt iuſtice, then be wiſe Magiſtrates compelled by neceſſitie, to ſeeke an extreme remedye, where meane ſelues helpe not, and bring in the Martiall lawe, where none other lawe ſerueth. Then muſte ye bee contented to byde punyſhement wythout proceſſe, condempnation wythout witneſſe, ſuſpition is then taken for iudgement, and diſpleaſure may be iuſt cauſe of your execution, and ſo without fauour ye finde ſtraiteneſſe, which without rule ſeeke violence. Yee thinke it a harde Lawe and vnſufferable. It is ſo in deede, but yet good for a medicine. Deſperate ſickeneſſe in phiſick muſte haue deſperate remedyes, for meane medycynes wyll neuer helpe greate griefes. So if yee caſte youre ſelues into ſuche ſharpe diſeaſes, ye muſt needes looke for ſharpe medycynes agayne at youre Phiſitions handes. And worthye ye be to ſuffer the extremitye in a common wealthe, whiche ſeeke to do the extremitie, and by reaſon muſte receiue the like yee offer, and ſo bee contented to bide the ende willingly which ſet on the beginning wilfullye. For no greater ſhame can come to the common wealthe, than that thoſe ſubiectes whych ſhould be obedient euen without a law, can not be contented to be ordered by the law. & by no means kept within their duetie, which ſhuld euery way offend rather than in their dutie. It is a token that the ſubiectes lacke reaſon, when they forſake lawe, & think eyther by their multitude to find pardō, which cannot iuſtly ſtretch to all, or elſe by ſtrēgthe to beare the ſtroke, whiche can not proſper againſt a king. They muſt needes little conſider themſelues, who bring in this neceſſitie, rather to ſtand to the pleaſure of a mans will, thē to abide the reaſon of the Lawe. and to bee endaungered more when an other man liſteth, than when himſelfe offendeth. And this muſte neceſſarily folowe if your rebellion thus continue: and while yee ſeeke to throwe downe the yoke, whiche yee fanſie youre ſelues burdened withall, ye bring your ſelues in a greater bondage, leauyng ſafetie and followyng daunger, and puttyng youre ſelues vnder the Iuſtice of them, whoſe fauour ye might eaſily haue kept, if yee woulde willinglye and duetifullye haue ſerued. Nowe the Gentlemen be more in truſt, becauſe the cōmons bee vntruſty, & they got by ſeruice, which ye loſe by ſtubburneſſe, and therfore muſt needs if ye thus continue, haue more authoritie from the King, bicauſe ye would be in leſſe ſubiection to the King, and that as yee will not do of your ſelues, ye muſt be compelled to doe by others, and that yee refuſe to doe willingly, thinke yee muſt be drawne to do the ſame conſtrainedly. Whyche when it commeth to paſſe, as wiſedome ſeeth in your faults that it muſte needes, what gayne yee then, or what profit can ariſe to you by riſing, whyche might haue founde eaſe in ſittyng ſtill? & what ſhall ye be at length the better for this turmoile, which beſide diuers other incōmodities rehearſed, ſhall be thus clogged with the vnſufferable burden of the Martiall law.

Yet there is one thing behynde, whyche mee thinketh your ſelues ſhulde not forget, ſeeing yͭ ye haue giuen the cauſe, ye ſhuld duely looke for the effect. Ye haue ſpoiled, impriſoned, & threatned gentlemē to death, & that with ſuch hatred of minde, as may not well bee borne, the cauſe therof I ſpeake not on, which tried, will happily be not ſo great: but ſee the thing, ſet murder aſide, it is the heinouſeſt fault to a priuat man. What coulde more ſpitefully haue bin done againſt thē, thā ye haue vſed with crueltie? Can this doe any other but breede in their ſtomacks, great grudge of diſpleaſure towards you, and engender ſuch an hatred as the weaker and the ſufferer, muſte needes beare the ſmart thereof. The Kings beſt kinde of gouernment is ſo to rule his ſubiects, as a father ordreth his childrē, and beſte life of obedient ſubiectes is one to behaue himſelfe to an other, as though they were brethren vnder the King their father. For loue is not the knotte onely of the common wealth, wherby dyuers partes be perfitly ioyned togither in one pollitike body, but alſo the ſtrength and might of the ſame, gathering togither into a ſmall roome with order, which ſcattered wold elſe breede confuſion and debate. Diſſention we ſee in ſmall houſes, and therby may take example to great cōmon welths, how it not only decayeth them from wealthe, but alſo abateth them from ſtrength. Thinke ſmalle examples to take place in greate matters, and the lyke thoughe not ſo greate to follow in them both, and therby learne to iudge of great things vnknowne, by ſmall thynges perceiued. When brethren agree not in a houſe, goeth not the weakeſt to the walles, and wyth whome the father taketh parte wythall, is not hee lykeſt to preuaile? Is it not wiſedome for the yonger brother, after the good will of the parentes, to ſeeke his eldeſt brothers fauoure, who vnder thē is moſte able to do for him? To ſeeke them both wyth honeſtie is wiſedome, to loſe them bothe by ſullenneſſe is madneſſe. Hathe there not ben daily benefites from the Gentlemen to you, in ſome more, and in ſome leſſe, but in none conſidered, which they haue more friendly offered, than you haue gently requited. This muſte ye loſe, when ye will not be thankfull, and learne to gayne newe good wyll by deſert, when yee forſake the olde friendſhippe vnprouoked. And ye muſt thinke that liuing in a common welth togither, one kinde hath neede of an other, and yet a great ſorte of you, more neede of one gentleman, than one gentleman of a great ſorte of you, and though all be partes of one common wealth, yet all be not like worthye partes, but all being vnder obedience, ſome kinde in more ſubiection one waye, and ſome kinde in more ſeruice an other way. And ſeing ye be leſſe able by mony & liberalitie, to deſerue good will than other be, & your onely kinde of deſert is to ſhew good will, which honeſt men doe well accept as much worthe as money, haue yee not muche hindered and hurt your ſelfe herein, loſing that one kinde of humanitie whiche yee haue onely lefte, and tourning it into crueltie, whiche yee ought moſt to abhorre, not onely bycauſe it is wicked of it ſelfe, but alſo moſt noyſom to you. I can therfore for my part thinke no leſſe herein, if yee folowe your ſtiffeneſſe ſtill, and muſt needes iudge, that ye haue wilfully brought on your ſelues ſuche plagues, as the like could not haue fallen on you, but by your ſelues. Seeing then thus many wayes, yee haue hurt the common welth of this whole Countrie within, by deſtruction of ſhires, loſing of harueſt, waſting of vittaile, decaying of manhode, vndoing of farmers, encreaſing of vagabondes, maintainyng of diſorder, hindring of redreſſes, bryngYing in of Martiall law, and breeding continuall hatred amongs dyuers ſtates: what thinke ye (I pray you) iudge ye not that ye haue committed an odious & deteſtable crime agaynſte the whole common welth whoſe furderance ye ought to haue tēdered by dutie, and not to haue ſought the hurte thereof with your owne dammage.

Beſides all theſe inwarde griefes, whych euerye one ſeuerallye muſte needes feele wyth miſerie, there hapneth ſo many outwarde miſchaunces

chaunces, among ſtraungers to vs wyth diſdayne, that if there were nothing ill within the Realme which we ſhould feele, yet the ſhame whiche doth touche vs from other Countries, ſhoulde not onely moue, but alſo compell you hartily to forethinke this your rebellious ſedition. For what ſhall ſtraungers thinke, when they ſhall heare of the greate miſorder, which is in this Realme wyth ſuch a confuſion, that no order of lawe can keepe you vnder, but muſt be feine to be beaten downe with a kings power? Shall they not firſt thinke the kings Maieſtie, in whoſe mind God hath powred ſo much hope for a child, as we may looke for gifts in a man, eyther for his age to bee little ſet by, or for lack of qualities not to be regarded, or for defaulte of loue to be reſiſted, & no notable grace of god in him conſidered, nor the worthines of his office looked vppon, nor naturall obedience due to him remembred? Shall they not next ſuppoſe, ſmall eſtimation to bee giuen to the rulers, to whom vnder the King we owe due obedience, that can not in iuſte and lawfull matters bee hearde, nor men to haue that ryght iudgement of their wiſedome, as their iuſtice in rule, and foreſight in counſaile requireth, but rather preferre their owne fanſies beefore others experience, and deeme their owne reaſon to bee common wealthe, and other mennes wiſedome to but dreawing? Shall they not truely ſaye the ſubiects to be more vnfaithfull in diſobedience, than other Subiectes worſe ordered bee, and licence of libertie to make wilde heades wythout order, and that they neyther haue reaſon, that vnderſtande not the miſchiefe of ſedition, nor duetye whyche followe their beaſtlyneſſe, nor loue in them whiche ſo little remember the common welth, nor naturall affection whiche will daily ſeeke their owne deſtruction? Thus the whole countrie lacking the good opinion of other nations, is caſt into great ſhame by your vnculineſſe, and the proceedings of the Countrie, bee they neuer ſo godly, ſhall be yll ſpoken off, as vnfitte to bee brought into vſe, and good things hereby that deſerueth praiſe, ſhal bide the rebuke of them that liſte to ſpeake yll, and yll things vntouched ſhall be boldlier mainteined. Nothing maye wyth praiſe be redreſſed, where things be meaſured by chaunſable diſorder, rather than by neceſſarye vſe, and that is thought moſt pollitike, that men will be beſt contented to do, & not that which men ſhoulde be brought vnto by duetie. And with what dutie or vertue in ye, can ye quenche out of memorie this foule enterpriſe, or gather a good report agayne to this Realme, who haue ſo vilelye wyth reproche ſlaundered the ſame, and dyuerſly diſcredited it among others, and abated the good opinion whiche was had of the iuſte gouernement and ruled order, vſed heretofore in this noble Realme, whiche is now moſt grieuous, bicauſe it is now moſte without cauſe.

If this outwarde opinion, withoute further inconuenience were all, yet it might well be borne, and woulde wyth eaſe decaye that it grew, but it hath not only hurt vs wyth voice, but endaungered vs in deede, and caſte vs a greate deale behinde the hande, where elſe we might haue had a ioylye foredeale. For that opportunitie of time whiche ſeldome chaunceth, and is alwayes to bee taken, hath bin by youre frowarde meanes loſt this yeare, and ſo vainly ſpent at home for bringing downe of you, whiche ſhoulde elſe profitably haue bin otherwiſe beſtowed, that it hath bene almoſte as greate a loſſe to vs abroad, to lacke that we might haue obtained, as it was combrance at home, to go about the ouerthrowe of you, whoſe ſedition is to be abhorred. And wee might bothe conueniently haue inuaded ſome, if they woulde not reaſonably haue grown to ſome kind of friendſhip, and alſo defended other which would beſide promiſſe, for times ſake, vniuſtly ſet vpon vs, and eaſilye haue made this ſtormye tyme a faire yere vnto vs, if our men had bin ſo happy at home as our likelyhoode abroade was fortunate. But what is it I pray you, either to let ſlip ſuch an occaſion by negligence, or to ſtop it by ſtubburneſſe, which once paſt away, can be by no meanes recouered, no not though with diligence, ye go about to reenforſe yͤ ſame again.

If ye woulde with wickedneſſe haue forſaken your faith to your naturall Countrey, and haue ſought craftie meanes to haue vtterly betraied it to our common enimies, coulde yee haue had any other ſpeedyer waye than thys is, bothe to make our ſtrengthe weake, and their weakeneſſe ſtrong? If ye woulde haue ſought to haue ſpited youre Countrye, and to haue pleaſed youre enemye, and followe their counſaile for our hindraunce, coulde ye haue hadde deuiſed of them, any thing more ſhamefull for vs, and ioyfull to them? If they which lye lyke ſpials, and harken after lykelihoods of things to come, becauſe they declare opportunitie of times to the enemie, are to bee iudged common ennemies of the countrie, what ſhall we reaſonably thinke of you, who do not ſecretely bewraie the counſailes of other, but openly betray the common welthe with your owne deedes, and haue as much as lyeth in you, ſought the ouerthrow of it at home, whych if ye had obtained at gods hande, as he neuer aloweth ſo horrible an enterpriſe, how coulde ye haue defended it from the ouerthrow of other abroad? For is your vnderſtanding of thynges ſo ſmall, that althoughe

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yee ſee your ſelues not vnfitte, to get the vpper hande of a fewe gentlemen, that ye be able to beate downe afore the Kings power, yee and by chaunce ye were able to doe that, woulde ye iudge your ſelues by ſtrength mightie ynough, to reſiſte the power of outwarde nations, that for praiſe ſake woulde inuade ye? Nay thinke truely with your ſelues, that if ye do ouercom, ye be vnſure both by ſtrength abroade, and diſpleaſure of honeſt men at home, and by the puniſhment of the God aboue. And now ye haue not yet gotten in deede, that youre vaine hope looketh for by fanſie, thinke howe certainelye ye haue wounded the common wealthe wyth a ſore ſtroke, in procuryng our ennimies by oure weakeneſſe to ſeeke victorie, & by our outwarde miſery to ſeeke outwarde glorie, with inward diſhonor, whiche howſoeuer they get, thinke it to be long of you, who haue offered thẽ victorie, afore they began war, bycauſe ye wold declare to men hereafter, belike, how daungerous it is to make ſturres at home, when they doe not onely make our ſelues weake, but alſo our enemies ſtrong.

Beſide theſe there is another ſorte of men, deſirous of aduantage, and diſdainefull of our wealth, whoſe griefe is moſt our greateſt hap, and be offended with religion, bicauſe they bee drowned in ſuperſtition, men zealed towarde god, but not fit to iudge, meaning better without knowledge, than they iudge by their meaning, worthier whoſe ignorance ſhould be taken away, than their will ſhoulde be followed, whom we ſhuld more rebuke for their ſtubburneſſe, than deſpiſe for their ignoraunce. Theſe ſeeing ſuperſtition beaten downe, and religion ſet vp, gods word taking place, traditions kept in their kinde, difference made betwene Gods cōmaundements and mans learning, the truth of things ſought out according to Chriſtes inſtitutiō, examples taken of the Primitiue churches vſe, not at the Byſhoppe of Romes ordinance, and true worſhip taught & will worſhip refuſed, do by blindneſſe rebuke that as by truth they ſhould follow, and by affection folow that as by knowledge they ſhuld abhorre, thinking vſage to be truth, and ſcripture to be error, not waying by the word, but miſconſtruing by cuſtome. And now things be chaunged to the better, & religion trulyer appointed, they ſee matters go awry, which hurteth the whole realme, and they reioyce in this myſchiefe, as a thyng worthily happened, myſtakyng the cauſe, and ſlaunderyng religion, as though there were no cauſe, why God myght haue puniſhed, if their vſed profeſſiō might ſtill haue takē place. They ſee not that where gods glorie is trulieſt ſette forth, there the deuill is moſt buſie for his parte and laboureth to corrupt by lewdneſſe, that as is gotten out by the truthe, thynkyng that if it were not blemiſhed at the firſte, the reſidue of his falſehead ſhoulde after leſſe preuayle. So he troubleth by bywayes, that he cannot plainlye withſtande, and vſeth ſubtiltie of Sophiſtrie, where plaine reaſon faileth, and perſwadeth ſimple men that to bee a cauſe, whiche in deede cannot be tried and taken for a cauſe. So hee cauſeth religion, which teacheth obedience, to be iudged the cauſe of ſedition, and the doctrine of loue, the ſeede of diſſention, miſtaking the thing, but perſwading mens mindes, & abuſing the plaine meaning of the honeſt, to a wicked end of religions ouerthrow. The huſband man hadde not ſo ſoone throwne ſeede in hys ground, but ſteppeth vp the enimie, & he ſoweth cockle too, and maketh men doubt, whether the good huſbande had done well or no, and whether he had ſowne there good ſeede or bad. The fanſifull Iewes in Egipt wold not beleue Ieremie, but thought their plague & their miſery to come by his meanes, and leauing of Idolatrie, to be the cauſe of penury, wherefore by wylfull aduiſe they entended to forſake the Prophetes counſaile, and thought to ſerue God moſt truly, by their rooted and accuſtomed Idolatrie. When the Chriſtian men were perſecuted in the Primitiue church, & daily ſuffered Martyrdome for Chriſtes profeſſion, ſuche faire ſeaſon of weather was for three or foure yere togither, that the heathen iudged therevpon, God to bee delighted with their crueltie, and ſo were perſwaded that wyth the bloude of the Martyrs, they pleaſed God highly. Such fanſies lighted now in Papiſtes, and irreligious mens heades, and ioyne things by chaunce happening togyther, & concludeth the one to bee the cauſe of the other, and then delighteth in true worſhippers hurt, becauſe they iudge curſedly the good to be bad, & therefore reioyſeth in the puniſhment of the godly. For they being fleſhly, iudge by outwarde things and perceiue not the inward, for that they lacke the ſpirit, & ſo iudge amiſſe, not vnderſtandyng God, what diuerſitie hee ſuffereth, to blinde ſtill the wilfull, and howe thorowe all daungers, hee ſaueth his forechoſen. Thus haue ye giuen a large occaſion, to ſtubburne Papiſtes both to iudge amiſſe, and alſo to reioyce in this wicked chance, contented with our miſchiefe, not likyng our religion, & thinking god doth puniſhe for this better chaūge, & haue therby an yll opinion of gods holy truth, cōfirmed in thē by no ſure ſcripture, but by folowing of miſchāce, which they ought to think to come, for the pride & ſtubburneſſe of yͤ people, who doth not accept Gods glorie in good part, nor giue no due praiſe to their Lorde & maker.

What ſhoulde I ſay more? Yee hurt euerye way, the daungers be ſo great, and the perils ſo many, which do daily followe youre deuilliſhe enterpriſe, that the more I ſeeke in the matter, the more I continually ſee to ſay. And what wordes can worthily declare this miſerable beaſtlineſſe of yours, whiche haue entended to deuide the Realme, and arme the one parte for the killing of the other? For euen as concord is not onely the healthe, but alſo the ſtrengthe of the realme, ſo is ſedition not only the weakneſſe, but alſo the apoſtume of the realme, whiche when it breaketh inwardelye, putteth the ſtate in greate daunger of recouerye, and corrupteth the whole Common wealthe wyth the rotten furye, that it hathe long putryfied wyth. For it is not in ſedition as in other fautes, whiche being miſchieuous of themſelues, haue ſome notable hurt alwaies faſte adioyned to them, but in this one is there a whole hell of faultes, not ſeuerally ſcattered, but cluſtered on a lumpe togyther, and commyng on ſo thicke, that it is vnpoſſible for a Region armed wyth all kynde of wyſedome, and ſtrengthe therto, to auoide the daungers that iſſue out thereof. When ſedition once breaketh out, ſee yee not the lawes ouerthrowne, the Magiſtrates deſpyſed, ſpoyling of houſes, murderyng of men, waſtyng of Countryes, encreaſe of dyſorder, diminiſhing of the Realmes ſtrengthe, ſwarmyng of vagabondes, ſcarſitye of labourers, and thoſe miſchiefes all plenteouſly brought in, whyche God is wonte to ſcurge ſeuerely wyth all warre, dearthe, and peſtilence? And ſeeing yee haue theft and murder, plague and famine, confuſion and ydleneſſe linked togither, can yee looke any more miſchiefe in one ſhamefull enterpriſe, than ye euidently ſee to growe herein? As for warre although it be miſerable, yet the one parte getteth ſomewhat, and reioyceth in the ſpoyle, and ſo goeth luſtyer awaye, and either encreaſeth his countrie with riches, or enhaunceth himſelfe wyth glorye, but in ſedition bothe partes loſeth, the ouercommed can not flie, the ouercommer can not ſpoyle, the more the winner winneth, the more hee loſethe, the more that eſcape, the more infamous menne liue, al that is gained, is ſcarcely ſaued, the winning is loſſe, the loſſe is deſtruction, both waſte themſelues, and the whole moſte waſted, the ſtrengthnyng of themſelues the decaye of the Country, the ſtriuing for the victorie, is a pray to the enemie, and ſhortly to ſaye, the helliſhe turmoyle of ſedition, ſo farre paſſeth the common miſerye of warre, as to ſleye hymſelfe is more haynous, than to bee ſlayne of another. O noble peace, what wealth bryngeſt thou in, howe dothe al thynges floriſhe in fielde and in towne, what forwardeneſſe of religion, what encreaſe of lerning, what grauitie in counſaile, what deuiſe of witte, what order of manners, what obedience of Lawes, what reuerence of ſtates, what ſafegard of houſes, what quietneſſe of life, what honor of Countries, what frendſhip of mindes, what honeſtie of pleaſure, haſte thou alwaies mainteined, whoſe happineſſe we knewe not, while nowe we feele the lacke, and ſhall learne by miſerye to vnderſtande plentie, and ſo to auoyde miſchiefe, by the hurte that it bringeth, and learne to ſerue better, where rebellion is once knowne, and ſo to liue truely, & keepe the Kings peace. What good ſtate were ye in afore ye began, not pricked with pouertie, but ſtirred wyth myſchyefe, to ſeeke youre deſtruction, hauing wayes to redreſſe al that was amiſſe. Magiſtrates moſt ready to tender al iuſtice, & pittiful in hearing yͤ poore mens cauſes, which ſought to amende matters more thã you can deuiſe, and were ready to redreſſe them better than ye could imagine, and yet for a headineſſe ye coulde not be contented, but in deſpite of God, who commaundeth obedience, and in contempt of the king, whoſe laws ſeeketh your wealthe, and to ouerthrow the Countrie, whiche naturally we ſhuld loue, ye woulde proudly riſe, and doe yee wot not what, and amende thinges by rebellion to youre vtter vndoing. What ſtate leaue ye vs in now, beſieged with ennemyes, deuyded at home, made poore wyth ſpoile and loſſe of our Harueſt, vnordered and caſte downe with ſlaughter and hatred, hindered from amendementes, by our owne diueliſhe haſte, endaungered wyth ſickneſſes, by reaſon of miſorder, laide open to mens pleaſures, for breaking of the laws, and feebled to ſuch faintneſſe, that ſcarſely it wil be recouered.

Wherefore for gods ſake haue pitie on your ſelues conſider how miſerably ye haue ſpoiled, deſtroied, and waſted vs all, and if for deſperatneſſe ye care not for your ſelues, yet remember your wiues, your children, your Countrie, and forſake this rebellion, with humble ſubmiſſion acknowledge your faultes, & tary not the extremitie of the Kings ſword, leaue of with repentance, and turne to your ducties, aſke God forgiueneſſe, ſubmit ye to your King, be contented for a common welth one or two to die, and ye capitaines for the reſidue ſacrifice youre ſelues, ye ſhall ſo beſt attaine the Kings gratious pardon, ſaue the aſſemble, and helpe the cõmon welth, and declare youre doings to proceede of no ſtubburneſſe, but all this miſchiefe to grow out of ignoraunce, which ſeeing the miſerie, would redreſſe the faulte, and ſo recouer beſt the blot of your diſorder, and ſtay the great miſeries which be like to folow.

Thus if ye doe not, thinke truely with your ſelues, that God is angry with you for youre rebellion, the kings ſworde drawne to defende his countreye, the crye of the poore to God againſt ye, the readineſſe of the honeſt in armor to vanquiſh ye, your death to be at hand, which ye can not eſcape, hauing God againſt ye, as he promiſeth in word, the kings power to ouerthrow ye, gathered in the field, the cõmon welth to beate ye down with ſtripes & with curſſes, ẏ ſhame of your miſchief to blemiſh ye for euer.

Thus far Sir Iohn Cheeke.

During the tyme of theſe commotions and ſturres here within the realme, to the great danger of the eſtate, the french king hauing knowledge thereof, ment not to omitte the oportunitie offred, to recouer out of the Engliſhmens handes thoſe Fortreſſes whiche they helde at Boullongn and in Boullongnoys. Wherupon he gaue ſommonance to the gentlemen & men of armes, and others of his realme, to put them ſelues in order with al their furniture, that they might bee ready to attende him in his armie in Boullongnoys by a day appointed. And about the ſame time, to wit, in the beginning of Auguſt the French king purpoſing to ſurpriſe the Iſles of Gernſey and Ierſey, apoynted certain Galleys and ſhippes of warre to paſſe thither, but being receyued by the king of Englandes Nauie that laye there, and other of the Iland, they were beaten backe and repulſed, with the loſſe of a thouſand men (as ſome write) and ſo were conſtrained to retire without atchieuing their enterpriſe. Credible worde was brought out of Frãce to the L. Protector, that into one towne in one veſſell were brought at the leaſt iij. ſcore gentlemen to bee buryed, and alſo an inhibition giuen out by the Frenche king, not to ſpeake of the euill ſucceſſe of that iourney.

M. Foxe.

In the meane tyme, the French king being come downe to Abuile, departed from thence the. xvj. of Auguſt, and comming vnto Rue, lodged there that night, and the next day came to Monſtreul, where he found the Conneſtable and Monſieur Daumalle.

The nexte daye beyng the eightenth of Auguſt, he came to his army lodged foure leagues on this ſyde Monſtreull at a Village called Neuf caſtell, neere to the Foreſt of Ardelo, vppon the way that leadeth to Boullongne.

The ſame daye were certaine Pioners ſent to Pont de Bricque to repaire the Bridge there, and to make the wayes eaſy for the artillerie to paſſe. The nexte daye the ſaide Kyng with his armye paſſed by Boullongne berg, and camped that night on a little hill betwixte that foreſt, and the foreſt of Surene.

In this place he cauſed trenches to be caſt about a plot of grounde after the maner of a fortreſſe, within the whiche he left certain bandes of men of warre to bee a ſafegarde to ſuche as ſhuld paſſe to and fro with victuals to furniſh his campe. He ſtayed not there paſt a day and a halfe. but remoued vnto Ardenton, a myle or little more beyonde Marguiſen: From thence he came with his armie, and lodged on a hill, ſomewhat more than a myle and a halfe from Hambleteuue. The French K. hauing viewed the Fortes, cauſed. xxv. peeces of artillerie to be planted againſt that forte, whiche was buylte in a place called the Almayne Campe, but the Frenchmen named it le Fort de Selaque, diſtant from Hambleteuue about a quarter of a myle. The artillerie hadde not gone off little more than the ſpace of two hours, but ẏ Charles Sturton capitain of that peece, and George Willoughby, a gentleman aſſociate with him came forth to parley with the Conneſtable, offering to yelde the fort into his handes, vppon condition they myght departe with bagge and baggage. But as they were thus in hande to make their compoſition, the Frenchemen thruſt foreward to the rampires and entred in plumpes into the fortreſſe, ſlewe. lxxx. perſons, and tooke the reſte priſoners. There mighte bee in al within that peece. CCxxx. perſons, men and women. This hapned the. xxiiij. of Auguſt, being Bartholmewe daye.

Les Chroniques de Aquitaine.

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This done, the King cauſed part of the artillerie to be planted againſt the caſtel of Hambleteuue ſituate at the one ende of the Towne neare to the Sea ſide. Towardes night Monſieure de Vandoſme gaue an approche to the ſaide Caſtell and they within by commaundement of my Lorde John Grey retired to the maine forte to helpe to furniſh the ſame wanting numbers ſufficient to defend it. The next day being the. xxv. of Auguſt the Kyng cauſed approches to be made vnto the greate Fort, and the morrow after, the batterie began moſt furiouſly. The ſame day after diner, the king ſummoned them within to yeld, but the Lord John Gray being generall (althoughe he ſawe howe weake the peece was of it ſelf, and the lacke of ſufficient numbers of men to reſiſt ſuch a puiſſant force (as the french K. had ther with him) wold not yet hearken vnto any talke, nor ſuffer the Herralt to come nere, for that he ſhould not perceiue the weaknes of the pece, and ſo he was cõmaunded to get him thence with ſpeede, or elſe they would cauſe him to be packing ſmally to his eaſe. The French K. ſore offended herewͭ ẏ his Herault was ſo vncurteouſly vſed, cauſed the batterie to be reenforced with greate diligence, which diſmounting their ordinãce wͭ

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and beating downe the Rampires, made ſuche breaches, that my Lord John and the Captains within perceyued they were not able by anye meanes to defende the place any longer. Herevpon they offred to render the Fort to the King vpon compoſition, which in the ende fell oute to be thus, that the Souldiours ſhoulde depart with their liues ſaued, and that their generall for honor ſake, ſhoulde haue one horſe to ryde on in his Corſlet without ſworde or dagger, and likewiſe two other Captaynes with him: but as for the other Souldiers, with the women and children, ſhoulde depart a foote in theyr ſhyrtes, leauing all their goodes and ſubſtance behind them.

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After it was agreed that the Fort ſhould thus be ſurrendered, there entred Monſieur de Caſtillõ that was after Admirall of Fraunce, and Monſieur de Deſſe, lately returned oute of Scotlande.

The French Souldiours entring by ſtealth into the Fort by the breaches, committed foule diſorders, not onely in ranſacking the houſes but alſo in ſpoyling the Souldiours by force entreating them in moſt rigorous maner.

The Frenche writers confeſſe, that it was pitie to ſee thee poore men and women ſo miſerably handled and abuſed, as they were by the outragious Souldiours that thus entred the Fort, and ſacked all that they coulde lay handes vpon. Monſieur de Deſſe ſaued a great number of women, and yong Maydens from the cruell handes of theyr aduerſaryes, cauſing them to paſſe forth by the breache, and preſented them to the King, who appoynted that they ſhoulde bee conueyed in ſafetie with all that they hadde aboute them, tyll they were gotten oute of daunger.

Monſieur de Chattillon by the Kings commaundement, cauſed all the reſt wythin the fort to come forth, who paſſing three and three in a raunge, came before the king, who ſtoode there to beholde them, with the whole armie placed ſo in order on eyther ſyde the way as they ſhoulde come, that they myght paſſe betwixt their ranks, as it were through a lane. They that came forth in this ſorte, myght bee as the Frenche wryters record, about ſeuen or eight hundred in al, of men and women, whereof there were many hurt and maymed, ſome with halfe a ſhyrte on to couer them, and diuerſe ſtarke naked. My Lord John Gray being mounted on a Curtaile, paſſing by the French King, and ſaluting him, was courteouſly of him embraced.

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The Morrow after was the Fort of Blankneſſe or Blaconneſſe rendred to the French king, with the like conditions as they of Hambleteuue had rendred theirs. This was on the Tueſday the .xxviij. of Auguſt.

The .xxix. of Auguſt, ſir Nicholas Arnault conueying all the Artillerie, Munition, vitailes, and goodes out of Bollongne berg, cauſed fyre to be ſet on that Fort, and retyred wyth all hys Souldiours and other people vnto Bollongne, wherevpon ſhortly after the Frenchmen ſeazed vpon the ſayde place of Bollongne berg and kept it.

The French K. leauing Monſieur de Chatillon within Hambleteuue with the olde bandes of the French footemen, returned towardes Bollongne, and approching within a myle and a halfe of the olde Man, ment to buylde there a forte on the ſea ſyde, but what through ſuche ſharpe ſkyrmiſhes as the Engliſh men continually were readie to make with his men, and what through the aboundaunce of rayne whiche fell in that ſeaſon, he was conſtrayned to breake vp his campe, and leauing ſtrong garniſons both of Horſemen and footemen in all thoſe places which hee had in that ſeaſon wonne oute of the Engliſh mens hands, hee returned himſelfe with the Princes of his bloud into France.

In this meane tyme, whyleſt the Frenche King was thus occupyed to vſe the oportunitie of tyme, in recouering of thoſe Fortreſſes in Bollonoys oute of the Engliſhe mennes handes, the Kings Maieſtie, and his Counſayle, were buſie ſtill in quieting his rebellious Subiectes here in Englande, and finally for meane of a full pacification, and to ſette all things in good frame and quiet reſt, the King publiſhed his Graces moſte generall and free pardon to all Rebelles, ſo that they woulde forthwyth vppon publication of the ſame pardon, returne euerye manne to hys houſe and Countrey, whiche they gladly did, and ſo theſe ſeditious and moſte daungerous troubles were brought to ende and pacified.

Grafton.

The counſaile withdraw thẽſelues into priuate conferences.

Nowe after that theſe hurlie burlyes were throughly quieted, manye of the Lordes of the Realme, as well Counſaylours as other, miſlyking the gouernment of the Protectour, beganne to withdrawe themſelues from the Court, and reſorting to London, fell to ſecrete conſultation for redreſſe of things, but namely for the diſplacing of the Lord Protector. And ſodainly vpon what occaſion many marueyled, and few knew, euery Lorde and Counſaylor went through the Citie weaponed, and had their ſeruants likewiſe weaponed, attending vpon them in new liuereys to the great wondering of many. And at the laſt, a great aſſemble of the ſayde Counſaylors was made at the Earle of Warwickes lodging, which was then at Elie place in Holborne, whither all the confederates in this matter came priuily armed, and finally concluded to poſſeſſe the Tower of London, which by the policie of ſir

William Paulet Lord Treaſurer of Englande was peaceably obteyned, and who by order of the ſayde confederates immediately remoued ſir John Markam then lieutenaunt of the tower, and placed in that rowme ſir Leonard Chamberlain. And after that the ſayde Counſaile was broken vp at Elie place, the Erle of Warwike remoued forthwith into the citie of London, and lay in the houſe of one John Yorke a Citizen of London, who was then chiefe maſter of the mynt, kept at Suffolkes place in Southwarke. The Lord protector hearing of the maner of the aſſembly of this counſaile, & of the taking of the tower, which ſeemed to him verie ſtraunge and doubtfull, did preſently the ſayd night remoue from Hampton Court, taking the king with him, vnto the caſtell of Windſor, and there began to fortifie the ſame, & withall wrote a letter to that noble gentleman the Lord Ruſſel Lord priuie ſeale, remayning as yet in the weſt countrey, aduertiſing him of theſe troubles as followeth.

The Protector remoueth in haſt with the king to Windſore.

A letter of the Lord Protectors to the Lord Ruſſell Lorde priuie ſeale, concerning troubles working agaynſt him.

M. Foxe.
A letter of the L. Protectors to the Lorde priuie ſeale.

After oure right heartie commendacions to your good Lordſhip: here hath of late ryſen ſuch a conſpiracie againſt the kings Maieſtie and vs, as neuer hath beene ſeene, the which they cannot mainteyne, with ſuch vaine letters and falſe tales ſurmiſed, as was neuer ment nor intended on vs. They pretend and ſay, that we haue ſolde Bollongne to the French, and that we do withholde wages from the ſouldiours, and other ſuche tales & letters they do ſpread abrode (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wiſh to liue) the matter now being brought to a maruelous extremitie, ſuch as we woulde neuer haue thought it coulde haue come vnto, eſpecially of thoſe men towards the kings Maieſtie and vs, of whom we haue deſerued no ſuch thing, but rather much fauour and loue. But the caſe being as it is, this is to require and pray you, to haſten you hither to the defence of the kings maieſtie, in ſuch force and power as you may, to ſhewe the parte of a true Gentleman, and of a verie friende: the which thing wee truſt God ſhall rewarde, and the Kings Maieſtie in tyme to come, and wee ſhall neuer be vnmindefull of it to. We are ſure you ſhall haue other letters from them, but as ye tender your duetie to the Kings Maieſtie, we requyre you to make no ſtay, but immediatelye repayre wyth ſuche force as yee haue, to hys highneſſe in his Caſtell of Wyndſore, and cauſe the reſt of ſuche force as yee maye make to followe you. And ſo wee bidde you ryghte heartily fare well. From Hampton Court, the ſixth of October.

Your Lordſhips aſſured louing friend
Edward Somerſet.

An anſwere to the Lord Protectors letter.

To this letter of the Lord Protectors ſent the ſixt of October: the Lord Ruſſell returning anſwere againe vpon the. viij. of the ſayd Moneth, firſt lamenteth the heauie diſſention fallen betweene the Nobilitie and him, which he taketh for ſuch a plague, as a greater coulde not bee ſent of almightie God vpon thys Realme, beeyng the next waye (ſayeth hee) to make vs of Conquerours ſlaues, and like to induce vpon the whole Realme an vniuerſall thraldome and calamitie, vnleſſe the mercifull goodneſſe of the Lorde doe helpe, and ſome wyſe order be taken in ſtaying theſe great extremities. And as touching the Dukes requeſt in his letters, for as much as hee had hearde before of the broyle of the Lords, and feared leaſte ſome conſpiracie hadde beene ment agaynſt the Kings perſon, hee haſted forwarde wyth ſuche companye as he coulde make, for the ſuretie of the King as to hym apperteyned. Nowe perceyuing by the Lordes Letters ſent vnto him the ſame ſixth daye of October, theſe tumultes to ryſe vppon priuate cauſes betweene him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a conuenient power ſhoulde bee leuyed to be in a readineſſe to withſtande the worſt (what perilles ſoeuer myght enſue) for the preſeruation both of the king and ſtate of the realme from inuaſion of forreine enimyes, and alſo for the ſtaying of bloudſhed, if any ſuch thing ſhould be intruded betwixt the parties in the heat of this faction. And this he thinking beſt for the diſcharge of his allegiance, humbly beſeecheth hys grace to haue the ſame alſo in ſpeciall regarde and conſideration, firſt that the Kings Maieſtie be put in no feare, and that if there bee any ſuche thing, wherein he hath giuen iuſt cauſe to them thus to proceede, he will ſo conforme himſelfe, as no ſuch priuate quarels do redounde to the publike diſturbaunce of the Realme: certifying moreouer the Duke, that if it were true whiche hee vnderſtandeth by the Letters of the Lordes, that he ſhoulde ſende about Proclamations and letters for rayſing vp of the Commons, he lyked not the ſame. Notwithſtanding he truſted well that his wiſedome would take ſuch a way, as no effuſion of bloud ſhould follow.

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And thus much being conteyned in his former letters yͤ. viij. of October, in his next letters again written the. xj. of October, the ſaid Lord Ruſſell reioyſing to heare of the moſte reaſonable offers of the Lorde Protectour made to the Lordes, wryteth

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wꝛiteth vnto him & promiſeth to doe, what in the vttermoſt power of him (and likewiſe of ſir W. Herbert ioined togither with him) did lie, to work ſome honorable reconciliation betwene him and them: ſo as his ſaide offers being accepted and ſatiſfied, ſome good concluſion might enſue, according to their good hope and expectation: ſignifying moreouer, that as touching the leuying of men, they had reſolued to haue the ſame in readineſſe for the benefit of the realme, to occurre al inconueniences whatſoeuer, either by forraigne inuaſion or otherwiſe might happen, and ſo hauing their power at hand to draw neare, wherby they might haue the better opportunitie to be ſolicitors and a meanes for this reformation on both parts &c. And thus much for the anſwere of the Lorde Ruſſell to the Lord Protectors letters.

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But now to the matter againe of the Lords who togither with the Earle of Warwike (vpon what occaſion God knoweth) being aſſembled at London (as ye haue heard) agaynſt the lord Protector: whē the king with his counſaile at Hampton Court heard thereof, firſt Secretarie Peter with the kings meſſage was ſent vnto them, whom the Lords notwithſtanding deteyned ſtill with thē, making as yet no anſwer to ẏ meſſage. Whervpon the Lord Protector writeth to them in this maner as followeth.

A letter of the Lorde Protector to the Counſaile at London.

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MY Lordes we cōmend vs heartily vnto you. And wheras the kings Maieſtie was informed that you were aſſembled in ſuch ſort as you do, and now remaine, and was aduiſed by vs and ſuch other of his counſail, as were then hereabout his perſon, to ſend maiſter Secretarie Peter vnto you with ſuch a meſſage, as whereby might haue inſued ẏ ſuretie of his maieſties perſon, with preſeruation of his realme and ſubiects, and the quiet both of vs and your ſelues, as maiſter Secretarie can wel declare to you, his maieſtie and we of his counſaile here do not a little meruaile, that you ſtay ſtill with you the ſaid maſter Secretarie, and haue not as it were vouchſafed to ſend anſwer to his Maieſtie, neither by him nor yet any other. And for our ſelues we do much more maruel and are ſorie, as both we and you haue good cauſe to be, to ſee the maner of your doings bēt with force of violence, to bring the Kings Maieſtie and vs to theſe extremities. Which as we do intende if you wil take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and allegiance doth binde vs) to extremitie of death, and to put all to Gods hande, who giueth victorie as it pleaſeth him: ſo if that any reaſonable conditions and offers would take place (as hitherto none hath bin ſignified vnto vs from you, nor wee doe not vnderſtande, what you do require or ſeeke, or what you do meane) and that you do ſeeke no hurt to the kings Maieſties perſon, as touching all other priuate matters, to auoyd the effuſion of chriſtian bloud, & to preſerue the kings Maieſties perſon, his realme & ſubiects, you ſhall find vs agreeable to any reaſonable conditions that you wil require. For we do eſteeme the kings wealth and tranquillity of the realm more than al other worldly things, yea thā our own life: Thus praying you to ſend vs your determinate anſwere herin by maiſter Secretarie Peter, or if you wil not let him go, by this bearer, we beſeech God to giue both you and vs grace to determinat this matter, as may be to gods honor the preſeruation of the king, & the quiet of vs all: which may be, if the fault be not in you. And ſo we bid you moſt hartily farewel. Frō the kings Maieſties caſtel of Winſor the. vij. of October. 1459.

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Your Lordſhips louing friend
Edward Somerſet.

After the recept of theſe letters, the lords ſeeming not greatly to regard the offers conteyned therin, perſiſted in their intended purpoſe, and cōtinuing ſtill in London cōferred with the Maior of London and his brethren, firſt willing them to cauſe a good and ſubſtanciall watch by night, and a good ward by day, to be kept for the ſafegard of the Citie, and the portes and gates thereof, which was conſented vnto: and the companies of London in their turnes warned to watch and warde accordingly.

Then the ſaid lords & counſaylors demaūded of the Lord Maior and his brethren fiue. C. men to ayde them, to fetch the Lorde Protector out of Windſore from the king. But thervnto the Maior anſwered, that he could graunt no ayde without the aſſent of the cōmon counſaile of the citie, wherevpon the next day a common counſail was ſommoned to the Guildhall in London.

But in this meane time the ſaid Lords of the counſaile aſſembled themſelues at the L. Maiors houſe in London, who then was ſir Henry Amcotes Fiſhmonger, and Iohn York, and Richard Turke Sherifes of the ſaid Citie. And there the ſaid counſaile agreed and publiſhed forthwith a Proclamation againſt the L. Protector, the effect of which Proclamation was as followeth.

A proclamatiō publiſhed againſt the lord Protector.

Firſt that the Lorde Protector, by his malicious and euill gouernment, was the occaſion of all the ſedition that of late had happened within the realme.

The loſſe of the kings peeces in France.

That he was ambicious, and ſought his owne glory, as appeared by his building of moſt ſumptuous and coſtly buildings, & ſpecially in the time of the kings warres, & the kings ſoldiers vnpaid.

That he eſteemed nothing the graue counſaile of the Counſaylers.

That he ſowed ſedition betweene the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

That the Nobles aſſembled themſelues togyther at London, for none other purpoſe, but to haue cauſed the Protectour to haue liued within his limits, & to haue put ſuch order for the kings Maieſtie as apperteyned, whatſoeuer the Protectors doings were, which (as they ſayde) were vnnaturall, ingrate, and trayterous.

That the Protector ſlaundered the counſaile to the king, and did that in him lay to cauſe variance betwene the king and his nobles.

That he was a great traytor, and therfore the Lords deſired the Citie and commons to ayd thẽ to take him from the king. And in witneſſe & teſtimonie of the contents of the ſaid proclamation the Lords ſubſcribed their names and tytles as followeth.

The Lord Riche Lorde Chancellor.

The Lord S. John Lorde great maiſter and preſident of the Counſaile.

The Lord Marques of Northamton.

The erle of Warwike L. great chamberlaine.

The Erle of Arundel Lord Chamberlaine.

The Erle of Shrewſburie.

The Erle of Southamton Wriotheſley.

Sir Tho. Cheyny knight, treaſurer of yͤ kings houſe, and Lord warden of the cinque portes.

Sir John Gage knight, conſtable of yͤ tower.

Sir William Peter knight, Secretarie.

Sir Edward North knight.

Sir Edward Montagew chiefe Juſtice of the common place.

Sir Rauſe Sadler.

Sir John Baker.

Sir Edward Wotton.

Doctor Wotton deane of Canterburie.

Sir Richarde Southwell.

The kings letter read to the Citizens.

After the foreſayd Proclamation was proclaimed, the Lords or the moſt part of them continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhal, during yͤ time that the L. Maior and his brethren ſat in their court or inner chamber, & entred and commoned a long while with thẽ, and at the laſt the Maior and his brethren came forth vnto the cõmon counſaile, where was read the kings letter ſent vnto the Maior & Citizens, commaunding them to ayd him with a thouſand men, as hath maſter Fox, and to ſend the ſame to his caſtel at Winſore: and to the ſame letter was adioyned the kings hand, & the Lord Protectors. On the other ſide, by the mouth of the Recorder it was requeſted, that the Citizens would graunt their ayd rather vnto the Lords, for that the protector had abuſed both the kings Maieſtie, and the whole Realme, and without that he were taken from the king, and made to vnderſtand his folly, this realme was in a great hazard, and therefore required that the Citizens would willingly aſſent to ayde the Lords with fiue hundred men: hereunto was none other aunſwere made but ſilence. But the Recorder (who at that time was a worthie gentleman called maiſter Broke) ſtill cryed vpon them for anſwere. At the laſt ſtepped vp a wiſe & good Citizen, named (as maiſter Fox ſaith) George Stadlow, and ſayde thus. In this caſe it is good for vs to thinke of things paſt to auoyde the daunger of things to come. I remember ſayth he, in a ſtorie writtẽ in Fabians Chronicle, of the warre betwene the king and his barons, whiche was in the time of king Henrie the third, and the ſame time the barons (as our lords do now) commaũded ayd of the Maior & Citie of London, & that in a rightfull cauſe for the common weale, which was for the executiõ of diuers good lawes, wherunto the king before had giuen his conſent, & after would not ſuffer them to take place, and the citie did ayd the Lords, & it came to an open battail, wherin the lords preuailed, & tooke the king & his ſon priſoners, and vpon certain conditions the lords reſtored again the king & his ſon to their liberties. And among all other cõditions this was one, that the king ſhould not only graunt his pardon to the lords, but alſo to the citizens of Lõdon, which was graunted, yea & the ſame was ratified by act of parliamẽt. But what folowed of it? was it forgotten? no ſurely, nor forgiuen during the kings life, the liberties of yͤ citie were takẽ away, ſtrangers appointed to be our heads & gouernors, the Citizens giuen away body & goods, & frõ one perſecution to another, were moſt miſerably afflicted: ſuch it is to enter into yͤ wrath of a prince, as Salomon ſaith, the wrath & indignation of a prince is death. Wherfore forasmuch as this ayd is required of the kings maieſtie, whoſe voice we ought to herken vnto (for he is our high ſhepherd) rather than vnto the lords: and yet I would not wiſh the lords to be clearly ſhaken off, but yͭ they with vs, & we with them may ioyne in ſuite, and make our moſt humble petition to the kings maieſtie, that it would pleaſe his highneſſe, to heare ſuch complaint againſt the gouernment of the L. Protector as may bee iuſtly alledged and proued. And I doubt not but this matter wil be ſo pacified, that neither ſhall the king, nor yet the lordes haue cauſe to ſeeke for further ayde, neither we to offend any of them both. After this tale the commons ſtayed, and the Lorde Maior and his brethren for that time brake vp, and afterwarde commoned with the Lordes.

The ſ
Georg
low.

The Lords ſate the next day in counſaile in the ſtarre chamber, and from thence they ſent ſir Philip Hobby with their letters of credence to the kings maieſtie, beſeeching his highneſſe to giue

Sir Phili
Hoby ſe
the king
the Lords

credite to that which the ſayd Philip ſhoulde declare vnto his Maieſtie in their names: and the king gaue him libertie to ſpeake, and moſt gently heard all that he had to ſay. And truly he did ſo wiſely declare his meſſage, and ſo grauely told his tale in the name of the Lordes, but therwithall ſo vehemently and grieuouſly agaynſt the Protector, who was alſo there preſent by the king, that in the ende, the Lord Protector was commaunded from the kings preſence, and ſhortly was cōmitted to warde in a tower within the caſtell of Windſore, called Beauchamps tower. And ſoone after were ſtayed ſir Thomas Smith, ſir Michaell Stanhope, and ſir John Thinne knights, maiſter Whalley, maiſter Fiſher, Woulfe of the priuie Chamber, Grey of Reading, and diuerſe other gentlemen that attended vpon the lord Protector. And the ſame day the Lordes of the counſaile came to Windſore to the king, and the next day they brought from thence the Lorde Protector, and the other that were there ſtayed, and conueyed them through the Citie of London, with as much wonderment as might be, vnto the tower, where they remayned priſoners.

Shortly after the Lords reſorted to the tower, and there charged the Protector with ſundrie articles, as followeth.

Articles obiected againſt the Lord Protector.

1 *In primis*, You tooke vpon you the office of a Protector and gouernor, vpon condition expreſly and ſpecially, that you would doe nothing in the kings affayres publikely or priuately, but by the aſſent of the late kings executors.

2 Alſo you contrarie to the ſayde condition, of your owne authoritie, did ſtay and let iuſtice, and ſubuerted the lawes, as well by your letters as by your commaundements.

3 Alſo you cauſed diuerſe perſons being arreſted and impriſoned for treaſon, murder, manſlaughter and felony, to be diſcharged and ſet at large againſt the kings lawes & ſtatutes of this realme.

4 Alſo you haue made and ordeyned lieutenāts for the kings armies, and other weightie affaires, vnder your owne writing and ſeale.

5 Alſo you haue cōmoned with the Ambaſſadors of other realmes, diſcourſing alone with thē in the waightie cauſes of this realme.

6 Alſo you haue ſometime rebuked, checked and taunted, as wel priuately as openly, diuerſe of the kings moſt honorable Counſailors, for ſhewing and declaring their aduiſes and opinions againſt your purpoſes in the kings weightie affaires, ſaying ſomtimes to them, that you neede not to open matters vnto them, and would therfore be otherwiſe aduiſed: and that you woulde if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take other at your pleaſure.

7 Alſo you had and held againſt the lawe in your owne houſe, a court of Requeſts, and therby did enforce diuerſe the kings ſubiectes to anſwere for their free holds and goods, and determined the ſame to the ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

8 Alſo you being no officer, without the aduice of the counſaile, or the more part of them, did diſpoſe of the offices of the kings gift for mony, and graunted leaſes and wardes of the Kings, and gaue preſentations to the kings benefices & Biſhopriks, hauing no authoritie ſo to do. And further, you did meddle wt the ſelling of ye kings lāds.

9 Alſo you cōmanded multiplication, and alcumiſtrie to be practiſed to abuſe the kings coine.

10 Alſo you cauſed a proclamation to be made concerning incloſures, wherby the cōmon people haue made diuerſe inſurrections, and leuied open warre, and diſtreyned and ſpoyled diuerſe of the kings ſubiects, which Proclamation went forth againſt the will of the whole Counſaile. Count. 1648: fo

11 Alſo you haue cauſed a commiſſion wyth certain articles therunto annexed, to be made out concerning incloſures of cōmons, high wayes, decaying of cottages, and diuerſe other things, geuing the Commiſſioners authoritie to heare and determin the ſame cauſes, to the ſubuerſion of the lawes and ſtatutes of this realme: whereby much ſedition, inſurrection, and rebellion hath riſen and growen among the kings ſubiects. [illegible]

12 Alſo you haue ſuffred the rebels & traytors to aſſemble and to lie in camp and armor againſt the king his nobles and gentlemen, without any ſpeedie ſubduing or repreſſing of them.

13 Alſo you did comfort and encourage diuers of the ſayd rebels, by giuing of them diuers ſums of your owne money, and by promiſing to diuers of them, fees, rewards, and ſeruices.

14 Alſo you in fauor of the ſaide rebels, did againſt the lawes, cauſe a proclamatiō to be made that none of the ſayd rebels and traytors ſhoulde be ſued or vexed by any perſon, for any their offences in the ſayd rebellion, to the cleare ſubuerſion of the ſame lawes.

15 Alſo you haue ſaid in time of the rebellion, that you liked wel the doings and proceedings of the ſayd rebels and traytors, and ſaid that the couetouſnes of the gentlemē gaue occaſion to ye cōmon people to riſe: ſaying alſo, that better it is for the cōmons to die, than periſh for lacke of liuing.

16 Alſo you ſaid that the lords of the parliamēt were loth to incline themſelues to reformation of incloſures and other things: therefore the people had good cauſe to reforme the things themſelues.

17 Alſo you after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by ſuch as did ſuruey Bollongne and the peeces there, would neuer amend the ſame defaults.

18 Alſo you would not ſuffer the peeces beyond the ſeas, called new hauen, and Blackneſſe, to be

bee furniſhed with men and vytayles, although you were aduertiſed of the defaultes therein by the Captaines of the ſame peeces and others, and were thereto aduertiſed by the kings Counſaile: whereby the French king beeing the kings open enimie, was encouraged and comforted to winne the ſaid peeces, to the kings great loſſe, and diſhonour of his realme.

19 Alſo you declared and publiſhed vntruly, as well to the kings Maieſtie, as other the yong Lordes attendant vpon his graces perſon, that the Lords of the Counſail at London minded to deſtroy the king, and you required the king neuer to forget it, but to reuenge it: and likewiſe you required the yong Lordes to put the King in remembrance therof, to the intent to make ſedition and diſcord betwene the king and his Lords.

20 Alſo where the Kings Maieſties priuie Counſaile, of their loue and zeale that they dyd beare vnto the King and his realme, did conſult at London to haue comuned with you to the intent to moue you charitably to amend your doings and miſgouernment, you hearing of the ſaid aſſembly, did cauſe to be declared by letters in diuerſe places the ſayd Lordes to be high traytors to the King, to the great diſturbaunce of the Realme.

And thus much for theſe troubles of the Lord Protectour, and Articles agaynſt him obiected, to the ende (as was doubted) that the ſame ſhoulde haue coſt him his life: but ſuch was the pleaſure of almightie God, diſpoſing mennes heartes as ſeemeth to him beſt, that at length, to wit the firſt of Februarie next, he was deliuered, and the Proclamation before ſet forth agaynſt him reuoked and called in. And thus being againe reſtored, though not to his former office, yet vnto libertie, he continued therein for the ſpace of two yeares, and two dayes, til new troubles chaunced to him as after ſhall appeare.

But nowe to returne to other doings. Whileſt theſe hurles and tumultes were in hande, to the danger of the whole ſtate, the warres againſt the Scottes were nothing followed, according to the former purpoſed meaning of the Counſaile, ſo that it ſeemed neceſſarie to giue ouer the keeping of Hadington, the ſame beeing in deede more chargeable (as was thought) than profitable, ſithe the garniſon there coulde not be vytayled, but with a greate power to conduct the Cariages in ſafetie, the enimies being ſtill readie to take theyr aduauntage to dyſtreſſe them vppon anye oportunitie offred. It was therefore reſolued that the Earle of Rutlande ſhoulde goe thither to ſee the fortifications razed, and to conduct from thence the men and ordinaunce in ſafetie home into Englande.

Hereuppon the ſayde Earle wyth the Almaines and other Souldiours then remayning on the borders marched thyther, and cauſed the Bulwarkes, Rampires, and Trenches to be razed and filled flatte with the grounde, and bringing from thence all the men, artillerie and munition, bagge and baggage, returned vnto Berwike without encounter in peaceable and quiet maner.

Hading
razed.

Shortly after this, the Kings Maieſtie called his high Court of Parliament, which began at Weſtminſter, the. xxiiij. day of Nouember in this thirde yeare of his raigne, and there continued the ſame vntill the firſt daye of Februarie next following, which was in the beginning of the Fourth yeare of his raigne. And among other things there enacted and concluded, one ſtatute was made for the puniſhmente of Rebelles, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, the which lawe was made by occaſion of the late rebellion that happened in maner through the Realme the yeare paſſed, & was not thought nor ment to haue touched any noble man, ſpecially ſuche as the Duke of Somerſet was, which after (as it ſhal appeare) it did, and by that Statute hee was condemned within two yeares next after.

A Parli

An Act
lawfull
blies.

About the ſame tyme, Monſieur de Thermes that ſucceeded Monſieur de Deſſe in gouernment as Generall of the French forces in Scotlande, came before Broughticragge, where he did ſo much by batterie and other kindes of enforcement, that gyuing an aſſault both wyth his Frenchmen and certaine Scots ioyned with him, the. xx. of Februarie, the Fort was entred by fine force, and all wythin it eyther taken or ſlaine. Sir John Lutterell gouernour of that peece, remayned pryſoner amongeſt the Frenchmen.

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Ans

Moreouer, now after the ende of the Parliament, the Erle of Warwicke hauing then higheſt authoritie, and the reſt of the Lordes of the Counſaile, calling to remembrance howe the laſt yeare in the tyme of rebellion, the French king had entred into Bollonois, and wonne dyuerſe of the Engliſh Fortes there being of great importaunce for defence of the Towne and Countrey, the default whereof was imputed to the negligent gouernement of the Lorde Protectour. And for as much as they well vnderſtode that the Frenche King vppon further practiſe had placed a Captaine called the Reingraue wyth diuerſe regiments of Almaine Lancequenets, and certaine Enſignes of Frenchmen, to the number of foure or fiue thouſand at the Towne of Morguiſon, being the mydway betwene Bollongne and Calais, to the great perill and daunger as well of the Countie of Bollonois, as alſo of Calais, Guiſnes, and all the low Countrey.

The king therefore for the defence of the ſayd frontiers, cauſed al the ſtraungers which had ſerued that yeare againſt the rebels, being to the nũber of two. M. to be tranſported ouer ẏ ſea to the marches of Calays. And now at Chriſtmas laſt paſt, by order of the ſaid Erle, and of the counſaylers aforeſaid, Frances Erle of Huntingdon, and ſir Edwarde Haſtings his brother, ſir James Croft, ſir Leonard Chamberlaine, and dyuerſe other Captaynes and ſouldiers, to the number of three thouſand, were ſet ouer to the marches of Calais, to ioyne with the ſaid ſtrangers, minding with as cõuenient ſpeed as they might, to remoue the campe, and otherwiſe to annoy the Frenche. But in the meane time through the diligent trauaile of certaine perſons, ſpecially of one Guidoti an Italian, and a Florentine borne, there was a motion made for a treatie to bee had by certaine Commiſſioners, appointed betwixt the Kings of England and France, for the concluſion of ſome peace vpon ſuch reaſonable conditions and articles as might be thought expedient for the preſent time, and to ſtande with the honour and commoditie of both the Princes.

ſsioners
to treate

This motion tooke ſuch effect, that about the ſeuenth day of Februarie, certaine Commiſſioners appoynted for this treatie, that is to witte, the Earle of Bedforde, the Lord Paget, ſir William Peter the Kings chiefe Secretarie, and ſir John Maſon, arriued at Calays: By reaſon of whoſe comming, the Earle of Huntingdon, and the armie ſent ouer before for the defence of the frontiers were countermaunded frõ any attempt ſo that litle or nothing was done in that voyage, ſauing certaine ſkirmiſhes at diuerſe times, not much materiall to be written of.

Theſe commiſſioners being thus arriued, paſſed from Calais to Bollongne, there to meete with the Cõmiſſioners appoynted for the French king, where as a certaine houſe was newly erected for the ſaid treatie to be had, which was vpon the ſide of Bollongne hauẽ next to France, where after diuerſe meetings and conferences of the Cõmiſſioners of either partie, a finall peace was at laſt concluded betwixt both the realmes. But chiefly among other things, for the reſtitution of Bollongne & Bollonois vnto the French, which was vpon certaine conditions following.

peace con-
led with
ance.

Firſt that the French king ſhould yeelde and pay to the king of England a certaine ſumme of money, and the ſame to bee payde at two payments, as it was then agreed, and for the ſame ſumme the king of Englande ſhoulde render the towne of Bollongne, and all the Fortes thereto adioyning, which he then enioyed, with all ſuche artillerie and munition as was there founde at the taking of the ſame vnto the French king. And for the ſure payment of the ſayde ſummes, the French king ſent into England for hoſtages and pledges, the Counte D'Inguien, Lewes the duke of Vandoſme his brother, the Vidame of Charters, and the duke de Aumale and other. And on S. Markes day next following, being the. xxv. day of Aprill, about. viij. of the clocke in the morning, the Engliſh men did deliuer to the French men the poſſeſſion of Bollongne, and the Caſtels and fortes in the Countie of Bollonois, according to the agreemẽts and articles of peace aforementioned. And the fiftenth day next following the Frenche King entred into the ſayd towne of Bollongne with Trumpets blowne, and with al the royall triumph that might be, where he offred one great Image of ſiluer of oure Ladie in the church there, which was called our Ladie church: the whiche Image he had cauſed ſpecially to bee made in the honor of the ſaide Ladie, and cauſed the ſame to be ſet vp in the place where the lyke Image before did ſtande, the which before was taken away by the Engliſh men at the winning of the towne.

Bollongne giuen vp to the French.

He entreth.

Soone after this agreement, bycauſe of ſuſpition of diſpleaſure and hatred that was thought to remaine betwene the Earle of Warwike and the duke of Somerſet, lately before deliuered out of the Tower, a meane was founde that theyr friendſhip ſhould be renued through alliance, and a mariage was concluded betwene the Earle of Warwikes eldeſt ſonne, and the Duke of Somerſets eldeſt daughter, the whiche maryage was ſolemnized at Shene, the King being then preſent.

The duke of Somerſet deliuered out of the Tower.

A mariage.

After the ſolemnitie of this maryage, there appeared outwardlye to the Worlde great loue and friendſhip betweene the Duke and the Earle, but by reaſon of carie tales and flatterers, the loue continued not long, howbeit many did verie earneſtly wiſhe loue and amitie to continue betwene them.

About this tyme there was at Feuerſham in Kent, a Gentleman named Arden, moſt cruelly murthered and ſlaine by the procurement of hys owne wife. The which murther for the horribleneſſe thereof, although otherwiſe it may ſeeme to bee but a priuate matter, and therefore as it were impertinent to thys hyſtorie, I haue thought good to ſette it forth ſomewhat at large, hauing the inſtructions delyuered to me by them, that haue vſed ſome diligence to gather the true vnderſtanding of the circumſtances.

1551
An.reg.5.
Arden murthered.

Thys Arden was a manne of a tall and comelye perſonage, and matched in maryage with a Gentlewoman, yong, tall, and well fauoured of ſhape and countenaunce, who chauncing to fall in familiaritie with one Moſbye a Tayler by occupation, a blacke ſwart man, ſeruaunt to the Lorde North, it happened thys Moſby vpon ſome miſliking to fall out with hir, but ſhe being deſirous to be in fauour with him againe, ſent him a paire of ſiluer Dice by one Adam Foule dwelling at the Floure de Lice in Feuerſham. After which he reſorted to hir againe, and oftentymes lay in Ardens houſe, inſomuch that within two yeares after, he obteyned ſuche fauour at hir handes, that he laye wyth hir, or (as they terme it) kept hir, in abuſing hir bodie. And although (as it was ſayde) Maiſter Arden perceyued right well their mutuall familiaritie to be muche greater than theyr honeſtie, yet bycauſe he woulde not offende hir, and ſo loſe the benefite which he hoped to gaine at ſome of hir friendes handes in bearing with hir lewdneſſe, which he might haue loſt if he ſhould haue fallen out with hir, he was contented to winke at hir filthie diſorder, and both permitted, and alſo inuited Moſby verie often to lodge in his houſe. And thus it continued a good ſpace before anye practiſe was begonne by them agaynſt maiſter Arden. Shee at length inflamed in loue wyth Moſbie, and loathing hir huſbande, wyſhed and after practiſed the meane howe to haſten his ende.

There was a Painter dwelling in Feuerſham, who had ſkill of poyſons (as was reported) ſhee therefore demaunded of him, whether it were true that he had ſuche ſkill in that feate or not, and he denyed not but that he had in deede. Yea, (ſayde ſhe) but I woulde haue ſuche a one made as ſhoulde haue moſt vehement and ſpeedie operation to diſpatche the eater thereof: that can I doe (quoth hee) and forthwith made hir ſuche a one, and willed hir to put it into the bottom of a Porenger, and then after to poure Mylke vpon it, which circumſtance ſhe forgetting, did cleane contrarie, putting in the Mylke firſt, and afterwarde the poyſon.

Now Maiſter Arden purpoſing that daye to ride to Canterburie, his wife brought him hys breakfaſt, whiche was wont to bee mylke and Butter: he hauing receyued a ſpoonefull or two of the Mylke, miſlyked the taſt and colour thereof, and ſayd to his wife, Miſtres Ales what milk haue you giuen me here? wherwithal ſhe tylted it ouer with hir hande, ſaying, I wene nothing can pleaſe you. Then hee tooke horſe and road towardes Canterburie, & by the way fell into extreeme purging vpwards and downwardes, and ſo eſcaped for that time.

After this, his wife fell in acquaintance with one Greene of Feuerſham, ſeruant to ſir Anthony Ager, from which Green maiſter Arden had wreſted a peece of ground on the backſide of the Abbey of Feuerſham, and there had blowes & great threates paſſed betwixt them about that matter. Therefore ſhee knowing that Greene hated hir huſbãd, began to practiſe with him how to make him away, and concluded that if he could get any that wold kil him, he ſhuld haue ten pounds for a reward. This Greene hauing doings for his maſter ſir Anthonie Ager, had occaſion to goe vp to London, where his maiſter then lay, and hauing ſome charge vp with him, deſired one Bradſhaw a Goldſmith of Feuerſham that was his neighbour, to accompanie him to Graueſend, & he wold content him for his paines. This Bradſhaw being a verie honeſt man, was content, and rode with him, & when they came to Rainham down, they chaunced to ſee three or foure ſeruing men, that were comming from Leedes, and therewith Bradſhaw eſpied comming vp the hill from Rocheſter, one Blackwill a terrible cruell ruffian with a ſword and a buckler, and an other with a great ſtaffe on his necke. Then ſayde Bradſhaw to Greene, we are happie that here commeth ſome companie from Leedes, for here commeth vp agaynſt vs as murthering a knaue as any is in Englãd, if it were not for them we might chance hardly to eſcape without loſſe of our money and liues. Yea thought Greene (as he after confeſſed) ſuch a one is for my purpoſe, and therefore aſked, which is he? Yonder is he quoth Bradſhaw, the ſame that hath the ſword and Buckler: his name is blacke Will. Howe knowe you that, ſayde Greene? Bradſhaw aunſwered, I knew him at Bollongne, where we both ſerued, he was a ſouldiour, and I was ſir Richard Cauendiſhes man, and there he committed many robberies and heynous murders on ſuch as trauailed betwixt Bollongne and France. By this time the other companie of ſeruing men came to them, & they going all togither, met with black Will and his fellow. The ſeruing men knew black Wil, and ſaluting him, demaunded of him whither he went, he anſwered by his bloud (for his vſe was to ſweare almoſt at euery word) I know not, nor care not, but ſet vp my ſtaffe, and euen as it falleth I goe. If thou (quoth they) wilt go back againe to Graueſend, we will giue thee thy ſupper, by his bloud (ſayd he) I care not, I am cõtent, haue with you, and ſo he returned againe with them. Then black Will tooke acquaintance of Bradſhaw, ſaying felow Bradſhaw how doſt thou? Bradſhaw vnwilling to renue acquaintance, or to haue ought to do with ſo ſhameleſſe a ruffian, ſaid, why do ye know me? yea yͭ I do (quoth he) did not we ſerue in Bollongne togither? But ye muſt pardon me (quoth Bradſhaw) for I haue forgottẽ you. Thẽ Green talked with black Wil, & ſaid, whẽ ye haue ſupped come to my hoſteſſe houſe at ſuch a ſigne, & I wil giue you the Seck & ſuger: by his blud (ſaid he) I thank you, I wil come & take it I warrant you. According to his promiſe he came, and there they made good chere. Thẽ black W. & G. went & talked apart frõ Bradſh. & there cõcluded togither that yͤ if he would kill maiſter Ardẽ, he ſhould haue ten pound for his labour, then he aunſwered, by hys woundes that I wil, if I may knowe him, marie to morrow in Poules I will ſhew him thee ſayd Greene. Then they lefte their talke, and Greene bade hym goe home to his hoſtes houſe.

Then Greene wrote a letter to miſtres Arden, and among other things, put in theſe wordes, we haue gote a man for our purpoſe, we may thanke my brother Bradſhaw. Now Bradſhaw not knowing any thing of this, toke the letter of him, and in the morning departed home agayne, and deliuered the letter to miſtreſſe Arden, & Greene and blacke Will went vp to London at the tide.

At the time appoynted, Greene ſhewed blacke Will maiſter Arden walking in Poules. Then ſayde blacke Will, what is hee that goeth after him? marie ſayd Greene, one of his men, by hys bloud ſayd blacke Will, I wil kil them both, nay ſaid Greene do not ſo, for he is of counſel with vs in this matter, by his bloud (ſayd he) I care not for that, I will kill them both, nay ſayde Greene, in any wiſe do not ſo. Then blacke Wil thought to haue killed maiſter Arden in Poules Churchyarde, but there were ſo many Gentlemen that accompanyed him to dinner, that he miſſed of his purpoſe. Greene ſhewed all this talke to maiſter Ardens man, whoſe name was Michael, whych euer after ſtoode in doubt of blacke Will, leaſt hee ſhould kill him. The cauſe that this Michael conſpired with the reſt againſt his maiſter, was, for that it was determined that he ſhould marrie a kinſwoman of Moſbyes. After this, maiſter Arden lay at a certaine Perſonage which he held in London, and therefore his man Michaell and Greene agreed, that blacke Will ſhould come in the night to the perſonage, where he ſhould fynd the dores left open, that hee mighte come in, and murther maiſter Arden. This Michael hauing his maiſter to bed, left open the dores according to yͤ appointment. His maſter then being in bed, aſked him if he had ſhut faſt yͤ dores, and he ſayd yea: but yet afterwardes, fearing leaſt black Will woulde kill him as well as his maiſter, after hee was in bed himſelfe, hee roſe agayne and ſhut the dores, bolting them faſt, ſo that black Wil comming thither, and finding the dores ſhutte, departed, being diſappoynted at that time. The nexte day, blacke Wil came to Greene in a great chafe, ſwearing and ſtaring, bycauſe hee was ſo deceyued, and with many terrible othes, threatned to kil maiſter Ardens man firſt, whereſoeuer he met him. No ſaid Greene do not ſo, I will firſt know the cauſe of ſhutting the dores. Then Grene met and talked with Ardens man, and aſked of hym, why he did not leaue opẽ the dores, according to his promiſe, marie ſaid Michael, I will ſhew you the cauſe. My maſter yeſternight did that he neuer did before, for after I was a bedde, he roſe vp, and ſhut the dores, and in the morning rated me, for leauing them vnſhut. And herewith, Greene, & black Wil were pacified. Arden being ready to goe homewardes, his maid came to Grene, & ſaid, this night wil my maiſter goe downe, whereupon it was agreed that blacke Will ſhoulde kyll him on Raynam downe. When maiſter Arden came to Rocheſter, his man ſtil fearing yͤ blacke Wil would kil him with his maiſter, pricked his horſe of purpoſe, & made him to hault, to the ende he mighte protract the time, & tarrie behinde: hys maiſter aſked him why his horſe halted, he ſaid, I know not, wel quoth his maiſter, when ye come at the Smith here before (betwene Rocheſter and the hil foote ouer againſte Cheetam) remoue hys ſhoe, and ſearch him, & then come after me. So maiſter Arden rode on, and ere he came at yͤ place where blacke Wil lay in waite for him, there ouertooke him diuers Gentlemẽ of his aquaintãce, who kept him company, ſo that black Will miſt here alſo of his purpoſe. After yͤ maiſter Ardẽ was come home, he ſent (as he vſually did) his man to Shepey to ſir Tho. Cheny, then L. Warden of yͤ cinque portes, about certain buſines, and at his cõming away, hee had a letter deliuered, ſent by ſir Tho. Cheny to his maiſter. When hee came home, his miſtres toke the letter, & kept it, willing hir mã to tel his maiſter, that he had a letter deliuered him by ſir Tho. Cheny, & that he had loſt it adding yͤ he thought it beſt, that his maiſter ſhuld goe yͤ next morning to ſir Tho. bycauſe he knew not the matter: he ſaid he would, and therefore he willed his man to be ſturring betimes. In thys meane while, blacke Wil, & one George Shakebag his companyon were kept in a ſtore houſe of ſir Anthony Agers at Preſton, by Greenes appoyntment, and thither came miſtreſſe Arden to ſee him, bringing and feding him meate & drinke many times. He therfore lurking there, and watching ſome opportunitie for his purpoſe, was willed in any wiſe to be vp earely in the morning to lie in waite for maiſter Arden in a certayne brome cloſe, betwixte Feuerſham and the Fery, (which cloſe he muſt needes paſſe) and there to do his feate. Now blacke Wil ſturred in yͤ morning betimes, but hee miſt the way, & taried in a wrõg place. Maiſter Arden and his man comming on their way erely in yͤ morning towardes Shornelan, where ſir Tho. Cheyny lay, as they were almoſt come to the brome cloſe, his man alwayes fearing that black Wil would kill him with hys maiſter, feined that he had loſt his purſe, why ſaid his maiſter, thou fooliſh knaue, couldeſt thou not looke to thy purſe but loſe it? what was in it, three pound ſaid he, why then goe thy wayes backe agayne lyke a knaue ſaid his maiſter, and ſeeke it, for beeing ſo earely as it is, there is no man ſtirring, and therfore thou maiſt be ſure to find it, & then come and ouertake me at the Fery: but neuertheleſſe, by reaſon yͭ black Wil loſt his way, maiſter Arden eſcaped yet once agayne. At that time, black Will yet thought he ſhould haue bin ſure to haue met him homewardes, but whether that ſome of the L. Wardens men accompanyed him backe to Feuerſham, or yͭ being in doubt, for that it was late, to goe through the brome cloſe, and therefore tooke another way, black Wil was diſappointed then alſo. But now S. Valẽtines faire being at hand, yͤ conſpirators thought to diſpatch their diueliſh intention at that tyme. Moſby minded to picke ſome quarrell to maiſter Arden at the faire to fight with him, for he ſayde, he could not find in his hart to murther a Gentelmã in that ſort as his wife wiſhed, although ſhe had made a ſolemne promiſe to him, and hee againe to hir to be in all poynts as mã and wife togither, and thereupon, they both receiued the Sacrament one Sonday at London, openly in a Church there. But this deuiſe to fight with hym would not ſerue, for maiſter Arden both thẽ and at other times had bin gretly prouoked by Moſby to fight with him, but hee would not. Nowe Moſby had a ſiſter that dwelt in a tenement of maſter Ardens, neere to his houſe in Feuerſham, and on the faire euen, blacke Will was ſente for to come thither, and Greene bringing him thyther, met there with miſtres Arden, accompanyed with Michael hir man, and one of hir maides. There were alſo Moſby & George Shakebag, & there they deuiſed to haue him killed in manner, as afterwards he was, but yet Moſby at the firſt woulde not agree to that cowardly murthering of him, but in a fury flong away, and went vp yͤ Abbey ſtreete toward the flower de luce, the houſe of yͤ aforementioned Adam Foules, where he did oftẽ hoſt: but before he came thither now at this time, a meſſenger ouertooke him, that was ſente from miſtres Arden, deſiring him of all loues, to come backe again, to help to accompliſh the matter hee knewe of: heerevpon, he returned to hir again, & at his comming back, ſhe fel downe vpon hir knees to him, & beſought him to goe through with yͤ matter, as if he loued hir, he would be contẽted to do, ſith as ſhe had diuers times told him, he needed not to doubt, for there was not any yͭ would care for his death, nor make any great inquirie for them that ſhoulde diſpatch him. Thus ſhe being earneſt with him, at length he was cõtented to agree vnto that horrible deuiſe, & therevpon, they conueyd black Wil into maiſter Ardens houſe, putting him into a cloſet at yͤ end of his Parlour. Before this, they had ſent out of the houſe all the ſeruants, thoſe excepted which were priuie to the deuiſed murther. Then went Moſby to the dore, and there ſtood in a nighte gowne of ſilke girded about him, and this was betwixte ſixe & ſeuen of the clocke at nighte. Maſter Arden hauing bene at a neighbors houſe of his, named Dumpkin, & hauing cleered certaine reconings betwixt thẽ, came home, & finding Moſby ſtanding at yͤ doze, aſked him if it were ſupper time, I thinke not quoth Moſby, it is not yet ready, then lette vs goe, and play a game at the tables in the meane ſeaſon, ſaid maſter Arden, and ſo they wẽt ſtreight into the Parlor, & as they came by thorough the Hall, his wife was walking there, and maſter Arden ſaid, how nowe miſtres Ales? but ſhee made ſmall aunſwer to him. In the meane time, one cheined the wicket dore of the entrie. When they came into the Parlor, Moſby ſate downe on the bench, hauing his face toward the place where blacke Will ſtoode. Then Michaell maſter Ardens man, ſtoode at his maſters backe, holding a candell in his hand, to ſhadowe blacke Wil, yͭ Arden might by no meanes perceiue hym comming forth. In their pley, Moſby ſaid thus, (whiche ſeemed to be the watch word for blacke Willes comming forth) nowe may I take you ſir if I will: take me quoth maſter Arden, whych way? with that, blacke Will ſtept forth, and caſt a towell aboute his necke, ſo to ſtoppe his breath and ſtrangle him. Then Moſby hauing at hys girdle a preſſing iron of .14. pound weight, ſtroke him on the head wͭ the ſame, ſo that he fel downe, & gaue a great grone, in ſo much, yͭ they thought hee had bin killed. Then they bare him away, to ley him in yͤ counting houſe, & as they were about to ley him down, the pangs of death comming on him, he gaue a great grone, & ſtretched himſelfe, & then black Wil gaue him a great gaſh in yͤ face, and ſo killed him out of hãd, laid him along, tooke the money out of his purſe, & the rings from hys fingers, & then cõming out of the counting houſe ſaid, now this feate is done, giue me my money, ſo miſtres Arden gaue him ten ℔. & he commyng to Grene, had a horſe of him, & ſo rode his ways. After yͭ black Will was gone, miſtres Ardẽ came into yͤ counting houſe, & with a knife, gaue hym ſeuẽ or eight pricks into yͤ breſt. Then they made cleen the Parlor, tooke a cloute, and wiped where it was bloudy, & ſtrewed agayne yͤ ruſhes yͭ were ſhuffled wͭ ſtrugling, & caſt the clout with which they wiped yͤ bloud, & the knife that was bloudy, wherewith ſhe had wounded hir huſband, into a tubbe by the welles ſide, wher afterward, both the ſame cloute and knife were founde. Thus thys wicked woman with hir complices, moſt ſhamefully murthered hir owne huſband, who moſt entierly loued hir al his life time. Then ſhe ſente for two Londoners to ſupper, yͤ one named Prune, & the other Cole, yͭ were Groſers, which before the murther was committed, were bidden to ſupper. When they came, ſhe ſaid, I maruell where maſter

ſter Arden is:wel,we will not tarie for him,come ye and ſitte downe,for he will not be long.Then Moſbyes ſiſter was ſente for, ſhe came and ſate downe,and ſo they were merrie.

After ſupper,miſtres Arden cauſed hir daughter to play on the virginals, they danced,and ſhe with thẽ,& ſo ſeemed to protract time as it were, til maiſter Arden ſhuld come,& ſhe ſaid, I maruel where he is ſo long,wel, hee will come anone I am ſure, I pray you in the meane while let vs play a game at the tables:but yͤ Londoners ſaid, they muſt goe to their hoſtes houſe, or elſe they ſhuld be ſhut out at dores,& ſo taking their leaue, departed.When they were gone,the ſeruãts that were not priuie to the murther, were ſent abrode into yͤ towne,ſome to ſeeke their maiſter,& ſome of other errands,all ſauing Michael and a maid, Moſbyes ſiſter,and one of miſtreſſe Ardens own daughters. Then they tooke yͤ dead body,& caryed it out to lay it in a fielde next to the Churche yard,& ioyning to his garden wall, through the which he went to yͤ Church. In the meane time it began to ſnow,& when they came to yͤ garden, gate,they remembred that they had forgottẽ the kay, and one wente in for it, and finding it, at length brought it,opened the gate,and caried the corps into the ſame field,as it were ten paces frõ the garden gate,& laid him downe on his backe ſtreight in his night gowne,with his ſlippers on,& betwene one of his ſlippers and his foote,a long ruſh or two remained.When they had thus laid him down,they returned yͤ ſame way they came through the garden into the houſe. They beeyng returned thus backe again into the houſe,yͤ dores were opened,and the ſeruaunts returned home yͤ had bin ſent abrode, and being now very late,ſhe ſent forthe hir folkes againe to make enquirie for him in diuers places, namely amõg the beſt in yͤ towne where he was wont to be, who made anſwere, that they could tel nothing of him. Then ſhe began to make an outcry,and ſaid,neuer womã had ſuch neighbors as I haue, and herewith wepte,in ſo much, that hir neighbhrs came in,& found hir making great lamentation, pretẽding to maruell what was become of hir huſbande, wherupon,the Maior and others, came to make ſearch for him. The faire was wont to bee kepte partly in the towne,& partly in yͤ Abbey,but Arden for his owne priuate lucre & couetous gaine, had this preſẽt yere procured it to be wholly kept within the Abbey ground whiche he had purchaſed,and ſo reaping al the gaynes to himſelfe, and bereauing the towne of that portion which was wont to come to the inhabitants, gote manye a bitter curſe. The Maior going about the faire in this ſearch,at length,came to the ground where Arden lay,and as it happened,Prune the groſſer getting ſight of him,firſt ſaid,ſtay,for me thinke I ſee one lye heere, and ſo they looking and beholding the body, foũd that it was maſter Ardẽ, lying there throughly dead,and viewing diligẽtly the maner of his body and hurtes , founde the ruſhes ſticking in his ſlippers, and marking further,eſpyed certaine footeſteppes, by reaſon of the ſnowe,betwixt the place wher he lay,and yͤ garden dore. Then the Maior cõmanded euery mã to ſtay,& herewith appointed ſome to goe about, and to come in at the inner ſide of the houſe thorough the gardẽ as the way lay,to yͤ place where maiſter Ardens dead body did lye,who al yͤ way as they came,perceyued footings ſtill before them in the ſnowe, and ſo it appeared playnely,that he was brought alõg that way from the houſe thorough the garden,& ſo into the field wher he lay. Then the Maior and his company yͭ were with him,went into yͤ houſe,and knowing hir euil demeanor in times paſt, examined hir of the matter,but ſhe defyed thẽ & ſaid,I would you ſhould know I am no ſuch womã. Then they examined hir ſeruants,& in the examination, by reaſon of a peece of his heare and bloud founde neere to yͤ houſe in the way by the which they caried him forth, and likewiſe by yͤ knife with which ſhe had thruſt him into the breſt, and the cloute wherewͭ they wipt the bloud away whiche they found in the tubbe, into the which the ſame were throwẽ, they al cõfeſſed the matter,& hirſelf beholding hir huſbãds bloud,ſaid, oh the bloud of God help,for this bloud haue I ſhed.Then were they al attached,and committed to priſon,and the Maior wͭ others preſently went to the flower de lice,where they found Moſby in bed, and as they came towards him, they eſpyed his hoſe and purſe ſtayned wͭ ſome of maiſter Ardens bloud, and when he aſked what they meant by their comming in ſuch ſort, they ſaid, ſee, here ye may vnderſtande wherefore, by theſe tokens,ſhewing him yͤ bloud on his hoſe and purſe.Then he confeſſed yͤ deed,& ſo he & al the other that had conſpired the murther, were apprehended,& layd in priſon, excepte Grene,black Wil,& the Painter, which Painter and George Shakebag,that was alſo fledde before,were neuer heard of.Shortly were the Seſſions kept at Feuerſham, where all the priſoners were araigned and condemned. And therevpon, being examined whither they had any other cõplices,miſtres Arden accuſed Bradſhaw, vppon occaſion of the letter ſent by Greene frõ Graueſend(as before ye haue heard)which wordes hadde none other meaning,but onely by Bradſhawes deſcribing of blacke Willes qualities, Greene iudged him a meete inſtrument for the executiõ of their pretended murther:wherevnto notwithſtãding(as Greene confeſſed at his death certaine yeares after) this Bradſhaw was neuer made priuie,howbe it,he was vppon this accuſation of miſtres Arden, immediately ſent for to the Seſſions and indited, and declaration made againſt him, as a procurer of blacke Will to kill maiſter Arden, whiche proceeded wholly by miſvnderſtanding of the wordes conteyned in the letter which he brought from Greene. Then hee deſired to talke with the perſons condemned, and his requeſt was graunted: hee therefore demaunded of them if they knew him, or euer had any conuerſation with him, and they all ſaid no. Then the letter being ſhewed and redde, he declared the very trueth of the matter, and vpon what occaſion he tolde Greene of blacke Wil, neuertheleſſe, hee was condemned, and ſuffered. Theſe cõdemned perſons were diuerſly executed in ſundry places, for Michaell maiſter Ardens man was hanged in chaynes at Feuerſham, and one of the maides was brent there, pitifully bewailing hir caſe, and cryed out on hir miſtres that had brought hir to this ende, for the whiche ſhe would neuer forgiue hir. Moſby and his ſiſter were hãged in Smithfielde at London: miſtres Arden was burned at Caunterbury the.14. of March: Greene came againe certayne yeares after, was apprehended, condemned, and hanged in cheynes in the hygh way betwixt Oſpring and Boughton agaynſte Feuerſham: black Wil was brent on a ſcaffolde at Fluſhing in Zeland: Adam Foule that dwelte at the floure de lice in Feuerſham, was broughte into trouble about this matter, and caried vp to London, with his legges bound vnder the horſe belly, and committed to priſon in the Marſhalſey, for that Moſby was heard to ſay, had it not bin for Adam Foule, I hadde not come to thys trouble, meaning, that the bringing of the ſiluer dice for a token to him from miſtres Arden, as ye haue heard, occaſioned him to renue familiaritie with hir againe, but when the matter was throughly ripped vp, and that Moſby had clered him, proteſting that he was neuer of knowledge in any behalfe to the murther, the mans innocencie preſerued him. This one thing ſeemeth verye ſtraunge and notable, touching maſter Arden, that in the place where he was layd, being dead, all the proportion of his body might be ſeene two yeares after and more, ſo playne as could be, for the graſſe did not growe where his body hadde touched, but betweene his legges, betweene hys armes, and about the holownes of his necke, and roũd about his body, ⁊ where his legges, armes, head, or any parte of his body hadde touched, no graſſe growed at all of all that time, ſo that many ſtrangers came in that meane time, beſide the Towneſmen, to ſee the print of his body there on the ground in that field, which field he hadde (as ſome haue reported) cruelly taken from a woman, yͭ had bin a widow to one Cooke, and after maried to one Richarde Read a mariner, to the great hinderance of hir and hir huſband the ſayd Read, for they had lõg enioyed it by a leaſſe whiche they had of it for many yeares, not then expired: neuertheleſſe, he got it from them, for the which, yͤ ſaide Reades wife not only exclaymed againſt him, in ſheading many a ſalte teare, but alſo curſed him moſt bitterly euen to his face wiſhing many a vengeance to light vpon him, and that all the worlde might wonder on hym: which was thought then to come to paſſe, when hee was thus murthered, and lay in that fielde from midnight till the morning, and ſo all that day, being the fayre day till night, all the whyche daye, there were many hundreds of people came wondering aboute hym. And thus farre touching this horrible and haynous murther of maſter Arden. To returne then where we lefte.

A Parliam

About this tyme, the Kyngs maieſtie calling hys hygh Court of Parliamente, helde the ſame at Weſtminſter the three and twentith daye of January, in thys fifth yeare of hys raigne, and there continued it, vntill the fiftenth daye of Aprill, in the ſixth yeare of his ſayd raigne.

In this Parliamente, the Booke of common prayer which in ſome part had bin corrected and amended, was newly confirmed and eſtabliſhed.

The ſweat ſickneſſe.

And in the ende of thys Parliamente, there chanced a great and contagious ſickneſſe to happen in the Realme, whych was called the ſweating ſickneſſe, whereof a great number of people dyed in a ſmall time, namelye, in the Citie of London.

And it ſeemed that God hadde appoynted the ſayde ſicknes onely for the plague of Engliſhmenne, for the moſt that dyed thereof were men, and not women nor children. And ſo it folowed the Engliſhmen, that ſuche Merchants of England as were in Flaunders and Spayne, and other Countreys beyonde the Sea, were viſited therewithall, and none other nation infected therewith.

And it began firſt in Aprill in yͤ North parts, and ſo came through the Realme, and continued vntill September nexte following.

The diſeaſe was ſuddayne and greeuous, ſo that ſome beeyng in perfect health in one houre, were gone and dead within foure houres nexte following. And the ſame being hote and terrible, inforced the people greately to call vppon God, and to doe manye deedes of charitie: but as the diſeaſe ceaſed, ſo the deuotion quickly decayed.

The embaſi
of the coyn

At this time alſo, the Kinges maieſtie, with the aduice of hys priuie Counſaile, and hauyng alſo great conference with merchants and other, perceyuing that by ſuche coynes and copper moneys as hadde bin coyned in the time of the

King his father, and now were commonly currant in the Realme, and in deede, a great number of them, not worthy halfe the value that they were currant at, to the greate diſhonour of the Kings maieſties and the Realme, and to the deceit and no little hinderance of all the Kynges maieſties good ſubiectes, did nowe purpoſe not onely the abaſing of the ſaid copper moneys, but alſo meant wholly to reduce them into Bollyō, to the intent to deliuer fine and good moneys for them. And therfore in the moneth of July by his graces Proclamation, he abaſed the peece of .xij. pence, commonly called a teſton, vnto nine pēce, and the peece of four pence, vnto three pence. And in Auguſt next following, the peece of nine pence was abaſed to ſixe pence, and the peece of three pence, vnto two pence, and the pennie to an halfe pennie.

The eleuenth daye of October, there was a greate creation of Dukes and Earles, as the L. Marques Dorſet, was created D. of Suffolke, the Earle of Warwike made Duke of Northumberlande, and the Earle of Wilſhire made Marques of Wincheſter and ſir William Harbert, maiſter of ẏ horſe, was made Erle of Pembroke, & diuers Gentlemen were made Knights.

The ſixtenth day of the ſaide moneth beeing Friday, the D. of Somerſet was agayne apprehended, and his wife alſo, and committed to the Tower, and with him alſo were committed ſir Michaell Stanhope, ſir Thomas Arondell, Sir Rauf Iuane, ſir Miles Partridge, and other, for ſuſpition of treaſon and felonie, whereof they all were ſhortly after indicted, and ſo ſtanding endicted, the ſeconde day of December next following. the ſaid Duke was brought out of ẏ Tower of London, with the axe of the Tower borne before him, with a greate nūber of billes, gleiues, holbards, and pollaxes attending vpon him, and ſo came into Weſtminſter Hall, where was made in the middle of the Hall a new ſcaffolde, where all the Lordes of the Kinges counſell ſate as his iudges, and there was hee araigned and charged with manye articles both of felonie and treaſon. And when after much milde ſpeech, hee had aunſwered not giltie, he in all humble manner put himſelf to be tryed by his peeres, who after long conſultation among themſelues, gaue their verdict, that he was not giltie of the treaſon but of the felonie. The people there preſent, whiche was a great number, hearing the Lords ſay not giltie, whiche was to the treaſon, thinkyng moſt certaynely, that he was cleerely acquited, and chiefly for that, immediately vpon the pronouncing of thoſe words, he that caryed the axe of the Tower departed with the axe, they made ſuch an outcry and ioy, as the lyke hathe not bin heard, which was an euident declaration of their good willes toward him: but neuertheles, he was condemned to the death, whereof ſhortly after he taſted. The felonie that hee was condemned of, was vppon the Statute made the laſt yeare againſte Rebelles, and vnlawfull aſſemblies, wherein amongſt other things is one braunche, that whoſoeuer ſhall procure the deathe of anye Counſayler, that euery ſuch attempt or procurement ſhall be felonie. And by force of that Statute, the Duke of Somerſet being accompanyed with certayne other, was charged that he purpoſed and attempted the deathe of the D. of Northumberland, the Lorde Marques, the Lorde of Pembroke, and others of the priuie Counſayle, the which by Statute was fellonie.

The Duke of Somerſet cōdemned, returneth to the Tower.

After the D. was thus condemned, hee was againe returned to the Tower, and landed at the Crane of the vintrie, and ſo paſſed through London, where were both exclamations, the one cryed for ioy that hee was acquited, the other cryed out that he was cōdemned. But howſoeuer they cried, he was conueyd to the Tower of London, where hee remained vntill the two and twentith day of January next following.

The Duke being condemned as is aforeſaid, the people ſpake diuerſly, and murmured againſt the Duke of Northumberlande, and agaynſte ſome other of the Lordes, for the condemnation of the ſaid Duke, and alſo as the common fame wente, the Kinges maieſtie tooke it not in good part: wherefore as well to remoue fonde talke out of mens mouthes, as alſo to recreate and refreſhe the troubled ſpirites of the yong King, it was deuiſed, that the feaſt of Chriſtes natiuitie, commonly called Chriſtmas then at hand, ſhuld be ſolemnely kepte at Greenewiche, with open houſholde and franke reſorte, the Court (whyche is called keeping of the Hall) what time of olde ordinarie courſe, there is alwayes one appoynted to make ſport in the Court, called commonly Lord of miſrule, whoſe office is not vnknowē to ſuch as haue bin broughte vp in noble mennes houſes, and among greate houſekeepers, whyche vſe liberall feaſting in that ſeaſon. There was therefore by order of the Counſayle, a Gentleman, wiſe and learned, named George Ferrers, appoynted to that office for this yeare: who being of better credite and eſtimation than commonly hys predeceſſors hadde bene before, receyued all hys commiſſions and warrantes, by the name of the maiſter of the Kynges paſtimes, whiche Gentleman ſo well ſupplyed hys office, both in ſhewe of ſundrye ſightes and deuiſes of rare inuention, and in acte of dyuers enterludes, and matters of paſtime, played by perſons, as not onely ſatiſfyed the common ſorte, but alſo were verye well liked and alowed by the Counſayle, and other of ſkill in the lyke paſtimes, but beſt

George Ferrers maiſter of the Kyngs paſtimes.

beſt of all by the yong King himſelfe, as appeared by his princely liberalitie, in rewarding that ſeruice.

1552

This Chriſtmas being thus paſſed and ſpent with muche mirth and paſtime, wherewith the mindes and eares of murmurers were meetely well appeaſed, according to a former determination as the ſequeale ſhewed, it was thought now good to proceede to the execution of the iudgement giuen agaynſte the Duke of Somerſette, touching his conuiction and attainder of the felonie aforementioned: whereupon, the two and twentith day of January, then next following being Friday, hee was broughte out of the Tower, and according to the manner, delyuered to the Sheriffes of London, and ſo with a greate company of the garde and other with weapons, was brought vnto the Scaffold where he ſhould ſuffer, without changing eyther voyce or countenance, other than he was accuſtomed to vſe at other times.

The execution of the Duke of Somerſet.

The ſame morning early, the Conneſtables of euery warde in London, (according to a precept directed frõ the Cou͂ſel to yͤ Maior) ſtraightly charged euery houſhold of the ſame Citie, not to depart any of them out of their houſes, before ten of the clocke of that day, meaning thereby to reſtreine yͤ great nũber of people that otherwiſe were like to haue bin at the ſaide execution, notwithſtanding, by ſeauen of the clock, the Tower hill was couered with a great multitude, repayring from al parts of the Citie, as well as out of the ſuburbes, & before eight of the clocke, the D. was brought to the Scaffolde, incloſed with the Kings gard, the Sheriffes officers, the warders of the Tower, and other with halberts, where as hee nothing chaunging neither voice or countenance, but in a manner with the ſame geſture which hee commonly vſed at home, kneelyng downe vpon both his knees, and lifting vppe hys hand, commẽded himſelf vnto God. After he had ended a few ſhorte prayers, ſtanding vp againe, and turning himſelfe toward the Eaſt ſide of the Scaffolde, nothing at all abaſhed as it ſeemed vnto thoſe that ſtoode by, neyther with the ſighte of the axe, neyther yet of the hangman, or of preſent death, but with the like alacritie and cheerefulnes of mind and countenance, as before times he was accuſtomed to heare the cauſes and ſupplications of other, and ſpecially of the poore (towards whome as it were with a certaine fatherly loue to his children, he alwayes ſhewed hymſelfe moſt attentiue) he vttered theſe wordes to the people.

M. Foxe.

The words of the Duke of Somerſet at his death.

Deerely beloued friends, I am brought hither to ſuffer deathe, albeit that I neuer offended againſt the K. neither by word nor deede, and haue bin alwayes as faithfull & true vnto this realme, as any man hath bin. But for ſo much as I am by law cõdemned to die, I do acknowledge my ſelfe as well as others, to bee ſubiect therevnto. Wherefore to teſtifie mine obedience whiche I owe vnto the lawes, I am come hither to ſuffer death, wherunto I willingly offer my ſelfe with moſt hartie thankes vnto God, that hathe giuen me this time of repentance, who might through ſuddayne death haue taken away my life, yͭ neyther I ſhoulde haue acknowledged him nor my ſelfe. Moreouer (deerely beloued friends) there is yet ſomewhat that I muſt put you in minde of, as touching Chriſtian religion, which ſo long as I was in authoritie, I alwayes diligently ſette forth, and furthered to my power. Neyther doe I repent me of my doings, but reioyce therein, ſith nowe the ſtate of Chriſtian religion commeth moſt neere vnto the forme & order of the primatiue Church, which thing I eſteeme as a greate benefite giuen of God, both to you and me, moſt hartily exhorting you all, that thys whiche is moſt purely ſette forthe vnto you, you will with like thankefulneſſe accept and embrace, and ſette out the ſame in your liuing, whiche thing if you do not, without doubt, greater miſchiefe & calamitie wil folow. Whẽ he had ſpokẽ theſe words, ſuddainely there was a great noyſe heard, wherevpon, the people were ſtreight driuen into a great feare, few or none knowing the cauſe, wherefore I thinke it good to write what I ſawe (ſayeth Stowe) concerning that matter.

Great fe mong the people.

Stow.

The people of a certaine hamlet whiche were warned to be there by ſeuen of the clocke to giue their attendance on the Lieutenant, nowe came through the poſterne, and perceiuing the D. to be already on the ſcaffolde, the formoſt beganne to run, crying to their fellowes to follow faſt after, which ſodaineſſe of theſe mẽ, being weaponed wͭ billes and halberts, this running cauſed yͤ people which firſt ſaw them, to thinke ſome power had come to haue reſcued the D. from execution, and therefore cried away away, wherevpon, the people ranne, ſome one way ſome another, many fel into the Tower diche, and they whiche tarried, thought ſome pardon had bin brought, ſome ſaid it thundred, ſome that the grounde moued, but there was no ſuch matter.

Grafton.

The Duke in the meane time ſtanding ſtill, both in the ſame place & mind wherein hee was before, ſhaking his cap which he held in his hãd, made a ſigne vnto yͤ people, yͭ they ſhoulde keepe thẽſelues quiet, whiche thing being done, & ſilẽce obteined, he ſpake to them the ſecõd time in thys manner.

The ſeco ſpeech o Duke of merſet to people.

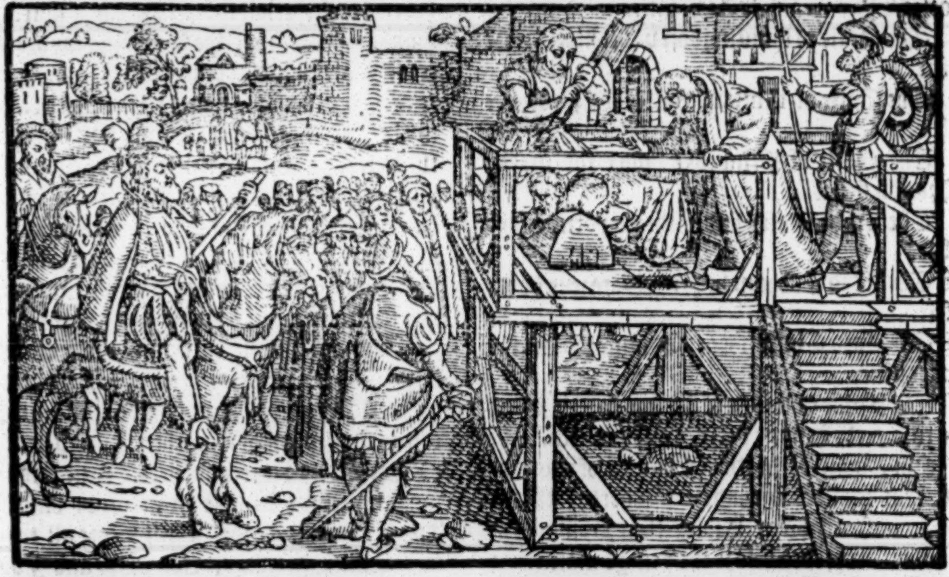
Deerely beloued frẽds, there is no ſuch matter heere in hand as you vaynely hope or beleeue, it ſeemeth thus good vnto almightie God, whoſe ordinance it is meete and neceſſary that we bee all obediente vnto, wherefore I pray you all to bee quiet, and withoute tumulte, for I am euen nowe quiet, and let vs ioyne in prayer vnto the Lorde, for the preſeruation of our noble Kyng, vnto whoſe maieſtie I wiſh continuall healthe, with all felicitie and abundance, and all manner of proſperous ſucceſſe: wherevnto the people cryed out Amen. Moreouer (ſaieth the Duke) I wiſhe vnto all his Counſaylers, the grace and fauoure of God, whereby they maye rule all things vprightly with iuſtice. vnto whome I exhorte you all in the Lord, to ſhew your ſelues obedient, the whiche is alſo verye neceſſarye for you, vnder the payne of condemnatiō, and alſo moſt profitable for the preſeruation and ſafegard of the Kynges maieſtie. And for aſmuch as heeretofore I haue had oftentimes affayres with diuers men, and that it is hard to pleaſe euery man that hath bene offended or iniured by mee, I moſt humbly require and aſke them forgiuenes, but eſpecially, almighty God, whome throughout all my life I haue moſt greeuouſly offended. And vnto all other whatſoeuer they bee that haue offended me, I do with my whole heart forgiue them.

And once agayne deerely beloued in the Lorde, I require that you wyl keepe your ſelues quiet and ſtill, leaſt through youre tumulte, you myghte cauſe mee to haue ſome trouble, whyche in thys caſe woulde nothyng at all proffit mee, neyther bee anye pleaſure vnto you: for albeit the ſpirit bee willing and ready, the fleſh is fraile and wauering, and through youre quietneſſe, I ſhall bee muche more the quieter; but if that you fall vnto tumulte, it wyll bee greate trouble, and no gayne at all vnto you.

Moreouer, I deſire you to beare me witneſſe, that I dye heere in the faythe of Ieſus Chriſte, deſiring you to helpe mee with youre prayers, that I may perſeuer conſtante in the ſame vnto my liues ende.

Then hee turning himſelfe aboute, kneeled downe vppon his knees, vnto whome Doctor Coxe whiche was there preſente, to counſayle and aduertiſe hym, deliuered a certayne ſcroll into hys hande, wherein was conteined a briefe confeſſion vnto God, which being redde, he ſtood vppe agayne on hys feete, without any trouble of mynde as it appeared, and fyrſt bade yͤ Sheriffes farewell, then the Lieutenant of the Tower, and certayne other that were on the Scaffold, takyng them all by the hands. Then hee gaue the executioner certayne money, whyche done, he put off his gowne, and kneeling downe agayne in the ſtrawe, vntyed his ſhirt ſtrings, and then the executioner comming to him, turned downe hys coller round aboute hys necke, and all other things whyche dyd lette and hinder hym. Then hee couering his face wyth hys owne handkerchefe, lifting vppe hys eyes vnto Heauen, where hys onely hope remayned, layde hym ſelfe downe along, and there ſuffered the heauie ſtroke of the axe, whyche diſſeuered the head from his bodye, to the lamentable ſyghte and greefe of thouſandes, that hartily prayſed God for hym, and entierly loued hym.

The death of the Duke of Somerſet.



This Duke was in high fauoure and eſtimation with Kyng Henry the eyght, of whome hee receyued ſundry hygh and great prefermēts, by reaſon that the ſayde Kyng hadde marryed Ladye Iane hys ſiſter, by whome he hadde iſſue Kyng Edwarde the ſixth.

He was not only courteous, wiſe and gentle, beyng dayly attendante at the Courte, but forward and fortunate in ſeruice abroade, as maye well appeare in his ſundrye voyages, bothe in Fraunce and Scotland.

He was of nature very gentle and pitifull, not blemiſhed by any thing ſo much, as by yͤ death of the Ad-

Admirall his naturall brother, whiche could not haue bin broughte to paſſe in that ſorte, without his conſent.

An.reg.6.

Sir Rauſe a Vane and other executed.

The ſixe and twentith of February, ſir Rauſe Auane, and Sir Miles Partridge were hanged on the Tower hil; Sir Michael Stanhope with Sir Thomas Arondell, were beheaded there.

Houſe blowen vp with gunne powder.

The laſt of Aprill, through negligence of the gunnepouder makers, a certayne houſe neere the Tower of London, with three laſt of powder was blowen vppe and brente, the gunne powder makers beeyng fiftene in number, were all ſlayne.

Muſter of horſemen.

The ſixteenth of May, was goodly muſter of horſemen made before the king, in the Parke at Greenewich, vnder the Kings banner his bande of pentioners, in number.150.euery pẽtioner two great horſes and a gelding, the Lord Bray their Lieutenant.

The Lorde Marques of Wincheſter, hygh treaſorer, vnder his banner the Faulcõ, one hundred men.

The Duke of Northumberlande, great maiſter of the Kyngs houſholde vnder the white Lion and the ragged ſtaffe fiftie.

The Duke of Suffolke vnder the Vnicorne in the ſtarre a hundred and ten.

The Earle of Bedford Lord priuie ſeale vnder the goate a hundred.

The Marques of Northamptõ high Chamberlayne vnder the maidenhead a hundred.

The Earle of Warwike, maiſter of the kings horſes vnder the white Lion fiftie.

The Earle of Huntingdon vnder hys banner fiftie.

The Earle of Rutlande vnder the Peacocke fiftie.

The Earle of Pembroke vnder the greene Dragon fiftie.

The Lorde Darcy vnder the maydens bodye fiftie.

The Lord Cobham vnder yͤ Sarazens head, fiftie.

The Lord Clinton Lord Admirall vnder the anker fiftie.

The Lorde Warden of the fiue portes, vnder the roſe in the Sunne beames one hundred.

Grafton.

Not lõg after yͤ death of yͤ ſaid D. of Somerſet, & his cõplices. it chanced yͤ reuerẽd father in God maiſter Doctor Ridley then Byſhoppe of London, to preach before the Kings maieſtie at Weſtminſter. In the whiche ſermon, he made a frutefull and godly exhortation to the rich, to bee mercifull vnto the poore, and alſo to moue ſuche as were in authoritie, to trauayle by ſome charitable way and meane, to comforte and relieue them.

Wherevpon the Kinges maieſtie beeyng a Prince of ſuche towardneſſe and vertue for hys yeares, as England before neuer brought forth, and the ſame alſo being ſo wel reteined & brought vp in all godly knowledge, as well by his deere Vncle the late Protector, as alſo by his vertuous and learned ſcholemaiſters, was ſo careful of the good gouernement of the Realme, and chiefly to do and prefer ſuche things as moſt ſpecially touched the honor of almightie God. And vnderſtanding that a great number of pore people did ſwarme in this Realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, dyd ſuddaynely and of himſelfe ſende to the ſayd Byſhop as ſoone as his Sermõ was ended, willing him not to depart, vntill that hee had ſpoken with him (and this that I now write was the very report of the ſaid Byſhop Ridley) who according to the kings commaundement, gaue his attendaunce. And ſo ſoone as the kings maieſtie was at leaſure, he called for him, and made him to come vnto him in a greate gallerie at Weſtminſter, wherein to his knowledge, and the King alſo told him ſo, there was preſente no moe perſons than they two, and therefore made him ſitte downe in one chaire, and he himſelfe in another, which (as it ſeemed) were before yͤ commyng of the Biſhoppe there purpoſely ſette, and cauſed the Byſhoppe maugre his teeth, to be couered, and then entred communication with hym in thys ſort:

A moſt no
and vertu
ſaying of
Prince.

Fyrſt giuing him moſt hartie thankes for his Sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehearſed ſuch ſpeciall things as he had noted, and that ſo manye, that the Byſhoppe ſayd, truely, truely (for that was commonly his othe) I could neuer haue thoughte that excellencie to haue bin in his grace, that I behelde and ſaw in him. At the laſt, the Kings maieſtie muche commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the pore, but my Lorde (ſayth hee) ye willed ſuche as are in authoritie to be carefull thereof, and to deuiſe ſome good order for their reliefe, wherin I thinke you meane me, for I am in hygheſt place, and therefore am the firſt that muſt make aunſwere vnto God for my negligence, if I ſhoulde not bee carefull therein, knowing it to be the expreſſe commaundement of almightie God, to haue cõpaſſion of his poore and nedie members, for whome wee muſt make an accompt vnto him. And truely my Lorde, I am before all thyngs moſt willing to trauaile that way, and I doubt nothing of youre long and approued wiſedome and learning, who hauyng ſuche good zeale as wiſheth helpe vnto them, but that alſo, you haue hadde ſome conference with others, what wayes are beſt to bee taken therein, the whych I am deſirous to vnderſtand, and therefore I pray you ſay your minde.

The Biſhop thinking leaſt of that matter, and being amaſed to heare the wiſedome and earneſt zeale of the King, was, as he ſayde him ſelfe, ſo aſtonied, that hee coulde not well tell what to ſaye. But after ſome pauſe, ſayde that as he thought at this preſent for ſome entrance to bee had, it were good to practiſe with the Citie of London, bicauſe the number of the poore there are very great, and the Citizens are many and alſo wyſe. And hee doubted not but they were alſo both pittiful & mercifull, as the Maior and his brethren, and other the worſhipfull of the ſayde Citie, and that if it woulde pleaſe the Kings maieſtie to direct his gracious letter vnto the Maior of London, willing him to call vnto him ſuch aſſiſtants as he ſhoulde thinke meete, to conſult of this matter, for ſome order to bee taken therein, hee doubted not but good ſhoulde follow thereof. And he himſelfe promiſed yͤ K. to be one himſelf that ſhuld earneſtly trauel therin.

The King forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the Biſhop tarie vntill the ſame was written, and his hand and ſignet ſet therevnto, and commaunded the Biſhop not onelye to deliuer the ſayde letter himſelfe, but alſo to ſignifie vnto the Maior, that it was the Kings ſpeciall requeſt and expreſſe commaundement, that the Maior ſhoulde therein trauayle, and as ſoone as he might conueniently giue him knowledge how farre he had proceded therein.

The Biſhop was ſo ioyous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had nowe an occaſion to trauayle in that good matter, wherein hee was marueylous zealous, that nothing coulde more haue pleaſed and delighted him: wherefore the ſame night he came to the Maior of London, who then was Sir Richarde Dobbes knight, and deliuered the Kings letter, and ſhewed his meſſage with effect.

The Maior not onely ioyouſly receyued this letter, but with all ſpeede agreed to ſet forward this matter, for he alſo fauoured it very muche. And the next day being Monday, he deſired the Biſhoppe of London to dine with him, and againſt that time, the Maior promiſed that hee woulde ſende for ſuch men, as he thought meeteſt to talke of this matter, and ſo he did. And ſent firſt for two Aldermen and ſixe Commoners, and afterwarde were appoynted more to the number of xxiiii. And in the ende after ſundrie meetings, (for by meane of the good diligence of the Biſhop, it was well followed) they agreed vppon a booke that they had deuiſed, wherein firſt they conſidered of ix. ſpeciall kindes and ſortes of poore people, and thoſe they brought in theſe three degrees.

grees of
te.

The poore by impotencie.
Poore by caſualtie.
Thriftleſſe poore.
} Three degrees of poore.

1 The poore by impotencie are alſo deuided into three kindes, that is to ſaye:
} 1 The fatherleſſe or poore mans chylde.
2 The aged, blinde, and lame.
3 The diſeaſed perſon, by Leprie, Dropſie. &c.

2 The poore by caſualtie are alſo three kyndes, that is to ſaye:
} 4 The wounded ſouldior.
5 The decayed houſholder.
6 The viſited with greuous diſeaſe.

A moſt no
nd vertu
ying of
Prince.

3 The thriftleſſe poore are threee kyndes, that is to ſaye:
} 7 The riotour that conſumeth all.
8 The vagabonde that will abide in no place.
9 The ydle perſon, as the ſtrumpet and other.

iſtes hoſ-
ll.

For theſe ſortes of poore were prouided three ſeuerall houſes: firſt for the innocent and fatherleſſe, whiche is the beggers childe, and is in dede yͤ ſeede & breeder of beggerie, they prouided yͤ houſe that was late Gray friers in London, & nowe is called Chriſts hoſpital, where the poore children are trayned in the knowledge of God, and ſome vertuous exerciſe to the ouerthrowe of beggery.

int Thomas
pitall.

For the ſeconde degree, is prouided the hoſpitall of S. Thomas in Southwarke, and Saint Bartholomewe in weſt Smithfielde, where are continuallye at the leaſt, two hundred diſeaſed perſons; which are not onely there lodged and cured, but alſo fed and nouriſhed.

dewell.

For the thirde degree, they prouided Brydewell, where the vagabonde and ydle ſtrumpet is chaſtiſed & compelled to labor, to the ouerthrowe of the vicious lyfe of ydleneſſe.

They prouided alſo for the honeſt decayed houſholder, that he ſhoulde be relieued at home at his houſe, and in the Pariſhe where he dwelled, by a weekelye reliefe and pencion. And in lyke maner they prouided for the Lazer to keepe him oute of the Citie from clapping of dyſſhes, and ryngyng of Belles, to the great trouble of the Citizens, and alſo to the daungerous infection of manye, that they ſhoulde bee relieued at home at their houſes with ſeuerall penſions.

Now after this good order taken, & the citizens by ſuch meanes as was deuiſed, willing to further yͤ ſame, the report therof was made vnto yͤ K. maieſtie: and his grace for the aduauncement hereof, was not onely willing to graunt ſuche

King Edwarde the ſixth founder of the hoſpitals in London.

as ſhoulde be the ouerſeers and gouernors of the ſaid houſes, a corporation and authoritie for the gouernement thereof: but alſo required that he might bee accounted as the chiefe founder and patrone thereof: And for the furtheraunce of the ſayde worke, and continuall maintenaunce of the ſame, he of his meere mercie and goodneſſe graunted, that where before certaine landes were giuen to the maintenaunce of the houſe of the Sauoy, founded by King Henrie the ſeauenth, for the lodging of pilgrimes and ſtraungers, and that the ſame was nowe made but a lodging of loyterers, vagabondes, and ſtrumpets that laye all daye in the fields, and at night were harboured there, the which was rather the mayntenance of beggerie, than the reliefe of the poore, gaue the ſame landes being firſt ſurrendred into his hands by the Maiſter and felowes there, (whiche landes were of the yearely value of ſixe hundreth poundes) vnto the Citie of London, for the maintenaunce of the foundation aforeſayde.

A bleſſed king

And for a further reliefe, a petition being made to the Kings maieſtie for a licence to take in mortmayne, or otherwiſe without licence, landes to a certaine yearely value, and a ſpace left in the patent for his Grace to put in what ſumme it woulde pleaſe him, he looking on the voyde place, called for penne and ynke, and with his owne hande wrote this ſumme, in theſe wordes (Foure thouſande markes by yeare) and then ſayde in the hearing of his Counſaile, Lord God I yeelde thee moſt heartie thanks that thou haſt giuen mee life thus long, to finiſhe this worke to the glorie of thy name. After whiche foundation eſtabliſhed, he liued not aboue two dayes.

Sir William Cheſter
Iohn Calthrop Draper.

By example of whiche acte of this vertuous yong king, ſir William Cheſter Knight and Alderman of London, and John Calthrop Citizen and Draper of the ſayd Citie, at their own proper coſtes and charges made the brickwals and waye on the backeſide that leadeth from the ſayde new hoſpitall, vnto the hoſpitall of Saint Bartholomewes, and alſo couered and vauted the towne ditch from Alderſgate to Newgate, which before was very noiſome and contagious vnto the ſayde Hoſpitall.

Richard Caſtel ſhoomaker.

This Hoſpitall being thus erected and put in good order, there was one Richarde Caſtell *alias* Caſteller, ſhomaker dwelling in Weſtminſter, a man of great trauaile and labor in his facultie with his owne handes, and ſuche a one as was named the Cocke of Weſtminſter, for that both Winter and Sommer he was at his worke before foure of the clock in the morning. This mā thus truly and painfully laboring for his liuing, God bleſſed and increaſed his labours ſo abundantly, that he purchaſed lands and tenementes in Weſtminſter, to the yearely value of xliiij. *lb*. And hauing no childe, with the conſent of his wife (who alſo yet liueth, and is a vertuous and good woman) gaue the ſame landes wholye to Chriſtes hoſpitall aforeſayde, to the reliefe of the innocent and fatherleſſe children, and for the ſuccor of the miſerable, ſore and ſicke, harboured in the other hoſpitals about London, whoſe example, God graunt many to followe.

Sebaſtian Caboto.

About this time there were three notable ſhips ſet forth and furniſhed for the great aduenture of the vnknowne voyage into the Eaſt by ẏ north ſeas. The great doer and encourager of which voiage, was Sebaſtian Caboto an Engliſhmā, born at Briſtow, but was the ſonne of a Genowaies. Theſe ſhips at the laſt arriued in the cōtrie of Moſcouia, not without great loſſe & danger, & namely of their captaine, who was a worthie & aduenturous gentleman, called ſir Hugh Willoughby knight, who being toſſed and driuen by tempeſt, he was at the laſt founde in his ſhip froſen to death and all his people. But now the ſayde voyage and trade is greatly aduaunced, and the merchants aduenturing that waye, are newly by acte of Parliament incorporated and endued with ſundrie priuileges and liberties.

Three no mariages.

About the beginning of the moneth of Maye next following, there were three notable mariages concluded, and ſhortlye after ſolemniſed at Durham place.

The firſt was betweene the Lorde Guilforde Dudley the fourth ſonne of the Duke of Northumberlande, and the Ladie Jane eldeſt daughter of Henrie Duke of Suffolke, and the Ladie Fraunces his wife, was the daughter of Marye ſeconde ſiſter to king Henrie the eyght, firſt married to Lewes the Frenche King, and after to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke.

The ſeconde mariage was betweene the Lorde Harbert ſonne and heyre of William Earle of Pembroke, and the Ladie Katherine ſecond daughter of the ſaid Lady Francis, by the ſaid Henrie Duke of Suffolke.

And the thirde was betweene Henrie Lorde Haſtings, ſonne and heyre of Fraunces Earle of Huntington, and Katherine yongeſt daughter of the Duke of Northumberlande, which three mariages were compaſſed and concluded, chiefly vppon purpoſe to chaunge and alter the order of ſucceſſion to the Crowne, made in the tyme of King Henrie the eyght, from the ſaide Kings daughters, Marye and Elizabeth, and to conuey the ſame immediatlye after the death of King Edwarde to the houſe of Suffolke in the right of the ſayde Ladie Frauncis, wherein the ſayde yong King was an earneſt trauayler in the time of his ſickeneſſe, and all for feare that if his ſiſter Marie being next heire to the Crowne, ſhoulde ſucceede, that ſhe would ſubuert all his lawes and ſtatutes made concerning religion, whereof he was moſt carefull: for the continuance whereof he ſought to eſtabliſhe a meete order of ſucceſſion by the alliaunce of great houſes by way of mariage, which neuertheleſſe were of no force to ſerue his purpoſe. For tending to the diſheriſon of the rightfull heyres, they proued nothing proſperous to the parties: for two of them were ſoone after made fruſtrate, the one by death, the other by diuorce.

In the meane whyle, the King became euery day more ſicker than other, of a conſumption in his lungs, ſo as there was no hope of his recouerie, whereuppon thoſe that then bare chiefe authoritie in Counſayle, with other Prelates and Nobles of the Realme, called to them diuerſe notable perſons learned as well in Diuinitie, as in the lawes of the lande, namely Biſhops, Iudges, and other, fell to conſultation vpon this ſo weightie caſe, and laſtly concluded vpon the deuiſe of King Edwardes will, to declare the ſayde Ladie Iane eldeſt neece to K. Henrie the eyght, and wife to the ſayde Lorde Guilforde to bee righfull heire in ſucceſſion to the Crowne of Englande, without reſpect had to the ſtatute made in ẏ xxxv. yere of king Hēry the eight: the true meaning of which ſtatute they did impugne & ouerthrow by diuerſe ſubtill and ſiniſter conſtructions of the ſame, to diſinherite the ſayde Kings ſiſters, to whome the ſucceſſion of the Crowne of Englande of right appertayned, as well by the common lawes of thys Realme, as alſo by the ſayd ſtatute made in the ſaid xxxv. yere of king Henrie, as aforeſaid. To which new order of ſucceſſion all the ſaid Kings Counſayle, with many Biſhops, Lordes, Doctors and Iudges of the Realme, ſubſcribed their names without refuſall of anye, except ſir Iames Hales knight, one of the Iuſtices of the Common place, who being called to this counſayle, woulde in no wiſe giue his aſſent eyther by worde or writing, as ye ſhall heare more in the hiſtorie of Queene Marie.

e death of
ng Edwarde
ſixth.

Nowe when theſe matters were thus concluded, and after confirmed by a number of handes, as aforeſayde, then the noble Prince King Edwarde the ſixth, by long lingring ſickneſſe and conſumption of his lungs aforeſayde, approched to his death, and departed out of this life the vj. daye of Iuly, in the vij. yeare of his reigne, and xvij. of his age, after he had reygned and noblye gouerned this Realme vj. yeares, v. monethes and eyght dayes. And a little before his departing, lifting vp his eyes to God, he prayed as followeth.

The prayer of King Edwarde the ſixth at his death.

Lorde God deliuer me out of this miſerable and wretched life, take me among thy choſen, howbeit not my will, but thy will be done: Lord I committe my ſpirite to thee, oh Lorde thou knoweſt howe happie it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy choſens ſake if it be thy will, ſende me life and health that I maye truly ſerue thee. Oh my Lorde bleſſe thy people, and ſaue thine inheritance. O Lord God ſaue thy choſen people of Englande. O my Lorde God defend this Realme from papiſtrie, and maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people maye prayſe thy holy name. And therewithall he ſaid, I am faint, Lorde haue mercie vppon me, and take my ſpirite, and ſo he yeelded vp to God his ghoſt the vj. daye of Iuly, as before is mentioned, whom if it had pleaſed God to haue ſpared with longer life, not vnlyke it was, but he ſhould haue ſo gouerned this Engliſhe common welth, that he might haue bene comparable with any of his noble progenitors, ſo that the loſſe of ſo towardly a yong king, greatly diſcomforted the whole Engliſhe nation, that looked for ſuche a reformation in the ſtate of the Common welth at his handes, as was to be wiſhed for of all good ſubiectes, which bredde ſuche a lyking in them towards him, that euen among the very trayterous rebelles, his name yet was had in reuerence, although otherwiſe they neuer ſo muche forgat their dutie both towards him and other, appointed to gouerne vnder him, through a malicious and moſte wilfull error, as if his tender yeares had not ſufficiently warranted his royall authoritie, but that the ſame had bene vſurped by others againſt his will and pleaſure, and as hee was entirely beloued of his ſubiectes, ſo with the lyke affection he loued them againe. Of nature and diſpoſition meeke, muche enclined to clemencie, euer hauing a regarde to the ſparing of lyfe. There wanted in him no promptneſſe of wit, grauitie of ſentence, ripeneſſe of iudgement, as his age might beare, fauour and loue of religion was in him from his childehoode, his ſkill and knowledge in ſciences, beſide his other excellent vertues, were ſuche, that to them he ſeemed rather borne than brought uppe. It maye ſeeme very ſtraunge, that in his yong yeares (as Maiſter Foxe reporteth of him) hee coulde tell and recite all the portes, hauens, and creekes, not within his owne Realme onelye, but alſo in Scotlande, and likewiſe in Fraunce, what comming in there was, howe the tyde ſerued in euery of them. Moreouer, what burthen, and what wynde ſerued for the comming into

The commendation of king Edwarde.

See M. Foxe vol 2. pag. 1484.

eche hauen. Alſo of all his Iuſtices, Magiſtrates, Gentlemen that bare anye authoritie within his Realme, he knewe their names, their houſe keeping, their religion, and conuerſation what it was. He had a ſingular reſpect to iuſtice, a vertue moſte commendable in a Prince, and chiefely to the diſpatche of poore mens ſuites. He perfectly vnderſtoode the Latine tongue, the French, the Greeke, Italian, and Spaniſhe, neyther was he ignorant (ſayeth Cardanus) in Logicke, in the principles of naturall Philoſophie, or in Muſicke.

To conclude, his towardlyneſſe was ſuche, in all Heroicall vertues, noble gyftes, and markable qualities conuenient for his Princely eſtate, that ſo much was hoped for in his royall perſon (if he had liued till triall might haue bene had of the proofe) as was to be looked for in any one Prince that euer had rule ouer this noble Realme.

Ladie Iane Proclaymed Queene.

But nowe to procede with the doings that followed. Immediately after the death of this ſo worthie a Prince King Edwarde, the aforeſayde Ladie Iane was proclaymed Queene of this Realme by the ſounde of Trumpet, that is to ſaye, the ninth daye of Iulye, at whiche Proclamation were preſent, the Lordes of the Counſayle, the Maior of London, with other.

The Ladie Marie, a little before lying at Honeſdon in Hartfordſhire, hauing intelligence of the ſtate of the King hir brother, and of the ſecrete practiſe againſt hir: by the aduiſe of hir frendes, with all ſpede toke hir iourney towarde hir houſe of Kenningall in Norffolke, entending there to remayne vntill ſhee coulde make hir ſelfe more ſtrong of hir frendes and allies, and withall writeth to the Lordes of the Counſayle in forme as followeth.

A letter of the Ladie Marie ſent to the Lordes of the Counſayle, wherein ſhe claymeth the Crowne now after the deceaſe of hir brother King Edwarde.

MY Lordes we grete you well, and haue receiued ſure aduertiſement that our deareſt brother the King our late ſoueraigne Lorde is departed to Gods mercie, whiche newes, howe they be woful to our heart, he onely knoweth, to whoſe will and pleaſure wee muſt and doe humblye ſubmitte vs, and all our wylles. But in this ſo lamentable a caſe, that is to witte, nowe after his Maieſties departure and death, concerning the Crowne and gouernaunce of this Realme of Englande, with the tytle of Fraunce, and all things thereto belonging that hath bene prouided by acte of Parliament, and the Teſtament and laſt will of our deareſt Father, beſides other circumſtances aduauncing our right, you knowe, the Realme, and the whole worlde knoweth, the rolles and recordes appeare by the authoritie of the King our ſayde father, and the King our ſayde brother, and the ſubiectes of this Realme, ſo that wee verily truſt that there is no true ſubiect that is, can, or woulde pretende to bee ignoraunt thereof, and of our part wee haue our ſelues cauſed, and as God ſhall ayde & ſtrength vs, ſhall cauſe oure right and tytle in this behalfe to be publiſhed and proclaymed accordingly. And albeit this ſo weyghtie a matter ſeemeth ſtraunge, that the dying of oure ſayde brother vppon Thurſdaye at night laſt paſt, wee hitherto had no knoweledge from you thereof: yet wee conſider youre wiſedomes and prudence to be ſuch, that hauing eftſoones amongſt you debated, pondered, and well weyghed this preſent caſe with our eſtate, with your owne eſtate, the Common wealth, and all our honours, wee ſhall and maye conceyue great hope and truſt, with muche aſſurance in your loyaltie & ſeruice, and therefore for the time interprete and take things not to the worſt, and that ye yet will lyke noble men worke the beſt. Neuertheleſſe, wee are not ignoraunt of your conſultations to vndoe the prouiſions made for our preferrement, nor of the great bandes and prouiſions forcible, whereunto ye be aſſembled and prepared, by whom, and to what ende, God and you knowe, and nature can feare ſome euill. But bee it that ſome conſideration politicke, or whatſoeuer thing elſe hath moued you thereto, yet doubt you not, my Lordes, but wee can take all theſe your doings in gracious part, being alſo right readie to remitte and fullye pardon the ſame, with that freelye to eſchewe bloudſhedde and vengeaunce againſt all thoſe that can or will intende the ſame, truſting alſo aſſuredly you will take and accepte this grace and vertue in good part, as appertayneth, and that wee ſhall not be inforced to vſe this ſeruice of other oure true ſubiectes and frendes, whiche in this oure iuſt and rightfull caſe, God in whome oure whole affiaunce is, ſhall ſende vs. Wherefore my Lordes, we require you, and charge you, and euerye of you, that euerye of you of youre allegiaunce whiche you owe to God and vs, and to none other, for oure honoure, and the ſuretie of oure Realme, onelye employe your ſelues, and forthwith vpon receypte hereof cauſe our righte and tytle to the Crowne and gouernemente of thys Realme, to bee proclaymed in oure Citie of London, and ſuche other places as to youre wiſedomes ſhall ſeeme good, and as to this caſe appertayneth, not fayling hereof, as our verie truſt is in you: and thus our letter ſigned with our owne hande ſhal be your ſufficient warrant in this behalfe. Yeuen vnder our ſignet at our manour of Keningall the ix. of July. 1553.

To this letter of the Ladie Marie, the Lordes of the Counſayle anſwered agayne as followeth.

Madame, wee haue receyued your letters the ix. of this inſtant, declaring your ſuppoſed title which you iudge your ſelfe to haue to the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, and all the Dominions thereto belonging. For aunſwere whereof, this is to aduertiſe you, that foraſmuch as our Soueraigne Ladie Queene Jane, is after the death of our Souereygne Lorde Edwarde the ſixth, a Prince of moſt noble memory, inueſted and poſſeſſed with the iuſt and right tytle in the Imperiall Crowne of this Realme, not only by good order of old ancient good lawes of this Realme: but alſo by our late ſoueraigne Lordes letters patentes, ſigned with his owne hande, and ſealed with the great ſeale of Englande, in preſence of the moſte part of the Nobles, Counſaylours, Judges, with diuerſe other graue and ſage perſonages, aſſenting and ſubſcribing to the ſame: Wee muſt therefore, as of moſt bounde dutie and allegiaunce, aſſent vnto hir ſayde Grace, and to none other, except we ſhoulde (whiche faithfull ſubiectes cannot) fall into grieuous and vnſpeakeable enormities: wherefore wee can no leſſe doe, but for the quiet both of the Realme, & you alſo, to aduertiſe you, that foraſmuche as the diuorſe made betweene the King of famous memorie King Henrie the eyght, and the Ladie Katherine your mother, was neceſſarie to bee had, both by the euerlaſting lawes of God, and alſo by the Eccleſiſticall lawes, and by the moſt parte of the noble and learned Vniuerſities of Chriſtendome, and confirmed alſo by the ſundrie actes of Parliaments, remayning yet in their force, and thereby you iuſtly made illegitimate, and vnheritable to the Crowne Imperiall of thys Realme, and the Rules, Dominions, and poſſeſſions of the ſame, you wil vpō iuſt conſideration herof, & of diuers other cauſes lawfull to be alledged for the ſame, and for the iuſt inheritance of the right lyne, and godly orders taken by the late King our Soueraigne Lorde King Edwarde the ſixth, and agreed vpon by the Nobles, and greateſt perſonages aforeſayde, ſurceaſe, by any pretence to vexe and moleſt any of our ſouereygne Ladie Queene Jane hir ſubiectes from the true faypth and allegiance due vnto his Grace, aſſuring you, that if you will for reſpecte ſhewe youre ſelfe quiet and obedient (as you ought) you ſhall finde vs all, and ſeuerall, readie to doe you any ſeruice that we with dutie maye, and to be gladde of your quietneſſe, to preſerue the common ſtate of this Realme, wherin you may be otherwiſe grieuous vnto vs, to your ſelfe, and to them. And thus we byd you moſt hartilye well to fare. From the tower of London this ix. of July.

Your Ladyſhippes frendes
ſhewing your ſelfe an o-
bedient ſubiect,

Thomas Canterburie.
The Marques of Wincheſter.
John Bedforde.
Willyam Northampton.
Thomas Ely Chauncelour.
John Northumberlande.
Henrie Suffolke.
Henrie Arundell.
Frauncis Shrewesburie.
Willyam Penbroke.
Cobham.
R. Riche.
Huntington.
Darcie.
Cheyney.
R. Cotton.
John Gates.
Willyam Peter.
Willyam Cecill.
John Cheeke.
John Maſon.
Edwarde North.
Robert Bowes.

All theſe aforeſayde, except onely the Duke of Northumberlande, and ſir John Gates, were eyther by ſpeciall fauour, or ſpeciall or generall pardon, diſcharged for this offence againſt hir committed, after hir comming to bee Queene.

But nowe vpon the receypt of this aunſwere, vnderſtanding by hir frendes that ſhe coulde not lye in ſuretie at Keningall, being a place open and eaſie to bee approched, remoued from thence vnto hir Caſtell of Fremingham, ſtanding in a woode countrie, and not ſo eaſie to be inuaded by hir enimies.

So ſoone as the Counſell hearde of hir ſodain departure, & cōſidering that all came not to paſſe

The Duke of Northumberlande ſent againſt the Ladie Marie.

as they ſuppoſed. They cauſed ſpeedily a power of men to be gathered togither. And firſt they agreed that the Duke of Suffolke father to the newe made Queene, ſhould haue the conduction and leading of the armie. But afterwardes vpon further conſiderations, it was deuiſed that the Duke of Northumberlande ſhoulde haue the charge of this greate enterpriſe, whiche Duke hauing Commiſſion from the whole counſaile, and his warrant vnder the brode ſeale of England, without miſtruſt of that which after fortuned, tooke in hande that vnhappie voyage to his owne deſtruction: as in the hyſtorie of Queene Marie ſhall appeare: ſo that ſetting apart the feare of all perils (whiche in other leſſe caſes he neuer vſed) when all things were in a readineſſe, he being accompanied with no ſmall number of Lordes and Gentlemen, ſet forwarde on his iourney, hauing notwithſtanding hys times preſcribed, and his iourneyes appointed by the Counſayle, to the intent he woulde not ſeeme to doe any thyng but vppon warrant.

And as he was nowe forwarde on his way, what a doe there was, what ſtirring on euerye ſide, what ſending, what ryding and poſting, what letters, meſſages, and inſtructions went to and fro, what talking among the ſouldiers, what hartburning among the people, what faire pretences outwardly, inwardly what priuie practiſes there were, what ſpeeding and ſending forth ordinance out of the tower, yea, euen the ſame day that Queene Marie at euen was proclaymed Queene, what rumors, and comming downe of ſouldiers as there was from all quarters, a worlde it was to ſee, and a proceſſe to declare, ynough to make (as ſayeth maiſter Foxe) a whole volume, euen as bygge as an Ilias.

The greateſt helpe that made for the Ladie Marie, was the ſhorte iourneyes of the Duke, which by Commiſſion were aſſigned to him before, as aboue is mencioned, and happilye not without the politike forecaſt of ſome in fauour of the Ladie Marie, for the longer the Duke lingered in his voyage, the Ladie Marie the more increaſed in puiſſance, the heartes of the people being mightily bent vnto hir. Wherevpon ſhe in the meane time remayning at Fremingham, & hearing of this preparatiõ againſt hir, gathered togither ſuch power of the noblemẽ and other hir frendes in that countrie, as ſhe coulde get. And firſt of all, the noblemen that came vnto hir aide were the Earles of Suſſex, Bathe, and Oxforde, the Lorde Wentworth, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, Sir Henrie Ierninghan, Sir William Walgraue, with diuerſe other Gentlemen, and Commons of the counties of Norfolke and Suffolke.

Here as maiſter Foxe noteth, the Suffolke men being the firſt that reſorted to hir, promiſed hir their ayde and helpe to the vttermoſt of their powers, ſo that ſhe woulde not go about to alter the religion whiche hir brother had eſtabliſhed, and was nowe vſed and exerciſed through the Realme. To this condicion ſhe agreed, with ſuch promiſe, as no man woulde haue doubted that anye innouation of matters in religion ſhoulde haue followed, by hir ſufferance or procurement during hir reygne: but howe ſoone ſhe forgate that promiſe, it ſhall ſhortlye after appeare.

In this meane ſeaſon, the Lorde Windſor, Sir Edmonde Peckham, ſir Robert Drurie, and Sir Edwarde Haſtings, rayſed the Commons of the ſhire of Buckingham, to whome Sir Iohn Willyams, which afterwarde was Lord Willyams of Thame, and Sir Leonarde Chamberlaine, with the chiefe power of Oxfordſhire. And out of Northhamptonſhire came Sir Thomas Treſham, and a great number of Gentlemen out of diuerſe partes, whoſe names were to long to rehearſe.

Theſe Captaines with their companies being thus aſſembled in warlike maner, marched forwarde towardes Norffolke to the ayde of the Ladie Marie, and the further they went, the more their power encreaſed.

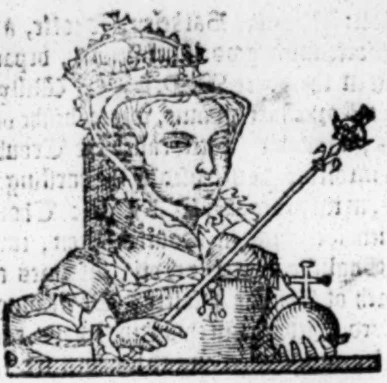
The Lords of the counſel being in this meane whyle at London, after they vnderſtoode howe the better part of the Realme were enclyned, and hearing euery daye newes of great aſſemblies, began to ſuſpect the ſequele of this enterpriſe: ſo that prouiding for their owne ſuretie, without reſpect of the Duke (who nowe was at Burie) they fell to a newe counſayle, and laſtly by aſſent made Proclamation at London in the name of the Ladie Marie, by the name of Marie Queene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, defender of the faith, and of the churches of Englande and Irelande ſupreme heade. Of whiche Proclamation, after the Duke of Northumberlande, being then at Burie, was aduertiſed by letters from the Counſayle, he incontinently, according to the newe order receyued from them, returned with his power againe to Cambridge, and ſuche a ſodayne chaunge of myndes forthwith appeared in his armie, that they whiche late before ſeemed moſt forwarde in that quarrell, beganne firſt to flie from him, and ſo euerye man ſhifting for himſelfe, he that late before was furniſhed of ſuch multitude of ſouldiers, was ſodenly forſaken of all ſauing a fewe, whoſe perils were ioyned with his.

But nowe before I proceede any further in the hiſtorie of Queene Marie, that was nowe receyued & proclaymed Queene, as then to ſucceede hir brother, I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the lerned men that wrote and publiſhed any pamphlets or treatiſes in his dayes, as in deede there were many, but for that the more part of them dyed in Queene Maries time, or in the Queenes Maieſties time that nowe is, or elſe are yet liuing, I doe omit thoſe herē, meaning to ſpeak of them hereafter, if God ſhall permit, as occaſion may ſerue. For the reſidue that ended their liues in this Kings dayes, theſe I finde: Dauid Clapham a lawyer, and well ſeene in the Latine tongue, wrote ſundrie treatiſes: Robert Talbot a Prebendarie of Norwich, very ſkilfull in antiquities: Edwarde Hall a Counſaylour in the Common lawe, but excellently ſeene in hyſtories, wrote a notable Chronicle of the vnion of the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter: Richarde Tracie of Todington in Gloceſterſhire, an Eſquire, and verye well learned, ſonne to Willyam Tracie: Doctor Ioſeph an excellent Preacher: George Ioye a Bedfordeſhire man, that wrote diuerſe treatiſes concerning Diuinitie, and dyed eyther in the laſt yere of King Edwarde, or in the beginning of Queene Maries reygne, as appeareth by maiſter Bale: Alexander Barkeley a Scotte, a notable Poet, and a good Rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare M.D.LII. Willyam Hugh a Yorkeſhire manne, wrote, beſide other things, a notable treatiſe called the Troubled mans medicine, he deceaſed by the burſting of a veyne, in the yeare M.D.XLIX: Thomas Sterneholde borne in Southampton, turned into Engliſhe meeter xxxvij. Pſalmes choſen forth of Dauids Pſalter. Of ſtraungers that liued & died here in this Kings days, excellently learned, and renoumed for ſuch treatiſes as they publiſhed to the worlde, Martine Bucer and Paulus Fagius are moſt famous.

To ende nowe with this parte of the booke, concerning King Edwarde, I haue thought good to ſet downe *Cardanes* verſes, written as an Epitaph of him, as here followeth.

Carmen Epitaphicum Cardani in obitū Regis Edouardi.

Flete neſas magnum, ſed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, veſter corruit omnis honor.
Nam Regum decus, & Iuuenū flos, ſpeſq; bonorū,
Delitiæ ſecli, & gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctaq; Mineruæ:
Floſculus heu miſerè concidit ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus muſæ, ſupremaq; flentes
Munera, Melpone triſtia fata canet.



Queene Marie.

MArie eldeſt daughter of King Henrie the eyght, by the Ladie Katherine of Spayne, his firſte wife, and ſiſter vnto King Edwarde the ſixth, by the fathers ſide, beganne hir reygne the vj. day of Iulye, which daye the King hir brother dyed, and ſhe was proclaymed at London (as is before remembred in the ende of the hiſtorie of King Edwarde the ſixth, the xix. daye of the ſame moneth, in the yeare of our Lorde 1553. After the creation of the worlde 5520. In the xxxv. yeare of Charles the v. Emperour of Almayne. In the vij. yeare of Henrie the ſeconde of that name. king of Fraunce, and in the xj. of Marie Queene of Scotlande.

1553

Queene Marie proclaymed.

The Duke of Northumberlande arreſted.

The xx. of Iuly the Duke of Northumberlande being come backe vnto Cambridge, heard that the Proclamation of Queene Marie was come thither, whereof he being aduertiſed, called for a trumpetter and an Heralt, but none could be founde. Whereupon he ryding into the market place with the Maior, and the Lorde Marques of Northampton, made the Proclamation himſelfe, and threwe vp his cappe in token of ioy.

The Lorde Marques after this, wente to Queene Marie, but the Duke, for that he was appoynted generall of the armie, in the quarrell of the Ladie Iane of Suffolke, was by the Maior of Cambridge and a Sergeaunt at armes, arreſted of treaſon, and the xxv. day of the ſayde Moneth, he with Frauncis Earle of Huntington, Iohn Earle of Warwicke ſonne and heire to the ſayde Duke, and two other of his yonger ſonnes, the Lorde Ambroſe and the Lorde Henrie Dudley, Sir Andrewe Dudley, Sir Iohn Gates Captaine of the Garde to king Edwarde the ſixth, ſir Henrie Gates, brethren, Sir Thomas Palmer, Knightes, and Doctor Sandes, were brought to the tower by the earle of Arundell. But as they entered within the tower gate, the Earle of Arundell diſcharged the Lord Haſtings, taking him out of the tower with him.

The xxvj. of Iulye, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Biſhop of London, the L. Robert Dudley, and Sir Robert Corbet were brought from the Queenes Campe vnto the Tower.

The xxviij. of Iuly, the Duke of Suffolke was committed to the tower, but the xxj. of the ſame Moneth, he was ſet at libertie by the diligent ſuite of the Ladie Frauncis grace his wife.

Queene Marie commeth to London.

After that Queene Marie was thus with full conſent of the Nobles and Commons of the Realme proclaymed Queene, ſhee being then in Norffolke, at hir Caſtell of Framingham, repayred with all ſpeede to the Citie of London, and the thirde day of the ſayd moneth of Auguſt ſhe came to the ſayde citie, and ſo to the tower, where the Ladie Iane of Suffolke (late afore proclaymed Queene) with hir huſbande the Lorde Guilforde, a little before hir comming, were cōmitted to warde, and there remained almoſt after fiue monethes. And by the waye, as the Queene thus paſſed, ſhe was ioyfully ſaluted of all the people, without anye miſliking, ſauing that it was much feared of manye, that ſhe woulde alter the religion ſet forth by King Edwarde hir brother, whereof then were giuen iuſt occaſions, bicauſe (notwithſtanding diuers lawes made to the contrarie) ſhee had daylye Maſſe and Latine ſeruice ſayde before hir in the Tower.

Priſoners diſcharged.

At hir entrie into the Tower there were preſented to hir certaine priſoners, namely Thomas Duke of Norffolke, who in the laſt yeare of king Henrie the eyght (as you haue hearde) was ſuppoſed to be attainted of treaſon, but in the Parliament holden in this firſt yeare of Queene Marie, the ſayde ſuppoſed attaindour was by the authoritie and acte of Parliament, for good and apparaunt cauſes alledged in the ſayde acte, declared to be vtterlye fruſtrate and voyde. Alſo Edwarde Courtney ſonne and heyre of Henrie Marques of Exceter, coſin germaine to king Henrie the eyght, and Cuthbert Tunſtall Biſhop of Durham, with other perſons of great calling: but eſpeciallye Stephen Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, whome ſhe not onely releaſed of impriſonment, but alſo immediatly aduaunced and preferred to bee Lorde Chaunceler of Englande, reſtoring him alſo to his former eſtate and Biſhopricke, and remoued from the ſame one Doctor Poynet, who a little before was placed therein by the gifte of King Edward the ſixth.

Stephen Gardiner made L. Chancelor.

And touching Edwarde Courtney, ſhe not

onely

ward Court ey created arle of De- onſhire.

aduaunced him to the Earledome of Deuonſhire, but alſo to ſo muche of his fathers poſſeſſions as there remayned in hir handes, whereby it was then thought of many, that ſhe bare affection to him by way of mariage: but it came not ſo to paſſe (for what cauſe I am not able to giue any reaſon) but ſurely the ſubiectes of Englande were moſt deſirous thereof.

Vpon the receyuing of this newe Queene, all the Biſhops which had bene depriued in the time of King Edwarde the ſixth hir brother, for the cauſe of religion, were nowe againe reſtored to their Biſhopricks, and ſuch other as were placed in King Edwarde his time, remoued from their ſeates, and other of contrarie religion placed. Amongſt whome, Edmonde Bonner Doctor of the lawes, late afore depriued from the ſea of London, and committed priſoner to the Marſhalſee by order of King Edwards Counſayle, was with all fauour reſtored to his libertie and Biſhopricke, maiſter Nicholas Ridley Doctor in Diuinitie, late before aduaunced to the ſame ſea by the ſaide King, was haſtily diſplaced, and committed priſoner to the tower of London. The cauſe why ſuch extremitie was vſed towardes the ſayde Biſhop Ridley, more than to [illegible], was, for that in the time of Ladie Iane, he preached a ſermon at Paules croſſe by the commaundement of King Edwardes Counſayle, wherein he diſſuaded the people, for ſundrie cauſes, from receyuing the Ladie Marie as Queene.

Doctor Borne

The xiij. of Auguſt, Doctor Bonner reſtored nowe to his Biſhopricke againe, appointed one late a chaplaine of his called Doctor Borne, to preach at Paules croſſe, who was then promoted to the Queenes ſeruice, and not long afterwarde was made Biſhop of Bathe, the ſayde Doctor taking occaſion of the Goſpell of that day, ſpake ſomewhat largely in the iuſtifying of Biſhop Bonner being preſent at the Sermon, whiche Biſhop (as the ſayde Preacher then openly ſayde) for a Sermon made vpon the ſame Text, and in the ſame place, the ſame day foure yeares afore paſſed, was moſt vniuſtly caſt into the vile dungeon of the Marſhalſee among theeues, and there kept during the time of king Edwardes reigne. This matter being ſet forth with great vehemencie, ſo muche offended the eares of part of the audience, that they brake ſilence, and began to murmure and throng togither, in ſuch ſort as the Maior and Aldermen with other of the wiſer ſort then preſent, feared muche an vprore.

dagger rowne at e preacher.

During which muttering, one more feruent than his fellowes, threwe a dagger at the Preacher, but who it was, came not to knowledge, by reaſon of which outrage, the Preacher withdrewe himſelfe from the Pulpit, and one maiſter Bradforde at the requeſt of the Preachers brother, and others ſtanding there, tooke the place, and ſpake ſo mildely to the people, that with fewe wordes he appeaſed their furie, and after the ſayde maiſter Bradforde and maiſter Rogers, although men of contrarie religion, conueyed the ſayd Preacher into Paules ſchole, and there left him in ſafetie.

The next Sundaye following, for feare of a like tumult or worſe, order was taken, that the Queenes garde ſhoulde be preſent in the place to defende the Preacher with weapons. Wherevpon the wiſer men perceyuing ſuche a number of weapons, and that great perill was not vnlike to enſue, by ſuche apparance, of late not accuſtomed, woulde not bee preſent at the Sermon, by reaſon whereof there was left a ſmall auditorie. Wherefore afterwarde there was a commaundement giuen by the Lorde Maior, that the auncients of the companies ſhoulde be preſent at the nexte Sermon in their liueries, and ſo they were, whereby all became quiet.

The Duke of Northumberland arreigned

The xviij. of Auguſt next folowing, the Duke of Northumberlande, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, and the Earle of Warwicke ſonne and heire to the ſayd Duke, were brought into Weſtminſter hall, and there arreygned of highe treaſon, before Thomas Duke of Norfolke, high Stewarde of Englande.

The Duke of Northumberland at his comming to the barre, vſed great reuerence towards the Iudges, and proteſting his faith and allegiance to the Queenes maieſtie, whome he confeſſed grieuouſly to haue offended, he ſayde that he ment not to ſpeake any thing in defence of his facte, but woulde firſt vnderſtande the opinion of the Court in two points, firſt whether a man doing any act by authoritie of the Princes counſayle, and by warrant of the great ſeale of Englande, and doing nothing without the ſame, maye be charged with treaſon for anye thing which he might do by warrant therof? Secondly, whether any ſuche perſons as were equallye culpable in that crime, and thoſe by whoſe letters and commaundementes he was directed in all his doings, might be his iudges, or paſſe vpon his triall as his peeres? Wherevnto was anſwered, that as concerning the firſt, the great ſeale (which he layde for his warrant) was not the ſeale of the lawfull queene of the Realme, nor paſſed by authoritie, but the ſeale of an vſurper, and therefore coulde be no warrant to him. As to the ſeconde it was alledged, that if any were as deepely to be touched in that caſe as himſelfe, yet ſo long as no atteyndor were of recorde againſt them, they were neuertheleſſe perſons able in lawe to paſſe vpon any triall, and not to be challenged therefore, but at the Princes pleaſure.

After whiche aunſwere, the Duke vſing a fewe wordes, declaring his earneſt repentaunce in the caſe, (for he ſawe that to ſtande vpon vttering any reaſonable matter, as might ſeeme, woulde little preuayle) he moued the Duke of Norffolke to bee a meane to the Queene for mercie, & without further anſwere confeſſed the inditement, by whoſe example, the other priſoners arreygned with him, did likewiſe confeſſe the inditementes produced againſt them, and therevpon had iudgement.

The xix. of Auguſt, Sir Andrewe Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Henrie Gates, brethren, and Sir Thomas Palmer, Knightes, were arreygned at Weſtminſter, and confeſſing their inditements, had iudgemẽt which was pronounced by the Marques of Wincheſter high Treaſurer of Englande that ſate that day as chiefe Juſtice.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded

The xxij. of the ſayde moneth of Auguſt, the ſayde Duke, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were executed at the tower hill, and all the reſt ſhortlye after had their pardons graunted by the Queene, who, as it was thought, coulde alſo haue bene contented to haue pardoned the Duke as well as the other, for the ſpeciall fauour that ſhe had borne to him afore time.

The Archbiſhop of Canterburie committed to the tower.

Soone after this, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and late before of King Edwards priuie Counſayle, was committed to the tower of London, being charged of treaſon, not onely for giuing aduiſe to the diſhinheriting of Queene Marie: but alſo for ayding the D. of Northumberlande with certayne horſe and men againſt the Queene, in the quarrell of the Ladie Jane of Suffolke.

Queene Marie crowned.

A pardon with exceptions.

The laſt day of September next following, the Queene paſſed from the tower through the Citie of London vnto Weſtminſter, and the next daye being the firſt of October ſhee was crowned at Weſtminſter, by Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter (for the Archbiſhops of Caunterburie and Yorke were then priſoners in the tower) as before yee haue hearde, at the time of whoſe coronation, there was publiſhed a generall pardon in hir name, being interlaced with ſo manye exceptions, as they that needed the ſame moſt, tooke ſmalleſt benefite thereby. In which were excepted by name no ſmal number, not onely of Biſhops and other of the Clergie, namely the Archbiſhops of Caunterburie and Yorke, the Biſhop of London, but alſo many Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemenne of the laytie, beſide the two chiefe Juſtices of Englande called Sir Edwarde Mountague, and Sir Roger Cholmeley, and ſome other learned men in the lawe, for counſayling, or at the leaſt conſenting to the depriuation of Queene Marie, and ayding of the foreſayde Duke of Northumberlande, in the pretenſed right of the afore named Ladie Jane, the names of whiche perſons ſo being excepted, I haue omitted for ſhortneſſe ſake.

Commiſsioners.

Aſſoone as this pardon was publyſhed, and the ſolemnitie of the feaſt of the Coronation ended, there were certayne Commiſſioners aſſigned to take order with all ſuch perſons as were excepted out of the pardon, and others, to compounde with the Queene for their ſeuerall offences, which Commiſſioners ſate at the Deane of Paules his houſe, at the weſt ende of Paules Church, and there called afore them the ſayde perſons apart, and from ſome, they tooke their fees and offices, graunted before by King Edwarde the ſixth, and yet neuertheleſſe putting them to their fines, and ſome they committed to warde, depriuing them of their ſtates and liuings, ſo that for the time, to thoſe that taſted thereof, it ſeemed verye grieuous. God deliuer vs from incurring the lyke daunger of lawe agayne.

A Parliament.

The v. daye of October next following, the Queene helde hir highe Court of Parliament at Weſtminſter, which continued vntill the xxj. day of the ſayde moneth.

Treaſon. Felonie. Premunire.

In the firſt ſeſſion of whiche Parliament, there paſſed no more Actes but one, and that was, to declare Queene Marie lawfull heire in diſcent to the crowne of Englande by the common lawes, next after hir brother king Edwarde, and to repeale certaine cauſes of treaſon, felonie, and premunire, contayned in diuerſe former Statutes: the whiche acte of Repeale was, for that Cardinall Poole was eſpeciallye looked for (as after ye ſhall heare) for the reducing of the Church of Englande to the Popes obedience: and to the ende that the ſayde Cardinall nowe called into Englande from Rome, might holde his Courtes Legantine withoute the daunger of the Statutes of the Premunire, made in that caſe, wherevnto Cardinall Wolſey (when he was Legate) had incurred to his no ſmall loſſe, and to the charge of all the Clergie of Englande, for exerciſing the like power: the which acte being once paſſed, forthwith the Queene repayred to the Parliament houſe, and gaue therevnto hir royall aſſent, and then proroged the Parliament vnto the xxiiij. day of the ſayde Moneth.

The Parliament proroged.

In which ſeconde ſeſſion were confirmed and made diuerſe and ſundrie Statutes concerning religion, whereof ſome were reſtored, and other repealed.

It

Sir James Hales in trouble for religion.

At this time many were in trouble for religion, and among other, Sir James Hales Knight, one of the Juſtices of the Common place, whiche Juſtice being called among other by the Counſayle of King Edwarde to ſubſcribe to a deuiſe made for the diſinheriting of Queene Marie, and the Ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, woulde in no wiſe aſſent to the ſame, though moſt of the other did: yet that notwithſtanding, for that he at a quarter Seſſions holden in Kent, gaue charge vpon the Statutes of King Henry the eyght, and King Edwarde the ſixth, in derogation of the Primacie of the Church of Rome, aboliſhed by King Henrie the eight, he was firſt committed priſoner to the Kings bench, then to the Counter, and laſt to the Fleete, where, whether it were through extreeme feare, or elſe by reaſon of ſuch talke as the warden of the Fleete vſed vnto him, of more trouble like to inſue, if he perſiſted in his opinion (or for what other cauſe, God knoweth) he was ſo moued, troubled, & vexed, that he ſought to ryd himſelfe out of this life, whiche thing he firſt attempted in the Fleete, by wounding himſelfe with a Penknife, well neare to death. Neuertheleſſe afterwarde being recouered of that hurt, he ſeemed to be verye comformable to all the Queenes proceedings, and was therevpon deliuered of his impriſonment, and brought to the Queenes preſence, who gaue him wordes of great comfort: neuertheleſſe his mynde was not quiet (as afterwarde well appeared) for in the end he drowned himſelf in a riuer not half a mile from his dwelling houſe in Kent, the riuer being ſo ſhalow, that he was faine to lye groueling before he coulde diſpatche himſelfe, whoſe death was much lamented. For beſide that he was a man wiſe, vertuous, and learned in the lawes of the Realme, he was alſo a good and true miniſter of Juſtice, whereby he gate him great fauor and eſtimation among all degrees.

He drowneth himſelfe.

A publike diſputation.

During the aforeſayde Parliament, aboute the xviij. daye of October, there was kepte at Paules Church in London, a publike diſputation appoynted by the Queenes commaundement, aboute the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the Aultar, which diſputation continued ſixe dayes, Doctor Weſton then being Prolocutor of the Conuocation, who vſed many vnſeemely checkes and tauntes againſt the one part, to the preiudice of their cauſe. By reaſon whereof, the diſputers neuer reſolued vpon the article proponed, but grewe daily more and more into contention, without any frute of their long conference, and ſo ended this diſputation, with theſe wordes ſpoken by Doctor Weſton Prolocutor: It is not the Queenes pleaſure that we ſhoulde herein ſpende anye longer time, and ye are well ynough, for you haue the word, and we haue the ſworde. But of this matter ye may reade more in the booke of the Monuments of the Church.

Cardinall Pole ſent for home.

At this time was Cardinall Poole ſent for to Rome by the Queene, who was very deſirous of his comming, as well for the cauſes afore declared, as alſo for the great affection that ſhee had to him being hir neere kinſeman, and conſenting with hir in religion.

This meſſage was moſt thankfully receyued at Rome, and order taken to ſende the ſayde Cardinal hither with great expedition: but before his comming, Queene Marie had maried Philip Prince of Spaine, as after ſhall appeare.

The Counſell deuided about the receyuing of the Cardinall.

But here to touche ſomewhat the comming of the ſayde Cardinal. When he was arriued at Caleys, there was conference had amongſt the Counſaylors of the Queene for the maner of his receyuing: ſome woulde haue had him very honorably met and intertayned, as he was in all places where he had before paſſed, not onelye for that he was a Cardinall, and a Legate from the Pope, but alſo for that he was the Queenes neare kinſeman, of the houſe of Clarence. Neuertheleſſe, after much debating, it was thought meeteſt, firſt, for that by the lawes of the realme (which yet were not repealed) he ſtoode attainted by Parliament, & alſo for that it was doubtfull how, he being ſent frõ Rome, ſhould be accepted of the people, who in xxv. yeares before, had not bene muche acquainted with the Pope or his Cardinals, that therefore vntill all things might be put in order for that purpoſe, he ſhoulde come without any great ſolemnitie vnto Lambeth, where in the Archbiſhoppes houſe, his lodging was prepared.

The thirde of Nouember next following, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (notwithſtãding that he had once refuſed plainly to ſubſcribe to King Edwardes will, in the diſinheriting of his ſiſter Marie, and alledging many reaſons and arguments for the legittimation of both the Kings ſiſters) was in the Guildhall in London arreygned, and attainted of treaſon, namely for ayding the Duke of Northumberlande with horſe and men againſt the Queene, as aforeſayde: and the ſame time alſo, the Ladie Jane of Suffolke (who for a whyle was called Queene Jane) and the Lorde Guilforde hir huſbande, the Lorde Ambroſe and L. Henrie Dudley ſonnes to the Duke of Northumberlande, were likewiſe arreygned and attainted, and therevpon led backe agayne to the Tower.

Ambaſſadors from the Emperour.

In the beginning of Januarie next following, Charles the v. Emperor, ſent into Englande an honorable ambaſſade, amongſt whom was the Conte de Ayguemont Admirall of the low countries, the Charles Conte de la Laing, John de Montmorancie Lorde of Curriers, and the Chauncellour Nigre, with full Commiſſion to conclude a mariage betwene Philip Prince of Spaine his ſonne and heyre, and Queene Marie, as you haue hearde: which ambaſſade tooke ſuche place, that ſhortlye after all things were finiſhed accordinglye. But this mariage was not well thought off by the Commons, nor much better lyked of many of the nobilitie, who for this, and for the cauſe of religion, conſpired to rayſe warre, rather than to ſee ſuch chaunge of the ſtate, of the which conſpiracie though there were many confederates, yet the firſte that ſhewed force therein, was one Sir Thomas Wyat a knight in Kent, who in very deede was driuen to preuent the time of the purpoſed enterpriſe by this happe.

Diuerſe of the partakers in this conſpiracie, being withdrawne from London (where they had deuiſed their drift) home into their countries (amongſt whom the ſayd Sir Thomas Wyat was one) it fell out, that whyleſt he was returned into Kẽt, where his lands and liuings chieflye laye, a Gentleman of that ſhire, one to the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat moſt deare, was by the Counſell for other matters committed to the Fleete, whereupon he verily ſuſpecting that his ſecrets were bewrayed, had no other ſhift, as he tooke it, but to put on armour, and to begin the attempt, before the time appointed with his complices, and hereupon giuing intelligence of his determination to his aſſociates, as well at London, as elſe where, on the Thurſdaye next following, being the xxv. of Januarie, at Maidſtone, being accompanied with maiſter Thomas Iſley, and others, publiſheth a proclamation againſt the Queenes mariage, deſiring all his neyghbours, frendes, and Engliſhmenne to ioyne with him and others, to defend the realme in daunger to be brought in thraldome to ſtrangers, and herewith he getteth him to Rocheſter, & met with ſir George Harper by the way, that was one appoynted afore to ioyne with him in that quarell. They brake vp the bridge at Rocheſter, and fortified the Eaſt part of the towne, and ſtayde there abyding the comming of more ſtrength, and in the meane whyle ſuffered all paſſengers to paſſe quietly through the towne to London, or to the ſea, taking nothing frō them, but onely their weapon.

Wiat publiſheth a proclamation at Maidſtone.

He commeth to Rocheſter.

Sir George Harper.

In the meane while, ſir Henrie Iſley, Anthony Kneuet eſquire, & his brother William Kneuet were buſy in weſt Kent to raiſe the people there, & likewiſe in Eaſt Kent there were other yͭ were of the ſame confederacie, which ſet forth the like Proclamations at Milton, Aſhforde, and other townes there in that part of the ſhire: and thus in eche part of Kente in a maner was greate ſtirre. But yet ſuch was the diligence and warie circumſpection of John Twyne at that preſent, Maior of Canterburie, for that he miſlyked their diſordered attemptes, that there was not any of that Citie knowne to ſtirre, or goe forth to ioyne themſelues with the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat, or with any other of his confederates, and yet verilye the more part of the people in all other parts of that ſhire, were marueylouſlye affected to the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyats quarell, doubting that which myght followe of the Queenes matching hirſelfe thus with a ſtraunger.

At Milton when a Gentlemanne of thoſe partes named Chriſtopher Roper, went about to reſiſt them that ſet forth this Proclamation, he was taken and conueyed to Rocheſter vnto Maiſter Wyat.

Chriſtopher Roper taken.

Likewiſe Maiſter Tucke and Maiſter Dorrell Juſtices of peace, were fetched out of their owne houſes, and likewiſe brought to Rocheſter where they with the ſayde Roper were kept as priſoners.

Maiſter Dorrel and maiſter Tuck taken.

Sir Thomas Wiat had written vnto Sir Robert Southwel ſherife of Kẽt to moue him in reſpect of the preſeruation of the common welth nowe in daunger to be ouerrunne of ſtrangers, through the pretenſed marriage, if it ſhould go forwarde) to ioyne with him and others, in ſo neceſſarie a cauſe for the diſappoynting of the ſame mariage, and to worke ſo with the Lorde of Burgueuennie, with whome he might doe much, that it might pleaſe him alſo to ioyne with them: but as well the ſayde Sir Robert Southwell, as the ſayde Lorde of Burgueuennie, and one George Clarke aſſembled themſelues with ſuch power as they might make againſt the ſayde Sir Thomas Wyat and hys adherentes, and comming to Malling on the Saterday, being the Market daye and xxvij. of Januarie, the ſayde ſir Robert Southwell hauing penned an exhortation to diſſuade the people, and to bring them from hauing any liking to Wiates enterpriſe, dyd reade the ſame openlye vnto all the people there aſſembled, in confuting, reprouing, and refelling the proclamations ſet forth by Sir Thomas Wiat and his adherents.

Sir Thomas Wiat writeth to ſir Robert Southwell.

The ſherife of Kent and the Lorde of Burgueuennie aſſemble a power againſt Wiat.

On the other parte, Sir Henrie Iſley, Anthonie Kneuet, and his brother Willyam Kneuet being at Tunbridge, proclaymed the Sherife, the Lorde of Burgueuennie, and George Clarke Gentlemanne, traytours to God, the Crowne, and the Common wealth, for reyſing the Queenes Subiectes, to defende the moſte wicked and diueliſhe enterpriſe of certayne of the wicked and peruerſe Counſaylors. And this they pronounced in their owne names, and in the names of Sir Thomas Wyat, Sir George Harper, and of all the faithfull Gentlemen of Kent, and truſtie Commons of the ſame.

This done, they marched to Seuennocke, meaning from thence to paſſe to Rocheſter, but in the meane time the foreſayde xxviij. of Januarie, there came from the Queene an Herault, and a trumpettour vnto Sir Thomas Wiat, but he was not ſuffered to paſſe the bridge, and ſo did his meſſage at the bridge end, in yͤ hearing of ſir Thomas Wiat and diuerſe other. The effect of his meſſage was, to offer pardon to ſo many as within xxiiij. houres woulde depart to their houſes, and become quiet ſubiectes.

Herault
to Wiat.

Sir Thomas Cheiney Lorde Warden, ſent alſo vnto Wiat, with wordes of contempt and defiance, deſirous in deede to haue bene doyng with him, if he had not miſtruſted his own people which he ſhoulde haue brought againſt him, as thoſe that fauoured ſo greatly Wiats cauſe, that they woulde haue bene lothe to haue ſeene him take anye foyle, and that Sir Thomas Wiat knewe well inough, and therefore deſired nothing more than to haue him come forth, vnderſtanding that he wanted no frendes as well about him, as all other that woulde take in hande to repreſſe him with force gathered in that ſhire.

Lorde

The Lorde of Burgeuennie, the Sherife, Warram Sentleger, and diuerſe other Gentlemen that were aſſembled at Melling, laye there within foure myles of Rocheſter Saterday night, and hauing aduertiſement that Sir Henrie Iſley, the two Kneuets, and certaine other, with fiue hundreth Welſhe men, being at Seuennocke, ment earely in the morning to march towardes Rocheſter for the ayde of Wiat againſt the Duke of Norffolke that was come to Graueſende with fiue hundreth whyte Coates Londoners, and certayne of the garde, and further that the ſayde Sir Henrie Iſley and the Kneuets ment in their waye to burne and ſpoyle the houſe of George Clarke Gentlemanne. They departing with fiue hundreth Gentlemen and yeomen, very earelye that Sunday in the morning marched in order till they came to Wrotham heath, where they might eaſilye heare the ſounde of their aduerſaries drummes, and thereupon followed after them with all ſpeede till they came to a place called Barrowe greene, through which laye the right readie waye from Seuennocke towardes maiſter Clarkes houſe. Here the Lorde of Burgeuennie ſtayed for the comming of his enimies, and vnderſtanding they were at hande, placed his menne in order, thinking to giue or take the ouerthrowe. But they vpon their approche, miſliking (as it ſhould ſeeme) the match, ſhranke aſide as ſecretly as they coulde, by a bye way, and were ſo farre gone before the Lorde of Burgeuennie vnderſtoode thereof by his ſpials, as for doubt of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rocheſter, he was driuen to make ſuch haſte for the ouertaking of them, as diuerſe of his footemen were farre behinde at the onſet giuing.

ldiſhmen,
is, ſuch as
ll in hte
ld of Kent.

Wrotha heath

row green.

The firſt ſight that the Lorde of Burgeuennie coulde haue of them, after they forſooke their purpoſed waye, was as they aſcended Wrotham hill, directly vnder Yallam maiſter Peckhams houſe, where they thinking to haue great aduauntage by the winning of the hill, diſplayed their enſignes, thinking they had bene out of daunger, but the Lord of Burgeuennie made ſuch haſte after them, that ouertaking them at a fielde in the pariſhe of Wrotham, a myle diſtant from the very toppe of the hill, called Blacke ſolle fielde, after ſome reſiſtance with ſhotte and arrowes, and profer of onſet made by their horſemen, they were put to flight, and chaſed for the ſpace of foure myles, euen to to Hartley woode. Lx. of them were taken priſoners.

Wrotham hil.
Yallam.

Black ſoll field

The skirmiſh.

Sir Henrie Iſley fled into Hāpſhire, Anthony Kneuet made ſuch ſhift that he got yͤ night vnto Rocheſter, and the ſame time Sir George Harper departing from Sir Thomas Wiat, & comming to the Duke of Norffolke, ſubmitted him ſelfe vnto his grace, and the Duke receyued him. Which Duke, as before ye haue partly hearde, being ſent with fiue hundreth Londoners, and certaine of the Garde for his better defence, to go againſt the Kentiſhe menne thus aſſembled with Sir Thomas Wiat, was come downe to Graueſende, ſet forth from thence on mondaye the xxix of Januarie about ten of the clocke in the forenoone, marching towardes Stroude on this ſide of Rocheſter, and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the ſame daye, he arriued at Stroude neare vnto Rocheſter, hauing with him Sir Henrie Jerningham Captayne of the Garde, Sir Edwarde Braye, Sir John Fogge, Knightes, John Couert, Roger Appleton, Eſquires, Maurice Griffith the Biſhoppe of Rocheſter, Thomas Swan gentleman, with certaine of the garde, and others, to the number of two hundreth or thereabout, beſide Bret and other fiue Captaines, who with their bandes taried behinde at Spittell hill neere vnto Stroud, whyleſt the Duke wente to Stroude to ſee the placing of the ordinaunce, whiche being readye charged and bent vnto the towne of Rocheſter, and perceyuing by Sir Thomas Wiat and his

The Duke of
Norffolke arriueth at
Stroude.

The reuolting of the Londoners.

men by hanging out their enſignes, little to regarde him, the Duke commaunded one of the peeces to be fired and ſhotte off into Rocheſter, and as the gunner was firing the peece, ſir Edwarde Brayes eldeſt ſonne came in all haſte to the Duke, and tolde him howe the Londoners woulde betraye him, and herewith turning backe, he might beholde howe Brette and the other Captaines of the white Coates with their bandes being vppon the hill, and at his backe, made great and loud ſhoutes ſundrie times, crying we are all Engliſh men, we are all Engliſh men, faſhioning themſelues in aray, ready bent with their weapons to ſet vpon the Duke, if hee had made any reſiſtance: wherevppon the Duke commaunded the peeces that were bent againſt Rocheſter, to be turned vpon Bret and his fellowes, but vpon further conſideration the ſhotte was ſpared, and the Dukes grace, with the captaine of the Garde, conſidering with woſull hearts their chiefe ſtrength thus turned againſt them, and being thus enuironned both behinde and before with enimies, ſhifted themſelues away, as did alſo their companie. Sir Thomas Wiat accompanied with two or three, and not many mo, came forth halfe a myle from Rocheſter, to meete Brette and the other Captaynes, amongſt whome was Sir George Harper, notwithſtanding his former ſubmiſſion to the Duke. Their meeting verily ſeemed right ioyfull both in geſture and countenaunce; and therewith hauing ſaluted ech other, they entred altogither into Rocheſter.

The Lorde of Burgueuennie and the Sherife were greatly abaſhed when they vnderſtoode of this miſhappe, for they doubted that ſuch as were euill diſpoſed afore, woulde not be greatly amended thereby.

The ſherife of Kent rideth to the Counſaile

The Sherife being then at Maidſtone, haſted to come to Malling, where the Lorde of Burgueuennie laye, and vppon his comming thither, hee tooke aduiſe to ryde in poſte to the Counſayle to knowe their mindes howe they woulde direct them.

Sir Thomas Wiat and his aſſociates were greatly recomforted with this newe ſupply added to their ſtrength, by the reuolting thus of the Londoners, and verilye it bredde no ſmall hope in all their heartes that wiſhed well to his enterpriſe, that he ſhoulde the better attaine vnto the wiſhed ende of his purpoſe. But it pleaſed God otherwiſe, who neuer proſpereth any that attempt ſuch exploits without publike and lawfull authoritie.

The Duke o Suffolke ge downe into Leyceſterſh

In this meane whyle, the Duke of Suffolke being perſwaded to ioine with other in this quarrell, as he that doubted, as no ſmall number of true Engliſh men then did, leaſt the pretenced mariage with the Spaniſhe King, ſhould bring the whole nobilitie and people of this Realme, into bondage and thraldome of Straungers, after he was once aduertiſed that Sir Thomas Wiat had preuented the time of their purpoſed enterpriſe, hee ſecretelye one euening departed from Sheene, and roade with all ſpeede into Leyceſter ſhire, where in the towne of Leyceſter and other places, he cauſed proclamation to bee made in ſemblable wyſe as Sir Thomas Wiat had done, againſt the Queenes matche whiche ſhe ment to make with the ſayd King of Spain: but fewe there were that woulde willingly harken thereto.

The citie of Couentrie.

But nowe ye muſt vnderſtande, that before his comming downe, hee was perſuaded that the Citie of Couentrie woulde be opened vnto him, the more part of the citizens being throughly bent in his fauour, in ſo neceſſarie a quarrell, for defence of the Realme againſt Straungers, as they were then perſuaded. But howſoeuer it chaunced, this proued not altogither true, for whether through the miſliking whiche the Citizens had of the matter, or throughe negligence of ſome that were ſente to ſollicite them in the cauſe, or chiefly, as ſhould ſeeme to be moſt true, for that God woulde haue it ſo: When the Duke came with ſixe or ſeauen ſcore horſemen well appointed for the purpoſe, preſenting himſelfe before the Citie, in hope to be receyued, hee was kept oute. For the Citizens through comfort of the Earle of Huntington that was then come downe, ſent by the Queene to ſtaye the Countries from falling to the Duke, and to rayſe a power to apprehende him, had put themſelues in armor, and made all the prouiſion they coulde to defende the Citie againſte the ſayde Duke. Wherevpon perceyuing himſelfe deſtitute of all ſuch ayde as hee looked for among his frends in yͤ two ſhires of Leiceſter & Warwick, he got him to his manour of Aſtley, diſtant from Couentrie fiue myles, where appoynting his companie to diſperſe themſelues, and to make the beſt ſhift eche one for his owne ſafegard that he might, and diſtributing to euerye of them a portion of money, according to their qualities, and his ſtore at that preſent, hee and the Lorde John Grey his brother, beſtowed themſelues in ſecrete places there within Aſtley Parke, but throughe the vntruſtyneſſe of them, to whoſe truſt they did commit themſelues, as hath bene credibilye reported, they were bewrayed to the Earle of Huntington, that then was come to Couentrie, and ſo apprehended they were by the ſayde Earle, and afterwardes brought vp to London.

The Duke Suffolke ke out of Co trie.

The Duke Suffolke ap prehended.

The Duke had ment at the firſt to haue rid awaye, (as I haue credibly hearde) if promiſe had bene kept by one of his ſeruaunts, appoynted to come to him to bee his guyde: but when he eyther feygning himſelfe ſicke, or being ſicke in deede, came not, the Duke was conſtrayned to remayne in the Parke there at Aſtley, hoping yet to get awaye after that the ſearche had bene paſſed ouer, and the Countrie once in quiet. Howſoeuer it was, there he was taken, as before is ſayde, togither with his brother the Lord John Grey, but his brother the Lorde Thomas gotte awaye in deede at that time, meaning to haue fledde into Wales, and there to haue got to the ſea ſide, ſo to tranſport himſelfe ouer into Fraunce, or into ſome other forren part: but in the borders of Wales he was likewiſe apprehended through his great miſhappe, and folly of his man that had forgot his Capcaſe wͭ money behinde in his Chamber one morning at his Inne, and comming for it againe, vppon examination what he ſhoulde be, it was miſtruſted that his maiſter ſhoulde be ſome ſuche man, as he was in deede, and ſo was ſtayde, taken, and brought vp to London, where he ſuffered, as after ſhall appeare.

L. John
taken.

L. Thom
taken.

But nowe to returne vnto Sir Thomas Wiat. After that the Londoners were reuolted to him, as before ye haue hearde, the next daye being Tueſdaye the xxx. of Januarie, hee marched forth with his bandes, and ſixe peeces of ordinance (which they had gotten of the Queenes) beſide their owne, and firſt they came to Cowling caſtell, an holde of the Lorde Cobhams, foure myles diſtant from Rocheſter, and not much out of their waye towards London, whither they were nowe fully determined to go, in hope of frendes whiche they truſted to finde within and about the Citie.

At their comming to Cowling, knowing the Lorde Cobham to bee within the Caſtell, they bent their ordinance againſt the gate, breaking it with ſundrie ſhottes, and burning it vp with fire, made a way through it.

ling
ll.

The ſaid Lord Cobham defended the place as ſtoutly as he might, hauing but a fewe agaynſt ſo great a number, and ſo little ſtore of munition for his defence, he himſelfe yet diſcharged his gunne at ſuch as approched the gate right hardily, and in that aſſault two of his menne were ſlayne.

e Lorde
bham.

After this aſſaulte, and talke had with the Lorde Cobham, Sir Thomas Wiat marched to Graueſende, where he reſted that night.

The next daye he came to Dartforde, with his bandes, and laye there that night, whither came to him Sir Edwarde Haſtings maiſter of the Queenes horſe, and Sir Thomas Cornewalleys knightes, both being of the Queenes priuie Counſayle, and nowe ſent from hir vnto Sir Thomas Wiat to vnderſtand the cauſe of his commotion.

When hee vnderſtoode they were come, hee tooke with him certaine of his bande to the weſt ende of the towne, where he had lodged his ordinaunce, and at the lighting downe of Sir Edward Haſtings and his aſſociate, Sir Thomas Wiat hauing a Partiſan in his hande, aduaunced himſelfe ſomewhat afore ſuch Gentlemen as were with him, traced neare them, to whom the Maiſter of the horſe ſpake in ſubſtaunce as followeth.

The Queenes Maieſtie requireth to vnderſtande the verye cauſe wherefore you haue thus gathered togither in armes hir liege people, which is the part of a traytour, and yet in your Proclamations and perſuaſions, you call your ſelfe a true ſubiect, which can not ſtand togither.

I am no traytor, quoth Wiat, and the cauſe wherefore I haue gathered the people, is to defende the Realme from daunger of being ouerrunne with ſtraungers, which muſt follow, this mariage taking place.

Why? quoth the Queenes agents, there be no ſtraungers yet come, who eyther for power or number ye neede to ſuſpect. But if this be your onely quarrell, bicauſe yee miſlike the mariage: will ye come to communication touching that caſe, and the Queene of hir gracious goodneſſe is content ye ſhall be hearde.

I yeelde thereto quoth Sir Thomas Wiat: but for my ſuretie I will rather be truſted than truſt, and therefore demaunded, as ſome haue written, the cuſtodie of the tower, and hir grace within it. Alſo the diſplacing of ſome Counſaylours about hir, and to haue other placed in their roumes.

Wiats requeſtes.

There was long and ſtoute conference betweene them, inſomuche that the Maiſter of the horſe ſayde, Wiat, before thou ſhalte haue thy trayterous demaunde graunted, thou ſhalt dye, and twentie thouſande with thee: and ſo the ſayde Maiſter of the horſe, and Sir Thomas Cornewalleys perceiuing they coulde not bring him to that poynt they wiſhed, they returned to the Courte, aduertiſing the Queene what they had hearde of him.

The ſame daye being the firſt of Februarie, Proclamation was made in London by an Herault, to ſignifie that the Duke of Suffolkes companie of horſemen were ſcattered, and that he himſelfe and his brethren were fledde. Alſo that Sir Peter Carew, and ſir Gawen Carew Knights, and Willyam Gybbes Eſquire, which being parties to the conſpiracie of the ſaid Duke, with Sir Thomas Wiat and others, were likewiſe fledde. True it was that Sir Peter Carewe perceyuing himſelfe in daunger to bee apprehended aboute the xxiij. of Ianuarie laſt paſt, fledde out of the Realme, and eſcaped into Fraunce, but the other taried behynde and were taken.

The Emperors ambaſſadors flee frõ Wiat.

Moreouer, this firſt daye of Februarie being Candlemas euen, the Emperours ambaſſadors, of whome ye haue hearde before, hearing of Wiats haſtie approching thus towardes London, ſped themſelues away by water, and that with all haſte.

The Queene then lying at hir pallace of Whyte hall beſide Weſtminſter, and hearing of hir enimies ſo neare, was counſayled for hir ſafegarde to take the tower of London, whereunto ſhe would by no meanes be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe, to make hir ſelfe more ſtronger of frends in the citie, ſo ſoone as the ſayde Ambaſſadours were departed, ſhe came to the Guilde hall in London, againſt which time, order was taken by the Lorde Maior, that the chiefe Citizens in their liueries ſhoulde be there preſent.

After that the Queene had taken hir place in the ſayde hall, and ſilence made, ſhe with verye good countenaunce vttered in effect this oration following.

Queene Maries oration.

I am (quoth ſhee) come vnto you in mine owne perſon, to tell you that which alreadye you doe ſee and knowe, that is, howe trayterouſlye and ſeditiouſlye a number of Kentiſhe rebelles haue aſſembled themſelues togither againſt both vs and you. Their pretence (as they ſayde at the firſt) was onely to reſiſt a mariage determined betweene vs and the Prince of Spaine, to the which pretenced quarrell, and to all the reſt of their euill contriued articles yee haue bene made priuie. Sithence which time, wee haue cauſed diuerſe of our priuie Counſayle, to reſort eftſoones to the ſayde Rebelles, and to demaunde of them the cauſe of this their continuance in their ſeditious enterpriſe: By whoſe anſweres made againe to our ſayde Counſayle, it appeared that the marriage is founde to be the leaſt of their quarrell. For they nowe ſwaruing from their former articles, haue bewrayed the inwarde treaſon of their hearts, as moſt arrogantly demaunding the poſſeſſion of oure perſon, the keeping of our tower, and not onely the placing and diſplacing of our Counſaylors, but alſo to vſe them and vs at their pleaſures. Nowe louing ſubiectes, what I am, you right well knowe. I am your Queene, to whome at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme, and to the lawes of the ſame, (the ſpouſall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter ſhall be left off) ye promiſed your allegiaunce and obedience vnto mee, and that I am the right and true inheritour to the Crowne of this Realme of Englande, I not onely take all Chriſtendome to witneſſe, but alſo your actes of Parliament confirming the ſame. My father (as yee all knowe) poſſeſſed the Regall eſtate by [illegible] of inheritance, whiche nowe by the ſame rig[illegible]ed vnto me. And to him alwayes ye ſhew[illegible] your ſelues moſt faithfull and louing ſubiectes, and him obeyed and ſerued as youre liege Lorde and King, and therefore I doubte not but you will ſhewe youre ſelues likewiſe to me his daughter, whiche if you doe, then maye you not ſuffer anye Rebell to vſurpe the gouernance of our perſon, or to occupie our eſtate, eſpecially being ſo preſumptuous a traytour as this Wiat hath ſhewed himſelfe to bee, who muſt certainly, as he hath abuſed my ignorant ſubiectes to bee adherents to his trayterous quarrell, ſo doth he entende by colour of the ſame, to ſubdue the lawes to his will, and to giue ſcope to yͤ raſcall and forlorne perſons, to make generall hauocke and ſpoyle of your goodes: and this further I ſay vnto you in the worde of a prince, I cannot tell howe naturallye a mother loueth hir children, for I was neuer yͤ mother of any: but certainly a Prince and Gouernour maye as naturallye and as earneſtlye loue ſubiectes, as the mother doth hir chylde, then aſſure youre ſelues, that I being youre Soueraigne Ladie and Queene, doe as earneſtly and as tenderlye loue and fauour you, and I thus louing you, cannot but thinke that yee as heartilye and faithfully loue me againe: and ſo ioyning togither in this knotte of loue and concorde, I doubt not, but we togither ſhall bee able to giue theſe Rebels a ſhort & ſpeedie ouerthrow. And as concerning the caſe of my intẽded mariage, agaynſt which they pretende their quarrell, yee ſhall vnderſtande that I entred not into the treatie thereof without aduice of all oure priuie Counſayle, yea, and by aſſent of thoſe to whome the King my father committed his truſte, who ſo conſidered and wayed the greate commodities that might enſue thereof, that they not only thought it verye honourable, but expedient, both for the wealth of our Realme, and alſo of all oure louing ſubiectes. And as touching my ſelfe, (I aſſure you) I am not ſo deſirous of wedding, neyther ſo preciſe or wedded to my will, that eyther for mine owne pleaſure I will choſe where I lyſte, or elſe ſo amorous, as needs I muſt haue one: for God I thanke him (to whom bee the prayſe thereof) I haue hitherto lyued a virgin, and doubt nothing but with Gods grace ſhall as well bee able ſo to liue ſtill. But if, as my progenitors haue don before, it might pleaſe God that I might leaue ſome fruite of my body behinde me, to be your Gouernour, I truſt you woulde not onelye reioyce thereat, but alſo I knowe it woulde be to your great comfort. And certainly if I eyther did knowe or thinke, that thys maryage ſhoulde eyther turne to the daunger or loſſe of any of you my louing ſubiectes, or to the detriment or empayring of any parte or parcell of the royall eſtate of this realme of Englande, I woulde neuer conſent thereunto, neyther woulde I euer marry while I lyued. And in the worde of a Queene, I promiſe and aſſure you, that if it ſhall not probably appeare before the Nobilitie and commons in the high Courte of Parliament, that this maryage ſhall be for the ſingular benefit and commoditie of all the whole Realme, that then I will abſtayne not onelye from this maryage, but alſo from any other, whereof perill may enſue to this noble Realme. Wherefore nowe as good and faythfull ſubiectes plucke vp your heartes, and like true men ſtande faſt wyth your lawfull Prince agaynſt theſe rebelles both our enimies and yours, and feare them not: for aſſure you that I feare them nothing at all, and I will leaue with you my lorde Howarde, and my Lorde Treaſorer to be your aſſyſtants, with my Lorde Maior, for the defence and ſafegarde of the Citie from ſpoyle and ſaccage, which is onely the ſcope of this rebellious companie.

After this Oration ended, the Citizens ſeming well ſatiſfied therewith, the Queene with the Lordes of the Counſaile returned to white hall from whence ſhe came, and forthwyth the Lorde William Howarde was aſſociate wyth the Lorde Maior of London, whoſe name was ſir Thomas White, for the protectiõ and defence of the Citie, and for more ſuretie as well of hir owne perſon, as alſo of hir Counſaylours and other ſubiectes, ſhee prepared a greate armie to meete wyth the ſayde Rebelles in the fielde, of which armie William Herbert Earle of Pembroke was made generall, which Earle wyth all ſpeede requiſite in ſuch a caſe, prepared all things neceſſarie to ſuch a ſeruice belonging.

tmar-
to Det-
ſtrand.

The ſame daye ſir Thomas Wyat hauing with him fourtene Enſignes, conteyning aboute foure thouſande men, although they were accoũted to be a farre greater number, marched to Detforde ſtrande, eight myles from Dartforde, and within foure myles of London: where vpon ſuch aduertiſement as hee receyued by ſpyall, of the Queenes being in the Guildhall, and the order of the people to hir wardes, hee remayned that night and the next whole day, dyuerſe of his own companie doubting by his longer tarying there, than in other places, and vpon other preſumptions which they gathered, that he woulde haue paſſed the water into Eſſex.

Wyat ſuffereth his priſoners to go abrode vpon their worde.

His Priſoners Chriſtofor Roper, George Dorrell, and John Tucke, Eſquiers, who were kept ſomewhat ſtrayt, for that they ſeemed ſickly, and finding within the towne no conuenient harborough or attendance, were licenced by ſir Thomas Wyat, vpon promiſe of their worſhips to be true priſoners, to prouide for themſelues out from the towne, where they beſt might: but they breaking promiſe with him, ſought wayes to eſcape, and came no more at him.

Wiat cõmeth into Southwarke.

On the Saterday folowing very early, Wiat marched to Southwarke, where approching the gate at London bridge foote, called to them within to haue it opened, which he found not ſo readie as he looked for.

After hee had beene a little while in Southwarke, and began to trench at the bridge foot, and ſet two peeces of ordinance agaynſt the gate, dyuerſe of his ſouldiors went to Wincheſter place, where one of them (being a gentleman) began to fall to ryfling of things found in the houſe, wherwith ſir Thomas Wyat ſeemed ſo much offended, that he threatned ſore to hang him euen preſently there vpon the wharfe, and ſo as he made others to beleeue he ment to haue done, if Captaine Bret and other had not intreated for him.

The Lord William Howard Lorde Admiral of England, being appointed by the Queenes commiſſion captaine generall with the Lorde Maior ſir Thom. White, watched at the bridge that night with three hundred men, cauſed the draw bridge to be hewen downe into the Thames, made rampires & other fortifications there, fenſing the ſame with great ordinance.

Sir Thomas Wyats deſperate attempt.

Wiat yet aduentured the breaking downe of a wall out of an houſe ioyning to the gate at the bridge foote, whereby he might enter into the leades ouer the gate, came downe into the lodge about .xj. of the clocke in the night, where he found the Porter in a ſlumber, and his wife with other waking, and watching ouer a cole, but beholding Wyat, they began ſodainly to ſtart as greatly amazed. Whiſt quoth Wyat, as you loue your lyues ſit ſtill, you ſhall haue no hurt. Glad were they of that warrãt, and ſo were quiet and made no noyſe.

Wyat and a fewe with him went forth as farre as the draw bridge: on the further ſide wherof, he ſaw the Lord Admirall, the Lorde Maior, ſir Andrew Judde, and one or two other in conſultation for ordering of the bridge, whereunto he gaue diligent heede and eare a good while, and not ſeene.

Wyat and his complyces fall into conſultation.

This done, he returned and ſayde to ſome of his companie, this place firs is to hote for vs, and herevpon falling in counſaile what was beſt to doe, ſome gaue aduice that it ſhoulde bee good to returne to Greenwich, and ſo to paſſe the water into Eſſex, whereby theyr companie as they thought, ſhould encreaſe, and then aſſay to enter into London by Algate, and ſome were of opinion, that it were better to goe to Kingſton vpon Thames and ſo further weſt.

Other there were, among the whiche Sir Thomas Wyat himſelfe was chiefe, woulde haue returned into Kent, to meete with the Lord of Burgueuenny, the Lorde Warden, the Sherife, ſir Thomas Moyle, ſir Thomas Kempe, ſir Thomas Finch, and others that were at Rocheſter comming on Wyats backe, with a great companie well appoynted, perſwading hymſelfe (whether truely or not I know not) that he ſhould finde among them mo friendes than enimies, but whether his deſire to returne into Kent grewe vpon hope he had to finde ayde there, or rather to ſhyft himſelfe away, it was doubted of his owne companie, and ſome of them that knew him wel, (except they were much deceyued,) reported not long before theyr execution, that hys deſyre to returne into Kent, was onely to ſhyft hymſelfe ouer the ſea.

The Lorde Warden.

The Lorde Warden being at Rocheſter (as ye haue heard) well furniſhed both with horſe and men, perfitly appoynted to no ſmall number, was willing to haue followed after Wyat, and to haue ſhewed his good will agaynſte him in the Queenes quarell, but yet vpon deliberation had, and aduice taken wyth others that were there with him, he thought good firſt to vnderſtande the Queenes pleaſure, howe to proceede in his dealings, and hereupon he roade poſt to the Queene himſelfe, leauing the Lord of Burgueuenny and the reſt of the gentlemen with his and their bandes behind vntill his returne.

Sunday the fourth of Februarie, the Lorde Admirall cauſed a ſtrong warde of three hundred men to be kept on the bridge till eight of the clock at night, and then for their relief entred the watch of other three hũdred, ſo that the bridge was thus garded both daye and night, with three hundred men in armour.

Wyat at his wittes ende.

It troubled Wyat and all his companie verie ſore, to ſee that London did ſo ſtiffely ſtande and holde out agaynſt them, for in the aſſyſtance which they looked to haue had of that citie, al their hope of proſperous ſpeede conſyſted: but now that they ſaw themſelues greatly diſappoynted therein, they ment yet to ſet all on a hazarde, and ſo the ſixt of Februarie being ſhroue Tueſday, afore ſix of the clocke in the morning, they departed out of Southwarke, marching directly towardes Kingſtone, tenne myles diſtant from London, ſtanding vpon the Thames, where they arryued about foure of the Clocke in the after Noone, and finding thirtie foote or there aboute of the Bridge taken away, ſauing the Poſtes that were left ſtanding, Wyat practiſed wyth two Mariners to ſwimme ouer, and to conuey a barge to him, which the Mariners through great promiſes of preferment accordingly did, wherein Wiat and certaine with him were conueyed ouer, who in the meane time that the number of the ſouldiours bayted in the towne, cauſed the Bridge to be repayred with ladders, plankes and beames, the ſame being tyed togyther with Ropes and Boordes ſo as by tenne of the clocke in the night, it was in ſuch plight, that both his Ordinaunce, and companyes of men might paſſe ouer wythout perill & ſo about. xj. of the clocke in the ſame night, Wiat with his army paſſing ouer yͤ bridge without eyther reſyſtance or perill, and before it coulde bee once knowne at the Court, marched towardes London, meaning (as ſome haue written) to haue beene at the Court gate before day that morning: neuertheleſſe before hee came within ſixe myles of the Citie, ſtaying vpon a peece of his greate artillerie, whiche was diſmounted by the way, his comming was diſcouered before day, whereby the Earle of Pembroke being Generall of the Queenes armie (as is before ſayde) was with his men in good order of battaile in Saint James fielde beſyde Weſtminſter, two or three houres before Wyat could reache thyther.

Wyat marcheth to Kingſtone.

Wyat rep
reth the b
at Kingſt

Grafton.

The Earle
Pembroke
teth the a
in order.

The Earle hauing vnderſtanding by hys Eſpyalles, what waye Wyat woulde marche, placed his armie in this order. Firſt, in a fielde on the Weſt ſyde of Saint James were all his menne of Armes, and Demilaunces, ouer agaynſt whome in the Lane next to the Parke, were placed all the lyght Horſemen. All which bandes of Horſemen were vnder the charge of the Lorde Clynton, being Marſhall of the fielde. The greate Artelerie was planted in the myddeſt and higheſt place of the Cauſey next to the houſe of Saint James, with certaine field peeces lying on the flanke of eche battaile.

After that both the Armyes were in ſight, and that the great artillerie beganne to thunder from eyther ſyde, without harme (as it happened to either of both) Wyat perceyuing that he could not come vp the fore right way withoute greate diſaduauntage, when he was come to the Parke corner, he leauing the Cauſey, ſwarued, and toke the nether way towarde Saint James, whiche being perceyued by the Queenes horſemen, who lay on eyther ſide of him, they gaue a ſodayne charge, and deuided his battaile aſunder hard behinde Wyats Enſignes, whereby ſo many as were not paſſed before with Wyat, were forced to flie backe towardes Brainforde, and certaine of his companie which eſcaped the charge, paſſed by the backeſide of Saint James towardes Weſtmynſter. and from thence to the Courte, and finding the Gates ſhut agaynſt them, ſtayed there a while, and ſhotte off many arrowes into the Wyndowes, and ouer into the Gardeyne, neuertheleſſe withoute anye hurt there that was knowne: wherevpon the ſayde Rebelles ouer whome one Kneuet was Captaine, perceyuing themſelues to be too fewe to doe any great feate there, departed from thence to follow Wyat, who was gone before towardes London, and beeing on theyr way at Charing Croſſe, were there encountered by Sir Henrie Ierningham Captayne of the Queenes Garde, Sir Edwarde Bray maiſter of the Ordinaunce, and ſir Philippe Parys Knightes, which were ſent by the order of the Earle of Pembrooke with a bande of Archers, and certaine fielde peeces for the reſkue of the Court, who encountered the ſayde Rebelles at Charing Croſſe aforeſayde, after they had diſcharged the fielde peeces vppon them, ioyned wyth thoſe Rebelles, halfe armed, and halfe vnarmed, at the puſhe of the Pyke, and verye ſoone diſperſed theyr power, whereof ſome fledde into the Lane towarde Saint Gyles, and ſome on the other ſyde by a Brewhouſe towardes the Thames. In this conflict which was the chiefe tryall of that day, there was not founde ſlayne to the number of twentie of thoſe Rebelles, whiche happened by reaſon that vppon theyr ioyning wyth the Queenes Souldiours, the one parte coulde not bee diſcerned from the other, but onely by the myre and dyrt taken by the way, whiche ſtacke vppon theyr Garments comming in the night: wherefore the cry on the Queenes part that day was. Downe with the Daggle tayles.

But nowe to returne to Wyat of whome ye heard before, howe being come to the Parke corner, and perceyuing the perill apparaunt, if hee ſhoulde haue marched ſtrayght vpon the Earles battayles, which were raunged on eyther ſyde of the Cawſey, did therefore politiquely turne from the great Cawſey, marching along the Wall of the houſe of Saint Iames towardes London, whiche coulde not haue beene wythout the no little loſſe of many of his trayne, if thoſe that hadde the charge on that ſyde the field, had beene as forwarde in ſeruice as the Earle with his battaile, and the horſemen afore ſhewed themſelues to be. Neuertheleſſe Wyat following hys purpoſed enterprice, which was to haue entered into London, where he hoped of greate ayde, marched forward with the ſmall companie that was left hym, as farre as a common Inne called the Bel Sauage, nere to Ludgate, beleeuing to haue founde ſome ready there to haue receyued hym, wherein his hope was much deceyued, fynding the ſayde Gate faſt ſhutte, and ſtrongly garded with a number, as well of moſt honeſt Citizens, as alſo of other bandes of the Queenes aſſured friendes. Wherevppon Wyat who commyng towardes the Citie, made himſelfe ſure of his enterpriſe, now deſperate of the ſame, was faine to turne his face, retyring backe againe to Temple Barre, where he with the reſt of his retinue determyned (as it ſeemed) to trie theyr laſt fortune.

The Earle of Pembrooke (who all this while kept his force togither in the field) hearing of Wiats approche to London, ſent to him an Herauld called Clarenſeaux, with greate commination to deſyſt from his rebellious enterprice. Which Herauld did his Meſſage accordingly, albeit that ſome ſayde he promiſed the ſayde Wyat his pardon, which ſhoulde not ſeeme to be true, as well for that the Heraulde had no ſuch Commiſſion, as alſo that it was not like, that the ſayde Wyat being then diſarmed of all his forces, would haue refuſed mercie in ſuch a caſe. For true it is, that he with a verie fewe of his forlorne felowſhippe, not manye aboue the number of one hundred perſones, ſtoode ſtill as menne amazed, at the Gate of the Temple Barre, tyll ſuch tyme as Sir Maurice Barkeley Knight, by chaunce ryding towardes London vpon hys Horſe wyth footecloth, without any armour, finding the ſayd Wyat there, perſwaded him to repayre to the Court, and to yeelde himſelfe to the Queene, whoſe aduice he followed, and incontinent moũted vppe on the ſayde Sir Maurice Horſe, behinde hym, and ſo roade to the Courte voluntarily, and not forced by anye to yeelde himſelfe Priſoner.

Sir Thomas Wiat ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Queene.

This comming of Wyat to the Court being ſo little looked for, was greate cauſe of reioyce to ſuch as of late before ſtoode in great feare of him. But more than maruayle it was to ſee that daye, the inuincible heart and conſtancie of the Queene hir ſelfe, who being by nature a woman, and therefore commonlye more fearefull than men be, ſhewed hirſelfe in that caſe more ſtoute than is credible. For ſhee notwithſtanding all the fearefull newes that were brought to hir that day, neuer abaſhed, in ſo muche that when one or two noble menne beeing hir Captaynes, came wyth all haſte to tell hir (though vntruely) that hir battayles were yeelded to Wyat, ſhee nothing mooued thereat, ſayde it was theyr fonde opinion that durſt not come neare to ſee the tryall, ſaying further, that ſhee hir ſelfe woulde enter the fielde to trye the truth of hir quarell, and to dye wyth them that would ſerue hir, rather than to yeelde one iotte vnto ſuche a Traytour as Wyat was, and prepared hirſelfe accordingly.

The ſtoute courage of Queene Mary.

But by the apprehenſion of Wiat yͤ voyage took none effect: for after his cõming to yͤ court he was immediatly committed to the tower. As ſone as the taking of Wyat was knowne, the armie (whereof mention is made before that laye in Saint Iames field) was diſcharged, and euerie manne licenced to depart to his home. And forthwith Proclamation was made, as well in the Citie of London as in the ſuburbes of the ſame, that none vpon paine of death ſhould keepe in his or theyr houſes any of Wyats faction, but ſhould bring them forth immediately before the Lorde Maior and other the Queenes Iuſtices: by reaſon of which Proclamation a great multitude of the ſayd poore captifs were brought forth, being ſo many in number, that all the priſons in London ſufficed not to receyue them, ſo that for lacke of place, they were faine to beſtowe them in diuerſe Churches of the ſayde Citie: and ſhortly after were ſet vp in London for a terrour to the common ſort, (bycauſe the white coates beeing ſent out of the Citie (as before ye haue heard) reuolted from the Queenes parte, to the ayde of Wyat) twentie payre of Gallowes, on the which were hanged in ſeuerall places to the number of fiftie perſons, which Gallowes remayned ſtanding there a greate part of the Sommer following, to the great griefe of good Citizens, and for example to the Commotioners.

The execution of Ladie Iane and the Lorde Guilforde.

The .xij. day of Februarie next following, the Ladie Iane of Suffolke, and the Lord Guilforde hir huſband, who before (as you haue heard) were attainted of treaſon, the one for the vſurpation of the eſtate royall as Queene, the other as a principall adherent to hir in that caſe, according to the iudgement gyuen agaynſt them, ſuffered execution of death, that is to witte, hee at the Tower hill vpon the Scaffolde, and ſhee within the Tower, whoſe deathes were the rather haſtened, for that the Duke of Suffolke father to this Ladie, had of late (as ye haue hearde) rayſed a newe ſturre and commotion in the Countrey, which was the ſhortening of hir lyfe, who elſe was like ynough to haue beene pardoned.

The wordes of the Ladie Iane at hir death.

This noble yong Ladie endued with ſingular giftes both of learning and knowledge, as pacient and milde as any lambe, came to the place of hir execution, and a little before hir death vttered theſe wordes. Good people I am come hither to die, and by a lawe I am condemned to the ſame. My offence agaynſt the Queenes highneſſe was onely in conſent to the deuice of other, which nowe is deemed treaſon, but it was neuer of my ſeeking, but by counſail of thoſe who ſhoulde ſeeme to haue further vnderſtanding of things than I. which knewe little of the lawe, and much leſſe of the tytles to the crowne. But touching the procurement and deſire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe waſhe my handes in innocencie thereof before God, and the face of all you (good Chriſtian people) thys daye, and therewith ſhe wrung hir handes, wherein ſhee hadde hir Booke. Then ſayde ſhee, I pray you all good Chriſtian people, to beare me witneſſe that I dye a true Chriſtian woman, and that I looke to be ſaued by none other meanes, but onelye by the mercie of God, in the bloud of hys onelye ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, and I confeſſe that when I did knowe the worde of God, I neglected the ſame, and loued my ſelfe and the worlde, and therefore this plague and puniſhment is iuſtly and worthily happened vnto mee for my ſinnes, and yet I thanke God of hys goodneſſe, that hee hath gyuen mee a tyme and reſpyte to repente. And nowe good people, whyle I am aliue, I pray you aſſyſt mee wyth your prayers: and then kneelyng downe, ſhee ſayde the Pſalme of *Miſerere mei Deus*, in Engliſhe, and then ſtoode vppe and gaue hir Mayde (called myſtreſſe Elyne) hir Glooues and handkercheffe, and hir Booke ſhee alſo gaue to Maiſter Bruges, then Lieutenaunt of the Tower, and ſo vntyed hir Gowne, and the executioner preſſed to helpe hir off wyth it, but ſhe deſired him to let hir alone, and turned hir towardes hir two Gentlewomen, who helped hir off therewith, and with hir other attyres, and they gaue hir a fayre handkercheffe to put aboute hir eyes: Then the Executioner kneeled downe and aſked hir forgiueneſſe, whome ſhee forgaue moſte willingly, then hee willed hir to ſtande vppon the ſtrawe, which done, ſhe ſaw the blocke, and then ſhee ſayde I praye you diſpatche mee quickly.

Then ſhee kneeled downe, ſaying, will you take it off before I laye mee downe? whereunto the Executioner aunſwered, no Madame: then tyed ſhe ẏ handkercheffe aboute hir eyes, and feeling for the Blocke, ſhee ſayde, where is it, where is it? One of the ſtanders by guyded hir therevnto, and ſhee layde downe hir heade vppon the Blocke, and then ſtretched foorth hir bodye, and ſayde, Lorde into thy handes I commende my ſpirite, and ſo finiſhed hir lyfe, in thys yeare of our Lorde, one thouſande fiue hundred fiftie and foure, the twelfth daye of Februarie.

The ſame day a little before this yong Ladyes execution, the Lorde Guylforde hir huſbande, who was a very comely tall Gentleman, being executed on the ſkaffold at the Tower hill as afore is ſayde, his dead carkaſſe lying in a cart in ſtraw, was again brought into the tower at ẏ ſame inſtant ẏ the lady Iane went to hir death within the Tower, before hir face, whiche miſerable ſight was to hir a double ſorrow and grief.

Thus (as ſayeth Maiſter Foxe) was beheaded the Ladie Iane, and with hir alſo the Lorde Guilford hir huſband, one of the D. of Northũberlands ſonnes, two innocents in compariſon of them that ſatte vpon them, for they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had wyllingly deuiſed, & by open Proclamation conſented to take from others, and giue to them. And verily howe vnwilling ſhee was to take it vppon hir, there are yet liuing that can teſtifie.

Iudge Morgan that gaue the ſentence againſt hir, ſhortly after fell mad, and in hys rauing cryed continuallye to haue the Ladie Iane taken away from him, and ſo ended his life.

Fox.
Duke of
lk.

Vpon Saterday being the. xvij. of Februarye the Duke of Suffolke was arraigned at Weſtminſter, and there cõdemned to die by his Peeres, the Earle of Arundell being that day chiefe Iudge

Where ſome haue written that hee ſhoulde at his laſte going downe into the Countrey make Proclamation in his daughters name that is not ſo: for where as he ſtoode by in Leiceſter when by his commaundement the Proclamation was there made againſt the Queenes maryage with the Prince of Spain. &c. Maiſter Damport then Maior of that towne ſaide to him: My Lorde I truſt your grace meaneth no hurt to the Queenes Maieſtie, no ſaith he M. Maior laying his hande on his ſword) he that would hir any hurt, I wold this ſword were through his heart, for ſhee is the mercifulleſt prince, as I haue truely founde hir, yͭ euer raigned, in whoſe defence I am and will be readie to die at hir foote.

Fox.

On Monday the. xix. of Februarie, the Lorde Cobhams three ſonnes, and four other mẽ were brought to Weſtminſter, the yongeſt of the Cobhams, to witte, maiſter Thomas Cobham was condemned with the other four men, but the other two Cobhams came not to the barre.

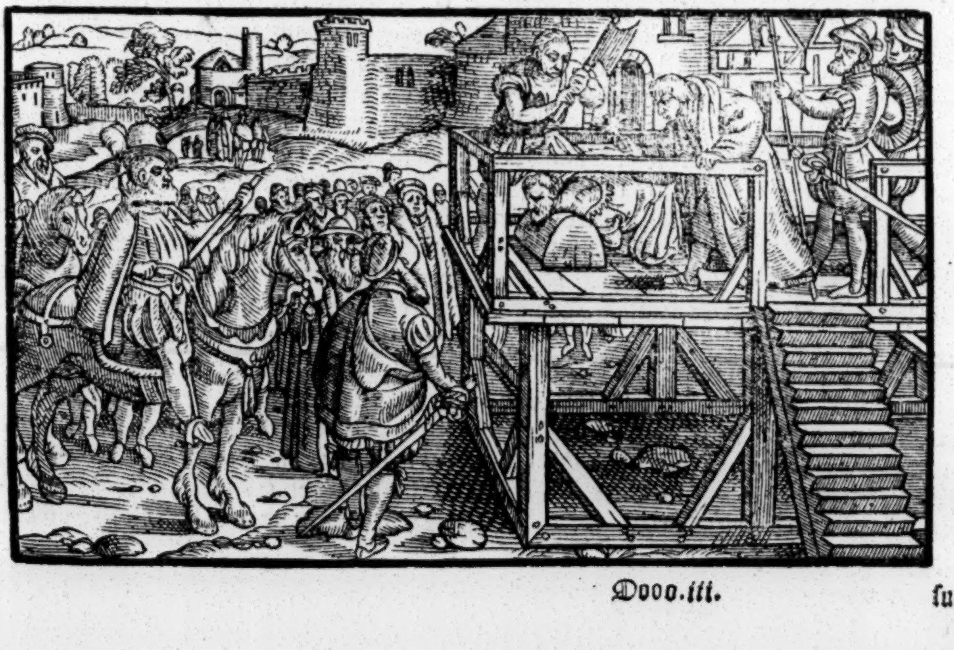
Vppon the Wedneſday the. xxj. of Februarie the Lord Thomas Gray that had bene taken (as before ye haue heard) in Wales, was brought togither with ſir Iames Croft through London to the tower, by a number of horſemen.

The Duke of Suffolke beheaded.

Doctor VVeſton.

Vpon the Fridaye beeing the. xxiij. of Februarie about. ix of the clock the duke of Suffolk was broughte forth of the Tower vnto the Scaffolde on the Tower hill, and in his comming thyther, there accompanied him doctor Weſton, as hys ghoſtly father, notwithſtanding as it ſhould ſeme againſt the will of the ſayde Duke, for when the duke went vp to the ſkaffolde, the ſayde Weſton being on his left hand preſſed to go vp with him, the Duke with his hande put him downe againe off the ſtayres, and Weſton taking holde of the duke forced him downe likewiſe. And as they aſcended the ſeconde time, the Duke again put him downe. Then Weſton ſaide, that it was the Queenes pleaſure he ſhoulde ſo do: wherwith the duke caſting his handes abroade, aſcended vp the ſkaffold, & pauſed a pretie while after. And then he ſaid: Maſters I haue offended the Queene & hir lawes, & therby am iuſtly condemned to die, & am willing to die, deſiring al men to be obedient, and I pray God that this my death maye bee an example to all men, beſeching you al to beare me witneſſe that I die in the faith of Chriſt, truſting to be ſaued by his blood only (& by none other trũperie,) the which died for me, and for al them that do truly repent, & ſtedfaſtly truſt in him. And I do repent, deſiring you al to pray to god for me, that when ye ſee my breath depart frõ me, you wil pray to god that he may receiue my ſoule, & thẽ he deſired al men to forgiue him, ſaying yͭ the queen had forgiuen him. Then M. Weſton declared wͭ a loud voice, yͭ the Queenes ma. had forgiuẽ him, thẽ, diuers of the ſtãders by ſaid wͭ audible voice,

The Dukes vvordes to the People.



ſuch forgiueneſſe God ſende thee, meaning Doctor Weſton.

Then the duke kneeled vppon his knees, and ſaide the Pſalme *Miſerere mei Deus*, vnto the end, holding vp his hands, and loking vp to heauen. And when he had ended the Pſalme, he ſaid *In manus tuas domine commendo ſpiritum meum.* Then he aroſe and ſtoode vp, and deliuered his cap and ſkarfe to the executioner, and therwith the executioner kneeled downe, and aſked the Duke forgiueneſſe, and the duke ſaid, God forgiue thee, and I do: and when thou doſt thine office, I pray thee do it quickely, and God haue mercie to thee. Then ſtood there a man and ſaid, my Lorde how ſhall I do for the money yͭ you do owe me? And the D. ſaid, alas good fellow, I pray thee trouble me not now, but go thy way to my officers. Thē he knit a kercher about his face, and kneled down and ſaid. Our father which art in heauen. &c. vnto the ende, and then he ſaide, Chriſt haue mercie vpon me, and layde down his head on the block, and the executioner tooke the Axe, and at the firſte chop ſtroke off his head, & held it vp to the people.

The ende of the Duke of uffolke.

Suche was the ende of this Duke of Suffolke, a man of high nobilitie by birthe, and of nature to his friende gentle and courteous, more eaſie in deede to be led than was thought expedient, of ſtomacke neuertheleſſe ſtoute and hardie, haſtye and ſoone kindled, but pacified ſtreight againe, and ſorie if in his heate oughte had paſſed him otherwiſe than reaſon might ſeeme to beare, vpright and plaine in his priuate dealings, no diſſembler, nor wel able to beare iniuries, but yet forgiuing and forgetting the ſame, if the partie woulde ſeeme but to acknowledge his fault, and ſeke reconcilement. Bountifull hee was and very liberall, ſomewhat learned himſelfe, and a greate fauorer of thoſe that were learned, ſo that to many he ſhewed himſelf a very *Mecœnas*, no leſſe free frō couetouſneſſe than voide of pride & diſdainful hautineſſe of mind, more regarding plaine meaning men, than clawback flatterers: and this vertue hee had, hee coulde patiently heare his faultes told him, by thoſe whom he had in credit for their wiſedome & faithful meanings towards him, although ſomtime he had not yͤ hap to reforme him ſelf therafter. Concerning this laſt offence for the which he died, it is to be ſuppoſed he rather toke in hand that vnlawfull enterprice through others perſwaſion than of his owne motion, for anye malicious ambition in himſelfe.

But nowe to let this duke reſte with God, we will proceed with the ſtorie. The ſame day (or as ſome haue noted the day before) a number of priſoners had their pardon, and came throughe the Citie with their halters about their neckes. They were in * number aboue two hundred.

* The number of them that thus had their pardon were 240.

Vppon the Saterday, the. xxviij. of Februarie, Sir William Sentlow was committed as priſoner to the maſter of the horſe to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeths Gentlemen.

Upon the Sunday being the. xxv. of Februarie, Sir Iohn Rogers was committed to the Tower.

Upon the Tueſday in the ſame weeke being the. xxvij. of Februarie, certaine Gentlemen of Kent were ſente into Kent to bee executed there. Their names were theſe, the twoo Mantelles, two Kneuettes, and Bret: with theſe maiſter Rudſton alſo, and certaine other were condemned and ſhoulde haue bene executed, but they had their pardon.

Gentlemen into Kent be executed.

Sir Henrie Iſley knight, Thomas Iſleye his brother, and Walter Mantelle, ſuffred at Maydſton, where Wyat firſt diſplayed hys Baner. Anthonie Kneuet and his brother William Kneuet, with an other of the Mantelles, were executed at Seuenocke: Bret at Rocheſter was hanged in Chaines.

Execution.

On Saterday the thirde of Marche, Syr Gawen Carewe, and Maiſter Gibbes were brought through London to the Tower, wyth a companie of horſemen.

The fiftenth day of March next following, the Ladie Elizabethe the Queens ſiſter, and next heyre to the Crowne, was apprehended at hir Manour of Aſhridge, for ſuſpition of Wyats conſpiracie, and from thence (beeyng that time verie ſicke) with great rigour broughte pryſoner to London.

Lady Eli beth.

On the Sunday after beeing the. xviij. of March ſhe was committed to the Tower, where alſo the Lord Courtney Erle of Deuonſhire (of whō before is made mention) was for yͤ like ſuſpition committed priſoner.

On Saterday next following being Eaſter euen, and the. xxiiij. of Marche, the Lorde Marques of Northampton, the Lorde Cobham, & ſir William Cobham his ſon & heire, were deliuered out of the Tower, where they had remained for a time, being committed thither vppon ſome ſuſpition about Wyats rebellion.

And not long after, Queene Marie partly offended with the Londoners, as fauorers of Wiats conſpiracie, and partly perceiuing the more part of them nothing well inclined towards hir proceedings in Religion, which turned many of them to loſſe, ſommoned a Parliament to be holden at Oxforde, as it were to gratifie that Citie, which with the vniuerſitie, town and Countrey hadde ſhewed themſelues verye forwarde in hir ſeruice, but ſpeciallye in reſtoring of the Religion called Catholique, for which appointed Parliament there to bee holden, great prouiſion was made, as well by the Queenes officers,

A parlia ſommone Oxford b not holde

cers, as by the Towneſmen and inhabitauntes of the Countrey rounde about. But the Queenes mynde in ſhorte ſpace chaunged, and the ſame Parliament was holden at Weſtmynſter, in Aprill nexte following, wherein the Queene proponed two eſpeciall matters, the one for the maryage to bee hadde betweene hir and the Prince Philip of Spaine: the other, for the reſtoring agayne of the Popes power and iuriſdiction in Englande. As touching hir mariage, it was with no greate difficultie agreed vppon, but the other requeſt coulde not bee eaſily obteyned.

The Biſhops Cranmer, Latimer, & Ridley ſent to Oxforde.

The tenth day of Aprill following, Thomas Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterburie, Nicholas Ridley Biſhop of London, and Hugh Latimer once Biſhop of Worceſter, who had beene long priſoner in the tower, were nowe conueyed from thence, and caried to Wyndſore, and afterwarde to the Uniuerſitie of Oxforde, there to diſpute with the Diuines and learned men of the contrary opinion.

ommiſſio- ers.

Two dayes after their comming to Oxford, which was the.xij.day of the ſayde moneth, dyuerſe learned men of both the vniuerſities were ſent in commiſſion from the Cõuocation (which during this Parliament was kepte in Paules Churche in London) to diſpute wyth thoſe pryſoners, in certaine Articles of Religion. The names of them that were in Commiſſion were theſe following. Of Oxforde, Doctor Weſton Prolocutor, Cole, Chedſey, Pie, Harpeſfielde, Smith. Of Cambridge, Yong, Seton, Watſon, Atkinſon, Thecknam, Sedgewike.

The.xiij.day of Aprill theſe diſputers aſſembled themſelues in Saint Maries Churche, to conuent the three perſones aboue named vpon certaine Articles of Religion, who being brought out of Priſon before them, were ſeuerally one after another examined of theyr opinions, vpon the articles proponed vnto them, whereof ye may read in the booke of Monuments of the Church, more at large, and there finde the whole proceeding in that matter.

r Thomas yat ar- gned.

Sir Thomas Wyat (of whome mention is made before) was aboute this tyme brought from the Tower to Weſtmynſter, and there arraigned of high treaſon, the Earle of Suſſex, ſir Edwarde Haſtings, and ſir Thomas Cornewallis, with other being his Iudges.

The effect of whoſe Inditement among other things ſpecially was, that hee the fourtenth day of Februarie laſt before, with force of armed multitude and Enſignes diſplayed, hadde at Braynforde rayſed open warres agaynſt oure ſoueraigne Ladie the Queene, trayterouſly pretending and practiſing to depryue hir of hir Crowne and dignitie, and the queſtion was demaunded of him, whether he was guiltie or no? Whereat hee ſtayed, and beſought the Iudges that he myght fyrſt aſke a queſtion, before hee aunſwered directly to the poynt, and hee was lycenſed ſo to doe. The queſtion was, that if hee ſhoulde confeſſe himſelfe guiltye, whether the ſame ſhoulde not bee preiuditiall vnto hym, ſo as hee by that confeſſion ſhoulde bee barred from vttering ſuche thinges as hee hadde more to ſay: Whereunto it was anſwered by the Court: Maiſter Wyat (ſayde they) yee ſhall haue both leaue and leyſure to ſay what you can. Then my Lordes (quoth he) I muſte confeſſe my ſelfe guiltie, and in the ende the truth of my caſe muſt enforce me, I muſt acknowledge this to be a iuſt plague for my ſinnes, which moſt grieuouſly I therefore haue committed againſt God, who ſuffered me thus brutely and beaſtly to fall into this horrible offence of the law, wherfore al you lordes and gentlemen, with other here preſent, note well my wordes, lo here and ſee in me the ſame ende, which all other commonly had, which haue attempted lyke enterpriſe from the beginning: for peruſe the Chronicles through, and you ſhall ſee that neuer Rebellion attempted by ſubiectes agaynſt theyr Prince and Countrey, from the begynning did euer proſper, or had better ſucceſſe, except the caſe of King Henrie the fourth, who although he became a Prince, yet in hys acte was but a Rebell, for ſo muſt I call him, and though he preuayled for a tyme, yet was it not long but that his heyres were depryued, and thoſe that had right agayne reſtored to the kingdome and Crowne, and the vſurpation ſo ſharply reuenged afterwarde in his bloud, as it well appeared, that the long delay of Gods vengeaunce was ſupplyed with more grieuous plague in the thirde and fourth generation. For the loue of God all you Gentlemen that bee here preſent, remember and bee taught as well by examples paſt, as alſo by this my preſent infelicitie & moſte wretched caſe. Oh moſt miſerable, miſchieuous, brutiſhe and beaſtlye furious ymaginations of mine, I was perſwaded that by the maryage of the Prince of Spaine, the ſeconde perſon of thys Realme, and next heyre to the Crowne, ſhoulde haue beene in daunger, and that I being a free borne man, ſhould with my Countrey haue beene brought into the bondage and ſeruitude of Aliens and ſtraungers. Which brutiſhe beaſtlye opinion then ſeemed to mee reaſon, and wrought in mee ſuche effectes, that it ledde mee headlong into the practiſe of thys deteſtable cryme of Treaſon. But nowe beeyng better perſwaded, and vnderſtanding the great commoditye and honour whiche the Realme ſhould receyue by this maryage, I ſtande firme and faſt in this opinion, that if it ſhoulde pleaſe the Queene to be mercifull vnto me, there is no ſubiect in this lande that ſhoulde more truly and faythfully ſerue hir highneſſe, than I ſhall, nor no ſooner die at hir graces feete in defence of hir quarell, I ſerued hir highneſſe agaynſt the Duke of Northumberlande, as my Lorde of Arundell can witneſſe, my Grandfather ſerued moſte truely hir Graces grandfather, and for his ſake was vpon the racke in the Tower. My father alſo ſerued King Henrie the eight to his good contentation, and I alſo ſerued him, and King Edwarde hys ſonne, & in witneſſe of my bloud ſpent in his ſeruice, I carie a name: I alledge not all this to ſet forth my ſeruice by way of merit, which I cõfeſſe but dutie: but to declare to the whole worlde, that by abuſing my wittes in purſuing my miſaduiſed opinion, I haue not onely ouerthrowne my houſe, and defaced all the well doinges of mee and my Aunceſtours (if euer there were anye) but alſo haue bene the cauſe of mine owne death and deſtruction. Neither do I alledge this to iuſtifie my ſelfe in any poynt, neither for an excuſe of mine offence, but moſt humbly ſubmit my ſelfe to the Queenes Maieſties mercie and pitie, deſiring you my Lorde of Suſſex, and you maiſter Haſtings, with all yͤ reſt of this honorable bench, to bee meanes to the Queenes highneſſe for hir mercie, which is the greateſt treaſure that may be giuen to any Prince from God, ſuch a vertue as God hath appropriate to himſelfe, which if hir highneſſe vouchſafe to extende vnto me, ſhe ſhall beſtow it on him, who ſhall be moſt glad to ſerue truly, and not refuſe to die in hir quarell: for I proteſt before the iudge of all iudges, I neuer ment hurt agaynſt hir highneſſe perſon.

Then ſayde the Queenes attourney, maiſter Wyat ye haue great cauſe to be ſorie, and repent for your fault, whereby you haue not onely vndone your ſelfe and your houſe, but alſo a number of other gentlemẽ, who being true men might haue ſerued theyr Prince and Countrey: yet if you had gone no further, it might haue beene borne withall the better. But being not ſo contented to ſtay your ſelfe, you haue ſo procured the Duke of Suffolke (a man ſoone trayned to your purpoſe) and his two brethren alſo, by meanes whereof without the Queenes greater mercie, you haue ouerthrowne that noble houſe, and yet not ſo ſtayed, your attempt hath reached as in you lay to the ſeconde perſon of the Realme, in whome next to the Queenes highneſſe reſteth all our hope and comfort, whereby hir honour is brought in queſtion, and what daunger will follow, and to what ende it will come God knoweth, of all this you are the authour.

Wyats anſwere.

Wyat anſwered: as I will not in any thing iuſtifie my ſelfe, ſo I beſeech you, I being in thys wretched eſtate, not to ouercharge mee, nor to make me ſeeme to be that I am not. I am loth to touch any perſon by name, but that I haue writtẽ I haue written. Then ſayde the Iudge maiſter Wiat, maiſter Attorney hath well moued you to repent your offences, and we for our partes wiſhe you the ſame.

The Iudge.

Sir Edwarde Haſting.

Then ſayde Sir Edwarde Haſtings maiſter of the Queenes horſe: maiſter Wiat, doe you remember when I and maſter Cornwallis, were ſent vnto you from the Queenes highneſſe, to demaund the cauſe of your enterpriſe, & what you required: were not theſe your demaundes, that the Queenes grace ſhoulde go to the tower, and there remayne, and you to haue the rule of the tower, and hir perſon with the treaſure in keping, and ſuch of hir counſaile as you woulde require, to be deliuered into your hands, ſaying that you woulde bee truſted and not truſt. Whiche wordes when Wyat had confeſſed, then ſayde the Queenes Solicitor, your preſumption was ouer great, and your attempt in thys caſe hath purchaſed you perpetuall infamie, and ſhall be called Wyats Rebellion, as Watte Tylers was called Watte Tylers Rebellion. Then ſayde the Attourney, Maiſter Wyat were you not priuie to a deuice wherby the Queene ſhould haue bene murthered, in a place where ſhe ſhould walke, I doe not burthen you to confeſſe this, for thus much I muſt ſay on your behalfe, that you miſlyked that deuice: that (ſayd Wyat) was the deuice of William Thomas, whom euer after I abhorred for that cauſe. Then was a letter ſhewed, which Wyat being in Southwarke had written to the duke of Suffolke, that he ſhoulde meete him at Kingſtone bridge, and from thence to accompanie him to London, although he came with the fewer number. Wyat at the firſt did not ſeeme to remember any ſuch letter, but when it was ſhewed him, he confeſſed his hande. Then was it demaunded of him among other things, why he refuſed the Quenes pardon, when it was offred him. My Lordes (quoth he) I confeſſe my fault and offence to be moſt vile & heynous, for the which firſt I aſke God mercye, without the which I cannot chalenge any thing, ſuch is my offence alreadie committed. And therefore I beſeech you to trouble me with no more queſtions, for I haue deliuered al things vnto hir grace in writing. And finally here I muſt confeſſe, that of all the voyages, wherein I haue ſerued, thys was the moſt deſperate, and paynefull iourney that euer I made. And where you aſked why I did not receyue the Queenes pardon, when it was offered vnto mee, Oh vnhappie manne, what ſhall I ſaye, when I was once entered into thys diueliſhe deſperate aduenture, there was no waye but to wade throughe with that I hadde taken in hande,

M. ter Co
dal now m
ſter of the
Rolles.

William
Thomas.

Wyats co
feſsion.

for I had thoughte that other had bin as farre forward as my ſelfe, whiche I founde farre otherwiſe, ſo that beeing bente to keepe promiſe with all my confederates, none kepte promiſe with me, for I like a Moyle wēt through thick and thinne with this determination, that if I ſhould come to any treatie, I ſhould ſeeme to bewraye all my friends.

But wherto ſhuld I ſpend any more words, I yeld my ſelf wholly vnto the Quenes mercy knowing well that it is onely in hir power to make me (as I haue deſerued) an open example to the worlde with Wat Tyler, or elſe to make me participāt of yͤ pitie whiche ſhe hath extended in as greate crimes as myne, moſte humbly beſeeching you all to be means for me to hir highneſſe for mercy, which is my laſt and onely refuge: the will of God be done on me. Upon this confeſſion, without further trial he receiued the iudgement accuſtomed in caſes of treſon, which was to be hāged, drawn & quartred, and the xj. day of April next folowing, he was brought to the Tower hill, and there was pardoned of his drawing & hanging, but had his head ſtricken off, and his body cut in foure quarters, & ſet vp in diuers places about the citie, and his head was ſet vpon the gallows at Hay hill beſide Hide Parke.

he ex-cutiō
ir Tho-
s Wyat.

But here by the way is to be noted, that he being on the ſcaffold ready to ſuffer, declared yͭ the Ladie Elizabeth and ſir Edward Courtney Erle of Deuonſhire, whom he had accuſed before (as it ſeemed) were neuer priuie to his doings, as far as he knewe, or was able to charge them.

And when Doctor Weſton, being then his confeſſor told him that he had confeſſed the cōtrary vnto the counſell, he anſwered thus, that I ſayd then, I ſaid, but that which I ſay nowe is true. This was the end of Wiat and hys conſpiracie.

r Nicholas
hrockmor-
n,

The ſeuenteenth day of Aprill nexte following, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, was brought from the Tower to Guild Hall in London, and there araigned of high Treaſon, as adherente and principall counſellor to the ſaid Wyat and the D. of Suffolke, and the reſt in the afore remembred conſpiracy againſt the Queene, but he ſo ſtoutely, and therewithall ſo cunningly aunſwered for himſelfe, as well in cleering of his cauſe, as alſo in defendyng and auoyding ſuch pointes of the lawes of the Realme, as were there alledged againſt hym, that the queſt whiche paſſed vppon his life and deathe found him not giltie, with which verdite, the Judges and Counſellors there preſent were ſo muche offended, that they bounde the Jury in the ſumme of fiue hundred pounde a peece, to appeare before the Counſell in the Starre Chamber, at a day appoynted, and according to their bonde, they appeared there before the ſayd Counſell vpon Wedneſday, beeing the one and twentith of Aprill, and Saint Markes day. From whence after certaine queſtioning, they were committed to priſon, Emanuell Lucar, and maiſter Whetſton to the Tower, and the other to the Fleete.

But nowe for aſmuche as a copy of the order of Sir Nicholas Throckmortōs arreignment hathe come to my handes, and that the ſame may giue ſome light to the hiſtory of that dangerous rebelliō, I haue thought it not impertinent to inſert the ſame, not wiſhing that it ſhoulde bee offenſiue to any, ſith it is in euery mans libertie, to way his wordes vttered in his owne defence, and likewiſe the doings of the queſte in acquityng hym, as maye ſeeme good to their diſcretions, ſith I haue deliuered the ſame as I haue found it, without preiudicing anye mans opinion, to thinke thereof otherwiſe, than as the cauſe maye moue him.

¶ The order of the araignemente of Sir Nicholas Throckemorton Knight, in the Guild Hall of London the ſeuenteenth day of April, 1554. expreſſed in a Dialogue for the better vnderſtanding of euery mans parte.

The names of the commiſſioners.

Sir Thomas White Knight Lord Maior of London.
The Earle of Shrewſbury.
The Earle of Darby.
Sir Thomas Bromley Knyght Lorde chiefe Juſtice of Englande.
Sir Nicholas Hare Knyght, Mayſter of the rolles.
Sir Frauncis Englefielde Knight Maiſter of the courte of Wardes and Liberties.
Sir Richarde Southwell Knight, one of the priuie counſell.
Sir Edwarde Walgraue Knight, one of the priuy counſell.
Sir Roger Cholmeley Knight.
Sir Wyllyam Portman Knyght, one of the Juſtices of the Kings benche.
Sir Edwarde Saunders Knight, one of the Juſtices of the common place.

The Queenes learned counſell gaue euidence againſt the priſoner.

Maiſter Stanford. }
Maiſter Dyer. } Sergeants:
Maiſter Edward Griffin attourney generall.

Maiſter Sendall. }
Peter Tichbourne, } Clerkes of yͤ Crowne.

Firſte, after Proclamation made, and the commiſſiō red, the Lieutenant of the Tower, maſter Tho. Bridges, brought the priſoner to the barre, then ſilence was commaunded, and Sendall ſaid to the priſoner as foloweth.

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton Knighte hold vp thy hande, thou art before this time indited of high treaſon. &c. that thou then and there didſt falſly and traiterouſly. &c. conſpire & imagine the death of the Queenes maieſtie. &c. and falſly and trayterouſly didſt leuie warre againſte the Q. within hir Realm. &c. and alſo, thou waſt adherente to the Queenes enimies within hir Realm giuing to them ayde & comfort. &c. and alſo falſly and trayterouſly didſt conſpire and intend to depoſe and depriue the Q. of hir royal eſtate, and ſo finally deſtroy hir. &c. and alſo, thou didſt falſly and traiterouſly deuiſe and conclude to take violently the Tower of Lōdon. &c. of al which treaſons and euery of thē in maner & forme. &c. art thou giltie or not giltie?

Throckmor. May it pleaſe you my Lords and maiſters, which be authoriſed by the Queenes commiſſion to be Iudges this day, to giue me leaue to ſpeake a fewe words, which doth both cōcerne you and me before I aunſwere to the enditement, and not altogithers impertinente to the matter, and then pleade to the enditemente.

Bromley. No, the order is not ſo, you muſt firſt pleade whethether you be giltie or no.

Throckmor. If that be your order and law, iudge accordingly to it.

Hare. You muſt firſte aunſwer to the matter wherwith you are charged, and thē you may talke at your pleaſure.

Throckmor. But things ſpoken out of place, wer as good not ſpoken.

Bromley. Theſe bee but delayes to ſpende time, therfore anſwere as the law willeth you.

Throckmor. My Lords, I pray you make not too muche haſt with me, neither thinke not long for your diner, for my caſe requireth leyſure, & you haue wel dined when you haue done iuſtice truely. (Chriſt ſaid) Bleſſed are they that hunger and thirſt for righteouſneſſe.

Bromley. I can forbeare my dinner as well as you, & care as little as you peraduenture.

Shrewſbury Come you hither to checke vs Throckmorton? wee will not bee ſo vſed, no no, I for my parte haue forborne my breakfaſt, dinner, and ſupper to ſerue the Queene.

Throckmor. Yea my good Lord I know it right wel, I meant not to touche your Lordſhip, for youre ſeruice & paines is euidently knowen to al mē.

Southwell. M. Throckmorton, this talke neede not, we know what we haue to doe, & you would teach vs our duties, you hurt your mater, go to go to

Throckmor. M. Southwel, you miſtake me, I ment not to teach you, nor none of you, but to remember you of that I truſt you al be well inſtructed in, & ſo I ſatiſfy my ſelfe, ſince I ſhall not ſpeake, thinking you all know what you haue to doe, or ought to know, ſo I wil aunſwer to the inditement, and do pleade not giltie to yͤ whole, and to euery part thereof.

Sendall. How wilt thou be tried?

Throckm. Shal I be tried as I would, or as I ſhuld?

Bromley. You ſhalbe tried as the law wil, and therfore you muſt ſay by God and by yͤ Countrey.

Throckm. Is that your law for me? it is not as I wold, but ſince you wil haue it ſo, I am pleaſed with it, and do deſire to be tried by faithfull iuſt mē, which more feare God than the world.

The names of the iurours.

Then the Iury was called.

Lucar.	Lowe.
Yong.	Whetſton.
Martyn.	Painter.
Beſwike.	Bankes.
Baſcarfeld	Calthrop.
Kightley.	Cater.

What time the atturney went forthwith to M. Cholmley, and ſhewed him the Sheriffes returne, who being aquainted with yͤ Citizens knowing the corruptions & dexterities of them in ſuch caſes, noted certaine to be chalenged for the Q. (a rare caſe) & the ſame mē being knowē to be ſufficient and indifferent, that no exceptions were to be takē to them, but only for their vpright honeſties, notwithſtanding, the atturney prompting ſergeant Dier, the ſaide ſergeant chalenged one Bacon, and another Citizē peremptorily for the Q. Then the priſoner demanded the cauſe of the chalenge, the ſergeante aunſwered, we neede not ſhew you the cauſe of the chalenge for the Q. Then the inqueſt was furniſhed with other honeſt mē, that is to ſay, Whetſtō and Lucar, ſo the priſoner vſed theſe words.

Throckmo I truſt you haue not prouided for me this day as in times paſt I knew another Gētleman occupying this wofull place was prouided for. It chanced one of the Iuſtices vpon ielouſie of the priſoners acquitall, for the goodneſſe of his cauſe, ſaid to another of his companions a iuſtice, when the iury did appeare. I like not this iury for our purpoſe, they ſeeme to be too pitiful and too charitable to condemne yͤ priſoner, no no ſaid yͤ other iudge (viz. Cholmley) I warrāt you, they be picked fellowes for yͤ nonce, he ſhal drink of yͤ ſame cup his felows haue don, I was thē a loker on of yͤ pageāt as others be now here. But now wo is me, I am a player in yͤ woful tragedie. Well, for theſe & ſuch other like yͤ black oxe hath of late trodē on ſome of their feet. But my truſt is, I ſhall not be ſo vſed. Whyleſt this talke was, Cholmeley conſulted with the Atturney aboute the Iury, which the priſoner eſpied, and then ſayde as heere enſueth, Ah ah maiſter Cholmeley, will this foule packing neuer be left.

lmley. Why what do I, I pray you, M. Throckmortō, I did nothing, I am ſure, you do picke quarrels to me.

rockmor. Well maiſter Cholmeley if you do well, it is better for you, God help you.

The Iury then was ſworne, and proclamation made, that whoſoeuer woulde giue euidence againſte Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, ſhoulde come in and be heard, for the priſoner ſtood vpon his deliuerance, where vpon ſergeant Stanford preſented hymſelfe to ſpeake.

rockmor. And it may pleaſe you maiſter ſergeante and the others my maſters of the Quenes lerned Counſell, like as I was minded to haue ſaide a fewe words to the Commiſſioners, if I mighte haue had leaue for their better remembrance of their duties in this place of iuſtice, and concerning direct indifferency to bee vſed towards me this day: ſo by your pacience I do thinke good to ſay ſomewhat to you, and to the reſt of the Queenes learned Counſell, appointed to giue euidence againſte mee. And albeit you and the reſt by order be appointed to gyue euidence againſte me, and enterteyned to ſette forth the depoſitions and matter againſt mee, yet I pray you remember I am not alienate from you, but that I am youre Chriſtian brother, neither you ſo charged, but you ought to conſider equitie, nor yet ſo priuiledged, but that you haue a ductie of God appoynted you how you ſhal do youre office, whiche if you exceede, will be greeuouſly required at youre handes, it is lawfull for you to vſe your giftes, whiche I know God hathe largely giuen you, as youre learning, arte, and eloquence, ſo as thereby you do not ſeduce the minds of the ſimple and vnlearned Iury, to credite matters otherwiſe thā they be. For maiſter ſergeant, I knowe howe by perſwaſions, enforcements, preſumptions, applying, implying, inferring, coniecturing, deducing of argumentes, wreſting and exceeding the law, the circumſtances, the depoſitiōs and confeſſions that vnlearned men maye bee inchanted to thinke and iudge thoſe that bee things indifferente, or at the worſt but ouerſights to be great treaſons, ſuch power orators haue, and ſuche ignorance the vnlearned haue. Almighty God by the mouth of his Prophete, doth conclude ſuch aduocates bee curſed, ſpeaking theſe words, Curſed bee hee that doth his office craftily, corruptly, and malitiouſly. And conſider alſo, that my bloud ſhal be required at your hands, and puniſhed in you and yours, to the third and fourth generation. Notwithſtāding, you and the Iuſtices excuſe always ſuch erronious doings, when they be after called in queſtion by the verdict of the twelue men: but I aſſure you; the purgation ſerueth you as it did Pilate, and you waſhe your handes of the bloudſhed, as Pilate did of Chriſts. And now to your matter.

Stanford. And it pleaſe you my Lords, I doubt not to proue euidently and manifeſtly, that Throckmorton is worthely and rightly indicted and araigned of theſe treaſons, and that he was a principall deuiſer, procurer, and contriuer of the late Rebellion, and that Wyat was but his miniſter, how ſay you Throckmorton, dyd not you ſend Winter to Wyat into Kent, and did deuiſe that the Tower of London ſhoulde be taken, with other inſtructions concernyng Wyats ſturre and Rebellion?

Throckmor. May it pleaſe you that I ſhall aunſwer perticularly to the matters obiected againſt me, in aſmuche as my memorie is not good, and the ſame much decayed ſince my greeuous empriſonment, with want of ſleepe, and other diſquietneſſe: I confeſſe I did ſay to Winter that Wyat was deſirous to ſpeake with him, as I vnderſtoode.

Stanford. Yea ſir, and you deuiſed togither of the taking of the Tower of London, and of the other great treaſons.

Throckmor. Noe, I did not ſo, proue it.

Stanford. Yes ſir, you met with Winter ſundry times as ſhall appeare, and in ſundry places.

Throckmor. That granted, proueth no ſuch matter as is ſuppoſed in the enditement.

Winters confeſsion redde by Stanford.

Stanford red Winters confeſſion, whyche was of this effect, that Throckmorton mette with Winter one day in Tower ſtreete, and told him, that Sir Thomas Wyat was deſirous to ſpeake with him, and Winter demanded where Wyat was, Throckmorton aunſwered, at his houſe in Kente, not farre from Gillingham, as I heard ſay, where the Shyps lye. Then they parted at that time, and ſhortly after, Throckmorton met with Winter, vnto whome Winter ſayd, maiſter Wyat dothe muche miſlike the cōming of the Spanyardes into this Realme, and feareth their ſhort arriuall heere, in aſmuch, as dayly he heareth thereof, dothe ſee dayly diuers of them arriue heere, ſcattered like ſouldyers, and therefore hee thinketh good the Tower of London ſhould be taken by a ſleighte, before the Prince came, leaſt that peece be deliuered to yͤ Spanyards. How ſay you Throckmorton to it. Throckmorton aunſwered. I miſlike it for diuers reſpects: euen ſo do I ſayde Winter. At another tyme Throckmorton mette me the ſayd Winter in Poules, when hee had ſent one to my houſe to ſeeke me before, and he ſaid to me, you are Admirall of yͤ fleete that now goeth into Spaine,

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I aunſwered yea, Throckmorton ſaide, when will your ſhippes be ready, I ſaide within tenne dayes, Throckmorton ſayde. I vnderſtand you are appoynted to conduct and carrie the Lorde priuie ſeale into Spayne, and conſidering the daunger of the Frenchmen, which you ſay arme them to the Sea apace, me thinke it well done, you put my ſaide Lorde and his traine on lande in the Weſt Countrey to auoyde all daungers. Throckmorton ſaide alſo, that Wyat changed his purpoſe, for taking the Tower of London, I ſaid I was glad of it, and as for the Frenchmẽ, I care not muche for them, I will ſo handle the matter, that the Queenes Shippes ſhall bee I warrante you in ſafegard. Another time, I met with M. Throckmorton when I came from the Emperours Ambaſſadors, vnto whome I declared, that the Emperour had ſente mee a fayre cheyne, and ſhewed it vnto Throckmorton, who ſaid, for this cheine you haue ſold your Country, I ſaide it is neyther French K. nor Emperoure that can make me ſell my Countrey, but I will be a true Engliſhmã: thẽ they parted. This is yͤ ſumme of yͤ talke betwixt Throck. and Winter.

Stanford. Now my maſters of the Iury, you haue heard my ſayings confirmed with Winters confeſſion, how ſay you Throckmorton, can you denie this, if you will, you ſhall haue Winter iuſtifie it to your face.

Throckmor. My Lords, ſhal it pleaſe you yᵗ I ſhal anſwer.

Bromley. Yea, ſay your mind.

Throckmor. I may truely denye ſome part of this confeſſion, but bycauſe ther is nothing material greatly, I ſuppoſe yͤ whole be true, and what is herein depoſed, ſufficiente to bring me within the cõpas of the enditement?

Stanford. It appeareth yᵗ you were of coũſel wᵗ Wyat, in aſmuch as you ſente Winter downe to him, who vttered vnto him diuers traiterous deuiſes.

Throckmor. This is but coniectural, yet ſithence you will conſtrue ſo malitiouſly, I will recompte how I ſent Winter to Wyat, and then I pray you of the Iury, iudge better than maiſter Sergeante doth. I met by chance a ſeruant of maiſter Wyats, who demanded of me for Winter, and ſhewed mee, that his maiſter woulde gladly ſpeake with him, and ſo without any further declaration, deſired me if I met Winter to tel him maſter Wyats mind, and where he was. Thus much for the ſendyng downe of Winter.

Attourney. Yea ſir, but how ſay you to the taking of the Tower of London, which is treaſon?

Throckmor. I aunſwere, though Wyat thought meete to attempte ſo daungerous an enterpriſe, and that Winter enformed me of it, you cannot extende Wyats deuiſes to be mine, & to bring me within the compas of treaſon, for what maner of reaſoning or proofe is this, Wyat woulde haue taken the Tower, *Ergo*, Throckmorton is a Traytor? Winter dothe make my purgation in his owne confeſſion, euen now redde as it was by Maiſter Sergeante, though I ſay nothing, for Winter doth auow there, that I did much miſlike it, and bycauſe you ſhal the better vnderſtand that I did alwayes not alow theſe maſter Wyats deuiſes, I had theſe words to Winter, whẽ he enformed me of it, I think M. Wyat would no Engliſhman hurt, & this enterpriſe cannot be done without the hurt and ſlaughter of both parties, for I know him yᵗ hath the charge of the peece, and his brother, both men of good ſeruice, the one had in charge a peece of great importance, Bolloyne I meane, which was ſtoutely aſſayled, & notwithſtanding, hee made a good accompt of it for hys time, that like I am ſure hee will doe by this hys charge. Moreouer, to accompte the taking of the Tower, is very dangerous by yͤ law. Theſe were my wordes to Winter. And beſides, it is very vnlike that I of all men woulde confederate in ſuch a matter againſt the Lieutenant of yͤ Tower, whoſe daughter my brother hath maryed, & his houſe and mine alyed togithers by mariage ſundry times within theſe few yeres.

Hare. But how ſay you to this, that Wyat & you had conference togither ſundrye times at Warners houſe, and in other places?

Throckm This is a very general charge to haue conferẽce, but why was it not as lawful for me to cõferre with Wiat, as with you, or any other mã? I then knew no more by Wyat, than by any other, & to proue to talke with Wyat, was lawful and indifferent: the laſt day that I did talke with Wyat, I ſawe my Lord of Arondel, with other noble men and Gentlemen talke with him familiarly in the chamber of preſence.

Hare. But they did not conſpire nor talke of any ſtur againſt the Spanyards as you did pretend, and meante it againſte the Q. for you, Croftes, Rogers, & Warner, did oftentimes deuiſe in Warners houſe aboute youre traytrous purpoſes, or elſe what did you ſo often there?

Throckm I confeſſe I did miſlike the Queenes mariage with Spaine, and alſo yͤ comming of yͤ Spanyards hither, and then me thought I had reaſon to doe ſo, for I did learne the reaſons of my miſliking of you M. Hare, M. Southwell & others in the Parliament houſe, there I did ſee yͤ whole conſent of yͤ realm againſt it, and I a hearer, but no ſpeaker, did learne my miſliking of thoſe matters, confirmed by many ſundry reaſons amõgſt you: but as concerning any ſturre or vprore againſt the Spanyards, I neuer made any, neyther procured any to be made, and for my much reſort to M. Warners houſe, it was not to conferre with M. Wyat, but to ſhew my friendſhip to my very good L. the Marques of Northampton,

ton, who was lodged ther whẽ he was inlarged.

nford. Did not you Throckmor. tell Winter that Wyat had changed his mind for yͤ taking of the Tower? whereby it appeared euidently that you knew of his doings.

rockmor. Truely I did not tell him ſo, but I care not greately to giue you that weapon to play you withal, now let vs ſee what you can make of it.

nford. Yea ſir, that proueth that you were priuie to Wiats mind in al his deuiſes and treaſons, and that there was ſending betwixt you and Wyat from time to time.

rockmor. What M. ſergeant, doth this proue againſte me, that I knew Wyat did repent him of an euil deuiſed enterpriſe? is it to know Wiats repẽtance ſinne? no, it is but a venial ſinne, if it be any it is not deadly. But where is the meſſenger or meſſage yͤ Wyat ſente to me touching his alteration, & yet it was lawfull ynough for me to heare from Wyat at that time, as frõ any other man, for any acte that I knew he had done.

n. And it may pleaſe you my Lordes, and you my maiſters of the Jurie, to proue that Throkmertõ is a principall doer in this Rebelliõ, there is yet many other things to be declared: amõgſt other, there is Croftes cõfeſſiõ, who ſayeth, yͭ he and you and your accõplices, did manye times deuiſe aboute the whole matters, and hee made you priuie to all his determinations, and you ſhewed him that you woulde goe into the Weſt Countrey with the Earle of Deuon. to Sir Peter Caroe, accompanyed with others.

are.

hrocks

rockmor. M. Croftes is yet liuing, and is here this day, how hapneth it he is not broughte face to face to iuſtifie this matter, neither hathe bin of all this time? wil you knowe yͤ trueth? either he ſayd not ſo, or he wil not abide by it, but honeſtly hath reformed himſelf. And as for knowing his deuiſes, I was ſo well aquainted with them, that I can name none of them, nor you neyther as matter knowen to mee.

ere.

arney. But why did you aduiſe Winter to land my Lord priuie ſeale in the Weſt Countrey?

rockmor. He yͭ told you that my mind was to land him there, doth partly tel you a reaſon why I ſaid ſo, if you would remẽber as well the one as yͤ other, but bycauſe you are ſo forgetfull, I will recite wherefore: In communicatiõ betwixt Winter & me, as he declared to me yͭ the Spanyards prouided to bring their Prince hither, ſo the Frenchmen prepared to interrupte his arriuall, for they began to arme to the ſea, and had already certain Shippes on the Weſt coſt (as he heard) vnto whome I ſaide, that peraduenture not onely the Queenes ſhippes vnder his charge mighte bee in ieoperdy, but alſo my Lorde priuie ſeale, and all hys trayne, the Frenchmen beeing wel prepared to meete with them, and therefore for all euents it were good you ſhould put my ſaid Lord in the Weſt Countrey in caſe you eſpie any ieoperdie: but what doth this proue to yͤ treaſons, if I were not able to giue conuenient reaſons to my talke?

Stanford. Mary ſir now commeth the proofes of youre treaſons, you ſhal heare what Cutbert Vaughhan ſayth againſt you.

Vaughans confeſsiõ was reade by Stãforde.

Then ſergeant Stanford did reade Vaughhans cõfeſſiõ, tẽding to this effect. That Vaughhan cõming out of Kẽt, met with Throckmor. at M. Warners houſe, who after he had don cõmendatiõs from Wyat to him, deſired to know wher Crofts was, Throckmor. anſwered, either at Arundel houſe wher he lodgeth, or in Poules. Then Vaughan deſired to knowe how thyngs went at London, ſaying, M. Wyat and wee of Kent do much miſlike yͤ mariage with Spaine, & the comming of the Spanyardes for diuers reſpectes, howbeit, if other countries miſlike thẽ as Kẽt doth, they ſhall be but hardly welcome, & ſo they parted. Shortly after, Throckmor. met wͭ Vaughhan in Poules, vnto whome Throckmor. declared with ſundry circumſtances, that yͤ Weſterne men were in readineſſe to come forwards, & that ſir Peter Caroe had ſent vnto him euen now, & that he had in order a good band of horſemen, & an other of footemen: then Vaughhan demanded what the Erle of Deuon. woulde doe, Throckmor. anſwered he will marre all, for he wil not goe hence, & yet ſir Peter Caroe wold mete him with a band, both of horſemen & footemẽ, by the way at Andeuer for his ſafegard, and alſo he ſhould haue bin well accompanyed from hence with other Gentlemẽ, yet all this wyl not moue him to departe hence. Moreouer, the ſayde erle hath as is ſaid, diſcouered al yͤ whole matter to the Chancellor, or elſe it is comen out by his Taylor, aboute the trimming of a ſhirte of maile, & the making of a cloke. At another time, Vaughan ſaith, Throckmor. ſhewed him that he had ſente a poſt to Sir Peter Caroe to come forwarde with as muche ſpeede as might be, & to bring his force with him. And alſo Throckmor. aduiſed Vaughan to will M. Wiat come forward with his power, for nowe was the time, in aſmuch as the Londoners would take his part if the matter were preſented to thẽ. Vaughan ſaid alſo, that Throckmor. and Warner ſhould haue ridden with the ſaid Erle Weſtward. Moreouer, the ſaid Vaughã depoſed, that Throckmor. ſhewed him in talke of the Erle of Pembroke, yͭ the ſaide Earle woulde not fight againſt them, though hee woulde not take their partes. Alſo Vaughan ſaid, that Throckmor. ſhewed hym yͭ he would ride downe into Barkeſhire to ſir Frãcis Englefieldes houſe, there to meete his eldeſt brother, to moue him to take his part. And thys was yͤ ſumme of Cutbert Vaughans cõfeſſion.

Stanford. How ſay you, doth not heere appeare euident matter to proue you a principall, who not onely gaue order to ſir Peter Caroe ⁊ his adherēts, for their rebellious actes in the Weſt Countrey, but alſo procured Wyat to make his Rebellion, appointing him ⁊ the others alſo when they ſhould attempt their enterpriſe, ⁊ how they ſhould order their doings from time to time. Beſides all this euident matter, you were ſpecially appoynted to goe away with the Earle of Deuon. as one that would direct all things, and giue order to al mē, and therefore Throckmor. ſince this matter is ſo manifeſt, and the euidence ſo apparant, I would aduiſe you to cōfeſſe your fault, and ſubmit your ſelfe to the Queenes mercy.

Bromley. Howe ſay you, will you confeſſe the matter, and it will be beſt for you?

Throckmor. No, I will neuer accuſe my ſelfe vniuſtly, but in aſmuche as I am come hither to bee tryed, I pray you let me haue the law fauourably.

Attourney. Is it apparant that you lay at London as a factor to giue intelligence as well to them in the Weſt, as to Wyat in Kent.

Throckmor. How proue you that, or who doth accuſe mee but this condemned man?

Attourney. Why will you denie this matter, you ſhall haue Vaughan iuſtifie his whole confeſſion here before your face.

Throckmor. It ſhal not need, I know his vnſhamefaſtnes, he hath aduowed ſome of this vntrue talk before this time to my face, ⁊ it is not otherwiſe like, conſidering yͤ price, but he wil do yͤ ſame again.

Attourney. My L. and maiſters, you ſhall haue Vaughan to iuſtifie this heere before you all, and confirme it with a booke oth.

Throckmor. He that hath ſaid and lyed, will not being in this caſe ſticke to ſweare and lie.

Then was Cutbert Vaughan brought into the open Court.

Sendall. How ſay you Cutbert Vaughan, is this your owne confeſſion, and wil you abide by all that is here written?

Vaughan. Let me ſee it and I will tell you.

Then his confeſſion was ſhewed him.

Attourney. Bycauſe you of yͤ Iury the better may credite him, I pray you my lords let Vaghā be ſworne.

Then was Vaughan ſworne on a booke to ſay nothing but the trueth.

Vaughan. It may pleaſe you my lords and maiſters, I could haue bin well content to haue choſe ſeauen yeres impriſonment, though I had bin a free mā in yͤ law, rather than I would this day haue gyuen euidence againſt ſir Nicholas Throckmor. vnto whome I beare no diſpleaſure: but ſithence I muſt needes confeſſe my knowledge, I muſt confeſſe al yͭ is there written is true, how ſay you M. Throck. was there any diſpleaſure betwene you ⁊ me, to moue me to ſay aught againſt you?

Throckmor. No yͭ I know, how ſay you Vaughan, what acquaintance was there betwene you and me, ⁊ what letters of credit, or token did you bring me frō Wiat, or any other to moue me to truſt you?

Vaughan. As for aquaintance, I knew you as I did other Gentlemen, ⁊ as for letters, I broughte you none other, but cōmendatiōs frō M. Wiat, as I did to diuers other of his acquaintāce at Lōdon.

Throckmo You might as well forge the cōmendatiōs as the reſt, but if you haue done with Vaughā my lords, I pray you giue mee leaue to aunſweare.

Bromley. Speake and be ſhort.

Throckm I ſpeake generally to all yͭ be heere preſent, but ſpecially to you of my Iury, touching yͤ credit of Vaughās depoſitions againſt me, a condemned man: ⁊ after to the matter: ⁊ note I pray you the circumſtāces, as ſomewhat material to induce yͤ better. Firſt I pray you remēber yͤ ſmal familiaritie betwixt Vaughan ⁊ me, as he hathe auowed before you. And moreouer, to procure credite at my hād, brought neither letter nor token frō Wiat, nor frō any other to me, which he alſo hath confeſſed here: and I will ſuppoſe Vaughā to be in as good condition as any other mā here, that is to ſay, an vncōdemned man, yet I referre it to your good iudgement whether it were lyke yͭ I knowing onely Vaughans perſon from an other mā, ⁊ hauing none other acquaintance wͭ him, would ſo frankly diſcouer my mind to him in ſo dangerous a matter. How like I ſay is this whē diuers of theſe Gentlemen now in captiuitie, being my very familiars, coulde not depoſe any ſuch matter againſt me, and neuertheles vpon their examinations, haue ſaide what they could. And thogh I be no wiſe mā, I am not ſo raſh to vtter to an vnknowē man (for ſo I may call him in compariſon) a matter ſo dangerous for me to ſpeake, ⁊ him to heare, but bycauſe my trueth ⁊ his falſehood ſhall the better appeare vnto you, I will declare his inconſtancy in vttering this his euidence: and for my better credite, it may pleaſe you M. Southwell, I take you to witnes, whē Vaughan firſt iuſtified this his vniuſt accuſation againſt me before the L. Paget, the L. Chamberlaine, you M. Southwell ⁊ others, he referred the confirmatiō of this his ſurmiſed matter, to a letter ſent frō him to ſir Tho. Wyat, which letter doth neither appeare, nor any teſtimonie of the ſaid M. Wyat againſt mee touching the matter, for I doubte not ſir Tho: Wyat hath bin examined of me, and hathe ſayde what he could directly or indirectly. Alſo Vaghā ſaith, yͭ yong Edw. Wyat could confirme thys matter, as one yͭ knewe this pretended diſcourſe betwixt Vaughā and me, and therupon I made ſute yͭ Edw. Wiat might either be brought face to face to me, or otherwiſe be examined.

Southw M. Thockmor. you miſtake your matter, for Vaughan ſaid, yͭ Edw. Wyat did know ſome part of the matter, and alſo was priuie of yͤ letter that Vaughan ſent to ſir Tho. Wyat.

Throck Yea ſir, that was Vaughans laſt ſhift, when

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I charged him before yͤ maſter of yͤ horſe, & you wͭ his former allegatiōs touching his witnes, whom when hee eſpyed, woulde not doe ſo lewdly as hee thought, then he vſed this alteration: but where is Edw. Wiats depoſitiōs of any thing againſt me, now it appeareth neither his firſte nor his laſt tale to be true. For you knowe M. Bridges, & ſo doth my L. your brother, that I deſired twice or thrice Ed. Wiat ſhuld be examined, & I am ſure, & moſt aſſured he hathe bin willed to ſay what he could, & here is nothing depoſed by him againſt me, eyther touching any letter or other conference: or where is Vaughās letter ſent by ſir Tho. Wyat cōcerning my talke?

But now I will ſpeake of Vaughans preſent eſtate in that hee is a condemned man, whoſe teſtimonie is nothing worthe by any lawe, and bycauſe falſe witnes be mentioned in yͤ Goſpel, treating of accuſatiō, hearke I pray you what S. Ierome ſayeth, expounding yͤ place: it is demaunded why Chriſtes accuſers bee called falſe witneſſes, which did report chriſts words not as he ſpake thē, they be falſe witnes ſaith S. Ierome, which do ad, alter, wreſt, double, or do ſpeake for hope to auoid death, or for malice to procure an other mās death: for al mē may eaſily gather he cānot ſpeake truely of me, or in the caſe of another mans life, where he hath hope of his owne by accuſation. Thus much ſpeaketh S. Ierome of falſe witnes. By the ciuill law there be many exceptiōs to be taken agaynſt ſuch teſtimonies, but bycauſe we be not gouerned by yͤ law, neither I haue my trial by it, it ſhalbe ſuperfluous to trouble you therewith, & therefore you ſhall heare what your owne lawe doth ſay. There was a ſtatute made in my late ſoueraigne L. and maiſter his time, touching accuſation, and theſe be the words.

Be it enacted, that no perſon nor perſons. &c. ſhalbe indited, araigned, condēned, or conuicted for any offence of treaſon, petit treaſon, miſpriſion of treaſon, for which yͤ ſame offendor ſhal ſuffer any paynes of death, impriſonment, loſſe or forfeyture of his goodes, lands. &c. vnleſſe the ſame offendor be accuſed by two ſufficient and lawful witneſſes, or ſhall willingly without violēce confeſſe yͤ ſame. And alſo in the ſixth yere of his raigne, it is thus ratified as enſueth.

That no perſon nor perſons ſhall bee indited, araigned, condemned, conuicted or attainted of the treaſons or offences aforeſaide, or for anye other treaſons that nowe bee, or heereafter ſhall be, vnleſſe the ſame offendor or offendors be thereof accuſed by two lawfull and ſufficient accuſers, whiche at the time of the araignement of the parties ſo accuſed (if they be thē liuing) ſhalbe brought in perſon before the ſaid partie accuſed, and auowe and mainteine that they haue to ſay againſte the ſaide partie, to proue him giltie of the treaſons or offence conteined in the byll of inditement layd agaynſt the partie araigned, vnleſſe the ſayd partie araigned ſhalbe willing without violence to confeſſe the ſame.

Here note I pray you, that oure lawe dothe require two lawfull and ſufficiente accuſers to be brought face to face, and Vaughan is but one, and the ſame moſt vnlawfull and inſufficiente: for who can be more vnlawfull and inſufficient, than a condemned man, and ſuche one as knoweth to accuſe mee is the meane to ſaue his owne lyfe? remember I pray you howe long and how manye times Vaughans execution hathe bin reſpited, and howe often hee hathe bin coniured to accuſe, (whych by Goddes grace hee withſtoode vntill the laſt houre) what time perceyuing there was no way to liue, but to ſpeake againſte mee or ſome other (his former grace beeyng taken away) dyd redeeme his lyfe moſt vniuſtly, and ſhamefully as you ſee.

Hare. Why ſhoulde he accuſe you more than anye other, ſeeyng there was no diſpleaſure betwixte you, if the matter had not bin true.

Throckmor. Bycauſe he muſt eyther ſpeake of ſome man, or ſuffer deathe, and then he did rather chooſe to hurte him he did leaſt know, and ſo loued leaſt, than any other well knowen to him, whome hee loued moſt. But to you of my Iury I ſpeake ſpecially, and therfore I pray you note what I ſay. In a matter of leſſe weight than triall of life and lande, a man may by the law take exceptions to ſuche as be impaneld, to trie the controuerſies betwixt the parties: as for example, a man may chalenge that the Sheriffe is hys enimie, and therefore hathe made a parciall returne, or bycauſe one of the Iury is the Sheriffe my aduerſaries ſeruaunte, and alſo in caſe my aduerſaries villaine or bondman be empanelled, I may lawfully chalenge him, bycauſe the aduerſarie parte hathe power ouer hys villaynes landes and goodes, and hathe the vſe of hys bodye for ſeruile office, muche more I may of ryghte take exception to Vaughans teſtimonie, my lyfe and all that I haue dependyng therevpon, and the ſame Vaughan beeyng more bounde to the Queenes highneſſe, my aduerſarie (that wo is mee therefore) but ſo the lawe dothe here ſo tearme hyr Maieſtie, than anye villayne is to hys Lord, for hir hyghneſſe hathe not onely power ouer hys bodye, lands, and goodes, but ouer his lyfe alſo.

Stanford. Yea, the exceptions are to be taken agaynſte the Iury in that caſe, but not agaynſt the witnes or accuſor, and therefore youre argumente ſerueth little for you.

Throckmor. That is not ſo, for the vſe of the iurie, & the witnes & the effect of their doings doth ſerue me to my purpoſe, as the law ſhal diſcuſſe. And thus I make my cōpariſon. By yͤ ciuill law yͤ Iudge doth giue

ſentence

ſentēce vpon yͤ depoſitions of the witnes, & by your law, yͤ Iudge doth giue iudgement vpon the verdict of the iury, ſo as yͤ effect is both one to finiſh yͤ matter, trial in law, as wel by yͤ depoſitions of the witnes, as by yͤ Iuries verdit, though they varie in forme & circumſtance, and ſo Vaughans teſtimonie being credited, may be yͤ materiall cauſe of my condēnation, as yͤ Iury to be induced by his depoſitiōs to ſpeake their verdict, & ſo finally therevpon the Iudge to giue ſentence. Therfore I may vſe yͤ ſame exceptions againſt yͤ iury, or any of thē, as yͤ principal mean yͭ ſhal occaſion my condemnation.

Bromley. Why do you denie, that euery part of Vaughās tale is vntrue?

Attourney. You may ſee he wil denie all, and ſay there was no ſuch communication betwixt them.

Throckmor. I confeſſe ſome part of Vaughans confeſſion to be true, as the name, the places, the time, and ſome part of the matter.

Attourney. So you of the Iury may perceyue the priſoner doth confeſſe ſome thing to be true.

Throckmor. As touching my ſending to ſir Peter Caroe, or his ſending to me, or concerning my aduice to M. Wyat to ſturre or to repaire hither, or touchyng yͤ earle of Deuon. parting hence, & my going wͭ him, & alſo concerning yͤ matter of yͤ Erle of Pēbroke, I do aduow & ſay that Vaughan hath ſaid vntruely.

Southwell. As for my L. of Pembroke, you neede not excuſe yͤ matter, for he hath ſhewed himſelfe cleere in theſe matters like a noble man, & that we al know.

Hare. Why what was the talke betwixte Vaughan and you ſo long in Poules, if theſe were not ſo, and what meant your oft meetings?

Throckmor. As for our often meetings, they were of no ſet purpoſe, but by chāce, & yet no ofter thā twice. But ſithence you would know what cōmunicatiō paſſed betwixt vs in Poules Church, I will declare. We talked of the incōmodities of the marriage of the Q. with yͤ Prince of Spaine, & how greeuous yͤ Spanyards would be to vs here. Vaughan ſaid, that it ſhould be very dangerous for any man, that truely profeſſed the Goſpel to liue here, ſuch was yͤ Spanyards crueltie, and eſpecially againſte Chriſtian men: wherevnto I anſwered it was yͤ plague of God iuſtly come vppon vs, and now almightie God dealt with vs as he did with yͤ Iſraelites, taking frō them for their vnthankefulnes theyr godly kings, & did ſend Tirants to raigne ouer them. Euen ſo he handled vs Engliſhmen, whiche hadde a moſt godly & vertuous Prince to raigne ouer vs, my late ſoueraigne L. and M. K. Edwarde, vnder whome we might both ſafely and lawfully profeſſe Gods word, which with our lewd doyngs, demeanour, and liuing, we handled ſo irreuerently, that to whip vs for our faultes, he woulde ſend vs ſtraungers, yea ſuch very tyrants to exerciſe great tyrānie ouer vs, & did take away yͤ vertuous & faithfull K. from amongſt vs: for euery man of euery eſtate did coulour his naughty affections with a pretēce of religion, & made the Goſpell a ſtaulking horſe to bring their euil deſires to effect. This was yͤ ſūme of our talke in Poules ſomewhat more dilated.

Stan That it may appeare yet more euidently howe Throckmor. was a principal doer & counſellor in this matter, you ſhall heare his owne confeſſion of his own hand writing. The Clearke did begin to reade, Throckmor. deſired M. Stanford to reade it, & the Iury well to marke it. Then M. Stanford did reade the priſoners own cōfeſſion to this effect: that Throckmor. had cōference with Wyat, Caroe, Croftes, Rogers, and Warner, as well of the Queenes mariage wͭ the Prince of Spaine, as alſo of Religion, & did particularly confer with euery yͤ forenamed, of yͤ matters aforeſaid. Moreouer, with ſir Tho. Wyat, the priſoner talked of yͤ brute that the Weſterne men ſhould much miſlike yͤ cōming of the Spanyards into this Realme, beeing reported alſo yͭ they intended to interrupt theyr arriual here. And alſo that it was ſaid, that they wer in conſultation about yͤ ſame at Exeter. Wyat alſo did ſay, yͭ ſir Peter Caroe could not bring the ſame matter to good effect, nor there was any man ſo mete to bring it to good effect, as the erle of Deuon. and ſpecially in yͤ Weſt Coūtrey, in aſmuch as they did not draw al by one line. Thē Throckmor. aſked how the Kentiſhmen were affected to yͤ Spanyards? Wyat ſaid, the people like them euill ynough, and yͭ appeared now at the comming of yͤ Countie Egmount, for they were ready to ſturre againſte him & his traine, ſuppoſing it had bin the Prince, but ſaid Wyat, ſir Robert Southwel, M. Baker, & M. Moyle, & their affinitie, whiche bee in good credite in ſome places of the ſhire, wil for other malitious reſpects hinder yͤ libertie of their Countrey. Thē Throckmor. ſhuld ſay, though I know ther hath bin an vnkindneſſe betwixte M. Southwel & you for a money matter, wherein I traueled to make you friends, I doubt not, but in ſo honeſt a matter as this is, he will for the ſafegard of his Countrey ioyne with you, and ſo you may bee ſure of the L. Burgainey and his force: then Wiat ſaid, it is for another matter than for money yͭ wee diſagree, wherein he hath handled me & others very doubly & vnneighbourly, howbeit, he can doe no other, neither to me, nor to anye other man, & therefore I forgiue him. Item, with ſir Peter Caroe, Throckmor. had conference touching yͤ impeachment of yͤ landing of the ſaid Prince, & touchyng prouiſion of armour & munitiō as enſueth, that is to ſay, yͭ ſir Peter Caroe told Throckmor. that he truſted his Countreymen would be true Engliſhmen, & would not agree to let yͤ Spanyards to gouerne thē. Item, the ſaid ſir Peter Caroe ſayd, the matter importing yͤ french K. as it did, he thought the french K. would work to hinder yͤ Spanyards cōming hither, with whome the ſaid ſir Peter dyd thinke good to practiſe for armour, munitions and money. Then Throckmor. did aduiſe him to bee beware that he brought any Frenchmen into the realme forceably, in aſmuch as he could as euill abyde yͤ Frenchmen after that ſort as the Spanyards. And alſo Throckmor. thought the Frẽch K. vnable to giue aide to vs, by meanes of the great cõſumption in their own warres. M. Caroe ſaid, as touching yͤ bringing in of Frenchmẽ, he meant it not, for he loued neither partie, but to ſerue his own Cõtrey, and to help his Coũtrey from bõdage, declaring further to Throckmorton that he had a ſmall barke of his owne to worke his practiſe by, and ſo he ſaid, that ſhortly he intended to depart to his owne Countrey, to vnderſtand yͤ deuotion of his Countreymen. Item Throckmor. did ſay, he would for his parte hinder yͤ coming in of the Spanyards as much as he could by perſwaſion. Item to ſir Edward Warner, he had & did bemone his owne eſtate, and the tyrannie of the tyme extended vpon dyuers honeſt perſons for Religion, and wiſhed it were lawfull for all of each Religiõ, to liue ſafely according to their conſcience, for the law (*Ex officio*) will be intollerable, & the Cleargies diſcipline now, may rather be reſembled to yͤ Turks tyrannie, than to the teaching of Chriſtian Religion. This was the ſumme of the matter whiche was red in the foreſaid cõfeſſion, as matters moſt greuous againſt yͤ priſoner. Thẽ Throckmor. ſaid, ſithence M. ſergeant you haue red and gathered yͤ place as you think, that maketh moſt againſt me, I pray you take the paynes, & reade further, that hereafter whatſoeuer become of me, my wordes be not peruerted & abuſed to the hurt of ſom others, & eſpecially againſt the great perſonages, of whome I haue bin ſundry times (as appeareth by my anſwers) examined, for I perceiue the net was not caſt only for little fiſhes, but for the great ones, *iuxta adagium*.

tanforde: It ſhall be but loſſe of time, and we haue other things to charge you withall, and this that you deſire doth make nothing for you.

yer And for the better confirmation of al the treaſons obiected againſt the priſoner, and therein to proue him giltie, you of yͤ Iury ſhall heare yͤ D. of Suffolkes depoſitions againſt him, who was a principal, and hath ſuffered accordingly. Thẽ the ſaid ſergeant red yͤ dukes confeſſion touching yͤ priſoner, amounting to this effect, that the L. Tho. Grey did informe the ſaid Duke, that Sir Nicholas Throckmor. was priuie to the whole deuiſes againſte the Spanyardes, and was one that ſhoulde goe into the Weſt Countrey with the Earle of Deuonſhire.

hrockmor: But what doth the principall author of thys matter ſay againſt me, I mean the L. Thomas Gray who is yet liuing, why is not his depoſitions brought againſt me, for ſo it ought to bee, if he can ſay any thing: will you know the trueth, neyther the L. Tho. Grey hath ſayd, can ſay, or wil ſay any thing againſt me, notwithſtanding yͤ D. his brothers confeſſion & accuſation, who hathe affirmed manye other things beſides the trueth. I ſpeake not without certaine knowlege, for yͤ L. Tho. Grey being my priſon fellow, for a ſmall time informed me, yͭ the D. his brother had miſreported him in many things, amongſt others in matters touching me, which he had declared to you M. Southwell, & other the examinors not long ago, I am ſure if yͤ L. Tho. could or would haue ſaid any thing, it ſhould haue bin here now. And as to yͤ dukes confeſſion, it is not material, for he doth referre the matter to the L. Thomas report, who hath made my purgatiõ.

The attorney And it pleaſe you my Lordes, and you my maiſters of the Iury, beſides theſe matters touching Wiats Rebellion, ſir Peter Carocs treaſons, & confederating wͭ the D. of Suffolke, and beſides yͤ priſoners conſpiracie with the Earle of Deuon. with Croftes, Rogers, Warner, & ſundry others in ſundrye places, it ſhall manifeſtly appeare vnto you, yͭ Throckmor. did conſpire yͤ Queenes Maieſties death with William Thomas, ſir Nicholas Arnold, & other traitors intẽding yͤ ſame, which is yͤ greateſt matter of all others, and moſt to be abhorred; and for the proofe hereof, you ſhall heare what Arnold ſayth. Thẽ was ſir Nicholas Arnolds confeſſion redde, affirming, that Throckmor. ſhewed vnto him, riding betwixt Hinam & Croſſe Laund in Glouceſter ſhire, that Iohn Fitz Williams was verye much diſpleaſed with William Thomas.

The attorney. William Thomas deuiſed, that Iohn Fitz Williãs ſhould kyll the Quene, & Throckmor. knew of it, as appeareth by Arnolds confeſſion.

Throckmor: Firſt I denie that I ſaide anye ſuche thing to M. Arnold, and though he be an honeſt man, he may either forget himſelf, or deuiſe meanes how to vnburthen himſelfe of ſo weightie a matter as this is, for he is charged with the mater as principall, which I did perceiue whẽ he charged mee with his tale, and therefore I do blame him the leſſe, that he ſeeketh how to diſcharge himſelf, vſing me as a witnes if he coulde ſo tranſferre the deuiſe to Wil. Thomas. But truely, I neuer ſpake anye ſuche wordes vnto him, and for my better declaration, I did ſee Iohn Fitz Williams here euen now, who can teſtifie, that he neuer ſhewed me of any diſpleaſure betwixt them, & as I know nothing of the diſpleaſure betwixt thẽ, ſo I know nothing of the cauſe: I pray you my Lordes let him bee called to depoſe in thys matter what hee can. Then Iohn Fitz Williams drew to the barre, and preſented himſelfe to depoſe his knowledge in the mater in opẽ court.

The attorney. I pray you my Lordes ſuffer him not to be ſworne, neither to ſpeake, we haue nothing to do with him.

Throckmor. Why ſhoulde hee not bee ſuffered to tell truthe? and why bee yee not ſo well contented to heare troth for mee, as vntroth againſte me?

Hare Who called you hither Fitzwilliams, or cõmaunded you to ſpeake, you are a verye buſie officer.

Throckmor. I called him, and doe humbly deſire that hee may ſpeake, and be heard as well as Vaughan, or elſe I am not indifferently vſed, ſpecially ſeeing maiſter Atturney doth ſo preſſe this matter againſt me.

Southwell. Goe youre wayes Fitzwilliams, the Courte hath nothing to doe with you. Peraduenture you woulde not bee ſo readie in a good cauſe.

Then John Fitzwyllyams departed the Courte, and was not ſuffered to ſpeake.

Throckmor. Since this Gentlemans declaration maye not bee admitted, I truſt you of the Jurie can perceyue, it was not for anye thing hee had to ſay againſt me. But contrariwiſe, that it was feared he woulde ſpeake for mee. And nowe to maiſter Arnoldes depoſitions againſt me, I ſay I did not tell him anye ſuch wordes, ſo as if it were material, there is but his yea and my nay. But bicauſe the wordes be not ſore ſtrayned againſt me, I praye you maiſter Atturney why might not I haue tolde maiſter Arnolde, that John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas, and yet knowe no cauſe of the anger, it might be vnderſtande, to diſagree oftentimes. Who doth confeſſe that I knowe any thing of William Thomas deuiſe touching the Quenes death? I will aunſwere, no man. For maiſter Arnolde doth mention no worde of that matter, but of the diſpleaſures betwixte them. And to ſpeake that, dothe neyther proue treaſon, nor knoweledge of treaſon. Is here all the euidence againſte mee that you haue to bring mee within the compaſſe of the inditement?

Stanforde. Me thinke the matters confeſſed by others againſt you, togither with your owne confeſſion, will weye ſhrewdlye. But howe ſaye you to the riſing in Kent, and to Wiats attempte againſte the Queenes royall perſon at hir Pallace?

Bromley. Why doe you not reade Wiats accuſation to him, whiche dothe make him partener to his treaſons.

Southwell. Wiat hath grieuouſlye accuſed you, and in manye thinges that others haue confirmed.

Throckmor. Whatſoeuer Wiat hath ſaide of me in hope of his life, he vnſayde it at his death. For ſince I came into this hall, I hearde one ſaye (but I knowe him not) that Wiat vppon the ſcaffolde didde not onelye purge my Ladie Elizabeth hir Grace, and the Earle of Deuonſhire, but alſo all the Gentlemen in the Tower, ſaying they were all ignoraunt of the ſturre and Commotion. In whiche number I take my ſelfe.

Hare. Notwithſtanding he ſaide, all that hee had written and confeſſed to the Counſayle, was true.

Throckmor. Nay Sir, by your pacience, maiſter Wiat ſayde not ſo, that was maiſter Doctors addicion.

Southwell. It appeareth you haue hadde good intelligence.

Throckmor. Almightie God prouided that reuelation for mee this daye ſince I came hither: for I haue bene in cloſe priſon theſe lviij. dayes, where I hearde nothing but what the Birdes tolde mee, which did flie ouer my heade. And nowe to you of my Jurie I ſpeake ſpeciallye, whome I deſire to marke attentiuely what ſhall be ſayde: I haue bene indited, as it appeareth, and nowe am arreigned of compaſſing the Queenes maieſties death, of leuying warre againſte the Queene, of taking the tower of London, of depoſing and depriuing the Queene of hir Royall eſtate, and finally to deſtroy hir, and of adherence to the Queenes enimies. Of all whiche treaſons, to proue mee guiltie, the Queenes learned Counſayle hath giuen in euidence, theſe pointes materiall: That is to ſaye: for the compaſſing or imagining the Queenes death, and the deſtruction of hir Royall perſon, Sir Nicholas Arnoldes depoſitions, whiche is, that I ſhoulde ſaye to the ſayde Sir Nicholas in Glocceſter ſhire, that maiſter John Fitzwilliams was angrie with William Thomas. Whereunto I haue aunſwered, as you haue hearde, bothe denying the matter: and for the proofe on my ſide, doe take exceptions, bicauſe there is no witneſſe but one. And neuertheleſſe, thoughe it were graunted, the depoſitions proue nothing concerning the Queenes death. For leuying of warre againſt the Queene, there is alledged my conference with Sir Thomas Wiat, Sir James Croftes, Sir Edwarde Rogers, Sir Edwarde Warner. Againſte the marriage with Spaine, and the comming of the Spanyardes hither, whiche talke I doe not denie in ſorte as I ſpake it, and ment it: and notwithſtanding the malicious gathering this day of my conference, proueth yet no leuying of warre. There is alſo alledged for proofe of the ſame Article, ſir James Crofts cõfeſſion, which as you remember, implieth no ſuch thing, but generall talk againſt the mariage with Spaine.

And of my departing Weſtwarde with the Earle of Deuon. which the ſayde James doth not auowe, and therefore I praye you conſider it as not ſpoken. There is alſo for proofe of the ſayde Article, the Duke of Suffolkes confeſſion, with whom I neuer had conference, and therefore he adouched the tale of his brothers mouth, who hath made my purgation in thoſe matters, and yet if the matter were proued, they be not greatly materiall in lawe. There is alſo alledged for the further proofe of the ſame Article, and for depoſing and depriuing the Queene of hir Royall eſtate, and for my adhering to the Queenes enimes, Cutbert Vaughans confeſſion, whoſe teſtimonie I haue ſufficientlye diſproued by ſundrie authorities and circumſtances, and principally by your owne lawe, which dothe require two lawfull and ſufficient witneſſes to be brought face to face. Alſo for the taking of the tower of London, there is alledged Winters depoſitions, which vttereth my miſliking, when he vttered vnto mee Sir Thomas Wiats reſolution and deuiſe for attempting of the ſayde peece. And laſt of all, to enforce theſe matters, mine owne confeſſion is engrieued greatly againſt me, wherein there doth appeare neyther treaſon, neyther concelement of treaſon, neyther whiſpering of treaſon, nor procurement of treaſon. And forasmuch as I am come hither to be tried by the lawe, though my innocencie of all theſe pointes materiall obiected, be apparant to acquite mee, whereunto I doe principallye cleaue, yet I will for your better credit and ſatiſfactions, ſhewe you euidentlye, that if you woulde beleeue all the depoſitions layde againſt me, which I truſt you will not doe, I ought not to bee attainted of the treaſon compriſed within my inditement, conſidering the Statute of repeale the laſt parliament, of all treaſons, other than ſuche as be declared in the xxv. yeare of K. Edward the third, both which ſtatutes, I praye you my Lordes, may be redde here to the enqueſt.

omley. No, for there ſhall be no bookes brought at your deſire, we know the law ſufficiently without booke.

rockmor. Do you bring me hither to trie mee by the lawe, and will not ſhewe me the lawe? what is your knowledge of the lawe to theſe mens ſatiſfactions, which haue my triall in hande? I pray you my Lordes, and my Lordes all, let the ſtatutes bee redde, as well for the Queene, as for mee.

anforde. My Lord chiefe Juſtice can ſhew the lawe, and will, if the Jurie doe doubt of any poynt.

rockmor, You knowe it were indifferent that I ſhould knowe and heare the law whereby I am adiudged, & forasmuch as the ſtatute is in Engliſhe, men of meaner learning than the Juſtices, can vnderſtande it, or elſe howe ſhoulde we knowe when we offend?

Hare You knowe not what belongeth to youre caſe, and therefore we muſt teach you: it appertaineth not to vs to prouide bookes for you, neyther wee ſit here to be taught of you, you ſhould haue taken better hede to the law before you had come hither.

Throckmor. Bicauſe I am ignoraunt, I woulde learne, and therefore I haue more neede to ſee the law, and partlye as well for the inſtructions of the Jurie, as for my owne ſatiſfaction, which mee thinke, were for the honor of this preſence. And now if it pleaſe you my Lorde chiefe Juſtice, I do direct my ſpeach ſpecially to you. What time it pleaſed the Queenes maieſtie, to call you to this honourable office, I did learne of a great perſonage of hir highneſſe priuie counſayle, that amongſt other good inſtructions, hir maieſtie charged and enioyned you to miniſter the law & iuſtice indifferently without reſpect of perſons. And notwithſtanding the old error amōgſt you, whiche did not admit any witneſſe to ſpeake, or any other matter to be hearde in the fauor of the aduerſarie, hir maieſtie being partie, hir highnes pleaſure was, that whatſoeuer could be brought in the fauor of the ſubiect, ſhoulde be admitted to be heard. And moreouer, that you ſpecially, and likewiſe all other Juſtices, ſhoulde not perſuade themſelues to ſit in iudgement otherwiſe for hir highneſſe, than for hir ſubiect. Therefore this maner of indifferent proceeding being principally enioined by Gods commādement, which I had thought partly to haue remembred you & others here in Cōmiſſion, in the beginning, if I might haue had leaue: And the ſame alſo being commanded you by the Queenes owne mouth, me think you ought of right to ſuffer me to haue the ſtatutes red openly, & alſo to reiect nothing ỹ coulde be ſpoken in my defence: and in thus doing you ſhal ſhew your ſelues worthy miniſters, and fit for ſo worthie a miſtreſſe.

[illegible]

Bromley. You miſtake the matter, the Queene ſpake thoſe wordes to maiſter Morgan chiefe Juſtice of the Common place, but you haue no cauſe to complaine, for you haue bene ſuffered to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare. What woulde you doe with the Statute booke? the Jurie doth not require it, they haue hearde the euidence, and they muſt vppon their conſcience trie whether you bee guiltie or no, ſo as the booke needeth not: if they will not credite the euidence ſo apparant, then they know what they haue to doe.

Cholmley, You ought not to haue anye bookes red here at your appointment, for where dothe aryſe anye doubte in the lawe, the Judges ſitte here to informe the Court, and nowe you doe but ſpende time.

The attorney I pray you my Lorde chiefe Juſtice repeate the euidence for the Queene, and giue the Jurie their charge, for the priſoner will keepe you here all day.

Bromley. Howe ſay you, haue you any more to ſaye for your ſelfe?

Throckmor: You ſeeme to giue and offer mee the lawe, but in very dede I haue only the forme & image of the lawe, neuertheleſſe, ſince I cannot be ſuffred to haue the ſtatutes red openly in the booke, I will by your pacience geſſe at them as I may, and I pray you to help me if I miſtake, for it is long ſince I did ſee them. The ſtatute of repeale made the laſt Parliament, hath theſe wordes: Be it enacted by the Queene, that from henceforth none acte, deede, or offence, being by acte of Parliament or ſtatute made treaſon, petit treaſon, or miſpriſion of treaſon, by words, writing, printing, ciphering, deedes, or otherwiſe whatſoeuer, ſhall be taken, had, deemed, or adiudged treaſon, petit treaſon, but only ſuch as be declared, or expreſſed to be treaſon, in or by an acte of Parliament made in the xxv. yeare of Edw. iij. touching and concerning treaſons, and the declaration of treaſons, and none other. Here may you ſee this Statute doth referre all the offences aforeſayde, to the Statute of the xxv. of Edw. iij. whiche ſtatute hath theſe wordes touching and concerning the treaſons that I am indited and arreigned of, that is to ſaye: Whoſoeuer doth compaſſe or imagine the death of the king, or leuie warre againſt the king in his realme, or being adherent to the kings enimies within this Realme, or elſe where, and bee thereof probably attainted by open deede by people of their condicion, ſhall be adiudged a traytor. Now I praye you of my Jurie whiche haue my lyfe in triall, note well what things at this daye bee treaſons, and howe theſe treaſons muſt be tried and decerned, that is to ſaye, by open deede, which the lawes doth at ſome time terme *(ouert acte)* and nowe I aſke notwithſtanding my inditement, which is but matter alledged, where doth appeare the open deede of any compaſſing or imagining the Queenes death, or where doth appeare any open deede of being adherent to the Queenes enimies, giuing to them ayde and comfort, or where doth appeare any open deede of taking the tower of London?

Bromley. Why doe not you of the Queenes learned Counſell aunſwere him. Me thinke, Throckmorton, you neede not to haue the ſtatutes, for you haue them meetely perfectly.

Stanforde: You are deceyued to conclude all treaſons in the ſtatute of the xxv. yeare of Edwarde the thirde, for that ſtatute is but a declaration of certaine treaſons, whiche were treaſons before at the Common lawe. Euen ſo there doth remayne diuerſe other treaſons at this day at the Common lawe, which be expreſſed by that ſtatute, as the Judges can declare. Neuertheleſſe, there is matter ſufficient alledged and proued againſt you, to bring you within the compaſſe of the ſame Statute.

Throckmo I praye you expreſſe thoſe matters that bring me within the compaſſe of the ſtatute of Edwarde the thirde. For the wordes be theſe: And be thereof attainted by open deede by people of like condicion.

Bromley. Throckmorton, you deceyue your ſelfe, and miſtake theſe wordes, by people of their condicion. For thereby the lawe doth vnderſtande the diſcouering of your treaſons. As for example, Wiat and the other rebelles, attainted for their great treaſons, already declare you to be his and their adherent, in as much as diuerſe and ſundrie times you had conference with him and them aboute the treaſon, ſo as Wiat is now one of your condicion, who as all the worlde knoweth, hath committed an open trayterous fact.

Throckm By your leaue my Lorde, this is a verye ſtraunge and ſingular vnderſtanding. For I ſuppoſe the meaning of the Lawe makers did vnderſtande theſe wordes: By people of their condicion: of the ſtate and condicion of thoſe perſons whiche ſhoulde bee on the Inqueſt to trie the partie arreygned, guiltie or not guiltie, and nothing to the bewraying of the offence by another mans act, as you ſay, for what haue I to doe with Wiats actes, that was not nigh him by one hundreth myles?

Thattor Will you take vppon you to ſkill better of the lawe than the Judges? I doubt not but you of the Jurie will credite as it becommeth you.

Cholmle Concerning the true vnderſtanding of theſe words: By people of their condicion, my Lord chiefe Juſtice here hath declared the truth, for Wiat was one of your condicion, that is to ſay, of your conſpiracie.

Hare You doe not denie, Throckmorton, but that there hath bene conference, and ſending betweene Wiat and you, and he and Winter dothe confeſſe the ſame, with others, ſo as it is playne, Wiat may well be called one of youre condicion.

Throck Well, ſeeing you my Judges rule the vnderſtanding of theſe wordes in the Statute, By people of your condicion, thus ſtraungelye againſt mee, I will not ſtande longer vppon them. But where dothe appeare in mee an open deede whereunto the treaſon is ſpeciallye referred?

If

omley! If thre or foure do talke, deuiſe, and conſpire togither of a trayterous acte to be done, and afterwardes one of them doth commit treaſon, as Wiat did, then the lawe doth repute them, and euerye of them as their actes, ſo as Wiats actes doe implie and argue your open deede, and ſo the lawe doth terme it and take it.

hrockmor: Theſe be marueylous expoſitious, and wonderfull implications, that another mans acte whereof I was not priuie, ſhoulde be accounted myne, for Wiat did purge me that I knew nothing of his ſtirre.

are: Yea ſir, but you were a principall procurer and contriuer of Wiats rebellion, thoughe you were not with him when he made the ſtirre. And as my Lord here hath ſayd, the law always doth adiudge him a traytor, which was priuie & doth procure treaſon, or any other man to committe treaſon, or a trayterous acte, as you did Wiat, and others, for ſo the *ouert acte* of thoſe whiche did it by your procurement, ſhall in this caſe be accounted your open deede. We haue a commō caſe in the lawe if one by procurement ſhoulde diſſeyſe you of your lande, the lawe holdeth vs both wrong doers, and giueth remedie as well againſt the one as the other.

hrockmor. For Gods ſake applie not ſuch conſtructions againſt me, & though my preſent eſtate doth not moue you, yet it were well you ſhoulde conſider your office, and thinke what meaſure you giue to others, you your ſelues I ſay ſhall aſſuredly receyue the ſame agayne. The ſtate of mortall life is ſuch, yͭ men know full little what hangeth ouer them. I put on within this xij. monethes ſuch a minde, that I moſte wofull wight, was as vnlyke to ſtande here, as ſome of you that ſit there. As to your caſe laſt recited, whereby you woulde conclude, I haue remembred and learned of you maſter Hare, and you maſter Stanforde in the Parliament houſe, where you did ſit to make lawes, to expounde and explane the ambiguities and doubtes of lawe ſincerely, and that without affections. There I ſay I learned of you and others my maiſters of the lawe this difference betwixt ſuch caſes as you remembred one euen nowe, and the ſtatute whereby I am to be tried. There is a maxime or principle in the lawe, which ought not to bee violated, that no penall ſtatute may, ought, or ſhoulde be conſtrued, expounded, extended, or wreſted, otherwiſe than the ſimple wordes and nude letter of the ſame ſtatute doth warrant and ſignifie. And amongſt diuers good and notable reaſons by you there in the Parliament houſe debated, maiſter ſergeant Stanford, I noted this one, why yͤ ſaid maxime ought to be inuiolable: you ſaid conſidering the priuate affections manye tymes both of Princes & miniſters within this realme, for that they were men, and woulde and coulde erre, it ſhoulde be no ſecuritie, but very daungerous to the ſubiect, to referre the conſtruction and extending of penall ſtatutes, to anye Iudges equitie, as you termed it, which might eyther by feare of the higher powers be ſeduced, or by ignoraunce and follye abuſed. And that is an aunſwere by procurement.

Bromley. Notwithſtanding the principall, as you alledge it, and the preciſeneſſe of your ſticking to the bare wordes of the ſtatute, it doth appeare and remaine of recorde in our learning, that diuerſe caſes haue bene adiudged treaſon, without the expreſſe wordes of the ſtatute, as the Quenes learned counſell there can declare.

Chattorney. It doth appeare, the priſoner did not onely intiſe or procure Wiat, Caroe, Rogers, and others, to committe their trayterous actes, and there doth his open factes appeare, whiche Vaughans confeſſion doth witneſſe, but alſo he did mynde ſhortlye after to aſſociate himſelfe with thoſe traytours: for hee minded to haue departed with the Earle of Deuonſhire Weſtwardes.

Throckmor. My innocencie concerning theſe matters, I truſt, ſufficientlye appeareth by my former aunſweres, notwithſtanding the condempned mans vniuſt accuſation. But becauſe the true vnderſtanding of the ſtatute is in queſtion, I ſaye Procurement, and ſpecially by wordes onely, is without the compaſſe of it, and that I doe learne and proue by the principle which I learned of maiſter Stanforde.

Stanforde. Maiſter Throckmorton, you and I maye not agree this day in the vnderſtanding of the lawe, for I am for the Queene, and you ſpeake for your ſelfe: the Iudges muſt determine the matter.

Bromley. He that doth procure another man to commit a felonie or a murther, I am ſure you know well ynough, the lawe doth adiudge the procurer there a felon or a murtherer, and in caſe of treaſon, it hath bene alwayes ſo taken and reputed.

Throckmor. I doe and muſt cleaue to my innocencie, for I procured no man to committe treaſon, but yet for my learning I deſire to heare ſome caſe ſo ruled when the lawe was as it is nowe. I doe confeſſe it, that at ſuche time there were Statutes prouided for the procurer, counſaylour, ayder, abetter, and ſuche lyke, as there were in King Henrie the viij. tyme, you might lawfullye make this cruell conſtruction, and bring the procurer within the compaſſe of the lawe. But theſe Statutes being repealed, you ought not nowe ſo to doe, and as to the principal procurer in fellonie & murther it is not lyke as in treaſon, for the principall and acceſſaries

Happie for Throckmorton that thoſe ſtatutes ſtoode then repealed.

in felonie and murther be triable and puniſhable by yͤ cōmon law, & ſo in thoſe caſes the Iudges may vſe their equitie, extending the determinatiō of the fault as they thinke good: but in treaſon it is otherwiſe, the ſame being limited by ſtatute law, which I ſay and aduow is reſtreyned from any Iudges conſtructiō by maxime yͭ I recited.

Stanforde: Your Lordſhips do know a caſe in R.3.time, where yͤ procurer to coūterfeyt falſe mony, was iudged a traytor, and the law was as it is now.

Hare. Maiſter Sergeaunt doth remember you Throckmorton, of an experience before oure time, that the lawe hath bene ſo taken, and yet the procurer was not expreſſed in the Statute, but the lawe hath ben always ſo taken.

Throckmor. I neuer ſtudied the law, whereof I do much repent mee, yet I remember, whyleſt penall Statutes were talked of in the Parliament houſe, you the learned men of the houſe remembred ſome caſes contrarie to this laſt ſpoken of. And if I miſreport them, I pray you helpe me. In the like caſe you ſpeake of concerning the procurer to counterfeyte falſe money, at one time the procurer was iudged a fellon, and at an other time neither fellon nor traytor, ſo as ſome of your predeceſſours adiudged the procurer no traytour in the ſame caſe, but leaned to their principall, though ſome other extende their conſtructions too large. And here is two caſes with me for one againſt me.

Bromley. Bicauſe you replie ſo ſore vpon the principall, I will remember, where one taking the great ſeale of Englande from one writing, and putting it to another, was adiudged a traytour in Henrie the iiij. tyme, and yet his act was not within the expreſſe words of the Statute of Edwarde the third. There be diuerſe other ſuch like caſes that maye be alledged and need were.

Throckmor. I pray you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, call to your good remembraunce that in the ſelfe ſame caſe of the ſeale, Iuſtice Spilman, a graue and well learned man, ſince that time, woulde not cōdemn the offēder, but did reproue that former iudgement by you laſt remēbred, as erronious.

Stanforde. If I had thought you had bene ſo well furniſhed with booke caſes, I woulde haue bene better prouided for you.

Throckmor. I haue nothing but I lerned of you ſpecially M. Sergeant, & of others my maſters of yͤ law in the Parliament houſe, & therefore I may ſay with the Prophet (*ſalutem ex inimicis noſtris.*)

Southwell. You haue a very good memorie.

Theattorney If the priſoner may auoyde his treaſons after this maner, the Queenes ſuretie ſhall bee in great ieoperdy. For Iack Cade, the black ſmith, and diuerſe other traytors, ſometime alledging the law for them, ſomtime they ment no harme to the king, but againſt his Counſell, as Wiat, the Duke of Suffolke, and theſe did againſt the Spanyardes, when there was no Spanyardes within the realme. The Duke and his brethren did miſtake the lawe, as you doe, yet at length did confeſſe their ignorance and ſubmitted them ſelues. And ſo were you beſt to doe.

Throckmor. As to Cade and the black Smith, I am not ſo well acquainted with their treaſons as you bee, but I haue red in the Chronicle, they were in the fielde with a force againſt the Prince, whereby a manifeſt acte did appeare. As to the Duke of Suffolkes doings, they appertaine not to mee. And though you woulde compare my ſpeache and talke againſt the Spanyardes, to the Dukes actes, who aſſembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much, I am ſorie to engreue any other mans doings, but it ſerueth me for a peece of my defence, and therefore I wiſhe yͭ no man ſhould gather euill of it, God forbid that words and acts be thus cōounded.

Thattorney Sir William Stanley vſed this ſhifte that the priſoner vſeth now, he ſayde he did not leuie warre againſt king Henrie the vij. but ſayde to the Duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarrell he wold aid him with v.C. men, and neuertheleſſe Stanley was for thoſe words attainted, who as al yͤ worlde knoweth, had before yͤ time ſerued the King very faithfully and truly.

Throckmo I pray you maiſter Atturney doe not conclude me by blinde contraries. Whether you alledge Stanleyes caſe trulye or no, I knowe not. But admitte it be as you ſaye, what dothe this proue againſt me? I promiſed no ayde to maiſter Wiat, nor to anye other. The Duke of Buckingham leuied warre agaynſte the King, with whom Stanley was confederate ſo to doe, as you ſaye.

Thattorne I pray you my Lords that be the Queenes Commiſſioners, ſuffer not the priſoner to vſe the Queenes learned Counſell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knewe any thus ſuffered to talke, as this priſoner is ſuffered, ſome of vs will come no more at the barre, and we be thus handled.

Bromley. Throckmorton you muſt ſuffer the Queenes learned Counſell to ſpeake, or elſe we muſt take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare It is proued that you did talke with Wiat againſt the comming of the Spanyardes, and deuiſed to interrupt their arriuall, and you promiſed to doe what you coulde againſt them, whervpon Wiat being encouraged by you, did leuie a force, and attempted warre againſt the Queenes royall perſon.

Throckmo It was no treaſon, nor no procurement of treaſon, to talke agaynſte the comming hyther of the Spanyardes, neyther it was

treaſon

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ſanne: but I require you honeſt men whiche are to trie my life, conſider theſe opinions of my life, Judges be rather agreable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godly and beſt learned predeceſſors opinions, repugnant I ſay to the Prouiſo in the Statute of Repeale made in the laſt Parliament.

The attorney. Maiſter Throckmorton quiet your ſelfe, and it ſhall be the better for you.

Throckmor. Maiſter Attorney, I am not ſo vnquiet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maye pleaſe my Lorde chiefe Juſtice to repeate the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my aunſweres to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laye againſt me.

Bromler. Then the chiefe Juſtice remembred particularly all the depoſitions and euidences giuen againſt the priſoner, and eyther for wante of good memorie, or good will, the priſoners aunſweres were in part not recited, wherevppon the priſoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the Judges olde memorie with his owne recitall.

Sendall. My maiſters of the Jurie, you haue to inquire whether Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, here priſoner at the barre, be guiltie of theſe treaſons, or any of them, whereof he hath bene indited and this daye arreigned, yea or no. And if you finde him guiltie, you ſhall enquire what landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattalles he had at the day of his treaſons committed, or at anye time ſince: and whether hee fledde for the treaſons or no, if you finde him not guiltie.

Haue you ſayde what is to be ſayd?

Throckmor. Yea for this time.

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Throckmor. fewe wordes to the Jurie. The weyght and grauitie of my cauſe hath greatly occaſioned me to trouble you here long, & therfore I minde not to intertain you here lõg, with any prolixe oration: you perceyue notwithſtanding this daye great contention betwixt the Judges and the Queenes learned Counſayle on the one partie, and mee the poore and wofull priſoner on the other partie. The triall of our whole controuerſie, the triall of my innocencie, the triall of my lyfe, landes and goodes, and the deſtruction of my poſteritie for euer, doth reſt in your good iudgements. And albeit many this daye haue greatly inueyghed againſt mee, the finall determination thereof is transferred onely to you: howe grieuous and horrible the ſhedding of innocents bloude is in the ſight of almightie God, I truſt you doe remember. Therefore take heede I saye for Chriſtes ſake, do not defile your conſciences with ſuch heynous and notable crimes, they bee grieuouſlye and terriblye puniſhed, as in this worlde and vale of miſerie vppon the childrens children to the thirde and fourth generation, and in the worlde to come with euerlaſting fire and damnation: lift vp your minds to God, and care not to muche for the worlde, looke not backe to the fleſhpots of Egypte, whiche will allure you from heauenly reſpectes, to worldlye ſecuritie, and can thereof neyther make you anye ſuretie. Beleeue I pray you, the Queene and hir magiſtrates be more delighted with fauourable equitie, than with raſhe crueltie. And in that you be al Citizens, I wil take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Epheſians, Citizens alſo you be, whome he tooke to recorde that he was pure from ſhedding any bloude, a ſpecial token, a doctrine left for your inſtruction, that euerye of you may waſhe his handes of innocents bloudeſhedde, when you ſhall take your leaue of this wretched worlde. The holy ghoſt be amongſt you.

Come hither Sergeaunt, take the Jurye with you, and ſuffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the lawe appointeth, vntill they be agreed vpon their verdit. Sendall.

It may pleaſe you my Lordes and maiſters which be Commiſſioners, to giue order that no perſon haue acceſſe or conference with the Jurie, neither that any of the Queenes learned Counſayle be ſuffered to repayre to them, or to talke with any of them, vntill they preſent themſelues here in open Court, to publiſh their verdit. Throckmor.

Upon the priſoners ſuite on this behalfe, the Benche gaue order that two ſergeauntes were ſworne to ſuffer no man to repaire to the Jurie, vntill they were agreed.

Then the priſoner was by commandement of the Benche withdrawne from the barre, and the Court adiourned vntill three of the clocke at afternoone, at whiche houre the Commiſſioners returned to the Guilde hall, and there did tarie vntill the Jurie were agreed vpon the verdit. And aboute fiue of the clocke, their agreement being aduertiſed to the Commiſſioners, the ſayde priſoner, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton was again brought to the barre, where alſo the Jurie did repaire, and being demaunded whether they were agreed vpon their verdit, aunſwered vniuerſally with one voyce, yea. Then it was aſked who ſhoulde ſpeake for them: they aunſwered Whetſton the foreman.

Nicholas Throckmorton knight, holde vp thy hande. Sendall.

Then the priſoner did ſo vppon the ſummons.

You that bee of the Jurie, looke vppon the priſoner. Sendall.

The Jurie did as they were enioyned.

in felonie and murther be triable and puniſhable by yͤ cōmon law, & ſo in thoſe caſes the Iudges may vſe their equitie, extending the determinatiō of the fault as they thinke good: but in treaſon it is otherwiſe, the ſame being limited by ſtatute law, which I ſay and aduow is reſtreyned from any Iudges conſtructiō by maxime yͤ I recited.

Stanforde: Your Lordſhips do know a caſe in R.3.time, where yͤ procurer to coūterfeyt falſe mony, was iudged a traytor, and the law was as it is now.

Hare. Maiſter Sergeaunt doth remember you Throckmorton, of an experience before oure time, that the lawe hath bene ſo taken, and yet the procurer was not expreſſed in the Statute, but the lawe hath ben always ſo taken.

Throckmor: I neuer ſtudied the law, whereof I do much repent mee, yet I remember, whyleſt penall Statutes were talked of in the Parliament houſe, you the learned men of the houſe remembred ſome caſes contrarie to this laſt ſpoken of. And if I miſreport them, I pray you helpe me. In the like caſe you ſpeake of concerning the procurer to counterfeyte falſe money, at one time the procurer was iudged a fellon, and at an other time neither fellon nor traytor, ſo as ſome of your predeceſſours adiudged the procurer no traytour in the ſame caſe, but leaned to their principall, though ſome other extende their conſtructions too large. And here is two caſes with me for one againſt me.

Bromley. Bicauſe you replie ſo ſore vpon the principall, I will remember, where one taking the great ſeale of Englande from one writing, and putting it to another, was adiudged a traytour in Henrie the iiij. tyme, and yet his act was not within the expreſſe words of the Statute of Edwarde the third. There be diuerſe other ſuch like caſes that maye be alledged and need were.

Throckmor. I pray you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, call to your good remembraunce that in the ſelfe ſame caſe of the ſeale, Iuſtice Spilman, a graue and well learned man, ſince that time, woulde not cōdemn the offēder, but did reproue that former iudgement by you laſt remēbred, as erronious.

Stanforde. If I had thought you had bene ſo well furniſhed with booke caſes, I woulde haue bene better prouided for you.

Throckmor. I haue nothing but I lerned of you ſpecially M. Sergeant, & of others my maſters of yͤ law in the Parliament houſe, & therefore I may ſay with the Prophet (*ſalutem ex inimicu noſtris.*)

Southwell. You haue a very good memorie.

Theattorney If the priſoner may auoyde his treaſons after this maner, the Queenes ſuretie ſhall bee in great ieopardy. For Iack Cade, the black ſmith, and diuerſe other traytors, ſometime alledging the law for them, ſomtime they ment no harme to the king, but againſt his Counſell, as Wiat, the Duke of Suffolke, and theſe did againſt the Spanyardes, when there was no Spanyardes within the realme. The Duke and his brethren did miſtake the lawe, as you doe, yet at length did confeſſe their ignorance and ſubmitted them ſelues. And ſo were you beſt to doe.

Throckmor As to Cade and the black Smith, I am not ſo well acquainted with their treaſons as you bee, but I haue red in the Chronicle, they were in the fielde with a force againſt the Prince, whereby a manifeſt acte did appeare. As to the Duke of Suffolkes doings, they appertaine not to mee. And though you woulde compare my ſpeache and talke againſt the Spanyardes, to the Dukes actes, who aſſembled a force in armes, it is euident they differ much, I am ſorie to engreue any other mans doings, but it ſerueth me for a peece of my defence, and therefore I wiſhe yͤ no man ſhould gather euill of it, God forbid that words and acts be thus cōounded.

Thattorne Sir William Stanley vſed this ſhifte that the priſoner vſeth now, he ſayde he did not leuie warre againſt king Henrie the vij. but ſayde to the Duke of Buckingham, that in a good quarell he wold aid him with v. C. men, and neuertheleſſe Stanley was for thoſe words attainted, who as al yͤ worlde knoweth, had before yͤ time ſerued the King very faithfully and truly.

Throckm I pray you maiſter Atturney doe not conclude me by blinde contraries. Whether you alledge Stanleyes caſe trulye or no, I knowe not. But admitte it be as you ſaye, what dothe this proue againſt me? I promiſed no ayde to maiſter Wiat, nor to anye other. The Duke of Buckingham leuied warre agaynſte the King, with whom Stanley was confederate ſo to doe, as you ſaye.

Thattor I pray you my Lords that be the Queenes Commiſſioners, ſuffer not the priſoner to vſe the Queenes learned Counſell thus, I was neuer interrupted thus in my life, nor I neuer knewe any thus ſuffered to talke, as this priſoner is ſuffered, ſome of vs will come no more at the barre, and we be thus handled.

Bromler. Throckmorton you muſt ſuffer the Queenes learned Counſell to ſpeake, or elſe we muſt take order with you, you haue had leaue to talke at your pleaſure.

Hare It is proued that you did talke with Wiat againſt the comming of the Spanyardes, and deuiſed to interrupt their arriuall, and you promiſed to doe what you coulde againſt them, whervpon Wiat being encouraged by you, did leuie a force, and attempted warre againſt the Queenes royall perſon.

Throckm It was no treaſon, nor no procurement of treaſon, to talke agaynſte the comming hyther of the Spanyardes, neyther it was

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The attorney Maiſter Throckmorton quiet your ſelfe, and it ſhall be the better for you.

Throckmor. Maiſter Attorney, I am not ſo vnquiet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maye pleaſe my Lorde chiefe Juſtice to repeate the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my aunſweres to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laye againſt me.

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treaſon for mee to ſaye, I woulde hynder their commyng hither as muche as I coulde, vnderſtanding me rightly as I meant it, yea though you would extende it to the worſte, it was but words, it was not treſon at this day as the law ſtandeth: and as for Wiats doing, they touche me nothing: for at his death when it was no tyme to report vntruly, he purged me.

er. By ſundrye caſes remembred heere by the Queenes learned counſell, as you haue hearde, that procurement which did appeare no otherwyſe but by words, and thoſe you would make nothing, hath bin of long tyme, and by ſundry well learned men in the Lawes adiudged treaſon. And therefore, youre procurement beeing ſo euidente as it is, we may lawfully ſay it was treaſon, bycauſe Wiat perfourmed a trayterous acte.

thmor. As to the ſaid alledged forepreſidents againſt me, I haue recited as many for me, & I would you my L. chief iuſtice ſhuld incline your iudgements rather after the exãple of your honorable predeceſſors, Juſtice Markã, and others, which did eſchewe corrupte iudgementes, iudging directly and ſincerely, after the Law and the principles in the ſame, than after ſuch men as ſwaruing from the truth, the maxime, and the Law, did iudge corruptely, maliciouſly, and affectionately.

ley. Juſtice Markham had reſon to warrant his doings: for it did appeare, a merchant of London was arraigned and ſlaunderouſly accuſed of treaſon for compaſſing & imagining ẏ kings death, he did ſay he would make his ſonne heire of the Crowne, and the merchant meant it of a houſe in Cheapeſide at the ſigne of the Crowne, but your caſe is not ſo.

ckmor: My caſe doeth differ I graunt, but ſpecially bicauſe I haue not ſuche a Judge: yet there is an other cauſe to reſtrain theſe your ſtrange and extraordinarie conſtructions: That is to ſay, a Prouiſo in the latter ende of the ſtatute of Edwarde the thirde, hauyng theſe wordes: Prouided alwayes, if anye other caſe of ſuppoſed Treaſon ſhall chaunce heereafter to come in queſtion or triall before any iuſtice, other than is in the ſayd ſtatute expreſſed, that then the Juſtice ſhall forbeare to adiudge the ſayd caſe, vntill it be ſhewed to the Parliament to trie whether it ſhould be treaſon or felonie. Here you are reſtrained by expreſſe wordes to adiudge any caſe, that is not manifeſtly mentioned before, & vntill it be ſhewed to the Parliament.

tman. That Prouiſo is vnderſtande of caſes that may come in trial which hath bin in vre, but the law hath always taken the procurer to be a principall offender.

ders. The lawe alwayes in caſes of treaſon dothe accoumpte all principalles and no acceſſaries as in other offences, and therfore a man offending in treaſon, eyther by couert acte or procurement, wherevpon an open deede hath enſued, as in this caſe is adiudged by the lawe a principall traytoure.

Throckmor. You adiudge (mee thinke) procurement very hardly, beſydes the principall, and beſides the good Prouiſo, and beſydes the good example of your beſt and moſte godly learned predeceſſors, the Judges of the Realme, as I haue partely declared, and notwithſtandyng thys grieuous racking and extending of this worde Procurement, I am not in the daunger of it, for it doth appere by no depoſition that I procured neyther one or other to attempt any acte.

Stanforde. The Jurie haue to trye whether it bee ſo or no, let it weygh as it will.

Hare I knowe no meane ſo apparant to try Procurement as by words, and that meane is probable ynoughe agaynſt you, as well by youre owne confeſſion, as by other mennes Depoſitions.

Throckmor. To talke of the Queenes maryage with the Prince of Spayne, and alſo the commyng hyther of the Spanyardes, is not to procure treaſon to be done: for then the whole Parliament houſe, I meane the common houſe didde procure treaſon. But ſince you wyll make no difference betwixte wordes and actes, I praye you remember an Eſtatute made in my late Soueraigne Lorde and maiſters tyme, Kyng Edward the ſixth, whiche apparantly expreſſeth the difference. Theſe bee the wordes: Who ſo euer dothe compaſſe or imagine to depoſe the Kyng of his Royall eſtate by open preaching, expreſſe wordes or ſayings, ſhall for the fyrſt offence loſe and forfayte to the king all his & their goodes and cattailes, and alſo ſhal ſuffer impriſonmente of their bodyes at the Kings will and pleaſure. Whoſoeuer. &c. for the ſecond offence ſhall loſe and forfayte to the Kyng the whole iſſues and profytes of all his or their landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, benefices, Prebendes, and other Spirituall promotions. Who ſoeuer. &c. for the thirde offence, ſhall for terme or lyfe or lyues of ſuche offendour or offendors &c. and ſhall alſo forfeite to the Kyngs Maieſtie, all his or their goodes and cattailes, & ſuffer during his or their liues perpetuall impriſonement of his or their bodies. But whoſoeuer &c. by writing, ciphering, or acte, ſhall for the firſte offence be adiudged a traitour, and ſuffer the paines of deathe. Here you may perceiue howe the whole realme and all your iudgementes hathe beefore this vnderſtande wordes and actes, diuerſlye and apparantlye. And therefore the Judgementes of the Parliamente did aſſigne diuerſitie of puniſhmentes, bicauſe they woulde not confounde the true vnderſtanding of wordes and dedes, appointing for compaſſing and imagining by worde, impriſonment: and for compaſſing and imagining by open dede, paines of death.

Bromley. It is agreed by the whole bench, that the procurer and the adherent be demed alwayes traytors, when as a trayterous acte was committed by anye one of the ſame conſpiracie: and there is apparant proofe of youre adhering to Wiat, both by your owne confeſſion and other wayes.

Throckmor. Adhering and procuring bee not all one, for the ſtatute of Edwarde the thirde, doth ſpeake of adhering, but not of procuring, and yet adhering ought not be further extended, than to the Quenes enimies within hir Realme, for ſo the ſtatute doth limit the vnderſtanding. And Wiat was not the Queenes enimie, for hee was not ſo reputed when I talked with him laſt, and our ſpeach implyed no enmitie, neyther tended to anye treaſon, or procuring of treaſon: and therefore I pray you of the Jurie note, thoughe I argue the lawe, I alledge my innocencie, as the beſt part of my defence.

Hare. Your adhering to the Queenes enimies within the Realme, is euidentlye proued: for Wiat was the Queenes enimie wythin the Realme, as the whole Realme knoweth it, and he hath confeſſed it, both at his arrainement and at his death.

Throckmor. By your leaue, neither Wiat at his arreignment, nor at his death, did confeſſe that he was the Queenes enimie when I talked laſt with him, neyther he was reputed nor taken in xliij. dayes after, vntill he aſſembled a force in armes, what time I was at your houſe maſter Inglefielde, where I learned the firſt intelligence of Wiats ſtirre. And I aſke you who doth depoſe that there paſſed anye maner of aduertiſement betwixt Wiat and mee after he had diſcouered his doings, and ſhewed himſelfe an enimie? if I had bene ſo diſpoſed, who did let mee that I did not repaire to Wiat, or to ſende to him, or to the Duke of Suffolke eyther, who was in myne owne countrey, and thither I might haue gone and conueyed my ſelfe with him, vnſuſpected for my departing homewards.

Inglefelde. It is true that you were there at my houſe, accompanied with others your brethren, and to my knowledge, ignorant of theſe matters.

Bromley. Throckmorton, you confeſſed you talked with Wiat and others againſt the comming of the Spanyards, and of the taking of the tower of London, whereupon Wiat leuied a force of men againſt the Spanyardes he ſayde, and ſo you ſaye all: but in dede it was againſt the Queene, which he confeſſed at length, therefore Wiats actes do proue you counſayler and procurer, howſoeuer you woulde auoyde the matter.

Throck Me think you would conclude me with a miſhapen argument in Logicke, and you will giue mee leaue, I will make another.

Stanfor The Judges ſit not here to make diſputations, but to declare the law, which hath bene ſufficiently done, if you woulde conſider it.

Hare You haue hearde reaſon and the lawe, if you will conceyue it.

Throck Oh mercifull God, oh eternall father, which ſeeſt all things, what maner of procedings are theſe? to what purpoſe ſerueth the ſtatute of repeale the laſt Parliament, where I hearde ſome of you here preſent, and diuerſe other of the Queenes learned counſayle, grieuouſlye inuey againſt the cruell and bloudie lawes of King Henrie the eyght, and againſt ſome lawes made in my late ſoueraigne Lorde and maiſters time, King Edwarde the ſixth, ſome termed them, *Dragos lawes*, whiche were written in bloude: ſome ſayde they were more intollerable than any lawes that Dionisius or any other tyraunt made. In concluſion, as many men, ſo manye bitter termes and names thoſe lawes had. And moreouer, the Preface of the ſame eſtatute doth recite, that for wordes onely, many great perſonages, and others of good behauiour, hath bene moſt cruelly caſt awaye by theſe former ſanguinolent thirſtie lawes, with many other ſuggeſtions for the repeale of the ſame. And now let vs put on indifferent eyes, and throughly conſider with our ſelues, as you the Judges handle the conſtructions of the Statute of Edwarde the thirde, with your equitie and extentions, whether we be not in much wors caſe now than we were when thoſe cruel lawes yoked vs. Theſe lawes albeit they were grieuous and captious, yet they had the verie propertie of a lawe after S. Paules deſcription. For thoſe lawes did admoniſh vs, and diſcouer our ſinnes plainly vnto vs, and when a man is warned, hee is halfe armed. Theſe lawes, as they bee handled, be very baytes to catche vs, and onely prepared for the ſame, and no lawes: for at the firſt ſight they aſcertaine vs we be deliuered from our olde bondage, and by the late repeale the laſt Parliament, we liue in more ſecuritie. But when it pleaſeth the higher powers to call any mannes lyfe and ſayings in queſtion, then there be conſtructions, interpretations, and extentions reſerued to the Juſtices and Judges equitie, that the partie triable, as I am nowe, ſhall finde himſelfe in much worſe caſe than before when thoſe cruell lawes ſtoode in force. Thus our amendement is from Gods bleſſing into the warme ſinne: but I require you honeſt men whiche are to trie my life, conſider theſe opinions of my life, Iudges be rather agreeable to the time, than to the truth: for their iudgements be repugnant to their owne principle, repugnant to their godly and beſt learned predeceſſors opinions, repugnant I ſay to the Prouiſo in the Statute of Repeale made in the laſt Parliament.

ttorney. Maiſter Throckmorton quiet your ſelfe, and it ſhall be the better for you.

chmor. Maiſter Attorney, I am not ſo vnquiet as you be, and yet our caſes are not alike: but bicauſe I am ſo tedious to you, and haue long troubled this preſence, it maye pleaſe my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice to repeate the euidence wherewith I am charged, and my aunſweres to all the obiections, if there be no other matter to laye againſt me.

ler. Then the chiefe Iuſtice remembred particularly all the depoſitions and euidences giuen againſt the priſoner, and eyther for wante of good memorie, or good will, the priſoners aunſweres were in part not recited, whervppon the priſoner craued indifferencie, and did helpe the Iudges olde memorie with his owne recitall.

all. My maiſters of the Iurie, you haue to inquire whether Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, here priſoner at the barre, be guiltie of theſe treaſons, or any of them, whereof he hath bene indited and this daye arreigned, yea or no. And if you finde him guiltie, you ſhall enquire what landes, tenementes, goodes, and cattalles he had at the day of his treaſons committed, or at anye time ſince: and whether hee fledde for the treaſons or no, if you finde him not guiltie.

Haue you ſayde what is to be ſayd?

chmor. Yea for this time.

all. Then I pray you giue me leaue to ſpeake a

ckmor. fewe wordes to the Iurie. The weyght and grauitie of my cauſe hath greatly occaſioned me to trouble you here long, & therfore I minde not to intertain you here lõg, with any prolixe oration: you perceyue notwithſtanding this daye great contention betwixt the Iudges and the Queenes learned Counſayle on the one partie, and mee the poore and wofull priſoner on the other partie. The triall of our whole controuerſie, the triall of my innocencie, the triall of my lyfe, landes and goodes, and the deſtruction of my poſteritie for euer, doth reſt in your good iudgements. And albeit many this daye haue greatly inueyghed againſt mee, the finall determination thereof is transferred onely to you: howe grieuous and horrible the ſhedding of innocents bloude is in the ſight of almightie God, I truſt you doe remember. Therefore take heede I ſaye for Chriſtes ſake, do not defile your conſciences with ſuch heynous and notable crimes, they bee grieuouſlye and terriblye puniſhed, as in this worlde and vale of miſerie vppon the childrens children to the thirde and fourth generation, and in the worlde to come with euerlaſting fire and damnation: lift vp your minds to God, and care not to muche for the worlde, looke not backe to the fleſhpots of Egypte, whiche will allure you from heauenly reſpectes, to worldlye ſecuritie, and can thereof neyther make you anye ſuretie. Beleeue I pray you, the Queene and hir magiſtrates be more delighted with fauourable equitie, than with raſhe crueltie. And in that you be al Citizens, I wil take my leaue of you with S. Paules farewell to the Epheſians, Citizens alſo you be, whome he tooke to recorde that he was pure from ſhedding any bloude, a ſpecial token, a doctrine left for your inſtruction, that euerye of you may waſhe his handes of innocents bloude ſhedde, when you ſhall take your leaue of this wretched worlde. The holy ghoſt be amongſt you.

Sendall. Come hither Sergeaunt, take the Iurye with you, and ſuffer no man to come at them, but to be ordered as the lawe appointeth, vntill they be agreed vpon their verdit.

Throckmor. It may pleaſe you my Lordes and maiſters which be Commiſſioners, to giue order that no perſon haue acceſſe or conference with the Iurie, neither that any of the Queenes learned Counſayle be ſuffered to repayre to them, or to talke with any of them, vntill they preſent themſelues here in open Court, to publiſh their verdit.

Vpon the priſoners ſuite on this behalfe, the Benche gaue order that two ſergeauntes were ſworne to ſuffer no man to repaire to the Iurie, vntill they were agreed.

Then the priſoner was by commandement of the Benche withdrawne from the barre, and the Court adiourned vntill three of the clocke at afternoone, at whiche houre the Commiſſioners returned to the Guilde hall, and there did tarie vntill the Iurie were agreed vpon the verdit. And aboute fiue of the clocke, their agreement being aduertiſed to the Commiſſioners, the ſayde priſoner, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was again brought to the barre, where alſo the Iurie did repaire, and being demaunded whether they were agreed vpon their verdit, aunſwered vniuerſally with one voyce, yea. Then it was aſked who ſhoulde ſpeake for them: they aunſwered Whetſton the foreman.

Sendall. Nicholas Throckmorton knight, holde vp thy hande.

Then the priſoner did ſo vppon the ſummons.

Sendall. You that bee of the Iurie, looke vppon the priſoner.

ey. The Iurie did as they were enioyned.

Sendall. Howe ſaye you, is Maiſter Throckmorton Knight there priſoner at the barre, guiltie of the treaſons whereof hee hathe bin indited and arraigned in manner and forme, yea or no?

Whetſton, No.

Sendall. Howe ſay you, did he flie vpon them?

Whetſton: No we finde no ſuche thing.

Throckmor. I hadde forgotten to aunſwere that queſtion before: but you haue founde according to truth: and for the better warrantie of your doings, vnderſtande that I came to London, and ſo to the Queenes counſell vnbroughte, when I vnderſtoode they demaunded for mee: and yet I was almoſte an hundred miles hence, where if I had not preſumed vppon my truthe, I coulde haue withdrawen my ſelfe from catching.

Bromley. Howe ſaye you the reſte of yee, is Whetſtons verdict all your verdicts?

The whole Inqueſt anſwered yea.

Bromley. Remember youre ſelues better, haue you conſidered ſubſtancially the whole euidence in ſorte as it was declared and recited, the matter dothe touche the Queenes highneſſe, and your ſelues alſo, take good heede what you doe.

Whetſton. My Lorde, wee haue throughly conſidered the euidence laide agaynſte the priſoner, and his aunſweres to all theſe matters, and accordingly wee haue founde him not guiltie agreable to all our conſciences.

Bromley. If you haue done well, it is the better for you.

Throckmor. It is better to bee tried, than to liue ſuſpected. Bleſſed be the Lorde God of Iſraell, for he hath viſited and redeemed his people, and hathe raiſed vp a mightie ſaluation for vs in the houſe of his ſeruaunte Dauid. And it maye pleaſe you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice, foraſmuche as I haue ben indited and arrained of ſundry treaſons, and haue according to the lawe put my triall to god and my countrey, that is to ſay, to theſe honeſt men whiche haue founde me not guiltie, I humbly beſeeche you to giue me ſuch benefite, acquitall and iudgement, as the lawe in this caſe doth appointe.

When the priſoner had ſaide theſe wordes the Commiſſioners conſulted togither.

Throckmor. Maye it pleaſe you my Lorde chiefe Iuſtice to pronounce ſentence for my diſcharge.

Bromley: Where as you doe aſke the benefite that the lawe in ſuche caſe dothe appointe, I will giue it you. viz. That where you haue bene indited of ſundrye highe treaſons, and haue bene here this daye beefore the Queenes Commiſſioners and Iuſtices arraigned of the ſaide treaſons, whereunto you haue pleaded not guyltye, and haue for triall therein putte youre ſelfe on God, and youre countrey, and they haue founde you not guiltie, the Courte doth award that you be clerly diſcharged paying your fees. Notwithſtandyng Mayſter Lieutenaunt take hym with you agayne, for there are other matters to chardge hym with.

Throckmo It may pleaſe you my Lords and maſters of yͤ Queenes highnes priuie coũſel, to be on my behalfe humble ſutors to hir Maieſtie, that like as the lawe this daye (God bee praiſed) hathe purged mee of the treaſons wherewith I was moſt dangerouſly charged, ſo it might pleaſe hir excellent maieſtie to purge mee in hir priuate iudgemente, and bothe forgyue and forgette my ouer raſhe boldeneſſe, that I vſed in talke of hir highneſſe marriage with the prince of Spaine, matters to farre aboue my capacitie, and I very vnable to conſider the grauitie therof, a matter impertinent for mee a priuate perſon to talke of, which did appertain to hir highneſſe priuy coũſel to haue in deliberation, and if it ſhall pleaſe hir highneſſe of hir bountifull liberalitie, to remitte my former ouerſightes, I ſhall thinke my ſelfe happye for triall of the daunger that I haue this daye eſcaped, and maye thereby admoniſhe mee to eſchewe thinges aboue my reache, and alſo to inſtructe mee to deale with matters agreable to my vocation, and god ſaue the Queenes Maieſtie and graunte the ſame long to raigne ouer vs, and the ſame Lorde bee praiſed for you the Magiſtrates, beefore whome I haue hadde my triall this daye indifferentlye by the Lawe, and you haue proceeded with mee accordinglye, and the grace of God bee amongſt you nowe and euer.

There was no aunſwere made by any of the benche to the priſoners ſute, but the Attorny did ſpeake theſe wordes.

Theattor And it pleaſe you my Lordes, foraſmuche as it ſeemeth theſe men of the Iurie which haue ſtraungely acquite the priſoner of his treaſons whereof hee was indited, will forthwith departe the Courte, I praye you for the Queene, that they, and euerye of them maye bee bounde in a recognizance of fiue hundrethe pounde a peece to aunſwere to ſuch matters as they ſhall be charged with, in the Queenes behalfe, whenſoeuer they ſhall be chardged or called.

Whetſto I praye you my Lordes bee good vnto vs, and lette vs not bee moleſted for diſchardgyng our conſciences truelye, we bee poore marchantmen, and haue great chardge vpon our handes, and our lyuynges doe depende vppon our trauailes, therefore it maye pleaſe you to appoynte vs a certaine daye for our appearaunce, bycauſe, perhappes elſe ſome of vs maye bee in forreine parties aboute our buſineſſe.

Thus much for Sir Nicholas Throckmortons arreignement, wherein is to be conſidered, that the repealing of certaine Statutes in the laſt Parliament, was the chiefe matter he had to alledge for his aduauntage, where as the repealing of the ſame ſtatutes, was ment notwithſtanding for an other purpoſe, as before you haue partly hearde, which ſtatutes, or the effect of the chiefe branches of them haue bene ſithence that time againe reuiued, as by the bookes of the ſtatutes it maye better appeare, to the whiche I referre the Reader.

eLorde
omasGray
eaded.

The xxvij. of Aprill, the Lorde Thomas Graye, brother to the Duke of Suffolke, was beheaded at the tower hill, a proper gentleman, and one that ſerued right valiauntly bothe in Fraunce and Scotlande, in the dayes of the late kings Henrie and Edwarde.

Vpon Saterdaye the xxviij. of Aprill, Sir James a Croft, and maiſter Willyam Winter were brought from the tower to the Guilde hall in London, where Sir James Croft was arreygned: but bicauſe the daye was farre ſpent, maiſter Winter was not arraigned, but caried backe againe to the tower with the ſayde Sir James a Croft.

lliam Tho
arreigned
condemned

William Thomas, of whome mencion is made before in the hyſtorie of Sir Thomas Wiat, with certaine other, were arraigned and condemned for the conſpiring of the murther and killing of the Queene vpon the ſodaine, and for that offence, the ſayde Willyam Thomas was the xviij. daye of Maye, drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne.

eLadie
abeth de-
ered out of
tower.

The xix. daye of Maye next following, the Ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to Queene Marie, was deliuered out of the Tower, and committed to the cuſtodie of Sir John Williams knight, afterward Lorde Williams of Tame, by whom hir Grace was more courteouſly intreated than ſome woulde haue wiſhed. Wherefore ſhortlye after ſhee was committed to the manour of Woodſtocke, vnder the cuſtodie of Sir Henrie Beningfielde of Oxenborough in the countie of Norffolke, knight, at whoſe hands ſhe found not the like curteſie, who (as it is well knowne) vſed his office more like a Jaylor than a Gentleman, and with ſuch rigour as was not meete to be ſhewed to ſuch an eſtate.

Henrie
ingfielde
ght.

But here is to be noted, not ſo much the vnciuile nature of the man, as the ſingular lenitie and gracious clemencie of that gentle and vertuous Princeſſe, who afterwarde (as ſhall appeare) comming to the poſſeſſion of the Crowne as hir rightfull inheritance, was at that time ſo farre from reuenge of iniuries receyued, that whereas diuerſe Princes haue requited muche leſſe offences with loſſe of life, ſhe neuer touched him eyther with daunger of life, eyther loſſe of landes or goodes, nor neuer proceeded further than to diſcharge him of the Court, which wany thought was the thing that pleaſed him beſt. At whoſe departing from hir preſence, ſhe vſed onely theſe wordes, or the like in ſenſe: God forgiue you that is paſt, and we doe, and if we haue any priſoner whome we would haue hardly handled and ſtraitly kept, then we will ſende for you.

The xxv. of May, the Earle of Deuonſhire was brought oute of the tower at three of the clocke in the morning, Sir Thomas Treſham knight, and maiſter Chamberlaine of Suffolk, with certaine of the Garde, being appointed to attende him vnto Frodinghey Caſtell in Northamptonſhire, where hee was aſſigned to remayne vnder cuſtodie of the ſaide ſir Thomas Treſham and others.

An. reg. 2.

The Lorde
Iohn Grey.

The xj. of June, the Lorde John Grey, brother to the late D. of Suffolk, was arreigned at Weſtminſter in the Kings benche, and there condemned: but yet through the painefull trauayle and diligent ſuite of the Ladie Grey hys wife, pardon was obteyned, and ſo he eſcaped with life, and was at length ſet at libertie, as after it ſhall appeare.

But nowe in this meane while that theſe things thus paſſed here in England, the Prince of Spaine prepared for his hither comming, vnto whome had bene ſent the Earle of Bedforde Lorde priuie ſeale, and the Lorde Fitzwaters, accompanied with diuerſe noble men and Gentlemen, who arriuing at the Corone in Galicia, were receyued very honourably. And forasmuch as the Prince was then at Vale Dolido, diſtant from thence neare hande an hundreth leagues, they were deſired to ſtay there for their better eaſe, till hee might haue conuenient opportunitie to repaire thither, which neuertheleſſe he coulde not do ſo ſoone as he pretended to haue deſire thereto, as well by reaſon of the ſickeneſſe of his ſiſter, the Princes Dowager of Portugall, as by other weightie affaires. But being at length ridde of ſuche encombers, and come into Galicia, the Engliſhe ambaſſadors mette him at Saint James de Compoſtella, and after hee had in preſence of a great number of Noble men and Gentlemen, there ratified the contract, and ſware to obſerue the couenants, he departed towardes Corone, where within a fewe dayes after hee embarked, and accompanied with the number of Cl. ſayle, directed his courſe towards Englande.

The Lorde Admirall hauing continuallye bene abroade on the ſeas for the ſpace of three moneths or more with a nauie of xxviij. ſhips & other veſſels, accompanied alſo with the Viceadmirall of the lowe Countries, that had vnder his gouernance xiiij. ſhippes of the Emperours, met with the ſayde Prince the xix. of Julye, a-

bout

The arriuall of the prince of Spaine.

about the Needles, and from thence accompanied him vnto Southampton where he arriued the morowe after the xx. of Iulye, the Earle of Arundell Lorde Stewarde of the Queenes houſe, being ſent from hir to preſent to him the George, and the Garter of the order (of the which fellowſhip, he was at the laſt Chapiter holden by the Confreers choſen one of the companie) met him vpon the water, and at his comming to lande, preſented the ſayde George and Garter vnto him.

At his landing he was receyued by the Lord Treaſurer, the Biſhop of Lincolne, the Lorde Saint Iohn, and others, by whom he was firſt conueyed to the Church, and from thence to his lodging.

After his landing, the Lorde Chaunceller accompanied with diuerſe Gentlemen, was ſent from the Queene to bidde him welcome on hir behalfe, and ſo was hee viſited by diuerſe noble perſonages whileſt he remayned at Southampton, ſent thither for that purpoſe, and he on the other part, ſent diuerſe of his noble men to viſit hir maieſtie on his behalfe.

Monday the xxiij. of Iuly, he departed from Southampton towardes Wincheſter, whither ſhee was the Saturdaye before remoued from Biſhops Waltham.

He commeth to Wincheſter

On the way he was accompanied, beſide the Noblemen and Gentlemen of his owne trayne, with the Marques of Wincheſter, the Earles of Arundell, Darbie, Worceter, Bedford, Rutlande, Penbroke, Surrey, the Lordes Clinton, Cobham, Willoughbye, Darcie, Matrauers, Talbot, Strange, Fitzwarren, and North, with many other Noblemen and Gentlemen, and their traynes, to the number of two thouſande horſes.

At his comming to the Churche in Wincheſter, the Lorde Chauncelour accompanied with the Biſhops of Dureſme, Elye, London, Lincolne, Chicheſter, and diuerſe other Prelates, were readie to receiue him.

After he had made his prayers, he was conueyed to his lodging prepared for him in the Deanes houſe.

The Queene hir ſelfe was lodged in the Biſhops pallace, whither his highneſſe the next day came, and was receyued by hir in the hall, in moſt courteous and louing maner. And after ſuch ſalutatiōs and talke ended, as was thought conuenient for the time, he returned to his lodging, where hee continued all that night, and the next daye being the xxv. of Iuly, the mariage was openly ſolemniſed. At the which were preſent, the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour the King of Romaynes, the King of Boheme, of Venice, Florence, Ferrare, and Sauoye, with certaine agents of other ſtates in Italy.

The mariage ſolemniſed.

As for the ſhotte of ordinaunce, the diuerſe kyndes of muſicke, the ſumptuous and coſtlye apparell, trappers, and other furniture, readye prouided againſt the receyuing of him, with other ceremonies vſed aſwell about the mariage, as in other places where he was to be receyued, were ſurely ſuch, and euery thing done in ſuche good order, as better for ſuch a purpoſe, might not lightly be deuiſed.

The names of the Noble men that came ouer from Spaine with the Prince, were as followeth.

The Duke of Alua.
The Duke of Medina celi.
The Admirall of Caſtilla.
The Marques of Bergues.
The Marques of Piſcara.
The Marques of Saria.
The Marques of Valli.
The Marques of Aguillar.
The Earle of Egmonde.
The Earle of Horne.
The Earle of Feria.
The Earle of Chinchon.
The Earle of Olinares.
The Earle of Saldana.
The Earle of Modica.
The Earle of Fuenteſalida.
The Earle of Landriano.
The Earle of Caſtellar.
Don Ruigomes.
The Biſhop of Cuenca.
Don Iohn de Benauides. And diuerſe others.

But nowe foraſmuch as ſome woulde happily be deſirous to knowe the conditions of this memorable mariage betwixte theſe two highe Princes, the conſequence whereof might haue proued of ſo great importance, although by the Queenes deceaſe the effect was made voyde, I haue thought good to recite in briefe the chief articles thereof.

Firſt it was couenanted that he ſhoulde enioye the title and name of King, during the matrimonie, and ſhoulde ayde hir highneſſe being his wife, in the adminiſtration of hir Realmes and dominions: but yet he ſhoulde permit and ſuffer hir to haue the whole diſpoſition of all benefices, and offices, landes, reuenues, & fruites of the ſayde Realmes and dominions, and that the ſame ſhoulde be beſtowed vpon ſuch as were hir naturall borne ſubiectes, and that all matters of the ſayd Realmes and dominions ſhould bee treated and mayned in the ſame tongues, wherein of old they haue ben wont to be treated.

That the Queene by vertue of the ſayde mariage ſhoulde bee admitted into the ſocietie of the Realmes and Dominions of the ſayde Prince of Spaine, as well ſuch as he nowe preſently hath, as ſuche other alſo, as during the matrimonie may come to him.

And for hir dower, in caſe ſhee ouerliued him, ſhe was appointed to receyue yearely three ſcore thouſande pounde, after the value of fortie groates Fleminiſhe money the pounde, to be allotted vpon all the Realmes, landes, and Patrimoniall dominions of his father the Emperour, that is to ſaye, fortie thouſande pounde to be aſſigned vpon the Realmes of Spaine, Caſtile, and Arragon, according to the cuſtome of thoſe Realmes. The other twentie thouſande poundes were appointed vpon the Dukedomes, Earledomes, and dominions of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Hollande, and other patrimoniall landes and inheritaunce of the ſayde Emperour in the lowe Countries of Germanie, in like maner as the Ladie Margaret of Englande, ſometime wife and widowe of the Lorde Charles, ſometime Duke of Burgongne, had and receyued of the ſame. And if anye parcell or parcels thereof be alienated, then in lieu thereof, other landes ſhoulde bee in due forme aſſigned forth for hir to enioy, lying neare to the reſidue of hir dower.

The iſſue that ſhoulde chaunce to come of this mariage, touching the right of the mothers inheritance in the realme of Englande, and the other Realmes and dominions depending of the ſame, aſwell the males as females, ſhoulde ſucceede in them, according to the lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of the ſame.

And as touching the landes that the ſayde Prince of Spaine ſhall leaue behinde him: firſt there ſhoulde bee reſerued vnto his eldeſt ſonne the Lord Charles of Auſtrich, infant of Spaine, and to the children and heyres of him deſcending, as well females as males, all and ſingular their rights, which to the ſayde Prince doe eyther then, or therafter ſhuld belong, or ſhould at any time be deuolued to him in the Realmes of Spaine, of bothe the Sicilles, in the Dukedome of Millaine, and other landes and dominions in Lumbardie and Italie, whiche neuertheleſſe ſhall be burdened and charged with the foreſayde dower of fortie thouſande pounde. And if it fortuned the ſayde Lorde Charles to die, and the iſſue of his bodie to fayle, then the eldeſt ſonne of this matrimonie ſhould ſucceede, and be admitted vnto the ſayde right, according to the nature, lawes, and cuſtomes of thoſe Realmes and dominions. The ſame eldeſt ſonne ſhoulde alſo ſucceede in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions, and patrimoniall landes belonging vnto the ſayde Emperour father to the ſayde Prince of Spaine, as well in Burgongne, as in the lowe countries, in the Dukedomes of Brabant, Luxenburgh, Gelderland, Zutphane, Burgongne. Frezeland, in the counties of Flaunders, Arthoys, Holland, Zelande, Namure, and the lande beyonde the Iſles, and all other whatſoeuer thereunto belonging.

But if the ſayde Lord Charles, or they that ſhoulde come of him, remayne in life, and that there be any male childe by this matrimonie, the ſayde Lorde Charles and his deſcendentes ſhoulde then bee excluded from the ſayde landes and patrimoniall dominions of the lowe countries, and of Burgongne, and the ſame ſhoulde diſcende vnto the ſayde eldeſt ſonne borne of this matrimonie. And to the other children borne therof, as well males as females, a conuenient portion and dower ſhoulde bee allotted in the Realme of Englande, and Dominions depending of the ſame, and in the ſayde landes and patrimoniall dominions of the lowe countries, and neyther the eldeſt ſonne of this matrimonie, nor the ſonnes begotten in the ſame, ſhould pretende anye right in the Realme of Spaine, or the dominions of the ſame, and reſerued to the ſayde Lorde Charles the infant, otherwiſe than by their fathers and Grandfathers diſpoſition.

Moreouer, if it fortune no iſſue male to bee borne of this matrimonie, but onely females, in that caſe, the eldeſt female ſhoulde with full right ſucceede in the ſayde landes and dominions of the lowe Countries, ſo as neuertheleſſe ſhe being minded to chooſe to huſbande any noble manne not borne in Englande, or in the lowe Countries, without conſent of the ſayde Lorde Charles the infant, in that caſe the right of the ſucceſſion ſhoulde remayne to the ſayde Lorde Charles, in the ſayde dominions of the lowe Countries, Burgongne, and their appurtenances. And yet neuertheleſſe in that caſe, both ſhe and the other daughters alſo deſcending of this matrimonie, ſhall bee endowed of their fathers landes and poſſeſſions aſwell in Spaine, as in the lowe countries.

And for want of the ſayde Lorde Charles, and iſſue of him, and none but daughters remayning of this mariage, the eldeſt daughter in that caſe ſhoulde ſucceede, not onelye in the landes of the lowe Countries, but alſo in the Realmes of Spaine, Englande, and the reſt, after the nature, lawes, and cuſtomes of the ſame.

Herewith was a Prouiſo accorded, that what ſoeuer he or ſhe ſhoulde bee that ſhoulde ſucceede in them, they ſhoulde leaue to euery of the ſayde

Realmes, landes, and Dominions, whole and entire their priuiledges, rightes, and cuſtomes, and gouerne the ſame by the naturall borne of the ſame Realmes, Dominions, and landes. &c.

Finally, that betweene the ſayde Emperor, the Prince and his ſucceſſors, their Realmes, and the ſayde Queene, it was concluded, that from thenceforth there ſhoulde bee an intire and ſincere fraternitie, vnitie, and moſt ſtraite confederacie for euer. &c. ſo as they ſhoulde mutuallye ayde one another in all things, according to the ſtrength, forme, and effecte of the later treatie of a ſtreite amitie, bearing date at Weſtminſter, in the yeare 1542. the declaration of whiche treatie, beareth date at Utreight the xvj. of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1546.

In another treatiſe were theſe articles following compriſed.

Firſt, that the Prince of Spaine ſhoulde not promote, admitte, or receyue to any office, adminiſtration, or benefice in the Realme of Englande, or Dominions to the ſame belonging, any ſtraunger, or perſons not borne vnder the ſubiection of the ſaide Queene.

That he ſhoulde receyue into his houſholde and Courte, Gentlemen and yeomen of the ſayde Realme of Englande, in a conuenient number, eſteeming, interteyning, and nouriſhing them as his proper ſubiectes, and bring none with him in his retinue, that will doe any wrong to the ſubiectes of the ſayde Realme, and if they doe, hee to correcte them with condigne puniſhment, and to ſee them expelled his Courte.

That hee ſhall doe nothing whereby anye thing bee innouated in the ſtate and righte, eyther publicke or priuate, or in the lawes and cuſtomes of the ſayde Realme of Englande, or the dominions therevnto belonging. But ſhall keepe to all eſtates and orders, their rights and priuiledges.

That he ſhall not leade awaye the Queene oute of the borders of hir Graces Realme, vnleſſe ſhe hir ſelfe deſire it, or carie the children that maye bee borne of this matrimonie, out of the ſame realme, vnleſſe it be otherwiſe thought good by the conſent and agreement of the Nobilitie of Englande.

And in caſe no children being left, the ſayde Queene do die before him, he ſhall not chalenge anye righte at all in the ſayde kingdome, but without impediment ſhall permit the ſucceſſion thereof to come vnto them, to whome it ſhall belong, by the right and lawes of the Realme.

Item, that hee ſhall not beare nor carye ouer oute of the ſayde Realme, the iewels and precious things of eſtimation. Neyther ſhall he alienate or doe away any whit of the appurtenances of the ſayde Realme of Englande, or ſuffer anye parte of them to bee vſurped by his ſubiectes, or anye other: But ſhall ſee, that all and ſingular places of the Realme, and ſpeciallye the fortes and frontiers of the ſame, bee faithfully kept and preſerued to the vſe and profite of the ſayde Realme, and by the naturall borne of the ſame.

He ſhall not ſuffer any ſhyppe, gunnes, ordinaunces whatſoeuer of warre or defence, to be remoued or conueyed out of the ſame realme, but ſhall contrariwiſe cauſe them diligently to be kept, and vewed when neede requireth, and ſhall ſo prouide that the ſame maye be alwayes readye in their ſtrength and force for defence of the Realme.

Item, the Realme of Englande by occaſion of this matrimonie, ſhall not directly nor indirectly bee intangled with the warre that is betweene the Emperour, father to the ſayde Prince of Spayne, and Henrie the Frenche King, but he the ſayde Prince, as muche as in him maye lie, on the behalfe of the ſayde realme of Englande, ſhall ſee the peace betweene the ſayde Realmes of Fraunce and Englande obſerued, and ſhall giue no cauſe of any breach, by which couenant the later treatiſe of a ſtrayte amitie, ſhoulde not bee in anye poynt derogated, but the ſame ſtill to remayne in the former force. &c.

But nowe to returne where wee left. At the time of the ſolemnization of the foreſayde mariage holden at Wincheſter, as before yee haue hearde, the Emperours ambaſſadours beyng preſent, openlye pronounced, that in conſideration of that mariage, the Emperour had giuen and graunted to the ſayde Prince hys ſonne, the Kingdome of Naples, Hieruſalem, with diuerſe other ſeates and ſeigniories.

The ſolemnitie of that marriage ended, the King of Heraultes called Garter, openlye in the Churche, in the preſence of the King, the Queene, the Lordes as well of Englande as Spayne, and all the people being preſente, ſolemnelye proclaymed the Tytle and ſtyle of thoſe two Princes, as followeth.

Their title

Philip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of Englande, Fraunce, Naples, Hieruſalem, and Irelande, Defenders of the fayth, Princes of Spayne, and Scicilie, Archedukes of Auſtriche, Dukes of Millayne, Burgundie, and Brabant, Counties of Haſpurge, Flaunders, and Tyroll.

The Proclamation being ended, the trumpettes blewe, and the King and the Queene came forthe of the Churche hande in hande, and two ſwordes borne before them, and ſo returned to their pallace.

And aſſoone as the feaſting and ſolemnitie of the ſaide marriage was ended, the King and Queene departed from Wincheſter, and by eaſie iourneyes came to Windſore caſtell, where the v. of Auguſt being Sundaye, hee was ſtalled according to the order of the Garter, and there kept Saint Georges feaſt himſelfe in hys royall eſtate, and the Earle of Suſſex was alſo the ſame time ſtalled in the order.

gPhilip led at ndſore.

The vij. of Auguſte was made a generall huntyng with a toyle rayſed of foure or fiue myles in lengthe, ſo that many a Deare that day was brought to the quarrie.

The xj. of Auguſt they remoued to Richemond, and from thence the xxvij. of the ſame moneth by water they came to London, landing at the Biſhop of Wincheſters houſe, thorowe which they paſſed both into Southwarke Parke, and ſo to Suffolke place, where they lodged that night, and the next daye being Saterday and the xix. of Auguſt, they being accompanied with a great number of Nobles and gentlemen, roade from thence ouer the bridge, and paſſed thorough London vnto Weſtminſter, the Citie being beautified with faire and ſumptuous pageantes, and hanged with riche and coſtly ſilkes, and clothes of golde and ſiluer, in moſt royall wiſe.

At their paſſing ouer the bridge, there was ſhot ſuch a peale of artillerie off from the tower, as had not bene hearde a greater in many yeares before.

In September, the Duke of Norffolke departed this life at Fremingham caſtell in Norfolke, and there was honourably buried among his anceſtors.

Vpon Friday the xxvj. of October, thoſe honeſt men that had bene of maiſter Throckmor. queſt, being in number eyght (for the other foure were deliuered oute of priſon, for that they ſubmitted themſelues, and ſaide they had offended like weaklings, not conſidering truth to be truth, but of force for feare ſaid ſo) theſe eyght men I ſay (whereof maſter Emanuell Lucar, and maſter Whetſtone, were chiefe) were called before the Counſell in the ſtarre Chamber, where they affirmed that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good conſciences, euen as they ſhould aunſwere before God at the day of iudgemēt. Where maſter Lucar ſaid openly before all the Lordes that they had done in the matter like honeſt men, and true and faithfull ſubiectes, and therefore they humbly beſought my L. Chancelor and the other Lords, to be meanes to the King ⁊ Queenes maieſties, that they might be diſcharged and ſet at libertie: and ſaid that they were all contented to ſubmit themſelues to their Maieſties, ſauing ⁊ reſeruing their truth, conſciences ⁊ honeſties.

Their

The Lordes taking their wordes in marueylous euill part, iudged them worthie to paye exceſſiue fines. Some ſayde they were worthie to pay M. *lb.* a peece. Other ſayde that Lucar and Whetſtone were worthie to pay a M. markes a peece, and the reſt v. C. *lb.* a peece. In concluſion, ſentence was giuen by the L. Chauncelour, that they ſhould pay a M. markes a pece, he that payde leaſt, and that they ſhould go to priſon againe, and there remaine till further order were taken for their puniſhment.

The xxx. of October being Tueſdaye, the L. Iohn Grey was deliuered out of the tower, and ſet at libertie.

The Lorde Iohn Grey ſet at libertie.

Vppon Saterdaye the x. of Nouember, the Sherifes of London had commaundement to take an inuentorie of euery one of their goodes, whiche were of maiſter Throckmortons queſt, and to ſeale vppe their cofers, which was done the ſame daye.

Maiſter Whetſtone and maiſter Lucar, and maiſter Kighley, were adiudged to paye two thouſand poundes a peece, ⁊ the reſt a M. markes a peece, to be paid within one fortnight after.

From this paymente were exempted thoſe foure which confeſſed a fault, and therevpon had ſubmitted themſelues, whoſe names are theſe: maſter Loe, maſter Pointer, maſter Beſwicke, and maſter Cater.

M. Foxe.

The xij. of Nouember being Mondaye, the Parliament begā at Weſtminſter, to the beginning whereof both the King and Queene roade in their Parliament roabes, hauing two ſwordes borne before them. The Earle of Pembroke bare his ſworde, and the Earle of Weſtmerland bare the Queenes. They had two Cappes of maintenance likewiſe borne before them: wherof the Earle of Arūdell bare the one, and the Earle of Shrewesburie the other. During this Parliament, Cardinall Poole landed at Douer vppon Wedneſday, being the xxj. of Nouember, who being receyued with muche honour in all other countries through which he had paſſed, was receyued here at the firſt, with no great ſhewe, for the cauſes aboue mentioned. The ſame daye on the which he he arriued, an acte paſſed in the Parliament houſe, for his reſtitution in blud, vtterly repealing (as falſe and moſt ſlaunderous) ẏ acte made againſt him in K. Hērie ẏ viij. his time. And on the next day being Thurſday ⁊ the xxij. of Nouember, the King and Queene both came to the Parliament houſe to giue their royall aſſent, and to eſtabliſhe this acte againſt his comming. On Saterday the xxiiij. of Nouember, he came to the Court, and after went to Lambeth where his lodging was prepared.

On Wedneſdaye following in the afternoone, he came into the Parliament houſe, being at that preſent kept in the great Chamber of the Courte of Whyte hall, for that the Queene by reaſon of ſickeneſſe was not able to go abroade, (where the King and Queene ſitting vnder the clothe of eſtate, and the Cardinall ſitting on the right hande, with all the other eſtates of the Realme being preſent) and the Knightes and Burgeſſes of the Common houſe being alſo called thither, the Biſhoppe of Wincheſter being Lorde Chauncellour, ſpake in this maner.

The wordes of the biſhop of Wincheſter.

My Lordes of the vpper houſe, and you my maiſters of the nether houſe, here is preſent the right reuerende Father in God, my Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate *à Latere*, come from the Apoſtolike ſea of Rome, as ambaſſadour to the King and Queenes Maieſties, vpon one of the weyghtieſt cauſes that euer happened in this Realme, and which appertayneth to the glorie of God, and your vniuerſall benefite, the which ambaſſade, their Maieſties pleaſure is, to be ſignified vnto you all by his owne mouth, truſting that you will receyue and accept it in as beneuolent and thankfull wiſe, as their Highneſſe haue done, and that you wyll giue attentiue and inclinable eares vnto hys Grace, who is nowe readye to declare the ſame.

Grafton.

So ſoone as the Lord Chancelor had ended his tale, the Cardinall began & made a long and ſolemne oration, the which for ſhortneſſe ſake I haue collected into theſe fewe articles.

The effect of the Cardinals oration.

Firſt hee yeelded moſte heartie thankes to the King and Quene: and next vnto the whole Parliament, that of a man exiled and baniſhed from this Common weale, they had reſtored him agayne to bee a member of the ſame, and to the honour of his houſe and familie, and of a man hauing no place, neyther here nor elſe where, within the Realme, to haue admitted him into a place where to ſpeake, and to bee hearde.

Secondly, that his eſpeciall comming was for the reſtitution of this Realme to the aunciēt eſtate, and to declare that the ſea Apoſtolike hath a ſpeciall care of this Realme aboue all other, and chieflye for that this Iſlande firſt of all other prouinces of Europe, receiued the light of Chriſtes religion from the ſea of Rome.

Thirdlye, hee exhorted, that thoughe the realme had ſwarued from the catholike vnitie, yͭ yet being better informed, we ought to returne into the boſome of the Churche, moſte open to receyue all penitents. For the perſuaſion whereof, he brought a number of olde examples, what perill and hurte hath happened vnto them that haue ſwarued and gone from the Churche of Rome, namely Greece and Germanie.

Fourthlye, howe muche wee are bounde to God for the King and Queenes Maieſties, and howe miraculouſlye God had ſaued and defended our Queene from hir enimies in moſt daungerous times, and alſo that hee hath prouided to ioyne with hir in mariage, ſuch a noble Prince as King Philip was, and one of hir owne religion.

Fiftly, he exhorted them all to obedience of theſe two Princes, and to call vppon God for iſſue to be had betweene them, adding that king Philips father the Emperour, had among other Princes trauayled moſt for the reſtitution of the peace and vnitie of the Churche. But as almightie God ſayde vnto Dauid, thoughe hee had a mynde and will to bui͏lde his Temple, yet bicauſe he had ſhedde bloude, he ſhoulde not buylde it, but his ſonne Salomon ſhoulde buylde it. And ſo bicauſe the Emperour hathe hadde ſo manye warres, and ſhedde ſo muche bloude, therefore he coulde not attaine to bring perfecte peace to the Churche. But truly (ſayde hee) this gracious Prince King Philippe his ſonne, as I conceyue, is appointed of God to it, conſidering nowe the calling of him to bee ioyned with ſo Catholike a Princeſſe, as is the Queene of this Realme, one withoute all doubte, ſente likewiſe of God, for the reſtoring of the ſayde Realme to the vnitie of the Churche, from whence it hathe erred and gone aſtraye, as it dothe and maye manifeſtlye appeare.

Sixtlye, hee proteſted that his Commiſſion was not to preiudice anye perſon: for he came not to deſtroye, but to buylde: hee came to reconcile, and not to condemne: hee came not to compell, but to call agayne: hee came not to call anye thing in queſtion alreadye done: but his Commiſſion was of grace and clemencie to all ſuche as woulde receyue it. For touchynge all matters paſte, and done, they ſhoulde bee caſte into the ſea of Forgetfulneſſe, and neuer more to bee thoughte vpon.

Finallye (ſayde hee) the meane whereby to receyue this highe benefite, is firſt to reuoke and repeale all ſuche lawes as are impedimentes, blockes, and barres, to this moſte gracious reconciliation. For like as hee himſelfe hadde no place to ſpeake there before ſuche lawes were abrogated and remoued, as ſtoode in hys waye, euen ſo they coulde not receyue the Grace offered frome the ſea Apoſtolicke, vntyll theſe lyke impedimentes of lawes made agaynſt the ſea of Rome, were vtterly aboliſhed and repealed. And ſo in concluſion aduertiſed them, firſte for the glorie of God, and nexte for the conſeruation and ſuretie of the welth, and quietneſſe of the whole Realme, that they ſhoulde earneſtly trauayle therein, and that then he would make them participant of the benefite of his commiſſion.

The next day the whole Courte of Parliament drewe out the forme of a ſupplication, and the nexte daye following, when the King and Queene, and the Cardinall, with all the Nobles and Commons were aſſembled agayne in the great chamber of the Whyte hall aforeſayde, the Biſhop of Wincheſter there declared what the Parliament had determined concerning the Cardinals requeſt, and then offered to the King and Queene the ſaid ſupplication, the copie whereof followeth.

upplication hibited to dinall ole, by the liament.

We the Lordes Spirituall and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, repreſenting the whole bodie of the Realme of Englande and dominions of the ſame, in the name of our ſelues particularly, and alſo of the ſayde bodie vniuerſally, offer thys oure moſt humble ſupplication to youre maieſties, to this ende and effect, that the ſame by youre gracious interceſſion and meane maye be exhibited to the moſt reuerende Father in God the Lorde Cardinall Poole Legate, ſent ſpecially hither from our moſt holy father Pope Iulye the thirde, and the ſea Apoſtolike of Rome: Wherein we doe declare our ſelues verye ſorie & repentant of the long ſchiſme and diſobedience happening in this Realme, and yͤ dominions of the ſame, agaynſte the ſea Apoſtolike, eyther by making, agreeing, or executing of any lawes, ordinaunces or commaundementes againſt the Primacie of the ſame ſea, or otherwiſe doing or ſpeaking that might impugne or preiudice the ſame. Offering oure ſelues, and promiſing by this our ſupplicatiō, that for a token and knowledge of our ſayde repentance, we be and ſhall be euer readie, vnder, and with the authorities of your maieſties, to the vttermoſte of our power to doe that ſhall lye in vs, for the abrogation and repealing of al the ſaide lawes & ordinaunces made and enacted to the preiudice of the ſea Apoſtolicke, aſwell for our ſelues, as for the whole bodie whome we repreſent. Whereupon moſte humbly wee beſeeche your maieſtie, as perſons vndefiled in offence of his bodie towardes the ſayd ſea, which neuertheleſſe God by his prouidence hath made ſubiect to you, ſo to ſette forthe this our humble ſuite, as we the rather by youre interceſſion, may obtaine from the ſea Apoſtolike by the ſayde moſte reuerende father, as well particularly as generally, Abſolution, Releaſe, and Diſcharge from all daungers of ſuche cenſures and ſentences as by the lawes of the Church we be fallen into. And that we may as children repentant, be receyued into the boſome and vnitie of Chriſtes Church, ſo as this noble Realme, with all the members thereof, maye in this vnitie and perfect obedience to the ſea Apoſtolike, and Popes for the time being, ſerue God and your maieſties, to the furtherance and aduauncement of his honor and glorie. Amen.

This ſupplication being firſt openly red, the ſame was by the Chauncelor deliuered to the King and Queene, with petition to them. to exhibite the ſame to the Lorde Cardinall. And the King and Queene ryſing out of their ſeates, and doing reuerence to the Cardinall, did deliuer the ſame vnto him.

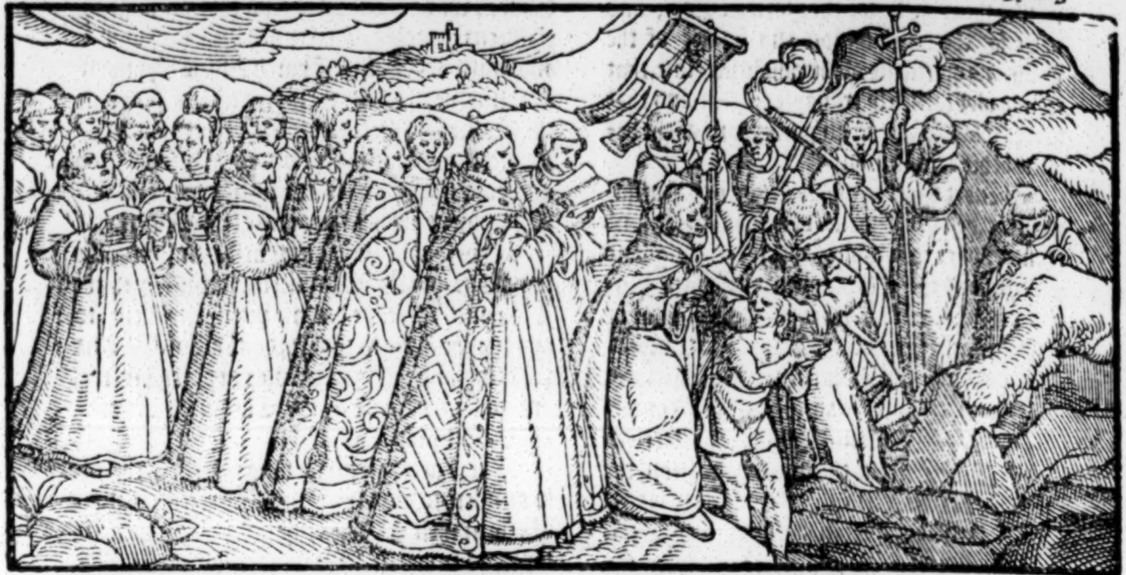
The Cardinall perceyuing the effect thereof to anſwere to his expectation, did receiue it moſt gladly at their Maieſties handes. And then after that hee had in fewe wordes giuen thankes vnto God, and declared what great cauſe hee had to reioyce aboue all others, that his cōming from Rome into Englande, had taken ſuche moſt happie ſucceſſe, then hee cauſed his Commiſſion to be reade (whereby it might appeare he had authoritie from the Pope to abſolue thē) which Commiſſion was verye long and large. And that being done, and all the Parliamente on their knees, this Cardinall, by the Popes authoritie, gaue them abſolution in maner following.

An abſolution pronounced by Cardinall Poole to the Parliament houſe.

Our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt whiche with his moſt precious bloude hath redemed and waſhed vs from all our ſinnes and iniquities, that hee might purchaſe vnto himſelfe a glorious ſpouſe without ſpot or wrinkle, and whome the father hath appointed heade ouer all his Churche: Hee by his mercie abſolue you. And wee by the Apoſtolike authoritie giuen vnto vs by the moſte holye Lorde Pope Iulius the thirde (his Vicegerent in earth) doe abſolue and deliuer you, and euery of you, with the whole Realme, and the Dominions thereof, from all hereſie and ſchiſme, and from all and euerye iudgementes, cenſures and paines for that cauſe incurred. And alſo wee doe reſtore you agayne to the vnitie of oure mother the holye Churche, as in oure letters of Commiſſion more plainelye ſhall appeare.

After this generall abſolution receyued, the King and the Queene, and all the Lordes, with the reſt, went into the Kings chappell, and there ſang *Te deum* with great ioy and gladneſſe, for this newe reconciliation.

The reporte of this with great ſpeede flewe to Rome, as well by the French Kings letters, as alſo by the Cardinalles. Whereuppon the



Pope cauſed ſolemne Proceſſions to bee made in Rome, namely one, wherein he himſelfe with all hys Cardinals were preſent, paſſing with as great ſolemnitie and pomp as might be, gyuing thankes to God with greate ioy, for the conuerſion of England to his Churche. At what time alſo, hee not a little commended the diligence of Cardinall Poole, and the deuotion of the Kyng and Queene.

And on Chriſtmas euen next following, hee ſet forth by hys Bulles a generall pardon to all ſuche as did reioyce in the ſame reconciliation.

The eyght and twentith of Nouember nexte following, it was commonly reported, that the Queene was quicke with childe, and therefore commaundemente was gyuen by Edmonde Bonner then Byſhoppe of London (and as it was ſayde, not withoute the commaundement of the Counſell) that there ſhoulde bee made in moſt ſolemne manner one generall Proceſſion in London, wherein the Maior, and all the companyes of the Citie were in theyr liueries, at whoſe returne to the Churche of Poules, there was ſong very ſolemnely *Te Deum* for ioy thereof.

The ſecond daye of December beeing Sonday, Cardinall Poole came to Poules Churche in London with great pomp, hauing borne before hym a Croſſe, two pillers, and two pollaxes of ſiluer, and was there ſolemnely receyued by the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, Chancelloure of Englande, who mette hym with Proceſſion.

And ſhortly after, Kyng Philippe came from Weſtminſter by lande, beeyng accompanyed with a greate number of hys Nobles.

And the ſame day, the Byſhoppe of Wincheſter preached at Poules Croſſe, in the whyche Sermon hee declared, that the Kyng and Queene hadde reſtored the Pope to hys ryghte of primacie, and that the three eſtates aſſembled in Parliamente, repreſentyng the whole bodye of the Realme, hadde ſubmitted themſelues to hys holyneſſe, and to his ſucceſſors for euer.

And in the ſame alſo, hee greately prayſed the Cardinall, and ſette forth the paſſing hygh authoritie that hee hadde from the Sea of Rome, with muche other glorious matter, in the commendation of the Churche of Rome, whyche hee called the Sea Apoſtolike.

The Sermon beeyng ended, the Kyng and the Cardinall rydyng togyther, returned to White Hall, and the Kyng hadde his ſworde borne before hym, and the Cardinall had onely hys Croſſe and no more.

The ſeauen and twentith daye of the ſayde moneth, Emanuell Philiberte Earle of Sauoy and Prince of Piemount came into Englande, accompanyed with dyuers other Lordes and Gentlemen ſtraungers, who were receyued at Graues ende by the Earle of Bedforde Lorde priuie ſeale, and conueyd by water through London bridge to White Hall, where the King and Queene thẽ lay, and the ninth of January next following, yͤ Prince of Orange was in like maner receiued at Graues end, and from thence conueid to the Court, being at White Hall.

Upon Wedneſday the [illegible]. of December, fiue of yͤ eight men which lay in the Fleete, that had paſſed vpō ſir Nicholas Throckmortons triall, were diſcharged & ſet at libertie vpon their fyne paid, which was two C. and twentie ℔. a peece. The other three put vp a ſupplicatiō, therin declaring yͭ their goodes did not amount to yͤ ſũme of yͭ which they wer appointed to pay, & ſo vpō yͤ declaration, paying 60. ℔. a peece, wer deliuered out of priſon, on S. Thomas day before Chriſtmas,

mas, being the one and twentith of December.

The two and twentith of the ſame moneth, the Parliamente (whyche beganne the two and twentith of Nouember before) was diſſolued, wherein among other Actes paſſed there, the ſtatute *Ex officio*, and other lawes made for puniſhment of Hereſies were reuiued. But chiefely, the Popes moſt liberall Bull of diſpenſation of Abbey lande was there confirmed, muche to the contentation of manye, who not withoute cauſe ſuſpected by thys new vnion, to loſe ſome peece of their late purchaſe.

1555

Upon Friday the eyghtenth of January, all the Counſell wente vnto the Tower, and there the ſame day diſcharged and ſette at libertie all the priſoners of the Tower, or the more parte of them, namely, the late Duke of Northumberlandes ſonnes, the Lordes Ambroſe, Roberte and Henrye. Alſo, Sir Andrewe Dudley, Sir James Croftes, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir John Rogers, Sir Nicholas Arnolde, Sir George Harper, Sir Edwarde Warner, Sir William Sentlow, Sir Gawen Carewe, William Gibbes Eſquier, Cutbert Vaughan, and dyuers other.

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ered.

Moreouer aboute thys ſeaſon, dyuers learned men beeyng apprehended, and in priſon for matters of Religion, were broughte before the Byſhoppes of Wincheſter and London, and other the Byſhoppes and Commiſſioners appoynted therefore, who vppon the conſtante ſtandyng of the ſayde learned men in their opinions, whyche they hadde taken vppon them to mainteine, as grounded vppon the true worde of God, as they proteſted, proceeded in iudgemente agaynſte them, and ſo diuers of them were brente at London in Smithfielde, and in dyuers other places, as in the Booke of Monuments ye may reade.

In February next folowing, Doctor Thirleby Byſhoppe of Ely, and Anthony Lord Montagewe, with a very honorable traine of Gentlemen and others, rode forth of the Citie of London toward Rome as Ambaſſadors, ſente from the King and Queene, to confirme this newe reconciliation to the Pope.

A yong ſtripling, whoſe name was William Fetherſton, a Millers ſonne, aboute the age of eyghtene yeares, named and bruted himſelfe to bee King Edwarde the ſixth, whereof when the Queene and the counſayle hearde, they cauſed with all diligence enquirie to be made for hym, ſo that hee was apprehended in Southwarke, or as other haue, at Eltham in Kent the tenth of May, & brought before the Counſaile at Hampton Court, and there examined. And it was demaunded of him why hee ſo named himſelfe, to the whyche he counterfeyting a manner of ſimplicitie, or rather frenſie, woulde make no direct aunſwere, but prayed pardon, for hee wiſt not what hee ſayde, affirmyng farther, that hee was counſayled ſo to ſaye, and to take vpon him the name, whereof hee accuſed certayne perſons, but hys talke was not found true, wherefore hee was committed to the Marſhalſea, as a lunatike foole.

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And the eyght and twentith daye of May nexte following, the aforeſayde counterfeyte Prince was broughte in a carte from the Marſhalſea through the Citie of London, with a paper ouer hys head, wherein was written, that he named hymſelfe Kyng Edward.

And from thence was conueyd to Weſtminſter, beeyng ledde rounde aboute the Hall, and ſhewed to all the people there: and afterwarde taken out of the Carte and ſtripped, and then whipped rounde aboute the Palace at the ſame Cartes tayle, and withoute more puniſhment, was diſcharged, and ſet at libertie.

But the nexte yeare following, for that hee had ſpredde abroade that King Edwarde was aliue, and that he had ſpoken with him, hee was agayne apprehended, and arraigned of hygh treaſon, whereof beeyng condemned, he ſhortly after was drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered the thirtenth of Marche.

About thys tyme, Edward Courtney, Earle of Deuonſhire, of whome before yee haue heard, howe hee was appoynted to remayne at Fodringhey vnder ſafe cuſtody, at length was ſette at libertie, came to the Courte, and gote licence to paſſe the Seas, wente into Italy, where ſhortly after he ſickened, and dyed within foureteene dayes after hys ſickneſſe fyrſte tooke hym: he was honorably buryed in Padway.

The Lorde Courtney goeth ouer into Italy.

Thys Courtney was the onely ſonne and heyre of Henrye, Marques of Exeter, Couſin Germayne to King Henrye the eight, as is ſaid before.

For the ſaide King and hee were deſcended of two ſiſters, Elizabeth and Katherine, two of the daughters of Kyng Edwarde the fourth, whych propinquitie of bloud notwithſtandyng, the ſayde Marques, for poyntes of treaſon layde againſt hym, ſuffered at the Tower hil, the thirtith yeare of the raigne of King Henry the eight, to the greate doloure of the moſt of the ſubiectes of thys Realme, who for hys ſundry vertues, bare him greate fauour.

After whoſe death, this yong Gentleman hys ſonne, beeyng yet a childe, was committed priſoner to the Tower, where hee remayned vntyll the beginning of the raigne of thys Queene Mary (as before you haue hearde.)

Thys Gentleman as it appeared, was borne to bee a Priſoner, for from twelue yeares of age vnto thirtie, hee hadde ſcarce two yeares libertie, within the whiche time hee dyed, and obteyned quiet, whiche in his life he could neuer haue.

Ambaſſadors ſent to treate a peace betweene the Frenche king and the Emperoure.

In the moneth of May nexte followyng, Cardinall Poole, who hadde bin a great labourer for peace betwene the French Kyng and the Emperour, beeyng accompanyed with Steuen Gardiner Byſhop of Winchester, and Chancellor of Englande, the Earle of Arundell Lorde Stewarde, and the Lorde Paget, were ſent by the Kyng and Queene ouer the Sea to Calais, and from thence went to the Towne of Marke, where they mette with the Ambaſſadours of the Emperoure and the Frenche Kyng.

From the Emperoure were ſente the Byſhoppe of Arras, with other.

From the Frenche King was ſente the Cardinall of Loraine, & the Conneſtable of France.

In thys treatie, Cardinall Poole ſate as preſident and Umpiere in the name of the Queene of England.

This peace was greatly laboured, where at the firſte, there was muche hope, but in the ende nothing was concluded, wherefore the ſeuenteenth day of June, thys aſſembly was diſſolued, and the Engliſh Ambaſſadors returned agayne into Englande.

An.reg.3.

In the beginning of September.1555. Kyng Philip went ouer into Flanders to the Emperour hys father.

A greate flood encreaſed by rayne.

And in the moneth of October nexte following, fell ſo greate a rayne, that the abundance thereof cauſed the Thames to ſwell ſo hygh, that for the ſpace of foure or fyue dayes, the Boates and Barges rowed ouer all Sainte Georges fielde, and the water roſe ſo hygh at Weſtminſter, that lykewiſe a boate myghte haue bin rowed from the one ende of the Hall to the other.

Commiſsioners ſent to Oxforde.

About this time, the Byſhoppes of Lincolne, Glouceſter, and Briſtow, were ſent in commiſſion to Oxford by the Popes authoritie, to examine Ridley and Latimer, vpon certayne articles by them Preached, whiche if they woulde not recant, and conſente to the Popes doctrine, then hadde they power to proceede to ſentence agaynſte them as Heretikes, and to committe them ouer to the ſecular power.

Thoſe two Doctors neuertheleſſe ſtoode conſtantly to that whyche they hadde taught, and woulde not reuoke, for whyche cauſe, they were condemned, and after burned in the Towne ditche at Oxforde, the ſixtenth daye of October.

In the tyme of whoſe examination, bycauſe the Byſhoppes aforeſayde declared themſelues to bee the Popes Commiſſioners, neyther Ridley nor Latimer woulde doe them anye reuerence, but kepte theyr cappes on theyr heads, wherefore they were ſharpelye rebuked by the Byſhoppe of Lincolne, and one of the officers was commaunded to take off theyr cappes.

Of theſe menne, and the manner of theyr deathe, yee may reade at large in the Booke of the Monuments of the Churche.

A Parlia

The one and twentith of October, a Parliamente was holden at Weſtminſter, in the whyche amongſt other thyngs the Queene beeing perſwaded by the Cardinall (and other of hir Cleargie) that ſhee coulde not proſper, ſo long as ſhee kepte in hir handes any poſſeſſions of the Churche, dyd frankely and freely reſigne and render vnto them all thoſe reuenewes eccleſiaſticall, whych by the authoritie of Parliament, in the tyme of Kyng Henrye, hadde bin annexed to the Crowne, called the fyrſt frutes and tenthes of all Byſhopryckes, benefices, and Eccleſiaſticall promotions. The reſignation whereof, was a greate diminution of the reuenewes of the Crowne.

The death
Stephen G
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Wincheſte

Duryng the tyme of this Parliament, Stephen Gardiner Byſhoppe of Wincheſter, and Chancellor of Englande, dyed at hys houſe called Wincheſter place, beſyde Saint Marye Oueries in Southwarke, the ninth day of Nouember, whoſe corps was ſhortly after ſolemnely from thence conueyd to hys Churche of Wincheſter, and there buryed.

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After whoſe deathe, Nicholas Heathe Archebyſhoppe of Yorke, was preferred by the Queene to the office of the Chauncelloure.

1556

In the moneth of Marche nexte following, there was in manner no other talke, but of the greate preparation that was made for the Queenes lying in Childbed, who hadde alreadye taken vppe hir chamber, and ſundry Ladies and Gentlewomen were placed about hir in euerye office of the Court. In ſo muche, that all the Courte was full of Midwiues, Nurſſes, and Rockers, and this talke continued almoſt halfe a yeare, and was affirmed true by ſome of hir Phiſitions, and other perſons about hir. In ſo muche, that dyuers were puniſhed for ſaying the contrary.

And moreouer, commaundemente was gyuen in all Churches for Proceſſion, with ſupplications and prayers to bee made to Almightie God, for hir ſafe deliuerie. Yea and dyuers prayers were ſpecially made for that purpoſe.

A rumor
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And the ſayde rumor continued ſo long, that at the laſt, reporte was made, that ſhee was delyuered of a Prince, and for ioye thereof, Belles were rong, and Bonfiers made, not only in the Citie of London, but alſo in ſundrie places of the Realme, but in the ende, all proued cleane contrarie, and the ioy and expectatiō of the people vtterly fruſtrate: for ſhortly it was fully certified (almoſt to all men) that the Queene was as then neyther deliuered of childe, nor after was in hope to haue any.

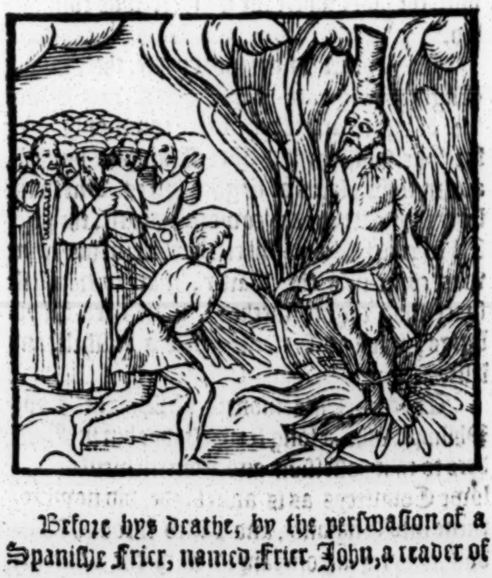
Of this the people ſpake diuerſly.

Some ſayde, that the rumor of the Queenes conception was ſpredde for a policie.

Some affirmed that ſhe was with childe, but it miſcaried.

Some other ſayd, that ſhee was deceiued by a Timpany, or other lyke diſeaſe, whereby ſhee thoughte ſhee was with childe, and was not. But what the troth was, I referre the reporte thereof to other that know more.

Aboute thys tyme, Brookes Byſhoppe of Glouceſter, was by the Cardinall ſente downe as Commiſſioner from the Pope to Oxforde, there to ſytte vppon the examination of Thomas Cranmer, Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburie, in ſuche things as ſhoulde bee layde to hys charge by John Story, and Thomas Martin, Doctors in the lawes, ſent ſpecially in commiſſion from the Queene. At which time, the ſayde Archebyſhoppe makyng lowe obeyſance to them that ſate in the Queenes name, ſhewed no token of reuerence to the Byſhoppe that was the Popes commiſſioner, who neuertheleſſe proceeded againſte hym as Judge, and conuicted hym of Hereſie. According to the whiche ſentence, the one and twentith day of Marche next followyng, hee was diſgraded by Edmonde Bonner and Thomas Thirleby, Byſhoppes of London and Ely, ſente downe for that purpoſe, and hee was burned in the ſame place where Ridley and Latimer before hadde ſuffered.



Before hys deathe, by the perſwaſion of a Spaniſhe Frier, named Frier John, a reader of Diuinitie in Oxforde, and by the counſayle of certayne other that putte him in hope of life and pardon, hee ſubſcribed to a recantation, wherein he ſubmitted hymſelfe wholly to the Churche of Rome, and continued in the ſame mind to outwarde appearance, vntill hee was broughte out of priſon, to goe to the fire. Afore whoſe execution, a Sermon was made by Doctor Cole, Deane of Poules, in Saint Maries Churche in Oxforde.

And in the ende of hys Sermon, the ſayde Doctor Cole prayed the people to encline their eares to ſuche things as the ſayde Cranmer woulde declare vnto them by hys owne mouth, for (ſaith hee) hee is a man verye repentaunte, and will heere before you all reuoke hys errors.

Neuertheleſſe, hee dyd cleane contrarye, and with manye teares proteſted that hee had ſubſcribed to the ſayde recantation agaynſte hys conſcience, onely for feare of deathe, and hope of lyfe (whyche ſeemed to bee true) for when hee came to the ſtake, and the fyre kyndled, hee putte hys ryghte hande into the fyre, and helde it there a good ſpace, ſaying, that the ſame hande ſhoulde fyrſte burne, bycauſe it held the penne to ſubſcribe agaynſte hys Lorde God.

Cardinall Poole made Archbyſhop of Canterbury

Immediately after the deathe of the ſayde Byſhoppe Cranmer, Cardinall Poole was made Archebyſhoppe of Caunterburye, who durying the lyfe of the other, woulde neuer be conſecrated Archebyſhoppe. Who ſo deſireth to ſee more of thys matter, maye ſee the ſame at large in the Booke of the Monumentes of the Churche, where you ſhall alſo fynde that about thys tyme many were in trouble for Religion.

Perſecution for religion.

Newgate ſet on fire.

The eyght and twentith daye of the aforeſayde moneth of Marche, by the negligence of the keepers mayde of the gaole of Newgate in London, who lefte a Candle where a greate deale of Strawe was, the ſame was ſette on fyre, and brente all the tymber worke on the Northe ſyde of the ſayd gate.

A conſpiracy.

The Sommer nexte followyng, was a newe conſpiracie broughte to lyghte, whyche was, to haue raiſed warre in the Realme agaynſt the Queene, for mayntenaunce whereof, theyr fyrſte enterpriſe was to haue robbed the treaſurie of the Queenes Exchequer at Weſtminſter, as it fell out afterwardes in proofe.

The vtterer of whyche conſpiracie was one White, who at the beginning was made priuie to the ſame, wherevpon dyuers of the conſpiracie, namely, Henrye Peckham, Danyell, Dethicke, Udall, Throckmorton, and Captayne Stanton, were apprehended, and dyuers other fled into Fraunce. Moreouer, Sir Anthony Kingſten knight was accuſed and apprehended for the ſame, and dyed in the way comming to London.

Sir Anthony Kingſton departeth thys lyfe.

Execution.

The eyght and twentith of Aprill, Throckmorton and Richarde Veale, were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartred.

The nintenth of May, Stanton was likewiſe executed.

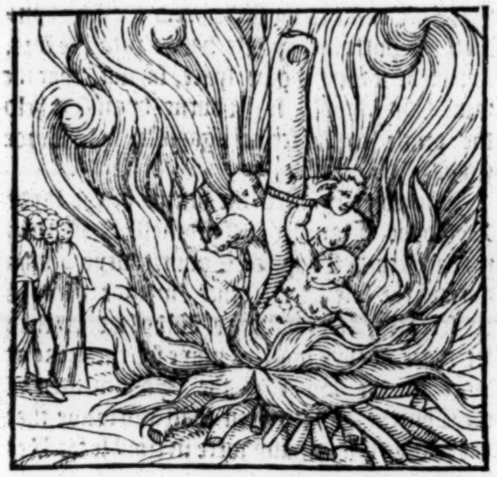
Ro. Greene.

The eyght of June, Roſſey, Dedike and Bedell ſuffered at Tiborne for the ſame offence.

Stow.

The eyghtenth of June, one Sands, yonger ſon to the Lord Sand s, was executed at Saint Thomas Waterings, for a robberie committed by him and others to the value of three M. pound.

The ſeuen and twentith of June, eleuen men and two women, were hadde out of Newgate, and in three cartes conueyd to Stratford the bowe, where for Religion, they were brente to aſhes.



An. reg. 4.

Execution.

The eight of July, in the beginning of thys fourth yeare of yͤ Queenes raigne, Henry Peckham and John Danyell were executed, and after they were dead, were headed on the Tower hill: theyr bodyes were buryed in Barking Church.

Great deathe.

This yeare, the hote burning feuers and other ſtraunge diſeaſes which began the yeare before, conſumed much people in all parts of Englande, but namely, of moſt auntient and graue men, ſo that in London, betwene the twentith of October, and the laſt of December, there dyed ſeauen Aldermen, whoſe names were Henrye Heardſon, Sir Richard Dobbes late Maior, ſir William Laxſton late Maior, Sir Henrye Hoblethorne late Maior, Sir John Champneis late Maior, Sir John Aileph late Sheriffe, and Sir John Greſſam late Maior.

An Amb dor out o Muſcouia. 1557

Aboute this time came to London an Ambaſſador to the Queene from the Emperoure of Cathai, Moſcouia, and Ruſſelande, who was honorably receiued by the Merchants of London, hauing trade in thoſe Countreys, who bare all hys coſtes and charges from the tyme of his entrie into Englande out of Scotlande (for thither by tempeſt of weather he was driuē, and there forced to land.) And after hys meſſage and Ambaſſade done to the Queene, hee departed agayne with three fayre Shyppes from Grauеſende into hys Countrey, when hee had remayned heere by the ſpace of two monethes and more.

Alſo aboute thys tyme, the Lorde Sturton, for a verye ſhamefull and wretched murther committed by hym vppon two Gentlemen, the father and the ſonne, of the ſurnames of Hargill, beeyng hys neere neighbors, was apprehended and committed to the Tower of London.

And although the Queene ſeemed to fauour hym muche, as one profeſſing the Catholyke Religion, yet when ſhee vnderſtode the truth of hys vile deede, ſhee abhorred hym, and commaunded that hee ſhoulde be vſed accordyng to Juſtice: wherefore ſhortly after, he was brought to Weſtminſter and there araigned and founde giltie, and hadde iudgemente as a murtherer to be hanged.

And for the ſame fact were lykewiſe condemned foure of his ſeruantes, and the ſeconde daye of Marche nexte following, the ſayde Lorde with hys ſayde ſeruauntes, were conueyde by the Queenes guarde from the Tower of London through the Citie, hee hauyng hys armes pinioned at hys backe, and hys legges bounde vnder the Horſe bellie, and ſo caryed to Saliſbury, where the ſixth daye of Marche nexte, hee was hanged in the market place, and his foure ſeruauntes were hanged in the Countrey, neere vnto the place where the murther was committed.

The Lord Sturton ha ged.

A great de and after gr at plen

Thys yeare for the more parte, there was in Englande a greate dearthe, namely of corne: for Wheate and Rye were commonly ſolde for fyue ſhillings and ſyxe ſhilings a buſſhell, and in ſome places at hygher prices. But in the later ende of the yeare toward Harueſt, the price fell ſo muche, and ſpecially after newe corne was come into the Barne, that within leſſe ſpace than eyghte weekes, from ſyxe Shyllyngs, it fell to ſyxteene pence a buſſhell, and leſſe.

The retur of K. Phili into Engla

Thys preſente moneth of Marche, Kyng Philippe, who a long ſeaſon hadde bin in Flanders to take poſſeſſion and gouernemente of the lowe Countreys as is aforeſayde, did nowe returne into England, and paſſed through London, beeyng accompanyed with the Queene, and diuers nobles of the Realme.

The foure and twentith of Aprill, Thomas Stafford, ſeconde ſonne to the Lord Stafforde with other, to the number of two and thirtie perſons, comming forthe of France by Sea, arriued at Scarbarrough in Yorkeſhire, where they toke the Caſtell, and helde the ſame two dayes, and then were taken without effuſion of bloud.

The ſayde Stafford and Richard Sanders, otherwiſe called Captayne Sanders, with three or foure others, of the which one was a French man, were ſente vp to London, and there committed to priſon in the Tower.

The ſaid Stafford and four others, were arraigned and condemned, wherevpon, the eyghte and twentith of May, beeyng Fridaye, the ſaid Stafforde was beheaded on the Tower hill, and on the morrowe three of his companye, as Strelley, Bradford, and Proctor, were drawen from the Tower to Tiborne, and there executed.

Their heads were ſette ouer the bridge, and theyr quarters ouer the gates aboute the ſame Citie.

Captaine Sanders had hys pardon, and ſo eſcaped.

The fyrſte of May, Thomas Percye was made Knyghte and after Lorde, and on the next daye hee was created Earle of Northumberlande.

The Queene gaue to him all the landes whych had bin his aunceſtors remaining at that time in hir handes.

In thys ſeaſon, although the Frenche Kyng (as was ſayd) was verye loth to haue warres wyth Englande, yet the Queene tangling hir ſelfe contrarye to promiſe in hir huſbands quarrell, ſente a defyance to the Frenche Kyng, by Clarenceaux Kyng of armes, who comming to the Citie of Remes where the ſayde King then lay, declared the ſame vnto hym the ſeuenth of June, being the Monday in Whitſon weeke, on the whyche daye, Garter and Norrey Kyng of armes, accompanyed with other Herraultes, and alſo with the Lorde Maior, and certayne of the Aldermen of the Citie of Londō, by ſounde of three Trumpettes, that rode before them, proclaymed open warre agaynſt the ſayde Frenche Kyng, fyrſte in Cheape ſyde, and after in other partes of the Citie, where cuſtomarily ſuche Proclamations are made, the Sheriffes ſtyll ridyng wyth the Herraultes, tyll they hadde made an ende, although the Lorde Maior brake off in Cheape ſyde, and went to Saynte Peters to heare ſeruice, and after to Poules, where according to the vſage then, hee wente a Proceſſion.

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h King.

Kyng Philippe bycauſe of the warres towardes, betwixte him and the Frenche Kyng, the ſixth of July paſſed ouer to Calais, and ſo into Flaunders, where on that ſyde the Seas hee made greate prouiſion for thoſe warres, at whyche tyme, there was greate talke among the common people, muttering that the Kyng makyng ſmall accompt of the Queene, ſoughte occaſions to be abſent from hir.

Neuertheleſſe, ſhe ſhortly after cauſed an army of a thouſand horſemen, and four thouſande fotemen, with two thouſande pioners, to bee tranſported ouer to hys ayde, vnder the leading of dyuers of the nobilitie, and other valiāt Captaynes, whoſe names partly followe.

The Earle of Pembroke, Captayne generall.

Sir Anthony Browne, Vicount Montagewe, Lieutenaunte generall vnder the ſayde Earle.

The Lorde Grey of Wilton Lorde Marſhall.

The Earle of Rutlande, generall of the horſemen.

The Lorde Clinton, nowe Earle of Lincolne, colonell of the fotemen.

The Lorde Ruſſell, nowe Earle of Bedforde.

The Lorde Robert Dudley, now Earle of Leiceſter, maiſter of the ordinance.

The Lord Thomas Howard.

Sir William Weſt, nowe Lorde de la Ware.

Sir Edwarde Windeſore, after Lorde Windeſore.

The Lord Bray.

Sir Edmonde Bridges, Lorde Chandos.

The Lord Ambroſe Dudley, now Earle of Warwike.

The Lord Henry Dudley.

Edward Randoll Eſquier, Sergeant maior.

Maiſter Whiteman, Treaſorer of the armye.

Edward Chamberlayne Eſquier, Captaine of the pioners.

Sir Richard Legh, trenchmaiſter.

John Hiegate Eſquier, Prouoſt Marſhall.

Thomas Heruy Eſquier, Muſter Maiſter.

Sir Peter Carew.

Sir William Courtney.

Sir Giles Stranguiſh.

Sir Tho. Finche, M. of the Camp, & other nobles, Knightes, and Gentlemen of righte approued valiancie, although diuers of them were ſuſpected to be Proteſtantes.

The fiftenth of July, the Lady Anne of Cleue departed thys life at Chelſey, and was honorably buryed at Weſtminſter the fifth of Auguſt, a Lady of righte commendable regarde, courteous, gentle, a good houſekeeper, and verye bountifull to hir ſeruauntes.

The eyghtenth of Auguſt, was a ſolemne obſequie celebrate in the Churche of Sainte Paule in London, for John Kyng of Portingale, who departed thys lyfe in Julye laſt paſt.

The Lorde Treaſorer was chiefe mourner.

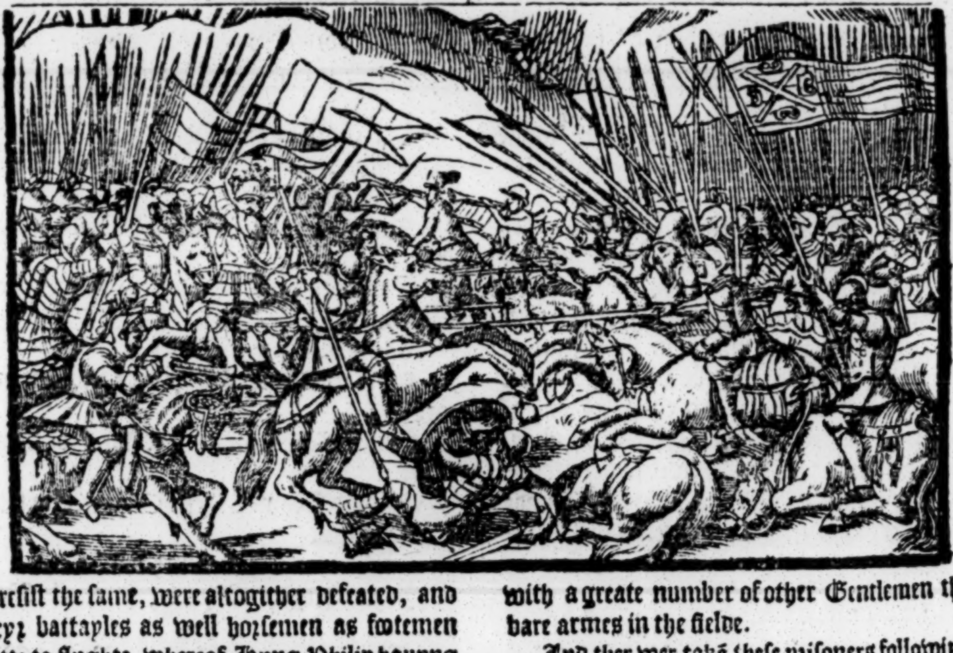
The Queenes army beeyng tranſported ouer to Calais (as before yee haue hearde) marched to ioyne with Kyng Philippes power, the whyche alreadye beeyng aſſembled, hadde inuaded the Frenche confynes, and beeing come before Sainte Quintines, planted a ſtrong ſiege before that Towne, to the reſcue whereof, the Frenche Kyng ſente a greate armye, bothe of Horſemenne and footemen, vnder the leadyng of the Conneſtable of Fraunce, whiche armye conſiſted of aboute nyne hundred men at armes, with as manye lyghte horſemen, ſeauen or eight hundred Reiſters, two and twentie enſignes of Lanſquenetz, and ſixteene enſignes of Frenche footemen.

Fifteene or ſixteene thouſand footemẽ, and a three or four thouſand horſemen.

They hadde alſo wyth them fiftene peeces of greate artillerie, to witte, ſixe double Cannons, foure long culuerings, the reſidue baſterd culueryngs, and other peeces of ſmaller molde.

The Conneſtable thus guarded, vppon S. Laurence daye, whyche is the tenth of Auguſt, approched the Towne, meaning to putte into the ſame ſuccours of more Souldyers, wyth Dandelot the Admirals brother, that was within the Towne not furniſhed with ſuche a gariſon as was thoughte expedient for the defence thereof agaynſte ſuche a power as Kyng Philip hadde prepared againſt it.

The Duke of Sauoy, and other Captaynes of the army that lay at ſiege before the Towne, aduertiſed of the Conneſtables commyng towards them, aſſembled the moſt parte of theyr horſemen togither, and with all ſpeede made towards a paſſage diſtant from the place wher the French army ſtoode houering, aboute a two Engliſhe myles, and beeyng gote ouer, they deuided themſelues into eyghte troupes of horſemẽ, led by the Erles of Aygmond, Horne, Mauſfield, the Dukes of Brunſwike and others, beeing in all to the number of fyue thouſand menne of armes beſyde the Swart Rutters and lyghte horſemen, whych gaue ſuche a furious and cruell charge vpon the Frenchmen, that they not able to reſiſt the ſame, were altogither defeated, and theyr battayles as well horſemen as footemen putte to flyghte, whereof Kyng Philip hauyng knowledge, purſued them with all his force, in whiche purſute, there were ſlayne of the Frenchmen a greate number, the chiefe whereof were theſe that follow. John of Bourbon Duke of Anghien, the Vicount of Turaine, the eldeſt ſon of Roch du Mayne, the Lorde of Chandenier, with a greate number of other Gentlemen that bare armes in the fielde.



And ther wer takẽ theſe priſoners following.

Priſoners name.

The Duke of Montmorencie Coneſtable of Fraunce, hurt with an Harquebuze ſhotte in the haunch.

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were Kni
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The Duke of Mountpencer, hurte in the heade.

The Duke of Longueville.

The Marſhall of Saint Andrewes.
The Lorde Lewes, brother to the Duke of Mantoa.
Monſieur de Vaſſe.
The Baron of Curſon.
Monſieur de la Roche du Maine.
The Reingraue Coronell of the Almaines.
Moreouer the Counte de Roche Foucault.
Monſieur d'Obigny
Monſieur de Meru. } Sonnes to the
Monſieur de Montbrun. } Coneſtable.
Monſieur de Biron.
Monſieur de la Chapelle de Biron.
Monſieur de Saint Heran.

Beſide many other Gentlemen and Captaines of good account and eſtimation. Yet there eſcaped the more part of the French horſemen, and many of theyr footmen with certain of their captains of honor, as the duke of Neuers, the Prince of Conde, brother to the king of Nauerre. The Erle of Montmorencie, eldeſt ſonne to the Coneſtable, the erle of Sancerre, Monſier de Burdillon, and other of the Barons of France.

Within two or three dayes after this ouerthrow, King Philip with the Engliſh armie vnder the gouernment of the Erle of Pembroke, and others, came to the ſiege afore S. Quintines, and ſo was the ſiege greatly reenforced, and on the .xxvij. of Auguſt by the ſpeciall ayde and helpe of the Engliſhmen, the Towne of Saint Quintine was taken. For when the other Souldiours after diuerſe aſſaultes were repulſed and gaue ouer, the Engliſh men of a ſtoute courage gaue a newe onſet, by reaſon whereof the towne was taken. And in rewarde of their well doing, King Phillip graunted them the ſaccage of the ſayde towne. But the Swart Rutters which keepe no rule when they be ſtrongeſt, ſet vpon the Engliſh men, in taking of the ſpoyle, and killed a greate number of them.

L.Henri: y ſlaine.

This grudge was with much difficultie appeaſed, and men thought that if the Engliſhmen being much fewer in nũber had not bin oppreſſed with the multitude of the other, that it woulde haue growne to a great ſlaughter on both parts. At the aſſault the Lorde Henrie Dudley, yongeſt ſonne to the Duke of Northumberlande was ſlaine with the ſhotte of a great peece, as he ſtouped vpon his approch to the wall, and ſtayed to rippe his Hoſe ouer the knee, thereby to haue bene the more apt and nymble to the aſſault.

After the winning of this towne, newes in poſt were brought into England to the Queene, who cauſed general Proceſſions to be made, and *Te Deum* to be ſung, giuing all laude and prayſe to almightie God for this great victorie. And in the ſtreetes of euerie Citie and Towne of the Realme were made Bonefires with greate reioyſing: which ſodaine ſhort gladneſſe, turned verie ſhortly after to great long ſorrow. For if ought were won by the hauing of Saint Quintines, England gat nothing at all, for the gaine thereof came onely to King Philip. But the loſſe of Calais, Hammes and Guiſnes, with all the Countrey on that ſide the Sea (which followed ſoone after) was ſuche a buffet to Englande, as happened not in more than an hundred yeare before, and a diſhonor wherewith this realme ſhall be blotted, vntill God ſhall giue power to redub it with ſome like requitall to the French.

Doctor Weſton.

Doctor Weſton being (as you haue heard before) Prolocutor of the Conuocation houſe, was at this time in diſpleaſure with Cardinall Poole, and other Biſhops, bycauſe he was vnwilling to reſigne his Deanerie of Weſtminſter to the Queene, whoſe purpoſe was to place there (as in olde time before) the Religion of Monks, whom in deede he fauoured not, although in all other things he ſtoode with the Church of Rome. Neuertheleſſe, by verye importune ſuyte, or rather compulſion, he with his Colledges reſigned the Deanrie of Weſtminſter. In recõpence whereof he was made Deane of Windſore, where not long after he was taken in adulterie, and for that fact was by the Cardinall depriued of all his ſpirituall liuings, from whoſe ſentence he appealed to the court of Rome. For the folowing of which appeale he ſought ſecretly to depart the realme. But he was apprehended by the way, and committed to the tower of London, where he remayned priſoner, vntill (by the death of Queene Marie) Queene Elizabeth came to the Crowne, by whome he was ſet at libertie and forthwith fell ſicke and died.

The common talke was, that if hee had not ſo ſodainly dyed, he would haue diſcloſed the purpoſe of the chiefe of the Cleargie, meaning the Cardinall, whiche was to haue taken vp King Henries bodie at Windſore, and to haue burnt it as many thought.

The thirtith of Nouember, being Saint Andrewes day, in the fore noone, the Queene came from Saint Iames to hir palaice at Weſtminſter, where ſhe hearde Maſſe, at the whiche, Sir Thomas Treſſham Knight receyued the order of the Croſſe, and was inſtituted Lord of Saint Iohns of Ieruſalem in England.

Calais not furniſhed with a ſufficient nũber of men.

At this tyme, although there was open hoſtilitie and warre betwene England and France, yet contrarie to the common cuſtome afore vſed, the towne of Calais and the fortes there aboutes were not ſupplyed with anye newe accrewes of Souldiers, but rather withdrawne from thence, and diſcharged, which negligence was not vnknowne to the enimy, who long before had practiſed the winning of the ſayd towne and country.

The French king therefore being ſharplye nettled with the late loſſe of Saint Quintines, and a great peece of his Countrey adioyning, and deſirous of reuenge, thought it not meete to let ſlip this occaſion, but rather to aduance the ſame with all expedition, according to the plot layd by the Coneſtable afore hande: the king yet neuertheleſſe hauing an armie in a readines (although the Conneſtable were nowe priſoner, and therefore could not be preſent himſelf) to employ wher moſt aduantage ſhould appeare, determined with al ſpeed to put in prouſe the enterprice of Calais, which long and many tymes before was purpoſed vpon, as it was well knowne.

The Duke of Guiſe with a great armie commeth toward Calais.

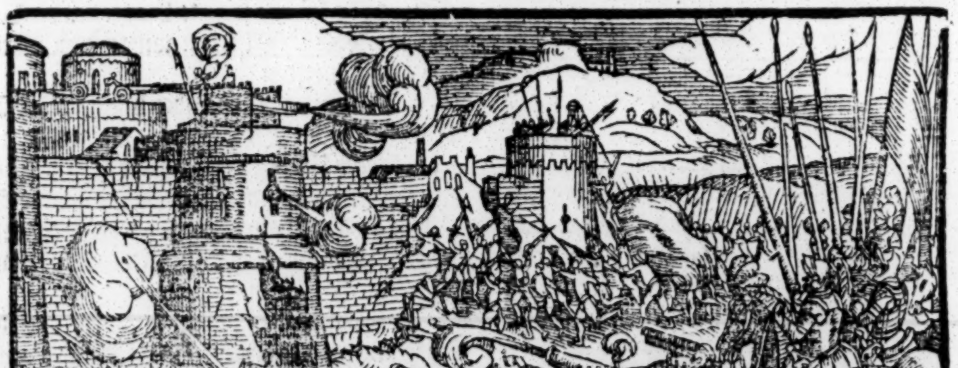
This practiſe was not ſecrete, but that the Deputies of Calais, and Guiſnes had ſome intelligence therof, and infourmed the Queene and hir counſaile accordingly, as well by letters, as by ſufficient Meſſengers: for not onely John Hiſfield maiſter of the ordinaunce was ſent from thence to giue aduertiſement of the French kings purpoſe, and to haue a ſupplie of things neceſſarie for the mounting of the great Artillerie whereof he had charge, but alſo ſir Rauſe Chamberleyne, Captain of the Caſtell, was likewiſe ſent to giue the like aduertiſement, who returned not paſt two or three dayes before the Duke of Guiſe came thither with the armie. And ſo eyther by wilful negligence, or lacke of credite by the Queenes Counſaile here, this great caſe was ſo ſlenderly regarded, that no prouiſion of defence was made, vntill it was ſomewhat too late.

The Duke of Guiſe beeing generall of the French armie, proceeded in this enterpriſe wyth maruellous ſpeede and no leſſe policie. For approching the Engliſh frontier vnder color to vittaile Bollongne and Arde, hee entred the ſame vpon a ſodaine on Newyeares day, a ſorie little plot of grounde, entrenched at Sandgate, and then deuided his armie into two partes, ſending one part with certaine peeces of great artillerie along the Downes by the ſea ſide towardes Ricebanke: and the other part furniſhed alſo with batterie peeces, marched ſtraight forth to Newnam bridge, meaning to batter theſe two Fortes both at one tyme, which thing he did with ſuch readie diſpatch, that comming thither verie late in the euening, he was Maſter of both by the next morning: where at the firſt ſhot diſcharged at Newnam bridge, the head of the maſter gunner of that peece whoſe name was Horſley was clene ſtriken off. The captain hauing ſent to the lord Deputie of Calais for ſome ſupplie of men was anſwered that if he perceyued the enimies force to be ſuche, whereby his peece ſhoulde growe to be in anye daunger, that then he ſhould choke vp the artillerie, and retire with his men vnto Calais for defence of the town, where they ſtood in great want of mē alſo, euen to the perill of loſing of the whole if the enimies came forward to beſiege it. Herevpon the captaine within Newnam bridge perceyuing he might haue no ſuccors, retired wͭ his ſouldiers vnto Calais, in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that the Frenchmen perceiued it not of a pretie while, in ſo much yͭ they ſhot ſtil at the fort, when there was not a man within it to make reſiſtance, & by that time yͭ they were come to Calais, the other part of the French army that went by the ſea ſide wͭ their batterie, had won Ricebanke, being abandoned to their handes. The next day the Frenchmen with fiue double Canons & three Culuerings, began a battrie frō the Sandhilles next Ricebank againſt the curtayne betwixt the water gate, & the ſouldiers priſon on the wal, & continued the ſame by the ſpace of two or three dayes, vntill they had made a little breache next vnto the water gate, which neuertheleſſe was not yet aſſaultable: for yͭ which was broken in the day, was by them within the

1558

Newnam bridge taken by the Frenc

Ricebacke ken by the French.



towne made vp againe in the night ſtronger than before. But the batterie was not begonne there by the French, for that they intended to enter in that place, but rather to abuſe the Engliſhe, to haue the leſſe regarde to the defence of the Caſtell, which was the weakeſt part of the towne, and the place where they were aſcerteyned by theyr eſpyals to winne an eaſie entrie: ſo that whyle our people trauayled fondly to defende that counterfeyte breache of the towne wall, the Duke had in the meane ſeaſon planted fiftene double Canons agaynſt the Caſtell, which Caſtell beeing conſidered by the rulers of the Towne, to be of no ſuch force as might reſiſt the batterie of the Canon (by reaſon it was olde and without any Rampires) it was deuiſed to make a traine with certaine Barelles of powder to this purpoſe, that when the French men ſhoulde enter (as they well knew that there they would) to haue fired the ſaid traine, and blowne vp the keepe, and for that purpoſe left neuer a man within to defende it. But the Frenchmen hauing paſſed through the ditche full of water, and therby with their clothes wringing wette as they paſſed ouer the trayne, they moyſted ſo the powder, that it woulde not take fire when it was giuen, and herevpon the French men eſpying the traine, auoyded the ſame, ſo as that deuiſe came to no purpoſe, and without any reſiſtance they entred the Caſtell, and thought to haue entred the towne by that way. But by the prowes and hardie courage of ſir Anthonie Ager knight, and Marſhal of the towne, with his ſouldiours they were repulſed, and driuen backe again into the Caſtell, and ſo hard followed that oure men forced them to cloſe and ſhutte the Caſtell gate for their ſuretie, leaſt it ſhould haue bene recouered agaynſt them, as it was once attempted by ſir Anthonie Ager, who there with hys ſonne and heyre, and a Purſeuant at Armes called Calais, with diuerſe other, to the number of three or foure ſkore Engliſhmen loſt their lyues.

The ſame night after the recule of the French men, whoſe number ſo encreaſed in the Caſtell, that the towne was not able to reſiſt their force, the Lorde Wentworth beeing Deputie of the Towne, appoynted Nicholas Fellow, *alias* Guines, and Richard Turpine, *alias* Hammes, to go to the Frenche within the Caſtell, to demaunde Parlee, wherevnto they aſſented, put forth of the poſterne two French Gentlemen, and in pledge for them receyued into the Caſtell John Hiefield Maiſter of the Ordinance, and Edmonde Hall one of the Coneſtables of the Staple. Herevpon they falling in talke aboute a compoſition: at length after ſome long debating of the matter, they concluded in this ſort. Firſt that the Towne with all the great artillerie, vittayles, and muniſtion, ſhould be freely yeelded to the French king, the lyues of the Inhabitants onely ſaued, to whõ ſafe conduct ſhoulde bee graunted to paſſe where they lyſted, ſauing the Lorde Deputie with fiftie ſuch other as the duke ſhould appoynt, to remaine priſoners, and be put to their raunſome.

Calais deliuered to the French.

The next morning, the Frenchmen entred and poſſeſſed the Towne, and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commaunded to leaue theyr houſes, and to goe to certaine places appoynted for them to remain in, til order might be taken for their ſending away.

The places thus appoynted for them to remaine in, were chiefly foure, the two Churches of our Ladie, and Saint Nicholas, the Deputies houſe, and the Staple, where they reſted a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day vntil three of the clock at after noone, without either meat or drinke.

And while they were thus in the Churches, and thoſe other places, the Duke of Guiſe in the name of the French king, in their hearings made a Proclamation, ſtraytly charging all and euery perſon that were Inhabitants of the Towne of Calais, hauing about them any money, plate, or iewels, to the value of one groate, to bring the ſame forthwith, and lay it downe vpon the high Aulters of the ſayde Churches vppon paine of death, bearing them in hand alſo, that they ſhould be ſearched. By reaſon of which Proclamation, there was made a great and ſorrowfull offertorie.

And while they were at this offring within the Churches, the Frenchmen entred into theyr houſes, and ryfled the ſame, where was found ineſtimable ryches and treaſure: but ſpecially of ordinance, armor, and other munition.

About two of the clocke the next day at after Noone, beeing the ſeuenth of Januarie, a greate number of the meaneſt ſort, were ſuffered to paſſe out of the towne in ſafetie, being garded through the armie with a number of Scottiſh light horſemen, who vſed the Engliſh men very well and friendly, and after this euery day for the ſpace of three or four days togither, there were ſent away, diuerſe companies of them till all were auoyded thoſe only excepted, that were appoynted to be reſerued for Priſoners, as the Lorde Wentworth, and others.

The garniſon of ſouldiours that were in Calais.

There were in the towne of Calais fiue hundred Engliſh ſouldiours ordinarie, and no mo. And of the towneſmen not fully two hundred fighting mẽ (a ſmall garniſon for yͤ defence of ſuch a towne) and there were in the whole number of men, women, and children, as they were accompted (when they went out of the gate) foure thouſand and two hundred perſons. But the Lorde Wentworth Deputie of Calais, ſir Rauf Chãberlaine Captain of the Caſtell, John Harleſton

Captaine of Ricebanke, Nicholas Alexander Captaine of Newnam bridge, Edward Grymſtone the Comptroller, Iohn Rogers Surueyor, with other, to the number of fiftie (as aforeſayde) ſuch as it pleaſed the Duke of Guiſe to appoynt, were ſent priſoners into France.

Thus haue ye heard the diſcourſe of the ouerthrow and loſſe of the towne of Calais, the which enterprice was begonne and ended in leſſe than eight dayes, to the great maruaile of the worlde, that a towne of ſuch ſtrength, and ſo well furniſhed of al things as that was, (ſufficient numbers of men of warre onely excepted) ſhould ſo ſodainly be taken and conquered, but moſt ſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, what time all the Countrey about being Mariſhe grounde, is commonly ouerflowne with water.

The ſayde Towne was wonne from the French king by king Edwarde the thirde, in the time of Philip de Valois then French king, and being in poſſeſſion of the kings of Englande two hundred. xj. yeares, was in the tyme of Philippe and Mary King and Queene of Englande loſt within leſſe than eight dayes, being the moſt notable fort that England had. For the winning whereof, king Edwarde aforeſayde, in the. xxj. yeare of his raigne, was faine to continue a ſiege eleuen Monethes and more. Wherefore it was iudged of all men, that it coulde not haue come ſo to paſſe, without ſome ſecrete trecherie.

Here is alſo to be noted, that when Queene Mary and hir Counſaile hearde credibly of the French mens ſodaine approch to that towne, ſhe with all ſpeede poſſible (but ſomewhat too late) rayſed a greate power for the reſkue thereof, the which comming to Douer, ſtayed there aboutes till the towne was wonne, either for that theyr whole numbers was not come togyther, or for that there were not Shippes readie ſufficient to paſſe them ouer, although the winde and weather ſerued verie well to haue tranſported them thyther, till the Sunday at night after the Towne was deliuered: for then began a marueylous ſore and rigorous tempeſt, continuing the ſpace of foure or fiue dayes togither, that the like had not beene ſene in the remembrance of man. Wherefore ſome ſayd that yͤ ſame came to paſſe through Nigromancie, and that the Diuell was rayſed vp and become Frenche, the truth whereof is knowne (ſayth maiſter Grafton) to God.

A terrible tempeſt.

Grafton.

True it is that after the ſayde tempeſt beganne, for the time it laſted, no ſhippe coulde well brooke the Seas, by reaſon of the outragious ſtormes. And ſuch of the Queenes ſhippes as did then aduenture the paſſage, were ſo ſhaken and torne with the violence of the weather, that they were forced to returne in great danger, and not without loſſe of all their tackle and furniture, ſo that if this tempeſtnous weather had not chaunced, it was thought that the army ſhould haue paſſed to haue giuen ſome ſuccors to Guiſnes, and to haue attempted the recouerie of Calais. But if the ſame armie might haue beene readie to haue tranſported ouer in time, before the loſſe of Calais, and whileſt the weather was moſte calme and ſweete, as was poſſible for that tyme of the yeare, the towne might haue beene preſerued, and the other peeces whiche through want of tymely ſuccours came into the enimies poſſeſſion. And thus by negligence of the Counſaile at home, cõſpiracie of traytors elſwhere, force and falſe practiſe of enimies, holpen by the rage of moſte terrible tempeſtes of contrarie windes and weather, thys famous Fort of Calais was brought agayne and left in the hands and poſſeſſion of the French.

So ſoone as this Duke of Guiſe, (contrarie to all expectation) had in ſo fewe dayes gayned this ſtrong towne of Calais (afore thought impregnable) and had put the ſame in ſuch order as beſt ſeemed for his aduauntage, proude of the ſpoyle, and preſſing forwarde vppon his good fortune, without giuing long time to the reſidue of the Captaines of the Fortes there, to breathe vpon their buſineſſe, the. xiij. day of the ſayd Moneth being Thurſday, with all prouiſion requiſite for a ſiege, marched with his armie from Calais, vnto the towne and fort of Guiſnes, fiue myles diſtant from thence. Of which Towne and Caſtell, at the ſame time there was Captaine a valiant Baron of England, called William, Lord Gray of Wilton, who not without cauſe ſuſpecting a ſiege at hande, and knowing the Towne of Guiſnes to be of ſmall force, as being large in compaſſe, without walles or Bulwarkes, cloſed onely with a Trench, before the Frenchmens arriuall, had cauſed all the Inhabitants of the town to auoyde, and ſo many of them as were able to beare armes, he cauſed to retyre into the Caſtell, which was a place well fortified with ſtrong and maſſie Bulwarkes of Bricke, hauing alſo a high and mightie Tower, of great force and ſtrength, called the Keepe.

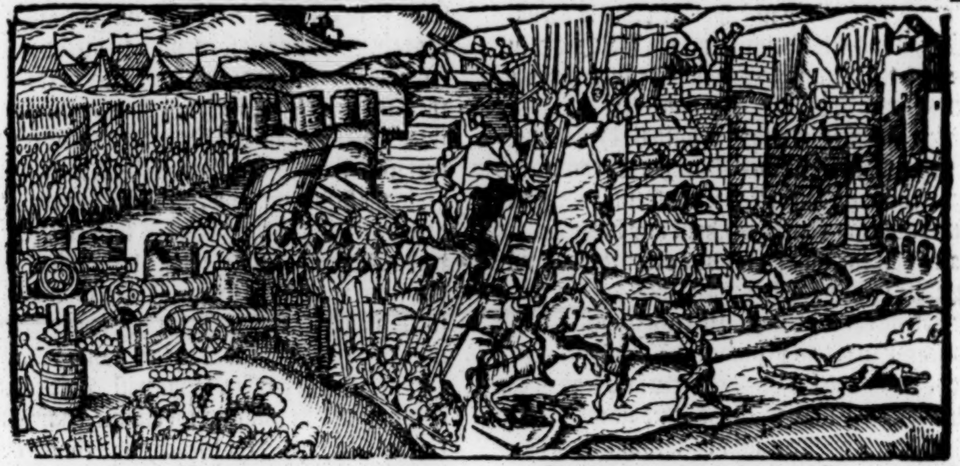
The towne being thus abandoned, the French men had the more eaſie approche to the Caſtell, who thinking to finde quiet lodging in thoſe vacant houſes, entred the ſame without any feare. And being yͤ night at their reſt (as they thought) a choſen bande of ſouldiours appoynted by the Lorde Gray, iſſued out by a poſterne of the ſayde Caſtell, and flue no ſmall number of their ſleepie gueſtes, and the reſt they put out of their new lodgings, and maugre the Duke and all the French power, conſumed all the houſes of the Towne with fire. That notwithſtanding, the ſayd duke with all diligence began his trenches, and albeit the ſhotte of the great artillerie from the Caſtell was terrible, and gaue him great impeachment, yet did he continue his worke without intermiſſion, and for examples ſake wrought in his owne perſon as a common Pioner or labourer. So that within leſſe than three dayes, he brought to the number of .xxxv. batterie peeces, hard to the brim of the Caſtell ditche, to batter the ſame on all ſides, as wel forth right as a croſſe. But his principall batterie, he planted agaynſt the ſtrongeſt Bulwarke of all, called Mary Bulwarke, thinking by gayning of the ſtrōger to come more eaſily by the weaker.

tyne.

rie layde e Mary arke.

On Monday morning therefore by the breake of day, they had layde two batteries to the ſayde Bulwark .xiij. Cannons in the one, & nine in the other, with which they plied it ſo well, as that by noone they had not onely diſmounted their counter batterie within, but alſo cleane cut away the hope of Bricke of the whole forefront of their Bulwarkes, whereof the filling being but of late digged earth, did crimble away, which the enimie finding about two of the clocke in the ſame after noone, ſent fortie or fiftie forlorne Boyes wyth ſwordes and targets to view & aſſay the breach. The ditch at that place before the batterie was not .xxiiij. foote brode, nowe aſſuredly not a dozen, nor in depth aboue a mans knees, wherefore with ſmall adoe they came to the breache, and with as little paine came vp the ſame, the climbe was ſo eaſie, from whence hauing diſcharged certaine Piſtolles vpon the Engliſh men, and receyued a few puſhes of the Pyke, they retyred, and making report of the eaſineſſe of the breache, ſtreight a bande or two of Gaſcoignes (as it was thought threw themſelues into the ditche, and vp they came. Thē a little more earneſtly the Engliſh men leaned to theyr tackling, theyr flankers walked, theyr Pykes, theyr Culuers, their pots of wildfire were lent them, the Harquebuſh ſaluted them, ſo as ioly maiſter Gaſcoigne was ſet down with more haſt than he came vp with good ſpeede, and ſo ended Mondayes worke, ſauing that vpon the retyre from the aſſault, they gaue ſeuen or eight ſuch terrible tyres of batterie, as tooke cleane away from them within, the toppe of theyr Vawmure and Maundes, leauing them all open to the Canons mouth. Whereby ſurely but for night that came on, the Engliſhmen had beene forced to haue abandoned the place.

The Gaſcoignes put backe.



At this aſſault was ſlaine of Gentlemen, one captaine Bourne an Engliſhman, verie valiant, alſo a Spaniſh Gentleman, and common ſouldiours to the number of fortie or fiftie. There was alſo ſore hurt at the ſame aſſault, one other Spaniſh Captaine, with diuerſe other, whom for the auoyding of tediouſneſſe I let paſſe.

de commen- s soul-

At night the Lorde Gray came to the Bulwarke, and hauing rendred thankes to God for that dayes good ſucceſſe, did greatly commende them all for theyr manfull defence and valiaunt behauiour, exhorting them to continue therein, as the onely thing wherein their ſafetie and good name did reſt.

The batterie (as before is tolde) hauing layd the Bulwarkes open, they within were enforced for winning of a new Vawmure, to entrench within the Bulwarke ſixe foote deepe, and nine in thickneſſe, which marueilouſly did ſtrengthen the peece, the ſame being of no great largeneſſe before.

By the next day beeing Tueſday, they had planted two batteries mo, the one in the Market place of the Towne, to beate a Curteyne of the bodie of the Caſtell, of ſixe Canons, the other vpon the Rampire of the towne of three peeces, to beate the Catte and a flanker of the Barbican, which two garded one ſide of the Mary bulwark.

This morning they beſtowed moſt in battering at the Flankers, which the day before they had felt, and in deede wanne euerie one from them within, ſauing that of the Catte, which lay high and ſomewhat ſecrete, and an other at the ende of a Bray by the gate on the other ſide of the Bulwarke, all the reſt, as thoſe of the garden Bulwarke which chiefly beheld the maine breach of the Barbican, and of the Keepe, were quite bereued them. And beſides the enimie continually interteyned the breach, with. viij. or. ix. tires yͤ hour.

The daunger which my lord Gray eſcaped.

The Swiſſes and Gaſcoigns giue the aſſault.

In the afternoone about the ſame houre, that they made their attempt the day afore, a regimēt of Swiſſes, with certain bands of Frenchmē approched the dike, as if preſently they would haue giuen the aſſault, but there they did ſtay, ſending to the breach only a captain or two, ſeeking therby to haue diſcouered what flankers yet were left to them within, wherin they were preuented, the L. Gray hauing before warned the gūners not to diſcloſe them, but vpon extremity. And thus after an houres play with the harquebuſh only, and a light offer or two of approche, this people retired them, & gaue the Canon place againe, which by night had driuen them within a newe to become moldwarps, & to entrench thēſelues with all ſpeed poſſible. The morrow being Wedneſday, by the peepe of day, all the batteries began, & without intermiſſion held on till one of the clocke in the after noone, & eſpecially yͭ in yͤ market place ſo preuailed as hauing cleane ruined the old wall, did driue through the rampire, and a new countermure of earth rayſed vpon the ſame, where the L. Gray himſelfe ſitting vpō a forme, with ſir Henry Palmer, and maiſter Lewes Diue his L. couſin and deputie, made a faire eſcape, the forme being ſtriken a ſunder vnder thē without any further harm to any of them, though ſundrie other that day and the other following loſt their liues on the ſame curteyn by the foreſayd battrie, which ful in flank did beat it, wherein yet was his Lordſhips onely abode as his chiefeſt place to view and regard the behauiour and need of all the other limmes, from which alſo a quoite might be throwne into Mary bulwarke. The enimies Canon (as is ſayde) hauing playd thus all the morning, and wel ſearched as they thought euery corner that flankers might lurke in, about the foreſaid houre of one of the clock, the Engliſhmē might deſcrie the trench before the breach to be ſtuffed with Enſignes, the L. Gray ſtreight expecting that which followed, gaue word incontinently to euery place to ſtand on their gard, encoraging euery man to continue in their wel begon endeuor. A tower yͭ was called Webs tower, & yet ſtāding, which flāked one ſide of the beaten bulwarke, he ſtuffed with. xx. of the beſt ſhot wͭ curriers. Theſe things no ſooner thus ordred, but that. viij. or. ix. enſignes of Swiſſes, & three of Gaſcoignes, do preſent themſelues vpon the counterſcarfe, & without ſtay the Gaſcoignes flew into the ditch, run vp the breach, whom they within receyue with harquebuſh ſhot, but they requite the Engliſhmen againe with two for one. The top of the vawmure or rather trench, the enimie boldly approcheth, the pyke is offred, to hād blowes it cōmeth. Then the Swiſſe with a ſtately leaſure ſteppeth into the ditche, & cloſe togither marcheth vp the breach, the fight increaſeth, waxeth very hote, the breach all couered with the enimies. The ſmall ſhot in Webbes tower began now their parts, no bullet that went in vaine, on the other ſide againe. xx. of the Spaniards on the inſide of the Brayes had laid themſelues cloſe till the heate of the aſſault, & then ſhewing thēſelues, did no leſſe gall the enimies thā the tower. Thus went it no luſtilier aſſayled thā brauely defended. At laſt after an hours fight & more, the gouernors without, finding the great ſlaughter that theyrs went to, & ſmall auaile, and perceyuing the two litle Caſemates of the tower & Brayes to be the chiefeſt annoyances, did cauſe a retire to be ſounded, & withall three or four of the canōs in yͤ market place, to be turned vpō Webs tower, yͭ which at two tyres brought cleane downe the ſame vpō the ſoldiers heads, wherin two or three were ſlain outright, others hurt to death, & who eſcaped beſt, ſo maimed or bruſed, as they wer no more able to ſerue. The enimie this while hauing breathed, & a brace of. C. ſhots put forth only to attend vpō the few Spaniards that kept the corners of the brays the aſſault of freſh is begon, & their beaten bandes with new companies relieued. The L. Gray alſo ſent into the bulwarke two. C. freſh men. Now grew the fight heauy vpō the Engliſhmen, al their defence reſting in the pike & bill, their chiefeſt flankers being gone, their places to beſtow ſhot in taken from them, their fire workes in maner ſpent, the Spaniſh ſhot on the other ſide ſo ouerlayd, as not one of them but was eyther ſlain or marred, ere a quarter of yͤ aſſault was paſt. The eaſineſſe of the fight thus alluring the enimie, vnappointed companies flew to the breach, and courage was on euerie ſide with them, what hauock they made it is not hard to geſſe. My L. Gray perceyuing the extremitie, ſent to the two forenamed flākers, that they ſhould no longer ſpare. They ſtreight wēt off, the ditches and breach being couered with men. Theſe vnlooked for gueſts, made the enimie that was cōming to pauſe, and the other alreadie come to repent their haſt. Three or foure bouts of theſe ſalutations began to cleare well the breach, though the ditch grew the fuller at night. At laſt parted with no great triūph of others winnings, (for as the Engliſhmen within wēt not ſcotfree) ſo ſurely no ſmall number of their enimies carkaſſes, toke vp their lodgings in the ditch yͭ night.

My L. Gray this night came into the Bulwarke, where after prayſe firſt to God, hee gaue thanks and cōmendations to them all. The ſlain men he cauſed to be buried, the hurt to be remoued and looked vnto, ſawe the breach repayred, enquyred of their lackes, and as he might ſupplyed the ſame. They that were great could not be helped, as cornepowder, fireworks, yea & pikes began to faile vs. The moſt part of the night he here beſtowed, & longer as was thought had taried, had not a ſkaberdleſſe ſword about one of the ſouldiers as he went in the throng and darke amongſt thē, thruſt him almoſt through the foote, wherupon he withdrew him to be dreſſed, vſing firſt vnto the ſouldiors an exhortation to acquite themſelues no leſſe valiantly the next day, aſſuring them, that one or two more ſuch bankets as this laſt, gyuen to the enimie, would coole their courages for any mo aſſaultes. This night now, great noiſe & working was heard in the ditch, wherevpon the Bulwark once or twiſe was on alarme. At the laſt with Creſſets it was eſpied, that they were making a bridge. The morning came, and then the ſame was ſeene to bee finiſhed, emptie Caskes with ropes faſtned togither, & ſawed bordes layd theron. This yet did but put them within, in a certaintie of that which before they accōpted of, & ſtood prepared for. To be ſhort, the enimies ſpent all the day till it was full two of the clocke in batterie, & beating at the two laſt flankers, which at length they won frō them within, & the gunners of either ſlain, wherupon the L. Gray taking coūſaile of ſir Henry Palmer, M. Lewes Diue, and Montoragon the leader of the Spaniards, it was reſolued, that there might be order to make a fucacie within the bulwarke, and preſently to withdraw all frō thence, ſauing a certain for a face and ſtale to til in the enimy, & thē to haue blowen it vp whole. In this meane time, the duke of Guiſe hauing giuen order to Mon. Dandelot Coronell of the French footmen, yͭ he with his bandes ſhould be in a readineſſe to giue the aſſault when ſigne ſhoulde be giuen, he withdrewe him to an higher ground, from whence he might plainely diſcouer the behauior as wel of his ſouldiors in the aſſault giuing, as alſo of the defendants in anſwering the ſame, and perceyuing not ſo many of the Engliſh part appearing for defence (as he doubted ther would) gaue order forthwith, that a regiment of his moſt forwarde Lancequenets ſhoulde mount the breach, to open the firſt paſſage, and that M. Dandelot with his French foote bandes ſhoulde backe them, which order was followed with ſuch hote haſt, and deſperate hardineſſe, that entring a deepe ditch full of water from the bottom, wherof to the top of the breach, in ſome places was well nere fortie feet, ẇout feare either of the water beneath, or the fire aboue, they mounted the breach. And whereas the duke had prepared (as ye haue heard) bridges made of plankebordes, borne vp with caskes and emptie pipes, tied one to another, for his men to paſſe the ſayd ditch, many of them now at this aſſault, without care of thoſe bridges, plunged into the water, and tooke the next way to come to the aſſault, which hote haſt notwithſtanding, the aſſaylants were at the firſt ſo ſtoutly repulſed and put backe by the defendants, being furniſhed with great ſtore of wildfire, and other fucaſies for the purpoſe, that they were turned headlong one vpon another, much faſter than they came vp, not without great waſt & ſlaughter of their beſt and moſt forward ſoldiors, to the ſmall comfort of the ſtoute duke, who (as is ſayde before) ſtood all this while vpon a little hill to behold this buſineſſe. Wherefore not enduring this ſight any longer, as a man enraged, ran among his men, ſo reprouing ſome, and encouraging other, that the aſſault was foote hote renued, with much more vehemencie and furie than before, and with no leſſe ſturdie obſtinacie and deſperation receyued by the defendants, whereby all the breach beneath was filled with French carcaſſes. This notwithſtanding, the Duke ſtill redoubled his forces with freſh companies, and continued ſo many aſſaults one vpon another, that at the laſt charge, being moſt vehement of all the other, the Engliſh men beyng tyred, and greatly miniſhed in theyr numbers, by ſlaughter and bloudie woundes, were of fine force driuen to auoyd, and ſo after halfe an houres fight, the enimie entred, which when the Lord Gray behelde, he leaped to the top of the rampire, wiſhing of God that ſome ſhot would take him, when one that ſtoode next him, by the ſcarffe ſodainly pulled him downe, otherwiſe the effects had well declared the earneſtneſſe of the prayer: he was not yet vp again when a Canon ſhotte grated vpon the ſame place from whence he fell.

L. Gray by mis-

French bridges.

im.

time.

The fight within the Bulwarke yet laſted, to the great ſlaughter of thē that defended it. My L. Gray preſently called to maiſter Lewes Diue, & others that were about him, to follow him to the gate. The maze was ſuch, that beſides his ſonne maiſter Arthure Gray and nowe Lorde Gray, maiſter Lewes Diue, Captaine Bricknell, and halfe a dozen of armed Corſlettes, not a manne elſe did follow him. By this meanes the Engliſhe menne were cleane dryuen oute of the Bulwarke, the enimye yet not daring to paſſe the Brayes, gaue them that eſcaped, good leyſure to recouer the gate, where my L. Gray holding the wicket himſelf, receyued them in.

Upon the takyng of this Bulwarcke, the Souldiours of Whetleys Bulwarcke and the baſe Court in diſcomfiture abandoned theyr charges, flying to the Caſtel: ſo that more than the Keepe, and the bodie of the Caſtell, no part was free from the enimie. My Lorde Grey hauing receyued all his, cauſed the Gates to bee rammed vppe.

Thus were the chiefe Bulwarkes and vtter lymmes of the Caſtell of Guiſnes obteyned by the French, on Saint Sebaſtians day, being the xx. of Januarie, but yet not without great expence

Grafton.

penſe of bloud on both ſides: for of the Frenche part there were ſlaine in thoſe aſſaultes aboue the number of eight or nine hundred, and of the Engliſh not many fewer: amongeſt whome the greateſt loſſe light vpon thoſe fewe Spaniards and Wallons that were come to aſſyſt the Engliſhmen at that preſent.

It was nowe night: a Trumpettor came to the ditches ſide in the baſe Court, and ſounded a ſommons, who being called vnto and aſked what he woulde, tolde that hee was ſent to my Lorde Gray by the Duke of Guiſe, with offer of parlee if it woulde be hearkened to. The Souldiers no ſooner hard theſe newes, but forſaking the walles came all in rowte togithers, and confuſedly ſpeaking to their Chieftaine the ſayde Lorde Gray, prayed him to hearken to the Meſſage, and to haue conſideration of theyr lyues, which ſo long as any hope remayned, they willingly had ventured. The Lorde Grayes aunſwere was, that he marueyled, eyther what cauſeleſſe miſtruſt of his caring for them was now come vpon them, or what ſodaine vnwonted fayntneſſe of mynde had ſo aſſayled them, as to cauſe them in ſuche diſorder to forſake their places, and leaue the walles naked, hee willed them to returne to the ſame.

My Lorde Gray hereof tooke counſaile. It was thought good not to reiect the offer, the extremitie on euerie ſide weyed. The Trumpettor receyuing anſwere, accordingly departed, and without long abode returned again, requyring in the dukes behalfe hoſtages for a truce during the Parlee from vs, he mynding to deliuer the like into the Caſtell. From him in fine Monſieur Deſtrees, & a Gentleman of the kings chamber were ſent in: and maiſter Arthure Gray my Lordes ſonne, and maiſter Lewes Diue, were put out. Monſieur Dandelot in the Brayes receyued them, and caried them ouer the vnfortunate Bulwarke, being come vppon naked and newe ſlaine Carkaſſes, ſome of them ſprawling yet and groning vnder their feete, were onely the earth they trode on. So paſſing downe the breach ſomwhat to the eaſe of the former heauie ſight, they ſaw it and the ditche little leſſe fraught with the enimies corpſes. So to the campe they came, and were lodged in the ſayde Dandelots tent.

The next day in the morning, the Lorde Gray was to meete with the Duke abrode, betweene them willingly one houre was ſpent in talking withoute agreement, onely vpon thys poynt, that the Lord Gray would haue his bands depart with Enſignes diſplayed, which woulde not be yelded vnto: ſo he returned, and the hoſtages alſo thervpon were ſent in. Monſieur Deſtrees not being yet come forth, my Lord was no ſooner entred againe, but that the ſouldiours eftſoones forſaking the walles, willingly to the preſent cutting of all theyr owne throtes, (if Monſieur Deſtrees himſelfe had not beene, with a fewe Captaynes and Gentlemen of the Lorde Grayes owne retinue) came and met him, crying vpon him to haue pitie vpon them. The Lorde Gray herewith ſtayed, and pauſing a while, had this ſpeech. The onely pitie (if fonde I cannot ſay) that I haue of you, hath cauſed me this day to make ſuch offers of cōpoſition, as neyther your honeſties, nor my honour, nor eyther of our duties, in my thought may well beare, which refuſed to take harder to the vtter defaſing of our credites ſince the beſt would blot it. If I woulde, Souldiours, your ſelues (me thinketh) in vengeance thereof ſhould turne your weapons vpon me, and ſacrifice ſo heartleſſe a Captaine, rather than to take it as a token of a pitifull Captaine ouer you, and to yeeld thankes for the ſame. We haue begonne as becommed vs, we haue yet helde on as duetie doth binde vs, let vs ende then as honeſt dutie and fame doth wil vs. Neither is there any ſuch extremitie of deſpayre in our caſe, but that we may yet dearely ynough ſell our ſkinnes ere we loſe them. Let vs then eyther march out vnder our Enſignes diſplayed, or elſe herewith die vnder them diſplayed.

The Souldiours herewith in a mutenie flatly anſwered, that they for his vainglorie woulde not ſell their lyues. The deſperateneſſe of theyr caſe was not vnknowne vnto them (ſayde they) and that theyr lyues in other ſeruice myght yet auaile theyr Prince and Countrey. In this now further to venture, was but like oxen to be thruſt to the Butcher. That his Lordſhip was not to expect any one blow of their handes.

Herewith in haſt came one from Monſieur Deſtrees that ſtoode at the Rampire, aduyſing him to ſende his Souldiours to the walles, otherwiſe that the Swiſſes would aſſuredly enter. So conſtrayned his Lordſhip promiſed them to compounde, and ſo he gat them to the walles. Then my Lord going to counſayle, at length agreed vpon theſe conditions.

Firſt, that the Caſtell with all the furniture therein as well vittayles as great artillerie, powder, and all other munitions of warre, ſhoulde bee wholy rendred without waſting, hyding or miniſhment thereof.

Secondarily, that the Lorde Gray with all the Captaynes, officers and other, hauing charge there, ſhould remaine priſoners at the dukes pleaſure, to be raunſomed after the maner of warre.

Thirdly, that all the reſt, as well ſouldiers as others, ſhoulde depart with their armors, & baggage, to what parties it ſeemed them beſt, neuertheleſſe to paſſe without ſound of drum or trumpet, or enſigne, and to leaue them behinde.

Theſe Articles ſent by Monſieur Deſtrees to the duke were accepted, and ſo in the after noone, the duke himſelfe came and receyued the keyes of my Lorde Gray, who preſently went out, and was giuẽ to the Marſhall Strozzi, and from him ſold to Monſieur de Randan, by whom he came into his brother ẏ Counte de Rochefoucault his handes, and there reſted, till he was redeemed for xxiiij. thouſand Crownes.

The day following, to wit the. xxij. of Januarie, all the ſouldiours of the ſayde fortreſſe of Guiſnes, as well Engliſh as ſtraungers, wyth all the reſt of the Inhabitants, and other (excepted the Lorde Gray himſelfe, maiſter Arthure Gray his ſonne, ſir Henrie Palmer Knight, Mondragon Captayne of the Spaniards, and other men of charge reſerued by the compoſition) departed with theyr bagge and baggages from thence towardes Flaunders. At whoſe iſſuing forth, there were eſteemed to the number of eyght or nine hundred able men for the warre, part Engliſh, and part Burgonians. Of Spaniards ſo few were left, as no account is to bee made of them, in maner the whole number of them being ſlaine and ſelling theyr lyues ryght dearely according to the order of good and hardie ſouldiours.

Thus endes this ſiege, wherein for breuityes ſake, we haue left to ſay any thing of the prouiſions that the Lorde Gray made agaynſte the ſame, of the aduertiſements that from tyme to tyme hee ſent to King Philippe and Queene Marie, and of theyr aunſweres, of the ſundrie aduentures which they of Guiſnes had with the enimie during their being about Calays, and of the greate and many booties that were there taken. Onely in a worde or two will I adde what bandes of ſtraungers were within the peece, bycauſe thereof as in an other thing or two, I finde maiſter Grafton in his Chronicle ſpeake at rouers. Firſt came in Mondragon, with two Spaniardes more, verie valiaunt men, whom did follow within a day or two, about foure or fiue and thirtie other Spaniards, all ſhotte, of whiche (as I haue hearde) there went not fiue oute of the Caſtell.

There came one Captaine Deſquie a Burgonian, with two hundred Souldiours, Pykes moſt. This bande was appoynted to the Marie Bulwarke, whoſe Captaine beeing full of the Gowte, and an impotent manne, would not yet be from his charge, but in his bed ended his life in the Bulwarke. And ſo of this ynough.

But now after the winning of this Towne and Caſtell, the Duke aduyſing well vppon the place, and conſidering that if it ſhould happen to be regayned by Engliſhe men, what a noyſome neighbour the ſame myght be to Calays, nowe beeing Frenche, and ſpecially what empeachment ſhoulde come thereby for the paſſage thither from Fraunce, conſidering alſo the neare ſtanding thereof to the Frenche Kings Fortreſſe of Arde, ſo that to keepe two Garniſons ſo nigh togither ſhoulde bee but a double charge, and not onely needleſſe, but alſo daungerous for the cauſe afore rehearſed.

Vpon theſe conſiderations (as the Frenche menne wryte) hee tooke order for all the greate Artillerie, vittayles, and other Munition, to bee taken forth, and the Caſtell wyth all the Bulwarckes and other Fortifications there, with all ſpeede to bee razed and throwne downe, and the ſtuffe to be caried away, and employed in other more neceſſarie places.

Hammes Caſtell.

Then reſted nothing within all the Engliſh Pale on that ſyde vnconquered, but the little Caſtell or Pyle called Hammes, whiche though it were but of ſmall force, made by Art and induſtrye of mannes hande, and beeyng altogyther of olde workemanſhippe wythoute Rampyres or Bulwarkes: yet neuertheleſſe, by the naturall ſituation thereof, beeyng on all ſydes enuyroned wyth Fennes and Mariſhe groundes, it coulde not eaſilye bee approched vnto, eyther wyth greate Ordinaunce for the batterie, or elſe wyth any armie to encampe there for a Siege, but hauing one ſtrayte paſſage thereto by a narrowe Cawſey, trauerſed and cutte through in dyuerſe places, wyth deepe Dytches, alwayes full of water, whiche thing beeing well forſeene by Edwarde Lorde Dudley then Captayne there, hauing as good cauſe to ſuſpecte a Siege there, as his neighbours had afore the Frenche mennes comming to Guiſnes, cauſed all the Bridges of the ſayde Cawſey beyng of Woodde to bee broken, to gyue thereby the more empeachmente to the Frenche, if they ſhoulde attempte to approche the ſame as ſhortly after they did, and kepte dyuerſe of the paſſages.

But to delyuer the Duke and his Souldiours from that care, there came to hym glad newes from thoſe that hadde charge to watche the ſayde Cawſey, howe the Captaine hauyng intelligence of the rendring of Guiſnes, ſecretely the ſame nyght, hadde conueyed himſelfe, with his ſmall garniſon by a ſecrete paſſage ouer the Mariſhe into Flaunders: whereby the Duke beeing nowe paſte care of any further Siege to be layde in all that Frontier, tooke order forthwyth to ſeaze the ſayde little Fort into his handes, as it was eaſie to doe, when there was no reſiſtance.

When this peece was once ſeazed by the Frẽch, then remayned there none other place of defence or ſtrength of the Engliſhe on all that ſyde the

Sea, for the ſafegarde of the reſt of the Countrey, whereby the Frenche King became wholly and throughly Lorde and maiſter of all the Engliſhe Pale, for nowe (as yee haue hearde) there was neyther Towne, Caſtell, nor other Fortreſſe, more or leſſe on that ſyde (ſauyng Bootes Bulwarke neare to Graueling, whiche after King Philippe kepte as his) but that it was eyther taken awaye by force, or elſe abandoned, and lefte open to the enimie. And as the Frenche menne wryte) beſyde the great ryches of Golde and Siluer, Coyne, Iewelles, Plate, Woolles, and other Marchandice (which was ineſtimable) there were founde three hundred peeces of Braſſe mounted on Wheeles, and as many peeces of Iron, with ſuche furniture of Powder, Pellettes, Armour, Vyttayles, and other munitons of warre ſcarcely credible.

Thus haue you hearde the whole diſcourſe of the conqueſt of the noble Towne of Calays, with all the Engliſhe Fortreſſes and Countrey adioyning made by the duke of Guiſe, the newes whereof, when they came to the Frenche King, no neede to aſke howe ioyfullye they were receyued, not onely of him and all his Court, but alſo vniuerſally through the whole Realme of Fraunce. For the which victorie, there was (as the maner is) *Te Deum* ſung, and Bonefires made euerie where, as it is woont to bee in caſes of common ioy and gladneſſe, for ſome rare benefite of God, inſomuche that ſhortly vppon the Conqueſt, there was a publike aſſembly at Paris of all the ſtates of Fraunce, who frankely in recompence of the Kings charges employed in winning of Calays, and the places aforeſayde, and for maintenance of his warres to bee continued afterwardes, graunted vnto him three millions of French Crownes, whereof the Cleargie of Fraunce contributed one Million, beſides their Diſmes. And no maruell though the French did highly reioyce at the recouerie of Calays out of the Engliſh mens handes, for it is conſtantly affyrmed of many, that be acquainted with the affayres of Fraunce, that euer ſithence the ſame Towne was fyrſt wonne by Engliſhe menne, in all ſolemne Counſayles aſſembled to treate vppon the ſtate of Fraunce, there was a ſpeciall perſone appoynted to putte them in remembraunce from tyme to tyme of Calays, as it were to be wyſhed that the lyke were vſed in Englande, vntill it were regayned from the French.

Now ſeemed euery day a yeare to the French King, vntill hee perſonally had viſited Calays, and his newe conquered Countrey: wherefore about the ende of Ianuarie hee tooke his voyage thither, accompanied with no ſmall number of his Nobilitie.

And immediately vpon his arriuall there, he peruſed the whole towne, and euery part thereof from place to place, deuyſing with the Duke of Guiſe for the better fortification thereof, what ſhoulde be added to the olde, and what ſhoulde be made new, and what ſhoulde be taken away. And after order taken for that buſineſſe, he placed there a noble man, and no leſſe valiant knight of the order, called Monſieur de Thermes to bee Captaine of the towne, and ſo departed again into Fraunce.

Monſieur de Thermes made cap of Calays.

After the French Kings departure from Calays, hee made greate haſte for the accompliſhment of the maryage, mooued betweene Fraunces his eldeſt ſonne, called the Dolphyn, and Marie Stewarde, daughter and ſole heyre of Iames the fyft late King of Scotlande, which Princeſſe if Scottes had beene faythfull of promiſe (as they ſeldome bee) ſhoulde haue maryed King Edwarde the ſixth. For the breache of which promiſe, beganne all the warre betweene Englande and Scotlande, as you hearde in the latter ende of the lyfe of King Henrie the eight, and in the begynning of King Edwarde the ſixth.

This maryage (ſayth Grafton) though it be not of my matter, I thought not to omit, for that many things were meant thereby, whiche thankes bee to God neuer came to effect. But one ſpeciall poynte was not hydden to the Worlde, that by meane of the ſame the realme of Scotlande ſhoulde for euermore haue remayned as vnited and incorporate to the crowne of Fraunce, and that as the ſonne and heyre of euerie Frenche King doth ſucceede to the inheritaunce and poſſeſſion of a Countrey called the Dolphine, and is therefore called Dolphyn. And like as the Principalitie of Wales apperteyneth to the eldeſt ſonne of Englande, who therefore is called the Prince of Wales: euen ſo the Dolphyn and heyre of Fraunce ſhoulde thereby haue beene King of Scotlande for euermore, whiche name and tytle vppon thys maryage was accordingly giuen to Fraunces, Dolphyn and heyre apparaunt of Fraunce, to bee called Kyng Dolphin. The meanyng whereof was vtterly to exclude for euermore any to be king of Scotland, but onely the eldeſt ſonne of Fraunce.

This memorable mariage was ſolemnized in the Citie of Paris, the foure and twentie day of Aprill, in the yeare of Chriſt. 1558. wyth moſt magnifique pompe and tryumphe, and honoured wyth the preſence of the moſte parte of the Princes, Prelates, Lordes, and Barons of both the Realmes, as it were for a confirmation of this newe aliaunce, which as it was muche

The ma of the Qu of Scots the Dolph

to the aduauntage and benefite of Fraunce, ſo nothing coulde bee more preiudice, and derogation to the Crowne of Scotlande, as a deuiſe tending to the perpetuall abolition and extinguiſhment of the name and ſtate of kings in that Realme.

In this meane tyme alſo the Queene Dowager of Scotlande, hadde done what in hir lay, to procure the Scottiſhe Nobilitie to make warres agaynſt Englande, but they beeing not wylling thereto, Monſieur Doyſell Coronell of certaine bandes of Frenchmen, came to Aymouth within ſixe myles of Berwike, and fortified that place, making ſundrie roades and inuaſions into Englande, in reuenge whereof the Engliſhe men made the lyke inroades into Scotlande, wherevpon the Scottiſh men in their owne defence (as ſome pretend) were dryuen to haue warres, and therevpon the Earle of Huntley was made Lieutenant of the Scottes borders, who remayning there, by the helpe of the Frenchmen did many diſpleaſures to the Engliſhmen. This warre was begunne in the yeare laſt paſt, and ſo continued, during the whiche manye ſkirmyſhes and dyuerſe proper feates of Armes were put in practiſe, betwixt the partyes (as in the Hyſtorie of Scotlande it ſhall by Gods helpe further appeare,) where we ſhall ſpeake of the doyngs in the yeares. 1557. and. 1558.

But nowe to returne to the matter of Englande from whiche I haue in parte digreſſed. The newes of this Conqueſt of Calays were not ſo ioyfully receyued in Fraunce, as they were generallye grieuous and diſpleaſaunt to the whole Realme of Englande : but ſpecially to Queene Marie, who beeing a Princeſſe of hearte and courage, more than commonly is in womaukynde, thought hir ſelfe ſo much touched in honour by the loſſe of hir ſayde towne and poſſeſſions on that ſyde the Sea, as ſhee counted hir lyfe yrkeſome, vntyll the ſame were eyther recouered againe, or the loſſe redoubled wyth ſome like victorie agaynſte the French elſewhere.

In reſpect whereof, ſhee ceaſed not to trauaile after wyth King Philippe hir Huſbande, as wyth hir owne priuie Counſayle, and the Lordes of the Realme, whiche waye ſhoulde bee beſt to reuenge this iniurie, and ſpeciallye nowe whyleſt the Frenche King was occupied in warres wyth King Philippe, to endamage ſome of his Countreys by waye of inuaſion, and to ſurpriſe ſome of his Townes vpon the ſodayne. And amongeſt ſundrie deuiſes, none was thought ſo fitte to bee attempted, as an hauen Towne in Brytayne called Breſt, whiche in the tyme of King Richarde the ſeconde was kept and mainteyned with an Engliſhe Garniſon, vntill the ſayde King rendered the ſame to the French King agayne by compoſition.

This Towne as well for the conuenient ſituation alwayes readie to receyue freſhe ſuccours and vittayling out of Englande by Sea, as alſo for that it was knowne to the Queene and hir Counſayle at that preſent, not to bee furniſhed with anye Garniſon of Souldiours, ſufficient to repulſe the power of a Prince vppon the ſodayne, was thought to bee the beſt marke to be ſhotte at for the tyme. Wherefore vppon thys caſe well debated, there was ymmediately order gyuen to Edwarde Lorde Clynton then highe Admyrall of Englande, wyth all expedition to prepare himſelfe wyth all the Queenes Shippes of warre, furniſhed with Souldiours, Munition, and vittayle, to ioyne wyth the Admyrall of King Philippe, who had lyke order from the ſayde King to ioyne wyth the Nauie of Englande for the atchieuing of this enterprice.

The Lorde Clynton Admyrall.

But before I declare to you the aduenture of theſe two greate Nauies by Sea, it ſhall not bee impertinent to touch ſome accidents in the mean time by lande.

Whyle King Philippe beeing abſent from the lowe Countrey, was (as you haue hearde) occupyed wyth his warres in Fraunce, Monſieur de Thermes the newe Captaine of Calays, beeing a manne verie expert in the warres (whoſe propertie is neuer to neglect anye tyme of aduauntage) caſte in hys mynde howe during King Philippes abſence, to doe ſome ſingular ſeruice to the Frenche King his maiſter. And eſpying well the negligence of the Flemminges his neighbours, howe little they vnderſtoode the great weakning of theyr Countrey by the loſſe of Calays, and that there was no newe prouiſion made for the defence thereof, more than was before, whyleſt Calays was Engliſhe, by the loſſe whereof, theyr Frontyers were nowe become open for the French at all times to enter: He therefore taking out of Calays ſo many of hys Souldiours as myght bee ſpared from thence, adioyning to them all the forces of the French Garniſons in Arthoys, Bollonoys, and Pycardie, whereof togither with the Souldiers of Calays, being to the number of ſeuen hundred footmen, and three hundred lyght horſmen Scottiſh, there were aſſembled fourtene Enſignes of the French footemen .xviij. vanlins of Almains, four or fiue. C. men at armes of France, beſide the light horſmen Scottes, amounting in the whole to the number at the leaſt of nine thouſand footemenne, and fiftene hundred horſemen, entred into Flaunders wyth full determination to ſpoyle and waſte all King Philippes Countrey

Monſieur de Thermes captaine of Calays.

along the Sea coaſt, and namely a proper Hauen Towne called Dunkyrke, and with like purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed the towne of Graueling if occaſion woulde ſo ſerue.

Dunkyrke beſieged, taken, and burnt by the French.

This Captayne following his enterpriſe, of a policie paſſing by the towne of Graueling, layd ſiege to a little towne not farre from thence called Berghes, which hee wanne in a ſmall time, and with ſmall reſiſtaunce, leauing the ſaccage of the ſame vnto his Souldiours, where they founde manye good bootyes. And wythoute long ſtaying they marched forth to Dunkyrke aforeſayde, and planting a ſiege in lyke manner there, battered the ſame ſo ſharpely with the Canon, that within leſſe than foure dayes hee became maiſter of the Towne, whiche hee in lyke maner put to the ſacke, where was founde more plentie of ſpoyle and good bootyes, than in any place before, ſo farre forth as the meaneſt ſlaues and lackeyes came away riche. And after ſetting the Towne a fyre (whereby all in the Countrey about were marueylouſly put in feare) and the Frenche ſpreading further abroad, waſted the moſt fruytfull quarter of all that part of Flaunders, euen almoſte vnto Newporte: But yet bycauſe that Monſieur de Thermes fell diſeaſed of the Gowte, the armye wythdrewe and encamped within halfe a myle of Graueling, and for his more eaſe, he hymſelfe laye in Dunkyrke, and in the meane tyme dyuerſe ſkyrmyſhes fell oute betweene the Frenche men, and them of the garniſon within Graueling.

Counte Egmond.

During whiche paſtyme, the Counte de Aygurmount (or as he is commonly called Egmont) Lieutenant Generall for King Philip in the lowe Countrey, wyth all haſt poſſible aſſembled all the power as well of King Philips Garniſons, as alſo of menne of warre in the lowe Countrey, to the number of fourtene or fiftene thouſande footemen, and two or three thouſande horſemen, whereof there were fiftene hundred Swart Rutters, determining ſo to affronte the Frenche, that eyther they ſhoulde paſſe no further into the Countrey, or at the leaſt waye to empeache them from the Siege of Graueling, whereof there was greate apparaunce.

Monſieur de Thermes hearing of thys power aſſembled (though ſcarcely well recouered) made all poſſible haſte towarde Graueling, where hee was no ſooner arryued, but that hee ſawe his enimyes readie raunged in the fielde. By reaſon whereof his ſtudye was nowe nothing elſe but how he myght bring home his armie in ſafetie to Calais.

Engliſh ſhi
annoy the French.

The Counte de Egmond eſpying the French menne bent to marche away wyth the ſpoyle of the Countrey, cutte betweene them and home, placing his battayles in ſuch order, that the Frenchemen had no way to paſſe, but vppon the Sandes betweene the Towne aud the Sea: Where as by good chaunce laye a great fleete of Queene Maryes Shippes of warre, within the daunger of whoſe Gunſhot, the Frenchmen had no ſhyft but to paſſe as their iourney lay. And ſo being forced eyther to famiſh or to fight at diſaduauntage.

A valiant o
giuen vpon the French
by Counte Egmond.

Mounſieur de Thermes wythoute ſtaying any longer, cauſed hys vauntgarte to paſſe ouer the Ryuer ſomewhat neare the Towne, to auoyde the ſhotte of the Engliſhe ſhippes. And ſtaying vpon the further ſide for the reſidue of hys battayles, there came ſuche thicke hayleſhotte of Artillerie oute of the Towne on the one ſyde, and from the Engliſhe Shippes on the other ſyde, that there was a full batterie made vppon the Frenchmen on all ſydes, which they neuertheleſſe abode, without breaking order for the tyme, when ſodainlye appeared before them two great troupes of Horſemen, of fiftene hundred a peece, parte Swart Rutters, and part Burgonians, whereof the one in front, and the other in flanke, gaue ſtrong charges vpon the French vauntgarde, who being well backed with their other battayles (whereof the moſt part then had paſſed the Riuer) ſtoutly repulſed theſe two firſt troupes, though not without loſſe of many their beſt ſouldiours.

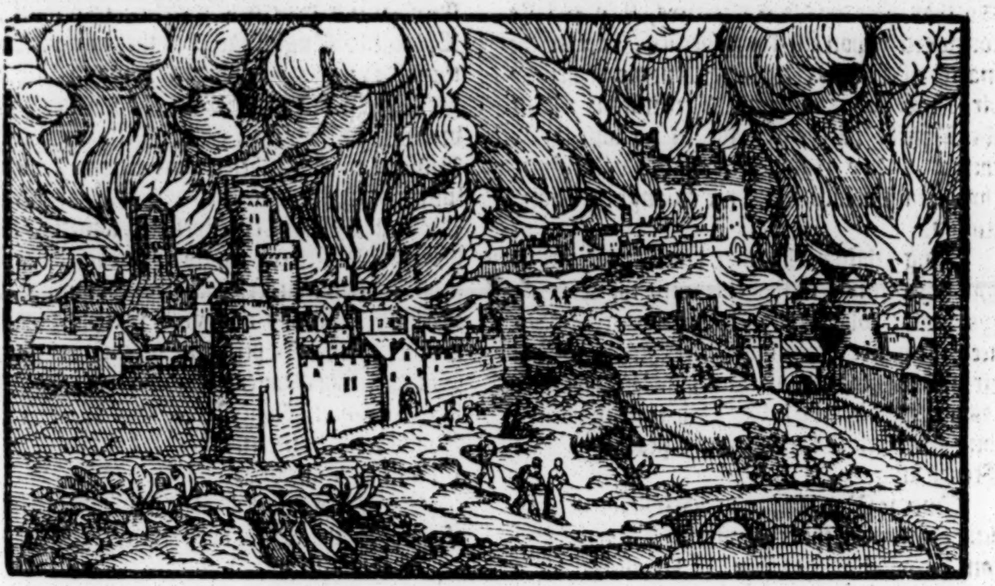
So thus both partyes being at a ſtay, and ſeuered ſomewhat aſunder, the Counte Egmonde hymſelfe wyth eyghtene hundred menne of Armes, and hys foote battayles following, afore the French had well recouered breath, recharged vppon them wyth all his forces togyther, ſo terribly that hee ſhockte all theyr battayle, and the number tooke them to flyght, wythout further tryall. So by that tyme that the footemen on eyther ſide came to the puſhe of the Pyke, the victorie was ſoone had, by reaſon (as the French men reporte) that the Almaynes beaten backe with Artillerie, as well of the towne as of the ſhippes aforeſayd, brake their order, and came not to the ſhocke, whereby the whole charge of the battaile reſted vppon the Frenche bandes onely.

A great vi
torie.

Priſoners taken.

This fielde was foughten the .xiij. of July 1558. vpon the Sea ſandes neare to Graueling, where beſides thoſe that were ſlaine, being eſteemed to the number of fiue thouſand fightingmen, ther were taken priſoners the Marſhal de Thermes Captaine of Calays, Monſieur Senerpont Gouernour of Bollongne, Monſieur Villebou gouernour of Picardie, Monſieur Annebault ſon to the late Admirall Annebault, knight of the order, Mon. de Moruillieres gouernor of Abuile, Monſieur de Chaune gouernour of Corbie, beſide a great number of other Gentlemen, valiant Captaynes and ſouldiours, but ſpecially the bandes of Calais went to wrecke, ſo as very fewe returned home to bring tydings: which gaue ſuch a terrour to the Souldiours remayning in Calais, that it is verilye beleeued, that if the Admiralles of Englande and Flaunders hadde beene preſent there wyth theyr Nauies, as the ſayd other few Ships of England were, and vppon thys ſodaine had attempted Calais, wyth the ayde of the Countie Egmonde hauing his power preſent: the Towne of Calays myghte haue beene recouered agayne wyth as little difficultie, and happily in as ſhorte tyme as it was before gayned by the Duke of Guiſe. But the ſayde Admyrals, (as it appeared) knew nothing thereof. Wherefore following theyr preſcribed courſe, and ioyning togyther at the place appoynted, ſayled from thence wyth proſperous wynde and weather, and by the .xxix. day of the ſame Moneth, and in the ſayde yeare, wyth ſeuen ſkore Shippes of warre, appeared by the breake of the day before the Hauen of Conqueſt, commonly called Conquet in Brytayne: At whoſe arriuall there (as the maner is) they ſounded theyr Trumpettes, and with a thundering peale of great ordinance, gaue a lowde Salue to the Brytaynes: and by eight of the clocke the ſame morning, maugre al the power of the countrey, being aſſembled there in Armes, with many peeces of great Artillerie, to defende the entrie of their port, the Engliſhmen manning forth their Shipboates, with many valiaunt Captaynes and ſouldiours, recouered landing, and wythin ſhort tyme became maiſters of the ſayde towne of Conquet, which they put to the ſaccage, with a great Abbay, and many pretie Townes and Villages neare there aboutes, where our men found great ſtore of pyllage and good booties.

Conqueſt or Corquet takẽ and burnt.



This done, they marched into the Countrey, and burnt many Villages and houſes, and after withdrewe downe to the Sea ſide, where theyr ſhips lay readie to receyue them.

But the Flemings beeing couetous of the ſpoyle, paſſing further into the lande, before they coulde recouer their Shippes againe, were encountred by the power of the countrey, by whom there were ſlaine of them to the number of foure or fiue hundred.

ſlaugh
e Fle-

The Admyralles perceyuing the power of the Countrey greatly to encreaſe, and hauing intelligence that the duke of Eſtampes the Frēch Kings Lieutenant in Brytayne was very neare comming on, with a greate number of Horſemen and footemen, eſteemed to bee about twentie thouſande (as the Frenchmen themſelues affyrme) thought not beſt to attempt any aſſault agaynſt the Towne of Breſt, or to make longer abode there. But yet in hope to doe ſome further exployte elſewhere, they laye there houering on the coaſt a while to vnderſtande the demeanour of the Brytaynes: but by this tyme there was ſuch numbers of people rayſed in all thoſe parts for defence of the ſame coaſtes, that the Admyralles afterwarde attempting in dyuerſe places to lande theyr menne, and fynding eche where more apparaunce of loſſe than of gayne, returned home wythoute atchieuing any further enterpriſe.

In this meane time, while King Philip and the French King, with two moſte puyſſaunt armyes affronted eche other, neare vnto the water of Some, eyther of them being obſtinately bent to driue the other out of the field, for which cauſe they entrenched their campes.

1558
An.reg.6.

During whiche tyme there was nothyng done betweene them worthie memorie, more than dayly ſkyrmiſhes of no great account. Neuertheleſſe, the Countrey of Fraunce coulde not but ſuſteyne extreeme damage, in ſo long ſuſteyning ſuche a mayne multitude, ſpecially of men of warre, which thoſe two mightie Kings hadde aſſembled. And day by day came freſhe companies to eyther partye, ſo as it was thought a thyng impoſſible that ſuche two Princes beeing ſo neare, coulde departe wythoute ſome cruell bloudye battayle to determine theyr quarelles: But God in whoſe handes are the heartes Kings, (when leaſt hope was) conuerted theyr obſtinate myndes from warre to peace, whiche came chiefely to paſſe by the mediation of the Dutches of Lorraine, who hadde beene a long and earneſt trauayler to that ende, and neuer ceaſſed, vntill by his interceſſion, both the ſayde Kinges appoynted ſpeciall Commiſſioners to treate vppon peace. So that after diuerſe conferences, they at laſte concluded vppon all controuerſies, excepte the matter of Calays, whereof Queene Mary by hir Ambaſſadours requyred reſtitution: But the Frenche partye woulde in no wiſe heare thereof. By reaſon of whiche dyfficultye, thys treatie coulde not come to anye good concluſion.

King Philippe thinking himſelfe bounde in honour to ſtande in that caſe with the Queene hys wyfe, who for hys ſake had entred into a needleſſe warre againſt Fraunce, and thereby loſt hir ſayd towne, with all the Countrey adioyning (as you haue hearde before) did therefore ſtay a long time before hee concluded peace wyth the French king.

Queene Marie ſeeing no likelyhoode, nor hauing any hope of the reſtitution of Calays, and conſidering alſo, that moſt of hir affayres had but hard ſucceſſe, conceyued an inwarde ſorrow of mynde, by reaſon whereof aboute September nexte ſhee fell ſicke of a hote burning Feuer, which ſickneſſe was common that yeare through all the Realme, and conſumed a marueylous number, as well Noble men, as Biſhops, Iudges, Knightes, Gentlemen, and rich farmours: but moſt of the Cleargie, and other auncient and graue perſons. In which while the Queene lay languiſhing of a long ſickeneſſe, and ſo continued vntill the .xvij. of Nouember next betwene the houres of fiue or ſixe in the morning, and then ended hir life in thys worlde, at hir houſe of Saint Iames beſydes Weſtminſter, when ſhe had raigned fiue yeares, foure Monethes, and eleuen dayes, and in the .xliij. yeare of hir bodily age.

The ſame Euening (or as ſome haue written the next day) dyed Cardinall Poole Legate of the Biſhop of Rome, late afore made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, at his houſe ouer againſt Weſtminſter called Lambeth.

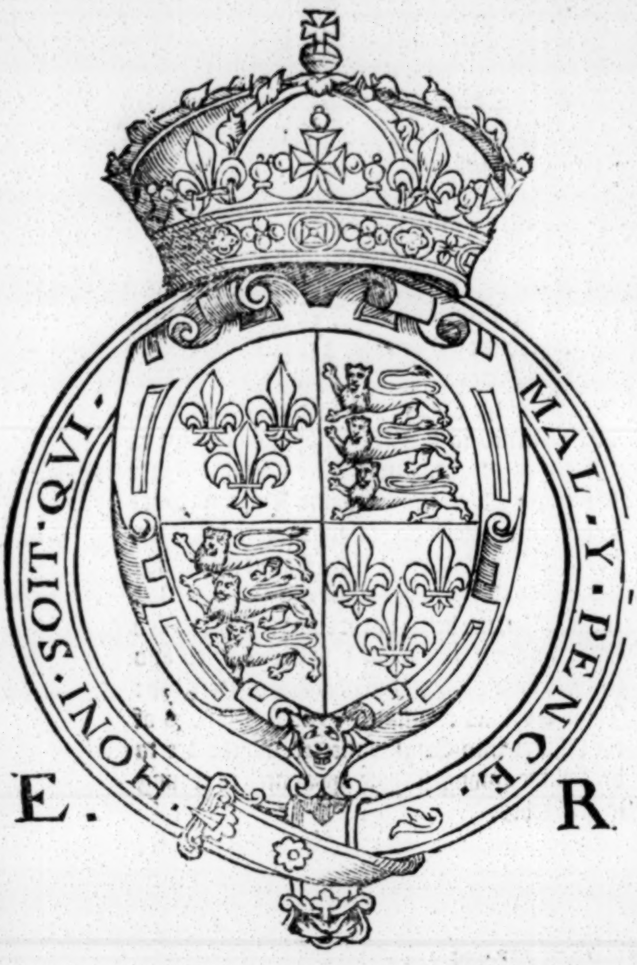
The deſc tion of Ca dinall Po

This Cardinall was diſcended of the houſe of Clarence, that is to ſay, one of the yonger ſonnes of Margaret Counteſſe of Saliſburie, daughter of george Duke of Clarence, brother to king Edward the fourth.

The death of this ſayde Queene made a marueylous alteration in thys Realme, namely in the caſe of Religion, which like as by the death of King Edwarde the ſixte it ſuffered a chaunge from the eſtabliſhment of his time: ſo by the death of this Queene it returned into the former eſtate againe.

Of ſuch learned men as had written and did liue in hir dayes there were many, of whome no ſmall number ended theyr lyues alſo duryng that ſhorte tyme of hir raigne, ſome by fire, and other in exile. Iohn Rogers borne in Lancaſhire, wrote dyuerſe Treatiſes, tranſlated the Byble into Engliſhe with notes, and publiſhed the ſame vnder the name of Thomas Mathew: hee ſuffered in Smythfielde the fourth of Februarie, in the yeare. 1555: Nicholas Rydley Biſhop firſt of Rocheſter, and after of London, ſuffred at Oxforde in the ſayd yeare. 1555. Hugh Latimer borne in Leyceſterſhyre, ſometime Biſhop of Worceſter, a notable Preacher, and a moſt reuerende father, ſuffred at the ſame place, and in the ſame day and yeare wyth Byſhoppe Rydley: Iohn Hoper borne in Somerſetſhyre, Biſhop firſt of Glouceſter, and after of Worceſter, ſuffred at Glouceſter. Anno. 1555. Iohn Bradforde, borne in Mancheſter, a notable Towne in Lancaſhire, a ſober, mylde, and diſcreete learned man, ſuffred at London the fyrſt of Iuly in the foreſayde yeare. 1555. Stephen Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter borne in the Towne of Saint Edmondes burie in Suffolke, of King Henrie the eightes Counſaile, and in King Edwardes dayes committed to warde within the Tower, releaſed by Queene Marie, made Lorde Chauncellour, and ſo dyed a ſtowte Champion in defence of the Popes doctrine, and a great enimie to the profeſſours of the Goſpell: Iohn Philpot borne in Hamſhyre, ſonne to ſir Peter Philpot Knight, was Archedeacon of Wyncheſter, ended his lyfe by fyre in the yeare aforeſayde. 1555. the .xviij. of December, going then on the .xliiij. yeare of his age: Thomas Cranmer borne in Notinghãſhire Archbiſhop of Canterburie, a worthie Prelate, in ſundrie vertues right commendable, ſuffred at Oxforde the .xxj. of Marche. 1556. Richarde Moriſon knight borne in Oxfordſhyre, wrote dyuerſe treatiſes, and deceaſſed at Strauſburge the .xvij. of March 1556.

1556. John Poynet borne in Kent, Biſhoppe of Rocheſter firſt, and after of Wincheſter, deceaſſed likewiſe at Strauſburgh, about the tenth or eleuenth of Auguſt. Anno. 1556. Robert Recorde a Doctor of Phiſick, and an excellent Philoſopher, in Arithmetike, Aſtrologie, Coſmographie, and Geometrie moſte ſkilfull, hee was borne in Wales, diſcended of a good family, and finally departed this lyfe in the dayes of Queene Mary: Baltholmew Traheron diſcended of a worſhipfull house in the Weſt partes of Englande, deane of Chicheſter, departed this lyfe in Germanie, where he lyued in exile, aboute the latter ende of Queene Maryes raigne: Cutbert Tunſtall Biſhop firſt of London, and after of Durham, borne in Lancaſhire of a right worſhipfull family, excellently learned, as by his workes it may appeare Doctor of both the Lawes, departed this life in the yeare. 1556. Richarde Samſon Byſhop of Couentrie and Lichfielde, wrote certaine Treatiſes, and departed this life Anno. 1555. Lucas Sheparde borne in Colcheſter in Eſſex, an Engliſh Poet: Jane Dudley daughter to Henrie Gray Duke of Suffolke, wrate diuerſe things highlye to hir commendation, of whome ye haue hearde more before here in thys hyſtorie: William Thomas a Welchman borne, of whome ye haue lykewiſe heard howe he ſuffred for Treaſon, wrote the Hyſtorie of Italie, and other things verie eloquently: James Brokes a Doctor of Diuinitie: John Standiſh a Doctor likewiſe of the ſame profeſſion, greate defenders of the Popes doctrine, as by their workes appeareth: William Peryne a blacke Frier by profeſſion, and a Doctor alſo of Diuinitie, wrote in defence of the Maſſe, and preached Sermons which were prynted of like ſtuffe: John Baret borne in Lynne, a Doctor of Diuinitie, and ſometyme a Carmelite Frier, but reuolting from the Popes Religion, became an earneſt ſetter forth of the Goſpell, but eftſoones hee fell off, and returned to hys former opinions nowe in the dayes of Queene Marie: Henrie Lorde Stafforde, ſonne to Edwarde Duke of Buckingham, amongſt other things which he wrote, he tranſlated a booke out of the Latine into Engliſh, intituled *Vtriuſq; poteſtatis differentia*, that is, the difference betwixt the two powers, which booke (as ſome thinke) was firſt compyled and ſet forth by Edwarde Foxe Biſhop of Hereford: John Hopkins tranſlated dyuerſe Pſalmes of the Pſalter into Engliſh meeter, whiche are to bee founde amongeſt thoſe appoynted to be ſung in Churches.



Queene Elizabeth.

When true knowledge was had yͤ Queene Mary was deceaſſed, who left hir life in this worlde the xvij. day of Nouẽber as is before mẽtioned in the latter ende of hir hyſtorie, in the tyme of a Parliament, the Lordes that were aſſembled in the vpper houſe, being reſolued according to the lawes of the lande, to declare the Ladie Elizabeth ſiſter to the ſayde Queene to be verie true and lawfull heyre to the Crowne of Englande, ſent immediately to the ſpeaker of the Parliament, willing him with the knightes and Burgeſſes of the neather houſe without delay to repayre vnto them into the vpper houſe, for their aſſents in a caſe of great importaunce: who being come thither, after ſilence made (as the maner is) the Archbiſhop of Yorke Chauncellor of Englande, whoſe name was Nicholas Heth, Doctor in Diuinitie, ſtood vp and pronounced in effect theſe wordes following.

The cauſe of your calling hither at this time, is to ſignifie vnto you, that all the Lordes here preſent are certainly certified, that God this preſent morning hath called to his mercie, our late ſoueraigne Ladie Queene Marie, which happe as it is moſt heauie and grieuous vnto vs, ſo haue we no leſſe cauſe an other way to reioyce, wyth prayſe to almightie God, for that he hath left vnto vs a true, lawfull and right inheritrice to the crowne of this realme, which is the Ladie Elizabeth, ſecond daughter to our late ſoueraigne Lord of noble memorie King Henrie the eight, and ſiſter to our ſayd late Queene, of whoſe moſt lawfull right and title in the ſucceſſion of the crowne (thãnkes be to God) wee neede not to doubt. Wherefore the Lordes of this houſe haue determined with your aſſentes and conſents, to paſſe from hence into the Palace, and there to proclaim the ſayde Ladie Elizabeth Queene of thys realme, without further tract of tyme, wherevnto the whole houſe anſwered with euident appearaunce of ioy, God ſaue Queene Elizabeth, long may Queene Elizabeth raigne ouer vs: and ſo this preſent Parliament beeing diſſolued by the acte of God, the ſayde Lordes immediatly calling vnto them the Kings and Principall herauldes at Armes, went into the Palayce of Weſtmynſter, and directly before the Hall doore in the foore Noone of the ſame day, after ſeuerall ſoundings of trumpets made, in moſt ſolemne maner proclamed the newe Queene, by thys name and tytle, *Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the fayth, &c.* to the great comfort and reioyſing of the people, as by theyr maners and countenaunces well appeared, after which Proclamation made at Weſtminſter, the ſayde lordes to witte the Duke of Norffolke, the Lord Treaſurer, the Erle of Oxforde, and diuerſe other lordes and Biſhops, with all ſpeede repayred into the Citie of London, where the lyke proclamation was made in preſence of them, and alſo of the lord Maior and Aldermen in their ſkarlet gownes, at the Croſſe in Cheape, with no leſſe vniuerſall ioy and thanks giuing to God of all the hearers: and ſo our ſayd moſt gracious ſoueraigne Ladie Q. Elizabeth began hir happie raigne ouer this realm of Englande, to the great cõfort and gladneſſe of al eſtates, vpõ the foreſaid. xvij. day of Nouẽber, in the yere after the creation of the world. 5525. after the birth of our ſauiour. 1558. of the Empire of Ferdinando the firſt Emperor of Rome bearing that name, the fyrſte. In the. xij. yere of the raigne of Henrie the ſecond of that name French King, and in the. xvj. yeare of the raigne of Marie Q. of Scotlande.

The Ladie Elizabeth proclaymed Queene.

1558

The Fryday morning being the. xviij. of Nouember, and morrow after the deceaſſe of Q. Marie, Reginalde Poole, Lorde Cardinall, and Archbiſhop of Canterburie departed this life

The death Cardinall Poole.

at Lambeth, and was after buryed at Caunterbury in Chriſts Churche there.

he Queenes
mouing frõ
atfilde.

On Wedneſday the three and twentith of Nouember, the Queenes maieſtie remoued frõ Hatfilde, vnto the Charter houſe in London, where ſhe lodged in the Lord Northes houſe, in which remouing, and comming thus to the Citie, it mighte well appeare how comfortable hir preſence was to them that went to receyue hir on the way, and likewiſe to ẏ great multitudes of people, that came abrode to ſee hir grace, ſhewing their reioycing hearts in countenance and wordes, with hartie prayers for hir Maieſties proſperous eſtate and preſeruation, whiche no doubt were acceptable to God, as by ẏ ſequeale of things it may certaynely be beleeued, ſith hys deuine Maieſtie hathe ſo directed hir doyngs, that if euer the commõ wealth of this land hath flouriſhed, it maye rightly bee ſaide, that in hir moſt happie raigne, it hathe bin moſt flouriſhing, in peace, quietneſſe, and due adminiſtration of iuſtice, mixed with mercifull clemencie, ſo as thoſe whiche cannot contente themſelues with the preſente ſtate of things vnder hir rule, no doubt they are ſuch factious creatures, as wil not reſt ſatiſfyed with anye kynde of gouernemẽt, be it neuer ſo iuſt and commendable, from the which ſort of men, the Lord deliuer hir royal Maieſtie, and all hir true and louing ſubiectes, and preſerue hir in long life to all our comforts, and continue hir in ſuch happie proceedings, as ſhe hath begun to the ende.

On Monday, the eyghte and twentith of Nouember, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, hir grace remoueth agayne, and takyng hir Charet, rode from my Lorde Northes houſe alongſt the Barbican, and entring by Criplegate into the Citie, kept along the wall to Byſhoppes gate, and ſo by blanke Chapelton vnto Marke lane.

Hir grace remoueth to the Tower.

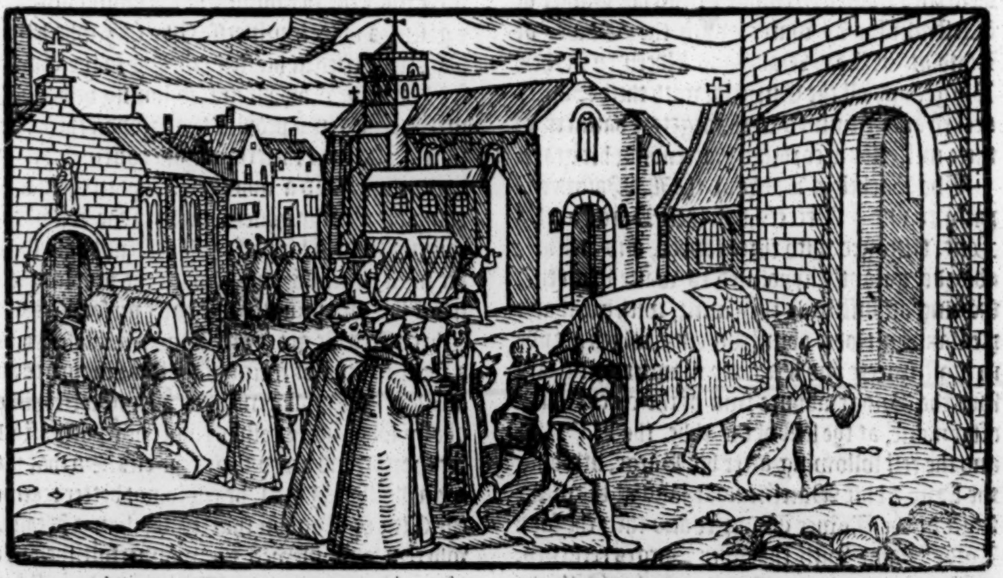
At hir entring into blanke Chapelton, the artillerie in the Tower began to goe off continually, ſhooting for the ſpace almoſt of halfe an houre, but yet had made an ende before hir Maieſtie was aduanced to Berking Churche, and ſo with great ioy and preaſe of people, of whom all the ſtreetes were full as ſhe paſſed, declaring their inward reioycings by geſture, wordes, and countenance, ſhe entred the Tower, where ſhee continued til the fifth of December being Monday, on the whiche daye, ſhe remoued by water vnto Somerſet place in the Strond, where ſhee arriued aboute tenne of the clocke in the forenoone the ſame day.

Hir remouing to Somerſet houſe.

The thirtenth of December beeing Tewſdaye, the corps of Queene Mary was ryghte honorably conueyd from hir manor of Sainte James, vnto the Abbey of Weſtminſter. Hir picture was layd on the coffin, apparelled in hir royall robes, with a Crowne of gold ſette on the head thereof, after a ſolemne manner.

Queene Mary buryed.

In the Abbey was a riche and ſumptuous herſe prepared and ſet vp with waxe, and richely decked with penons, baners, and ſcutchions, of the armes of England and Fraunce, vnder whiche herſe, the corpſe reſted all that nighte, and the next day it was brought into the new Chappell, where King Henry the ſeuenth lyeth, and there in the ſide Chappell it was enterred.



ſequie
r the
oure.

The foure and twentith of December, beeing the euen of the natiuitie of our Lord, was a ſolemne obſequie kepte in the Abbey Churche of Weſtminſter, for Charles the ſeuenth late Emperour, who departed this life in September laſt, the one and twentith of the ſame moneth, in the Monaſterie of Saint Iuſtus in Caſtille, being then of age about eyght and fiftie yeares, hauing gouerned the Empire before hee renounced the ſame a ſixe and thirtie yeares, and hys Kyngdomes of Caſtill, Aragone, Naples, Sicill, and others, aboue fortie yeares.

The deceaſſe of the Queene of Fraunce.

Moreouer in this yeare. 1558. there dyed two of the ſaide Emperours ſiſters, that wente wyth him into Spayne, after he had reſigned the Empire, to witte, Queene Leonore, firſt maried vnto Emanuel King of Portingale, and after his deceaſſe, vnto the Frenche King Frances the firſt of that name. She deceaſſed in Februarye laſt paſt. His other ſiſter Mary, Queene of Hũgarie, late regente of the lowe Countreys, deceaſſed on Sainte Lukes day, the eyghtenth of October laſt paſt, and ſo the one preuenting him, the other taried not long after him, in ſo muche, that King Philip dyd celebrate the exequies in the Towne of Bruſſels, of his father the Emperoure, of hys Aunt Mary, Queene of Hungary, and of his wife Mary, Queene of England, in this preſent moneth of December ſubſequently, after the moſt pompous and ſolemne manner.

The deceaſſe of the Queene of Hungarie.

1559

The Letany. The Epiſtle and Goſpell in Engliſhe.

On Sonday the firſt of January, by vertue of the Queenes Proclamation, the Engliſhe Letanie was redde accordingly as was vſed in hir graces Chappell, in Churches through the Citie of London.

And likewiſe, the Epiſtle and Goſpell of the day began to bee redde in the ſame Churches at Maſſe time in the Engliſh tong, by commaundement giuen by the Lord Maior, according to the tenor of the ſame Proclamation, publiſhed the thirtith of the laſt moneth.

On Thurſeday the twelfth of January, the Queenes maieſtie remoued from hir Palace of Weſtminſter by water, vnto the Tower of London, the Lord Maior and Aldermen in their Barge, and all the Citizens, with their Barges decked and trimmed with targets & banners of their miſteries accordingly, attending hir grace.

The Bachelers Barge of the L. Maiors cõpany, to wit, yͤ Mercers, had their Barge with a Foiſt, trimmed with three toppes, and artillerie aborde, galantly appointed to waite vpon thẽ, ſhooting off luſtily as they went, with great and pleaſaunt melodie of inſtruments, which playde in moſt ſweete and heauenly manner. Hir grace ſhut the Bridge aboute two of the clocke in the after noone, at the ſtill of the ebbe, the L. Maior and the reſt following after hir Barge, attẽding the ſame, til hir Maieſtie tooke land at the priuie ſtaire at the Tower Wharfe, and then the ſayd Lorde Maior with the other Barges returned, paſſing through the Bridge againe with the floud, and landed at the Wharfe of the three Cranes in the vintrie.

Upon Saterday, whiche was the fourtenth day of January, in the yeare of our Lorde God, 1558. about two of the clocke at after noone, the moſt noble and Chriſtian Princeſſe, oure moſt dradde ſoueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the faith. &c. marched from the Tower, to paſſe through the Citie of London toward Weſtminſter, richly furniſhed, and moſt honorably accompanyed, as well with Gentlemen, Barons, and other the nobilitie of thys Realme, as alſo with a notable trayne of goodly and beautifull Ladyes, richely appointed. And entring the Citie, was of the people receyued maruellous entierly, as appeared by the aſſembly, prayers, wiſhes, welcommings, cryes, tender wordes, and all other ſignes, whiche argue a wonderfull earneſt loue of moſt obediente ſubiects toward their ſoueraigne. And on the other ſide, hir grace by holding vp hir hands, and merrie countenaūce to ſuche as ſtoode farre off, and moſt tender and gentle language to thoſe that ſtoode nigh to hir grace, dyd declare hir ſelfe no leſſe thankefully to receiue hir peoples good will, than they louingly offred it vnto hir. To al that wiſhed hir grace well, ſhe gaue heartie thankes, and to ſuch as bade God ſaue hir grace, ſhe ſayd againe God ſaue them al, and thanked thẽ with all hir heart. So that on either ſide ther was nothing but gladnes, nothing but prayer, nothing but comfort. The Queenes Maieſtie reioyſed maruellouſly to ſee yͭ, ſo exceedingly ſhewed toward hir grace, which al good Princes haue euer deſired, I mean ſo earneſt loue of ſubiects, ſo euidẽtly declared euẽ to hir graces owne perſon being caried in yͤ middeſt of thẽ. The people again were wõderfully rauiſhed wͭ the louing anſwers & geſtures of their princeſſe, like to yͤ which they had before tried at hir firſt cõming to the Tower frõ Hatfield. This hir graces louing behauioure preconceiued in yͤ peoples heads, vpon theſe conſiderations was then throughly cõfirmed, and in deede emplanted a wonderful hope in them touching hir worthy gouernement in the reſt of hyr raign. For in al hir paſſage ſhe did not only ſhew hir moſt gracious loue toward the people in general, but alſo priuatly if yͤ baſer perſonages had either offred hir grace any floures or ſuch like, as a ſignification of their good wil, or moued to hir any ſute, ſhe moſt gently, to yͤ cõmon reioyſing of al yͤ lokers on, & priuat cõfort of yͤ party, ſtaid hir chariot, and heard their requeſts. So that if a man ſhould ſay well, he could not better tearme the Citie of London that time, than a Stage, wherein was ſhewed the wonderfull ſpectacle of a noble hearted princeſſe toward hir moſt louing people, and the peoples exceding comfort in beholding ſo worthy a ſoueraigne, and hearing ſo princelike a voice, which coulde not but haue ſette the enimie on fire, ſince the vertue is in the enimie alway cōmẽded, much more could not but inflame hir naturall, obedient, and moſt louing people, whoſe weale leaneth only vpō hir grace, and hir gouernement. Thus therefore the Queenes Maieſtie paſſed from the Tower, tyll ſhee came to Fanchurche, the people on each ſide ioyouſly beholding the viewe of ſo gracious a Lady their Queene, and hir grace no leſſe gladly noting and obſeruing the ſame. Neere vnto Fanchurch was erected a ſcaffold richely furniſhed, whereon ſtoode a noyſe of inſtruments, and a childe in coſtly apparell, whiche was appoynted to welcome the Queenes Maieſtie in the whole Cities behalfe. Againſt which place, whē hir grace came, of hir owne will ſhe commaunded the Chariot to bee ſtayde, and that the noyſe might be appeaſed, till the child had vttered hys welcoming Oration, which he ſpake in Engliſh metre as heere followeth.

O pereles ſoueraygne Queene, behold what thys thy Towne
ch thee preſented with, at thy fyrſt entraunce heere:
hold with how riche hope ſhe leades thee to thy Crowne,
hold with what two gyftes, ſhe comforteth thy cheere.

The fyrſt is bleſſing tongs, which many a welcome ſay,
ch pray thou maiſt do well, which prayſe thee to the Skye,
ch wiſh to thee long lyfe, which bleſſe this happie day,
ch to thy kingdome heapes, all that in tongs can lye.

The ſecond is true heartes, which loue thee from theyr roote,
oſe ſute is triumph now, and ruleth all the game.
ch faithfulnes haue wonne, and all vntruth driuen out,
ch ſkippe for ioy, when as they heare thy happy name.

Welcome therefore O Queene, as much as heart can thinke,
lcome agayne O Queene, as much as tong can tell:
lcome to ioyous tongs, and hearts that will not ſhrinke,
d thee preſerue we pray, and wiſh thee euer well.

At which words of yͤ laſt line, the whole people gaue a great ſhout, wiſhing with one aſſent as the child had ſaid. And the Queenes maieſtie thanked moſt hartily, both the Citie for this hir gentle receyuing at the firſt, and alſo the people for confirming the ſame. Here was noted in the Queenes Maieſties countenance, during the time that the child ſpake, beſides a perpetuall attentiuenes in hir face, a maruellous change in loke, as the childs words touched either hir perſon, or the peoples tongs and hearts. So that ſhe with reioicing viſage did euidently declare that the words toke no leſſe place in hir minde, than they were moſt heartely pronounced by the childe, as from all the heartes of hir moſt heartie Citizens. The ſame verſes were faſtned vp in a table vppon the ſcaffolde, and the latine thereof likewiſe in latine verſes in another table, as heereafter enſueth.

Vrbs tua quæ ingreſſu dederit tibi munera primo,
O Regina parem non habitura, vide.
Ad diadema tuum, te ſpe quàm diuite mittat,
Quæ duo letitiæ det tibi dona, vide.
Munus habes primū, linguas bona multa precātes,
Quæ te quum laudant, tum pia vota ſonant,
Fœlicemq́ diem hunc dicunt, tibi ſecula longa
Optant, & quicquid deniq́ longa poteſt.
Altera dona feres, vera, & tui amantia corda,
Quorum gens ludum iam regit vna tuum.
In quibus eſt infracta fides, falſumq́ peroſa,
Quæq́ tuo audito nomine læta ſalit:
Grata venis igitur, quantum cor concipit vllum,
Quantum lingua poteſt dicere, grata venis.
Cordibus infractis, linguiſq́ per omnia lætis
Grata venis: ſaluam te velit eſſe deus.

Now when the child had pronounced his Oration, and the Queenes highnes ſo thankefully had receiued it, ſhe marc[illegible]ward towarde Gracious ſtreete, where a [illegible] ende, before the ſigne of yͤ Egle, the C[illegible] erected a gorgeous and ſumptuous arke as heere followeth.

A ſtage was made, whiche extended from the one ſide of the ſtreete to the other, richly vawted with batlementes conteining three portes, and ouer the middlemoſt was aduanced three ſeuerall ſtages in degrees.

Vpon the loweſt ſtage was made one ſeate royall, wherein were placed two perſonages, repreſenting King Henry the ſeuenth, and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edwarde the fourth, eyther of theſe two Princes ſitting vnder one cloth of eſtate in their ſeates, no otherwiſe deuided, but that the one of them whiche was Kyng Henry the ſeuenth, proceeding out of the houſe of Lancaſter, was encloſed in a red roſe, and the other which was Queene Elizabeth, being heire to the houſe of Yorke, encloſed with a white roſe, eache of them royally crowned, and decently apparelled, as apperteineth to Princes, with Scepters in their handes, and one vaute ſurmounting their heads, wherein aptly were placed two tables, eache conteyning the title of thoſe two Princes. And theſe perſonages were ſo ſet, that the one of them ioyned handes wyth the other, with the ring of Matrimonie perceyued on the finger. Out of the whiche two roſes, ſprang two braunches gathered into one, which were directed vpward to the ſecond ſtage or degree, wherein was placed one, repreſenting the valiaunte and noble Prince Kyng Henrye the eyghte, whiche ſprong out of the former ſtocke, crowned with a Crowne imperiall, and by him ſate one repreſenting the righte worthy Ladye Queene Anne, wife to the ſaid King Henry the eyght, and mother to our moſt ſoueraine Ladye Q. Elizabeth that now is, both apparelled with Scepters and diademes, and other furniture due to the ſtate of a King and Queene, and two tables ſurmounting their heads, wherein were written their names and titles.

From their ſeate alſo proceeded vpwards one braunche, directed to the thirde and vppermoſt ſtage or degree, wherein likewiſe was planted a ſeate royall, in the which was ſet one, repreſenting the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie Elizabeth, now our moſt dradde ſoueraigne Lady, crowned & apparelled as yͤ other Princes were.

Out of the foreparte of this Pageaunt, was made a ſtanding for a childe, whiche at the Queenes Maieſties comming, declared vnto hir the whole meaning of the ſaide Pageaunt.

The two ſydes of the ſame were filled wyth loude noyſes of muſicke. And all emptie places thereof were furniſhed with ſentences concerning vnitie. And the whole Pageant garniſhed with redde roſes and white. And in the forefront of the ſame Pageaunte, in a faire wreath, was written the name and title of the ſame, whyche was, The vniting of the two houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke.

This Pageaunte was grounded vppon the Queenes Maieſties name. For like as the long warre betweene the two houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter then ended, when Elizabeth, daughter to Edward the fourth matched in marriage with Henrye the ſeuenth, heyre to the houſe of Lancaſter: ſo ſince that the Queenes Maieſties name was Elizabeth, and for ſomuch as ſhee is the only heire of Henry the eyght, whyche came of both the houſes, as the knitting vp of cõcord, it was deuiſed, that lyke as Elizabeth was the firſt occaſion of concord, ſo ſhee another Elizabeth, mighte maynteyne the ſame among hyr ſubiects, ſo that vnitie was the ende whereat the whole deuiſe ſhotte, as the Queenes Maieſties name moued the firſt grounde.

This Pageant nowe againſt the Queenes Maieſties comming, was addreſſed with children, repreſenting the forenamed perſonages, with all furniture due vnto the ſetting forthe of ſuch a matter well meante, as the argument declared, coſtly & ſumptuouſly ſette forth, as yͤ beholders can beare witnes. Nowe the Queenes Maieſtie drew neere vnto yͤ ſaid Pageant, & forſomuch as the noyſe was great, by reaſon of the preaſſe of people, ſo that ſhee coulde ſcarce heare the childe, which did interprete the ſaid Pageãt, and hir Chariot was paſſed ſo farre forwarde, that ſhe could not well view the perſonages repreſenting the Kings and Queenes aboue named: ſhe required to haue the matter opened vnto hir, and what they ſignified, with the ende of vnitie and ground of hir name, according as is before expreſſed. For the ſight whereof, hir grace cauſed hir Chariot to be remoued backe, and yet hardly could ſhe ſee, bycauſe the childrẽ were ſet ſomewhat with the fartheſt in. But after that hir grace had vnderſtoode the meaning thereof, ſhee thanked the Citie, prayſed the faireneſſe of the worke, and promiſed that ſhee would do hyr whole endeuour, for the continuall preſeruation of concord, as the Pageante did importe. The child appoynted in the ſtanding abouenamed, to open the meaning of the ſayde Pageant, ſpake theſe words vnto hir grace.

The two Princes that ſitte vnder one cloth of ſtate,
The man in the redde Roſe, the woman in the white:
Henry the ſeuenth, and Queene Elizabeth his mate,
By ring of marriage, as man and wife vnite.

Both heires to both their blouds, to Lancaſter the kyng,
The Queene to Yorke, in one the two houſes did knitte,
Of whome as heyre to both, Henry the eyght did ſpring,
In whoſe ſeate his true heire thou Queene Elizabeth doſt ſit.

Therefore as ciuill warre, and ſhede of bloud did ceaſſe,
When theſe two houſes were vnited into one,
So now that iarre ſhall ſtint, and quietnes encreaſe,
We truſt, O noble Queene, thou wilt be cauſe alone.

The which alſo were written in latin verſes, and both drawen in two tables vppon the forefront of the ſaid Pageant as hereafter foloweth.

Hij quos iungit idem ſolium quos annulus idem:
Hæc albente nitens, ille rubente Ro*ſa:*
Septimus Henricus Rex, *Regina* Eli*zabetha,*
Scilicet Hæredes *gentis vterq́; ſuæ.*
Hæc Eboracen*ſis,* L*ancaſtrius ille dederunt*
Connubio, *è geminis quo foret vna domus.*
Excipit *hos hæres* Henricus *copula regum*
Octauus, *magni* Regis *imago potens*
Regibus hinc ſuccedis auis Regiq́; *parenti*
Patris iuſta hæres Elizabetha *tui.*

Sentences placed therein concerning vnitie.

Nullæ concordes animos vires domant.
Qui iuncti terrent, deiuncti timent.
Diſcordes animi ſoluunt, concordes ligant.
Augentur parua pace, magna bello cadunt.
Coniunctæ manus fortius tollunt onus.
Regno pro mœnibus æneis ciuium concordia.
Qui diu pugnant diutius lugent.
Diſsidentes principes ſubditorum lues.
Princeps ad pacem natus non ad arma datur
Filia concordiæ copia, neptis quies.
Diſſentiens reſpublica hoſtibus patet.
Qui idem tenent, diutius tenent.
Regnum diuiſum facilè diſſoluitur.
Ciuitas concors armis fruſtrà tentatur.
Omnium gentium conſenſus firmat fidem. &c.

Theſe verſes and other pretie ſentences were drawen in voide places of this Pageant, all tending to one ende, that quietnes might be mainteyned, and all diſſention diſplaced, and that by the Queenes Maieſtie, heire to agreement, and agreeyng in name with hir, which tofore hadde ioyned thoſe houſes, whiche had bin the occaſion of muche debate and ciuill warre within thys

Realme, as may appeare to ſuche as will ſearch Chronicles, but be not to bee touched heerein, onely declaring hir graces paſſage through the Citie, and what prouiſion the Citie made therefore. And ere the Queenes Maieſtie came within hearing of this Pageant, ſhee ſente certaine as alſo at all the other Pageauntes, to require the people to bee ſilent. For hir Maieſtie was diſpoſed to heare all that ſhoulde bee ſayde vnto hir.

When the Queenes Maieſtie had hearde the childes Oration, and vnderſtoode the meaning of the Pageant at large, ſhe marched forwarde towarde Cornehill, alway receiued with lyke reioycing of the people, and there as hir grace paſſed by the cõduit, which was curiouſly trimmed againſte that time with rich banners adorned, and a noyſe of loude inſtruments vpon the toppe thereof, ſhe eſpyed the ſeconde Pageaunt, and bycauſe ſhe feared for the peoples noyſe, that ſhe ſhould not heare the child which did expound the ſame, ſhee enquired what that Pageant was ere that ſhee came to it. And there vnderſtoode, that there was a childe repreſenting hir Maieſties perſon, placed in a ſeate of gouernemente, ſupported by certaine vertues, which ſuppreſſed their contrarie vices vnder their feete, & ſo forth, as in the deſcription of the ſaide Pageaunt ſhall heereafter appeare.

This Pageant ſtanding in the nether ende of Cornehill, was extended from the one ſyde of the ſtreete to the other, and in the ſame Pageant was deuiſed three gates all open, and ouer the middle parte thereof was erected one chaire or ſeate royall, with a cloth of eſtate to yͤ ſame apperteyning, wherein was placed a childe, repreſenting the Queenes highnes, with conſideration had for place conuenient for a table, whiche conteyned hir name and title: and in a comely wreath artificially and well deuiſed, with perfite ſighte and vnderſtandyng to the people.

In the front of the ſame Pageãt was writtẽ the name and title thereof, which is The ſeate of worthy Gouernaunce, which ſeate was made in ſuch artificiall manner, as to the appearance of the lookers on, the foreparte ſeemed to haue no ſtay, and therefore of force was ſtayde by liuely perſonages, which perſonages were in number foure, ſtanding and ſtaying the forefront of the ſame ſeate royall, eache hauing hys face to the Queene and people, whereof euerye one had a table to expreſſe theyr effectes, whyche are vertues, namely, Pure Religion, Loue of Subiectes, VViſedome and Iuſtice, which did treade their contrary vices vnder their feete, that is to witte, Pure Religion dyd treade vpon Superſtition and Ignoraunce, Loue of Subiects, did treade vpon Rebelliõ and Inſolencie, VViſedome did treade vpon Follie and Vaine glory, Iuſtice dyd treade vpon Adulacion and Briberie. Eche of theſe perſonages according to their proper names and properties, had not only their names in playne and perfite writing ſet vppon theyr breaſtes eaſily to bee redde of all, but alſo euerye of them was aptly and properly apparelled, ſo that his apparell and name dyd agree to expreſſe the ſame perſon, that in title he repreſented.

This part of the Pageant was thus appointed and furniſhed.

The two ſydes ouer the two ſide portes had in them placed a noyſe of inſtrumentes, whyche immediately, after the childes ſpeeche, gaue an heauenly melodie.

Vpon the toppe or vppermoſt part of the ſaid Pageant, ſtoode the armes of England, royally portratured with the proper beaſtes to vphold the ſame.

One repreſenting the Queenes highnes, ſate in this ſeate, crowned with an imperial crowne, and before hir ſeate, was a conuenient place appoynted for one childe, which did interprete and apply the ſaid Pageant, as heereafter ſhall be declared. Euery voyde place was furniſhed with proper ſentences, commending the ſeate ſupported by vertues, and defacyng the vices, to the vtter extirpation of Rebellion, and to euerlaſting continuance of quietneſſe and peace. The Queenes Maieſtie approching nigh vnto thys Pageaunte thus beautifyed and furniſhed in all poyntes, cauſed hir Chariot to be drawen nygh thereunto, that hir grace myght heare the childs Oration, which was thys.

While that Religion true, ſhall ignorance ſuppreſſe,
And with hir weightie foote, breake ſuperſtitions head,
Whyle loue of ſubiects, ſhall Rebellion diſtreſſe,
And with zeale to the Prince, inſolency downe treade.

Whyle Iuſtice, can flattering tongs and briberie deface,
While follie and vaynegloꝛie to wiſedome yeeld their handes:
So long ſhall gouernement not ſwarue from hir right race,
But wrong decayeth ſtill, and rightwiſnes vp ſtandes.

Now all thy ſubiects heartes, O Prince of peereles fame,
Do truſt theſe vertues ſhall mainteyne vp thy throne,
And vice be kept downe ſtill, the wicked put to ſhame,
That good with good may ioy, & naught with naught may mone

Whiche verſes were painted vpon the ryghte ſide of the ſame Pageant, and the latine thereof on yͤ left ſide in another table, which were theſe.

Quæ ſubnixa altè ſolio regina ſuperbo eſt,
Effigiem ſanctæ principis alma refert,
Quam ciuilis amor fulcit, ſapientia firmat,
Iuſticia illuſtrat, Relligioq; beat,
Vana ſuperſtitio & craſſa ignorantia frontis
Preſſæ ſub pura relligione iacent.
Regis amor domat effrænos, animoſq; rebelles
Iuſtus adulantes, Doniuoroſq; terit.

Cum

Cúm regit imperium ſapiens, ſine luce ſedebunt
Stultitia, atq; huius numen inanis honor.

Beſide theſe verſes, there were placed in euery voyde rome of the Pageant, both in Engliſh and latin, ſuch ſentences, as aduanced the ſeate of gouernaunce vpholden by vertue. The groũd of this Pageante was, that lyke as by vertues (whiche doe aboundantly appeare in hir grace) the Queenes Maieſtie was eſtabliſhed in the ſeate of gouernemente: ſo ſhee ſhoulde ſitte faſt in the ſame, ſo long as ſhee embraſed Vertue, and helde vice vnder foote. For if vice once gote vp the head, it woulde put the ſeate of gouernement in perill of falling.

The Queenes Maieſtie when ſhe had heard the childe, and vnderſtoode the Pageant at full, gaue the Citie alſo thankes there, and moſt graciouſly promiſed hir good endeuour for yͤ maintenance of the ſaide vertues, and ſuppreſſion of vices, and ſo marched on, till ſhe came agaynſte the great conduit in Cheape, whiche was beautified with pictures and ſentences accordingly, againſt hir graces comming thither.

Againſt Soper lanes ende was extended frõ the one ſide of the ſtreete to the other, a Pageant which had three gates all open. Ouer the midlemoſt whereof were erected three ſeuerall ſtages, whereon ſate eyght children, as heereafter followeth. On the vppermoſt one childe, on yͤ middle three, on the loweſt foure, eache hauing the proper name of the bleſſing, that they did repreſent, written in a table, and placed aboue their heads.

In the forefront of this Pageant, before the children which did repreſent the bleſſings, was a conueniẽt ſtanding caſt out for a child to ſtand, which did expound the ſayd Pageante vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, as was done in the other tofore. Euery of theſe children were appointed & apparelled, according vnto the bleſſing which hee dyd repreſent. And on the foreparte of the ſayde Pageaunte, was written in faire letters the name of the ſayde Pageant in this manner following.

The eight beatitudes expreſſed in the fifth Chapter of the Goſpell of Sainte Mathew, applyed to oure ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth.

Ouer the two ſide portes was placed a noiſe of inſtruments. And all voyde places in the Pageant were furniſhed with pretie ſayings, commending and touching the meaning of the ſaid Pageaunte, whiche was the promiſes and bleſſings of Almightie God, made to hys people.

Before that the Queenes highnes came vnto this Pageaunte, ſhee required the matter ſomewhat to be opened vnto hir, that hir grace might the better vnderſtand, what ſhould afterwarde by the child be ſayde vnto hir. Which ſo was, yͭ the Citie had there erected the Pageaunte with eyght children, repreſenting the eyght bleſſings touched in the fifth Chapter of S. Mathewe. Wherof euery one vpon iuſt cõſideratiõs, was applyed vnto hir highneſſe, and that the people thereby putte hir grace in mind, that as hir good doings before had giuen iuſt occaſion, why that theſe bleſſings might fall vpon hir, that ſo if hyr grace did continue in hir goodnes as ſhe had entred, ſhee ſhoulde hope for the frute of theſe promiſes due vnto thẽ, that do exerciſe themſelues in the bleſſings: whiche hir grace heard maruellous graciouſly, and required that the Chariot might be remoued towardes the Pageaunt, that ſhe might perceiue the childs words, which were theſe, the Queenes Maieſtie giuing moſt attẽtiue eare, and requiring that the peoples noyſe might be ſtayde.

Thou haſt bin eyght times bleſt, O Queene of worthy
By meekenes of thy ſpirit, when care did thee beſette,
By mourning in thy griefe, by mildnes in thy blame,
By hunger and by thirſt, and iuſtice couldſt none gette.

By mercy ſhewed, not felt, by cleanes of thine heart,
By ſeeking peace alwaies, by perſecution wrong.
Therefore truſt thou in God, ſince he hath helpt thy ſmart,
That as his promis is, ſo he will make thee ſtrong.

When theſe words were ſpoken, all the people wiſhed, that as the childe had ſpoken, ſo God woulde ſtrengthen hir grace againſte all hir aduerſaries, whome the Queenes Maieſtie dyd moſt gently thanke for their ſo louing wiſhe. Theſe verſes were painted on the left ſide of the ſayd Pageaunte, and other in latin on the other ſide, which were theſe.

Qui lugent hilares fient, qui mitia geſtant
Pectora, multa ſoli iugera culta metent:
Iuſtitiam eſuriens ſitienſue replebitur: ipſum
Fas homini puro corde videre deum:
Quẽ alterius miſeret, dominus miſerebitur huius:
Pacificus quiſquis, filius ille Dei eſt:
Propter iuſtitiam quiſquis patietur habetq;
Demiſſam mentem, cælica regna capit.
Huic hominum generi terram, mare, ſidera vouit
Omnipotens, horum quiſque beatus erit.

Beſides theſe, euery voide place in the Pageant was furniſhed with ſentences touchyng the matter and ground of the ſayd Pageaunte. When all that was to be ſayd in this Pageant was ended, the Queenes Maieſtie paſſed on forward in Cheape ſide.

At the Standert in Cheape, which was dreſſed faire againſt the time, was placed a noyſe of Trumpettes, with banners and other furniture. The Croſſe lykewiſe was alſo made faire, and well trimmed.

And neere vnto the ſame, vppon the porche of Saint Peeters Church dore, ſtoode the Waites of the Citie, which did giue a pleaſaunte noyſe with their inſtrumentes, as the Queenes Maieſtie did paſſe by, whiche on euery ſide caſt hyr countenance, and wiſhed well to all hir moſt louing people. Soone after that hir grace paſſed yͤ Croſſe, ſhe had eſpyed the Pageant erected at the little conduit in Cheape, and incontinent required to know what it might ſignifie. And it was tolde hir grace, that there was placed Tyme. Tyme? quoth ſhee, and Tyme hath broughte me hither. And ſo forth the whole matter was opened to hir grace, as heereafter ſhall be declared in the deſcription of the Pageant. But in the opening, when hir grace vnderſtoode that the Byble in Engliſhe ſhoulde be deliuered vnto hir by Trueth, which was therin repreſented by a childe: ſhe thanked the Citie for that gift, and ſayd, that ſhe would oftentimes reade ouer that Booke, commaunding Sir Iohn Parrat, one of the Knights which helde vp hir Canapie, to goe before, and to receiue the Booke. But learning that it ſhoulde bee deliuered vnto hir grace downe by a ſilken lace, ſhee cauſed him to ſtay, and ſo paſſed forwarde till ſhee came agaynſte the Aldermen in the high ende of Cheape tofore the little conduite, where the companyes of the Citie ended, which beganne at Fanchurche, and ſtoode along the ſtreetes, one by another, encloſed with rayles, hanged with clothes, and themſelues well apparelled with manye riche furres, and their liuery whodes vpon their ſhoulders in comely and ſeemely maner, hauing before them ſundrye perſons well apparelled in ſilkes and chaynes of golde, as wyflers and garders of the ſayde companyes, beſide a number of riche hangings, as well of Tapiſtrie, Arras, clothes of golde, ſiluer, veluet, damaſke, Sattin, and other ſilkes plentifully hanged all the way as the Queenes highneſſe paſſed from the Tower thorough the Citie.

Out at the windowes and penthouſes of euery houſe, did hang a number of riche and coſtly banners and ſtreamers, till hir grace came to the vpper ende of Cheape. And there by appointmente, the ryght worſhipfull Maiſter Ranulph Cholmeley, Recorder of the Citie, preſented to the Queenes Maieſtie a purſe of crymeſon ſattine, richely wroughte with golde, wherein, the Citie gaue vnto the Queenes Maieſtie a thouſande markes in golde, as Maiſter Recorder did declare briefely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, whoſe wordes tended to this ende, that the Lord Maior his breethren, and communaltie of the Citie, to declare their gladnes and good will towards the Queenes Maieſtie, did preſente hyr grace with that gold, deſiring hir grace to continue their good and gracious Queene, and not to eſteeme the value of the gift, but the mynde of the giuers. The Queenes Maieſtie with both hir hands, tooke the purſe, and aunſwered to him againe maruellous pithily, and ſo pithily, that the ſtanders by, as they embraced entierly hyr gracious aunſwere, ſo they maruelled at the cowching thereof, which was in wordes truely reported theſe. I thanke my Lorde Maior, hys breethrē, and you all. And whereas your requeſt is that I ſhould continue youre good Lady and Queene, bee yee enſured, that I will be as good vnto you, as euer Queene was to hir people. No will in mee can lacke, neyther doe I truſt ſhall there lacke any power. And perſwade your ſelues, yͭ for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of you all, I will not ſpare, if neede be, to ſpend my bloud, God thanke you all. Whiche aunſwere of ſo noble an hearted Princes, if it moued a maruellous ſhoute and reioycing, it is nothing to bee maruelled at, ſince both the heartineſſe thereof was ſo wonderfull, and the wordes ſo ioyntly knitte. When hir grace had thus aunſwered the Recorder, ſhee marched towarde the little conduit, where was erected a Pageant with ſquare proportion, ſtanding directly before the ſame conduit, with battlementes accordingly. And in the ſame Pageant was aduanced two hylles or Mountaynes of conuenient height. The one of them beeing on the North ſyde of the ſame Pageante, was made cragged, barren and ſtonie, in the whiche was erected one tree, artificially made, all withered and dead, with braunches accordingly.

And vnder the ſame tree at the foote thereof, ſate one in homely and rude apparell crokedly, and in mourning maner, hauing ouer hys head in a table, written in Latin and Engliſhe, hys name, whiche was *Ruinoſa Reſpublica*, A decayed common weale.

And vppon the ſame withered tree were fixed certayne Tables, wherein were written proper ſentences, expreſſing the cauſes of the decay of a common weale. The other hill on the South ſyde was made fayre, freſh, greene, and beautifull, the grounde thereof full of floures and beautie, and on the ſame was erected alſo one tree, very freſhe and faire, vnder the whyche, ſtoode vpright one freſhe perſonage well apparelled and appoynted, whoſe name alſo was written both in Engliſh and Latin, which was, *Reſpublica bene inſtituta*, a flouriſhing common Weale.

And vpon the ſame tree alſo, were fixed certaine Tables conteyning ſentences, whych expreſſed the cauſes of a flouriſhing common Weale. In the myddle betweene the ſayde hylles, was made artificially one hollow place or caue, with dore and locke encloſed, out of the which, a little before the Queenes highnes comming thither, iſſued one perſonage, whoſe name was Tyme, apparelled as an old man, with a Sythe in his hande, hauing wings artificially made, leading a perſonage of leſſer ſtature than himſelfe, which was finely and well apparelled, all cladde in white ſylke, and directly ouer hyr head, was ſette hir name and title in latine and Engliſh, *Temporis filia*, the daughter of Tyme. Whiche two ſo appoynted, wente forwarde toward the South ſide of the Pageant. And on hir breſt was written hir proper name, which was *Veritas*, Truth, who helde a Booke in hir hand, vpon the which was written, *Verbum veritatis*, the word of trueth. And out of the South ſyde of the Pageant, was caſt a ſtanding for a child, which ſhoulde interprete the ſame Pageant. Againſte whome, when the Queenes Maieſtie came, he ſpake vnto hir grace theſe words.

This old man with the ſythe, olde father Tyme they call,
And hir his daughter Trueth, which holdeth yonder Booke,
Whome he out of his rocke hath brought forth to vs all,
From whence this many yeares ſhe durſt not once out looke.

The ruthfull wight that ſitteth vnder the barren tree,
Reſembleth to vs the forme, when common weales decay,
But when they be in ſtate triumphant, you may ſee
By him in freſhe attire that ſitteth vnder the baye.

Nowe ſince that Tyme agayne his daughter Trueth hathe
We truſt O worthy Q. thou wilt this trueth embrace, (brought,
And ſince thou vnderſtandſt the good eſtate and naught,
We truſt welth thou wilte plant, and barrennes diſplace.

But for to heale the ſore, and cure that is not ſeene,
Whiche thing the Booke of trueth doth teach in writing playne:
She doth preſent to thee the ſame, O worthy Queene,
For that, that words do flye, but writing doth remayne.

When the childe had thus ended his ſpeeche, hee reached his Booke towardes the Queenes Maieſtie, which a little before, Trueth had lette downe vnto him from the hill, whyche by Sir Iohn Parrat was receiued, and deliuered vnto the Queene. But ſhee as ſoone as ſhe had receyued the Booke, kiſſed it, and with both hir hands helde vp the ſame, and ſo layd it vpon hir breſt, with great thankes to the Citie therefore. And ſo wente forwarde towardes Paules Churchyarde. The former matter whiche was rehearſed vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, was written in two tables, on eyther ſide the Pageant eight verſes, and in the middeſt, theſe in latine.

Ille, vides falcem læua qui ſuſtinet vncam,
Tempus is eſt, cui ſtat filia vera comes
Hanc pater exeſa deductam rupe reponit
In lucem, quam non viderat ante diu.
Qui ſedet à læua cultu male triſtis inepto
Quem duris creſcens cautibus orbis obit,
Nos monet effigie, qua ſit reſpublica quando
Corruit, at contra quando beata viget
Ille docet iuuenis forma ſpectandus amictu
Scitus, & æterna laurea fronde virens.

The ſentences written in latine and Engliſhe vpon both the trees, declaring the cauſes of both eſtates, were theſe.

Cauſes of a ruinous common weale are theſe.

Want of the feare of God
Diſobedience to rulers
Blindnes of guides
Briberie in Magiſtrates
Rebellion in ſubiects
Ciuill diſagreement
Flattering of Princes
Vnmercifulneſſe in Rulers
Vnthankefulneſſe in Subiects.

Cauſes of a flouriſhing common weale.

Feare of God
A wiſe Prince
Learned Rulers
Obedience to officers
Obedient ſubiects
Louers of the common Weale
Vertue rewarded
Vice chaſtned.

The matter of this Pageaunte dependeth of them that went before. For as the firſt declared hir grace to come out of the houſe of vnitie, the ſecond that ſhe is placed in the ſeate of gouernemente ſtaid with vertues, to the ſuppreſſion of vice, and therefore in the thirde, the eyght bleſſings of almighty God mighte well bee applyed vnto hir: ſo this fourth nowe is, to put hir grace in remembraunce of the ſtate of the common weale, which Time with Trueth his daughter doth reueale, which Trueth alſo hir grace hathe receiued, and therefore cannot but bee mercifull and carefull for the good gouernement thereof.

From thence, the Queenes Maieſtie paſſed towarde Paules Churchyard, and when ſhee came ouer againſte Paules Schoole, a child appoynted by the Scholemaiſter thereof, pronoūced a certayne Oration in Latine, and certayne verſes, whiche alſo were there written as followeth.

Philoſophus ille diuinus Plato inter multa preclarè ac ſapienter dicta, hoc poſteris proditum reliquit, Rempublicam illam fæliciſsimam fore, cui princeps ſophiæ ſtudioſa, virtutibuſq; ornata cōtigerit. Quem ſi vere dixiſſe cenſeamus (vt quidē veriſ-

veriſsime) cur non terra Britannica *plauderet? cur non populus gaudium atq́; lætitiam agitaret? immo, cur non hunc diem, albo (quod aiunt) lapillo notaret? quo princeps talis nobis adeſt, qualem priores non viderunt, qualemq́; poſteritas haud facile cernere poterit, dotibus quum animi, tum corporis vndiq́; fælicisſima. Caſti quidem corporis dotes ita apertæ ſunt, vt oratione non egeant.* Animi *vero tot tantæq́;, vt ne verbis quidem exprimi poſsint.* Hæc *nempe regibus ſummis orta, morum atq́; animi nobilitate genus exuperat.* Huius *pectus Chriſti religionis amore flagrat.* Hæc *gentem* Britannicam *virtutibus illuſtrabit, clipeoq́; iuſtitiæ teget.* Hæc *literis græcis & latinis eximia, ingenioq́; præpollens eſt.* Hac *imperante pietas vigebit,* Anglia *florebit, aurea ſecula redibunt.* Vos *igitur* Angli *tot commoda accepturi* Elizabetham Reginam *noſtram celeberrimam ab ipſo Chriſto huius regni imperio deſtinatam, honore debito proſequimini.* Huius *imperiijs animo libentisſimo ſubditi eſtote, voſq́; tali principe dignos prebete.* Et *quoniam pueri non viribus ſed præcibus,* Officium *præſtare poſſunt, nos* Alumni *huius ſcholæ ab ipſo* Coleto *olim* Templi Paulini Decano, *extructæ teneras palmas ad Cælum tendentes Chriſtum* Opt. Maxi. *præcaturi ſumus vt tuam celſitudinem annos* Neſtoreos *ſummo cum honore* Anglis *imperitare faciat, matremq́; pignoribus charis beatam reddat.* Amen.

Anglia nunc tandem plaudas, lætare, reſulta,
Preſto iam vita eſt, præſidiumq́; tibi
En tua ſpes venit tua gloria, lux, decus omne
Venit iam, ſolidam quæ tibi preſtat opem.
Succurretq́; tuis rebus quæ peſſum abiere.
Perdita quæ fuerant hæc reparare volet
Omnia florebunt, redeunt nunc aurea ſecla.
In melius ſurgent quæ cecidere bona.
Debes ergo illi totam te reddere fidam
Cuius in acceſſu commoda tot capies.
Salue igitur dicas, imo de pectore ſummo.
Elizabeth Regni *non dubitanda ſalus,*
Virgo venit, veni atq́; optes comitata deinceps.
Pignoribus charis, læta parens veniat,
Hoc deus omnipotens ex alto donet olympo,
Qui cælum & terram condidit atq́; regit.

Which the Queenes Maieſtie moſt attentiuely hearkned vnto. And when the childe had pronounced, he did kiſſe the Oration which hee had there fayre written in Paper, and deliuered it vnto the Queens Maieſtie, which moſt gently receyued the ſame.

And when the Queenes Maieſtie had heard all that was there offred to bee ſpoken, then hir grace marched towarde Ludgate, where ſhee was receyued with a noyſe of Inſtruments, the forefront of the gate beeyng finely trimmed vp agaynſt hir Maieſties comming.

From thence by the way as ſhe went downe towarde Fleetebridge, one aboute hir grace noted the Cities charge, that there was no coſt ſpared. Hir grace anſwered, that ſhee did well conſider the ſame, and that it ſhoulde be remembred. An honourable aunſwere, worthie a noble Prince, which may comfort all hir ſubiects, conſidering that there can be no point of gentleneſſe, or obedient loue ſhewed toward hir grace, which ſhe doth not moſt tenderly accept, and graciouſly wey.

In thys maner, the people on euerie ſyde reioyſing, hir grace went forwarde towarde the Conduyte in Fleeteſtreete, where was the fyft and laſte Pageant erected in forme following.

From the Conduyte which was beautified wyth paynting, vnto the Northſyde of the ſtreete, was erected a Stage, embattayled with foure Towers, and in the ſame a ſquare platte ryſing wyth degrees, and vpon the vppermoſt degree was placed a Chayre, or ſeate royall, and behinde the ſame ſeate, in curious artificiall maner was erected a tree of reaſonable heigth, and ſo farre aduaunced aboue the ſeate, as it did well and ſeemely ſhadowe the ſame, withoute endamaging the ſight of anye part of the Pageant, and the ſame tree was beautified with leaues as greene as Arte coulde deuiſe, being of a conuenient greatneſſe, and conteyning therevpon the fruite of the Date, and on the toppe of the ſame tree in a Table was ſet the name thereof, which was A Palme tree, and in the aforeſayd ſeate or Chayre was placed a ſeemely and meete perſonage richely apparayled in Parliament Robes, with a ſcepter in hir hande, as a Queene, crowned wyth an open Crowne, whoſe name and tytle was in a Table fixed ouer hir head, in this ſort. Debora the Iudge and reſtorer of the houſe of Iſraell Iudic. 4. And the other degrees on eyther ſide were furniſhed with ſixe perſonages, two repreſenting the Nobilitie, two the Cleargie, and two the Comunaltie. And before theſe perſonages was written in a Table, Debora with hir eſtates, conſulting for the good gouernment of Iſraell. At the feete of theſe, and the loweſt part of the Pageant, was ordeyned a conuenient roome for a childe to open the meaning of the Pageant.

When the Queenes Maieſtie drewe neare vnto thys Pageant, and perceyued, as in the other, the childe readie to ſpeake, hir Grace requyred ſilence, and commaunded hir Chariot to bee remoued nigher, that ſhee myght plainly heare the childe ſpeake, whiche ſayde as hereafter followeth.

Iabin of Canaan king had long by force of armes
Oppreſt the Iſraelites, which for Gods people went,
But God myndiug at laſt for to redreſſe theyr harmes,
The worthie Debora as iudge among them ſent.

In warre ſhe through Gods ayde, did put hir foes to flight,
And with the dint of ſworde the band of bondage braſt.
In peace ſhe, through Gods ayd, did alway mainteyne right,
And iudged Iſraell till fortie yeares were paſt.

A worthie preſident, O worthie Queene, thou haſt,
A worthie woman iudge, a woman ſent for ſtay.
And that the like to vs endure alway thou mayſt
Thy louing ſubiects will with true hearts and tongs pray.

Which verſes were written vpon the Pageant, and the ſame in latine alſo.

Quando dei populum Canaan, rex preſsit Iaben,
Mittitur a magno Debora magna deo:
Quæ populum eriperet, ſanctum ſeruaret Iudan,
Milite quæ patrio frangeret hoſtis opes.
Hæc domino mandante deo lectiſsima fecit.
Fæmina, & aduerſos contudit enſe viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello ſtrenua, pace grauis,
Sic, O ſic populum belloq́; & pace guberna,
Debora ſis Anglis Elizabetha tuis.

The voyde places of the Pageant were filled with pretie ſentences concerning the ſame matter. The ground of this laſt Pageant was, that forſomuch as the next Pageant before had ſet before hir graces eyes the flouriſhing and deſolate ſtates of a common weale, ſhee might by this be put in remembrance to conſult for the worthie gouernment of hir people, conſidering God oftentymes ſent women nobly to rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Iſraell in peace the ſpace of. xl. yeares: and that it behoueth both men and women ſo ruling to vſe aduiſe of good counſaile. When the Queenes maieſty had paſſed this pageãt, ſhe marched toward Temple barre. But at S. Dunſtones Church where the children of the Hoſpitall were appointed to ſtand with their gouernors, hir grace perceyuing a childe offred to make an oration vnto hir, ſtayed hir Chariot, and did caſt vp hir eyes to heauen, as who ſhoulde ſay, I here ſee this mercifull worke towarde the poore, whome I muſt in the middeſt of my royaltie neede remember, and ſo turned hir face towarde the childe, which in Latin pronounced an Oration to this effect, That after the Queenes highneſſe had paſſed through the Citie, and had ſeene ſo ſumptuous, riche, and notable ſpectacles of the Citizens, which declared theyr moſt heartie receyuing, and ioyous welcomming of hir grace into the ſame: this one ſpectacle yet reſted, and remayned, which was the euerlaſting ſpectacle of mercie vnto the poore members of Almightie God, furthered by that famous and moſte noble Prince king Henrie the eight hir graces father, erected by the Citie of London, and aduaunced by the moſt godly vertuous and gracious prince King Edwarde the ſixt, hir Graces deare and louing brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the Queenes moſte gracious clemencie, by the which they may not onely bee relieued and helped, but alſo ſtayed and defended, and therefore inceſſantly they woulde pray and crie vnto almightie God, for the long life and raigne of hir highneſſe, with moſt proſperous victorie againſt hir enimies.

The childe after he had ended his Oration, kiſſed the Paper wherein the ſame was written, and reached it to the Queenes Maieſtie, which receyued it graciouſly, both with wordes and countenaunce, declaring hir gracious mynd towarde their reliefe. From thence hir grace came to Templebarre, which was dreſſed finely with the two Images of Gotmagot the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two Gyants, bigge in ſtature, furniſhed accordingly, whiche helde in theyr handes euen aboue the Gate, a Table, wherein was written in Latin verſes, the effect of all the Pageants which the Citie before had erected, which verſes were theſe.

Ecce ſub aſpectu iam contemplaberis vno
O princeps populi ſola columna tui.
Quicquid in immenſa paſsim perſpexeris vrbe
Quæ cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te ſolio regni donauit auiti,
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppreſsis vitijs, domina virtute, Secundus
Firmauit ſedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni poſuit te parte beatam
Si, qua cœpiſti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, reſpublica lapſo quid eſſet
Quæ florens ſtaret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora, miſſam
Cælitus in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuæ ſpes vnica gentis,
Hæc poſtrema vrbis ſuſcipe vota tuæ.
Viue diu, regnaq́; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi ſpem tueare tui.
Sic o ſic petitur cælum. ſic itur in aſtra
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Which verſes were alſo written in Engliſh meter, in a leſſe table as hereafter foloweth.

Beholde here in one view, thou mayſt ſee all that plaine,
O princeſſe to this thy people the onely ſtay:
What echewhere thou haſt ſeene in this wide towne, againe
This one arche whatſoeuer the reſt conteynd, doth ſay

The firſt arche as true heyre vnto thy father deere,
Did ſet thee in thy throne where thy grandfather ſat,

ſeconde did confyrme thy ſeate as Princeſſe here,
tues now bearing ſway, and vices bet downe flatte.

The thirde, if that thou wouldeſt go on as thou began,
clared thee to be bleſſed on euery ſyde,
e fourth did open Truth, and alſo taught thee whan
e common weale ſtoode well, and when it did thence ſlide.

e fift, as Debora declared thee to be ſent
m heauen, a long comfort to vs thy ſubiects all,
erfore go on O Queene, on whome our hope is bent,
o take with thee this wiſh of thy towne as finall.

e long, and as long raigne, adorning thy Countrey
h vertues, and mainteine thy peoples hope of thee,
r thus, thus, heauen is wonne, thus muſt thou pierce the ſkie,
is is by vertue wrought, all other muſt needes die.

On the Southſide was appoynted by the Citie a noyſe of ſinging children, and one childe richly attyred as a Poet, which gaue the Queenes Maieſtie hir farewell in the name of the whole Citie, by theſe wordes.

t thine entrance firſt O Prince of high renowne,
ou waſt preſented with tongues and hearts for thy fayre,
now ſith thou muſt needes depart out of this towne,
s Citie ſendeth thee firme hope and earneſt prayer.

r all men hope in thee, that all vertues ſhall raigne,
r all men hope that thou, none errour wilt ſupport:
r all men hope that thou wilt truth reſtore againe,
d mend that is amiſſe, to all good mennes comfort.

d for this hope they pray, thou mayeſt continue long,
r Queene amongſt vs here, all vice for to ſupplant,
d for this hope they pray, that God may make thee ſtrong,
s by his grace puiſſant, ſo in his truth conſtant.

rewell O worthie Queene, and as our hope is ſure,
at into errours place, thou wilt nowe truth reſtore,
truſt we that thou wilt our ſoueraigne Queene endure,
d louing Ladie ſtande, from henceforth euermore.

While theſe wordes were in ſaying, and certaine wiſhes therin repeated for maintenance of truth, and rooting out of errour, ſhe nowe and then helde vp hir handes to heauenwarde, and willed the people to ſay, Amen.

When the childe had ended, ſhe ſayde, be ye well aſſured, I will ſtande your good Queene. At which ſaying, hir grace departed forth through Temple Barre toward Weſtminſter, with no leſſe ſhouting and crying of the people, than ſhee entred the citie with a noyſe of ordinance which the Towre ſhot off at hir graces entrance firſt into Towre ſtreete.

The childes ſaying was alſo in latin verſes written in a Table whiche was hanged vppe there.

O regina potens, quum primā vrbem ingredereris
Dona tibi, linguas fidaq; corda dedit
Diſcedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena ſpei, votaq; plena precum.
Quippe tuis ſpes eſt, in te quod prouida virtus
Rexerit, errori nec locus vllus erit.
Quippe tuis ſpes eſt, quod tu verū omni reduces
Solatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac ſpe freti orant, longum vt regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac ſpe freti orant, diuina vt gratia fortem,
Et veræ fidei te velit eſſe baſin.
Iam Regina vale, & ſicut nos ſpes tenet vna,
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit.
Sic quoq; ſperamus quod eris regina benigna
Nobis per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the Queenes highneſſe paſſed thorow the Citie, which without any forraigne perſon, of it ſelfe beautified it ſelfe, and receyued hir grace at all places as hath beene before mentioned, with moſt tender obedience and loue, due to ſo gracious a Queene and ſoueraigne Lady. And hir grace likewiſe of hir ſide in all hir graces paſſage, ſhewed hirſelfe generally an Image of a worthie Ladie and Gouernour, but priuately theſe eſpeciall poyntes were noted in hir grace, as ſignes of a moſt Princelyke courage, whereby hir louing Subiectes may grounde a ſure hope for the reſt of hir gracious doyngs hereafter.

Certaine notes of the Queenes maieſties great mercie, clemencie, and wiſdom vſed in this paſſage.

About the nether ende of Cornehill towarde Cheape, one of the knightes about hir grace had eſpyed an auncient Citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe, and therewith ſayde thys Gentleman, yonder is an Alderman (for ſo hee tearmed him) which weepeth, and turneth hys face backwarde. Howe may it bee interpreted that he ſo doth, for ſorowe, or for gladneſſe? The Queenes Maieſtie heard him, and ſayd, I warrant you it is for gladneſſe. A gracious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turn the doubtfull to the beſt. And yet it was well known, that as hir grace did confirme the ſame, the parties cheare was moued for verie pure gladneſſe for the ſight of hir Maieſties perſon, at the beholding wherof, he tooke ſuch comfort, that with teares he expreſſed the ſame.

In Cheape ſide hir grace ſmyled, and being thereof demaunded the cauſe, anſwered, for that ſhe heard one ſay, Remember olde king Henrie the eight. A naturall childe, which at the verie remembrance of hir fathers name tooke ſo great a ioy, that all men may well thinke, that as ſhee reioyced at his name whom this Realme doth holde of ſo worthie memorie: ſo in hir doings ſhe will reſemble the ſame.

When the Cityes charge without parcialitie, and onely the Citie was mencioned vnto hir grace, ſhe ſayd it ſhoulde not be forgotten. Which ſaying might moue all natural Engliſh men heartily to ſhew due obedience & entierneſſe ſayde as hereafter followeth.

Iabin of Canaan king had long by force of armes
Oppreſt the Iſraelites, which for Gods people went,
But God mynding at laſt for to redreſſe theyr harmes,
The worthie Debora as iudge among them ſent.

In warre ſhe through Gods ayde, did put hir foes to flight,
And with the dint of ſworde the band of bondage braſt.
In peace ſhe, through Gods ayd, did alway maintayne right,
And iudged Iſraell till fortie yeares were paſt.

A worthie preſident, O worthie Queene, thou haſt,
A worthie woman iudge, a woman ſent for ſtay.
And that the like to vs endure alway thou mayſt
Thy louing ſubiects will with true hearts and tongs pray.

Which verſes were written vpon the Pageant, and the ſame in latine alſo.

Quando dei populum Canaan, rex preſsit Iaben,
Mittitur a magno Debora magna deo:
Quæ populum eriperet, ſanctum ſeruaret Iudan,
Milite que patrio frangeret hoſtis opes.
Hæc domino mandante deo lectiſsima fecit.
Fæmina, & aduerſos contudit enſe viros.
Hæc quater denos populum correxerat annos
Iudicio, bello ſtrenua, pace grauis,
Sic, O ſic populum belloq́; & pace guberna,
Debora ſis Anglis *Elizabetha tuis.*

The voyde places of the Pageant were filled with pretie ſentences concerning the ſame matter. The ground of this laſt Pageant was, that forſomuch as the next Pageant before had ſet before hir graces eyes the flouriſhing and deſolate ſtates of a common weale, ſhee might by this be put in remembrance to conſult for the worthie gouernment of hir people, conſidering God oftentymes ſent women nobly to rule among men, as Debora, which gouerned Iſraell in peace the ſpace of. xl. yeares: and that it behoueth both men and women ſo ruling to vſe aduiſe of good counſaile. When the Queenes maieſty had paſſed this pageãt, ſhe marched toward Temple barre. But at S. Dunſtons Church where the children of the Hoſpitall were appointed to ſtand with their gouernors, hir grace perceyuing a childe offred to make an oration vnto hir, ſtayed hir Chariot, and did caſt vp hir eyes to heauen, as who ſhoulde ſay, I here ſee this mercifull worke towarde the pore, whome I muſt in the middeſt of my royaltie needes remember, and ſo turned hir face towarde the childe, which in Latin pronounced an Oration to this effect, That after the Queenes highneſſe had paſſed through the Citie, and had ſeene ſo ſumptuous, riche, and notable ſpectacles of the Citizens, which declared theyr moſt heartie receyuing, and ioyous welcomming of hir grace into the ſame: this one ſpectacle yet reſted, and remayned, which was the euerlaſting ſpectacle of mercie vnto the pore members of Almightie God, furthered by that famous and moſte noble Prince king Henrie the eight hir graces father, erected by the Citie of London, and aduaunced by the moſt godly vertuous and gracious prince King Edwarde the ſixt, hir Graces deare and louing brother, doubting nothing of the mercie of the Queenes moſte gracious clemencie, by the which they may not onely bee relieued and helped, but alſo ſtayed and defended, and therefore inceſſantly they woulde pray and crie vnto almightie God, for the long life and raigne of hir highneſſe, with moſt proſperous victorie againſt hir enimies.

The childe after he had ended his Oration, kiſſed the Paper wherein the ſame was written, and reached it to the Queenes Maieſtie, which receyued it graciouſly, both with wordes and countenaunce, declaring hir gracious mynd towarde their reliefe. From thence hir grace came to Templebarre, which was dreſſed finely with the two Images of Gotmagot the Albion, and Corineus the Briton, two Gyants, bigge in ſtature, furniſhed accordingly, whiche helde in theyr handes euen aboue the Gate, a Table, wherein was written in Latin verſes, the effect of all the Pageants which the Citie before had erected, which verſes were theſe.

Ecce ſub aſpectu iam contemplaberis vno
O princeps populi ſola columna tui.
Quicquid in immenſa paſsim perſpexeris vrbe
Quæ cepere omnes vnus hic arcus habet.
Primus te ſolio regni donauit auiti,
Hæres quippe tui vera parentis eras.
Suppreſsis vitijs, domina virtute, Secundus
Firmauit ſedem regia virgo tuam.
Tertius ex omni poſuit te parte beatam
Si, qua cæpiſti pergere velle, velis.
Quarto quid verum, reſpublica lapſo quid eſſet
Quæ florens ſtaret te docuere tui.
Quinto magna loco monuit te Debora, miſſam
Cælitus in regni gaudia longa tui.
Perge ergo regina, tuæ ſpes vnica gentis,
Hæc poſtrema vrbis ſuſcipe vota tuæ.
Viue diu, regnaq́; diu, virtutibus orna
Rem patriam, & populi ſpem tueare tui.
Sic o ſic petitur cælum. ſic itur in aſtra
Hoc virtutis opus, cætera mortis erunt.

Which verſes were alſo written in Engliſh meter, in a leſſe table as hereafter foloweth.

Beholde here in one view, thou mayſt ſee all that plaine,
O princeſſe to this thy people the onely ſtay:
What echewhere thou haſt ſeene in this wide towne, again
This one arche whatſoeuer the reſt conteynd, doth ſay

The firſt arche as true heyre vnto thy father deere,
Did ſet thee in thy throne where thy grandfather ſat,

ronde did confyrme thy ſeate as Princeſſe here,
s now bearing ſway, and vices bet downe flatte.

thirde, if that thou wouldeſt go on as thou began,
ared thee to be bleſſed on euery ſyde,
fourth did open Truth, and alſo taught thee when
common weale ſtoode well, and when it did thence ſlide,

fift, as Debora declared thee to be ſent
heauen, a long comfort to vs thy ſubiects all,
fore go on O Queene, on whome our hope is bent,
ake with thee this wiſh of thy towne as finall.

long, and as long raigne, adorning thy Countrey
vertues, and mainteine thy peoples hope of thee,
thus, thus, heauen is wonne, thus muſt thou pierce the ſkie,
is by vertue wrought, all other muſt needes die.

On the Southſide was appoynted by the Citie a noyſe of ſinging children, and one childe richly attyred as a Poet, which gaue the Queenes Maieſtie hir farewell in the name of the whole Citie, by theſe wordes.

thine entrance firſt, O Prince of high renowne,
waſt preſented with tongues and hearts for thy fayre,
ow ſith thou muſt needes depart out of this towne,
Citie ſendeth thee firme hope and earneſt prayer.

all men hope in thee, that all vertues ſhall raigne,
all men hope that thou, none errour wilt ſupport:
all men hope that thou wilt truth reſtore againe,
mend that is amiſſe, to all good mennes comfort.

for this hope they pray, thou mayeſt continue long,
Queene amongſt vs here, all vice for to ſupplant,
for this hope they pray, that God may make thee ſtrong,
his grace puiſſant, ſo in his truth conſtant.

ell O worthie Queene, and as our hope is ſure,
into errours place, thou wilt nowe truth reſtore,
uſt we that thou wilt our ſoueraigne Queene endure,
louing Ladie ſtande, from henceforth euermore.

While theſe wordes were in ſaying, and certaine wiſhes therin repeated for maintenance of truth, and rooting out of errour, ſhe nowe and then helde vp hir handes to heauenwarde, and willed the people to ſay, Amen.

When the childe had ended, ſhe ſayde, be ye well aſſured, I will ſtande your good Queene. At which ſaying, hir grace departed forth throgh Temple Barre toward Weſtminſter, with no leſſe ſhouting and crying of the people, than ſhee entred the citie with a noyſe of ordinance which the Towre ſhot off at hir graces entrance fyrſt into Towre ſtreete.

The childes ſaying was alſo in latin verſes written in a Table whiche was hanged vppe there.

O regina potens, quum primã vrbem ingredereris
Dona tibi, linguas fidaq; corda dedit
Diſcedenti etiam tibi nunc duo munera mittit,
Omnia plena ſpei, votaq; plena precum.
Quippe tuis ſpes eſt, in te quod prouida virtus
Rexerit, errori nec locus vllus erit.
Quippe tuis ſpes eſt, quod tu verũ omni reduces
ſolatura bonas, dum mala tollis, opes.
Hac ſpe freti orant, longum vt regina gubernes,
Et regni excindas crimina cuncta tui.
Hac ſpe freti orant, diuina vt gratia fortem,
Et veræ fidei te velit eſſe baſin.
Iam Regina vale, & ſicut nos ſpes tenet vna,
Quod vero inducto, perditus error erit.
Sic quoq; ſperamus quod eris regina benigna
Nobis per regni tempora longa tui.

Thus the Queenes highneſſe paſſed thorow the Citie, which without any foraigne perſon, of it ſelfe beautified it ſelfe, and receyued hir grace at all places as hath beene before mentioned, with moſt tender obedience and loue, due to ſo gracious a Queene and ſoueraigne Lady. And hir grace likewiſe of hir ſide in all hir graces paſſage, ſhewed hirſelfe generally an Image of a worthie Ladie and Gouernour, but priuately theſe eſpeciall poyntes were noted in hir grace, as ſignes of a moſt Princelyke courage, whereby hir louing Subiectes may grounde a ſure hope for the reſt of hir gracious doyngs hereafter.

Certaine notes of the Queenes maieſties great mercie,, clemencie, and wiſdom vſed in this paſſage.

About the nether ende of Cornehill towarde Cheape, one of the knightes about hir grace had eſpyed an auncient Citizen, which wept, and turned his head backe, and therewith ſayde thys Gentleman, yonder is an Alderman (for ſo hee tearmed him) which weepeth, and turneth hys face backwarde. Howe may it bee interpreted that he ſo doth, for ſorowe, or for gladneſſe? The Queenes Maieſtie heard him, and ſayd, I warrant you it is for gladneſſe. A gracious interpretation of a noble courage, which would turn the doubtfull to the beſt. And yet it was well known, that as hir grace did confirme the ſame, the parties cheare was moued for verie pure gladneſſe for the ſight of hir Maieſties perſon, at the beholding wherof, he tooke ſuch comfort, that with teares he expreſſed the ſame.

In Cheape ſide hir grace ſmyled, and being thereof demaunded the cauſe, anſwered, for that ſhe heard one ſay, Remember olde king Henrie the eight. A naturall childe, which at the verie remembrance of hir fathers name tooke ſo great a ioy, that all men may well thinke, that as ſhee reioyced at his name whom this Realme doth holde of ſo worthie memorie: ſo in hir doings ſhe will reſemble the ſame.

When the Cityes charge without parcialitie, and onely the Citie was mencioned vnto hir grace, ſhe ſayd it ſhoulde not be forgotten. Which ſaying might moue all natural Engliſh men heartily to ſhew due obedience & entierneſſe to theyr ſo good a Queene, which will in no poynt forget any parcell of duetie louingly ſhewed vnto hir.

The aunſwere which hir grace made vnto maſter Recorder of Lõdon, as the hearers know it to be true, and with melting heartes hearde the ſame: ſo may the reader thereof conceyue what kinde of ſtomacke and courage pronounced the ſame.

What more famous thing doe wee read in auncient hiſtories of olde tyme, than that mightie Princes haue gently receyued preſents offered them by baſe and lowe perſonages. If that be to be wondered at (as it is paſſingly) let mee ſee any wryter that in any one Princes life is able to recount ſo many preſidents of this vertue as hir grace ſhewed in that one paſſage through the Citie. How many Noſegayes did hir grace receyue at poore womens handes? how oftentymes ſtayed ſhe hir Chariot, when ſhe ſawe any ſimple body offer to ſpeake to hir grace? A brãch of Roſemary giuen to hir grace with a ſupplication by a poore woman about Fleetbridge, was ſeene in hir chariot til hir grace came to Weſtm. not without the maruellous wondring of ſuch as knew the preſenter, and noted the Queenes moſt gracious receyuing and keeping the ſame.

What hope the poore and nedie may looke for at hir graces hand, ſhe as in all hir iourney continually, ſo in hir harkening to the poore children of Chriſtes Hoſpitall with eies caſt vp into heauen, did fully declare, as that neyther the wealthier eſtate coulde ſtande without conſideration had to the pouertie, neyther the pouertie bee duely conſidered, vnleſſe they were remembred, as commended to vs by Gods owne mouth.

As at hir firſt entrance ſhe as it were declared, hir ſelfe prepared to paſſe through a Citie that moſt entierly loued hir, ſo ſhe at hir laſt departing, as it were bound hir ſelfe by promiſe, to continue good Ladie and gouernour vnto that Citie, whiche by outwarde declaration did open theyr loue, to theyr ſo louing and noble Prince, in ſuch wiſe, as ſhee hir ſelfe wondered thereat.

But bycauſe Princes be ſet in their ſeate by Gods appoynting, and therefore they muſt firſt and chiefly tender the glorie of him, from whom their glorie iſſueth: it is to be noted in hir grace, that forſomuch as God hath ſo wonderfullye placed hir in the ſeate of gouernment ouer this Realme, ſhee in all doings doth ſhewe hir ſelfe moſte myndfull of his goodneſſe and mercye ſhewed vnto hir, and amongeſt all other, two principall ſignes thereof were noted in this paſſage. Firſt in the Tower, where hir Grace before ſhe entred hir Chariot, lyfted vp hir eyes to heauen and ſayde.

O Lorde, almightie and euerlaſting God, I giue thee moſt harty thãks, that thou haſt bin ſo mercifull vnto me, as to ſpare me to beholde this ioyfull day. And I acknowledge that thou haſt delt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou diddeſt with thy true and faythfull ſeruant Daniell thy Prophete, whom thou deliueredſt out of the denne from the crueltie of the greedie and raging Lions: euen ſo was I ouerwhelmed, and onely by thee deliuered. To thee therfore onely be thankes, honor and praiſe, for euer. Amen.

The ſecond was the receyuing of the Bible at the little conduit in Cheape. For when hir Grace had learned that the Byble in Engliſhe ſhould there be offred, ſhe thanked the Citie therfore, promiſed the reading thereof moſt diligently, and incontinent commaunded, that it ſhoulde be brought. At the receypte whereof, how reuerently did ſhe with both hir handes take it, kiſſe it, and lay it vpon hir breaſt? to the great comfort of the lookers on. God will vndoubtedly preſerue ſo worthie a Prince, which at his honor ſo reuerently taketh hir beginning. For this ſaying is true, and written in the Booke of truth He that firſt ſeeketh the kingdome of god, ſhal haue all other things caſt vnto him.

Nowe therefore all Engliſhe heartes, and hir naturall people muſte needes prayſe Gods mercie which hath ſent thē ſo worthie a prince, and pray for hir graces long continuaunce amongſt vs.

His coron
tion.

Sunday the. xv. of Ianuarie, hir Maieſtie was with great ſolemnitie crowned at Weſtminſter in the Abbey Church there, by doctor Oglethorpe Biſhop of Carleil. Shee dined in Weſtminſter hall, which was richly hung, and euerie thing ordered in ſuche royall maner as to ſuche a regall and moſt ſolemne feaſt appertayned.

Sir Edwar
Dimmock

In the meane tyme, whileſt hir grace ſat at dinner, ſir Edwarde Dimmocke knight hir Champion by office, came ryding into the Hall in fayre complete armour, mounted on a beautifull Courſer, richly trapped in clothe of Golde, entred the Hall, and in the middeſt thereof caſt downe his gauntlet, wyth offer to fight wyth hym in hir quarell that ſhoulde denye hir to bee the rightuous and lawfull Queene of this Realme. The Queene taking a cuppe of Golde full of Wine, dranke to hym thereof, and ſent it to hym for his fee togither wyth the Couer.

The L. M
of Londo
ſerueth th
Queene of
Ipocraſſe.

And after thys, at the ſeruing vp of the Wafers, the Lorde Maior of London went to the Cupboord, and filling a cup of golde with Ipocraſſe, bare it to the Queene, and kneeling afore hir tooke the aſſay, and ſhee receyuing it of him, and drinking of it, gaue the Cuppe wyth the couer vnto the ſayde Lorde Maior for his fee, which Cuppe and couer weyed. xvj. ounzes Troy weight.

Finally this feaſt being celebrated with all royall ceremonies, and high ſolemnities, due and in like caſes accuſtomed, tooke ende wyth great ioy and contentation to all the beholders.

Parliament.

hn Stow.

Wedneſday the. xxv. of Ianuarie the Parliament began, the Queenes Maieſtie ryding in hir Parliament Robes, from hir Palaice of white Hall, vnto the Abbey Churche of Weſtmynſter, with the Lordes ſpirituall and temporall, attending hir likewiſe in theyr Parliament Robes. Doctor Coxe ſometime ſcholemaiſter to King Edwarde the ſixt, and nowe lately returned frō the parties of beyonde the ſeas, where during the dayes of Queene Marie he had liued as a baniſhed man, preached nowe before the eſtates there aſſembled in the beginning of the ſayd Parliament.

he firſt fruits
d tenthes re-
red to the
wne.

In this Parliament, the firſt fruits & tenthes were reſtored to the crown, and alſo the ſupreme gouernment ouer the ſtate eccleſiaſticall, which Queene Mary had giuen to the Pope. Likewiſe the booke of common prayer and adminiſtration of the Sacraments in our mother tongue was reſtored.

motiō made
the Parlia-
ent houſe.

Moreouer in the time of this Parliament, a motion was made by the common houſe, that the Queenes Maieſtie might be ſued vnto, to graũt hir graces licence to the ſpeaker, knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, to haue acceſſe vnto hir graces preſence, to declare vnto hir matter of great importance, concerning the ſtate of thys hir graces realme. The which petition being mooued to hir grace, ſhe moſt honourably agreed and conſented therevnto, and aſſigned a day of hearing. When the day came, the ſpeaker and common houſe reſorted vnto hir graces palaice at Weſtmynſter, called the white Hall. And in the great Gallerie there, hir grace moſt honourably ſhewed hir ſelfe readie to heare their motion and petition. And when the ſpeaker had ſolemnely and eloquently ſet forth the meſſage (the ſpeciall matter whereof moſt ſpecially was to moue hir grace to mariage,) whereby (to al our comforts) wee might enioy (as Gods pleaſure ſhould be) the royall iſſue of hir bodie to raigne ouer vs. &c.

ſt.abr.

The Queenes Maieſtie after a little pauſe, made this anſwere folowing, as nere as I could beare the ſame away, ſayth Grafton.

Queenes
ere.

As I haue good cauſe, ſo doe I giue to you my heartie thankes for the good zeale and care that you ſeeme to haue as well towarde mee, as to the whole eſtate of your Countrey. Your petition I gather to be grounded on three cauſes, and mine anſwere to the ſame ſhall conſiſt in two partes. And for the firſt I ſay vnto you, that from my yeares of vnderſtanding, knowing my ſelfe a ſeruitour of almightie God, I choſe this kind of life, in which I doe yet liue, as a life moſt acceptable vnto him, wherein I thought I coulde beſt ſerue him, and with moſt quietneſſe doe my duetie vnto him. From which my choiſe, if either ambition of high eſtate offred vnto me by mariages (whereof I haue recordes in this preſence) the diſpleaſure of the Prince, the eſchewing the daunger of mine enimies, or the auoyding the perill of death (whoſe Meſſenger the Princeſſe indignation was no little tyme continually preſent before mine eyes, by whoſe meanes, if I knew or do iuſtly ſuſpect, I will not now vtter them, or if the whole cauſe were my ſiſter hirſelfe, I will not nowe charge the deade) coulde haue drawne or diſſwaded me, I had not nowe remayned in this Virgins eſtate wherein you ſee me. But ſo conſtant haue I alwayes continued in this my determination (that although my wordes and youth may ſeeme to ſome hardly to agree togither) yet it is true, that to this day I ſtande free from any other meaning, that eyther I haue had in tymes paſt, or haue at this preſent. In which ſtate and trade of liuing wherwith I am ſo throughly acquainted, God hath hitherto ſo preſerued mee, and hath ſo watchfull an eye vpon me, and ſo hath guided me and ledde me by the hand, as my full truſt is, he will not ſuffer me to go alone. The maner of your petition I doe lyke, and take in good part, for it is ſimple, and conteyneth no lymitation of place or perſon. If it had bene otherwiſe, I muſt haue miſlyked it verie much, and thought in you a verie great preſumption, being vnfitte and altogither vnmeete, to require them that may commaunde, or thoſe appoynt, whoſe partes are to deſire, or ſuch to binde and limitte, whoſe dueties are to obey: or to take vpon you to draw my loue to your lykings, or to frame my wil to your fancies. A guerdon conſtrayned, and a gift freely giuen can neuer agree. Neuertheleſſe, if any of you be in ſuſpect that whenſoeuer it may pleaſe god to incline my heart to that kinde of life, my meaning is to do or determine any thing wherewith the realme may haue iuſt cauſe to be diſcontented: Put that out of your heades, for I aſſure you (what credence my aſſurance may haue with you I cannot tell, but what credite it ſhall deſerue to haue, the ſequele ſhall declare) I wil neuer in that matter cōclude any thing that ſhall bee preiudiciall vnto the realme: For the weale and good ſafetie whereof, as a good mother of my Countrey, I will neuer ſhonne to ſpende my lyfe. And who ſoeuer my choyſe may lyght vpon, he ſhall be as carefull for the preſeruation of the Realme as you, I will not ſay as my ſelfe: for I cannot ſo certainly promiſe of another, as I doe ſurely knowe of my ſelfe, but as any other can be. And albeit it doth pleaſe almightie God to continue me ſtill in this minde to liue oute of the ſtate of mariage, it is not to be feared, but hee will ſo worke in my heart, and in youre wiſedomes, that as good prouiſion may bee made in conuenient tyme, whereby the Realme ſhall not remaine deſtitute of an heyre that may bee a fitte Gouernour, and peraduenture more beneficiall to the Realme than ſuche offſpring as may come of mee. For though I bee neuer ſo carefull for your well doings, and mynde euer ſo to be, yet may mine iſſue growe out of kinde, and become vngracious. And for mee it ſhall bee ſufficient, that a Marble ſtone declare that a Queene, hauing raigned ſuche a tyme, lyued and dyed a Virgine. To make an ende, I take your comming to mee in good part, and gyue vnto you eftſoones my heartie thankes, more yet for your zeale, good will, and good meaning, than for your meſſage and petition.

The returne of the Proteſtants from exile.

Many that for feare of perſecution in Queene Maries dayes were fled the Realme, and liued in voluntarie exile, nowe that all perſecution ceaſſed by the gracious clemencie of this noble Princeſſe Queene Elizabeth, they returned with all conuenient ſpeede home into their natiue Countrey, giuing to Almightie God moſt humble thankes for that his mercifull deliuerance, in ſending them a gouernor, that not only permitted libertie of conſcience, but alſo was readie to aduaunce religion, and command free exerciſe of common prayer, preaching and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, according to the right inſtitution of the primitiue Churches.

One ſet on the Pillorie.

Fryday the .xvij. of Februarie, one of maiſter Hunnings ſeruants, that was alſo one of the takers of freſhe fiſhe for the prouiſion of the Queenes houſe, was ſet on the Pillorie in Cheape ſide in the fiſhe market ouer agaynſt the kings head, hauing a baudrike of Smeltes hanging about his necke with a Paper on his foreheade, written for buying Smelts for .xij. pens the hundred, and ſolde them againe for tenne pens the quarter. He ſtoode ſo likewiſe on the .xviij. and .xx. day of the ſame moneth, euerye of thoſe three dayes from .ix. of the clocke vntill twelue. The laſt day he ſhould haue had one of his eares ſlitte, if by great ſuyte made to the Counſayle by the Lorde Maior of London, he hadde not beene pardoned and releaſed oute of priſon.

This penaunce was aſſigned to him by the Queenes owne appoyntment, when to hir Grace his treſpaſſe was reuealed. Whereby ſhe gaue a taſte to the people of a zealous minde to haue iuſtice duely miniſtred, and faults accordingly puniſhed, namely of thoſe which vnder pretence of hir Graces authoritie ſhoulde goe aboute to wrong and oppreſſe hir louing ſubiects.

Preachers.

This yeare in the Eaſter holidayes, on the Monday preached at the Spittell Doctor Bill, on the Tueſday doctor Coxe, and on the Wedneſday Doctor Horne: the firſt was hir Maieſties Chapleine, the other two had remayned at Geneua, and in other places beyond the ſeas all Queene Maries time.

On low Sunday maiſter Sampſon made the rehearſall Sermon, but when the Lord Maior and Aldermẽ came to their places in Pauls Church yarde, the Pulpet doore was locked, and the key could not bee hearde of, whereupon the Lord Maior ſent for a Smith to open the lock, which was done, and when the Preacher ſhould enter the place, it was founde verie filthie and vncleanly.

Moreouer the Verger that had the cuſtodie of the Key that opened the doore of the place where the Prelates and other vſe to ſtande at the Sermon time would not open the doore, but the Gentlemen with a forme brake it open, and ſo came in to heare the Sermon. This diſorder chaunced by reaſon that ſince Chriſtmaſſe laſt paſt, there was not a ſermon preached at Pauls Croſſe, by reaſon of an inhibition ſent from the Counſaile vnto the Biſhop of London, that he ſhoulde admit no Preacher bycauſe of the controuerſie betwixt the Biſhops and other of the Clergie that were now returned into the realm, from the parties of beyonde the Seas.

A Confere appoynte

The laſt of Marche the Parliament yet continuing, was a conference begon at Weſtminſter concerning certaine Articles of Religion betwixt the Biſhops and other of the Cleargie, on the one part, and certaine learned preachers of whom ſome had beene in dignitie in the Churche of Englande before that tyme on the other parte, the declaration of the proceeding wherein, and the cauſe of the breaking vp of the ſame conference by default and contempt of certaine Biſhoppes parties of the ſayde conference was publiſhed in a little treatiſe, and imprinted by Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the Queenes maieſtie, as here followeth.

The Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, hauing hearde of diuerſitie of opinions in certaine matters of Religion amongſt ſundrie of hir louing Subiectes, and beeing verie deſyrous to haue the ſame reduced to ſome godly and Chriſtian concorde, thought it beſt by the aduice of the Lordes, and other of hir priuye Counſayle, as well for the ſatiſfaction of perſones doubtfull, as alſo for the knowledge of the verye truth in certayne matter of difference: to haue a conuenient choſen number of the beſte learned of eyther parte, and to conferre togyther theyr opinions and reaſons, and thereby to come to ſome good and charitable agreement.

And hereuppon by hir Maieſtyes commaundement, certayne of hir priuye Counſayle, declared thys purpoſe to the Archebiſhoppe of Yorke (beyng alſo one of the ſame priuie Counſayle) and requyred him that h. woulde imparte the ſame to ſome of the Biſhoppes, and to make choyſe of eight, nine, or tenne of them, and that there ſhoulde bee the lyke number named of the other parte: and further alſo declared to hym (as then was ſuppoſed) what the matters ſhoulde be: And as for the tyme, it was thought meete to bee as ſoone as poſſible myght bee agreed vpon. And then after certaine dayes paſt, it was ſignifyed by the ſayde Archebiſhoppe, that there was appoynted by ſuche of the Byſhoppes to whome hee hadde imparted this matter, eight perſones, that is to ſaye, foure Byſhoppes, and foure Doctours, who were content at the Queenes Maieſties commaundement to ſhewe theyr opinions, and as he termed it, render accounte of theyr fayth in thoſe matters whiche were mentioned, and that ſpecially in wryting, although he ſayd they thought the ſame ſo determined, as there was no cauſe to diſpute vpon them.

It was hereuppon fullye reſolued by the Queenes Maieſtie, with the aduice aforeſayde, that according to theyr deſyre, it ſhoulde bee in wryting on both partes, for auoyding of muche altercation in wordes, and that the ſayde Byſhoppes ſhoulde, bycauſe they were in authoritie, of degree Superiours, fyrſte declare theyr myndes and opinions to the matter, with theyr reaſons in wryting, and the other number beeing alſo eyght menne of good degree in Schooles, and ſome hauing beene in dignitie in the Churche of Englande, if they had any thing to ſay to the contrarie, ſhoulde the ſame day declare theyr opinions in lyke manner. And ſo eche of them ſhoulde delyuer theyr Wrytings to the other, to be conſydered what were to bee improoued therein, and the ſame to declare agayne in wryting at ſome other conuenient daye, and the lyke order to bee kept in all the reſt of the matters: all this was fully agreed vpon with the Archbiſhop of Yorke, and ſo alſo ſignifyed to both partyes. And immediatly here vpon, diuerſe of the Nobilitie and States of the Realme, vnderſtanding that ſuch a meeting and conference ſhoulde bee, and that in certayne matters, whereupon the Courte of Parliament conſequentlye following, ſome lawes myght bee grounded: they made earneſt meanes to hir Maieſtie, that the partyes of thys conference, myghte putte and reade theyr aſſertions in the Engliſhe tongue, and that in the preſence of them of the Nobilitie, and others of the Parliament houſe, for the better ſatiſfaction and inabling of theyr owne Iudgementes, to treate and conclude of ſuch lawes as myght depende hereupon. Thys alſo beeing thought verie reaſonable, was ſignifyed to both partyes, and ſo fully agreed vpon, and the daye appoynted for the firſt meeting to bee the Fryday in the forenoone, being the laſt of Marche at Weſtmynſter Church, where both for good order, and for honour of the conference, by the Queenes Maieſties commaundement, the Lordes and others of the priuye Counſayle were preſent, and a great part of the Nobilitie alſo, and notwythſtanding the former order appoynted, and conſented vnto by both partes, yet the Biſhoppe of Wyncheſter and his Colleges, alleging they had myſtaken that theyr aſſertions and reaſons ſhould be written, and ſo onely recyted out of the Booke, ſayde theyr booke was not readie then written, but they were readie to argue and diſpute, and therefore they woulde for that tyme repeate in ſpeache that which they had to ſay to the fyrſt propoſition. This variation from the order, and ſpecially from that whiche themſelues had by the ſayde Archebiſhoppe in wryting before requyred, adding thereto the reaſon of the Apoſtle, that to contende wyth wordes is profitable to nothing, but to ſubuerſion of the hearer, ſeemed to the Queenes Maieſties Counſayle ſomewhat ſtraunge, and yet was it permytted wythoute any greate reprehenſion, bycauſe they excuſed themſelues with miſtaking the order, and agreed that they would not fayle but put it in writing, & according to the former order, deliuer it to the other part, and ſo the ſayd Biſhop of Wyncheſter and his Colleges appointed Doctor Cole Deane of Paules, to be the vtterer of theyr myndes, who partlye by ſpeeche onely, and partlye by reading of authorities written, and at certayne tymes beeyng infourmed of hys Colleges what to ſaye: made a declaration of theyr meanings, and theyr reaſons to theyr fyrſt propoſition, which beeing ended, they were aſked by the priuie Counſaile, if any of them had any more to be ſayde: and they ſayde no. So as then the other parte was lycenced to ſhewe theyr myndes, which they did according to the firſt order, exhibiting all that whiche they mente to bee propounde in a Booke written, which after a prayer and inuocation made moſt humbly to Almightie God, for the enduing of them wyth hys holy ſpirite, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtande to the Doctrine of the Catholike Church, buylded vpon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Prophetes and the Apoſtles: was diſtinctly read by one Robert Horne Bachelour in Diuinitie, late Deane of Dureſme. And the ſame beeing ended wyth ſome likelyhoode, as it ſeemed that the ſame was muche allowable to the audience: certaine of the Biſhoppes began to ſaye contrarie to their former anſwere, that they had nowe muche more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they myght haue beene well reprehended for ſuch manner of cauillation, yet for auoyding of any miſtaking of orders in thys colloquie or conference, and for that they ſhould vtter all that which they had to ſay: It was both ordered, and thus openlye agreed vppon of both partes in the full audience, that vpon the Monday following, the Biſhops ſhoulde bring theyr myndes and reaſons in wryting to the ſeconde aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they coulde, and firſt reade the ſame, and that done, the other parte ſhoulde bring likewiſe theyrs to the ſame. And being read, eche of them ſhoulde deliuer to other the ſame wrytings. And in the meane tyme the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not onely al that which Doctour Cole had that day vttered: but all ſuche other matters as they anye otherwiſe coulde thinke of for the ſame, and as ſoone as they might poſſible, to ſende the ſame booke touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhoulde receyue of them that wryting which Maiſter Horne had there read that day, and vpon Monday it ſhoulde be agreed what day they ſhoulde exhibite their aunſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both partes aſſented thereto, and the aſſemblie quietly diſmiſſed. And therefore vpon Monday, the like aſſembly beganne againe at the place and houre appoynted, and there vpon what ſiniſter or diſordered meaning is not yet fully knowne (though in ſome part it be vnderſtanded) the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his Colleages, and eſpecially Lyncolne, refuſed to exhibite or reade, according to the former notorious order on Fryday, that whiche they had prepared for the ſeconde aſſertion. And therevppon by the Lorde keeper of the great Seale, they being firſt gentlye and fauourably requyred to keepe the order appoynted: and that taking no place, being ſecondly as it behoued, preſſed with more earneſt requeſt: they neyther regarding the authoritie of that place, nor theyr owne reputation, nor the credite of the cauſe, vtterly refuſed that to doe. And finally being againe particularly euerie of them a parte diſtinctly by name, requyred to vnderſtande theyr opinions therein: they all ſauing one (whiche was the Abbot of Weſtminſter, hauing ſome more conſideration of order and his duetie of obedience than the other) vtterly and plainly denied to haue theyr booke read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other, ſome ſo alſo, ſome other more vndiſcretely and vnreuerently than others. Whereupon gyuing ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubbornneſſe and ſelfe will, as hath not beene ſeene and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable aſſembly, beeing of the two eſtates of this Realme, the Nobilitie and the Commons, beſides the preſence of the Queenes Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſaile, the ſame aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the Godly and moſt Chriſtian purpoſe of the Queenes Maieſtie made fruſtrate. And afterwarde for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhoppes of Wincheſter and Lyncolne, hauing moſt obſtinately both diſobeyed common authoritie, and varyed manifeſtly from theyr owne order, and ſpecially Lyncolne, who ſhewed more folly than the other: were condignly commytted to the Tower of London, and the reſt (ſauing the Abbot of Weſtmynſter) ſtoode bounde to make dayly their perſonall apparance before the Counſaile, and not to departe the Citie of London and Weſtminſter, vntil further order were takē with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

The three propoſitions where vpon conference was determined to haue bene at VVeſtminſter.

1 It is agaynſt the worde of God, and the cuſtome of the auncient Church, to vſe a tongue vnknowne to the people, in common prayer, and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments.

2 Euerie Church hath authoritie to appoynt, take awaye and chaunge Ceremonies and Eccleſiaſticall rytes, ſo the ſame bee to edification.

3 It cannot bee proued by the worde of God, that ther is in the Maſſe offred vp a ſacrifice propiciatorie for the quicke and the dead.

The names of ſuch as had conference in the propoſitions aforeſayde.

The B. of Wincheſt.
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D. Scorie B. of Chich.
Doctor Coxe.
Maiſter Whitehead.
Maiſter Grindall.
Maiſter Horne.
Maiſter doctor Sandes.
Maiſter Geſt.
Maiſter Aylmer.
Maiſter Iuell.

The Byſhops and Doctors ſate on the one ſide of the queere at a table for them prepared, and the other learned men ſate at an other table on the other ſide the ſame queere.

And at ẏ vpper ende thereof at an other table, ſate the Queenes Maieſties Counſell, deſirous to haue ſeene ſome good concluſion of the ſayde conference, although as ye may perceyue by that whiche is aboue recited, it came to ſmall effect.

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In this meane time, a treatie of peace, which had bin in hande the laſt yeare, firſt at Liſle, and after at the Abbey of Cercamp, a three leagues from Dorlens, betwixt ẏ two kings of Spaine and France, was nowe renued againe, and the Deputies were appoynted to meete at *Chaſteau Cambreſi*, a ſixe leagues diſtant from Cambray.

For the K. of Spayne, the Duke of Alua, the Prince of Orange, the Byſhop of Arras, Rigomes de Silua Earle of Mellito, Monſieur Uiglius Zwichem, Knight & preſidente of the priuie Counſell in the low Countreys, who neuertheleſſe came not, bycauſe hee was letted by ſickneſſe.

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For the French King there came the Cardinall of Lorayne, the Conneſtable, the Marſhall of Saint Andrew, the Byſhop of Orleans, and Claude de Aubeſpine, ẏ ſaid kings Secretarie.

For the Queene of England, the Byſhop of Elie, the Lorde William Howard Baron of Effingham, Lorde Chamberlayne to the ſayde Queene, Doctor Nicholas Wutton, Deane of Caunterbury and Yorke.

For the Duke of Sauoy, there were the Erle of Stropiana, and the preſident of Aſti. And as a meane or mediatrix betwene the parties, there was Chriſtierna Duches of Loraine, with hir ſonne the yong Duke, whiche Duches, as well heere, as before at Cercamp, trauelled moſt earneſtly to doe good betwixte the parties, and to bring them to a finall accord, whoſe endeuoure therein was, to the greate good liking and contentation of all the ſaid parties.

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After that this treatie had continued a long time, and nowe reſted nothing to ſtay them frõ concluding a generall peace, but only the article touching Calais, at length that matter was alſo accorded by a ſpeciall treatie, betwixte the Queenes Maieſtie of England, and the French King, Guido Caualcanti a Gentleman of Florence beeing the meane to bring the ſame to effect. The ſubſtaunce of whiche article was, that Calais ſhould reſt in the Frenche mens handes, for the tearme of eyght yeares, and at the end of that tearme, they coueneaunted to render ẏ ſame, or elſe for defaulte, to forfeite to the Queenes highneſſe the ſumme of fiue hundred thouſande Crownes, and for ſuretie heereof, to deliuer four hoſtages, ſuch as hir Maieſtie ſhould thinke ſufficient: and in caſe the towne were not deliuered at the ende of the ſayde eyghte yeares, although the money were payde according to the coueneauntes, yet notwithſtanding the right and title to the ſaide Towne and Countrey adioyning, ſhoulde alwayes remayne and be reſerued vnto the Crowne and Realme of England.

It was further concluded alſo, that a peace ſhould be firmed and had betwixt the Realmes of England and Scotland, ſuch fortreſſes to be raſed as had bin built and made by the Scottes and French on the bordures towards Englãd, as Haymouth and others.

Sir Iohn
Maſon.

Sir John Maſon Knighte, Secretarie for the Frenche tong, was ſente ouer in poſt wyth inſtructions vnto the Engliſhe commiſſioners, after whoſe comming, within two or three dayes, a generall peace was concluded betwixte all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpoſe omitted.

A generall
peace betwixt
the Kings of
Fraunce and
Spayne.

But nowe after the concluſion of this peace, the ſayde Sir John Maſon returned in poſt with the ſame: and ſo thereupon, the ſeauenth of Aprill, the ſayde peace was proclaymed, to wit, betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie on the one part, and the French K. on the other, their Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, and likewiſe betwixte hir ſayde Maieſtie and the King Dolphin and Queene of Scottes his wife, their Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects.

The peace
proclaymed.

This Proclamation was made by Garter and Norrey Kinges at armes, accompanyed with three other Herraultes, and fyue Trumpettors, the Lorde Maior of London and the Aldermen in their ſcarlet gownes beeing alſo preſent, and riding in company of the ſaid Herraultes.

Playes and
enterludes
forbidden for
a time.

The ſame time alſo, was another Proclamation made vnder the Queenes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no playes nor enterludes ſhuld be exerciſed, til Alhallowen tide next enſuing.

The Lorde
Wentworth
arraigned and
acquited.

Uppon Saterday the two and twentith of Aprill, the Lorde Wentworth, late Deputie of Calais, was araigned at Weſtminſter, vppon an enditemente of treaſon found agaynſt him, in the late Queene Maries dayes, for the loſſe of Calais, but hee was acquit by his peeres, the Lorde Marques of Northampton ſitting that day as chiefe Steward of Englande, vnder the cloth of eſtate.

A ſubſedie.

The eyghth of May, the Parliamente brake vp, in whiche Parliamente, beſide other thyngs before recited, concluded, and paſſed in the ſame, a ſubſedie was graunted to the Queenes highnes, of two ſhillings eyght pence the pounde of mouable goodes, and foure ſhillings of lands, to bee paide at two ſeuerall paymentes, of euerye to bee propounde in a Booke written, which after a prayer and inuocation made moſt humbly to Almightie God, for the enduing of them wyth hys holy ſpirite, and a proteſtation alſo to ſtande to the Doctrine of the Catholike Church, buylded vpon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the Prophetes and the Apoſtles: was diſtinctly read by one Robert Horne Bachelour in Diuinitie, late Deane of Dureſme. And the ſame beeing ended wyth ſome likelyhoode, as it ſeemed that the ſame was muche allowable to the audience: certaine of the Biſhoppes began to ſaye contrarie to their former anſwere, that they had nowe muche more to ſay to this matter, wherein although they myght haue beene well reprehended for ſuch manner of cauillation, yet for auoyding of any miſtaking of orders in thys colloquie or conference, and for that they ſhould vtter all that which they had to ſay: It was both ordered, and thus openlye agreed vppon of both partes in the full audience, that vpon the Monday following, the Biſhops ſhoulde bring theyr myndes and reaſons in wryting to the ſeconde aſſertion, and the laſt alſo if they coulde, and firſt reade the ſame, and that done, the other parte ſhoulde bring likewiſe theyrs to the ſame. And being read, eche of them ſhoulde deliuer to other the ſame wrytings. And in the meane tyme the Biſhops ſhould put in writing, not onely al that which Doctour Cole had that day vttered: but all ſuche other matters as they anye otherwiſe coulde thinke of for the ſame, and as ſoone as they might poſſible, to ſende the ſame booke touching that firſt aſſertion to the other part, and they ſhoulde receyue of them that wryting which Maiſter Horne had there read that day, and vpon Monday it ſhoulde be agreed what day they ſhoulde exhibite their aunſwers touching the firſt propoſition. Thus both partes aſſented thereto, and the aſſemblie quietly diſmiſſed. And therefore vpon Monday, the like aſſembly beganne againe at the place and houre appoynted, and there vpon what ſiniſter or diſordered meaning is not yet fully knowne (though in ſome part it be vnderſtanded) the Biſhop of Wincheſter and his Colleages, and eſpecially Lyncolne, refuſed to exhibite or reade, according to the former notorious order on Fryday, that whiche they had prepared for the ſeconde aſſertion. And therevppon by the Lorde keeper of the great Seale, they being firſt gentlye and fauourably requyred to keepe the order appoynted: and that taking no place, being ſecondly as it behoued, preſſed with more earneſt requeſt: they neyther regarding the authoritie of that place, nor theyr owne reputation, nor the credite of the cauſe, vtterly refuſed that to doe. And finally being againe particularly euerie of them a parte diſtinctly by name, required to vnderſtande theyr opinions therein: they all ſauing one (whiche was the Abbot of Weſtminſter, hauing ſome more conſideration of order and his ductie of obedience than the other) vtterly and plainly denied to haue theyr booke read, ſome of them as more earneſtly than other, ſome ſo alſo, ſome other more vndiſcretely and vnreuerently than others. Wherevpon gyuing ſuch example of diſorder, ſtubbornneſſe and ſelfe will, as hath not beene ſeene and ſuffered in ſuch an honourable aſſembly, beeing of the two eſtates of this Realme, the Nobilitie and the Commons, beſides the preſence of the Queenes Maieſties moſt honourable priuie Counſaile, the ſame aſſembly was diſmiſſed, and the Godly and moſt Chriſtian purpoſe of the Queenes Maieſtie made fruſtrate. And afterwarde for the contempt ſo notoriouſly made, the Biſhoppes of Wincheſter and Lyncolne, hauing moſt obſtinately both diſobeyed common authoritie, and varyed manifeſtly from theyr owne order, and ſpecially Lyncolne, who ſhewed more folly than the other: were condignly commytted to the Tower of London, and the reſt (ſauing the Abbot of Weſtmynſter) ſtoode bounde to make dayly their perſonall apparance before the Counſaile, and not to departe the Citie of London and Weſtminſter, vntil further order were takē with them for their diſobedience and contempt.

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ueenes Ma-
ſtie and the
ench kyng.

After that this treatie had continued a long time, and nowe reſted nothing to ſtay them frõ concluding a generall peace, but only the article touching Calais, at length that matter was alſo accorded by a ſpeciall treatie, betwixte the Queenes Maieſtie of England, and the French King, Guido Caualcanti a Gentleman of Florence beeing the meane to bring the ſame to effect. The ſubſtaunce of whiche article was, that Calais ſhould reſt in the Frenche mens handes, for the tearme of eyght yeares, and at the end of that tearme, they couenaunted to render ẏ ſame, or elſe for defaulte, to forfeite to the Queenes highneſſe the ſumme of fiue hundred thouſande Crownes, and for ſuretie heerof, to deliuer four hoſtages, ſuch as hir Maieſtie ſhould thinke ſufficient: and in caſe the towne were not deliuered at the ende of the ſayde eyghte yeares, although the money were payde according to the couenauntes, yet notwithſtanding the right and title to the ſaide Towne and Countrey adioyning, ſhoulde alwayes remayne and be reſerued vnto the Crowne and Realme of England.

It was further concluded alſo, that a peace ſhould be firmed and had betwixt the Realmes of England and Scotland, ſuch fortreſſes to be raſed as had bin built and made by the Scottes and French on the bordures towards Englãd, as Haymouth and others.

Sir John
Maſon.

Sir John Maſon Knighte, Secretarie for the Frenche tong, was ſente ouer in poſt wyth inſtructions vnto the Engliſhe commiſſioners, after whoſe comming, within two or three dayes, a generall peace was concluded betwixte all the parties, the articles whereof not touching England, we haue of purpoſe omitted.

**A generall
peace betwixt
the Kings of
Fraunce and
Spayne.**

But nowe after the concluſion of this peace, the ſayde Sir John Maſon returned in poſt with the ſame: and ſo thereupon, the ſeauenth of April, the ſayde peace was proclaymed, to wit, betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie on the one part, and the French K. on the other, their Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects, and likewiſe betwixte hir ſayde Maieſtie and the King Dolphin and Queene of Scottes his wife, their Realmes, dominions, and ſubiects.

The peace
proclaymed.

This Proclamation was made by Garter and Norrey Kinges at armes, accompanyed with three other Herraultes, and fyue Trumpettors, the Lorde Maior of London and the Aldermen in their ſcarlet gownes beeing alſo preſent, and riding in company of the ſaid Herraultes.

**Playes and
enterludes
forbidden for
a time.**

The ſame time alſo, was another Proclamation made vnder the Queenes hand in writing, inhibiting, that from thenceforth no playes nor enterludes ſhuld be exerciſed, til Alhallowen tide next enſuing.

**The Lorde
Wentworth
arraigned and
acquited.**

Vppon Saterday the two and twentith of April, the Lorde Wentworth, late Deputie of Calais, was araigned at Weſtminſter, vppon an enditemente of treaſon found agaynſt him, in the late Queene Maries dayes, for the loſſe of Calais, but hee was acquit by his peeres, the Lorde Marques of Northampton ſitting that day as chiefe Steward of Englande, vnder the cloth of eſtate.

A ſubſedie.

The eyghth of May, the Parliamente brake vp, in whiche Parliamente, beſide other thyngs before recited, concluded, and paſſed in the ſame, a ſubſedie was graunted to the Queenes highnes, of two ſhillings eyght pence the pounde of mouable goodes, and foure ſhillings of lands, to bee paide at two ſeuerall paymentes, of euerye perſon Spirituall and temporall, towardes the better furniſhing of hir Maieſtie with money, for the neceſſary charges which ſhe was preſently occaſioned to ſuſteyne, finding the treaſure of the Realme greatly conſumed, and the reuenewes of the Crowne ſore diminiſhed, and the ſame Crowne muche endebted, by taking vp of notable ſummes of money by way of loane vppon intereſt, as well in the dayes of hir brother king Edward, as of hir ſiſter Queene Mary.

The fourtenth of May beeing Whitſonday, the ſeruice in Churches began according to the Booke of common prayer, ſet forthe and eſtabliſhed in this laſt Parliamente, correſpondent to that which was vſed in the dayes of hir brother King Edward.

Stow.
A Muſter at Greenewiche.

Vpon Sonday the ſeconde of July, the Citizens of London ſette forthe a muſter before the Quenes Maieſtie at Greenewich in the Parke there, of the number of fourteene hundred men, whereof eyghte hundred were pykes, armed in fine corſelettes, foure. C. ſhot in ſhirtes of male, with Morians, and two hundred halbarders, armed in almayne riuets. Theſe were furniſhed forth by the craftes and companies of the Citie.

To euery hundred, two wifflers were aſſigned, richely appoynted and apparelled for the purpoſe.

There were alſo twelue wardens of the beſt companyes mounted on horſebacke in coates of blacke veluet, to conduct them, with drummes and Piffes, and ſixe enſignes, all in Jerkins of white Satten of Bridges, cutte and lined with blacke ſercenet, and cappes, hoſen, and ſkarfes according. The Sergeant Maiors, Captayne Conneſtable, and Captayne Sanders, brought them in order before the Queenes preſence, placing them in battaile aray, euen as they ſhould haue fought, ſo as the ſhew was very faire, the Emperours and the Frenche Kings Ambaſſadors being preſent.

In this moneth alſo, yͤ Archbiſhop of Yorke, the Biſhops of Elie, London, and others, to the number of thirtene or fouretene, being called before the Queenes Counſayle, and refuſing to receiue the othe touching hir Maieſties ſupremacie, and other articles, were depriued from their Byſhoprickes.

Byſhops depriued.

And in like manner, were dyuers Deanes, Archdeacons, perſons, and Vicars, remoued from their benefices, and ſome of them committed to priſon in the Tower, Fleete, Marſhalſea, and Kings benche.

Commiſsioners ſent abrode for eſtabliſhing of Religion.

Moreouer, about the ſame time, were commiſſioners appoynted to viſit in euerye dioceſe within the Realme, for the eſtabliſhmente of Religion, according to the order appoynted by acte and Statute, paſſed and confirmed in the laſt Parliament.

For London were appointed Sir Richarde Sackuille Knighte, Roberte Horne Doctor of Diuinitie, Doctor Huic a Ciuilian, and maiſter Sauage, who calling before them dyuers perſons of euery pariſh, ſware them to enquire and make preſentment accordingly, vppon certaine iniunctions drawen and deuiſed, for the better accompliſhmente and execution of that which they had in charge.

Religious houſes ſuppreſſed.

Furthermore, about the ſame time, by vertue of an Acte eſtabliſhed in Parliament, all ſuch religious houſes as were againe erected and ſette vppe, were nowe ſuppreſſed, as the Abbeys of Weſtminſter, the houſes of the Nunnes, and breethren of the Sion and Sheene, the blacke Friers of Greenewiche. &c.

Images tak downe.

And on the twelfth of Auguſt being Saterday, the high Aulter in Poules Churche, with the Roode and the Images of Mary and John, ſtanding in the Roode loft, were taken downe, and the Prebendaries and petie Canons commaunded to weare no more their gray Amiſes, and to vſe onely a ſurplice in the ſeruice tyme, and thys was done by commaundemente of Doctor Grindall, newly elect Byſhop of London, Doctor May, then alſo newly ordeyned Deane of Poules, and other the commiſſioners then appoynted.

Images bre

Alſo, on the euen of Saint Bartholmew, the daye and morrowe after. &c. were burned in Poules Church yarde, Cheape ſide, and dyuers other places of the Citie of London, all the Roodes and other Images of Churches, and in ſome places, the coapes, veſtmentes, and Alter clothes, Bookes, banners, Sepulchers, and roode loftes, were likewiſe committed to the fyre, and ſo conſumed to aſhes.

An obſequie for the Fre Kyng.

Vpon Friday the eight of September, was kepte in Poules Churche of London, a ſolemne obſequie, for Henrye, the ſeconde of that name, King of Fraunce, who departed this life, about the tenth of July laſt paſt, of a wound receyued the nine and twentith of June, in running at Tilt in a ſolemne Juſtes holden at Paris, in honor of the marriage celebrated betwixt his ſiſter the Lady Margaret of Fraunce, and Philibert, Duke of Sauoy. Hee was ſtriken on the viſer with a lance, as he ran againſt the Counte de Montgomerie: the ſpilts entring by the ſight of his head peece, and piercing through his eye into his head, ſo periſhed his brayne, that there was no meane to ſaue his life.

The obſequie for him was kept in verye ſolemne wiſe, with a rich herſe, made like an imperiall Crowne, ſuſteyned with eyght pillers, and couered with blacke veluet, with a valence fringed with golde, and richly hanged with ſcutchions,

ons, pennons, and banners of the French Kings armes, without any lightes. And on the Beere was layde a riche palle of cloth of golde, with a cote armour of the armes of France, and a creſt, with an imperiall Crowne, ſtanding vppon the Beere.

Doctor Parker Archebyſhop of Caunterbury elect, Doctor Barlow Byſhop of Chicheſter elect, and Doctor Scory Byſhoppe of Hereford elect, executing at yͤ Dirge of thys euening ſong in Engliſhe, they ſitting in the Biſhop of Londons ſeate, in the vpper queere, in ſurplices, with Doctors hoodes about their ſhoulders.

The chiefe mourner, was the Marques of Wincheſter, Lorde Treaſorer, aſſiſted with tenne other Lordes mourners, with all the Heraltes in blacke, and their coate armours vppermoſt.

On the morrow being Saterday, and ninth of Septēber, a Sermon was preached by Doctor Scory, in place of Doctor Grindall, Byſhop of London, who being appointed to preach that Sermon, was letted by ſicknes.

After the Sermon, ſixe of the Lords mourners receyued the Communion with the Byſhops, whiche Byſhops were in copes and ſurplices, only at the miniſtration of the ſaid Communion. Whiche beeing finiſhed, there was a greate dinner kepte in the Biſhop of Londons Palace by Poules, where the mourners apparelled them, and ſo ended the ſolemnitie of yͤ ſaid exequies.

The Byſhoppes had blacke gownes gyuen them, and eyght blacke coates a peece, for theyr ſeruauntes, at the Queenes charges.

In thys meane time, through cōtrouerſie reiſed betwixte the Scottiſhe nobilitie, and the Queene dowager of Scotland, which chanced, ſpecially about matters of Religion, certayne of the Lordes there minding a reformation therin. And the Queene reſiſting them to hir power, in purpoſe to mainteyne the olde Popiſhe Religion, which ſome name Catholique, diuers companies of Soldyers and men of war, were ſente out of Fraunce into Scotland to ayde the ſayde Queene, where they were placed in dyuers Townes and fortes, to the high diſpleaſure of the more part of the Scottiſhe nobilitie, who lothing to bee oppreſſed with ſtraungers in that ſorte, were forced to ſue vnto the Queene of Englande for ayde, to expell the Frenche, who ſoughte to ſubuerte the auntiente ſtate of that Realme, and to annex the ſame vnto yͤ Crowne of France.

Their ſute was the better liked of, for that it was doubted leaſt the Frenchmen vnder pretence of bringing an armye into Scotlande to appeaſe the Scottes, mighte attempt ſome inuaſion heere in Englande, conſidering, that by procuremente as was thoughte of the Duke of Guiſe, Vncle to the Queene of Fraunce and Scotlande, a title ſhould ſeeme to be pretended by his neece, the foreſayd Queene, as might bee gathered by manifeſt coniectures, of the vſurping of armes, and ſo forth.

The Lords of Scotland that were confederate togythes agaynſt the French.

The names of the Lords of Scotlande that made ſute for ayde againſte the Frenchmen at this ſeaſon, were theſe.

The Duke of Chateau le reault.
The Earle of Arraine his ſonne.
The Lorde James, Prior of Sainte Andrewe.
The Earle of Arguile.
The Earle of Glencarne.
The Earle of Rothouſe.
The Earle of Southerland.
The Earle of Mounteith.
The Earle of Huntley.
The Earle of Catnes.
The Earle of Errolle.
The Earle Marſhall.
The Earle of Morton.
The Earle of Caſſils.
The Earle of Eglenton.
The Earle of Montros.
The Lord Ruithuen.
The Lord Boyde.
The Lord Ogletree.
The Lord Erſkin.
The Lord Dromond.
The Lord Hume.
The Lord Rooſe.
The Lord Chreighton.
The Lord Leuingſton.
The Lord Somerwell.
The maiſter of Lindſey.
The maiſter of Marxwell.

The Queenes Maieſtie with aduice of hyr graces Counſell, conſidering of thys weightie buſines, and withall, foreſeeing the malitious purpoſe of hir aduerſaries, and how the Queene of Scottes was in Fraunce married, and gouerned, ſo as ſhe was not able to vſe the libertie of hir Crowne, dyd thinke it beſt to preuente ſuch miſchiefes as might enſue, if timely remedie were not vſed, to diſplace ſuch daungerous neighbors the Frenchmen, that began to neſtle themſelues thus ſtrongly ſo neere at hande, for no good purpoſe, as eaſily might be geſſed.

The Queenes Maieſtie determineth to aid the Scottes

Heerevppon was a power reyſed and ſente forth, both by Sea and land, the Duke of Norfolke beeing appoynted generall, and ſente into the North, for the direction thereof.

Sir William Winter.

And firſte, maiſter William Winter, appoynted Vice Admirall of the Queenes nauie Northwardes, made ſaile towards Scotlande, and waſting alõgſt the coaſt in January, came into the Forth, and ſo to the road of Lieth, and there caſt ancre, as well to impeach the landing of ſuche Frenchmen, as might haply be ſente forthe of Fraũnce, to the ayde of the Frenche there, againſt the Scottiſh Lords, named of the congregation, as alſo to keepe them that lay in Inſkeith from vittayles: and likewiſe to ſee, that none of the Frenchmen by water ſhoulde paſſe to or from Lieth, but to watch them ſo, as they ſhoulde not enioy any commoditie that mighte come to eyther place by the ſame water.

The Lorde Grey, generall of the army.

Moreouer, after that the army by lande was come togither into the North partes, and hadde ſoiourned a time at Berwike and thereaboutes, the Lord Grey of Wilton being appoynted generall of the ſaid armye, departed with the ſame out of the boundes of Berwike, and marched to Coldingham, where they encamped that night.

Sir Iames Croft.

Saterday the thirtith of March, Sir James Croft, and Sir George Howard departed Berwike to the armye, with all the launces and light horſemen, conteyning yͤ number of twelue hundred and fiftie horſes.

The numbers of horſemen and footemen in the army.

The number of the footemen, amounted to aboue ſixe thouſand in all.

The chiefeſt in charge in this army.

The chiefe gouernoures of which army were theſe.

The Lord Grey of Wilton, Lieutenant generall.

Sir James Crofte, aſſiſtãt with him in that charge.

The Lord Scrope, Lord Marſhall.

Sir George Howard, generall of the men at armes and demilances.

Maiſter Barnaby Fitz Patricke, hys Lieutenant.

Sir Henry Percy, generall of the light horſemen.

Thomas Hugghens Eſquier, prouoſt Marſhall.

Thomas Gower, maiſter of the ordinance.

Maiſter William Pelham, Captayne of the pioners.

Edward Randol Eſquier, Sergeant maior.

Maiſter Thomas Bourrough.

Maiſter Cutbert Vaughan.

Maiſter Williams, and maiſter Cornewall Corporals.

Dunglas.

This Saterday night, the army encamped at Dunglas, the Horſemen lodged in ſundrye Villages neere about.

Sir James Croft lay that nighte at Coberſpeth, in the Lard of Whitlayes houſe.

A ſkirmiſh at Dunbar.

Sunday the laſt of March, the army remoued from Dunglas, and marching by Dunbar, there iſſued out of the Towne certayne Horſemen and footemen, offering a ſkirmiſh, towards whome, certayne of the Engliſh launces and piſtoliers, with certayne harquebuſiers, made forwardes, but they kepte themſelues within theyr ſtrength, but yet ſome of the Engliſh horſemen approched them ſo neere, that in ſkirmiſh, two of the enimies horſemen, and one footeman were ſlayne.

The Engliſhmen receyued little damage, ſauing that Peter Mince, one of their horſemen, was hurt there.

Linton brid

This done, the armye marched on to Linton Brigges, where the footemen encamped that night.

The Horſemen lay at Hadington, and in diuers other ſmall townes.

Sir James Croftes lay at Clarkington, Weſt of Hadington, at the Lard of Cockburnes houſe.

Salt Preſto

Monday the firſte of Aprill, the Camp remoued from Linton Brigges vnto Salt Preſton, and there encamped.

The Earle
Arraine.

This euening, Sir James Croft, with dyuers of the Captaynes in his companye, mette with the Earle of Arrayne, the Lorde James, Priour of S. Andrewes, the maiſter of Maxwell, ſir William Kirkaudy, Lard of Grange, and dyuers other of the Scottiſh nobilitie, with three hundred horſe in their trayne.

After they were mette and had ſaluted eache other, they rode altogither vnto Salt Preſton, where at the ende of the towne, my Lord Grey, Lorde Lieutenante mette them, and embraced them, and ſo they lighted from theyr horſes, and entred into communication for the ſpace of an houre, and after tooke leaue eache of other, and ſo departed for that night.

The Duke
Chateau le reault.

Tewſday the ſeconde of Aprill, my Lorde Grey, Sir James Croft, my Lord Scrope, ſir George Howard, with diuers of the Captaines, rode to Muſkelbourrough Church, & there tarried the cõming of the D. of Chateau le reaulte, for the ſpace of two houres, at length he came, accompanyed with his ſonne, the Earle of Arrayne, the Earles of Arguile, Glencarne, Southerland, Monteith, and Rothus, the L. James Prior of Sainte Andrewes, the Lorde Ruythuen, *alias* Riuen, the Lorde Ogiltree, the Lorde Boyd, the maiſter of Maxwel, the Lard of Ormeſton, the maiſter of Lindſey, the Byſhop of Galloway, the Abbot of Saint Colmes Inch, the Abbot of Culros, the Lard of Pettirowe, the Lard of Cunnynghã head, the Lard of Grange, and diuers other. They were a two hundred horſe in trayne.

Vpon the Dukes approche, they all lighted on foote, as well on the one part as the other, and after courteous embracings, and gentle ſalutations, they entred into the houſe of one William At-am Atkinſon, neere to Andreſke Church, ⁊ ſate there in counſell the ſpace of two houres, and then departed for that night.

The army lay ſtill in Camp at Salt Preſton, frō Monday, till Saterday, Palme Sonday euen.

brid

On Wedneſday, the third of April, my Lord Grey, ſir James Croft, and my Lorde Scrope, Sir George Howard, Sir Henrye Percy, and dyuers other Captaynes and Gentlemen, rode vnto Pinkey, a houſe of yͤ Abbot of Dunfernes, diſtant a mile ⁊ an half from yͤ Campe, where yͤ Earle of Arrayne, and the Lorde James Steward, with diuers other noble men of Scotland meeting them, did conduct them into the ſayde houſe, where they had long conference togither, which ended, they went to dinner, and after dinner, they returned with my Lord Lieutenante vnto Salt Preſton, and viewed the Engliſhe Camp.

reſton,

e Scottiſhe
dges.

Earle o
oe.

Thurſdaye the fourth of April, fyue yong Gentlemen, appoynted to paſſe into Englande for pledges, and bound thither by Sea, through contrary windes, were forced to come a land at Salt Pannes.

Theyr names were as followe.

The Lord Claude Hamilton, fourth ſonne to the duke of Chateau le reault, Robert Dowglas, halfe brother to the Lorde James Stewarde, Archebalde Cambell, Lord of Loughennell, George Gream, seconde ſonne to the Earle of Monteith, James Coningham, ſonne to the Earle of Glencarne, they were broughte vp to Salt Preſton, and remayned there that nyght.

Saterday the ſixth of April, beeyng Palme Sonday euē, the Camp reyſed from Salt Preſton, and marched forwards.

rthus ſeate.

Duke o
eau le
t.

Halfe a myle frō Leſterike, beneath a cragge, called Arthurs ſeate, the Duke of Chateau le reault, the Erle of Arrayne, the Earle of Arguile, the Lorde James, Prior of Saint Andrewes, and the reſt of the noble men of Scotlande, accompanyed with two hundred Horſemenne, or thereaboutes, and fiue hundred footemen, ſtayed for the comming of the Engliſh army: Whereupon the Lord Grey, Sir James Croft, the L. Scroupe, Sir George Howard, and Sir Henry Percye, repaired to them, and hadde conference there with the Duke, and other of the Scottiſhe Lords that were in hys company.

In the meane while the army ſtayed, but yet at length, the Horſemen, the vantgard and battayle, were commaunded to march forthe, who accordingly paſſing forwarde alongſt by the place where the Duke and Scottiſhe Lordes ſtoode, helde vpon their way, till they approched neere to Leſtericke.

At their commyng thither, Trombull, the Queene regents Trumpet, came to my Lorde Lieutenant, and brought with him a ſafe conduit, giuen vnder hir hand and ſeale, for the ſafe repaire of Sir James Croft, Sir George Howard, and ſixe other to accompany them.

Sir James Croft, and ſir George Howard, went to talke with the Queene.

Whereupon, they preparing themſelues to goe to hir (after they had talked with my Lorde Lieutenant, and the duke of Chateau le reault) they departed towardes Edenburgh, where the ſayde Queene as then lay within the Caſtell.

There went with them maiſter Somerſette, maiſter Pelham, and foure other Gentlemen.

Whileſt they were in conference with the Queene, although an abſtinence of all hoſtilitie by appoyntmente taken betwixte my Lorde Grey and the ſayd Queene ought to haue ceaſſed, the Frenchmen, to the number of nine hundred, or a thouſande ſhot, backed with fiue hundred corſelettes and pikes, and about fiftie horſemen, were come forth of Lieth, vnder the conduction of Monſieur Doyſell, and the Counte Martigues, coronell of the French footemen.

My Lorde Greys meſſage ſent to the Frenchmen.

My Lord Grey vnderſtanding therof, came vp to the hille, appoynted an officer at armes called Rouge Croſſe, to goe vnto them, wyth commandement from him, that they ſhould retire their forces forth of the fielde, into yͤ Towne of Lieth: for if it were not for the promiſe which hee hadde made to the Queene Dowager, hee would cauſe them to departe, not much to their eaſe.

The Herrault doyng his meſſage, receyued aunſwer, that they were vpon their maiſter and miſtreſſe ground, and therfore meante not to remoue from it.

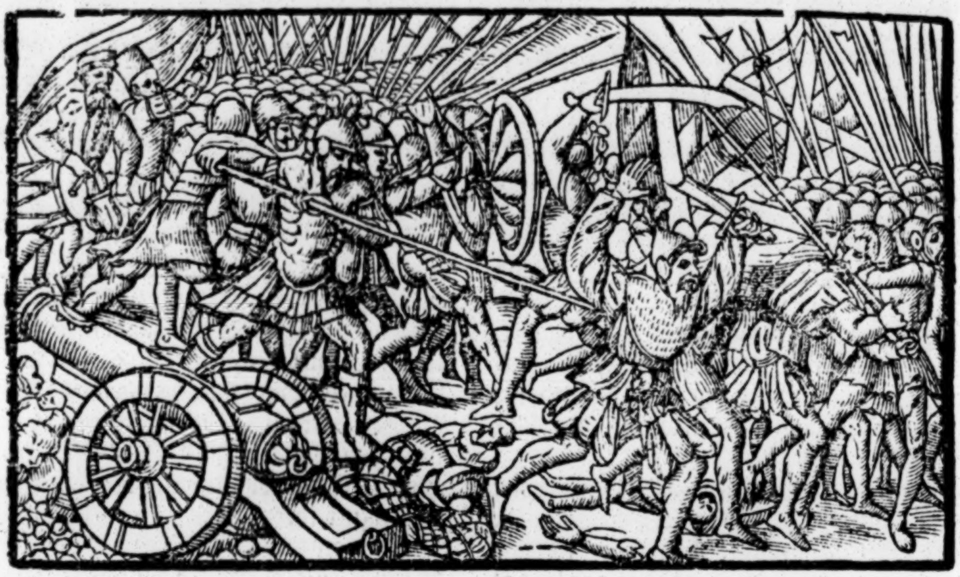
Rouge Croſſe returning with this aunſwer, was ſent agayne from my Lord Lieutenant, to commaunde them eftſoones to goe theyr way backe to Lieth, for if they did not, hee woulde ſurely ſend them away with a miſchiefe. But vnneth had the Herrault done this ſecond meſſage, when the Frenchmen ſtepping forthe, diſcharged a whole volee of their ſhot into the field againſt my Lord Grey and his company.

A ſharp and a long skirmiſh

The Frenchmen repulſed.

Heerevppon, the Engliſhmen and they fell in ſkirmiſhe, whiche continued for the ſpace of foure houres and more, ſo hote, and earneſtly mayntayned on both partes, that the like hadde not lightly bin ſeene manye a daye before. At length yet, the Engliſhmen droue the Frenche footemen ouer the hill, wanne the cragge from them, and put them from a Chappel, where they had ſtoode a greate while, vſing it for a couerte and ſafegard for them againſt the Engliſhmē ſhotte.

Then the enimies that were in Lieth, ſhot off diuers peeces of their greate artillerie out of the Towne againſte the Engliſhmen, who on the other parte broughte forth two fielde peeces, and couered them with a troupe of Horſemen, and hauing planted them to ſome aduantage, diſcharged the ſame among the enimies, who perceiuing that, gaue place, and ſuddaynely, the Engliſhe demilaunces gaue a charge on them, brake in amongſt them, and ſlewe dyuers of them.



To conclude, they were putte from theyr grounde, and forced to retire backe into Lieth, beeing followed welneere to the very gates of that Towne.

Churchyard.

There were ſlayne in thys ſkirmiſhe of the French, about a ſeauen ſcore, and amongſt the twelue men of name, beſide ſome of them that remayned priſoners.

Of the Engliſhmen, there were alſo dyuers ſlayne, and many hurt, but if the grounde hadde bin knowen to the Engliſhmen, and what aduantage was offered to them by that preſumptuous comming of the enimies ſo farre from their hold, it was thoughte, their whole power mighte eaſily haue bin cutte off, and vtterly diſtreſſed.

The Frenchmen driuen into Lieth.

After that this ſkirmiſhe was ended, and the Frenchmen driuen into Lieth, the army encamped at Leſterike.

The ſame day, the Scottiſh hoſtages were embarqued to paſſe into England.

Towardes euening, Sir James Croft, and Sir George Howard, returned from yͤ Queene regent, after they had ſpente a long time in talke with hir.

Sunday the ſeuenth of Aprill, a newe trenche was caſt beſide the cragge, and theron two peeces of ordinance planted.

The ſame day, Sir James Croft, Sir George Howard, and Sir Henry Percy, wente agayn vpon aſſurance, to talke with the Queene Dowager.

Saint Ni
las Steeple.

Monday the eyght of Aprill, the Frenchmen ſhot at the Engliſhe Camp very ſore out of S. Nicholas Steeple, where there were two greate peeces placed for to anoy them, although they did no great hurt, but the ſame nighte, the Engliſhmen caſt a trenche beyond the cragge, and placed in the ſame trench certaine ſmall peeces of artillerie, which went off the next day againſt the enimies, and they likewiſe ſhotte off agayne at the Engliſhmenne, and ſo likewiſe on Wedneſday the tenth of Aprill, on which day, a great part of the carriages for the great ordinance, and dyuers bullets for the ſame, were landed, and muche therof remoued, and brought to the innermoſt trenche.

Ordinance landed.

Thurſday the eleuenth of Aprill, the greate ordinance was landed, and two peeces therof mounted into their carriages.

Good Fri

The twelfth of Aprill, beeing good Friday, a bullet of a great peece of ordinance, being ſhotte out of Lieth early in the morning, did light in the Camp, and ſlew three men.

The ſame night, they were anſwered againe with foure or fyue Canons, and demy Canons.

Saterday was ſpente in warding the trenches, and mounting the great artillerie.

Sunday the fourtenth of Aprill, being Eaſter day, the Engliſhmen ſhotte off in the morning all their great ordinance, and the Frenchmenne aunſwered them agayne, and ſo they continued moſt parte of that daye, in ſhooting one at another.

The footemen alſo ſkirmiſhed ſo, that dyuers were hurt on both partes.

The pile
Blackn

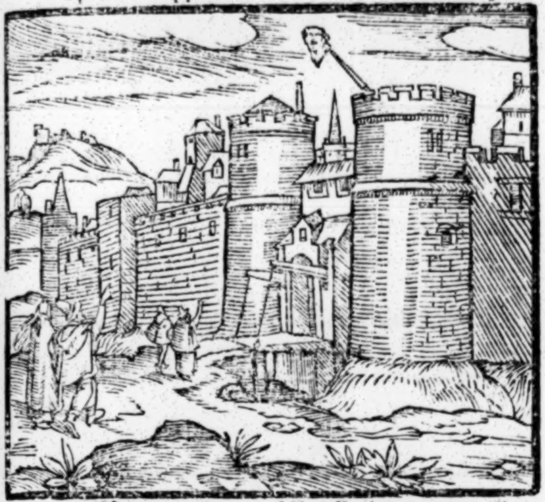
The ſame daye, the pile of Blackneſſe was ſurrendred to maiſter Winter, vpon ſight of the

Canon.

There were within it eyghteene Frenchmē, who were broughte away priſoners, and the houſe deliuered to Maiſter James Hamelton.

e French-
ew wōmēs
ell.

The ſame day, nyne Frenchmen apparelled like women, came forthe of Lieth, and counterfaiting ſome like demeanor to ẏ apparel wherein they were diſguiſed, trayned one of the Engliſh ſkoutes within their daunger, whom they toke, and chopped off his head, which they ſette vpon the toppe of one of their Church ſteeples.



ake Mon-
y.

e French-
n winne
trenche.

aiſter Bark-
taken pri-
er.

Monday the .15. of Aprill about noone, there iſſued out of Lieth a fiftie Horſemen, and about fiue hundred harquebuſiers, who making to the new trenches, were vpon the Engliſhmen, that warded in ſuch wiſe vppon the ſuddayne, before they could be brought into any order, that ſo entring the trenches, they ſlewe and wounded no ſmall number, and poſſeſſing the trēches awhile, ſtopped and cloyed the touch holes of three peeces of the artillerie, toke maſter Maurice Barkley priſoner, and his enſigne.

Brian Fitz Williams was ſore wounded, and a foule fright there was.

The alarme beeing brought to the Camp, ſir James Croft and other repaired towardes the trench with all expedition, and perceiuing the Frēchmen to be maſters of one of the trenches, he called to Captayne Vaughan, commaunding hym with his band to enter the trench, and to relieue thoſe that were hardly beſette of the Frenchmen.

e French-
n repulſed.

This was done with great manhood ſhewed by the ſayde Vaughan and others, who entring the trench, repulſed the enimies, and ſlew ſixtene of them there in the trench.

Captayne Somerſet and Captaine Reade with their bandes followed them alſo, as they retired, and maiſter Arthur Grey, with certayne of his demilances, of whome he had the conduction, ſuddaynely came vpon them, and charging them with greate courage, droue them into the Towne, and made no ſmall ſlaughter of them.

Maiſter Arthur Grey hurt.

In whiche charge, maiſter Arthur Grey was ſhotte through the ſhoulder.

The greate artillerie in Lieth was not idle during this ſkirmiſh, diſcharging to the number of an hundred ſhotte, greatly to the annoyance of the Engliſhe, and hinderaunce of the ſeruice, which elſe myghte by them haue bin atchieued.

Thys nyghte, the Engliſhmen drewe backe their ordinaunce whiche the Frenchmen hadde cloyed with nayles and Wyers in the touche holes, but the ſame were planted agayne before day.

Moreouer, oure pioners caſt a newe trenche alongſt by the olde Chappell.

A new ſupply commeth to the army.

Tewſday the ſixtenth of Aprill, a ſupplye of two thouſand and two hundred footemen, came to the Campe, ouer whome were Captaynes, Sir Andrewe Corbet, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Thomas Heſketh, Sir Arthur Manwering, Sir Laurence Smith, maiſter Frauncis Tunſtall, maiſter Edwarde Littleton, Captayne Caruell, Phillippe Sturley, and Dauid Morris.

They were guarded with fyue hundred horſmen, Sir Rauſe Sadler, Sir Frauncis Leake, Sir John Forſter, and ſir Nicholas Strange, hauing charge to ſee them ſafely conducted, who after they hadde brought them paſt all daunger of enimies, left them in ſafetie by the way, and were come a daye or two before them to the Campe.

An alarme.

Wedneſday the ſeuententh of Aprill, it reyned ſore the more parte of the day, but yet the ſame nighte, maiſter Winter cauſed dyuers of the ſhippe boates, beeing very well manned, to giue a greate alarme at the ſyde of the Towne towardes the water, diſcharging many baſes & harquebuſiers of croke into the Towne: the alarme was very hote for the ſpace of an houre.

During this buſines, there was a right pitifull crie made by the women and children within the Towne.

Ordinance planted.

The Pioners beeyng applyed in worke to make trenches, Friday all daye, at nyghte, they placed certayne peeces of the ordinaunce in the trenches beſide the Chappell.

Saterday the twentith of Aprill, many peeces were ſhotte off out of the trenches into the Towne.

There iſſued notwithſtanding out at the gates an hundred ſhotte, whyche placed themſelues in the holes of the bankes, to hayle ſuche of the Engliſhmenne, as came forthe to offer the ſkirmiſhe. All thys daye alſo, the Pioners, both Scottes and Engliſh, were occupyed in makyng of a newe trenche neere to the

Towne. Sir Gerueys Clifton, and Captaine Reade with their bands guarded them, and two hundred launces.

The ſame daye, the reſidue of the greate ordinance with armour, was brought a land.

The Byſhop of Valence.

Sunday the one and twentith of Aprill, the Biſhop of Valence named Monluc, accompanyed with Sir Henry Percy, and three hundred light Horſemen, came to Leſtericke, the Lord Lieutenant, Sir James Croft, the Lord Scrope, and Sir Raufe Sadler met him at the further ende of the ward, that was ſet of purpoſe for his entring into the Camp.

After they had receyued him with ſalutations according to the manner, he was conducted by Rouge croſſe the officer of armes, from the Camp vnto Edenburgh, and ſo went vp to the Caſtell to conferre with the Queene Dowager.

A skirmiſh.

Hee was no ſooner entred into the Caſtell, but that there iſſued forthe of Lieth the number of two hundred Frenchmen, aboute twelue of the clocke, and beganne a hote ſkirmiſhe, whyche continued two houres, at the whyche, dyuers were ſlayne on both partes.

More ordinaunce planted.

The ſame night, the Lorde Lieutenant cauſed nine peeces of the great ordinance to be planted in the new trench, ſo that the next day being Monday, the ſame peeces were ſhotte off verye earely, directly towardes the Steeple of Sainte Anthonies Churche, and although thoſe peeces lay a quarter of a mile off, the peeces of ordinãce that lay in the ſame ſteeple, were diſmounted by them, and likewiſe thoſe that lay in the Steeple of S. Nicholas Churche, at the whiche dyuers peeces were leuyed, and within ſixe or ſeauen tire, the peeces that lay in that Steeple were alſo diſplaced, and a gunner ſlayne that ſtoode at one of them, the peece and the Gunner commyng tumblyng downe both togyther.

The enimies ordinaunce diſplaced.

In this Churche as was reported their ſtore of vittayles and munition was layd, ſo that baterie was made againſte the ſame all that day, and a greate peece of the Churche wall beaten downe, and the Steeple defaced.

The Byſhoppe of Valence after hee hadde talked with the Queene Dowager, returned to commune with the Lordes of the congregation.

A fort reyſ

Tewſday the three and twentith of Aprill, beeyng Saint Georges day, the pioners Scottiſh and Engliſh, were buſily applyed in worke, about the caſting of trenches, to make a forte, and ſtill the artillerie wente off agaynſte the Towne.

A skirmiſh.

Wedneſday the foure and twentith of Aprill, about three of the clocke in the after noone, there iſſued out of Lieth ſeuenteene horſemen, who offered the ſkirmiſhe, and vnder the place called little London, where they were buſy in fortifying all that day, three or foure hundred of their ſhotte were placed, ready to breake out if occaſion ſerued: at length, certayne of the Engliſh launces gaue a charge vppon their horſemen, who therewith retiring, drewe the Engliſhmen within daunger of their ſhotte, but although the Frenchmen that day ſhewed themſelues very valiante in ſkirmiſhing euen in the face of the Engliſh artillerie, yet beeing nowe egrely purſued by thoſe launces, they were forced to retire withoute anye greate hurte done to the Engliſhmen, although the ſkirmiſhe continued neere hand two houres.

The French repulſed.

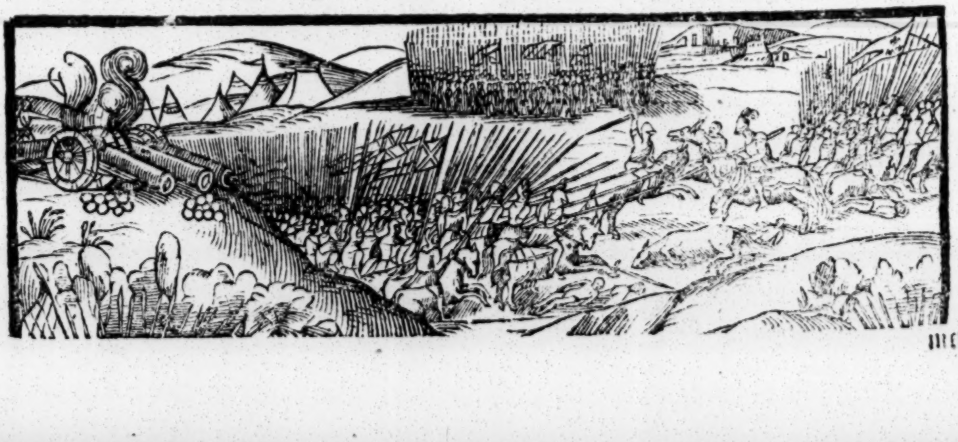
In this laſt charge, yong maiſter Browne was hurt.

Thurſdaye the fiue and twentith of Aprill, the Pioners laboured ſore for the moſt parte of the day, in finiſhing the new fort, named Mont Pellham, to the guarde whereof, Captayne Vaughan was appoynted gouernoure, with twelue hundred ſouldyers.

This forte was reiſed on the South ſyde of the Towne, the plotte wherof was caſt ſquare, with foure bulwarkes at euery corner, & twelue battering peeces planted in places conuenient within the ſame.

Another ſkir miſhe.

This Thurſday alſo, about fiue of the clocke in the after noone, there iſſued out of Lieth on the Eaſt ſide ſeuentie or eyghtie horſemen, and two hundred harquebuſiers, offering the ſkirmiſhe, towardes whome, certayne of the Engliſh lighte horſemen roundly made, and charging them, droue them backe to their footemen, who with theyr ſhotte, receiued the light horſe-



men ſo ſharpely, that they were forced to retyre: in which retyre James Hamilton a Scottiſhman was taken priſoner, for the reſkue of whom the horſemen made forwarde agayne, but the enimies ſhotte was ſo hote, that they were not able to recouer him, but yet they ſlue two of the French horſemen in ſight.

Hamil-
aken pri-
r.

During the tyme of thys ſkyrmiſhe, there was great ſhooting off with the great ordinance on both ſides, and much hurt done as well to the Engliſh as French.

This day Captaine Perith, and Captaine Hayes, hauing charge of a troupe of lighte horſemen, vnder ſir Henrie Percie, and the Lard of Grange, were taken priſoners before Dunbarre, and to the number of twentie or thirtie other, were lykewiſe taken or ſlayne the ſame tyme.

The ſame night alſo, two thouſande footemen with the Pioners, were ſent to the other ſide of the towne, beyonde the Canon Mylles, where the Pioners caſt a trench for the ſafe lodging of the armie, which remoued the next day being Fryday, and. xxvj. of Aprill, from Leſtericke downe into the valley by the ſayde Canon Milles, called the red brayes neare to the Riuer ſide on the South part of the towne of Lieth.

e armie re-
ueth from
ericke to
red Brays.

As the armie was thus remouing from Leſtericke towardes the ſayde place called the red Brayes, the Frenchmen within Lieth ſhotte off many of theyr great peeces of artillerie, but without doing any great hurte.

As the army was encamping, certaine of the enimies horſemen and footemen ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſh Launces, and light horſemen a long tyme: there were two Frenchmen ſlain and their horſes alſo. In tyme of this ſkyrmiſh, two Canons were conueyed and planted in the new trench, which diſcharged diuerſe ſhottes at the enimies.

kirmiſh.

Saterday the. xxvij. of Aprill, the great Artillerie was planted aloft on the hill aboue the campe within leſſe than a Curriers ſhot of the towne walles, and the Pioners were ſet a worke to caſt newe trenches from the place where the ſame ordinãce was lodged vnto Montpelham, drawing ſo neare vnto Lieth, as the Harquebuſe might reache them that watched and warded within the greene Bulwarke.

The planting of the great artillerie.

There iſſued out of Lieth vnder the weſt Bulwark certaine of the Frenchmen, the which were chaſed into yͤ town by the Lard of Grange and other.

The French kept the ſame day a Trenche, which they had made without the towne, continually ſhooting at the Engliſhmen in the camp, but the ſame night the Engliſhmen wanne that trench from them, ſlue diuerſe of them therein, togither with their ſkoute. And this done, they gaue a great alarme to the towne both by lande and water, the ſhippe boates ſhooting off againſt the towne verie hotely, and they within the towne likewiſe at the Engliſh men. The ſame night was the great ordiance planted, and maiſter Markham hurt.

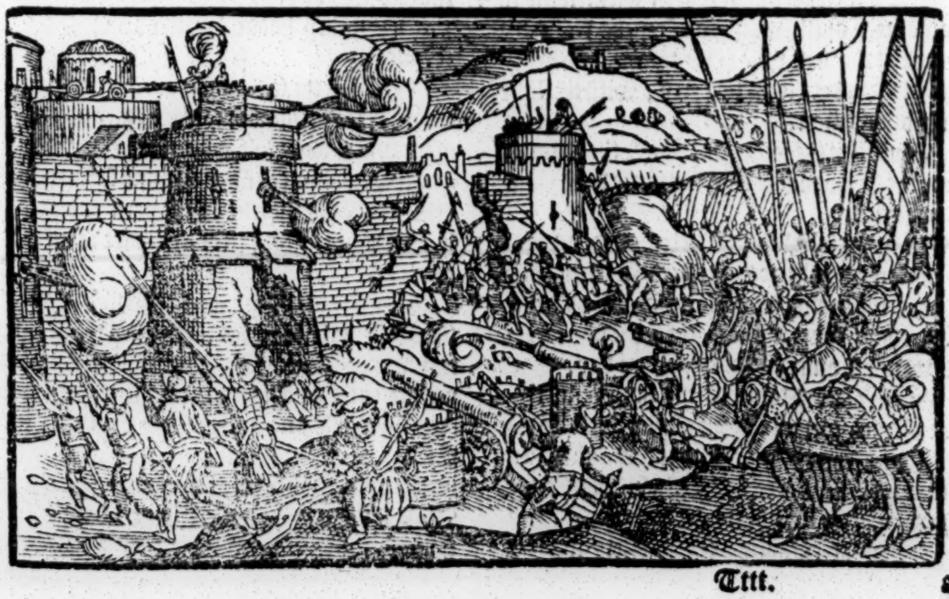
A trench won from the enimies.

Great ordinance planted.

Sunday the. xxviij. of Aprill, the ſayd great ordinance went off and ſhotte continually the more part of that day. The Biſhop of Valence departed the ſame day towards Berwike, and this night ſir George Howarde, that had bene ſent back to Barwik, to ſignifie to the duke of Norffolk the eſtate of the ſiege, returned with ſir Richard Lee, being conducted with fiue hundred horſmen.

Monday the. xxx. of Aprill, the peeces of the great artillerie were occupied in ſhooting off very hotely, & the French likewiſe ſhot off theyrs,

A ſkirmiſhe.



and comming forth of the Towne, ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſh men. This night the Pioners made new Trenches towarde the South Bulwarke.

Tueſday the laſt of Aprill, was ſpent in ſhooting off the great Artillerie into the towne.

A fire in Lieth

About fiue of the clocke in the after noone, a ſodaine fire was rayſed within the towne, which hugely increaſed and continued the moſt part of that night. At the beginning when it firſt appeared, the Engliſh Ordinaunce was ſhot off to the place where the fire was, whiche ſhotte togither with helpe of the winde, that was verie great at that preſent, did marueilouſly augment the ſame fire: yet neuertheleſſe the French at that preſent time offered a ſkirmiſh, and continued the ſame neare hand for the ſpace of two houres, manned theyr walles, and made the beſt prouiſion they might for doubt of ſome aſſault. It was in deed appoynted, that certaine bandes ſhould make an alarme to the Towne, inſomuch that Captaine Vaughan with dyuerſe of the ſouldiours of Montpelham entred the ditch, and approching the Walles, diſcouered the heigth of them, and notwythſtanding that the French did what they coulde to annoy them in the Ditches wyth Currier ſhotte, yet did Captaine Vaughan ſtay in the ditch a pretie while, and retyred with his men without receyuing any great hurt.

Captaine Vaughan.

Maypolles ſet vp in Lieth.

Wedneſday the firſt of May, the Frenche menne ſette vp verie early in the morning theyr Maye Polles in certaine Bulwarkes, and fourtene Enſignes, the whiche beeing diſcouered of them in the Campe, they ſaluted them wyth a peale of great Ordinaunce, and lykewyſe the Frenchmen aunſwered them againe, and ſo continued the moſte parte of that daye.

A trench won from the French.

The ſame day John Brian Lieutenant to Captaine Capell, wanne a Trenche from the French at the weſt ſyde of the towne, and in deſpite of them kept it all that day, with the loſſe onely of one man.

Thurſday the ſeconde of May, the Pioners made the Trenches for the Artillerie to be planted in batterie.

The night following, they remoued and placed the ſame Artillerie in the new Trench, and the next morning being Fryday and thirde of May, about foure of the clocke, the ſame batterie went off, and continued all that day.

In the after Noone of the ſame day, certaine French men iſſued out of the weſt Bulwarke, and ſkyrmiſhing with the Engliſhmen on that ſyde the water, returned without anye great hurt.

The night enſuyng, the Pioners made a new Trenche by the Citadell, wherein they myghte lodge ſome ſhotte, and Captayne Vaughan wyth diuerſe of the bandes in Montpelham, gaue two falſe aſſaultes to the towne, entred the Ditches, and viewed the Flankers, whereuppon the Frenche ſhotte off the ſame Flankers, and manning theyr Walles, ſhotte off two or three Volees of theyr ſmall Artillerie, ſleaying and hurting to the number of twentie of the Engliſhmen. Among other, little Norton loſt hys lyfe that nyght, and ſo at length the reſidue returned.

Captaine Vaughan vieweth the enimies flankers.

Saterday the fourth of May, there were three Enſignes appoynted to garde the newe Trenches, and towardes night when the ward ſhoulde bee relieued, and the watche ſette, the Frenche men that were in the Trenche vnder the Citadell, made a ſally vppon the ſodaine, whereuppon the Engliſhmen that garded the ſayde Trenche, were conſtrayned to abandon a great parte thereof for a tyme, but yet the Engliſhe menne eftſoones takyng courage, layde to them agayne, repulſed them, and draue them backe into theyr owne Trenches, ſlue foure of them in fight, and hurt many other.

The French repulſed.

Whyleſt this was in doing, the French had ſtuffed their Bulwarkes and Rampyres wyth Curriers and Harquebuſiers of Croke, as thicke as was poſſible, which went off withoute ceaſſing, at the Engliſhmen, for the ſpace of an houre and more.

The Engliſhe Artillerie planted in the Trenches did anſwere them againe continually, and the great peeces did muche hurt among them, in ſight of them that watched in the ſame Trenches.

The ſame nyght the Engliſhe men conueyed two Culueringes ouer the water to ſkower the Mylles, and before the breake of the daye they hadde burnt one of the ſame Mylles.

The Myll burnt.

Sunday the fifth of May, early in the morning at the relieuing of the watch, and entring of the ward, foure ſoldiours that belonged to the great Ordinaunce iſſued out, and ſet fyre on the other Mylle, whiche burnt verie outragiouſly wythout ceaſſing, for the ſpace of an houre or more.

The Frenche beganne to aſſemble towardes the Myll, in hope to haue quenched the fire, but they were deceyued, for ſodaynly the Engliſhe menne cutte two holes through theyr Trenches, and placing in the ſame the two demie Culuerings, ſhotte them off at the Frenchmen, ſo that they were dryuen to forſake the Myll, and in theyr retyre ſome of them were ſlaine.

This day alſo, as foure French Gentlemen came forth to diſcouer the Engliſh Trenches, Captaine Reade commaunded one of his ſouldiours to ſhoote at them, but through myſhap his peece burſt, and a ſhiuer thereof flue oute, and brake the arme of his ſayde captaine.

rain Rea- ſme ieces.

Monday the ſixt of May, the armie lying quiet all the morning, in the after noone, the Engliſh Ordinance on the further ſide the water, began to ſhoote off agaynſt the enimies very hotly, ſo continuing till night.

e Earle of gyle.

This day the Earle of Arguyle, and diuerſe other noble men of Scotlande, came to Edenbourgh with two thouſande horſemen and footmen, who ſhewed themſelues in order of a muſter, on the hill vnderneath the Caſtell, which being perceyued of the Frenche within Lieth, they ſhotte off three great peeces of Artillerie at them, but (as God woulde haue it) wythout hurt, for two of the bullets lighted ſhort, and the thirde did fall in a Garden within the towne of Edenbourgh.

The night enſuing, the great Ordinance in the Engliſhe mens Trenches and Bulwarkes continued ſhooting on euerie ſide: and herewith commaundement was giuen by the Lord lieutenant, and the Counſaile, that the whole army ſhould be readie armed with their weapon and furniture according, by midnight.

aſſault gi- to Lieth ſeuenth of y.

In the morning by two of the clock the. vij. of May being Tuiſday, diuerſe bands paſſed forth towards the towne, & entring the ditches offred the ſkale: other captaines with their men approched the Bulwarkes, & other there were appointed to enter beſide the Mylles.

Beſyde, the Engliſh bandes commaunded thus to giue the aſſault, there were a thouſande Scottes ioyned with them, whereof fiue C. with captaine Vaughan, & ſuch other captaines as were commaunded to attempt the Bulwark next to Montpelham, & other fiue C. went with ſuch of the Engliſh captains as were commaunded to aſſault the breach beyond the water.

horſemen oynted to d the field.

Moreouer, as well the Launces as lyght horſmen, were aſſigned to garde the fields. Sir George Howard with the Launces keeping betwixt the Forte of Montpelham and the Sea Weſtward, and ſir Henrie Percie with the light horſmen, betwixt the campe and the Sea Eaſtward. The reſt of the footemen that went not to the aſſault, were alſo appoynted to garde the trenches and fielde, in ſuch wiſe as was thought expedient, ſo that perfite direction was giuen in euerie behalfe by the Lorde Lieutenant, and other of the Counſayle, and vpon warning gyuen by Captaine Randall Sergeant Maior, ſuche as hadde beene commaunded to giue the aſſaulte in theyr ſeuerall appoynted places, preaſſed forwarde wyth courage ynough, and boldly aduentured to climbe the Walles, and enter at the breaches, but yet theyr attempte wanted the wyſhed ſucceſſe: for what through the Frenche mennes policie in ſtopping the currant of the Ryuer that nyght, and other deuyſes for theyr owne ſafegarde, and the annoyance of the aſſaylantes, and what by reaſon of the vnfitneſſe of the Ladders, beeing too ſhorte by two yardes and more, the aſſaylantes were repulſed. For duryng the whole tyme of the aſſaulte, whiche continued for the ſpace of an houre and an halfe, the Frenche ſhotte off theyr Flankers, and mainteyned their ſhot from the walles ſo thicke, that it ſeemed a verie hell for the time.

The Engliſh men repulſed.

They alſo hurled downe ouer the Walles vppon the aſſaylantes heades, greate plentie of ſtones, logges, and mightie peeces of tymber, which did muche hurt to the Engliſh men and Scottes, that forced themſelues to climbe vp. But yet neuertheleſſe, manye there were that entered the Towne in ſundrye places, of the whyche ſome came backe agayne, although others were beaten downe and ſlaine.

To conclude at length all that eſcaped with lyfe, were forced to retyre with the loſſe of ſeuen or eyght ſkore Engliſhmen, ſome haue ſayde two hundred, which were ſlaine outryght, beſyde thoſe that were wounded, being in number at the leaſt two or three hundred, and amongeſt other, there were dyuerſe Capitaynes and Gentlemen that were hurt, as Syr Thomas Heſketh, Maiſter Sutton, Maiſter Newporte, maiſter Conwey, Captaine Wood, Thomas Fitton, with others.

The number ſlaine and hurt at the aſſault.

Vppon the repulſe thus giuen to our men, by the French they aduaunced and ſet vp fourtene Enſignes preſentlye aboute the Towne, and continewed otherwyſe quyet all that daye.

Wedneſday the eyght of May in the after Noone, ſir George Howarde, and ſir Richarde Lee departed towardes Barwike wyth certayne Companies of Horſemen for their ſafeconduction.

Thurſday the ninth of May, the Frenchmen wrought verie earneſtly within the towne, to fortifie the neceſſarie places, and repayre the breaches, euen in the face of the Engliſh ordinance, which went off dyuerſe tymes, and dyd them much hurt.

The ſame daye alſo the Frenche hadde manned to the Sea wardes a Boate fraught wyth fyftie Harquebuſiers, meaning to conuey them ouer to Inſketh, but the Engliſhe Shippes diſcouering them, prepared certayne Boates to encounter them, where of they beyng aware, returned.

A ſupply from Barwike.

Fryday the tenth of May, Maiſter Inglebie, Captaine Pipeman, and Captain Browne, came to the Campe from Berwike, with a ſupplie of. 450. ſouldiours.

The ſame day aboute tenne of the clocke at night, there chaunced a brawle to fall oute aamong the Scottes that watched in the trenches neareſt vppon the towne of Lieth on the Weſt ſide, inſomuch that one of them fell to and killed an other: which diſorder being perceyued of the French within Lieth, they iſſued out and ment to haue vſed the aduantage, but the Engliſh men that watched neare vnto the Scottes ſtayed the fray, and did not onely bring them to quiet, but alſo put the French men to flight.

Sunday the. xij. of May, about midnight the Frenchmen to the number of two hundred ſallied forth of the towne, minding to giue a camiſado to the Engliſhe men that kept watche that night in the trenches at the Weſt ſide of Montpelham, but they were diſcried, and certaine of them killed, and ſo had the repulſe.

Sir Fraunces Leake bringeth a ſupply to the campe.

Wedneſday the. xv. of May, ſir Frauncis Leake, came to the campe with a ſupplie of fiue hundred men from Barwike.

Thurſday the. xvj. of May, towardes night the Frenchmen to the number of one hundred footmen, and. xxx. horſemen, came abroade & ſhewed themſelues very braue, ſkirmiſhing with the Engliſh men at the weſt end of their towne.

A ſkirmiſh.

The French men chaſed.

Tuiſday the. xxj. of May, about. vij. of the clocke at night, there iſſued forth of Lieth ſixe horſemen, and one hundred footmen Harquebuſſiers, marching towarde Montpelham to offer ſkirmiſh, wherevpon Captaine Vaughan went forth to them verie orderlye, and ſkyrmiſhed with them a prettie while, and in the meane tyme, off went the greate Ordinance on both ſides. In the end the French men were driuen to retyre into the towne, for the Engliſh men ſhewed themſelues verie egre, and valiantly charged their enimies, put them to retyre, and chaſed them in at theyr gates, to the whiche they followed them right hardily.

Somerſets Mount.

The ſame night, maiſter Frauncis Somerſet and other Captaines were appoynted to kepe a Fort buylt aboue the campe, and now finiſhed, tooke name of him being Captaine thereof, and was after called Somerſets Mount.

The ſame day a ſouldiour of captain Druries band was hãged for going to Edenbourgh, contrarie to a Proclamation, inhibiting any ſouldiour ſo to do without ſpeciall licence.

Sir Peter Carew.

Wedneſday the: xxij. of May, ſir Peter Carew came to the Campe, beeing ſent from the Court.

Thurſday the. xxiiij. of May at ſeuen of the clocke at night, the French ſallied forth to the number of two hundred footmen, and. xx. horſemen, at the relief of the warders when the watch ſhoulde be ſet, meaning as it appeared to haue wonne the Trenches from the Engliſhmen, wherevpon a ſore ſkyrmiſhe followed, dyuerſe ſlaine, and many hurt on both partes, yet in the ende the Frenche menne were dryuen home by plaine force. This was at the Weſt ſyde of the towne, where they had fortified towards the Sea.

An Engliſ hoy taken.

The ſame day the Frenchmen of Dunbarre tooke an Engliſh Hoy laden with double beere, biefe, oxen, and flitches of bakon.

The Quee Dowager d parteth thi life.

Saterday the. viij. of June, ſir John Neuill with. CCC. men, Captaine Bridges, and captaine Druzie, with other three hundred, ſet from Barwike towards the campe, where they arryued on Monday the. x. of June, on which day the Queene Dowager departed this life.

The. xiij. of June, ſir William Cicill, principal Secretarie to the Queenes Maieſtie, now Lorde Burley and high Treaſorer of England, and Doctor Wotton deane of Canterburie and Yorke came to Barwike, appoynted Commiſſioners on hir ſayde Maieſties behalfe, to treate of an accorde with the Conte de Randon, and the biſhop Valence, commiſſioners ſent for that purpoſe from the French king, and his wife Marie Queene of Scotland.

The Frenc gather cok to their hin derance

The. xiiij. of June being Fryday, a certaine number of French men came forth of Lieth to gather Cokeles on the Sands towards Montpellam, whereof the Engliſhmen perceyuing, ſet vpon them, ſlue. lxx. and tooke xvj. of them pryſoners.

Sir Willia Cicil, and doctor Wo came to E denbourgh

On Sunday the. xvj. of June, the foreremembred commiſſioners came to Edenbourgh, and as maiſter Secretarie and Doctor Wotton paſſed the Engliſh fortes and campe, they were ſaluted with a gallant peale of the harquebuſiers that ſhot off their harquebuſies verie liuely.

Monday the. xvij. of June about eight of the clocke, an abſtinence of warre was concluded, warning being giuen by the diſcharging of two peeces of the great artillerie out of the Caſtell, and then the Frenchmen ſhewed and aduaunced themſelues vpon their rampiers.

Saterday the. xxij. of June, the abſtinence was broken, of which till then had beene truely kept and obſerued.

Thurſday the fourth of July, about three of the clock in the after noone, the French came out of Lieth, according to their accuſtomed maner to gather Cokles. wherupon the Lord Lieutenant being at that preſent in Montpelham, ſent a Drumme vnto Monſier Doyſell to ſignifie to him that his ſoldiours had gone further without theyr boundes than they might do by the order taken by the Cõmiſſioners of both parts. Doyſell anſwered, that they were no ſouldiours, but poore people which went to gather Cockles for their reliefe and ſuſtenance. The Drumme ſaid, that if they kept not themſelues within their appoynted limits, my Lorde Lieutenant ment to ſend them backe not greatly to their eaſe: whervnto Doyſell replied, that if he ſo did, he woulde do the beſt he could to ayd them. Hereupon the Engliſh horſmen and footmen out of Montpelham gaue a charge vpon them, and ſlue of them to the number of fiftie, and tooke certaine of the reſidue priſoners.

renchmen loones bea- as they ga- red cockles

Friday the ſixt of Iune, about ſix of the clock in the after noone, iſſued out of Lieth. xiiij. horſmẽ, ⁊ an C. footmẽ, which offred the ſkirmiſh, but vpon the ſhooting of the great artillery frõ Mõtpelham, they retired home again into the towne.

The night following about. xij. of the clocke, one Scattergood an Engliſhman that was a Gunner, and had feyned himſelfe to flee from the Engliſh campe for manſlaughter into Lieth, and was receyued of the Frenchmen, beleeuing that he had ment no deceypt, came out of the towne, after he had remayned there about ſeuen dayes, in which meane while he had vnderſtoode fully the ſtate of the towne, and now vpon hys returne, made relation thereof as he knew.

attergood Gunner.

Saterday the ſixt of Iune, the Lord Gray L. Lieutenant, maiſter Secretarie Cicill, and ſir Raufe Sadler, betwixt three and foure of the clocke in the after noone, gaue order that there ſhoulde no peece be ſhotte, nor ſhew of hoſtilitie made till ſeuen of the clocke the ſame night: and herewith ſent ſir Gerueys Clifton vnto all the ſouldiours that warded in the Trenches & Bulwarkes on the weſt ſyde of Lieth, to cõmaunde them to obſerue the like order, and ſir Iohn Neuill was ſent with like commaundement vnto the ſouldiours that lay in Somerſets Mount.

he peace cluded.

The peace now in the meane time being concluded, on the morrow being Sunday and. vij. of Iune, ſir Francis Leake, & ſir Gerueys Clifton, accompanied with two French gentlemen, were ſent to the towne of Lieth, to ſignifie vnto Monſieur Doyſell, the Biſhop of Amiens, La Broſſe, Martigues, and other the French Lords and Captaines, that they were come thither by commaundement from the Commiſſioners to cauſe the peace alreadie concluded, to bee proclaymed, which accordingly was done in maner as followeth.

e peace pro- med.

The moſt mightie princeſſe, Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the fayth. &c. and the moſt chriſtian king, Francis, and Marie, by the ſame grace of God king and Queene of Fraunce and Scotland, haue accorded vpon a reconciliation of a peace and amitie to be inuiolably kept, betwixt them, their ſubiects, kingdomes & coũtries, and therefore in their names it is ſtraitly commaunded to all maner of perſons borne vnder their obeyſances, or being in their ſeruice, to forbeare all hoſtilitie either by ſea or land, & to keepe good peace eche wͭ other frõ this time forwards, as they will anſwere thereto at their vttermoſt perils.

Immediatly after this proclamation was ended, ſir Francis Leake, and ſir Gerueys Clifton were brought to Mon. Doyſels lodging, where was prepared for them a great banket of. xxx. or xl. diſhes, and yet not one either of fleſh or fiſhe, ſauing one of the fleſh of a pouldred horſe, as a certain perſon hath written that taſted thereof, as he himſelfe auoucheth.

Sir Francis Leake, and ſir Geruеys Clifton banketted by M. Doyſel.

Thus haue I bin more large in this matter concerning the ſiege of Lieth, than maye bee thought peraduenture neceſſarie, ſith the thing is yet freſh in memorie: but bycauſe there came to my handes certaine notes of one or two perſons that were there preſent, and for help of their own memories wrote the ſame, I haue thought it not impertinent to inſert the effect of thẽ, that the ſame may ſerue to further thoſe that hereafter ſhall write the Hyſtorie of this time more at large, ſith my purpoſe is not to cõtinue the ſame otherwiſe than I finde things noted in the Abridgemẽts of Iohn Stow and Richard Grafton, except in ſome recitall of expeditions and iourneis made, as this, and other into Scotland, and that ſame of the right honourable the Earle of Warwike into Normandie, whiche I haue thought good to enlarge, according to ſuch notes as haue come to my hande, beſeeching the readers to accept the ſame in good part: and if any thing be omitted, eyther in this place or any other, yͭ were as neceſſarie to be ſpoken of, as thoſe poynts which I haue touched, or afterwardes may touch, to impute the fault to the want of good inſtructions, and not to anye neglygence or lacke of good will in me to aduaunce euerie mannes worthie doings according to his merites.

The articles of the peace at the ſiege of Lieth.

But nowe concerning the Articles of the peace, being about. xiij. in all, the chiefeſt maye ſeeme to reſt herein, that the French ſouldiours and men of warre ſhould depart out of the realm of Scotlande within a ſhort time limitted. xx. dayes, as *Ludouico Guiciardini* hath noted, ſixe ſcore of them only excepted, as. lx. to abyde in Inſketh, and. lx. in the Caſtell of Dunbarre, they to be anſwered theyr wages at the handes of the Eſtates of Scotlande, and to bee ſubiects vnto the lawes and ordinaunces of that realme. That the fortifications about Lieth ſhoulde bee razed and demoliſhed, and likewyſe the Fort which had beene buylt and rayſed before the Caſtell of Dunbarre by the French, for a ſtrength thereto. That the Frenchmen ſhould not conuey into Scotland any men of warre, or munitions without conſent of the Parliament aſſembled of the three eſtates of that realm. That the King and Queene of Fraunce and Scotlande, ſhoulde not from thenceforth beare the armes of Englande, ſith the ſame apperteyned only to the Queenes Maieſtie of England, and to none other perſon.

See more here-of in Scotland.

Theſe and other articles were compriſed and eſtabliſhed in the concluſion of thys peace, as well to the honour and ſuretie of the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande, hir Realmes, Dominions, and Subiectes, as alſo for the wealth and preſeruation of the Realme of Scotlande, the Nobles and other Subiectes of that Realme.

After that this peace then was fully eſtabliſhed, agreed, and concluded, the Frenchmen were embarked at Lieth in Engliſhe veſſelles, thoſe onely excepted (that were appoynted to remaine as pledges with the Engliſhmen tyll the Shippes came back againe) and a few other that were permitted to paſſe through Englande into their Countrey.

Churchyard.

Thus were the French forces remoued out of Scotland, a matter ſo much importing to the confirmation of peace betwixte vs and that Realme, and alſo to the auoyding of further perilles, that this iourney ended with ſo honourable and profitable a peace, concluded by the highe induſtrie and prudente policie of oure Queenes Maieſties Commiſſioners afore mentioned, maye bee accompted one of the moſt neceſſarie expeditions, and moſt beneficiall ſeruices that had beene made and put in practiſe in many yeares before. For the Queenes Maieſtie (as ſome haue truely written) had not onely hir chiefe deſire, by remouing the French, hir daungerous neighbours, that were about to neſtle themſelues ſo neare hir elbowe, but alſo a perfite peace with the Scottes was thereby procured, lyke to continue many yeares (if the ſayd Scottes ſhall not ſeeke theyr owne woe,) beeing full vnable to aduauntage themſelues by warres agaynſt vs, as to the wyſer and beſte ſorte of them I truſt is not vnknowne.

But to leaue the further conſideration of the benefite that may growe hereof to this Realme, vnto theyr iudgements that haue ryper heades to vnderſtand the ſame, I will proceede, & herewyth make an ende of this matter, concerning the ſiege of Lieth. After that the French men were departed, and the Fortes about Lieth and Dunbarre razed and demoliſhed, according to the couenants of peace, the Queenes Maieſtie called backe hir armie without reteyning any peece within Scotlande to hir owne vſe. In whiche honourable and vpright dealing, ſhe wanne more fame and eſtimation, than if ſhee had ſeyſed and kept in hir poſſeſſion halfe the realme of Scotland.

Stow.

The Queenes Maieſtie by the aduice of hir moſt honourable Counſaile, meaning to aboliſh all corrupt, baſe, and copper moneys then current in this realme of Englande, coyned in the tymes and reignes of King Henrie the eight, and King Edwarde the ſixt, to the great hynderaunce and decay of the common wealth of this Realme, and therewith to reſtore vnto all hir ſubiectes fine and pure Sterling moneys, both of Golde and Siluer, to the great honour and benefite of the whole Realme, publiſhed a Proclamation on Michaelmaſſe Euen before Noone, that the Teſton coyned for twelue pens, and in the reigne of King Edwarde embaſed by Proclamation to ſixe pens, ſhoulde nowe forthwith (that of the beſt ſort marked wyth the Portculeis) be currant for foure pens halfepenie: the ſecond marked with the Greyhound for two pens farthing, the third and worſt ſort not marked as afore, not to be currant at all, nor receyued for any value. The grote to be currant for two pens, the former peece of two pens for a pennie. &c.

An.reg.3

It was not long after this, but that hir grace reſtoring to hir ſubiects fine ſterling money, called all the ſayde baſe and corrupt coyne into hir Maieſties Mynt, allowyng to them therfore after the rate before mentioned, ſo much of the ſayd fine moneys as they brought in of the ſayde baſe moneys.

1591

Additions to Lanquet.

About the ſame tyme, hir grace alſo fynding this Realme greatlye vnfurniſhed of Armour, Munitions and Powder for the defence thereof in tyme of neceſſitie, did ſo largely and plentifully prepare and cauſe to bee brought into the ſame, ſuch ſufficient furniture of armour and weapons, as Englande hath iuſt cauſe to prayſe and giue thankes to God and hir Maieſtie, for that it is certaine, that the realme was neuer ſo amply ſtored nor prouided of all maner of kindes of conuenient armor and weapons, as it is at this preſent.

The Merch Taylors fr Schoole.

The. xxj. of Marche a notable Grammer ſchoole was founded by the maiſter, wardens, and aſſyſtents of the right worſhipfull companie of the marchant Taylors of London, in the Pariſh of S. Laurēce Pountney in the ſame citie, the right worſhipfull Emanuell Lucar, Robert Roſe, William Merick, John Sparke, and Robert Duckington then beeing maiſter and wardens of that companie.

The

1461

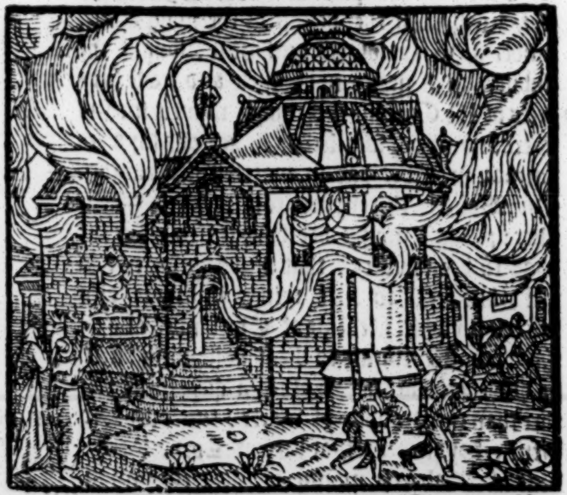
illiam Gef-ey whipped.

The tenth of Aprill was one William Geffrey whipped, from the Marſhalſey in Southwarke, to Bedlem without Biſhops gate of London, for that hee profeſſed one John Moore to be Chriſt our ſauior, on his heade was ſet a Paper, wherein was written as foloweth, William Geffrey a moſt blaſphemous heretike, denying Chriſt our ſauiour in heauen. The ſayd Geffrey being ſtayed at Bedlem gate, John Moore was brought forth, before whom Williā Geffrey was whipped, till he confeſſed Chriſt to be in heauen. Then the ſayde John Moore being examined, & anſwering ouerthwartly, was commaunded to put off his coate, dublet, and ſhirt, which he ſeemed to do very willingly, and after being tyed to the Cart, was whipped an Arrowes ſhot from Bedlem, where at the laſt he alſo cōfeſſed Chriſt to be in heauen, and himſelfe to be a ſinfull man: then was John Moore ſent again into Bedlem, and William Geffrey to the Marſhalſey, where they had layne priſoners nigh a yeare and a halfe, the one for profeſſing himſelfe to be Chriſt, the other a diſciple of the ſame Chriſt.

alſe Chriſt whipped.

aules ſteeple n fire.

On Wedneſday the fourth of June, betweene foure and fiue of the clocke in the after noone, the ſteeple of Pauls in Lōdon being fiered by lightning, braſt forth as it ſeemed to the beholders, two or three yardes beneath the foot of the croſſe, and from thence burnt downe the ſphere to the ſtonework and belles, ſo terribly, that within the ſpace of four houres the ſame ſteeple with the roofes of the Church, ſo much as was tymber or otherwiſe combuſtible, were conſumed, whiche was a lamentable ſight and pitifull remembrance to the beholders therof.



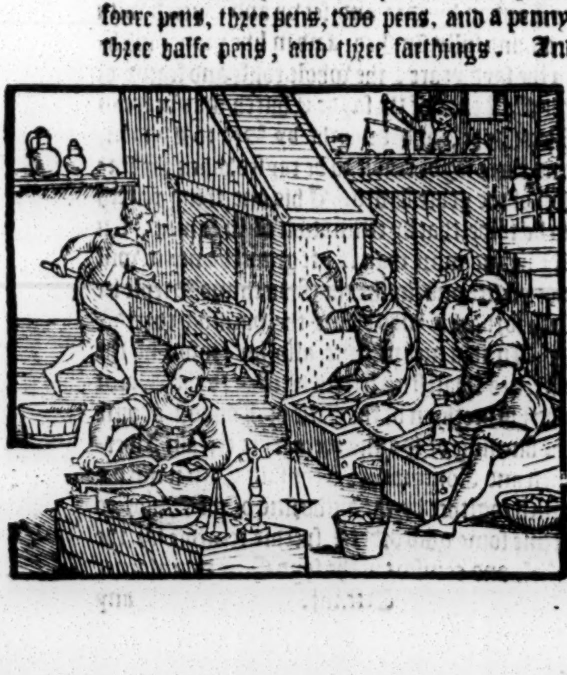
After this miſchaunce, the Queenes Maieſty being much grieued for the loſſe of ſo beautifull a monument, directed hir highneſſe letters to the Maior of the Citie of London, wylling him to aſſemble the Citizens to take ſome order for ſpeciall ayd and help for the repayring again of the ſayd monument, and ſhe of hir moſt gracious diſpoſition to giue a comfort vnto other for the furtherance thereof, did preſently giue & deliuer in golde one M. markes, and a warrant for. M. load of tymber, to be taken out of hir maieſties woods or elſwhere, and the citizens of Lōdon granted one beneuolence, and three fiftenes to be forthwith payed, and the Clergie of Englande vnder the Prouince of Canterburie, granted to giue the .xl. part of the value of their benefices, beeing charged with firſt fruites, and not beeing charged with firſte fruites, to paye the thirtith part. And the Clergie of the dioceſſe of London, graunted to giue the .xxx. part of their benefices being in firſt fruites, and the .xx. part being out of firſt fruites. And immediately by the commandement of the Queenes highneſſe, hir priuie counſaile, tooke order that ſix Citizens of London, and two of the Clergie of the church of Paules, had charge and commaundement to ouerſee and ſet forwarde this worke, who made ſuche expedition, that within one moneth next following the burning thereof, the whole Church, that is to ſay, all the foure great roufes of the ſame were couered with bourdes and leade, after the maner of a falſe roufe. And the greatneſſe of the worke diſpatched in ſo ſhort tyme coulde ſcarcely bee credited of any, but of ſuch as ſaw and knewe the ſame. And the cauſe of this great haſt was for feare of raine, whiche might haue periſhed the vawtes, to the deſtruction of the whole Churche, and the people that were therein. And before the ſayde yeare was fully ended, all the ſayde Iſles of the ſayde Church were made and framed of newe and maine Tymber, and couered with lead and fully finiſhed. And the ſame yeare alſo, the greate roufe of the Weſt ende was framed, and made of new & great timber in Yorkſhire, and brought to London by Sea, and ſet vp and couered with lead, and fully finiſhed. And in like maner within the ſayd yeare, the whole roufe and frame of the Eaſt ende of the ſayde Church was made in Yorkſhyre, and brought by Sea to London, and there layde readie to be rayſed when the ſeaſon of the yeare ſerued. This one thing reſteth to be tolde, that by eſtimation of wiſe men, ten M. pound more than is yet granted vnto it, will not perfite and finiſhe the Church and Steple in ſuch ſort as it was before the burning thereof.

In this meane time alſo by reaſon of the Queenes Maieſties letters directed to the Maior and his brethren of the Citie of London aboute the burning of Paules there were certain Aldermen and Commoners of the ſaid City named & called togither by the authoritie of the Maior, to deuiſe ſome good order & ſpeedie remedie for the reliefe and comfort of the ſayd Citie whenſoeuer any chaunce of fire hereafter ſhould happen (as God forbyd) wythin the ſayde Citie or liberties thereof. And the perſons ſo called after ſundrie meetings, and with good aduiſement and deliberation, agreed and penned a certaine order for the ſpeedie remedie thereof, as well for the readie knowledge of the place, whereſoeuer the ſame fire ſhould happen to be, and for the ſodain extinguiſhing and ſuppreſſing of the ſame, as alſo for the ſafe keeping of the goodes of ſuche perſons in whoſe houſe any fire ſhould chaunce. Which orders and rules vndoubtedly would be to the great comfort and ſafetie of the Citie and Citizens of the ſame, if they were publiſhed and made knowne in tyme, and executed accordingly. But what ſhould I ſay, I can but lament: not onely for this, but alſo for manye ſuch paynfull and profitable labours, whiche for good gouernment of this Citie had beene taken. And as ſoone as the talking thereof is done and the Bookes framed and deliuered, ſo ſoone is it put in obliuion, and nothing at all thought vppon, vntill an houre after the myſchiefe be paſt: I cannot blame no bodie, but there is a fault in ſome bodie.

This yeare was choſen Lorde Maior of London a worthie Citizen named William Harper, one of the companie of the marchant Taylers. This man wiſhing in his lyfe time to benefite his Countrey, founded a free ſchoole in the Towne of Bedford where he was borne, and nowe lyeth buryed, prouiding a competent ſtipende and lyuing for a Schoole maiſter, there to traine vp and inſtruct children in vertue and learning for euer.

New coynes.

The fiftenth of Nouember, the Queenes Maieſtie publiſhed a Proclamation, wherein ſhe reſtored to the Realme diuerſe ſmall peeces of ſiluer money, as the peece of ſixe Pens, foure pens, three pens, two pens, and a penny, three halfe pens, and three farthings. And alſo forbad all foreyne coynes to bee currant within the ſame Realme, as well golde as ſiluer, calling them to hir Maieſties Myntes, except two ſortes of Crownes of Golde, the one the Frenche Crowne, the other the Flemiſhe Crowne.



An. reg. 4.

Monſtrous byrthes.

This yeare in Englande were many monſtrous byrthes: in Marche a Mare brought forth a foale with one bodie and two heads, and as it were a long taile growing out betwene the two heades. Alſo a Sow farrowed a pig with foure legges, like to the armes of a man childe with handes and fingers. &c.

1562

In Aprill a Sow farrowed a Pigge with two bodies, eight feete, and but one head: many calues and lambes were monſtrous, ſome with collers of ſkinne growing aboute their neckes, like to the double ruffes of ſhyrtes and neckerchiefes then vſed.

The .xxiiij. of May, a man chylde was borne at Chicheſter in Suſſex, the heade, armes, and legges whereof, were like a notamie, the breaſt and belly monſtrous bigge from the Nauell as it were a long ſtring hanging: about the necke a great coller of fleſhe and ſkinne growing lyke the ruffe of a ſhyrt or neckerchefe, comming vp aboue the eares pleyting and folding. &c.

Sir Henrie Sydney ſent Ambaſſador into France.

The Realme of France being in great trouble aboute this ſeaſon, by the meanes of ciuill diſſentiõ and warres, that roſe betwixt the houſe of Guiſe and other of that faction vpon the one ſide, and the Prince of Condee and other that tooke part with him on the contrary ſide. The Queenes Maieſtie informed how that the duke of Guiſe and hys partakers hauing gotte into theyr poſſeſſion the perſon of the yong King, vnder a pretext of his authoritie, ſought the ſubuerſion of many noble men and good ſubiects of the Crowne of Fraunce, namely ſuch as were knowne or ſuſpected to be zealous for a reformation to bee had in matters of Religion. Hir Maieſtie therevppon conſidering, that if theyr purpoſe myght bee brought to effect, it was to bee doubted, that they woulde not ſo reſt, but ſeeke to ſette things in broyle alſo within thys hir Realme of Englande, and other Countreys neare to them adioyning: firſt as one that had euer wyſhed a quyetneſſe rather than the troubles of warre, ſent ouer Sir Henrie Sydney at that preſent Lorde Preſident of Wales (a manne of ſuche eſtimation as his worde ought to haue deſerued credite) to trye if hee myght doe any good to bryng the partyes to ſome attonement, but ſuch wilfull headyneſſe ſeemed to reſt in ſome that were chyefe of the one faction, that theyr deſyre ſeemed altogyther bente to enter in-other Am- ſade in Iuly.

to warres. Hir Maieſtie yet hoping the beſt, appointed to ſend another honorable ambaſſade, which by their wiſedomes & good aduiſe, might perſwade the parties vnto concord, whereby the due authoritie, honor, and dignitie might be reſtored to the King, and euery other degree keepe their roomthes and places as to them apperteyned, but all in vayne: for this motion of a pacification to be hadde, could take no place, neyther might the will of the yong King, or of his timerous mother, as it then ſeemed, bee regarded, otherwiſe than as ſtoode with the pleaſure and appoyntmente of thoſe that were knowen to bee the chiefe authors and furtherers of all thoſe troubles.

ſippes of ndon, Exceter and Fal- outh, ſpoiled the French Britayne, the tairtith of ly, and nine- th of Au- guſt.

Whyleſt the Queenes Maieſtie therfore did thus trauell in reſpect of the ſuretie whiche hyr grace bare to hir welbeloued brother the ſayde King, and to the commoditie and quietneſſe of both the factions, an open iniurie was offered to hir maieſtie, ſo as it might appeare, what minds they bare towards hir, that hadde thus excluded, and refuſed all offers and meanes to growe to ſome good and indifferente concluſion of peace. For whereas manye Merchauntes, as well of London as of Exeter, and other of the Weſt partes of hir Realme, were ſoiourning, for cauſe of traffique, in diuers portes and hauens of Britaigne, and hauing diſpatched their buſines, and gote their lading aboorde, their Shippes were readye to hoyſt vp ſayles, and to returne eache one towardes the place from whence he came, they were ſuddaynely arreſted, their goodes ſeaſed vppon, and they themſelues caſt in priſon: and ſome that in reuenge of ſuch offered iniurie attẽpted to make reſiſtance, were cruelly ſlaine, their Shippes conueyd away, their goodes confiſcate, without other pretence, but only that it was ſayd to them, that they were Huguenotes: neyther was thys done by priuate perſons, but by open violence of the gouernours and magiſtrates of thoſe places where the ſame diſorder was executed, ſo that it appeared from whence they had their commiſſion to vſe ſuch wrongful dealing, and how farre the ſame would extende, if they might once haue time and occaſion to accompliſh their purpoſed intentions.

Moreouer, when complaynt of ſuch iniuries was made vnto the lawfull magiſtrates there, they found no redreſſe at all.

etters taken om the eenes Ambaſſadors ſeruantes.

For what might the poore Merchaunts profite by their complayntes, when the packets of the Ambaſſadors letters, directed to hir, were taken from the bearer, and no puniſhmente had againſt thoſe that committed ſo vnciuill an outrage: a thing that offended hir Maieſtie ſo much the more, for that as ſhee tooke the matter, there wanted no good will, eyther in the King, or his mother, or in the King of Nauarre, the Kyngs generall Lieutenant, to ſee ſuch a preſumptuous and vnruly part puniſhed of their people, but rather that there lacked in them authoritie to haue it redreſſed.

Furthermore, it greatly greeued hir, that the yong frẽch King, hir deere brother was brought to ſuche a ſtreighte, that hee was neyther able to defend the libertie of his people, nor the authoritie of his lawes, nor to deale vprightly with other Princes and potentates accordingly, as by the boundes of leagues, and couenanted alikces had bin requiſite. Neyther did ſuche diſorder in gouernemente of the Kingdome of Fraunce, touche anye ſo muche and particularly, as the Queenes Maieſtie of England.

The French troubles touch moſt the Q. of Englande.

She therefore lamenting that the King and Queene mother ſhoulde be thus in the handes of them that procured all theſe troubles, and ledde vp and downe at their pleaſures, and driuen to behold the ſpoyle and ſacking of diuers hys Cities, and miſerable ſlaughter of his ſubiectes, and againe, hir grace thinking it expedient to preuent that ſuch as were knowen to beare no good will, eyther to hir or hir Realme, ſhould not get into their poſſeſſions ſuch Townes and hauens as lay againſt yͤ Sea coaſtes of hir ſaid Realm, whereby they ſtuffing the ſame with garriſons and numbers of men of warre, might eaſily vppon occaſions, ſeeke to make inuaſions into this hir ſayd Realme, to the great annoyance of hir, and hir louing ſubiectes, ſhee at the requeſt of the French themſelues, thought it expedient to put in armoure a certaine number of hir ſubiectes, to paſſe ouer into Normandy, vnto ſuche hauens as neere approched to thys hir Realme of Englande, as well for the ſafegarde of the ſame, as alſo for the reliefe and preſeruation of the inhabitantes there, and other that profeſſed the Goſpell, liuing in continuall daunger to be murthered and oppreſſed, and therefore crauing hyr ayde, to ſaue and deliuer them out of the bloudy hands of their cruell aduerſaries, that ſought their haſtie deſtruction.

The chiefe cauſes that moued the Queenes Maieſtie to ſend a power into Fraunce.

For the conduction therefore of ſuche forces as ſhe meante to ſende ouer at that preſent, ſhee ordeyned the Lorde Ambroſe Dudley Earle of Warwike, to be hir principal Lieutenant, Captaine generall, chiefe leader and gouernoure of hir ſayde ſubiectes, that ſhoulde in ſuch wiſe paſſe ouer into Normandy.

The Earle of Warwike ſent into Normandy with an armye.

Herevpon, the ſayd Earle, the ſeuententh of October, in this fourth yeare of hir Maieſties raigne, toke ſhipping at Porteſmouth in the hauen there at one of the clocke in the after noone, being aboorde himſelfe in the Queenes Shippe, called the newe barke, and ſetting forward, ſayled all that after noone, and the night following directly towards Newhauen, but in the morning about eyght of the clocke, when his Lordſhip was within twentie myles of the Towne of Newhauen, the winde ſuddainely chang:d cleane contrary to hys courſe, ſo that being driuen to returne about the next midnight, he arriued in the Downes, and there remayned at anker, till about eyght of the clocke in yͤ next morning being Monday, and then was ſet a lande by boate at Sandon Caſtell beſides Deale, and the ſame day at night came to Douer, and there lay till Friday three of the clocke in the after noone, and then taking Shippe agayne, ſayled forth, but finding the winde nothing proſperous for his courſe, after he had layne all that nyghte and day following, toſſing and tumbling on the Seas, he was cōſtreyned to come backe againe, and arriued in the Hauen of Douer, about tenne of the clocke on Saterday at nyghte, and ſo remayned there, till Tewſday next enſuing, three of the clocke in the after noone, and then went to Shipbord againe in the ſayd Shippe, called the new barke, and directing his courſe forward, on Thurſdaye morning aboute eight of the clocke, his Lordſhippe landed at Newhauen, where he was moſt ioyfully receyued with a greate peale of artillerie.

The Earle of Warwike landeth at Newhauen.

The nexte day, being Friday, and thirtith of October, ther came to Newhauē from Dieppe, fiftie light horſemen Scottes, broughte by one of maiſter Killigrues ſeruauntes.

Light horſemen Scottes.

On Saterday, the laſt of October, the Earle of Warwikes commiſſion was proclaymed in Latine, Engliſh, and French, by Bleumantell, Purciuant at armes, whiche beeing ended, hys Lordſhip went into the Churche, and there Sir Adrian Poynings, Knight Marſhall, gaue him his oth, and then my Lorde gaue the ſayde Sir Adrian his othe, and after him were ſworne Cutbert Vaughan Comptroller, John Fiſher Knight porter, William Bromfield maiſter of the ordinācē, William Robinſon water Bailife, and Captayne Thomas Wood Clearke of the Counſell.

An oth receyned by the Lord Lieutenant, and other officers.

On Monday, the ſeconde of Nouember, the Earle of Warwike, with the Knight Marſhall, and the Comptroller, rode out of Newhauen to Hauteuille, & ſo towards Moundeuille, accompanyed with all the Horſemen Engliſhe and Scottiſh, and a thouſand footemen.

The Scottiſhmen and Montgomeries band paſſed forth, and ſkirmiſhed with them of Mondeuille, and the Scottes brought away with thē a booty of three hundred Sheepe, but in the morning, they were returned backe agayne by commaundement of the Earle of Warwike.

A skirmiſhe.

Maiſter Comptrollers Souldyers wente as farre as Harflew, and there ſkirmiſhed with thē of that garriſon, but without any hurt to eyther parte.

My Lorde Lieutenante riding all about the hilles, viewed the Countrey, and at nighte returned.

On Wedneſday the fourth of Nouember, a barke of Newhauen, belonging to Fraunciſ Clearke, broughte into the Hauen of the ſame Towne, foure Britons laden with wines, to the quantitie of two hundred tunnes of good Gaſcoigne wine, whiche they meante to haue brought to the enimies, but being thus taken as a good priſe, it was diſcharged in Newhauen, & ſtoode the Engliſhmen and other of that towne in good ſteede.

A priſe.

On Friday the ſixth of Nouember, aboute nine of the clock in the morning, a great alarme roſe in the ſayd Towne of Newhauen: for vpon the hilles on the North ſide of the Towne, the Reingraue, and the ſonne of the Vice admirall of Fraunce, ſhewed themſelues, accompanyed with two thouſand footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen. And heerewith, the Reingraue ſent a Trumpettor to the Towne, to aduertiſe the L. Lieutenaunte, that he was on the hilles there at hande, and that vnderſtanding his Lordſhippe was come into the Countrey, and entred into Newhauen, if it woulde pleaſe him to promiſe vppon his honor, and by the faith of a Gentleman, that he might come, and returne in ſafetie, he would be glad to come to ſee him, and talke with him. Whereupon, the Lord Lieutenaunt, taking with hym certayne Captaynes and Gentlemen, rode forth of the Towne, and ſente before him Sir Adrian Poinings the Marſhall, with Stephen Medcalfe, hir Maieſties Trumpettor, vnto the Reingraue, who talking wyth him, returned, and mette with the Lord Lieutenant, who therewith paſſed forward, and meeting with the Reingraue, they embraced eache other, and conferred togither as they had occaſion, and the Reingraue tolde the Lorde Lieutenant (among other talke) that he was come to be his neighbor, and ſo with ſuch merrie ſpeech, they communed togithers, and after taking leaue eyther of other, they returned to theyr homes.

An alarme

Stephen Me calfe.

The Earle Warwike the Reing talke togi

The Countie Montgomerie, and Monſieur Beauboys had ſome talke alſo with the Reingraue, caſting out bitter and ſharp wordes, in reproſe of the Duke of Guiſe, and other that were of his faction.

The Reingraue comming backe to his army the ſame after noone, forraied all the Countrey, and droue away the moſt parte of all the cattayle that they might meete with, and comming to the Churche of Hauteuille, where an hundred and fiftie of Montgomeries band lay, they ſkirmiſhed wyth them, and in the ende, Montgomeries Souldiers were forced to retire, and abandon the place, leauing it to the enimies, and comming away, withdrewe the ſame night into Newhauen.

The Almaynes the ſame euening, deuidyng their army into two partes, the one halfe of thē went and lodged at Mondeuille, and the other halfe at Harflew.

The Church
Hauteuille
couered.

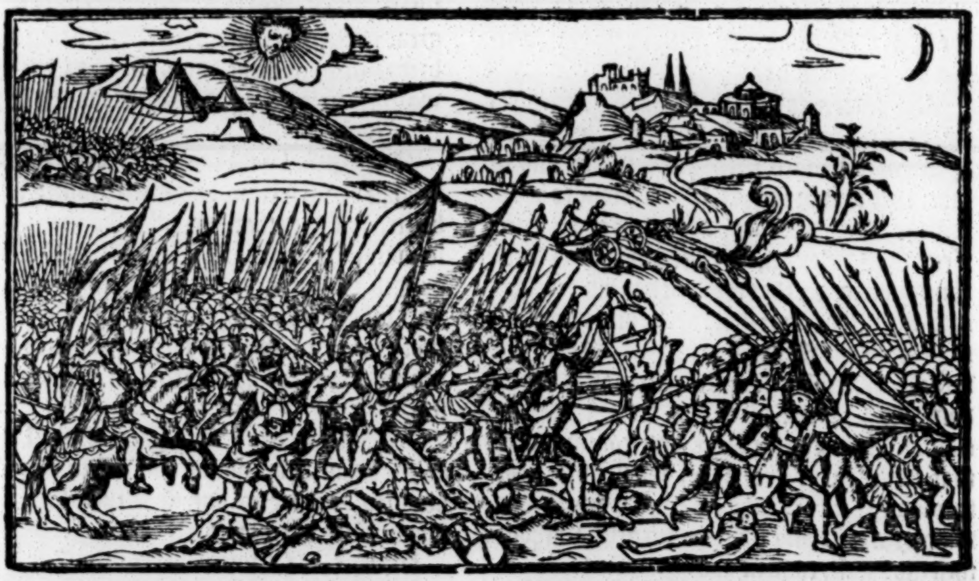
The morrow after, the Frenchmen that had abandoned the Church of Hauteuille the nyghte before, went thither againe, tooke and kepte it againſt the enimies, in like manner as they helde it before.

Proclamation.

The eleuenth of Nouember, a Proclamation was made in name of the Lorde Lieutenant, by the officer at armes Bleumantell, as well for good orders to be kept by the Souldyers aneynſt the Frenche inhabitauntes of the Towne, and reforming of certayne greeuances, whereof the Frenche had made complaynte, as alſo for theyr comming to Churche to heare common prayer and preaching at due times, for the auoyding of vnlawfull games, whoredome, wicked othes, and other blaſphemies, and lykewiſe concerning dyuers other good orders to bee obſerued, and diſorders to bee eſchued, as was thought neceſſary to giue warning of, with cōdigne paynes appoynted for puniſhemente of thoſe that ſhould tranſgreſſe in the ſame.

On Thurſdaye the twelfth of Nouember, there wente out of the Towne of Newhauen towards Harflewe, three bands of Frenchmen, conteyning aboute ſixe hundred footemen, and ſuddaynely they were beſette by the Almaynes and Frenchmen of the garriſon of Harflewe, ſo that the Frenchmen Proteſtantes, were driuen to take a Village called Grauille, where they maynteyned the ſkirmiſhe for the ſpace of two houres, till the Lord Lieutenant hearing of the perill in whiche they ſtoode, ſent forth with the Comptroller, the number of a thouſande footemen, and all the Engliſh and Scottiſhe Horſemen, and Monſieur Beauvoys, with dyuers frenche Horſemen, who comming before Harflewe, fel in ſkirmiſh with the enimies, to whoſe ſuccoure, there iſſued forthe of Harflew a greate number of the Almaynes, both Horſemen and footemen, but the Engliſhmen behaued themſelues ſo valiantly, that they beate them out of the fielde, and dryue them in the ende to the very gates of theyr towne.

A ſkirmiſh before Hatflewe.



Thys ſkirmiſhe was ſtoutely mainteyned, and cōtinued for the ſpace of three long houres.

Their greate artillerie was ſhotte off freſhly from the walles and bulwarkes.

At length, when the nighte drewe on, the retire was ſounded, and ſo the Engliſhmen came their way backe to Newhauen with honor, hauing loſt not paſt eight of their Souldyers, that were ſlayne, and ſixe other hurt, where as there was one of the enimies Captaynes ſlayne in fighte, with twenty Souldyers, and another of their Captaynes, with diuers other of theyr numbers, greeuouſly wounded.

Monſieur Beauvoys.

Monſieur Beauvoys ſhewed hymſelfe that day very forwarde and valiant, and ſo likewiſe did the Scottiſhmen.

The thirtenth of Nouember, a pineſſe of the Frenchmen that belonged to Newhauen, being gone forth the night before, brought into the hauen a Shippe laden with Rochell wines, fiue and twentie tunnes, that was bound to paſſe vp to the enimies, and ſo eſteemed a good priſe.

Priſes taken and brought to Newhauen.

And the fourtenth of Nouember, another Shippe fraught with twentie tunnes of Gaſcoigne wine, was brought in as a priſe, likewiſe taken by a barke of Newhauen, that belonged to a Frenchman, called Iehan de Boys, an earneſt aduerſarie to the Papiſtes.

An. Reg. 5.

A Proclamation.

The ſeuententh of Nouember, a Proclamation was made by Bleumantel, concerning orders taken and paſſed by the Lorde Lieutenant, that no Engliſhman nor Frenchman ſhoulde ſhoote off any harquebuze within the Towne, nor that any Frenchmã, except Monſieur Beauvoys, or Monſieur Bricquemault, or theyr companyes ſhoulde be out of their lodgings after nine of the clocke at nyght till the next morning, on payne of deathe, excepte in caſes of alarmes.

An alarme.

The twentith of Nouember, aboute ſixe of the clocke at nighte, one of the Milles without the gate was ſette on fyre by ſome of the Papiſtes as was thought, whereof roſe a greate alarme.

The thirtenth of Nouember, the Reingraue was ſeene on the North hilles of the Towne, with fourescore horſemenne, whereuppon the Scottiſhe horſemen, and three bandes of footemen, iſſued out, marching vp towards the ſame hylles, in hope to meete with the enimies, but they were retired towardes Mondeuille, and ſo nothing was done.

It was reported for a certayne truth, that the Duke Daumale was there at that preſente, with the Reingraue.

Execution.

A Proclamation.

On Wedneſday, the fiue and twentith of Nouember, one of Captayne Cockſons Souldyers, was hanged in the market place, and an other that was brought thither likewiſe to be executed hadde his pardon, at the ſute of certayne Frenche Gentlemen, and heerewith was Proclamation made, that where it had bin proclaymed afore, that none ſhould take any thing forcibly from the Frenche on payne of death, for breache whereof, ſuche execution was preſently done, the Lorde Lieutenaunt did by this Proclamation eſtſoones charge and commaunde, that none vppon like payne, ſhoulde breake or ſpoyle any houſe or Shippe, or take any timber wood or other thyng from the Frenche, without their good will, conſent and agreement.

Priſes brought to Newhauen.

The ſame after noone, came into the Hauen Hoyes and boates, laden with wine, cider, perrie, wheate, beefe, biſquet, meale, and other prouiſion of vittailes.

Two French Shallops of Newhauen, had taken them beſides Humfleu, and beaten backe a Shallop of the enimies, ſleying ten or twelue Frenchmen that came forth of Humfleu to haue ſuccored the Hoyes.

A ſupplie of ſouldiers out of Eſſex, ariue at Newhauen.

The fiue and twentith of Nouember, there landed at Newhauen ſixe hundred Souldiers Eſſex mẽ, vnder the leadyng of Auerie Darcy, Reignald Hygate, and William Twedie, each of them hauing hys appoynted number of two hundred to his enſigne.

Moreouer, where as well diuers prentiſes, as other Engliſhmen, were come ouer, ſith the placing of the garriſon in that Towne of Newhauen, not offering their ſeruice any way, other than by ſtragling abrode to ſeeke pillage, wherby they fell oftentimes into the handes of the enimies, both to the diſhonor of theyr Countrey, and loſſe of their owne lyues, for reformation whereof, Proclamation was made the laſt of Nouember, that all Engliſhmen within the ſayde Towne, aboue the age of ſixteene yeares, and vnder threeſcore, beeyng not reteyned in the Queenes Maieſties pay, ſhoulde at one of the clocke that preſente daye, repaire to the Bulwarke, called the Bulwarke Saint Addreſſez, there to preſente hys name and perſon to the Comptroller, that order myghte bee taken howe to employ thẽ in ſome certayntie of ſeruice, vppon payne to euery one fayling heereof, to ſuffer tenne dayes empriſonmente, and alſo to be baniſhed the Towne.

A Proclamation.

Sir Iohn P-
tinarie a Flo-
rentine, and
excellent In-
geniere.

The ſame day, the Queenes Shyppe called the Hare, comming from Porteſmouth, arriued at Newhauen, and in hir came Sir Iohn Portinarie, whoſe rype ſkill, deepe iudgemente, and great experience in matters of fortification, had bredde in hym ſuche knowledge, as hee maye worthely be accompted a perfect maiſter in that ſcience.

They were by the way aſſayled by a frenche Shippe of fourſcore and tenne tunnes, and better, but they that were aboorde in the Hare, ſo manfully acquitte themſelues, that they vanquiſhed the enimies, tooke the ſame Shippe, and broughte hyr wyth them, beeyng laden wyth wynes, whyche they meante to haue conueyde to the aduerſaries in ſome garriſon.

Sir Iohn Mo
bringeth a
ſupplie of
ſouldiours to
Newhauen
out of Deuon-
ſhire.

The ſame daye, Sir Iohn More landed at Newhauen, bryngyng ouer wyth hym fiue hundred Souldyers out of Deuonſhire, for a ſupply of the garriſon there.

Hee hymſelfe returned backe into England, but the Souldyers were appoynted to the leading of other Captaynes, ſo that Frauncis Somerſette, brother to the Earle of Worceter, hadde three hundred of them, Oliuer Maners an hundred, and Edwarde Ormeſby the other hundred.

On Teweſday the eyghte of December, Monſieur de Beauvoys, Captayne Frauncis Somerſette, and Captayne Edward Horſey, with diuers other Captaines, officers and Gentlemen, rode to the Reingraue, lying at a fayre houſe not farre from Mondeuille, where they dyned wyth hym, hadde greate and hartie cheere, cheare, and after returned agayne to Newhauen.

preſent ſent
the Rein-
ue to the
rle of War-
ike.

The ſame day, the Reingraue ſent for a preſent vnto my Lord of Warwike, a great horſe, very fayre, with ſaddle and bridle, eſteemed to be well worth an hundred poundes.

warde
dley.

Moreouer, the ſame day at nighte, the double Roſe, with certayne other boates and Shallops Frenche, paſſed forthe of the Hauen, Edwarde Dudley, and Captayne John Ward, being aborde in the ſaid double Roſe, with diuers other Engliſhmen and Frenchmen, to the number of an hũdred good Souldyers, who ſayling downe the riuer, landed beſydes Tankeruille, and lay cloſe all that night in the wodde, and in yͤ morning about nine of yͤ clock, Monſieur Bimarre, enſigne bearer to the Counte Montgomerie, with ſixe or ſeauen Frenchmen vnarmed, wente to the Caſtell gate, and there fell in talke with Monſieur Dimenee, that was Captayne of that fortreſſe, hauing with him about ten Souldiers, that were appointed to remaine with him vpon the gard of the ſame Caſtell.

e Caſtell
Tanker-
lle wonne
the En-
ſhmen.

Whileſt they were thus in talke, the Engliſhmen and other Frenchmen comming forth of the wodde that was there at hand, reared vp their ladders (whiche they had brought with thẽ for that purpoſe) at the breach which was made the Somer before by yͤ Duke Daumale, and entring by the ſame, came downe into the baſe Court: which thing, when the Frenche Souldyers that kept talke with them within at the Caſtell gate perceyued, they beganne to laugh, the Captayne of the Caſtell therewith turning hys face, and beholding as good as threeſcore armed men within the Caſtell at his back, he ſuddainely ſayd *Ha, Ie ſuis voſtre*, I am yours Sirs, and ſo yeelded with his tenne ſouldyers, and in this ſort was the Caſtell taken, and the Captayne brought priſoner to Newhauen.

On the twelfth of December, at tenne of the clocke in the morning, the Earle of Warwike, Mouſieur de Beauvoys, and Mõſieur de Bricquemault, with all the Horſemen, and three M. fotemen, paſſed forth of Newhauen vnto Harflewe, out of which Towne, there iſſued ſeauen hundred Reiſters, of the retinue of the Counte Reingraue, and three hundred fotemen, who fell in ſkirmiſh with the french and Engliſhmen very hotely, but at length, the Engliſhmẽ draue them to the very gates of Harflew, and ſlew thẽ euen at the ſame gates, and vpon the walles of the Towne, in ſo muche, that they were conſtreyned to ſhutte theyr gates, and off went the ordinance from the gates and bulwarkes, diſcharging bullets amongſt the Engliſh Souldiers freely, but yet there were not ſlayne paſt ſeuen of the Engliſh part, albeit diuers were hurte and wounded, and amongſt other, was Monſiur de Beauvoys ſhot into the ſide of the necke through hys gorget, and Captayne Antwiſell through the armie.

kirmiſh
ore Har-
we.
e French-
n beatẽ in
Harflewe.

Monſieur
Beauvoys, and
Captayne
Antwiſell
hurt.

Moreouer, whereas they carried forth wyth them foure barrels of gunpouder to mayntaine the ſkirmiſh, through negligence by ſetting fyre in the ſame, there were to the number of twenty greeuouſly brent. Of the enimies were ſlayne, that day aboue thirtie, and hurt, aboue fiftie.

Many of their horſes were alſo ſlayne in this ſkirmiſh, which continued aboue three houres.

As the Engliſhmen were returning backe, the Reingraue with two hundred horſes, and a certaine number of fotemen, was layd faſt by in an ambuſhe, thinking to haue cut off parte of their menne, but he fayled of his purpoſe, for the Lord Lieutenant marching with his menne in battayle aray, broughte them home in ſafetie, without other impeachment.

The ſeuententh of December, the Counte Montgomerie, and Sir Hugh Paulet, arriued at Newhauen in one of the Queenes Shippes called the Ayde.

A Proclamation.

The ninetenth of December, a Proclamation was made for orders to be obſerued, concerning the embarquing of ſuch ſouldyers, as were licenced to depart by paſſeport or otherwiſe, and likewiſe prohibiting the taking into anye veſſell any drie fiſh, wine, ſugre, or any houſhold ſtuffe, without ſpecial licence of the Lord Lieutenant.

The deathe
of the Lorde
Grey of Wil-
ton.

Whileſt things paſſed thus in Normandye at Newhauen, and thereaboutes, where yͤ noble Erle of Warwike, and other valiant Captaines were ready to make profe of their high prowes in time and place as occaſion might ſerue, there ended his life at home, that honorable Baron, and right famous Captayne in his dayes, William Lorde Grey of Wilton, Knighte of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and at that preſente, Gouernour of Berwike, and warden of the Eaſt marches ageinſt Scotland. He deceaſed the fyue and twentith of December, this yere 1562. at Cheſhnut in Hertfordſhire, then the houſe of Henrye Deny Eſquier, that had married miſtreſſe Honor Grey, the ſayd Lord Greys only daughter.

The ſixe and twentith of December, the Counte de Montgomerie toke ſhypping at Newhauen roade, accompanyed with foure hundred harquebuſiers Frenchmen, and ſayled to Dieppe, there to be gouernoure of that towne.

He wente in an Engliſh barke, belonging to Nicholas Malby, Secretary to the Earle of Warwike Lord Lieutenant.

1563

The third of January, a Shallop that was ſent the ſame morning from Newhauen, laden with beere and other vittailes to paſſe vnto

Tankeruille, was aſſayled aboute Harflewe, by a Shallop of Hunfleu, whiche droue the Hoy to the ſhore, ſo as the Engliſhmen forſooke theyr Hoy, and came running to Newhauen, to declare what had happened.

Hereupon, the Lord Lieutenant ſente forthe foure French Shallops by water, and the Horſemen with ſixe hundred footemen paſſed forth by land, and vſed ſuch diligence, that they came euen as the Frenchmen were haling vp the Hoy towardes Harflewe, and ſkirmiſhing with the Frenchmen, beeing foureſcore good Harquebuſiers for the ſpace of a long houre, at length, recouered the Hoy, and tooke three of their Shallops, with their ordinance, which they broughte to Newhauen, with the loſſe of one onely man, an Harquebuſier of Captayne Zouches bande.

A Hoy recouered, which the Frenche had taken.

The fourth of January in the morning, the Engliſhe ſkoute beeing thirtie good Harquebuſiers, were ſette vpon by the enimies, that droue them vnto the very gates.

They ſhot alſo with their Harquebuſies into the Towne, and ouer the Mont Royall, among the Engliſh Souldyers.

They hurt at that preſent three of yͤ ſcoutes, but when they perceyued that the Engliſhmen were in a readineſſe to approche them, they departed, beeing in number three hundred horſemen, and a thouſande footemen, Souldyers of Mondeuille, and Harfleu.

The fifth of January, wer apprehẽded Captayne Blondell, Captaine Moucombell, Monſieur Demainie, and Vitanua with others, for ſome conſpiracie or trayterous practiſe whyche they went about, and had malitiouſly contriued.

The ſame day, Captayne Edward Horſey, with his two hũdred Souldyers, and Captaine Francis Blont, with his hundred, tooke ſhipping at Newhauen road, and ſayled to Dieppe, there to remayne with the Conte Montgomerie, whoſe wyfe the Counteſſe Montgomerie wente alſo with them to hir huſbande the ſame tyme.

On the Saterday following, the twelfth day after Chriſtmas, being the ninth of January, a greate tempeſt of winde and thunder happened in the Towne of Leiceſter, whiche vncouered two and fortie bayes of houſes, and ouerthrewe many, renting and tearing them in peeces, in a ſtrange and maruellous manner.

A great tempeſt in Leiceſter.

The people that were aſſembled that daye in the market place to buy and ſell their vſuall chaffer, wares, and commodities, were ſore amazed and aſtonyed with the hideouſneſſe of that moſt outragious and violent tempeſt.

On Thurſday the fourtenth of January, at one of the clocke in the morning, there iſſued forth of Newhauen threeſcore Horſemen, and a thouſande footemen, all Engliſhmen, and comming to Mondeuille, where the Reingraue lay, gaue to them within an alarme, but neyther the Reiſters, nor the Almayne footemen, nor french that were within that Towne, woulde come forth, and therefore after the Engliſhmen hadde tarried there the ſpace of foure houres, they returned backe againe to Newhauen.

An alarme giuen to Mondeuil

The fiftenth of January, at one of the clocke in the after noone, there iſſued forth of Newhauen threeſcore Horſemen, and fifteene hundred footemen, whiche commyng to Harfleu, gaue a like alarme to that towne, but none of the garriſon there woulde come forthe, where vpon, the Engliſhmen returned home agayne to Newhauen.

An alarme giuen to Har- flewe.

The ſixtenth of January, the Caſtell of Tãkeruille was ſurrendred to the Reingraue, after he had layne about it an eyght dayes, with two thouſand Horſemen and footemen.

The Caſtell Tankeruille deliuered to the Reingraue.

It was nowe yeelded by compoſition (after it had bin kept by the ſpace of thirtie eight days) that thoſe within, ſhould depart with bagge and baggages, the galley beeing ſent from Newhauen to fetch them away.

There were no moe within it at that tyme when it was thus deliuered, but Captayne John Warde, Captaine Edward Dudley, and Captayne Saule, byꝫ Lieutenant Riley, with threeſcore and tenne Engliſhe Souldyers, and thirtie French.

The nineteenth of January, there landed at Newhauen Captayne Tremayne, with fiftie Horſemenne, very well appointed, to ſerue the Queenes Maieſtie there.

Tremayne

The foure and twentith of January, Francis Clearke Frenchman, arriued at Newhauẽ, with two tall Shippes of his owne, right well appoynted for the warres, bringing with hym three rich priſes, valued at aboue fiftie thouſand Crownes, one of them was a mightie greate Hulke, laden with woade and allume.

Fraunces Clearke.

Priſes tak: by him.

The ſixe and twentith of January, Captaine Tremayne with all his Horſemen, and Captayne Clearke with his Scottiſh Horſemen, and ſixe hundred footemen, went forth of Newhauẽ towards Mondeuille, and by the way in a little Village, there was a Frenche Captayne come forthe of Mondeuille, named Monſieur Emerie, hauing with hym thirtie Souldiers, where falling in hande to ſpoyle the ſame Village, the payſants aboute gathered themſelues togyther, and ſet vpon him and his Souldyers: and whileſt they were thus in fighte, the Scottiſh Horſemenne came ſuddaynely vpon them, tooke the ſayde Captayne ſore wounded, ſlewe twelue of hys Souldyers, and tooke fourteene

Captayne Emerie ta by the Scottiſh horſe other of them priſoners, whome with their Captayne wounded as hee was, they brought home the ſame night vnto Newhauen.

roclama-
n

The three and twentith of January, a Proclamation was made for orders to bee obſerued by the Souldyers, and other reſiants within the Towne of Newhauen, conteining politike gouernement therof, as well for the better defence againſt the enimies without, as the quiet demeanor of the mẽ of war & inhabitants within.

riſe brou-
t o New-
en.

The fifth of February, two ſhippes of Britons, laden with Gaſcoigne wine, butter, bacon, larde, ſalt, and other vittailes, were brought into Newhauen by a Shallop of Killebeuf, that was reſiant with other Frenchmen in Newhauen, ſeruing againſt the Papiſtes, and had taken thoſe two veſſels, as they were going to vittaile the enimies.

hree other
riſes.

The ſixth of February, three fayre myghtie Shippes of war, belonging to Francis Clearke, brought into Newhauen three rich priſes, laden with ſackes, baſterdes, ſuger, Orenges, graines, and other merchandizes.

This Clearke hadde not bin for the paſt ſixe weekes at this time, and yet he hadde got aboue eightene priſes, wel worth by iuſt valuation, the ſumme of fiftie thouſand poundes.

Soldiour
ecuted, for
ghting con-
ary to the
ders in that
e giuen.

On Saterday the ſixth of February, a Souldier of Captayne Appleyardes band, was executed in the market place, for that contrary to order taken and publiſhed afore that time by Proclamation, he had not only drawen his weapon againſte another Souldiour, but alſo maymed him, and played other lewde partes in contempt of the Lord Lieutenants commaundementes.

hree other
rdoned.

There was another alſo condemned to dye, and two others adiudged to loſe their hands, but the Lorde Lieutenant of his mercifull clemencie, graunted to thoſe three his pardon, for theyr paſſed offences.

On Sonday the ſeuenth of February, was Humfleu ſommoned by an Herrault, ſente from the Frenche Admirall, Monſieur de Chatillon.

he Admirall
f Fraunce
mmoneth
unflew.

On Monday the eyght of that moneth, the ſayd Admirall came before Hunflew, with ſixe thouſande Horſemen Reiſters, and other of hys owne retinues, beſide footemen, and a thouſande horſemen of the Countreys thereabout.

And about ſixe of the clocke at nighte, there was a greate peale of ordinance ſhotte off at Newhauen, for a welcome to the ſayde Admirall.

The twelfth of Febuary, the Frenche Galleaſſe of Newhauen paſſing forth, and waſting about Hunflew to ſeeke aduentures, in hope of ſuretie, by reaſon the Lorde Admirall of France lay therby at Touque, road at an anker, whileſt ſome of them that were aboorde in hir, wente a lande to gayne ſomewhat of the enimies, but they within Hunfleu perceyuing this, made out their greate Galeaſſe, with fiftie good Mariners and Souldiers, who comming vpon the Galeaſſe of Newhauen lying at anker, putte hir in great daunger of taking, for there were but fifteene men left aboorde in hir at yͤ preſent, wherof three of them were Engliſhmen, who perceyuing in what daunger they ſtoode, wayed anker with all ſpeede, and drew towardes the ſhore, to take in the reſt of their company, and getting them aboorde vnto them, they manfully ſtoode to their defence, being in all but foure and twentie men. Neuertheleſſe, they ſo behaued themſelues, that continuing in fight aboue a long houre, at lẽgth they ouercame their enimies, ſlew ſeuen of them outright, wounded ſeuen and thirtie, tooke theyr Galeaſſe, and brought hir to Newhauen, wyth thirteene belles, diuers coapes, and Churche ornamentes, Sheepe, and other ſpoyles, whyche they had gote abroade in the Countrey, togither with three and fortie good priſoners, and the artillerie whiche was found aboorde in the foreſaid great Galeaſſe, wherewith ſhee was verye well appoynted and furniſhed.

The greate
Galeaſſe of
Hunflewe
taken.

Of the Frenche Proteſtants, there were but three ſlayne, and ſixe hurt, and one of the three Engliſhmen was alſo hurt.

As it hath bin credibly reported, the Frenche Proteſtants might thanke thoſe three Engliſhmen that were with them in theyr Galeaſſe, for that their good happe, for if they had not manfully ſtoode to it at the firſt, and beſtowed ſuche artillerie as they hadde aboorde with them freſhly againſt the enimies, the Frenche hadde perilled, but by Gods good help, and theyr worthy courage, the victory remayned on theyr ſide.

Noble men
ſent from the
Admirall of
France to the
Earle of War-
wike.

The fourtenth of February, there came from the Lorde Admirall of Fraunce, lying then at Touque, Monſieur de Rohen, and Monſieur de Grandemont, a Knighte of the order, Monſieur Telegnie, the Admirals ſonne in lawe, and dyuers other Frenche Gentlemen, to conferre with the Lorde Lieutenant, who receyued them ryght gladly, and made them greate cheere.

They remayned in Newhauen till the eyghtenth of February, and then departed, and went to Caen, whither the ſayde Lord Admirall was remoued, and had entred the Towne, and laye within it, preparyng with all ſpeede to beſiege the Caſtell.

Sir Nicholas
Throckmor-
ton.

The ſame day that the French Lords departed from Newhauẽ towardes Caen, Monſieur Briquemaulte, & ſir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight,

knight arriued at Newe hauen in one of the Queenes ſhippes called the Ayde.

Caen Caſtell beſieged.
The Marques Dalbeuf, brother to the D. of Guiſe.

The Admirall Chatillion being got into the Towne of Caen, kepte the Caſtell beſieged, within the which was encloſed the Marques Dalbeuf.

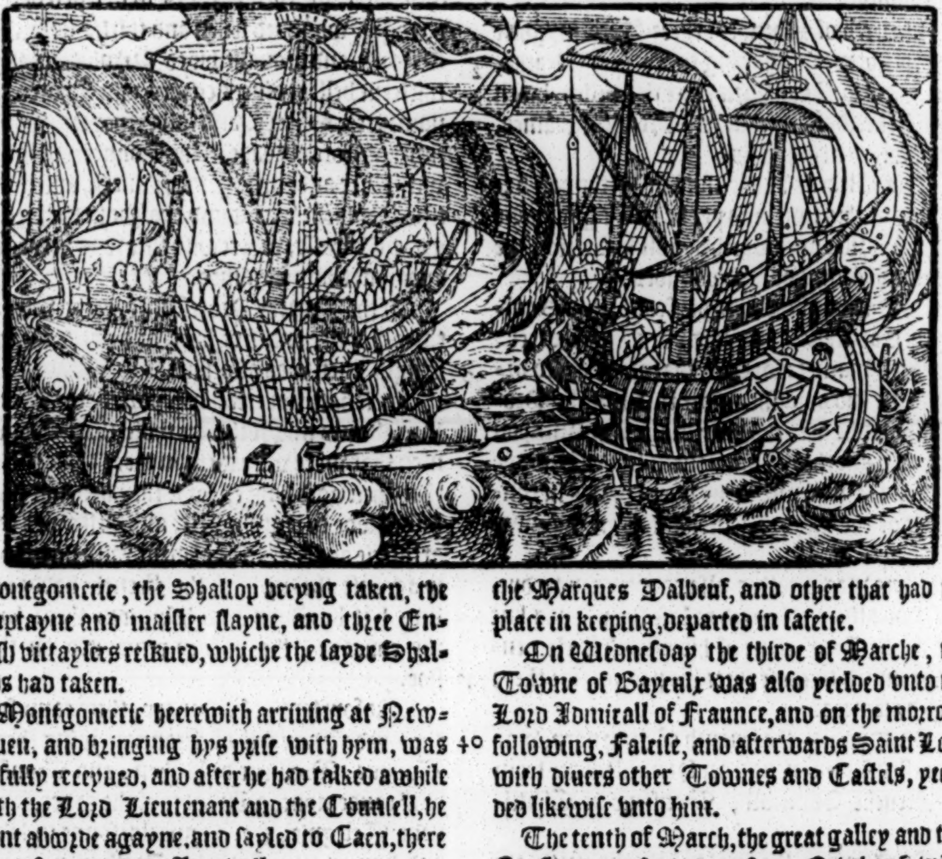
There were ſent to him from Newhauen the xxv. of Februarie, ſeuen Canons, two demye Culuerines, and one minyon.

Ayde ſent to the ſiege of Caen.

On the morrowe following, beeyng Friday, and. xxvj. of February, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Knight, Monſieur Bricquemault, and Monſieur Beauuoys, with a thouſand Souldyers Frenche, and as many Engliſh, to witte, Captaine Zouch, Captayn Twedie, Captaine Hygate, each of them with two hundred: Captayne John Warde, Captayne Parkinſon, Captaine Saul, and maiſter Wheler, Captaine Fiſher Lieutenant with his band, eache of them with his hundred, and Captayne Pelham with the laborers, were embarqued in the roade at Newhauen, and ſayled forth towards Caen, to come to the ſiege, which the Admiral of France had layd to the Caſtell there.

The Counte Montgome taketh a fre Shallop.

The ſame day, as the Counte Montgomerie hadde embarqued at the hauen of Dieppe in an Engliſh veſſell, and was comming towards Newhauẽ, there came out from Feſtamp three Shallops, by the appoyntmente of the Reingraue (as was ſayde) whiche made towards Montgomerie, whoſe meaning, when he perceiued, he ſet vpon the ſtrongeſt of the ſame Shallops, ſo that there followed a ſharp conflict betwixte them, but in the ende, the victory fell to Montgomerie, the Shallop beeyng taken, the Captayne and maiſter ſlayne, and three Engliſh vittaylers reſkued, whiche the ſayde Shallops had taken.



Montgomerie goeth to Caen to ſpeake with the Admirall.

Montgomerie heerewith arriuing at Newhauen, and bringing hys priſe with hym, was ioyfully receyued, and after he had talked awhile with the Lord Lieutenant and the Counſell, he went aboorde agayne, and ſayled to Caen, there to conferre with the Admirall.

The Caſtell of Caen battered.
It is rẽdred to the, Admirall.

The firſt of March in the morning, they beganne to batter the Caſtell of Caen, in ſuche wiſe, that aboute foure of the clocke in the after noone, they within beganne to parley, but it tooke none effect, and then went off the artillerie agayne till night, and in the morning, the batterie eftſoones beganne, and before that two tires of the ſayde artillerie had gone off, they within offered to parley againe, and finally agreed by compoſition to yeelde, and ſo on that Tewſday by tenne of the clocke, the Caſtell was ſurrendred into the handes of the French Admirall, and the Marques Dalbeuf, and other that had the place in keeping, departed in ſafetie.

Bayeulx, Fa leyſe, and S. Lo yeelded the Adn irall

On Wedneſday the thirde of Marche, the Towne of Bayeulx was alſo yeelded vnto the Lord Admirall of Fraunce, and on the morrow following, Faleiſe, and afterwards Saint Loe, with diuers other Townes and Caſtels, yeelded likewiſe vnto him.

The tenth of March, the great galley and the Foyſtes were ſent away from Newhauẽ, with a Canon and ſhotte & powder vnto Humfleu, where they mette with Monſieur de Mouy, that came thither with a faire company of horſmen, and dyuers footemen French, and of Engliſhmen, Captayne Tutty with his two hundred, and Captayne Fiſher with his hundred.

The Canon layd to the Caſtell of Hunfleu.
It is yeelde

The Canon which came from Newhauen, was immediately planted, and about tenne of the clocke in the forenoone it was ſhotte off, and after it had bin ſixe times diſcharged, they within began to parley, and in the ende, they agreed to yeelde vp ỹ Caſtel vnto Monſieur de Mouy, with condition, that their Souldiers and men of warre might depart only with their rapiers and daggers, leauing all the reſidue of their mouables behinde them. And according to this capitulation, Captayne Lion with his hundred Souldiers, and Captayne Nicholas with hys hundred, and fiftie other Souldyers which were within departed, and left the Caſtel vnto Monſieur de Mouy, whereby hys Souldyers, as wel Engliſhe as others, gayned greatly by the ſpoyle.

roclama-
n.

The twelfth of March, a Proclamation was made in name of the Lord Lieutenant, that no Souldier ſhoulde drawe weapon to doe hurte therewith to anye of the Frenche within the Towne of Newhauen, or limits of the ſame, nor to moleſt them, nor to ſpoyle nor take anye thing violently away from any of them, nor to breake downe their houſes, nor to carrie away their timber, on payne of death.

roclamatiõ
the Frenche
gs name.

There was alſo a Proclamation made in name of the King and Admirall, that no Captayne, Burgeſſe, Souldier, Marriner, or other of the French nation within the towne or without, ſhoulde drawe anye weapon, nor pike anye quarrell, nor vſe any iniurious wordes agaynſte anye man, to moue them to wrath, ſpecially, againſt the Engliſhmen, on payne of deathe, nor that any burgeſſe or inhabitant, of what qualitie or condition ſoeuer, except Captaynes, Gentlemen, and Souldiers, receyuing pay, ſhoulde beare any weapon on the like paine.

r Adrian
yings.

The Frenche
pointed to
part out of
whauen.

The fiue and twentith of Marche, Sir Adrian Poynings Knight, Marſhal of Newhauen, departed from thence, and returning into England, remayned there ſtill. Whereas Monſieur de Beauuoys, had by the Admirall Chatillions commaundemente, charged by publique Proclamation, all Straungers, forreyners, and Frenche Souldyers, to departe the Towne, by the three and twentith of Marche laſt paſt: and that all other, hauing their wiues, and families, ſhould depart with them, within four dayes after the ſame Proclamation, to giue ayde for the conſeruation and keeping of the Townes of Hunflew, Caen, Bayeux, Falaize, Saint Lo, and other places, lately brought into the obedience of the King, vnder the authoritie of the Prince of Conde, vnder payne for making default, to be taken as good priſoners of warre to thoſe that ſhoulde apprehend them. Proclamation was alſo therevpõ made in the Lord Lieutenants name, the ſixe and twentith of Marche, beeing Friday, that it ſhoulde bee lawfull to the Queenes Maieſties ſubiects and friends, to apprehende and take as their good and lawfull priſoners, all ſuche, as contrary to the former Proclamation, ſhoulde remayne in the Towne of Newhauen after fiue of the clocke after noone of the day then nexte following beeing Saterday, (thoſe perſons only excepted) whoſe names had bin preſented and enrolled in billes, remayning with the Lord Lieutenants Secretary.

Prouided that no perſon, ſeaſing vppon the body of anye ſuche offendor, ſhould by vertue or colour thereof, ſpoile any of their houſes, meddle with their goodes or mouables, without order and meane of Iuſtice vpon payne of death.

On the Sonday yet beeing the eyght and twentith of March, another Proclamation was made, to giue reſpite to the ſaide Straungers, forreyners, and French Souldiers, vntill foure of the clocke in the after noone of the ſame daye.

And further, there was another Proclamation publiſhed thys Sonday, that none ſhoulde ſeaze vppon anye of thoſe Straungers, forreyners, or Frenche Souldyers, by colour of the two former Proclamations, vntill the Lorde Lieutenauntes pleaſure ſhoulde more fully bee knowen therein.

An other proclamation.

The thirtith of Marche beeyng Tewſday, Proclamation was eftſoones made, that where all forreyners, being not any of the Burgeſſes, or proper inhabitauntes of the ſayd Towne of Newhauen, nor of the garriſon or armye of the Engliſhmen in the ſame Towne, had bin warned by ſeuerall Proclamations to departe the Towne, and yet the ſame Proclamations notwithſtanding, a greate number made their abode ſtill in the Towne, in contempte of thoſe Proclamations. The Lord Lieutenant by this Proclamation, gaue full power and authoritie to the ſayde Prouoſt Marſhall of the garriſon of the Engliſhmen in that Towne, to apprehende, and take as good and lawfull priſoners, all ſuche forreyners, as well Souldyers, and Marriners, as other without exception, whyche ſhoulde bee founde in the Towne at anye tyme after fyue of the clocke in the after noone on Saterday then nexte commyng, Monſieur Beauuoys and hys familie, and all Miniſters then beeyng within the Towne, beeyng neuertheleſſe cleerely excepted, and dyuers prouiſions alſo included in this ſelfeſame Proclamation, for the mitigating of extremities, by wrong interpreting thereof, in behalfe of them that were to departe, as alſo that the gayne that ſhoulde come by euery particular priſoner ſo arreſted by the Prouoſt Marſhall, ſhoulde returne to anye of the Queenes Maieſties ſubiectes, by whoſe meane and procuremente, ỹ ſame priſoner was detected, and cauſed to be apprehended.

On Monday the fifth of April, the Reingraue with foure hundred Horſemen, and about fiue hundred footemen, came downe the hill, betwixt Saint Addreſſez and Englefielde, where

Execution.

A Proclamation.

Garter King of armes.

Sir Hugh Paulet knight met with him, by appointment of the L. Lieutenant, accompanyed with .40. horſemẽ, and a M. Engliſh footmen, & after they had talked togither by the ſpace of an houre, they departed the one from the other, maiſter Paulet returning to Newhauen, and the Reingraue to Monoeuille, the place where he vſually remained. On Eaſter euen, two ſouldyers that had ſerued vnder Captayne Parkinſon, were hanged in the market place of Newhauen, for running away to the Reingraue, and vnto Dieppe. Another alſo that ſerued vnder Captain Tourner, was condemned for the lyke offence, but pardoned, through the great clemency of the L. Lieutenant. The .28. of Aprill, Proclamation was made, yͤ al the Papiſts, and the wiues and children of al them that were departed forth of Newhauẽ, and made their abode at yͤ preſent in Monſtreuilliers, Harfleu or elſe where abrode in the Countrey, and lykewiſe all other, whome the laſt Proclamation for their auoiding out of the towne in any wiſe touched, ſhoulde depart on Saterday then next enſuing, on paine to haue their bodyes arreſted as priſoners, and their goodes to be confiſcate. Other Articles were conteined in the ſame Proclamation, as well for Forreyners that ſhoulde come forth of the Countrey to the market, as for the behauiour and demeanor of the French inhabitants of the Towne, with promiſe of reward to ſuch as ſhould diſcouer and apprehende any eſpiall, either dwelling in the Towne, or cõming and going to or from it. The firſte of May, Garter, principall Kyng of armes, arriued at Newhauen, bringing with him the Garter to yͤ L. Lieutenant, choſen on S. Georges day laſt paſt, to be one of the confreres of that moſt noble and honorable order. The fourth of May, Proclamation was made, that all the Frenche burgeſſes and others, ſhould bring and deliuer all their armour and weapon into the Towne hall of Newhauen, whiche commaundemente was incontinently obeyd and accompliſhed.

A Proclamation.

The ſeauenth of May, Proclamation was made, for the auoiding of all ſuch, to whome the former Proclamations hadde in anye wiſe touched, for their departure forthe of the Towne, that they ſhould depart by Tewſday nexte (the miniſters of the Church excepted) and that none ſhould enter into the Towne, of what condition or eſtate ſoeuer he ſhoulde be, without licence of the L. Lieutenant, except he were a Burgeſſe of yͤ towne, & of the number of thoſe yͭ had their names enrolled, as by the rolles laſtly made it myghte appeare, on payne to be apprehended as good and lawfull priſoners. The .xij. of May, it was prohibitied by Proclamation to all Burgeſſes, inhabitãts, & other, not to goe vnto Harfleu, or Mõtreuilliers, or elſe where out of ſight of yͤ towne of Newhauen, on payne to be taken as lawful priſoners. The .xv. of May, a Marriner of yͤ great Galley ſuffred in yͤ market place of Newhauẽ, for robbing and pilfering of ſhips there in the hauẽ, and three other that were cõdemned for the like offence, had their pardons.

Execution.

A Proclamation for the auoyding of the Frenche out of Newhauen.

The Engliſh men for the owne ſuretie were forced to double theyr watche nightly.

The ſixtenth of May, Proclamation was made, that all Frenchmenne, beeing within the Towne of Newhauen, otherwiſe called Haure de Grace, as well mẽ, women, as childrẽ, ſhould depart the Towne, betwixt that preſent time, & ſixe of the clocke at night on the next day beeing Monday, except Chirurgiens, Apotecaries, Bakers, Bouchers, Smithes, Maſons, lockſmiths, Carpenters, and other ſuch artificers, vpõ paine to be attached as good and lawful priſoners, and their goodes to bee confiſcate. By the tenor of theſe ſeuerall Proclamations it maye appeare, that the Lorde Lieutenante proceeded nothyng rigorouſly againſt the French, in remouing thẽ forth of the Towne, although it maye be, that ſome whiche had to deale therein, dealte hardly ynough with them, but in ſuch caſes, there muſt of neceſſitie be ſome diligent heedefulneſſe vſed, for otherwiſe in ſuch packing away ſome might peraduenture carrie with them too muche, and others too little. But howſoeuer this matter was handled, true it is, that it was thought expedient to auoide the French out of the towne: for after the Duke of Guiſe was ſlayne before Orleans, and that the parties were agreed, as by the Edict of the pacification publiſhed in March laſt paſt, it may appeare, the whole deuiſes as well of them of the one Religion as the other tended to this ende, how to recouer yͤ towne of Newhauen out of the Engliſhmens handes, eyther by practiſe, or open force, and ſuche intelligence was vſed betwixte the Frenche within that Towne, and the enimies without to bring this to paſſe, that the Engliſh could aſſure themſelues no more of the one, than of the other, and ſo were driuen for their owne ſafeties, to rydde yͤ Towne of ſo doubtfull partakers. The .xxvij. of May, Proclamatiõ was made, yͭ al maner of furniture & apparel, apperteining to ſhips within yͤ garriſon, hauen, or roade of yͤ towne of Newhauen, ſhuld be brought in, or a note to be giuen therof in writing, to the L. Lieutenant & Coũſel there, before .xij. of the clocke yͤ next day. Saterday the .22. of May, about one of the clocke in the morning, yͤ Reingraue with fiue C. Horſemen, and .22. enſignes of footemen, came downe to the village called Lheure, neere vnto the new fort, which by order of the L. Lieutenant, was lately before begun to be built, ſir John Portinary being chief deuiſer of yͤ fortifications about the ſame. The enimies meaning was, to haue taken the ſame forte by a ſuddayne aſſaulte, but the Engliſh ſkoutes looking wel to their charge, gaue intelligence to the Lorde Lieutenaunte thereof, who incontinently going to the Bulwarke ryall, ſet out by the poſterne Captayne John Warde with his hundred Souldiers, and Captayne Parkinſon with his hundred, to paſſe to the forte, there to bee an ayde and defence to them that lay in the ſame.

An alarme giuen to the new fort by the Reingraue.

Aboute three of the clocke in the morning, the Reingraue ſuddaynely with hys bandes of Horſemen and footemen, gaue them in the forte an hote alarme, and immediatly, the Earle of Warwike gaue in charge to theſe Captaynes: Reade, Appliarde, Tutty, Souche, Antwiſell, Warde, Morton, and Parkinſon, hauing with them a thouſande footemen, and twenty Horſemen, to ſette vpon the enimies in the Village of Leure, neere adioyning vnto the ſayde newe forte, where the valiante Engliſhe Souldyers ſhewed well the wonted valure of theyr worthy aunceſtors, gyuing ſuche an hardy onſette vpon their aduerſaries, that greater manhoode had not lightly appeared in any encounter, than was vſed by thoſe martiall Captaines, and their warlike bandes at that preſente, to the high honor of their Coũtrey, in ſomuch, that they beate backe their enimies, ſlewe and tooke of them to the number of foure hundred, beſyde thirtie fayre horſes, and an enſigne, whiche one Eaſtwike, Lieutenant to Captayne Antwiſell got.

The hardy onſet of the Engliſhmen, made vpon theyr aduerſaries.

Amongſt the numbers of them that were ſlayne, there were found aboue thirtie handſome Gentlemen, and very well appoynted. To conclude, the Engliſhmen behaued themſelues ſo manfully on eache ſide, that by playne force of armes, they droue the enimies quite out of the Village, and after ſet it on fire, bycauſe the enimies ſhoulde not come to encamp therein, as their purpoſe was to haue done at that preſente.

The Almaines put to flight.

The ſixe and twentith of May, the Frenchmen in number about three thouſand Horſemẽ, and footemen, came downe towards the winde milles, neere to the Bulwarke called S. Andreſſez, againſt whome, the Engliſh Horſemen and footemen iſſued forth of the Towne, giuing them a right hote ſkirmiſh, which continued for the ſpace of two houres, in ſo muche, that there were ſlayne of the Frenchmen to the number of two hundred, beſide an hundred and aboue that were hurt.

Another ſkirmiſhe.

On the Engliſhe ſyde that daye were loſt, about a dozen or thirteene perſons, and amongſt other, was Captayne Tremayne ſlayne, and many hurt.

To conclude, the Engliſhmen like hardye and worthy Souldyers, wanne and kepte the fielde, ſo as the Frenchmen in the ende were driuen to retire, and beſide other loſſes whiche they receyued, they hadde aboue fiftie of their horſes killed and hurt.

The Frenchmen driuen to retire.

In this ſkirmiſh, being one of the notableſt yͤ had bin lightly ſeene manye a day before, Captayne Horſey ſhewed worthy proofe of his moſt valiant courage, winning to himſelfe ſuch commendation, as the ſame will not bee forgotten, whilſt anye ſhall remayne aliue that behelde hys manfull dealings, beeing ſuche at that preſente, as deſerue to bee regiſtred in the Booke of Fame, to continue with poſteritie for euer.

Captayne Horſeys valiancy.

On Saterday the fifth of June, at ſeauen of the clocke at nyghte, the Reingraue hauyng layde in the Village of Leure, an ambuſhe of ſixe hundred Horſemenne, and fifteene hundred fotemen, there came downe alſo betweene the Abbey and the Village called Englefield towards the Towne, the number of a thouſande footemen, whiche beganne a very hote ſkirmiſh, firſte at the newe forte, comming euen harde to the ditches, where the Engliſhmen manfully encountred them.

Another ſkirmiſhe.

Heerewith alſo, the Reingraue appoynted other to come downe, and approche the Bulwarkes of Sainte Andreſſez, Sainte Francis, and Saint Michell, and to conclude rounde about the Towne, ſo that there were of them the number of ſixe thouſand that were employde in this ſkirmiſhe, whyche was mainteyned ryghte fiercely, for the ſpace of two houres, with ryghte ſharpe and cruell fight, in the ende, the enimies were forced to giue place, with the loſſe of fyue hundred of their men, Almaynes, Frenchmen, Gaſcoignes and Spanyardes.

The number which the French loſt in this ſkirmiſh.

The Engliſhmen verily in thys ſeruice ſhewed, that they were nothing degenerated from the auntiente race of theyr noble progenitors.

Beſide thoſe that were ſlayne on the French parte, amongſt whome, was one of their Captaynes of good accompte amongſt them, they tooke alſo Baſſompeere an Almayne, coronell ouer tenne enſignes of footemen.

Baſſompeere.

The preſence of the Lorde Lieutenante was not wanting that daye, both to encourage hys worthy Souldyers, and alſo to ſee them applyed with weapon and munition, ſo as they ſhould not bee vnprouided of anye thyng that was needefull for ſeruice.

Of Engliſhmen there were hurte Captayne Jelbert, and Captayne Pelham, and about fifteene other hurt and ſlayne.

Captayne Ielbert, and Captayne Pelham hurt.

The ſeuenth of June, Captaine Edwarde Dudley arriued at Newhauẽ, with an C. ſouldiers.

Edward Dudley.

The morrowe after, beeing the ſeauenth of June, the firſte Canon ſhotte lighte within the

Towne of Newhauen, neere to the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſez, ſtriking into yͤ houſe where Captayne Wheler was lodged, which ſhot being brought to my lord of Warwike by Blewmantell, Purſeuant at armes, his honor beholding it, reioyſed thereat, and ſaid, by Gods grace he would aunſwere them againe.

A new ſupply of Berwike Souldyers.

The ninth of Iune, arriued at Newhauen three Captaynes with their bandes, of an hundred a peece, being of the garniſon of Berwike, to witte, Captayne Tremayne, Captayne Cornewall, and Captayne Carew.

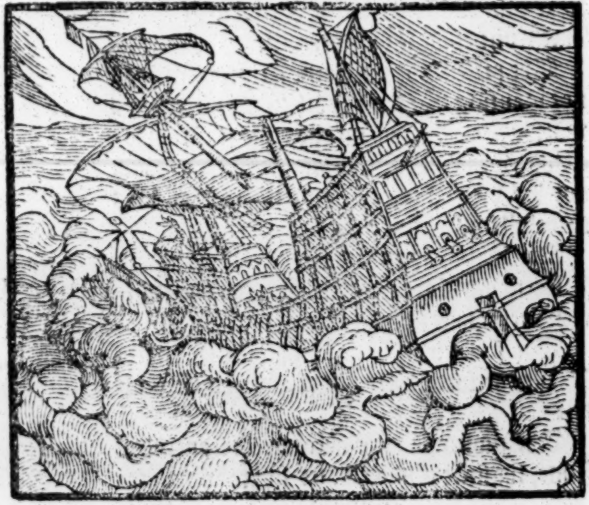
Captayn Randoll.

Edward Randoll alſo landed there the ſame day, appoynted to be Knight Marſhall.

Sir Thomas Finche.

For yee muſt vnderſtande, that Sir Adrian Poynings, being Knight Marſhal, vpon his returne into Englande, was otherwiſe employd, and wente not backe agayne, and then was Sir Thomas Finche of Kent appoynted to goe ouer to ſupply the roomth of Knight Marſhall, who making hys prouiſion ready, ſent ouer hys brother Eraſmus Finche, to haue charge of hys bande, and his kinſman Thomas Finch, to bee his Prouoſt Marſhall, whileſt hee ſtaying till he hadde euery thing in a readineſſe to paſſe ouer himſelf: at lẽgth embarqued in one of yͤ Quenes Maieſties Shippes called the Greyhound, hauing there aboorde with hym, beſyde threeſcore & ſixe of his own retinue, fourteene other Gentlemen, two of them beeyng breethren to the Lorde Wentworth, Iames Wentworth, and Iohn Wentworth, with diuers others, who in the whole (accompting the Marriners) amounted to the number of two hundred perſons, and vpwarde: and as they were on the further coaſt towarde Newhauen, they were by contrarye wind and foule weather, driuen backe towarde the coaſt of Englande, and plying towardes Rie, they forced the Captayne of the Shippe, a very cunning Seamã named W. Maline, & alſo the maiſter and marriners, to thruſt into the Hauen before the tide, and ſo they all periſhed, ſeuen of the meaner ſorte only excepted, whereof three dyed ſhortly after they came to land.

Sir Thomas Finch drowned.



The dead body of Sir Thomas Finche amongſt other, was caſt a ſhore, and being knowen, was conueyd home to his houſe, and there buryed in his pariſh Churche.

Edward Ra doll.

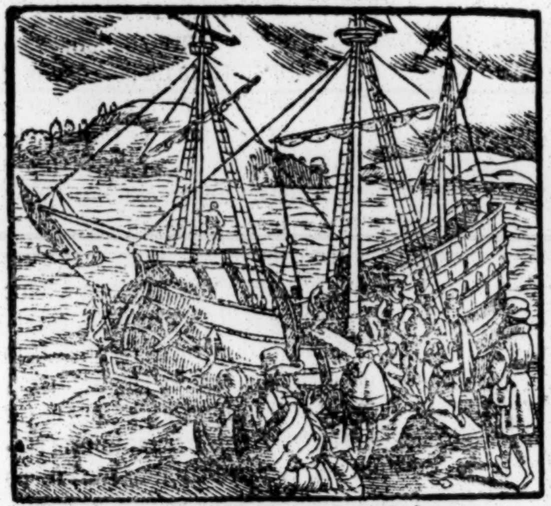
After this miſchance, & loſſe of that worthy Gentleman, the ſayde Edwarde Randoll was appoynted Knight Marſhall, who ordeyned a righte ſufficiente perſonage, Captayne Iohn Shute, to be his prouoſt Marſhall.

A ſupply of Soldyers.

The fiftenth of Iune, Captayne Richarde Sanders, and Captayne William Saul wyth theyr bandes of an hundred Souldiers a peece, and Captayne Drury, with two hundred, arriued at Newhauen, and the morrowe after, arriued Captayne Robertes with another hundred of Souldiers.

Sir Francis Knolles.

And on the ſeuententh of Iune, being Thurſday, Sir Frauncis Knolles, Vicechamberlaine of the Queenes Maieſties houſe, landed there, being ſente ouer by hir Maieſtie and hir Counſell, to viewe the ſtate of the Towne.



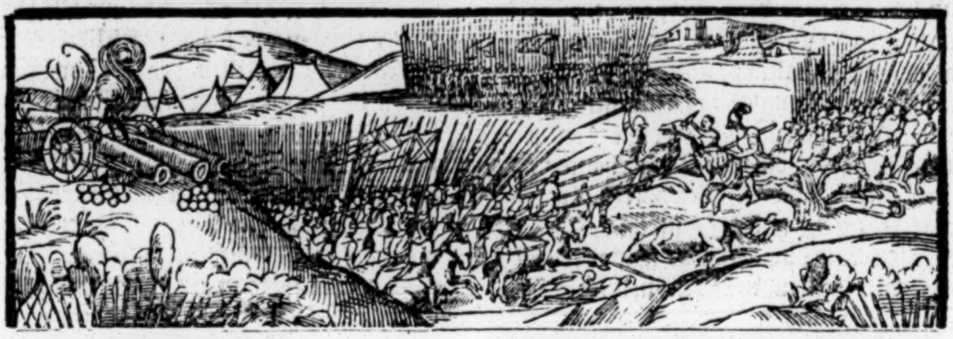
On Friday the eyghteenth of Iune, a Sergeant of Captayne Bluntes bande, and a Souldyer of Captayne Darcies bande, were executed in the Market place of Newhauen, for drawing their weapons agaynſt their Captaynes, and forſaking their appoynted places of warding, and ſuche other lewde partes whiche they had committed.

A Proclamation.

The fiue and twentith of Iune, Proclamation was made, that no Souldier of the newe fort ſhould reſort to the Towne of Newhauen, without licence of his Captayne, or ſome of his principall officers, on payne of death, or that any man ſhoulde preſume to paſſe the limits of the ſayd new fort, except vpon occaſion of ſeruice, in company of his Captayne or Lieutenaunt, on like payne, and thys order was taken, bycauſe dyuers ſtragling abroade, had bin taken priſoners, and ſlayne by the enimies, to their owne reproch and hinderance of the Princes ſeruice.

The eyght and twentith of Iune, the French men came downe to the Village of Lheure, and there very neere to the forte, began to ſkirmiſhe with the Engliſhmen.

There were of them tenne enſignes of footemen, and two hundred horſemen.



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This ſkirmiſhe laſted three houres, and yet there were not paſt foure ſlayne.

aõs placed
beate the
Towne.

The night following, they placed fiue Cannons betwixte the Towne, and the brickhilles, and likewiſe they placed other peeces of their artillerie at the foreſayd Village of Lheure, ſo that they ſhotte both into the Towne and fort.

The firſt of Iuly, about midnight, they iſſued forthe of their trenches, and ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſhe ſkoutes, droue them vnder the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſez, and there perceyuing that the Engliſhmen had a priuie ſallie out, after a long ſkirmiſh, they retired.

They had meante to haue ſet the Milles belonging to the Towne on fyre, but they hadde ſuche play made them, that aboute three of the clocke in the morning, they became to be quiet, and left the Engliſhmen in reſt, hauing done to them little or no hurt at all.

The greate ordinance on both ſides was not idle, whileſt thys ſkirmiſh was in hande.

ix hundred
ut of North-
lke, and
ee hundred
ut of Suf-
lke.

The ſeconde and third of Iuly, there landed nine hundred Souldyers that came forthe of Northfolke and Suffolke, yellowe clokes and blewe clokes, verye well appoynted, hauyng to their Captaynes Ferdinando Liggens, Philip Sturley, Iohn Highfielde, and Edw. Driuer.

Alſo, there came the ſame time fiftie Carpenters, ſixteene Sawyers, and eyght Smithes, to ſerue the Queenes Maieſtie in hir workes.

Moreouer, on the thirde daye of Iuly, aboute tenne of the clocke at night, the Frenche gaue a greate alarme to the towne, beat in the ſkoutes, but incontinently, iſſued forth fiue hundred ſouldiers out at the ſallying place, vnder the greene Bulwarke, and beat the Frenchmen backe into their trenches, and kepte them waking all that night.

ptayne
ders hurt.

The ſame tyme, Captayne Sanders was hurt with a ſhotte in the legge, whereof he ſhortly after dyed: other loſſe at that time the Engliſhmen receyued not.

The fifth of Iuly, a Proclamatiō was made for Soldyers to reſorte in time of alarmes, vnto that part and quarter, which was aſſigned to their Captaynes, and not to abſente themſelues from their enſignes, whether it were at alarmes, watch, warde, or any other ſeruice.

Ordinance planted.

The ſixth of Iuly, about three of the clocke in the morning, the enimies planted three Cannons, and three culuerings, diſcharging that morning, to the number of fourescore and tenne ſhottes, but perceiuing they did little hurt, they ſtayed their ſhooting, ſauing that now and then they ſhot into the Bulwarke, and ouer it into yͤ Towne: they alſo leuelled a peece, and ſhot it off towards the new galley, ſlewe therin two men, and hurt three or four other.

The ſame daye, a Cannon and a culuering were ſent forth of the Towne to the new forte.

The ordināce in the ſteeple diſmounted.

The .xij. of Iuly, about four of the clocke in the morning, the French layd batterie to yͤ Bulwarke of S. Addreſſez, continuing the ſame all that day. They alſo diſmounted the ſame daye, the ordinance in the ſteeple of Newhauen, and beate downe the great Bell, cleane defacing the Steeple. They diſcharged that day agaynſt the Towne (as was gathered by due eſtimatiō) the number of twelue hundred Cannon ſhotte.

William Robinſon killed. William Bromfield hurt.

The ſame euening, was William Robinſon Eſquier, water Bailiffe of the Towne of Newhauen ſlayne with a ſhotte, & William Bromfielde, maiſter of the ordinance, hurte wyth the ſame, and being conueyd ouer into England, he ſhortly after dyed of that hurt.

A new ſupply of Wilſhire and Glouceſterſhire men.

The fourtenth of Iuly, Sir Hugh Paulet Knighte landed at Newhauen, bringing wyth him eyght hundred ſouldiers out of Wilſhire & Glouceſterſhire. The ſame day came yͤ Frenchmen downe to the number of three M. euē hard to the gates of the Town, beating the Engliſhmen out of their trenches, but yet in the ende, they were forced to retire, and of Engliſhmen there were not paſt twentie ſlayne, and aboute an hundred hurte, but the Frenchmenne as was eſteemed, loſt aboue four hundred Horſemenne and footemenne. albeit they toke from the Engliſhmen at that preſente a culueryng, whiche was ſette forthe to anoy them: but theyr force at that time was ſuche, as they preuayled, and ſo retired with that peece, though they wel payde for it. The ſame day alſo in the after noone, yͤ little Galeaſſe called the Fox, went out of the Hauen, fraught with fiftie men, to flanke alongſt the ſhore, and to beate the Frenchmen wyth hir ſhotte, but as ſhee was ſhooting off at them, a linneſtocke fell into a barrell of powder, and ſet it on fyre togither with the veſſel, ſo that ſhe ſuddaynely ſanke, and all that were aboorde in hir were loſt, ſauing fifteene that ſaued themſelues by ſwimming.

The Galeaſſe brent.

The Conneſtable of Fraunce commeth to the ſiege.

The one and twentith of July, the Conneſtable of Fraunce, accompanyed with the Marſhals Montmorancy, and Burdillon, and many other Lords and knightes of the order, came to the Abbey of Graville, where the Marſhall Briſſac was lodged, who hadde the generall charge in the army, before the comming of the ſayd Conneſtable.

They dyned togither there in the ſayd Briſſacks lodging, and after dynner, they ſate in counſell togither how to proceede in the ſiege.

The Conneſtable ſommoneth the Towne.

Friday the three and twentith of July, the Conneſtable came into the trench that was caſt ouer againſt the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſe, alongſt by the ſea ſide, and ſent his Trumpet to ſommone the Towne.

Sir Hugh Paulet.

The Lord Lieutenant appoynted ſir Hugh Paulet to goe forthe, and make the aunſwer in his name, which was in effect, that yͤ Queenes Maieſtie of Englande had appoynted hym and others to keepe that Towne, and therefore they meante not to deliuer it to anye other perſon, withoute hir graces eſpeciall commaundemente.

In the meane time, there were diuers of the Engliſhe Captaynes and Gentlemen, whyche accompanyed the ſayde Sir Hugh, offered the wine whiche they had brought out of the towne with them in flagons of ſiluer and gilte, vnto ſuche Captaynes and Gentlemen as accompanied the trumpet by commaundemente of the Conneſtable, to ſuruey the ſtate of the trenches, and Paliſade, as the French writers themſelues confeſſe.

Captayne Monines. Captayne Leighton.

Amongſt other, there was Captaine Monines Lieutenāt, of one of the enſignes Colonels of Monſieur Dandelot, with whome, Captaine Leighton, beeing of acquaintance, hadde ſome talke.

The Caſtell battered.

The Engliſhmen and Frenchmen were no ſooner departed, they to their trenches, and the Engliſhmen into the Towne, but that the enimies hauing planted that morning eyght cannons in batterie againſt the Caſtell, and yͤ Bulwarke of the hauen, cauſed the ſame to be ſhotte off, continuing the ſame till Wedneſday noone, being the eyght and twentith of July.

There were ſixe other Canons alſo planted by them in yͤ meane ſpace, which likewiſe made batterie to the Caſtell, and to the Towngate.

Cutbert Vaughan departeth this life. His worth prayſe.

In this meane tyme alſo, Cutbert Vaughan Comptroller, departed out of this life, a ſkilfull man of warre, and no leſſe circumſpect than hardy, both to preſerue thoſe which he had vnder his conduction, and to encourage them to doe manfully, when tyme thereto ſerued.

Saterday, the foure and twentith of July, the batterie ſtill continuing as before, certayne peeces were bent alſo to beate a trauerſe the hauen. The Engliſhmen therefore ſetting fyre in two winde Milles, that ſtoode there, abandoned a trench which they kept, and the Paliſade, Captayne Poyet, Lieutenante of an other of the enſignes Colonels of the Frenche footemenne vnder Monſieur Dandelot, entred with his band, and tooke poſſeſſion of a Tower that ſtoode at the ende of the ſaide Paliſad.

The French yet had hote abiding there, notwithſtanding all the diligence and policie whiche they coulde vſe to lodge there in ſafetie.

Richelieu maiſter of t Camp hurt.

Among other, Captayn Richelieu, maiſter of the Campe, was hurte in the ſhoulder with an harquebuſe ſhotte.

The Marſhall Montmorency, cauſed a platforme to be reyſed, ioyning to the Palliſade, where about euening the ſame day, hee planted foure peeces of artillerie.

Monſieur de Eſtree.

Monſieur de Caillac.

On Sonday the fiue and twentith of July, Monſieur de Eſtree, great maiſter of the artillerie, accompanyed with the Seneſhall of Agenoys, vſed all diligence that mighte be, to place the artillerie for batterie, whereunto alſo, Monſieur de Caillac applyed himſelfe by the Conneſtables commaundement, who had compoūded a matter in variance betwixt him, & Monſieur de Eſtree.

Thys Sonday and Monday following, they were very buſie to bring their purpoſe in that behalfe to paſſe, and likewiſe to aduaunce theyr trenche vnto the ſyde of the breache.

The Marſhall de Burdelloo

The Marſhall de Burdelon abode in the trenche there all Sonday, and loſt two of hys Gentlemen.

The Marſhall Monmoren

The Marſhall Montmorency, accompanyed wyth dyuers Lordes and Knyghtes of the order, remayned all Monday in the trenches, to prepare things ready for the batterie, not without ſome daunger of his perſon, for the ſtones that were beaten with the bullets comming out of the Towne, flew very faſt about his eares, of the which, there was one that lent him a blowe on yͤ ſhoulder, & other of them philipped him on the fingers, and lighting alſo in other partes of his bodye (if his armour had not defended him the better, hee had not eſcaped withoute further harme.)

The ſame daye, the Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Montpenſier, came to the Campe, and alighting at the Conneſtables lodging, went from thence to the trenches, to relieue the Marſhall Montmorency, and to ſupply hys rowmth, whyleſt hee myghte in the meane tyme goe to ſuppe wyth hys father, and ſo take hys reſt.

The Prince of Conde, and the Duke of Montpencier.

Monſieur Deſtree, and the other that hadde charge aboute the planting and ordering of the artillerie, vſed ſuche diligence, and were ſo earneſtly called vpō and encouraged by the Prince of Conde, continually remayning in the trenches, that on Tewſday in the morning, the artillerie began to batter the Bulwarke of Sainte Addreſſe, and other places.

The Bulwarke of ſaint Addreſſe batered.

This was not done without greate daunger of the Pioners and men of warre that guarded them: for as the Frenche deſperately made theſe approches, they were made by the Engliſhe gunners, to taſt the bitter frute that the Canon and culuerings yeeldeth, but ſuch was the multitude of the Frenchmen that were now aſſembled togyther in hope to recouer that Towne (which being poſſeſſed by the Engliſhe, cutte off all traffique from Rouen and Paris, and ſo cōſequently, from the chiefe partes of the whole Realme of Fraunce) that with theyr generall ayde, and drawing the water downe to the ſea, the mariſhes were made paſſable, and firme ground, whiche to men of great experience, was thought a thing impoſſible. The Caſtell, the walles, and other defences of the Towne, were battered, breaches made, and the trenche whyche before the comming of the Cōneſtable, was but broughte to the poynte ouer agaynſte the Bulwarke of Saint Addreſſe, was now within foure dayes aduaunced neere hande the ſpace of two myles, vpon the cauſey or breach which was all of ſtone, without anye earth to couer them, ſo that they were driuen to make the beſt ſhift they could, with wolleſackes, ſandebagges, baſkets & faggots. Yet all this had neuer come to paſſe, nor coulde haue bin wrought, withoute infinite ſlaughter, and farre more loſſe of French bloud, that neceſſarily ſhould haue bin ſpilt, if ẏ greate mortalitie of peſtilence whiche entred the towne about the beginning of the Sommer, through a malitious infection, had not ſo greatly increaſed, that it ſlewe and tooke away dayly greate numbers of men, beſide thoſe that beeyng ſicke thereof, eſcaped with lyfe, but were yet ſo feable and weake, that they were not able to help themſelues, nor to doe any ſeruice auaylable at all.

he great in- ction of ſtilence in whauen.

There dyed ſo manye dayly through the vehemency of the infection, that the ſtreetes lay euen full of dead corpſes, not able to be remoued, or buryed, by reaſon of the multitude that periſhed. Herewith they were greeuouſly annoyed for want of freſh vittayles, but chiefly, of freſhe waters, which the enimie by long ſiege, had cut off. And nowe the ſhotte of the Cannon, lying within ſixe and twenty paces of the Towne, was ſo terrible, as the like had not lightly bene hearde of, and ſundry breaches therewith were already made, namely, two very great and eaſie for the enimies to enter.

Stow. Additions to Lanquet.

All theſe daungers and miſeries notwithſtāding, the worthy Earle of Warwike with hys Captaynes and Souldiers in couragious order, ſtoode at thoſe ſeuerall breaches, ready to defende the ſame, if the enimies had preſumed to haue giuen the aſſault, which when the Conneſtable perceyued, he cauſed a Trumpet to ſound the blaſt of emparley, that talke myght be hadde for the concluding of a compoſition betwixte both the parties.

The high valiancie of the Earle of Warwike.

This offer, conſidering that ſore contagious mortalitie wherewith the Towne was moſt greeuouſly infeſted, hauing ſo greately enfeebled the Engliſhe forces within the ſame, was thought not vnmeete to be receyued.

Hereuppon, after a ſally made by the Engliſhmen, and a faire ſkirmiſhe betwixt them and the Frenchmen that lay afore ẏ fort de Lheure, on the Tewſday the .xxvij. of July, M. William Pelhā, Captayne of the fort, with an other Gentleman, and a Trumpetter, went forth by appoyntment, and was receyued fyrſt by Monſieur de Loſſes, who broughte him to the Marſhall Montmorency, and after by his appoyntment, went with him by the Reingraues camp, to the Conneſtable, and till his returne, a truce was accorded on that ſide of the fort.

Captayne Pelham went forth to talke with the Cōmiſsioners.

After that maiſter Pelham had talked a ſpace with the Conneſtable, the matter was putte ouer till the nexte day, and ſo he returned.

The morrowe after beeing Wedneſday, and eyght and twentith of July, the Conneſtable about ſeauen of the clocke, came to the ende of the trenches nexte to the Towne, where Sir Maurice Denys, treaſorer of the Towne, Sir Hugh Paulet, Captayne Horſey, Captayne Pelham, Captaine John Shute prouoſt Marſhall, and Nicholas Malby Secretary to my Lord Lieutenant, came forthe, and paſſed ouer the Hauen to commune with hym, and during the parley betwixt them, a truce was accorded, and aſſented to, by both partes, the which neuertheleſſe was broken two ſeuerall tymes, thorough the vnruly inſolencie of certayne harquebuſiers, and although by the good diligēce of the

The Commiſſioners appointed to talke with the Conneſtable.

Captaynes, they wer incontinently quieted and ſtayed.

Additions to Lanquet.

The Earle of Warwike hurt.

Yet the valiaunte Earle of Warwike, ſtanding at a breache in hys hoſen and doublet in ſighte of hys enimies, was by a lewde ſouldiour of the Frenche (contrary to the lawe of armes) ſhot through the thigh with an arquebuſade.

The Conneſtable and the Engliſh commiſſioners appointed, hadde long conference togither, and before they concluded, the Marſhals Montmorency and Burdellion (and at length, the Marſhall Briſſac alſo) came to the place where they were thus in parley, but the Conneſtable tooke vpon him to haue onely authoritie to accepte or refuſe ſuche conditions, as ſhould be offered or agreed vnto by the Engliſh Commiſſioners in this treatie: and ſo at length they paſſed certayne Articles in forme as followeth.

The Conneſtable tooke vpon him to be chiefe in authoritie on the French part.

The Articles of the agreemēt touching ſurrender of Newhauen.

Firſte, that the Earle of Warwike ſhoulde render agayne the Towne of Newhauen, into the handes of the Conneſtable of Fraunce, with all the artillerie and munitions of warre, then beeyng in that Towne, and belonging to the French King and his ſubiects.

Item, that hee ſhould leaue the Shippes that were in the ſayde towne at that preſente, belonging eyther to the King or hys ſubiects, with all their furniture, and generally, all ſuch merchandiſe and other things, being likewiſe at that preſent within that Towne, as either belonged to the King or his ſubiects.

Item, for the more ſuretie of the premiſſes, the ſayd Earle ſhould preſently deliuer into the hands of the ſayde Conneſtable, the greate tower of the ſayde hauen, ſo that the Souldyers that were placed therin, enter not into yͤ towne, and that the ſayde Earle of Warwike ſhoulde cauſe the gates there towardes the Towne to be warded, till it were in the poſſeſſion of yͤ ſayd Conneſtable, without planting any enſignes on the ſayde Tower, according vnto the ſayde agreement, and alſo that the ſayde Earle ſhoulde deliuer foure ſuch hoſtages as the ſayde Conneſtable ſhould name.

Item, that the next day, by eight of the clocke in the morning, the ſayd Erle ſhould withdraw his Souldyers whiche are in the forte, to deliuer it immediatly into the hands of the ſayd Conneſtable, or ſuch as ſhould be by hym appoynted to receyue the ſame at the ſayd houre.

Item, that all priſoners that haue bin taken before the ſayde Hauen, ſhoulde bee delyuered on eyther ſide, without paying any raunſome.

Item, that the Conneſtable ſhoulde for hys parte ſuffer the ſaide Earle of Warwike, and all thoſe that are in garniſon in the ſayde Newhauen, to departe with all thyngs whatſoeuer that belonged to the Queene of Englande and hir ſubiects.

Item, that for the departure as well of the ſayd Earle, as the remouing of hys Souldyers, and other things before rehearſed, yͤ ſayd Conneſtable agreed to gyue them ſixe whole dayes, beginning the morrow then nexte following, to witte, the. xxix. of July, during whiche ſixe dayes, they mighte frankely and freely take and carrie away all the ſayde things: and if wynde or foule weather ſhuld hinder, that their paſſage coulde not be made within the ſayde tearme, in this caſe the ſayde Conneſtable ſhould graunte them ſuche further time of delay, as might bee thought reaſonable.

Item, the ſayde Conneſtable dyd likewiſe permitte, that all the Shippes and Engliſh veſſels, and all other that ſhoulde be appoynted for the portage and conueying away of the ſayde things, ſhould ſafely and freely paſſe into and fro the ſayde Hauen, without any ſtay or impeachment, eyther by the Frenche army or anye other.

The ſayde foure hoſtages were appoynted to bee maiſter Oliuer Maners, brother to the Earle of Rutlande, Captayne Pelham, Captayne Horſey, and Captayne Leighton.

In witneſſe whereof, the ſayde Lordes, the Conneſtable of Fraunce, and Earle of Warwike, ſigned theſe articles the eyght and twentith of July. Anno. 1563.

Additions to Lanquet.

Thus the Earle of Warwike, as he had during the whole tyme of hys abode there in that Towne of Newhauen, ſhewed himſelfe a right hardy and valiaunt Captayne, ſo nowe in the ende hee proued himſelfe to be both prudent and politike, for by accepting of theſe honorable cōditions to goe with all armour, munition, Shippes, goodes, bagge and baggage, in anye wiſe apperteyning, or belonging eyther to the Queenes maieſtie, or to any of hir graces ſubiects, he ſaued the liues of a great number, which otherwiſe eſcaping the ſcourge of the infectiue plague, muſt needes haue fallen vnder the edge of the ſword.

The Conneſtable during the tyme of the parley, ſente hys yongeſt ſonne Monſieur de Thorree, to the King and Queene mother, to aduertiſe them of the treatie of this peace, and after it was once concluded and ſigned by the Earle of Warwike, he ſent his eldeſt ſonne the Marſhall Montmorencie, to preſente the ſame vnto them at Criquetot, halfe way betweene Newhauen and Feſcamp, who were right ioyful of the newes, and the nexte day they came to the Campe, ſhewing greate ſignes of theyr conceyued gladneſſe, for the recouering of

The French King cōm to the Camp before Newhauen.

that Towne thus oute of the Engliſhe mens handes.

The Saterday the moſt part of the Engliſh men tooke ſhippe and departed homewards: for glad might he thinke himſelfe, that could get ſooneſt out of that vnwholſome and moſt vnſauerie ayre. Many ſicke perſons yet were left behinde, impotent and not able to helpe themſelues. The miſerie whereof Edward Randolfe Eſquier high Marſhall of the towne (who was appoynted to tarrie and ſee the vttermoſt of the compoſition accompliſhed) perceyuing, mooued with naturall pitie of his Countreymen relinquiſhed without comfort, cauſed the ſayde ſicke perſonnes to be caried aboorde, not ſparing hys ſhoulders, at that tyme feeble and full of the plague, himſelfe and his men ſtill bearing and helping the poore creatures on ſhipboorde. A rare fact, worthie rewarde, and no doubt in remembraunce with God, the true recorder of mercifull deſerts.

Thus was the Towne of Newhauen reduced againe into the hands of the French, more vndoubtedly through the extreeme mortalitie that ſo outragiouſly afflicted the ſouldiours and men of warre within the ſame, than by the enimyes enforcementes, although the ſame was great, and aduaunced to the vttermoſt of the aduerſaries power.

Beſide the meaner ſort of thoſe that dyed of the peſtilence during the ſiege, theſe I find noted as chiefe. Cutbert Vaughan Comptroller of the towne, Frauncis Somerſet couſin to the Earle of Worceſter, Auerie Darcie brother to the Lorde Darcie, John Zouch, brother to the Lorde Zouch, Edwarde Ormeſby, Thomas Drurie, *alias* Poignard, Richard Croker, John Cockſon, Thomas Keniſhe, John Prowde, William Saul, Wilfreid Antwiſell. Beſyde theſe being Captaynes in chiefe dying there in that towne, or elſe ſickning there and dying vpon theyr returne into Englande, there were dyuerſe other gentlemen, and ſuch as had charge, whiche likewiſe ended theyr lyues by force of that cruell and moſte grieuous peſtilent infection.

There were diuerſe alſo that were ſlaine, as well by Canon ſhotte as otherwiſe in the fielde in ſkirmiſh, as both the Tremaynes brethren of one byrth, Nicholas and Andrew, Captayne Richard Sanders, with maiſter Robynſon, & maiſter Bromfield, of which two before ye haue heard, alſo one Leighton, a Gentleman and diuerſe moe whoſe names I knowe not, worthie neuertheleſſe to be remembred and placed in ranke with ſuch worthie men, as in their countreys cauſe haue loſt theyr liues, and are therefore by Wryters regiſtred to liue by fame for euer.

Stow.

Peſtilence.

But now to paſſe to other matters at home. As ye haue heard, the plague of Peſtilence being in the towne of Newhauen, through the number of ſouldiours that returned into Englande, the infection thereof ſpread into dyuerſe partes of this realme, but eſpecially the Citie of London was ſo infected, that in the ſame whole yeare, that is to ſay, from the firſt of Januarie. 1562. vntill the laſt of December, in. 1563. there dyed in the Citie and liberties thereof, conteyning 108. Pariſhes of all diſeaſes.xx.thouſand, three hundred. lxxij. and of the plague being part of the number aforeſayd, ſeuentene thouſand foure hundred, and foure perſons. And in the out Pariſhes adioining to the ſame Citie, being.xj. Pariſhes dyed of all diſeaſes in the whole yere, three thouſand two hundred. lxxx. and eight perſons, and of them, of the plague two thouſande ſeuen hundred.xxxij. ſo that the whole number of all that dyed of all diſeaſes, as well within the Citie and liberties, as in the out pariſhes, was.xxiij thouſand, ſixe hundred and.lx. and of them, there died of the plague, twentie thouſand one hundred thirtie and ſixe.

108 Pariſhes in London, beſides.xi. in the Suburbs.

Tempeſt at London.

The eyght of July in the morning, happened a great tempeſt of lightning and thunder, wherethrough a woman and three Kine were ſlaine, in the Couent Gardeyne neare to Charing Croſſe. At the ſame tyme in Eſſex a man was torne all to peeces as he was carying hay, hys Barne was borne downe, and hys Hay burnt: both ſtones and trees were rent in many places.

The Counſell of King Philip at Bruxels commaunded proclamation to be made in Andwarpe and other places, that no Engliſh ſhippe with any clothes, ſhoulde come into any places of theyr lowe Countreys: their colour was (as they ſayd) the daunger of the plague, which was that time in London, & other places of England notwithſtanding they woulde gladly haue got our woolles, but the Queenes Maieſtie through ſuyt of our marchant aduenturers cauſed the wooll fleete to be diſcharged, and our cloth fleete was ſent to Emden in Eaſt Friſelande, about Eaſter next following, in Anno. 1564. Forſomuch as the plague of Peſtilence was ſo hote in the Citie of London, there was no terme kept at Michaelmaſſe, to be ſhort, the poore Citizens of London, were this yeare plagued with a threefolde plague, peſtilence, ſcarcitie of money, and dearth of vittayles, the miſerie whereof were too long here to write, no doubt the poore remember it, the riche by flight into the Countreys, made ſhift for themſelues. &c.

Threefolde plague to the poore Citizens of London.

Earthquake.

An Earthquake was in the Month of September in dyuerſe places of this realme, ſpecially in Lincolne and Northampton ſhires.

After the election of the Maior of London by the counſailes letters, the Q. Maieſties pleaſure was ſignified to ſir Thomas Lodge then Maior, that forſomuch as the plague was ſo great in the Citie, the new Maior elected ſhould kepe no feaſt at the Guildhall, for doubt that through bringing togyther ſuch a multitude, the infection might encreaſe: for that Weeke there died within the Citie and out Pariſhes, more than two thouſande: Wherefore Sir Iohn Whight the new Maior, tooke his othe at ỷ vttermoſt gate of the Tower of London.

An. Reg. 6.
Lightning and thunder.

From the firſt day of December, till the.xij. was ſuch continuall lightning and thunder, eſpecially the ſame.xij. day at night, that the like had not beene ſeene nor heard by any man then lyuing.

In the Moneth of December, was dryuen on the ſhore at Grymſbie in Lyncolnſhyre, a monſtrous fiſhe, in length.xix.yardes, his tayle fiftene foote brode, and ſixe yardes betweene his eyes, twelue men ſtoode vpright in his mouth to get the Oyle.

1564
Terme kept at Hertfort.

For that the plague was not fully ceaſſed in London, Hillarie terme was kept at Hertforde Caſtell beſide Ware.

Grafton.
A peace with Fraunce.

This yeare the.xiij.of Aprill, an honourable and ioyfull peace was concluded, betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie, and the French King, theyr Realmes, Dominions and Subiects, and the ſame peace was proclaymed with ſounde of Trumpet, before hir Maieſtie in hir Caſtell of Windſore, then being preſent the French Ambaſſadors.

And ſhortly after, the Queenes grace ſent the righte honourable Sir Henrie Carie Lord of Honneſdon, accompanied with the Lorde Strange, beſide diuerſe Knights & Gentlemen, vnto the French king, with the noble order of the Garter, who finding him at the Citie of Lion, being in thoſe parties in progreſſe, he there preſented vnto him the ſayde noble order, and Garter King at Armes inueſted him therewith, obſeruing the Ceremonies in that behalfe due and requiſite.

The plague (thanks be to God) being cleane ceaſſed in London, both Eaſter and Midſomer termes were kept at Weſtminſter.

Watch on S. Peters night.

There was on the vigile of S. Peter a watch in the Citie of London, which did onely ſtande in the higheſt ſtreetes of Cheape, Cornhill, and ſo forth to Algate, which watche was to the Commons of the ſame Citie, as chargeable as when in tymes paſt it had beene commendably done.

Ab. Hartw.

The Quee progreſſe tho- row Cābridg

The fiſt of Auguſt, the Queenes Maieſtie in hir progreſſe, came to the vniuerſitie of Cambridge, and was of all the Students (being inueſted according to their degrees taken in the ſchooles) honourably and ioyfully receiued in the Kings Colledge, where ſhee did lie during hir continuance in Cambridge. The dayes of hir abode were paſt in ſcholaſticall exerciſes of Philoſophie, Phiſicke, and Diuinitie, the nightes in Comedies, and Tragedies, ſet forth partly by the whole vniuerſitie, and partly by the ſtudents of the kings Colledge. At the breaking vp of the Diuinitie act, being on Wedneſday the ninth of Auguſt (on the which day ſhe roade through the towne, and viewed the Colledges, thoſe goodly and auncient monuments of Kings of England hir noble predeceſſors) ſhe made within S. Maries Church a notable Oration in Latin, in the preſence of the whole learned Vniuerſitie, to the ſtudents great comfort. The next day, ſhee went forward on hir progreſſe to Finchinbroke by Huntingdon.

Outcriet and Belman for the day.

The.xxi.day of Auguſt, was enacted by a common counſaile of the Citie of London, that all ſuch Citizens as from thence forth ſhould be conſtreyned to ſell theyr houſholde ſtuffe, leaſes of houſes, or ſuche lyke, ſhoulde firſt cauſe the ſame to be cryed through the Citie by a man with a Bell, and then to be ſolde by the common out cryer appoynted for that purpoſe, and hee to reteyne one farthing vpon the ſhylling for his paynes.

Great floudſ in the Thames.

The.xx. of September aroſe great floudes in the Riuer of Thames, where through the marſhes neare adioining were ouerflowed, and many cattell drowned.

Obſequie for Ferdinando the Empero

The seconde of October in the after noone, & on the morow in the forenoone, was a ſolemne obſequie at Paules church of London, for Ferdinando late Emperour, departed.

Fierie impre ſions.

The ſeuenth day of October at night, from eight of the clocke till after nine of the clocke, all the North partes of the Element, ſeemed to bee couered with flames of fire, proceeding from the Northeaſt, and Northweſt, toward the middeſt of the Firmament, where after it had ſtayed nighe one houre, it deſcended weſt: and all the ſame night (being the next after the chaunge of the Moone) ſeemed nigh as light as it had beene fayre day.

An. reg. 7.
Houſes ſhattered with Gunpowde

The.xx. of Nouember, in the morning through negligence of a mayden with a candell, the ſnuffe falling in an hundred pounde weight of Gunpowder, three houſes in Bucklerſburie were ſore ſhaken, and the Mayde dyed two dayes after.

The Thame frozen ouer.

The.xxj. of December, began a froſt, which continued ſo extreemly, that on Newyeares euen, people went ouer and along the Thames on the Iſe from London bridge to Weſtmynſter;

ſome played at the football, as boldly there, as if it had beene on the drie land: diuerſe of the court being then at Weſtminſter, ſhot dayly at pricks ſet vpon the Thames: and the people both men and women, went on the Thames in greater number, than in any ſtreete of the Citie of London. On the thirde day of Ianuarie at night it beganne to thaw, and on the fifth day was no Iſe to bee ſeene betweene London bridge, and Lambeth, whiche ſodaine thawe cauſed greate floods and high waters, that bare downe bridges and houſes, and drowned many people in England: eſpecially in Yorkſhire, Owes bridge was borne away with other.

Owes bridge borne downe.

Henrie Stuart maried the Q. of Scottes.

The thirde day of Februarie, Henrie Stuart Lord Darley, about the age of .xix. yeare, eldeſt ſonne to Mathew Earle of Lineux (who went into Scotlande at Whitſuntide before) hauing obteyned licence of the Queenes Maieſtie, tooke his iourney towarde Scotlande, accompanied with fiue of his fathers men, where when he came, was honourably receyued, and lodged in the kings lodgings, and in the Sommer folowing, maried Marie Queene of Scotlande.

About this time, for the Queenes Maieſtie were choſen and ſent Commiſſioners to Bruges, the Lorde Montacute knight of the honourable order of the Garter, Doctor Wotton one of hir Maieſties honourable Counſaile, doctor Haddon one of the Maiſters of Requeſtes to hir highneſſe, with other, Maiſter Doctor Aubrey was for the marchant aduẽturers of England: they came to Bruges in Lent. Anno. 1565. and continued there til Michaelmaſſe folowing, and then was the dyet prolonged till Marche in the yere. 1566. and the Commiſſioners returned into England.

1565

Ladie Lineux ſent to the Tower.

The .xxij. of Aprill, the Ladie Margaret coũteſſe of Lineux, was commaunded to keepe hir chamber at the Whitehall, where ſhe remayned till the .xxij. of Iune, and then conueyed by Sir Francis Knolles, and the garde to the Tower of London by water.

Watch at mid ſommer.

On S. Peters euen at night, was the lyke ſtanding watch in London, as had beene on the ſame night .xij. Monethes paſt.

Tempeſt at Chelmeſford.

The .xvj. of Iuly, about .ix. of the clocke at night, began a tempeſt of lightning and thunder, with ſhowers of hayle, which continued till three of the clocke in the next morning, ſo terrible, that at Chelmeſforde in Eſſex fiue hundred acres of corne was deſtroyed, the Glaſſe windowes on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, and of the Weſt and South ſides of the Church were beaten downe, with alſo the Tyles of their houſes, beſide diuerſe Barnes, Chimneys, and the Battelments of the Church, which was ouerthrowne. The like harme was done in many other places, as at Leedes, Cranebroke, Douer. &c.

The Margraue or Marques of Baden.

Chriſtofor Prince and Margraue of Baden, with Cicilie his wife, ſiſter to the King of Swethlande, after a long and daungerous iourney, wherein they had trauayled almoſt a .xj. Monethes ſayling from Stockholme, croſſing the Seas ouer into Liſelande, from whence by lande they came aboute by Pollande, Pruſcie, Pomerland, Meckleburge, Friſelande, and ſo to Andwerpe in Brabant, then to Calays, at the laſt in September landed at Douer, and the .xj. day of the ſame they came to London, and were lodged at the Earle of Bedfords place, neare vnto Iuie bridge, where within foure dayes after, that is to ſay, the .xv. of September, ſhe trauayled in childbed, & was deliuered of a man child, which childe the laſt of September was chriſtened in the Queenes Maieſties Chapell of white Hall at Weſtminſter, the Queenes Maieſtie in hir owne perſon being Godmother, the Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and the Duke of Norfolke Godfathers: at the Chriſtning the Queene gaue the childe to name *Edwardus Fortunatus*, for that God had ſo graciouſly aſſiſted his mother, in ſo long and daungerous a iourney, and brought hir ſafe to land in that place, which ſhe moſt deſired, and that in ſo ſhort time before hir deliuerance.

Mariage of the Earle of Warwike.

The .xj. of Nouember, the right honourable, Ambroſe Earle of Warwike, maryed Anne eldeſt daughter to the Earle of Bedforde: for the honour and celebration of which noble mariage, a goodly chalenge was made, and obſerued at Weſtmynſter, at the Tylt, with eche one ſixe courſes: at the Tourney .xij. ſtrokes, wyth the ſword, three puſhes with the punchion ſtaffe: & .xij. blowes with the ſworde at Barriers, or .xx. if any were ſo diſpoſed.

Robert Thomas ſlaine.

At ten of the clocke at night the ſame day, a valiant ſeruiceable man, called Robert Thomas, maiſter Gunner of England, deſirous alſo to honour the feaſt and mariage day in conſideration the ſayde Erle of Warwike was generall of the Ordinaunce within hir Maieſties Realmes and Dominions, made three greate traines of chambers, which terribly yelded forth the nature of theyr voyce, to the greate aſtoniſhment of dyuerſe, who at the fiering of the ſeconde was vnhappily ſlaine by a peece of one of the Chambers, to the great ſorow and lamentation of many.

Anno. reg. 8.

Poules gate blowen open.

The .xxiiij. of December, in the morning, there roſe a great ſtorme and tempeſt of winde, by whoſe rage the Thames and Seas ouerwhelmed many perſons, and the great gates at the Weſt end of S. Paules Church in London, (betweene the which ſtandeth the braſen piller) were through the force of the winde, then in the weſterne part of the world blowne open.

Order of ſaint Michaell.
1566

In Ianuarie, Monſieur Rambulet a knight of the order in France, was ſent ouer into England, by the French king Charles the.ix. of that name, with the order, who at Windſore was ſtalled in the behalfe of the ſayde French King, with the knighthoode of the moſt honourable order of the Garter, and the.xxiiij.of Ianuarie, in the Chapell of hir Maieſties Palaice of Whitehall, the ſayde Monſieur Rambulet inueſted Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Robert Earle of Leyceſter, with the ſayde order of S. Michael.

The Marques of Baden returneth.

The Marques of Baden, and the Ladie Cicilie his wife, ſiſter to the king of Swethen, who came into this lande in the Moneth of September laſt paſt (as before is declared) being then by the Queenes eſpeciall appoyntment, at their arriuall honourably receyued by the Lorde Cobham, an honourable Baron of this Realme, and the Lady his wife, one of the Queenes maieſties priuie Chamber, now in the Moneth of Aprill, 1566. departed the ſame againe, the Marques a few dayes before his wife, being both conducted by a lyke perſonage the Lord of Aburgaueny to Douer.

The Burſe in Cornhill.

Certayne houſes in Cornehill, being fyrſt purchaſed by the Citizens of London, were in the Moneth of Februarie cryed by a Belman, and afterwarde ſolde to ſuch perſons as ſhoulde take them downe, and carie them from thence, which was ſo done in the Monethes of Aprill and May next following. And then the ground beeing made playne at the charges alſo of the Citie, poſſeſſion thereof was by certayne Aldermen in the name of the whole Citizens, gyuen to the right worſhipfull ſir Thomas Greſham knight, agent to the Queenes highneſſe, there to buylde a place for Marchantes to aſſemble in, at his owne proper charges, who on the ſeuenth day of Iune layde the firſt ſtone of the foundation (beeing Bricke) and forthwyth the workemenne followed vppon the ſame with ſuch diligence, that by the Moneth of Nouember, in Anno. 1567. the ſame was couered with ſlate.

The Commiſſioners before named, appoynted for the matters of Flaunders, keeping theyr diet at Bruges, agreed to referre the whole matter to the Princes on both ſides, and if they could not agree, then the Marchants to haue xl. dayes to repayre home with their marchandiſe, and in the meane tyme all things to ſtande as they were then. Our Commiſſioners departed from Bruges about the.xxvj.of Iune.

The Queen progreſſe to Oxforde.

The.xxxj.of Auguſt, the Queenes maieſtie in hir progreſſe came to the Vniuerſitie of Oxforde, and was of all the ſtudentes, which had looked for hir comming thither two yeares, ſo honourably and ioyfully receiued, as eyther their loyalneſſe towardes the Queenes maieſtie, or the expectation of their friends did require. Concerning orders in diſputation and other Academicall exerciſes, they agreed much with thoſe, which the Vniuerſitie of Cambridge had vſed two yeares before. Comedies alſo and Tragidies were played in Chriſts Church, where the Queenes highneſſe lodged. Among the which the Comedie entituled Palemon & Arcit, made by maiſter Edwardes of the Queenes Chapel, had ſuch tragicall ſucceſſe, as was lamentable. For at that time by the fal of a wall and a paire of ſtaires, and great preſſe of the multitude, three men were ſlaine.

Miſſortune Oxforde.

The fifth of September, after diſputations, the Queene at the humble ſuyte of certaine hir Nobilitie, and the king of Spains Imbaſſador, made a briefe Oration in Latin to the Vniuerſitie, but ſo wiſe and pithie, as England may reioyce, that it hath ſo learned a Prince, and the Vniuerſitie may triumph that they haue ſo noble a Patroneſſe.

The. vj. of September, after dinner, hir grace comming from Chriſts church ouer Carfox, and ſo to Saint Maries, the ſcholers ſtanding in order according to theyr degrees euen to the Eaſt gate, certaine Doctours of the vniuerſitie did ride before in their ſkarlet Gownes and hoodes, and maſters of arte in black gownes and hoodes.

The Maior alſo wyth certaine of hys brethren did ryde before hir in ſkarlet, to the ende of Magdalen Bridge, where their liberties ended: but the doctours and maiſters went forwarde ſtill to Shotouer, a mile and more out of Oxforde, bycauſe their liberties extended ſo farre, and there after Orations made, hir highneſſe with thanks to the whole Vniuerſitie, bad them farewell, and rode to Ricote.

Souldiors tranſported into Irelande.

The valiaunt Captaine Edward Randolfe Eſquire, Lieutenaunt of the Ordinaunce, and Colonell of a thouſande footemen, in September laſt paſt, was wyth hys bande embarked at Briſtow, and within fewe dayes after landed at Knockfergus in the North partes of Irelande, and from thence by water to a place called Derrie, by whiche paſſeth the Ryuer of Longfoyle, there the ſayde Colonell in ſhorte ſpace fortifyed, to the greate annoyaunce of Shane Oneyle, and by greate foreſyght and experience, garded himſelfe and his charge, till the ſayde Oneyle (to hinder and diſturbe his aboade there) the.xij. of Nouember arriued with a great army of Kerne Galawglaſſes & horſemen, with whom the ſayde Captaine Randall encountered, and him there ſo diſcomfited, as after ẏ conflict he durſt neuer approch the Queens power: and to his perpetuall fame, the ſayde Captaine by reaſon of his bolde and hardie onſet, that day loſt his life.

ng prince
Scottes
ſtened.

n. Reg. 9.

Charles Iames, the firſt of that name, ſonne to Henrie Stuart Lorde of Darnley, and Marie, King and Queene of Scottes was borne in Edenbourgh Caſtell, the .xix. of Iune laſt paſt, and the .xviij. of December this yeare ſolemnly chriſtened at Sterling, whoſe Godfathers at the Chriſtning were, Charles king of Fraunce, and Philibert duke of Sauoy, and the Queenes Maieſtie of England was the Godmother, who gaue a font of golde curiouſly wrought and enameled, waying .333. ounces, amounting in value to the ſumme of .1043. pounde .xix. ſhillings.

g of Scots
thered.
1567

The tenth of Februarie in the morning, Henrie Stuart Lorde of Darneley before named King of Scottes, by Scottes in Scotlande was ſhamefully murthered, the reuenge whereof remayneth in the mightie hande of God.

The .xxij. of Februarie, the Ladie Margaret Dowglas Counteſſe of Lineux, mother to the ſayde King of Scottes, was diſcharged out of the Tower of London.

en Alder-
deceaſſed
London.

Within the ſpace of ten Monethes laſt paſt, dyed ſeuen Aldermen of London, the firſt Edwarde Bankes deceaſſed the .ix. of Iuly. Anno 1566. Richarde Chamberlaine late ſherife, ſir Martin Bowes, ſir Richard Mallorie, ſir William Hewet, and ſir Thomas White late Maiors, then Richarde Lambert one of the Sherifes for that yeare, the fourth of Aprill. 1567.

e towne of
try burnt
le in thirty
es.

The .xxij. of Aprill, by great miſfortune of fire in the towne of Oſſeſtrie in Wales, twelue myles from Shrewſburie, to the number of two hundred houſes, to ſay, ſeuen ſcore within the walles and three ſcore without in the ſuburbs, beſides cloth, corne, cattell. &c. were conſumed, which fire began at two of the clocke in the after noone, and ended at foure, to the great maruaile of many, that ſo great a ſpoyle in ſo ſhort a time ſhould happen. Two long ſtreetes with great ryches of that Towne was burnt in Anno 1542. And lykewyſe or worſe in .1564.

geants feaſt

The .xxiiij. of Aprill, the Sergeants feaſt was kept at Grays Inne neare vnto Holborne, and there were at that time made ſeuen newe Sergeants of the law.

al in Suf-
ke burnt.

The .xvij. of May in the towne of Milnall in Suffolke. viij. miles from Newmarket .37. houſes, beſides Barnes, ſtables, and ſuche lyke were conſumed with fire in the ſpace of two houres.

Shane Oneyle
diſcomfited.

Statuta regni
Hibernie.

Campion.

Shane Oneyle, who had moſt trayterouſly rebelled agaynſt the Queenes Maieſtie in Irelande, and had done many great outrages in the partes of Vlſter, was this yeare with his great loſſe manfully repelled from the ſiege of Dundalke by the garniſon thereof, and afterwarde through the great valiance, and foreſight of ſir Henrie Sidney knight of the order, and lord deputie of Irelande, he was ſo diſcomfited in ſundrie cōflicts, with the loſſe of three thouſand fiue hundred of his men, that now foreſeeing his declination to be imminent, he determined to put a coller about his necke, and diſguiſing himſelfe, to repayre to the Lorde Deputie, and penitently to requyre his pardon to haue his life. But Neyl Mackruer his Secretarie, who had incited him to this rebellion, perſwaded him fyrſt to trie and treate the friendſhip of certaine wylde Scottes, that then lay encamped in Clan Iboy, vnder the conducting of Alexander Oge, and Mac Gilliam Buſke, whoſe father and vncle Shane Oneyle had lately killed in an ouerthrow giuen to the Scottes: neuertheleſſe he wel lyking this perſwaſion, went to the ſayde campe the ſeconde of Iune, where after a diſſembled entertaynment, and quaffing of Wine, Gilliam Buſke burning with deſire of reuenge for his fathers and vncles death, and miniſtring quarelling talke, iſſued out of the tent, and made a fray vpon Oneyls men, and then gathering togither his Scottes in a throng, ſodainly entred the tent againe, who there with their ſlaughter ſwordes, hewed in peeces Shane Oneyle, his Secretarie, and all his companie, except a verie fewe which eſcaped by flight.

Shane Oneyle
ſlaine.

Watch at mid
ſommer.

On Saint Iohns euen at nyght, was the lyke ſtanding watche in London, as had beene on Saint Peters euen in the yeare laſte before paſſed.

This yeare the Emperour Maximilian the ſeconde of that name, being elected into the moſt honourable order of the Garter, the right honourable Thomas Erle of Suſſex. &c. knight of the ſame moſt noble order, was appoynted by the Queenes Maieſtie to go vnto the ſayde Emperour, with the ſayde order of the Garter, according to his ſayde election, who being honorably accompanied with the Lorde North, ſir Thomas Mildmay knight, Henrie Cobham eſquier, one of the Penſioners, and others, departed from London the .xxv. of Iune. 1567. vnto Douer, and there embarked, landed at Calays, and his trayne at Dunkerke, and ſo paſſed through the low countreys to Andwerpe in Brabant, where hee was honourably receyued by the Engliſhe Marchants and others, and being there went to viſite Madame de Parma, Regent of the ſayde Countreys, then reſident within ẏ ſame towne. And from thence paſſed vnto Coleyn, where as his Lordſhip and traine mounted the Riuer of the Rhine, and by ſundrie continual dayes iourneys, paſſed by the citie of Ments or Magunce, vnto Oppenham, and there taking his way by lande, paſſed through the Countrey by the Cities of Wormes and Spires til he came to Vlmes, ſtanding on the riuer of Danow, where he arriued the .xxj. of Iuly, and the .xxiij. his Lordſhip road in poſt to Auſpurge, called in Latine *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, nine Duche miles from Vlmes. From thence hee departed the .xxv. of Iuly, and met with his traine at Donewert, being come thither vpon flottes downe by the ſayd ryuer of Danow. From thence he kept vpon his iourney by Ingolſtat, Reinſpurg, in Latin *Ratisbona*, by Paſſaw and other townes, till he came to Linz, where his Lordſhip ſtayed the firſt, ſeconde, and thirde of Auguſt, by reaſon of the high waters. And departing from thence the fourth of Auguſt, paſſed by Stoanne, and Cremz, by the ſayde Riuer of Danow, and ſo arriued at the Citie of Vienna the fift of Auguſt in in this foreſayde yeare. 1567. where hee was receyued of the Lorde Smeckouites, hauing twelue horſes readie with theyr foote clothes for his Lordſhip, and the moſt reſpected of his traine, and ſo brought him to the preſence of the Emperour, at that preſent within his Caſtell there in that Citie, by whom hee was right honourably receyued, and afterwarde conducted to his aſſigned lodgings, where as all prouiſion was prepared and made at the Emperors charges. Here his Lordſhip continued till the .xiiij. of Ianuarie.

In which meane time the Emperour very often as tyme ſerued had the ſayde Earle forth with him, vnto ſuch paſtimes of hunting the Hart, Boare, and ſuch lyke, as the plentifulneſſe of that Countrey yeeldeth.

Moreouer, during the time of his Lordſhips abode there at Vienna, Charles Archeduke of Auſtria & Carinth, arriued in that Citie, whom my Lorde went to ſalute.

1568

After this, vppon the Queenes Maieſties letters brought out of Englande by maiſter Henrie Brooke, *alias* Cobham, one of hir Maieſties Gentlemen Pencioners, the ſayde Earle of Suſſex vpon Sunday the fourth of Ianuarie in the after noone, preſented and delyuered vnto the Emperors Maieſtie, in his Chamber of preſence, the habiliments and ornamentes of the moſt noble order of the Garter, ſir Gylbert Dethicke knight, *alias* Garter, principall king of Armes, and officer for the ſayde order, and William Dethick then Rouge Croſſe, alſo officer of Armes, giuing their attendance in theyr coates of Armes. And the Emperor at his inueſture of the ſayde habiliments, gaue vnto the ſayd Garter his ſhort Gowne, and vnder garment, furred throughout with Luzerns, and then proceeded thence into a great Chamber, adorned in forme of a Chapell, where as all the other Ceremonies belonging to the ſayd noble order were there obſerued and accompliſhed. And the ſame night the ſayde Earle ſupped with the Emperours Maieſtie, both being in theyr Robes of the ſayd order.

And ſhortly after, his Lordſhip with certain of his cõpanie taking leaue of the Emperor, departed from Vienna the .xiiij. of Ianuarie aforeſayde vnto Newſtat, and ſo through the Countrey of Styre vnto Gratz, the chiefe Citie of Carinthie, where hee tooke alſo leaue of the ſayde Archeduke Charles, and from thence returning paſſed thoſe partes of the Alpes vnto Saltzburgh, where he met with the other part of his trayne, and ſo by continuing iourneys came againe into England vnto the Queenes Maieſtie towardes the latter ende of March.

Stowe. *An.reg.*

After a drie Sommer, followed an extreeme ſharpe Winter, namely the latter part thereof, with ſuch great ſcarcitie of fodder and hay, that in diuerſe places the ſame was ſolde by weight, as in Yorkſhyre, and in the Peake of Darbyſhyre, where a ſtone of hay was ſolde for fiue pens. There followed alſo a great death of cattell, namely of horſe and ſheepe.

Grafton.

This yeare in the Moneth of Ianuarie the Queenes Maieſtie ſent into the narrowe Seas three of hir ſhippes, and one barke named the Anthelop, the Swallow, the Ayde, and the Phenix, the which were manned with fiue hundred men. And hir highneſſe appoynted the charge of the ſayde ſhippes and men, to hir truſtie ſeruant William Holſtocke of London eſquire, Comptroller of hir highneſſe ſhippes, who had cõmaundement to ſtay the ſubiects of king Philip. And according to his dutie he vſed ſuch diligence, as one hauing care to his charge, in garding as well the Frenche as the Engliſhe coaſtes, did the .xj. day of March next folowing meete with a .xj. ſayle of Flemiſhe Hoyes open vpon Bollongne, which came from Roan, and had in them foure hundred and odde Tunnes of Gaſcoigne and French Wines, which they intended to haue caryed into Flaunders: but the ſayde Holſtocke ſtayed all the ſayde .xj. Hoyes, and ſent them to Lõdon, where they made their diſcharge, and the Flemings diſappoynted of thoſe Wines.

Moreouer, the .xxviij. day of the foreſayde Moneth of March, the ſayde William Holſtock ſeruing in the Anthelop (at that preſent Admirall) & in his companie, being William Wynter the yonger (at that tyme his Viceadmirall) ſeruing in the Ayde, and Iohn Baſing Captaine of the Swallow, and Thomas Gouarly Captaine of the Phenix met in the narrow ſeas with .xiiij. ſaile of great Hulkes, which were come out of Portugale, & bound to Flanders: their chiefe lading being Portugall ſalt, and yet had good ſtore of Spaniſh Ryals of plate, & alſo of good ſpices. The which .xiiij. Hulkes did mainteyne their fight for the ſpace of two houres. And after that they did perceyue that they coulde not preuaile, hauing taſted of the ordinance of the Q. ſhips, to their great hurt, as well in ſlaughter of their men, as alſo in ſpoile of their ſhips, the ſayd Holſtocke & his companie tooke .viij. of the ſayd Hulkes, whereof .vj. were ſent into the Riuer of Thames. And the Admirall, and Viceadmirall of the ſayd Hulkes being two great ſhips (which Holſtocke himſelfe did take) were caried to Harwich, and there diſcharged.

...ke.
...atin es

The .xxviij. of Marche, through vehement rage and tempeſt of windes, many veſſelles on the Thames, with two Tiltboates before Graueſende, were ſunke and drowned.

...chbiſhop of
...k deceaſed

The .xxvj. of Iune, deceaſſed Thomas Yong Archbiſhop of Yorke, at the Manor of Shefield, and was honorably buried at Yorke.

...ſtrous
...s.

The .xj. of October were taken in Suffolke at Downam bridge, neare vnto Ipſwich .xvij. monſtrous fiſhes, ſome of thẽ conteyning .xxvij. foote in length, the other .xxiiij. or .xxj. foot a peece at the leaſt.

...w conduyt
...Walbroke.

At the coſtes and charges of the Citizens of London, a new Conduit was builded at Walbrooke corner, neare to Downgate, which was finiſhed in the Moneth of October, the water whereof is conueyed out of the Thames.

An.reg. 11.
1569

...Frenchman
...cuted.

The .xxvij. of Ianuarie, Philip Meſtrell a Frenchmã, and two Engliſhmen were drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartred, who had coyned golde counterfeyt, the Engliſhmen, the one had clipped ſiluer, the other caſt teſtons of Tinne.

...ſter of
...cioners.

The .xxviij. of March, the Pencioners well appoynted in armour on horſeback, muſtred before the Queenes maieſtie in Hide Parke beſide Weſtminſter.

Lotterie at
...ndon.

A great Lottery being holden at London in Paules Churchyard at the weſt dore, was begun to be drawne the .xj. of Ianuarie, and continued day and night, till the ſixt of May, wherin the ſayd drawing was fully ended.

...ial for dead
...pared.

Sir Thomas Roe Lord Maior of London, cauſed to be encloſed with a wall of bricke, nigh one akre of ground, nere vnto Bethlem without Biſhops gate, to be a place of buriall for the dead of ſuch Pariſhes in London as lacked conuenient ground within their ſayd Pariſhes.

A ſtanding watch on Saint Iohns euen at Mydſommer, and ſir Iohn White Alderman rode the circuyt, as the Lord Maior ſhould haue done.

Ambaſſadours frõ Mſcouie.

The .xxvij. of Auguſt, Andrew Gregorevitche Sauin, Ambaſſador from Moſcouie, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and was there receyued by the Lorde Maior of London, the Aldermen and Sherifes in ſkarlet, with the Merchants aduenturers in coates of blacke Veluet, all on horſebacke, who conueyed him riding through the citie to the Moſcouie houſe in Seding lane, there to be lodged.

Terme adiourned.

The plague of peſtilence ſomwhat raigning in the Citie of London, Michaelmas terme was firſt adiourned vnto the third of Nouember, and after vnto Hillarie terme next following.

Duke of Norfolke ſent to the Tower.

The .xj. of October, Thomas Howard duke of Norffolke, was brought from Burnam beſide Windſore by lande to Weſtminſter, & from thence by water to the Tower of London priſoner, ſir Henrie Neuill being his keeper.

No Maiors feaſt.

This yeare the Lord Maior of London went by water to Weſtminſter, & there tooke his othe, as hath bin accuſtomed, but kept no feaſt at the Guildhall, leaſt through comming togither of ſo great a multitude, infection of the peſtilence might haue increaſed. That weke from the .xxj. vnto the .xxviij. of October, there died in the Citie & out pariſhes of all diſeaſes .152. of the which 51. we accounted to die of the plague.

The Earles of Northumberland & Weſtmerlande rebelled.

On Thurſday the .ix. of Nouember, Thomas Percey Earle of Northumberland, receyued the Queenes Maieſties letters to repaire to the court, and the ſame night other conſpirators perceyuing him to be wauering and vnconſtant of promiſe made to them, cauſed a ſeruant of his, called Beckwith (after he was layd in his bed) to buſtle in, and to knocke at his Chamber doore, willing him in haſt to aryſe, and ſhyft for himſelfe, for that his enimies (whom hee termed to be ſir Oſwold Vlſtrop, and maiſter Vaughan) were about the Parke, and had beſet him wyth numbers of men, wherevpon he aroſe, and conueyed himſelfe away to his keepers houſe: in the ſame inſtant they cauſed the Belles of the towne to be rung backewarde, and ſo rayſed as many as they coulde to theyr purpoſe. The next night the Earle departed thence to Branſpithe, where hee mette with Charles Earle of Weſtmerlande, and the other confederates. Then by ſundry Proclamations, they abuſing many of the Queenes ſubiectes, commaunded them in hir highneſſe name, to repayre to them in warlyke maner, for the defence and ſuretie of hir Maieſties perſon, ſometymes affyrmyng theyr doings to bee with the aduice and conſent of the Nobilitie of this Realme, who in deede were wholy bent (as manifeſtly appeared) to ſpende theyr lyues in dutifull obedience, agaynſt them and all other traytors, ſomtymes pretending for conſcience ſake to ſeeke to refourme Religion: ſometimes declaring that they were dryuen to take this matter in hande, leaſt otherwiſe forraine Princes might take it vpon them, to the great perill of this Realme.

Vpon Monday the.xiij.of Nouember, they went to Durham with their Banners diſplayd, and to get the more credite among the fauourers of the olde Romiſh Religion, they had a Croſſe with a Banner of the fiue woundes borne before them, ſometime by olde Norton, ſometime by others.

Rebels rent the Byble.

As ſoone as they entred Durham, they went to the Mynſter, where they tare the Byble, Cōmunion Bookes, and other ſuche as there were. The ſame night they went againe to Branſpithe.

The. xiiij. day of the ſame Moneth, they went to Darington, and there had Maſſe, which the Earles and the reſt heard with ſuch lewde deuotion as they had, then they ſent their horſemen, to gather togither ſuch numbers of men as they could.

The.xv. day the Erles parted: of Northumberland to Richmond, then to Northallerton, and ſo to Borowbridge, of Weſtmerland to Ripon, and after to Borowbridge, where they both met againe.

An. Reg. 12.

The number of Rebels.

On the.xviij.day they went to Wetherby, and there taryed three or foure dayes, and vpon Clifford Moore, nigh vnto Bramham moore, they muſtered themſelues, at which time they were about two thouſande horſmen, and fiue thouſand footmen, which was the greateſt number that euer they were. From whence they intended to haue marched towarde Yorke, but theyr myndes being ſodainly altered, they returned.

Bernards Caſtel beſieged.

The.xxiij. of Nouember, they beſieged Bernardes Caſtell, which Caſtell was valiantly defended by ſir George Bowes, and Robert Bowes his brother, the ſpace of. xj. dayes, and then deliuered with compoſition to depart with armor, munition, bag and baggage. In which time the Queenes Maieſtie cauſed the ſayde Erles of Northumberland and Weſtmerland to be proclaymed traytors, with all their adherents and fauourers, the.xxiiij. of Nouember.

The Earles proclaymed traytours.

The Lorde Scrope warden of the Weſt Marches, calling vnto him the Earle of Cumberlande and other Gentlemen of the Countrey, kept the Citie of Carleil.

The Earle of Suſſex went agaynſt the Rebels.

The Earle of Suſſex the Queenes Lieutenant generall in the North, publiſhed there the like Proclamations (in effect) as had beene publiſhed by hir Maieſtie, agaynſt the ſayd rebels, and alſo ſent out to all ſuche gentlemen as hee knewe to be hir Maieſties louing ſubiects vnder his rule, who came vnto him with ſuch number, of theyr friends, as he was able in fiue dayes to make aboue fiue thouſand horſemen and footemen, and ſo being accompanied with the Earle of Rutland his Lieutenant, the Lorde Hunſdon general of the horſmen, ſir Rauſe Sadler Treaſorer the Lord William Eures, that was after appoynted to lead the rerewarde, and dyuerſe other, that with theyr tenants and ſeruants were come to him, remayning as then within the Citie of Yorke. He ſet forward from thence the fift of December being Sunday, and marched with his power which he had thus got togither towards the enimies.

Sir George Bowes hauing ſurrẽdred Bernards Caſtell (as before ye haue heard) met the Erle of Suſſex thus marching forward with his armie at Siſay, from whence they kept forward to Northallerton, and reſting two nights there, they marched on to Croftbridge, then to Akle, and ſo to Durham, and after to Newcaſtell, and the. xx. of December they came to Heram, from whence the Rebels were gone the night before to Naworth, where they counſayled with Edwarde Dakers concerning theyr owne weakneſſe, and alſo howe they were not onely purſued by the Erle of Suſſex and other with him, hauing a power with them of ſeuen thouſand men, being almoſt at theyr heeles, but alſo by the Earle of Warwike, and the Lorde Clynton, high Admyrall of Englande wyth a farre greater armie of.xij.thouſande men, rayſed by the Queenes Maieſties Commiſſions out of the South and middle parties of the realme. In which armie beſide the Erle of Warwike, & Lorde Admirall, chiefe gouernours in the ſame, there was alſo Walter Deuereux Vicounte Hereforde high Marſhall of the field, wyth the Lord Willoughbie of Parrham, Maſter Charles Howarde, nowe Lorde Howarde of Effingham, generall of the horſmen vnder the Erle of Warwike, yong Henrie Knolles eldeſt ſonne to ſir Fraunc is Knolles, his Lieutenant, Edw. Horſey Captaine of the Iſle of Wight, wyth fiue hundred Harquebuſiers out of the ſame Iſle, and captaine Leighton with other fiue C. Harquebuſiers Londoners, and many other worthie gentlemen and valiant captaines.

The Earle
Warwike
the Lord A
mirall Cli
ſent agayn
the rebels.

The comming forward of theſe forces, cauſed the rebels ſo much to quaile in courage, that they durſt not abyde to trie the matter with dint of ſworde. For whereas the Erle of Warwike, and the Lord Admyrall, being aduaunced forwarde to Darington, ment the next day to haue ſent Robert Glouer then Portculeys, and now Somerſet Herault (who in this iourney attended on the Lorde Admyrall, as Norrey king of

Armes did vpon the Earle of Warwike) vnto the rebels, vpon ſuch meſſage as for the time & ſtate of things was thought conuenient. The ſame night aduertiſements came from the Erle of Suſſex vnto the Erle of Warwik, and to yͤ Lorde Admirall, that the two Earles of Northumberlande, and Weſtmerlande, were fledde, as the truth was they were indeede, firſte from Durham, whether the ſaide Glouer ſhould haue bene ſent vnto them, and now vpon the Erle of Suſſex his comming vnto Exham, they ſhrank quite awaye, and fled into Scotlande, without bidding their companie farewel.

Earles o' humber & We't land flie Scotland.

The Earle of Warwike and hys power marched on to Durham. But the Earle of Suſſex purſuyng thoſe other Rebelles, that had not meane to flie out of the Realme, apprehended no ſmall number of them at his pleaſure, without finding anye reſyſtaunce among them at al.

1569.

bels execu at Durhā.

The fourth and fifth of Januarie, did ſuffer at Durham to the number of .lxvj. Coneſtables and other, amongſt whom the Alderman of the towne, and a Prieſte called parſon Plomtree, were the moſt notable. Thē Sir George Bowes being made Marſhall, finding many to be fautors in the forſaid rebellion, did ſee them executed in diuerſe places of the Countrey.

The .xxj. of Januarie, a Prentiſe of London was hanged on a Gibbet at the north end of Finke lane in London, (to the enſample of other) for that hee the .xiij. of December had ſtryken his maiſter with a knife, whereof he dyed.

1570.

onard Da re rebelleth.

e L. Hon ſdon apoin to take him

About the latter ende of Januarie, Lenarde Dacres of Harleſey began to rebel, in Cumberland, and vpon a ſodaine ſeaſed vpon diuerſe houſes belonging to his nephew the L. Dacres, then in poſſeſſion of the D. of Norffolk, & raiſed a power of his pretended tenaunts and frends to the number of 2000. footemen and 1600. horſe, of whoſe attemptes the Queenes maieſtie being aduertiſed, directed hir letters to the lord Hunneſdoon Lord gouernour of Barwike, and Lord Wardē of the eaſt Marches, foreaneinſt Scotland, cōmanding him to apprehend yͤ ſaid Leonarde Dacres, wherevppon he taking with him three hundred ſouldiers of Barwike, and Sir John Forſter Lord Wardē of the middle Marches, with ſixe hundred horſemen of Northumberlande, and two hundred horſe of Yorkſhire men ſet forward, and comming to Hexam, the xvij. of February, reſted there that night, and yͤ day following being Sunday, and the nexte night he marched forwarde towards Naworth Caſtel, where Leonarde Dacres being within loked to haue bin beſieged, but perceiuing that yͤ Lorde Honneſoon toke an other courſe in paſſing by the Caſtel towardes Carlile, he ſent preſently xv. hundred footemen & ſixe hundred horſemen to ſtoppe his paſſage ouer a Moore whiche of neceſſitie he muſt paſſe, through the whiche a great Riuer called Ghelte runneth.

About nine of the clocke in the morning the rebels were got togither in order of battel, before the Lord Honneſdon coulde with his footemen enter the plaine, whereuppon he commaunded the footemē to kepe thē ſelues in breath, and willed ſir John Forſter with his Northūberlande horſemenne, as a rereward to back the footemen. This done, he himſelf with his three ſonnes, and an hundred horſemen hauing got the hill, and perceiuing the enimies to come ſo faſt forward, that with their arrowes they hurte his Horſe vnder him, and diuerſe other horſes of his troupe, he gaue a ſodain charge vppon them, and by the helpe of God within a ſhorte ſpace ouerthrew al their footemen, of whō were ſlaine betwixt foure & fiue hundred.

George Henry and Michael.

But Leonarde Dacres himſelfe with his ſixe hundred horſemen (many of thē being Scottes) eſcaped into Scotland, being chaſed foure milles of the way, by the Lord Honneſdon & his ſmall company, and had bin taken, if the Scottes had not the better defended him.

Leonard Dacres chased into Scotland.

The Capteines of Barwike, Reade, Yarley Caruille, & Pragel, ſhewed that day good proofe of their ſkilful valiancy, bringing their men forwarde in ſuch good order, that no ſmal feare entred the hartes of the aduerſaries, to trie the battaile with them. When they that kept Naworth Caſtel (being about foure hundred men wel appointed) vnderſtoode of the ouerthrow, they abādoned the place and fledde away, whereof the L. Honneſdon being aduertiſed, ſent certaine of his companie to take poſſeſſion thereof, and wente himſelf to Carlile, where he remained til he had put al the houſes which Leonarde Dacres hadde ſeaſed vppon, into ſafe keeping to the Queenes maieſties vſe, and ſo returned to Barwike, and afterwardes by ſpecial and humble ſute procured pardon for thoſe that eſcaped with life, in conſideration that there were ſo many killed at the ouerthrow.

On good Friday the xxviij. of March Simō Digby of Aſkue, John Fulthorpe of Jſilbecke Eſquires, Robert Peneman of Stokeſly, Tho. Biſhop of Poklinton the yonger, gentlemen, were executed at the place of execution without Yorke, and their foure heades ſet ouer the principal gates of the Citie wͭ iiij. of their quarters, the other of their quarters were ſet vp in diuerſe places of the Countrey.

William Earle of Pembroke, baron of Cardiffe, Knight of the Garter, one of the priuy counſaile, and lord ſteward of the Queenes maieſties houſholde, diſceaſed the .xviij. of April, and was buried in S. Paules Church at London.

The Earle of Suſſex inuadeth Scotland.

The Moſse Tower.

The Earle of Suſſex in reuenge of the euill demeanor of the Scottes inhabiting neare to the Engliſh Marches, as well in receiuing and ſuccouring diuerſe of the Engliſhe Rebels, as other naughty practiſes, aſſembled ſuch forces as he thought expedient in the night that followed the .xxvij. of April, and hauing with him the lord Honneſdon gouernour of Barwike, and Lorde Wardeyn of Eaſt Marches, ſir William Drurie Marſhall of the ſaide armie and Towne of Barwike, came to Warke, being twelue miles diſtant from the ſaide towne of Barwike, and then the nexte daye being the .xviij. of the ſame moneth, they entred into Tiuidale in Scotland, where marching in warlike order, they burnt, ouerthrew, waſted and ſpoyled all the Caſtels, Townes and Villages, as they paſſed, till they came to a Tower called the Moſſe Tower, ſtãding in a mariſh, and belonging to the Lard of Buclewgh, whiche likewiſe was raſed, ouerthrowne and burnt, and ſo marching forward, waſted the whole country before them, till they came to a great towne called Crauling.

Sir Iohn Forſter.

The Larde of Seſford.

The ſame day ſir Iohn Forſter warden of the middle Marches, with all the garniſon and forces of the ſame, entred likewiſe into Tiuidale at Eſpeſgate, diſtant .xvj. myles from Warke, where in like order they burnt and ſpoyled the Countrey before them, til they came to a Caſtel in the poſſeſſion of the mother of the Larde of Ferniherſt, being parcel of hir ſonnes landes, whiche likewiſe was ouerthrowen, raſed, and burnt, with all other Caſtels, Piles, Townes, and Villages, all alongſt the ſaide Countrey, till they came to Crauling, ioyning there with the Lord Lieutenants power. This town was likewiſe burnt and ſpoyled. Thus they paſſed the riuer of Tiuet, raſing, burning and ſpoyling the Caſtels, Piles, ſtone houſes, townes, & villages alongſt that Riuer, til they came to Iedworth, where they lodged for that nighte, and were of the Magiſtrates of that towne courteouſly receiued, who had made indifferent good prouiſion for the armie, both of vittayles for men, and of hay and prouãder for horſes: whereuppon Proclamation was publikelye made in name of the Lorde Lieutenant, that no Engliſhman vpon paine of death, ſhoulde diſturbe or wrongfully take away any thing from anye of the inhabitants of the ſame towne, without diſburſing readie money therfore: which thing did ſo much content the Scottes, that the next daye the Lard of Seſford, wardẽ of the middle marches of Scotland, with all the principall of hys alyes and kyndred, came in to the Lorde Lieutenant, ſubmitting themſelues to him, and were receiued into aſſurance, for that neyther he nor any of them had at any time receiued the Engliſh Rebelles, neither ayded nor aſſyſted them, neyther yet made any inuaſion into Englande, and wheras ſome of their men, and tenauntes, without their knowledge had treſpaſſed in ſuch behalfe, they were contented to abide and ſtand vnto the Earle of Suſſex his order, for theyr ſayde men and Tenauntes. And herevppon neither they nor any of theirs receyued any hurte. But by his Lordſhips commaundement were preſerued from ſuſtayning any domage either in bodie or goodes.

The Caſtel
Ferniherſt
burnt.

Mintoe.

The Scotte
Hawike the
breach of co
uenaunt.

The .xix. day, the armie was deuided into two ſeuerall partes, whereof the one paſſing ouer the Riuer of Tiuet, burnte the Caſtell of Ferniherſt, vtterly ſpoyling the ſame, and all other Caſtelles and townes that belonged to the Lards of Ferniherſt, Hunthil, and Bedroll, and ſo paſſed to Myntoe, where both the armyes meeting, ioyned togither againe, being not paſte a foure miles from Howike, whether they marched directly, intending to lodge there that night, bycauſe the Bayliffes of the Towne had offred to receiue the whole armie, and to make prouiſion for the Souldiers of all things neceſſarie, they paying readie money for the ſame, and the inhabitauntes to bee aſſured not to bee hurt in body or goodes, as was promiſed. But the Scottes breaking couenant before the comming thither of the armie, had vncouered theyr houſes, carried the Thatche into the ſtreetes, and there ſette it on fire, and thys done, they fledde their wayes with moſte parte of their goodes, ſo that when the armye approched, there was ſuche a thicke ſmoke, that no manne myghte vnneth enter the Towne: and ſo for that night the Souldiers ſuffred greate lacke of vyttayles, lodging, and prouiſion, as well for themſelues, as theyr Horſes: but the fyre whych the Scottes hadde of a malicious purpoſe and ſubtiltye thus begonne, was by the diligent induſtrie of the Engliſhmen ſo encreaſed, that both the Thatche and Tymber of the whole Towne was conſumed to Aſhes, a ſtone houſe pertayning to the Larde of Drumlanerig onely excepted, wherein the Lorde Lieutenaunte laye that night: and bycauſe the ſayde Drumlanerig was a friende aſſured, the ſayde houſe was ſpared, wyth all the goodes and Corne therein, whereof there was greate plentie.

An houſe o
Larde of Bu
lewes blowe
vp with pow
called Braux
ton.

The .xx. of Aprill, the armie marched towarde a fayre proper houſe, belonging to the Lard of Buclewgh, which was blown vp with powder and vtterly ruynated. Here the army was againe deuided as before by the ſayde Lorde Lieutenaunt his appointment, and marching by North the Riuer of Tiuet towardes

Englande, they burnt and ſpoyled all ſuch Caſtels, Pyles, Townes and Villages, as were belonging to the ſayde Lardes of Fernyhurſt and Bucclewgh their kinſmens, alies, and adherents, and came that night againe to Jedworth, and there lodged

The. xxj. of Aprill, the armie deuiding it ſelfe againe, the one part vnder the leading of the Marſhall ſir William Drurie, paſſed to the Riuer of Bowbent, and there Tiuidale and Riddeſdale men meeting him, all on both ſides that Ryuer was burnt and ſpoyled. The other part of the armie marching by the Riuer of Caile, waſted and burnt in like maner there, all that was founde on both ſydes that Riuer, belonging wholy to the Larde of Bucclewgh, hys kinſmen, alies and adherents.

This done, they returned againe neare to Kelſey, where the Lorde Lieutenant lodged for that night, meaning to haue beſieged Hume caſtell, for the accompliſhment whereof, the ſame night the Lorde of Honneſdon, and his companie went to Warke, to bring from thence the day next following the great Artillerie, but bycauſe the caryage horſes were returned to Barwicke, this coulde not be brought to paſſe, and ſo the Lorde Lieutenant with the whole armie returned into England the. xxij. of Aprill, and came that night to Barwike.

In this iourney there were raſed, ouerthrowne and ſpoyled, aboue fiftie Caſtels and Pyles, and more than three hundred townes and villages, ſo that there were verie fewe in Tiuidale and thoſe parties there aboutes, which had eyther receyued the Engliſh Rebelles, or by inuaſion endomaged the Engliſhe borders, and good Subiectes inhabiting vpon the ſame, that had left to them eyther Caſtell, Pile or houſe, for themſelues, theyr friendes, or tenaunts, beſide the great loſſe of goodes which were waſted, taken away or conſumed by this armie vnder the Lord Lieutenant.

And in the meane while that hee with hys power thus afflicted the aduerſaryes on that ſyde, the Lorde Scrope Warden of the Weſt Marches, the eyghtenth of Apryll entred Scotlande on that ſyde, wyth ſuche forces as hee had aſſembled, and the firſt nyght they encamped at Egleſham, and in the morning at the diſlodging of the campe, that towne was burnt, and paſſing forwarde through the Countrey, they burnt and ſpoyled dyuerſe other Townes, almoſt tyll they came to Dunfryſe, and hadde dyuerſe conflictes wyth the enimies, gaue them ſundrie ouerthrowes, tooke many of them priſoners, and hauing accompliſhed hys purpoſe, to his highe prayſe and commendation, hys Lordſhippe returned in ſafetie wyth his people into Englande. Hauing burnt in that iourney theſe places following, Hoddon: Trailebrow: olde Cockpoole: Sherington: Blackſhawe: Banke ende: Rowell: Logher wood: Bride Kyrke, and others.

During theſe inuaſions thus made into Scotlande in that ſeaſon, the Marches of Englande were ſo ſtrongly garded in all places by the Lorde Eures, Sir George Bowes, and others, that the Scottes durſt not ſo muche as once offer to make anye inuaſion, ſo that in abſence of the armies, there was not ſo much as an houſe burnt, or a Cow driuen out of the Engliſh borders.

The. xxvj. of Aprill, the Earle of Suſſex Lord Lieutenant, accompanyed wyth the foreſayde Lorde of Honneſdon, maiſter Drurie, and dyuerſe other Captaynes and Souldiours, to the number of three thouſande or thereaboutes, ſet from Berwike aboute fiue of the clocke in the after noone towardes Warke, where they arriued aboute nine of the Clocke in the nyght: and continuing there till the next morning, in the meane tyme he put things in order neceſſarie for the aſſieging of Hume Caſtell, the winning whereof hys Lordſhippe ſeemed to haue vowed.

Aboute the breake of the day hee ſent forth maiſter Drurie, with certaine horſemen and ſhot before, to enuiron that Caſtell, and to chooſe there ſuch a plot of grounde, where hee myght encampe beſt in ſafetie from the ſhotte of the ſame, which the ſayd maiſter Drurie accordingly perfourmed and there remayned till the comming of the ſayde Lorde Lieutenant with the armie, who ſetting forward the foote bandes, carIage, and Ordinaunce, made haſte to followe, but yet ere hee coulde paſſe the Ryuer of Tweede, and ſette ouer all the men, Ordinaunce and caryage it was almoſt tenne of the clocke. Here at thys Ryuer, the Lorde Lieutenaunt cauſed all the horſemen to ſtay and to take ouer the footmen.

The Marſhall ſent before to Hume caſtell.

This done, with good circumſpection he appoynted the Demilaunces and other horſemen to remayne behinde in the rerewarde, and putte the footemen in the battaile, for the more ſafegarde of themſelues, the Ordinaunce and caryages. Then his Lordſhippe himſelfe wyth his owne Standard, and the Lorde of Honneſdons guydon, marched forwarde towardes Hume Caſtell, commaunding the reſt of the armye wyth the Ordinaunce to followe after, and ſo aboute one of the Clocke in the after Noone, hee came before the Caſtell, out of the whiche the enimyes ſhotte at his Standarde verye hottely, but (God be prayſed) without doyng hurt eyther to manne or horſe,

The order taken by the Earle of Suſſex for the ſafetie of the armie.

and encamped vnder a Rocke or cragge (which the Marſhall had poſſeſſed) with his bande of horſemen and certaine footemen, as in a place moſt apt from daunger of ſhotte oute of the Caſtell.

Hume Caſtell beſieged.

Herewith a companie of Curriours and Caliuers were putte forwarde, and appoynted to take an other rocke nearer to the Caſtell, which ſhotte at them in the ſayde Caſtell, and the defendantes within it anſwered them again verie roundly, although without any greate hurt on eyther part.

The Earle of Suſſex vieweth the Caſtell of Hume.

In the meane tyme the Lorde Lieutenant himſelfe, accompanied onely with the Marſhall maiſter Drurie, roade ſundrie tymes rounde about the Caſtell to view and ſuruey the ſame, at whome they within ſhotte verie ſore, both with their great Artillerie and ſmall ſhotte miſſing them yet, as God woulde, though verye narrowly.

About ſixe of the clock in the Euening came the whole battaile, ordinaunce, and caryages, with enſignes ſpred, ſhewing themſelues verie brauely, at whome alſo the Caſtell ſhotte luſtily, but as God woulde haue it, withoute hurting either man or boy. They lodged vnder another Rocke neare adioyning vnto the Lorde Lieutenant vppon the Weſt ſyde, where there were appoynted more ſmall ſhotte to goe to the Trenche, which ſhadowed themſelues vnder the olde walles of the houſes, which the Scots had burnt before the comming of the Engliſhmen, and occupyed them ſo within the ſayde Caſtell, that one of them coulde not ſo ſoone looke out at a loupe, but three or foure were readie to ſalute him, and keeping them in ſuche ſort, that they durſt not well ſhew their heades. The captaine of the Pioners the ſame night by commaundement of the Lorde Lieutenant, rayſed a mount vpon the Northeaſt ſide of the Caſtell, wherupon the peeces of Artillerie might be planted in batterie.

A Mount rayſed.

This worke was ſo well applyed, and with ſo great diligence aduaunced, that by fiue of the clocke in the nexte morning it was finiſhed.

Batterie made agaynſt Hume Caſtell.

The .xxviij. of Aprill, the Marſhall maiſter Drurie verie early road about the Caſtell, to ſuruey and view euery thing: which done the great Ordinaunce was brought to the appoynted place, and bent agaynſt the Caſtell, to witte, three Canons, and two Faucons. Herewith alſo the Lord Lieutenant cauſed ſommonance to be giuen vnto them within to yeelde. And about ſeuen of the clocke the ſame morning, the whole tyre beganne to goe off, and a greate ſhowte was made by the armie, to the great terrour of the defendants, and all the Countrey neare adioyning. The foreſayde peeces continued ſhooting till two of the clocke in the after noone, diſcharging within that ſpace a three ſcore ſhottes.

During the time of this batterie, there was no great ſtore of ſhotte diſcharged by the greate peeces within the Caſtell, bycauſe their maiſter Gunner within, after he had firſt ſhot of a peece, and done no hurt therewith; as he was aboute to ſhoote againe, the maiſter Gunner of the two Engliſh Faucons hauing eſpied him, tooke hys leuell ſo right, that diſcharging therewith one of the Faucons, he diſplaced the enimies peece, and ſtroke the Gunners legge off, whereby their great ordinance within ceaſſed, which was an happie turne for the Engliſhmen.

The maiſt
Gunner w
in the Caſt
hurt.

About two of the clocke they within ſente forth a Trumpet vnto the Lorde Lieutenant, requiring a reſpite, that they myght talke with the Marſhall maiſter Drurie, and to ſende a Meſſenger to the Lorde Hume theyr maiſter, to knowe hys further pleaſure, for that beeing put in truſt by him with the keeping of that fortreſſe, they could not giue it vp without his conſent. And then vpon the returne of the Meſſenger, they truſted to giue his Lordſhip contented anſwere.

The Scots
for a reſpi
warre.

The Marſhall maiſter Drurie talked with them twice, and the Lorde Lieutenaunt was contented to graunt vnto William Trotter, and Gylbert Gray the Lorde Humes wiues brother (being principall Captaynes appoynted to the keeping of the ſayde Caſtell) three houres reſpyte, wyth condition that they ſhould not vſe therein any ſubtiltie, nor for the delaying of tyme, ſwearing by his honour, that if they ſo did, hee woulde not depart the fielde tyll hee had wonne it by force: and further, that there ſhoulde not one of them eſcape wyth lyfe.

The Captai
within Hu
Caſtell.

The Lorde
Leiutenant.

They being brought in doubt of their owne ſafeties hereby, ſent one in poſte togyther with a ſeruant of maiſter Drurie the Marſhall, vnto the Lorde Hume. And preſently herevpon they ſhewed themſelues vpon the Walles and rampyres of the ſayde Caſtell: But immediately the Lord Lieutenant ſent to them a commaundement, ſtraightly inhibiting them, that not one of them ſhoulde once in paine of death looke ouer the Walles or Rampyres, to the ende to viewe the breache of the batterie, forſomuch as in the tyme of Parley, it was agaynſt the lawe of armes ſo to doe.

But nowe the Meſſenger that was thus ſent to the Lorde Hume, comming to him declared in what caſe hys houſe and people ſtoode, who beeing (as was ſuppoſed) not ſo farre off, but that he might heare howe luſtily the Engliſhe Canons did canuas and batter his Humiſhe Caſtell Walles, did nowe agree to meete the Marſhall maiſter Drurie two myles diſtant from the ſayde Caſtell, and there to common further with him in that matter.

Vppon the comming backe of the Meſſenger with thys aunſwere, the Lorde Lieutenaunt thought good to ſende the ſayde maiſter Drurie vnto the place appoynted, who comming thither mette with the ſayde Lorde Hume, and after they hadde debated the matter togyther: at length the Lorde Hume was contented that the Caſtell ſhoulde bee ſurrendered into the handes of the Lorde Lieutenaunt, wyth condition that his people therein might depart with lyfe, which the Lorde Lieutenaunt was contented to graunt, ſo that there were no Engliſh men among them.

he Caſtell of Hume deliered.

Hereupon about eyght of the clocke in the Euening, the gates were opened, & the Keyes delyuered to the Marſhall, who preſented them to the Lorde Lieutenant, and then the Lorde Honneſdon, the ſayde Marſhall, and dyuerſe other Gentlemen entered into the Caſtell, and tooke poſſeſſion thereof in the Queene of Englands name, pulled downe theyr Banner of defiance, and in place thereof ſet vp the Engliſhe Banners, agaynſt all thoſe in Scotlande that would ſay the contrarie.

The Scottes that were within it being in number an hundred three ſcore and eyght perſons, were put out in theyr common wearing apparell, wythout armour, weapon, or anye baggage. They comming to the Lorde Lieutenant that was then at the place of the batterie on horſebacke, preſented themſelues to him, who according to his worde and promiſe of honour, cauſed them to be ſafely conducted through the watch and ſcoutes, to ſuche place as they requyred.

Two Engliſh men ſtayed.

Amongeſt them there were two Engliſhe men, the one of them named Hilliarde, the Erle of Northumberlands man, the other was a vagarant perſon, or a rogue, (as wee maye call him) named William God ſaue hir, *alias* Lions, whiche both were caryed to Berwike, and there executed the thirtenth of May next enſuing.

In all this ſiege there were but foure perſons ſlaine on both partes, two Scottes, and two Engliſh men, but there were many hurt as well on the one part as the other.

Captain Wod nd captaine ickman.

The Caſtell of Hume being thus wonne, the Lorde Lieutenant the morow after placed therein to keepe the houſe to the Queenes Maieſties vſe, Captaine Wood, and Captain Pikman, with two hundred ſouldiours. This done, his Lordſhip returned towardes Englande and came backe to Barwike.

During this ſiege there were dyuerſe townes and Villages ſituate within three or foure myles of the campe, ſet on fire by the Engliſhmen, and vtterly ſpoyled.

The Lorde Lieutenant ſicke of an Ague.

The Lorde Lieutenant vpon his returne to Berwike, ſtayed there for a tyme verie euill at eaſe, hauing in trauayle aboute the ſiege taken ſuch colde, as therewith he was brought into an extreeme Ague.

The fourth of May, his Lordſhippe ſente maiſter William Drurie the Marſhall of Berwike, accompanyed with dyuerſe Gentlemen and Captaynes, hauing wyth them aboute two thouſande Souldiours, to take Faſt Caſtell, the whiche vppon the fyrſt ſommonance was delyuered into his handes, who receyuing the Keyes beeing preſented to hym, entered the Holde, and tooke poſſeſſion thereof, in the Queenes Maieſties name, and expelling the Scottes, beeing aboute the number of halfe a ſcore (who according to couenaunt were ſuffered to depart with theyr lyues ſaued) hee put tenne, or as ſome haue fourtene Engliſhmen into that Caſtell, which were thought able and number ſufficient ynough to keepe it agaynſt al the power of Scotlande, the ſituation thereof is ſo ſtrong.

Stowe.

In thys meane tyme the troubles increaſing among the Scottes, by reaſon of the murther committed in the perſon of the Earle of Murrey the late gouernour, the Duke of Chaſtelerault, and other his partakers gathered a power of three thouſande men, and comming to Lithgo, midway betwyxt Sterling and Edenbourgh, remayned there for a tyme, and afterwardes came to Edenbourgh, in purpoſe to make warre agaynſt the Lordes of the Kings part, who hauing ſent to the Earle of Lenox, then remayning in Englande, earneſtly requeſted him to repayre into Scotland, whereuppon hee by the Queenes Maieſties licence, tooke hys iourney thytherwardes, and came to Barwyke, where hee was alſo viſited wyth ſickeneſſe, and ſo remayned certayne dayes in that Towne: and vnderſtanding that the ſayde Duke of Chaſtelleraultes power was ſuche, that the Lordes of the Kings ſide were not able to come togyther, nor he to goe to them wythoute the Queene of Englandes ayde, hee humblye ſued to hir Maieſtye by letters to haue ſome power by hir appoyntment to conducte hym into Scotlande, and there to ayde hym and the other Lordes of that ſide agaynſt their aduerſaries the Duke and his complices.

Hereupon by hir maieſties commaundement the Erle of Suſſex, as yet not fully recouered of his ſickneſſe, ordeined maiſter William Drurie yͤ Marſhall of Barwike, wͭ ſuch forces as were thought conuenient to go with the ſayd Erle of of Lenox, for the execution of ſuch exploytes in ſeruice as ſeemed moſt expedient. And about the ſame time, to wit the .vj. of May, the L. Scrope Lord warden of the weſt marches made a road into Scotland, encamping the firſt night on the hither ſide of the water of Annan, and the next day marched towards the water of Milke, burning and ſpoyling all on that ſide of Annandale, namely the Lard Iohnſons lands, finding ſmal reſiſtaunce, ſauing that the forrey was a little troubled with a fortie or fiftie Scots horſmen, & ſo hauing done his pleaſure, he quietly returned, without receyuing other impeachmēt: notwithſtanding the Lorde Herryes was in Dunfriſe, hauing gathered a gret power in purpoſe to hinder his enterprice.

But now to returne to the Earle of Suſſex, who hauing inſtituted ſir Wil. Drurie generall of thoſe bands that ſhould paſſe with the Erle of Lenox into Scotland: bicauſe eche gentleman, ſouldior, and ſeueral bands ſhould dutifully obey the ſayd ſir William their new ordeyned generall in all points of warlike order, the ſaid Earle made an Oration in ſuch pithie forme & maner, as throughly expreſſed the whole ſubſtāce of the ſeruice, the vnſuretie of the ſeaſon, the ſtraunge & malicious dealing of diuerſe aduerſaries, which points he ſo cunningly handled, as the excellencie of a perfit orator appeared fully in his ſpeach. At whoſe eloquence the hearer rather ſeemed aſtonied than vnſatiſfied in any point or parcel of thoſe matters: for he opened the very bowels of rebellion, the practiſes of enimies, and ſuborning of traytors, & therefore perſwaded euery honeſt mind to haue a dutiful cōſideration of his prince & country, in the defence and libertie wherof, both life, lands, and goodes, are alwayes to bee offred.

After which Oration, in reſpect of further aduancement as the cuſtom is (for ſeruice paſt, and encouragement to procede in the like worthie doings) he made theſe knights. Sir Wil. Drury, ſir Thomas Maners, ſir George Carie, and ſir Robert Coneſtable, and placing the ſayde ſir William Drurie the appoynted Generall in full authoritie, he committed them to God, and the good conduct of their chieftaine.

The ſame day being the .xj. of May, diuerſe foote bands with ſhot and armed pykes were ſet forward into Scotlande, with certaine peeces of artillerie, powder, & munition in good quantitie. Firſt captaine Brickwell with his enſignes departed the towne, and then the cōpanies of captaine Read, captaine Caruell, captaine Game, captaine Lamberd, and captaine Erington. Theſe old bands of Barwike conteyned fiue C. ſouldiors. After them followed the companie of ſir Robert Coneſtable their ſergeant Maior of three C. ſhot, & the cōpanie of ſir Tho. Maners of two C. ſhot. Laſtly marched forth captaine Iohn Coneſtable, and captaine Barwike with two C. armed men. Theſe .xij. C. footmen with fiue enſignes marched that night to Coldinghā.

Alſo for the better aſſurance of couenants and promiſes made on the behalfe of ſuch Lordes of Scotland as had made ſuite for this ayde to bee ſent into their coūtrey for their aſſiſtance againſt them of the contrarie faction, there were certaine hoſtages ſent into England by the ſame Lords, as it was thought expedient, for doubt of double dealing.

Hoſtages deliuered by the Scottiſh lords on the kings ſyde.

The .xij. of May, they marched forward, and the ſame day ſir William Drurie, the Earle of Lenox, and the other newe made knights, with the horſmen, departed from Barwike, and at the Peeſe neare to Dunglas they ouertooke the footmen, and the ſame night all the horſmen and footmen came and encamped togither at Dunbar, being in al not paſt .xvj. C. men. They had foure fielde peeces with them, and good ſtore of powder.

The horſmen and footmen encampe at Dunbar.

The next day being the .xiij. of May, and Whitſon euen, they made ſuche ſpeed in theyr march, that they came vnto Edenburgh, where they found the Earles of Morton, Mar, Glencarne: the Lordes Rithwen, Lindſey, Symple, Glames, Methuen, Ogiltre, and Catcart, with diuerſe other Gentlemen. Here alſo they vnderſtoode that the duke of Chaſtellerault and hys partakers were departed from Lithquo, whether they were retyred back againe from Edenburgh vpon knowledge had that the Engliſhmen were comming forwards towardes them.

Scottiſh lords of the kings ſyde.

The .xiiij. and .xv. day they lay ſtil in Edenbourgh, and the morrow after being the .xvj. of that Moneth, they marched forwards to Lithgo, and lodged in that towne that night, where they receyued aduertiſementes that the ſayde Duke of Chaſtellerault had broken vppe hys campe, after he had vpon his departure from the ſayde Towne of Lithgo attempted the wynning of the Caſtell of Glaſco, and myſſing hys purpoſe there, was dryuen to retyre with diſhonour.

Lithgo.

The next morning being Wedneſday, the armie marched forwarde, and the footemen lay that night at a place called Faukyrke, a ſixe myles from Lithgo, but the Generall with the horſemen road ſix myles further vnto Sterling, where they ſaw the yong King.

Sterling.

The next day the .xviij. of May, ſir Robert Coneſtable Sergeant Maior with the reſt of the Captaynes of the twelue hundred Engliſhe footemen, and two hundred Scottes footemen, the which were moſt part ſhotte marched a long iourney, and came to lodge that nyght at Glaſco, and the Generall ſir William Drurie came to them with the horſemen, and the moſte parte of the Noble men of Scotlande, that were on the Kings ſyde, which entred the towne and lodged in the ſame, with many horſmen and footemen.

ey come to ſco.

The Duke of Chaſtellerault (as yee haue heard) had beene there, and beſieged the Caſtell that belonged to the king, but hearing of the Engliſh menne comming, two dayes before theyr approching thither, hee rayſed hys ſiege, and departed thence, with the loſſe of .xxix. of his men.

The .xix. of May, Sir William Drurie Generall of the Engliſhe power, beyng determined afore hande on a iourney towardes Dunbreton, ſent foorth that morning before certaine vauntcurrours on horſebacke to ſtay al ſuch as they found vpon the way.

e Generall eth to view unbreton.

This done, hee tooke with him certaine Gentlemen, and ſome ſhotte, and roade foorth towardes Dunbreton, to view the ſtraytes and ſituation of that Caſtell, within the whiche were at that preſent the Lorde Fleming, that tooke vpon him as Captaine thereof, the Archbiſhop of Saint Andrewes, and other theyr adherents, frendes to the duke of Chaſtellerault, and enimies to the Lords that were aboute the King.

After Sir William Drury had viewed the Caſtell, and taken the plotte of the ſituation thereof, hee ſent his Trumpet to knowe who were wythin it, and to whoſe vſe they kept it. They within the Caſtell requyred to knowe, what he was that ſent to knowe the ſame. It was aunſwered that it was the Queene of Englandes Generall of hir forces there in Scotlande that made the demaunde: whereunto aunſwere was returned, that they knewe well hee was not ſo ignoraunt as hee ſeemed (as in deede hee was not) but that hee did well knowe that this Caſtell was, and of long time had beene kepte by the Lorde Fleming, and that accordinglye by hym, hys friendes and ſeruauntes it was nowe mainteyned, whiche aunſwere beeyng reported to the Generall, hee ſente agayne hys Trumpettour, to knowe if the Lorde Fleming woulde come forth and parley vppon aſſuraunce of honour to returne ſafely. Whereunto the Lorde Fleming conſented, although not meaning ſo to doe, but by a ſubtile practiſe (as was thought) intended to wynde him wythin daunger: for there were ſome Harquebuſiers ſecretly couched in couert, wythin whoſe reache when the Generall was come himſelfe alone on horſebacke, moſte diſhoneſtly (hys Trumpettour not yet being returned) they ſhotte at hym wyth great deſpyte, meanyng to haue kylled hym, wythoute any regarde to the Lawe of Armes, or feare of God, but through the goodneſſe of the Lorde Almightie, that wicked practiſe myſſed the pretenced effect: for that worthie Engliſhe Knight receyued no bodily hurte, but perceyuing theyr dealings, wyth a bolde courage hee beſtowed hys Pyſtolles as freely at them as they did theyr Harquebuſhe ſhotte at him, and ſo returned to hys companie backe agayne in ſafetie, yeelding to God due honor and thankes for his mercifull deliuerance from ſuch a murderous practiſe of his deadly foes.

he Lord Fleming is requi d to come to rley with e generall.

The diſhonorable dealing of the Lorde Fleming.

Vpon a newe occaſion to vnderſtande the certaintie of that, wherof he had ſome inckling, the .xxj. of May, Sir William Drurie accompanyed wyth the ſayde Gentlemen, and horſemen, went agayne towardes Dunbreton, to parley wyth the Lorde Fleming, vppon hys further promiſe, that hee woulde meete hym three myles from the ſayd caſtell, wherevpon the ſayde Sir William Drurie ſent an Engliſhe man, and a Scottiſhman to view the grounde whiche ſhoulde bee appoynted foorth for theyr meeting, which they founde to bee ſo neare to the Caſtell, as was ſubiect to all theyr ſhotte, both great and ſmall, and cleane contrarye to the promiſe, and ſo they declared to the Captayne named John Fleming, that was ſente foorth of the Caſtell to appoynt the ſame, howe it was neyther indifferent nor meete for ſuche a purpoſe. The captain anſwered, that his maiſter was a man of honour, and ſtoode vpon the ſame, and therefore woulde not hazarde himſelfe among horſemen wholy without the daunger of the peece, whereunto the meſſengers replied, that the Lorde Fleming for his late euill dealing, was not to bee credited in this caſe, neyther comparable to the generall of the Engliſh armie, for he was there for the Queene of Englande: and further they ſayde, that forſomuch as they had of late delt ſo vniuſtly contrary to promiſe & the law of armes, and thereby ſo greatly cracked their credits, ſtayned their honeſties and honour, they could not but wiſh that their general ſhould be well aduiſed ere hee did hazarde himſelfe any more within their daunger vpon their ſlipperie promiſes, except they would appoint ſome other place of parley, as might be thought indifferent, according to their former offers, which woulde not be graunted, and ſo they departed.

Sir William Drurie goeth again towards Dunbreton.

He ſendeth to view the groūd wher he ſhuld meet with the L. Fleming.

Immediatly wherevpon, to ſhew ſome peece of their double dealings and vnfaithfull practiſes towardes the Engliſh men, the Scottes within the caſtell preſently ſent after the Meſſengers a Culuering ſhot for a farewell.

Sir William Drurie then perceyuing that the meaning of the Lord Fleming was not to deale ſimplye in this matter touching a conference to be had betwixt thẽ, returned to Glaſco, where ſir George Carie being maruellouſly inflamed with that vnhoneſt dealing of the Lorde Fleming, made earneſt ſuyte to the Generall, that hee myght ſende to him and offer him the Combate, in tryall of thys quarell, ſith it was more requiſite that a Gentleman ſouldiour ſhoulde ſtande in thoſe queſtions, than a Generall, conſidering his calling and office. The Generall thanked Sir George very courteouſly, but yet ſayde, that it ſtoode him vpon to ſearche out theſe matters to the vttermoſte, (as hee woulde haue done in deede) were not hys Commiſſion and charge (as was well knowne) to bee otherwyſe employed: yet (quoth hee) ſith your ſuyte is ſo reaſonable (and the whole companie and lawe of Armes alloweth of it) I graunt your requeſt, and therein doe as beſt ſhall ſeeme to your byrth and eſtimation.

Sir George Caries ſuyte.

Churchyard.

Herevpon Sir George Carie ſtreight wayes deuiſed a letter of chalenge, and deliuered it to an Heraulde to beare from him vnto the ſayde Lorde Fleming, the tenour whereof here enſueth.

Sir George Caries letter to the Lorde Fleming.

LOrd Fleming, if eyther your byrth or bringing vp, had wrought in you a noble mind or eſtimation of credite, hardly woulde you haue ſo much forgotten and ſtayned your honour, as in a parlee of late with our general you did. At whom vilely and vnhonourably ſhooting, you falſed that aſſurance of warre whiche ſouldiours ſubmit themſelues vnto: and trayned him to your treaſon vnder truſt, a thing heretofore not accuſtomed, nor preſently to bee allowed of. He aſſuredly pretending your owne and your friends good, commoditie to your coũtrey, and quietneſſe to the ſtate, twice abaſed and ſubmitted himſelfe, comming to conferre wyth you thereof: but your pride ioined with a harmfull meaning, to thoſe that you profeſſe beſt vnto, and ſelfe wilfull vainglorie, without cauſe why, refuſed that which reaſon and honor commaunded you to haue done? Therefore, bycauſe his calling is preſently with his charge better than yours, and mine not inferior, I ſommon you reaſonably to excuſe that fault ſuppoſed to be yours, or elſe to mainteyne that trayterous acte, with your perſon agaynſt mine in fight, when, where, or howe you dare. Otherwiſe I will baffull your good name, ſounde wyth the Trumpet your diſhonour, and paynt your picture with the heeles vpwarde, and beare it in deſpite of your ſelfe. In the meane tyme I attende your aunſwere. From Glaſco, the xxij. of May. 1570.

Subſcribed George Carie.

The Copie of the Lord Flemings anſwere.

GEorge Carie, I haue receyued your brainleſſe letter, making mention of my falſe and treaſonable dealing againſt your Generall, in ſhooting vnder truſt, ſo vilely agaynſt my honor and truth, trayterouſly trayned him vnder my truſt, which is altogither falſe and vntrue. And howbeit your Generall came by the houſe of Dunglas by my appoyntment, which I ſuffered, and I appoynted one place of meeting, ſixe men of either partie which he refuſed, and he departed, and certaine of his companie came bragging vp yͤ riuer ſide towards the houſe, viewing the ſame, and the ground thereaboutes, ſhooting your Harquebuſſes agaynſt the ſame: I coulde doe no leſſe, but preſent you with ſuch as I had. Whereas you wryte of your Generalles calling to be preſently better than mine, and yours not inferiour, when your Generall chalengeth me thereof, I ſhall giue anſwere: And as for you, I will not be inferiour to a better than you, or any Souldiour vnder your Generals charge. Whereas you ſommon mee (as you call it) reaſonably to excuſe that fault ſuppoſed to be mine owne, or elſe to mainteyne that trayterous acte with my perſon agaynſt yours: you ſhall wyt, I haue Gentlemen of honour, ſeruant Souldiours to me, as ye are to your Generall, whiche may be your fellowes, ſhall defende the ſame agaynſt you and your falſe and vntrue inuented wryting: and were not the charge I preſent, or how ſoone I can bee relieued of the ſame, I ſhould lowly my perſon to meet you ſixe Engliſh miles from any other perſon. Howbeit ye be but one ſouldiour, aſſure your ſelfe from thys day forth, I will not receyue no ſuch inuented meſſage, for I haue little to doe with Engliſhe men, ye may raile vpon my honorable name as ye pleaſe. You ſhall haue as honorable gentlemẽ as your ſelfe againſt you fighting. Take this for anſwere.

Iohn Lord Fleming.

LOrde Fleming, often the Flemings after noone aunſweres, ſmelleth more of Wine than witte. But as to that common cryme, the cuſtome of theyr Countrey yeeldeth them part of pardon: ſo your common acquaintaunce with the ſame condition, knowne to bee verye great, ſhall to mee ſomewhat excuſe your witleſſe wryting, wherin firſt you diſalow my right recitall of your trayterous dealing, by tearming it falſe and vntrue: for anſwere, knowe this, the truth my penne hath writtẽ, by the witneſſe of a number. And my hande I vowe ſhall maynteyne the ſame before the worlde at all tymes: but you in denying it, haue both falſly and vniuſtly lyed in your throate, and dare neyther defend nor diſproue, that in deeds, which in wordes you haue done. Wheras you write, that our generall paſſed Dunglaſſe, by your appointment whiche you ſuffred, therein you doe manifeſtly ſay vnhonourably and vntruly, for that you had no knowledge of our firſte comming, but ſaluted vs with your ſhotte, and wee lykewiſe ſkirmiſhed with your mẽ euen at their owne ſtrength, vntill we viewed the ground aboute at oure pleaſure. And touchyng the appointment of ſixe of eyther part, eaſily that may be knowen, to be a playne lye, ſeeing wee hadde neyther parley nor conference with you before, to appoynt place or meeting. But whereas you ſay, you coulde doe no leſſe but preſent vs wyth ſuch as you hadde, therein you confeſſe and acknowledge yͤ diſhonor and treaſon that I charged you withall, taking vppon youre ſelfe that fault, which I ſuppoſed to haue bin of your ſeruaunts, for oure generall retired his company farre from him. And his Trumpet beeing wyth you, approched himſelfe alone to haue parled, when vnder truſt you diſcharged two harquebuſſes agaynſte him: an acte rather ſeemely for a cowardly Traytor, than one that profeſſeth to be a Souldier. Finally, whereas you lette mee witte, that you haue Gentlemen of honor, ſeruaunts, Souldiers to you, that may be my felowes, whiche ſhoulde defend the challenge that toucheth ſo neere your ſelfe, as with honor you ſhould not haue refuſed it. Firſt, I thinke ſkorne to bee any wayes inferiour to you, though but a Souldier, too honorable a name for you, beeyng better in birth, and vnſteined with reproche as you haue bin. Secondly, I haue more, and as good Gentlemẽ vnder my conduct, as you haue vnder your charge, which ſhall aunſwer as many as you can bring, if with number ye meane to combate, and will put them to that whyche you dare not doe your ſelfe. But aſſure you, my quarrell ſhall remayne euerlaſting, excepte the proofe of your owne perſon againſte mine maye ende it: and when you ſhall dare come out of youre Crowes neſt, I will be ready to ride an hundred Scottiſh myles, to meete with you in any indifferente place, and vntill that tyme, I ſhall accompte you deuoyde of honeſtie and honor, vnworthy to marche vpon grounde, or to keepe company with men. From Hamilton, the 29. of May. 1570.

Subſcribed George Carey.

Though many wayes were ſoughte by meſſage and otherwiſe, to moue the Lorde Flemming to defend with battaile the fault and folly committed, yet it wold not be, for he ſhifted off the matter, ſo as it well appeared, it was but loſt labour further to attempt him therin.

A muſter of Scottiſhmen.

The. xxij. of May the Earle of Lenoux accompanyed with the Erle of Glencarn, the lord Synple, and other his frendes, feodaries, and alies, muſtered on the Moore before the towne of Glaſco, the number of. 4000. horſemen and footmen that were there aſſembled to ſerue him, in preſence of Sir William Drury, and other of the Engliſh capitayns.

The army goeth towards Hamilton.

The. xxiij. of Maye Sir William Drurye, the Earle of Lenoux, and other the Scottiſhe Lords, and the whole armie marched towards the Caſtell of Hamelton, and ſending a Trumpettor, and one with hym to parley with the Captaine named Andrew Hamilton, he agreed to come forth, and one other with him, to talke with Sir William Drury, and one other Gentleman, ſuche as he ſhould thinke good to bryng with him to a place ſomewhat diſtante, as well from the Caſtell as the Camp.

Sir William Drury talketh with the Captayne of Hamilton Caſtel.

Heerevpon, Sir William Drury wyth hys ſword and tergatte, and Sir George Carie, with a caſe of piſtolles, wente forthe to the appoynted place, whither the Captayne of the Caſtell alſo with an halbert, and one other with him, hauing likewiſe a caſe of piſtolles, came according to appoyntment, but after they had talked togither, and that the Captayne would not in anye wyſe conſente to deliuer vp the Caſtell, hee with hys aſſociate returned to their holde agayne, and the Engliſhe generall, with Sir George Carie, came backe to the Campe, and therevppon, the Engliſh ordinance was preſently placed about the Caſtell, and ſhotte very ſore all that nyghte, but did no greate hurte, by reaſon they were but field peeces, and not fitte for batterie.

The Engliſhe ordinance ſhooteth at the Caſtell.

They in the Caſtell likewyſe ſhot verie ſore at the Engliſhmen, but did no great harme, ſauing that there were three of the footmen hurte.

The Ducheſſe of Chaſtellereault.

In the palaice which was a preatie houſe, the Ducheſſe of Chaſtellerault was at that tyme reſident, to whom Sir William Drury did repaire, offring hir all the courteiſy he might, with all that to hir appertayned, willyng hir not to feare any thing, and for hir more aſſurance, he cõmitted hir to the charge of ſir Thomas Maners.

Great ordinance ſent for.

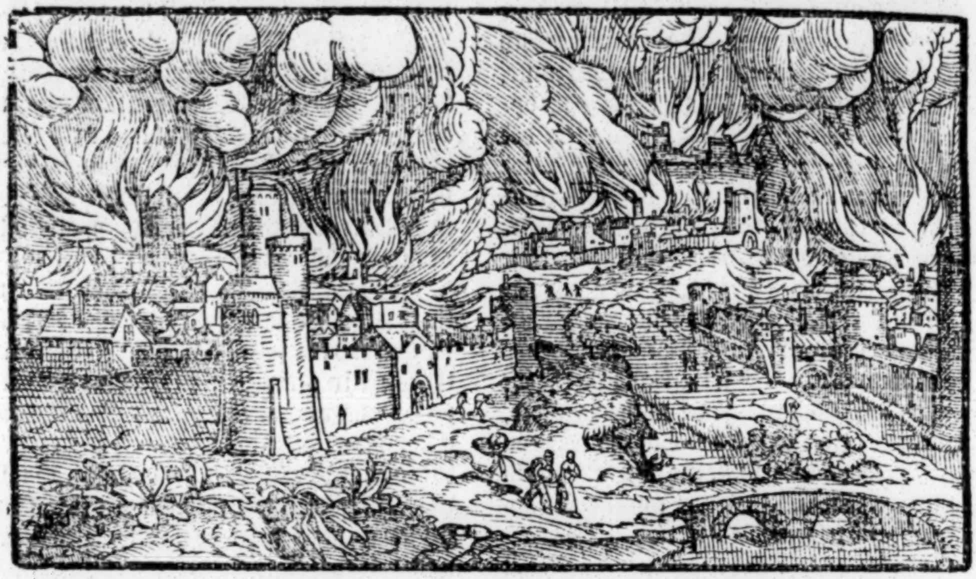
The. xxiiii. of May, the generall gaue ſommonance to the Caſtell, and bycauſe they within ſtoode ſtiffely in deniall, to make ſurrender thereof vnto him, hee was driuen to ſende vnto Striueling for ſome greate peeces of ordinance meete to make batterie.

In the meane tyme, the Earles of Lenox

The Earles of Lenox and Morton.
The Abbey of Kilwinnings brent.

and Morton with the Horſemẽ, and ſome ſhot, marched into the Countrey to a very faire houſe of the Abbot of Kilwinnings neere adioyning, whoſe name was Gawen Hamilton, whyche houſe they brent, and vtterly defaced, ſpoiling it, and raſing it downe to the earth.

They brent and ſpoyled alſo ſeuenteene houſes more, belonging to men of that ſurname, ſixte neere thereaboutes, whereof one belonged to a Larde that had married with the ſiſter of James Hamilton of Bodwey Haugh, whyche ſlew the Regent.



There were alſo brent ſeuen other faire houſes belongyng to others that were not of that ſurname, but yet were of their friendes and alyes.

Moreouer, there were diuers other of their kinred and alies that came in with humble ſubmiſſion, and aſſured themſelues, firmely promiſing from thenceforthe their obedience to the King.

The .xxv. of Maye ſir William Drury the generall, retired his people vppon a policie from the Caſtell, and left it without either watche or warde, for that nyght. The next daye he ſente ſir George Carie to the Caſtel with a trumpetter, to knowe if they within woulde deliuer it vp, before the greate ordinaunce ſhoulde come, which the capitayn vtterly refuſed to do: wherevpon the ſmall ſhotte clapt ſodeynly rounde about the houſe, and kept them within occupied, till that a whole culueryng, & a demy culuering came to them from Sterling, the whiche wyth foure of the Engliſh ſmall field peeces, were in yͤ night following planted againſte the Caſtell, and being ſhotte off, a bullet of one of the greate peeces paſſed throughe the walles into the Caſtell.

The Caſtell ſommoned.

The Caſtell of Hamilton battered.

The Caſtell eftſoones ſommoned.

The .xxvij. of May, about foure of the clocke in the morning, the generall ſente a Trumpetter to giue ſommonance againe to yͤ Caſtell, to whome the Captayne aunſwered, that he cared not for them, and ſo bade them doe their worſt, for he would not yeeld the place to them at anye hand: wherevppon, immediately the whole tyre began to play in ſuch ſorte, that within four volees, both ſides of yͤ houſe wer battered through, at the ſight whereof, the Captayne was ſo diſmaid, that forthwith hee cried for parlee, and ſo the ſhotte was ſtayde, and vppon humble ſute, the Captaine was admitted to ſpeake with the generall, and ſo comming to talke with him, at length he agreed to yeelde: wherevpon, the Prouoſt Marſhall was ſente into the Caſtell to take poſſeſſion thereof. The generall permitted them very courteouſly to depart with their furniture, and other ſuche ſtuffe as they coulde cary wyth them.

The Captaine of the Caſtell demandeth parlee.

There came out of the houſe nine and thirtie perſons one and other, four and thirtie mẽ, three boyes, and two women, and therewith was the Caſtell blowen vp and raſed, and the army lay that night in the towne, and in places about it.

The next day, beeing the eyght and twentith of May, they departed from thence, the Earles of Lennox, Mar, and Glencarne, with other of the nobilitie of Scotland of the Kings parte, taking their leaues, with their company returned to Glaſcow, and ſir George Carie with the Horſemen, came that nighte to Lithquo, where alſo the reſt of the Engliſh forces met.

A Caſtell called Combernawd, belonging to the Lorde Fleming, was yeelded to the generals handes, who vppon bonde of aſſurance that the houſe ſhoulde remayne at the deuotion of the Queene of Englande, was contented to ſpare it from fire and ſpoyle. But this was not the firſte nor laſte courteſie whiche the generall ſhewed in this iourney, vnto ſuche as in any reſpect were thought worthy of his fauour. Amongſt other, the Lady of Lidingtō being great with childe, miſtruſting hirſelfe (or hir huſbands double dealings towards our Coūtrey) in great feare began to flie. But Sir William Drury hearing thereof, ſente hir worde hee came not to make warres with women, but rather to ſhewe pitie to the weake and comfortleſſe, and thervpon ſhe ſtayed, and had no further harme.

The Lady of Lidington.

The nine and twētith of May, when the army ſhould diſlodge from Lithquo, the generall called for the Prouoſt of the Towne, and commaunded him to prepare with all expedition, to receiue a iuſt puniſhmente and correction thorough the whole towne for treaſon, and vnpardonable offences committed, and declaring that the inhabitantes therof had ſuccoured and ſupported traytors to the realme of England, and lykewyſe to their owne King, contrarye to the leagues and quietneſſe of bothe the Realmes of England and Scotlande (for whiche cauſe he was fully reſolued to ouerthrow that town and receptacle of traytours) if therfore there were any women in chylde bedde or impotent people within yͤ towne, he gaue warning thus aforehand to conuey them out of it: and herwith alſo cōmanding eche capitayne and ſouldiour vnder his charge to ſee due execution of that whiche he purpoſed in this behalfe to haue done, he willed the Prouoſt to appoynt a place conuenient, into the which the goodes of the towne mighte be broughte, to the ende that the ſame ſhoulde neither be ſpoyled by the Engliſh ſouldiors, neither yet conſumed through vehemencie of fyre, but to be preſerued al wholy to yͤ Scottiſh mēs vſe. Further, he granted, that euery noble mans lodging and capitaines houſe ſhoulde be ſaued from fire.

Churchyard.

The Towne of Lieth thretned to bee brent.

But nowe the tyme being come for this determined execution, the Earle of Morton, that ſtill accompanied the Engliſhe generall, offred himſelfe as an interceſſor to intreate and ſue for a pardon, bringing afore the generall, a multitude of waylyng people, whoſe mournful and moſt piteous cries, was lamentable and verye importunate.

The Earle of Morton, an interceſſor for the Towne of Lithquo.

The generall hearyng theyr requeſts, made anſwere, that for many cauſes the town ought to bee deſtroyed, conſidering howe diuers enimies (whoſe inſolent practiſes were not to be ſuffred) had always there a common reſorte to conferre of their wicked deuyſes: And further (quod he) the curteyſye that is ſhewed to ſuche places of repaire, hathe emboldned the reſte of Scotlande to vſe open violence and ſecrete villanies, to the preiudice of Gods glorie, hinderāce of yͤ weale publique, & breach of good lawes and policies, & therefore it was fit & moſt meete for a warning to thouſands in that caſe of extremitie, to raſe out ſuch monumēts of miſchief.

But at length, notwithſtanding theſe heauie words vttred by ſir William Drury, the people of all ſorts ſo preaſſed about him, & made ſuch pitifull cries and ſorowfull noyſe, with children ſucking of theyr mothers breaſts, that he taking ruth of their miſerable eſtates, at this their lamentable ſuite, & ſpecially at the great inſtance of the Earle of Morton, who came bareheaded to ſpeake for them, the generall was contented to ſaue the towne and people therin, taking good band and aſſurance of the Prouoſt and chiefeſt of the Towne that they ſhuld follow the camp, and at all tymes appeare when they were called for at Berwike, and there to ſubmit themſelues, their towne, and goodes, to the clemencie of the Queenes highneſſe, and to ſuche order as the Earle of Suſſex hir maieſties generall Lieutenant ſhould by hir conſent thinke neceſſarie: to whiche bande and conditions they of Lithquo agreed. And for that their regent was ſlayne, and none ſince inſtituted (to whome they had giuen fayth of allegiance) they confeſſed, that none myghte commaunde them anye way without licence of him, to whom they had made this bande, ſith to him both their promiſe, and obligation was paſſed: And in this ſorte they continued bounde to him for their good behauiours.

Lithquo ſpared from deſerued deſtruction.

The Prouoſt and other enter bands.

The duke of Chaſtellereaults palace in Lithquo was yet brent and raſed, and marching to another houſe belonging to the ſaid Duke, called Kenile, diſtante from Lithquo about a myle or more, they likewiſe brent the ſame.

The Duke of Chaſtellereaultes palaces brent.

Thus hauing done their pleaſures at Lithquo, and in the Countrey aboute that Towne, they marched from thence to a proper houſe and Caſtell, belonging to the Lorde Seton, called Neithery, whiche the enimies had fortifyed, but yet when the Lady of that houſe came to the generall, and made humble petition on hir knees for his fauor, offering to him the keyes of that place in moſt humble wiſe, ſhe found ſuch courteſie at his handes, that with condition that ſhee and a Baron with hir ſhoulde enter bandes for aſſurance that the Caſtell ſhoulde euer afterwardes remaine at the Queene of Englandes pleaſure, hee tooke hir the keyes againe, leauing hir in poſſeſſion of hir houſe and goodes, without doing hir any further diſpleaſure.

Neithery.

The Lady Seton.

This nighte, the army came to Edenburgh, where certaine of the company that made haſt to get thither ſomewhat before the reſt, receyued ſome diſcourteſie, for they were ſpoyled in the ſtreetes of their furniture, and ſuch other things as they had about them: but when the generall

Some of the Engliſh army ſpoyled in Edenburgh.

with

Churchyarde.

with the reſt of the army was come neere to the Towne, and had knowledge of ſuche foule diſorder, he thought not good to enter the Towne, without ſtanding ſo ſure on his guard, that he ſhould not neede to doubt any double dealing, or crooked meaſures: which ſure handling of the matter, did not only ſhew the deuiſer thereof to haue good conduit and experience, but in verye deede auoyded no ſmal inconuenience and miſchiefe, that by the enimies was finely contriued (through a fray to be made in the ſuburbes) ſo that a greate ſlaughter had burſt out ſuddaynely, and no ſmal bloudſhed followed, if God, and good guiding of the people hadde not ſtayed and tourned away that imminent daunger. To bee ſhorte, the generall ſent Sir Thomas Maners with two bandes of Souldyers, vnder one enſigne, to ſeiſe vppon the gates at their firſt arriuall, and ſo the pretenſed conſpiracie was happily preuented: for the reſidue of the power was no ſooner entred the Towne, but that keepyng themſelues in order to cleere the ſtreetes, and to commaund the inhabitãts the better, they ſpent that nighte ſtanding on their guard, as the caſe required.

Sir Thomas Maners.

When the morning was come, Sir William Drewry ſmelling out the couert practiſe, and naughty meaning of ſome, demaunded iuſtice and ſtraight puniſhment of ſuch offences and things as he woulde truely lay to the charges of ſome in that Towne: and told them flatly, if remedie were not the ſooner prouided, and ſatiſfaction made for the follies and outrage committed, hee woulde bee quickly reuenged, to the diſpleaſure and ſhame of al the contryuers of that madde and miſcheuous preſumption.

Reſtitution made of things taken away from the ſouldiers.

Heerevpon, not onely ſuche things as hadde bin taken from thoſe few Souldiers which firſt entred the Towne ouer night, were not only reſtored, but diuers malefactors were alſo deliuered to the generall, to bee executed and ordered by hys diſcretion, who ſeeyng theyr ſubmiſſion, mercifully and frankely ſente them away vnto theyr Captaynes, and ſo theſe broyles were paciſyed and thyngs ſette in quiet.

After they had reſted in Edenburgh a two dayes, the fyrſt of Iune they diſlodged.

Seton Caſtell ſpared at the ſute of the Lady.

The generall comming to Seaton, the chiefe Caſtell and houſe of the Lord Seatons, the Lady was ready there alſo to preſente hym the keyes, with like humble ſubmiſſion as before, and therevpon receyued the like fauour for thys houſe, as was ſhewed to hir for the other. That night they lodged at Hadington.

Anderweeke.

It was determined that the pyle of Anderwecke ſhoulde haue bin ouerthrowen, but vpon ſute and bandes taken of diuers Gentlemen, the place was ſpared, and the offendors receyued to mercy. And ſo the nexte day, the generall wyth the Horſemenne came through to Berwike, a iourney of two and thirtie long myles.

The footebandes lodged the ſame nighte at Coldingham with ſir Robert Coneſtable, who the next day being the third of Iune, came wͭ them to Berwike, and ſo ended this iourney, to the greate commendation of the generall, and Captains: and conſequently to all the gentlemen and ſouldiours that had beene forth in the ſame, as well for the good ſucceſſe whiche it pleaſed God the author of al proſperous euents to graunt to them, as alſo for their dutiful obedience to all warlyke diſcipline, their paynefull trauayles ſuſteyned, their manly forwardneſſe, and ſkilfull practiſe in all martiall policies ſtill ſhewed, as occaſion of ſeruice was anye where offered.

But nowe to returne to the doings at home.

Stowe.

A Bull from Rome, hanged on the Byſhop of Londons gate.

Whileſt this iourney was made as ye haue hearde into Scotlande, the. xxv. of May in the morning was found hanging at the Biſhoppe of Londons palace gate in Paules Churchyard, a Bull whiche lately had bin ſente from Rome, conteyning diuers horrible treaſons againſt the Queenes Maieſtie: for the whyche, one Iohn Felton was ſhortly after apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London.

The Nortons executed.

The. xxvij. of May, Tho. Nortõ, & Chriſtopher Nortõ of Yorkeſhire, being both condẽned of high treaſon, for yͤ late rebellion in yͤ North, were drawen from the Tower of London to Tiburne, and there hanged, headed, and quartered.

Conſpiracy in Norffolke.

A conſpiracie was made by certaine Gentlemen and other in the Countrey of Norffolke, whoſe purpoſe was on Midſomer daye, at Harleſtone faire, with ſounde of Trumpet and drumme, to haue rayſed a number, and then to proclayme their diueliſh pretence againſt ſtrangers and other.

Thys matter was vttered by Thomas Kete, one of the conſpiracy, vnto Iohn Kenſey, who forthwith ſente the ſame Kete wyth a Conſtable to the next Iuſtice, before whome, and other Iuſtices, he opened the whole matter, wherevpon, maiſter Drewghe Drewry immediately apprehended Iohn Throckmorton, and after him many Gentlemẽ of the Citie of Norwiche, and the Countye of Norffolke, who wer all committed to priſon (and at the nexte ſeſſiõs of gaile deliuery at the Caſtell of Norwich, the 17. of Iuly, before ſir Roberte Catlin Knyghte, Lord chief Juſtice, Gilbert Gerard, yͤ Queenes attourney generall, and other Juſtices) tenne of them was indicted of high treaſon, and ſome others of contempt: diuers of them were condemned, and had iudgement the one and twentith of Auguſt, and afterward, three of them were hanged, bowelled and quartred, whiche were John Throckmorton of Norwiche Gentleman, who ſtoode mute at his arraignement: but at the gallowes confeſſed him ſelfe to be the chiefe conſpiratour, and that none had deſerued to die but he, for that he had procured thẽ. With him was executed Thomas Brooke of Rolſby Gentleman the thirtith of Auguſt. And George Dedman of Cringelcford Gentleman, was likewiſe executed the ſecond of September.

The Duke of Norffolke emoued.

The fourth of Auguſt, the Duke of Northfolke was remoued from the Tower of London to the Charterhouſe, nere vnto Smithfield.

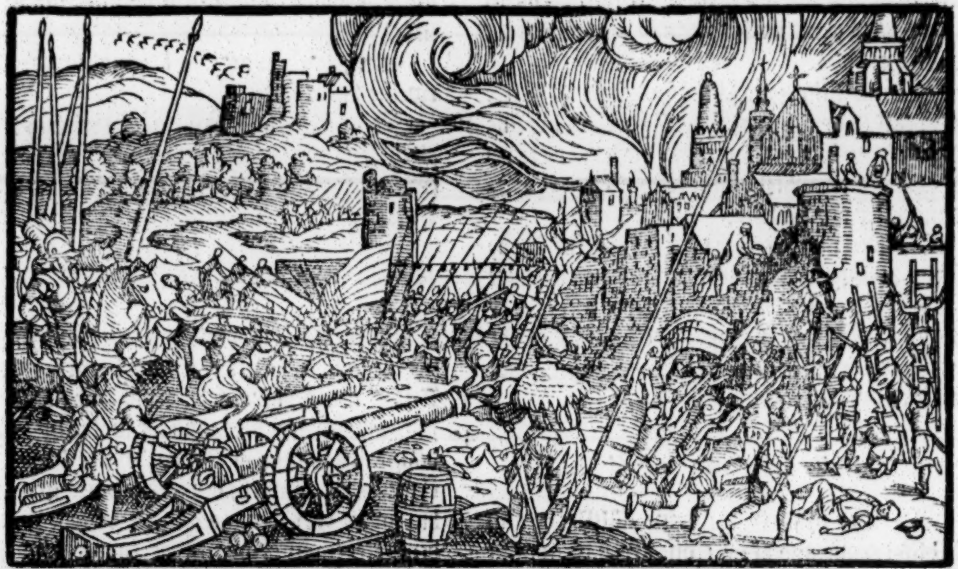
elton araig- ed.

The ſame daye was araigned at the Guilde hal of Londõ, John Felton, for hanging a Bull at the gate of the Biſhop of Londons palace: And alſo two yong men, for coyning and clipping of coyne, who all were found giltie of high treaſon, and had iudgement to be drawne, hanged, and quartered. The eyght of Auguſt, John Felton was drawen frõ Newgate into Paules Churchyarde, and there hanged on a gallowes new ſet vp that morning before the Byſhoppes palace gate, and being cut downe aliue, he was bowelled and quartred. After this, yͤ ſame morning, the Sheriffes returned to Newgate, and ſo to Tiburne, with two yong men, which were there executed for coyning and clipping, as is aforeſayd.

Felton and others executed.

A iourney into Scotland by the Earle of Suſſex.

The two and twentith of Auguſt, the Earle of Suſſex, Lorde Lieutenante generall for the Queenes Maieſtie in the North, and the Lord Scrope, warden of the Weſt marches, with dyuers others, marched from Carlile with the Queenes army, and force of the North, as well of Horſemen as footemen into Scotlande, paſſing ouer the riuers of Eſke, Leuin and Sarke, whiche riuer of Sarke parteth Englande and Scotland, and ſo to Dornocke wodde, belonging to Edward Urone, the Lord of Bonſhow, and then to Annanna, a ſtrong houſe of the lord Harris, whiche they raſed and ouerthrewe wyth other thereaboutes, from thence to Hodhim, which they brente and blewe vp, from thence to Kennell, a towne belonging to the Lord Cowhill, which they brent. From thẽce to Domfriſe, whiche they ſacked and ſpoyled of ſuch paltry as the fugitiues hadde left, and alſo raſed and ouerthrew a ſumptuous houſe, belonging to the Q. of Scottes, in the keeping of the Lord Harris: then paſſing the riuer of Lõgher, they brent and ſpoyled Cowhilles and Powtracke, and returned to Domfreys, and ſo to the towne of Bankend, which they brent, with another houſe perteyning to William Maxwell of the Iſles, and ſo to the Caſtell of Carlauoracke, ſtanding in a mariſhe, iuſt to an arme of the Sea, whyche parteth Auneredal and Galloway: which Caſtel they blew vp, and returned homewarde, tranſporting their ordinance ouer quickeſandes and bogs, where neuer the like was done before, and ſo came to Dornocke wood.



The eyght of Auguſt, they marched towards Carelile, where by the way, they brente and ouerthrewe two houſes, the one beeing Arthur Greames, alias Carlil, the other Riche George, two notable Theeues. The ſame day at night, after the L. Lieutenãts comming to Carlile, he made Knightes. Sir Edwarde Haſtings, Sir Francis Ruſſell, Sir Ualentine Browne, Sir William Hilton, Sir Robert Stapleton, Sir Henry Curwen, Sir Simon Muſgraue.

Knightes made by the Erle of Suſsex.

Thys

This yeare the fifth of October, chaunced a terrible tempeſt of wind and rayne, both by Sea and lande, by meanes whereof, many Shyppes periſhed, and much hurt done in diuers partes of the Realme, as by a little Pamphlet ſette forthe therof by Thomas Knel Miniſter may appear. The effect whereof enſueth.

Bedforde.

Tho. Knel. Aboute midnighte, the water ouerflowed ſo much, that mē were fayne to forſake theyr beds, and one woman drowned: where alſo were loſt a great number of Sheepe, Oxen, Kine, Horſe, and other Cattell.

Amōgſt other there, one maiſter Cartwright Gentleman, hauing his houſe encloſed round about, the water came in ſo muche, that a Carte beeing laden with thornes, did ſwimme aboute the ground. Hee loſt by the ſame floud, Sheepe, and other Cattell, to the value of an hundred poundes.

The ſame Gentleman had a cloſe gate by the high wayes ſide, where the water ranne ouer ſo extreamely, that at the fall thereof it made ſuche an hole, that it was fortie foote deepe, ſo that no mā could paſſe that way without great daunger.

To the filling vp of the ſaide hole or pitte, was caſt in by the men of the ſayd Towne, fiue and twenty lodes of faggots, and twenty lodes of Horſedong, whiche ſaide faggots and Horſedong filled not the hole.

Alſo one maiſter Lee at the Friers in Bedforde, hauing a faire yarde, wherein was greate ſtore of elme trees, wherof threſcore wer blowē downe, with the rootes pulled cleane out of the grounde. Alſo, hee had a cloſe of Connies, that were cleane deſtroyed.

In the County of Norffolke.

The Sea brake in betweene Wiſbiche and Walſockenne, and at the croſſe keyes, drowning Tilney, and olde Linne, Sainct Mary Teding, Sainte Mary Tid, Sainte Johns Wawple, Walton and Walſocken, Emney, Jarmans, and Stowe brigge, all beeing the ſpace of tenne myles.

At the croſſe keyes, the good man of the Inne had builte an houſe, with a ſtrong foundation ioyning vnto another houſe, being olde and not ſo ſtrong, wherein were certaine gueſtes, and when the water came in ſo violently, the good man of the houſe, beeing in the ſtronger houſe, called the men out of the olde houſe, and they woulde haue gone downe the ſtaires, but the water was ſo high, that they coulde not come downe, wherefore they went backe againe, and brake an hole into the other houſe, where they went thorough, and the laſt man was no ſooner in, but the olde houſe fell downe.

The walles of yͤ houſes were broken downe, and the Horſes that were tyed at the manger (which was made faſt in yͤ groũd) did ſwimme in the water, when the ſtable was cleane carried away, vntill the waters were aſſwaged, and were ſaued aliue, and the people were conſtreyned to gette vppe to the hygheſt partes of the houſe, and to be carried away in boates.

At Yarmouth, a great part of the bridge was caried away.

The houſe vpon the Hauen, called the Hauē houſe, wherein was one Nicholas Joſſellin, the Hauen man, and his ſonne, with all theyr tooles, was carried into the mariſhes, ſixe myles from the Hauen, where it ſtoode vpright, where they continued long tyme, withoute meate or drinke.

Item, at Jermans Brigſtreete, was verye muche hurte done by extreame flouds that were there.

Item, one Thomas Smith of Yarmouth, loſt a Shyppe, and ſeauen menne, and a boy in it.

Item, at Newarke by Yarmouth, were loſt twelue ſayle.

Item, a great Houlke, laden with oyle and pitche, was loſt at Worry ſande, and aboute twenty men loſt therein, and thirtie ſaued by the Hulke boate.

In the Biſhopricke of Elie.

These towns and villages were ouerflown, that is to ſaye, Wiſbiche, Guyhorne, Parſon Droue, and Hobſhouſe. This Hobſhouſe beyng an almes houſe, (and the water breakyng downe the walles of it) the wynde blewe the cloathes off from the bedde of a poore man and his wyfe, they being a colde, awaked, and ſodenly ſtepte out of hys bedde to reache vp hys cloathes, and ſtepte vppe to the bellie in water, and then hee thinking himſelfe to be in daunger (as hee was indeede) and hee knowing the beſt way to eſcape the daunger of the water, tooke hys wife on hys necke, and carried hir away, and ſo were both ſaued.

Item, in Wiſbiche was a gardē, a Tennice play, and a bowling alley walled aboute wyth bricke (whiche was worth twenty ℔. by yeare to the owner) was quite deſtroyed by the water.

Lincolneſhire.

Mumby Chappell, the whole Towne was

loſt, except three houſes.

A Shippe was driuen vpon an houſe, the ſailers thinking they had bin vpon a Rocke, committed themſelues to God: and three of the Marriners lept out of the Shippe, and chaunced to take holde on the houſe toppe, and ſo ſaued themſelues: and the wife of the ſame lying in childbed, did climbe vppe into the toppe of the houſe, was alſo ſaued by the Marriners, hir huſband and child being both drowned.

Item, the Church was wholly ouerthrowen except the Steeple.

Betweene Boſton and Newcaſtell, were threeſcore ſea veſſels, as ſmall Ships, Craires, and ſuche like, loſt vpon the coaſtes of Boſton, Humerſton, marſhe Chappell, Tetney, Stepney, Nercots, Kelby, and Grimſby, where no Shippe can come in without a Pilote, whyche were all loſt, with goodes, corne, and Cattell, with all the ſalte Cotes, where the chiefe and fineſt ſalte was made, were vtterly deſtroyed, to the vtter vndoing of manye a man, and greate lamentation both of olde and yong.

Wentford bridge, being very ſtrong, of eight arches in length, had three of the arches broken, and cleane carried away.

Maiſter Smith at the Swanne there, hadde his houſe (being three ſtories high) ouerflowed vnto the third ſtorie, and the walles of the ſtable were broken downe, and the Horſes tyed to the manger, were all drowned.

Many mē had great loſſe, as wel of Sheepe, Kine, Oxen, great Mares, Coltes of the breede of the greate Horſes, and other cattell innumerable, of which the names of many of them ſhall heere followe.

Maiſter Pellham loſt eleuen hūdred Sheepe at Mumby Chappell.

In Sommercote were loſt fiue. C. Sheepe, that were of the inhabitants there.

Item, betweene Humerſton and Grimſby, were loſt eleuen C. Sheepe of one M. Spēcers, whoſe Shepherde aboute midday, comming to his wife, aſked his dinner, and ſhee beeyng more bolde than mannerly, ſayd, he ſhould haue none of hir, then he chanced to looke toward the marſhes where the Sheepe were, and ſawe the water breake in ſo fiercely, that the Sheepe woulde bee loſt, if they were not broughte from thence, ſayd, that he was not a good Shepherde that would not venture his life for his Sheepe, and ſo went ſtraight to driue them from thēce, both hee and his Sheepe were drowned, and after the water being gone, hee was founde dead, ſtanding vpright in a ditche.

M. Thimbleby loſt two C. & twenty ſheepe.

Maiſter Dymock loſt four hundred ſheepe.

Maiſter Marſh loſt fiue hundred ſheepe.

Maiſter Madiſon loſt a Shippe.

Maiſter William Aſkugh of Kelſey, Sir Hugh Aſkugh, Maiſter Merin, Maiſter Fitz Williams of Maplethorp, loſt by eſtimation twenty thouſand of Cattell, one and other.

Borne was ouerflowed to the midway of the heigth of the Churche.

Steeping was wholly carried away, where was a wayne loade of willow toppes, yͤ body of the waine, with the willowes carried one way, and the axiltree and wheeles another way.

Huntingdonſhire.

In the Towne of Sainte Edes, the water flowed into the towne in ſuche abundance, that it ranne through the Towne and Church, beeing in the myddeſt thereof, hauing aboute the Churchyard a bricke wall of two yards hygh, was ſo ouerflowed, that boates were rowed ouer it, without touching of the ſame.

Item, a little from Huntingdon, were three men riding vpon the cauſey, being then ouerflowed (the water on the cauſey beeyng not deepe, and thinking no daunger therein) chaunced to come into a place where the water hadde galled away the earth, and the grauel, were carried away with the water: and willowes growing on both ſides the way, two of thē caughte holde on the willowes, and left their Horſes, and ſaued themſelues, and the third chanced to catch a very little twigge of a willowe betweene hys fingers, hauing very little holde, and forſakyng his Horſe, which was carried a great way from him, had muche paine to keepe his holde on the twigge, and hold his head aboue the water, and his Horſe returning with force agaynſte the ſtreame, came againe vnto him, and vnder him, by which meanes he ſet his feete vpon him, and gate better hold of the willow, and ſo ſaued him ſelfe, and the Horſe was immediately carried away, that he neuer ſawe him after.

Item, Holland, Leueringtō, Newton Chappel in the Sea, lōg Stutton, and Holbich, were ouerflowen. And in thys Countrey alſo was great loſſe of Cattell.

Staffordſhire.

In the lowe partes in Moreland, in a little Towne called Cliffeeld, there was a man, hys wife, and a ſucking childe in hir armes ouerwhelmed and ſlayne by the violence of the waters, and of the boyſterous windes.

VVarwickeſhire.

The water called Auen, yͭ paſſeth by yͤ towne called Stratford vpon Auen, did run with ſuch violence, that meeting with the water called the Seuerne, droue it backe tenne miles againſt the courſe, ouerflowing much groũd, and drowning much Cattell.

Buckinghamſhire.

In Newport panell were two houſes ouerthrowen, and in one of them an olde man and an olde woman were ouerwhelmed and ſlayne.

And in the ſame Towne, on the backe ſide of the Sarazens head, the water did ſpring out of the harde grauellie ground, and flowed ſo faſt, that certaine Merchants (ſitting there at dinner) were faine to riſe and departe from thence to ſaue themſelues.

Sir Henry Ley Knight (dwelling at Quarrington) loſt by the flouds the number of three thouſand ſheepe, beſides Horſe and other Cattell, a great number.

Suſſex.

In the Wiſhe at Rie (a place ſo called) the water came in ſo ſuddainely, and flowed ſo high about midnight, that it was eyght or nine foote high in mens houſes, in ſomuch, that if one William White had not called them vp, ſome of them had like to haue bin drowned, and the ſame William White hauing a boate, ſette a greate companie of them out of their Windowes, and carried them to drie land as faſt as he could fetch them, which were in great daunger & feare, and glad to eſcape with their liues.

Moreouer, the water came in ſo vehemently there, that it brake into the mariſhes, and made ſuche way, that where of late yeares, and nowe before this great floud came, a cockeboate could not paſſe in at a lowe water, nowe a fiſherman drawing ſixe foote water and more, may come in at a lowe water, and at a full ſea, the greateſt Shippe the Queenes Maieſtie hath, may come in, and haue good harbrough there. The continuance of the ſame will not only bee profitable to the moſt part of the inhabitants there, but alſo commodious to all the Queenes ſubiectes trauellers by ſea.

And whereas one of the owners of a greate parte of the ſame marſhes hadde certaine polles ſet vp therein (and beeing very meete and in conueniente place of the ſame Marſhe) for the drying of their fiſhing nettes, and receyued money yearely of thoſe that dryed their nettes there ſufficiently ynough: yet he cauſed his ſeruaunte to pull vp the poles, and lay them in an houſe ſtanding in the ſame marſhe: and alſo cõmaunded his ſeruaunt to giue them warning, that they ſhuld no more hang their nettes there, except they woulde come and compound wyth him for it.

And the ſame night (by Gods prouidence) it came ſo to paſſe, that according to hys ſaying (though contrary to his good will and minde) they are not lyke to hang their nettes there any more, bycauſe of the depth of the water is ſo great, and like to continue.

In hope of continuance of the ſame newe opened Hauen, certaine men of the ſame towne haue begunne to builde faire barkes to trauell the Seas, the whiche in continuance of time, will bee a great furtherance to the maintenance of the Queenes nauy.

At the blacke ſhore ende, before the ſayde floud, no boate could paſſe further than the ſhore ende, and nowe a boate that draweth ſixe foote water, may come in at a low water.

Without the barre, the water is deeper than it was, by two foote and more in the Channell.

Kent.

At Prum hill marſhe, four miles from Rie, the water came in ſo outragiouſly, that it brake downe the marſh walles, one maiſter Bury being owner thereof, who loſt by the ſame a thouſande C. one threeſcore & two of his Sheepe, and it is thought that the mariſhe is neuer lyke to be gotten againe.

Item, at Erith breache, a Marriner riding by the marriſhes, ſeeyng two maydens in the marſhes, and perceyuing the waters breakyng in ſo faſt, that the maydes were not like to eſcape, rode vnto them, and one of them gate vp behynde hym, and the other tooke holde on the Horſe taile, and by that were both ſaued from drowning.

In the ſame marſhe were drowned a greate number of Sheepe.

Item, there in a marſh lãd that was ſowen, were two boyes keeping Crowes, in the after noone ſeeing yͤ water breaking in ſo vehemẽtly, gat them into a Cart that was not farre from them, where they were fayne to tarrie vntill the next tyde, which came in ſo boyſterouſly, that it had like to ouerthrowne both the Cart and the boyes, and the one of them beeing more ſtronger than the other, kept the other in his armes, where he with colde, wet, and feare, dyed, ſo that hee was fayne to lette hym fall from him into the water, when he perceyued that hee was paſt recouerie.

A little from that place were alſo drowned a thouſande of Sheepe, and manye other Cattell.

From

Eſſex.

From a Towne called Raynam, vnto the Towne named Mauldon, all along by the water ſide were the mariſhes all ouerflowen, wherin were a great number of Cattell drowned.

Suffolke.

In Clay were two Shyppes laden wyth Danſke ware which came to ſhore, with no mã in thẽ, nor any man can tell of whence they are.

In Clay, the dwellers there loſt a verye greate parcell of ſalte and herrings barrelled, beeyng houſed in an houſe walled with bricke, three foote thicke, and yet the wall was broken downe.

Alſo, there was loſt much ſaffron grounde, with many other things moe, to the great hinderance of many a man.

Item, in Walderſwicke, Dunwich, & Blaybrooke, was great loſſe of boorde, planke, timber, and ſalte.

Oxforde.

A greate parte of the bridge by Magdalen Colledge, was borne cleane away, and manye trees were turned vp by the roote.

Stowe.
An. reg. 13.

The three and twentith of January, the Queenes Maieſtie, accompanyed with hir nobilitie, came from hir houſe at the Strand, called Somerſet place, and entred the Citie of Lõdon by Temple Barre, Fleeteſtreete, Cheape, and ſo by the North ſyde of the Burſſe, to Sir Thomas Greſhams in Biſhoppes gate ſtreete, where ſhe dyned.

Royal exchange.

After dynner, hir grace returning through Cornehill, entred the Burſſe on the South ſide, and after hir highneſſe hadde viewed euery parte thereof, aboue grounde, eſpecially the Pawne, whyche was richly furniſhed wyth all ſortes of the fyneſt wares in the Citie, ſhee cauſed the ſame Burſſe, by an Herrault and a Trumpet, to bee proclaymed the Royall exchange, ſo to bee called from thence forthe, and not otherwiſe.

Strange kind of earth mouing.

The ſeuenteenth of February, at a place called Kynnaſton, neere Marleche hyll, in the County of Herforde, was ſeene the grounde to open, and certayne rockes wyth a peece of ground remoued, and wente forward the ſpace of foure dayes, makyng at the fyrſte a terrible noyſe as it went on the earth, it remoued it ſelfe betweene .vj. of the clocke in the euening, & .vij. the nexte morrow forty paces, carrying greate trees and ſheepe coates, ſome ſheepe coates wyth threeſcore ſheepe in them, ſome trees fell into the chinkes, other that grewe on the ſame grounde, growe nowe as firmely on a hill, and ſome that ſtoode Eaſt, ſtande Weſt, and thoſe that ſtoode Weſt, ſtand Eaſt. The depth of the hole where it firſt brake out, is thirtie foote, the breadth of the breach is eyght ſcore yards, and in length aboue twenty ſcore yardes. It ouerthrew Kinnaſton Chappell. Alſo two high wayes bee remoued nigh one hundred yardes, with the trees of the hedgerowes. The ground in all is ſixe and twentie acres: and where tillage grounde was, there is paſture lefte in place, and where was paſture, there is tyllage grounde gone vppon it.

The ground as it remoued, draue the earthe before it, and at the lower parte ouerwhelmed the ground, ſo that it is growen to a greate hyll of twelue faddome hyghe. It remoued from Saterday, tyll Monday at nighte following, and ſo ſtayed.

Moreouer this yeare, aboute Candlemas, Sir Thomas Sackuille, Baron of Buckhurſt was ſent in Ambaſſade frõ the Queenes Maieſtie to Charles the ninth, Frenche King, as well to congratulate for his marriage with the daughter of the Emperoure Maximilian, as for other weightie affayres. And as his Ambaſſage was greate, ſo was his charge no leſſe in furniſhing himſelfe and trayne accordingly, being both in number and furniture, ſuch in euerye poynte as dyd apperteyne, and hys receyuing and entertaynemente in Fraunce by the Kyng and others, was agreeable thereto, for hee was receyued vppon the coaſt by the gouernoures of the fortifyed Townes ryght honorably, by order from the King.

Among other, the Baron of Bournoiſell was one, who beeyng very well mounted and appoynted, lefte not hys Lordſhippe before hee came to the Courte, and from thence accompanyed hym backe vntill hys embarquemente homewardes.

In the mayne Countreys, he was accompanyed with the gouernoures and Nobles of the places aboute. And in the good Townes where hee paſſed, hee was preſented by the chiefe Magiſtrates, wherein theyr good wylles were to bee thankefully accepted, though hys Lordſhippes rewardes, farre ouer valued theyr preſents.

At his approche neere to Paris, hee was encountred on the way for courteſie ſake, by two Marqueſſes of Trans and Saluces, this beeing of the houſe of Sauoy, and the other of the worthy family of Foix. Theſe wanted not ſuche as accompanyed them, and the ſame euen of the beſt ſorte.

At the L. Ambaſſadors firſt audience, which was at the Caſtell of Madrill, otherwiſe called Bologine neere Paris (where the King then lay) the Queenes Almayn Coches very braueIy furniſhed, were ſente to Paris for him, in one of the whiche, his Lordſhip with the Marques of Trans, rode towardes the Courte, very narrowly eſcaping from a ſhrewde turne and great miſchance, by reaſon the ſame Coche was ouerthrowẽ by the Dutch Wagoners their negligence, who in a brauery gallopping the fielde, made an ouer ſhort turne, wherewith the Marques was ſore bruiſed.

The Lord Ambaſſador at his arriuall at the place, was right honorably receyued, hee was banquetted by dyuers, and that very ſumptuouſly, whiche by him was not left vnrequited to the vttermoſt, and rather with the better, for his liberalitie among the Frenche was verye large, but hys rewarde at the Kyngs hands was only a chayne, waying a thouſand french Crownes.

At that preſent, there was a great dearth and ſcarcitie of vittailes in Fraunce.

The riuer of Sayne, that runneth through Paris, was not paſſable with veſſels, by reaſon of the greate froſtes, and thereby not onely all kinde of vittayles, but alſo hey and wodde, hard to come by, and not to be hadde, but at exceſſiue priſes, the Countrey thereaboutes hauing before bin ſore harried and ſpoyled by the ciuill tumultes, by reaſon whereof, not only the Lord of Buckhurſt for the ſpace hee remayned there, but alſo Sir Henrye Norrice (nowe Lorde Norrice) and maiſter Fraunces Walſingham, hir Maieſties Ambaſſadors, ligiers ſucceſſiuely, were driuen to an increaſe in expenſes, paying for euerye thing they boughte an hygher price, than ordinarily hadde beene accuſtomed.

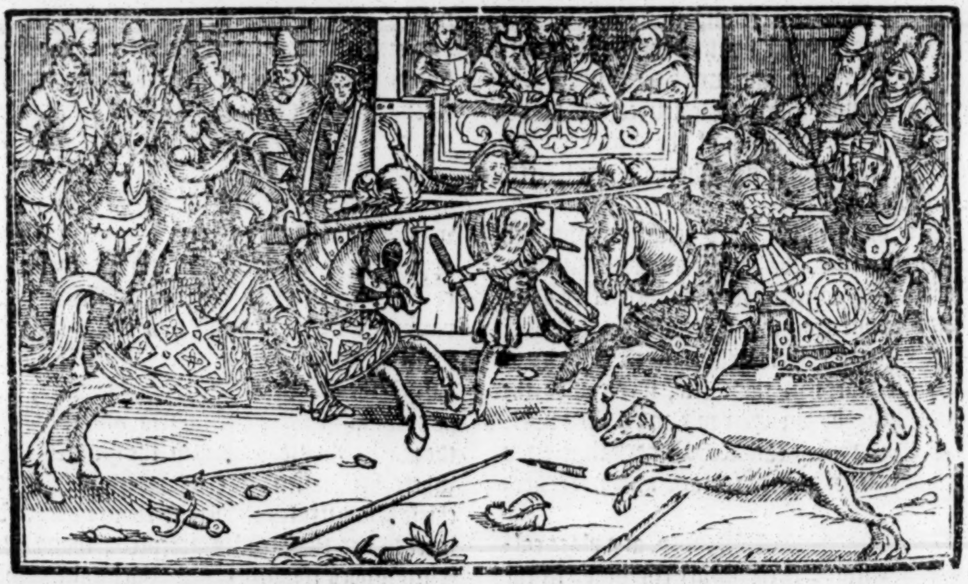
After that the Lord Buckhurſt had bin feaſted and banquetted by the Kyng, and other of the Frenche nobilitie, and had accompliſhed the poyntes of hys Ambaſſage, hee toke leaue of the Kyng, and departed homewardes, arriuing heere in Englande a little before Eaſter.

Parliament. Stow.

The ſeconde of Aprill, a Parliament began at Weſtminſter, wherein was graunted to the Queenes Maieſtie (towarde hir great charges, in repreſſing the late Rebellion in the North, and purſuing the ſayde Rebelles and theyr fautors, whiche were fledde into Scotlande) by the Cleargy, a ſubſidie of ſixe ſhillings in the poūd, and by the Temporaltie two fifteenes, with a ſubſedie of two Shillings and eyght pence in the pounde.

Iuſts at Weſtminſter.

The firſt, ſecond, and third of May, was holden at Weſtminſter before the Queenes Maieſtie, a ſolemne Iuſt at the Tilt, Tourney and Barriers. The challengers were Edward Erle of Oxforde, Charles Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and Chriſtopher Hatton Eſquier, who all dyd very valiantly, but the chiefe honor was giuen to the Earle of Oxford.



Doctor Story executed.

The fyrſt of June, John Story, a Doctor of the Canon lawe, who before hadde bin condemned of hygh Treaſon, was drawen from the Tower of London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, his head was ſette on London bridge, and his quarters on the gates of the Citie.

A combat appoynted at Tuthil.

The. xviij. of June, in Trinitie terme, there was a combat appointed to haue bin foughte for a certaine manour and demaine lands belõging therevnto, in the Iſle of Hartye, adioining to the Iſle of Shepey in Kent, Simon Lowe, and John Kime were plaintifes, & had brought a writ of righte againſte Thomas Paramore, who offered to defend his right by battail, wherevpon the plaintifes aforeſayde, accepted to aunſwer his challenge, offering lykewiſe to defende their right to the ſame mannor and landes, and to proue by battail, that Paramore had no right nor good title to haue the ſame mannor & lands. Herevpon yͤ ſayd Thomas Paramour brought before the Judges of the commō pleas at Weſtminſter, one George Thorne, a bigge, broade, ſtrong ſet fellowe, and the playntifes broughte Henry Nayler, maſter of defence, and ſeruaunt to the right honorable the Erle of Leyceſter, a proper ſlender man, and not ſo taule as yͤ other, Thorne caſt downe a gauntlet, whych Nayler toke vp. Upon the Sunday before the battaile ſhould be tryed on the next morrow, the matter was ſtayed, and the parties agreed, that Paramour being in poſſeſſion, ſhould haue the lande, and was bound in fiue hundred pounde; to conſider the plaintifes, as vpon hearing the matter, the Judges ſhould awarde. The Queenes Maieſty was the taker vp of yͤ matter, in this wiſe. It was thought good, that for Paramores aſſuraunce, the order ſhould be kept touching the combate, and that the plaintifes Lowe & Kime, ſhoulde make defaulte of appearaunce, but that yet ſuche as were ſureties for Nayler theyr Champions appearaunce, ſhould bryng him in, and likewiſe thoſe that wer ſureties for Thorne ſhoulde bring in the ſame Thorne, in diſcharge of theyr band, and that the Courte ſhoulde ſitte in Tuthill fieldes, where was prepared one plot of ground, one and twenty yards ſquare, double rayled for the combate, withoute the Weſt ſquare, a ſtage beeyng ſet vp for the Judges, repreſenting the Court of the common pleas. All the compaſſe without the liſtes, was ſette with ſcaffoldes one aboue another, for people to ſtand and beholde. There were behinde the ſquare where the Judges ſate, two tentes, the one for Naylor, the other for Thorne. Thorne was there in the morning tymely, Nayler aboute ſeauen of the clocke, came through London, apparelled in a dublet, and galeygaſcoyne breeches all of Crimoſyn ſatyn, cutte and raſed, a hat of blacke veluet, with a red fether and bande, before him drums and fifes playing: the gauntlet caſt downe by George Thorne, was borne before yͤ ſayd Nayler vpon a ſwordes poynt, and hys baſton (a ſtaffe of an elle long, made taper wiſe, tipt with horne) with his ſhielde of hard leather, was borne after him, by Aſkam, a yeoman of yͤ Queenes guarde: hee came into the palace at Weſtminſter, and ſtaying not long before the Hall dore, came backe into the Kinges ſtreete, and ſo along thorough the Sāctuary and Tothill ſtreete into the field, where he ſtayed till paſt nine of the clocke, and then ſir Jerome Bowes brought him to his Tent: Thorne being in the Tent with ſir Henry Cheyney long before. About ten of the clock, the Court of commō pleas remoued, and came to the place prepared, when the Lorde chiefe Juſtice, with two other hys aſſociates were ſet, then Lowe was called ſolemnely to come in, or elſe he to loſe his writ of right. Then after a certayne time, the ſureties of Henry Nailer were called to bring in the ſayde Nayler Champion for Simon Lowe, & ſhortly therevppon, Sir Jerome Bowes, leadyng Nayler by the hand, entreth with him the liſts, bringing hym downe that ſquare by which hee entred, beeing on the lefte hande of the Judges, and ſo about, till he came to the next ſquare, iuſt againſte the Judges, and there makyng curteſie, firſt with one legge, and then with the other, paſſed forthe till hee came to the myddle of the place, and then made the lyke obeyſaunce, and ſo paſſing tyll they came to the barre, there hee made the lyke curteſie, and hys ſhielde was helde vppe a lofte ouer hys head. Nayler put off hys nether ſtockes, and ſo bare foote and bare legged ſaue hys ſylke ſcauilones to the ankles, and hys doublet ſleeues tyed vp aboue the elbowe, and bare headed, came in as is aforeſayd. Then were the ſureties of George Thorne called to bring in the ſame Thorne, and immediately Sir Henry Cheyney entring at the vpper ende on the right hande of the Judges, vſed the lyke order in comming aboute by his ſide as Nayler had before on that other ſide, and ſo commyng to the barre with lyke obeyſaunce, helde vp hys ſhielde. Proclamation was made that none ſhoulde touche the barres, nor preſume to come within the ſame, excepte ſuche as were appoynted. After all thys ſolemne order was fyniſhed, the Lorde chiefe Juſtice rehearſing the manner of bringing the writ of Ryght by Simon Lowe, of the aunſwer made therevnto by Paramour, of the proceeding therein, and howe Paramour had challenged to defende hys righte to the land by battayle, by his champion Thomas Thorne, and of the accepting the triall that was by Lowe with hys Champion Henrye Nayler, and then for defaulte in appearaunce in Lowe, hee adiudged the lande to Paramoure, and diſmiſſed the Champions, acquiting the ſureties of their bandes.

quarel of
bat ſtayed

Hee alſo willed Henrye Nayler to render agayne to George Thorne his gauntlet, wherevnto the ſayd Nayler anſwered, that his Lordſhip might commaund him any thing, but willingly he woulde not render the ſayde gauntlet to Thorne excepte he coulde winne it: and further hee chalenged the ſayde Thorne to playe with hym halfe a ſcore blowes, to ſhewe ſome paſtime to the Lorde chiefe Juſtice, and the other there aſſembled, but Thorne aunſwered, that he came to fight, and would not play. Thẽ the Lorde chiefe Juſtice commending Naylor for his valiant courage, commanded them both quietly to depart the field. &c.

A woman brẽt at Maydſton.

The ſixteenth of July, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Heryetteſham, was found culpable of poyſoning the ſaid Thomas Chamber hir huſbande, at the aſſiſes holden at Maideſtone in the County of Kent. For the whyche fact, ſhe (hauing well deſerued) was there brent on the next morrowe.

Duke of Norfolke ſent to the Tower.

The ſeauenth of September, the Duke of Norffolke was remoued from yͤ Charterhouſe, to the Tower of London priſoner.

Biſhop of Saliſbury deceaſed.

The two and twẽtith of September, deceaſſed John Jewell Biſhop of Saliſbury, in hys life a moſt eloquent and diligent Preacher, but a farre more paynefull and ſtudious Writer, as his workes remayning beareth witneſſe, whereby his fame ſhall neuer die.

A Sermon in Paules Church for victory againſt the Turkes.

The ninth of Nouember, a Sermon was Preached in Paules Church at London, by M. William Foulkes of Cambridge, to giue thãks to almighty God for the victorie, whiche of hys mercifull clemencie it had pleaſed him to graũt to the Chriſtians in the Leuant Seas, agaynſt the common enimies of our faith, the Turkes, the ſeauenth of October laſt paſt. His Theame was taken out of the ſixtieth Pſalme of Dauids Pſalter, the fourth verſe.

Contareno.

There were preſente at this Sermon the L. Maior of London ſir William Allin, with the Aldermen and craftes in their liueries, and in yͤ euening, there were bonfiers made through the Citie, with banquetting and great reioycing, as good cauſe there was, for a victorie of ſo greate importance, to the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian common wealth: In the which were taken .130. veſſels, that is .117. Galeys, and .13. Galeots, beſide other veſſels that were bouged, abandoned, and let goe at large abroade in the Seas, as Galeys, Foiſtes, and Galeots, to the number of foureſcore or thereaboutes. And of their Chiefetaynes ſlayne in that bloudy battayle, theſe we find by name as Principall·Haly Baſſa, high Admirall of the whole nauy, Amar Bey, Captayne of the Janiſſaries, Aſſan Bey, the ſonne of Barbaroſſa, with his ſonne, Mehemet Bey, gouernour of Mitilene, Gider Bey, gouernour of Chio, Capſan Bey, gouernour of the Rhodes, Peruis Aga, gouernour of Africa, otherwiſe Mahomeda, Muſtafa Seeluby, high Treaſorer, Affis Cluaga, Captayne of Galipoli, Tramontana chiefe Maiſter of the Turkiſhe Emperours owne Galley, Caracoza, and many other, whoſe names were too long to rehearſe: but the whole number that were ſlayne of the Turkes, could not be perfectly knowẽ, by reaſon that manye were drowned in the Sea, which came not to fight.

Bizari. Contareno. Bizari.

Some yet affirme, that there were ſlayne of them in all, to the number of one and twenty thouſande, although other ſpeake but of fifteene thouſande: but Contareno writeth, that there were ſlayne and taken .29990. of whiche number, hee reconeth .3846. to haue remayned priſoners, and among them, were theſe perſons of name, Mahemet Bey, Sainus Bey, and Sirocho Bey.

There eſcaped yet from thys diſcomfiture, Partau, generall of all the menne of warre and Souldyers by lande, Ochiali, Murate Ray, with hys ſonne, and Ali Genoueſe, and wyth them aboute fortie Galeys, Foyſtes, and Fregates.

Moreouer, there were found in the Turkiſh Galeys that came into the handes of the chriſtians .116. double Canons, 265. demy Canons, and ſixteene other great peeces of braſſe: For it is to be remembred, that not only the Turkiſh galeys, but alſo the Chriſtians were throughly armed, furniſhed and appoynted with men, munition, and ordinaunce in euery behalfe.

In Haly Baſſa his galey there were aboorde iij. C. harquebuſiers Janiſſaires, and an hundred archers. In the Galey of Don Giouan Dauſtria chief Admiral of the Chriſtians wer 400. harquebuſiers Spanyards, of the tierze of Sardigna, beſide a great number of Lords and gentlemen, and alſo beſide the rowers, and in euery other galey were .ij. C. fightyng men at the leaſt, beſide the rowers, and in ſome three hundred, and in other foure hundred, according to the moulde of the veſſelles.

The number of the Chriſtian Galeyes and Galiotes, were in all two C. & two, beſyde ſixe great Galeaſſes.

The Turkes had there Galeys, Galiots, and Foiſtes, to yͤ number of two hundred and fiftie, as appereth by the accompt afore made, of thoſe that were taken, abandoned, and eſcaped.

There wer deliuered and ſet at libertie, about twelue thouſand, ſome ſay fourteene thouſande Chriſtian captiues, whom the Turkes kept for ſlaues, & had thẽ chained there aboord with thẽ in their Galeys. But this victory was not got without great loſſe of the Chriſtians, for beſide Auguſtine Barbarigo, the principal prouiditore of the Venetians, there dyed ſeuenteene other Gentlemen of Venice, beeing men of good eſtimation, John Cardone, and Bernardine Cardone Spanyardes, Virginio and Oratio Urſini Romayns, Troilo Sabello, Marco Mollino, beſide diuers other nobles and Gentlemen of name, as wel Italians, as Spanyards and Almaynes.

In all, there dyed of the Chriſtans, to the number of ſeauen thouſande ſyxe hundred fiftie and ſixe, beſide thoſe that were hurte, beeing in like number to them that were ſlayne, among the which was Don John de Auſtria, generall of all the Chriſtian army there, Sebaſtian Veniero, the Venetians generall, and the Counte de Santa Fiore, with diuers other.

Moreouer, there were Chriſtian Galeys bouged, three of the Venetiãs, one of the Popes, one belonging to the Duke of Sauoy, and an other to the Knights of Malta. There was one alſo taken and ledde away by Ochiali, and hys company. Suche was the ſucceſſe of this battayle, which continued for yͤ ſpace of ſixe houres, in the ende whereof, the victorye remaynyng with the Chriſtians, cauſed no ſmall reioyſing through all parties of Chriſtendome: for if thys victory hadde bin followed, with hys gracious helpe and aſſiſtance that was the giuer thereof, the proude and loftie horne of the Iſmaelite had bin ſo bruiſed, as peraduenture hys courage woulde haue quailed to putte forthe the ſame ſo ſpeedily as he did, but ſuche is the malice of the time, that the Chriſtians haue more pleaſure to drawe theyr weapons one againſt another, than againſt that common enimie of vs all, who regardeth neyther Proteſtante nor Catholique, (they may be ſure) thoſe of the Greekiſh Church nor others, as if the merciful prouidence of the Lorde of Hoſtes doe not in tyme diſappoynte hys proceedings, it will bee too ſoone perceyued though happily too late to ſtoppe the breache, when the floud hath gote head, and once wonne paſſage through the banke. It were therefore to bee wiſhed of all thoſe that tender the ſuretie of the Chriſtian common wealth, that Princes woulde permitte their ſubiectes to liue in libertie of conſcience, concerning matters of faithe: and that ſubiectes agayne woulde bee ready in duetifull wiſe, to obey their Princes in matters of ciuill gouernemente, ſo that compoundyng their controuerſies among themſelues, wyth tollerable conditions, they myght employ theyr forces againſt the common enimie, to the benefite of the whole Chriſtian worlde, whiche the more is the pitie, they haue ſo long exerciſed one againſt another, to each others deſtruction. And as for matters in variance about Religion, rather to decide the ſame with the word, than with the ſworde, an inſtrumente full vnfitte for that purpoſe, and not lightly vſed nor allowed of by the auntiente fathers in time of the primatiue Church. But ſith this is rather to bee wiſhed than hoped for, by anye apparant lykelyhoode, conſidering the ſtrange contrarietie of humors nowe reigning among men in ſundry partes of Chriſtendome, lette vs leaue the ſucceſſe of oure wiſhe to the pleaſure of God, the author of all good happes, who ruleth the heartes of Princes, and frameth the peoples mindes as ſeemeth beſt to hys diuine prouidence. And withall, lette vs alſo humbly offer to him oure prayers, inſtantly beſeeching him to ſpare vs in mercy, and not to rewarde vs after oure iniquities, but rather by hys omnipotente power, to turne from vs the violence of oure enimyes, in abridging theyr forces, as it maye ſeeme good to hys mercifull fauour and great clemencie.

The thirtith of December, Reynolde Grey was by the Queenes Maieſtie reſtored Earle of Kente.

Earle of Kent.

The thirteenth of January, deceaſſed Sir William Peeter Knyghte, who for hys iudgemente and pregnant witte, hadde bin Secretarye, and of priuie Counſayle to foure Kynges and Queenes of thys Realm, and ſeauen times Lorde Embaſſadoure abroade in forraine lãds: hee greately augmented Exceſter Colledge in Oxforde, and alſo builded tenne Almes houſes for the poore in the pariſhe of Ingarſton.

Sir William Peter deceaſed

The ſixteenth of January, the Lord Thomas Howarde Duke of Northfolke, was arraigned in Weſtminſter Hall, before George Lorde Talbot, Earle of Shrewſburye, hyghe Stewarde of Englande for that daye, and there by hys Peeres founde giltie of hyghe Treaſon, and hadde iudgemente accordinglye.

1572

Duke of Norfolke araigned.

The eleuenth of Februarye, Kenelme Barney, and Edmonde Mather, were drawen from the Tower of London, and Henry Rolfe from the Malſhalſey in Southwarke, all three to Tiburne, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered for Treaſon, Barney and Mather for conſpiracye, and Rolfe for counterfayting of the Queenes Maieſties hande.

Mather, Barney, and Rolfe executed.

The tenthe of Marche deceaſſed Sir William Paulet Knyghte, Lorde Sainte John, Earle of Wilſhire, Marques of Wincheſter, Knyghte of the honorable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maieſties priuie Coũſell, and Lorde high Treaſorer of Englande, at his mannonr of Baſing.

Sir William Paulet Lorde Treaſorer deceaſed.

This worthy man was borne in the yeare of oure Lorde. 1483. the fyrſte yeare of Kyng Richarde the thyrde, and lyued aboute the age of foureſcore and ſeauen yeares, in ſyxe Kynges & Queenes dayes.

He ſerued fiue Kings and Queenes, Henrye the ſeuenth, Henry the eyght, Edwarde the ſixt, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth. All theſe he ſerued faithfully, and of thẽ was greatly fauoured. Himſelfe did ſee the Children of hys Childrens Children, growing to the number of 103. A rare bleſſing giuen by God to men of his calling.

The fyue and twentith and ſixe and twentith of Marche, by the commaundement of the Queenes Maieſtie hir Counſell, the Citizens of London aſſembling at theyr ſeuerall Halles, the Maiſters collected and choſe out the moſt likely and actiue perſons of euery theyr companies, to the number of three thouſande, whome they appoynted to bee pikemen and ſhotte, the pikemen were forthwith armed in faire corſlets and other furniture, according therevnto: the Gunners hadde euery of them hys Calliuer, with the furniture, and Morians on theyr heads.

To theſe were appoynted dyuers valiaunte Captaynes, who to trayne them vppe in warlike feates, muſtered them thrice euery weeke, ſometymes in the artillerie yarde, teachyng the Gunners to handle theyr peeces, ſometimes at the Myles ende, and in Sainte Georges fielde, teaching them to ſkirmiſhe. In the whyche ſkirmiſhing on the Myles ende the tenth of April, one of the Gunners of the Goldſmithes company was ſhotte in the ſyde with a peece of a ſkouring ſticke, left in one of the Caliuers, whereof hee dyed, and was buryed the twelfth of Aprill in Sainte Paules Churchyarde: all the Gunners marchyng from the Miles ende in battell ray, ſhot off theyr Caliuers at his graue.

On May day they muſtred at Greenewiche before the Queenes Maieſtie, where they ſhewed many warlike feates, but were muche hindered by the weather, whyche was all daye ſhowring, they returned that nyght to London, and were diſcharged on the nexte morrowe.

Earles of Eſſex and Lincolne created.

The fourth of May, Walter Deuerоux, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and Viſcount of Hereforde, was created Earle of Eſſex. And Edwarde Fines Lord Clinton and Say, high Admirall of Englande, was created Earle of Lincolne.

Barons made.

The eyght of May, the Parliamente beganne at Weſtminſter, and that ſame daye in the Parliamente, by the Queenes Maieſties Writtes, Sir Henry Compton Knight, Lorde of Compton in the hole, Sir Henrye Cheyney Knyght, Lorde of Todington, Sir William Paulet Knyghte of Baſing, and Sir Henrye Norres Knyght, Lorde of Ricote, were called Barons into the higher houſe.

Roages bre through the eare.

In this Parliament, for ſomuch as yͤ whole Realme of Englande was exceedingly peſtered with Roges, Vagabonds, and ſturdy Beggers, by meanes whereof, dayly happened diuers horrible murthers, theftes, and other greate outrages, it was enacted, that all perſons, aboue the age of fourteene yeares, beeyng taken begging, vagrant, and wandring miſorderly, ſhoulde bee apprehended, whipped, and brente through the griſtle of the right eare, with a hote yron of one ynch compas for the firſt time ſo taken.

Martin Bullocke hange at the well with two buckettes.

The foure and twentith of May, Martin Bullocke was hanged on a Gibbet by the well with two buckets in Biſhoppes gate ſtreete of London, for robbing, and moſt ſhamefully murthering of a Merchant named Arthur Hall, in the Perſonage of S. Martin by the ſaide well.

This Martin had procured the ſaid Arthur Hall, to come to the ſaide Perſonage, to buy of hym certaine plate, but after the ſaid Arthur had wel viewed the ſame, he ſaid, this is none of your plate, it hathe Doctor Gardners marke, and I knowe it to be his: That is true ſaide Martin Bullocke, but he hath appointed me to ſell it. &c. After this talke, whileſt the ſaide Arthur was waying the plate, the ſame Martin fet out of the Kitchen a thicke waſhing beetle, and comming behinde him, ſtrake the ſaid Arthur on the head, that he felled him with the firſt ſtroke, and then ſtrake him againe, and after tooke the ſayde Arthurs dagger, and ſticked him, & with his knife cutte his throte, and after woulde haue truſſed him in a Danſke cheſt, but the ſame was too ſhorte, whereuppon hee tumbled him downe a paire of ſtaires, and after thinking to haue buried him in the ſeller, his legges being broken with the firſt fall, and ſtiffe, he coulde not drawe hym downe the ſeller ſtaires being winding, wherefore he cut off his legges with an hatchet, and in the ende, truſſed him with ſtrawe in a drye fat, and ſaying it was his apparell and Bookes, cauſed the ſame to be caried to the water ſide, and ſo ſhipped to Rie: but as God would haue it, there was ſuſpition gathered againſt the murtherer, whereby hee was examined before Alderman Branche, then one of the Sheriffes of London, but ſo ſmall likelihoode appeared that he ſhoulde be giltie, that there was an honeſt man dwelling in Saint Laurence Pontney, named Roberte Gee a Clothworker, ſuppoſing the offendor to bee cleere in the matter, vndertooke for hys forthe commyng: whereuppon Bullocke beeyng ſuffered to goe at libertie, ſlipte away, fyrſte to Weſtminſter, and there takyng boate, paſſed vppe the Riuer, and commyng a lande beyonde Kyngſton, paſſed forthe, tyll hee came to Okingham, in the

Herevpon the ſayde ſir William Drurie, hauing with him ſir Frauncis Ruſſell, ſir George Carie, ſir Henrie Lee, maiſter Thomas Cicill, maiſter Michaell Carie, Captaine Brickwell, Captaine Read, Captaine Erington maiſter of the Ordinance and Prouoſt Marſhall, captaine Pickman, captaine Parley, Captaine Game, Captaine Wood, Captaine Caſe, Captayne Strelley, maiſter Thomas Sutton, maiſter Cotton, maiſter Kelway, maiſter Dier, maiſter Tilney, and others, with the number of the ſouldiours and Pioners afore mentioned, paſſed frō Barwik, and by conuenient iourneys came vnto Lieth, from whence the. xxv. of Aprill all the foote bandes marched to Edenbourgh, at whom were ſhot after they entred the towne, dyuerſe and ſundrie Canon ſhottes out of the Caſtell, which did little harme to any of them (thankes be to God) ſauing that captaine Brickwell was hurt in the face and handes with ſtones rayſed by the ſayde Canon ſhotte. The ſame day the Caſtell was ſommoned by a Meſſenger in maner as followeth.

Sir William Kirkaudie, ſometyme of Graunge, knight, for as muche as the Queenes Maieſtie my ſoueraigne Ladie, vpon the earneſt requeſt of hir deare couſin the King of Scottes your ſoueraigne Lorde, made to hir highneſſe by his Regent, Nobilitie, and ſtates of this realme, after all good meanes vſed to haue reduced you to dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which hitherto you haue not duly hearkned vnto, to the only hinderance of the vniuerſall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highneſſe Caſtell, meaning as it ſeemeth to reſerue the ſame for a receptacle of forraine forces, to the manifeſt daungers both of this Realme, and of my ſoueraignes, and therefore neceſſarie to remoue ſo perillous a danger to both the realmes: for which conſideration, hir maieſtie hath ſente hir ayde and ſuccours of men, Ordinaunce, and Munition, vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the ſayde Caſtell, to the ſayde Kings vſe and behoofe: and therefore according to hir Maieſties commaundement and Commiſſion, this ſhall be in due maner to warne, require, and ſommon you, that you render and delyuer the ſayde Caſtell, wyth the whole Ordinance, Artillerie, Munitions, Iewels, Houſeholde ſtuffe, and ſuche other implements within the ſame to mee, to the vſe and behoofe of the King your ſoueraigne, and his regent in his name, immediatly after this my letter of ſommons or knowledge of the ſame, ſhall come vnto you: which if you obey, as of duetie you ought, then will I in hir Maieſties name interpone my ſelfe to trauaile with the Regent, Counſaile, and Nobilitie here, for the ſafetie of your lyues. &c. Otherwiſe if you continue in your former obſtinacie, abyding the Canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauour: but you and the reſt within that Caſtell to be purſued to the vttermoſt, and holden as enimies to hir maieſtie, your owne ſoueraigne and Countrey. Yeuen at Edenburgh by me ſir William Drurie knight, generall of hir Maieſties forces nowe in Scotlande, thys. xxv. of Aprill. 1573.

The Larde of Graunge Captaine of the Caſtell, notwithſtanding this ſommonaunce, refuſed vtterly to yeelde the fortreſſe, who therevpon receyued ſuch aunſwere from the Generall, as ſtoode not greatly to his contentation. Herevpon were the Pioners ſet in hande to caſt Trenches, and to rayſe Mountes in places conuenient to plant the Ordinaunce vpon, as by the draught of the plot therof, and herevnto annexed may appeare.

They within ſpared not to beſtow ſuch ſhot as they had, both great and ſmall, verie roundly, as well at the Pioners as ſouldiours that were appoynted to garde them: inſomuch that dyuerſe were hurt, and ſome ſlaine, before the ſame Trenches and Mountes might bee brought to any perfection, although no diligence was wanting to haſten the ſame.

Amongſt other, one Duberie Lieutenant to Captaine Strelley, was ſtriken with a ſmall ſhot, the firſt day that the ſiege thus began, and dyed of the hurt.

The laſt of Aprill alſo, one maiſter Maunſfield a gentleman, ſeruing vnder captaine Read, was hurt, but yet without daunger of death.

The. viij. of May, maiſter Neuill a Pencioner was alſo hurt.

Thus diuerſe were hurt, and ſome ſlaine, both Engliſhmen and Scottes without, and they within eſcaped not altogither free, eſpecially after that the Trenches and Mountes were brought in ſtate to defende the aſſaylantes, who watching and warding in the trenches, anſwered them within the Caſtell verie roughly. At length the great Ordinance was placed on the Mountes, and in the Trenches, ſo that vpon the. xvij. of May there were. xxx. Canons, ſhotte off, agaynſt the Caſtell, and ſo well beſtowed in batterie at Dauids tower, that by the ruynes thereof then and after the force of the Engliſh Canons was eaſie to conſider.

Dauids tower.

The. xviij. xix. and. xx. of May, the Canons and demie Canons, were not ydle, but the. xxj. the whole batterie beganne on eche ſide the Caſtell, from the Trenches and Mountes verie hotely, and ſtill they within ceaſſed not to make anſwere againe with their artillerie, killing and hurting diuerſe, both Engliſhmen and Scottes, but ſuch was the diligence of the Engliſh Gunners

The batterie begon on eche ſide the caſtell.

ners, encouraged wyth the preſence of the Generall and others, that they diſplaced the Ordinaunce in the Caſtell, and ſtroke one of theyr chiefe Canons iuſt in the mouth, whereby the ſame was broken in peeces, and the ſhyuers flue aboute their eares that ſtoode neare it, by reaſon whereof the Engliſhmen reſted the more in quiet continually after, ſo long as the ſiege endured: Albeit with theyr ſmall ſhotte and ſome tyme wyth theyr great, they wythin ſlue and hurt dyuerſe as well Gunners as other of the Engliſhmen and Scottes in the Mountes and Trenches.

Peter Burford and Clement Wood gunners ſlaine.

The. xxvj. of May, the Aſſault was giuen at ſeuen of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre, which by the hardie manhoode of the aſſaylants was woonne, and was no ſooner entred by the Engliſhmen, but that the Generals enſigne was ſhewed and ſpred vpon the front and toppe thereof, to the great diſcomfort of them within the Caſtell.

The Spurre woonne.

In the meane tyme, whyleſt thoſe were appoynted to gyue the aſſault thus to the Spurre, there were certaine Engliſhe men and Scottes commaunded to make a countenaunce of an aſſault at the Weſt ſyde of the Caſtell, whereby thoſe that aſſaulted the Spurre, myght the more eaſilye obteyne theyr purpoſe, but they raſhlye aduenturing further than they had in commaundement, were beaten backe and repulſed, with twentie and eyght, or thirtie of their companie Scottes and Engliſh, ſlaine and hurte.

A noble courage forgitting his dutie.

Sir Frauncis Ruſſell for diſobeying the generals commaundement, in going to the aſſault at the Spurre, contrarie to his generals will and pleaſure (hauing an eſpeciall care for the ſafetie of his perſon) vpon his returne from that ſeruice was by the Generals commaundement committed to warde.

They within the caſtell demaund parley.

Moreouer the ſame day towardes night, they within the Caſtell by a drumme demaunded parley, which being graunted, with a ſurſeance of all hoſtilitie from that houre (which was about fiue of the clocke in the after noone of that day, being the. xxvj. of May) vnto the. xxviij. day of the ſame Moneth, the Larde of Peterroe was let downe by a rope from the Caſtell: and afterwardes the Larde of Graunge himſelfe, the Captaine of the Caſtell, and Robert Meluin came likewiſe downe to talke with the generall, and ſuch other as were appoynted to accompanie him. B Hereupon at length, to witte the ſayd xxviij. of May, the Caſtell was ſurrendred into the handes of Sir William Drurie, Generall of the Engliſh forces there. And ſo it reſted in his poſſeſſion for the tyme, and his Enſigne was ſet vppe, and ſpredde during the ſame time in ſundrie places of the Caſtell, and afterwardes, to the greate honour of England, by him it was delyuered vnto the vſe of the king of Scottes.

Queene Eliz beth a fayth holder.

The. xvj. of June the priſoners were deliuered by the ſayde ſir William Drurie, in preſence of ſundrie Scottes and Engliſhmen vnto the handes of the Regent, and that done, the ſame day the ſayde ſir William Drurie wyth hys power departed homewardes to Barwike.

The names of the priſoners were theſe.

Sir William Kirkaudie Larde of Graunge, and Capitayne of the Caſtell of Edenbourgh.

The Lorde Hume.

The Lord of Ledington, Secretarie.

The Lard of Peterroe, Conſtable of the caſtell.

The Counteſſe of Irguile.

The Ladie of Ledington.

The Ladie of Graunge, with others.

But yet the priuate ſouldiours, and others of the meaner ſort, were ſuffred to depart with bagge and baggage.

Thus by the valiant prowes, and worthie policie of ſir William Drurie, our Queenes Maieſties Generall, and other the Captaines and ſouldiours vnder his charge, was that Caſtell of Edenbourgh woonne (as before yee haue heard) which by the common opinion of men, was eſteemed impregnable, and not to bee taken by force: inſomuche as many thought it tooke the name of the Mayden Caſtell, for that it had not beene woonne at any tyme before, except by famine or practiſe: but ſuche is the force of the Canon in this age, that no Forteſſe, be it neuer ſo ſtrong, is able of it ſelfe to reſyſt the puyſſaunce thereof, if the ſituation be of that nature, as the grounde aboute it will ſerue to conuey the great artillerie to bee planted in batterie agaynſt it.

Haile in No thamtonſhire

The ſeuenth of June, betwene the houres of one and two of the clocke in the after noone, a great tempeſt of haile and raine hapned at Toceſter in Northamtonſhire, wherethrough ſixe houſes in that towne were borne downe, and fourtene more ſore periſhed with the waters which roſe of that tempeſt: the hailſtones were ſquare, and ſixe ynches about, one childe was there drowned, and many ſheepe with other cattell, which when the water was fallen, many of them were lying on the highe hedges, where the waters had left them.

Thomas Woodhouſe.

The. xvj. of June, Thomas Woodhouſe, a Prieſt of Lincolnſhire, who had laine long priſoner in the Fleete, was arraigned in the Guildhall of London, and there condemned of highe treaſon, who had iudgement to bee hanged and

quartered

The names of ſuch Gentlemen and Captaines as had *charge at the ſiege and wynning of Edenburgh* Caſtell. Anno.1573.

Sir VVilliam Drurie generall of hir maieſties forces there.
Sir Fraunc is Ruſſel Knight.
Maiſter Henrie Killigrew hir maieſties amba ſſadoure at that preſent in Scotland.
Captaine Reade.
Captaine Erington maiſter of the ordinance and prouoſt Marſhal, by whoſe skilful induſtrie and knowledge got by diligent foremarking the ſtate and manner of that fortreſſe, the enterpriſe was the more ſpedily atchieued.
Captaine Pikeman.
Captaine Gamme.
Captaine VVood.
Captaine Caſe.
Captaine Sturley.
Maiſter Thomas Barton.

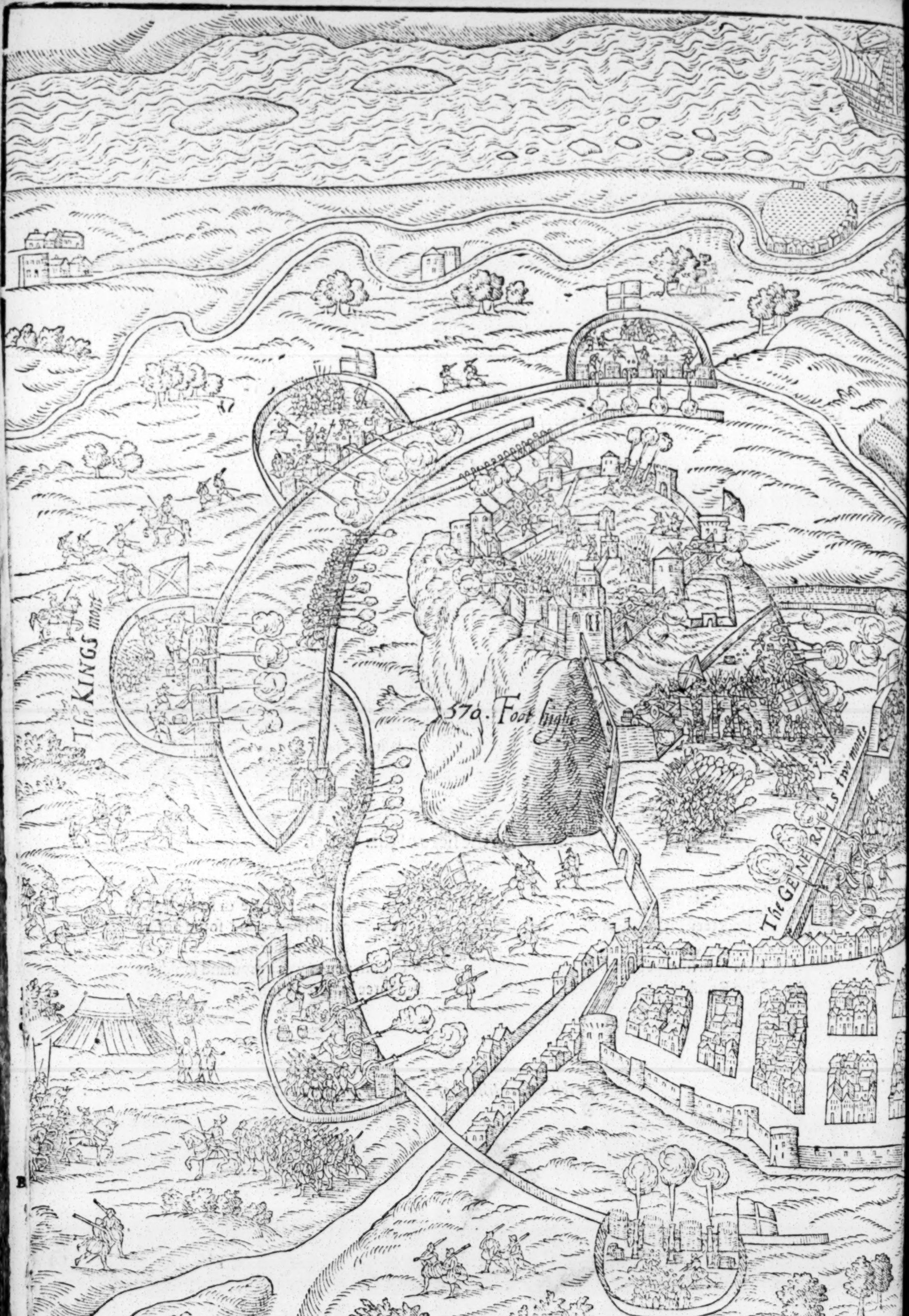
The names of ſuche Gentlemen as went thyther to ſerue of their owne free vvilles.

Sir George Carie Knight.
Sir Henry Lee Knight.
Maiſter Thomas Cicel.
Maiſter Michael Carie.
Maiſter Henry Carie.
Maiſter VVilliam Knolles.
Maiſter Thomas Sutton.
Maiſter Cotton.
Maiſter Kelway.
Maiſter Dier.
Maiſter Tilney.
Maiſter VVilliam Killigrew
Maiſter VVilliam Selby, and diuerſe other.

Artillerie brought from Barwike by ſea to Leith, and ſo to the ſiege of this Caſtel.

Sixe double Cannons.
Fourteene whole Culuerins.
Two Sacres.
Two Mortuys peeces.
Two Bombardes.
Beſide theſe there were three or foure Peeces of the Scottiſh Kings, and foure or fiue bands of Scottes Souldiers.
The Engliſh power was a thouſand ſouldiers and three hundred Pioners.

Place this in the Hiſtorie of England Page, 1868.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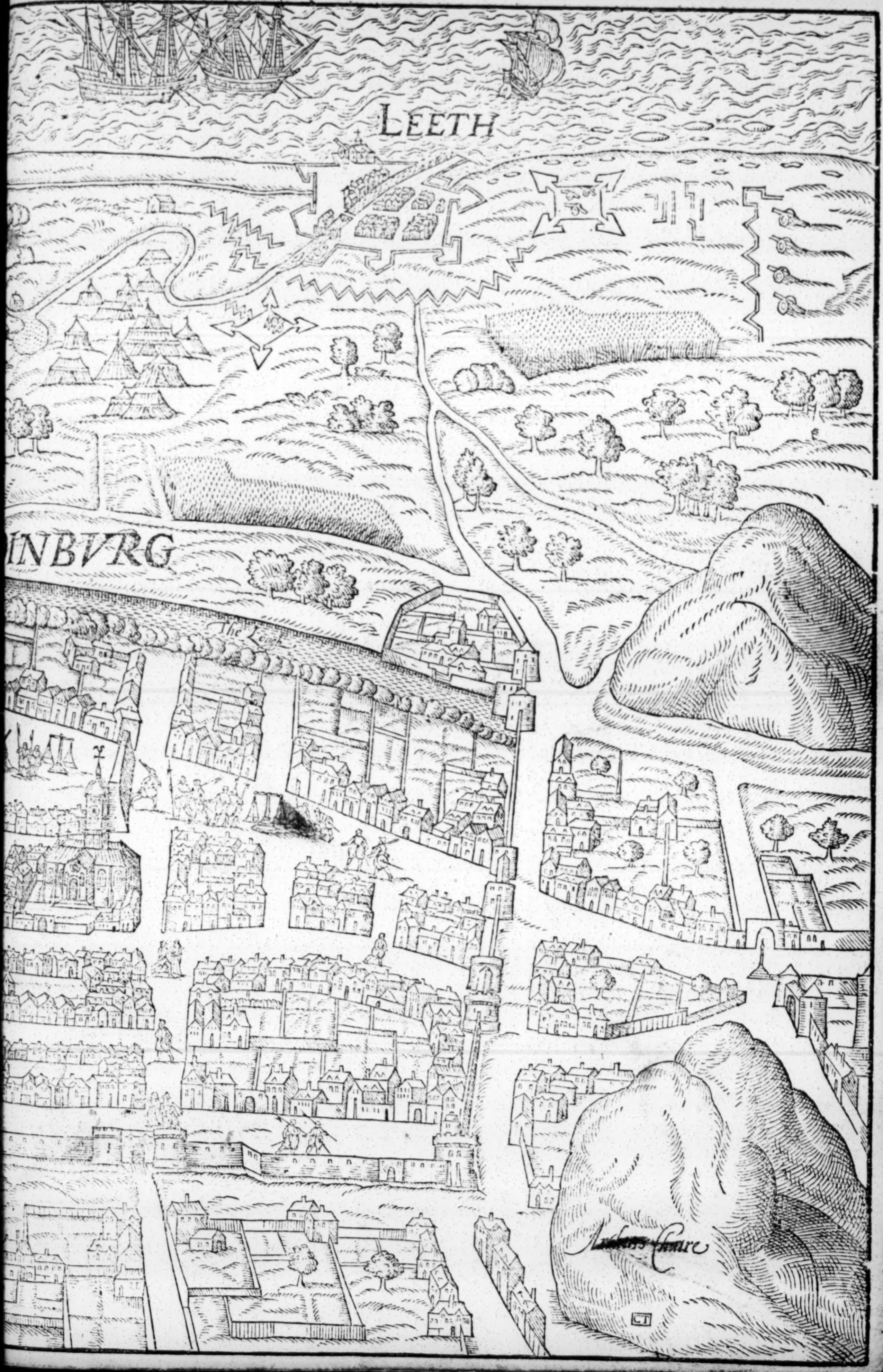
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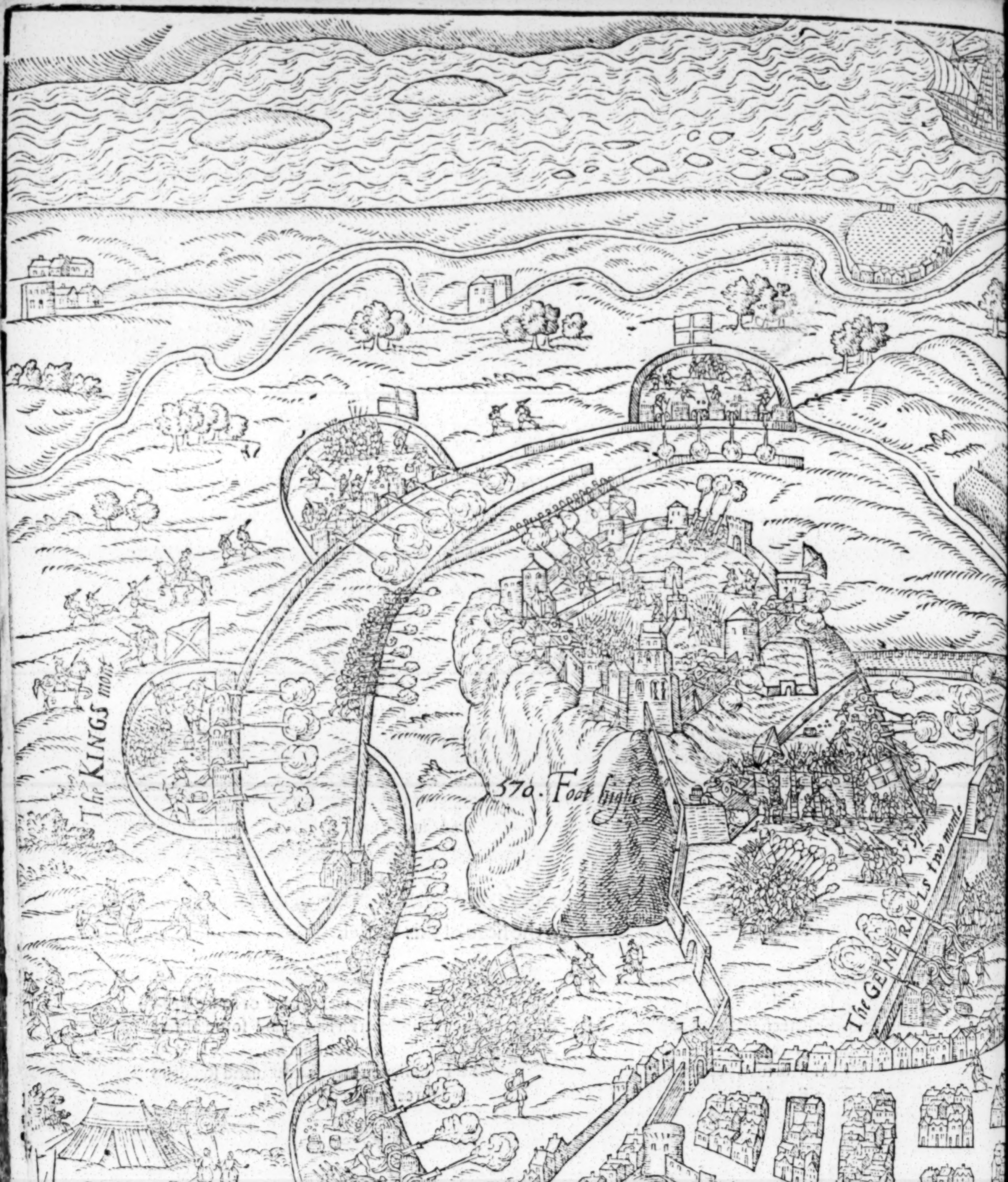
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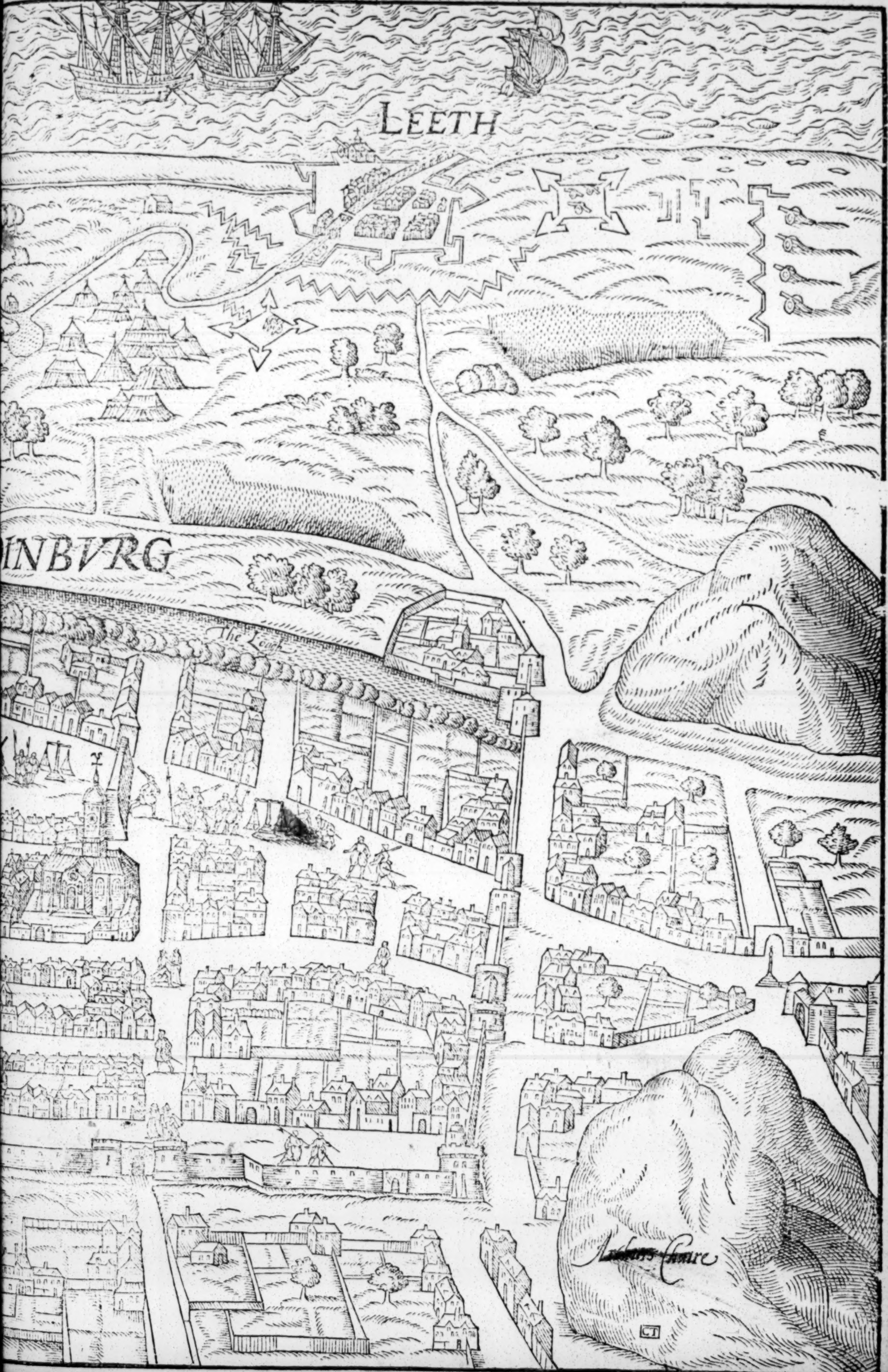
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quartered,and was executed at Tiburne the.xix of Iune.

Erle of Eſſex and the Lorde Riche with other ſayled into Irelande.

The.xvj.of Auguſt,Walter Erle of Eſſex, accompanyed with the Lorde Riche,and diuerſe other Gentlemen, embarked themſelues in ſeuerall ſhippes at Leirpoole , and the winde ſitting verie well, tooke theyr voyage towardes Irelande.

The Earle after many and great daungers on the Sea, at length wan Copemans Ilande, from whence in a Piniſe of Captaine Perces,he was brought ſafe to Knockfergus. The Lorde Riche with the like daunger landed at Caſtell Killiſe, where being met by Captaine Malbie, maiſter Smith,and maſter Moore Pencioners, was conducted to Inche Abbay maiſter Malbis houſe,where he had in a readineſſe on the morrow morning a hundred and fiftie horſemen for theyr ſafegarde to Knockfergus, beſide fiftie Kernes which went a foote through the Woods: there was among theſe a thirtie Bowes with a Bagpype, the reſt had Dartes. Sir Bryan Makephelin had preyed the Countrey, and taken away what was to be caryed or dryuen,but on the ſixt of September he came to Knockfergus,to the Earle of Eſſex, and there made his ſubmiſſion: the number of kine were eſteemed thirtie thouſand,beſides ſheepe and ſwine.

After him Ferdorough Macgillaſticke, the blinde Scots ſonne, Roze, Oge, Macwilline did the like, and diuerſe other ſent their Meſſengers to the erle,to ſignifie that they were at his lordſhips diſpoſition,as the Baron of Dongarrowe Condenell,Odonell and the captaine of Kylulto.

le of Eſſex ptaine generall of Vlſter Ireland.

The Erle of Eſſex hauing the Countrey of Clanyboy & other,the Q. Maieſtie of England directed hir letters to the Lorde Deputie of Irelande, willing him to make by Commiſſion the Earle of Eſſex Captaine generall of the Iriſhe Nation in the Prouince of Vlſter, and to deuide the Countrey woonne, Clanyboy and elſe where.&c.

ter Burchet unded M. wkins.

ter Burchet nd to be an etike.

The.xj.of October,Peter Burchet Gentleman of the middle Temple , with his Dagger ſodainly aſſayled,cruelly wounded,and ment to haue murdered a ſeruiceable Gentleman named Iohn Hawkins eſquire, as he with ſir William Winter,and an other gentlemen, rode towardes Weſtminſter , in the highe ſtreete neare to the Strand, beyond the Temple barre of London, for which fact the ſayde Burchet beeing apprehended and committed to the Tower,was after examined concerning the fact , who aunſwered that he tooke the ſayde Maiſter Hawkins for an other Gentleman, and being further examined, he was founde to holde certaine erronious opinions,for the which hee was ſent to the Lollards Tower,from thence being called into the conſiſtorie of Poules Church, before the right reuerend father Edwin Biſhop of London , and other,and by them examined,he ſtoode in his opinions, till the ſentence of death , as an heretike was readie to haue beene pronounced agaynſte him on the fourth of Nouember: but through the earneſt perſwaſions of dyuerſe learned men, who tooke great paynes in that matter , hee renounced,forſwore, and abiured his opinions for erronions and damnable,promiſing neuer to returne to them,and alſo willingly to do and performe all ſuch penance as the Biſhop his Ordinarie ſhould enioyne him.

Peter Burchet abiured his hereſie, and ſubmitted himſelfe to doe penance.

The.ix.of Nouember, the ſayd Peter Burchet was remoued from the Lollards Tower, to the Tower of London , where on the nexte morrow about noone, whileſt one that had kept him companie was gone downe, and locked the doore after him,leauing an other with him called Hugh Longworth, who ſtoode at the Window reading in the Bible,the ſayd Burchet walking vp and downe in the Chamber, tooke a Billets ende out of the fire,and knocked the ſayd Longworth on the head, and left not till he had ſtryken him ſtarke deade, for the which on the next morrow he was arraigned and condemned at Weſtminſter , and then returned to Somerſet houſe,where he remayned that night,and on the next morrow being the twelfe of Nouember,he was brought to the Gybet,where after his right hande being ſtriken off,and nayled to the Gibet, he was hanged nigh the place where he wounded maiſter Hawkins.

Peter Burchet killeth his keeper.

Peter Burchet hanged.

An. reg. 16.

This yeare aboute Lammas , wheate was ſolde at London for three ſhillings the Buſhell, but ſhortly after it was raiſed to foure ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, ſixe ſhillings, and before Chriſtmaſſe to a Noble,and ſeuen ſhillings,whiche ſo continued long after: biefe was ſolde for twentie pens,and two and twenty pens the ſtone,and all other fleſh and white meates at an exceſſiue price,all kinde of ſaltfiſhe verie deare,as fiue herings two pence. &c. yet greate plentie of freſhe fiſhe,and oft tymes the ſame verie cheape: peaſe at foure ſhillings the buſhell,Otemeale at foure ſhillings eight pens. Bay ſalt at three ſhillings the Buſhell.&c. All this dearth notwithſtanding, (thankes bee gyuen to God) there was no want of any thing to hym that wanted not money.

Dearth without ſcarcitie.

1574

Prieſts ſaying Maſſe apprehended.

The fourth of Aprill being Palme Sunday there was taken ſaying of Maſſe in the Lorde Morleys houſe within Algate of London , one Albon Dolman Prieſt, and the Ladie Morley with hir children , and diuerſe others were alſo taken hearing of the ſayde Maſſe. There was alſo taken the ſame day and houre for ſaying

Maſſe at the Ladie Gilfordes in Trinitie lane, one Oliuer Heywood Prieſt: and for hearing of the ſayde Maſſe, the ſayde Ladie Gilforde with diuerſe other Gentlewomen. There was alſo taken at the ſame inſtaunt in the Ladie Browns houſe in Cow lane for ſaying Maſſe, one Thomas Heywood Prieſt, and one John Cowper Prieſt, with the Ladie Browne, and diuerſe other were likewiſe taken being hearers of the ſayde Maſſe. All which perſons were for the ſame offences, indicted, conuicted, and had the lawe according to the ſtatute in that caſe prouided. There was alſo founde in their ſeueral Chapels, diuerſe latin bookes, Beades, Images, Palmes, Chalices, Croſſes, veſtmentes, Pixes, Paxes, and ſuch like.

A monſtrous fiſh (but not ſo monſtrous as ſome reported) for his eies being great, were in his heade and not in his backe.

The .ix. of July at ſix of the clocke at night, in the Ile of Thanet beſides Rameſgate, in the Pariſh of Saint Peter vnder the Cliffe, a monſtrous fiſh or Whale of the Sea did ſhoote himſelfe on ſhore, where for want of water, beating himſelfe on the ſandes, hee dyed about ſixe of the clocke on the next morning, before which tyme he roared, and was heard more than a myle on the lande.

The length of this fiſh was .xxij. yardes, the nether iaw .xij. foote the opening, one of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than ſixe horſe in a cart could draw, a man ſtoode vpright in the place from whence the eye was taken, the thickneſſe from the backe whereon he lay, to the toppe of his bellie (which was vpwarde) was fourteene foote, his taile of the ſame breadth: betweene his eies .xij. foote, three men ſtood vpright in his mouth, ſome of the ribbes were ſixe foote long, his tongue was .xv. foote long, his lyuer two Cart load, into his noſtrels any man might haue crept: the oyle being boyled out of the head was Parmaſite, the oyle of his bodie was whytiſh, and ſweete of taſte.

Obſequie at Paules for the French king.

The ſeuenth of Auguſt, a ſolemne Obſequie was kept in Saint Paules Church at London for Charles the ninth King of Fraunce, who deceaſſed on the twentie day of May laſt before paſſed.

Agnes Bridges and Rachell Pinder at Paulescroſſe for counterfeiting to be poſſeſſed

The .xv. of Auguſt being Sunday, Agnes Bridges, a Mayde about the age of .xx. yeares, and Rachell Pinder, a wenche about eleuen or twelue yeares olde who both of them had counterfeyted to be poſſeſſed by the Diuell (whereby they had not onely marueylouſly deluded many people, both men and women, but alſo dyuerſe ſuch perſons, as otherwiſe ſeemed to bee of good witte and vnderſtanding) ſtoode before the preacher at Paules Croſſe, where they acknowledged theyr hyppocriticall counterfeyting, with penitent behauiours, requyring forgiueneſſe of God and the worlde, and the people to praye for them. Alſo their ſeuerall examinations and confeſſions were there openly read by the Preacher, and afterwardes publiſhed in prynt, for the further poſteritie hereafter to beware of the lyke deceyuers.

A lad of .xviij. yeares olde drowned in a chanell in London.

The fourth of September in the after noone, ſuch a ſtorme of raine happened at London, as the like of long time coulde not bee remembred, wherethrough the Chanels of the Citie ſodainly ryſing, ranne with ſuch a forceable courſe towardes the common ſhores, that a lad about the age of .xviij. yeres, minding to haue lept ouer the Chanell neare vnto Downgate, was borne ouer with the ſtreame, and by the ſame caryed frō the Conduyt there, towardes the Thames, with ſuch a ſwiftneſſe, that no man with ſtaues or other wayes coulde ſtaye him, tyll hee came agaynſt a Cart wheele that ſtoode in the water gate, afore whiche time hee was drowned and ſtarke dead.

No Maiors feaſt at the Guildhall.

This yeare the Maior of London went by water to Weſtmynſter, and there tooke his othe as hath beene accuſtomed: he kept no feaſt at the Guildhall, although great prouiſion had beene made for that purpoſe, but dyned at his owne houſe with his brethren the Aldermen: the companies dyned at their ſeuerall halles. This was done by appoyntment of the Queenes maieſties Counſaile, to auoyd infection of the plague, like to haue encreaſed by comming togither of ſuch a multitude. This weeke, from the .xxij. vnto the .xxviij. of October, deceaſed in the Citie and liberties, conteyning .Cviij. Pariſhes, of all diſeaſes, one hundred three ſcore and ſixe, of the which number .lxxv. were accounted to die of the plague.

Terme adiorned.

Michaelmaſſe terme, which had beene adiourned by Proclamation, began at Weſtminſter on the ſixt of Nouember.

Two tides in one houre.

The ſame ſixte day in the morning, there happened two great tydes at London, in the ryuer of Thames, the firſt by courſe, the other within one houre after, which ouerflowed the Marſhes with many vaultes and ſellers neare adioyning.

Fierie impreſſions maruelous.

The .xiiij. of Nouember being Sunday, about midnight following, diuerſe ſtraunge impreſſions of fire and ſmoke were ſeene in the ayre to proceede forth of a blacke clowde in the north towardes the South, which ſo continued till the next morning that it was day light.

The next night following, the heauens from all parts did ſeeme to burne marueylous ragingly, and ouer our heades, the flames from the horizon rounde about ryſing did meete, and there double, and roll one in another, as if it had beene in a cleare furneſſe.

An. Reg. 17.

The .xviij. day at night, was very ſtormie and tempeſtuous of windes out of the South, I haue not knowne the like out of that quarter) eſpecially after mydnight till the next morning that it was day light. Theſe are to bee receyued as tokens of Gods wrath readie bent agaynſt the worlde for ſinne now abounding, and alſo of his great mercie, who doth onely thus but to ſhewe the rod wherwith we dayly deſerue to be beaten.

This yeare at London after Harueſt, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall, from ſeuen ſhillings to three ſhillings the buſhel, at which price it ſtayed (little or nothing ryſing or falling) all the yeare after: but bay ſalt was rayſed from three ſhillings to foure ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, and ſixe ſhillings the buſhell, the lyke whereof had neuer bene ſeene or heard wythin this Realme.

Bay ſalt deare.

1575

Flies in Februarie the number ſtrange.

The .xxiiij. of Februarie, the feaſt of Saint Mathie, on which day the fayre was kept at Teukeſburie, a ſtraunge thing happened there, for after a floud, which was not great, but ſuch as thereby the Medowes neare adioyning were couered with water, in the after noone ther came downe the Ryuer of Seuerne, great numbers of Flies and Betles, ſuch as in Sommer Euenings vſe to ſtryke men in the face, in great heapes, a foote thicke aboue the water, ſo that to credible mens iudgement there were ſeene wythin a payre of But lengthes of thoſe Flies aboue a hundred quarters. The Milles there aboutes were dammed vp with them for the ſpace of foure dayes after, and then were cleanſed by dygging them out with ſhouels: from whence they came is yet vnknowne, for the day was colde and a harde froſt.

Earthquake.

The .xxvj. of Februarie, betweene foure and ſixe of the clocke in the after noone, great Earthquakes happed in the Cities of Yorke, Worceſter, Glouceſter, Briſtowe, Hereforde, and in the Countreys aboute, which cauſed the people to runne out of their houſes, for feare they ſhoulde haue fallen on theyr heades. In Teukeſburie, Bredon and other places, the diſhes fell from the Cupbourdes, and the bookes in mens ſtudies from the ſhelues. In Norton Chapell the people being on their knees at Euening prayer, the ground mouing, cauſed them to runne away, in great feare that the dead bodies would haue ryſen, or the Chapell to haue fallen: part of Kithen Caſtell fell downe with certaine bricke Chymneys in gentlemens houſes. The Bell in the ſhire hall at Denbigh, was cauſed to toll twice by ſhaking of the hall, &c.

On Eaſter day, which was the thirde of Aprill, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, was diſcloſed a congregation of Anabaptyſts, Dutchmen, in a houſe without the Barres of Aldegate at London, whereof .xxvij. were taken and ſent to priſon, and foure of them bearing fagots, recanted at Pauls croſſe on the .xv. of May in forme as followeth.

Reg.17.

Anabaptiſts bare fagots at Paules croſſe.

Whereas I. I. T. R. H. beeing ſeduced by the Diuell the ſpirite of errour, and by falſe teachers his Miniſters, haue fallen into certayne moſte deteſtable, and damnable hereſies, namely:

1 *That Chriſt tooke not fleſh of the ſubſtance of the bleſſed Virgin Marie.*
2 *That infants of the faithfull ought not to bee baptized.*
3 *That a chriſtian man may not be a Magiſtrate or beare the ſworde or office of auchthoritie.*
4 *That it is not lawfull for a Chriſtian to take an othe.*

Now by the grace of God, and through conference with good and learned Miniſters of Chriſt his Church: I doe vnderſtande and acknowledge the ſame to be moſt damnable, and deteſtable hereſies, and doe aſke God here before his Church mercie for my ſayde former errors, and do forſake them, recant, and renounce them, and abiure them from the bottom of my heart, profeſſing that I certainly beleeue.

1 *That Chriſt tooke fleſh of the ſubſtance of the bleſſed Virgin Marie.*
2 *That infants of the faithful ought to be baptized.*
3 *That a chriſtian man may be a Magiſtrate, or beare the ſworde and office of auchthoritie.*
4 *That it is lawfull for a chriſtian man to take an othe.*

And further I confeſſe, that the whole doctrine, and religion eſtabliſhed and publiſhed in this Realme of Englande, as alſo that which is receyued and preached in the Dutche Churche here in this Citie, is founde, true, and according to the worde of God, whereunto in all things I ſubmit my ſelfe, and wil moſt gladly be a member of the ſayd Dutch Church, from henceforth vtterly abandoning and forſaking all and euery Anabaptiſticall error.

This is my fayth nowe, in the which I doe purpoſe and truſt to ſtande firme and ſtedfaſt vnto the ende, and that I may ſo doe, I beſeech you all to pray with me, and for me, to God the heauenly Father, in the name of his ſonne our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt. The like recantation was made by them afterwardes in the Dutche Church.

The .xvij of May, about mydnight following, the right reuerend father in God Mathew Parker,

Archbiſhop of Canterburie deceaſed.

Parker, Doctour of Diuinitie, Archbyſhop of Caunterburie deceaſed at Lambeth, and was there honourably buried, on whoſe Tombe being of blacke Marble, is written this Epitaphe following.

Mathew Parker liued ſoberly and wiſe,
Learned by ſtudie and continuall practiſe.
Louing, true, of life vncontrolde,
The court did foſter him both yong and olde.
Orderly he delt, the right he did defend,
He liued vnto God, to God he made his ende.

Annabaptiſts baniſhed.

The .xxj. of May being Whitſuneuen, one man and ten women Anabaptiſts Dutch, were in the Conſiſtorie of Paules, condemned to bee burnt in Smithfield, but after great paynes taking with them, onely one woman was conuerted, the other were baniſhed the lande.

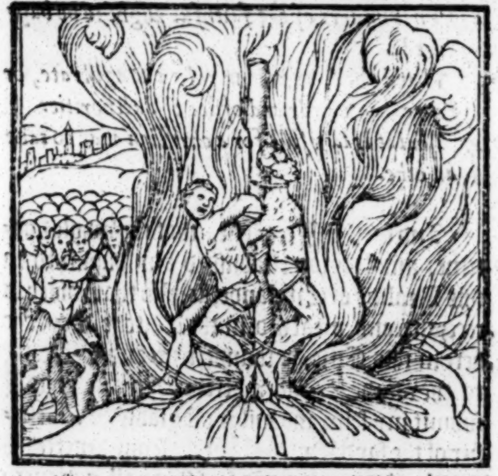
On the firſt of Iune the nine women being led by the Sherifes officers, the man was tyed to a Cart and whipped, and ſo all conueyed from Newgate to the waters ſide, where they were ſhipped away, neuer to returne againe.

Fiue perſons of the family loue ſtood at Paules croſſe.

The .xij. of Iune, ſtoode at Paules Croſſe, fiue perſons Engliſhmen, of the ſect tearmed the family of loue, who there confeſſed themſelues vtterly to deteſt as well the Authour of that ſect. H. N. as all his damnable errours and hereſies.

Anabaptiſts burnt.

The .xxij. of Iuly, two Dutchmen Anabaptiſts were burnt in Smithfield, who dyed in great horror with roaring and crying.



Thunder and haile.

The .xxx. of Iuly in the after noone, was a great tempeſt of lightning and thunder, wherethrough both men and beaſtes in dyuerſe places were ſtryken dead. Alſo at that tyme fell greate abundance of hayle, whereof the ſtones in many places were founde to be ſixe or ſeuen ynches about.

The Glaſſe houſe burnt.

The fourth of September being Sunday, about ſeuen of the clock in the morning, a certain Glaſſehouſe, which ſometyme had bene the croſſed Friers hall, neare to the Tower of London, braſt out on a terrible fire, whereunto the Lorde Maior, Aldermen and Sherifes, with all expedition repayred, and practiſed there all meanes poſſible, by water buckets, hookes, and otherwiſe to haue quenched it: all which notwithſtanding, whereas the ſame houſe in a ſmall tyme before had conſumed great quantitie of woodde by making of fine drinking glaſſes, now it ſelf hauing within it neare .xl. thouſand billets of wood, was all conſumed to the ſtone walles, which walles greatly defended the fire from ſpreading further, and doing any more harme.

The .xxvj. of September, a Pulters wife in the Pariſh of Chriſtes Church within Newgate of London, was deliuered and brought to bed of foure children at one burthen, all females, or mayden children, which were Chriſtened by the names of Elizabeth, Marie, Margaret, and Dorothie, and the ſame day Moneth the mother was buryed, but all the foure Children liuing & in good liking were borne to Church after hir.

On Michaelmaſſe euen at night, the like impreſſions of fire and ſmoke were ſeene in the aire, to flaſh out of the North Eaſt, North & Northweſt, as had beene on the .xxv. of Nouember, laſt before paſſed.

The tenth of October many French and ſome Engliſh men, but all Pirates of the Seas, were arraigned at ẏ admiraltie court in Southwarke, where to the number of .xxij. were condemned, and had ſentence of death pronounced agaynſt them.

The Maior of London went by water to Weſtminſter, and there tooke his othe as hath beene accuſtomed, he kept no feaſt at the Guildhall, but dined at his owne houſe with his brethren the Aldermen and other. The companies dyned at theyr ſeuerall Halles. &c. This was done as in the yeare laſt before paſſed, to auoyde the infection of the plague, which might haue encreaſed by comming togyther of greater numbers of people.

That weeke from the .xxij. vnto the .xxviij. of October, deceaſſed in the Citie and libertyes, of all diſeaſes one hundred thirtie and two, of the which number .xxxvj. were accounted to die of the plague.

The next weeke following ending the thirde of Nouember (thankes be giuen to God therefore) there deceaſed of all diſeaſes, but .Cx. and of them of the plague but .xvj.

An. Reg. 18.
1576

This yeare by reaſon of the troubles in the low Countreys, the Engliſh Marchants ſuſteyned great loſſes dyuerſe wayes, for the men of warre that kept the Seas, aduowing themſelues to bee reteyned with the Prince of Orange, vnder colour to ſearche for theyr aduerſaries goodes, oftentymes bourded the Engliſhe ſhippes as they mette with them on the Seas, ſinally to the profite of them to whome the ſame ſhippes & goodes appertayned. Some they ſtayed: and tooke away with them, and at length there was a generall reſtraynt made by the Prince of Orange, that no Engliſh ſhippes ſhould paſſe to or fro the towne of Andwerpe by the riuer of Scheld, ſuch being arreſted and deteyned at Fliſhing as were comming downe that riuer, and other likewiſe that were bound vp the ſame time towardes Andwerpe. The Engliſh merchants feeling themſelues thus moleſted and damnified at ſundry ſeaſons, exhibited their complaintes to the Queenes Maieſties coũſell, who accordingly dealt frõ time to time with the Prince of Orange and his deputies for redreſſe, but ſpecially now vpõ this general reſtraint: & (although gret difficultie appeared in the mater, aſwell for contenting of the aduenturers of Fliſhyng, as for yͭ there had bene foure ſhippes belonging to the Prince arreſted & ſtayed at Falmouth) at length yet ſuch Engliſh ſhippes as were kept & holden at Fliſhing were releaſſed and ſent home. But not till two of the Engliſh merchantes aduenturers men of good calling and eſtimation (hauing firſt as hath bene ſaide made a certaine maner of proteſte) were faine to enter into bande for the loane of a ſumme of money, and were therewith kepte at Fliſhyng till the contract in that behalf might be performed, whereupon the Queenes Maieſtie miſliking that hir ſubiectes ſhould be thus hardly dealt with, armed and ſet forth certayne of hir ſhippes, whiche going to the ſeas to ſee that hir ſubiectes might trauerſe the ſame in ſafetie, tooke diuers of the Fliſhingers veſſels and brought thẽ into the Engliſh ſtreames. The Fliſhingers herewith on the other parte, tooke and arreſted other of the Engliſh ſhips, ſo that the troubles ſeemed rather to increaſe than to be in any wiſe appeaſed. Although afterwardes by ſending two and fro, the mater was taken vp, and ſuche order had as was thought to ſtande very well for the ſuertie, commoditie, and good liking of the Engliſh Merchantes.

These foure ſhippes were ſtayed for ſatiſfaction of one Simons ſhippe, out of the whiche a Fliſhynger had taken certayne tunes of Canarie wine.

Maiſtre Calthrop, & William Godard.

But in the meane time and before this could be brought to paſſe through a diſordered mutinie whiche chaunced among the Spaniſhe Souldiers, it ſo fell out, that the States of thoſe lowe countreys agreed with the Prince of Orange, & ſet themſelues wholy agaynſt the Spaniardes, whereupon the yong Counte de Egmont, the Marques de Hauery entred the towne of Andwerpe with a power of Souldiers for yͤ States, & ment to haue kept that towne againſt the Spaniardes that helde the Caſtell, but they doubting to be encloſed and ſhut vp by ſome ſiege, got moe of their fellowes to them, entred the towne by force, and pitifully killing no ſmall number of people, ſacked the towne, & put aſwel the townesmen as others that were Merchantes reſident there to their ranſomes. Amongſt other our Engliſhmen eſcaped not altogither free, ſo as diuers were ſpoyled of that they had, and the whole nũber put to their ranſome, although vpon the ſending ouer of Doctor Wilſon hir Maieſties Ambaſſadour, ſo much of the raunſom as remayned vnpayde was promiſed to be remitted.

Reg.18.
576

This was the fourth of November.

500. one and other ſlayne, drowned and brent.

Thus were our Merchants euill intreated on ech hand, by reaſon of thoſe ciuill tumultes in the lowe countreys, aſwell this yeare as in the former yeares paſt, and ſmall hope would be of better ſucceſſe there, if ſome ende ſhoulde not be had of that ciuill diſſention, whiche hath ſo long continued betwixt the King of Spayne & his ſubiectes in thoſe countreys, not onely to the hinderance of themſelues, but alſo of others that haue to trade among them, ſpecially for traffique ſake and entercourſe of Merchandiſe. But at length they haue compounded their controuerſies, and are growen to a full agreement and perfect concluſion of peace, whiche God graunt may take place ſo effectually, as may turne to the quietneſſe and publique cõmoditie, not onely of thoſe countreys, but of their neighbours, whereby Merchants and paſſengers may in ſuertie paſſe too and fro without diſturbance, ſo as no occaſion be giuẽ of breach of leagues and amities betwixt Princes and Countreys, but that the ſame may be mainteyned to Gods glorie, and the ſuretie of the Chriſtian common wealth.

Walter Deuereux Earle of Eſſex, and Earle Marſhall of Ireland, Knight of the moſte noble order of the Garter, fell ſicke of a looſeneſſe of his body the .xxj. of Auguſt being Fryday, and for the ſpace of .xxij. dayes togither, hee was ſo greeuouſly tormented therewith, that finally on Saturday the .xxij. of September hee departed out of this tranſitorie life, paſſing from hence to the ioyes of heauen, as by his godly ende all that were aboute him haue giuen teſtimonie. The loſſe of this noble man was greatly bemoned, aſwell by the Engliſh, as Iriſh, for the noble courage, vertuous qualities, and tender zeale to the aduauncement of the common wealth whiche appeared in him.

The Earle of Eſſex departeth this lyfe.

The .x. of Nouember a proclamation was publiſhed for the free traffike of Merchants to be reſtored as had bene accuſtomed in times paſte betwixte the Kingdomes and Countreys of the Queenes Maieſtie of England and the King of Portingall, whiche traffique had bene diſcontinued by reaſon of certayne ſtayes and arreſtes, made of diuers ſubiectes on bothe partes, with their goodes and ſhippes. But now it was accorded in name of both their Maieſties, that all maner of bothe their ſubiectes of what kingdome or countrey ſo euer they be, from the .xv. day of the ſayde moneth might vſe the like mutuall traffique for marchādices, and in the ſameplaces: that is to ſay, hir Maieſties ſubiectes in the kingdomes of Portingale, and Algarbia, and in the Iſles of Medera, and Azore: and likewiſe the ſubiectes of the King of Portingale in Englande and Irelande, as they were lawfully accuſtomed before the ſayde arreſtes. This reſtitution of the ſayde traffique to remayne from the ſayde. xv. day of Nouẽber in this yeare. 1576. during the ſpace of three yeares next enſuing. At the end of which terme, if by the ſayde Princes in the meane time it be not otherwiſe prouided for continuance of the ſayd traffique to endure perpetually, no new arreſtes ſhal be made of any things brought into the kingdomes and Iſles aforeſayde, of either of the ſayd Princes during the time of the ſayd. iij. yeares. It was further agreed by the ſaid Princes for the more ſure preſeruation of the amitie & frẽdſhip betwixt them, their ſayd realmes & ſubiectes, that neither of them ſhall receyue any Pirate or rouer into any of the portes or creekes of either of the Realmes, Dominiōs, and Countreys, whiche may or ſhall haue committed any Piracie or robberie vpon eyther of their ſubiectes, nor ſhall ſhewe any fauour, giue any ayde or ſuccour, or ſuffer any to be giuen directly or indirectly to the ſayde Rouers or Pirates. Neither ſhall they during the time of the ſayde amitie, in either of their kingdomes or any place of their dominiōs, fauour, entertaine, receiue or reteyne, nor ſuffer to be fauoured, entertayned, receyued, or retained by any of their ſubiectes, any rebelles, traytours or fugitiues, ſubiectes to either of them.

Thus farre haue I continued this collection of the Engliſh Hiſtories, noting briefly in theſe later yeares, ſuche things as I finde in the abridgement of Richarde Grafton, and in the Summarie of Iohn Stow, increaſed ſomwhat (as may appeare) in places with ſuch helpes as haue come to my hande, humbly beſeeching the Reader to accept the ſame in good parte, and to pardon me where I haue not ſatiſfied his expectation, ſithe herein I muſt confeſſe, I haue nothing contented my ſelfe, but yet at the requeſt of others haue done what I could and not what I would, for wante of conference with ſuche as might haue furniſhed mee with more large inſtructions, ſuch as had bene neceſſarie for the purpoſe.

But now to obſerue the order which hitherto I haue followed, in mencionyng of ſuch writers of our nation, as liued in the dayes of other Princes, I haue thought good to write alſo the names of ſome of thoſe that haue flouriſhed in the time of the peaceable reigne of our ſoueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, whoſe happie ſtate with long life the Lorde maynteyne. Of whiche wryters as there are many ſome departed and others yet liuing, ſo the greate number of workes, Treatiſes, Poeſies, Tranſlations, and Pamphlets by them publiſhed to the world, may fully witneſſe the flouriſhing ſtate of the Muſes in theſe dayes of peace, in the which learning is bothe cheriſhed, and the ſtudious enioye their wiſhed quietneſſe, the better to encourage them to vtter their talentes. Suche therefore as I finde eyther rehearſed by Maiſter Bale, or els otherwiſe ſhall come to my memorie, I meane thus to recorde their names as followeth.

REginald Poole Cardinall.
Mathew Parkar late Archbiſhop of Cantorbury, doctor of Diuinitie, & a great ſearcher of antiquities, deſeruing well of all thoſe that are ſtudious therein, for the furtherance of whoſe knowledge he reſtored many auncient Monumentes to good perfection, and cauſed ſome to bee publiſhed in Printe, to his highe prayſe and commendation.
Edmond Grindall now Archbiſhop of Cant.
Iames Pilkinton late biſhop of Dureſme.
Myles Couerdale ſometime biſhop of Exceſter.
Iohn White once biſhop of Wincheſter.
Edmond Bonner once biſhop of London, who for his wilfull obſtinacie was empryſoned in the Marſhalſe, where he died.
Raphe Bane once byſhop of Couentrie and Lichfielde.
Iohn Iewell late biſhop of Sarum.
William Barlow late biſhop of Chicheſter.
Robert Horne biſhop of Wincheſter.
Iohn Scory biſhop of Hereford.
Edmonde Freake biſhop of Norwiche.
Iohn Aelmer biſhop of London.
Thomas Cooper biſhop of Lincolne.
Iohn Parkhurſt late biſhop of Norwiche.
Alley late biſhop of Exceſter.
Sir William Cecill Lord Threſourer.
Lorde Wentworth.
Lord Buckhurſt.
Sir Thomas Smith knight.
Sir Anthony Cooke knight.
Sir Thomas Chalenor knight.
Sir Iohn Price knight.
Sir Iohn Conwey Knight.
Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight.
Thomas Hobbey.
William Stanford.
Edmond Ploydon. Robert Brooke:
Iohn Raſtell.
William Fleetewood. Walter Haddon.
Thomas Wilſon, now Embaſſadour for the Queene in the lowe Countreys, who had ſometimes charge of the bringyng vp of thoſe two worthy impes, Henry Duke of Southfolke,

folke, and Charles his brother, bothe ſonnes to Charles Brandon ſomtime Duke of Southfolke, whoſe towardneſſe was ſuche as was well worthy of their calling: but it pleaſed God to call them by the ſweate, *Anno.* 1551. the elder firſte, and the yonger after: ſo that they bothe died Dukes, whiche I forgate to note in the place where I made mention of the ſame ſickneſſe.

John Man. John Hales.
Thomas Norton.
William Lambert.
John Foxe.
Alexander Nowell.
John Whiteguifte.
Thomas Becon.
William Turner.
Laurence Humfrey.
Dauid Whitehead.
John Bale. John Dee.
Anthony Gylbie.
Chryſtopher Goodman.
William Whittingham.
Roger Aſkam.
John Martine.
Barthelmew Clarke.
George Ackworth.
John Caius, an excellent Phiſition, who founded Caius colledge in Cambridge, or rather by augmenting a hall called Gunhill hall, by a ſeconde foundation, named it Gunhill and Caius colledge.
Thomas North.
John Marbecke.
Edmond Becke.
John Pullen.
Thomas Phaer.
Roger Hutchinſon.
Thomas Gibſon.
George Conſtantine.
Richarde Cockes.
James Calfhill.
John Willocke.
Thomas Cartwright.
Abraham Hartwell.
Robert Crowley.
John Gough.
Fecknam.
Laurence Tomſon.
Andrew Kingſmill.
John Barthlet. John Harding.
Edward Craddocke.
Thomas Sampſon. Saunders.
Thomas Leuer.
William Fulke. Thomas Hill.
Edward Deering.
John Brydges.
John Ueron.
John More.
Daniell Rogers.
Michaell Rineger.
Peter Morwing.
John Northbrooke.
Anthony Anderſon.
Chryſtopher Carlill.
Thomas Palfryman.
Steuen Bateman.
Thomas Doleman.
John Wolton.
William Whitaker.
Robert Watſon.
Humfrey Lhuid.
Lewes Euans.
John Yong.
John Mardley.
John Plough.
Phillip Nicols.
John Joſſelin.
Arthur Golding.
Edmond Campion.
William Hariſon.
Richard Stanihurſt.
Richard Grafton.
John Stowe.
Alexander Neuill.
Barnabe Googe.
William Pattin.
William Baldwin.
George Ferrers.
Arthur Brooke.
William Barker.
Leonard Digges.
Thomas Digges.
Williã Cunningham.
William Painter.
Lodowike Lhuid.
Richard Raynolds.
John Raynolds.
Nicholas Whitalke.
John Uowell *alias* Hooker.
Thomas Harman.
Ulpian Fulwell.
James Sandford.
Geffrey Fẽton. Thomas Twine.
Thomas Hedley.
William Saliſbury.
John Barret. John Procter.
Richard Candiſh.
Thomas Nicols.
Robert Greene.
Raphe Leuer.
Edward Grant.
John Heywood.
Thomas Drant.
Nicholas Allen Eſſentian.
Thomas Tim.

Thomas Tuſſer.
Thomas Hill.
William Borne.
Leonarde Maſkall.
Thomas Blondeuill.
Richarde Eden.
Edwarde Hake.
Otuell Holinſhed.
John Barſton.
John Harte *alias* Cheſter Heralde.
John Shute Captaine.
Richarde Willies.
George Gaſcon.
George Turberuill.
Thomas Churchyarde.
Thomas Brice.
George Whetſtone.
Nicholas Carre.
John Higgins.
Edmund Bunny.
John Barnarde.
Thomas Newton.
Meridith Hanmer.
John Dauys.
Thomas Vnderdowne.
Richard Robinſon.
William Woſley.
Barnabe Garter.
Abraham Flemming.
Reginalde Scot.
Thomas Stocker.
Henry Dethike.
John Bolwell.
William Beuerley.
Humfrey Baker.
Dionyſe Graye.
Thomas Biſhop.
George Pettie.
Thomas Gale.
John Hall.
John Studley.
Edmund Tilney.

I Haue here (Gentle Reader) diſorderedly ſet downe theſe names, for want of due knowledge how to place them according to their degrees, callings, or worthineſſe, euen as they came to memory. Although I allowe not of the wrytings of euery of them, yet bicauſe I haue vndertaken in the former order of my Booke, to Entregiſter the writers in eche age indifferently, I muſt of force ſo ende, and leaue the iudgement of their writings to the diſcrete Readers. I know there are others that haue written very well, but haue ſuppreſſed their names, and therfore cannot blame me, though they be not here entregiſtred: I wiſhe ſuche to go forewarde in well doing, and to remember that vertue cannot alwayes be hidden, but in time their names will be remembred among the beſt: that thoſe that are vertuouſly giuen, may by their worthy prayſe be encouraged to follow their ſteppes, and indeuour themſelues according to duety to aduaunce learning, and neceſſary knowledge in their countrey.

FINIS.

A Table ſeruing vnto both parts of the Chronicles of England,

*wherein, for thy better inſtruction (gentle Reader,) thou ſhalt vn*derſtand, that the firſt number ſignifyeth the page, and the ſecond number, the line of the page, which in ſome places thou ſhalt finde diuided into the lynes of the *Columes, and in ſome other, to followe the number of the whole lynes of the page, ſome pages are by ouerſight eſcaped faultie, which it may pleaſe thee to correct, and ſo vſe it to thy profite.*

AAron and Iulius, martyred for ẏ faith of Chriſt. 88.32
Aaron a Iew payd to Henry the thyrde thirtie thouſand markes. 722.90.
Abell hanged for the ſupremacie 1580.40.
Aborigines, what they ſignifie. 6.101.
Aborigines, that there are any confuted. 5.65.
Abbot of Weſtminſter conſpireth againſt Henry ẏ.4 pag. 1126.col.1.lin. 5. dyeth ſodainly.pa.1129. col.1 li.39
Abbey of Peterburgh & Crowland ſpoyled by King Iohn. 604.73.
Abbeyes and religious houſes founded by King Iohn.606.45.
Abbot of Saint Albons payeth foure ſcore markes to Lewes in ẏ name of homage.610.9.
Abbey of Lucreſſe cõmõly called delacreſſe built by Radulen Erle of Cheſter. 618.12.
Abbots and Priours depriued by Archbyſhop Anſelme, and why. 340.30.
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Abbots & biſhops of Englande not the Miniſters of God, but of the diuell. 279. 115
Abbot of Hales hanged. pag. 1154.col.1.line.2.
Abbeyes ſearched and ſpoyled by King William. 304.43.
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Abingdon battaile, fought betweene the Engliſhmen and Danes with equall victorie. 213.33.
Abingdon battaile, one of the ſoreſt foughten fieldes that had bin hearde of in thoſe dayes. 213.31.
Abingdon abbey buylded, and reſtored. 230.54.
Abingdon Abbey finiſhed, and ſet in good order. 234.7.
Aburgaueny Lord committed to the tower. 1510.27. confeſſeth miſpriſon of treaſon. 151945.
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Alcluid Citie. 194.62.
Abirnethi, and the peace there concluded. 307.68.
Abuſe in men too ſhamefull, for wearing lõg haires. 364.53.
Abſolon a Monke of Canterburie. 382.97.
Acca ſucceedeth Wilfride in the Biſhoprick of Herã. 190 91.
Act againſt fiſhemõgers. 1040 10.b. repealed. 1042.23.a.
Alcluid Citie deſtroyed by the Danes.211. 54.
Achikelmeſlawe, ſpoyled by the Danes. 244 36.
Acca, daughter to Alla, & ſiſter to Edwine. 155.76.
Acre of land, how many pearches it conteineth. 312.101.
Achelnotus, Archbyſhop of Cãtorbury. 262.115.
Adelſtan, Byſhop of Shirebourne. 206.57.
Adelſtane putteth his Cupbearer to death, for accuſing Edwyn, the kinges brother. 226.9.
Adelſtane leadeth an armie againſt Aulafe, lying nyghe Humber. 226.24.
Adelſtane ſubdueth Northumberland, and ioyneth it to his kingdome. 224.51.
Adelſtane ſonne to King Edward, fleeth the Realme. 224.82.
Adelſtane leadeth an armie againſt the Scottes, & welchmen. 225.20.
Adelſtane inuadeth Scotland with an armie, and waſteth it. 225.67.
Adelſtane offreth his knife to Saint Iohn of Beuerly, and redeemeth it with a large price. 225.64.
Adelſtane repenteth him ſore, of his rigor towards his brother Edwyn. 225.112.
Adelſtane, Byſhop of Shyreburne, departeth this lyfe. 209.72.
Adelſtans ſwoorde reſtored to the ſcabbard by myracle. 226.68.
Adelſtane departeth out of this world. 226.106.
Adelſtane, eldeſt ſonne to King Edward, beginneth hys raygne ouer the moſt part of England. 223.104.
Adelſtane crowned kyng, at Kingſtone vppon Thames. 224.7.
Adelſtane, ſomtime called Gurthum the Dane, made King of Eaſtangle. 214.96.
Adrian Abbot departeth thys lyfe. 190.116.
Adrian an Italian ſent ambaſſador into Scotland is made biſhop of Hereford, and afterward of Welles, and Cardinal.1436.30.reſtoreth good letters. ibidem.
Adrian Pope, ſendeth Legates into England. 198.63.
Adulf, Byſhop of Myrcth. 199.3.
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ſupreme head of the Church eadem. 15. hath the firſt fruites and the tenthes of al ſpiritual lyuinges for euer geuen him. eadem. 20.polleth his head and commaundeth al the Court to do the ſame , and is no longer ſhaued.eadem. 44. ſendeth Commiſſioners to viſite all the Religious houſes.1564. a.27.cauſeth a ſuruey to be taken of al Chanteryes. eadem. 46. calleth a Parliament. eadem.b. 15. hath all Religious houſes of. 300. markes and vnder giuen him eadem.21. maryeth the Ladye Jane Seymer. 1565.a. 48. calleth a Parliament. eadē. 57.publiſheth a booke concerning Religion.eadem. b.10 abrogateth certayn holy dayes. eadē.15.aboliſhed Pilgremages,pulleth downe certaine ſhrines, and ſuppreſſed al Fricries and Nunneries.1571.b. 24. ſitteth in iudgement vppon Lambert. eadem.50.fenſeth al the hauens and ſea coaſtes wyth Bulwarkes and blocke houſes.1572.b. 40. calleth a Parliament.eadem.50. cauſeth a general ſuruey to bee made, what able men were in the whole Realme.1573. b.2. ordeyned fiftie 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Bulogne. eadem a. 53. winneth Bullogne. 1596.a.40. returneth into England.eadem.b.20.reuoketh his armie from Mutterell.1598. b. 40. demaundeth a beneuolence of the ſpiritualtie and temporaltie. 1601.a.1.ſendeth an armye into Scotland. 1602.b.35. calleth a Parliament, and leuieth a ſubſidie.1604.b.45. hath al Colledges, Chaunteries and Hoſpitals committed to his wil. eadem. 54. maketh an Oration in the Parliament houſe. 1605.a. 12. ſuppreſſeth the Stewes. 1607. a. 12. concludeth peace with the French king 1508. b. 10. is Godfather to the Dolphines daughter. eadem. 20. his great gyftes to the Frenche Ambaſſador. 1609.a. 57. commaundeth one thing by letter, and the contrarie by worde of mouth 1609.b.40.maketh his Teſtament, ordayning his Executors to gouerne the realme during the minoritie of hys ſonne.1611.a.44.dyeth. eadē.b.54. is buried at Windſor.1612.a.8.is deſcribed.

Henry Earle of Richmond ſendeth for Edward Earle of Warwicke from Sherifehutton Caſtle, and puts him priſoner in the towre of London.1425.a.26.

Henry Earle of Richmond ſendeth for Elizabeth eldeſt daughter of king Edward ẏ fourth from Sherifhuton caſtle, and conueigheth her vnto her mother at London. 1425.33.a.

Henry Earle of Richmonde commeth to London, and is there honorably receyued. 1425. 43. offreth vp three ſtāders.eadē.54.promiſeth to mary the Ladie Elizabeth. 1425 b.8.is crowned king, and proclaimed Henry the ſeuenth.1425 . b . ſummoneth a Parlament, wherin are attainted the chiefeſt ayders of king Richard. 1425 . b.36. aduaunceth diuers of his friendes vnto honour.1426. a.30.hath the Crowne confirmed by Parlament to him and his heires.eadem.50. redeemeth his hoſtages left beyond the Seas.eadem.b.34. marieth the Ladie Elizabeth eadem . 28 . firſt ordained Yeoman of the garde.eadem. 36.borroweth money of the Londoners,and repayeth it 1427.a.40. ſummoneth a Parlament.eadem . 51 . maketh a progreſſe into the North partes.eadem. b . 1. publiſheth a pardon of all crimes.1429.a.32.diſcomfiteth in battaile the Earle of Lincolne and other rebels his Complices. 1431.a 42 holdeth ſolemne proceſſions three dayes for his victorye. eadem.46.taketh truce with the Scottes.1432.a . 20. trauaileth in vayne to make atonement betweene the French king and the Duke of Britayne.eadem.b.40 . and. 1433.a . 10 . ſummoneth a Parlament.eadem.b.18. aydeth the Duke of Britayne. 1434.a.7.borroweth money of the Citie of London, and repayeth it.eadem. 54 . rydeth to Yorke to repreſſe a rebellion.1435.a.12.aideth Maximilian Duke of Burgongne.eadem.b . 30 . is loth the French king ſhould marie the heire of Brytayne 1437.a. 18 . ſummoneth a Parlament.eadem.b.22. exacteth great ſummes of money by way of a beneuolence. eadem.40.inuadeth France 1439.a.41. Beſiegeth Bolongne.eadem.b.47. concludeth peace with the French king.1440.a.3.the conditions thereof.eadem.b . 3 . returneth into England . eadem.25.ſendeth certeyne into Flaunders to learne out the true progenie of the counterfeit

terfeit Duke of Yorke.1442 b.7.ſendeth ſpies into Flaũders to learne the counſels of the conſpirators.1443.a.10.forbiddeth flemiſh wares and trafique with Flemings eadem.b.3, remoueth the Mart to Calice.eadem.8. ſendeth an armie into Irelãd.1444.b.31.ſummoneth a Parlament, and leuieth a ſubſidie.1446.a.30.ſendeth an armie to ſuccor Norham Caſtle, and then inuadeth Scotland.1448.a.31.releaſeth the reſtraint into Flaunders.1448.b.20. taketh truce with the king of Scots eadem.31. buildeth Richmond houſe.1454.b.20. ſayleth with the Queene vnto Calice.eadem.24.meeteth with Phillippe Duke of Bourgogne.eadem.42.returneth into England.1455 a.6.concludeth peace with ẏ king of Scottes, betroughthing vnto him his eldeſt daughter, and his eldeſt Son vnto Katheren the daughter of the kyng of Hiſpayne.eadem.b.47.buildeth our Ladie Chappell within Weſtminſter.1457.b.36.reneweth the olde league & amitie with Maximilian the Emperour.1558.a.58.ſummoneth a Parlament, and leuieth a ſubſidie.eadem.b.32. erecteth a Court for the execution of penall ſtatutes.eadem 41.ordeyneth a newe coyne of Siluer.1559.a.15 willeth by his Teſtament violentlá all money exacted for forfeytures, to be repayed.eadem.40.reneweth league and amitie with Phillippe Duke of Bourgongne.1460 a.12.publiſheth a generall pardon.1461.b.23.his charitable deedes.eadem.26. dieth.ead.36.is buried.ead. 40.his age and yeares of his reigne.ead.43.is deſcribed eadem.48.left great ryches behinde him. 1464.b.1.
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Henry the ſecond borne in Fraunce. 395.2
Henry the ſecond, contrary to his othe, right, law, and equitie, depriueth his brother Geffrey of the Earledome of Anion. 396.65
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Henrye de Eſſex throweth downe his Standerd, and diſhonorably runneth away. 397.55.
Henrye de Eſſex vanquiſhed in a combat by Robert de Mountfort. 397.59.
Henry of Eſſex pardoned his lyfe, and ſhorne a Monke. 397.62.
Henry the ſecond entreth into Gaſcoigne with an army. 399.5.
Henry the ſecond offreth ayd to the Emperour, againſte the Pope. 410.95
Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, dooth homage to the French king, for the County of Aniou. 411.39
Henry Earle of Aniou, made Seneſchal of France. 411.41.
Henry eldeſt ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, proclaymed fellowe with his father in the kingdome. 412.21
Henry eldeſt ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, crowned kyng of England, by commaundement of his father. 412.26.
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Henry Fitzempreſſe thought to be baſtard ſonne to king Stephen. 392.14
Henrye Fitzempreſſe appoynted to be ſlaine by treaſon, eſcapeth. 392.76
Henry Fitzempreſſe ſaileth into Normandy, after the treaſon practiſed againſt hym. 393 13.
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Henry ſonne to king Henry the ſecond, begynneth new practiſes againſt his father. 446 68.
Henry the ſeconde begynneth wantonly to fancie the Lady Alice his daughter in lawe. 450.82.
Henry Fitzempreſſe commeth into England, to ſee his mother. 379.49
Hercules Lybious ſonne to Oſyris. 5.96
Henry Fitzempreſſe returneth agayne into England. 383.54.
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Reuel Richard of Derbyſhyre attainted. 1425.50

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after-

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